

THE PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF ALGERIA
MINISTRY OF HIGHER EDUCATION AND SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH
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FACULTY OF ARTS AND LANGUAGES
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**David Cameron Bloomberg Speech:
A Rhetorical Discourse Analysis**

A Dissertation Submitted in Partial Fulfilment of the
Requirements for a **Master's Degree in Linguistics**

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Academic Year: 2018 / 2019

Dedication

I am honored to dedicate this modest work to my beloved mother for her endless support and love and to whom I wish a long healthy life.

In memory of my beloved father who left us for a more peaceful world and to whom I am extremely grateful for all the care and support I have received from him even during his last moments. May God welcome him to his vast paradise.

To my lovely brothers Anis and Nacim and sister in law Sarah who have always done the best they can to help me, to inspire me, to motivate me and to make me realise the potential I have to succeed in my research.

To my best friends Hanane, Lynda, Lamia, Yasmine, Lilia, Khaled, Lyes, Bachir, Samia, Thiziri, Souhila, Kenza, Anies, and Kahina for their endless support, kindness and devotion. This modest work would not have been possible without their help.

To my classmates and friends Souad, Amel and Radia who believed in me and make me believe in myself and to whom I wish all the best.

To my beloved cousins Hanane, Lamia, Mihad, Tinhinane, Amel, Lyna, Kamir, Rosa, Yamina, Soraya, Kouceila, and Merouane for all their continued and incredible support.

To all my classmates of the Master 2 class of Linguistics of the University of Bejaia to whom I express my deep appreciation for all their support and encouragements, and to whom I wish great success.

Acknowledgments

First and foremost, I would like to thank God for giving me knowledge, strength and courage to accomplish this work.

I would like to express my deepest gratitude and appreciation to my supervisor Mr. Sofiane Mammeri for inspiring me throughout my research. I would like to thank him for his time and effort to help me achieve a worthy research. I would like to thank him for his precious advice, constructive feedback and willingness to share his wealth of knowledge. He made this experience interesting and memorable. I am forever grateful for him.

I would like to express all my thanks for the members of the examining committee for their time and effort to evaluate this modest work.

My heartfelt thanks go also to the Head of the Department Miss. Sabrina Slimi and all the teachers and administrative staff of the department of English for their great work.

And finally, I would like to thank all my family and friends who have contributed to the achievement of this work.

Abstract

All over its history, British public speaking enjoyed momentous speeches acquainted with a powerful political rhetoric. In fact, British political leaders like Winston Churchill and Margaret Thatcher entered the powerful rhetorical scene through their memorable speeches and impressive rhetorical maneuvers. Like his predecessors, David Cameron enjoys an impressive ability in combining various rhetorical strategies to convey a vibrant message. In this regard, the present analytical investigation examines the rhetorical strategies employed by the former British Prime Minister in his Bloomberg speech (2013). Our attention is oriented towards the rhetorical situation that surrounds the Bloomberg speech, and to the persuasive appeals implemented in it. Thus, two models of rhetorical analysis are integrated in this speech; Bitzer's Rhetorical Situation Theory (1968) and the four Aristotelian Rhetorical Appeals (i.e., logos, ethos, pathos and kairos). This analytical investigation follows a descriptive design. It is mainly based on mixed-methods encompassing both a qualitative analysis for the description of rhetorical devices used in the speech, and a quantitative representation in tabulations for some frequencies. The present study has revealed that David Cameron recognised the necessity to deliver this speech. Indeed, he delivered the right speech at the right moment. Furthermore, Cameron has addressed the right audience that has the power to modify the exigence. In addition to this, he was able to consider some constraints that can limit his speech influence. It has also shown that Cameron has effectively implemented the four Aristotelian appeals in his speech as a tool to persuade his audience. However, it is important to mention that the appeal for logos and ethos are dominant in this speech. That is to say, much of Cameron's efforts to persuade his audience was based first on providing his audience with logical arguments and evident proofs to strengthen his claims; and second on establishing a credible character that inspires trustworthiness. Also, this study demonstrated that the Conservative leader made a powerful combination of eight different figures of speech mainly metaphors and tricolon in order to enhance his ideas and make his speech both attractive and rhythmic. In closing, this study concluded that, in his Bloomberg speech, David Cameron employed thirteen rhetorical strategies (Metaphors, similes, idiomatic expressions, personification, tricolon, anaphora, parallelism, and rhetorical questions) in order to increase the persuasive effect of his words.

Key Words: David Cameron, Bloomberg Speech, Rhetorical Strategies, Bitzer's Rhetorical Situation Theory, Exigence, Audience, Constraints, Logos, Ethos, Pathos, Kairos, British Rhetoric.

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List of Abbreviations

CDA : Critical Discourse Analysis

CA : Conversation Analysis

CL : Critical Linguistics

DA : Discourse Analysis

EU : European Union

HDA : Historical Discourse Analysis

IS : Interactional Sociolinguistics

MPs: Members of the Parliament.

PD : Political Discourse

PR : Political Rhetoric

RA : Rhetorical Analysis

RDA: Rhetorical Discourse Analysis

UK : United Kingdom

UKip : United Kingdom Independence Party

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Definition of Terms

Discourse Analysis: Discourse Analysis has been defined in several different ways and from diverse perspectives. However, from a linguistic perspective, DA generally denotes the analysis of language in use. In this respect, Bavelas, Kenwood and Philips (2002) define Discourse Analysis as “*the systematic study of naturally occurring (not hypothetical) communication*” (p.102). Accordingly, Crystal (1987) claims that discourse analysts’ focal point is the analysis of naturally occurring spoken language such as interviews and speeches (p. 116).

Rhetoric: Aristotle (2007) defines rhetoric as “*an ability, in each case [particular] case, to see the available means of persuasion*” (p.37). That is to say, rhetoric is the speaker’s faculty to identify and rely on the effective persuasive means or strategies that are on his hand in order to convince his audience to think or act in a particular way. In other words, rhetoric is the art of persuasion.

Rhetorical Analysis: Selzer (2003) describes rhetorical analysis as “*an effort to understand how people within specific social situations attempt to influence others through language*” (p.281). That is, rhetorical analysis or rhetorical discourse analysis is the study of how speakers exploit language and linguistic means to influence upon people’s minds and actions.

Rhetorical Situation: According to Bitzer (1968), a rhetorical situation is the overall context or circumstances in which an orator or a writer builds a rhetorical discourse (p.1). Besides, Bitzer (1968) identifies three components that constitute any rhetorical situation: a rhetorical exigence, a rhetorical audience, and a series of rhetorical constraints (p.6).

Rhetorical Exigence: Bitzer (1968) explains that an exigence is a problem or an imperfect situation that invites a rhetorical discourse as a means to convince an audience of the necessity to solve this problem or modify this imperfection (p.6).

Rhetorical Audience: Bitzer (1968) defines an audience as those people the speaker or the writer aspires to convince of the need to modify a given exigence (p.8). Besides, a rhetorical audience denotes those people who have the power to act upon the exigence and modify it (Bitzer, 1968, p.7).

Rhetorical Constraints: According to Bitzer (1968), rhetorical constraints are made up of persons, documents, and events that can limit the influence of the rhetorical discourse and restrict the audience's decisions and actions (p.8).

Logos: According to Aristotle (2015), logos is a persuasive means through which the speaker proves that his claims are true by means of logical arguments and evidence (pp.8-9).

Ethos: Aristotle (2015) defines ethos as an appeal for the speaker's credibility and ethics (p.8). In other words, ethos is when the speaker says words or sentences that make the audience think of him as a credible, trustworthy, and good person (p.8).

Pathos: According to Aristotle (2015), pathos is an appeal for the audience's emotions (p.8). That is to say, it is a means to persuade an audience by stirring their emotions.

Kairos: Leston (2013) explains that kairos denotes the speaker's faculty to recognise the right moment and the appropriate means to deliver a speech that responds to a particular situation (p.34). In other words, kairos is the ability to deliver the right speech at the right the moment.

General Introduction

This analytical research is founded on the assumption that rhetoric is the core of any political speech. As Wodak (2009) explains, politics “*necessarily includes persuasion, rhetoric, deceptive devices, and so forth*”. Indeed, Politicians’ aspiration for power engages them in a constant struggle to propagate their views and increase their influence upon people’s minds and actions. Thus, successful politicians have always relied on powerful rhetorical strategies to promote their policies. Accordingly, Charteris-Black (2011) claims that “*Audience are only persuaded when the speaker’s rhetoric is successful.*” (p. 7).

As one of the most influential British orators, David Cameron enjoys a real talent in combining rhetorical tactics to convey a powerful message that leaves a good impression on his audience. In this regard, the present research seeks to analyse the rhetorical strategies employed in one of Cameron’s most influential political speeches, namely the Bloomberg speech (2013). Back to six years ago, the former British Prime Minister, David Cameron, delivered a speech that would take a historical turning point in the history of Britain and Europe. On January 23rd, 2013, the Conservative leader pronounced his Bloomberg speech at Bloomberg in which he pledged to hold a democratic Brexit referendum that will give the British people the power to decide on whether their country will remain in or withdraw from the European Union, provided that the Conservative Party secures a new mandate in 2015. By making this speech, David Cameron tried to persuade his audience that the European leaders can reach an agreement to renegotiate a new settlement that would secure the interests of Britain and all the other European nations. Furthermore, this speech aimed to persuade the British nation that an immediate Brexit referendum would be a precipitous decision.

In this respect, this study analyses Cameron’s Bloomberg speech from a rhetorical discourse analysis perspective with a view to identify the Rhetorical strategies employed by this latter to build a persuasive speech. Indeed, this rhetorical study is an attempt to examine the rhetorical situation of the Bloomberg speech with an emphasis on the three components that constitute Bitzer’s Rhetorical Situation Theory: the exigence, the audience and the constraints of the speech. Also, this analytical research seeks to identify Cameron’s rhetorical strategies with particular attention to the four Aristotelian Rhetorical Appeals: logos, ethos, pathos, and kairos.

1. Statement of the Problem

The present research pays special attention to David Cameron's Bloomberg speech because we have noticed that little scholarship interest has been given to the study of British rhetoric in general and the rhetoric of David Cameron in particular. In fact, the interest and attention of contemporary rhetorical studies are directed toward the rhetoric of American politicians. In the light of this observation, we have decided to undertake an analytical research in order to explore the rhetorical maneuvers that characterise the speech of Cameron; and thus, explore a sample of the British rhetoric.

2. Questions of the Study

The objective of our analytical study is to explore the rhetorical maneuvers adopted by Cameron to intensify the persuasiveness of his speech. With this in view, three questions come to our mind:

- 1) What is the rhetorical situation that surrounds the Bloomberg speech?
- 2) What are the rhetorical strategies employed by David Cameron in his Bloomberg speech?
- 3) Does Cameron make use of the Four Rhetorical Appeals in his speech?
- 4) Given that the four Classical Appeals logos, ethos, pathos and kairos are appealed for in this speech, which of them is mostly appealed for?

3. Assumptions of the Study

Our rhetorical discourse analysis is based on the following assumptions:

- ✓ First, we assume that David Cameron used a figurative language in his speech.
- ✓ Second, we assume that the four Aristotelian Appeals are appealed for in the Bloomberg speech.
- ✓ Finally, we assume that the two appeals logos and ethos are dominant in this speech. That is to say, we assume that David Cameron relied much more on logos and ethos in order to persuade his audience.

