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Discourse of War in American Presidential Messages, Presidential Proclamations and Congressional Declarations Leading to Formally Declared Wars.
An Analysis from the Perspective of the Ethnography of Communication

Doctoral dissertation written under the supervision of
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Dyskurs wojenny w orędziach i proklamacjach prezydentów USA oraz deklaracjach wojennych Kongresu Stanów Zjednoczonych prowadzących do oficjalnie wypowiedzianych wojen. Analiza z perspektywy etnografii komunikacji

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0. Introduction

Wars are feared by nations. However, decisions to wage war are made by individuals. Approaching the thematic of armed conflicts may lead to the observation that war is seen as a citizen's duty and the ruler's privilege. Anthropological linguistics with its multidimensional approach to language offers a valuable insight into war discourses, revealing the secrets of the language used by the prominent social actors of war scenes. Bringing attention to linguistic, rhetorical, and communicational means used by the participants of war discourses, and to the situational, social and cultural embeddings of language, enables a researcher to observe and understand in whose interest language is used and how it is used. Shedding light on the role of discourse in the origins of military conflicts may contribute to a better understanding of the role of language in people's decisions to wage wars.

0.1. Subject matter

The subject matter of the dissertation is the manner in which American presidential and Congressional powers are communicated. In order to establish that interdependence, communicational aspects of war discourse, on the basis of presidential war messages, Congressional war declarations and presidential proclamations, which led to the only five wars formally declared by the United States, are in focus of the investigation. An attempt is made to address the following issues: differentiating communicational patterns in presidential requests for war; identifying the functions the patterns serve; identifying the influence of the situational, social and cultural embeddings on the language of the American presidential and congressional discourse.

0.2. Research objectives

The main objective of the dissertation is to identify patterns of communication used by American presidents and American Congress, and to explain the phenomenon of the variety of linguistic forms and functions that were used by presidents in their speeches in order to obtain their goals – convincing the American Congresses to declare wars. In

order to achieve the main objective, the study aims at: conducting diachronic research in order to show changing communicational patterns in wider socio-political contexts of formally declared wars; conducting a synchronic study in order to identify communicational patterns of presidential war messages and proclamations as well as congressional declarations; identifying patterns of linguistic behaviour of individual participants of discourses in the context of situational, social and cultural embeddings. The answers to the questions will result in identification of the undergoing changes within the discourses of the investigated speech communities. It will also allow to identify the impact of the situational, social and cultural embeddings on the communicational patterns of the speech communities.

0.3. Research perspective

Research perspective adopted for the dissertation lies within the fundamental tenets of anthropological linguistics. Language is seen as culture and anthropological linguistics sees it as embedded in its situational context. Communicating requires belonging to a specific speech community which means being a competent user of the language spoken by the community. It also means sharing the same ideas by the speakers of a language. In turn, the language reflects not only the day-to-day practices, but also the relations of power and dependence (Duranti 1997:11).

The research perspective of the dissertation is within the assumptions of contemporary sociolinguistics and on the border of the assumptions of two of the three fundamental paradigms of anthropological linguistics, proposed by Alessandro Duranti (2003), and supplemented with the fourth paradigm by Piotr P. Chruszczewski (2011). The paradigm postulates the perception of language as a domain that is culturally organized and organizing culture, emphasizing linguistic differentiation and change as well as the relation between language and context. The transformational paradigm advocates the use of linguistic practice patterns, the participatory framework and the identity of discourse participants in order to understand the transformation of institutions and social groups in time and space (Duranti 2003). Following Anna Duszak (1998: 13, 21), texts are treated as communication events, understood not as the final products of human interactions, but as tools of social communication, and as such, they are understood as processes taking place in situational, social and cultural contexts.

The ethnography of communication as proposed by Dell Hymes provides methodological foundations for the dissertation. Primarily, known as the ethnography of speaking (Hymes 1962), it was developed and transformed into the ethnography of communication (Hymes 1964, 1972, 1974; Saville-Troike [1982] 2003). The approach highlights the social aspect of language and reflects upon language in its situational embedding. In Hymes's view, the study of language from the perspective of the ethnography of communication allows to identify communicational behavior patterns of language users.

Three tools were used in the analysis of the research material. First, to assess the readability of the documents, Gunning fog test was used. Next, Piotr P. Chruszczewski's (2003) method of analysis allowed to establish argument development models for all documents under investigation. Finally, Dell Hymes's SPEAKING grid was applied in the analysis of the material. The grid allows for the identification of the relation between the culture, the language and the speech community, having communication acts in focus. This results in identification of the communicational patterns of the discursive communities.

0.4. Research material

The research material in focus is five presidential war messages, congressional declarations of war and presidential war proclamations issued before the formally declared conflicts: war with Great Britain in 1812, the war with Mexico in 1846, the war with Spain in 1898, World War I and World War II, delivered by James Madison, James K. Polk, William McKinley, Woodrow Wilson and Franklin D. Roosevelt respectively. The research material comprises the documents listed below.

Presidential war messages:

- James Madison, Special Message to Congress on the Foreign Policy Crisis—War Message (June 1, 1812);
- James K. Polk, War Message to Congress (May 11, 1846);
- William McKinley, Message Regarding Cuban Civil War (April 11, 1898);
- Woodrow Wilson, Address to Congress Requesting a Declaration of War Against Germany (April 2, 1917);
- Franklin D. Roosevelt, Address to Congress Requesting a Declaration of War (December 8, 1941).

Congressional declarations:

- An Act Declaring War Between the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and the Dependencies Thereof and the United States of America and Their Territories (June 18, 1812);
- An Act providing for the Prosecution of the existing War between the United States and the Republic of Mexico (May 13, 1846);
- A bill declaring that war exists between the United States of America and the Kingdom of Spain (April 25, 1898);
- The Declaration Of War Against Germany - Joint Resolution Passed by the United States Senate and House of Representatives (April 6, 1917);
- Declaration of War on Japan (December 8, 1941);

Presidential proclamations, announcements, messages:

- James Madison – Proclamation of a State of War with Great Britain (June 19, 1812);
- James K. Polk – Announcement of War with Mexico (May 13, 1846);
- William McKinley – Proclamation Calling for Military Volunteers (April 23, 1898);
- Woodrow Wilson – Proclamation 1364 (April 6, 1917);
- Franklin D. Roosevelt – Fireside Chat 19: On the War with Japan (December 9, 1941).

0.5. Organization of the dissertation

The dissertation consists of an introduction, four chapters, conclusions, references, a list of figures, and appendices. The first chapter is devoted to the presentation of the theoretical background of the research and it is composed of three subchapters dealing with the notions of culture, communication, language, discourse and text. The second chapter aims to present the methodological framework for the research and is composed of five subchapters embracing the thematic of discourse analysis, selected approaches to the analysis of discourse with particular attention paid to the ethnography of communication as the primary approach for the analysis of the research material. As for a detailed description of the tools used for the analysis, subchapters overviewing the problematic of readability of texts and typology of arguments are included. The third chapter introduces the socio-historical context of the events researched in the thesis and

comprises two subchapters. General issues related to American presidency, war and rhetoric as well as the problematic of presidential and congressional powers in American political system are overviewed. Presidential war messages are discussed in the background of the presidencies of James Madison, James Knox Polk, William McKinley, Woodrow Wilson, and Franklin Delano Roosevelt. The fourth chapter provides an analysis of the research material and it is composed of eight subchapters. The dissertation ends with general conclusions.

0.6. American discourse of war: state of the field

Abundant amount of bibliographies on presidential rhetoric and communication is offered by American Universities.[1] Convenient points of departure for research are bibliographies available online, which may be valuable option for Europe based researchers.[2] The National Archives of the United States allows access to many primary sources, among them documents.[3]

Works of American theorists and researchers are of fundamental value for the study of the subject of the dissertation. Journals such as *Presidential Studies Quarterly* or *Congress & the Presidency Journal* comprise results of studies of history, politics, rhetoric of American presidency and the Congress. *Quarterly Journal of Speech* is the source of materials related to Presidential discourse. *Journal of Conflict Resolution* offers publications of results of research on theories of war, causes of military conflicts and historical aspects of wars. *Political Science Quarterly* focuses on American politics throughout the centuries. Offering a large review section, the journal is a relevant source of information about latest American developments in the area of politics, American presidency and American Congress. *Peace & Change* journal offers works on politics of the United States in the context of world peace, solutions of conflicts and non-violence policies.

Extensive bibliography on causes of wars over the centuries has been collected by Johann van der Dennen (1995, 2005). The author, researched the topic trying to solve one of the basic human questions why people make wars despite the knowledge about the

[1] See *i.e*. Miller Center, https://millercenter.org; [Date of access: 15-07-2018]'

[2] See *i.e*. Sources in Presidential Rhetoric; https://users.wfu.edu/zulick/454/presbib.html [Date of access: 15-07-2018].

[3] The National Archives and Records Administration, https://www.archives.gov [Date of access: 14-07-2018].

obvious and predicable consequences the conflict brings. A very insightful source of knowledge about the origins of the most destructive conflicts, World War I and World War II, is a monograph by Donald Kagan (1995). Without doubt, the most relevant source about presidential and congressional discourse, connected with the problematic of formally declared American wars is that of Robert L. Ivie (1972). Over the years, Ivie has realized a consistent program of studies. The author did not concentrate on congressional declarations or presidential proclamations. Instead, in the center of attention Ivie placed presidential war speeches regarded as initiators of events.

The nineteenth century American war discourse attracts researchers, among them mainly historians, biographers of presidents. Surprisingly, comparative studies of presidential rhetoric in the context of formally declared conflicts are scarce, which was one of the reasons for writing this dissertation.

1. Theoretical foundations of the research

In this chapter theoretical foundations of the dissertation are expounded. The first subchapter introduces the fundamental concepts constituting anthropological linguistics. Interrelations between culture, communication and language are analyzed in order to establish their interdependence. The problematic is initiated by addressing the issue of culture. Then, the role of communication as the primary function of language is discussed. Subsequently, a number of attempts to define language, considering some of the properties and functions of language is overviewed. In the second subchapter the thematic of discourse, its origin traced back to Aristotle's rhetoric, and the main interpretations of the term are presented. Finally, the third subchapter addresses the issue of the relation between discourse, text and context. The chapter closes with relevant remarks concerning the above-mentioned issues.

1.1. On the notion of culture, communication and language

Anthropological linguistics refers to research direction that deals with the systematic analysis of the relationship between language and culture. Being an interdisciplinary field, anthropological linguistics embraces various approaches to the study of language, culture and communication. What binds different approaches is the study of the relationship between language, thinking and reality in the context of communicational behaviour of people. As every use of language takes place in specific environment, such aspects as cultural and communicational practices become an important part of anthropological and linguistic research. Communicational practices create human actions, social and cultural concepts and, reciprocally, communicational patterns are shaped and modified by human activities, social and cultural contexts. Anthropological linguistics, acknowledging that languages provide valuable clues about investigated cultures, tries to answer the question of how language and culture are interrelated and what are the outcomes of that relationship. Accepting the fact that anthropological linguistics draws from other fields, at the same time contributing to their developments, it is needed to identify the positions of language and culture within the field of study. It is assumed in

the thesis that, as Harry Hoijer (1953) observed, "one should think of language in culture and not just of language and culture" (quoted in Duranti 1997: 336–337). As language is omnipresent within culture, it creates social and cultural context for any human activity. With its ability to refer to the processes spatially and temporally remote, language creates the world of language users.

1.1.1. Conceptualizing culture

Complex relation between language and culture results in the multitude of interpretations of the phenomena as well as a vast number of definitions. Anusiewicz (1994: 10) proposed a definition of anthropological linguistics, defining it as a science that studies the relationship between language, society, reality and culture. He rightly observed that in other theoretical paradigms such as cultural linguistics, linguistic anthropology, ethnolinguistics, the location of the above-mentioned concepts of the definition differs. While in anthropological linguistics the researcher starts with language, where language is a prerequisite containing the most essential cultural content, in linguistic anthropology, culture is the starting point for research.

Culture is commonly understood as an umbrella term embracing any kind of human activity such as spiritual beliefs, customs, habits, art, social structures, institutions, material traits. It is inherited – passed down from generation to generation. As a result, cultural practices of the preceding generations, live encoded in human minds of the descending generations. The very early interpretation of culture by Tylor (1871: 1) who wrote that it "is that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society" was deeply rooted in his view on the development of mankind. He was the first who noticed that culture is learned and acquired, as opposed to being a biological trait. Tylor's assumption that people are homogenous and that values, practices and history are shared by all humans was an effort to provide a universal model of the development of cultural evolution and did not account for the diversity of cultures across societies, seen by Teslow ([2014] 2015: 10) as "an ongoing construction of human variation that has always consisted of a volatile, unstable mix of cultures […]." Because of its inclusiveness Tylor's definition long prevailed. The "complex whole" allowed for wide acceptance in anthropological linguistics. The notion of culture as unified and universal and an assumption that it is a continuous process of human development from savagery to

civilization while neglecting the existence of diverse cultures soon led to the emergence of opposite views highlighting the variety and uniqueness of many cultures. Boas ([1911] 1938: 145; 1940: 164) emphasized the uniqueness of the many and varied cultures of different peoples and societies. Although Boas's idea of cultural relativism does not explain all issues dealt with by anthropological linguistics, his interpretations of culture not as a uniform, universal notion, but as particular, individual and characteristic of a given group contributed to the study of race, language and culture in social sciences (Stocking 1966: 870; Seiferle-Valencia 2017: 12). Tylor's and Boas's works laid the foundations for anthropological studies, however their views of culture were put under scrutiny and led to proliferation of independent concepts of the term. A review of 164 different concepts and definitions can be found in Kroeber and Kluckhohn (1952: 81–142). The authors proposed a taxonomy of the multitude of terms dividing them into groups: descriptive, historical, normative, psychological, structural, genetic, and incomplete. In an effort to extract the central idea of culture, Kroeber and Kluckhohn came to the conclusion:

> Culture consists of patterns, explicit and implicit, of and for behavior acquired and transmitted by symbols, constituting the distinctive achievement of human groups, including their embodiments in artifacts; the essential core of culture consists of traditional (i.e., historically derived and selected) ideas and especially their attached values; culture systems may, on the one hand, be considered as products of action, on the other as conditioning elements of further action. (Kroeber and Kluckhohn 1952: 357)

Understanding culture in terms of behaviour without taking into account experiences of an individual man was questioned by Geertz, who emphasized the role of symbols and symbolic action in constructing social reality. In his view culture is the result of interpersonal relations which provide context for the study of culture. Cultures are "webs of meaning" embedding individual human beings. Thus, the goal of the researcher is to identify and understand different ways of life by the application of the theory of "thick description" to the analysis. Interpretation of individual behaviour in specific context and surroundings allows to establish an interpretative framework for the study and interpretation of culture as a system of meanings. Influenced by Ricoeur and Weber, Geertz (1973: 5) proposed a semiotic view culture: "I take culture to be those webs, and the analysis of it to be therefore not an experimental science in search of law but an

interpretative one in search of meaning. It is explication I am after, construing social expression on their surface enigmatical."

Geertz's interpretive approach was taken into consideration in Duranti's (1997: 23–49) overview of theories of culture. Duranti proposes a number of different views on the notion of culture, taking into consideration how culture was perceived over the centuries of the history of philosophy, anthropology and linguistics. Scrutinizing selected interpretations of culture, with an initial assumption that language must be understood as cultural practice in which language plays an important role, Duranti looks upon culture as knowledge, communication, mediation, a system of practices, and participation. Primarily, culture is seen as distinct from nature. Possessing the capacity to acquire a language, humans learn culture in social interactions, in which the use of language is of key importance. To learn a culture, an individual must belong to a group, observe and learn the behavior patterns typical of the group. Duranti highlights the opposition between culture and nature which leads to conclusion that humans are not born with culture but with the possession of ability to learn it. In consequence, culture, being learned, can be interpreted in terms of knowledge. To learn culture is to use language. Knowing a language means knowing a culture. Sharing the same or similar patterns of thought which are acquired through linguistic communication reveals the mutual dependence of culture and language. This might lead to the conclusion that members of a culture share identical worldviews, which, as Duranti rightly points out, is not the case. Socially distributed knowledge is uneven across the society and depends on the social role and position in the social structure of the cultural group. As knowledge is negotiated and distributed by practices of communication (Riley 2007: 32), language is a means to learn cultural patterns of a cultural community, and thus has a significant impact on how humans identify themselves culturally. Tools seen as objects between people and their object of work constitute the view of culture as mediation. People in their activities resort to using tools. The use is organized according to the cultural patterns of behavior. They become the means for mediation between the user and the world. Although interactions between members of a cultural group generate issues not only in terms of linguistic communication, it is language, which, with the use of metaphor allowing for conceptualization, is used as a mediating system providing the exchange of ideas between people (Duranti 1997: 42; Throop and Duranti 2014: 1057). Culture as a system of practices, as Duranti observes, has been seen through social actors and their everyday practices, customs, or ways of interacting. For Bourdieu (1991: 37), the system of

practice and social dynamics reflects the accumulated linguistic resources of the social actors who, with the use of language, reproduce social structures. Language and cultural communities are not homogeneous. They are embedded in a social, historical, political contexts. Language being for Bourdieu an instrument of action and symbolic power, is a tool for creating a network of interactions between an individual speaker and the world. Communicative acts of a cultural group allow to see culture as a system of participation. This is congruent with Duranti's observation that:

> […] to speak a language means to be able to participate in interactions with a world that is always larger than us as individual speakers and even larger than what we can see and touch in any given situation. Words carry in them a myriad possibilities for connecting us to other human beings, other situations, events, acts, beliefs, feelings. This is due to the ability that language has to describe the world as well as to its ability to connect us with its inhabitants, objects, places, and periods; each time reaffirming a sociohistorical dimension of human action among others. (Duranti 1997: 46)

The view of culture as a developed system of mediation in human contact with the world by means of human material products and the interpretation of the concept of culture in terms of knowledge was reformulated by Chruszczewski (2011: 38–39) who proposes a different interpretation of the understanding of culture as knowledge. While Duranti emphasizes that individual ways of understanding culture are perceived as independent but equal systems, Chruszczewski assumes that culture as knowledge takes a superior place over other theories of culture understood as communication, mediation, practice, and participation. As all theories interpenetrate each other, they ultimately create a dominant one.

The overview of the relationship between language and culture leads to a conclusion that language, being a primary tool for communication, is one of the most important components of culture. It enables an individual to mediate with the outside world. Language constructs reality through communicative practices of a speech community (Carey [1989] 2009: 19). As a social practice, it is a process in which the achievements of the community, its values, customs, beliefs and standards of conduct are revealed. The relation between language, culture and communicative practice are the subject of research within anthropological linguistics which attempts to provide an answer to the question about the role of language in shaping the ways in which individual members of a cultural group relate to the world.

1.1.2. A brief insight into the development of communication theories

The term communication derived from Latin "communicare" (Dobek-Ostrowska, 2006: 61, cit. in Kulczycki 2012: 26), is commonly understood as relating to someone, passing information. In medieval times the term was acquired by European languages and meant being part of community, having relations with other people. Although communication is one of the most basic activities people engage in on a daily basis, defining communication is not an easy task. As Fiske ([1982] 2002: 1) observes, "communication is one of those human activities that everyone recognizes but few can define satisfactorily." Being so well established lexical item and so overworked in the common usage, the term poses continuous problem when attempting to define it for the field of science (Clevenger Jr. (1991: 351, cit. in Littlejohn and Foss [2005] 2008: 3). This results in numerous attempts to define communication which vary from the most basic, focusing on linear transmission of information, to the most complex definitions interpreting communication in the context of all of human activities.

Two basic communication models prevail in literature: the transmission model and the constitutive model. The transmission model of communication, developed by Shannon and Weaver (1949: 12–13), sleek in its simplicity and linearity, delimits communication to the act of transmitting information. Communication becomes transmission of knowledge, ideas, feelings, or social bonds. It situates efficiency and accuracy in the centre of attention. In the constitutive model of communication, human interactions are seen as social practice whose aim is to create meaning. It is the message that is in the centre of the act of communication, not the sender (Fiske [1982] 2002: 6– 9; Kulczycki 2012: 26–27).

Jakobson's [1896–1982] model of communication attempts to combine the transmission and the constitutive models. Jakobson's model is rooted in the "organon model" originated by Bühler ([1934] 1990: 35). Jakobson distinguishes six constitutive factors necessary for communication. in which addresser sends a message to the addressee, contact is understood as a channel – physical and mental connection between participants of the communication act. The message is sent as a code, a system of signs understood by the addresser as well as addressee and placed in certain context (Vaugh 1985: 143–144). The fundamental factors correspond to the six functions of language: referential, poetic, emotive, phatic, conative, metalingual (Jakobson 1960: 66, 71). As each factor is related to a specific function of language, analyzing the factors of

communication becomes the analysis of language and its functions. Factors and functions are interrelated. Thus, if a particular factor is strengthened or weakened, the corresponding function of language changes its strength accordingly. Ricoeur (1976: 15), elaborating on the relation of Jakobson's model, discourse and communication, noted that "this model is interesting in that it (1) describes discourse directly and not as a residue of language; (2) describes a structure of discourse and not only an irrational event; and (3) it subordinates the code function to the connecting operation of communication." In Jakobson's view, the above six factors and functions of language constitute communication. Whether all of them have to be present to allow to communicate successfully is disputable. As can be noticed, Jacobson's model, although prevailing in linguistics, does not offer a finite answer to the issue on how to define communication.

In an attempt to establish communication theory as a coherent field of study, Craig (1999: 135–149) makes a distinction of seven traditions when approaching the problem of defining communication. (1) Rhetorical tradition regards communication as "Practical Art of Discourse." The term is analogous to rhetoric and as such seen as a tool for persuading others. It assumes that humans have unequal abilities to communicate but their communicational (rhetorical) skills can be improved through education. (2) Semiotic tradition sees communication as "Intersubjective Mediation by Signs". It focuses on the sign and its meaning. Communication is presumed to be a transfer of information from the sender to the recipient. Participants of the process use the shared system of signs which allow to bridge gaps, thus removing the cause of possible misunderstandings. (3) Phenomenological tradition interprets communication as "the Experience of Otherness." Communication is looked upon in terms of a constant struggle between the communicating sides. It is presumed that interacting with someone means interacting with the experience and the worldview of another participant of the act of communication. (4) In cybernetic tradition communication means "Information Processing." Transmission of messages is mechanical. Thinking processes are compared to machine processing and accounted for as such. Human consciousness and emotions are negligible. (5) Sociopsychological tradition regards communication as "Expression, Interaction, and Influence." Interlocutors influence each other in the process of interaction. As Craig observes, the semiotic perspective means mediation with the aid of signs, in the sociopsychological approach communication means interacting of individuals who mediate by acquiring specific attitudes, whether it is the use of emotions, or other psychological aspects of human behaviour. (6) Sociocultural tradition perceives

communication as the "(Re)Production of Social Order." From the sociological and anthropological perspective communication becomes a process in which participants produce, reproduce and exchange situational and sociocultural patterns. By participation in everyday interactions, social actors reproduce existing patterns of a language, which, as stated, result from situational, social and cultural contexts. (7) Critical tradition related to by Craig as "Discursive Reflection" mirrors the existing social order. Critical communication theory searches for ideal understanding by questioning and challenging arguments. However, agreement cannot be achieved as social order and its produce such as politics, ideology, injustice, discrimination, prevent participants from undistorted critical reflection. As can be noticed, Craig attempts to embrace various viewpoints and lay foundations for a universal theory of communication. However, each of the traditions considers a different aspect of the issue which, in effect, results in contradictory conceptualizations of the discussed term. Craig, elaborating on the issue of communication theories, explains that:

> […] conceptualizing communication, we construct, in effect, a "communicational" perspective on social reality and so define the scope and purpose of communication discipline distinct from other social disciplines. […] A constitutive metamodel of communication pictures models of communication as different ways of constituting the communication process symbolically for particular purposes. (Craig 1999: 124, 127)

As can be observed, although the basic concept of communication is widely accepted, communication does not seem to be a coherent field of study as there are almost as many definitions of this term as scholars who have approached the subject. Chruszczewski (2002: 67) mentions over one hundred and sixty definitions of communication. Attempting to deal with the abundance of terms, Cartier and Harwood (1953: 71) propose the following taxonomy of definitions: descriptive, attempting to describe the process of communication, concentrating on a selected number of factors, neglecting other elements; normative, whose authors define what, in their view, communication is; intuitive, embracing definitions created intuitively; functional, whose authors emphasize the functional aspects of communication.

It is not surprising that communication as inherent part of human existence relates to culture. It is culture which determines forms and functions of communication. Reciprocally, communication determines the development of culture (Pearce and Cronen 1980: 15). Depending on the adopted perspective, some scholars propose definitions

which focus on the aim of communicative act while others focus on cultural context of the communicative act. Thus, communication may be seen as "a process of sending and receiving messages or transferring information from one mind to another (Craig 1999: 125)." Ruesch and Bateson (1951: 5–6) argue that "all actions and events have communicative aspects as soon as they are perceived by a human being; it implies, furthermore, that such perception changes the information which an individual possesses and therefore influences him." Communication is no longer understood not in terms of verbal transmission of messages. Instead, interactions in which participants influence one other become an integral component of the concept of communication. An extensive definition of the discussed term is given by Fiske, who argues:

> […] all communication involves signs and codes. Signs are artefacts or acts that refer to something other than themselves; that is, they are signifying constructs. Codes are the systems into which signs are organized and which determine how signs may be related to each other. I assume, too, that these signs and codes are transmitted or made available to others: and that transmitting or receiving signs/codes/ communication is the practice of social relationships. I assume that communication is central to the life of our culture: without it culture of any kind must die. Consequently the study of communication involves the study of the culture with which it is integrated. (Fiske [1982] 2002: 1–2)

It becomes transparent that the notions of culture, language, and communication are interconnected. Dunbar (2014: 55), claims that the need to transmit information is not the primary one in human communication. This is confirmed in further research (Mesoudi *et al*. 2006; Mickes *et al.* 2013) in which social and instrumental functions of language were tested. The results show that language is used primarily for social function and transmission of information is of lesser importance.

An abundant number of interpretations of communication gives some insight into the complexity of the issue. As Littlejohn and Foss ([2005] 2008: 13) note, "different definitions have different functions and enable the theorist to do different things." For the purpose of my research, I adopt the definition proposed by Fiske. It firmly locates communication within culture and emphasizes its role as social practice, which is regarded as an exchange of messages between members of a discursive community. This, in turn, results in practising social relations.

1.1.3. Language as social practice

Adhering to the term anthropological linguistics, it has to be stated that the main concepts of the field are notably difficult to define. One of the main goals of language research is to try to define what a language is in its essence. Primarily, language is understood as the ability to learn and apply in practice a system of communication. In terms of linguistics, language is regarded as an abstract concept and a specific system. Thus, language is a formal system of signs which is governed by grammatical rules in order to communicate meaning, and highlights the fact that human languages can be described as closed structural systems consisting of rules that relate specific signs to specific meanings. Natural language, which seems to be ascribed specifically to humans, is a very sophisticated communicational tool. Milewski (1967: 5) observes that there is no speech without language and as such, language is an essential component of speech. Its existence provides intelligible speech. For Milewski language is what in speech is simultaneously social, permanent and abstract. Speech is understood as the cooperation of participants in a communication event and covers a set of processes. Speaking is the process of people communicating. For speaking to make sense, the signals sent by the sender must be understood by the recipient. The assumption that understanding the sender requires the existence/presence of the recipient leads to the conclusion that it is a social process requiring the involvement of at least two people. Reciprocally, socially conditioned process shapes the communicational practices of a speech community. Language is permanent. Being a social and abstract phenomenon, a language is a set of rules known to and used by language users to achieve understanding of the content conveyed. In this way, language exists over time and, despite being susceptible to change, is a permanent phenomenon. Language is abstract as opposed to specific communicative situations in which the specific thought processes of individual language users are expressed. Thus, language is understood as a system of words and grammatical rules that enables communication and communication between members of a given speech community. Being an abstract phenomenon, language can survive even if its speech community disappears. However, a speech community cannot exist without language as it serves as a tool for communication between the members of a speech community. Being abstract, language is at the same time embedded in social practices. The practices are reflected in language and its use.

Attempts to explain the origin of the language, its relation to human mind have long occupied philosophers and some regarded philosophy itself as the study of language (Wittgenstein 1922: 23). Depending on the adopted approach, definitions of language vary. Generally, two features of language are emphasized: structural and functional. Language is seen as an abstract system of signs and as a means of communication in any society. To the presence of at least two language users in the definition of the term language refers Hall (1968: 158) who observes that language is "the institution whereby humans communicate and interact with each other by means of habitually used oral-auditory arbitrary symbols". For Bloomfield [1887 – 1949] (1933: 17) language is a complex phenomenon. In order to study language one should observe linguistic phenomena in its certain social conditions. Social context of language use is reflected in the interpretation of the term. Bloomfield distinguishes between the act of speech and the circumstances in which the act of speech is performed. These are called practical events. Language becomes embedded in social practices. The speech act comprises three stages: practical events preceding the act of speech, the speech itself, and practical events following the act of speech. Language may be seen as a formal system of signs used for passing information from a sender to a recipient. The system of signs is structured and compliant with a set of rules relating specific signs to specific meanings. Ferdinand de Saussure [1857 – 1913], the originator of *la langue* and *la parole*, also highlights the social aspect of language. The concept of speech (*la langage*) consists of two phenomena: language (*la langue*), and speaking (*la parole*). *Langue*, being an abstract system of signs and socially accepted as a means of communication, is distinguished from *parole*, the specific application of the system by an individual member of a given speech community. While *langue* is a system of interrelated signs binding all members of a community and stored in the minds of individuals, *parole* is a specific realization of sounds. It is the summed up expressive images of individual users that make up the language. In turn the entire grammatical system of a given language is not complete for any user as it only fully exists in the entire speech community. De Saussure emphasizes the social nature of language by arguing:

> Language is a well-defined object in the heterogeneous mass of speech facts. It can be localized in the limited segment of the speaking-circuit where an auditory image becomes associated with a concept. It is the social side of speech, outside the individual who can never create nor modify it by himself; it exists only by

> virtue of a sort of contract signed by the members of a community. (De Saussure [1916] 1959: 14)

De Saussure clearly distinguishes between what is social in language and what is the speech of individual individuals, identifying the social aspect of language as more important than the randomness of speech of individual language users. In de Saussure's view, *langue* is a set of socially binding language patterns that allow the user of a given language to understand and be understood by others. For de Saussure speech community and time is the foundation of the existence of language. Being a system of communication between all members of a given society, it binds them on the basis of a contract, which seen by individual members as remaining unchanged, is subject to changes and transformations over time.

De Saussure's view about the division of language into two systems - an abstract set of rules and its physical implementation through speaking was followed by Sapir. Highlighting the communicational feature of language and claiming that it "is a purely human and non-instinctive method of communicating ideas, emotions and desires by means of voluntarily produced symbols," Sapir drew attention to the interdependence between language and socio-cultural context in which it is used (Sapir 1921: 8). However, the definition does not reveal all aspects of language. Language communicates more than Sapir stated. I*dea* is a broad and imprecise term and all three terms used by Sapir do not do not extend over what is communicated by language (Lyons 1981: 3–4). Reflecting upon language use, it is worth noting that Sapir (1929: 214) maintains that language is "primarily a cultural or social product and must be understood as such."

Definition referring to socio-cultural context of language use proposed by Trager (1949: 5) states that "a language is a system of arbitrary vocal symbols by means of which the members of a society interact in terms of their total culture." Trager's definition is somewhat limited to speech. A limited number of vocal symbols are used to create indefinite number of words, which in turn are used to create sentences. As speech community changes over time, its language also evolves being adapted to the needs of the users. New words are created or existing words are adapted to simplify communication.

The most extreme version of the approach to interpreting language as structure took the creator of the generative theory of grammar, Noam Chomsky, who combined linguistic and psychological research with considerations on the philosophy of mind. Chomsky (1957: 13) considers "a language to be a set (finite or infinite) of sentences,

each finite in length and constructed out of a finite set of elements." The definition focuses on the structure properties of languages and shifts from behaviour to the state of human brain and mind. It is anchored in the assumption that humans are unique in their ability to produce a complex language:

> The language faculty appears to be a species property, common to the species and unique to it in its essentials, capable of producing a rich, highly articulated, and complex language on the basis of quite rudimentary data. The language that develops in this manner, largely along lines determined by our common biological nature, enters deeply into thought and understanding and forms an essential part of our nature. (Chomsky [1988] 2001: 39–40)

For Chomsky language is a system of rules that allows to create infinite strings of words using a finite number of symbols. Languages share similar structure and their uniformity is provided by the fact that the human mind is biological in nature. At this point, it is worth introducing one important concept of the Chomsky's language theory, namely the concept of universal grammar. The grammar constitutes "the system of principles, conditions, and rules that are elements or properties of all human languages not merely by accident but by necessity" (Chomsky 1975: 29). As the grammar is universal for all languages, they all share its properties. Notably, languages will differ due to the existence of other, accidental properties.

Distinct from Chomsky's transformational grammar theory is the semiotic view of language proposed by Michael Halliday [1925–2018]. What differentiates systemic theory in interpretation of language from Chomsky's transformational grammar theory is viewing language not as a structure but as a system. Language is functional. According to Halliday, every structural feature of language originates in the semantics and has its function in order to express meaning:

> A language is not a well-defined system, and cannot be equated with "the set of all grammatical sentences", whether that set is conceived of as finite or infinite. Hence language cannot be interpreted by rules defining such a set. A language is a semiotic system; not in the sense of a system of signs, but a systemic resource for meaning […]. (Halliday 2003: 192)

While for Chomsky language is an innate faculty, for Halliday (1973: 65) it is a social phenomenon allowing for an unlimited range of "possibilities" for language users, who are directly affected by the social and cultural contexts in which they live. Language and its features are related to their needs. Accounting for the syntactic structure of language,

Halliday puts emphasis on the functional role of language. Recognizing functions of language are culture specific, Halliday (2002: 184) follows Malinowski's ([1923] 1938: 306) approach to language – both highlight the importance of the context of the situation. This social context is a limitation put upon language users. General functions of language may be common to different cultures, however, specific functions which are related to the very specific situational context will differ. Halliday (1970: 143), similarly to Gumperz and Hymes, sees language as the tool that allows speakers to share their experience of the real world and communicate information. The inner world of the speaker is part of the experience. Halliday (2002: 174–175) recognizes it as the ideational function. Language serves as a means for establishing social roles between the users of language which Halliday refers to as the interpersonal function of language. It comes into use when social roles between the speakers are investigated. With the use of language relationships within social groups and between them are established. Language maintains as well as creates social relations. The textual function of language enables language user to construct texts. Language is related to itself and to the context in which is used. This function provides cohesive relations between sentences in a discourse.

Researching language in use cannot be performed without social conditions in which language itself is created. As Fairclough (1989: 23) observes, "language is a part of society; linguistic phenomena are social phenomena of a special sort, and social phenomena are (in part) linguistic phenomena." It seems however, that perceiving language only in its social embedding is insufficient. It is in social practices, and thus also in language, that the entire cultural heritage of a given speech community is manifested. A language is a set of practices comprising not only the grammar and vocabulary of a particular language, but also reflecting social order, particular ways of communicating, or expressions of power (Bourdieu 1990: 56). Bearing in mind the abovementioned concepts of language, we follow Chruszczewski (2011: 42) in his reasoning that "[…] language perceived from the perspective of anthropological research is a very specific cultural fact, because it is a remarkable manifestation of the socio-cultural reality created by people.[4]" It is the situational, social, and cultural embeddings that create the fabric of language and, reciprocally, as Chruszczewski observes (2011: 43), the complexity of language, its nature and the way it works in human minds, makes it a powerful tool, which being able to transform reality, becomes and inherent part of human culture.

[4] All translations done by the author, otherwise stated.

1.2. On the notion of discourse

The widespread use of the term discourse in diverse areas of everyday and scientific life has made it virtually impossible to define. Etymologically, discourse derives from Latin *discursus* which means conversation, dispute, or speech (Czachur 2020: 110). Colloquially understood as a form of an orderly discussion or conversation, the term appears ambiguous, and is exposed to multiple interpretations depending on the field of science represented (Szacki 2005: 905). As a result, any specific definition does not embrace the multitude of confusing and frequently conflicting usages of the term. As discourse seems to be an unclear idea, individual definitions are proposed, which vary greatly and are related to the adopted view of language, to mention functionalist approach (Halliday 2003), ethnometodological approach (Gumperz and Hymes [1972] 1986, Garfinkel 1967), or approaches developed within Critical Discourse Analysis (van Dijk 1977, 1979, 1997a, 1997b; Fairclough 1989, 1992; Wodak 1989). From sociolinguistic point of view, discourse is interpreted as register and speech styles in a language (Wardhaugh [1986] 2006). For van Dijk (1997a: 2), discourse is three dimensional. It manifests itself in the use of language, transmitting ideas, and interactions in social contexts. Although the meaning of the term has been stretched to the limits, resulting in voices of reservation as whether the study of discourse deserved to be called a separate field of study, van Dijk argues that discourse analysis, with its quality of crossing disciplinary boundaries, is bound to devise new theories shedding light on relationships between language use, communication of beliefs, and social interactions. Van Dijk ([1977] 1992: 3–6) sees it as text in pragmatic context, which allows for the initial understanding of the term. Exploring the notion of discourse understood as the manner in which language is used, is a broad definition for van Dijk who argues that in order to specify the meaning of discourse it is important to answer a number of issues, such as: who uses a given language form, how, why and when. Such approach relates to discourse as a communicative event. Although van Dijk recognizes the central role of spoken language as an object of discourse analysis, he points to written texts as valid parts of discourses. Linguistic and extra-linguistic elements of reality generate meanings, thus revealing the established social practice hidden in discourse.

1.2.1. Discourse as a field of study

Aristotle [384–322 BC] introduced an approach to language which now can be related to as the predecessor of discourse analysis (Aristotle, Kennedy 2007: 21; Foss 2009: 853). Aristotle's observation of language in relation to reality but also to mental processes, led to the development of the system of rhetoric, the tool for practical dispute. Thus, the philosopher's works became the very first examples of analyses of discourse as well as studies of communication (Littlejohn 1996: 117–118).

The great variety of definitions of discourse presents a significant challenge to researchers. Sawyer remarks insightfully on the problematic of defining discourse:

> "Discourse" has captured the totalizing and semiotic connotations of "culture," combined it with the Gramscian and Althusserian notions of "hegemony" and "ideology," blended it with Lacanian psychoanalytic concepts, tapped into the linguistic turn in literary theory, and then introduced Foucault's historical perspective on power/knowledge relations. "Discourse" thus retains many connotations of 1970s Marxist and Lacanian theory, but in a way that allows the incorporation of history, culture and both structuralist and post-structuralist insights. It is not surprising that such an all-encompassing term is now associated with a wide range of conflicting and confusing meanings […]; perhaps this is simply too much weight for a theory to place on one word. (Sawyer 2002: 449–450)

According to the prevalent view among many researchers, definitions of discourse may be grouped depending on interpretations. Discourse is regarded as a unit larger than a sentence; discourse is understood as language in use, and finally, discourse is related to a wide range of social practices with focus on extra linguistic features of language (Schiffrin, Tannen and Hamilton 2001: 1).

As discourses cross boundaries, the researcher's attention is drawn to other means of communication. New interpretations of discourse emerge as new means of communication gain on popularity among people. To the increasing role of image in discourse points Piekot (2016: 13–15). In the analysis of context for public debate in Poland, the researcher emphasizes three factors affecting the ongoing public discourses. Firstly, there is an observable increase in the role of image in culture, which Piekot calls "the visual turn". Secondly, socio-political changes have led to the widespread access to mass communication. With the technological progress, resulting in an easier access to the Internet, social media and other means of modern communication, an individual can take

part in public debate and can be heard by many. Thirdly, opportunity to voice an individual's views without any constraints and the burden of taking responsibility for the expressed views, leads to the aggravation of public dispute and "polarization of the society". Piekot extracts two phenomena from public discourse. It is "semiotic protest", which is to be the quest for an answer to the question how people react to messages that, in their opinion, depreciate or discriminate against a social group, and "discursive dispute" which is a long lasting clash between two opposing views. Piekot foresees the problem arising from the visual turn in culture and consequently the change in the status of language. Arguing that language loses its importance as the most important communication code, Piekot strongly advocates that linguistics should go beyond the strict examination of language and shows the necessity of linguistic analysis of multimodal messages.

From anthropological perspective discourse is directly related to culture and is understood as the use of language as a way of communicating, where the act of communication is understood not only as a process but also as a product. Discourse becomes a way of using language which constructs relationships and practices within a group. It allows its users to experience the world. In effect, discourse and language are interrelated. In general linguistics the definition of discourse varies. Discourse is seen as a way in which language is organized, or as a process of communication. Discourses do not have observable and clear boundaries (Gee ([1999] 2001: 19). Discourse is seen as "a particular way of talking about and understanding the world (Jorgensen, Phillips 2002: 2)." Discourse is contextual as it "is 'above' (larger than) other units of language... [it] arises not as a collection of decontextualized units of language structure, but as a collection of inherently contextualized units of language use (Schiffrin 1994: 39)."

Discourse may be perceived as a "complicated process of linguistic interaction between people uttering and comprehending texts" Fowler (1986: 86). Cook (1989:156) regards discourse as "purposive" stretches of language and unified chunks produced to communicate meaning. This view is shared by David Crystal (1992: 25) to whom discourse is "a continuous stretch of (especially spoken) language larger than the sentence, often constituting a coherent unit, such as a sermon, argument, joke or narrative." Discourse is interpreted as stretches of language closely related to style, genre and communicative context (Grabias [1994] 2003: 264). The approach to communication as central in human interactions leads Labocha to the view that discourse is:

> […] a social and cultural norm mediating the creation of texts and utterances, interacting with other components of communicative act. It is dynamic and changeable as it shapes the utterance and the text […]. Discourse is the norm and the strategy at the same time. (Labocha 2008: 60–61)

The importance of non-linguistic aspects of communicative act when attempting to define discourse is expressed by Duszak (1998: 19), who notes that discourse embraces text and context, where context refers as much to the situation in which language is used as to the participants. Therefore, discourse becomes a dynamic and evolving process. The dynamic character of discourse is also emphasized by Chruszczewski (2006: 50), who considers discourse as "a dynamically changing phenomenon of linguistic core – i.e. texts – that is engulfed by its situational, social and cultural embeddings which together form the nonlinguistic context of any textual message." In his study of Scandinavian speech communities, Chruszczewski (2006: 17) proposes a model of "the communicational grammars of discourses." The model highlights the structure of discourse locating texts in the centre of situational, social and cultural embeddings. Texts are situationally and socially dependent as they come into being within a particular speech community in a specific situational context. They are embedded by a particular culture within which a given speech community exists.

The above seems to be congruent with the approach to discourse represented by the proponents of Critical Discourse Analysis. Language is an entity which is not only "socially shaped, but it is also socially shaping" (Fairclough 1993: 134). Politics is understood in terms of heavily regulated social practice. Politicians' roles, understood as activities that are designed with aim to solve various social issues, are inserted into social and cultural contexts. Politicians and the public are social actors participating in production of texts which are parts of social events. Presidential speeches, addresses, messages are strictly political but at the same time social practices, which, as van Leeuwen (2008: 6) declares, "are socially regulated ways of doing things."

Approaches considering discourses as dynamic and changing phenomena challenge traditional views of language as an autonomous object of study. Hodge argues that:

> […] the concept of 'discourse' becomes central to the study of language. […]. Discourse is always language-in-use, as process and product of social interaction, in conversations or stretches of text, going above sentence level, at which social meanings and forces are often found. When discourse is emphasised in this way,

> language is not an autonomous object, but situated in, and affecting, institutions of power. (Hodge 2017: 520)

Considering the above, it may be said that language being a means of communication is a means of interpreting reality. Language interprets but also creates reality. Discourse is the phenomenon linking the world of texts with the world of the participants of communicative events (Piekot 2006: 31). The analysis of discourse allows to reveal ideas, worldviews which affect human communication.

1.2.2. Political discourse

There are two main approaches in understanding the term politics (Chilton 2004: 3). It may be seen as a struggle for power which means that politics is realized by two main opposing sides, those in power and those resisting power. Using force and a divide into oppressors and those who are oppressed is the basic assumption. Politics may also be seen as a structure of institutions cooperating with the aim of resolving society's problems. Competing groups of interest function within the social structures resolving their problems in terms of cooperation within the established practices and institutions of the society: "[…] politics is about reaching decisions which impinge both the shared and the competing interests of the group's members" (Hague and Harrop 2004: 4). The key role of language is emphasized: "politics involves reconciling differences through discussion and persuasion. Communication is therefore central to politics" (Hague, Harrop & Breslin 1998: 3–4).

The concept of political discourse requires delimitation as it covers so broad range of subject matter. Chruszczewski (1999: 208) observes that "speech delivered by a politician in an inherently political environment and concerning politics is a realization of political discourse." However, the term itself seems ambiguous and opens possibilities for interpreting almost any form of discourse as political. Whenever terms such as *control*, *power*, *domination*, *resistance*, *oppression* or *conflict* are employed, the tendency to consider discourse as political rises significantly (see Giddens 1991: 6; Wilson 2015: 776).

The problematic of discourse seen as a means of social and political control is attributed to Foucault. In his view, knowledge combined with power and the use of societal institutions becomes a tool for administering social control. Discourse is for Foucault a system that transmits power in society and is regarded as a system of

knowledge, expectations, ambitions and views of the world of a speech community. Knowledge and power are inseparable. In Foucault's view analyzing discourses is:

> […] a task that consists of not – of no longer – treating discourses as groups of signs (signifying elements referring to contents or representations) but as practices that systematically form the objects of which they speak. Of course, discourses are composed of signs; but what they do is more than use these signs to designate things. It is this more that renders them irreducible to the language (*langue*) and to speech. (Foucault [1969] 1972: 49)

Discourse becomes power that is omnipresent in social interactions. Power is, "never localised here or there, never in anybody's hands, never appropriated as a commodity or piece of wealth. Power is employed and exercised through net-like organisation" (Foucault 1980: 98). Individuals do not possess power. Within the network of power are those who exercise it to their advantage as well as those who are affected by those in power. All participants of discourse are subjected to those relations which may reveal themselves as domination or resistance. It becomes a way of accounting for knowledge and social relations. Discourse is more than a way of thinking and producing meaning. Power, social structure, social institutions, and language are seen by Foucault as "discursive fields" that organize social processes (Weedon 1987: 35). Foucault emphasizes the dynamic property of discourse (cf. Chruszczewski 2006: 50–51) and assigns it a creative role:

> […] discourse is not simply that which manifests (or hides) desire – it is also the object of desire; and since, as history constantly teaches us, discourse is not simply that which translates struggles or systems of domination, but is the thing for which and by which there is struggle, discourse is power which is to be seized. (Foucault 1981: 52)

A different concept of discourse analysis was proposed by Habermas for whom discourse offers the opportunity to reveal rationality and freedom. In his view the relationship between an individual and the society is based on mutual respect for the participants of discursive interactions. Discourse is regarded as an exchange of arguments (Habermas [1994] 2001: 66). However, what is essential for Foucault is an interest in deconstructing the Enlightenment ideals of reason. It is power that Foucault sees in discourse. The structure of discourse hides the mechanism for generating meaning. Discourse is seen a system of knowledge used by those in power and manifests itself through knowledge. The order of discourse allows to produce, control and distribute discourses (Foucault 1981:

64–66). What Habermas emphasizes in discourse is argumentation. Participants of discourse are expected to exchange arguments which may contribute to the final agreement reached between the adversaries. In opposition to Foucault, Habermas insists that discourse separates from power and domination.

Adopting a socio-cognitive approach to the issue of political discourse, van Dijk defines it in terms of participants of discourse. Van Dijk calls them "all participants in the political process" (1997b: 13). As politicians and political institutions that primarily produce texts with political content, political discourse is identified by its authors. Politicians are not the only participants of discourse. They have to deal with various recipients while doing their political activities. These include citizens, voters in elections, dissidents, or immigrants. He further stresses the need to delimit understanding of the term "political discourse" to strictly political context which combined with text leads politicians to achieving their political goals. What van Dijk points to is that political actions are at the same time discursive practices which means that text and talk, being a product of political practices, have political functions and consequences. Making collective decisions and enforcing them leads to the development of political institutions within which those in power are able to exercise it to the full extent. The fuzziness of the term "political" leads van Dijk to an attempt to delimit the meaning of the term by establishing "the domain of politics". This is to comprise, inter alia, societal domain or field, political systems, political values, ideologies, institutions, organizations, political groups, political actors, and political relations. Application of van Dijk's model for the declarations of war by the United States leads to the identification of the political genre under study and may be as following: (1) domain: politics; (2) system: democracy; (3) institutions: President, Congress; (4) values and ideologies:, independence, freedom, democracy; (5) organizations: political parties; (6) political actors: President, members of Congress; (7) political relations: executive power; (8) political process: execution of rights; (9) political action: political decision making; (10) political cognitions: attitudes toward the relevant issue. Specific political genre has its own structure, as is the case of presidential speeches. The structures and strategies of argumentation applied in presidential speeches are to fulfill the purpose: convince the recipients to undertake the expected actions. Done by argumentation and persuasion, the goal is to be achieved. Good policies are exposed while bad ones are concealed (van Dijk 1979b: 30). The tendency to emphasize the contrast between the adversaries in discourse is clearly seen in war messages. The clash of the participants of war discourse is reduced to white-black

picture. The partisan us of deictic pronouns differentiates the opposing sides: the good is us, the bad are others. These become the global meanings within the discourse and inviolable rules of political dispute. The pronoun *we* serves new functions in political discourse. As the process of political polarization takes place, the pronoun reflects the position of the participants of discourse: *we* means the people of the USA, the President, we all the people united in the fight against the evil force, the enemy. Understanding discourse as language in use, one has to agree with van Dijk that discourse analysis should not be limited to the analysis of language structure. Discourse is three-dimensional. As previously mentioned, it involves the act of the use of language, transmission of ideas, and social interactions.

1.2.3. War discourse

It goes without saying that "humans never engage in war without the mediating force of discourse" (Hodges 2013: 3). Discourses are seen as ideological foundations for the reproduction of the culture of war. Discursive strategies are employed by politicians in the constructions of their narratives of war. Hodges distinguishes four main themes in war discourse. The first, in the discourse of war justification military actions are justified by deploying discursive strategies such as legitimization of one's actions and delegitimization of the enemy's actions. The portrayal of the enemy as evil, villain force becomes the norm. Dehumanizing narratives are to convince the public that war is necessary. The second, negotiations of the use of military forces take place despite public disapproval. War rhetoric is employed to appease the opponents. Those representing different views in discourse are unheard of. The public are faced with apocalyptic visions of the future if actions against the enemy are not undertaken. The immediacy of action is prerequisite if successful outcome of events is to be expected. The third, violence omnipresent in the armed conflict becomes mediatized and is used to shape people's views, opinions and attitudes. The fourth, along with the discourse of war, discourse of peace is developed. War is meant to bring peace and secure the values of the winning side. War is seen as a cultural practice as it "is not wired into human brains, but rather exists as a culturally contingent phenomenon" (Hodges 2013: 4). Language is used to articulate narratives and to create framework for the justification of warfare. Culturally established core values of the nation are to be defended as discourse draws a reality in which war is unavoidable and the forthcoming sacrifice is to lay the foundations for

safety and peace. These values differentiate the speaker and the audience from "others". Shared system of values defines cultural identity and leads discourse in the required direction. Part of the discursive process is justification of conflict. Salient meanings of utterances are embedded in situational and sociocultural contexts. The justification of actions is supported by the employment of "various linguistic strategies on all levels of analysis, including such techniques as hyperbolic rhetoric on the textual level, the skilful use of presuppositions on the pragmatic level, the manipulation of transitivity on the syntactic level, and the choices of naming and collocation on the lexical level" (Chovanec 2010: 61). As Chilton 2004: 47) observes, part of the process is delegitimization which comprises "[…] 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."

In an attempt to conceptualize discourse of conflict, Chilton developed a three-dimensional model, primarily known as Discourse Space Theory, later renamed Deictic Space Theory, to analyze war discourse in terms of space, time, and modality. With the use of spatial, temporal, and modal axes, Chilton produces a visual representation of the mental spaces created in discourse. The three kinds of arguments meet at a deictic center, the Self. The deictic centre represents the stance of the participant of discourse, in case of American presidential speeches it is the country, the people who, although only passively participating in discourse, are to be actively involved as the course of events unfolds. The relationship between the three mental spaces allow to imply the consequences of not undertaking actions that are regarded as necessary. By drawing distant images, making cross-references to past events and possible developments of discourse, the feeling of fear and threat is reinforced. As Chilton (2013: 237) notes, "while the past is 'settled', the future is not, given some point in time at which such judgements are made". with the use of deictic expressions, nominalization, dehumanizing passive structures. Chovanec (2010: 79), reflecting on the issue of legitimation through differentiation and categorization, observes that discourse is used to "legitimate the actions of the in-group and to cement the imaginary unity of the community vis-à-vis the perceived threat of various 'others'."

Politicians pursue their goals, exercise their powers, make decisions affecting whole nations. The process of legitimization is to convince the public that political decisions made by the authorities are the only possible and there are no other options. Conflict is portrayed as unavoidable and as the only means of resolving problems. Cap (2006: 1)

proposes STA model of legitimization and its application for the study of public discourse, and political discourse in particular. The STA model draws from Chilton's Deictic Space Theory. With the model Cap builds theory of proximization which involves three dimensions: spatial, temporal and axiological. Similarly to Chilton's model, the deictic centre of the STA model is occupied by the speaker and the addressee. This becomes the initial point for the conceptualization of the discourse and the process of legitimization of the speaker's actions. The enemy becomes dehumanized and stereotyped entity threatening the deictic centre as it moves towards it along the spatial, temporal and axiological lines (Cap 2017: 16–18). In the view of the author, the model may be used for the analysis of the strategies that lead to the legitimization of a researched conflict. As Dynel and Cap (2017: 5) observe, political discourse can be investigated at three different levels. First level: the word and phrase, which is the micro-level of language. Lexical and grammatical features of language are scrutinized. The second level: the study of sentence and utterance. This is the pragmatic level with focus on specific functions of language. The macro-level embraces text and discourse. It moves beyond the core linguistic aspects of discourse exploring areas such as legitimization and values.

