



A RHETORICAL ANALYSIS OF US PRESIDENTIAL FAREWELL ADDRESSES : BILL CLINTON'S AND GEORGE W. BUSH'S

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ABSTRACT

Rhetorical analysis is a type of analysis which explores the rhetoric of the text, the means of persuasion, by applying the canons of classical rhetoric such as invention, arrangement, style, memory and delivery. This paper uses these canons as tools of analysis to investigate the farewell addresses of two American presidents, Bill Clinton and George W. Bush. The analysis aims to show the similarities and differences between the two texts in terms of three canons of rhetoric, invention, arrangement and style. The paper has revealed that the two addresses are generally similar in the employment of the three canons. The differences between the addresses are related to the extent and manner the two presidents employ each of the canons.

KEYWORDS : Farewell addresses, rhetoric, rhetorical analysis.

1.Theoretical Background

1.1Political Discourse

van Dijk (1997) defines political discourse as "The text and talk of professional politicians or political institutions such as presidents and prime ministers etc..."(p.1) Schaffner (1997) believes that there are functional and thematic criteria for characterizing a text as political(p.2). He argues "Political texts are a part of and/or the result of politics, they are historically and culturally determined." Such texts fulfil different functions due to different political activities. Their topics are primarily related to politics, i.e. political activities, political ideas, political relations, etc. Another characteristic feature is publicity in that they generally address a wider public (Ibid.).

Schaffner (Ibid.) suggests that the most successful linguistic analysis of political discourse in general, and of political speeches in particular, is the one which relates linguistic features to political behaviour. This can be done in two ways: one way is identifying certain linguistic features (e.g. word choice, a specific syntactic structure) and relating them to the strategic functions they serve to fulfil. The other way is the reverse, i.e. the analysis identifies the communicative situation and the function of a text and looks for the linguistic structures used to fulfil this function (Ibid.)

Political actors recognize the importance of language due to the effects of its use, and because "politics is very largely the use of language, even if the converse is not true – not every use of language is political"(Chilton,2004,p. 14).

1.2 Rhetoric

In classical antiquity rhetoric was defined as "the art of speaking well in public" (Nash 1989, cited in Charteris-Black2011,p.7). Success or failure of speech performance depends on its persuasiveness which in turn relates to audience response. Rhetoric "may be said to have failed when an audience expresses opposition to the speaker's underlying purposes" (Ibid.).

Classical rhetoricians identified three main contexts where speeches could occur (Sauer 1997). The first was the deliberative, or political, speech "that deals with an important controversial topic and is addressed to a public assembly; it required a decision to be made about a future action such as, for example, whether to make peace or go to war." Next was the forensic or judicial speech "that was addressed to a judge and jury and was concerned with the evaluation of a past action such as a crime." Finally, there was the epideictic or 'display' speech "that was addressed to an audience whose role was passive; the purpose of this type of speech was either to praise (as in eulogies) or to blame" (Charteris-Black2011, p.8).

1.3Rhetoric and Politics

According to Rorty (1996) rhetoric and politics are "inseparable

concepts." He maintains "Without rhetoric, politics is empty; without politics, rhetoric is blind"(Rorty,1996,p.23).He adds "Without rhetorical skill, even the wisest *politikos* [a statesman or politician] is pathetic and helpless" (Ibid.)Rhetorical techniques are the tools politicians use to reach the expected ends to convince their audience. Clearly, rhetoric is an essential element in politics by means of which they achieve their desired goals and persuade others(Amaireh,2013).Wallace (1955) also highlights the relationship between rhetoric and politics as rhetoric is the field where principles and techniques of discourse are applied whether in private or public podiums in order to influence the target audience, whether listeners or readers, with the speakers' / writers' ideas and perspectives(p.1) The political setting is a good example where these techniques can be employed. Burke (1982) asserts that a rhetorical philosophy encompasses the rhetorical understanding of politics; this means that speakers / writers intentionally exert efforts to persuade the listeners / readers of their attitudes and views (Burke 1982,p. 45). Such attempts of persuasion vary from rational appeals such as those presented in courts before the law, or can be irrational such as those that appeals to discrimination, conflict or wars.

1.4 Presidential Farewell Addresses

The tradition of giving such addresses goes all the way back to George Washington, whose written message announcing his intention to step down from the presidency in 1796 still stands as the most famous presidential farewell in the nation's history(Pruitt 2017). A few days before leaving office after his term is over, a US president delivers a speech in which he gives some thoughts about his presidency and about what should be done in the future.

2. Methodology

2.1Data of the Study

The data to be analyzed in this paper consist of two farewell addresses delivered by Bill Clinton and G. W. Bush at the end of their terms as US presidents in 2001 and 2009 respectively.