4. Purpose of the Study

Before embarking ourselves in our analytical study, we have clearly defined the research goals that will provide us with a clear direction and focus for our research. Thus, this rhetorical discourse analysis of David Cameron's Bloomberg speech aims to:

- Support our research thematic with a valid theoretical foundation.
- Examine the rhetorical situation that surrounds the Bloomberg speech.
- Identify and analyse Cameron's usage of the four Aristotelian appeals logos, ethos, pathos and kairos.
- Explore the rhetorical devices displayed in the Bloomberg speech.
- Gain insights into the rhetoric of the former British Prime Minister David Cameron.
- Reach valid findings and conclusions.
- Contribute modestly to the field of Rhetorical Discourse Analysis.

5. Significance of the Study

The present analytical research derives its significance from the following:

- To our best knowledge, there is no previous study on our topic. That is, no previous researcher has attempted to examine David Cameron's Bloomberg speech from a rhetorical discourse analysis perspective. Thus, from this novelty, our present study is significant and original.
- The findings that this analytical research will help us gain insights into the rhetorical preferences of the former British Prime Minister.
- It is an original topic of research in our Department of English at the University of Bejaia. Thus, it is a significant Master Thesis.

6. Outline of the Thesis

This thesis is organised into two main chapters prefaced by a general introduction and followed by a general conclusion. The general introduction seeks to introduce our present study. It covers the questions, the assumptions, the objectives and the significance of our present research. The first chapter is purely theoretical; in fact, it provides a theoretical foundation for our study. Hence, this first chapter contains four sections that provide insights into our field of investigation along with a combination of previous studies related to our research topic. In other words, it introduces the field of discourse studies and rhetorical

analysis since our aim is to analyse David Cameron speech from a Rhetorical Discourse Perspective.

Also, this chapter describes the rhetorical theories accounted for in this analytical research that are Bitzer's Rhetorical Situation Theory (1968), and the four Aristotelian Appeals or means of persuasion: logos, ethos, pathos and kairos. Additionally, Chapter one reviews the previous studies undertaken in the field of rhetorical analysis of political speeches. The second chapter is organised into three sections. The first section explains the research methods and study design adopted in this research and gives a description of the selected corpus. The second section contains the analysis and discussion of our selected speech in which we have applied the two accounted theories mentioned above to examine the rhetorical situation of the Bloomberg speech, and the rhetorical strategies employed by Cameron to construct this persuasiveness. Also, the second section contains a synthesis of our findings. In the third section, we have concluded this chapter with the conclusion of the study, the limitations we have encountered, and suggestions for further studies. As far as the general conclusion is concerned, we have summarised our study, presented the main findings, and attempted to give a panoramic view of our research.

Chapter One: Theoretical Background

Our present paper is a rhetorical discourse analysis of the Bloomberg speech delivered by the former British Prime Minister David Cameron in the year of 2013. In this respect, this chapter presents a theoretical basis for our analytical research. Thus, we have divided this chapter into four main sections. The first section introduces the field of discourse studies. Then, the second section is an introduction to rhetoric and rhetorical analysis. Also, the third section explores the two main models of rhetorical analysis adopted in this study. Finally, the fourth section reviews selected previous studies undertaken in the field of rhetorical analysis.

Section One: An Introduction to Discourse and Discourse Studies

In this section, we have reviewed the theoretical background of discourse studies. Indeed, it presents the main notions found in discourse analysis.

1.1 Defining Discourse

The interdisciplinary use of the term discourse made it obvious that this term is attributed a wide range of interpretations from different perspectives. Accordingly, Hyland and Paltridge (2011) claim that *“because language is connected to almost everything that goes in the world, discourse is something of an overloaded term, covering a range of meanings”* (p.01). In fact, discourse assumes different meanings in different contexts of use. However, the generally broadcasted interpretations of this term are either: 1)- Language above the sentence level, or 2)-Language use in social contexts. In attempting to define what is meant by discourse and discourse analysis, we restrict ourselves to the field of Language Studies (Linguistics), no reference to other domains’ interpretations of discourse is made (i.e., other disciplines such as Sociology or Cognitive Psychology which use this notion of discourse in their respective studies). Even in the same field of study, discourse seems to be understood in different ways. Besides, our attempting interpretations of discourse are derived from three main linguistic perspectives:

- ✓ Structural Linguistic perspective.
- ✓ Sociolinguistic perspective.
- ✓ Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) perspective.

From a structural standpoint, discourse is regarded as a unit of language above or larger than a sentence or clause (Stubbs, 1983, p.01). Indeed, structural linguists regard discourse

at the boundaries of grammar and syntax; that is, they do not go beyond the grammatical and syntactic structures of discourse.

In another hand, the Sociolinguistic view of discourse differs from the structural one for two main reasons. First, because sociolinguists make a connection between discourse and meaning; in other words, from a sociolinguistic point of view, discourse has a meaning. Accordingly, Halliday and Hassan (1976) assert that discourse is “*a semantic unit, a unit not of form but of meaning*” (p.2). Second, sociolinguists make a connection between discourse and society. The term sociolinguistics is generally used to refer to the act of “*investigating the interaction of language and society*” (Ball, 2010, p.2). In fact, sociolinguists attribute a social dimension to discourse which is interpreted as an instance of language use in social and cultural contexts. On that account, Van Dijk and Kintsch (1983) assert that “*discourse is functional in the social context*” (pp.6-7).

Not so far from the sociolinguistic standpoint, the CDA perspective also associates discourse to society in the sense that critical discourse analysts regard it as an instance of social practice (Fairclough, 1992, p.63). By social practice Fairclough (1992) means that discourse is a mode of action through which people can act upon the world or society and represent social reality (p.63). Representing social reality implies representing social issues and inequalities. Accordingly, Jorgensen and Philips (2002) suggest that discourse “*contributes to the creation and reproduction of unequal power relations between social groups, for example, between social classes, women and men, ethnic minorities and the majority*” (p.63). In short, social inequalities are represented in discourse. Furthermore, what distinguishes the CDA interpretation of discourse from the two previous perspectives is the ideological dimension that critical discourse analysts attribute to discourse. Besides, they view discourse as a means to express and convey ideologies and beliefs, this is what Van Dijk (1995) referred to as ideological discourse (p.255). Besides, he states that ideological discourse “*explains how speakers and writers of specific ideologies will tend to exhibit these in discourse*” (p.255). That is to say, people have different ideologies and tend to represent them in and through discourse.

It's worth mentioning too that discourse denotes also a certain type of language used among a particular institution (Fairclough, 1992, p.5). That is, a discourse can refer to a particular language use in a specific context. In this sense, the notion of discourse is somehow similar with the notion of genre.

Furthermore, one cannot speak of discourse without reviewing how Fairclough (1992) interprets this term. Accordingly, Fairclough (1992) uses the term discursive event to denote “any instance of discourse” which he regards as a form of social practice (p.4). Besides, Fairclough (1992) asserts that there is a dialectical relationship between discourse and society or social structures (p.64). In accordance, Macmillan Dictionary (2018) defines the term dialectic as the way in which two distinct things coexist together or affect each other. Thus, Fairclough (1992) suggests that discourse and society have an influence on each other; and this makes discourse both socially constituted and socially constitutive (p.64). In one hand, discourse is socially constituted in the sense that social classes, norms and conventions, and social institutions and domains shape or impact upon discourse; in another hand, discourse is socially constitutive since it shapes society in the sense that social reality is represented through and in discourse (Fairclough, 1992, p.64).

1.2 Defining Discourse Analysis

Before defining discourse studies, we believe that it is important to review in brief the history of this field of study.

Hence, discourse studies or discourse analysis (DA) is a new cross-discipline that gained interest in a wide range of disciplines in the humanities and social sciences (such as sociology, anthropology, cognitive psychology and so on). In fact, after the linguistic turn led by Michel Foucault in the early twentieth century, language extended beyond the fields of linguistics and literature to embrace other disciplines (Lemke, 2012, p.80). Thus, DA came to influence over other scientific disciplines. Indeed, other non-linguistic centered domains began to analyze texts and take textual data as their focal point in order to learn about their respective subjects of research (Lemke, 2012, p.80). Before the linguistic turn in social sciences, DA was restricted to linguistic analysis or what Van Dijk and Kintsch (1983) referred to as “*text linguistics*” (p.2). That is to say, linguists did not look beyond the boundaries of the sentence structure, grammar and stylistics (Van Dijk & Kintsch, 1983, p.2). Obviously, this linguistic turn granted discourse analysis with a multidisciplinary dimension which is its most eminent feature.

Discourse studies can be said to date back to the classical period and rhetoric. Indeed, classical rhetoricians like the Greek philosopher Aristotle studied the principles and rules that govern public speeches in ancient times and came up with models for text analysis (Van Dijk & Kintsch, 1983, p.1). But serious interests in DA started with the Prague School (1926)

of functional and structural linguistics and their theory of functional sentence that suggests that language performs functions in the process of communication (Mithun, 2015, p.11). Furthermore, Harris' article entitled "Discourse Analysis" (1952) and Mitchell's work "Buying and Selling in Cyrenaica" (1957) are believed to be the two earlier attempts to analyze discourse (Coulthard, 2014, p.3).

Any reflection on how DA can be defined gives rise to a controversial debate among scholars. Along with discourse, DA has been defined in a number of ways and from a number of perspectives, depending on how that perspective regards discourse in itself. Many scholars from a range of scientific disciplines have opted for a more discourse analytical orientation in their researches; therefore, many of them have tried to define DA. In fact, this explains the wide range of definitions and interpretations associated to this new cross-discipline. Thus, we have attempted to review how scholars within the field of language studies regard DA.

From a formal approach, DA is defined as "*attempts to study the organization of language above the sentence, or above the clause, and therefore to study larger linguistic units, such as conversational exchanges or written texts*" (Stubbs, 1983, p.1). This definition suggested by Stubbs (1983) belongs to the traditional view that describes DA as the study of written or spoken texts at the boundaries of the sentence structure. It means that DA is interested in the structure or the linguistic characteristic of the discourse. However, Stubbs' definition (1983) is strongly criticised by Widdowson (2004) who describes it as an unsatisfactory definition since it is not clear whether this analysis is at the boundaries of the sentence or the clause (p.1). In fact, in this definition Stubbs (1983) uses the two terms sentence and clause to refer to the same linguistic unit.

However, functional linguists claim that DA should not be narrowed to the description of linguistic structures since it is primarily an analysis of language in use (Brown & Yule, 1983, p.1). Indeed, functional linguists assert that language performs a set of functions. That is, when people use language they use it for a purpose. Accordingly, Brown and Yule (1983) assert that "*the analysis of discourse is necessarily, the analysis of language in use. As such, it cannot be restricted to the description of linguistic forms independent of functions which those forms are designed to serve in human affairs*" (p.1). That is to say, DA is not just a matter of pointing out the linguistic features of discourse; in fact, the functionality and the what for language is used should be taken into consideration when undertaking such an analysis. Keeping in the same view of DA as an analysis of language in use rather than just a matter of linguistic description, sociolinguists view DA as the study of "*discursive activity*

within social sittings” (Gee and Green, 1998, p.11). In other words, DA is the analysis of language use in its social environment or context.