1.3. On the notion of text

Similarly to the issue of defining discourse, there is no unified view among theorists on how to conceptualize the term text. The vast variety of interpretations refer to text as phenomenon of "material, verbal, semiotic, syntactic, semantic, pragmatic, communicational, situational, social, cognitive" nature (Żydek-Bednarczuk 2005: 55). Having to deal with such a complex issue, depending on their theoretical standpoints, researchers propose various interpretations of the term. Text may be viewed as a "product." Being static, it is differentiated from "discourse", which is seen as a dynamic process in which text plays the main role.

1.3.1. Text and textuality

With the development of discourse studies, the issue of correlation between text and discourse was brought to attention of researchers. In their approach to text linguistics, de Beaugrande and Dressler (1981: 3–7) explored the question of how texts function in human interactions. In their view, text is defined as a "communicative occurrence which meets seven standards of textuality". Texts are regarded as "non-texts" if they do not

meet any of the seven standards, which are as follows: (1) cohesion; the term relates to grammatical forms governing sentences. The connection between words is to follow rules as the components are interrelated and cannot be rearranged without consequences such as the change of meaning or even the lack of logic; (2) coherence, which is related to concepts and relations between them; they are meant to form the deeper structure of the text; (3) intentionality, which expresses the attitude of the text producer whose aim is to use coherent and cohesive forms in order to achieve the intended goal; (4) acceptability, which refers to the addressee's attitude towards the received text; socio-cultural setting, suitability of a particular text type in the situational context influences the attitude of the recipient of a text; problems with successful communication might occur if relevant requirements are not met; (5) informativity, which refers to the content of a text in terms of knowledge; a text may comprise information expected or unexpected by the recipient; (6) situationality, which concerns the aspects of text which make it relevant to a situation in which it is produced; the relevance of a text is decided by the producer of a text, however, it is the recipient that finds it relevant or not; (7) intertextuality, designates previously encountered texts as relevant; the role of preceding texts is crucial for the assignation of coherent meaning to the text that follows.

Cohesion and coherence are text-oriented notions while other standards relate to deeper levels of text organization. Also texts which are highly informative may place to much stress on the recipient. To process highly informative but unexpected text may overload the recipient to the point of disturbing communication. The seven standards of textuality are referred to by the authors as "constitutive principles of textual communication", which require the presence of other regulative principles. De Beaugrande and Dressler (1981: 11) propose three: efficiency of a text, which is understood as successful communication with a minimum of effort from the participants; effectiveness of a text, which depends upon whether it leaves an impression strong enough to fulfil the aim; appropriateness of a text, which is the agreement between its setting and the ways in which the seven standards of textuality are met.

The above is found to be congruent with the general principles of communication and cooperation proposed by Grice ([1989] 1995: 26–27) who argues that human interactions are governed by a set of rules which he calls "the cooperative principle" and "the maxims of conversation". To be in agreement with the maxim of quantity, one has to be no more and no less informative then the conversational communication requires. The maxim of quality requires the communication to be truthful. The speaker should not send

false messages or ones that lack evidence. The maxim of relation is fulfilled if the information is relevant for the current stage of communication. The maxim of manner is to be clear so the message is understood. In Grice's view, application of the cooperative principle leads to successful communication. However, the process of communication is more complex than it might be presupposed. In practice, the rules may be violated, the maxims may not be respected and the communication process may have unexpected implications for the participants of the conversation. Violating Grice's cooperative principle, as Fiske ([1982] 2002: 3) observes, does not have to end in the failure of communication. In his view, participants of communication process, in particular those with different social and cultural background may understand and interpret texts in different ways.

An attempt to construct a consistent and comprehensive theory and methodology of discourse analysis comes from Fairclough who combines language studies and social science to prove that language and social practices are parts of a unified system. For Fairclough (1995: 4–6), text is more than the carrier of meaning. Two fundamental processes, cognition and representation of the world, and social practice are materialized in texts. Fairclough agrees with Foucault and his claim that texts constitute systems of knowledge but since he sees discourse as social practice, this attitude is reflected in his Textually-Oriented Discourse Analysis (TODA). The three-dimensional framework comprises three areas of study: text, discourse, and socio-cultural practice. The first dimension is the analysis of texts, in either form, oral or written. At micro-level, aspects of textual linguistic nature are investigated. The second dimension refers to the analysis of discourse practice and as such embraces the problematic of production, distribution and consumption of texts. Attempts to answer questions such as who produced a text, who is the target recipient, why was a particular text produced are asked at this level of research. The third dimension relates to the analysis of discursive events as examples of sociocultural practices. Research is focused on intertextual and interdiscursive aspects and considers wider social contexts of production, distribution and consumption of a text. At the textual level linguistic features such as syntax, lexis, cohesion and coherence are in focus of analysis. Fairclough (1992: 37) argues that TODA is linguistically oriented, thus different from "Foucault's more abstract approach" to discourse analysis. TODA, benefitting from the social theory of language and discourse, involves "linguistic description of the language text, interpretation of the relationship between the (productive

and interpretative) discursive processes and the text, and explanation of the relationship between the discursive processes and the social processes (Fairclough 1995: 97)."

The fact that text is no longer viewed as stretches of words and sentences has its implications. Moving beyond the sentence level in the analysis of texts requires redefining the whole concept of text. Products of oral communication, images, movies, signs, and other forms of communication are considered to be texts. The definition proposed by O'Sullivan *et al.* ([1994] 2006: 317–318) describes text as "a signifying structure composed of signs and codes which is essential to communication". Text becomes a communicational occurrence. Along similar lines, Halliday and Hasan do not see text in terms of grammar:

> A test is a unit of language is use. It is not a grammatical unit, like a clause or a sentence. […] A text is best regarded as a SEMANTIC unit: a unit not of form but of meaning. Thus it is related to a clause or sentence not by size but by REALIZATION, the coding of one symbolic system in another. A text does not CONSIST OF sentences; it is REALIZED BY, or encoded in, sentences. (Halliday and Hassan 1976: 1–2, original emphasis)

For Halliday and Hassan, any stretch of language is text as long as it has a texture, which means that it is cohesive and coherent and carries a specific social meaning. With this view of text coincide approaches represented by other theorists. Crystal (1992:72) looks upon text as a distinguishable unit of spoken or written discourse while Schiffrin (1994: 378–389) emphasizes the linguistic aspect of utterances focusing on the semantics of words and sentences. Bogusławski (1983: 10) defines text as a stretch of sentences while Dobrzyńska (1991: 143) states that a stretch of sentences becomes text only when its beginning and ending is identifiable so that it can be distinguished as a communicative act. Consequently, the capability to interpret texts depends on the clarity of their boundaries (Dobrzyńska 1983: 281–302, 2010: 294). Bartmiński and Niebrzegowska-Bartmińska (2009: 44–48) propose that a typical text is a stretch of sentences. However, even a single sentence or a lexical item can be regarded as text provided it is a unit of communication. For Awdiejew (2013: 15) "communication begins with text. As long as the recipient is able to ascribe meaning to any observable material object, it may be regarded as text." Awdiejew claims that text, having been identified and interpreted, disappears. The recipient does not remember text. Instead, what is left in the recipient's mind is an organized structure of the remembered sense which in communicational grammar is referred to as discourse.

1.3.2. On the relation of text, co-text and context

Changing the perception of a text, moving away from its interpretation as a product and observing it as a communicative phenomenon, leads to the change of perspective: text is seen as a process. In the analysis of text, it becomes necessary to take into account the reference to the participants of a communication event and their competences, roles and relations as well as the situational and socio-cultural context.

To text, possessing an identifiable communicative function, and thus becoming a central part of discourse points Chruszczewski (2006: 45–51), who, in line with Krzeszowski (1997: 236), argues that text is "a necessary component of discourse". Exploring the notion of text, Chruszczewski remarks that:

> […] any text is a communicative unit being a singular realization of a particular discourse, constituting a linguistic construct made up of one or more meaningful utterances (spoken actual utterances or recorded units of language), i.e. verbal locutionary acts fulfilling primarily communicative and representative functions. (Chruszczewski 2002: 28)

As Jorgensen and Philips (2002: 149) observed, "the simplest way of building an impression of the nature of a text is to compare it with other texts." A text does not exist on its own. The void is not the boundary of a text. It is surrounded by other texts and coexists with other texts. It crosses boundaries, interacts with other texts and thus merges into discourse.

The study of context in discourse results in multitude of definitions as the term is observed from multiple theoretical and methodological perspectives. Among those who emphasize the role of context is Sgall who argues:

> […] a (coherent) text cannot be defined as a sequence of sentences, since sentences […] are not immediately connected with specific reference. The text can thus be understood as a sequence of utterances (tokens, occurrences), where 'utterance' includes not only a string of sounds, but also its sense, a combination of the meaning of the sentence uttered and of the referential values of the referring expressions included […] in the utterance. (Sgall 1983: 33–34)

In Sgall's view, text is understood in terms of communication. Similarly to Halliday's and Hassan's approach, text is a unit of language in use. An attempt to describe text Sgall interprets as identifying mechanisms that allow the speaker to be competent in order to communicate successfully. Consequently, text is not seen as a final product of human

activity but a process in which language is perceived as functional and is used to fulfil communicative needs while being of lesser linguistic reference. To the role of context points Halliday, who notes that text is to be understood as language situated in a specific situational embedding. Elaborating on the issue, he argues:

> When people speak or write, they produce text; and text is what listeners and readers engage with and interpret. The term "text" refers to any instance of language, in any medium, that makes sense to someone who knows the language; we can characterize text as language functioning in context […]. Language is, in the first instance, a resource for making meaning; so text is a process of making meaning in context. (Halliday [1985] 2014: 3)

Departure from viewing text, as a stretch of language without context, as proposed by Cook (1989: 158), is observable. While such approach allowed researchers to do analytical studies of syntactic structures their semantics within structural and generative linguistics, the proponents of functional approach to language analysis regard text as inseparable from context. Chruszczewski (2002: 15) defines context as "an extra-linguistic entity inherently related to its constitutive and changing situational, social and cultural strata." The concept of context is one of the main issues necessary for understanding discourse as well as communicational patterns, which the researcher calls "grammars" and understanding and proper analysis of discourses is only possible in their situational, social and cultural embeddings (Chruszczewski 2011: 215). This line of analysis can be traced back to Mikhail Bakhtin [1895–1975] for whom approaching the problematic of text was as much of a philosophical issue as of a philological one:

> The text (written and oral) is the primary given of all these disciplines and of all thought in the human sciences and philosophy in general (including theological and philosophical thought at their sources). The text is the unmediated reality (reality of thought and experience), the only one from which these disciplines and this thought can emerge. Where there is no text, there is no object of study, and no object of thought either. (Bakhtin [1985] 1986: 103)

For the successful communication, the production of a text, its processing, coherence with other texts and the situational embedding has to be taken into account. The importance of context is particularly noticeable in the case of texts that may sound ambiguous. Appropriate interpretation of text depends on the recipients' ability to read context accordingly. Such ambiguousness of a text may be the result of equivocation of the linguistic structures, intended or unintended use of implicit language, allusion,

understatements. Ducrot (1991: 375–379, quoted in Przybyszewski 2009: 181) claims that appropriate interpretation of context is required in order to: correctly understand references such as deictic expressions or proper names; identify the correct meaning of an ambiguous message; identify the illocutionary force of a text, whether it is promise, warning, advice, request, etc.; specify the nature of a text which in a given context may be interpreted as polite, impolite, rude, indifferent, *etc*.

Examining the constitutive parts of discourse, Fetzer (2017: 254) proposes a concept of discourse unit which is identified along three factors: illocutionary force, content, and metadiscursive meaning. Discourse units are linearized. Being small features of language such units may be neglected in research and thus affect the investigation of discourse. In Fetzer's view, it is linguistic and cognitive context which allow the participants to produce and process coherent discourse. Social context embeds discourse and is contained within it. What Fetzer also points to is the dynamics of discourse: the relations between participants of discourse, situational embedding, communicative action that involves using words in discourse in context. Such view of discourse and texts constituting discourses allows to observe the phenomena as linear and revealing cohesion and coherence within a text and between texts.

Discourse is used in various frameworks referring to different theoretical constructs. In critical approach to discourse the dynamic processes within discourses, seen as processes of social interactions, are explored in relation to the notion of context. Wodak (2001: 67) identifies four levels of the term: (1) the immediate, language or text internal co-text, which is to provide a field to the "surface" analysis of linguistic nature; the analysis of linguistic aspects of discourse is not the aim but means to the identification of social constructs and processes; (2) the intertextual and interdiscursive relationship between utterances, texts, genres and discourses; at this level relationships between various texts are examined which is to enable the reconstruction of the discourse; (3) the extralinguistic social/sociological variables and institutional frames of a specific situational context; (4) the broader sociopolitical and historical contexts, which the discursive practices are embedded in and related to; the context is stretched and is interpreted from wider social, political and historical perspectives.

Adhering to the above, texts are considered to be linguistic structures expressing power and ideology, and as such should be scrutinized and disclosed. The importance of considering a wider contextual perspective when analyzing discourse is also noticed by van Dijk (2001: 108) who distinguishes between local contexts, which are "properties of

the immediate interactional situation in which a communicative event takes place" and global contexts, which are "defined by the social, political, cultural and historical structures in which a communicative event takes place."

1.4. Chapter conclusions

The first chapter has aimed to explain the fundamental notions of the anthropological study of language, namely culture, communication, language, discourse and text. Those notions are the key terms for the dissertation.

In the first subchapter the relation between culture, communication and language was investigated. The notion of culture proposed by Duranti (1997: 23) was outlined in detail as it offers a consistent approach to various aspects of culture. Next, the notion of communication was introduced, which, as it is claimed (Dunbar 2014: 55), being the basic human need, led to the development of language. Then, selected notions of language were analyzed with the emphasis put on functional interpretations of the term. For the purpose of the dissertation Chruszczewski's (2011: 43, 117) view of language is adopted as it is regarded as an inherent part of culture and a manifestation of socio-cultural activity of humans using it as a tool for understanding and transforming reality. Language and culture are interrelated. Language exists in its use, which is culture dependent. Language is the product of culture and, reciprocally, it creates culture.

In the second subchapter an attempt to encompass the variety of approaches to discourse and text was made. Discourse has become an interdisciplinary term and as such is exposed to various interpretations. The theory of discourse offers a vast number of definitions which stretch from a purely linguistic views of structuralists to whom studying discourse meant studying l*angue* while neglecting *parole*, to Foucault's interpretation of discourse as language of power which led the philosopher to pursuing the notion of discourse as being a tool for strengthening the dominance of authority represented mainly by institutions, and establishing relations between the oppressed and their oppressors. The concepts of political discourse and war discourse were analyzed as those are essential part of the subject matter of the dissertation. Special attention was paid to Chilton's and Cap's conceptualizations of war discourse as both models seem to be opening new territories for linguistic and sociolinguistic research. The notion of discourse is crucial for the analysis of the discourse of war in this dissertation. Thus, Chruszczewski's (2006:50) notion of

discourse as a dynamically changing phenomenon, however linguistic in its essence, still encompassed by situational, social and cultural embeddings is adopted in this research.

In the third subchapter the issue of text embedded in discourse was reflected upon. The role of context in relation to text and discourse as a whole was emphasized. For the purpose of the research, text is understood in terms of social practices. It is social relations and communication which create foundations for the existence of texts.

2. Methodological framework of the research

In the previous chapter an attempt to define the crucial terms for the dissertation, such as culture, communication, language, discourse and text, was made. This chapter is intended to provide the methodological framework for the dissertation and to establish its position within the main approaches to discourse analysis. A brief overview of the history of discourse studies is included as well as the characteristics of the main approaches to the analysis of discourse. As the ethnographic approach is applied in the analysis, it is presented and discussed in order to indicate from which theories and approaches the ethnography of communication emerged and how it is related to them. Particular attention is paid to the works of Piotr P. Chruszczewski as they provide the main tool for the analysis. The works of Dell Hymes [1927–2009], who developed ethnographic approach to the analysis of language are also emphasized.

2.1. Paradigms of anthropological linguistics

The study of language and culture means to be confronted with a fundamental challenge. As the two terms: language and culture embrace an unlimited area of research, it is vital to establish the relationship between the two terms and delimitate the field of study. Alessandro Duranti (2003: 323) perceives anthropological linguistics as the study of language as culture, placing language within culture and regarding language as an integral part of culture. Linguistic anthropology, the term preferred by Duranti, also reflects the interdependence of language and culture. Language used to negotiate, contest, and reproduce cultural forms and social relations is one of the elements of culture.

Scientific study of language is the domain of linguistics. While the goal of the analysis of language or languages from the perspective of a linguist is the analysis of the structure of a language leading to the identification of rules that finally lead to the production of a language in either its spoken or written form, the goal of an anthropological linguist is the study of language in its cultural, social as well as biological contexts (Salzmann 2018: 17). Such definition of anthropological linguistics offers a wide area of research. Relations between language and its users are the domain within which

an anthropological linguist addresses as the centre of attention. The key terms such as "language use", "speech communities", "speech event", help to delimit the area of anthropological approach to language. An attempt to establish the area has been made by Piotr Chruszczewski (2011: 74–75), who proposes the following taxonomy:

(1) linguistic anthropology – focuses on the relationship between culture, language and speech community;
(2) cultural linguistics – relationship: language – culture – man – reality with Sapir-Whorf hypothesis as one of the areas of interest where language is regarded not only as a means for communication, but as a phenomenon linking society, cognition, culture and communication;
(3) anthropological linguistics with two main areas of research: field linguistics – documentation of dying languages and language practices, and linguistic typology – the study and classification of languages according to their structural features;
(4) contact linguistics dividing into two areas macrosociolinguistics - the study of language change and language death undergoing as a result of language contact, and creolinguistics – the study and description of processes of forming pidgins, creoles and mixed languages as a result of social contacts between speakers of different languages;
(5) anthropopragmatics diverging into two areas of research: microsociolinguistics – speech acts, politeness, gender issues, social factors inducing language change within speech communities, and pragmalinguistics – the object of studies is language in use focusing on acts of communication, discourses of speech communities, discursive practices of speech communities, anti-language. This area of anthropological linguistics focuses on context and the way it contributes to meaning.

Being such a wide field of study, Chruszczewski (2011: 70) observes, anthropological linguistics crosses the boundaries of various areas of research, obtaining a wide range of methods and tools, and drawing from ethnology, anthropology or even archeology.

Duranti (2003: 323–347) outlines the concept of paradigms of linguistic anthropology in an attempt to define different fields of study, or different ways of studying languages within this broad term. The paradigms, which are meant to be directions of study followed by researchers, are established in accordance with a number of conditions. Assumed as research enterprises, they must pursue a set of general goals. The key concept must be identifiable as well as a set of theoretical issues. Each paradigm

must have a preferred unit of analysis and methods for data collection. As Duranti argues, although three paradigms can be distinguished, it is not feasible to establish clear boundaries between individual paradigms as they overlap and coexist.

2.1.1. From "salvage anthropology" to the relativity issues

The first paradigm is deeply rooted in the 19th century when it became visible that many indigenous American languages were disappearing at an increasing pace. Efforts of individual people such as John Wesley Powell led to the establishment of the Bureau of Ethnology, which was later renamed the Bureau of American Ethnology. Powell's attempts to classify American languages allowed researchers to gain support of the governmental institution. Franz Boas was the first who set an example how to do linguistic research. Departing from the so called "cabinet" anthropology, Boas studied languages working in the field, obtaining linguistic data directly from the speakers of the particular language. The work done by Boas, known as "salvage anthropology", comprised documentation of disappearing languages of indigenous American peoples. Boas was known for his attention to details, which resulted in scrupulous research and meticulous collection of data. Language was for Boas not only an object of scientific research but also a tool for the study of culture. In spite of having his doubts about immediate interdependence between language and culture (Duranti 2003: 324), Boas established new standards in doing linguistic fieldwork and laid the foundations for the study of culture through language. By placing language and culture in the centre, Boas attempted to identify the role of culture in the way people build their view of the world. This led him to introducing the idea of cultural relativity and the view that cultures cannot be regarded as high or primitive only due to the level of technological development. The advancement of a particular culture cannot be judged by the criteria of another culture. Being the result of human activity and interactions between people, cultures adopt various forms and approaching them from the perspective of Western culture or, more precisely, Western ethnocentrism as a reference point, leads to false conclusions.

Anthropological research in the field allowed to fight common misconceptions about the so called "primitive" languages. Certainly, languages of an Amazonian tribes living in entirely different environment compared to a language of any of the European communities could not be classified as such. Each language, whether the one of technologically advanced European speech community, or that of an Amazonian tribe

living in a jungle, requires its own vocabulary and grammar. Most of the vocabulary of one community would prove useless in the environment of another. Vocabulary set used by a particular speech community serves the speakers' needs and is adjusted to the environment in which the they live. By the same token, it can be said that it is the lexical inventory that mirrors the culture in which the language is spoken. Also, preliminary research into the languages of the indigenous American peoples done by the first linguistic anthropologists shows that grammars of those languages were far from simple. The grammatical complexity of the languages spoken by Native Americans can be exemplified by Pliny Earle Goddard's encyclopedic description of Athapascan (Hupa) which was published in 1911 in edited by Boas *Handbook of American Indian Languages*. Goddard, elaborating on the ideas expressed by grammatical categories in Hupa language, wrote:

> The syntactic relation of subject and object to the predicate, when both are expressed by nouns, is shown by their order in the sentence. When only one is expressed by a noun, it may be determined, in most cases, whether it is intended as subject or object by the form of the incorporated pronoun, which is employed in the verb regardless of the employment or non-employment of nouns. (Goddard 1911: 103)

As can be seen, it would rather be difficult to regard Hupa language and its grammar as uncomplicated, or derogatory sounding, primitive.

Influenced by von Humboldt's perspective on language as the window to the world (di Cesare 1990: 160), challenging prevailing misconceptions about culture, Boas devised a methodological tool for his ethnographic investigations in the field while his holistic approach to the study of languages and cultures resulted in establishing anthropology as an academic subject embracing physical anthropology, archeology, linguistics, and cultural anthropology.

Summarizing the principles of the first paradigm, Duranti (2003: 326) outlines its goals as "the documentation, description and classification of indigenous languages, mainly those of North America". This was originally part of "salvage anthropology". According to this paradigm, language is viewed as "lexicon and grammar, that is, rule-governed structures, which represent unconscious and arbitrary relations between language as an arbitrary symbolic system and reality". The preferred units of analysis are: sentences, words, morphemes, and from the 1920s, phonemes. Anthropological analysis embraces the written forms of language with texts such as myths or traditional tales in

focus. Theoretical issues addressed by researchers within the first paradigm are: appropriate units of analysis for comparative studies (e.g., to document genetic classification or diffusion), linguistic relativity. The preferred methods of data collection are: elicitation of word lists, grammatical patterns, and traditional texts from native speakers.

2.1.2. Sociolinguistics and ethnographic approach

Until the beginning of the 1960 anthropological study was regarded merely as "an area of research which is devoted in the main to studies, synchronic and diachronic, of the languages of the people who have no writing" (Hoijer 1961:10). The descriptive aspect of anthropological research affected the way the whole field was seen. The 1960s brought about a new trend in modern linguistics, namely Noam Chomsky's generative grammar. Simultaneously, new trends emerged within anthropological linguistics. John Gumperz, Dell Hymes, Charles Ferguson, William Labov, just to name the few, were the main proponents of what was later named "sociolinguistics". At that time Hymes strongly supported the term "linguistic anthropology" in order to highlight the importance of the field of research as well as to differentiate this approach from what Chomsky proposed. While Chomsky worked on language of an "ideal speaker", trying to constrain language in mathematical equations, Hymes was strongly advocated for the anthropological perspective in language study. In contrast with many linguists doing linguistic research within the confinement of their offices, Hymes, Gumperz, Ferguson and a number of other proponents of anthropological approach to language were experienced workers in the field. Ethnographic methods of research such as participant observation combined with more traditional field techniques had been employed in their close encounters with native speakers of American and Asian languages. Their interests in social dialects, linguistic variation, language contact, or multilingualism, led to the emergence of an alternative view of language. Escaping Chomsky's transformational-generative approach and his quest for an ideal speaker's language model, researchers immersed themselves in the study of language "in use", working on how it is spoken in everyday situation and focusing on cultural and social aspects of language use. Only in such contexts generalizations about language and its structure were to be made.

Great influence can be observed from Bronisław Malinowski ([1923] 1938: 306), who insisted that language must be studied in the "context of situation". His contribution

to the emergence of the second paradigm seems to be underappreciated. Malinowski's concepts were innovative against the background of contemporary theories about language and the relationship between language and culture. Malinowski played an important role in combining linguistic methods with the research methods of anthropology in relation to the research on the relationship between language and culture. Rakoczy (2012: 81) rightly points to the importance of Malinowski's postulate that the knowledge of the language is necessary in order to understand the culture under study. It should be remembered that what was crucial for Malinowski, was the study of linguistic practices in action - in the "situational context", a phrase of which he was the author, and which his student Raymond Firth later used so willingly in his theoretical works (Wolf 1989: 259) . For Malinowski, language was not a dead object of cabinet research, but a way of acting. It was also not the most important subject of research. In the center of his perspective on language, Malinowski always placed culture, which he understood primarily as a way of life for people (Barański 2015: 206–207). Rakoczy (2012: 55), discussing the issues of the ethnographic concept of the word, insists that Malinowski regarded word as action and meaning as use and postulated the rejection of a sentence as a unit of analysis, which Young (2011: 2) would disagree with, according to which for Malinowski it was not a word but a sentence that carried meaning. According to Young, Malinowski considered the study of speech acts in their situational context as a proper study of language, while he questioned the word as a carrier of meaning. However, one should agree with the author's statement that, according to Malinowski, meaning should not be sought in units of language alienated from the context. Understanding the meaning of an utterance, not a word, belonging to primitive linguistic practices is possible only in a given situational context. In Malinowski's concept, words merely fulfill the social function of linking the recipient of a message with its sender, and human speech should be perceived more in the context of its use than as a reflection of thoughts. Thus, the language in use is what the researcher should focus on. It should be mentioned that clear traces of the influence of Malinowski's views were seen not only in Hymes but also in Wittgenstein, which was highlighted by researchers (Gellner 1998: 155–156; Rakoczy 2012: 131). The concept of meaning in Malinowski and Wittgenstein, shows similarities between Malinowski’s ethnographic conception of the word and Wittgenstein's reflection on language. What seems to connect both is the importance of *parole* in their deliberations on language and marginalization of the meaning of *langue*, and thus disturbing the balance given to these concepts by Ferdinand de Saussure. What was

important for Malinowski as an anthropologist was to the relationship between linguistic units and the non-verbal context in which they arise (Chruszczewski 2011: 63). Malinowski's anthropological perspective can be found in Hymes's description of the cardinal features of the second paradigm. The most fundamental is the view that language must be studied in "contexts of situation". This should lead to the search for patterns in "speech activity". As Hymes argues, grammatical and ethnographic description is the starting point for research and not the goal in itself. It is the linguist's work "to coordinate knowledge about language from the viewpoint of language" while it is the anthropologist's work "to coordinate knowledge about language from the viewpoint of *man*" (Hymes 1964: xxiii). Duranti (2003: 327) outlines two alternative paths anthropological linguists could follow. One meant focusing on those aspects of language which in order to be understood required culture as a reference point. The other assumed that linguistic features are parts of cultural activities constitute activities. Language became the tool for expressing social relations and organizing society and culture.

Ethnographic studies within the second paradigm introduced new approaches to linguistic study. Language acquisition came under scrutiny and opened an unexplored area. In ethnographic terms, researchers studied the acquisition of communicative competence which finally led to bridging the gap between anthropology and language development within which the term *language socialization* was coined. This direction of research resulted in a number of studies on language contact situations (Duranti 2003: 330). Defining the principles of the second paradigm, Duranti (2003: 329–330) outlines its goals as the study of language use across speakers and activities. Language is viewed as a culturally organized and culturally organizing domain. The preferred units of analysis are speech community, communicative competence, repertoire, language variety, style, speech event, speech act, genre. The key theoretical issues addressed within the paradigm are language variation, the relationship between language and context while the preferred methods of data collection are participant observation, informal interviews, audio recording of spontaneous language use.

2.1.3. Social constructivism

One of the fundamental features of the second paradigm was the assumption that speaking is an essential element of social life. However, 1980s and 1990s brought new developments. New generations of scholars extended the areas of anthropological

research covering topics such as gender issues, ethnic and class identities. Anthropologists draw from the results of research done outside their field. The works of Bourdieu, Giddens, Foucault brought new insights and inspired scholars to adopt new perspectives on the role of language as organizing cultural and social life. This led to another paradigm change. Duranti named the third paradigm *social constructivism* because this approach concentrates on the role language plays in constituting social relationships. Language becomes no longer the main object of research but a tool for answering questions about complex social processes. Scientific inquiry concentrated on issues such as language and gender, race and racism, language and space and time, nationalism, globalization, power and authority, domination, identity, ideology. The evolution of the study of language in use resulted in expanding the anthropological field. While language plays the role of "the medium for the transmission and reproduction of culture and society" (Duranti 2003: 333), scholars depart to study linguistic ideologies, discourse, or rhetoric.

The goals of the third paradigm, as Duranti (2003: 333) puts it, are: the use of linguistic practices to document and analyze the reproduction and transformation of persons, institutions, and communities across space and time. Language is perceived as an interactional achievement filled with indexical values (including ideological ones). The preferred units of analysis are: language practice, participation framework, self, person, identity. Theoretical issues addressed within the paradigm are: micro-macro links, heteroglossia, integration of different semiotic resources, contextualization, embodiment, formation and negotiation of identity/self, narrativity, language ideology. The preferred methods of data collection: socio-historical analysis, audiovisual documentation of temporally unfolding human encounters, with special attention to the inherently fluid and moment-by-moment negotiated nature of identities, institutions, and communities.

2.1.4. The emergence of the fourth paradigm

The three abovementioned paradigms do not embrace whole field of anthropology and its relationship with linguistics. Duranti's effort to present a consistent view on the history and development of the field, being very insightful and informative, stirred a discussion on how the intellectual history of linguistic anthropology should be perceived and what major developments can be observed in the last decades. Some scholars argue that establishing a set of paradigms somehow blurs the picture by not putting enough

emphasis on long lasting processes that cannot be contained within a single paradigm period. On one hand, linguistic anthropology is seen as a multidimensional field, on the other, there is a natural need to identify the scope of the field, its most crucial theoretical views and practices. There is a need for unification, thus strengthening the anthropological community. Some of the views on the field have been highlighted by Debra Spitulnik in her comments to Duranti (2003: 339). Spitulnik argues that approaching language as culture, one has to accept that language is structured and structuring. It is created by society and it constitutes society.

As new trends have appeared in recent decades, new paradigms emerge. Spitulnik (2003: 340) suggests that a fourth paradigm can be distinguished. In her view, the main feature of this trend is regarding the ethnography of communication as the key approach of any anthropological research.

So far, the most detailed and comprehensive argument for a new trend came from Piotr Chruszczewski (2011: 199) who argues that the fourth paradigm, although rooted in the transformational, or as Duranti calls it, social constructivism paradigm, puts in the centre the anthropolinguistic study of communicational grammars of discourses. Chruszczewski proposes that the emphasis is put on the documentation of communication occurring through human functioning in various discourses, with less interest in the very transformation of the identity of an individual or a social group that may be transformed. Communicational grammar, being a complex term, is prone to various interpretations. Chruszczewski's proposition to confine the notion of grammar within the proposed paradigm seems to be an attempt to grant it a position of an autonomous formal system existing in everyday speech acts. With Chruszczewski's view would agree Rumsey (comments in Duranti 2003: 338) who rightly observes that "few if any […] have attempted to dissolve the notion of 'grammar' entirely". Defining grammar, Chruszczewski's agrees with Heidegger who observed that people have language and language has people (Chruszczewski 2011: 203). However, Chruszczewski's definition of grammar embraces linguistic and extra-linguistic elements, which, when combined, create human communication. Thus the term: communicational grammar which is meant one of the basic terms defining the paradigm.

Chruszczewski's stand for the fourth paradigm seems to result from the author's view on language and how it functions in relation to various aspects of human social encounters. For the author "language is an integral component of culture because of its complex nature making it a sophisticated tool used in communication to accurately

express thoughts and being at the same time part of the thoughts expressed. This complex nature makes language an element of reality and, what's more, it can contribute significantly to all kinds of changes of reality in which it functions (Chruszczewski 2011: 15).

The main tasks of the proposed paradigm, in Chruszczewski's view are documentation of communication, language, discourse, discursive practices (in specific nonverbal contextual embeddings) used by researched social groups; description, documentation and analysis of linguistic, social and cultural changes in time and space. Language is seen as: culturally organized domain but at the same time organizing culture and communication. The preferred units of analysis include discursive and communicational practices; texts and discourses with an emphasis on communicational grammars of discourses; speech genres. Theoretical issues embrace relationship between units of language and their nonverbal contexts; socio-cultural relationships formed on the basis of encoded carriers of meaning (e.g. texts); linguistic and cultural element of ethnic identity; anthropological aspects of communication behaviour. Writing is regarded as a semiotic system dependent on culture and playing a great role in the processes of creating and communicating meanings. As for the preferred methods of data collection, the author proposes the analysis of communicational grammars of discourses on the basis of texts where also elements of culture are understood anthropologically as texts.

It should also be mentioned that Chruszczewski, in one of his earlier works (2003: 15–32), proposes a method for analysis of communicational grammar of American political discourse. The analysis of a number of selected inaugural addresses of American presidents allowed for identification and construction of models of discourses emerging from presidential speeches. Markers referring to situationality, emotional attitude, recent and remote history, general knowledge of the speaker and the recipient, juxtaposed or intertextual elements, were applied in the analysis. As a result, it was possible for the researcher to draw general conclusions and to work out general models of communication between presidents and their audiences.

2.2. Communicational grammars of discourses

One of the fundamental features of language is the fact that speakers, having a limited number of linguistic symbols, are able to create infinite number of words. Scholars have long attempted to contain language by establishing rules of grammar according to which

this dynamic, ever changing organism is used. The traditional view of grammar sees it as a set of rules governing speaker's linguistic behaviour. Sentences are rule-governed and speakers produce patterns with the use of formal units such as phonology, morphology, syntax. As Awdiejew and Habrajska (2004: 13) observe:

> For traditional grammars, the basic material for analysis and description was a set of formal units, the most tangible and directly observable linguistic manifestations, distinguished by the linguistic competence of language users. The purpose of these grammars was to formulate the criteria for distinguishing formal units, their characteristics and classification, and the description of the rules for combining them. We owe them the separation and description of the phonological, morphological and syntactic levels of language, precise descriptions of phonological systems, derivative processes and syntactic rules. [...] Concentrating on the description of formal units, the authors of these grammars left aside the description of the meaning of linguistic units, treating them as a separate subject of study, not falling within the scope of grammar. The functioning of the described units in the communication process was also not dealt with.

With the development of anthropological and sociolinguistic perspective on language, it became clear that restricting research to the abovementioned principles, put unacceptable limitations on linguistic studies. One of the characteristics of anthropologically oriented linguistic research is its comprehensiveness in approaching the problematic of grammar. Users of language interact in various social settings and construct multiple realities. As social settings tend to be repetitive, they originate various "ways of speaking", as Hymes would call it. Hence, the need for a different approach to grammar within anthropological linguistics. In their considerations on the role of communicational aspect of grammar, Awdiejew and Habrajska (2004: 13) observe that "the purpose of a communication grammar is to describe the organization and generation (creation) of a message and the process of its reception." It should be noted that this definition of the term departs from traditional formal approach to grammar. Communicational grammar is perceived not only as a set of rules on how to use formal units of language, whether written of spoken. In the centre is the communicative aspect of a message which is seen as a complex process. As Awdiejew (2008: 120–121) notes:

> The communicative grammar is an attempt to overcome the stratifying impasse in linguistic research. [...] the formal description is hermetic in relation to the conveyed content, while semantic research does not allow for an unambiguous reference to the formal realization of meaning. The practice of analyzing the relationship between formal units and units of sense shows that the configuration

> of the distribution of formal units (text words) often does not coincide with the configuration of the distribution of the units of meaning.

In search for the holistic approach to the analysis of language in communication, Awdiejew argues, it is necessary to depart from the stratificational theory of language. Following the notion that language can be organized and studied in relation to the sememic, the lexemic, the morphemic and the phonemic strata, and although regarded as a network of relationships, the study of language in communication becomes a futile task. The quest for identification of communicational patterns is not feasible without a method of comprehensive description of the linguistic process. To overcome the deadlock, Awdiejew suggests that:

> The way out of this impasse seems to be the resignation from a separate description of the form and content, the adoption of a new operational unit of the description: the linguistic communication unit, which takes into account both the content of the information transmitted and the formal means used for this purpose.

As studies of grammar focus on various aspects of language, it leads to a multitude of approaches in interpreting the term. Grammarians study evolution of grammar, its philosophy, grammar rules, grammar of conversation, grammar of silence, or even grammar of ornaments (Chruszczewski 2003: 202). Most of grammar books concentrated on the description of formal units of language, leaving out the study of grammar rules and their application by language users with reference to, as Malinowski would wish, contexts of situations. Semantic context of the use of formal units of language as well as their communicative function were considered areas of separate field of study.

The early anthropological studies concentrated on searching for regular patterns in language still having this traditional view of grammar as the keynote of scientific investigation. The 1960s, with the bourgeoning of sociolinguistic approach, opened new possibilities and expanded research onto areas of language where, as it was previously assumed, patterns of communication were regarded as non-existent (Hymes 2000: 314). While traditional grammar concentrated on formal classification of units of speech, ethnographers of communication become interested in how communicative units are organized and how communicational patterns coexist, affect, or create culture. It resulted in discovering patterns in language that were previously considered, as Saville-Troike puts it, irregularities or free variations in linguistic behaviour. The role of formal units of language in the communication processes became a new field of interest of researchers

and the role of communicational grammar came within the interest of anthropological linguists.

Research methods of the ethnography of communication are used to study codified verbal behavior, and as a result, allow for the identification of patterns of speaking. Dealing with communicative grammar within anthropological studies has a profound sense, considering the fact that within the scope of this discipline's interest is a description of various types of discourses and the concept of the discourse itself occurring in various social and cultural embeddings. Defining the concept of communicational grammar, Chruszczewski (2011: 203), remarks that it is to be understood metaphorically as a set of rules:

> It should be assumed that this is a concept that includes both linguistic and extra-linguistic elements that together create communication, at the same time taking part in it. Hence, it is postulated to call such a set of rules concerning methods of communication a communicative grammar.

Exemplifying the definition of communicational, (or communicative) grammar, Chruszczewski highlights the role of institutions in creation of enduring patterns of human behavior. Repetitiveness of social interactions within institutions and the existence of norms and regulations leads to the emergence of communicational patterns that govern linguistic and social behaviour of a given speech community. For Chruszczewski (2011: 203), communicational grammars are deeply encapsulated in social context: […] communicational grammars are collections of various types of verbal and non-verbal behavior patterns, dependent on the situation and on the institutions to which they belong and in which they occur. Making further remarks, Chruszczewski (2002: 87) goes beyond traditional grammarian view by highlighting the key role of context in the study of communicational grammar:

> We shall attempt to distinguish elements of the texts rooted in contextual embeddings that make them communicative. It is actually the structure of communication, or in other words the communicational grammar whereby one can aim at the selection and description of text formation rules as well as other text formation influencing elements which are responsible for their being communicative as used in a number of situations. Thus, the communicational grammar of any political discourse would be an attempt to select and describe the rules of political texts formation.

Thus, text embedded in social and cultural human encounters becomes the main object of interest. However, with limited resources, researchers can rarely make the effort to fully describe a particular speech community. Usually, selected and strictly defined communicative grammars of specific discourses are examined, which lends the communicational grammars of discourses to their position in research.

2.3. The Ethnography of communication

The collage of anthropology and linguistics resulted in the emergence of a new field of study: the ethnography of speaking, later renamed the ethnography of communication. Being part of linguistic anthropology, it is concerned with language, culture and society. Dell Hymes's call for a new approach to the study of language, published in 1962 as an essay *The Ethnography of Speaking*, brought changes and refreshed the way language was viewed. During the early Boasian period, linguists concentrated on documenting languages by collecting descriptive data, whether in the field or by contact with the speakers of their target language who entered the cultural environment of the white American society and learned to speak English, thus becoming informants for the researchers. Anthropological linguistic analysis of the collected data, although limited primarily to gathering lists of words, translating texts, swiftly moved to documenting languages, only to evolve and focus on the most noticeable aspects of languages such as phonology and grammar. The differences and similarities at the sound and the grammatical components of languages were given primary importance (Gumperz 1972: 7). Researchers attempted to catalogue the researched languages according to some of their explicit features. Pronunciation and grammatical rules were searched for in an effort to classify languages. Although the very early ethnographers highlighted the need for viewing languages in their cultural embeddings, or more specifically, in the context of situation (Malinowski [1922] 2005: 13), it took time for anthropological linguists to work out the methods and techniques of ethnographic and linguistic research. Thus initially, linguistic analysis embraced language at the level of sound, syntax, short utterances, putting these areas of language in the centre of attention. It resulted in abundant literature of descriptive nature highlighting the limitless variability of grammar structures. Languages were seen as possessing their own consistent systems of phonology and grammar which were to be studied within its own boundaries.

With the advent of generative grammar the approach to the study of language shifted towards the abstract and theoretical view of language. The idea that all humans possess an innate language capacity, developed by Noam Chomsky in the 1950s, turned the attention of linguists to cognitive psychology. The transformational grammar theory holds that there is a "universal grammar" which is a set of principles responsible for language production. The rules, or principles of the grammar are part of the human brain. The innate principles allow humans to distinguish between what is correct or incorrect in grammatical structures of a language. This set of rules known as language acquisition device also allows the user of language to interpret utterances correctly. Regarded as a theory of competence, and being a system of subconscious knowledge of how to use language in order to produce grammatically correct sentences, it is a system providing humans with the inborn criteria used to judge what is "right" and what is "wrong" in a language (Parker & Riley 2009: 6–8). Following Chomsky's reasoning, in the context: "the cakes are popular in this bakery", the sentences: "they will have sold out by lunchtime" and "they will have sold them out by lunchtime" illustrate the need for different interpretations of the subject in each sentence. Very little effort on the part of the native user of the language is required to recognize the difference between the two distinct subjects "they" meaning "cakes" and "they" meaning "people selling cakes". As Chomsky argues, there is more to the structure of language than descriptive linguists observed. Successful identification of the differences conveyed by "they" by a user of the language reveals, in Chomsky's view, the existence of the deep structure and the surface structure of language. The somewhat subconscious knowledge of differentiating between the phonological structure and the syntactic structure of the sentences leads the recipient of the utterances to errorless identification of meaning. However, with an effort to identify universal aspects of language and with its focus on studying individual speakers of language with little reference to the social embedding in which language is used, generative grammar did not provide answers to questions about interrelationships among language, culture and society. The ethnography of communication became the field of inquiry which attempted to bridge the gap between both grammars and ethnographies. Duranti (1997: 85) states that "an ethnography is the written description of the social organization, social activities, symbolic and material resources, and interpretive practices characteristic of a particular group of people". With so much attention paid to the social context of language use, the main concern of the ethnography of communication has become the study of language in use and in the context of culture. Researchers seek

patterns of communication with focus on how social meaning is organized and conveyed through language and human behaviour. Thus, departing from linguistic analysis of language seen as individual sentences. The focus is shifted to the investigation of communicational patterns beyond the sentence and with particular reference to language use in the conduct of social life. As Saville-Troike ([1996] 2009: 354) explains:

> The principal concerns in the ethnography of communication include the relationship of language form and use to patterns and functions of communication, to world view and social organization, as well as to linguistic and social universals and inequalities. […] The task of ethnography in this framework is seen as the discovery and explication of the shared knowledge base for contextually appropriate behavior in a community of group, in other words, what the individual needs to know about language use to be a functional member of the community.

Thus, ethnographers of communication search for patterns in language. Identification of such allows to define rules for language use in particular contexts. The main concern is, as Saville-Troike ([1995] 2009: 354) observes, to work out: "[…] how communicative situations and events are organized and […] how patterns in communication interrelate in a systematic way with – and derive meaning from – other aspects of culture."

Speaking a language is seen as a part of cultural systems (Bauman & Sherzer 1975: 98) and language study becomes no longer a quest for identification of the language of an ideal speaker who would know the language flawlessly and would not be affected by any conditions which would be irrelevant to the speaker's performance as Chomsky had proposed.

2.3.1. Speech communities and speech events

As ethnographic studies focus on speech communities, it is vital to establish its definition. A speech community is comprised of a group of people that often use common signs. Because they communicate in a particular way, they are different from other groups. It follows the description of linguistic community proposed by John Gumperz ([1968] 2009: 66–70). Hymes (1972: 54) also defined a speech community as people who share "rules" for when and how to speak. In In his view, for someone to be counted as a member of a speech community, he or she must share at least one "way of speaking" with others.

With new concepts on the ethnographic study of language, new units of analysis of language were devised. To study communicational patterns of a particular culture, Hymes

proposed basic units that indicate which area of the culture one is most interested in examining. He set forth the following units: speech situation, speech event, and speech act. The speech situation is the context in which communication occurs. A speech event, being the basic unit for analysis, is defined by a number of elements, such as: the same purpose of communication, topic, setting, and participants who follow the same rules of interaction (Saville-Troike 2003: 23–26). Speech acts, the fourth unit, are smaller units of speech. The units describe what action is getting done when particular words are used. Ways of speaking, the term coined by Hymes, refers to speech not necessarily within one of the other units. It may refer to styles of speech that may be used in various situations and events. It can also be used to describe speech patterns that are characteristic of a culture.

With the need to study of language as constitutive element of social life, it became necessary to provide researchers with appropriate methods and tools (Duranti 1997: 84–85). Urging the linguistic world to undertake the study of language in use, Hymes (1961: 55–83) outlined a framework for the ethnography of speaking with a direct reference to Roman Jakobson's model of communication. Hymes's model comprises seven components. Jacobson's "context" became divided into the referential and situational aspects of communicative act. Jakobson's (1960: 66, 71) long established functions of communication interrelate with the components proposed by Hymes for the framework for the ethnography of speaking. As presented in (Bauman & Sherzer (1975: 99), the components of a speech incorporate: 1. A Sender (Addresser), 2. A Receiver (Addressee), 3. A Message Form, 4. A Channel, 5. a Code, 6. a Topic, 7. A Setting (Scene, Situation). The components are matched with seven functions. The Expressive (Emotive) function shows the addresser's attitude to what is said by conveying feelings or emotions. The Directive (Conative, Pragmatic, Rhetorical, Persuasive) function involves requesting or demanding. The aim is to convince, influence behavior, opinions. The Poetic function refers to the esthetic value of the message. Contact (or phatic function), may show empathy and solidarity. The function is understood as maintaining contact with the receiver of the message. The Metalinguistic function relates to the code of the message putting the language and its meaning in the centre of attention. The Referential function relates to context in which the message is produced. While referring to time, place, the receiver and the aim of the message, it may carry true or false propositional content. The Contextual function, with the exception of the speech event itself, refers to strictly

situational embedding of a speech event. It can be seen that the functions of language are adjacent to the goals of the participants of communicational events.

As Troike ([1982] 2003: 13) observes, while linguists focus on form – the structure of language which results in formal analysis of syntax, morphology, or lexis, anthropological linguists focus on functions and thus prioritize the functional approach to the analysis.

2.3.2. Hymes's model of ethnographic analysis

Apart from the call for ethnographic approach to linguistic research in order to study social and cultural aspects of communication, Hymes proposed a detailed methodology on how to address language in use. The proposition concentrates on analyzing speech event by considering situational embedding with focus on patterns and function of speaking. The SPEAKING acronym is designed to analyze speech events with the aid of eight components:

Situation

S designates situation, which includes both the scene and the setting. This is where the activities are taking place and the overall scene of which they are a part. The speech event has identifiable boundaries, spatial and temporal. Meetings of American Congress take place in a specified room of the Capital Hill building. Each participant has their assigned seat within the boundaries of the room. President will be allocated to confront the members of the assembly. Although the scene is a representation of a situation defined by cultural customs, what takes place in the physical setting does not always match the culturally inscribed functions (Kovarsky and Crago 1990-1991: 50). The room meant to be the place of gathering of politicians, may frequently transform into a place where casual utterances, occasional exchanges of remarks not related to politics happen. It may take pace during breaks, or before the meeting opens or ends.

Participants

P designates the participants involved. This area includes the people present and the roles they play, or the relationships they have with other participants. Hymes (1972: 60–61) identifies four elements: 1. the speaker or sender, 2. the addressor, 3. the hearer, receiver, or audience, 4. the addressee. In American Congress, the speaker may be the president whose addressors are the members of Congress. Within the boundaries of the room hearers will be found. People whose job is to make transcripts of congressional sessions,

guards protecting the building and possibly happening to be allocated to the room where a congressional meeting takes place. Frequently, a president, speaking to the members of Congress, will address all American people as the addressees of the speech.

Ends

E designates ends or goals of the speech event. The purpose of the event may be identical or it may vary depending on the goals of the individual participants of the event. Engaging in interaction does not imply the same goal. The outcome of a situation expected by a president attempting to convince the addressees to his propositions, may be different from what is expected by various members of Congress who might stick to their own individual convictions or follow their party's guidance. The predicted goal of the speech event is usually culturally conditioned, as in the case of war messages where the president expects support from the congressional gathering. The urgency and the need for war does not come out of nowhere. Instead, it is usually staged: conflicted countries exchange letters, undertake actions, withdraw their representatives, attempt to solve discrepancies. When the war looms, military preparations can be observed. The condition of the military is brought on the agenda and discussed. Armies are strengthened and efforts are made to consolidate the nation on the cusp of the start of a potential war. However, actions of individual participants may lead to different and unexpected outcomes.

Act Sequences

A designates acts, or speech acts, which include both form and content. For Hymes (1974: 55) it was crucial to keep records of how something is said. In ethnographic research it required recording of message form and content immediately after the speaking event in order to not leave out any important piece of information as it would affect the result of research. Ideally, tape recording of the speech event as it happens would give sufficient amount data for analysis. This, however, is not feasible when dealing with data from the 19th century as in the case of presidential and congressional messages and speeches under investigation in this dissertation. Instead, where possible, the researcher has to rely on historical data, which, in principle, cannot be reliable enough to draw conclusions.

Key

K designates key or tone of speech. Focusing on how the speech sounds were delivered, may allow the researcher to identify the conventional intentions of the speakers in order

to establish whether their utterances should be regarded as mock or face value (Hymes 1974: 181). The importance of paraverbal and nonverbal communication is pointed out by Hymes who highlights the fact that this aspect of communication was often disregarded in linguistic analysis.

Instrumentalities

I designates instrumentality or the channel through which communication flows can be examined. Messages may be spoken, written, or read out by an intermediary. Telegraph, radio or television may be the means of transmission of the message. In case of presidential conversations with congressional assemblies it differed over the decades and included both written and oral form.

Norms

N stands for the norms of communication to which participants of the speech event adhere. It is assumed that participants are aware of the rules of communication and observe them appropriately to the situation. The norms may vary from one culture to another. This may lead to a cultural clash and misinterpretation of the situation by the participants of the speech event. As Saville-Troike observed, in the case of communicational exchange between a Navajo speaker and a white American teacher. Despite the fact that both lived in the same country, they clearly belonged to different cultures which had its impact on the course of the speech situation. What in one culture is regarded as a proper way of behaviour, may be entirely misunderstood by a representative of another culture. The Navajo speaker by remaining silent during a meeting with his son's teacher, showed his respect for the interlocutor. However, this norm of participation in the speech event on the side of a member of Navajo community was totally misunderstood by the teacher who expected the man to return her greetings and to introduce himself to her. The meeting of the two cultures led to the clash of norms of communication and finally to the misinterpretation of each other's behaviour (Saville-Troike 1997: 138–139).

Genre

G designates generically different categories such as lecture, oration, myth, poem, prayer, etc. A speech event may comprise more than one genre. A politician giving a speech, may want to lecture the audience at one stage of the speech, introduce a joke a while later, which can be followed by elements typical of a prayer. In Hymes's view, any production

of speech, is to lesser or larger extent genred. What is more, multimodal genres of communications are created as social interactions are frequently intertextual.

Hymes ([1972] 1986: 59–65) admits that the SPEAKING mnemonic is designed to offer a clear and easy to memorize representation of components of speech. In fact, sixteen components of speech are included in the grid. All or only selected elements can be applied to the analysis of various aspects of discourse: message form, message content, setting, scene, speaker (or sender), addressor, hearer (or receiver, or audience), addressee, purposes – outcomes, purposes – goals, key, channels, forms of speech, norms of interaction, norms of interpretation, genres. As can be seen, Hymes had proposed a model of analysis that concentrated on social use of language. The interplay between participants of the speech event studied along these guidelines seemed to be insufficient when considering power relationships among language users. Kaplan-Weinger and Ullman (2015: 44) note the need to address the above issue and update the original SPEAKING model with the CULTURES model. The proposed model is to answer questions such as positioning of the researcher in the process of observation. The authors ask: "Who are the researchers and what does their position allow them to see?" This can be done by studying not only norms, but also resistance to norms. The authors argue that this can be done by researching the periphery of the speech event. From the merger of the concept of the communities of practice (Lave and Wenger 1991: 98–100, Wenger 1998: 45–47) with the original Hymes's model, the CULTURES model offers an updated approach to the study of speech communities (Kaplan-Weinger and Ullman 2015: 51). The model is meant to be more dynamic and, by involving not only language but symbols and modalities of expression, embracing the elements that are downplayed when working with Hymes's model. In their preference for the term communities of practice in contrast with Hymes's speech communities, Kaplan-Weinger and Ullman (2015:45) argue that:

> Members of a community of practice may move in and out of different communities. Communities of practice are not static: they are fluid. The community of practice idea helps us explore not just language but the social part of our practices as well. Communities of practice are plural, and that resonates with our having multiple identities that change through time. This concept offers us a way to think about structure (the ways in which we are always already place in particular social and historical contexts) and agency (the ways we make choices and resist and create change).