2.2Framework of Analysis

The framework of the analysis followed in this paper is based on Sezler's(2004)rhetorical analysis. Sezler suggests two methods of rhetorical analysis: textual and contextual. The first focuses on the textual features that make up the text; the second considers the text and its features in relation to the context in which it emerges.

The method used in this study involves a combination of both, textual and contextual rhetorical analyses. The tools employed in the analysis of the data are three of the five categories or canons of classical rhetoric as well as the basic contextual bits of information in the two texts.

Classical rhetoricians in the tradition of Aristotle, Quintilian, and

Cicero developed a range of terms around what they called the "canons" of rhetoric in order to describe some of the actions of rhetors: *inventio* (invention) (i.e. the finding or creation of information or persuasive acts, and the planning of strategies), *dispositio* (or arrangement), *elocutio* (or style), *memoria* (the recollection of rhetorical resources that one might call upon, as well as the memorization of what has been invented and arranged), and *pronuntiatio* (or delivery) (Sezler,2004,p.284)

3. Rhetorical Analysis

3.1. Rhetorical Analysis of Clinton's Address

President Bill Clinton delivered his farewell address to the American nation from the Oval Office on Jan. 18, 2001. The address lasted for 7 minutes and 25 seconds.

3.1.1 Invention

Invention is the aspect of rhetoric that investigates the possible means by which proofs can be discovered. Aristotle distinguished three kinds of rhetorical proofs: ethos, pathos, and logos. These kinds of proofs translate into English as ethical, pathetic, and logical proofs. Ethical proofs relate to the rhetor's character, i.e. his trustworthiness and credibility; pathetic proofs appeal to the emotions of the audience; and logical proofs derive from arguments that reside in the issue itself (Crowley1999,8).

3.1.1.1 Ethos

Classical and modern rhetoric offers two different perspectives of ethos. For example, Aristotle identified three dimensions with regard to the credibility of the speaker. These are 'good sense, excellence, and goodwill' (Aristotle, *Rhetoric*, in Aristotle 1984:2194, cited in Amaireh 2013. p. 50). In modern rhetoric, ethos has two categories: personality and stance. Personality is the personal image of the communicator, which includes: dress, lifestyle, political charisma (voice, language) and appearance (Cockcroft and Cockcroft, 1992,p. 20, cited in Amaireh 2013, p.51). Stance can be defined as "the position or the attitude of the speaker in relation to the self, topic and to the audience" (Ibid.). The present paper adopts the modern perspective and, in particular, it is concerned with the category of stance.

In addition to the credibility Clinton enjoyed as a US president elected twice by the American people, there are some instances in his address where he tries to maintain this credibility. The most obvious ones are those with the first-person singular in its different realizations 'I', 'me' and 'my', (17) times, (3) times and (6) times respectively). One instance can be found in this quotation:

(1) In all the work I have done as President—every decision I have made, every executive action I have taken, every bill I have proposed and signed—I've tried to give all Americans the tools and conditions to build the future of our dreams in a good society with a strong economy, a cleaner environment, and a freer, safer, more prosperous world.

In this quotation, Clinton assures the Americans that everything he did as President was to give them a better future life.

Another instance of ethos is illustrated in this extract:

(2) I have steered my course by our enduring values: opportunity for all, responsibility from all, a community of all Americans. I have sought to give America a new kind of Government, smaller, more modern, more effective, full of ideas and policies appropriate to this new time, always putting people first, always focusing on the future. Here, Clinton indicates that he acted in accordance with the American values, with people being a priority.

Another use of ethos can be inferred in the use of the first-person plural pronoun in its different forms with a frequency of (55) times ('we' (37), 'our' (14) and 'us' (4) times). Some examples are: "our nation", "our enduring values", "our allies", "our dream" "we have... we must" ...etc. These extracts illustrate this,

(3) First, America must maintain our record of fiscal responsibility.

(4) Through our last four budgets, we've turned record deficits to record surpluses, and we've been able to pay down \$600 billion of our national debt.

(5) America's security and prosperity require us to continue to lead in the world.

(6) Third, we must remember that America cannot lead in the world unless here at home we weave the threads of our coat of many colors into the fabric of one America.

The use of first-person plural here is inclusive in that it refers to the government and the American people together. This suggests an identification of the government with the people.

Ethos is also found in the uses of the second-person pronoun 'you' which occurs (10) times and its possessive form 'your' occurring only once. For significant uses of this pronoun, consider this extract:

(7) ... you have risen to every new challenge. You have made our social fabric stronger, our families healthier and safer, our people more prosperous. You, the American people, have made our passage into the global information age an era of great American renewal.