Furthermore, from a critical point of view, critical discourse analysts view discourse studies as the study of the bi-directional relationship between discourse and social institutions and structures (Fairclough, 1992, p.64). In other words, they view it as the analysis of how social reality (such as social inequalities, relations of power and social identities) is represented through discourse. Accordingly, Fairclough (1992) views discourse studies as a three-dimensional analysis that involves the analysis of the text, the analysis of the discursive practice (the process of text production and interpretation), and the analysis of the social practice (the social context in which the discourse is generated) (p.4). In this same critical perspective, Van Dijk (1995) regards discourse as an ideological analysis that *“functions to persuasively help construct new and confirm already present ideologies”* (p.22). That is to say, DA aims at pointing out the discursive structures that indicates the presence of opinions, perspectives, positions, and so on.

Accordingly, Paltridge (2008) summarised all what have been said about DA as follows:

“Discourse analysis focuses on knowledge about language beyond the word, clause, phrase and sentence that is needed for successful communication. It looks at patterns of language across texts and considers the relationship between language and the social and cultural contexts in which it is used. Discourse analysis also considers the ways that the use of language presents different views of the world and different understandings. It examines how the use of language is influenced by relationships between participants as well as the effects the use of language has upon social identities and relations. It also considers how views of the world and identities, are constructed through the use of discourse” (p.2).

Recently, contemporary linguists regard DA from another perspective. Besides, they expand the analysis of language to the study of language in combination with paralinguistic resources referred to as semiotic resources such as images, gestures, music, and so on (O’Halloran, 2011, p.121). That is to say, according to contemporary researchers, DA is also interested in analysing the paralinguistic elements that surround the discourse.

1.3 Approaches to Discourse Studies

1.3.1 Conversation Analysis (CA)

Perhaps, the most familiar approach to discourse studies is conversation analysis or CA. Associated with the works of Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson in the early 1960s, CA is an approach to the study of or naturally occurring talk in interaction (Taylor, 2013, pp.11-12). Besides, CA takes its origin in the field of sociology in that it follows the principles of Ethnomethodology “*which looks at people’s ways of making sense of the everyday social world*” (Wilkinson & Kitzinger, 2011, p.23). In fact, CA tends to focus on the social interaction between people in everyday life in order to understand social life. Fairclough (1992) asserts that CA focuses on informal conversations such as telephone conversations (p.17). However, Clayman and Gill (2012) don’t agree with this point, they claim that conversation analysts are interested in any type of interaction either formal or informal conversations, or either face to face or recorded conversation such as telephone conversation or video conference (p.120). Furthermore, CA is also interested in studying conversations in specific contexts such as hospitals, courts and classrooms (Wilkinson & Kitzinger, 2011, p.22).

Additionally, CA is not interested in what people say when they are conversing, it rather gives major insights on what people do with talk in their everyday life conversations (Wilkinson & Kitzinger, 2011, p.22). That is, CA is interested in how people use language to perform some functions such as apologizing, complaining, complementing, and so on.

It is worth mentioning that conversation analysts such as Sacks (1974) made an influential contribution in formulating rules for various aspects of conversation and interaction (as cited in Wilkinson & Kitzinger, 2011, p.23). Indeed, Schegloff and Jefferson (1974) got interested in how people get to take turn in conversation and ended up with rules for “TurnTaking” (as cited in Fairclough, 1992, p.17). Another important contribution that conversation analysts made is exploring the domain of direct interaction between people and the formulation of “The Interaction Order Theory” suggested by Erving Goffman in 1983 (as cited in Clayman & Gill, 2012, p.120). Also, CA gave rise to rules for the sequencing of actions in interaction, conversation openings and closings (Fairclough, 1992, p. 18).

It is also important to mention that Sacks (1974) set two main features that constitute the data analysed by conversation analysts. The first feature is that data are “*naturally occurring rather than research-generated*” (as cited in Wilkinson & Kitzinger, 2011, p.23).

This means that CA takes real-time data for analysis. The second feature is that data are recorded (as cited in Wilkinson & Kintzinger, 2011, p.23). Indeed, the emergence of the audio recording technology at that time allowed the researcher to audio-record and video-record authentic verbal and non-verbal conversations and made it possible to playback conversations when necessary for a more rigorous and detailed analysis (Clayman & Gill, 2012, p.122).

1.3.2 Historical Discourse Analysis

Historical Discourse Analysis or HDA is an approach to DA that is concerned with the study of discourse in earlier times. The main factor behind the emergence of such an approach is that DA used to analyse naturally occurring conversations; but, the lack of oral texts from past times made it inevitable to develop a diachronic approach to DA in order to explore discourse structures in earlier times (Brinton, 2015, p.223). Also, the emergence of HDA is associated with the works of Brinton (1996), the inauguration of the “Journal of Historical Pragmatics” in the 2000s and with the publication of “The Handbook of Historical Pragmatics” by Jucker and Taavitsainen in the year of 2010 (as cited in Brinton, 2015, p. 222). Furthermore, many nominations have been attributed to this approach. For instance, Historical Discourse Analysis, Diachronic Textlinguistics, Historical Textlinguistics and Historical Pragmatics are some of the earliest appellations of HDA (Brinton, 2001, p.138).

Brinton (2001) claims that HDA can be approached from two different perspectives stating that *“As a cross-disciplinary field, Historical Discourse Analysis maybe approached from two directions; that is, by taking a discourse-pragmatic perspective on historical linguistics or by taking a historical perspective on discourse/pragmatics”*(p.224). That is to say, from a discourse-pragmatic perspective on historical linguistics one might talk of “Historical Discourse Analysis Proper”; while from a historical perspective on discourse/pragmatic one can refer to “diachronically oriented discourse analysis” (Brinton, 2001, p.140).

In one hand, Historical Discourse Analysis Proper is defined as the study of the history of a language and language at a particular historical period of its development through the analysis of older texts. In this respect, Brinton (2001) defined it as follows:

“it is the study of discourse forms, functions, or structures- that is, whatever is encompassed by discourse analysis ... in earlier periods of a language. The intention of the discourse analyst is focused on historical stages of a language, yet the emphasis remains on discourse structure” (p.139).

In another hand, diachronically oriented discourse analysis deals with the changes that occur at the level of discourse structures over time. Accordingly, Brinton regards it as a synthesis of discourse and diachrony and defines it as follows:

“It involves a study of the changes in discourse marking, functions, and structures over time. That is, discourse structure is treated on par with phonological, morphological, syntactic, and semantic structure as something which changes and develops over time, so that one might legitimately talk of discourse (al) change as well as, for example, phonological change” (p.140).

Apart from these two approaches, Brinton (2001) suggests a third possible approach to historical discourse analysis which is referred to as “Discourse-oriented Historical Linguistics” that attempts to clarify some diachronic changes in language through identifying the potential discourse-pragmatic features that may lead to these language changes over time (p.140). Thus, Brinton (2001) describes “discourse-oriented historical linguistics” as:

“The study of discourse-pragmatic factors in language change or of the discourse motivations behind diachronic changes, whether phonological, morphological, syntactic, or semantic. The attention of the historical linguist is focused on discourse matters, yet the emphasis remains on language change” (p.140).

1.3.3 Interactional Sociolinguistics

With the birth of discourse analysis, many scholars show interests in the analysis of language use within interaction. Along with conversation analysis, Interactional Sociolinguistics or IS is also influenced by the Social Constructionist standpoint; therefore, its approach to DA is from a “*Macro-social viewpoint*” (Jasper, 2012, p.141). That is, IS is interested in examining how people use language in their everyday interactions. Also, IS takes its origin in a wide a ray of disciplines such as Conversation Analysis, Dialectology, Ethnomethodology, Pragmatics, Linguistic Anthropology and Sociology (Jasper, 2012, p.135).

IS analysis gives considerable insights on how language users tend to express themselves in everyday conversations and how miscommunication can have a negative impact on social relationships (Gumperz, 2001, p.215). In this respect, Gumperz (2001) described IS as follows:

“IS analysis therefore concentrates on speech exchanges involving two or more actors as its main object of the study. The aim is to show how individuals participating in such exchanges use to achieve their communicative goals in real life situations by

concentrating on the meaning making processes and the taken-for-granted background assumptions that underlie the negotiation of shared interpretations” (p.218).

According to Jasper (2012), IS holds the view that language users deliver incomplete talk (p.135). That is, when they converse, language users do not say all what they intend to say; in fact, they leave some talk unexpressed which most of the time leads to confusion or misunderstanding (Jaspers, 2012, p.135). Besides, Jaspers (2012) explains that some talk remains unsaid because interactants rely on one another to make a sense of, or infer, what is intended to be expressed (p.135). To say it in other ways, speakers envisage that listeners are able to relate what is said to the social context in which they are involved in ; this knowledge of the contextual situation in which the language actors are involved is referred to as “*extra communicative knowledge*” (Jaspers, 2012, p.135) . Indeed, SI analysts believe that in order to make communication successful, one should make sense of the contextual situation in which the interaction occurs. According to Jasper (2012), contextualization of the conversation will avoid vagueness, misinterpretation and misunderstanding in conversations (p.136). Hence, by the word “contextualization”, Jasper (2012) means “*finding out what unstated extracommunication knowledge contributes to or disambiguate the meaning of what is said..., or (re) negotiating the relevant context*” (Jasper, 2012, p.136). That is, contextualization means to add extra-communication information to the conversation in order to bring clarity to what has been said. Also, the word contextualization means to make the conversation fit the context in which the interactants are involved.

IS analysts claim that words imply indexical meanings in specific contexts that should be taken into consideration in any attempt to interpret talk (Jasper, 2012, p. 137). Accordingly, Jaspers (2012) asserts that “*we need to look at what indexical meanings are implied by the words in a particular context rather than only at the words themselves*” (p.136). Moreover, IS analysts put an emphasis on the idea that talk is conventional (Jasper, 2012, p.138). Hence, in a conversation between two language users, a miscommunication or misunderstanding is more probable to occur when the interlocutors come from different cultural backgrounds and societies. That is, talk is learned within society and through Socialization (Jasper, 2012, pp.138-139). In fact, the social meaning or indexical meaning attributed to words and talk differs from a society to another, some words are considered to be taboo or stereotype in some cultures while they are part of daily conversations in others. Thus, “*Stereotypification*”, which differs from a society to another, may also lead to misinterpretation and communication to fail (Jasper; 2012, p.138).

1.3.4 Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)

CDA emerged from the field of Critical Linguistics which is concerned with highlighting the role of ideology and power relations in language use (Flowerdew and Richardson, 2018, p.1). However, it also takes some of its insights from other disciplines such as sociolinguistics, social sciences and psychology (Van Dijk, 2001, p.352). That is, CDA is an interdisciplinary approach. Indeed, critical discourse analysts regard CDA as “*a group of varying approaches each with distinct, but also overlapping methods*” (Flowerdew & Richardson, 2018, p.2). It means that there are many approaches to CDA itself that consist of a combination between linguistics and other disciplines. For example the socio-cognitive approach developed by Van Dijk and the dialectical-relational approach suggested by Fairclough are both approaches to CDA that combine different approaches to construct one approach (Flowerdew & Richardson, 2018, p.2). Moreover, CDA is a critical approach to discourse studies that is mainly concerned with the relationship between discourse and social concepts like ideologies, power relations, and social identities and how these social concepts are implemented in and conveyed through discourse. Accordingly, Van Dijk (2015) gave the following interpretation to CDA:

“Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is a discourse analytical research that primarily studies the way social power, abuse and inequality are enacted, reproduced, legitimated, and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context ... critical discourse analysts take an explicit position and thus want to understand, expose, and ultimately challenge social inequality” (p.466).