Following Duranti (1997: 27) in understanding culture as learned knowledge, Kaplan-Weinger and Ullman propose the model in the form of steps that ethnographers take when doing their research (*Figure 1.*):

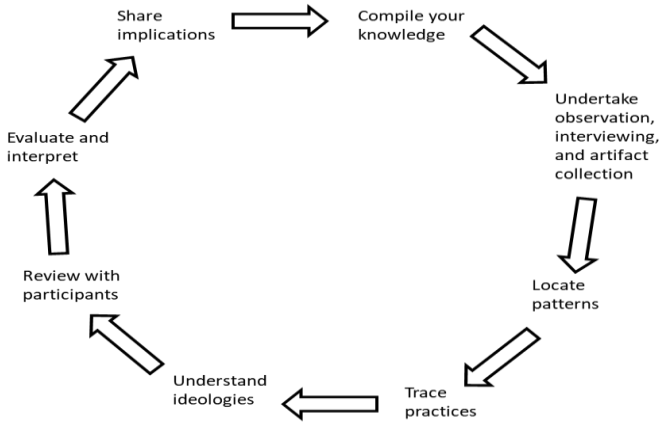

Figure 1. The CULTURES model (Kaplan-Weinger & Ullman 2015: 51)

The model is "iterative to account for the continuous influence of what we observe and of the knowledge we gain as ethnographers" (Kaplan-Weinger and Ullman 2015: 49). As communities of practice are considered fluid, living organisms, comprising language speakers sharing the same social practices, however frequently belonging to various social groups, the model is to be approached with flexibility. Particular steps may be omitted while doing research. Both models embrace language, society and culture and are complementary. For this research the perspective of the ethnography of communication has been adopted, and consequently Hymes's model is followed in the analysis of the research material.

2.4. Readability of texts

Readability is defined as an effort that has to be put into reading a written text in order to understand it. It is immediately related to the content of a text, so to assess the readability of a text, one has to do the analysis of a text structure, namely syntax, and lexis. Other parameters are also considered when assessing readability of texts. The type and size of the font used to print a text may affect readability. For communicative goals, readability level may become a critical issue. It may be said that there has is a direct connection between the complexity of vocabulary and syntax and a fiasco or a success in achieving the communicative goal. In particular, the use of rare multi-syllable words, commonly of foreign origin as well as lengthy phrases or sentences contributes to a very low level of readability of an investigated text.

The interest in literacy level in American society in the early years of the 20th century resulted in expanding research of the problematic of readability. An extensive research done by Gray and Leary (1935) on a large group of the American population, showed that an astonishingly large number of elements determine text readability, among which syntax and lexis were the most important factors affecting readability of texts.

2.4.1. The Gunning Fog Index readability test

A number of formulas is available for the analysis of the readability of English texts. The Gunning Fog Index is an easily accessible tool, providing reliable and consistent results. Devised by Robert Gunning (1952), Fog Index is a straightforwardly applicable formula. A relatively simple set of guidelines has to be followed in order to perform a test. First, a section of a text comprising around one hundred words is selected. None of the sentences may be omitted. Then, the average sentence length is established. This is done by dividing the number of words in the researched piece of text by the number of sentences. Then, three or more syllable words are counted. Compound words and proper nouns are omitted and common suffixes are not counted as syllables. Eventually, the average sentence length and the percentage of complex vocabulary is added and the result of the calculation is multiplied by 0.4 factor and applied to the Fog Index. It gives information about the level of readability of the studied text. The number, according to the Fog Index, presupposes that the given text can be comprehended by a reader who left education system at a later age than the index. Nowadays texts can be tested with the use of the Gunning Fog Index available online. *Table 1.* offers an overview of the Gunning Fog Index test in relation to the consecutive levels of education:

Table 1. The Gunning Fog Index readability scale

Fog Index	Reading level
1-6	easy language, understood by primary school pupils
7-9	easy language, understood by junior high school students
10-12	rather simple language, understood by high school students
13-15	rather difficult language, understood by undergraduate students
16-17	difficult language, understood by postgraduate students
18 and higher	very difficult language, understood by university graduates and higher

It can be seen that the index calculates how many years readers need to spend in a system of education in order to be able to understand a text, having read it once only. The Fog Index factor of 12 will show that a text is fairly difficult to be correctly interpreted by people who left the system completing the secondary school. It has to be admitted that the tool is somehow limited. Particular long words, which according to the Fog Index formula are regarded as difficult, may not pose a problem due to their frequent usage. Thus, a three-syllable word may not pose a problem, but a one-syllable rare word may create difficulties with an adequate understanding.

2.5. Typology of arguments

A commonly accepted definition of an a r g u m e n t identifies it as a type of a dispute in which opponents strongly disagree. However, the term can also be interpreted as a statement made to persuade someone to do something or to convince someone to agree with the adversary. Basically, an argument consists of a number of assumptions that something is true, a way of reasoning, and a conclusion. In a single argument, the minimum number of assumptions and conclusions is one. Toulmin ([1958] 2003: 90–99) identifies six elements required for an analysis of argumentation. In his view, these are as follows:

Claim: presumption is laid out as a claim. It is done by the speaker in order to convince someone of something.

Data: the reasons or assumptions for making a claim sound justified.

Warrant: the element connecting a *claim* with the aid of reasons which are described as *data*.

Backing: an auxiliary element supporting the *warrant*. It is used when the warrant is not sufficiently strong and needs additional support.

Rebuttal: the element recognizing limitations of the *claim*. It determines borderlines within which the *claim* is executed.

Qualifier: the constituent highlights the speaker's conviction to insist on the realization of the *claim*, whose realization goal must sound convincingly in order to be accepted by the recipient.

Toulmin acknowledges *claim*, *data* and *warrant* as the crucial elements in argumentation regarding the other three as subsidiary, but not required in some instances. It may be argued that argumentation and its theoretical knowledge seems to be well applied in political discourse by politicians, who, with an appropriate use of arguments, gain the citizens' acceptance of their political actions.

2.5.1. Typology of arguments in American political discourse

The analysis of the presidential and congressional texts is based on a procedure devised by Piotr P. Chruszczewski (2003) and adheres to the method of analysis that was used by the author in his analysis of contemporary American presidential discourse. Following the procedure, the analyzed text is divided into arguments. An individual argument refers to a single idea or thought. The established arguments are numbered. Then, a set of markers, which had been established, is applied to the arguments. This allows to reveal the complexity of an argument in relation to the number of various elements. In this manner a useful tool for the examination of a text in relation to the construction of its content is made. In this research the following procedure is applied: 1) a text is divided into single arguments; 2) appropriate markers are ascribed to the individual arguments; an argument is characterized by the presence of one or more markers. 3) considering the frequency of markers within one argument, a quantitative model is established; 4) a general model of argument development in relation to the frequency of markers in the whole text is established; it is supported by an analysis of the investigated text; 5) the results of the analysis of the texts, which are divided into three groups according to their genre, namely presidential war messages, congressional declarations of war, and presidential proclamations of war, are compared in search for communicational patterns; 6) conclusions are drawn.

2.5.2. Argument markers

A number of markers devised by Chruszczewski (2003: 17–19) is used for the analysis of the documents:

S marker referring to **situationality**. The marker identifies the context in which the text is produced. The speaker makes references to the social actors, the time and the place;

E_m marker referring to **emotions**. It identifies the parts the text that play on the recipients' emotions. The use of pathos is intended not only to convey the speaker's emotional state but also to change the emotional attitude of the audience;

R_1 marker relating to **recent history**. Indications to pre-war events, usually related to political affairs, are made by the speaker;

R_2 marker referring to **remote history**. The speaker recollects distant past events, frequently important historical occurrences that became milestones in the country's history;

K marker referring to **general knowledge**. The marker is used to show references to the areas of knowledge regarded as common and shared by the speaker and the audience;

I marker relating to **intertextuality**. The marker identifies the speaker's references to other texts;

J a marker relating to **juxtaposition**. The speaker juxtaposes elements within one argument to contrast various ideas and thoughts, with the aim to make an impact on the audience;

P a marker relating to the **speaker's policy**. It refers to the speaker's outlook on the development of the forthcoming events; The speaker voices the plans and intentions regarding future actions.

Due to the specific pre-war background of the investigated texts, additional argument markers are devised. These are as follows:

C a marker relating to the speaker's **conciliation efforts**. This marker is used to observe to what lengths the speaker is willing to present himself as refraining from waging war, and attempting to resolve the impending conflict in a peaceful manner. Should the speaker decide to pursue war, it would happen only after all feasible means of maintaining peace are exhausted and the efforts made or initiated by the speaker are seen as futile;

E_v a marker used to investigate the speaker's references to **enemy as evil**. In order to push the nation to war, the enemy is depicted as driven by an evil force and, as a consequence, has to be defeated;

T a marker relating to the **speaker's threats**. The speaker aims to threaten the enemy showing strength, power and determination;

T_c a marker referring to **technicality**. The marker establishes the speaker's references to prewar preparation, organization and localization of troops;

U a marker identifying speaker's references to various aspects of **universal values**, namely liberty, freedom, independence, justice, human rights,. References to democracy are also indicated by the marker;

G a marker referring to objectives, plans, or instructions understood as **guidelines**, expressed by the speaker.

The analysis of the arguments allows to observe how presidential war discourse relates to the above presented taxonomy and whether broader conclusions about the semantic contents of the presidential war messages and proclamations as well as congressional declarations can be drawn.

2.6. Chapter conclusions

The second chapter has aimed to provide the methodological framework for the research and relate it to other main approaches to discourse analysis. It consists of five subchapters.

In the first subchapter the problematic of multiple directions in the study of language embraced by anthropological linguistics with the taxonomy of the field proposed by Chruszczewski (2011: 74–75) was introduced. Next, three major trends in the history of linguistic studies within the field of anthropology were overviewed. Within the first main domain, or the first paradigm as Duranti (2003) put it, the study of language focused on documentation, namely the study and preservation of native American languages resulting in adopting the notion of linguistic relativity. The 1960s brought the development of the second paradigm. The concept of language as the object of analysis shifted from grammatical description to the study of language "in use." Hymes's call for the ethnographic approach to the analysis of language resulted in the introduction of new units of speech analysis such as "speech event", or "communicative competence." This anthropological perspective contrasted with Chomsky's view on language. Within the third paradigm anthropological research extended onto the fields of social science covering issues such as identity, ideology, narrative, to mention the few. Duranti's view on the development of anthropological study of language is supplemented with

Chruszczewski's (2011) introduction of the concept of the fourth paradigm with focus on the anthropological study of communicational grammars of discourses.

The issue of communication and discursiveness was continued in the second subchapter which related strictly to communicational grammar of discourses. Definition of the key term was provided. In the third subchapter the approach to communicational study of language, namely the Ethnography of Communication was introduced. As the ethnographic approach is applied in the analysis, it is presented and discussed in order to indicate from which theories and approaches the ethnography of communication emerged and how it is related to them. Attention was paid to the works of Hymes who developed ethnographic approach to the analysis of language.

Assessment of the readability of texts is an important aspect of the analysis. That is the reason for introducing the concept of readability in the fourth subchapter. The Gunning Fog Index was presented as the tool used for the analysis of the presidential and congressional discourse. Finally, the fifth subchapter introduced the main tool for the analysis of the research material, namely the typology of arguments devised by Chruszczewski (2003). Primarily used for the analysis of American political discourse, it serves as a tool for identification of the semantic content of presidential war messages, congressional declarations of war and presidential proclamations.

3. American presidency at war

The chapter introduces the socio-historical context of the events researched in the dissertation. In the first subchapter the general issues related to American presidency, war and rhetoric are presented. Then, attention is directed towards the complexity of the problematic of presidential and congressional powers in American political system. The issue of who is in power to decide whether the country enters war conflict is debated as the articles of the American Constitution do not specify the responsibility in a clear and precise way. In the second subchapter the overview of the presidencies of James Madison, James K. Polk, William McKinley, Woodrow Wilson, and Franklin D. Roosevelt is given to provide wider, political and socio-cultural context. Particular attention is paid to presidential war messages. As only five presidents waged formally declared American wars, the messages provide an interesting material for analysis. The chapter ends with relevant conclusions.

3.1. Presidency, politics, war and rhetoric

With the first major conflict, American Revolutionary War 1775–1783, the United States entered the path of war and followed it throughout the centuries. The number of wars and armed conflicts conducted by this country is overwhelming. Until 2020 only few very short periods of peace in American history can be identified. As the constant element of the policy of American presidents was being involved in conflicts, the issue of defining and classifying conflicts becomes vital. Not all conflicts in which the United States participated are classified as wars. The first problem is the difficulty to define war and it becomes transparent once we make an inquiry into the subject. Hundreds of definitions of war provided by scholars do not exhaust the issue.

For the purpose of the chapter the definition proposed by Singer and Small (1972: 30–32) is adopted. In their view, to define a conflict as war, a number of criteria has to be met. The authors suggest three: size, preparation and legitimation. Firstly, the conflict is of significant size as regards the number of casualties; minimum 1000 battle deaths per

year. Secondly, the conflict is prepared in advance. It involves typical war logistics, transportation, distribution of arms, the use of trained soldiers, etc. Thirdly, the conflict is officially recognized by and existing governmental body which justifies mass killing. The killing is no longer seen as crime but as a citizen's duty. There are also other attributes of war. As Williams (1981: xii) observes, war is a conflict signified by ceremonial behaviour. In primitive tribes the initiation of war was done by indication of the will to use force while in modern cultures it is a formal declaration by government that usually starts a conflict.

3.1.1. The power to wage war

Engagement in armed conflicts is deeply rooted in American history. The early settlers coming from Europe were initially met with friendliness by the natives. However, as white colonists pushed the native inhabitants out of their hunting territories, it was only a matter of time for the native tribes to turn hostile. As a result, settlement warfare was a permanent part of colonial existence of white immigrants from Europe. Firstly, the birth of a new state had to be secured. Secondly, national boundaries had to be expanded. The land inhabited by native tribes was regarded as no-one's land. These practical reasons for conflicts did not disturb the idealistic picture of a newly formed country, its people and its ideological foundations. In his *Farewell Address* to Congress George Washington wrote:

> Observe good faith and justice toward all nations. Cultivate peace and harmony with all. Religion and morality enjoin this conduct. And can it be that good policy does not equally enjoin it? It will be worthy of a free, enlightened, and at no distant period a great nation to give to mankind the magnanimous and too novel example of a people always guided by an exalted justice and benevolence.

Refusing to run for the third presidency, Washington urged the people to remain patriotic and to cherish unity as means for the United States to become a major player in the world politics. In his view, avoidance of permanent alliances with other states was the policy United States should follow. The advice given by the Father of the nation built upon the prevailing idea of exceptionality of the American people and their country contrasts with the actual American policy.

An important moment in shaping American approach to armed conflicts was Quasi-war with France soon after the Revolutionary War. In 1798 the newly emerged state became entangled in a conflict with France. This minor war was to have its legal

consequences as it was undeclared and fought as a defensive war. France intended to punish the young state for entering in a closer alliance with its recent enemy, Great Britain. As the war was very limited, it aroused disputes whether it was a war and whether such kind of conflict qualified as war at all. In the end, it became the precedent to wage undeclared wars by the American presidents (Fehlings 2000: 101). The stance American presidents took as regards who has the right to wage war was also based on the clauses of the American Constitution of the United States of America. As Chruszczewski (2003:7–8) observes, the position the presidents took in regard to waging wars was strengthened by the very generally sounding clause of the American Constitution (Article II, Section 2, Clauses 1–3) defining one of the functions of the President according to which the President is the chief commander of the national forces: the army and the navy. On the basis of the article, American presidents fought undeclared wars throughout the American history, interpreting it as giving the president the authority and power to wage war.

The birth of a new American republic coincides with the concept of Napoleonic "nation in arms". The way war was waged changed. Previously wars were fought by smaller or larger armies with very limited participation of civilian part of society. Since Napoleon and his war whole nations became entangled in mass scale conflicts (Williams 1981: xiii). Conflicts the United States engaged in were either limited or general wars. The U. S. waged only five formally declared wars. The first was a limited War of 1812 (1812–1815) which was a conflict fought between the United States, the United Kingdom, and their respective allies. Historians in Britain often see it as a minor theatre of the Napoleonic Wars; in the United States and Canada, it is seen as a war in its own right. The war ended with status quo ante bellum with no boundary changes. The next limited war broke out only three decades later and is known as the Mexican–American War. It was a short armed conflict lasting from 1846 to 1848. It followed in the wake of the 1845 American annexation of the independent Republic of Texas, which Mexico still considered a part of its territory. The territorial expansion of the US toward the Pacific coast had been the goal of Polk, the leader of the Democratic Party. After a hard time during which American people fought one another in the Civil War, the United States declared war on Spain in 1898. Hostilities began in the aftermath of the internal explosion of the USS Maine in Havana Harbor in Cuba, leading to US intervention in the Cuban War of Independence. Revolts had been occurring for some years in Cuba against Spanish rule and the US later backed these revolts. The three limited wars were followed by two

general wars: World War I with over nine million combatants and seven million civilians killed as a result of military combat, World War II in which the vast majority of the world's countries eventually formed two opposing military alliances: the Allies and the Axis. It resulted in 50 to 85 million fatalities, most of which were civilians.

The habit of oratory speaking to the public was uncommon among presidents in the early years of the republic. Presidents avoided direct speaking to the people. Instead communication between the president and the Congress became a daily routine. The number of speeches delivered by George Washington is limited. These were annual addresses and were addressed to the Congress, not the general public. Even his famous *Farewell Address* was not presented in front of Congress. Instead, it was released to the press around the countries. The procedure of very narrow communication on the line president – Congress was even more limited by president Thomas Jefferson who stopped delivering his addresses in person. This became a customary behaviour of American presidents throughout the 19th century and lasted until Woodrow Wilson's speech to Congress in 1913 which he delivered himself.

While war is associated with instability, peace is meant to be the natural way of the existence of a state but the approach picturing a society as living in peace only interrupted by occasional war has become the thing of the past. Clausewitz observed that politics is the only source of war. Thus war itself does not interrupt political discourse. It becomes an extension of discourse:

> […] war cannot be divorced from political life; and whenever this occurs in our thinking about war the many links that connect the two elements are destroyed and we are left with something pointless and devoid of sense. (Clausewitz 1989: 605)

Presidents James Madison, James K. Polk, William McKinley, Woodrow Wilson and Franklin D. Roosevelt aroused exceptional interest of researchers which results in an extensive historical literature. In the contexts of historical events many comments made by scholars were related, in particular, to the legal aspects of declaring war. Oratorical skills of the presidents were also observed and analyzed. Researching circumstances of the war speech by James Madison, it becomes apparent that the first presidents, Washington and Jefferson, respected the full authority of the Congress, not only with regard whose authority is to declare war but above all, whose authority it is to decide whether to start war in the first place (Currie 2000: 1–40). They followed Article I, Section 8, Clause 11 of the Constitution:

> The Congress shall have Power […] to declare War, grant Letters of Marque and Reprisal, and make Rules concerning Captures on Land and Water […].

The decision whether to put the country into war is clearly in the hands of the Congress. The question is whether the authority to do it can be delegated to the president. The Constitution states "to declare", not "to make" which strengthens the position of the president. As the Commander-in Chief he has the means to respond immediately to sudden threat to the country.

3.1.2. Presidential powers vs Congressional powers

It was as early as in the first years of the republic while the constitutional system was under construction, when the disagreement about how the power between the President and the Congress were to be divided emerged. The so called "war powers" aroused controversy. The decision to empower the Congress with the authority to declare war was preceded by tense discussions between the Congressmen whose various visions of the country's polity finally led to the division of power between the President and the Congress which has been in use until now (Cruden 1975: 35-40). The prerogatives of both, the President and the Congress are specified by Article I and Article II of the Constitution of the United States of America.

The legislative power lies in the hands of the Congress of the United States and is drawn from Article I of the Constitution. Although the Congress comprises the House of Representatives and Senate, it is in the House of Representatives where the President asks the Congress to issue a declaration of war. Initially the Congress was to be mandated with a wider scope of authority. Its responsibility was to "make war," however, the phrase was eventually replaced by "declare war". In effect, the president was given more power and as the Commander in Chief became responsible for waging war. As the representative of the executive branch, in the view of the Founding Fathers, the president would fulfill his obligations effectively without the need to follow unnecessary procedures. Such arrangement played a crucial role in the case of sudden, unexpected attack on the United States giving the president authority to immediately react and repel the assault (Kański 1980: 53–54). President is also embodied with the authority to conduct warfare outside the United States without the agreement of the Congress. The Founding Fathers did not pay much attention to foreign affairs. Domestic problems were at the heart of the political elite of the newly emerged country. It was vital for the young republic to

establish rules allowing to govern the states and to secure the country's future. Geographical location, far away from the European countries resulted in a faint chance of a conflict. Bordering with oceans on both sides, the country had weak neighbours on the south and north borders. Britain after 1776 did not pose a real threat to the country's existence (Kański 1980: 54). Those circumstances allowed distancing from the problems of Europe and led to the isolationist policy that was to come with Monroe's doctrine. Consequently, such approach to foreign affairs resulted in various interpretations of the scope of the president's prerogatives to start and carry out armed conflicts. According to Nowak and Rotunda (2000: 255), between the years 1798 and 2000 the United States was involved in over 200 external armed conflicts, which were conducted by American presidents without any formal authorization of the American Congress. Legal aspects of the distribution of power between the president and the Congress still arouse disputes among researchers. Some interpret the prerogatives of the Congress as very limited. Declaration of war, as Yoo (1996: 242) claims, only triggers the action and starts implementation of the international law. Elaborating on the American involvement in conflicts after World War II, Yoo interprets the Constitutional provisions:

> Critics of these conflicts want to upend long practice by appealing to an "original understanding" of the Constitution. But the text and structure of the Constitution , as well as its application over the last two centuries, confirm that the president can begin military hostilities without the approval of Congress. The Constitution does not establish a strict warmaking process because the Framers understood that war would require the speed, decisiveness, and secrecy that only the presidency could bring. (Yoo 2006: 22)

Yoo (1996: 243) argues, the president's actions are only limited by the regulations referring to the financing an armed conflict which is the area of the Congress' authority. The imperative of the Founding Fathers was not to separate the presidential and the congressional powers by transferring the power to declare war in the hands of the Congress but highlighting the superiority of the federal government over the governments of the individual states. When the United States became involved in prolonged armed conflict without a formal consent of the Congress, many politicians would became concerned with the issue of war powers. The attempt to clarify the president's authority with the aim of limiting his powers was made in 1973. Despite president Nixon's veto, the "War Powers Resolution" was passed by the Congress. The resolution states that the president can send the American forces abroad only after a declaration of war is made by

the Congress. The other options include statutory authorization or the case of a national emergency created by attack upon the United States, its territories or possessions, or its armed forces. It remains the president's duty to inform the Congress about the initiation of an armed conflict within 48 hours and limiting the conflict to 60 days if there is no consent of the Congress. Longer armed conflicts must be accepted by the Congress either by authorization for use of military force or by issuing a formal declaration of war (Fallon Jr [2004] 2013: 321). However, as Adler (1988: 4–5) remarks, it does not solve the problem of distribution of prerogatives between the Congress and the president.

The separation of responsibilities was and is regarded by politicians as areas of struggle for the scope of power between the president and the Congress. As Jones (1990: 5–28) observes, it results in protecting the prerogatives by the president and the Congress and whenever it is possible leading to exercising the power which does not belong to the particular side.

3.1.3. Presidential war messages

Out of the many conflicts the United States found itself in, five broke out after formal war declarations. Surprisingly, a very limited number of comparative studies of those wars have been done. It seems that the work done by Robert Ivie, in particular his dissertation dating 1972, is the most consistent study on the subject of formally declared wars. In his dissertation the author embarked on the task of the analysis of presidential war speeches leading to large scale conflicts conducted by the United States. These were: James Madison's speech resulting in war with Great Britain in 1812, James K. Polk's speech leading to war with Mexico in 1846, William McKinley's speech preceding war with Spain in 1898, the speech that resulted in American involvement in World War I made by Woodrow Wilson, the speech made by Franklin D. Roosevelt after the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbour in 1941. In the study Ivie included speeches preceding two conflicts that were started without formal war declarations, however, in the researcher's view they were relevant because of their large scale. This was the speech made by Harry Truman on the situation in Korea in 1950 and the speech made by Lyndon Johnson in 1965 and related to the situation in Vietnam. In the research, Ivie concentrated on issues related to the justification of issuing war declarations by the speakers and the identification of images created by presidents in their justifications of war. Ivie agrees with Boulding (1959: 120–121) who insists that people in power, people who decide about war and peace, perceive

the world the way ordinary people do. This image of the world and consequently making decisions, is conditioned by factors such as the family upbringing and school background. The image of the nation is, in Ivie's view, the decisive factor in processes leading to wars. Politicians make decisions based on their personal assessments of political situations and relate them to their individual images of the world. Ivie construes his work on the concept laid out by Mills (1940: 908) and called "vocabularies of motives". He follows Duncan (1962: 144) assuming that language determines society. The analysis performed by the researcher is done in four steps:

(1) identification of the repetitive schemas of utterances is made by determining whether the speaker describes the ideal situation from the point of view of the speaker and the recipient or whether it is a crisis, the cause of a crisis, or a proposed solution of a crisis; (2) identification of the role of the speaker, identification of references to the intended course of action, identification of the goals proposed by the speaker is made. It is followed by establishing the interrelation between those elements; (3) identification of the main ways of justifying the notions and beliefs held by the speaker is made; (4) the parts of the speech in which the "good vs bad" model is used are identified and a comparison of the whole set of speeches in regard to this content is made. As a result, certain patterns in the speeches of the presidents can be established.

In his reflections Ivie follows Graebner (1961: 1–21; 1993: 116–118) who claims that presidential war speeches divide American politics into two stages. The first is deeply rooted in the realistic tradition of the new world. The year 1898, apart from the war with Spain, brought about a new stage in the American politics which is characterized as an aspiration to realize the democratic mission of the American nation. This was clearly explicated by Woodrow Wilson in his speech of April 2, 1917. The image of war painted by the president was a struggle for the basic human values. It was a struggle for democracy, liberty, peace and safety not only for the American people but for all the nations and peoples around the globe. Graebner reckons that the motives used by the individual presidents changed over the two centuries which stands in opposition to Ivie's view who, similarly to Merk (1963: 261–264), insists that the speakers used the same set of vocabularies when presenting motives which in their view justified going to war.

It seems that a discussion with the results of Merk's and Ivie's research is well founded. The introductory research into the textual features of a selection of presidential war speeches shows clear differentiation between the individual presidents' solicitations to justify wars. Each of the five presidents requesting formal declaration of war from the

respective Congressional assemblies defined the key terms in a different manner creating foundations for different interpretations of the terms and contexts in which they were used.

As it has been said Ivie's studies seem to be the only consistent program which was supported by collaboration with Ronald L. Hatzenbuehler. In a joint project both researchers analyzed James Madison's war speech of 1812 searching for an answer why and how the speaker convinced the audience to support actions that would result in involving the country in war. The authors analyzed the distribution of powers in the Congress and the partisan actions leading to the final voting result in favour of declaration of war. The attitude towards the events preceding war represented by the political groups forming the Congress evolved. It was very clearly seen in the sudden change of the republican party's rhetoric: frequent reference to honour, people's rights, the independence of the American nation (Hatzenbuehler & Ivie 1980). An extension of the research was Hatzenbuehler and Ivie's study of leadership and partisanship in the early republic. The authors put forward an argument that three factors were decisive and were seriously considered by the Congress: the actions of James Madison as the leader of his political party, the activities of his proponents, successful rhetoric. The analysis of the results of voting in Congress included comparison of the results with the voting preferences during the assemblies in the years 1797–1798 and 1808–1809 which despite the very tense circumstances did not result in announcements of war (Hatzenbuehler & Ivie 1983). However, it must be said that the study did not take into account economic context or the fact that in the years 1797 – 1798 the main enemy of the United States was France but not Great Britain. Choosing a selective approach the authors came to conclusions which are not entirely convincing (Banning 1984: 1391; Bell 1984: 525).

One of the main themes of Ivie's research is the image of the enemy created by presidents in their speeches. Enemy pictured as barbarian has long been present in literature. In ancient Europe the Greeks and the Romans fought savages invading their territories. To the image of cruel enemy resorts Franklin D. Roosevelt in his *State of the Union Address* delivered on January 6, 1942. A month after the Pearl Harbour attack, he said:

> We must guard against complacency. We must not underrate the enemy. He is powerful and cunning—and cruel and ruthless. He will stop at nothing that gives him a chance to kill and to destroy. He has trained his people to believe that their highest perfection is achieved by waging war. For many years he has prepared for

> this very conflict—planning, and plotting, and training, arming, and fighting. We have already tasted defeat. We may suffer further setbacks. We must face the fact of a hard war, a long war, a bloody war, a costly war.

Unveiling the barbarity of war, Ivie argues that American war rhetoric is rooted in the origins of the United States. The birth of George Washington's "great nation" was tied with mass extermination of the native population of the continent. It was during the march towards the Pacific when the European settlers carried out the cleansing of the land from the local "barbarians" (Ivie 2005:55–65). Reference to "savagery" was used on many occasions in political speeches. The War of 1812 was the war against English "monstrous savages breathing out thirstings for American blood" (Ritter & Andrews 1978: 17). Picturing the enemy as a callous oppressor in connection with the implementation new technologies into warfare led to the elimination of the Japanese savagery with the use of nuclear weapon and resulted in mass killing of the tens of thousands of innocent civilians. The scale of the barbarity was unprecedented. The rhetoric presenting the United States as unwilling warrior, defender of liberty, contrasted with the description of the savage enemy threatening peace loving nations is both the starting point and the main theme in Ivie's research (Ivie 2005: 276). Such a way of picturing the opposing parties evolved into a style called the "victimage rhetoric" (Burke 1996). American politicians create the victimage rhetoric because it allows suppressing the feeling of guilt and responsibility for atrocities that come along with an armed conflict. The concept of being a victim becomes an excuse for implementation of the action typical of an attacker. Identification of the enemy as aggressor allows the conflicted party to position themselves in the role of a victim which becomes justification for undertaking not necessarily defensive military action (Engels 2010: 303–325).

One of the functions of presidential war messages was to give an account of the events that were to become the reasons for war. Some of the speeches are filled with a very detailed descriptions, explanations of the decisions taken. More than a half of Woodrow Wilson's speech is a depiction of events that in the orator's view were to justify war. The members of Congress did not require such detailed presentation and explanation of the issue. They were well oriented in the events. The speech had a historical value. For the next generations it was to become the source of knowledge about the events on the path to war. It can be said that the presidents were aware of the significance of their speeches (Benjamin 1991: 76).

Woodrow Wilson's and Franklin D. Roosevelt's speeches announcing American involvement in global wars have been thoroughly scrutinized. As the speeches were made in the context of long lasting war preparations, their function was not a pure announcement of military action but primarily strengthening the nation's unity and encumbrance of the enemy with the responsibility for the forthcoming consequences of conducting military actions such as deaths of soldiers, casualties among civilians, economic repercussions, etc. (Moerk & Pinkus 2000: 2).

One question seems to remain unanswered. What causes societies to ignore the instinct for survival and to support war knowing that it is bound to bring inevitability of deaths of millions of people? It is estimated that Napoleonic wars caused 233 deaths daily. During World War I the number rose to 5449 only to be exceeded by World War II with daily deaths soaring to 7738. The numbers include both soldiers and civilians. The use of nuclear weapon in Hiroshima resulted in the death of 80000 civilians in one day (Klingberg 1966: 121–179). Another question that arises is to what extent is the speech a request or a statement of the stance that the president takes. Arrangements for large scale military actions are always staged as they require long preparations. The courses of events and pre-war devising suggest that leaders of the country would not tolerate any opposition or criticism of their war plans. Wilson expressed it explicitly on April 2, 1917 in his Address to Congress Requesting a Declaration of War Against Germany regarding the German minority living in the United States:

> We shall, happily, still have an opportunity to prove that friendship in our daily attitude and actions toward the millions of men and women of German birth and native sympathy who live among us and share our life, and we shall be proud to prove it toward all who are in fact loyal to their neighbors and to the government in the hour of test. They are, most of them, as true and loyal Americans as if they had never known any other fealty or allegiance. They will be prompt to stand with us in rebuking and restraining the few who may be of a different mind and purpose. If there should be disloyalty, it will be dealt with a firm hand of stern repression; but, if it lifts its head at all, it will lift it only here and there and without countenance except from a lawless and malignant few.

It seems that the main function of war speeches is not to convince the public to support the request or the decision to wage war. Carson (1958: 28) claims that the leader of the nation issuing war speech, in fact, announces fait accompli.

3.2. American involvement in wars

There have been few American presidents who did not engage their country in a military operation or a war abroad. Only between 1945 and 2020, with the presidencies of Harry S. Truman, Lyndon B. Johnson, George H. W. Bush and George W. Bush, the USA was brought into a number of new international conflicts. Some of them led to the full-scale wars. American operations in Korea, Vietnam, the Persian Gulf, Afghanistan, Iraq were to confirm the status of the United States in global politics. American attitude to international politics resulted in constructing a global system of military bases, which made the use of force as an aid to the realization of American view on the world's order by American governments more probable (Vine 2015: 11, 2020: 153). The following subchapters provide an insight into the wider political and socio-historical contexts of events which lead to the five American formally declared wars.

3.2.1. James Madison's reluctance to war

The fourth president of the United States in office from 1809 to 1817 and one of the Founding Fathers of the Constitution of the USA, James Madison Jr. was born into a wealthy planter family in Virginia at the very turning point in the American history. The new nation was in its infancy struggling to solve the most crucial problems such as governing the country, creating new laws, or establishing relations between the individual states. This new country, as Hawkins (1911: 95) observes, came into being unexpectedly and almost by accident. Descendants of European immigrants found themselves in the role of governors and lawmakers. The new republic had no republican heritage and its unity was mainly based on the necessity of fighting the hostile European monarchies. In the meantime the foundations of the country's polity had to be made. Madison's role in shaping American political system is of primary importance. Educated at College of New Jersey, later named Princeton University, young Madison was under the influence of works of Locke and Montesquieu. During the American Revolutionary War he was a member of the Virginia House of Delegates and the Continental Congress. This was when he showed his talent as politician and mediator in the framing of the Virginia Constitution in 1776. He owed his strong position in politics not only because of his role in co-founding the Democratic-Republican Party or his work as the United States secretary of State, but because of his commitment to the legislative work shaping the political system

of the country. His Virginia Plan served as the foundation for the Constitutional Convention's discussions as he was probably the most active politician at the convention.

Madison's political ideas and philosophy revolved around two clashing ideas, power and liberty. Observing the weakness of the federal government whose legal foundation were based on the Articles of Confederation, Madison reflected on the problematic of power and liberty in a 1792 National Gazette:

> In Europe, charters of liberty have been granted by power. America has set the example and France has followed it, of charters of power granted by liberty. This revolution in the practice of the world, may, with an honest praise, be pronounced the most triumphant epoch of its history, and the most consoling presage of its happiness. (Cited after Read 1995: 454, Papers of James Madison, vol. 13, 380–388)

For the Founding Father of the Constitution the two seemingly opposing ideas were not the simple opposites. More power in the hands of government did not have to mean less liberty for the people. In one of his letters to George Washington, explaining the proposed principles for the Federal Convention, he laid out his approach to the distribution of power between the national government and governments of the individual states:

> I would propose next that in addition to the present federal powers, the national Government should be armed with positive and complete authority in all cases which require uniformity; […] Without this […] power, every positive power that can be given on paper will be evaded and defeated. The States will continue to invade the National jurisdiction, to violate treaties and the law of nations and to harass each other with rival and spiteful measures dictated by mistaken views of interest. (Madison & Ketcham 2006: 43)

The Articles of the Confederation that were created after the war for independence from Britain gave most of the authority to the individual states. It resulted in dispersion of power and inability to act in common interest of the whole Union. National bodies such as Congress were weak and unable to manage the country effectively. Madison's task at the Convention was to argue in favour of a government that would be more powerful than Parliament but at the same time more protective of liberty of the people. Strong Parliament, in Madison's view, might lead to the oppression of the people. The case of the British Parliament and its policy towards colonies in America showed that given too much power, it would exercise it to its limits. On the other hand, Madison was confronted with Thomas Jefferson who believed that most power given to the government meant a

direct threat to the liberty. (Read 2000: 25). Madison, as the most active participant of the Convention became one of the leaders in the movement to ratify the Constitution, which was in his word "the cement of the Union". To achieve this, he joined with Alexander Hamilton and John Jay in writing a series of essays titled "The Federalist Papers" and promoting ratification of the Constitution. After its ratification, Madison become the leader in the United States House of Representatives and served as a close adviser to President George Washington. He worked on the United States Bill of Rights which was added to the Constitution to appease the anti-federalist opposition. The charter guaranteed the freedom and right of an individual within the Constitution.

During the early 1790s, Madison, being sensitive with regard to the balance of powers within the emerging political system of the United States, opposed the economic program and accompanying centralization of power proposed by Alexander Hamilton, at the time holding the post of the Secretary of the Treasury. Denver Brunsman researching the National Gazette essays remarked:

> After the triumphal first session of the First Congress, Madison and Secretary of State Jefferson watched in horror in 1790 and 1791 as Treasury Secretary Hamilton rolled out plans to turn the United States into a national power based on the British fiscal model of a permanently funded debt, a national bank, and government investment in private commercial ventures, particularly manufacturing. (Brunsman 2013: 144)

As a close associate of Thomas Jefferson, Madison organized the Democratic-Republican Party, which was one of the nation's first major political parties. After the presidential election in 1800 which was won by Jefferson 1800 presidential election, Madison was appointed as Secretary of State. Holding the post, he played a crucial role in negotiating the Louisiana Purchase, which doubled the size of the United States territory. In the 1808 presidential election campaign Madison won and succeeded Jefferson. His philosophy of balance of powers between the president and the Congress were explicated in his first *Inaugural Address* of March 4, 1809. Madison referred to the internal political tensions between the parties in the Congress, expressed concern over the war between France and England, which affected American businesses. In his first *Inaugural Address* delivered on March 4, 1809, he stated that his role as President was:

> To cherish peace and friendly intercourse with all nations having correspondent dispositions; […]; to hold the union of the States as the basis of their peace and happiness; to support the Constitution, which is the cement of the Union, as well

> in its limitations as in its authorities; to respect the rights and authorities reserved to the States and to the people as equally incorporated with and essential to the success of the general system; to avoid the slightest interference with the right of conscience or the functions of religion, so wisely exempted from civil jurisdiction; to preserve in their full energy the other salutary provisions in behalf of private and personal rights, and of the freedom of the press; to observe economy in public expenditures; to liberate the public resources by an honorable discharge of the public debts; […].

Madison stressed out the role of the military forces in securing the safety of the republic. He pledged:

> to keep within the requisite limits a standing military force, always remembering that an armed and trained militia is the firmest bulwark of republics--that without standing armies their liberty can never be in danger, nor with large ones safe; […]. (J. Madison, *First Inaugural Address*, March 4, 1809)

The strength of the land forces as well as the navy was of primary importance considering the threat to the United States from France and Great Britain. Madison worked hard to restore sea trade with the two countries. However, Britain did not comply with diplomatic protests to stop hostile seizures of American ships by the British navy. Learning that the British supported Indians supplying them with guns and were preparing to acquire new territories in Canada and the Spanish part of Florida, on June 1, 1812, Madison asked the Congress to declare war against Great Britain. This was the first war message made by an American president which led to the first formally declared war waged by the United States. For Madison it was also opportunity to become an active participant of the struggle between the power of the President and the authority of the Congress. When President Washington had issued the *Neutrality Proclamation* of 1793, Madison entered a discussion with Alexander Hamilton over the power of the President to declare war. In Madison's view Washington's proclamation endowed presidential post with dangerous new powers not provided by the Constitution:

> In no part of the constitution is more wisdom to be found than in the clause which confides the question of war or peace to the legislature, and not to the executive department. Beside the objection to such a mixture of heterogeneous powers: the trust and the temptation would be too great for any one man: not such as nature may offer as the prodigy of many centuries, but such as may be expected in the ordinary successions of magistracy. War is in fact the true nurse of executive aggrandizement. In war a physical force is to be created, and it is the executive will which is to direct it. In war the public treasures are to be unlocked, and it is

> the executive hand which is to dispense them. In war the honors and emoluments of office are to be multiplied; and it is the executive patronage under which they are to be enjoyed. It is in war, finally, that laurels are to be gathered, and it is the executive brow they are to encircle. The strongest passions, and most dangerous weaknesses of the human breast; ambition, avarice, vanity, the honorable or venial love of fame, are all in conspiracy against the desire and duty of peace. (The Pacificus-Helvidius Debates …. 2007: 87)

What Madison pointed to is the fact that President Washington, having announced the proclamation of neutrality without any consultations with the Congress, created a new precedence in the relations of power between his office and the national assembly. Madison regarded it as the infringement on the legislative power and the strengthening of the executive power:

> As the constitution has not permitted the Executive singly to conclude or judge that peace ought to be made, it might be inferred from that circumstance alone, that it never meant to give it authority, singly, to judge and conclude that war ought not to be made. (*The Pacificus-Helvidius Debates of 1793–1794*, 2007: 89)

Madison's apprehensive attitude seemed justified since the proclamation of neutrality could be the basis for future debates which national body has the power to declare war. If president had the right to judge circumstances and decide about the state's neutrality, it means that president had the right to make a decision of going to war, removing this power from the Congress. (*The Pacificus-Helvidius Debates of 1793–1794*, 2007: 65).

The war of 1812 was difficult to manage without a stable source of currency. Irving Brant, Madison's notable biographer wrote in the fifth volume of his work:

> By February 1812 it was evident that Congress was going in two directions – toward war and against the furnishing of means with which to wage it. […] The President was no less dissatisfied with the congressional dichotomy […]. (Brant 1948: 404)

Trying to wage war without sufficient support from the Congress, Madison realized that to wage war the country needed was a strong federal government. This resulted in the President supporting Alexander Hamilton's project of establishing the Second Bank of the United States that would secure financial resources for the government. Although the result of the war was very inconclusive, many Americans saw the conflict as a successful "second war of independence" against Britain. Madison, considered to be one of the most

important Founding Fathers of the United States, retired from public office in 1817 and died in 1836.

3.2.2. James K. Polk's quest to reach the Pacific

Born in 1795 and suffering from poor health, industrious James Knox Polk left his father's farm to study law and to pursue a career in politics. As a lawyer, Polk become a member of the United States House of Representatives and a supporter of Andrew Jackson in the struggle against the Bank of the United States.. Having left the Congress, he become the governor of Tennessee. He failed to become reelected as governor and his political career came to a halt. Walter R. Borneman observes:

> In the fall of 1843 James K. Polk appeared to be politically dead. Despite seven terms in Congress, two of them as Speaker of the United States House of Representatives, Polk's attempt to win reelection as governor of Tennessee had failed miserably—not just once but twice. Even the political power of ex-president Andrew Jackson, now an aging sage ensconced at the Hermitage, appeared unlikely to rescue him. (Borneman 2008: Introduction)

Unexpectedly, in 1844, he was nominated to run for presidency on behalf of the Democratic Party. Factional turmoil within the party and the fact that he supported the idea that Texas and Oregon should be acquired by the United States largely helped him to win the election. In his *Inaugural Address* delivered on March 4, 1845, Polk formulated his goals as President:

> The Republic of Texas has made known her desire to come into our Union, to form a part of our Confederacy and enjoy with us the blessings of liberty secured and guaranteed by our Constitution. Texas was once a part of our country - was unwisely ceded away to a foreign power […]. I regard the question of annexation as belonging exclusively to the United States and Texas. They are independent powers competent to contract, and foreign nations have no right to interfere with them or to take exceptions to their reunion.

Publications related to the presidency of James K. Polk concentrate on historical and legal issues connected with quick expansion of the United States in the south-west part of the continent. The president's ambition and political goal was to move the border of the country to the west coast of America. The conflict with Mexico over the annexation of Texas was referred to by the president's opponents as "Mr Polk's war"(Pinheiro 2007: 2).

However, Polk himself refuted the argument in his *Message Regarding the War with Mexico* of February 13, 1847:

> Congress, by the act of the 13th of May last, declared that "by the act of the Republic of Mexico a state of war exists between that Government and the United States," and "for the purpose of enabling the Government of the United States to prosecute said war to a speedy and successful termination" authority was vested in the President to employ the "naval and military forces of the United States."

Polk's assertion to acquire new territories with the policy of fait accompli did not overshadow his diplomatic games between his office and the Congress. Accentuating the role of the assembly in pressing towards war, allowed Polk to move to the next phase of conquering new lands on behalf of the country. Polk's commitment to push western borders of the country towards the Pacific Ocean could lead to conflict with other countries. Polk worked hard negotiating with the British. In his address he insisted:

> Foreign powers do not seem to appreciate the true character of our government. Our Union is a confederation of independent states, whose policy is peace with each other and all the world. To enlarge its limits is to extend the dominions of peace over additional territories and increasing millions. The world has nothing to fear from military ambition in our government. […]. Foreign powers should therefore look on the annexation of Texas to the United States not as the conquest of a nation seeking to extend her dominions by arms and violence, but as the peaceful acquisition […]. To Texas the reunion is important, because the strong protecting arm of our government would be extended over her, and the vast resources of her fertile soil and genial climate would be speedily developed, while the safety of New Orleans and of our whole southwestern frontier against hostile aggression, as well as the interests of the whole Union, would be promoted by it.

Following the Monroe Doctrine, Polk refused any European country the right to interfere with the United States during its quest towards the Pacific. Having plans of annexation of Texas and an urge to acquire the Oregon Territory and being aware the such acts would undoubtedly lead to war with Britain or Mexico, Polk communicated his militant attitude towards Britain explicitly in his *Message Regarding Increase in Military Force* on March 24, 1846:

> If, […] we should fold our arms in security and at last be suddenly involved in hostilities for the maintenance of our just rights without any adequate preparation, our responsibility to the country would be of the gravest character. Should collision between the two countries be avoided, as I sincerely trust it may be, the additional charge upon the Treasury in making the necessary preparations will not

> be lost, while in the event of such a collision they would be indispensable for the maintenance of our national rights and national honor.

As much as preparing for the armed conflict, Polk tried his diplomatic skills to fulfil his inaugural promises to safeguard American rights and to protect the settlers in Oregon. His negotiations with Britain, by some seen as on the brink of war, resulted in concessions in the Oregon Territory. Polk's approach to the problem of annexation of Texas was even tougher. In December 1845 he signed a resolution annexing Texas. Mexico broke diplomatic relations with the United States. Polk tried to negotiate offering large sum of money if Mexico sold New Mexico and California. Unsuccessful in his effort, he decided to start armed conflict. As a result of provocative activities of American troops, the Mexican-American War broke out. On December 8, 1846 in his *Second Annual Message to Congress*, Polk attempted to legitimize the conflict:

> The existing war with Mexico was neither desired nor provoked by the United States. On the contrary, all honorable means were resorted to avert it. […]The war has been represented as unjust and unnecessary and as one of aggression on our part upon a weak and injured enemy. Such erroneous views, though entertained by but few, have been widely and extensively circulated, not only at home, but have been spread throughout Mexico and the whole world.

A very different view expressed Ulysses S. Grant who in his memoirs described the Mexican War "as one of the most unjust ever waged by a stronger against a weaker nation'', highlighting the fact that what drove the United States into war was the ''desire to acquire additional territory''(Grant 1885: v.1:53. Cit. in Pinheiro 2007: 155).

The role Polk embarked on during his presidency changed the relations between the Congress and the White House. Acting like the 20century presidents, he strengthened the authority of the executive office which allowed his successors to frequently wage wars without congressional consent:

> Viewing particular incidents or trends in later wars in light of the Mexican War and Polk's tenure as commander in chief is instructive. The effect of the Mexican War on the relationship between the U.S. and state governments on the one hand, and the U.S. Army and Navy on the other, reached farther than just the Civil War. The Mexican War inaugurated a century-long process that culminated in the modern commander in chief, who initiates military hostilities without congressional declarations of war and who in wartime seeks expansive powers in the name of Constitutional prerogative and practicality. (Pinheiro 2007:156)

Having well deserved opinion of expansionist, Polk pushed the boundaries of his country and shaped the United States as it is known today. Leaving the vast land stretching from the Atlantic to the Pacific as his legacy, Polk built the foundations of the country that within a century would become the world's superpower.

3.2.3. William McKinley and the Cuban independence

Born in 1843, William McKinley was one of the presidents who had served in the Civil War. Enlisting as a private, he ended war as a mayor having shown organizational and leadership skills, and above all, courage in the field. After the war, asked by a local lawyer to replace him in court, McKinley had the opportunity to expose his oratorical ability to the public. This led him to become a lawyer and become involved in local politics. Since then his career set off. In 1876, he was elected to Congress. On behalf of the Republican Party, McKinley fought for the increase of the protective tariff which, in his view, would help the country and the people prosper. Rove (2015 :2–3), a dedicated republican himself, appreciating McKinley's leadership in guiding the Grand Old Party into the long period of republican dominance, observes:

> For much of the nineteenth century, the United States had been a nation divided. The period after the Civil War saw growing discord between the agrarian South and West and the industrialized North and East. There was friction between debtors worried about their mortgages and loans and the merchants, bankers, investors, and depositors who had lent them the money. There was increasing antagonism between labor and management, and profound disagreements over how the economy should be organized and its benefits distributed. All this was reflected in brutal political battles over esoteric issues like tariffs and currency that nonetheless deeply affected the lives of ordinary people. In many ways, these clashes weren't about economics—they were about competing visions for America.

Becoming president during the time of economic troubles, McKinley was the first political leader to understand the value of votes of the working people. He gained their support but at the same time built a good relationship with the new middle and upper industrial upper class. This was the result of his promises. "Prosperity at home, prestige abroad", said the slogan from the William McKinley's presidential campaign poster. In his first *Inaugural Address*, the President pledged to fulfil obligations made during the electoral campaign:

> Nothing has ever been made plainer at a general election than that the controlling principle in the raising of revenue from duties on imports is zealous care for American interests and American labor. The people have declared that such legislation should be had as will give ample protection and encouragement to the industries and the development of our country. (William McKinley, *Inaugural Address*, March 4, 1897)

The collage of Monroe Doctrine and Manifest Destiny was lurking behind the new expectations of the American nation, moving the country towards an era of American dominance in global politics. The conflict with Spain allowed the American people to forget about the Civil War which divided the country and left wounds difficult to heal. Public consent to make war pushed unwilling President to act accordingly. This is how McKinley justified hostilities against Spain in his *Message Regarding Cuban Civil War to Congress* on April 11, 1898:

> Since the present revolution began in February, 1895, this country has seen the fertile domain at our threshold ravaged by fire and sword in the course of a struggle unequaled in the history of the island and rarely paralleled as to the numbers of the combatants and the bitterness of the contest by any revolution of modern times where dependent people striving to be free have been opposed by the power of the sovereign state. Our people have beheld a once prosperous community reduced to comparative want, its lucrative commerce virtually paralyzed, its exceptional productiveness diminished, its fields laid waste, its mills in ruins, and its people perishing by tens of thousands from hunger and destitution. […] Our trade has suffered; the capital invested by our citizens in Cuba has been largely lost, and the temper and forbearance of our people have been so sorely tried […].

William McKinley's oratorical skills were unquestionable. However, it may be said that his role in shaping the "rhetorical presidency" is very much underestimated. The series of speeches made by McKinley after the breakout of the war with Spain created a new quality with regard to communication between the president and the people. Whether he was just a president of pre-rhetorical era or a forerunner of the "rhetorical presidency" is disputed (Saldin 2011: 119). Tulis maintains that McKinley was indistinguishable in the line of presidents of the 19th century America:

> Postbellum presidents pushed against the boundaries of the nineteenth-century constitutional order, but not beyond it. They still acted more like their predecessors than like their twentieth-century successors. McKinley was no exception, even if he pushed harder than most others. (Tulis 2007: 487–488)

On the contrary, McKinley's successes were undoubtable. During his presidency, he managed to win a war with Spain, annex Hawaii, and bring the Philippines, Puerto Rico and Guam under American control. Having lived through the Civil War, and coming from the lower class of the American society, McKinley seemed to understand the needs and worries of ordinary people. His oratorical skills allowed him to speak to the wide part of the American community the way ordinary people understood. Being criticized for involving the United States into "unnecessary war" (Rhodes: 63–64), McKinley remains the president who "helped unite the country after decades of division" (Rove 2015: 3) and who took his country into the twentieth century in a good economic condition.

3.2.4. Woodrow Wilson's War to End All Wars

A successful President of Princeton University, Woodrow Wilson joined the Democratic Party in order to climb up the career ladder. He became the Governor of New Jersey which gave him solid foundations for entering national politics. With his visionary, and above all, progressive political and economic views, he was run for presidency by Democrats in 1912 and took the office in 1913. He confirmed his opinion of being a reformist politician by implementing his ideas: lowering tariffs, introducing new federal income tax and antitrust law. In order to control banks, he established the Federal Reserve System. By being firm and consistent while governing the country, Wilson kept strengthening his position within the Democratic Party. As the President of the US, he was the real leader of his party and the real leader of the complicated Washington politics.