'You' refers to the American people as indicated in the last sentence. This illustrates Clinton's stance toward the audience, i.e. the American people, whereby he indicates their participation in the great things they have experienced through their will and support. Another instance of ethos is illustrated in Clinton's allusion to the founding father and third president of USA, Thomas Jefferson who "warned of entangling alliances",

(8) But in our times America cannot and must not disentangle itself from the world.

Clearly, Clinton rules out the possibility of abiding by Jefferson's warning.

The last use of ethos is at the end of the address,

(9) I'll leave the presidency more idealistic, more full of hope than the day I arrived and more confident than ever that the America's best days lie ahead.

The use of comparative constructions communicates his belief that as a President he has made things better than the day he came to the office.

3.1.1.2 Logos

Clinton uses logos a number of times to support his arguments. The first use is when he gives statistics illustrating his achievements in economy, health, education and environment,

(10) ...22 million new jobs,...the lowest unemployment in 30 years"...the highest homeownership ever,...the longest expansion in history,...35 million Americans have used the family leave law,... 8 million have moved off welfare,... Crime is at 25-year low,...Over 10 million Americans receive more college aid...

Such facts and statistics confirm Clinton's claim of "dramatic transformation" he mentions at the beginning of his speech.

Two other uses of logos can be seen in the following quotation where one is to support Clinton's position with regard to his achievements during his presidency, and another to express his view concerning the future:

(11) We've turned record deficits to record surpluses, and we've been able to pay down \$600 billion of national debt...

(12) If we choose wisely, we can pay down the debt, deal with the

retirement of the baby boomers, invest more in our future, and provide tax reliefs.

Logos is also present when he mentions the wars in Kosovo and Bosnia as a lesson of how "Americans achieve their aims by defending their values and leading the forces of freedom and peace." By using this example, he suggests that the intrusion in Kosovo and Bosnia was motivated by the American values of spreading freedom and peace in the world.

The last use of logos is his comparison of two opposing forces "forces of integration" and "forces of destruction." The former refer to America and its allies who have created good work and living conditions for people in America and around the world and the latter are represented by terrorism and international crime.

3.1.1.3 Pathos

There are some uses of pathos in Clinton's address. The first one is when he shows concern for poverty by expressing his regret that

(13)the expansion of trade hasn't fully closed the gap between those who live on the cutting edge of the global economy and the billions around the world who live on the knife's edge of survival.

By saying this, he wants to show how critical the situation is, and thus creates a strong impact on the audience.

Another use of pathos is when he says

(14)Global poverty is a powder keg that could be ignited by our indifference.

Here, he tries to arouse people's emotions to back and stand with every attempt to improve the living standards of poor people all over the world.

At the end of his speech he also uses pathos when saying

(15) I will never hold a position higher or more covenant, more scared than that of President of the United States, but there is no title I will wear more proudly than that of citizen.

3.1.2Arrangement

Arrangement is the organization of the speech. Political addresses are normally organized in a way that reflects the themes they are meant to convey. Generally, addresses have a three-part structure: introduction, body and conclusion.

3.1.2.1Introduction

This part often introduces the main topic and some contextual information such as the identity of the addresser and the addressee, the purpose, the time and place of the address. The introduction of Clinton's address begins with the sentence:

(16) My fellow citizens, tonight is my last opportunity to speak to you from the Oval Office as your President in which Clinton salutes the American People and announces his leaving the office. This sentence makes the context of the speech very clear. The purpose is to formally announce the end of his term as a US President, the audience is the American People, the time is the night and the place is the President's office in the White House. The President also expresses gratitude to the American people "I'm profoundly grateful to you" and to his administration. He makes clear the duration of his presidency by the word 'twice' and the phrase 'the last eight years', which he repeats two and three times respectively.

3.1.2.2The Body

The body represents the core of the address, i.e. what the address is actually about. The body of the address in question can be divided into two parts. The first part is a review of Clinton's years in office. Clinton gives an account of the tasks his administration has undertaken and the achievements it has made. It begins with "This has been a time of dramatic transformation" which implies a great

change, apparently a pleasant one, in the life of the Americans. The second part is about the future in which he gives his views concerning economy, security and unity.

3.1.2.3 Conclusion

The conclusion is the end of the address. He closes his address by expressing his best wish to the next president and his administration "in meeting these challenges, and in leading freedom's march in this new century." His final words are "Thank you. God bless you, and God bless America."

3.1.3 Style

Style or elocutio (as it was called in Classical rhetoric) includes those features of language that relate to the form of the message. These features are called stylistic or rhetorical features. They have certain functions such as ornamentation, emphasis and clarification. Their presence is at different levels of language: lexical, grammatical and semantic. Their analysis covers only some features from the long list which is offered by rhetoricians and stylisticians. The features involved in the analysis are lexical density, sentence length and complexity, parallelism, repetition and metaphor.