As it was already mentioned above, Fairclough (1992) claimed that there is a dialectical relationship between discourse and social structures which implies that discourse affects society and society in its turn affects discourse. Therefore, one central insight in CDA is to relate the micro levels of the society (which involve language, discourse and communication), with its macro levels (which involve these notions of power, ideology dominance and so on) (Van Dijk, 2001, p.354). Indeed, CDA claims that social structures can be studied through the analysis of discourse (Flowerdew & Richardson, 2018, p.2). Thus, CD analysts brought social analysis into language studies to end up with an approach that combines between a linguistic analysis, and a social analysis of discourse. A further central insight of critical discourse studies is on the constitutive and constituted nature of discourse. As we have explained above, CDA views that discourse is at the same time shaped by and shapes society and its various structures.

Yet, research in CDA touches various fields and genres of discourse. However, CDA practitioners mainly investigate gender inequalities in feminist discourse, power relations in media discourse, and political ideologies, racism and sexism in political discourse (Van Dijk, 2001, pp.359-360).

It is also important to mention that Michel Foucault's reflections on discourse have crucially contributed in the emergence and development of CDA (Fairclough, 1992, p. In fact, many of the CDA views on the nature on discourse are inspired by Foucault's view, and many of Foucault's ideas are implemented in CDA (Fairclough, 1992, p.56). Hence, on one hand, Fairclough (1992) summarized the main points on discourse discussed by Foucault as follows:

- The constitutive nature of discourse, discourse constitutes the social, including "objects" and social objects.
- The discursive nature of power, the practices of power are to a significant degree discursive.
- The political nature of discourse.
- The discursive nature of social change (p.56).

Yet, on the other hand, these are the main tenets of CDA as suggested by Fairclough and Wodak (1997):

- CDA addresses social problems.
- Power relations are discursive.
- Discourse constitutes society and culture.
- Discourse does ideological work.
- Discourse is historical.
- The link between text and society is mediated.
- Discourse analysis is interpretive and explanatory.
- Discourse is a form of social action. (as cited in Van Dijk, 2015, p.467).

Obviously, all Foucault's perspectives on the nature of discourse have been adopted by the CDA practitioners.

One central notion in CDA is the notion of power and the relationship between power and discourse. Van Dijk (2015) defines power in terms of control (p469). Indeed, he asserts that a group of people have more or less power when they can exert more or less control on the minds and actions of another group of people (p.469). So, critical discourse analysts like

Fairclough and Van Dijk attempt to draw a link between discourse and power. They believe that dominant people (those who have control on other people), may exercise power over controlled people (those who are controlled by others) through what it is referred to as “social resources” (Van Dijk, 2015, p.469). In fact, according to Van Dijk (2015), people get control through social resources like their money, force, information, knowledge, culture or through public speeches and communication (Van Dijk, 2015, p.469). So, exercising power is not just a matter of physical force, having a control or an access to specific types of discourses is a power resource through which, people can exercise power. Accordingly, Van Dijk (2015) suggests that controlling discourse paves the way for controlling people’s minds, ideologies, and intentions, and thus, their plans, attitudes and actions (p.470). However, in order to exercise power through discourse, one should control the text and context of the discourse (Van Dijk, 2015, p. 470). Accordingly, Van Dijk (2015) explains that controlling the text implies controlling the textual structures of the text (such as control on lexical choices, rhetorical devices and so on), while controlling the context of the discourse implies to control over the setting of the discourse (time and place), the participant’s backgrounds, and goals and implications of that discourse (Van Dijk, 2015, pp.471).

Another important notion in CDA is the notion of ideology and its relation to discourse. Van Dijk (2000) used the term ideology to refer to the social, political and religious thoughts and beliefs shared by a group of people and social movements that guide them in the way they look at and interpret what happens around them (p.7). Besides, Discourse and ideology (like other social structures) are believed to have dialectical relationship, which means that ideologies influence upon discourse, and discourse influence on how ideologies are acquired, learned and changed through discourse. In this respect, Van Dijk (2000) claims that discourse expresses mainly the ideologies and opinions of the speaker (p. 9). Also, he adds that people learn the majority of their ideological ideas through reading and listening to people (p.9). Moreover, the study of ideologies is a three-dimensional study in that it involves a discourse, social and cognitive analyses. That is to say, a discourse study of the text and talk, a social study of the socio-cultural, political and historical context of the ideologies, and a cognitive analysis of the mental aspect of ideologies (Van Dijk, 2000, pp.9-10). Accordingly, Van Dijk (2000) identifies two types of ideologies: a positive and a negative aspect of the term ideology. Positive ideologies denote those ideologies that are against social inequalities and dominance, while negative ideologies are those ideologies dominant people like politicians try to spread in order to achieve their personal goals (pp.7-8).

1.3.5 Ethnography of Communication

Ethnography of communication is an approach that emerged from the combination of ethnography which describes and analyses culture, and linguistics which describes and analyses language (Smart, 2012, p.151). That is, it studies how language is used in its socio-cultural context. Developed by the linguist and anthropologist Dell Hymes in the 1960s and 1970s, ethnography of communication studies the rules of speaking that govern the communication of particular speech communities. Accordingly, Smart (2012) defined ethnography of communication as “*a methodology that enables a researcher to explore the distinct configuration of verbal routines, conventions, and genres that structures communication within any given social group*” (p.151). Also, ethnography of communication gives insights on the analysis of speech acts and events that characterizes a particular social group (Smart, 2012, p.151). In other words, it investigates the speech features that are specific to particular social groups.

1.3.6 Rhetorical Discourse Analysis

The present paper seeks to analyse Cameron’s Bloomberg speech from a rhetorical discourse analysis perspective. That is to say, the rhetorical discourse perspective is the core of our analytical research. In this regard, the present approach will be discussed in the second section of this theoretical chapter.

1.4 Discourse and Text

Many scholars use the two terms text and discourse synonymously to mean that linguistic unit which goes beyond the sentence. Indeed, they find it of little interest to make a distinction between these two concepts. Thus, Stubbs (1983) is one of these scholars who stand indifferent concerning a possible difference between these two notions. In fact, he uses them both to refer to language above the sentence. Accordingly, Widdowson (2004) asserts that Stubbs (1983) distinguished text from discourse at the level of length and channel (p.5). Indeed, he asserts that for Stubbs first discourse implies length while text may be very short, and second discourse is spoken while text is written (p.5). But not all scholars make an indiscriminating use of these two notions. In fact, Widdowson (2004, 2007) made a clear distinction between these two concepts text and discourse.

Widdowson (2007) regards text as a language use generated for the purpose of communication or what he referred to as “*social intention*” (p.4). This view suggests that we

consider a piece of language as a text when it intends to communicate an idea to people. Also, Widdowson (2004) strongly criticized the standpoint of Stubbs (1983) who regards text as language above the sentence. In fact, Widdowson asserts that the textuality of a text is not conditioned by its length but by its social intent (p.7). In order to support his point of view, Widdowson (2004) gives the example of the public notice P which he considered as a text, or what he called minimal-text (p.7). In fact, he explains that P is a text since it intends to communicate an idea which is that parking is allowed in that place (p.7). Moreover, Widdowson (2007) suggests that some texts have a simplified form that doesn't go beyond the sentence level and such texts have a clear social purpose or intention (p.6). However, it's not the case for all texts. Indeed, he states that those texts that imply length, have more complex forms, and serve "a range of social purposes which are combined in a complex way" are discourses (p.6). That is, text is short and communicates a simple social intent, while discourse is lengthy and serves complex social purposes.

In addition to this, Widdowson (2007) explains that discourse is a pragmatic process that involves text production and interpretation, speaker/listener or writer/reader interaction, and meaning negotiation (p.6). While a text is a fugitive linguistic trace, with no meaning, used to mediate meaning through and across discourse (pp. 6-7). That is, text is just a part of the process of discourse. This perspective of text as a part of discourse is shared by Fairclough (1992) who suggests that discourse is an interactional process constituted of three dimensions; text is one of these three dimensions (3). Accordingly, Schiffrin (1994) made the following distinction between text and discourse:

"I will use the term "text" to differentiate linguistic material (e.g. what is said, assuming a verbal channel) from the environment in which "sayings" (or other linguistic production) occur (context). In terms of utterances, then text is the linguistic content: the stable semantic meanings of words, expressions, and sentences, but not the inferences available to hearers depending upon the contexts in which words, expressions, and sentences are used (...) Context is thus a word filled with people producing utterances: people who have social, cultural, and personal identities, beliefs, goals and wants, and who interact with one another in various socially and culturally defined situations"(p. 363).

To make it short, text is a linguistic material while discourse involves the text (as a linguistic content) and the context in which it is generated.

This distinction between the two terms text and discourse brings another marked distinction into line which is the distinction between text linguistics and discourse analysis.

Discourse analysis is the study of discourse, since discourse is viewed as text and context, so discourse analysis is the study of text and context (Schiffrin, 1994, p. 363). Thus, one concern of discourse studies is language use (discourse) in its socio-cultural context. In another hand, text linguistics is more close to the formal structuralist tradition which analyses text at the boundaries of structure grammar and stylistics, without any reference to the context of the text (Van Dijk & Kintsch, 1983, p.2). That is, discourse analysts go beyond grammar or stylistics to associate linguistic or text analysis with social analysis. Based on this, one may assume that text analysis, just like text, is a part of discourse analysis.

1.5 Political Discourse

Aristotle's view of man as a political animal challenged some scholars to think of a possible link between language and politics; in fact, Aristotle states that man is by nature a political animal who lives in a community governed by values, laws and traditions (as cited in Chilton, 2004, p.4). Besides, this man is gifted first by reason which allows him to set apart the good from the bad or the just from the unjust, and second by the capacity of speech which enables him to communicate what he believes to be good or bad (Chilton, 2004, pp.4-5). These reflections on man are credited to be the starting point of the idea that language and politics have a potential relationship. Accordingly, Chilton (2004) shed light on this link stating that politics doesn't exist without the use of language (p.6), inasmuch as *"Only in and through language can one issue commands and threats, ask questions, make offers and promises...And only through language tied into social and political institutions can one declare war, declare guilty or not guilty, prorogue parliaments, or raise or lower taxes"* (p.30). That is to say, that doing politics is via language. This view fits the idea developed by Wodak (2012) that *"all organizational forms can be translated into language and communication"; based on this one can assume that politics, which is a form of organization and activity can be translated into language"* (p.528). This implies that politics is discursive. In fact, Van Dijk (1997) asserts that most political actions and decisions are discursive in the sense that they are either under the form of text or talk referred to political discourse (p.18).

Research on the association between language and politics began in the late 1940s with the works of George Orwell (1949) which significantly contributed to the emergence and development of the field of language and politics, which has as subject of study political language (Wodak, 2012, p.527). Later on, political linguistics was established as an attempt to study political discourse (Wodak, 2012, p.527).