With the outbreak of World War I, Wilson persisted on a policy of neutrality of the US in relations with the Allied Powers and the Central Powers. Neutrality was not difficult to maintain as, at that time, it was preferred by all Americans. Keeping away from European conflicts was one of the principles to which American governments consorted. The attitude of neutrality was strengthened by the fact that at least a third of the American society were immigrants or the children of immigrants with the largest group of German-Americans. This led American politicians to sustained efforts to keep the US neutral. In the presidential election of 1916, Democrats supported Wilson with a slogan "He kept us out of war," which allowed him to defeat his opponent and keep the post for the second term while Democrats could maintain control of Congress (Jones 1983: 412–414). Starting with 1915, relations with both fighting parties became more complicated and American neutrality entangled Wilson in an uneasy relationship with

Germany on one side, and Britain on the other. Introducing the use of submarines in warfare by the Germans and their treatment of neutral and belligerent vessels at open international waters led to outbursts of the American anger. In this period, Wilson worked hard to maintain neutral stability and keep America distant from war. However, warfare activities of both the Allied Powers and the Central Powers, the atrocities of war and the number of deaths, led to the evolution of Wilson's opinion on the problematic of maintaining American neutrality. In his view, the only way to secure long lasting peace was to achieve "peace without victory" (Jones 1983: 420). Such peace would be maintained through an international organization. This would lead Wilson to his efforts to create such an independent body. He succeeded in 1920 when, as a result of peace talks, the League of Nations was established. It was April 2, 1917 when Wilson decided that the war activities became too obtrusive to American citizens and that American neutrality was no longer respected. This led the President to decide that the US neglect American policy of neutrality and enter the war.

Wilson is regarded by historians as one of the presidents who left a significant imprint in American history. Being criticized by many for drawing America into the distant European conflict (Jones 1983: 429–431), by others he is seen as a Peacemaker with his concept and, finally, realization of the League of Nations:

> America is the only nation since the Crusades to fight other peoples' battles at her own gigantic loss. We may be proud of that Crusade even if it did fail to bring peace to mankind. Woodrow Wilson, however, did spread lasting ideals over the world. (Hoover 1958: viii–ix)

Wilson was undeniably one of those politicians who shaped not only the modern "rhetorical" presidency in the United States but also provided Americans with ideas that prevailed in the twentieth century. Ambrosius observes:

> During and after the Great War, Wilson offered his vision of a new world order, identified, in retrospect, as Wilsonianism. His liberal internationalism embraced the principles of (1) national self-determination, which affirmed both national sovereignty and democratic self-government; (2) Open Door economic globalization, which favored a competitive marketplace for trade and financial investments across national borders; (3) collective security, which found expression in the postwar League of Nations; and (4) progressive history, which undergirded the Wilsonian vision of a better future for the world. (Ambrosius 2002: 2)

In his *Address to the Senate od the United States* delivered on January 22, 1917 Wilson unveiled his visionary thoughts reaching far beyond the interest of a single country:

> I am proposing, as it were, that the nations should with one accord adopt the doctrine of President Monroe as the doctrine of the world: that no nation should seek to extend its polity over any other nation or people, but that every people should be left free to determine its own polity, its own way of development, unhindered, unthreatened, unafraid, the little along with the great and powerful.

While many researchers are attracted by the purely political activity of the President, it is his oratorical skills that most of academics paid attention to. Wilson's rhetorical fluency was an effective instrument used to achieve presidential goals (Shulte Nordholt 1991: 89–90; Rudanko 2012: 143–146). There is an agreement that Wilson was a talented orator and used his talent in daily political practice. Kraig (2004: 39–43) gives an insightful description of Wilson's presidency, stressing the importance of the early years of his career. Working as a lecturer at Princeton University gave him opportunity to exercise his oratorical skills. Becoming the leader of the nation, Wilson transformed America but it required an exceptional effort (Ambrosius 2017: 230–237). As the final decision about entering an armed conflict was in the hands of Congress, not the President, Wilson had to use his oratorical artistry in order to convince the assembly to accept his policy. Kraig (2004: 164) points to the socio-cultural changes American society was going through and an increasing role of the media in communicating the President's political actions. The press played a significant role in convincing not just the Congress but the whole nation to accept the President's war speech. Robert Lansing (1935: 242, cited after Blakey 1970: 2), Wilson's Secretary of State commented in his Memoirs people's reaction after the war message had been announced: "the vast audience broke into a tumult of applause that was deafening. They clapped, they stamped, they cheered".

Acquisition of the favour of politicians unwilling to see the state getting involved in a large scale armed conflict and convincing the American people that war was the only option may be regarded as the victory of oratorical talent of the President. The war speech to the assembly was a perfect example of application of Aristotelian kairos: an effective speech requires communicating at the right time, the right place and above all, the right mode. The President said the right words at the right moment. In opposition to numerous critics of Wilson's actions (Striner 2014: 98), Hogan (2006: 25) considers the President as an ideal politician – orator, recognizing him as a man whose aim was to discuss the key political issues not only with the political elite of the country but firstly with the people of

America. While the change in communicating political actions introduced by Wilson is regarded by researchers as a significant moment in the history of American presidency, there is no agreement to whether to regard it as a positive or negative alteration in American tradition and whether the foreign affairs of American presidents since Wilson may be regarded as continuation of his policy (Manela 2005: 1116–1117; Tucker 2007: 8). The end of the isolationist era and Wilson's effort to establish a new order in the world led the United States to the role of the key player shaping the global politics throughout the whole 20th century (see: Hoover 1958: viii–ix).

3.2.5. Franklin D. Roosevelt and the Japanese conquest of Southeast Asia

President Franklin D. Roosevelt's oratory skills were appreciated the American public and he was frequently referred to as having "the power to persuade." Neustadt (1990: 32) claims that the starting point for the analysis of presidential power should be the presumption that all presidents have to deal with weakness. Presidents are the most authoritative figures in the country but as long as they cannot influence others to execute presidential orders, they are not strong enough to exercise their power effectively. Neustadt proposed a theory: presidential power is not the power to direct but the power to persuade. As the power of the American government is divided between various offices and institutions, presidents cannot just send orders and wait for their execution. To achieve their objectives, presidents must convince others that presidential ideas and orders are in their interests:

> The president's advantages are checked by the advantages of others. Relationships will pull in both directions. These are relationships of mutual dependence. The president depends upon the persons that he would persuade; he has to reckon with their need or fear of them. (Neustadt 1990: 31)

Despite his aristocratic upbringing the President built a consistent picture of a firm politician guided by ideas such as justice and equality, whose paramount aim was to preserve democracy. Roosevelt' endeavors to be perceived as honest, open and responsible were rewarded by the general public (Kiewe 2007: 125; Levine & Levine 2002: 74; Winfield 1994: 17–18). His policy of openness with mass media coincided with the dynamic development of technology. Radio gave the President immediate access to the remotest places in the country and as such it became the basic means of communication on the line President – general public. This radical transformation led to

the emergence of a new relation between the White House, the Congressmen and the American people. Moreover, Roosevelt contributed to introducing a new style of communication. His understanding of the power radio gave politicians led him to his excellent use of this media. FDR's radio "fireside chats" to the people differed from the formal speeches of the preceding presidents. His informal way of reaching the listeners created a new quality in relations between the sender and the recipients of the message – a link between the President and the people (Winfield 2011: 227). Ryfe observes:

> Roosevelt's fireside chats were structured both form and content by the new mode of publicness initiated by the culture industries in the 20th century. Roosevelt employed the idioms of mass culture to close the perceptual gap between him and his mass audience. As media events, the chats were useful in dramatizing a new symbolic geography of the American imagined community for the mass public, and thus introducing to thus public a set of new identities and practices appropriate to 20th-century mass politics. (Ryfe 1999: 80)

Roosevelt was known for his ability to coin new phrases and to sound humorous when it was required. Having president who served over three terms in the office, the public became accustomed to hearing his voice. His oratorical skills seemed to be those of Theodore Roosevelt and of Woodrow Wilson combined. Winning the presidency while the United States was still in recession, with the remarkable use of his oratory style, Roosevelt convinced the American people to entrust him. In his first *Inaugural Address* delivered on March 4, 1933, he insisted:

> Restoration calls, however, not for changes in ethics alone. This nation asks for action, and action now. Our greatest primary task is to put people to work. This is no unsolvable problem if we face it wisely and courageously. It can be accomplished in part by direct recruiting by the government itself, treating the task as we would treat the emergency of a war, but at the same time, through this employment, accomplishing greatly needed projects to stimulate and reorganize the use of our natural resources.

In his fight of the crisis, in order to adopt necessary measures, the president was ready to interfere with the authority of the Congress:

> It is to be hoped that the normal balance of executive and legislative authority may be wholly adequate to meet the unprecedented task before us. But it may be that an unprecedented demand and need for undelayed action may call for temporary departure from that normal balance of public procedure. […] But in the event that the Congress shall fail to take one of these two courses, and in the event that the

> national emergency is still critical, I shall not evade the clear course of duty that will then confront me. I shall ask the Congress for the one remaining instrument to meet the crisis – broad executive power to wage a war against the emergency, as great as the power that would be given to me if we were in fact invaded by a foreign foe.

During Roosevelt's first term in office, his administration introduced the "New Deal" program. Although the signs of economic recovery were clearly visible, the President did not plan to rest. "we have set our feet upon the road of enduring progress", he summarized the term. Dying in 1945, Franklin D. Roosevelt left the United States more powerful than ever in history. At the same time, he inspired and managed to achieve the goal of bringing the "rhetorical presidency" to its glory.

3.3. Chapter conclusions

The third chapter aimed to introduce the political and socio-historical context that resulted in production of the texts researched in the dissertation.

The first subchapter was devoted to the problematic of American presidency and general issues related to wars. The importance of rhetoric was emphasized. Then, attention was directed towards the complexity of the problematic of presidential and congressional powers in American political system. The roles of the president and the Congress are analyzed as they overlap and are prone to interpretations. Particular attention was paid in regard to a presidential war message which in each five cases triggered the mechanism of going the country to war.

In the second subchapter the outline of context for the five formally initiated conflicts was drawn. As shown, the question of powers, whether shared or divided, has caused a great deal of tension between the executive and the legislative branch of American government. The very general and vague treatment of the problem of making war by the Framers had its foundations in conviction that no single man should be entitled to push the whole nation into conflicts that bring atrocities, murder, starvation and oppression not only to soldiers fighting in wars but also to innocent civilians. This feature of the Constitution was commented by Franklin D. Roosevelt:

> Our Constitution is so simple and practical that it is possible always to meet extraordinary needs by changes in emphasis and arrangements without loss of essential form. That is why our constitutional system has proved itself the most superbly enduring political mechanism the modern world has produced. It has met

> every stress of vast expansion of territory, of foreign wars, of bitter internal strife, of world relations. (Roosevelt, *Inaugural Address*, March 4, 1933)

It can be seen that presidents sought congressional authorization of war very infrequently. The very cases when presidential war requests were issued, were related to conflicts that involved either a large, possibly European belligerent or were to introduce the United States to global wars. The circumstances, the responsibility and the predicted enormous effort from the nation inclined the presidents to seek the acceptance of the national assembly for their war endevours.

4. The analysis of the research material

In this chapter the analysis of presidential war messages, congressional declarations, and presidential proclamations is carried out. The aim of the analysis is to test the readability of the texts under investigation, and to identify communicational patterns of individual participants of the discourse of war taking into consideration situational, social and cultural aspects of language. This should allow for understanding how language is used and in whose interest it is used. The chapter comprises eight subchapters.

The first subchapter presents the corpora of texts constituting the research material. A concise statistical overview of the fifteen texts is given. The documents are of various lengths. The shortest and the longest comprise 135 and 5818 lexical units respectively. The subchapter ends with remarks regarding possible reasons leading to production of texts so different in size. In the second subchapter readability of the texts is analyzed. The analysis is supported by tables and figures with comments in order to provide a clear presentation of the statistical data. It shows that there are observable trends in regard to the readability of the investigated texts. This is clearly noticeable in the case of presidential requests for war.

The successive subchapters present the analysis of the typology of arguments in the investigated documents. The structures of the documents are discussed and general models of argument development are provided with the aid of Chruszczewski's model of analysis of argumentation. Particular attention is paid to the five presidential war requests as they can be regarded as igniting the processes leading to war conflicts. Again, tables and figures with comments are provided for a clear presentation of the obtained data in which the analyzed texts are treated as communication events, understood not as the final products of human interactions, but as tools of social communication. Being such, they are understood as processes taking place in situational, social and cultural contexts.

In the last subchapter the results of the analysis are discussed. The chapter closes with conclusions concerning the readability of texts and the typology of arguments in the analyzed material. It is followed by general conclusions with comments regarding the subject matter and the objectives of the dissertation.

4.1. The corpora

Corpus based text analysis provides valuable insight into the researched material. Tools, which with the development of computer technology are nowadays easily accessible, can be used to analyze large amount of data. In the case of linguistics, available software does not require advanced skills and knowledge and allows for examination of wordlists, keywords, concordances, or dispersion plots (Olejniczak 2018: 1). Using corpora for corpus analysis may reveal facts about language that are not easily observable when working with texts without the aid of computer software.

The material used for the analysis comprises nineteen documents. In the course of events leading to the war of 1812 James Madison's war message, congressional declaration, and presidential proclamation were issued. Similarly, the war against Mexico initiated by James K. Polk was preceded by presidential war message, congressional declaration and presidential announcement of war. In the events leading to war with Spain in 1898, William McKinley's war request was followed by congressional declaration and presidential proclamation calling for military volunteers. In the case of World War I, Woodrow Wilson's war speech was followed by congressional declarations of war against Germany. The very next day Wilson issued presidential proclamation. On December, 7, 1917 the Congress released declaration of war against Austria-Hungary. Both declarations are the same in content so for the clarity of analysis the second declaration is omitted in the research. Finally, Franklin D. Roosevelt's "infamy speech" was followed by four congressional war declarations: against Japan, against Germany, against Italy, against Bulgaria, Hungary and Romania. Roosevelt's "fireside chat" which immediately followed congressional declaration of war against Japan is regarded as presidential proclamation of war. Only congressional declaration of war against Japan is taken into account in the research as the remaining declarations are the same in content. This results in the corpora of 15 texts that constitute the object of the analysis.

The five presidential war messages are central to the research. They comprise 15821 lexical units. The texts are unequal in length. As can be seen in *Table 2.*, the longest message comprises 5818 words, while the shortest speech comprises only 518 words. Two messages, Madison's and Polk's, are approximately of equal length of around 2900 words, while Wilson's message is the second longest speech in this set.

Table 2. The corpora of presidential war messages

Presidential war messages						
Text	**James Madison**	**James K. Polk**	**William McKinley**	**Woodrow Wilson**	**Franklin D. Roosevelt**	**Corpora**
Number of lexical units	2845	2973	5818	3667	518	15821

The corpora of congressional declarations comprises 1450 lexical units (*Table 3*.). It comprises five documents, among which four texts are of approximately equal length ranging from 135 to 173 words. The declaration of war against Spain doubles that length while the declaration of war against Mexico is the longest with 821 words.

Table 3. The corpora of congressional declarations of war

Congressional declarations						
Text	**War of 1812**	**Mexican-American War**	**Spanish-American War**	**World War I**	**World War II**	**Corpora**
Number of lexical units	169	821	135	152	173	1450

The corpora of presidential war proclamations comprises 5431 lexical units (*Table 4*.). The five texts are of unequal lengths. Three texts are short, with Polk's proclamation of 269 words being the shortest. Wilson, known for possessing great rhetorical skills, produced a speech contained in 1537 words. The longest text came from Roosevelt, with 2978 words. This stands in contrast with the length of the speech he made when requesting war against Japan.

Table 4. The corpora of presidential proclamations of war

Presidential war proclamations						
Text	**James Madison**	**James K. Polk**	**William McKinley**	**Woodrow Wilson**	**Franklin D. Roosevelt**	**Corpora**
Number of lexical units	327	269	320	1537	2978	5431

Looking at the table, one can raise a question about the reasons for which texts are of so different lengths. There are only 15 texts in total so one could assume that this is due to the fact the corpora comprises relatively small amount of data. However, it has to stated that the speeches (delivered either in written or oral form) were produced in extremely different circumstances. Madison's, Polk's, and McKinley's speeches were direct results of the legal process of initiation of war. The course of legal procedure required a reaction of the president whose task was to finalize the process of proclaiming war. Such reaction was expected from the president and each president acted accordingly to fulfill his role. There was a reason for Roosevelt to produce a speech of such a contrasting length. Wars initiated by the other four presidents had been deliberately planned. The war of 1812 was long preceded with British attacks on American vessels. War against Mexico required justification and Polk worked hard in Congress to convince the unconvinced. Once the goal was achieved, Polk terminated the legal process of drawing the country into war. Defending America's mainly economic interests in Cuba gave McKinley position to demand war. Again, it was the United States that started the conflict. Wilson, reverting from being the peace provider to the position of a representative of an injured nation, brought war on America deliberately. Roosevelt and the whole country did not expect the attack on Pearl Harbour (cf. Cressman *et al.* 2015). The attack on the naval base, commenced on December 7, 1942, came as a surprise breaching the neutrality of the US. Until the very last day American and British intelligence, working through varios possible alternatives in developments of events in the Pacific area, did not take into account so sudden attack on American territory (Best 1995 [2001]: 191). The attack came without explicit warning. Japanese declaration of war against the United States and Britain was issued a day after the attack. This resulted in heavy losses of battleships and aircraft in Pearl Harbour. Roosevelt's speeches are consonant with the situational context. The President's war message is short as a result of unexpected development of events. The President did not have time to work on his speech. Time played a crucial role. The 518 words became an "infamy speech" in modern American history. The speech was followed by "fireside chat" which in the research is regarded as an equivalent of war proclamation. In the chat, delivered soon after the outbreak of war, Roosevelt could elaborate on the situation using his rhetorical talents to strengthen the morale of the nation and appease the shock brought upon the American people by the Japanese.

4.2. Readability of the texts

As mentioned in Chapter Two, the contents of the presidential messages, Congressional declarations and presidential proclamations were tested with the Gunning Fog Index tool. To assess the readability of a document only a small piece of text can be used for testing. In order to achieve best results whole texts were examined. It is worth mentioning that all the documents were also double-checked with another easily available tool, namely the Flesch-Kincaid formula. This was done for comparison in order to ensure reliability of the tests. The results obtained with the use of both formulas did not differ.

4.2.1. Readability of the presidential war messages

Assessing readability of the recipient is an important aspect to consider when preparing a political speech. To deliver an effective speech the speaker has to write it up in such a manner that it is understood by the hearer. Basically, presidential messages requesting war are addressed to Congress, definitely an educated strata of American society. However, when the individual situational context of the circumstances in which each war message was issued, it can be noticed that recipients of the messages differ. Madison's and Polk's messages were aimed strictly at members of the American Congress. Delivered in written form, the texts allowed the readers for deeper consideration of the issues. Although the American Constitution was democratic in its foundations, and the country's political system was a way ahead of European monarchical systems, participation of ordinary citizens in the country's politics was limited.

If The Fog Index exceeds the 12 points factor, it means that a text is too difficult for most people to understand. In the case of presidential war messages all of them carry factors above this level. As can be seen (*Table 5.*), Madison's message exceeds 23 points of the index and is extremely difficult to understand. While he length of the speech does not contribute to the readability, the number of words consisting of three or more syllables counts 464, which constitutes 16.3% of the text. Only 66 major punctuation marks, namely full stops, are used throughout the text. This shows that Madison, being one of the best educated members of the society, produced a message which required an effort from the recipient in order to be understood.

Both, Polk's and McKinley's messages received value around 18 points which recognizes language as very difficult to understand. Polk's message, comprising 2973 words, contains 103 major punctuation marks. The number of words consisting of three

or more syllables counts 544, which is 18.29% of the text. McKinley's message, which is the longest with 5818 lexical units, is only 0.82 more readable according to the Gunning Fog test. Only 181 major punctuation marks are used. The number of words consisting of three or more syllables counts 1034 and amounts to 17.77% of the text.

The speech delivered by Wilson is placed just below the 18 factor, but still requiring university education in order to be understood by the receiver. The presidential war message, comprising 3667 words, contains 120 major punctuation marks. The number of words consisting of three or more syllables counts 478, which is 13.04% of the text. Only Franklin D. Roosevelt's message is positioned at the lower end of scale. Factor 14.03 suggests that it is still a rather difficult language, although as the table shows, Roosevelt produced a speech, which in comparison with the preceding texts was the easiest to comprehend. Comprising only 518 words, the text contains 29 major punctuation marks. The number of words consisting of three or more syllables counts 94, which amounts to 18.14% of the text.

Table 5. Readability of the presidential war messages

Presidential war message	**Gunning Fog Index**
James Madison, War of 1812	23.99
James K. Polk, Mexican War	18.86
William McKinley, Spanish–American War	18.04
Woodrow Wilson, World War I	17.42
Franklin D. Roosevelt, World War II	14.03

As can be observed in the graph (*Figure 2.*), over the century the Gunning Fog Index factor of the presidential war messages moved steadily down the scale. The readability of the texts increased. Thus, it became more accessible to the wider public.

One of the reasons for the increase in understandability of the texts might be the previously mentioned fact that the oldest messages were addressed to a very narrow group of recipients – members of the Congress with a very little possibility of reaching wider audience due to very limited means of communication at the time (Carey 1983: 303–325). The first telegram in the United States was sent by Morse on January 11, 1838, and it took six years before the first message was sent from the Capital in Washington in 1844. Although commercial telegraphy spread fairly quickly, it took another decade to

build connections with the major metropolitan centres on the east coast. To reach the west coast the telegraph required another 17 years. Before the invention of the telegraph information was limited to a human travelling horseback (Carey 1989: 210). As the telegraph allowed communication to become separated from transportation, it revolutionized economy and society.

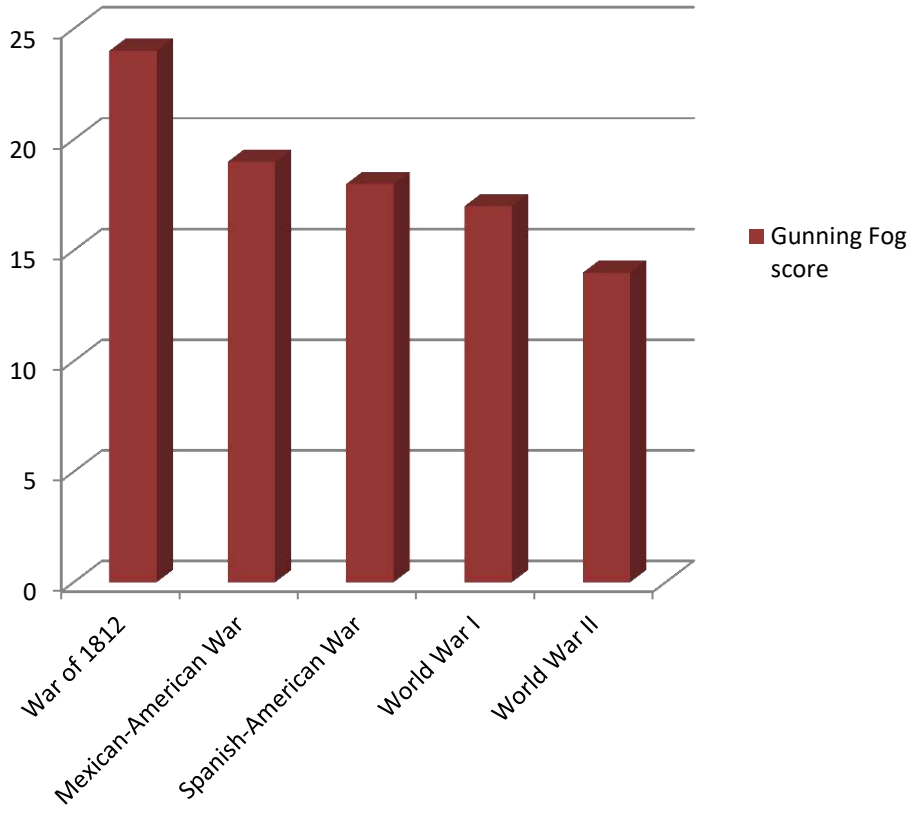

Figure 2. Readability of the presidential war messages

The results of the test show that Presidential war messages reflect the social changes in the American society over the century as well as the technological progress. The increase in the readability of the messages allowed the presidents to reach wider audience, which was vital considering democratic foundations of the political system of the United States. Not only the consent of the members of the American Congress were required but public feelings and opinions were to be taken into account. By reaching wider audience and winning public opinion, the presidents could strengthen their position as chief executives of the state.

4.2.2. Readability of Congressional declarations

A declaration of war indicates that a state of war exists between the engaged countries. Due to the fact that the United States has been involved in hostilities throughout its history, few terms relating to the state of war coexist in American politics. These are: "formal declaration of war", "undeclared war", conflict "authorized by Congress." The American Constitution does not state what requirements the document has to comply with in order to be considered a "formal declaration of war." Five formal declarations of war have been scrutinized in the research. These are documents declaring war against Great Britain in 1812, Mexico in 1846, Spain in 1898, Germany in 1917, and Japan in 1941. As mentioned earlier, more formal declarations were issued by congressional gatherings, namely declaration of war against Austria-Hungary in 1917, declaration of war against Italy in 1941, and Bulgaria, Hungary, and Romania in 1942. For the fact that the declaration of war against Austria-Hungary is the copy of the declaration of war against Germany, and the other remaining declarations are basically copies of the declaration of war against Japan, they are omitted in the analysis. The results of the readability tests are shown in *Table 6.*

Table 6. Readability of Congressional declarations of war

Congressional declaration	Gunning Fog Index
War of 1812	39.01
Mexican War	16.70
Spanish – American War	10.60
World War I	15.00
World War II	13.00

The texts of four declarations are short in length. Declaration of war against Britain comprises 169 words. Only two major punctuation marks are used. The number of words consisting of three and more syllables counts 22, which is 13.02% of the text. The declaration carries factor 39.01 according to the Gunning Fog Index scale, which shows that the text is extremely difficult to understand. The low readability of the declaration may be ascribed to the fact that the text is very short and legal language is used throughout. Exceptionally long, comprising 821 lexical units is the declaration of war

against Mexico. There are 30 major punctuation marks in the text. The number of words consisting of three or more syllable amounts to 118, which is 14.37% of the text. The declaration scores a factor of 16.7 on the Gunning Fog Index scale. The declaration of war against Spain comprises 135 words and is the shortest. Eight major punctuation marks are used. The number of words consisting of three and more syllables counts 13, which is 9.63% of the text. The declaration scores factor 10.60 on the Gunning Fog Index scale, which shows that the text is easy to understand. The declaration of war against Germany is 152 words long. There are 7 major punctuation marks. The 24 three or more syllable words count for 15.79% of the text. The declaration scores a factor of 15.00 on the Gunning Fog Index scale. The declaration of war against Japan comprises 173 words. 11 major punctuation marks are used. The number of words consisting of three and more syllables counts 29, which is 16.76% of the text. The declaration scores factor 13.00 on the Gunning Fog Index scale, which shows that the text may be regarded as relatively easy to understand.

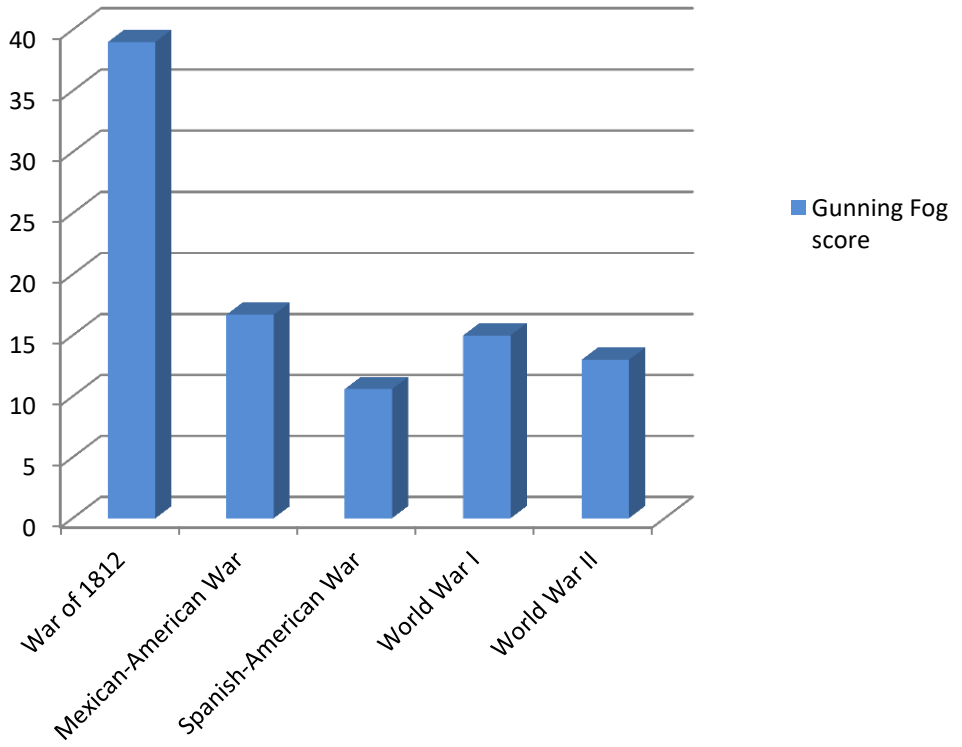

Figure 3. Readability of Congressional declarations of war

The texts of the declarations reflect, to some extent, the trend which is so noticeable in the case of presidential war messages. Similarly, the first declaration is the least

readable with the readability of the remaining texts rising steadily with the exception of the declaration of war against Spain which poses the least difficulty for the receiver. The trend may be observed in the graph (*Figure 3.*).

Enactments of formal declarations of war are meant to authorize the use of force by the president and confer special power on the executive branch. These include the military, trade, transport, communication, etc. The measures taken by the American Congress are then followed by the President who issues a proclamation of war and claims the constitutional Commander-in-Chief authority.

4.2.3. Readability of presidential proclamations

Proclaiming war by the president of the United States is a performative act, and the final piece in the sequence: presidential war request - congressional declaration of war – presidential proclamation. Four texts bear the title "proclamation." The fireside chat delivered by Roosevelt wasn't announced as proclamation of war but, it can be assumed that at least to some extent served as such. It was the first speech made by the residing President aftermath the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbour. Three texts, Madison's, Polk's, and McKinley's are short, ranging from 269 to 327 words. Two remaining texts, Wilson's and Roosevelt's are of extensive length, comprising 1537 and 2978 words respectively.

Madison's "Proclamation of a State of War with Great Britain" scores the 17.88 factor in the Gunning Fog Index test. The number of words consisting of three or more syllables counts 49, which constitutes 14.98% of the text. There are 11 major punctuation marks. Readability of the text is the lowest. Polk's "Announcement of War with Mexico" is the shortest. It scores the 13.78 factor. The number of words consisting of three or more syllables counts 37, which constitutes 13.75% of the text. There are 13 major punctuation marks. McKinley's "Proclamation Calling for Military Volunteers" is one of the short texts. It comprises 320 words and scores 17.76 points on the Gunning Fog Index scale. The number of words consisting of three or more syllables counts 49, which constitutes 15.31% of the text. Only 11 major punctuation marks are used throughout the text. Wilson's "Proclamation 1364" is 1537 words long. It scores 21.27 points on the scale. Having considered major punctuation marks in the number of 43, its readability is low. The number of words consisting of three or more syllables is 268, which makes for 17,44% of the text. Roosevelt's "Fireside Chat 19: On the War with Japan" is the longest as it consists of 2978 words. With the 13.11 factor on the scale, it is also the most

readable proclamation. The number of words consisting of three or more syllables counts 389, which constitutes 13.06% of the text. There are 151 major punctuation marks.

Table 7. Gunning Fog Index test – presidential proclamations of war

Presidential proclamation	Gunning Fog Index
James Madison, War of 1812	17.88
James K. Polk, Mexican War	13.78
William McKinley, Spanish – American War	17.76
Woodrow Wilson, World War I	21.27
Franklin D. Roosevelt, World War II	13.11

As can be seen in *Table 7.* and the graph (*Figure 4.*), the texts present various levels of readability. There is no clear noticeable trend like in the case of presidential war messages or congressional declarations.

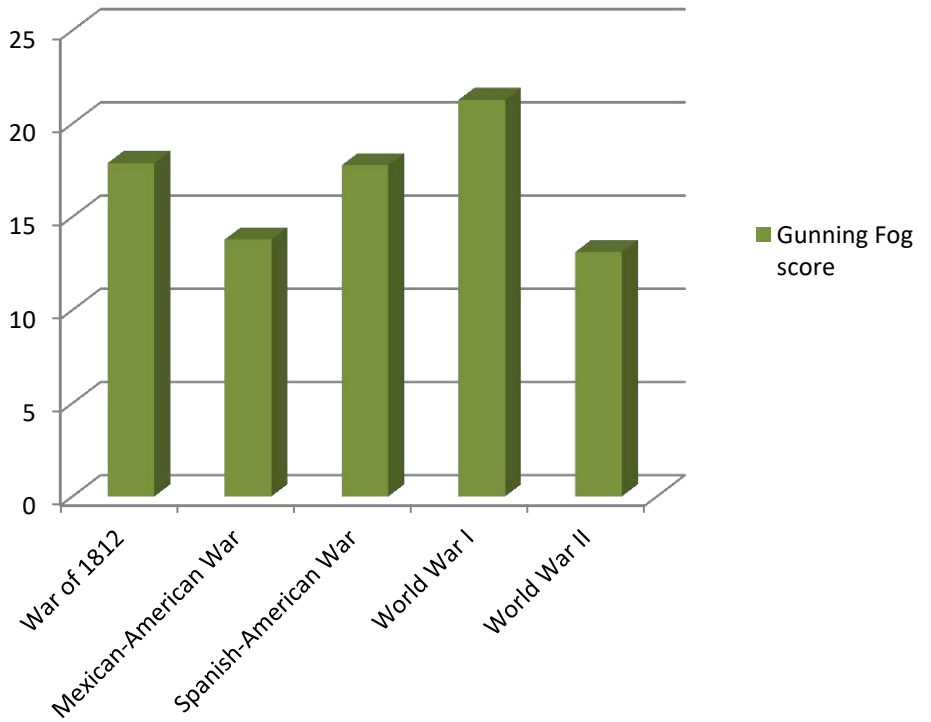

Figure 4. Gunning Fog Index test – presidential proclamations of war

Taking socio-historical context into consideration, the differences in readability seem to be due to different political circumstances each president faced. The texts finalize the process of war initiation and depending on particular situational contexts and reflect the priorities of the individual presidents. The priorities varied. For Madison, Polk, and McKinley the proclamations functioned as explicit performative acts confirming the change of political reality performed by the Congress. Wilson's proclamation is a performative transforming peace into war but also changing social reality of the subjects of a hostile country, mainly German minority living in the United States, whom the proclamation turned into "enemy aliens." Roosevelt used mass media to communicate his message to the nation. Possessing oratorical skills, he delivered the longest speech. The circumstances demanded addressing many vital issues which had not been elaborated upon in his short message to Congress requesting a declaration of war. As the act of declaring war by the Congress is done, the shift of power takes place. Presidential speeches turn into performatives affecting people's lives. Each proclamation is a performative act changing realities of different societies in a different way. Presidential proclamations create new law, rules, regulations. They trigger new statutory rights strengthening the powers of the Chief Executive of the state.

4.3. Typology of arguments. War of 1812

The War of 1812 broke out on 18 June 1812. The United States entered the war supported by four native American tribes, namely Choctaw, Cherokee, Creek, and Seneca. The direct reason for war was forcing American citizens captured by the British to man their ships. The British Royal Navy, the largest and most powerful at the time, constantly required man power on its armed vessels. This practice, known as impressment, was long despised by the Americans and had been one of the grievances listed in *the Declaration of Independence*. It stated: "He [the King–L.W.] has constrained our fellow Citizens taken Captive on the high Seas to bear Arms against their Country, to become the executioners of their friends and Brethren, or to fall themselves by their Hands." (*The Declaration of Independence*, cit. in Vile 2019: 355).

Since 1793 Britain had been involved in a war against France. The United States suffered from the policies of both fighting countries, being unable to trade with one fighting side without negative reaction from the other (Stagg 2012: 25). This resulted in worsening of

the American trade and finally plunged the United States into an economic depression. The British supported native American tribes who opposed American expansion in the Northwest, which also lead to disagreements between the countries. Madison had long considered whether to push the country into war. Supported by "war hawks" in Congress, the President decided to issue a war request. His aim was to secure the development of the American economy and assert the status of the United States as an independent country. In the course of war, the American army attempted to invade Canada which was an unsuccessful enterprise. Americans forces lost on the whole frontier. Meanwhile, fights with native American tribes broke out in the Southeast. Successes were scarce. Only, in the later stage of the war, American troops managed to succeed in battles. In 1813, American troops won at Lake Erie and the Thames. In August 1814, the President was forced to flee Washington which was burnt by the British army. In hostilities known as the Creek War, Andrew Jackson won the Battle of Horseshoe Bend of the Tallapoosa river, "a river of blood" as described by one of the participants (Kanon 2015: 102–105), pushing the native American tribes out of their territories. He successfully defended New Orleans from the British, thus becoming a national hero, which lead him to victory in the 1828 presidential election. The conflict ended with negotiations finalized with signing the Treaty of Ghent on December 24, 1814. The warring factions decided to compromise. Regarding territorial changes, the war resulted in *status quo ante bellum*. Britain repealed trade restrictions and refrained from the policy of impressment.

The war had started mainly to secure the freedom of trade, but Americans soon realized that it transformed into "the second war for independence." By some seen as the result of ideological clashes between the Federalists and the Republicans (Buel 2005: 155), the warfare resulted in maintaining American maritime rights, consolidating the American forces on land, strengthening the young nation and upholding the national honour.

4.3.1. James Madison's war message

On June 1, 1812, the President sent a letter to both houses of Congress pointing out reasons for war. In his message, he did not ask directly for war declaration. However, he gave a number of reasons which finally resulted in the congressional decision to declare war. Apart from the impressment of American sailors by the British, three other issues are mentioned in the message. Illegal blockades, the Orders in Council, which restricted

Americans from accessing British West Indian ports affecting American commerce, and the role of the British in igniting Indian war in the northwest part of the country had been cumulating American anger. In Madison's view, not only was lack of reaction unacceptable, but it also heavily threatened American commercial interests, and above all, the political status of the newly born republic.

The presidential war message comprises 2845 words. For the purpose of the analysis the whole message was divided into 49 arguments. The arguments do not match the original paragraphs of the text. Instead, they relate to a single and logical thought of the speaker which can be identified by a reader. Each argument was matched with an appropriate marker or a number of markers. As a result, the following model of the development of arguments unfolds:

1. S (situationality) 2. S (situationality) 3. E_m/R_1 (emotional attitude/recent history) 4. $E_m/R_1/J$ (emotional attitude/recent history/juxtaposed elements) 5. R_1/G (recent history/speaker's guidelines) 6. $R_1/E_m/U/J$ (recent history/emotional attitude/universal values/juxtaposed elements) 7. E_m/R_1 (emotional attitude/recent history) 8. $E_m/R_1/C$ (emotional attitude/recent history/conciliation efforts) 9. R_1/C (recent history/conciliation efforts) 10. R_1/U (recent history/universal values) 11. E_m/R_1 (emotional attitude/recent history) 12. R_1/J (recent history/juxtaposed elements) 13. E_m/R_1 (emotional attitude/recent history) 14. E_m/R_1 (emotional attitude/recent history) 15. $E_m/R_1/E_v$ (emotional attitude/recent history/enemy as evil) 16. E_m/R_1 (emotional attitude/recent history) 17. $R_1/E_m/J$ (recent history/emotional attitude/juxtaposed elements) 18. R_1/T_c (recent history/technicality) 19. $R_1/T_c/G$ (recent history/technicality/speaker's guidelines) 20. R_1 (recent history) 21. J/E_m (juxtaposed elements/emotional attitude) 22. E_v/E_m (enemy as evil/emotional attitude) 23. R_1/J (recent history/juxtaposed elements) 24. R_1 (recent history) 25. R_1 (recent history) 26. C/R_1 (conciliation efforts/recent history) 27. C/R_1 (conciliation efforts/recent history) 28. R_1/T_c (recent history/technicality) 29. R_1/P (recent history/speaker's policy) 30. C (conciliation efforts) 31. R_1/P (recent history/speaker's policy) 32. C/P (conciliation efforts/speaker's policy) 33. R_1/J (recent history/juxtaposed elements) 34. R_1 (recent history) 35. C/R_1 (conciliation efforts/recent history) 36. C/R_1 (conciliation efforts/recent history) 37. $R_1/J/E_m/E_v$ (recent history/juxtaposed elements/emotional attitude/enemy as evil) 38. R_1/E_m (recent history/emotional attitude) 39. R_1/E_v (recent history/enemy as evil) 40. E_m/C (emotional attitude/conciliation efforts) 41. $C/P/E_v/J/U$ (conciliation efforts/speaker's policy/enemy as evil/juxtaposed

elements/universal values) 42. R_1 (recent history) 43. C/J (conciliation efforts/juxtaposed elements) 44. E_m/P (emotional attitude/speaker's policy) 45. R_1/J (recent history/juxtaposed elements) 46. J (juxtaposed elements) 47. E_m/U/J/G (emotional attitude/universal values/juxtaposed elements/speaker's guidelines) 48. R_1/P (recent history/speaker's policy) 49. R_1/P/E_m (recent history/speaker's policy/emotional attitude)

The above data allows to identify the structure of the text in relation to the complexity of the various elements used within the individual arguments:

One-element arguments:

1. S (situationality)
2. S (situationality)
20. R_1 (recent history)
24. R_1 (recent history)
25. R_1 (recent history)
30. C (conciliation efforts)
34. R_1 (recent history)
42. R_1 (recent history)
46. J (juxtaposed elements)

Two-element arguments:

3. E_m/R_1 (emotional attitude/recent history)
5. R_1/G (recent history/speaker's guidelines)
7. E_m/R_1 (emotional attitude/recent history)
9. R_1/C (recent history/conciliation efforts)
10. R_1/U (recent history/universal values)
11. E_m/R_1 (emotional attitude/recent history)
12. R_1/J (recent history/juxtaposed elements)
13. E_m/R_1 (emotional attitude/recent history)
14. E_m/R_1 (emotional attitude/recent history)
16. E_m/R_1 (emotional attitude/recent history)
18. R_1/T_c (recent history/technicality)
21. J/E_m (juxtaposed elements/emotional attitude)
22. E_v/E_m (enemy as evil/emotional attitude)
23. R_1/J (recent history/juxtaposed elements)
26. C/R_1 (conciliation efforts/recent history)

27. C/R_1 (conciliation efforts/recent history)
28. R_1/T_c (recent history/technicality)
29. R_1/P (recent history/speaker's policy)
31. R_1/P (recent history/speaker's policy)
32. C/P (conciliation efforts/speaker's policy)
33. R_1/J (recent history/juxtaposed elements)
35. C/R_1 (conciliation efforts/recent history)
36. C/R_1 (conciliation efforts/recent history)
38. R_1/E_m (recent history/emotional attitude)
39. R_1/E_v (recent history/enemy as evil)
40. E_m/C (emotional attitude/conciliation efforts)
43. C/J (conciliation efforts/juxtaposed elements)
44. E_m/P (emotional attitude/speaker's policy)
45. R_1/J (recent history/juxtaposed elements)
48. R_1/P (recent history/speaker's policy)

Three-element arguments:

4. E_m/R_1/J (emotional attitude/recent history/juxtaposed elements)
8. E_m/R_1/C (emotional attitude/recent history/conciliation efforts)
15. E_m/R_1/E_v (emotional attitude/recent history/enemy as evil)
17. R_1/E_m/J (recent history/emotional attitude/juxtaposed elements)
19. R_1/T_c/G (recent history/technicality/speaker's guidelines)
49. R_1/P/E_m (recent history/speaker's policy/emotional attitude)

Four-element arguments

6. R_1/E_m/U/J (recent history/emotional attitude/universal values/juxtaposed elements)
37. R_1/J/E_m/E_v (recent history/juxtaposed elements/emotional attitude/enemy as evil)
47. E_m/U/J/G (emotional attitude/universal values/juxtaposed elements/speaker's guidelines)

Five-element arguments

41. C/P/E_v/J/U (conciliation efforts/speaker's policy/enemy as evil/juxtaposed elements/universal values)

The data which constitutes the model of the development of arguments allows to establish the layout of arguments in relation to the number of elements (Table 8.).

Table 8. The number of arguments in Madison's war message

Type of argument	Number of arguments applied in the address
One-element argument	9
Two-element argument	30
Three-element argument	6
Four-element argument	3
Five-element argument	1

Taking the number of elements into account, the following model can be developed:

two-element arguments/one-element arguments/three-element arguments/four-element arguments/five-element arguments

Figure 5. offers a visual presentation of the structure of Madison's message in relation to the number of elements within the individual arguments.

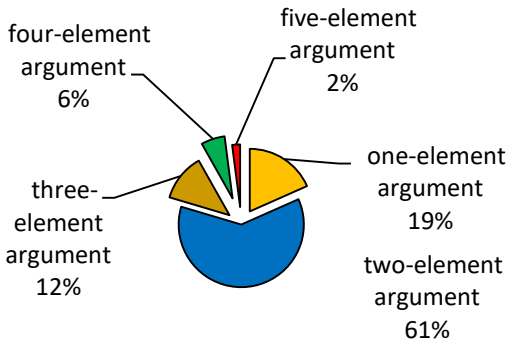

Figure 5. The structure of Madison's war message

Two-element arguments form a substantial part of the body of the message. They are most frequently applied in the text. There are 30 of those out of the total number of 49. The most frequent, used seven times, was the compilation of the markers: recent history/emotional attitude. The second most frequently used is a one-element argument.

Madison, applying it nine times, helped the recipients understand the information conveyed in the message. Only three four-element arguments and one five-element argument were used in the text. The two-element arguments constitute 61% of the text. One-element argument counts for 19% of the text. Three-element arguments, four-element arguments and five-element arguments provide 12%, 6%, and 2% of the text respectively. As the Gunning Fog test results show, Madison's war message was the most difficult to understand when compared to the other four presidential war requests, but with the multitude of mostly two- and one-element arguments still understandable for the educated recipients.

In order to work out a general model of argument development, markers have been applied to each argument. *Figure 6.* shows the frequency of the markers used in the text.

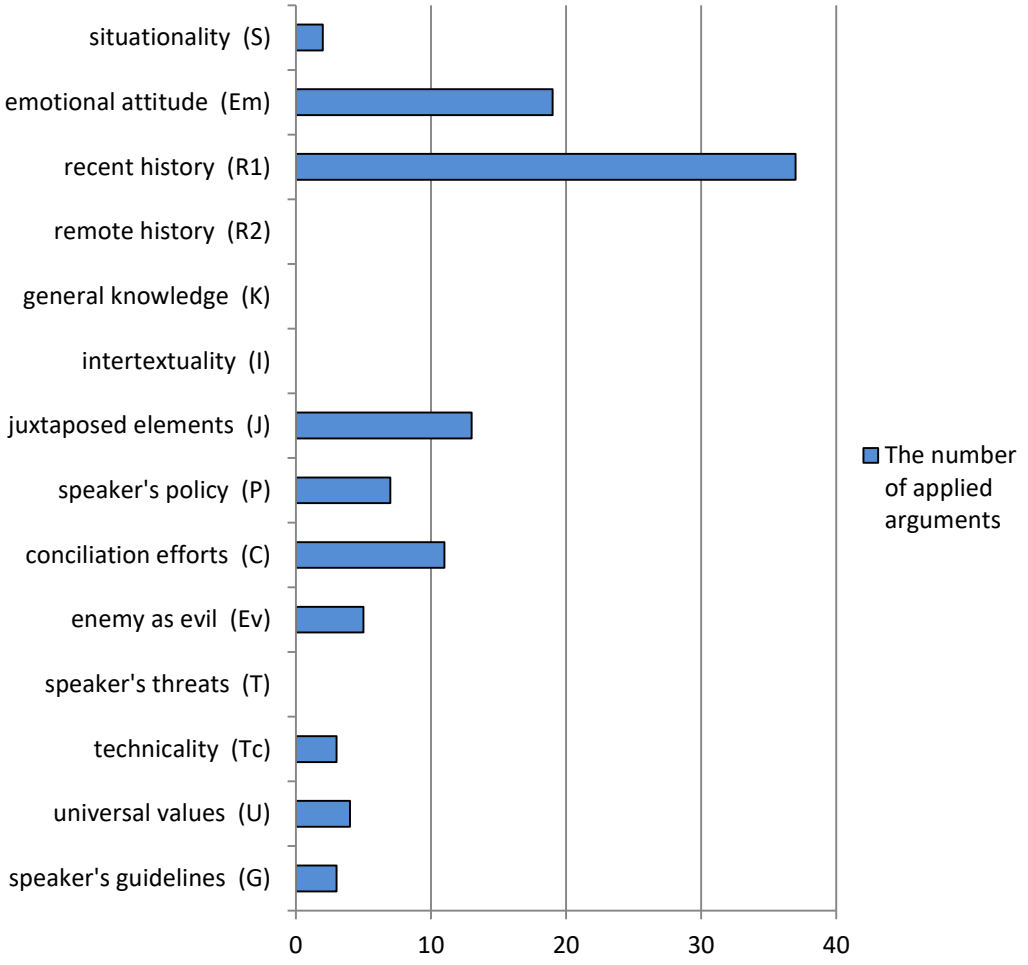

Figure 6. Madison's war message – the model of argument development

The above data converted into a table gives a clear indication of the structure of the text (*Table 9.*).

Table 9. Madison's war message – the numbers of applied markers

Marker	Number of elements
recent history (R_1)	37
emotional attitude (E_m)	19
juxtaposed elements (J)	13
conciliation efforts (C)	11
speaker's policy (P)	7
enemy as evil (E_v)	5
universal values (U)	4
speaker's guidelines (G)	3
technicality (T_c)	3
situationality (S)	2
intertextuality (I)	0
remote history (R_2)	0
general knowledge (K)	0
speaker's threats (T)	0

Finally, the following model of argument development unfolds:

$$\mathbf{R_1/E_m/J/C/P/E_v/U/G/T_c/S}$$

Figure 7. provides a visual presentation of the model of argument development of the president's message.

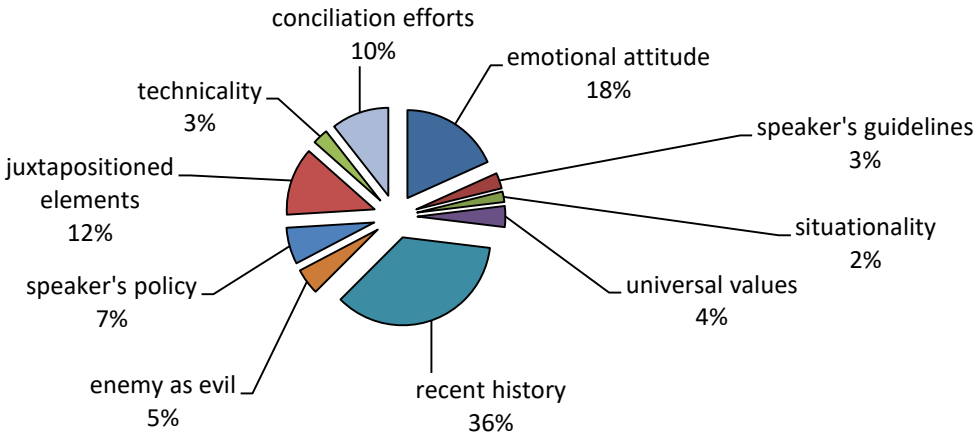

Figure 7. The model of argument development of Madison's war message

The 49 arguments identified in the message show that the President paid attention to details of the American affairs with Britain he intended to pass to Congress. The most frequent argument, R_1 (recent history) was used 37 times. After the conventional introduction which included greeting and the reason for writing the message, the President moved swiftly to the presentation of complicated political relations with the country's former ruler. Hostile activities of the British were meticulously enumerated and it can be noticed that the grievances which had been written in the Declaration of Independence eco in the President's message. The treaty signed in 1783 between the two countries did not resolve the conflict. The practice of violating American rights on high seas, the frequent seizure of American cargo ships, the incitement of the American Indians and the impressment of American citizens, became the policy which "falls within the definition of war" (arg. 5), as Madison put it in the message. The second most frequently argument, E_m (emotional attitude), used 19 times, was paired with the R_1 marker seven times. British actions are referred to as "the most insulting pretensions"(arg. 11), "an additional insult", or "intrigues" (arg. 37). The President uncovers British evil intentions by depriving the British policies of the "flimsy veil" (arg. 18). In contrast, the United States is referred to as one of the "injured nations" (arg. 23). Referring the painful issue of impressment, Madison states:

> […] thousands of American citizens, under the safeguard of public law and of their national flag, have been torn from their country and from everything dear to them; have been dragged on board ships of war of a foreign nation and exposed, under the severities of their discipline, to be exiled to the most distant and deadly climes, to risk their lives in the battles of their oppressors, and to be the melancholy instruments of taking away those of their own brethren.

The time preceding the war was the time to strengthen national integrity and allegiance to the republic. The President's reference to the national flag shows that the former colony separated entirely from Britain, which is seen as a "foreign nation" (arg. 7). In argument 11. Madison made a clear reference to the British violation of American shipping rights, seizure of American vessels and impressment (recent history).

> To the most insulting pretensions they have added the most lawless proceedings in our very harbors, and have wantonly spilt American blood within the sanctuary of our territorial jurisdiction. (arg. 11)

Highlighting the fact that the British performed their actions on American territory, the President referred to the location of events as "sanctuary" (emotional attitude). Sanctuary is meant to be the most holy part of a religious building, a safe place, a place of protection for someone being chased.