3.1.3.1 Lexical features

3.1.3.1.1 Lexical density

Lexical density is the term most often used for describing the proportion of content words (nouns, verbs, adjectives, and often also adverbs) to the total number of words. (Johansson 2008,p.65). Lexical density in Clinton's speech is 40.88.

3.1.3.2 Grammatical features

The grammatical features considered in the analysis are sentence length, sentence complexity and parallelism. Sentence length is measured in terms of the average number of words per sentence; sentence complexity is determined by whether the sentences have simple or complex structure; and parallelism is the repetition of a given structure being it a word, a phrase, a clause or a whole sentence (Leech & Short,1981,p.62).

3.1.3.2.1 Sentence Length and Complexity

Sentence length in Clinton's speech is 20.5. As for sentence complexity simple sentences dominate the speech with (33) occurrences which constitute 61.11% of the total number of sentences. Complex sentences occur (21) times.

Table (1) Sentence Types in Clinton's Address

Sentence Type	No.	Percent.
Simple	33	61.11%
Complex	21	38.88
Total	54	100%

3.1.3.2.2 Parallelism

Parallel structures in Clinton's address are of different types. Apart from its uses in different parts of the address, present perfect recurs significantly in the third, fourth and sixth paragraphs four, five and six times respectively. The third paragraph begins with Clinton's saying "This has been a time of dramatic transformation" which is followed by a series of present perfect sentences illustrating the role of the American people in this transformation. The uses of the present perfect in the fourth paragraph indicate the role of the president. The present perfect instances in the sixth paragraph introduce the achievements that represent the dramatic transformation. The infinitive structure occurs in most paragraphs of the address, the majority indicate actions performed by the President and his administration during his terms or suggested by the President to the next President.

Another interesting example of parallelism is found where Clinton claims that his work during his presidency was in accordance with American values "opportunity for all, responsibility from all, a community of all Americans." These 'values' are skillfully

represented in a pattern of parallelism, rhyming nouns plus prepositional phrases. In the same paragraph there is another parallelism which is "always putting people first, always focusing on the future" formed with the adverb "always" plus a participial clause. This parallelism indicates the strategy that Clinton's administration adopted which centres around people and their future.

Also significant is the use of comparative forms of adjectives e.g. 'stronger', 'higher', 'healthier', 'safer', 'more effective', 'more prosperous' ...etc. The frequency of such forms is (28) times. Superlative forms of adjectives also occur but only (3) times. Such forms can have only one implication, that of the improvements the country has witnessed during Clinton's presidency in the areas of concern, i.e, social solidarity, security, economy, health.

Clinton's address is also characterized by a notable frequency of sentences with the modal 'must', (8) times. Some illustrative examples are below,

(17)America must maintain our record of fiscal responsibility.

(18) If we want the world to embody our shared values, then we must assume a shared responsibility.

(19)We must remember that America cannot lead in the world unless here at home we weave the threads of our coat of many colours into the fabric of one America.

(20)America cannot and must not disentangle itself from the world. All of these 'must-structure' instances indicate the necessities he thinks the president-elect Bush and his administration should take into consideration.

3.1.3.3 Repetition

Words related to USA are on the top in terms of frequency. 'America' occurs (12) times, the word 'Americans' (6) times, and USA only once in the phrase "the President of the United States of America".

What is significant is the repetition of the word 'world' (10) times and its synonym 'globe' once, and the related adjective global (9) times which implies the tendency of Clinton's to keep America's leading role in the world.

Other words of noticeable frequency include 'president' (6)times, 'future', 'economy' and force(s) (5)times, 'freedom', 'values', 'record', 'prosperity' with (4) occurrences each. Words like 'security', 'peace', 'challenges'(3) times, 'poverty', 'fabric', 'history' and 'crime' each occurs (2) times, and terrorism only once.

In addition to words, there are also repeated phrases such as "a force for peace and prosperity, (freedom and security) " to describe the image of America in the world. This indicates that America is in such a strong position to spread and help achieve these essential demands in the world.

3.1.3.4 Metaphor

Clinton uses metaphor in three occasions, two are related to economy, particularly to poverty and the gap between poor and rich people and the third is connected to unity between Americans. In this extract,

(21)the expansion of trade hasn't fully closed the gap between those who live on the cutting edge of the global economy and the billions around the world who live on the knife's edge of survival." the comparison between rich and poor people is drawn using "cutting edge of the global economy" for the rich and "knife's edge" of survival for the poor.

While in this one,

(22)Global poverty is a powder keg that could be ignited by our indifference poverty in the world is envisaged as "a powder keg",

which is a warning of the bad consequences if nations do not react to find solutions for it.