Political discourse or PD is a type or form of discourse which is widely regarded as *“the text and talk of professional politicians or political institutions such as president and prime minister and other members of government, parliament or political parties, both at the local, national and international levels”* (Van Dijk, 1997, p.12). In other words, political discourse denotes the discourse of politicians who exercise political activities. However, according to Van Dijk (1997), such definition of PD is insufficient and unsatisfactory because it is restricted to the principle actors of a political activity (i.e., politicians) (p.13). In fact, usually, we use the term political discourse to refer to that discourse associated to political leaders; but this is not actually the case. Indeed, it is not only politicians who take part in a political discourse, but citizens, voters, dissidents, protestants and all those people who participate in a active or passive way in political events are also involved in political discourse (Van Dijk, 1997, p.13). For example, a protestant’s talk about a political issue is an instance of political discourse. Thus, PD should not be limited to politicians; that is to say, it should be extended to the other people who take part in that political action. Furthermore, Van Dijk (1997) explains that we recognise a person as a participant of a political discourse, if the person is involved in a political activity such as governing, ruling, legislating, protesting, or voting (p.14). That is to say, people are considered as political discourse participants when they perform a political action. In short, PD is a talk or text which is generated in a political context that involves participants and actions as its fundamental elements (Van Dijk, 1997, p.14). That is, a discourse is considered as political when it is generated by political actors who perform a political activity of any genre.

Similarly, Wilson (2001) sheds light on the ambiguous nature of the term Political Discourse. According to him, ambiguity comes out when the definition attributed to politics is associated to general concepts like ideology, power, conflict, control or domination, because these concepts are to be found in almost all types of discourses which implies that all discourses are political (p.398). Also, Wilson (2001) gives the example of Diamond (1995) who described her work, on psychotherapeutic training institutional and educational levels, as being political for the reason that issues of power and domination figure out in her research (p. 398). To stay away from this ambiguity, Wilson (2001) suggests restricting the concerns of PD to what follows:

“Formal/informal political contexts and political actors ...; with, that is,inter alia, politicians, political institutions, government, political media, and political supporters operating in political environments toachieve political goals. This first approximation

makes clearer the kinds of limits we might place on thinking about political discourse” (p.398).

Furthermore, some scholars speak of many genres of PD to denote all what can be carried in the scope of PD including : political speeches of all kinds, televised interviews with politicians, reports on political events in the press, leaflets, slangs of political parties on street, logos of political campaign (Wodak, 2012, p.525). Moreover, Liebes and Ribak (1991) go beyond when they assert that even the family talk about a political event can be regarded as an instance of PD (as cited in Wilson, 2015, p.775).

Additionally, PD treats purely political issues like policies, political ideologies, political institutions and events, elections, campaign, but also social issues such as immigration policies, minorities, political debates on education, health care, economy, drugs, crime and so on and so forth (Van Dijk, 1997, pp.25-26). That is to say, the topics addressed in PD are not limited to purely political issues. Indeed, it is also associated to social issues. For instance, the US president Trump’s speech on the economic circumstances in the US is a political discourse.

1.6 The Role of Context in Discourse Analysis

In the area of discourse studies, the term context is generally used to denote the environment or the situation in which the discourse or what Malinowski (1923) calls “*code*” occurs (as cited in Widdowson, 2004, p. 37). Malinowski asserts that context shows the way code functions in different contexts and that the interpretation of a word meaning depends on its context of use (Widdowson, 2004, p. 37). That is to say, the word is meaningless if it is isolated from its context. Besides, the interpretation of context as related to the situation in which discourse is generated is what Widdowson (2007) refers to as physical context (p.20). Indeed, physical context refers to the time and the place, when and where, the discourse is produced (p.20). Widdowson agreed with the fact that people make sense of what is said to them when they relate what is said (the language) to the physical situation where they are involved (p.20). However, according to him, context does not only denote the place and time of the discursive activity but also the shared knowledge of the two persons who are conversing (p.20). In fact, according to Widdowson (2007), context “*is not what is perceived in a particular situation, but what is conceived as relevant, and situational factors may have no relevance at all*” (p.21). Better put, context is what the language users judge as relevant to what is being discussed, it can be related to the physical situation as it can be independent of it.

It is worth to mention context in our research because it is argued that context plays a significant role in discourse studies. According to Song (2010), the first role of context in DA is that it eliminates ambiguity and indicates what is meant by a word or a sentence (p.877). In other words, the primary role of context is to bring clarity and lucidness to words or sentences. For example, this sentence “I saw a man on a hill with a telescope” may be attributed two interpretations:1)-I saw a man on the hill with my telescope or, 2)-I saw a man using a telescope on the hill. In fact sometimes, we cannot catch the meaning of a sentence or a word because it may have many alternative meanings like the example we have cited above. Relating this sentence to its context of use allows the understanding of what is exactly meant by this sentence. The second role context plays in DA is to indicate what words refer to in a discourse (Song, 2010, p.877). For instance, in the sentence “take the radio out of the car and fix it”, it is not clear to which item the personal pronoun it refers to. A contextualization of this sentence will make it clearer what is going to be fixed the radio or the car. Thus, taking into consideration the context in which a discourse is generated, is really important in the analysis of discourse.

Section Two: Rhetoric and Rhetorical Discourse Analysis

The present section seeks to provide the theoretical foundation of rhetoric and rhetorical analysis which is the approach we have adopted in this research. Since the present research is a rhetorical discourse study of the Bloomberg speech delivered by David Cameron, we find it of importance to give insights on what rhetoric refers to before tackling what is meant by rhetorical analysis. In that account, all over this research, we have adopted Aristotle’s perception of rhetoric as an art of persuasion.

1.7 Rhetoric

The familiar usage of the term rhetoric has to do with the art of persuasive speaking. Thus, rhetoric is the artful exploitation of words in order to cause people to change their standpoint so that they join the speaker’s opinion and become mediators of change (Bitzer, 1968, p.4). Therefore, rhetors design a discourse that aims at exerting an indirect influence on people’s thoughts and actions (Bitzer, 1968, p.4). Indeed, rhetoric is a means for making changes, not through direct actions, but rather through discourse. Accordingly, Bitzer (1968) defines rhetoric as follows:

“Rhetoric is a mode of altering reality, not by the direct application of energy to objects, but by the creation of discourse which changes

reality through the mediation of thought and action. The rhetor alters reality by bringing into existence a discourse of such a character that the audience, in thought and action, is so engaged that it becomes mediator of change. In this sense rhetoric is persuasive.”(p.4).

Aristotle (1356a) defines rhetoric as the ability, in each case, to see the available means of persuasion (as cited in Kennedy, 2007, p.37). Also, Kennedy (2007) explains that [in each case] indicates that rhetoric is employed within specific circumstances; [to see] refers to the ability a rhetor has to observe or to recognise the utility of something; and [the available means of persuasion] refers to what is fundamentally persuasive (p.37). That is, rhetoric is that ability rhetors possess to identify the persuasive instruments that are at disposal in a particular situation, and employ them in order to convince people of a particular position. Since rhetoric is associated with persuasion, it is important to shed light on what the term persuasion implies. Hence, Conger (1998) suggests that persuasion *involves “moving people to a position they don’t currently hold”*. Moreover, he adds that persuasion involves *“careful preparation, the framing of arguments, the presentation of vivid supporting evidence, and the effort to find correct emotional match with your audience”* (p. 86). In other words, persuasion is the act of convincing people to change their position toward a particular topic and adopt another standpoint by putting forward strong arguments that are supported by credible proofs and that fit the emotions of the audience.

At the outset of his rhetoric, Aristotle (2015) refers to rhetoric as the counterpart (*antistrophos*) of dialectic, or part of dialectic (Aristotle, 2015, p.3). Besides, he establishes an affinity between rhetoric and dialectic in that both arts do not belong to any other art or science, and both construct their arguments upon general opinions referred to as *endoxa* (Aristotle, 2015, p.3). That is, both rhetoric and dialectic are concerned with things that all people know. Additionally, Aristotle (1356a) asserts that all people use rhetoric and dialectic but they differ in the way they use them either randomly and accidentally or through practice and habit (as cited in Kennedy, 2007, p.30). However, Rorty (1996) suggests that despite the fact that rhetoric and dialectic share some features in common, that do not belong to any other science, they differ from each other in some properties (p.8). In fact, rhetoric differs from dialectic in that rhetoric is purely practical in the sense that the rhetor tries to persuade an audience to make a decisive judgment, while dialectic involves both theory and practice (Rorty, 1996, p.8).

However, rhetoric is not always equated with the positive connotation of the art of persuasion. Indeed, it is sometimes understood as the opposite of truth. In fact, Cavino & Jolliffe (1995) believe that through rhetoric, speakers or writers misapply language to manipulate the audience or readers in order to serve their own interests (p.4). Besides, they explain that:

“When rhetoric is regarded as the manipulation of the linguistic features of a text, it becomes associated by some with fraud, by others with maintenance of institutional hierarchies. In this connection studying rhetoric means studying how people get fooled, and rhetoric is understood the opposite of truth” (p.4).

Accordingly, Richards (2008) joins this idea when she stated that *“phrases that sound good but express little of a speaker’s or writer’s real beliefs count as rhetoric”* (p.3). From this statement, we understand that for Richards (2008), rhetoric is far from being the art of speaking well, but it is rather a sort of manipulation speakers or writers exert on people. Also, this statement suggests that what rhetors say is not what they really believe in. That is to say, this alludes that rhetors are ready to say any statement, even if they do not believe it to be true, just to move people from their current standpoint to the position that serves the interests of the rhetor.

1.8 Rhetorical Discourse Analysis

Yet, from the above mentioned definitions of rhetoric, it is evident that rhetoric means the art of using language persuasively. Since rhetorical analysis (RA) or rhetorical discourse analysis is the analysis of rhetoric, so one can assume that rhetorical analysis is the study of the persuasive linguistic means used by speakers and writers. In that account, Reisiql (2008) claims that since rhetoric is *“the science and art of persuasive language use”* then RA can be *“to analyze the employment and effects of linguistic (including non-verbal) and other semiotic means of persuasion in rhetorical terms”* (pp.96-97). Thus, RA is a mode of analysis that examines the persuasive devices used by the rhetor to make his speech or text persuasive. Also, RA is interested in exploring the effects of the usage of these persuasive devices on the speech itself, the speaker and the audience. In another hand, Selzer (2003) defines RA as an attempt to understand how people use language within particular social situations to exert an influence upon people (p. 281). That is to say, RA is to look for the ways speakers’ specific language use help them to influence or persuade the audience.

1.9 Political Rhetoric

Since the corpus of the present research is a political speech and since this research gives a special attention at analyzing the rhetorical devices used in this speech, we think that we are concerned with political rhetoric (PR); therefore, we find it central to define what it refers to. However, before defining PR, it is also noteworthy to make the connection between rhetoric and politics.

Hence, rhetoric and politics are traditionally tied in that rhetoric emerged as an art to persuade citizens within the political assemblies of democratic Athens. In fact, in democratic Athens, the public debate was the main political tool through which laws and policies are suggested, defended or rejected, not by official representatives of the government of Athens, but rather by the citizens because the power was placed in the hands of the people (Yunis, 1996, p.12). That is, there were no official politicians in Athens, there were rather rhetors. Rhetors in Athens denote the speakers who contribute in public speaking and address the audience in order to persuade them of what serves their interests and what does not (Yunis, 1996, p.12). In this respect, Yunis (1996) claims that since there were no political figures in Athens, Athenians regarded those rhetors as the political experts of Athens and therefore took them into a position of influence (p.12). In other words, these rhetors were considered as the leaders that advice the Athenians before they make any political or social decision. Also, according to Yunis (1996), a rhetor in democratic Athens requires skills in public speaking in order to persuade the audience; therefore, they concerned themselves with rhetoric and finding *“the kind of public speech that could effectively lead a mass audience toward realizing their best interests”* (p.12). In short, the connection between rhetoric and politics primarily lies in the fact that rhetoric emerged within the political assemblies of Athens.