The J (juxtaposed elements) marker occurs 13 times. Justifying American reasons for war, Madison stated that it was clear to him that the aim of the British was to destroy American commerce, perceiving American trade not as "interfering with the belligerent rights of Great Britain" but as "interfering with the monopoly" which this country desires in order to protect its own position in the seas (arg. 21). Juxtaposed elements are built upon complex concepts such as "belligerent right founded on the law of nations" vs. "a municipal prerogative over British subjects" (arg. 4), "the greater offences committed" vs. "additional marks of honor and confidence" (arg. 12), or "benefits of a free intercourse with their market" vs. "the profits accruing from her restrictions of our commerce" (arg. 23). According to the message, The United States is the country upholding the most basic values such as "inspiring confidence in the sincerity of negotiation" while picturing the opposing side as "employed in intrigues" (arg. 37).

The C (conciliation efforts) marker is used 11 times. Madison, pressed by the "war hawks", had to bear in mind that the federalist party was in opposition to war, and so was a large part of the American society. By producing a number of explanations illustrating the efforts of the American government to appease the British, find peaceful solutions that

would prevent conflicts, the President put himself in the position of a man who had done everything to maintain peace. Consequently, picturing Great Britain as evil enemy (E_v), placing the United States on "the good" side, he delivered a convincing illustration of the situation in which the only reasonable option was to wage war. The war was to be against the evil enemy "having for their object a subversion of our government and a dismemberment of our happy nation", as Madison put it (arg. 37). At that time, happiness was regarded as one of the basic human rights which was confirmed by the Declaration of Independence. It was the government's duty to care for the happiness of the people (Vile 2019: 373).

The immediate recipients of the presidential message were the American congressmen. Madison addressed his message "to the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States" (arg. 1). However, as the news from the newly built Capitol spread, the American people became the secondary recipients of the message.

As the decision to go to war is probably one of the most difficult for a president to make, it may be expected that a request for war should be filled with rhetorical devices in an attempt to convince the recipients to concede with the author of the request. So did Madison. Being meticulous in his presentation of reasons for war against Britain, he drew a very detailed picture of unstable political relationship between the United States and the British Empire.

4.3.2. Congressional declaration of war

The Congress issued a declaration of war on 18 June 1812. After days of deliberations, the House of Representatives voted 79 to 49 in favour of the declaration. This meant that 61% of the representatives supported the war. The Senate consented to the declaration by a 19 to 13 vote in favour, which meant that 59% of senators supported the war. This was the first time in the history of the United States when this country declared war on another state. At the time the Congress was filled with fresh representatives from western and southern parts of the country. Directly affected by the British actions, the "war hawks" put pressure on Madison and supported him in his proceedings towards war. However, as figures show, the Congressmen were not unanimous. Federalists in Congress did not vote in favour of the war and, opposing the president's undertakings, referred to the warfare as "Mr. Madison's War". The declaration is titled *An Act Declaring War Between the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and the Dependencies Thereof and the United*

States of America and Their Territories and consists of 169 words. It comprises two arguments. As a result, the following model of the development of arguments unfolds:

1. S/P (situationality/speaker's policy)
2. P/T_c (speaker's policy/technicality)

The model of the development of arguments allows to establish the layout of arguments in relation to the number of elements (*Table 10*).

Table 10. The number of arguments – the declaration of war, 1812

Type of argument	Number of arguments applied in the address
One-element argument	0
Two-element argument	2
Three-element argument	0
Four-element argument	0
Five-element argument	0

As a result, the following model emerges:

two-element arguments

Figure 8. gives a visual presentation of the structure of the presidential address in relation to the number of elements within individual arguments.

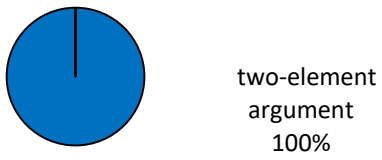

Figure 8. The structure of the declaration of war, 1812

Only two two-element arguments comprise the text. The first argument indicates the authors of the declaration and the decision to go to war. It is the Senate and the House of Representatives that made the decision. The second argument specifies the role of the

President. The Chief Executive of the country was authorized to carry out the congressional decision. *Figure 8*. gives a visual presentation of the structure of the presidential address in relation to the number of elements within individual arguments.

In order to work out a general model of argument development, markers have been applied to each argument. *Figure 9*. shows the frequency of the markers used in the text.

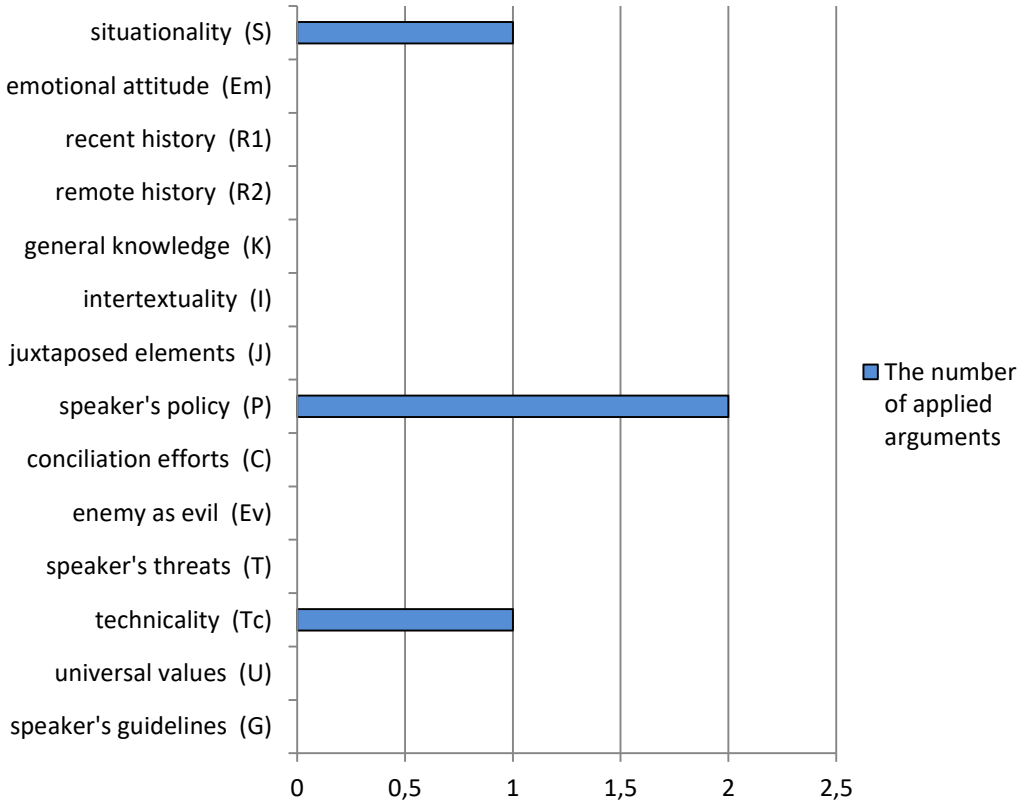

Figure 9. The declaration of war, 1812 – the model of argument development

The data converted into the table below gives an indication of the structure of the text (*Table 11*.).

Table 11. The declaration of war, 1812 – the numbers of applied markers

Marker	Number of elements
situationality (S)	1
emotional attitude (E_m)	0
recent history (R_1)	0

remote history (R_2)	0
general knowledge (K)	0
intertextuality (I)	0
juxtaposed elements (J)	0
speaker's policy (P)	2
conciliation efforts (C)	0
enemy as evil (E_v)	0
speaker's threats (T)	0
technicality (T_c)	1
universal values (U)	0
speaker's guidelines (G)	0

A simple model of the development of arguments emerges:

P/S/T_c

Figure 10. provides a visual presentation of the model of argument development of the congressional declaration:

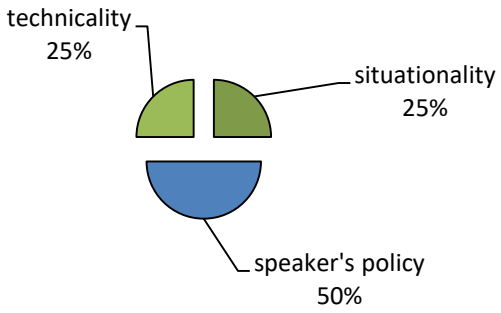

Figure 10. The declaration of war, 1812 - the model of argument development

The P (speaker's policy) marker constitutes 50% of the declaration. The other two markers, S (situationality) and T_c (technicality) make 25% of the text each. The argument related to situationality sets the scene: it is the Senate and the House of Representatives of the United States of America that declares war. With the performative act of declaring war, the Congress changes the scene of the forthcoming events. The declaration states: "Be it enacted […] That war be and the same is hereby declared to exist […]." Although,

the future course of events is predictable, the act creates new reality at the very moment of performing it. A conflict is created in terms of international law. This affects the whole society. Ordinary men are drafted into the army. Industry changes its production lines. All the changes in people's lives which are inscribed into conflicts are initiated with the above act. Once the declaration is issued, allocation of powers changes. It shifts towards the President as he becomes the Commander-in-Chief in action.

4.3.3. James Madison's proclamation of war

On June 18, James Madison signed the congressional declaration of war, completing the political ritual. It meant the victory of the "war hawks" in the Congress. On June 19, 1812, the President proclaimed "war on Great Britain and all its territories for violating the neutral rights of the United States on the high seas." The proclamation consists of 327 words. It comprises five arguments. As a result, the following model of the development of arguments unfolds:

1. S (situationality) 2. R_1 (recent history) 3. S/P (situationality/speaker's policy) 4. S/G/U/E_v/E_m (situationality/speaker's guidelines/universal values/enemy as evil/emotional attitude) 5. S (situationality)

The construction of individual arguments is taken into account and is shown below.
One-element arguments:
1. S (situationality)
2. R_1 (recent history)
5. S (situationality)
Two-element arguments:
3. S/P (situationality/speaker's policy)
Four-element arguments:
4. S/G/U/E_v/E_m (situationality/speaker's guidelines/universal values/enemy as evil/emotional attitude)

The model of the development of arguments allows to establish the layout of arguments in relation to the number of elements (*Table 12*.).

Table 12. The number of arguments in Madison's proclamation of war

Type of argument	Number of arguments applied in the address
One-element argument	3
Two-element argument	1
Three-element argument	0
Four-element argument	1
Five-element argument	0

As a result, the following model can be developed:

one-element arguments / two-element argument / four-element argument

Figure 11. offers a visual presentation of the structure of the Proclamation 1812 in relation to the number of elements within individual arguments.

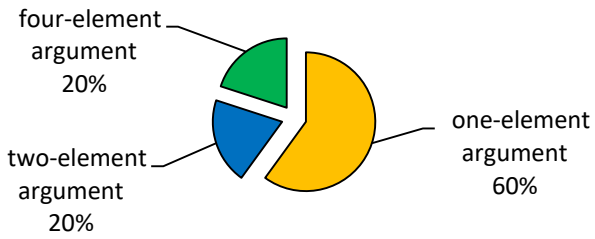

Figure 11. The structure of Madison's proclamation of war

One-element arguments amount to 60% of the text. Two-element arguments and four-element arguments are evenly distributed 20% each. The proclamation is short so it is not overloaded with information. The president communicates the most relevant information. To work out a general model of argument development, markers have been applied to each argument. *Figure 12*. shows the frequency of the markers used in the text.

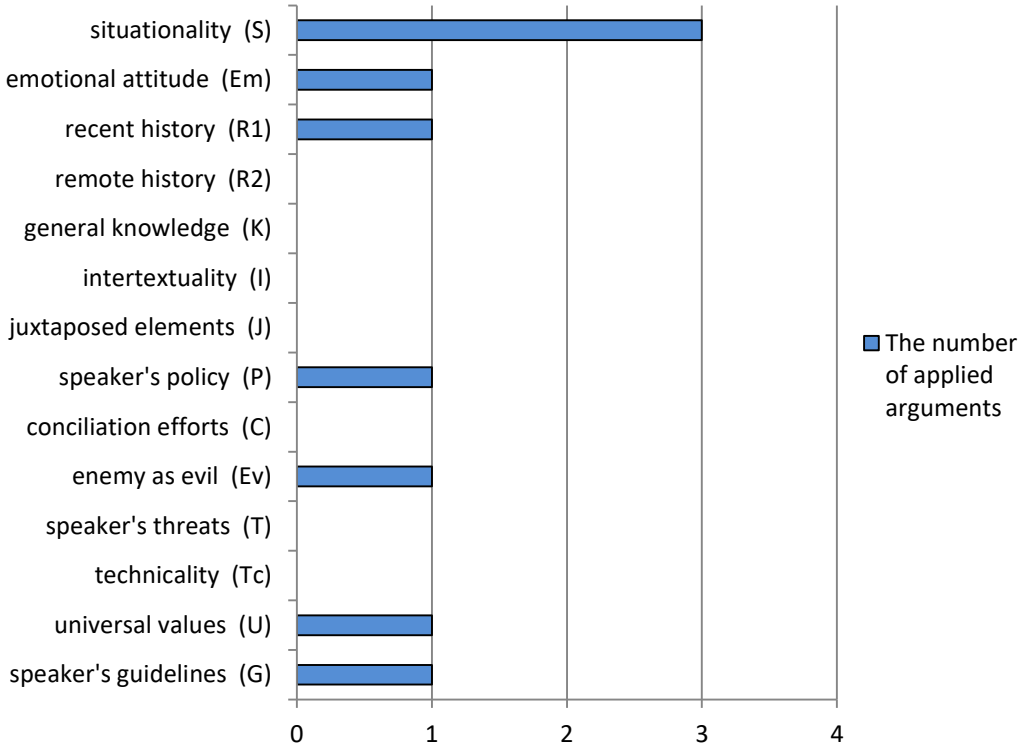

Figure 12. Madison's proclamation of war – the model of argument development

The data converted into the table below gives an indication of the structure of the text (Table 13.).

Table 13. Madison's proclamation of war – the numbers of applied markers

Marker	Number of elements
situationality (S)	3
emotional attitude (E_m)	1
recent history (R_1)	1
remote history (R_2)	0
general knowledge (K)	0
intertextuality (I)	0
juxtaposed elements (J)	0
speaker's policy (P)	1
conciliation efforts (C)	0

enemy as evil (E_v)	1
speaker's threats (T)	0
technicality (T_c)	0
universal values (U)	1
speaker's guidelines (G)	1

Finally, the following model of argument development unfolds:

$$\mathbf{S/E_m/R_1/R_2/P/E_v/U/G}$$

Figure 13. provides a visual presentation of the model of argument development of the president's message.

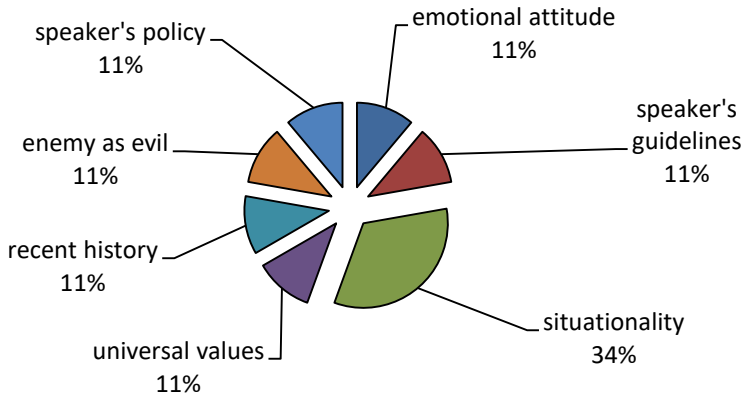

Figure 13. Madison's proclamation of war - the model of argument development

The S (situationality) marker constitutes 34% of the proclamation. Markers representing U (universal values), R_1 (recent history), E_v (enemy as evil), P (speaker's policy), E_m (emotional attitude), and G (speaker's guidelines) are evenly distributed constituting 11% of the text each. As can be seen, the S (situationality) marker is dominant. It has to be remembered however, that the whole text is relatively short. The S (situationality) marker indicates that the President makes situational references three times. He begins the proclamation by stating by whom it is made. R1 (recent history) marker indicates that reference to the congressional declaration of war is made. Consequently, the President assumes the responsibility that comes with the decision made by the Congress. He

proclaims the initiation of war by saying: "I, James Madison, President of the United States of America, do herby proclaim the same [the war declared by the Congress – L.W.] to all it may concern […]." Having done this, he does the action of transforming the country from the state of peace into the state of war. Then, Madison urges the citizens to be prepared. The forthcoming war is stereotyped: the Americans are "all the good people of the United States" affected by the "the wrongs" done by the opposing side. This, in the President's view, leads the nation to undertaking all possible measures in order to preserve "the precious heritage derived from the virtue and valor of their fathers." The enemy forces the United States to act as the "injured nation." The President refers to American values and paints the picture of the nation as law abiding, and peace-loving. The President emphasizes that the peace, which is to be achieved through war, is to be "honorable." It reflects some of the multiple reasons that had lead American authorities to declare war on Britain. The tyranny of the British Navy at sea, the seizures of neutral American merchant ships deeply hurt the honour of the young state. British policy towards its ex-colony was harsh and did not give any indications of willingness to conciliate with the new republic. For the President, the proclamation was the final step towards the war with the aim to secure the independence of the newly established state.

4.4. Typology of arguments. Mexican-American War

The conflict known as Mexican-American War broke out in 1846. The role of James K. Polk in the initiation of the hostilities was pivotal. In his vision, the president should govern the country as a strong leader. Manifest Destiny, a conviction that American settlers had the right to conquer the whole continent was reflected in Polk's presidency (Haynes 2006: 114). Supporting American expansion toward the west coast and re-annexation of Texas were the slogans that contributed to Polk's success in presidential election. As president, it was his obligation to fulfill the propounded ideas. In 1845 the U.S. reclaimed Texas, which was an independent republic but at the time considered by Mexico as its territory. Texans accepted the annexation but tension rose on the Texan-Mexican border. It resulted in sending troops to the disputed territory and finally contributed to the breakout of war (Schroeder 1973: 3). Meanwhile, Polk attempted to negotiate the sale of the contested territory, to no avail. The presence of American army on Texan-Mexican border resulted in fights. When Mexican troops attacked Americans, Polk seized the opportunity. On May 11, 1846 the President issued War Message to

Congress, followed by the declaration of war made by the Congress two days later. Finally, on May 13, 1846, Polk announced war on Mexico. The war was a victorious campaign and ended with the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo signed on February 2, 1848. The United States confirmed annexation of Texas and acquired California, Utah, Nevada, New Mexico, large part of Arizona, Kansas and Oklahoma.

4.4.1. James K. Polk's war message

The presidential war message comprises 2973 words. For the purpose of the analysis the whole message was divided into 57 arguments. As in the case of previously studied texts, the arguments relate to a single and logical thought of the speaker which can be identified by a reader. Each argument was matched with an appropriate marker or a number of markers. As a result, the following model of the development of arguments unfolded:

1. S (situationality) 2. $E_v/R_1/S$ (enemy as evil/recent history/situationality) 3. S/R_1 (situationality/recent history) 4. C/R_1 (conciliation efforts/recent history) 5. $C/E_v/R_1$ (conciliation efforts/enemy as evil/recent history) 6. C/R_1 (conciliation efforts/recent history) 7. $R_1/E_v/E_m$ (recent history/enemy as evil/emotional attitude) 8. S (situationality) 9. R_1/T_c (recent history/technicality) 10. C/R_1 (conciliation efforts/recent history) 11. R_1 (recent history) 12. E_m/R_1 (emotional attitude/recent history) 13. K (general knowledge) 14. $E_m/R_1/P$ (emotional attitude/recent history/speaker's policy) 15. R_1 (recent history) 16. R_1/E_v (recent history/enemy as evil) 17. R_1 (recent history) 18. I/S (intertextuality/situationality) 19. R_1 (recent history) 20. R_1 (recent history) 21. C/R_1 (conciliation efforts/recent history) 22. $R_1/T_c/P$ (recent history/technicality/speaker's policy) 23. R_1/T_c (recent history/technicality) 24. R_1 (recent history) 25. E_v/R_1 (enemy as evil/recent history) 26. R_1 (recent history) 27. R_1/E_v (recent history/enemy as evil) 28. $E_v/R_1/C$ (enemy as evil/recent history/conciliation efforts) 29. R_1/E_v (recent history/enemy as evil) 30. $R_1/P/T_c$ (recent history/speaker's policy/technicality) 31. R_1 (recent history) 32. R_1/T_c (recent history/technicality) 33. R_1 (recent history) 34. R_1 (recent history) 35. R_1/P (recent history/speaker's policy) 36. R_1/T_c (recent history/technicality) 37. T_c (technicality) 38. $R_1/T_c/U$ (recent history/technicality/universal values) 39. R_1/T_c (recent history/technicality) 40. $R_1/T_c/E_v$ (recent history/technicality/enemy as evil) 41. R_1/T_c (recent history/technicality) 42. $E_m/E_v/G$ (emotional attitude/enemy as evil/speaker's guidelines) 43. R_1 (recent history) 44. E_v/E_m (enemy as evil/emotional attitude) 45. E_v/E_m (enemy as evil/emotional attitude)

46. C (conciliation efforts) 47. R_1/E_v (recent history/enemy as evil) 48. $C/R_1/E_v/E_m$ (conciliation efforts/recent history/enemy as evil/emotional attitude) 49. $E_m/G/U$ (emotional attitude/speaker's guidelines/universal values) 50. R_1/T_c (recent history/technicality) 51. $E_v/T_c/R_1$ (enemy as evil/technicality/recent history) 52. U/S/G (universal values/situationality/speaker's guidelines) 53. G/T_c (speaker's guidelines/technicality) 54. G (speaker's guidelines) 55. G (speaker's guidelines) 56. G/C/P (speaker's guidelines/conciliation efforts/speaker's policy) 57. S (situationality)

The construction of individual arguments is taken into account and is shown below:

One-element arguments:

1. S (situationality)
8. S (situationality)
11. R_1 (recent history)
13. K (general knowledge)
15. R_1 (recent history)
17. R_1 (recent history)
19. R_1 (recent history)
20. R_1 (recent history)
24. R_1 (recent history)
26. R_1 (recent history)
31. R_1 (recent history)
33. R_1 (recent history)
34. R_1 (recent history)
37. T_c (technicality)
43. R_1 (recent history)
46. C (conciliation efforts)
54. G (speaker's guidelines)
55. G (speaker's guidelines)
57. S (situationality)

Two-element arguments:

3. S/R_1 (situationality/recent history)
4. C/R_1 (conciliation efforts/recent history)
6. C/R_1 (conciliation efforts/recent history)
9. R_1/T_c (recent history/technicality)

10. C/R_1 (conciliation efforts/recent history)
12. E_m/R_1 (emotional attitude/recent history)
16. R_1/E_v (recent history/enemy as evil)
18. I/S (intertextuality/situationality)
21. C/R_1 (conciliation efforts/recent history)
23. R_1/T_c (recent history/technicality)
25. E_v/R_1 (enemy as evil/recent history)
27. R_1/E_v (recent history/enemy as evil)
29. R_1/E_v (recent history/enemy as evil)
32. R_1/T_c (recent history/technicality)
35. R_1/P (recent history/speaker's policy)
36. R_1/T_c (recent history/technicality)
39. R_1/T_c (recent history/technicality)
41. R_1/T_c (recent history/technicality)
44. E_v/E_m (enemy as evil/emotional attitude)
45. E_v/E_m (enemy as evil/emotional attitude)
47. R_1/E_v (recent history/enemy as evil)
50. R_1/T_c (recent history/technicality)
53. G/T_c (speaker's guidelines/technicality)

Three-element arguments:

2. E_v/R_1/S (enemy as evil/recent history/situationality)
5. C/E_v/R_1 (conciliation efforts/enemy as evil/recent history)
7. R_1/E_v/E_m (recent history/enemy as evil/emotional attitude)
14. E_m/R_1/P (emotional attitude/recent history/speaker's policy)
22. R_1/T_c/P (recent history/technicality/speaker's policy)
28. E_v/R_1/C (enemy as evil/recent history/conciliation efforts)
30. R_1/P/T_c (recent history/speaker's policy/technicality)
38. R_1/T_c/U (recent history/technicality/universal values)
40. R_1/T_c/E_v (recent history/technicality/enemy as evil)
42. E_m/E_v/G (emotional attitude/enemy as evil/speaker's guidelines)
49. E_m/G/U (emotional attitude/speaker's guidelines/universal values)
51. E_v/T_c/R_1 (enemy as evil/technicality/recent history)
52. U/S/G (universal values/situationality/speaker's guidelines)
56. G/C/P (speaker's guidelines/conciliation efforts/speaker's policy)

Four-element arguments:

48. $C/R_1/E_v/E_m$ (conciliation efforts/recent history/enemy as evil/emotional attitude)

The data which constitutes the model of the development of arguments allows to establish the layout of arguments in relation to the number of elements (*Table 14*.).

Table 14. The number of arguments in Polk's war message

Type of argument	**Number of arguments applied in the address**
One-element argument	19
Two-element argument	23
Three-element argument	14
Four-element argument	1
Five-element argument	0

As a result, the following model can be developed:

two-element arguments / one-element arguments / three-element arguments / four element arguments

Figure 14. offers a visual presentation of the structure of the text in relation to the number of elements within individual arguments.

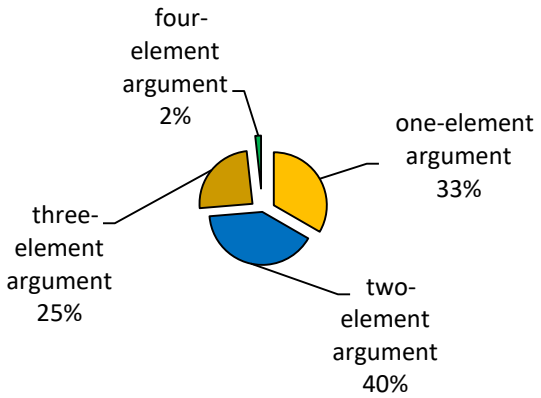

Figure 14. The structure of Polk's war message

Similarly, to Madison's, in Polk's war message two-element arguments form a substantial part of the body of the message. They are most frequently applied in the text. There are 23 of those out of the total number of 57. In the two-element arguments, markers indicating references to recent history were used 19 times. The second most frequently used is a one-element argument. While Madison used it nine times, in Polk's message it is used 19 times. It contributed to much higher readability of Polk's text. The structure of the message, with the absence of five-element arguments and the presence of only one four-element argument allowed for better understanding by the recipients. The two-element arguments constitute 40% of the text. One-element argument counts for 33% of the text. Three-element arguments provide 25% of the text. One four-element argument makes 2% of the message. As the Gunning Fog test results show, Polk's war message was difficult to understand but more readable than Madison's text. In order to work out a general model of argument development, markers have been applied to each argument. *Figure 15*. shows the frequency of the markers used in the text.

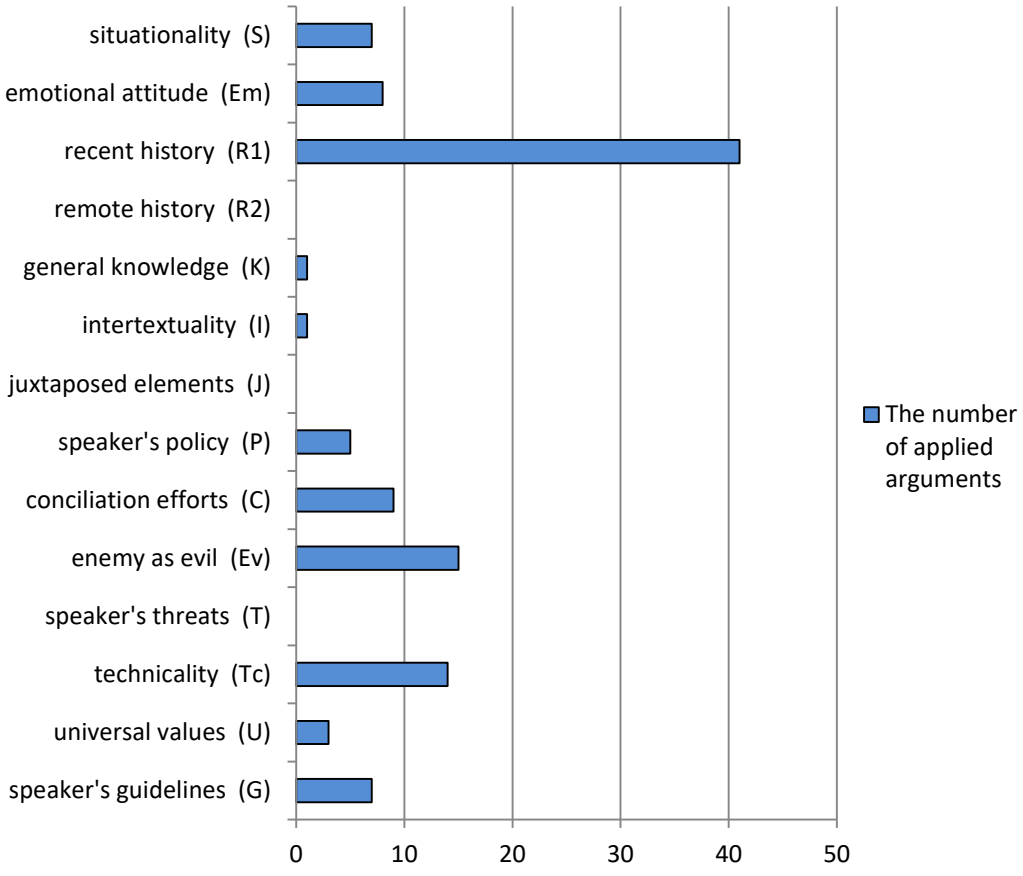

Figure 15. Polk's war message – the model of argument development

The above data converted into a table gives an indication of the structure of the text (*Table 15.*).

Table 15. Polk's war message – the numbers of applied markers

Marker	Number of elements
situationality (S)	7
emotional attitude (E_m)	8
recent history (R_1)	41
remote history (R_2)	0
general knowledge (K)	1
intertextuality (I)	1
juxtaposed elements (J)	0
speaker's policy (P)	5
conciliation efforts (C)	9
enemy as evil (E_v)	15
speaker's threats (T)	0
technicality (T_c)	14
universal values (U)	3
speaker's guidelines (G)	7

Finally, the following model of argument development unfolds:

$$\mathbf{R_1/E_v/T_c/C/E_m/S/G/P/U/K/I}$$

Figure 16. provides a visual presentation of the model of argument development of the president's message. The structure of the message shows that the President built his message on references to recent history. The most frequent marker, R_1 is present 41 times amounts to 37% of the text. The E_v (enemy as evil) marker is applied 15 times (14%) and is closely followed by T_c (technicality) marker (13%). Nine C (conciliation efforts) markers identify references to the speaker's efforts to compromise with the opposing party. It plays an important role of persuading the recipient toward the ideas expressed by

the speaker. As everything has been done to retain peace, the only option is to support the speaker's view of the events.

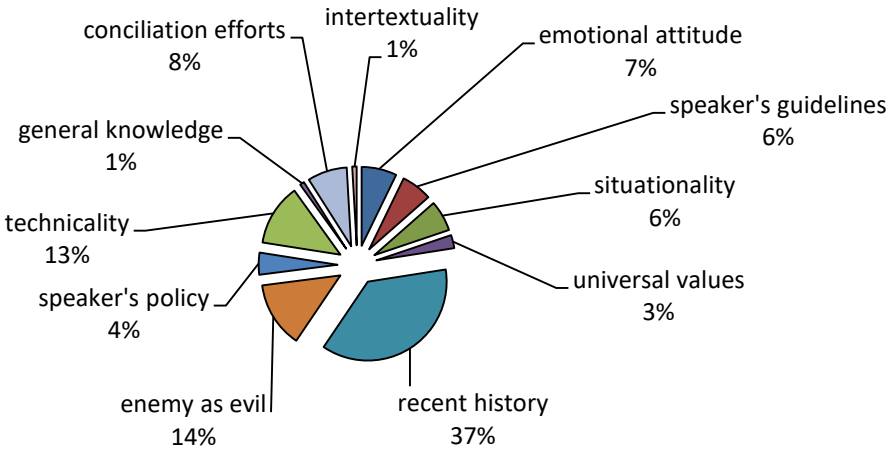

Figure 16. Polk's war message – the model of argument development

Polk begins his message by bringing the issue of difficult relations between the United States and Mexico. Known for his expansionist approach to international affairs, Polk needs the authority of the Congress to proceed with his plans regarding Mexico. In the second argument, he refers to the American-Mexican relations as "long-continued unredressed wrongs and injuries" (arg. 2) committed by the Mexican side. Polk has a tough task to fulfil. Stretching American border by annexation of Texas and heading south and west makes it difficult to regard it as a defensive action. If common sense view is applied, the United States should be seen as an aggressor, not a defender. To reverse the view, Polk fills his argumentation with references to recent history in order to justify American policy He supports the argumentation with projections of the adversary as evil force threatening the peaceful nation and the nation's right to expand and reach the west coast. Referring to the previous twenty years of American suffering, he communicates to Congress a "a succinct statement of injuries" (arg. 5) which the United States had suffered from Mexico. He emphasizes the effort of American Government to maintain peace and projects the opposing side as perpetrators of the hostilities:

> The Mexican Government not only refused to receive him [An American envoy – L.W.] or listen to his propositions, but after a long-continued series of menaces have at last invaded our territory and shed the blood of our fellow-citizens on our own soil. (arg. 7.)

Next, the President follows with a detailed description of the development of American-Mexican affairs. Occasionally, he intercepts elaboration on political details and plays on emotions of the recipients. The problem of bordering territory is introduced with mentioning "the redress of the wrongs" (arg. 12) of American citizens, who are referred to as "much-injured and long-suffering" (arg. 14). To diminish the position of the adversary, Polk highlights the events which resulted in passing the supreme power in Mexico "into the hands of a military leader" (arg. 20). Mexican government is not accepted and pictured by Polk as one that came into power not "by constitutional succession" (arg. 21). The message follows with more detailed descriptions of American efforts to preserve peace and friendly relations with Mexico. Polk, in a very elegant manner, recalls annexation of Texas and stretching American jurisdiction beyond the Nueces river. This, as he recalls, was done with the aid of the Congress of Texas who issued declaration that "the Rio del Norte to be the boundary of the Republic" (arg. 33), which as Polk states, was recognized as "a part of our [American– L.W.] territory." The two performative acts changed the reality. With the use of language things are done. After mentioning minor fighting incidents, Polk again builds up tension by emphasizing the fact that:

> The grievous wrongs perpetrated by Mexico upon our citizens throughout a long period of years remain unredressed, and solemn treaties pledging her public faith for this redress have been disregarded. A government either unable or unwilling to enforce the execution of such treaties fails to perform one of its plainest duties. (arg. 42)

To ensure that the intended goal is achieved, Polk strengthens the image of the enemy as villain resorting to the descriptions of its evil actions:

> In the meantime we have tried every effort at reconciliation. The cup of forbearance had been exhausted […]. But now, after reiterated menaces, Mexico has passed the boundary of the United States, has invaded our territory and shed American blood upon the American soil. She has proclaimed that hostilities have commenced, and that the two nations are now at war. (arg. 48)

Execution of the countries "rights" would prove the President is a strong leader. In his demand of action, Polk positions himself as such. Only a strong leader can command the army to victory. To convince the recipients Polk again adopts the image of a strong leader:

> In further vindication of our rights and defense of our territory, I invoke the prompt action of Congress to recognize the existence of the war, and to place at the disposition of the Executive the means of prosecuting the war with vigor, and thus hastening the restoration of peace. (arg. 52)

Polk's message, similarly to Madison's message had been carefully drafted. As the War of 1812 and the Mexican-American War were formally initiated by the U.S., both required thorough explanation. Justification had to be given. Appropriate choice of arguments allowed both presidents to achieve their goals. Polk was faced with more difficult task: justifying aggressive intentions of his government.

4.4.2. Congressional declaration of war 1846

Mexican-American War was the result of Polk's diplomatic efforts. As acquisition of new territories with peaceful means did not go as planned, other means were introduced. New Mexico and California were seen as valuable lands and the majority of the Congress accepted Polk's request for war in the form of *An Act providing for the Prosecution of the existing War between the United States and the Republic of Mexico* issued on May 13, 1846. The text consists of 821 words and is the longest formal declaration of war issued by the American Congress. It is divided into nine numbered paragraphs (sections) and consists of 11 arguments. As a result, the following model of the development of arguments unfolds:

1. P (speaker's policy) 2. S (situationality) 3. P/T_c (speaker's policy/technicality) 4. P/T_c (speaker's policy/technicality) 5. T_c (technicality) 6. P/T_c (speaker's policy/technicality) 7. T_c (technicality) 8. T_c (technicality) 9. T_c (technicality) 10. T_c (technicality) 11. T_c (technicality)

The construction of individual arguments is taken into account and is shown below:

One-element arguments:
1. P (speaker's policy)
2. S (situationality)

5. T_c (technicality)

7. T_c (technicality)

8. T_c (technicality)

9. T_c (technicality)

10. T_c (technicality)

11. T_c (technicality)

Two-element arguments:

3. P/T_c (speaker's policy/technicality)

4. P/T_c (speaker's policy/technicality)

6. P/T_c (speaker's policy/technicality)

The model of the development of arguments allows to establish the layout of arguments in relation to the number of elements (*Table 16.*).

Table 16. The number of arguments in the declaration of war, 1846

Type of argument	**Number of arguments applied in the address**
One-element argument	8
Two-element argument	3
Three-element argument	0
Four-element argument	0
Five-element argument	0

As a result, the following model can be developed:

one-element arguments / two-element arguments

Figure 17. gives a visual presentation of the structure of the declaration in relation to the number of elements within individual arguments.

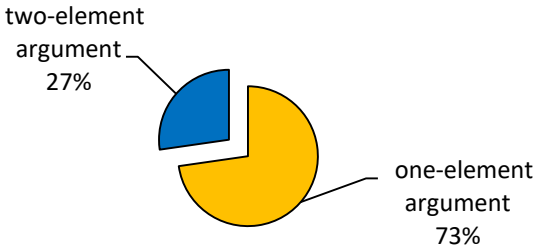

Figure 17. The structure of the declaration of war, 1846

The eight one-element arguments amount to 73% of the text. Structurally, the arguments coincide with the sections of the declaration. In order to work out a general model of argument development, markers have been applied to each argument. *Figure 18.* shows the frequency of the markers used in the text.

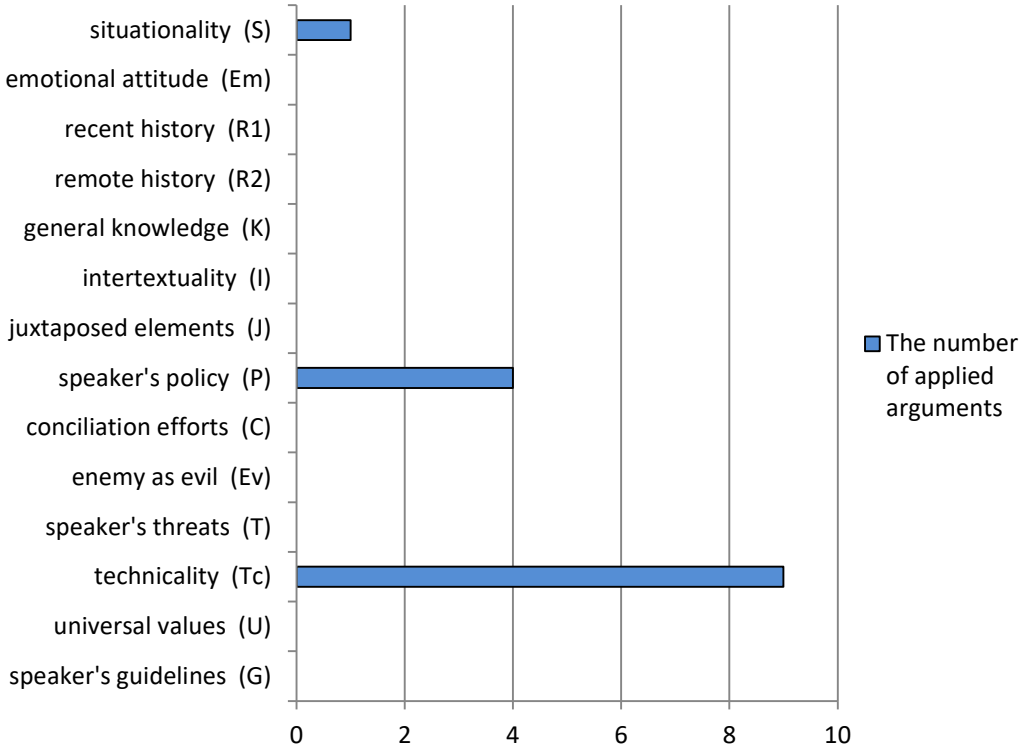

Figure 18. The declaration of war, 1846 – the model of argument development

The above data converted into the table gives an indication of the structure of the text (*Table 17.*).

Table 17. The declaration of war, 1846 – the numbers of applied markers

Marker	Number of elements
situationality (S)	1
emotional attitude (E_m)	0
recent history (R_1)	0
remote history (R_2)	0
general knowledge (K)	0
intertextuality (I)	0
juxtaposed elements (J)	0
speaker's policy (P)	4
conciliation efforts (C)	0
enemy as evil (E_v)	0
speaker's threats (T)	0
technicality (T_c)	9
universal values (U)	0
speaker's guidelines (G)	0

Figure 19. visualizes the structure of the text.

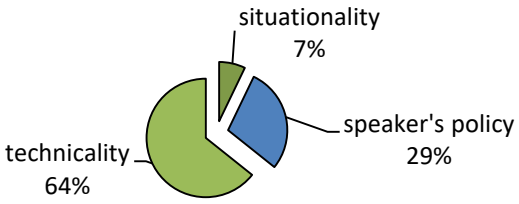

Figure 19. The declaration of war, 1846 - the model of argument development

The arguments mostly relate to technicalities in the context of the declared war. After ceremonial opening sanctifying the existence of war with a phrase: "a state of war exists" (arg. 1), the Congress authorizes the President to "to prosecute said war to a speedy and successful termination (arg. 3)." Technicalities follow. The size of land force is specified. Details such as volunteers' clothing, payment for the troops, organization of regiments are drafted. It is seen that the document had been prepared in advance. Polk's determination

in achieving political goals had led him to establishing a strong group of Congressmen who supported his policies. The technical performatives created new laws in regard to the life of the citizens as well as the conduct of war.

4.4.3. James K. Polk's proclamation of war

The *Announcement of War with Mexico* was issued by James K. Polk on May 13, 1846, immediately after the decision of the Congress to declare war. It meant progress in the President's effort to solve the dispute over the border with Mexico. There was no agreement with regard to where the Texan-Mexican border was. With sending the U.S. army to the disputed territory, Polk succeeded with his policy of forcing Mexico into a position of not being able to retain national pride if avoiding war (Hay 1922: 237). The exchange of mutual accusations of being invaders finalized in Mexican troops attacking Americans on "American soil," as Polk claimed. Mexico demanded territory regarded as theirs and Polk had to take advantage of such development of political affairs. Polk's proclamation is a relatively short text consisting of 269 words. It scores 13.78 points on the Gunning Fog Index scale, which identifies the text as the second most readable proclamation out of the five analyzed. It exceeds the most readable Roosevelt's "fireside chat" by only 0.67 point. It consists of three arguments:

1. S (situationality) 2. R_1 (recent history) 3. S/P (situationality/speaker's policy) 4. G/U/E_v/E_m (speaker's guidelines/universal values/enemy as evil/emotional attitude) 5. S (situationality) 6. S (situationality)

The construction of individual arguments is taken into account and is shown below.

One-element arguments:
1. S (situationality)
2. R_1 (recent history)
5. S (situationality)
6. S (situationality)
Two-element arguments:
S/P (situationality/speaker's policy)
Four-element arguments:
G/U/E_v/E_m (speaker's guidelines/universal values/enemy as evil/emotional attitude)

The model of the development of arguments allows to establish the layout of arguments in relation to the number of elements (*Table 18.*).

Table 18. The number of arguments in Polk's proclamation of war

Type of argument	Number of arguments applied in the address
One-element argument	4
Two-element argument	1
Three-element argument	0
Four-element argument	1
Five-element argument	0

As a result, the following model can be developed:

one-element arguments / two-element argument / four-element argument

With the short text the number of arguments is low. Three out of four one-element arguments and the only two-element argument indicate references to situationality. The four-element argument is built on creating the enemy with the use of the good-bad opposition. A visual presentation of the structure of text in relation to the number of elements within individual arguments is shown in *Figure 20*.

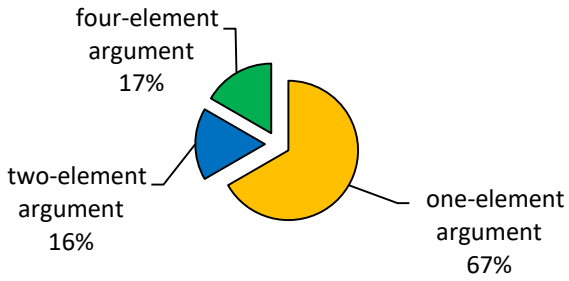

Figure 20. The structure of Polk's proclamation of war

In order to work out a general model of argument development, markers have been applied to each argument. *Figure 21*. shows the frequency of the markers used in the text.

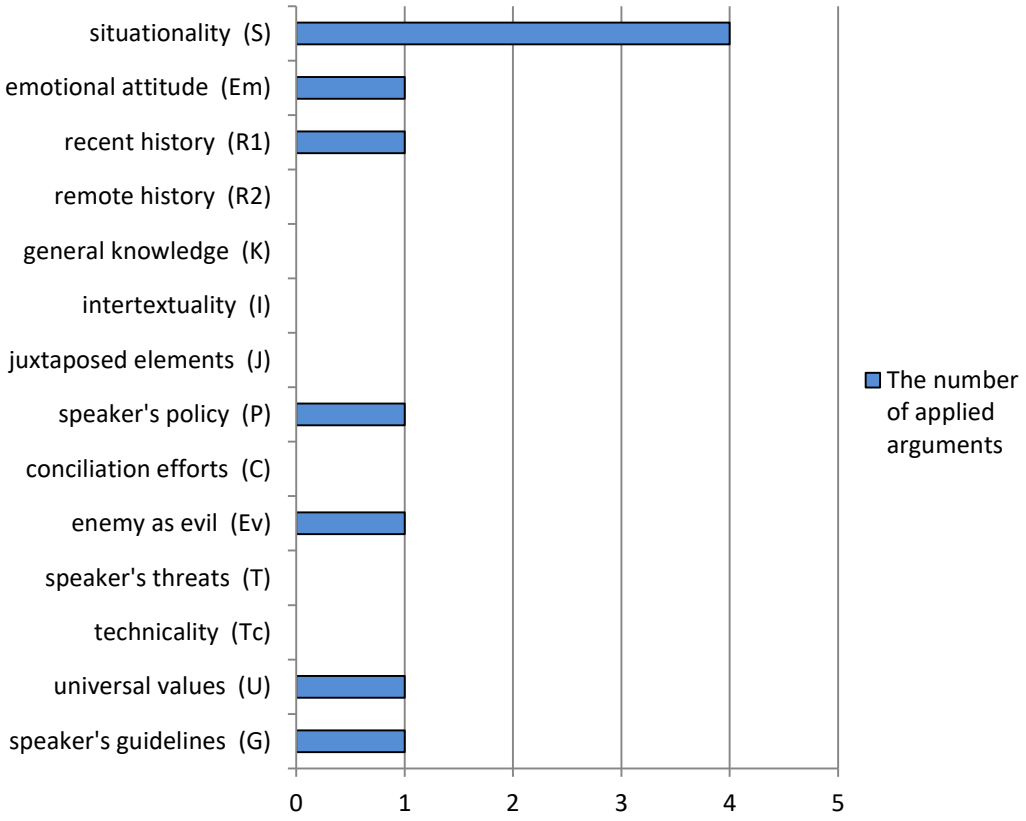

Figure 21. Polk's proclamation of war – the model of argument development

The above data converted into the table below gives an indication of the structure of the text (*Table 9.*).

Table 19. Polk's proclamation of war – the numbers of applied markers

Marker	Number of elements
situationality (S)	4
emotional attitude (E_m)	1
recent history (R_1)	1
remote history (R_2)	0
general knowledge (K)	0
intertextuality (I)	0
juxtaposed elements (J)	0
speaker's policy (P)	1
conciliation efforts (C)	0

enemy as evil (E_v)	1
speaker's threats (T)	0
technicality (T_c)	0
universal values (U)	1
speaker's guidelines (G)	1

Figure 22. provides a visual presentation of the model of argument development of the President's proclamation.

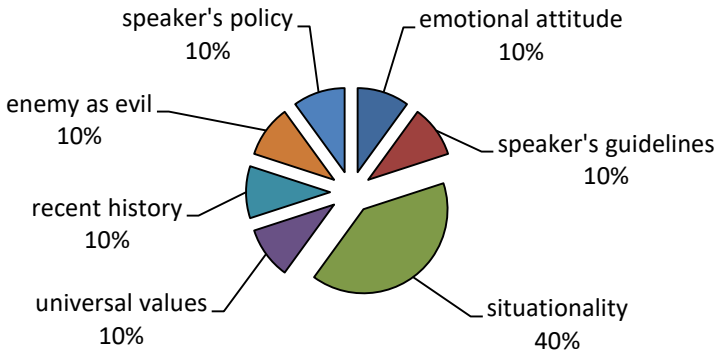

Figure 22. Polk's proclamation of war – the model of argument development

The S (situationality) marker constitutes 40% of the proclamation. Markers representing U (universal values), R_1 (recent history), E_v (enemy as evil), P (speaker's policy), E_m (emotional attitude), and G (speaker's guidelines) are evenly distributed constituting 10% of the text each. The S (situationality) marker being dominant shows that the structure of the text is built on references to the situation as it was at the time. In the distribution of the arguments the text, the text is almost identical with Madison's proclamation. The first three arguments are the exact copy of the ones found in Madison's text. Polk assumes the responsibility that comes with the decision made by the Congress in exactly the same manner. With phrases: "By the President of the United States of America," and "whereas the Congress of the United States, by virtue of the constitutional authority vested in them, have declared […]," the text contributes to establishing a canonical set of linguistic patterns that are to emerge as a set of canonical expressions used by the consecutive presidents to proclaim conflicts formally.

4.5. Typology of arguments. Spanish-American War

The war was the nation's first major conflict since the Civil War, and the first American overseas conflict as it involved major operations in both Cuba and the Philippine Islands. Cubans had long been struggling for independence. They did not succeed in the Ten Years War which ended in 1878 with Spain holding to its colony. In 1895 a rebellion against Spanish rule broke out again. Spanish troops crushed the unrest resorting to unhuman actions. The *reconcentrado* tactics, which meant isolating civilian inhabitants of the most disobedient districts in detention camps led to starvation and death of more than 100,000 Cubans. The events coincided with the wake of mass media and "yellow journalism", which meant spreading news in a sensational and exaggerated manner (Campbell 2001: 102–103). Although most people opposed the possibility of war, particularly business whose representatives saw it as a threat to the ongoing process of recovery from a deep depression, newspapers bringing the news of Spanish atrocities and crimes largely contributed to the change of public opinion on Cuban fight for independence. On the night of February 15, a mysterious explosion sank the American battleship U.S.S. Maine anchored in Havana Harbour resulting in 260 of the crew killed (Schmidt 2005: 30). Newspapers blamed Spain responsible for the incident. It led to a public outcry. The Caribbean and the Pacific became the war theatre. Both parties were equally unprepared for conflict but the United States' sea power was unquestionable. The war ended with signing the Treaty of Paris after just ten week warfare. The United States acquired new territories in Latin America and the western Pacific, and was granted the control of Cuba. The Conflict ended Spanish colonial rule on both American continents.