And finally,

(23)We must remember that America cannot lead in the world unless here at home we weave the threads of our coat of many colours into the fabric of one America.

where American diversity is compared to a coat of many colours that needs to be dissolved in one unified America.

3.2 Rhetorical Analysis of Bush's Address

George W. Bush gave his farewell address in front of a small audience in the White House East Room on January 15, 2009. The address lasted for 13 minutes, 7 seconds (Morgenstern, 2017)

3.2.1 Invention

3.2.1.1 Ethos

Ethos in Bush's address can clearly be seen in the uses of the first-person singular 'I' which occurs (35) times. Bush sometimes talked for himself, especially when recalling the critical decisions he had taken, his personal experience, and when expressing his feelings at the very emotional moment. For example, in this extract:

(24)I thank the American people for the trust you have given me. I thank you for the prayers that have lifted my spirits. And I thank you for the countless acts of courage, generosity, and grace that I have witnessed these past eight years.

Bush indicates that he has already won people's trust and support throughout his two terms in office.

Another instance of ethos is found in the following lines:

(25) I remember standing in the rubble of the World Trade Center three days later... I remember talking to brave souls... I remember Arlene Howard, who gave me her fallen son's police shield as a reminder of all that was lost.

where Bush recalls his past experience with the 11th September terrorist attack, wanting to show that he was so affected then that he still remembers every single detail of that unforgettable tragedy.

Ethos can also be found in these lines:

(26) As the years passed, most Americans were able to return to life much as it had been before 11/9. But I never did.

Bush here indicates that he never had an ordinary life since the 11/9 attack and that was because of his concern with maintaining security for the American people.

A further instance of ethos is present in the lines where Bush seems to confess that some of his decisions were controversial, but soon defends those decisions by referring to the results they yielded, especially the absence of any terrorist attack since September 11th 2001:

(27)There is legitimate debate about many of these decisions. But there can be little debate about the results. America has gone more than seven years without another terrorist attack on our soil."

It is clear that he is trying to defend those decisions and argue that they were logical at the time they were taken.

Ethos is also illustrated in the following quotation:

(28)America is promoting human liberty, human rights, and human dignity. We're standing with dissidents and young democracies, providing AIDS medicine to dying patients—to bring dying patients back to life, and sparing mothers and babies from malaria. And this great republic born alone in liberty is leading the world toward a new age when freedom belongs to all nations.

in which Bush indicates that he has followed the path drawn by the American values of helping nations have freedom and democracy, and also helping them with their health problems.

Instances of ethos are also clearly illustrated by uses of first-person plural, 'we'. Bush's address contains (24) occurrences of 'we' and (38) occurrences of 'our'. President Bush uses 'we' sometimes to mean his administration and other times the American people, which implies identification of the government with the people. 'Our' appears in collocation with different types of nouns referring to different aspects of USA such as "our nation", "our country" and "our people" with a frequency of (7), (6) and (4) respectively. Other examples include "our soil", "our ideals", "our veterans", "our troops" ... etc. Uses of 'our' also indicate that President speaks for the American Nation as a whole.

One of these instances is when Bush refers to financial challenges his administration faced and the 'decisive' steps it took to meet them: "These are very tough times for hardworking families, but the toll would be far worse if we had not acted." He clearly praises his administration for preventing things from becoming worse.

Through the use of 'we' he also mentions some of the achievements of his government throughout the eight years of his presidency:

(29) For eight years, we've also strived to expand opportunity and hope here at home. Across our country, students are rising to meet higher standards in public schools. A new Medicare prescription drug benefit is bringing peace of mind to seniors and the disabled. Every taxpayer pays lower income taxes. The addicted and suffering are finding new hope through faith-based programs. Vulnerable human life is better protected. Funding for our veterans has nearly doubled. America's air and water and lands are measurably cleaner. And the federal bench includes wise new members like Justice Sam Alito and Chief Justice John Roberts.

Ethos can also be seen in his invitation to work together:

(30) All Americans are in this together. And together, with determination and hard work, we will restore our economy to the path of growth.

This is an example solidarity between government and people.

Another instance of ethos is illustrated in these quotations:

(31) Like all who have held this office before me, I have experienced setbacks. There are things I would do differently if given the chance. But he tries to justify those setbacks by saying:

(32) Yet, I've always acted with the best interests of my country in mind. I have followed my conscience and done what I thought was right. You may not agree with some of the tough decisions I have made. But I hope you can agree that I was willing to make the tough decisions.

Another instance of ethos is Bush's claim to adopt Jefferson's position

(33) President Thomas Jefferson once wrote "I like the dreams of the future better than the history of the past"... I share that optimism.

3.2.1.2 Logos

As an instance of logos, one statistics can be identified:

(34) That morning, terrorists took nearly 3,000 lives in the worst attack on America since Pearl Harbor.