Moreover, Aristotle’s conception of rhetoric further shows that rhetoric and politics are interrelated. In fact, Aristotle (2015) suggests three varieties of rhetoric one of which is referred to as deliberative or political rhetoric (Aristotle, 2015, p.15; Kennedy, 2007, p.46). Aristotle’s deliberative or political rhetoric addresses an audience of decision-makers and aims at using discourse to advice people of what is advantageous and what is disadvantageous for them. On that account, Yunis (1996) assets that *“deliberative rhetoric attempts to persuade an audience to adopt or reject a course of action that is under consideration”* (p.14). Thus, deliberative rhetoric seeks to persuade people to make decisive decisions and to make them realise the benefits they will have if they adopt the position recommended by the rhetor (Yunis, 1996, p.14). Also, Aristotle (2015) referred to deliberative rhetoric as political

rhetoric (p.15). Indeed, he argues that political rhetor attempts to show how an action can be advantageous (if he wants its acceptance) or harmful (if he wants its rejection) for the audience he is addressing (p.15). Furthermore, according to Rorty (1996), Aristotle distinguished deliberative rhetoric first from epideictic rhetoric which is used in ceremonies to celebrate values and moralities or to condemn wicked behavior and immoralities in present moment, and second from forensic or judicial rhetoric which concerns itself with the court and aims at declaring a suspect guilty or innocent of actions that have been already done in the past (pp.3-4).

Yet, we assume that the close relationship between rhetoric and politics necessarily leads to another association between PD and rhetoric since PD is primarily regarded as the discourse of politicians and political institutions. Accordingly, Wilson (2012) claims that PD is closely related to rhetoric and suggests that this association is, in essence, due to the fact that the term PD is originally used to denote specific forms of persuasion within political assemblies in ancient times (p.775).

Additionally, with Aristotle's classical conception of PR in mind, contemporary scholars regard PR as the different means of persuasion employed in the realm of politics. Accordingly, Reisigl (2008) claims that in order to define PR, we should first define the terms rhetoric and political (p.96). Indeed, he states that if the definition of rhetoric is "*the science and art of persuasive language use*", and if the definition of political is all what politicians do; then, PR will be defined as "*the rhetoric produced by politicians*" (p.97). That is, PR is the rhetorical devices and means of persuasion employed by professional politicians. Another contemporary interpretation looks at PR as the set of strategies employed by public speakers to construct a persuasive argument in public speaking and political disputes (Condor, Tileagà, and Billing, 2013, p.262). In other words, PR denotes the rhetorical strategies public speakers or politicians use to construct a persuasive argument in order to defend a position and persuade the audience or readers to adopt this position. In few words, political rhetoric is the rhetoric used by politicians.

1.10 Rhetoric and Proofs/ Argumentation

The essence of Aristotle's work *On Rhetoric* is how to construct a logical and persuasive argument. In fact, in the same work, Aristotle (1356a) blames his predecessors for having neglected one central point in the art of rhetoric which is the argument or the proof (as cited in Kennedy, 1963, p. 88). Since Aristotle regards rhetoric as the ability to discover the

means of persuasion that exist in any given subject or situation, it goes without saying that a great part of Aristotle work on rhetoric gave a considerable attention to the persuasive proofs or means of persuasion. Also, Aristotle’s rhetoric is characterized by the distinction between two types of proofs *artistic* and *non-artistic* proofs or artificial and inartificial proofs (Kennedy, 1963, p.88).

In fact, Aristotle (1356a) claims the following:

“Of the pisteis, some are atechnic (“non-artistic”), some entech (“embodied in art, artistic”).³⁵ I call atechnic those that are not provided by “us” [i.e., the potential speaker] but are preexisting: for example, witnesses, testimony from torture,³⁶ contracts, and such like; and entechnic whatever can be prepared by method and by “us”; thus one must use the former and invent³⁷ the latter” (as cited in Kennedy, 2007, p. 38).

From the above extract, we assume that the artistic proofs or pisteis denote those proofs that are invented or produced by the rhetor himself while the non-artistic pisteis are preexisting evidence that are not invented but rather used by the rhetor such as witnesses and laws. Accordingly, Kraus (2011) states that since Aristotle considers rhetoric as an art, he believes that the proofs associated to it should be inventive and address the productive skills of the speaker; thus, he considered the non-artistic proofs as accessory or of second hand for the rhetor (p.266). Furthermore, Aristotle subdivided the category of artistic proofs into three subdivisions that involve ethos, pathos and logos which are often referred to as the Aristotelian Triangle or Rhetorical Appeals (as cited in Kennedy, 1963, p. 90). These three subdivisions will be discussed in the third section of this present research since one central interest of our research is to identify and analyse the use of the artistic proofs in the 2013 Bloomberg Speech.

Section Three: Introducing the Research Theoretical Framework

This section aims at introducing the two rhetorical theories employed in this rhetorical analytical study to answer the main research questions we have concerned ourselves with from the beginning of this investigation.

So, the present research is a rhetorical discourse analysis of the 2013 Bloomberg speech delivered by the former British Prime Minister David Cameron. As we have already mentioned, the main aim behind undertaking this research is to explore the Bloomberg speech’s rhetorical situation and to determine how Cameron used rhetorical devices to deliver a persuasive message. Thus, this study accounts two models of rhetorical analysis. Hence, the

first rhetorical model applied in this analytical study is the Rhetorical Situation Theory suggested by Bitzer (1968) that includes three elements exigence, audience, and constraints. We have selected this theory because we believe that an examination of the rhetorical context in which this speech is delivered explains the rhetorical choices and arguments made by the British Prime Minister. The second rhetorical model applied in this research is the four Aristotelian Rhetorical Appeals logos, ethos, pathos, and kairos. We have opted for these classical appeals because we believe that argumentation is crucial for any persuasive speech in order to move the audience's position into the orator's favor. These persuasive appeals deal with the different artistic means the speaker used to influence on his audience and thus fit the overall aim of our study. Besides, in this section, we introduce the two analytical models.

1.11 Bitzer's Rhetorical Situation (1968)

In his classical essay, *The Rhetorical Situation*, Bitzer (1968) states that *"the presence of rhetorical discourse obviously indicates the presence of rhetorical situation"* (p.2). That is, any rhetorical discourse is conditioned by a rhetorical situation. To say it in other words, any rhetorical discourse is delivered within a rhetorical situation. So, Rhetorical situation is the context in which orators or writers construct a rhetorical discourse (Bitzer, 1968, p.1). In other words, it refers to the situation in which the discourse is delivered and the circumstances that surround this discourse such as the events and the persons involved in this discourse. In this respect, Bitzer (1968) writes *"let us regard rhetorical situation as a natural context of persons, events, objects, relations, and an exigence which strongly invites utterance"* (p.5). Also, he adds:

"There are three constituents of any rhetorical situation: the first is exigence; the second and the third are elements of the complex, namely the audience to be constrained in the decision and action, and the constraints which influence the rhetor and can be brought to bear upon the audience" (p.6).

In fact, Bitzer (1968) proposes three constituents for the rhetorical situation which are exigence, audience, and constraints. According to Bitzer (1968), exigence is an imperfect situation or an urgent problem that needs to be modified (p.6). Accordingly, he defines exigence as *"an imperfection marked by an urgency; it is a defect, an obstacle, something waiting to be done, a thing which other than it should be"* (p.6). In other words, exigence is a problem that should be addressed. However, not all exigencies are rhetorical; besides, an exigence is rhetorical when it can be modified through persuasive discourse (Bitzer, 1968, p.7). The second constituent of the rhetorical situation is the audience; by definition, the

rhetorical audience are those people the orator or writer intends to persuade and who acts as mediators of change (Bitzer, 1968, p. 8). In accordance, Bitzer (1968) states that “*probably speaking, a rhetorical audience consists of only those persons who are capable of being influenced by discourse and of being mediators of change*” (p.8); that is to say, a rhetorical audience does not denote mere listeners, but rather those people who are able to respond to the speaker’s or writer’s call and thus modify the rhetorical exigence. In addition to the exigence and the audience, a rhetorical situation comprises a third constituent which is the rhetorical constraints. Hence, Bitzer (1968) explains that rhetorical constraints are persons, events, objects, beliefs, attitudes, traditions, documents, motives, or relations that can impact or constrain the audience’s decisions or actions and thus constrain the exigence’s modification (p.8).

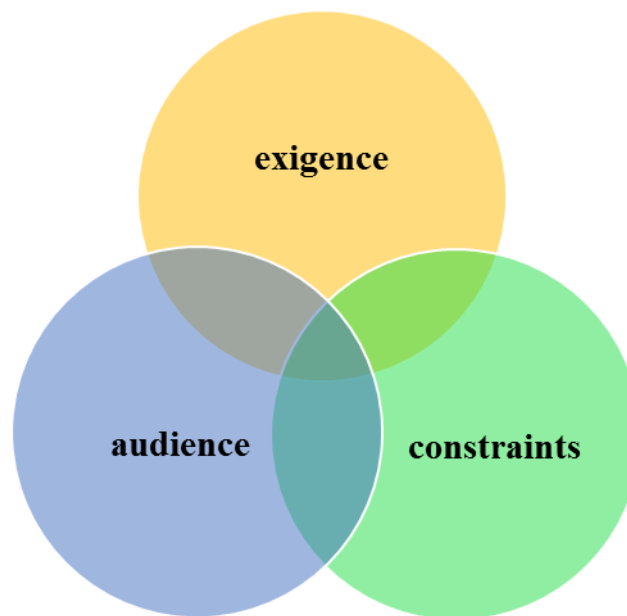


Figure 01: Bitzer’s Rhetorical Situation Model of Analysis (1968)

1.12 The Aristotelian Rhetorical Appeals (1356a)

The second rhetorical theory adopted in this study is the four rhetorical appeals logos, ethos, pathos, and kairos as conceived by one of the influential rhetoricians Aristotle. Aristotle (1356a) defines rhetoric as the ability in each case to see the available means of persuasion (Kennedy, 2007, p.37). By the available means of persuasion, Aristotle essentially refers to the three persuasive appeals logos, ethos, and pathos. Besides, according to Aristotle, it is possible to the speaker to be persuasive with the use of three appeals logos (logical appeal), ethos (credible character), and pathos (emotional appeal). Accordingly, Kennedy (2007) states the following:

“Aristotle identified three artistic modes of persuasion, derived from presenting the character (ethos) of the speaker in a favorable light, awaking emotion (pathos) in the audience so as to induce them to make the judgment desired, and showing the probability of what is said by logical argument(logos)” (p.111).

Besides, Aristotle suggested that *“proofs should be demonstrative”* (Kennedy, 2007, p.242). This suggests that proofs or arguments have to be logically valid. Thus, logos is an appeal for logic; that is, it is persuading through the use of logical proofs and evidence. In this respect, Murthy and Ghosal (2014) explain that *“if a statement attempts to persuade the audience with a reasonable claim and offering a proof in support of his statement then we can say that the statement is a logical argument”* (p.250). In other words, the speaker has to give a logical support to his position. Moreover, Varpio (2018) claims that logos is also appealed for when the audience or readers can follow the logic and the order or flow of the arguments (p.208). According to Varpio (2018), using *“Signposting”* is one way to make the audience or readers follow the order of the advanced arguments. Signposting refers to the use of words like first, next, also, or phrases like as a result, yet, for example and so on (p.208).