4.5.1. William McKinley's war message

On April 11, 1898, William McKinley issued a *Message Regarding Cuban Civil War*. In the message the President asks the American Congress for authority to use armed forces to stop the civil war in Cuba. The presidential war message comprises 5818 words and is the longest text. It scores 18.04 on the Gunning Fog Index scale. The increase in readability is noticeable, however it is still difficult to read and like the preceding war messages requires high level of education in order to be fully understood. For the purpose of the analysis the whole message was divided into 71 arguments. Each argument was matched with an appropriate marker or a number of markers. As a result, the following model of the development of arguments unfolds:

1. S (situationality) 2. S/P/R_1 (situationality/speaker's policy/recent history) 3. R_1/R_2 (recent history/remote history) 4. $R_1/E_v/E_m$ (recent history/enemy as evil/emotional attitude) 5. R_1/E_m (recent history/emotional attitude) 6. R_1/E_m (recent history/emotional attitude) 7. R_1/E_m (recent history/emotional attitude) 8. $R_1/C/E_v$ (recent history/conciliation efforts/enemy as evil) 9. $R_1/E_v/E_m$ (recent history/enemy as evil/emotional attitude) 10. $E_m/R_1/E_v$ (emotional attitude/ recent history/enemy as evil) 11. $R_1/E_v/E_m$ (recent history/enemy as evil/emotional attitude) 12. R_1 (recent history) 13. $R_1/E_v/E_m$ (recent history/enemy as evil/emotional attitude) 14. $R_1/E_v/E_m$ (recent history/enemy as evil/emotional attitude) 15. J/E_m (juxtaposed elements/emotional attitude) 16. $R_1/E_v/T_c$ (recent history/enemy as evil/technicality) 17. P/C/R_1 (speaker's policy/conciliation efforts/recent history) 18. R_1/C (recent history/conciliation efforts) 19. E_m/R_1/I/P/T_c (emotional attitude/recent history/intertextuality/speaker's policy/technicality) 20. R_1/T_c /recent history/technicality) 21. $E_m/R_1/T_c$ (emotional attitude/recent history/technicality) 22. G/E_m (speaker's guidance/emotional attitude) 23. R_1/P/C (recent history/speaker's policy/conciliation efforts) 24. R_1/P (recent history/speaker's policy) 25. R_1/T_c (recent history/technicality) 26. R_1/I/T_c (recent history/intertextuality/technicality) 27. G (speaker's guidance) 28. I (intertextuality) 29. G/I/U (speaker's guidance/intertextuality/universal values) 30. R_1/I/G/T_c (recent history/intertextuality/speaker's guidance/technicality) 31. P (speaker's policy) 32. R_2/I (recent history/intertextuality) 33. I (intertextuality) 34. G (speaker's guidance) 35. G/U (speaker's guidance/universal values) 36. R_1 (recent history) 37. I/R_2 (intertextuality/remote history) 38. R_2 (remote history) 39. R_2 (remote history) 40. I/R_2 (intertextuality/remote history) 41. I/T_c/G (intertextuality/technicality/speaker's guidance) 42. I/R_2/T_c (intertextuality/remote history/technicality) 43. I/G/T_c (intertextuality/speaker's guidance/technicality) 44. P/G (speaker's policy/speaker's guidance) 45. G (speaker's guidance) 46. G (speaker's guidance) 47. R_1/U/E_m (recent history/universal values/emotional attitude) 48. G (speaker's guidance) 49. E_v/G/J (enemy as evil/speaker's guidance/juxtaposed elements) 50. G (speaker's guidance) 51. $G/E_v/E_m$ (speaker's guidance/enemy as evil/emotional attitude) 52. E_m/R_1/U/E_v/J (emotional attitude/recent history/universal values/enemy as evil/juxtaposed elements) 53. R_1/E_m/I/T_c (recent history/emotional attitude/intertextuality/technicality) 54. R_1/T_c (recent history/technicality) 55. E_m/G (emotional attitude/speaker's guidance) 56. R_1/T_c/I (recent history/technicality/intertextuality) 57. I (intertextuality) 58. R_1/P (recent history/speaker's policy) 59. R_2/I (remote history/intertextuality) 60. I/G/E_m

(intertextuality/speaker's guidance/emotional attitude) 61. $R_1/E_v/E_m$ (recent history/enemy as evil/emotional attitude) 62. G (speaker's guidance) 63. $I/E_m/G$ (intertextuality/emotional attitude/speaker's guidance) 64. $R_1/I/G/P/U$ (recent history/intertextuality/speaker's guidance/speaker's policy/universal values) 65. U/J/P/G (universal values/juxtaposed elements/speaker's policy/speaker's guidance) 66. $R_1/E_m/U/G$ (recent history/emotional attitude/universal values/speaker's guidance) 67. S/G (situationality/speaker's guidance) 68. $U/E_m/G$ (universal values/emotional attitude/speaker's guidance) 69. $S/E_m/P$ (situationality/emotional attitude/speaker's policy) 70. R_1 (recent history) 71. $S/G/U/E_m$ (situationality/speaker's guidance/universal values/emotional attitude)

The construction of individual arguments is taken into account and is shown below.

One-element arguments:

1. S (situationality)
12. R_1 (recent history)
27. G (speaker's guidance)
28. I (intertextuality)
31. P (speaker's policy)
33. I (intertextuality)
34. G (speaker's guidance)
36. R_1 (recent history)
38. R_2 (remote history)
39. R_2 (remote history)
45. G (speaker's guidance)
46. G (speaker's guidance)
48. G (speaker's guidance)
50. G (speaker's guidance)
57. I (intertextuality)
62. G (speaker's guidance)
70. R_1 (recent history)

Two-element arguments:

3. R_1/R_2 (recent history/remote history)
5. R_1/E_m (recent history/emotional attitude)
6. R_1/E_m (recent history/emotional attitude)

7. R_1/E_m (recent history/emotional attitude)

15. J/E_m (juxtaposed elements/emotional attitude)

18. R_1/C (recent history/conciliation efforts)

20. R_1/T_c /recent history/technicality)

22. G/E_m (speaker's guidance/emotional attitude)

24. R_1/P (recent history/speaker's policy)

25. R_1/T_c (recent history/technicality)

32. R_2/I (recent history/intertextuality)

35. G/U (speaker's guidance/universal values)

37. I/R_2 (intertextuality/remote history)

40. I/R_2 (intertextuality/remote history)

44. P/G (speaker's policy/speaker's guidance)

54. R_1/T_c (recent history/technicality)

55. E_m/G (emotional attitude/speaker's guidance)

58. R_1/P (recent history/speaker's policy)

59. R_2/I (remote history/intertextuality)

67. S/G (situationality/speaker's guidance)

Three-element arguments:

2. $S/P/R_1$ (situationality/speaker's policy/recent history)

4. $R_1/E_v/E_m$ (recent history/enemy as evil/emotional attitude)

8. $R_1/C/E_v$ (recent history/conciliation efforts/enemy as evil)

9. $R_1/E_v/E_m$ (recent history/enemy as evil/emotional attitude)

10. $E_m/R_1/E_v$ (emotional attitude/ recent history/enemy as evil)

11. $R_1/E_v/E_m$ (recent history/enemy as evil/emotional attitude)

13. $R_1/E_v/E_m$ (recent history/enemy as evil/emotional attitude)

14. $R_1/E_v/E_m$ (recent history/enemy as evil/emotional attitude)

16. $R_1/E_v/T_c$ (recent history/enemy as evil/technicality)

17. $P/C/R_1$ (speaker's policy/conciliation efforts/recent history)

21. $E_m/R_1/T_c$ (emotional attitude/recent history/technicality)

23. $R_1/P/C$ (recent history/speaker's policy/conciliation efforts)

26. $R_1/I/T_c$ (recent history/intertextuality/technicality)

29. G/I/U (speaker's guidance/intertextuality/universal values)

41. $I/T_c/G$ (intertextuality/technicality/speaker's guidance)

42. $I/R_2/T_c$ (intertextuality/remote history/technicality)

43. I/G/T_c (intertextuality/speaker's guidance/technicality)
47. R_1/U/E_m (recent history/universal values/emotional attitude)
49. E_v/G/J (enemy as evil/speaker's guidance/juxtaposed elements)
51. G/E_v/E_m (speaker's guidance/enemy as evil/emotional attitude)
56. R_1/T_c/I (recent history/technicality/intertextuality)
60. I/G/E_m (intertextuality/speaker's guidance/emotional attitude)
61. R_1/E_v/E_m (recent history/enemy as evil/emotional attitude)
63. I/E_m/G (intertextuality/emotional attitude/speaker's guidance)
68. U/E_m/G (universal values/emotional attitude/speaker's guidance)
69. S/E_m/P (situationality/emotional attitude/speaker's policy)

Four-element arguments

30. R_1/I/G/T_c (recent history/intertextuality/speaker's guidance/technicality)
53. R_1/E_m/I/T_c (recent history/emotional attitude/intertextuality/technicality)
65. U/J/P/G (universal values/juxtaposed elements/speaker's policy/speaker's guidance)
66. R_1/E_m/U/G (recent history/emotional attitude/universal values/speaker's guidance)
71. S/G/U/E_m (situationality/speaker's guidance/universal values/emotional attitude)

Five-element arguments

19. E_m/R_1/I/P/T_c (emotional attitude/recent history/intertextuality/speaker's policy/ technicality)
52. E_m/R_1/U/E_v/J (emotional attitude/recent history/universal values/enemy as evil/ juxtaposed elements)
64. R_1/I/G/P/U (recent history/intertextuality/speaker's guidance/speaker's policy/universal values)

The data which constitutes the model of the development of arguments allows to establish the layout of arguments in relation to the number of elements (*Table 14.*).

Table 20. The number of arguments in McKinley's war message

Type of argument	**Number of arguments applied in the address**
One-element argument	17
Two-element argument	20
Three-element argument	26

Four-element argument	5
Five-element argument	3

As a result, the following model can be developed:

three-element arguments / two-element arguments / one-element arguments / four element arguments / five-element arguments

*Figure 2*3. offers a visual presentation of the structure of McKinley's proclamation in relation to the number of elements within individual arguments.

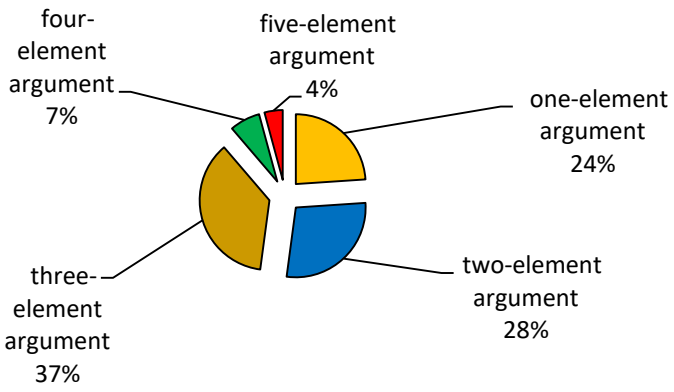

Figure 23. The structure of McKinley's war message

Three-element arguments, two-element arguments and one-element arguments form a substantial part of the body of the message. Those are most frequently applied in the text. One-element and two-element arguments account for 52% of all arguments. Only five four-element arguments and three five-element arguments were used in the text. Although such structure might result in text with low readability score, the President produces language that scores high on the readability scale. Choosing mostly one-element and two-element arguments, McKinley facilitates the recipients understanding of the information conveyed in the message. Judging by the readability score, the message is, similarly to the messages issued by Madison and Polk, aimed at members of the American Congress.

In order to work out a general model of argument development, markers have been applied to each argument. *Figure 24*. shows the frequency of the markers used in the text.

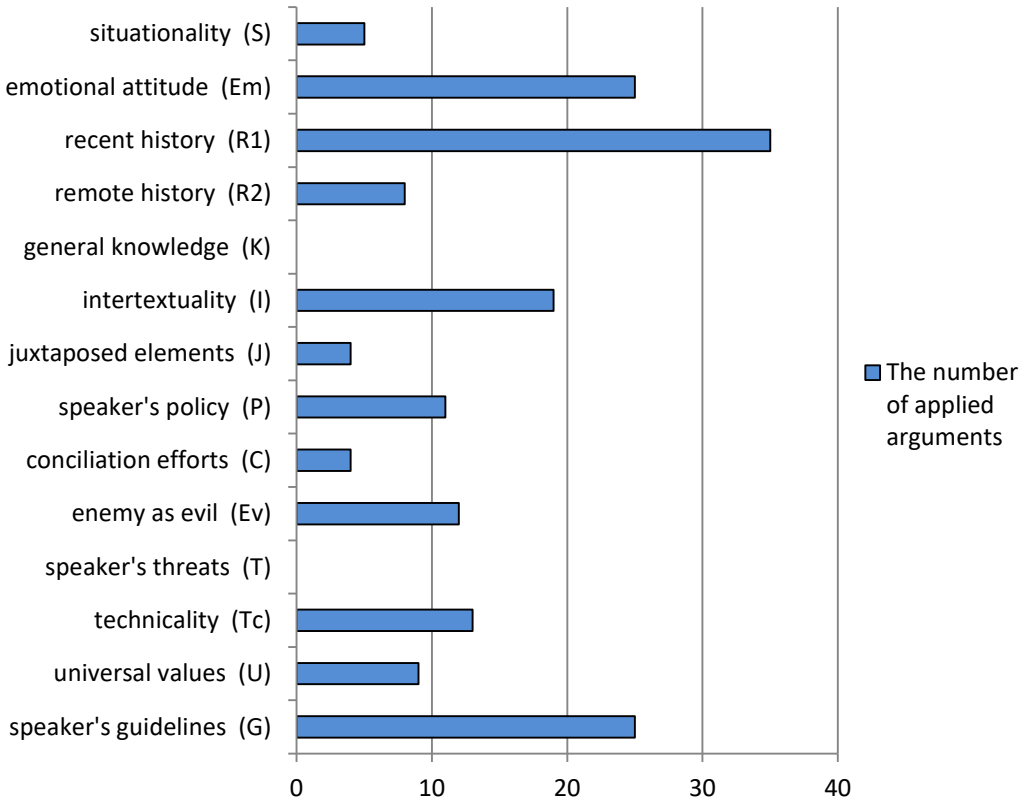

Figure 24. McKinley's war message – the model of argument development

The above data converted into a table gives a clear indication of the structure of the text (*Table 21.*).

Table 21. McKinley's war message – the numbers of applied markers

Marker	Number of elements
situationality (S)	5
emotional attitude (E_m)	25
recent history (R_1)	35
remote history (R_2)	8
general knowledge (K)	0
intertextuality (I)	19

juxtaposed elements (J)	4
speaker's policy (P)	11
conciliation efforts (C)	4
enemy as evil (E_v)	12
speaker's threats (T)	0
technicality (T_c)	13
universal values (U)	9
speaker's guidelines (G)	25

Figure 25. provides a visual presentation of the model of argument development of the president's message.

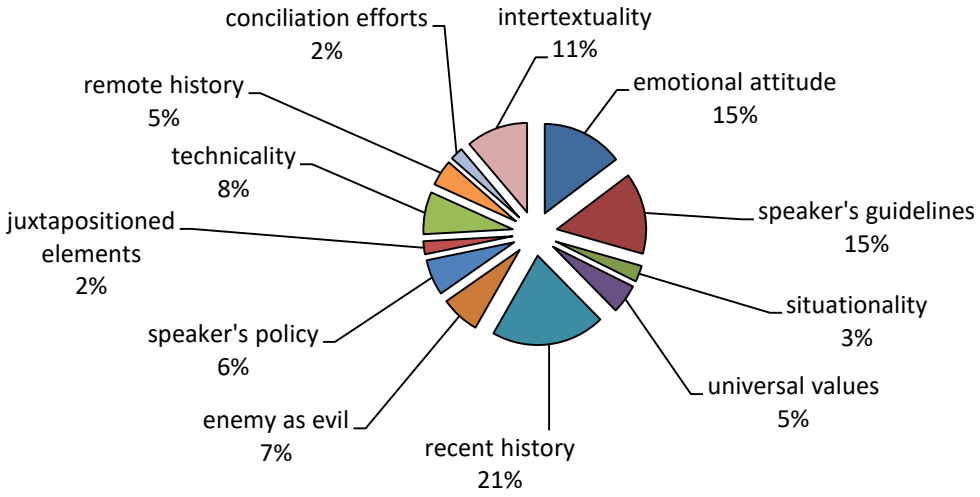

Figure 25. McKinley's war message – the model of argument development

William McKinley's war message is frequently misread as a sign of weakness (Kapur 2011: 37). The President was unwilling to push the country to war. The content of the text is prone to interpretations. The President was known for being in favor of resolving Cuban crisis by diplomatic engagement rather than by the use of armed force. Only few months earlier, McKinley's administration succeeded in annexation of Hawaii. *The Newlands Resolution* signed on June 16, 1897 mirrored the expansionist policy of the President. Still, even after the U.S.S. Maine incident, he was unwilling to go to war. However, as the news of Spanish atrocities were spread , after over a month of

negotiations with Spain, McKinley accepted the failure of his efforts. Spain would not withdraw peacefully from Cuba. He was pressured by the course of events, congressional politics, and the rising support from the public for American intervention, who reacted to "yellow journalism" offering the image of Spain as "a poor, broken down, decrepit, bankrupt nation. The United States, the most powerful nation on the globe, in a conflict with Spain would only have to crook its little finger, the job would be so easy" (*Chicago Tribune*, 21 March 1898, p. 6, cit. in Gleijeses 2003: 687). The message in which McKinley asks the Congress for a declaration of war is the longest formal war request. It stands in opposition to what he said in his *Inaugural Address* only a year earlier:

> We want no wars of conquest; we must avoid the temptation of territorial aggression. War should never be entered upon until every agency of peace has failed; peace is preferable to war in almost every contingency. (William McKinley, *Inaugural Address*, March 4, 1897)

The text begins with a reference to constitutional binding of the executive and legislative branches of the government. It limits presidential authority to initiate war and requires the residing president to request declaration of war. McKinley complies with the rule saying, "Obedient to that precept of the Constitution," (arg. 2.), and refers to the subject of the message as "the grave crisis that has arisen" (arg. 2.) between the United States and Spain because of the worsening of the situation in Cuba. To ensure the recipients, the President insists that he acts "to accord with the precepts laid down by the founders of the Republic" which are "religiously observed by succeeding Administrations" (arg. 3). The historical context strengthens the President's position. He follows the Founding Fathers' fundamental guidelines. Aware of the fact that American business owners oppose the idea of engagement in Cuba, McKinley refrains from introducing the issue of war immediately. Instead, he introduces the audience to his interpretation of the situation in Cuba. He emphasizes that the ongoing insurrections on the island have "subjected the United States to great effort and expense." It also "caused many losses to American trade and commerce" (arg. 4.). This is to ensure the hesitating business class that American trade and commerce would only benefit from war. Before the unrest, American annual trade with Cuba had reached over $100 million. Due to prolonged fights between the insurgents and Spanish army, the trade suffered. American annual turnover dropped by two-thirds (Offner 2004: 51). However, as many Americans remained unconvinced, the President continues his message with passages filled with descriptions of the dreading

situation of American business: “Since the present revolution began in February, 1895, this country has seen the fertile domain at our threshold ravaged by fire and sword in the course of a struggle unequaled in the history of the island […]” (arg. 5.). McKinley emphasizes this aspect of American and Cuban relations, by stating, “Our trade has suffered; the capital invested by our citizens in Cuba has been largely lost, and the temper and forbearance of our people have been so sorely tried” (arg. 7.).

Having given the appalling view of the American business tormented by the instability in Cuba, the President moves to describe the situation of the Cubans who, in his eyes, are seen as “a once prosperous community,” but in the struggle for freedom have been “reduced to comparative want.” Cuban once “lucrative commerce” has been “virtually paralyzed” and “its exceptional productiveness diminished, its fields laid waste, its mills in ruins, and its people perishing by tens of thousands from hunger and destitution” (arg. 6.). McKinley continues with passages highlighting the dreadful consequences of the continuous fights on the island, namely the Spanish policy of *reconcentrado*: “The peasantry, […] were driven into the garrison towns or isolated places held by the troops” (arg. 10.). To add to the mood, McKinley labels the events as “the strife of a new and inhuman phase” incomparable with any time of “the modern history of civilized Christian peoples” (arg. 9). The picture of people deprived of their basic rights to shelter, food and peaceful is supplemented with references to the consequences of the Spanish actions:

> The fields ware laid waste, dwellings unroofed and fired, mills destroyed, and, in short, everything that could desolate the land and render it unfit for human habitation or support was commanded by one or the other of the contending parties and executed by all the powers at their disposal. (arg. 11.) […] The agricultural population […] was herded within the towns and their immediate vicinage, deprived of the means of support, rendered destitute of shelter, left poorly clad, and exposed to the most unsanitary conditions. (arg. 13.)

As the population affected is large, McKinley uses figures for a greater impact on the recipients. He quotes an estimated number of 300,000 of more “reconcentrados,” out of whom “the mortality from starvation and the diseases thereto incident exceeded 50 per centum” (arg. 13.). To complete the picture of human misery, mainly of women, children, and the elderly “enfeebled by disease and hunger” (arg. 14.), the President relates to the events as “not civilized warfare” but “extermination” (arg. 15.).

Having presented the situation in Cuba, McKinley makes a swift transition to another issue, namely the possibility of American involvement in the Spanish-Cuban affairs. He refers to it as "the grave problem" (arg. 17.) The United States are "affected and injured" by the "very existence" (arg. 22.) of the strife and discord. He follows with technicalities. American diplomatic efforts, among them a request for the immediate revocation of the policy of reconcentration are thoroughly referred to. Having described the state of affairs with the emphasis on American attempts to bring peace to the region, McKinley proceeds to introduce the core subject of the message. He refers to his earlier *First Annual Message* of December 6, 1987, in which he proposed:

> Recognition of the insurgents as belligerents; recognition of the independence of Cuba; neutral intervention to end the war by imposing a national a rational compromise between the contestants, and intervention in favor of one or the other party. (arg. 29.)

However, having reflected upon those alternatives, after months passed, he perceives them as impractical. He does not consider an annexation of Cuba. This is understandable considering the unsuccessful efforts of acquiring Cuba in 1854. President Franklin Pierce had attempted to purchase Cuba from Spain considering war in case Spain refused. The attempt to expand the U.S. territory gained unwanted publicity and became known worldwide as "the Ostend Manifesto." American government was forced to withdraw the plans (Hamilton 2006: 9). He also refuses to accept the option of recognizing Cuba as an independent country. This stands in opposition to the basic American value, namely freedom and liberty. The value of being free as an individual, free as society, free from oppressive actions of an oppressive authority was emphasized by the Founding Fathers. Both terms seem to be deeply rooted in the United States Constitution. McKinley justifies this with an observation that a "recognition of independent statehood is not due to a revolted dependency until the danger of its being again subjugated by the parent state has entirely passed away" (arg. 41.). However, "Manifest Destiny" still prevailed in American minds. The sacred duty to expand the county's borders went in line with the need for finding a solution to the Cuban problem. Pulitzer's The New York World pioneering in "yellow journalism', reported on the situation in Cuba with headlines: "Blood on the roadsides, blood in the fields, blood on the doorsteps, blood, blood, blood." Journalists urged American government to act: "Is there no nation wise enough, brave enough and strong enough to restore peace in this blood-smitten land?" (Musicant 1990:

9). At this point McKinley mentions the events leading to the Mexican-American War, focusing on the circumstances that led to the successful termination of that warfare, and moves on with the Cuban affairs emphasizing that the Government pursues the long-established policy, "a policy which has secured to us respect and influence abroad and inspired confidence at home" (arg. 40). Retaining this policy, the President has to consider new circumstances and adjusting to the context of the situation concludes:

> The present condition of affairs in Cuba is a constant menace to our peace, and entails upon this Government and enormous expense. With such a conflict waged for years in an island so near us […]; when the lives and liberty of our citizens are in constant danger and their property destroyed and themselves ruined; where our trading vessels are liable to seizure and are seized at our very door by war ships of a foreign nation, the expeditions of filibustering that we are powerless to prevent altogether, […] are constant menace to our peace, and compel us to keep on a semiwar footing with a nation with which we are at peace. (arg. 52.)

By returning to the horrors of war and the economic costs of the warfare, which he describes in detail in the first paragraphs of the message, the President justifies American military intervention. Referring to the destruction of American flagship in the Harbour of Havana, McKinley emphasizes that the ship was "on a mission of peace and rightfully there" (arg. 55). He is known for his anti-war sentiments. "I have been through one war. I have seen the dead piled up, and I do not want to see another," he once commented on the possibility of war (Dirck 2007: 107). However, in the light of the events, the President insists that the country's "action will be determined in the line of indisputable right and duty. It will be faced, without misgiving or hesitancy, in the light of the obligation […] to the people who have confided to it the protection of their interests and honor, and to humanity" (arg. 64.). McKinley gives up on his non-interventionist policy. In the following lines, the President clarifies his position:

> Sure of the right, keeping free from all offense ourselves, actuated only by upright and patriotic considerations, moved neither by passion nor selfishness, the Government will continue its watchful care over the rights and property of American citizens and will abate none of its efforts to bring about by peaceful agencies a peace which shall be honorable and enduring. If it shall hereafter appear to be a duty imposed by our obligations to ourselves, to civilization and humanity to intervene with force, it shall be without fault on our part only because the necessity for such action will be so clear as to command the support and approval of the civilized world. (arg. 65.)

The President decides what has to be done. The use of force is unavoidable due to the course of events, which he confirms stating that "The only hope of relief and repose from a condition which can no longer be endured is the enforced pacification of Cuba" (arg. 66.). In the words of the President, American intervention would have nothing to do with aggression. He claims:

> It would be done "In the name of humanity, in the name of civilization, in behalf of endangered American interests which gives us the right and the duty to speak and to act, the war in Cuba must stop. (arg. 66.)

In his next step, McKinley asks 'the Congress to authorize and empower the President to take measure to secure a full and final termination of hostilities between the Government of Spain and the people of Cuba" (arg. 67.). This is to be done in order to "secure in the island the establishment of a stable government, capable of maintaining order and […] insuring peace and tranquility and the security of its citizens as well as our own" (arg. 67.).

Finally, the President sways the recipients of the message to urgency for action by declaring, "The issue is now with the Congress. It is a solemn responsibility. I have exhausted every effort to relieve the intolerable condition of affairs which is at our doors" (arg. 69).

As the content of the message shows, McKinley finds it impossible to resist the rising public and political pressure for war against Spain. In his request for a declaration of war, he enlists the main concerns of his government and suggests what the Government should do. In the President's eyes, the war is seen as a defense of national interests. McKinley emphasizes his sympathy for the Cuban independence aspirations. The fact that it happens at the very door of the United States adds to the urgency for the Government's action. The core American values are reflected in the message. Humanitarian, religious and moral obligations give no room for other decisions than requesting a declaration of war on Spain. McKinley does not mention the long-range implications of the conflict. As the President's war message shows, there were a number of reasons for conflict. American business invested in Cuba had suffered because of the prolonged fights but, as Theodore Roosevelt observed, "it was our [American–L.W.] duty, even more from the standpoint of national honor than from the standpoint of national interest, to stop the devastation and destruction. […] there are few honorable men who do not believe that the war was both just and necessary" (Roosevelt 1913: 228).

The quick victorious war, "a splendid little war" in the words of McKinley's Secretary of State, John Milton Hay, influenced American patriotism and strengthened the nation's confidence. The message of the last president of the pre-rhetoric era triggered legal steps towards war which is seen by many as one in a series of attempts to liberate oppressed nations, by some as another expansionist war.

4.5.2. Congressional declaration of war, 1898

William McKinley, despite his negative view on the war alternative, pushed by the circumstances, decided on forceful solution of the problem. On April 11, 1898, the President asked the Congress to authorize him to send American troops to Cuba and end the Spanish-Cuban warfare. He was aware of the importance of his request. He knew that the Congress would declare war. On April 21, Spain severed diplomatic relations with the U.S. in response to an ultimatum demanding Spanish withdrawal from Cuba, which was issued by the U.S. on April 20. As the U.S. Navy started a blockade of the island, Spain declared war against the United States. The war on Spain was declared by the American Congress on April 25, 1898.

The text of the declaration consists of 135 words and is the shortest formal declaration of war issued by the American Congress. It scores 10.60 on the Gunning Fog Index scale and as such, it is the most readable declaration out of the five analyzed. The declaration is divided into two paragraphs and consists of only three arguments. As a result, the following model of the development of arguments unfolds:

1. P (speaker's policy) 2. S/R_1 (situationality/recent history) 3. P/T_c (speaker's policy/technicality)

The above data allows to identify the structure of the text in relation to the complexity of the various elements used within the individual arguments:

One-element arguments:
1. P (speaker's policy)
Two-element arguments:
2. S/R_1 (situationality/recent history)
3. P/T_c (speaker's policy/technicality)

The model of the development of arguments allows to establish the layout of arguments in relation to the number of elements (*Table 22.*).

Table 22. The number of arguments in the declaration of war, 1898

Type of argument	Number of arguments applied in the address
One-element argument	1
Two-element argument	2
Three-element argument	0
Four-element argument	0
Five-element argument	0

As a result, the following model can be developed:

two-element arguments / one-element argument

Figure 26. offers a visual presentation of the structure of the declaration in relation to the number of elements within individual arguments.

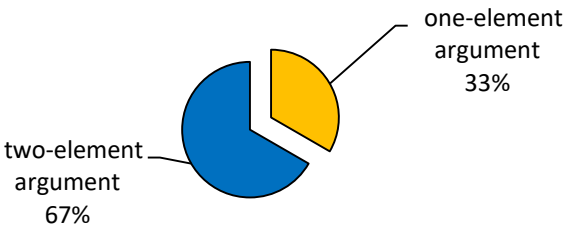

Figure 26. The structure of the declaration of war, 1898

As can be seen, the structure of the declaration is very simple. Only two two-element arguments and one one-element argument comprise the text. The first argument states that war exists. The second argument indicates the authors of this performative act. It is the Senate and the House of Representatives that made the decision. The third argument specifies the role of the President. The chief executive of the country is "directed and empowered" to use American forces "to such extent as may be necessary to carry out" the congressional decision.

In order to work out a general model of argument development, markers have been applied to each argument. *Figure 27.* shows the frequency of the markers used in the text.

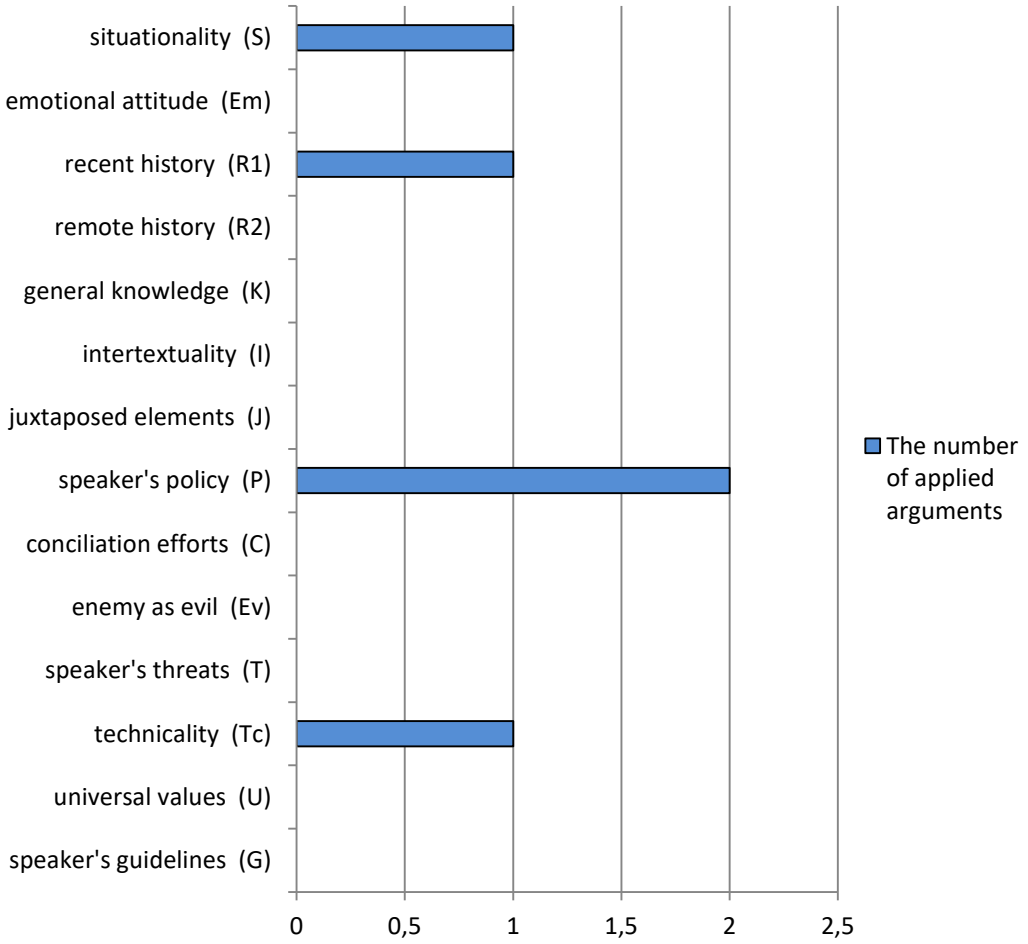

Figure 27. The declaration of war, 1898 – the model of argument development

The data converted into the table below gives an indication of the structure of the text (*Table 23.*).

Table 23. The declaration of war, 1898 – the numbers of applied markers

Marker	Number of elements
situationality (S)	1
emotional attitude (E_m)	0

recent history (R_1)	1
remote history (R_2)	0
general knowledge (K)	0
intertextuality (I)	0
juxtaposed elements (J)	0
speaker's policy (P)	2
conciliation efforts (C)	0
enemy as evil (E_v)	0
speaker's threats (T)	0
technicality (T_c)	1
universal values (U)	0
speaker's guidelines (G)	0

Figure 28. provides a visual presentation of the model of argument development of the president's message.

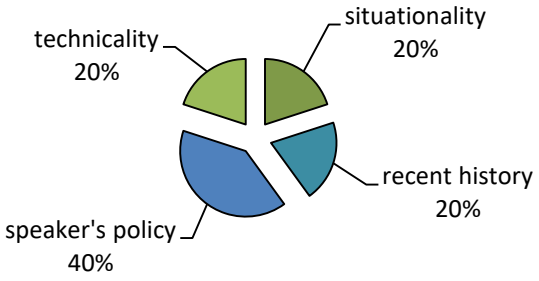

Figure 28. The declaration of war, 1898 - the model of argument development

The P (speaker's policy) marker constitutes 40% of the declaration. The other three markers, S (situationality), R_1 (recent history), and Tc (technicality) constitute 20% of the text each. The argument related to situationality sets the scene: it is the Senate and the House of Representatives of the United States of America that declare war. With the performative act of declaring war, the Congress changes the scene of the forthcoming events. The declaration states: "A bill declaring that war exists between the United States

of America and the Kingdom of Spain." Reference to recent history is made, by stating "That war be, and the same is hereby, declared to exist, and has existed since the twenty-first day of April, A.D. 1898." Similarly to the two previous declaration of war, once the declaration is issued, allocation of powers changes. The declaration is the act confirming the relation between the Legislative and Executive branches of the Government within American political discourse.

4.5.3. William McKinley's proclamation of war

Proclamation Calling for Military Volunteers issued by William McKinley on April 23, 1898, preceded the declaration of war from the Congress. As American-Spanish diplomatic relations came to a halt on April 21 and Spain declared war on the United States, it was certain that the Congress would issue the declaration. The Congress authorized the President to introduce all the necessary measures such as forming a volunteer army. This order of events is reflected in the text. McKinley's proclamation is a relatively short text consisting of 320 words. It is shorter than Madison's proclamation by only seven words, but longer than Polk's by fifty words. The text scores 17.76 points on the Gunning Fog Index scale, which identifies the text as difficult to understand and places it at the high end of the scale along with Madison's and Wilson's proclamations. It consists of six arguments:

1. S (situationality) 2. R_1/T_c (recent history/technicality) 3. R_1/P (recent history/speaker's policy) 4. S/T_c (situationality/technicality) 5. S (situationality) 6. S (situationality)

The above data allows to identify the structure of the text in relation to the complexity of the various elements used within the individual arguments:

One-element arguments:

1. S (situationality)

5. S (situationality)

6. S (situationality)

Two-element arguments:

2. R_1/T_c (recent history/technicality)

3. R_1/P (recent history/speaker's policy)

4. S/T_c (situationality/technicality)

The model of the development of arguments allows to establish the layout of arguments in relation to the number of elements (*Table 24*.).

Table 24. The number of arguments in McKinley's proclamation of war

Type of argument	Number of arguments applied in the address
One-element argument	3
Two-element argument	3
Three-element argument	0
Four-element argument	0
Five-element argument	0

As a result, the following model can be developed:

one-element arguments / two-element arguments

Figure 29. offers a visual presentation of the structure of the text in relation to the number of elements within individual arguments. The layout is very simple.

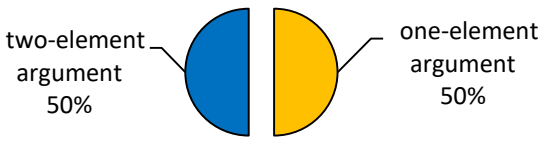

Figure 29. Visual presentation of the structure of McKinley's proclamation of war

In order to work out a general model of argument development, markers have been applied to each argument. *Figure 30*. shows the frequency of the markers used in the text.

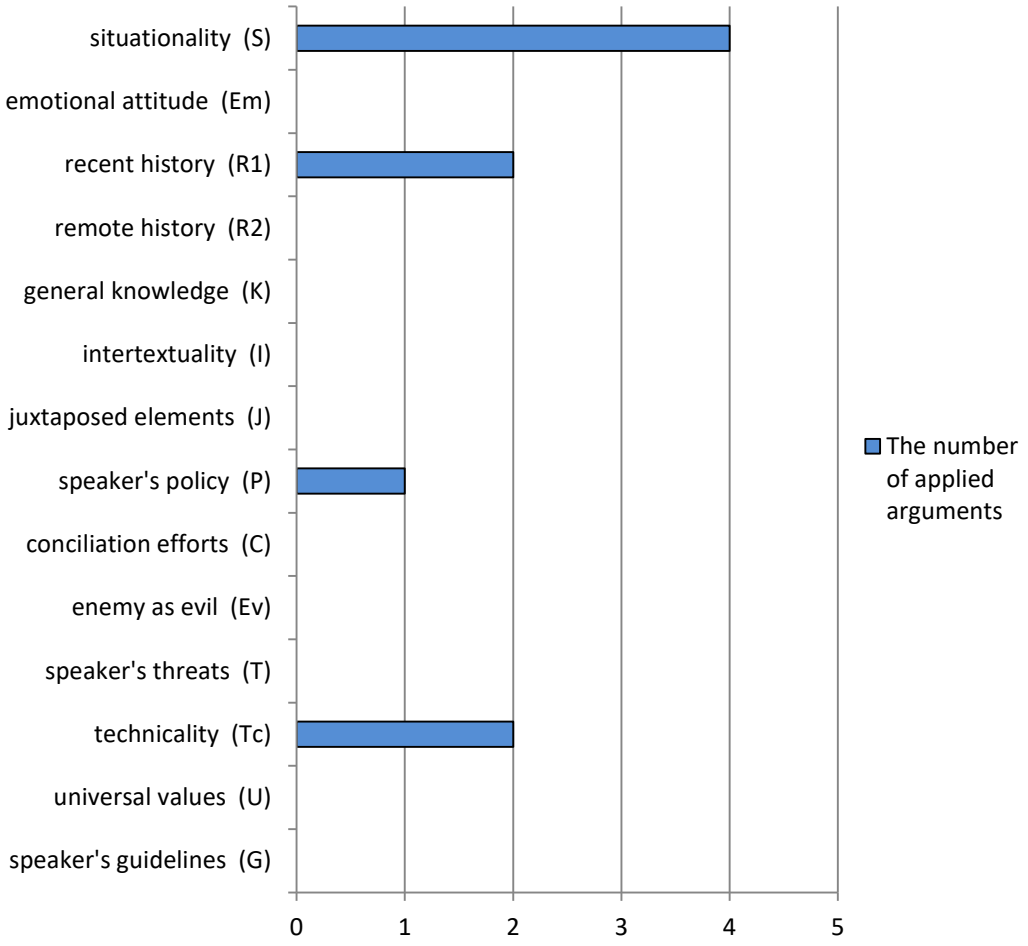

Figure 30. McKinley's proclamation of war – the model of argument development

The above data converted into the table below gives a clear indication of the structure of the text (*Table 25.*).

Table 25. McKinley's proclamation of war – the numbers of applied markers

Marker	Number of elements
situationality (S)	4
emotional attitude (E_m)	0
recent history (R_1)	2
remote history (R_2)	0
general knowledge (K)	0

intertextuality (I)	0
juxtaposed elements (J)	0
speaker's policy (P)	1
conciliation efforts (C)	0
enemy as evil (E_v)	0
speaker's threats (T)	0
technicality (T_c)	2
universal values (U)	0
speaker's guidelines (G)	0

Figure 31. provides a visual presentation of the model of argument development of the president's message.

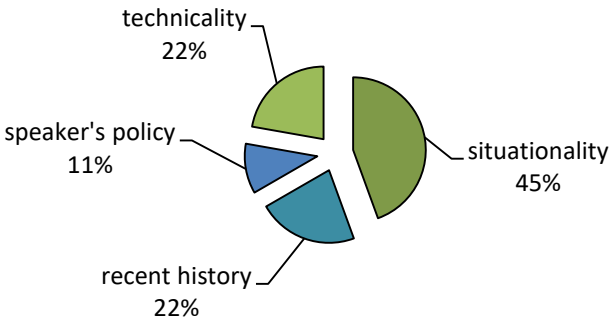

Figure 31. McKinley's proclamation of war – the model of argument development

Four types of arguments comprise the proclamation. The S (situationality) marker constitutes 45% of the proclamation. The results for markers representing R_1 (recent history) and T_c technicality) are equal with 22%. The P (speaker's policy) comes last with 11%. As can be seen, the S (situationality) marker is dominant. It has to be remembered however, that similarly to Madison's and Polk's proclamations the whole text is relatively short. The S (situationality) marker indicates that the President makes situational references four times. Again, like in the other above-mentioned texts, he begins the proclamation by stating by whom it is made. R_1 (recent history) marker indicates that reference to the congressional declaration of war is made. As the Congress authorized the President "to use the land and naval forces of the United States" (arg. 2.),

the Chief-in-Command aggregates power vested in him by "the Constitution and the laws." Technicalities follow with brief instruction on the organization of the recruitment.

4.6. Typology of arguments. World War I

World War I, known for having begun with the declaration of war by Austria-Hungary on Serbia, spread at a formidable speed. The conflict drawing into it most of the European countries soon became global and divided the world. If not for the seriousness of the topic, it would become a cliché to say that the struggle between the Allies and the Central Powers led to atrocities, deaths and, in many cases, genocide. An involvement in "foreign wars" was not welcome in America at the time. The war was initially called in America the European War, which illustrated the attitude of the United States towards the conflict. Although the sinking of the passenger liner *Lusitania* contributed to the view of Germany as an aggressor, it did not change the general outlook on war among the American public. The emphasis on Woodrow Wilson's neutrality policy, secured him victory in the run for presidency. With "he kept us out of war" slogan, on November 7, 1916, Wilson was reelected as President. Unwilling to involve the country in warfare, he tried to contribute to the termination of the conflict. However, sending a note asking belligerents to end the warfare on December 18, 1916 as well as his Address to Senate of January 22, 1917, in which he called for "a peace without victory" did not bring expected results. The resumption of unrestricted submarine warfare by Germany the same month was met with severing diplomatic relations by Wilson on February 3, 1917. The interception of the "Zimmerman telegram" by the British on February 28, 1917, which revealed German effort to involve Mexico in war against the U.S was followed by the loss of American ships sunk by German submarines (Boghardt 2012: 115; Fei Yeh 2015: 61). In such circumstances Wilson made his final decision of drawing the United States into war against the Central Powers.

4.6.1. Woodrow Wilson's war message

On April 2, 1917, Woodrow Wilson spoke in the House of Representatives delivering his *Address to Congress Requesting a Declaration of War Against Germany*. The President decided that American neutrality in ongoing war was no longer respected. German actions at sea were too obtrusive to American citizens. This led the President to decide

that the United States neglect its policy of neutrality in international relations and enter the war.

The presidential war message comprises 3667 words and is the second longest text among the five war requests. It scores 17.42 on the Gunning Fog Index scale. The increase in readability is noticeable, however it is still difficult to read and like the preceding war messages requires high level of education in order to be fully understood. For the purpose of the analysis the whole message was divided into 72 arguments. As previously mentioned, the arguments relate to a single and logical thought of the speaker which can be identified by a reader. Each argument was matched with an appropriate marker or a number of markers. As a result, the following model of the development of arguments unfolded:

1. S (situationality) 2. S/E_m (situationality/emotional attitude) 3. R_1/E_v (recent history/enemy as evil) 4. R_1 (recent history) 5. E_m/R_1 (emotional attitude/recent history) 6. E_m/R_1 (emotional attitude/recent history) 7. E_m/R_1 (emotional attitude/recent history) 8. $E_m/R_1/U$ (emotional attitude/recent history/universal values) 9. E_m/R_1 (emotional attitude/recent history) 10. E_m/R_1 (emotional attitude/recent history) 11. E_m (emotional attitude) 12. E_m/J (emotional attitude/juxtaposed elements) 13. E_m (emotional attitude) 14. E_m/R_1 (emotional attitude/recent history) 15. G/E_m (speaker's guidelines/emotional attitude) 16. $G/E_m/U$ (speaker's guidelines/emotional attitude/universal values) 17. R_1/U (recent history/universal values) 18. P/G (speaker's policy/speaker's guidelines) 19. G (speaker's guidelines) 20. E_v (enemy as evil) 21. E_v (enemy as evil) 22. G (speaker's guidelines) 23. $E_m/G/U$ (emotional attitude /speaker's guidelines/universal values) 24. E_m (emotional attitude) 25. E_m/G (emotional attitude/speaker's guidelines) 26. G (speaker's guidelines) 27. G (speaker's guidelines) 28. G (speaker's guidelines) 29. G/T_c (speaker's guidelines/technicality) 30. G/T_c (speaker's guidelines/technicality) 31. G/E_m (speaker's guidelines/emotional attitude) 32. G (speaker's guidelines) 33. P (speaker's policy) 34. S (situationality) 35. E_m (emotional attitude) 36. R_1/E_m (recent history/emotional attitude) 37. R_1 (recent history) 38. P/G (speaker's policy/speaker's guidelines) 39. P/G (speaker's policy/speaker's guidelines) 40. G (speaker's guidelines) 41. P/R_1 (speaker's policy/recent history) 42. R_2/E_m (remote history/emotional attitude) 43. E_v (enemy as evil) 44. G (speaker's guidelines) 45. G (speaker's guidelines) 46. G (speaker's guidelines) 47. P/G (speaker's policy/speaker's guidelines) 48. E_m/R_1 (emotional attitude/recent history) 49. E_m

(emotional attitude) 50. R_1 /E_m//U/G (recent history/emotional attitude/universal values/speaker's guidelines) 51. E_m/E_v (emotional attitude/enemy as evil) 52. R_1/E_v (recent history/enemy as evil) 53. P/E_v (speaker's policy/enemy as evil) 54. E_v/R_1 (enemy as evil/recent history) 55. P (speaker's policy) 56. P (speaker's policy) 57. P/E_m (speaker's policy/emotional attitude) 58. G/E_m (speaker's guidelines/emotional attitude) 59. G/E_m (speaker's guidelines/emotional attitude) 60. E_m/P/G (emotional attitude/speaker's policy/speaker's guidelines) 61. E_m/P/G (emotional attitude/speaker's policy/speaker's guidelines) 62. P (speaker's policy) 63. R_1/P (recent history/speaker's policy) 64. P (speaker's policy) 65. P/E_v (speaker's policy/enemy as evil) 66. P/E_m (speaker's policy/emotional attitude) 67. R_1/P/E_m (recent history/speaker's policy/emotional attitude) 68. G (speaker's guidelines) 69. P/T (speaker's policy/speaker's threats) 70. S/P (situationality/speaker's policy) 71. E_m/P/U (emotional attitude/speaker's policy/universal values) 72. E_m/U (emotional attitude/universal values)

Considering the seriousness of the subject of the speech, it becomes vital to identify the structure of the text in relation to the complexity of various elements used within individual arguments. For this reason, types of arguments in accordance with the number of elements have been scrutinized, divided into groups in accordance with the number of markers used within a single argument, and provided with appropriate examples in order to illustrate marker – argument correlations:

One-element arguments:

1. S (situationality)
4. R_1 (recent history)
11. E_m (emotional attitude)
13. E_m (emotional attitude)
19. G (speaker's guidelines)
20. E_v (enemy as evil)
21. E_v (enemy as evil)
22. G (speaker's guidelines)
24. E_m (emotional attitude)
26. G (speaker's guidelines)
27. G (speaker's guidelines)
28. G (speaker's guidelines)
32. G (speaker's guidelines)

33. P (speaker's policy)
34. S (situationality)
35. E_m (emotional attitude)
37. R_1 (recent history)
40. G (speaker's guidelines)
43. E_v (enemy as evil)
44. G (speaker's guidelines)
45. G (speaker's guidelines)
46. G (speaker's guidelines)
49. E_m (emotional attitude)
55. P (speaker's policy)
56. P (speaker's policy)
62. P (speaker's policy)
64. P (speaker's policy)
68. G (speaker's guidelines)

Two-element arguments:

2. S/E_m (situationality/emotional attitude)
3. R_1/E_v (recent history/enemy as evil)
5. E_m/R_1 (emotional attitude/recent history)
6. E_m/R_1 (emotional attitude/recent history)
7. E_m/R_1 (emotional attitude/recent history)
9. E_m/R_1 (emotional attitude/recent history)
10. E_m/R_1 (emotional attitude/recent history)
12. E_m/J (emotional attitude/juxtaposed elements)
14. E_m/R_1 (emotional attitude/recent history)
15. G/E_m (speaker's guidelines/emotional attitude)
17. R_1/U (recent history/universal values)
18. P/G (speaker's policy/speaker's guidelines)
25. E_m/G (emotional attitude/speaker's guidelines)
29. G/T_c (speaker's guidelines/technicality)
30. G/T_c (speaker's guidelines/technicality)
31. G/E_m (speaker's guidelines/emotional attitude)
36. R_1 /E_m (recent history/emotional attitude)
38. P/G (speaker's policy/speaker's guidelines)

39. P/G (speaker's policy/speaker's guidelines)
41. P/R_1 (speaker's policy/recent history)
42. R_2/E_m (remote history/emotional attitude)
47. P/G (speaker's policy/speaker's guidelines)
48. E_m/R_1 (emotional attitude/recent history)
51. E_m/E_v (emotional attitude/enemy as evil)
52. R_1/E_v (recent history/enemy as evil)
53. P/E_v (speaker's policy/enemy as evil)
54. E_v/R_1 (enemy as evil/recent history)
57. P/E_m (speaker's policy/emotional attitude)
58. G/E_m (speaker's guidelines/emotional attitude)
59. G/E_m (speaker's guidelines/emotional attitude)
63. R_1/P (recent history/speaker's policy)
65. P/E_v (speaker's policy/enemy as evil)
66. P/E_m (speaker's policy/emotional attitude)
69. P/T (speaker's policy/speaker's threats)
70. S/P (situationality/speaker's policy)
72. E_m/U (emotional attitude/universal values)

Three-element arguments:

8. $E_m/R_1/U$ (emotional attitude/recent history/universal values)
16. $G/E_m/U$ (speaker's guidelines/emotional attitude/universal values)
23. $E_m/G/U$ (emotional attitude /speaker's guidelines/universal values)
60. $E_m/P/G$ (emotional attitude/speaker's policy/speaker's guidelines)
61. $E_m/P/G$ (emotional attitude/speaker's policy/speaker's guidelines)
67. $R_1/P/E_m$ (recent history/speaker's policy/emotional attitude)
71. $E_m/P/U$ (emotional attitude/speaker's policy/universal values)

Four-element arguments:

50. $R_1/E_m/U/G$ (recent history/emotional attitude/universal values/speaker's guidelines)

The above data allows to identify the structure of the text in relation to the complexity of the various elements used within the individual arguments (*Table 26.*)

Table 26. The number of arguments in Wilson's war message

Type of argument	Number of arguments applied in the address
One-element argument	28
Two-element argument	36
Three-element argument	7
Four-element argument	1
Five-element argument	0

As a result, the following model can be developed:

two-element arguments / three-element arguments / one- element arguments / four-element arguments / five-element arguments

Figure 32. offers a visual presentation of the structure of the presidential address in relation to the number of elements within individual arguments.

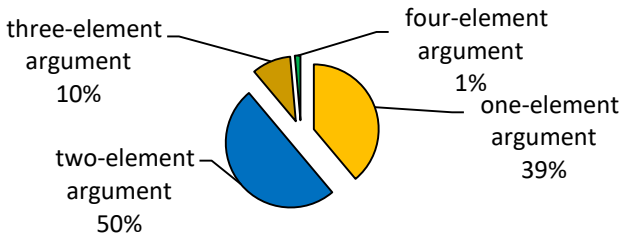

Figure 32. The structure of Wilson's war message

As can be seen, a large section of the presidential address is written using two-element arguments, which allowed the speech to be clear and, as the results of the Gunning Fog Index suggest, easily understood by the educated congressmen. There are 36 of those out of the total number of 71 arguments in the presidential message and they form a significant part of the body of the text. The second most frequently used is a three-element argument. Being more complex than two-element argument, it is however not as complicated as arguments with higher number of elements which, as can be seen, were clearly avoided by the President. The marginal use of three-element arguments and a single use of a four-element argument clearly indicates the speaker's will to avoid

complex utterances which could be regarded as complicated and could lead the recipients to misunderstanding and improper interpretation of the speaker's message. The issue, which was the matter whether the country would go to war or not, was too serious to allow any misunderstanding or misinterpretation of the address. Having based his war message on two-element argument, three-element argument and one-element argument structure, President Wilson produced a speech that was adequately received by the Congress. The structure of arguments shows that the war message was intended not to be too complex. Wilson's choice of arguments and their structure allowed him to present the issue in such a manner that it was clear to the listeners and allowed the president to achieve his goal.

In order to work out a general model of argument development, markers have been applied to each argument. *Figure 33.* shows the frequency of the markers used in the text.