Logos is also present in his contrasting two ideologies or two dramatically different systems, terrorists and America:

(35) Under one, a small band of fanatics demands total obedience to an oppressive ideology, condemns women to subservience, and marks unbelievers for murder. The other system is based on the

conviction that freedom is the universal gift of Almighty God, and that liberty and justice light the path to peace.

Logos can also be identified in the reasoning presented in this quotation:

(36) When people live in freedom, they do not willingly choose leaders who pursue campaigns of terror. When people have hope in the future, they will not cede their lives to violence and extremism. Furthermore, Bush makes a comparison between his nation and the terrorists as "good and evil". He argues:

(37) Murdering the innocent to advance an ideology is wrong every time, everywhere; freeing people from oppression and despair is eternally right.

The comparison is based on reason and thus it is an example of logos.

Another instance of logos is Bush's mentioning Afghanistan and Iraq as two countries where things changed for the better as a result of the reaction of Bush's administration, backed by America's allies, to the 11/9 terrorist attack:

(38) And with strong allies at our side, we have taken the fight to the terrorists and those who support them. Afghanistan has gone from a nation where the Taliban harbored al-Qaeda and stoned women in the streets to a young democracy that is fighting terror and encouraging girls to go to school. Iraq has gone from a brutal dictatorship and a sworn enemy of America to an Arab democracy at the heart of the Middle East and a friend of the United States.

3.2.1.3 Pathos

He warns of another terrorist attack:

(39) The gravest threat to our people remains another terrorist attack.

He also reminds of solemn responsibilities which are necessary to take:

(40) We must resist complacency. We must keep our resolve. And we must never let down our guard. We must reject isolationism and its companion protectionism. In the 21st century, security and prosperity at home depend on the expansion of liberty abroad. If America does not lead the cause of freedom, that cause will not be led.

Once again, he is appealing to the Americans' feelings of pride as to the leading role their country is playing in the world with regard to freedom.

Another use of pathos is recognized when Bush talks about the America's character:

(41) I have confidence in the promise of America because I know the character of our people. This is a nation which inspires immigrants to risk everything for the dream of freedom; citizens show calm in times of danger, and compassion in the face of suffering.

He is continuing to use pathos and mentioning examples to support his point.

(42) We see America's character in Dr. Tony Recasner, a principal who opened a new charter school from the ruins of Hurricane Katrina. We see it in Julio Medina, a former inmate who leads a faith-based program to help prisoners returning to society. We've seen it in Staff Sergeant Aubrey McDade, who charged into an ambush in Iraq and rescued three of his fellow Marines. We see America's character in Bill Krissoff—a surgeon from California. His son, Nathan—a Marine—gave his life in Iraq....

Finally, Bush ends his speech with these sentences which illustrate another use of pathos:

(43) I have been blessed to represent this nation we love. And I will always be honored to carry a title that means more to me than any other—citizen of the United States of America."

3.2.2Arrangement

Like Clinton's Bush's address can be divided into three parts as follows:

3.2.2.1 Introduction

It begins with the salutation "Fellow citizens". Next, Bush says:

(44) The first decade of this new century has been a period of consequence—a time set apart which is partly a Winston Churchill's quote, to suggest that his presidency has passed through very difficult times. Bush also expresses his gratitude to have the final opportunity to address the nation, which indicates his leaving the office. The purpose of the address is:

(45) to share some thoughts on the journey that we have travelled together, and the future of our nation.

He then hints at the smooth transition of power to his successor, President-elect Barak Obama:

(46)Five days from now, the world will witness the vitality of American democracy. The presidency will pass to a successor chosen by you, the American people.

He also implies that American democracy does not differentiate between people on the basis of their religion or race:

(47) Standing on the steps of the Capitol will be a man whose history reflects the enduring promise of our land which means that an African –American will be the next US President. He thanks his administration, family and the American people for the trust and support they all showed during his eight-year presidency. He makes some sort of religious reference by saying to the Americans

(48)I thank you for the prayers that have lifted my spirits. He also praises Americans for

(49) the countless acts of courage, generosity, and grace that I have witnessed these past eight years."

3.2.2.2The Body

The body can be divided into two parts. The first part of the body is about what Bush calls "journey"-his eight years in office. He begins the by recalling September the 11th, 2001:

(50)This evening, my thoughts return to the first night I addressed you from this house—September the 11th, 2001.

He explains what happened that day:

(51)That morning, terrorists took nearly 3,000 lives in the worst attack on America since Pearl Harbor.

Bush mentions the measures his administration took in reaction to that attack and to keep the American People safe from any other attack.

He then talks about America's mission of spreading freedom in the world and helping nations suffering from poor health conditions and standing with young democracies.