The second persuasive appeal conceived by Aristotle is called ethos. Ethos refers to the credibility of the speaker. Accordingly, Aristotle (2015) states that *“Persuasion is achieved by the speaker’s personal character when the speech is so spoken as to make us think him credible”* (p.8). In other words, the speaker’s credibility means that the orator has to construct a view of himself that inspires trust and confidence so that the audience will believe him. Besides, Varpio (2018) claims that the credibility of the speaker is also achieved when he shows that he controls or masters what he is talking about (p.204).

Yet, According to Aristotle (1356a), the speaker constructs credibility towards his audience through his character, virtue, and good will (as cited in Kennedy, 2007, p.112). Virtue is defined as *“the faculty for providing and preserving good things”* (Aristotle, 2015, p.38). That is, the ability to achieve good things and preserve them. In other words, the speaker is credible when he takes into account the benefits and goods of the audience. Similarly, Murthy and Ghosal (2014) assert that good will can also be achieved when the speaker respect the concerns, views, feelings of his audience (p.252). In other words, good will is giving attention to the audience’s feelings and concerns.

Besides, Varpio (2018) suggests that the orator or speaker establishes credibility towards his audience when he makes use of particular rhetorical tools such as similitude and deference. In this regard, she writes *“establishing similitude and showing deference helps to*

establish your ethos” (p.207). According to Varpio (2018), similitude is established when the speaker identifies himself as sharing similarities with his audience through the use of inclusive pronouns such as we and us (Varpio, 2018, p.207). In another hand, deference is established when the speaker uses words or phrases that show his respect to his audience. In accordance, Varpio (2018) explains that *“Deference is a way for the author to signal respect for others, and personal humility”* (p.208). Thus, to show deference towards his audience, the speaker uses phrases like in my opinion, I think that and so on.

The third persuasive appeal suggested by Aristotle is the appeal for the audience’s emotions (pathos). Aristotle (1356a) suggests that making an emotional connection with the audience and awaking their positive feelings helps the orator to persuade them and push them react in his favor (as cited in Kennedy, 2007, p.38). According to Varpio (2018), pathos *“refers to the emotions that are stirred in the reader while reading the manuscript”* (p.209). That is to say, pathos refers to the emotions evoked in the audience when they listen to a speech or read a text. Besides, Varpio (2018) asserts that using *“God-terms”* is one way to emotionally connect with the audience in speech or writing (p.209). Yet, God-terms denote the terms that involve human values such as justice, rights, freedom, equality, and so on (Varpio, 2018, p.209). In short, using such terms helps the speaker to awaken positive emotions in the audience.

In addition to logos, ethos and pathos, the present rhetorical discourse analysis is also interested in the rhetorical appeal kairos suggested by Aristotle as a fourth rhetorical appeal for persuasion. According to Leston (2013), by the term kairos, Aristotle refers to the ability of the rhetor to recognize that moment to find the means to respond to a given situation (p.34). Besides, he defines kairos as the *“right timing and proper means”* (p.29). In other words, kairos denotes the right opportunity to the rhetor to give arguments.

Furthermore, Leston (2013) writes *“For many contemporary and classical theorists, kairos is that moment where the rhetor intervenes in the shifting circumstances that make up our professional and personal lives”* (p.29). That is, kairos is that moment when the speaker involved in a given situation is able to recognize the appropriate opportunity to say something that fits the circumstances of that situation (Leston, 2013, p.30).

Yet, this present rhetorical analysis accounts for the four rhetorical appeals logos, ethos, pathos and kairos which are respectively presented in figure 02.

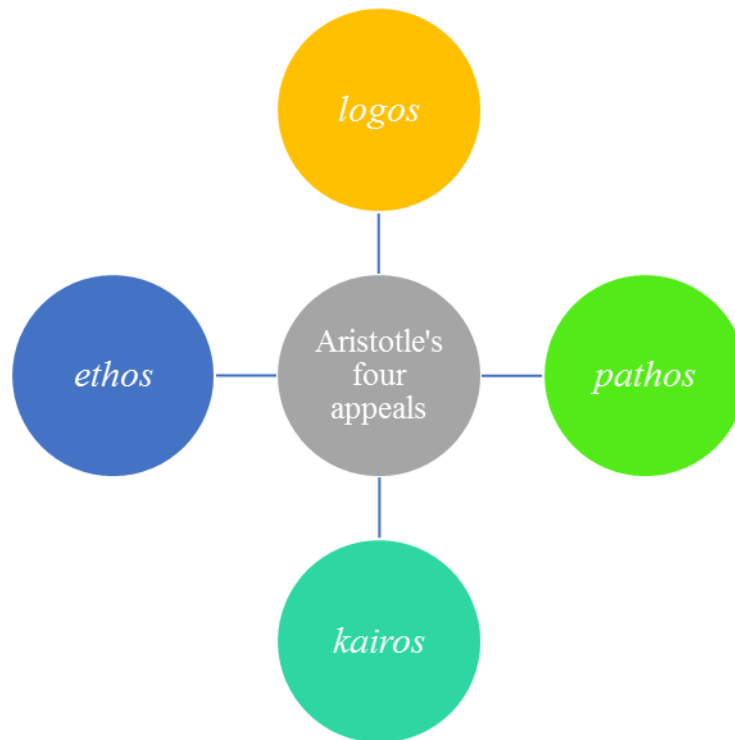


Figure 02: Aristotle's Four Rhetorical Appeals (1356a)

Section Four: Previous Studies

This section is dedicated to the review of the previous studies that are related to our field of investigation. Yet, in what follows, we have reviewed eight (8) previous studies that are relevant to our research.

The central aim of our analytical research is to examine the rhetorical situation that surrounds the Bloomberg speech and explore the rhetorical maneuvers employed by the former British Prime Minister, David Cameron, in this speech. Yet, rhetorical discourse study is a field that has gained ground among researchers in the last few years. In fact, there are many scholarly interests in this area of investigation. Thus, in the following, we have tried to give an outline of the previous studies undertaken in this field. However, as mentioned in our introductory part, there are no previous studies that are directly linked to our research. That is to say, to our best knowledge, there is no previous research that has already attempted to apply Bitzer's Rhetorical Situation Theory and the four Aristotelian appeals to examine David Cameron's Bloomberg speech. Indeed, the few previous works we have found, have explored this speech not from a rhetorical discourse perspective, but rather either from a political approach, or from a historical discourse perspective. Thus, in what follows, we have

attempted to summarise the most significant existing studies in the field of rhetorical discourse analysis that fall in the scope of our research in order to show the contribution of our present study.

In the Bachelor's thesis entitled "*A Rhetorical Analysis of President Barack Obama 2009 Inaugural Address*", Nielson (2009) is interested in showing how Obama rhetorically managed to convince the American nation that he is the righteous person to run the United States of America. This analytical study shows that Obama made a considerable use of the inclusive pronouns "we", "us", and "our" in order to strengthen his relationship with his audience. Moreover, Nielson (2009) explains that Obama's speech is characterised by a large use of modal verbs such as must, can, and will to demonstrate that he is determined to bring positive changes into the USA. Furthermore, Nielson (2009) shows that Obama combined between different figures of speech like anaphora, alliteration, and metaphors in order to highlight his claim that American people should work together in order to change the USA for the better. Finally, in terms of rhetorical appeals, this research reveals that ethos is primarily appealed for in this speech. In other words, Nielson (2009) explains that throughout his speech, Obama gave a prominence to portray himself as a determined leader who wants a better deal for his country. Also, Nielson (2009) puts an emphasis on the fact that pathos is used limitedly in this speech while logos is not used at all.

In their article entitled "*The Road to Success: An Examination of the Emotive Devices Appearing in Barack Obama's Campaign Speech Leading up to His Inauguration*", Kayam and Galily (2012) explore the emotive rhetorical strategies used by Obama, in a collection of eight speeches, in order to intensify his persuasive power. In their analytical research, Kayam and Galily (2012) categorise the emotive rhetorical devices employed in Obama's speeches into two key categories: semantic and syntactic emotive rhetorical strategies. At a semantic level, this investigation shows that Obama employed Metaphors as the most prominent figure of speech to stir up the emotions of his audience and bring clarity into his complex ideas. Also, Kayam and Galily (2012) reveal that Barack Obama implemented clichés in his speeches to highlight concepts like hope, freedom, and better future and also to increase the power and uniqueness of his speeches. Moreover, this research demonstrates that Obama made a considerable use of intensifiers, such as superlatives, in order to intensify the way he expressed his emotions. Besides, rhetorical questions are entrenched in Obama's speeches. Indeed, according to Kayam and Galily (2012), these rhetorical questions serve to increase the persuasive influence of his speeches. At the syntactic level, Kayam and Galily (2012)

explain that all over the eight speeches, Barack Obama employed rhetorical repetitions, mainly parallel structures in order to put an emphasis on his important claims and make his message clearer. Also, they explain that Obama's usage of rhetorical repetitions made his speeches rhythmic and thus awaken his audience's interest. Finally, this study reveals that Obama appealed for inclusion through the use of the inclusive pronoun "we". According to them, appealing to inclusion aims at putting an emphasis on the togetherness, and to show that Obama and his audience share the same goals and values.

In the article entitled "*Logos Ethos and Pathos in Political Discourse*", Mshvenieradze (2013) examines the usage of the Aristotelian Triad of persuasion logos, ethos, and pathos in the two pre-election speeches given by the two former French Presidents Jacques Chirac (2002) and Nicolas Sarkozy (2007). Her study concludes that the triad logos, ethos, and pathos made the two speeches more persuasive. Moreover, Mshvenieradze (2013) explains that in terms of logos, the two speeches are logically constructed. In terms of ethos, this research reveals that Jacques Chirac established his credibility by depicting himself as a strong leader who is capable of overcoming all the challenges that are faced by France; while Nicholas Sarkozy mainly established his ethos by showing his authority on these challenges and his goodwill towards his country. In terms of pathos, Mshvenieradze (2013) explains that both Chirac and Sarkozy appealed for their audience's emotions from the beginning of their speeches using different figures of speech and stylistic techniques (such as repetition and emotional sentences in the discourse of Chirac; and comparisons, Irony and allusion in the speech of Sarkozy).

In the thesis entitled "*Persuasive Strategies Used In Hillary Clinton's Political Campaign Speech*", Shabrina (2016) examines the persuasive tactics employed by Hillary Clinton in her political Campaign speech. The findings of this rhetorical study suggest that Clinton appealed for the three means of persuasion ethos, pathos, and logos as rhetorical strategies to enhance her persuasiveness. In fact, Shabrina (2016) explains that Clinton appealed for logos mainly by making a reference to the names of persons who are related to each idea she discussed and by giving evidence and logical reason for her audience. According to Shabrina (2016), Clinton appealed to ethos by means of goodwill and inclusive pronouns. That is to say, Hillary Clinton established her credibility and trustworthiness by showing her goodwill towards her country and her audience, and also by using the inclusive pronoun "we" to include herself as part of her audience. Also, Shabrina (2016) claims that Clinton established ethos by referring to God. Furthermore, this analytical research reveals that

Clinton appealed for her audience's emotions by giving promise and testimony to her audience, and also by showing her attention towards the American citizens.