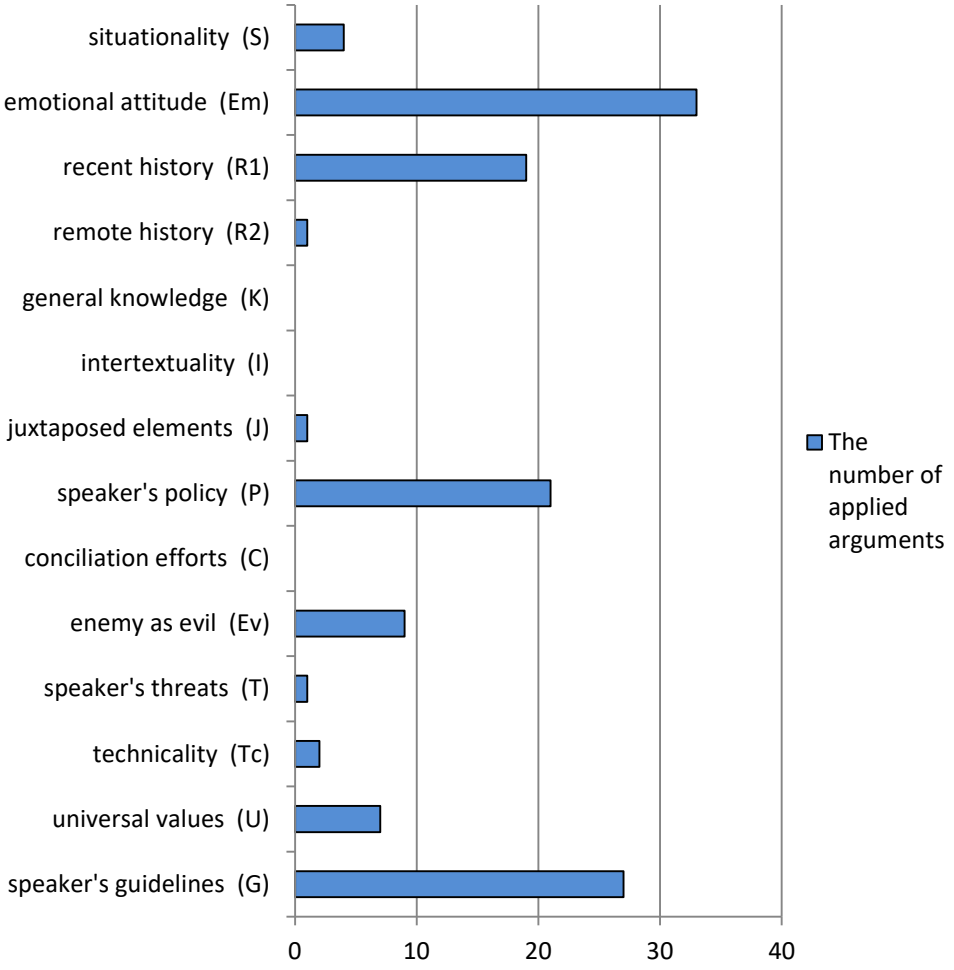

Figure 33. Wilson's war message – the model of argument development

The exact numbers of individual elements establishing the model of argument development are shown in *Table 27*.

Table 27. Wilson's war message – the numbers of applied markers

Marker	Number of elements
situationality (S)	4
emotional attitude (E_m)	33
recent history (R_1)	19
remote history (R_2)	1
general knowledge (K)	0
intertextuality (I)	0
juxtaposed elements (J)	1
speaker's policy (P)	21
conciliation efforts (C)	0
enemy as evil (E_v)	9
speaker's threats (T)	1
technicality (T_c)	2
universal values (U)	7
speaker's guidelines (G)	27

The layout of the number of individual markers clearly illustrates the structure of the presidential war message. As can be seen, the text is based on the following model of the development of arguments:

$$\mathbf{E_m/G/S/U/R_1/E_v/P/J/K/T_c/T/R_2}$$

Figure 34. provides a visual presentation of the model of argument development of the presidential address.

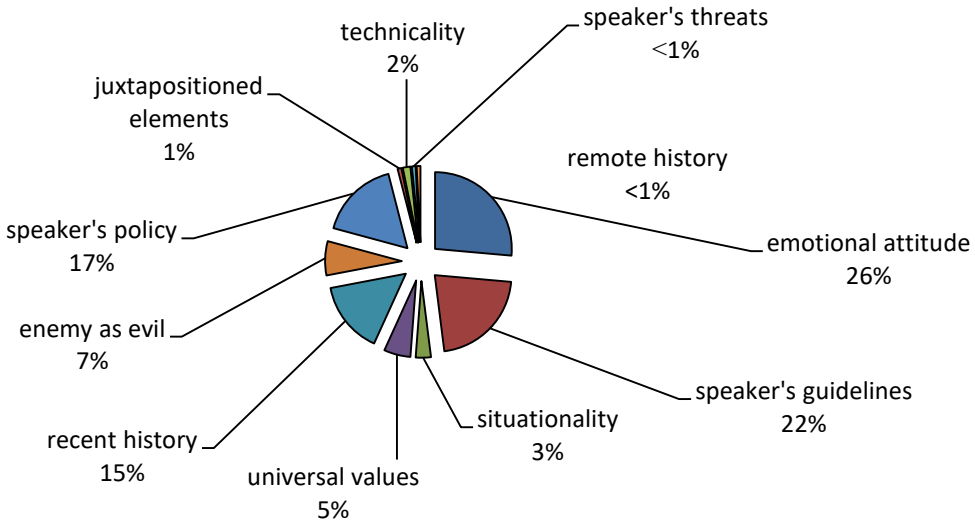

Figure 34. Wilson's war message – the model of argument development

As can be seen, the emotional attitude marker outnumbers all the other markers. Its number equalizes with the sum of the second and the third most frequently used markers which are the speaker's guidelines marker and situationality marker respectively. These three arguments constitute the main body of the text comprising 91 elements out of the total number of 157 elements. The 91 elements constitute 58% of the arguments in the speech.

The E_m (emotional attitude) marker is the dominant one – it shows that almost 26% of all the arguments used in the presidential speech related to emotions. President Wilson chose arguments according to the situation. Aristotle's three persuasive audience appeals, *logos*, *pathos*, and *ethos*, were appropriately employed throughout the speech. *Logos*, which represents an appeal to the emotions of the recipients of the message, and elicits feelings of the recipients served as the base for the argument structure. The speaker's appeal to the feelings of the listeners was meant to be effective. Without doubt the President did not allow himself to rely on emotions exclusively. Building the desired emotional attitude of the audience was strengthened by the use of two other relevant types of arguments. The G (speaker's guidelines) marker illustrates the frequency with which President Wilson gave advice or expressed his stance as president, regarding the development of the forthcoming war events. The arguments made up 15% of the whole number of arguments in the speech. The S (situationality) marker illustrates the number of

references to geopolitical situation – in particular the activities of the German marine forces, which in Wilson's view, inevitably led the US towards the war. The argument makes up 14% of the total number of arguments and is one of the three main components of the speech. Wilson's reliance on emotions allowed the President to build the atmosphere that would lead the recipients of the message to the expected decisions. References to the situation, which in Wilson's view drew America into war, whether willingly or unwillingly and his strong statements related to the predicted development of events allowed him to build the picture of a strong politician and leader knowing what political measures to undertake in order to secure the victory over the enemy.

The intertextuality marker and the conciliation efforts marker are non-existent in the presidential address. These markers were typically used by other American presidents in their war addresses and messages. In contrast with Wilson's war message, Roosevelt expressed American conciliation efforts very explicitly in his *Address to Congress Requesting a Declaration of War*: "The United States was at peace with that Nation and, at the solicitation of Japan, was still in conversation with its Government and its Emperor looking toward the maintenance of peace in the Pacific." President Wilson chose a different approach. Although he had highlighted the American will to remain neutral in what had been regarded as mainly an overseas European conflict, he did not build his speech on arguments related to conciliation efforts. No efforts of the American government to prevent the participation in the conflict are mentioned.

A statement formulated from the point of view of the sender by the recipient is treated in terms of truth or falsehood. Thus, these are the acts of speech which oblige the speaker to be truthful. Wilson enforces his view of reality with this type of statements in numerous occasions throughout the speech. Referring to life as the most precious human value, he insists, "Property can be paid for; the lives of peaceful and innocent people cannot be. (arg. 12.), and explicitly explains in what kind of conflict America is becoming involved. He claims, "The present German submarine warfare against commerce is a warfare against mankind. It is a war against all nations" (arg. 13.). Referring the state of international affairs, the German submarine warfare, Wilson leaves the audience no room for disagreement:

> International law had its origin in the attempt to set up some law which would be respected and observed upon the seas, where no nation had right of dominion and where lay the free highways of the world. (arg. 8.)

> Armed neutrality is ineffectual enough at best; in such circumstances and in the face of such pretensions it is worse than ineffectual: it is likely only to produce what it was meant to prevent; it is practically certain to draw us into the war without either the rights or the effectiveness of belligerents. (arg. 22.)

Using two clashing notions, the President clearly establishes the position of the United States in the conflict.

> A steadfast concert for peace can never be maintained except by a partnership of democratic nations. No autocratic government could be trusted to keep faith within it or observe its covenants. (arg. 45–46.)

The enemy's actions are referred to as cunningly contrived plans drawing people into war. This, as Wilson argues is not possible in democratic countries where citizens are well informed about what their governments do. The President builds an image of two extremely different worlds. Free people are only on one side of the frontier:

> Only free peoples can hold their purpose and their honor steady to a common end and prefer the interests of mankind to any narrow interest of their own. (arg. 47.)

As can be seen, the president's statements are very self-confident. This was justified by the circumstances in which the speech took place. The president, making a speech to Congress, could not create himself as an uncertain or even weak politician. The situation in which he found himself was not easy. Even in early 1917, Wilson was very reluctant to US participation in the war. Earlier, Wilson's supporters campaigned for the presidency under the slogan "He kept us out of war." Taking advantage of the Americans' fear of becoming involved in the war in Europe secured him an electoral victory (Jones 1983: 412–414). In this context, the politician could not show weakness in his statements. The statements are clear, formulated in such a way that the recipient has no doubts that the president is telling the truth. Moreover, these statements are to convince the audience to support the request for a declaration of war. In turn, the identification of the speaker with the recipient is achieved through the numerous use of the personal pronoun in the first person plural:

> We are accepting this challenge of hostile purpose because we know that in such a government, following such methods, we can never have a friend[…]. (arg. 55.)

> We have no selfish ends to serve. We desire no conquest, no dominion. We seek no indemnities for ourselves, no material compensation for the sacrifices we shall freely make. We are but one of the champions of the rights of mankind. We shall

> be satisfied when those rights have been made as secure as the faith and the freedom of nations can make them. (arg. 60.)

In this way, the President, being the head of state, speaks as the representative of the entire nation. Another characteristic oratorical procedure is presenting conflicting sides in terms of *white – black, good – bad*:

> It will be all the easier for us to conduct ourselves as belligerents in a high spirit of right and fairness because we act without animus, not in enmity toward a people or with the desire to bring any injury or disadvantage upon them, but only in armed opposition to an irresponsible government which has thrown aside all considerations of humanity and of right and is running amuck. (arg. 65)

The speech does not fail to refer to the very large population of German origin in the USA. Wilson firmly states that they are primarily US citizens and expressed his belief in the loyalty of this national group, abandoning the use of phrases such as *I believe, I think, I trust*, characteristic of the English language. The president's statements are direct, not preceded by expressions that could be interpreted by the recipient as a weakening of the power of the message:

> We shall, happily, still have an opportunity to prove that friendship in our daily attitude and actions toward the millions of men and women of German birth and native sympathy who live among us and share our life, and we shall be proud to prove it toward all who are in fact loyal to their neighbors and to the government in the hour of test. They are, most of them, as true and loyal Americans as if they had never known any other fealty or allegiance. (arg. 67.)

The president refers several times to the basic value of peace in the world, which the recipient could not have doubts about, thus accepting the president's statements as true. He makes his stance and the stance of the United States by saying: "[…] let us be very clear, and make very clear to all the world, what our motives and our objects are." and continues with an emotional appeal: "The world must be made safe for democracy. Its peace must be planted upon the tested foundations of political liberty (arg. 58–59)." The president makes decisive statements. This does not allow any doubts as to the purpose of the speech. The lack of conditional forms strengthens the message, while the use of references to such values as *our rights*, *democracy*, *freedom*, means that the recipient is left to agree with the author of the statement:

> We enter this war only where we are clearly forced into it because there are no other means of defending our rights. (arg. 64.)

The speech includes expressions of admiration. President Wilson dispels doubts that might have arisen in a recipient who was not necessarily convinced of a war in which Russia would be an ally, a country with a political system distant from the American idea of democracy:

> Russia was known by those who knew it best to have been always in fact democratic at heart, […] and the great, generous Russian people have been added in all their naive majesty and might to the forces that are fighting for freedom in the world, for justice, and for peace. Here is a fit partner for a League of Honor. (arg. 49–50.)

In his speech acts expressing opposition, Wilson makes a non-personal statement by using the first person plural. He does not express his own opinion, but speaks on behalf of the state as a subject of international law, while acting as a defender of the fundamental rights of the American people:

> There is one choice we cannot make, we are incapable of making: we will not choose the path of submission and suffer the most sacred rights of our nation and our people to be ignored or violated. The wrongs against which we now array ourselves are no common wrongs; they cut to the very roots of human life. (arg. 23–24.)

If there is any doubt in the president's statements, it is rather caused by the intention to stimulate the recipients to reflect upon the content of the message and to turn them in the direction desired by the speaker:

> Armed neutrality is ineffectual enough at best; in such circumstances and in the face of such pretensions it is worse than ineffectual: it is likely only to produce what it was meant to prevent; it is practically certain to draw us into the war without either the rights or the effectiveness of belligerents. (arg. 22.)

> It is a fearful thing to lead this great peaceful people into war, into the most terrible and disastrous of all wars, civilization itself seeming to be in the balance. But the right is more precious than peace, and we shall fight for the things which we have always carried nearest our hearts-for democracy, for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own governments, for the rights and liberties of small nations, for a universal dominion of right by such a concert of free peoples as shall bring peace and safety to all nations and make the world itself at last free. (arg. 71.)

The president obtains reinforcement of the message by making the recipient aware that the only possible solution is consent and support for the speaker. He does so by defining the ultimate goal, which the recipient is unable to question. The goal is specified as the fundamental human right to peace and security.

President Wilson is in a specific communication situation, largely determined by the political system of the country. The decision to declare war was in the hands of Congress, while the president was empowered to submit a request to Congress on the matter. Eventually, Congress passed a declaration of war, which was then endorsed by the president's war proclamation. To convince Congress and the citizens of his position, Wilson goes further:

> It is our duty, I most respectfully urge, to protect our people so far as we may against the very serious hardships and evils which would be likely to arise out of the inflation which would be produced by vast loans. (arg. 31.)

Characteristic for Wilson's utterances is the emphasis on the importance of the moment and persuasion through the use of the subjunctive form:

> With a profound sense of the solemn and even tragical character of the step I am taking and of the grave responsibilities which it involves, but in unhesitating obedience to what I deem my constitutional duty, I advise that the Congress declare the recent course of the Imperial German government to be in fact nothing less than war against the government and people of the United States; that it formally accept the status of belligerent which has thus been thrust upon it; and that it take immediate steps, not only to put the country in a more thorough state of defense but also to exert all its power […]. (arg. 25.)

Since the declaration of independence, typical of American domestic politics has been the struggle between the Congress and the president over the powers that the constitution gave to both bodies, the executive and the legislature, to declare and wage wars. Wilson makes a proposal to the Congress stressing how seriously it had been considered by him as head of state on whom the duty of war would be imposed:

> I shall take the liberty of suggesting, through the several executive departments of the government, for the consideration of your committees, measures for the accomplishment of the several objects I have mentioned. (arg. 33.)

> I hope that it will be your pleasure to deal with them as having been framed after very careful thought by the branch of the government upon which the

> responsibility of conducting the war and safeguarding the nation will most directly fall. (arg. 34)

Demands seem to be essential features of a war speech. Wierzbicka (1973: 212) gives the following definition of this concept: "I demand that it be done. Assuming I have the right to say: it has to be done. Wanting it to be done I say: I want it to be done." Wilson, realizing the power that the constitution bestows upon the Congress to make decisions about war, is reluctant to formulate pronouncements as demands, avoiding active voice or using the first person singular:

> The choice we make for ourselves must be made with a moderation of counsel and a temperateness of judgment befitting our character and our motives as a nation. We must put excited feeling away. Our motive will not be revenge […] but only the vindication of right, of human right, of which we are only a single champion. (arg. 16.)

Wilson does not avoid speaking in the form of advice:

> In carrying out the measures by which these things are to be accomplished, we should keep constantly in mind the wisdom of interfering as little as possible in our own preparation and in the equipment of our own military forces […]. They are in the field and we should help them in every way to be effective there. (arg. 32.)

Often veiled instructions have been used that have the characteristics of predictions of future events:

> The challenge is to all mankind. Each nation must decide for itself how it will meet it. (arg. 14–15.)

Wilson, the President of the rhetoric era, dos not refrain from classic rhetorical figures. By repetition he achieves the desired result. He establishes his hegemony over the audience. Wilson builds an image of himself as a firm, decisive politician. He understands the problem he is addressing and builds trust for his actions. He knows what the future would bring.

> What this will involve is clear. It will involve the utmost practicable cooperation […]. It will involve the organization and mobilization of all the material resources […]. It will involve the immediate full equipment of the Navy […]. It will involve the immediate addition to the armed forces of […] at least 500,000 men, who should, in my opinion, be chosen upon the principle of universal liability to

> service […]. It will involve also, of course, the granting of adequate credits to the government, […] it seems to me that it would be most unwise to base the credits which will now be necessary entirely on money borrowed. (arg. 26–30.)

> Our object now, as then, is to vindicate the principles of peace and justice in the life of the world as against selfish and autocratic power […]. Neutrality is no longer feasible or desirable where the peace of the world is involved and the freedom of its peoples, and the menace to that peace and freedom lies in the existence of autocratic governments backed by organized force which is controlled wholly by their will, not by the will of their people. (arg. 38.)

> Only free peoples can hold their purpose and their honor steady to a common end and prefer the interests of mankind to any narrow interest of their own. (arg. 47.)

In legal context, President Wilson's speech was a request to Congress. Wierzbicka (1983: 129) proposes the following definition of the term: "I want you to do something good for me, I say this because I want you to do it, I don't know if you will do it because I know you don't have to do what I want you to do." However, Wilson avoids the use of specific performative verbs such as *ask*, *address*, etc. The president explained his request as follows:

> It is our duty, I most respectfully urge, to protect our people […]. (arg. 31.)

Wilson formulates his request in such a way that the recipients, in this case members of Congress, understand the seriousness of the situation and make the appropriate decision, which means the decision expected by the sender of the message.

One of the President's goals is to convey the obligation of the speaker to undertake certain actions. Expressions such as promises, offers, assurances, threats, obligations or warnings are used throughout the speech. Wilson makes several promises. Wierzbicka (1973: 213) defines this concept as follows: "I promise to do Z. Assuming you want me to do Z, not wanting not to do what you want me to do, I want to make you think I am obligated to do it, I say: I will do Z." The president, outlining the boundaries of the actions of the United States, makes promises to the recipient:

> Just because we fight […] seeking nothing for ourselves but what we shall wish to share with all free peoples, we shall, I feel confident, conduct our operations as belligerents without passion and ourselves observe with proud punctilio the principles of right and of fair play we profess to be fighting for. (arg. 61.)

> We are, let me say again, the sincere friends of the German people, and shall desire nothing so much as the early reestablishment of intimate relations […]. (arg. 66.)

> We have no selfish ends to serve. We desire no conquest, no dominion. We seek no indemnities for ourselves, no material compensation for the sacrifices we shall freely make. We are but one of the champions of the rights of mankind. We shall be satisfied when those rights have been made as secure as the faith and the freedom of nations can make them. (arg. 60.)

By making the promises, the president makes commitments. It is also information for the recipient about the intention to take appropriate actions. On the other hand, referring to immigrants of German origin, Wilson sends a clear warning or even a threat:

> If there should be disloyalty, it will be dealt with a firm hand of stern repression; but, if it lifts its head at all, it will lift it only here and there and without countenance except from a lawless and malignant few. (arg. 69.)

In the speech, Wilson makes references to certain mental, emotional or attitudinal states, such as congratulations, wishes, greetings, thanks, apologies or condolences. Polite expressions can be distinguished like this example of greeting:

> Gentlemen of the Congress: I have called the Congress into extraordinary session […]. (arg. 2.)

The phrase is also used not at the beginning of the speech, but in the middle of the sentence, thus constituting a temporary pause in the course of the speech:

> It is a distressing and oppressive duty, gentlemen of the Congress, which I have performed in thus addressing you […]. (arg. 70)

One of the goals of the message is to bring about a change in the current state of affairs. This kind of statement is based on complex extra-linguistic phenomena (Levinson 1983: 240). Creating a new state of affairs includes, for example, a declaration of war, an appointment, authorization, announcement, baptism, excommunication, dismissal or naming a newborn child. Opening his speech, the president emphasizes the establishment of a new state of affairs:

> I have called the Congress into extraordinary session because there are serious, very serious, choices of policy to be made, and made immediately, […]. (arg. 2)

The president as sender and Congress as the recipient of the message find themselves in a specific communicative situation created by the events taking place on the international arena in the second decade of the twentieth century. Wilson recognizes the fact that the geopolitical situation calls for radical decisions. By his speech to members of Congress, he creates a new state of affairs. The task of Congress is to respond to the presidential motion to declare war.

The analysis reveals the dependencies of the language which are based on such notions as the sender and recipient, the time and place of the speech or the social status of the participants of the communicative situation, It allows for a detailed analysis of the statements of the participants of the discourse, and thus revealing the actual intentions of the message sender. It also allows to trace the ways that the speaker uses to achieve specific goals. The president clearly defined the threats and set goals to be achieved. He outlined the recipient's vision of America as a victorious state, a state - a world leader and, above all, a defender of fundamental humanitarian values: freedom, peace, security, and democracy. Thus, Wilson built an image of himself as a statesman aware of his actions and their consequences, not afraid of making difficult decisions, a strong politician, a man who could face challenges. Implementing appropriate rhetorical measures, Wilson achieved his goal. The House of Representatives voted to declare war on the German Empire by 373 to 50, and the Senate by 82 to 6 (Morris 1970: 309). The final result of the presidential speech was a performative act of declaration of war by the American Congress.

4.6.2. Congressional declaration of war, 1917

German infringements of American neutral rights started American crusade in defense of rights, democracy, freedom of individuals, and liberty of small and oppressed nations. The president’s war speech delivered in person resulted in members of Congress cheering and waving flags (Jones 1983: 422). Four days after Wilson’s request for war, on April 6, 1917, the Joint Resolution was passed by the United States Senate and House of Representatives. The declaration of war was a fact. When the government made the Zimmermann Telegram public, the support for a military solution increased among the American public.

The text of the declaration consists of 152 words and is the second shortest formal declaration of war issued by the American Congress. It scores 15.00 on the Gunning Fog

Index scale and as such, it is a readable text for an educated recipient. The declaration is divided into two paragraphs and consists of only three arguments. As a result, the following model of the development of arguments unfolds:
It consists of three arguments:

1. R_1 (recent history) 2. S/P (situationality/speaker's policy) 3. P/T_c (speaker's policy/technicality)

The above data allows to identify the structure of the text in relation to the various elements used within the individual arguments. It results in a simple layout of arguments:

One-element arguments
1. R_1 (recent history)
Two-element arguments
2. S/P (situationality/speaker's policy)
3. P/T_c (speaker's policy/technicality)

The model of the development of arguments allows to establish the layout of arguments in relation to the number of elements (*Table 28.*).

Table 28. The number of arguments in the declaration of war, 1917

Type of argument	**Number of arguments applied in the address**
One-element argument	1
Two-element argument	2
Three-element argument	0
Four-element argument	0
Five-element argument	0

As a result, the following model can be developed:

two-element arguments / one-element argument

Figure 35. provides a visual presentation of the structure of the declaration in relation to the number of elements within individual arguments.

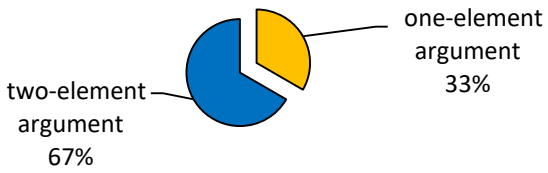

Figure 35. The structure of the declaration of war, 1917

As can be seen, similarly to other congressional declarations, the structure of the text is very simple. Only two two-element arguments and one one-element argument comprise the text. The first argument justifies the decision pointing to committing "repeated acts of war." The second argument states that war exists between the U.S. and Germany and indicates the authors of this performative act. The third argument specifies the role of the President. The chief executive of the country is "authorized and directed" to employ American forces "to carry on war" and to bring the conflict to a successful end. In order to work out a general model of argument development, markers have been applied to each argument. *Figure 36*. shows the frequency of the markers used in the text.

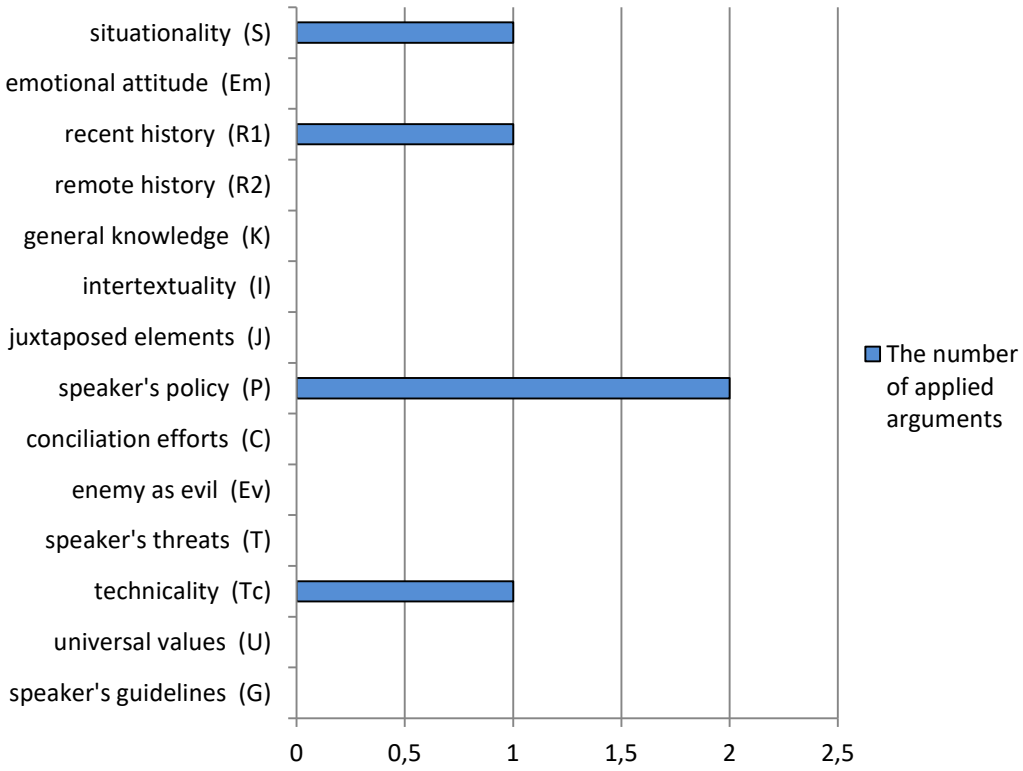

Figure 36. The declaration of war, 1917 – the model of argument development

The above data converted into a table gives a clear indication of the structure of the text (*Table 29.*).

Table 29. The declaration of war, 1917 – the numbers of applied markers

Marker	Number of elements
situationality (S)	1
emotional attitude (E_m)	0
recent history (R_1)	1
remote history (R_2)	0
general knowledge (K)	0
intertextuality (I)	0
juxtaposed elements (J)	0
speaker's policy (P)	2
conciliation efforts (C)	0
enemy as evil (E_v)	0
speaker's threats (T)	0
technicality (T_c)	1
universal values (U)	0
speaker's guidelines (G)	0

Figure 37. provides a visual presentation of the model of argument development of the President's message.

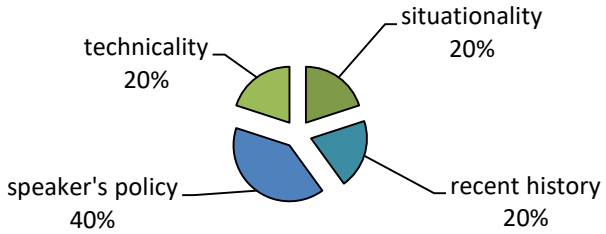

Figure 37. The declaration of war, 1917 - the model of argument development

The P (speaker's policy) marker constitutes 40% of the declaration. The other three markers, S (situationality), R_1 (recent history), and Tc (technicality) constitute 20% of the text each. The argument related to situationality sets the scene: it is the Senate and the House of Representatives of the United States of America that declare war. With the performative act of declaring war, the Congress changes the scene of the forthcoming events. Reference to recent history is made by emphasizing the reason for war: "[…] the Imperial German Government has committed repeated acts of war against the Government and the people of the United States of America ." Similarly to other declarations of war, the text shifts power towards the President whose task is to execute Congressional resolve.

4.6.3. Woodrow Wilson's proclamation of war

Immediately after the Congress declared war on Germany, Woodrow Wilson issued Presidential *Proclamation 1364, April 6, 1917, Declaring the Existence of a State of War with the German Empire and setting forth Regulations Prescribing Conduct toward Alien Enemies*. Like other proclamations, the document confirms the allocation of powers. The President is authorized to wage war. Wilson's proclamation reflects his concerns about citizens of German origin. It defined not naturalized inhabitants of German descent as "alien enemies" and put limitations on their rights. The aim was to minimize the threat from this ethnic group. The core content considers national safety and is laid out in twelve points. Unlike Madison's, Polk's, and McKinley's proclamations, Wilson's proclamation is a longer text consisting of 1537 words. It is shorter than Roosevelt's proclamation which comprises 2978 words. The text scores 21.27 points on the Gunning Fog Index scale, which identifies the text as very difficult to understand even for an educated recipient. It consists of 27 arguments:

1. S/R_1 (situationality/recent history) 2. T_c (technicality) 3. P/T_c (speaker's policy/technicality) 4. P/T_c (speaker's policy/technicality) 5. T_c (technicality) 6. S/P (situationality/speaker's policy) 7. T_c (technicality) 8. U/G (universal values/speaker's guidelines) 9. S/P (situationality/speaker's policy) 10. G/P/U (speaker's guidelines/speaker's policy/universal values) 11. P/T_c (speaker's policy/technicality) 12. S/P (situationality/speaker's policy) 13. T_c (technicality) 14. T_c (technicality) 15. T_c (technicality) 16. T_c (technicality) 17. T_c (technicality) 18. T_c (technicality) 19. T_c (technicality) 20. T_c (technicality) 21. T_c (technicality) 22. T_c (technicality) 23. T_c

(technicality) 24. T/T_c (speaker's threats/technicality) 25. T_c (technicality) 26. S (situationality) 27. S (situationality)

The above data allows to identify the structure of the text in relation to the complexity of the various elements used within the individual arguments, which results in the layout below.

One-element arguments

2. T_c (technicality)

5. T_c (technicality)

7. T_c (technicality)

13. T_c (technicality)

14. T_c (technicality)

15. T_c (technicality)

16. T_c (technicality)

17. T_c (technicality)

18. T_c (technicality)

19. T_c (technicality)

20. T_c (technicality)

21. T_c (technicality)

22. T_c (technicality)

23. T_c (technicality)

25. T_c (technicality)

26. S (situationality)

27. S (situationality)

Two-element arguments

1. S/R_1 (situationality/recent history)

3. P/T_c (speaker's policy/technicality)

4. P/T_c (speaker's policy/technicality)

6. S/P (situationality/speaker's policy)

8. U/G (universal values/speaker's guidelines)

9. S/P (situationality/speaker's policy)

11. P/T_c (speaker's policy/technicality)

12. S/P (situationality/speaker's policy)

24. T/T_c (speaker's threats/technicality)

Three-element arguments

10. G/P/U (speaker's guidelines/speaker's policy/universal values)

The model of the development of arguments allows to establish the layout of arguments in relation to the number of elements (*Table 30.*).

Table 30. The number of arguments in Wilson's proclamation of war

Type of argument	**Number of arguments applied in the address**
One-element argument	17
Two-element argument	9
Three-element argument	1
Four-element argument	0
Five-element argument	0

As a result, the following model can be developed:

two-element arguments / three-element argument

Figure 38. illustrates the structure of the proclamation in relation to the number of elements within individual arguments.

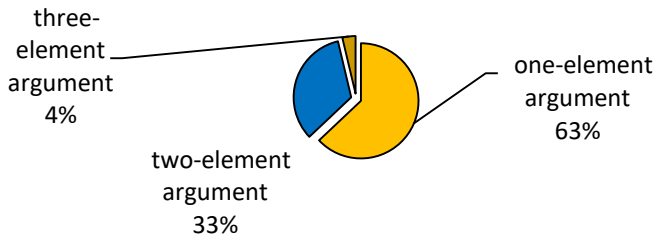

Figure 38. The structure of Wilson's proclamation of war

In order to work out a general model of argument development, markers have been applied to each argument. *Figure 39.* shows the frequency of the markers used in the text.

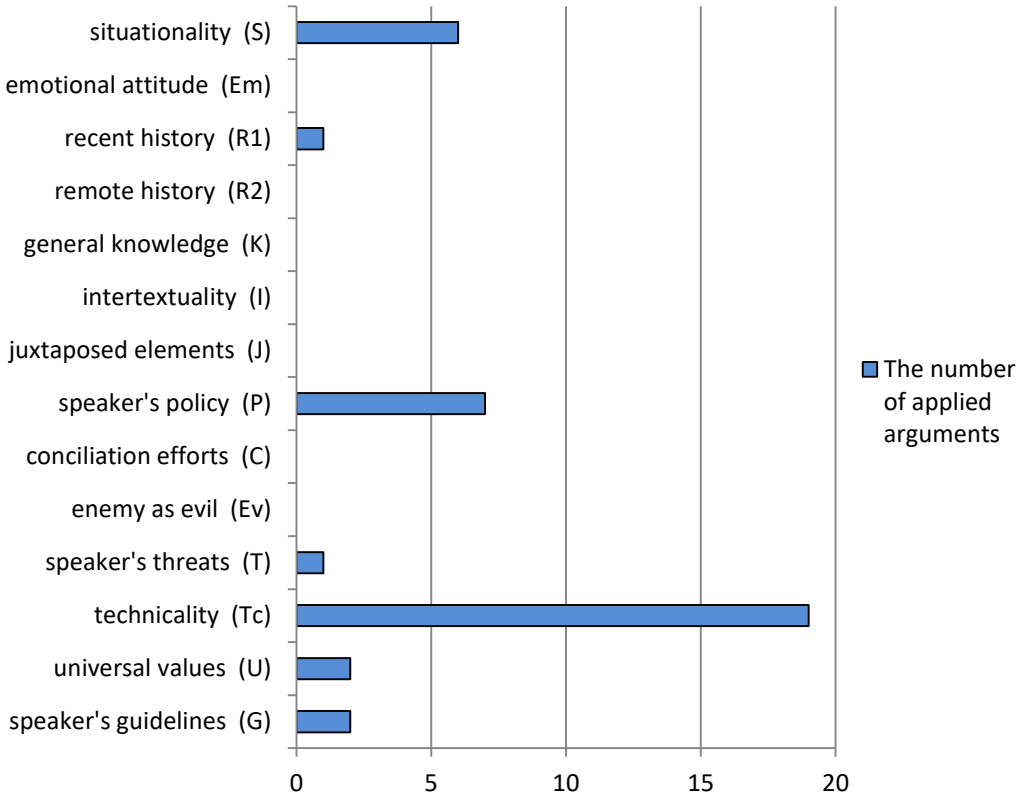

Figure 39. Wilson's proclamation of war – the model of argument development

The above data converted into the table below gives a clear indication of the structure of the text (*Table 31*.).

Table 31. Wilson's proclamation of war – the numbers of applied markers

Marker	Number of elements
situationality (S)	6
emotional attitude (E_m)	0
recent history (R_1)	1
remote history (R_2)	0
general knowledge (K)	0
intertextuality (I)	0
juxtaposed elements (J)	0
speaker's policy (P)	7
conciliation efforts (C)	0

enemy as evil (E_v)	0
speaker's threats (T)	1
technicality (T_c)	19
universal values (U)	2
speaker's guidelines (G)	2

Figure 40. provides a visual presentation of the model of argument development of the president's message.

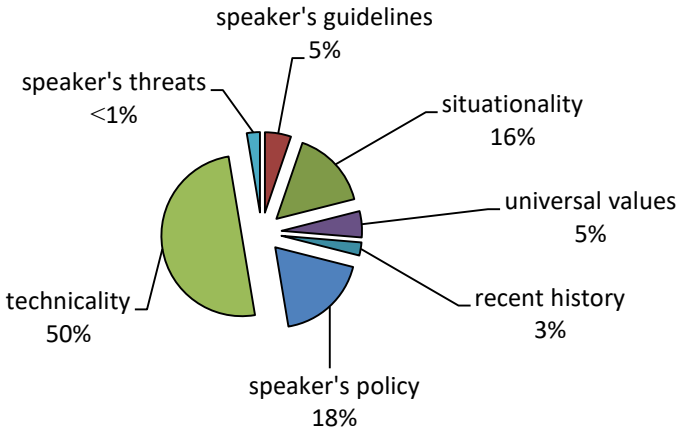

Figure 40. Wilson's proclamation of war – the model of argument development

Seven types of arguments comprise the proclamation. The T_c (technicality) marker constitutes 50% of the proclamation and is dominant in the text. R_1 (recent history) marker occurs in the first lines where reference to the congressional declaration of war is made. The Congress authorized the President to use the land and naval forces. The performative character of that decision is strengthened by the President who confirms the allocation of powers by stating, "I, Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States of America, do hereby proclaim to all whom it may concern that a state of war exists […] (arg. 6.)." The President makes it clear that with the authorization to wage war comes the power to make other decisions. He is concerned with the threat from "alien enemies" and "by virtue of the authority vested in [him – L.W.] by the Constitution of the United States" decides to "to direct the conduct to be observed, on the part of the United States, toward the aliens who become so liable […] (arg. 4.)." Technicalities and expressions of the authors' policy follow with detailed instructions regulating the lives of "all natives,

citizens, denizens, or subjects of a hostile nation or government, being males of the age of fourteen years and upwards […] (arg. 3.)." Referring to universal values by appealing "to all American citizens […] dedicated from its foundation to the principles of liberty and justice, (arg. 8.)" the President seeks support of the Americans for his actions. The document is an example of one-way communication. All the author expects is his orders to be obeyed. In case the orders are not followed, the President resorts to a threat by stating that an "alien enemy whom there may be reasonable cause to believe to be aiding or about to aid the enemy,[…] will be subject to […] to confinement in such penitentiary, prison, jail, military camp, or other place of detention […]. (arg. 24.)" An interesting feature is the following passage from the proclamation: "the state of war […] is hereby formally declared." In the original document in print the adverb "formally" is added and handwritten by the President. It can lead to conclusion that Wilson differentiated phrase "it is hereby declared" from "it is hereby formally declared." The text is an example of an official document with characteristics of legal genre. While for an average user of a language, the difference between the two phrases is negligible, for some reason it is not for the sender of the proclamation. The educated President draws a distinction between the two phrases. The preferred linguistic form emphasizes the power and authority of the sender of the message. The authority to direct and influence people's lives is rooted in the legal acts of the state such as the American Constitution and the declaration of war issued by the Congress. It can be seen that the form constitutes content. In legal discourse such focus on language and detailed stylization of texts is justified due to the settings and scenes of courtrooms. For the President it is not just legal concern for language but language in relation to the world. Allocation of authority in the President creates the context of the situation. With power comes even greater responsibility. For the President who is the producer of the text, every word matters. It is also the President's educational background that affects his use of language. It becomes the social embedding of language shaping the language used by the President. Reference to universal values shows how language is immersed in culture and is culture dependent. Cultural beliefs of American exceptionality are projected in Wilson's language. The perception of being superior to other nations and thus being the leader of the free world is reflected in the enchantments over America's greatness and adds to the American discourse of war.

4.7. Typology of arguments. World War II

World War II, a conflict on an unprecedented scale was to change the world order. The role of Franklin Delano Roosevelt in this process is undisputed. The worldwide economic crisis after World War I had forced the United States to focus on her domestic tribulations. With the implementation of the New Deal policy, Roosevelt attempted to solve some of the country's main economic problems and proved to be confident, determined, and responsive to the country's needs. In foreign affairs, the President had to adhere to the isolationist policy of his predecessors. On August 27, 1928, the United States had signed the Kellogg-Briand Pact, an international agreement renouncing war as a national policy and promoting settlement of international disputes by peaceful means (Limberg 2014: 401). The maintenance of the policy of isolation was continued until the Pearl Harbor attack. Roosevelt did not want to involve the country into any military engagement once the war in Europe broke out. In his evening radio address just three days after Nazi German invasion of Poland and the declarations of war on Germany by Great Britain and France, the president declared:

> This nation will remain a neutral nation […]. I have said not once, but many times, that I have seen war and that I hate war. I say that again and again. I hope the United States will keep out of this war. I believe that it will. And I give you assurance and reassurance that every effort of your Government will be directed toward that end. As long as it remains within my power to prevent, there will be no blackout of peace in the United States. (Franklin D. Roosevelt, Fireside Chat 14, September 3, 1939)

Roosevelt promised that Americans would not be dying in foreign wars during his 1940 presidential campaign (Heale 1999: 50). This was in agreement with the view of the majority of Americans. Reluctance to become involved in another conflict was rooted in the remembrance of American casualties in World War I. Moreover, Americans were convinced that participation in another international conflict would aggravate the country's social and economic problems. Resentment towards war peaked in 1938 when an amendment prohibiting Congress from issuing war declarations with the exception of cases of foreign attack on the territories of the United States was proposed in the House of Representatives (Scherr 2010: 455). However, the development of the situation of the war fronts left no illusions about the need to change the U.S. policy toward the Allies and the Axis countries (Daniels 2016: 120; Casey 2001: 49). On November 3, 1939, the Congress

passed the Neutrality Act which ended the embargo on the sale of weapons to countries threatened with aggression. The Legislative branch began to move away from the policy of isolationism.

Although the Kellogg-Briand Pact did not prevent the outbreak of World War II, it was a step towards the international condemnation of aggressive wars. Ranked as one of the greatest presidents, along with Abraham Lincoln and George Washington, Roosevelt left his individual imprint on the international politics. Over his presidency the United States underwent a dramatic change. The traditional isolationist America transformed into a country that would become the world power and as such dominate international affairs for many decades to come.

4.7.1. Franklin D. Roosevelt's war speech

Four presidential elections won by Roosevelt gave him an ample time to act upon domestic issues as well as global world affairs. He might not have been reelected so many times, had not it been for the crisis and the war (Heale 1999: 73). At the time of the worst depression in American history, Roosevelt began communicating with the wide American public via radio.

Fireside chats, although rhetorically not distant from the speeches delivered by the-turn-of-the-century presidents (Lim 2003: 455), dramatically changed the image of the President in the eyes of the public. With a wide access to the new means of communication, American families were able to hear the President's voice and succumb into presidential rhetoric in their homes. The series of fireside chats contributed to his high public respect and overall changed the relationship between the President and the American public. On December 8, 1941, Franklin Delano Roosevelt issued an *Address to Congress Requesting a Declaration of War*. In the message the President asks the American Congress to declare war on Japan. The presidential war message comprises 518 words and is the shortest text. It scores 14.03 on the Gunning Fog Index scale. The increase in readability is observable. With Madison's, Polk's, McKinley's, and Wilson's scoring 23.99, 18.86, 18.04, and 17.42 respectively, Roosevelt's speech is the most readable text. For the purpose of the analysis the whole message was divided into 23 arguments. Each argument was matched with an appropriate marker or a number of markers. As a result, the following model of the development of arguments unfolds:

1. S (situationality) 2. E_m/R_1 (emotional attitude/recent history) 3. C/R_1 (conciliation efforts/recent history) 4. R_1/E_v (recent history/enemy as evil) 5. E_v/R_1 (enemy as evil/recent history) 6. E_v (enemy as evil) 7. R_1 (recent history) 8. E_m/R_1 (emotional attitude/recent history) 9. R_1 (recent history) 10. R_1 (recent history) 11. R_1 (recent history) 12. R_1 (recent history) 13. R_1 (recent history) 14. R_1 (recent history) 15. R_1/E_m (recent history/emotional attitude) 16. E_m (emotional attitude) 17. P (speaker's policy) 18. E_v/E_m (enemy as evil/emotional attitude) 19. E_m/P (emotional attitude/speaker's policy) 20. $E_v/E_m/P$ (enemy as evil/emotional attitude/speaker's policy) 21. E_m/E_v (emotional attitude/enemy as evil) 22. E_m/P (emotional attitude/speaker's policy) 23. $S/E_v/P$ (situationality/enemy as evil/speaker's policy)

The above data allows to identify the structure of the text in relation to the complexity of the various elements used within the individual arguments, which is shown below.

One-element arguments:
S (situationality) – argument 1
E_v (enemy as evil) – argument 6
R_1 (recent history) – argument 7
R_1 (recent history) – argument 9
R_1 (recent history) – argument 10
R_1 (recent history) – argument 11
R_1 (recent history) – argument 12
R_1 (recent history) – argument 13
R_1 (recent history) – argument 14
E_m (emotional attitude) – argument 16
P (speaker's policy) – argument 17
Two-element arguments:
E_m/R_1 (emotional attitude/recent history) – argument 2
C/R_1 (conciliation efforts/recent history) – argument 3
E_v/R_1 (enemy as evil/recent history) – argument 4
R_1/E_v (enemy as evil/recent history) – argument 5
E_m/R_1 (emotional attitude/recent history) – argument 8
R_1/E_m (enemy as evil/emotional attitude) – argument 15
E_v/E_m (enemy as evil/emotional attitude) – argument 18
E_m/P (emotional attitude/speaker's policy) – argument 19

E_m/E_v (emotional attitude/enemy as evil) – argument 21

E_m/P (emotional attitude/speaker's policy) – argument 22

Three-element arguments:

E_v/E_m/P (enemy as evil/emotional attitude/speaker's policy) – argument 20

S/E_v/P (situationality/enemy as evil/speaker's policy) – argument 23

The model of the development of arguments allows to establish the layout of arguments in relation to the number of elements (*Table 32*.).

Table 32. The number of arguments in Roosevelt's war speech

Type of argument	**Number of arguments applied in the address**
One-element argument	11
Two-element argument	10
Three-element argument	2
Four-element argument	0
Five-element argument	0

As a result, the following model can be developed:

two-element arguments / one-element arguments / three-element arguments

Figure 41. offers a visual presentation of the structure of the presidential address in relation to the number of elements within individual arguments.

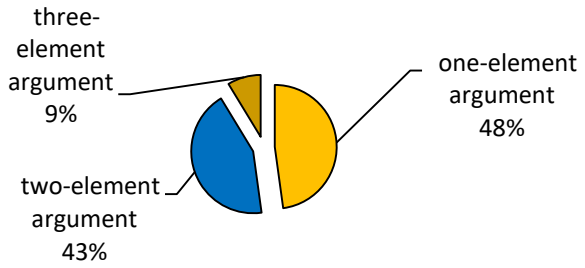

Figure 41. Roosevelt's war speech – the number of elements in arguments

One-element arguments form a substantial part of the body of the message. They are most frequently applied arguments in the text, which contributes to the highest readability

when compared with the remaining war messages. There are 11 of those out of the total number of 23. The second most frequently used is a two-element argument constituting 43% of the text. The least frequent three-element argument constitutes 9% of the text. The structure of the message, with the absence of five-element arguments and four-element arguments allowed for better understanding of the speech. *Figure 42*. shows the frequency of the markers used in the text.

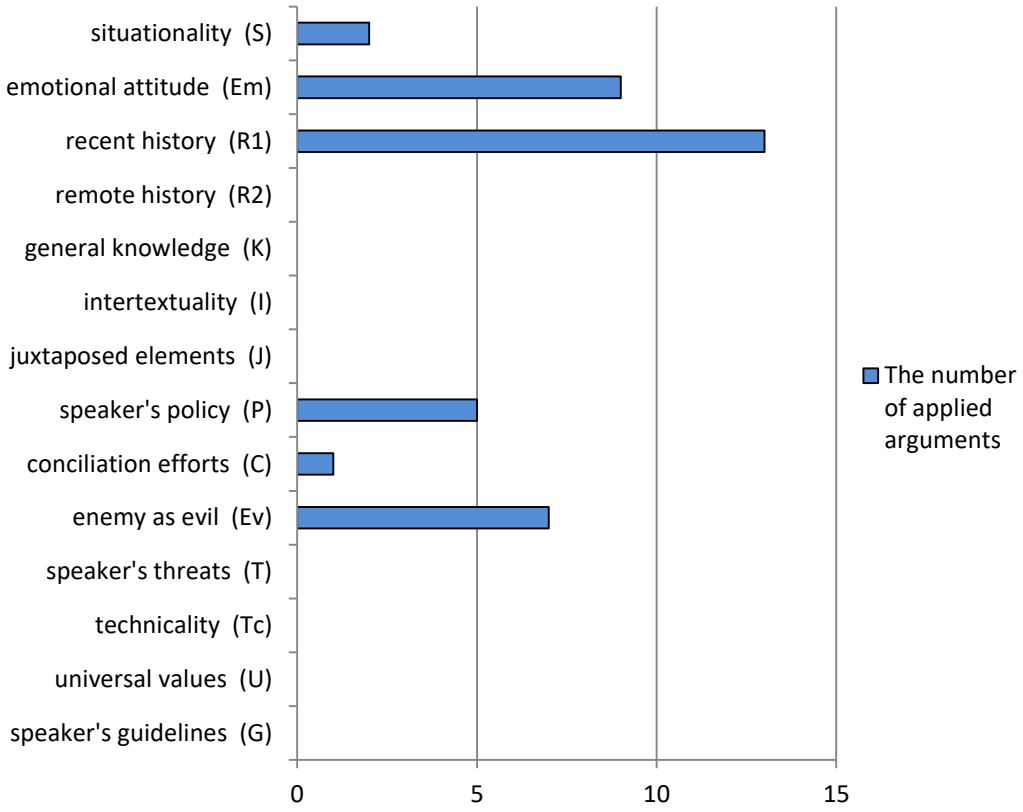

Figure 42. Roosevelt's war speech – the model of argument development

The above data converted into a table gives an indication of the structure of the text (*Table 33.*).

Table 33. Roosevelt's war speech – the numbers of applied markers

Marker	Number of elements
situationality (S)	2
emotional attitude (E_m)	9
recent history (R_1)	13

remote history (R_2)	0
general knowledge (K)	0
intertextuality (I)	0
juxtaposed elements (J)	0
speaker's policy (P)	5
conciliation efforts (C)	1
enemy as evil (E_v)	7
speaker's threats (T)	0
technicality (T_c)	0
universal values (U)	0
speaker's guidelines (G)	0

Six types of arguments comprise the speech. The R_1 (recent history) marker constitutes 35% of the total number of markers and is dominant. E_m (emotional attitude) marker also constitutes a substantial part of the speech. The speaker highlights the country's conciliation efforts which is indicated by the relevant marker. An inherent part of the presidential war message become references to the speaker's policy. A strong and powerful as he is, the President conveys the feelings of the American people in reaction to the surprising and treacherous act of an attack by the Japanese government without issuing a declaration of war. *Figure 43*. provides a visual presentation of the model of argument development of the president's message.

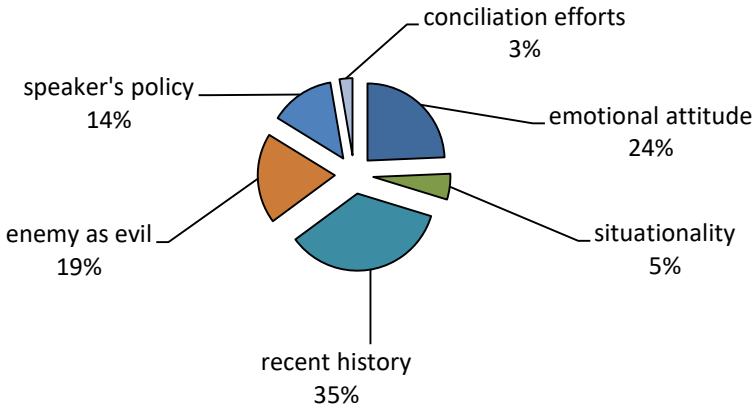

Figure 43. Roosevelt's war speech – the model of argument development

Roosevelt, similarly to Polk and McKinley, makes frequent references to the enemy seen as an evil force. To compare, in Polk's message which is 2973 words in length, and McKinley's message which is 5818 words in length, the number of E_v (enemy as evil) markers is 14% and 7%, respectively.

The speech begins with the President setting the scene by addressing the audience: "Mr. Vice President, and Mr. Speaker, and Members of the Senate and House of Representatives. (arg. 1.)" However, Roosevelt does not speak to the audience in the Congress only. Unlike the previous four war presidential messages, the speech is broadcast via radio and millions of Americans switch to their devices to listen to the President as he refers to the bombardment of Pearl Harbour and other American territories. He does it without preceding the core information with a too long introduction. With reference to the recent events (R_1 marker), the President simply states:

> Yesterday, December 7, 1941 – a date which will live in infamy – the United States of America was suddenly and deliberately attacked by naval and air forces of the Empire of Japan (arg. 2.)

The initial version of the speech included a passage referring to the December 7 as a "date which will live in world history." It was then changed by the President to the famous "date which will live in infamy." The change of just one word affects the whole speech. The phrase "world history" sounds neutral and would not communicate the President's feelings. On the contrary, "infamy," synonymous with words such as disgrace, shame, dishonour, arouses emotions and appeals to the audience. The President immediately draws the audience's attention. As the speech relies on the good–bad opposition, the enemy becomes a representative of evil force while the defending country is depicted as a peace loving nation. Conciliation efforts undertaken by the United States are presented explicitly in the speech. The President states:

> The United States was at peace with that Nation and, at the solicitation of Japan, was still in conversation with its Government and its Emperor looking toward the maintenance of peace in the Pacific. (arg. 3.).

The unexpected attack had not been predicted. An effort to find a peaceful solution to the inflamed relations between the two states was being made. In Roosevelt's view, American involvement in the ongoing war was imminent. Taking into consideration isolationist and pacifist tendencies among the Americans and the Members of Congress, the President had not pushed the country towards war. The attack on American naval base

and the loss of 2403 soldiers and civilians resulted in the submission of the antiwar Congressmen and gave the President direct reason to become the belligerent in the war on the Pacific. Referring to the events of the previous day, the President reinforces his message with the use of repetition:

> Last night Japanese forces attacked Hong Kong.
> Last night Japanese forces attacked Guam.
> Last night Japanese forces attacked the Philippine Islands.
> Last night the Japanese attacked Wake Island. And this morning the Japanese attacked Midway Island. (arg. 10–13.)