In the second part, he gives three recommendations," guiding principles that should shape our course," to the next president and his administration.

3.2.2.3 Conclusion

In this part, Bush expresses his pride and honor of being President of USA:

(52)It has been the privilege of a lifetime to serve as your President. There have been good days and tough days. But every day I have been inspired by the greatness of our country, and uplifted by the goodness of our people.

Finally, he wishes the American people "Good night" for the final time and prays that God bless the house and the next president and the American people and their "wonderful country".

3.2.3 Style

3.2.3.1 Lexical Features

The lexical density in Bush's address is 39.94.

3.2.3.2 Grammatical Features

3.2.3.2.1 Sentence Length and Complexity

The sentence length in Bush's Address is 15.6.

As for sentence complexity, out of the total number of sentences (121), 69 are simple sentences and (52) sentences have complex structure.

Table(2) Sentence Types in Bush's Address

Sentence Type	No.	Percent.
Simple	69	56.19%
Complex	52	42.97
Total	121	100%

3.2.3.2.2 Parallelism

The first instance of parallelism is:

(53)Afghanistan has gone from a nation where the Taliban harbored al- Qaeda and stoned women in the streets to a young democracy that is fighting terror and encouraging girls to go to school. Iraq has gone from a brutal dictatorship and a sworn enemy of America to an Arab democracy at the heart of the Middle East and a friend of the United States.

Parallelism is represented by N has gone PP to NP. These parallel structures both imply a change in the state of the two countries from what Bush believes bad to good.

The second instance of parallelism is the following:

(54)When people live in freedom, they do not willingly choose leaders who pursue campaigns of terror. When people have hope in the future, they will not cede their lives to violence and extremism where the repetition of parallel sentences beginning with 'when' emphasizes the importance of America's role in helping nations have freedom so that US citizens and people in every region will be safe.

The third instance is the use of present continuous tense:

(55)Around the world, America is promoting human liberty, human rights, and human dignity. We're standing with dissidents and young democracies, providing AIDS medicine to dying patients—to bring dying patients back to life, and sparing mothers and babies from malaria. And this great republic born alone in liberty is leading the world toward a new age when freedom belongs to all nations.

In this extract, Bush is presenting the typical image of America as being committed and responsible for helping nations and people in building democracies and improving their health conditions. He is using the present continuous repeatedly to indicate that America is doing this at this time, the time he is leaving office.

The fourth instance of parallelism is a large number of sentences with the modal 'must'. Here are some examples:

(56) We have been given solemn responsibilities, and we must meet them.

(57) We must resist complacency.

(58) We must keep our resolve.

(59) And we must never let down our guard.

All of these instances of parallelism indicate some policies Bush believes that the next president should stick to.

3.2.3.3 Repetition

Words that have the utmost frequency are those related to America. 'USA' occurs (3 times), 'America' (11 times), 'America's' (6 times), (3) of which in the phrase 'America's character', 'Americans' (4 times), 'American' (3 times) 'the American people' (2 times), 'American democracy' (1). Of very high frequency were the words 'freedom' (5 times) and its synonym 'liberty' (4 times), 'democracy' (3) and 'danger' (4 times). Other repeated words include 'future', 'peace', and 'hope', 'attack', 'threats' ('courage', 'security', 'opportunity', 'justice', 'prosperity' and 'terror' occurring (2 times) each.

Bush uses the verb 'remember' three times to indicate that what happened on 11/9/2001 cannot be forgotten:

(60) I remember standing in the rubble of the World Trade Center. I remember talking to brave souls who charged through smoke-filled corridors at the Pentagon. I remember Arlene Howard, who gave me her fallen son's police shield as a reminder of all that was lost.

3.2.3.4 Metaphor

The only example of metaphor is the use of the word 'journey' to refer to his eight-year presidency to indicate the long but interesting period he served in office.

4. Discussion of Results

4.1 Invention

In terms of rhetorical proofs used in both addresses, the two presidents use all the three types but in different ways. For example, in using ethos, Clinton seeks to maintain his credibility while Bush tries to defend it. Both presidents allude to the founding father and third president of USA, Thomas Jefferson but in contrasting ways. Clinton suggests working in the opposite direction of what Jefferson once recommended "Jefferson warned of entangling alliances. But in our times America cannot and must not disentangle itself from the world." Bush, on the other hand, claims to adopt Jefferson's position "President Thomas Jefferson once wrote "I like the dreams of the future better than the history of the past"... I share that optimism."

Logos in Clinton's address is clearly represented by a number of statistics while in Bush's address only one statistics is used along with some general statements concerning the achievements made during his presidency.

Interestingly, there are two instances where both presidents are coincidentally similar. The first instance is when either president shows his commitment to American values, he mentions two countries which had been under dictatorship and oppression and were helped become free and democratic by America and its allies. Clinton mentions Bosnia and Kosovo and Bush mentions Afghanistan and Iraq. The second instance is when each president brings in contrast two forces or systems: on the one hand America and its allies and on the other hand terrorism and international crime.

As for pathos, both presidents are similar in the way they end their address by using emotional words. However, they are different in other instances of pathos. Bush mostly seems to arouse people's feelings of fear and worry with regard to the threats of terrorism.

Clinton, in contrast, tries to appeal to people's feelings of sympathy, as when he talks about bridging the gap between rich and poor people, and pride as when he talks about America's role in the world as a force of peace, liberty and prosperity.

4.2 Arrangement

Both addresses are organized into an introduction, body and conclusion. In the introduction, both presidents express gratitude to the American people for having elected them twice. They also mention the purpose of the address and give some clues about time and place of the delivery. Each president uses a sentence which hints at what kind of period he has served. Clinton's "This has been a time of dramatic transformation" indicates his belief in the great change his presidency has brought to the American people. On the other hand, Bush's "The first decade of this new century has been a period of consequence—a time set apart" suggests the difficulties his presidency has experienced.

Both presidents divide the body into two parts. In the first, they talk about their achievements during their presidency and the challenges they faced in America or in the world. In the second part, both give some pieces advice to the next administration.

Both presidents conclude their addresses almost in the same way. They express their pride of having served as US presidents but agree on the highest honor and pride of the title of American citizen: Clinton's "But there is no title I will wear more proudly than that of citizens" and Bush's "And I will always be honored to carry a title that means more to me than any other —citizen of the United States of America."

4.3 Style

4.3.1 Lexical Features

Both addresses have nearly the same lexical density: lexical density in Clinton's speech is 40.88 and in Bush's address is 39.94.

4.3.2 Grammatical Features

4.3.2.1 Sentence Length and Complexity

Sentence length in Clinton's address is 20.5 while sentence length in Bush's address is 15.6. As for sentence complexity, simple sentences dominate Clinton's address with (33) occurrences which constitute 61.11% of the total number of sentences, complex sentences occur (21) times. Similarly, in Bush's address, out of the total number of sentences (121), 69 (57.02%) are simple sentences and 52 (42.97%) sentences have complex structure.

4.3.2.2 Parallelism

In both addresses, parallelism takes different forms. Clinton's address contains a large number of present perfect, infinitive, comparative structures and sentences with 'must'. Bush's address does not have many parallel structures. It has, for example, two parallel present perfect sentences; two adverbial 'when-clauses'; a number of present continuous sentences. What is common in both addresses is the use of a number of sentences with the modal 'must'. These sentences express the necessary actions that the current president communicate to the president-elect as the core of the American policy.

In short, Clinton's address is rich with parallel structures in contrast to Bush's address which does not use much parallelism.

4.3.2.3 Repetition

In both addresses, the most frequent words are those related to America such as 'America, American, USA'. However, the word 'world' occurs (10) times in Clinton's and (7) times in Bush's. Its synonym 'globe', occurs (9) times in Clinton's address but never in Bush's. Recurrent words in the addresses also include 'freedom', 'future', 'security', 'prosperity', 'peace', 'challenges'. Interestingly, there are words which appear in one address but not the other. 'Liberty', for example, occurs (4) times in Bush's address but never in Clinton's; 'democracy' does not occur in Clinton's address but

appears (3) times in Bush's. The word 'values' occurs (4) times in Clinton's address but has no frequency in Bush's.

4.3.2.3 Metaphor

Clinton uses metaphor three times, two in relation to economy, particularly the description of poverty and the gap between poor and rich people, and the third in reference to unity between Americans. In contrast, Bush's address contains one example of metaphor: when he uses the word 'journey' to describe his eight-year presidency.

5. Conclusion

Clinton's and Bush's addresses belong to a tradition of presidential addresses known as farewell addresses. In the farewell address, the president is expected to review the breakthroughs and setbacks of his years in office; and also to give some thoughts about the direction that the nation should head in.

Such themes are believed to have an effect on the rhetoric of the address especially on the invention and arrangement canons of rhetoric. In this regard, the paper has shown the striking similarities in the layout of the two addresses which fall into three parts: introduction, body and conclusion, each of which conveys the same information in either address. As for invention, both presidents use the same proofs in their addresses, the difference being in the number of instances of each type of proof and the aim behind using it.

The canon of style does differentiate the two addresses since each president has his own ways of manipulating the language to give his address the distinctive character he likes. Lexical density and sentence length differ in both addresses. Other stylistic features such as parallelism, repetition and metaphor are present in both addresses, but of course differences are clear with regard to which structures parallel, which words are repeated and whether or not metaphor is frequently used.

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