Had the words been condensed into one sentence, the impact of the phrase "Last night Japanese forces attacked" would have been lost. The repetition of "Japanese" in a variety of forms emphasizes the attacker and highlights the fact that it is not only the Japanese government or the military that is the aggressor. It is the Japanese, the whole country that is held responsible for the attack.

American efforts are contrasted with the viciousness and treachery of the opposing side. The aggressor "has deliberately sought to deceive the United States (arg. 6.)" and the United States of America was suddenly and deliberately attacked (arg.2.)". The choice of wards depicting the enemy allows the speaker to resonate with the American public. The attack is a "premeditated invasion (arg. 19.)." It "was deliberately planned (arg. 5.)", and is regarded as a "form of treachery (arg. 20.)". References to the "surprise offensive extending throughout the Pacific (arg. 14.)" are made throughout the speech. Finishing the speech, the President again refers to the Japanese attack as "unprovoked and dastardly (arg. 23.)." With the use of such powerful phrases, the image of the enemy and its evil actions is reinforced. The seriousness of the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor and the threat it poses to the United States is plainly communicated by the President who appeals to the wisdom of the American people:

> The facts of yesterday and today speak for themselves. The people of the United States have already formed their opinions and well understand the implications to the very life and safety of our Nation. (arg. 15., 16.)

The war is unavoidable and time plays a crucial role. The President warns the nation: "Hostilities exist. There is no blinking at the fact that our people, our territory, and our interests are in grave danger (arg. 21.)." Such jeopardy requires a strong reaction from the invaded country. Being the head of state, the President proposes a solution to the

problem. With confidence, Roosevelt states that America will oppose and fight the aggressor. To ensure the audience that the situation is under control, he informs: "As Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy I have directed that all measures be taken for our defense (arg.17.)." The speaker's policy is expressed by strong and powerful call-to-action which goes in line with the expectations of the audience. After Pearl Harbor even the most persistent pacifists would change their view on the participation of the United States in the war. The President meets the demands of the situation urging the Congress to declare war:

> I ask that the Congress declare that since the unprovoked and dastardly attack by Japan on Sunday, December 7, 1941, a state of war has existed between the United States and the Japanese Empire. (arg. 23.)

To gain the support of the American people for war, Roosevelt communicates the primary goal. America is the defender fighting the invader and as such it is to become the victorious nation. To ensure the American public in the righteousness of the United States, the President predicts the development of events. The prediction is positive: "No matter how long it may take us to overcome this premeditated invasion, the American people in their righteous might will win through to absolute victory (arg. 19.)." Similarly to Woodrow Wilson, the President assumes interpretive authority over the nation.

> I believe that I interpret the will of the Congress and of the people when I assert that we will not only defend ourselves to the uttermost but will make it very certain that this form of treachery shall never again endanger us. (arg. 20.)

The President is the one who foresees the victorious future, being confident that the American nation will stand up and fight:

> With confidence in our armed forces – with the unbounding determination of our people—we will gain the inevitable triumph, so help us God. (arg. 22.)

Roosevelt's speech was short and lasted only ten minutes. It was greeted with a spontaneous reaction from the audience by thunderous applause and stamping of feet. Within one hour, the Congress passed a declaration of war, with only one dissenting vote from a pacifist in the House of Representatives.

4.7.2. Congressional declaration of war, 1941

Prior to the American declaration, in response to the attacks on the British territories of Malaya, Hong Kong, and Singapore, the United Kingdom declared war on Japan. The United States Congress declared war on Japan on December 8, 1941. Roosevelt's request for war was passed almost unanimously. In the Senate the vote was 82–0, and 388–1 in the House of Representatives. At 4.10 p.m. the President signed the declaration. In the course of events, German and Italian governments issued declarations of war against the United States. It took place on December 11, 1941 and was met with an instant reaction from the President who issued a request to Congress to declare war on those countries. The Congress passed two separate declarations on the same day. Roosevelt immediately signed the documents declaring that a state of war existed between the United States and the two countries. Being dominated by Germany, Bulgaria, Hungary and Romania issued declarations of war on the United States and became were involved in military actions. This resulted in presidential request to declare war on those countries. Declarations of war against those countries were issued by the Congress and signed by the President on June 5, 1942. The texts of the all the five declarations are identical. For the purpose of the analysis the declaration of war on Japan is chosen as it was the document which determined American engagement in World War II.

The text of the declaration consists of 173 words and is the third shortest formal declaration of war issued by the American Congress. With the readability score of 13.00 points, it is located at the lower end of scale making it a readable text for not highly educated recipient. It comprises two arguments. As a result, the following model of the development of arguments unfolds:

1. R_1/E_v (recent history/enemy as evil) 2. $S/P/T_c$ (situationality/speaker's policy/technicality)

The above data allows to identify the structure of the text in relation to the elements used within the individual arguments. It results in a very simple layout shown below.

Two-element arguments:

1. R_1/E_v (recent history/enemy as evil)

Three-element arguments:

2. $S/P/T_c$ (situationality/speaker's policy/technicality)

The model of the development of arguments allows to establish the layout of arguments in relation to the number of elements (*Table 34.*).

Table 34. The number of arguments applied in the declaration of war, 1941

Type of argument	Number of arguments applied in the address
One-element argument	0
Two-element argument	1
Three-element argument	1
Four-element argument	0
Five-element argument	0

As a result, the following model can be developed:

two-element arguments / three-element argument

Figure 44. offers a visual presentation of the structure of the declaration in relation to the number of elements within individual arguments.

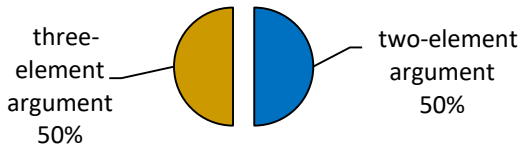

Figure 44. The structure of the declaration of war, 1941

In order to work out a general model of argument development, markers have been applied to each argument. *Figure 45.* shows the frequency of the markers used in the text.

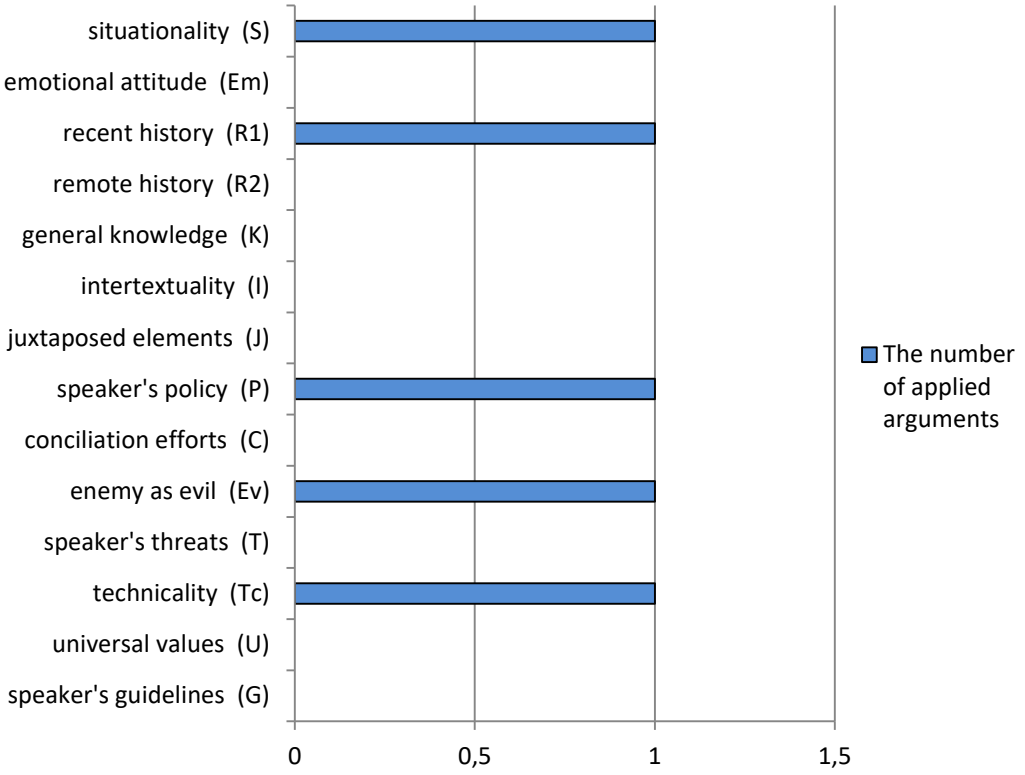

Figure 45. The declaration of war, 1941 – the model of argument development

The above data converted into a table gives a clear indication of the structure of the text (*Table 35.*).

Table 35. The declaration of war, 1941 – the numbers of applied markers

Marker	Number of elements
situationality (S)	1
emotional attitude (E_m)	0
recent history (R_1)	1
remote history (R_2)	0
general knowledge (K)	0
intertextuality (I)	0
juxtaposed elements (J)	0
speaker's policy (P)	1
conciliation efforts (C)	0

enemy as evil (E_v)	1
speaker's threats (T)	0
technicality (T_c)	1
universal values (U)	0
speaker's guidelines (G)	0

Figure 46. provides a visual presentation of the model of argument development of the president's message.

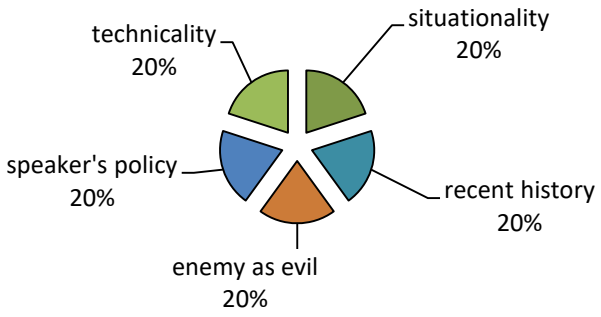

Figure 46. The declaration of war, 1941 - the model of argument development

As can be seen, five markers are evenly distributed, each constituting 20% of the whole number. The argument related to situationality sets the scene: the declaration is issued by the Senate and the House of Representatives attending a joint session. The evil actions of the enemy are materialize in "unprovoked acts of war against the Government and the people of the United States of America." The text declares a "state of war" between the United States and the Imperial Government of Japan. The declaration highlights the passive role of the United States in the outbreak of war as it "has thus been thrust upon the United States". The role of the President is clearly indicated as the declaration states that the President is "authorized and directed to employ the entire naval and military resources of the Government to carry on war against the Imperial Government of Japan; and to bring the conflict to a successful termination, all of the resources of the country are hereby pledged by the Congress of the United States." Thus, the President becomes the Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces and is provided with full responsibility to protect American interests.

4.7.3. Franklin D. Roosevelt's Fireside chat

President Roosevelt did not issue a formal proclamation of war. Instead, he sent his message from the White House in Washington D.C. via radio. Heard by a significant section of the American population, the President elaborated upon the ongoing warfare. With emotional appeal Roosevelt encouraged the nation to prepare for sacrifices at home front and on the frontlines. He insisted that Italy and Germany posed a serious threat to the United States and warned that the winning the war would require a tremendous effort. The nineteenth Fireside chat lasted 28 minutes and was broadcast no NBC network live on December 9, 1941. After the President finished his speech, the national anthem "the Star-Spangled Banner" was played.

The presidential address comprises 2978 words and is the longest text following congressional declarations of war. It scores 13.11 on the Gunning Fog Index scale. The increase in readability is noticeable. For the purpose of the analysis the whole message was divided into 78 arguments. Each argument was matched with an appropriate marker or a number of markers. As a result, the following model of the development of arguments unfolds:

1. S (situationality) 2. E_v/R_1 (enemy as evil/recent history) 3. $E_v/R_1/E_m$ (enemy as evil/recent history/emotional attitude) 4. R_1/S (recent history/situationality) 5. U (universal values) 6. R_1/E_v (recent history/enemy as evil) 7. C (conciliation efforts) 8. E_v (enemy as evil) 9. R_1 (recent history) 10. R_1 (recent history) 11. R_1/E_v (recent history/enemy as evil) 12. R_1/E_v (recent history/enemy as evil) 13. R_1/E_v (recent history/enemy as evil) 14. R_1/E_v (recent history/enemy as evil) 15. R_1/E_v (recent history/enemy as evil) 16. R_1/E_v (recent history/enemy as evil) 17. R_1/E_v (recent history/enemy as evil) 18. R_1/E_v (recent history/enemy as evil) 19. R_1/E_v (recent history/enemy as evil) 20. E_m (emotional attitude) 21. G/J (speaker's guidelines/juxtaposed elements) 22. R_1/E_m (recent history/emotional attitude) 23. R_1/E_m (recent history/emotional attitude) 24. E_m/E_v (emotional attitude/enemy as evil) 25. P/T_c (speaker's policy/technicality) 26. G (speaker's guidelines) 27. T_c (technicality) 28. T_c/G (technicality/speaker's guidelines) 29. E_v (enemy as evil) 30. G (speaker's guidelines) 31. P (speaker's policy) 32. P (speaker's policy) 33. T_c (technicality) 34. P (speaker's policy) 35. G/E_m (speaker's guidelines/emotional attitude) 36. G/U (speaker's guidelines/universal values) 37. E_m/G (emotional attitude/speaker's guidelines) 38. R_1/T_c (recent history/technicality) 39. R_1/T_c (recent history/technicality) 40. T_c (technicality) 41.

G (speaker's guidelines) 42. G/T_c (speaker's guidelines/technicality) 43. T_c (technicality) 44. P (speaker's policy) 45. T_c (technicality) 46. R_1 (recent history) 47. T_c/E_m (technicality/emotional attitude) 48. E_m (emotional attitude) 49. E_m (emotional attitude) 50. G (speaker's guidelines) 51. E_m (emotional attitude) 52. E_m (emotional attitude) 53. E_m (emotional attitude) 54. T_c (technicality) 55. T_c/G (technicality/speaker's guidelines) 56. E_m/G (emotional attitude/speaker's guidelines) 57. E_m (emotional attitude) 58. G/E_m (speaker's guidelines/emotional attitude) 59. R_1/I/G (recent history/intertextuality/speaker's guidelines) 60. E_m (emotional attitude) 61. E_m/G (emotional attitude/speaker's guidelines) 62. U/E_v (universal values/enemy as evil) 63. E_v (enemy as evil) 64. G (speaker's guidelines) 65. E_m/E_v/G (emotional attitude/enemy as evil/speaker's guidelines) 66. E_m/E_v (emotional attitude/enemy as evil) 67. $R_1/E_v/T_c$ (recent history/enemy as evil/technicality) 68. T_c (technicality) 69. T_c (technicality) 70. G/T_c (speaker's guidelines/technicality) 71. T_c (technicality) 72. G/T_c/E_m (speaker's guidelines/technicality/emotional attitude) 73. P/J/E_v (speaker's policy/juxtaposed elements/enemy as evil) 74. J (juxtaposed elements) 75. E_m/J (emotional attitude/juxtaposed elements) 76. P (speaker's policy) 77. P (speaker's policy) 78. E_m/U (emotional attitude/universal values)

The above data allows to identify the structure of the text in relation to the complexity of the various elements used within the individual arguments. It is shown below.

One-element arguments:

1. S (situationality)
5. U (universal values)
7. C (conciliation efforts)
8. E_v (enemy as evil)
9. R_1 (recent history)
10. R_1 (recent history)
20. E_m (emotional attitude)
26. G (speaker's guidelines)
27. T_c (technicality)
29. E_v (enemy as evil)
30. G (speaker's guidelines)
31. P (speaker's policy)
32. P (speaker's policy)

33. T_c (technicality)
34. P (speaker's policy)
40. T_c (technicality)
41. G (speaker's guidelines)
43. T_c (technicality)
44. P (speaker's policy)
45. T_c (technicality)
46. R_1 (recent history)
48. E_m (emotional attitude)
49. E_m (emotional attitude)
50. G (speaker's guidelines)
51. E_m (emotional attitude)
52. E_m (emotional attitude)
53. E_m (emotional attitude)
54. T_c (technicality)
57. E_m (emotional attitude)
60. E_m (emotional attitude)
63. E_v (enemy as evil)
64. G (speaker's guidelines)
68. T_c (technicality)
69. T_c (technicality)
71. T_c (technicality)
74. J (juxtaposed elements)
76. P (speaker's policy)
77. P (speaker's policy)

Two-element arguments:

2. E_v/R_1 (enemy as evil/recent history)
4. R_1/S (recent history/situationality)
6. R_1/E_v (recent history/enemy as evil)
11. R_1/E_v (recent history/enemy as evil)
12. R_1/E_v (recent history/enemy as evil)
13. R_1/E_v (recent history/enemy as evil)
14. R_1/E_v (recent history/enemy as evil)
15. R_1/E_v (recent history/enemy as evil)

16. R_1/E_v (recent history/enemy as evil)
17. R_1/E_v (recent history/enemy as evil)
18. R_1/E_v (recent history/enemy as evil)
19. R_1/E_v (recent history/enemy as evil)
21. G/J (speaker's guidelines/juxtaposed elements)
22. R_1/E_m (recent history/emotional attitude)
23. R_1/E_m (recent history/emotional attitude)
24. E_m/E_v (emotional attitude/enemy as evil)
25. P/T_c (speaker's policy/technicality)
28. T_c/G (technicality/speaker's guidelines)
35. G/E_m (speaker's guidelines/emotional attitude)
36. G/U (speaker's guidelines/universal values)
37. E_m/G (emotional attitude/speaker's guidelines)
38. R_1/T_c (recent history/technicality)
39. R_1/T_c (recent history/technicality)
42. G/T_c (speaker's guidelines/technicality)
47. T_c/E_m (technicality/emotional attitude)
55. T_c/G (technicality/speaker's guidelines)
56. E_m/G (emotional attitude/speaker's guidelines)
58. G/E_m (speaker's guidelines/emotional attitude)
61. E_m/G (emotional attitude/speaker's guidelines)
62. U/E_v (universal values/enemy as evil)
66. E_m/E_v (emotional attitude/enemy as evil)
70. G/T_c (speaker's guidelines/technicality)
75. E_m/J (emotional attitude/juxtaposed elements)
78. E_m/U (emotional attitude/universal values)

Three-element arguments:

3. $E_v/R_1/E_m$ (enemy as evil/recent history/emotional attitude)
59. $R_1/I/G$ (recent history/intertextuality/speaker's guidelines)
65. $E_m/E_v/G$ (emotional attitude/enemy as evil/speaker's guidelines)
67. $R_1/E_v/T_c$ (recent history/enemy as evil/technicality)
72. $G/T_c/E_m$ (speaker's guidelines/technicality/emotional attitude)
73. $P/J/E_v$ (speaker's policy/juxtaposed elements/enemy as evil)

The model of the development of arguments allows to establish the layout of arguments in relation to the number of elements (*Table 36*.).

Table 36. The number of arguments in the Fireside chat, 1941

Type of argument	Number of arguments applied in the address
One-element argument	38
Two-element argument	34
Three-element argument	6
Four-element argument	0
Five-element argument	0

As a result, the following model can be developed:

one-element arguments / two-element arguments / three-element arguments

Figure 47. offers a visual presentation of the structure of Roosevelt's *Fireside chat* in relation to the number of elements within individual arguments.

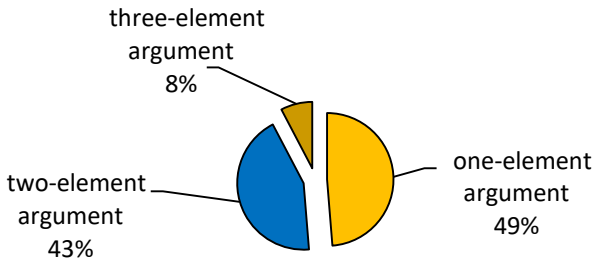

Figure 47. The structure of the Fireside chat, 1941

In order to work out a general model of argument development, markers have been applied to each argument. *Figure 48.* shows the frequency of the markers used in the text.

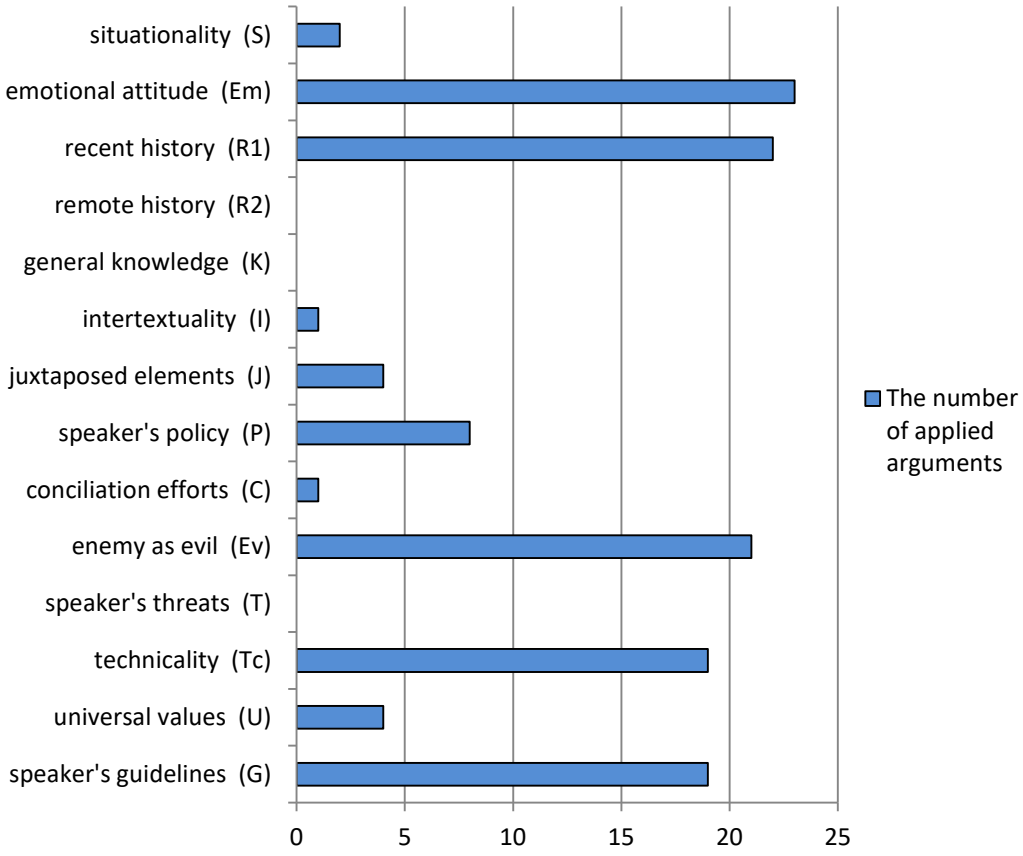

Figure 48. Roosevelt's Fireside chat – the model of argument development

The above data converted into a table gives a clear indication of the structure of the text *(Table 37.*).

Table 37. The Fireside Chat, 1941 – the numbers of applied markers

Marker	Number of elements
situationality (S)	2
emotional attitude (E_m)	23
recent history (R_1)	22
remote history (R_2)	0
general knowledge (K)	0
intertextuality (I)	1
juxtaposed elements (J)	4

speaker's policy (P)	8
conciliation efforts (C)	1
enemy as evil (E_v)	21
speaker's threats (T)	0
technicality (T_c)	19
universal values (U)	4
speaker's guidelines (G)	19

The presidential message is built upon five main arguments: E_m (emotional attitude), R_1 (recent history), E_v (enemy as evil), G (speaker's guidelines), and T_c (technicalities). *Figure 49.* provides a visual presentation of the model of argument development of the president's message.

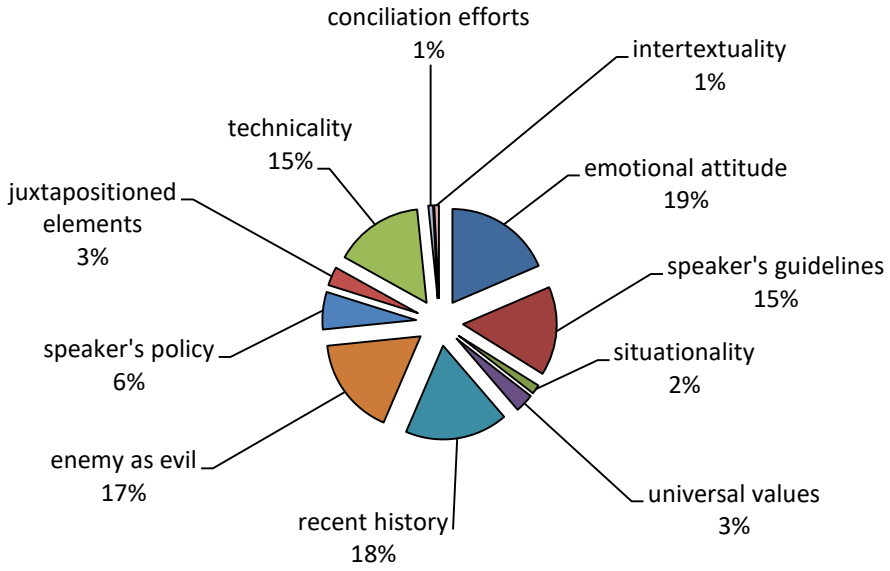

Figure 49. Roosevelt's Fireside chat - the model of argument development

The President begins his speech by addressing listeners as "My Fellow Americans," thus establishing a semi-informal relationship with the audience. In the opening line the President identifies the issue he is going to talk about: the war on Japan, emphasizing the fact that the decision of going to war was accepted by the Congress and the Americans. He reminds the audience that it was the "sudden criminal attacks perpetrated by the Japanese (arg. 2.)" that led to the loss of many American lives, the sinking of a significant number of American ships, and the destruction of a large number of American airplanes.

The President strengthens the picture of the evil enemy and builds tension with the use of a triad: "Japanese forces had loosed their bombs and machine guns against our flag, our forces and our citizens (arg. 6.)." Similarly to the content of his war request, the President depicts the enemy as an evil force that threatens not only the United States but the whole world. The war is made by "powerful and resourceful gangsters (arg. 3.)" who wage war "upon the whole human race (arg. 3.)" In contrast with the description of the enemy's actions, American quest for democracy and safety of other nations is emphasized:

> […] no Americans today, or a thousand years hence, need feel anything but pride in our patience and in our efforts through all the years toward achieving a peace in the Pacific which would be fair and honorable to every nation, large or small. (arg. 7.)

Roosevelt's words, resonating with Woodrow Wilson's quest for democracy and a peaceful coexistence of small and big nations, strengthen the emotional appeal of the speech and help reassure a large part of the American public with regard to the policy of the Chief Executive. Although the United States are at war with Japan, in the President's view, Germany and Italy pose an equal threat to peace. Fighting the Axis countries becomes the priority:

> The course that Japan has followed for the past ten years in Asia has paralleled the course of Hitler and Mussolini in Europe and in Africa. Today, it has become far more than a parallel. (arg. 9.)

War as such brings killings, injuries, atrocities. These are brought by entities like the Axis countries for which "all the continents of the world and all the oceans" are regarded as "one gigantic battlefield (arg. 10.)." With the choice of words, the President portrays the vivid image of the enemy. Referring to the events leading to the war, Roosevelt outlines the pattern of attacks of the Axis nations on peaceful countries. With the repetition of the same phrases, the President builds up tension. The same approach to presenting the enemy's advancements was used in the President's war request and it brought the expected result. "Without warning" is used ten times. So frequently are used the words "invaded" and "attacked."

> In 1931, ten years ago, Japan invaded Manchukuo—without warning.
> In 1935, Italy invaded Ethiopia—without warning.
> In 1938, Hitler occupied Austria—without warning.
> In 1939, Hitler invaded Czechoslovakia—without warning.

> Later in '39, Hitler invaded Poland—without warning.
> In 1940, Hitler invaded Norway, Denmark, the Netherlands, Belgium and Luxembourg—without warning.
> In 1940, Italy attacked France and later Greece—without warning.
> And this year, in 1941, the Axis Powers attacked Yugoslavia and Greece and they dominated the Balkans—without warning.
> In 1941, also, Hitler invaded Russia—without warning.
> And now Japan has attacked Malaya and Thailand—and the United States—without warning. (arg. 11–19.)

The President does not intend to present unrealistic pictures of the development of the events on the war fronts. He predicts that "It will not only be a long war, it will be a hard war (arg. 42.)" Warning the American people of the difficult position of the country, the President calls for national unity: "We must share together the bad news and the good news, the defeats and the victories—the changing fortunes of war (arg. 21)."

Known for the efficient use of radio and newspapers in his everyday work, the President emphasizes the importance of the role of media in the war. He urges the American media to be liable and to prevent spreading false information during wartime:

> To all newspapers and radio stations—all those who reach the eyes and ears of the American people – I say this: You have a most grave responsibility to the nation now and for the duration of this war. (arg. 35.)

To win the war requires an effort of the whole nation. R praises his fellow-compatriots for their diligence and contribution to the production of war materials. He claims that helping the war effort is not a sacrifice for Americans but rather a privilege:

> It is not a sacrifice for any man, old or young, to be in the Army or the Navy of the United States. Rather it is a privilege. (arg. 51.)
>
> It is not a sacrifice for the industrialist or the wage earner, the farmer or the shopkeeper, the trainmen or the doctor, to pay more taxes, to buy more bonds, to forego extra profits, to work longer or harder at the task for which he is best fitted. Rather it is a privilege. (arg. 52.)
>
> It is not a sacrifice to do without many things to which we are accustomed if the national defense calls for doing without it. (arg. 53.)

The President insists that the United States can only accept the complete victory over the enemy. In his speech he makes a transition to a call-to-action theme stating that the "Japanese treachery" must be "wiped out" and "finally broken (arg. 58.)" To achieve this aim, the United States must end the policy of isolationism which, in the President's view, is illusion and should be abandoned "once and for all (arg. 59.)." There is no safe haven

for a country to hide from an aggressor. The Americans must accept the fact that "modern warfare as conducted in the Nazi manner is a dirty business. We don't like it—we didn't want to get in it—but we are in it and we're going to fight it with everything we've got. (arg. 65.)." With the use of juxtaposed elements, the President emphasizes the contrast between the fighting sides: "We Americans are not destroyers—we are builders (arg. 74.)." Concluding his speech, the president fills the hearts of the audience with hope for a positive development of events. In his view, the Americans will fight not only for themselves:

> We are now in the midst of a war, not for conquest, not for vengeance, but for a world in which this nation, and all that this nation represents, will be safe for our children. (arg. 75.).

Fireside chats were meant to create the atmosphere of participation of the audience in the presidential narratives. It is known that Roosevelt prepared his speeches carefully, employed a number of staff who prepared presidential speeches. He rehearsed reading texts and made the necessary corrections, avoiding multi-syllable words that would affect communication with the audience. Fireside chat 19 allowed the American public to come closer to the national and international politics, participating, however passively, in presidential broadcast.

4.8. The results of the analysis

The investigated research material comprised presidential war messages, congressional declarations of war passed by American Congress, and presidential proclamations of war leading to the only five formally declared war by the United States of America. In the course of the analysis readability of the research material was examined, typology of arguments was researched in order to establish models of argument development. The results indicate communicational patterns of the discursive communities and allow to identify the relation between language and its social and cultural embeddings.

Readability of texts

Communication between the sender and the recipient of the message depends on many factors. Readability of a text is one of the key aspects of successful communication. It is directly related to the content, namely the choice of vocabulary and syntax. Thus, it places responsibility on the sender to produce a message that is adequately understood. Part of this research deals with the readability of the selected presidential war messages, declarations of war passed by American Congress, and presidential proclamations of war.

The Gunning Fog formula has been applied in the test of readability of texts as one of the most reliable among the widely available tools.

The discourse taking place between American presidents and American Congress reveals a process which is particularly observable in presidential war messages. The analysis shows that the readability of presidential requests for war steadily increased over time. James Madison's message carries 23.99 index, James K. Polk's – 18.86, William McKinley's – 18.04, Woodrow Wilson's – 17.42, and finally, Franklin D. Roosevelt's – 14.03. The constant decline of the index presents the increasing readability of presidential messages. 129 years separate the first message which was issued in 1812 and the last one issued in 1941. The trend is observable in the congressional declarations of war. These are legal documents that were significantly less susceptible to change as serving a very specific purpose. This results in the use of the same linguistic patterns that conveyed the same legal formulas. The presidential proclamations depended on particular circumstances that individual presidents faced. Whether it was the urgent need to organize military force like in the case of James K. Polk and William McKinley, or the importance of redefining the relation with citizens of German origin in the case of Woodrow Wilson.

Over the decades, American presidential discourse was affected by sociocultural changes. Technological advancements allowed for an increasing access to information. The American society was becoming better and better informed about the political ventures of the chief executives of the country. It can be argued that readability index might be related to the personal characteristics of the individual presidents which would create difficulty with interpreting the statistical data. However, readability index of very recent speeches by American presidents, namely inaugural addresses issued by Donald Trump or Joe Biden, carrying the readability indexes of 10 and 9 respectively, indicate that it is a general trend. American presidents choose to speak in clear, simple language in order to be understood by the wide audience.

Typology – the structure of a single argument

The research material has been examined with the aim to identify communicational patterns in language used by the American presidents and the Congress in the context of their pre-war relations. The texts have been divided into individual arguments, which in this research are understood as relating to a single idea or thought presented by the author of a text. Within a single argument a number of markers indicating various

communicational reference, e.g. speaker's threats, guidelines, emotional attitude, have been identified, thus forming arguments comprising different number of elements. The general pattern can be observed in *Table 38*.

In the course of analysis, it becomes apparent that the messages comprise two or three types of dominant arguments. Two-element arguments are predominant in Madison's, Polk's, and Wilson's messages. McKinley's message is built upon three-element arguments with numerous presence of two-element and one-element arguments. In contrast, Roosevelt's message comprises almost equal number of one-element and two-element arguments. Complex arguments are avoided by all the five presidents. This allows for better communication with the recipients. The texts are neither too simple, nor difficult.

Table 38. The number of arguments in presidential war messages

Type of argument	Number of arguments				
	Madison	Polk	McKinley	Wilson	Roosevelt
One-element argument	9	19	17	28	11
Two-element argument	30	23	20	36	10
Three-element argument	6	14	26	7	2
Four-element argument	3	1	5	1	0
Five-element argument	1	0	3	0	0

The declarations of war are based mostly on two-element arguments, which can be seen in *Table 39*. The exception from the prevailing two-element argument model is the declaration of war on Mexico issued in 1846. Being the longest declaration, it comprises a number of instructions aimed at organization and coordination of the military undertakings. Historical evidence reveals that the Mexican-American war had been planned long before and was in line with James K. Polk's expansion goals to which the President held firmly (Jones 1983: 184). This might have effected in a different, planned approach to drafting a declaration of war by the Congress.

Table 39. The number of arguments in declarations of war

Type of argument	Number of arguments				
	War of 1812	Mexican-American War	Spanish-American War	World War I	World War II
One-element argument	0	8	1	1	0
Two-element argument	2	3	2	2	1
Three-element argument	0	0	0	0	1
Four-element argument	0	0	0	0	0
Five-element argument	0	0	0	0	0

Presidential addresses that followed the congressional declarations of war are built with the use of predominantly one-element arguments as shown in *Table 40*.

Table 40. The number of arguments in presidential proclamations of war

Type of argument	Number of arguments				
	Madison	Polk	McKinley	Wilson	Roosevelt
One-element argument	3	4	3	17	38
Two-element argument	1	1	3	9	34
Three-element argument	0	0	0	1	6
Four-element argument	1	1	0	0	0
Five-element argument	0	0	0	0	0

One-element arguments prevail, with two-element arguments equally frequent in McKinley's address. Clearly, the speakers did not intend to deliver texts that were overloaded with various references within an argument.

Typology – distribution of argument markers

The regular way of communication in pre-war situation involved writing the request for war by the president, sending it to the Congress and waiting for the decision made by members of the assembly. Woodrow Wilson was the first and Franklin D. Roosevelt the second who delivered their war messages in person, speaking in front of the Joint Sessions of the Congress. For Roosevelt the change was even greater as by 1941 almost all American households owned a radio. Such intense development of technology allowed for communicating his war request to the American public. Despite the change with

regard to the means of communication, the five presidents relied on the same communicational patterns. *Table 41.* shows the distribution of the argument markers.

It can be seen that the semantic content of the presidential war messages is built on the phrases expressing emotional attitude of the speakers. This is in the case of war messages delivered by Madison, McKinley, Wilson, and Roosevelt. The primary aim for the release of such message was to obtain the declaration of war from Congress, and to achieve it, the speakers resorted to emotions as the most appropriate rhetorical tool. Equally relevant technique was to make references to the recent history. Vivid descriptions of the events leading to war, combined with dangers that a lack of action would bring, were to convince the audience that the initiation of war was the only tangible solution to a problem. The R_1 (recent history) marker shows that thorough justifications for starting a war were required. Also, the frequent reference to history makes the war requests important for the descending generations as the texts provide detailed explanations of why the nation decided to fight a particular war. The G (speaker's guidelines) marker relating to the objectives, plans, or instructions expressed by the speaker comprise a significant part of McKinley's and Wilson's messages. Other markers are unevenly distributed. All speakers resort to the use of E_v (enemy as evil) marker as it allows to depict an enemy as morally wrong, dishonourable, corrupt, degenerated, or atrocious. Appropriate use of the patterns allowed the presidents to achieve their goals. In all five cases declarations of war were issued by congressional gatherings.

Table 41. The number of markers in presidential war messages

Marker	**Madison**	**Polk**	**McKinley**	**Wilson**	**Roosevelt**
situationality (S)	2	7	5	4	2
emotional attitude (E_m)	19	8	25	33	9
recent history (R_1)	37	41	35	19	13
remote history (R_2)	0	0	8	1	0
general knowledge (K)	0	1	0	0	0
intertextuality (I)	0	1	19	0	0
juxtaposed elements (J)	13	0	4	1	0
speaker's policy (P)	7	5	11	21	5
conciliation efforts (C)	11	9	4	0	1

enemy as evil (E_v)	5	15	12	9	7
speaker's threats (T)	0	0	0	1	0
technicality (T_c)	3	14	13	2	0
universal values (U)	4	3	9	7	0
speaker's guidelines (G)	3	7	25	27	0

Declarations of war passed by Congress are performative acts changing the state of affair between the United States and its adversary. Regarded as a form of legal procedure, the declarations are repetitive in their content. By creating a state of war, declarations legitimize warfare and all its consequences, including the killing of enemy. Declarations function as authorizations of the president to wage war who becomes the Chief-in-Command of the country. Formulaic expressions not only indicate the state of war between countries, but also transfer special powers on the President. Domestic law may be changed according to the requirements of the war time. *Table 42*. shows the distribution of markers in the declarations.

Table 42. The number of markers in congressional declarations of war

Marker	War of 1812	Mexican-American War	Spanish-American War	World War I	World War II
situationality (S)	1	1	1	1	1
emotional attitude (E_m)	0	0	0	0	0
recent history (R_1)	0	0	1	1	1
remote history (R_2)	0	0	0	0	0
general knowledge (K)	0	0	0	0	0
intertextuality (I)	0	0	0	0	0
juxtaposed elements (J)	0	0	0	0	0
speaker's policy (P)	2	4	2	2	1
conciliation efforts (C)	0	0	0	0	0
enemy as evil (E_v)	0	0	0	0	1
speaker's threats (T)	0	0	0	0	0
technicality (T_c)	1	9	1	1	1
universal values (U)	0	0	0	0	0
speaker's guidelines (G)	0	0	0	0	0

Following congressional declarations of war, the presidents issued announcements of war. *Table 43.* shows the distribution of the markers in the presidential proclamations. The use of the S (situationality) marker indicates Madison's, Polk's, and McKinley's references to the time, place and social actors of the scene. The primary goal of the speakers is to inform the public. The existence of war is confirmed by the Chief Executive. Wilson's proclamation serves not only as confirmation of what the Congress decided, but also as the first document indicating that special powers for the time of war have been transferred on the President. The so numerous use of the T_c (technicality) marker shows that the President makes decisions. In the case of Wilson, it was executing presidential statutory rights to adapt domestic law to the needs of the country in war time.

Table 43. The number of markers in presidential proclamations of war

Marker	Madison	Polk	McKinley	Wilson	Roosevelt
situationality (S)	3	4	4	6	2
emotional attitude (E_m)	1	1	0	0	23
recent history (R_1)	1	1	2	1	22
remote history (R_2)	0	0	0	0	0
general knowledge (K)	0	0	0	0	0
intertextuality (I)	0	0	0	0	1
juxtaposed elements (J)	0	0	0	0	4
speaker's policy (P)	1	1	1	7	8
conciliation efforts (C)	0	0	0	0	1
enemy as evil (E_v)	1	1	0	0	21
speaker's threats (T)	0	0	0	1	0
technicality (T_c)	0	0	2	19	19
universal values (U)	1	1	0	2	4
speaker's guidelines (G)	1	1	0	2	19

Only Franklin D. Roosevelt did not contact the American public in the form of proclamation. Taking advantage of the technological changes, he chose to deliver a speech to the whole nation via radio. In the difficult time, only two days after the

Japanese invasion of Pearl Harbor, the speech is semi-informal, thus different from formal documents produced by the other presidents. Delivering his address via radio and reaching a large part of the American population, Roosevelt does not follow the pattern. The speech is built on a triad: emotional appeal, references to the events preceding the invasion, and depiction of the enemy as an evil force. Being the longest among the five addresses, it distinctly emphasizes the need of undertaking an uttermost effort in order to defeat the enemy.

4.9. Chapter conclusions

In this chapter the analysis of presidential war messages, congressional declarations, and presidential proclamations has been carried out with the aim to: firstly, to identify the readability of the individual texts in search for consistent features of the texts; secondly, to identify communicational patterns of individual participants of the discourse. The chapter comprises eight subchapters.

In the first subchapter the corpora of texts constituting the research material have been discussed. A concise statistical overview of the fifteen texts was given. It was noted that the documents under investigation are of various lengths. The subchapter ends with remarks regarding possible reasons leading to production of texts so different in size, considering the fact that all the documents were produced in similar situational contexts and by actors playing analogous roles.

In the second subchapter readability of the texts has been analyzed. The analysis is supported by tables and figures with comments. It shows that there are observable trends in regard to the readability of the investigated texts. This is clearly visible in the case of presidential requests for war. The Gunning Fog Index test shows that readability of the presidential messages increases and it is a constant trend. The test of the declarations of war does not shows such a steady trend in the increase of readability. There is a sharp difference between the declaration of 1812 with readability factor of 39.01, and the remaining declarations which score consecutively 16.70, 10.60, 15.00, and 13.00. The results of the readability test with regard to presidential proclamations do not indicate any trends, being dispersed between the factor of 21.27 and 13.11 without any observable trend.

The successive subchapters presented the analysis of the typology of arguments in the investigated documents. The analyzed texts are treated as communication events but

also as means for social communication. Being such, they are understood as processes taking place in situational, social and cultural contexts. Each text has been investigated in regard to two areas of research. Firstly, the structure in relation to the number of elements within one argument has been identified, where an argument is understood as a line of text relating to a single idea or thought. Within a single argument a number of markers indicating various communicational ideas have been determined, thus forming arguments comprising different number of elements. This has allowed to investigate the levels of complexity of the language used by the actors and identify a pattern: the presidential war messages and congressional declarations of war comprise mainly two-element arguments, while in presidential proclamations of war one-element arguments are predominant. Secondly, the distribution of markers ascribed to the specific communicational patterns has been investigated in regard to their frequency. This has allowed to identify communicational patterns: in their war messages American presidents resorted to: 1) pathos, achieved by numerous exhibition of their emotional attitude; 2) references to a recent history with the aim to justify their actions; 3) depiction of an enemy as an evil force.

In the last subchapter the results of the analysis have been discussed regarding the readability of the texts and the typology of arguments in the research material. Tables and figures with comments have been provided for a clear presentation of the results.

General conclusions

The subject matter of the research has been American war discourse, namely the manner in which American presidential and Congressional powers are communicated. Presidential war messages, Congressional war declarations and presidential proclamations, which led to the only five wars formally declared by the United States, provided material for the research. As the relationship between language, culture, and society is in focus of the investigation, fundamental assumptions of anthropological linguistics provided theoretical perspective for the performed analysis. Language is seen as culture and is investigated in its situational context. Being a competent user of the language spoken by the community means that communicating requires belonging to a specific speech community. In line with the assumptions of the ethnography of communication the phenomenon of language is investigated within the wider context of the situational and socio-cultural practices of speech communities.

In the course of the research an attempt has been made to identify processes that affect communicational patterns used in American war discourse leading to formally declared wars, and to identify the functions the patterns serve in the language used by speech communities comprising American presidents and American Congress in their situational, social and cultural embeddings.

Considering the results of the analysis, conclusions can be drawn. The analysis reveals: firstly, a constant trend in the increase of the readability of the texts; secondly, a number of communicational patterns in the way American presidents communicated with American Congress.

With regard to the readability of texts, the trend to increase readability is evident in presidential war messages. It is constant. The readability increases steadily. A number of factors contribute to the process of presidential messages becoming more and more readable over a period of time: technological changes over the century, sociocultural changes, situational contexts preceding wars, presidents' personal characteristics.

In 1812, the time when the first war message was issued, communication within the country was limited to a postman on horseback. The recipients of the message were the

members of Congress – the educated strata of the American society. Reaching wider audience was very limited. The invention of the telegraph accelerated transfer of information between major cities but it took decades to build a network. Still, in 1917, Wilson's war message was heard only by members of the Congress. The public learned about the event from newspapers. It was only Roosevelt's request for war on Japan that was broadcast all over the country to allow the American public participate in the event. Technological progress allowed communication to become separated from transportation, and as a result it revolutionized economy and society. By reaching wider audience and winning public opinion, the presidents could strengthen their position as chief executives of the state. The increase in the readability of the messages allowed the presidents to reach wider audience, which was crucial considering democratic foundations of the political system of the United States. With the development of mass media and wider access to information, not only was the consent of the members of the American Congress required, but public feelings and opinions were to be taken into account. It can be said that the increasing readability of presidential war messages reflects technological progress as well as social changes in the American society over the thirteen decades that passed between the release of the first and the fifth war message. The changes lead to a greater involvement of wider population in politics. Being dependent on his electorate, the president had to take into account this group of recipients of a message. Presidential messages had to be understandable.

The primary goal of the war message is to obtain a declaration of war from members of Congress, but presidential constituency cannot be neglected as they provide president with the social mandate. Moreover, in order to wage war, a strong mandate is required. The authority to give orders is based as much on American Constitution as on the claim that majority of voters support the president's political agenda. Thus, large parts of the war messages comprise descriptions of pre-war events in order to justify war and to persuade the audience to support the presidential request. The aim was to convince the members of Congress and the public that entering war was the only feasible option and that only by the use of military force the nation's safety, interests and values could be secured. It can be observed that the more evident and just reasons for war were, the less explanation and effort into justification of motives for going to war were made by a president. This is clearly seen in the case of Roosevelt's war message. The invasion of Pearl Harbor was evident for the whole American public. Thus, presidential war message did not require detailed explanation and justification. Personality of the individual presidents may have influenced the readability factors of the

messages. These may be suppressed by the ritual that is attached to the exercise of presidential power.

Investigation of the typology of arguments indicates the levels of complexity of the language used in the texts. In the analysis an argument is understood as a line of text relating to a single idea or thought. This allowed to apply a number of markers indicating various communicational ideas within a single argument. The analysis has shown that the presidents did not intend to deliver texts that were overloaded with various references within one argument as it would constrain communication. Thus, the presidents avoided complex arguments. Consequently, a pattern can be identified: the presidential war messages and congressional declarations of war comprise mainly two-element arguments, while in presidential proclamations of war one-element arguments are predominant. The neither too simple, nor too difficult structure of argumentation resulted in production of texts being more comprehensible for audiences.

As part of the analysis the distribution of markers ascribed to the specific communicational patterns has been investigated in regard to their frequency. This has allowed to determine the communicational patterns in the investigated texts, which are treated as tools for social communication which are used in communicational events. Being such, they are understood as processes taking place in situational, social and cultural contexts. The three types of texts, namely war messages, declarations of war, and proclamations of war, follow three distinct communicational patterns. In their war messages American presidents resort to: 1) pathos, achieved by numerous exhibition of their emotional attitude; 2) references to a recent history with the aim to justify their actions; 3) depiction of an enemy as an evil force. As can be noticed, the choice of arguments created texts that are persuasive. The messages served two main purposes. They were to urge Congress to declare war, and to gain the support of members of Congress and the American people for the warfare. The need to convince the audience that they had to accept going to war determined the persuasive tone of all the five war requests.

Few factors influence the country's policy to such extent as participation in a military conflict. Congressional declarations, consistent in content which underwent little change over the decades, are primarily performative acts creating a state of war under international law. The texts follow a simple pattern: references to the speaker's policy, with references to the situational contexts in which declarations were issued. Presidential texts that followed the declaration, mostly in the form of a proclamation, confirmed the war declared by Congress and the transfer of power on the President becoming the Chief-in-Command. With one

exception, the same communicational pattern can be observed in the proclamations: predominant references to situational context, and to technicalities whose aim was to organize domestic law during the war time.

The main objective of the dissertation has been to identify patterns of communication used by American presidents and American Congress, and to explain the phenomenon of the variety of linguistic forms and functions that were used by presidents in their war messages in order to convince the American Congresses to declare wars. The research has shown the undergoing process within the discourses of the investigated speech communities embedded in wider socio-political contexts of formally declared wars. It has also identified the predominant communicational patterns engulfed in the contexts of situational, social and cultural embeddings.

Summary (English)

Keywords: war message, formal declaration of war, readability, typology of arguments

The **subject matter** of the dissertation is the manner in which American presidential and Congressional powers are communicated. The **research perspective** adopted for the dissertation lies within the fundamental tenets of anthropological linguistics, in particular, the domain of the ethnography of communication. The **research objective** is to identify patterns of communication used by American presidents and American Congress, and to explain the phenomenon of the variety of linguistic and communicational means that were used by presidents in their speeches in order to obtain their goals – declarations of war. The **research material** comprises presidential war messages, congressional declarations of war, and presidential proclamations of war leading to the only five formally declared conflicts: war with Great Britain in 1812, war with Mexico in 1846, war with Spain in 1898, World War I, World War II. The **research reveals** a constant trend in the increase in readability of the texts in the case of presidential war requests. A number of factors contribute to the process of presidential messages becoming more and more readable over a period of time: technological changes over the century, sociocultural changes, situational contexts preceding wars, presidents' personal characteristics. The analysis of the typology of arguments shows that the presidents avoided complex arguments. The presidential war messages and congressional declarations of war comprise mainly two-element arguments, while in presidential proclamations of war one-element arguments are predominant. In their war requests, American presidents resort to: pathos achieved by numerous exhibition of their emotional attitude; references to a recent history with the aim to justify their actions; depiction of the enemy as an evil force. The need to convince the audience to accept going to war determined the persuasive tone of all the five war requests. Congressional declarations, being primarily performative acts creating a state of war under international law, are consistent in content, which underwent little change over the century. With one exception, the same communicational pattern can be observed in presidential proclamations: predominant references to situational context, and to technicalities, whose aim was to organize domestic law during the war time.

Summary (Polish)

Słowa kluczowe: orędzia wojenne, oficjalne wypowiedzenia wojny, czytelność tekstu, typologia argumentów

Przedmiotem rozprawy jest zjawisko komunikacji językowej uczestników dyskursu politycznego, jakimi są prezydent USA oraz Amerykański Kongres. **Perspektywa badawcza** przyjęta w rozprawie mieści się w podstawowych założeniach językoznawstwa antropologicznego, a w szczególności w obrębie etnografii komunikacji. **Celem badań** jest identyfikacja wzorców komunikacji, jakimi posługiwali się prezydenci amerykańscy oraz Amerykański Kongres, oraz wyjaśnienie zjawiska różnorodności środków językowych i komunikacyjnych, jakich w swoich przemówieniach używali prezydenci, aby osiągnąć swój cel – wypowiedzenie wojny. **Materiał badawczy** obejmuje prezydenckie orędzia wojenne, deklaracje wojenne Kongresu oraz prezydenckie proklamacje wojenne prowadzące do jedynych pięciu oficjalnie wypowiedzianych konfliktów: z Wielką Brytanią w 1812 r., z Meksykiem w 1846 r., z Hiszpanią w 1898 r., pierwszej i drugiej wojny światowej. **Badania wykazały** stały trend wzrostu czytelności tekstów w przypadku orędzi prezydenckich. Na proces coraz bardziej czytelnego przekazu orędzi prezydenckich składa się szereg czynników: zmiany technologiczne na przestrzeni stulecia, zmiany społeczno-kulturowe, konteksty sytuacyjne poprzedzające wojny, cechy osobiste prezydentów. Analiza typologii argumentów pokazuje, że prezydenci unikali złożonej argumentacji. Prezydenckie orędzia wojenne i kongresowe deklaracje wojny zawierają głównie argumenty dwuelementowe, podczas gdy w prezydenckich proklamacjach wojennych dominuje argumentacja jednoelementowa. W swoich orędziach amerykańscy prezydenci odwołują się do: 1) patosu osiągniętego licznymi pokazami swojej emocjonalnej postawy; 2) odniesienia do niedawnej historii w celu uzasadnienia proponowanych działań; 3) przedstawiania wroga jako uosobienia zła. Potrzeba przekonania publiczności do poparcia dla wojny zadecydowała o perswazyjnym tonie wszystkich pięciu orędzi wojennych. Deklaracje Kongresu, będące przede wszystkim aktami performatywnymi tworzącymi stan wojny na gruncie prawa międzynarodowego, są spójne w treści, a ta uległa niewielkim zmianom na przestrzeni ponad wieku. Z jednym wyjątkiem, ten sam schemat komunikacyjny można zaobserwować w odezwach prezydenckich: dominujące odniesienia do kontekstu sytuacyjnego, a także do szczegółów technicznych, których celem było uporządkowanie prawa krajowego w czasie wojny.

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Appendices

Presidential war messages, congressional declarations of war, and presidential proclamations are part of public domain and are easily accessible on the following websites:

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