In her thesis entitled "*Rhetorical Analysis of Donald Trump's Presidential Candidacy Announcement Speech*", Widyawardani (2016) aims to identify the rhetorical proofs employed by Donald Trump in his presidential candidacy announcement speech, and examine whether the way Trump delivered his speech, helped him to deliver an effective speech. The findings of this analysis show that Trump's speech contains the three rhetorical proofs logos, ethos, and pathos. According to the researcher, the emotional appeal (pathos) is more dominant in the speech. In terms of logos, the investigation reveals that Trump relied on enthymeme and examples to construct logical arguments. In terms of ethos, the researcher explains that Donald Trump showed his intelligence, his goodwill, and his virtuous character to his audience as a means to establish his credibility. As to pathos, this research demonstrates that the speech of Trump is dominated by the emotional appeal (pathos). In fact, according to Widyawardani (2016), Cameron appealed for eight emotions throughout his speech which are: anger, calmness, friendship, hatred, fear, confidence, admiration and envy. Finally, Widyawardani (2016) concludes the research by claiming that these three emotional appeals along with Trump's speech delivery, helped make his speech more effective and successful.

In the article titled "*Logos, Pathos, and Ethos in David Cameron's Political Speech: A Rhetorical Analysis*", Zhiyong (2016) aims at examining the rhetorical strategies used by the former British Prime Minister based on Aristotle's classical three means of persuasion logos, pathos and ethos. This analytical study reveals Cameron's effective and successful usage of rhetoric in persuading the Scottish people to vote "No" for a withdrawal from the United Kingdom. In fact, Zhiyong (2016) shows that Aristotle's Rhetorical Triangle has successfully been implemented in the "*No Going Back*" speech. In terms of logos, the researcher explains that Cameron has been able to effectively use facts and reasoning to convince his audience of the major consequences that a Scottish exit from the UK would bring. In terms of pathos, this study demonstrates that the Conservative leader managed successfully to raise a sentiment of pain of breaking the UK family. And finally, in terms of ethos, the researcher claims that Cameron depicted himself as a citizen to connect with his audience and establish his credibility.

In the thesis titled "*Climate Change in Political Speeches*", Silden (2017) explores the rhetoric of David Cameron and Obama in the speeches they delivered at the COP21 meeting. In her analysis, Silden (2017) examines the rhetorical situation Cameron's speech at

COP21 based on the Rhetorical Situation Theory suggested by Bitzer (1992). She reveals that the exigence that caused Cameron to deliver this speech is the climate change challenges that face the world and that Cameron addressed this speech mainly to his political partners that attended the conference. Also, Silden (2017) explains that Cameron's speech is mainly constrained by the time limit and by the formality of the speech in the sense that he cannot include various rhetorical strategies. Furthermore, this analytical research draws on the insights of Aristotle's Rhetorical Triangle. In other words, she examines Cameron's appeal for logos, ethos, and pathos. In this regard, her findings reveal that Cameron established his credibility by showing his concern for the future consequences of climate change on the world. In terms of pathos, she explains that Cameron's usage of comparisons to compare the future generations to children and the climate change to war, helped him picture the climate change as a threat to the generations to come, and thus, raise his audience feeling of threat. In terms of logos, she explains that logical arguments are not common in Cameron speech. She concludes her analysis by showing that Cameron's speech contains different figures of speech such as anaphora, allusion, repetition and so forth.

In the article entitled "*Rhetorical Devices in Hillary Clinton Concession Speech*", Taping, Juniardi & Utomo (2017) explore the rhetorical strategies used by Clinton in her Concession speech in order to construct a persuasive and effective speech. Through their analytical research, Taping, Juniardi & Utomo (2017) identify thirteen rhetorical devices implemented in this speech. Besides, they categorise these thirteen rhetorical devices into three respective categories based on the function they serve in the speech. The first category is emphasis rhetorical devices. Indeed, they explain that Clinton relied on emphasis rhetorical strategies such as anaphora, alliteration, conduplicatio, diacope, epistrophe, and sentential adverbs as a means to call the audience attention and strengthen her ideas. Moreover, this investigation reveals that Clinton implemented a second category of rhetorical devices which is association rhetorical devices such as antithesis, antanagoge, metaphor, and parallelism. According to the researchers, Clinton employed association rhetorical tools in order to attract the attention of her audience and help them understand complex ideas. Finally, this research shows that Hillary Clinton applied a third category of rhetorical devices which is decoration rhetorical devices that consist of asyndeton, polysyndeton, and sententia in order to add power and credibility to her speech. To conclude their analytical study, Taping, Juniardi & Utomo (2017) explain that emphasis rhetorical devices are the most dominant in Clinton's

speech. However, according to them, the combination of the three categories of rhetorical devices intensified the rhetorical power and influence of this speech.

To sum up, we have attempted to select some previous analytical studies that have analysed political speeches from a rhetorical discourse analysis with a view to identify the rhetorical strategies employed by selected politicians in order to persuade their audience. Following the same perspective, our analytical study explores the rhetorical strategies used by David Cameron in his Bloomberg speech with a particular focus on the rhetorical situation that surrounds the speech, and the four persuasive proofs logos, ethos, pathos and kairos. Accordingly, our study is similar with the previous ones in the fact that it explores a political discourse from a rhetorical analysis perspective. Also, it investigates the rhetorical situation in Cameron's speech. However, our present study is different from the previous ones in the fact that our selected speech (i.e; Bloomberg Speech) has not been yet examined by any researcher in R.D.A. Thus, this is a genuine contribution. Also, our research is based on the rhetorical models (Bitzer's and Aristotle's). Thus, as far as we know, no previous researchers have combined them in the analysis of Cameron's Bloomberg speech.

Chapter Two: Research Methods, Analysis, & Discussion of the Findings

The present chapter is divided into three major sections. The first section is concerned with the description and explanation of the methodological approach we have opted for to undertake the present study. Also, it describes the corpus we have selected as a source of data for our analytical research. Then, we carry on with a second section which deals with the application of the rhetorical theories on our corpus, and the analysis and discussion of our findings. Finally, we end up this chapter with the third section that covers the conclusions, limitations and suggestions for further researches.

Section One: Research Methods

The present section seeks to outline and explain the research methods adopted in our analytical study. First, this section explains the research methods and study design selected for this study. Second, it describes the corpus selected for this rhetorical analysis. Finally, it outlines the data analysis procedures used in order to analyse the data.

2.1 Research Methods and Study Design

Since the present study is entitled David Cameron's Bloomberg Speech: A Rhetorical Discourse Analysis, it goes without saying that it essentially seeks at discovering and discussing the rhetorical devices employed by David Cameron in order to deliver his 2013 Bloomberg Speech. In fact, we concern ourselves with identifying the different rhetorical strategies used in the 2013 Bloomberg speech with a particular focus on the usage of Aristotle's four classical appeals (logos, ethos, pathos, and kairos) in the speech. This research is also interested in exploring David Cameron's figurative language and the rhetorical upshot of combining the four rhetorical appeals with figurative language. Also, this paper directs its attention on exploring the rhetorical situation that surrounds the Bloomberg speech. In order to fulfill our research objectives, we have opted for a mixed approach; that is, we have used the qualitative and quantitative methods together because we think that a mixed method of research not only allows us to describe the rhetorical strategies identified in this speech, but also to support our findings with statistical evidence and numbers in order to bring further precision and particularity to our analysis. Besides, in one hand, we have used the qualitative method to explore and describe the different rhetorical devices that exist in our selected speech; and in another hand, we have opted for the integration of the quantitative method in order to present the frequencies of repeated words and count the number of figures of speech found in our selected speech and represent them in tabulations. Additionally, it is important to

mention that this study falls under a descriptive study design. Indeed, since the main objective of the present paper is to provide a valid and accurate description of the rhetorical strategies employed by David Cameron and the rhetorical situation of his speech, we believe that a descriptive design fits our research objectives.

Yet, it is worthy to note that this rhetorical discourse study is limited to the textual analysis of the Bloomberg speech. That is, we have restricted ourselves to the analysis of David Cameron's Bloomberg script. In fact, we are not concerned with the video analysis of Cameron's performance. Thus, the analysis of gestures, posture and facial expressions is not the concern of this research. We have instead, focused on the language use.

2.2 Corpus

The selected corpus for the present study is the Bloomberg speech delivered by the former British Prime Minister David Cameron on January 23, 2013 at Bloomberg London. When selecting this speech, the primary focus was to find a momentous speech that marked the world and attracted the media and press attention. In fact, this speech was highly covered and publicized probably because it has opened the door for the Brexit referendum in which British people would decide whether Britain will stay in the European Union or exit from it. But suggesting an in/out vote was not the aim of the Bloomberg speech. Indeed, Cameron's aim through delivering this speech is first to persuade British people that it is important for the interest of Britain to postpone the question of whether to remain or leave the EU, because such a decision determines the destiny of Britain. Besides, he also aims at persuading his EU partners that the EU Treaty needs to be revised in order to retain the support of Britain and other EU Member States. However, the Bloomberg speech has an implicit goal. In fact, we believe that through this speech, David Cameron urges to bring the British people to vote in his favor and in favor of the conservative party in the general elections expected for the year of 2015. Obviously, this speech was really important for David Cameron in order to guarantee the majority of votes in the 2015 general elections, and to gain time in order to think of how to persuade the British citizens to remain in the EU. And Because of the determining importance of this speech for the former Prime Minister and his political party, we assumed that Cameron would probably do his best to impress and persuade the voters to vote for him. Therefore, we inferred that this speech would be rich of rhetorical devices and persuasive language; and thus, would be ideal for the rhetorical study we wanted to undertake.

Yet, it is important to mention that we have relied on two versions of the Bloomberg speech because in the first version that was published in the official website <https://www.gov.UK> a political content was removed. Therefore, we have relied on another version taken from the website www.bbc.com. Besides, it is also important to mention that in the first version, the speech was divided into five parts while in the second it was not. Yet, the two corpora are respectively integrated in appendices 1 and 2.

In fact, Cameron's speech is divided into five parts introduced by a brief historical introduction in which the Prime Minister went 70 years back to remind the audience first of the years of wars and tyranny that Europeans knew in the Second World War; and second that it is thanks to the European unity and their determined battle together that Europe, including the UK, has been able to get from a bloody and terrifying climate to today's harmony, peace and prosperity.

The first part, which is entitled "*Deliver prosperity, retain support*", expresses Cameron's positive vision for the future of Britain and the EU. In this part of the speech, Cameron declared that Britain is a great power that has helped the EU to write its story and become a worldwide economic power. However, he added that one should not ignore the fact that EU, in its turn, has helped Britain to write its history and maintain peace and stability. Furthermore, Cameron also drew attention to the opened character of Britain. In fact, he claimed that in addition to being a powerful and independent country, Britain is also an opened country which "*turns its face to the world*". In actual fact, from this first part, Cameron expressed his disagreement concerning a potential Brexit. The second part of the Bloomberg speech is entitled "*3 major challenges*". In this part, Cameron discussed the three major challenges faced by the EU: the Eurozone problems, the European competitiveness with the other countries of the world, and the European citizens' who feel that there is no democratic accountability and consent within the EU. Hence, to overcome these challenges, David Cameron argued that there should be a "*far-reaching change*" inside the EU.

The third part is entitled "*21st century European Union*". This part displays Cameron's vision for a modern and new 21st century EU that matches the challenges of the 21st century and that would be governed by five main principles: competitiveness through a complete single market, the flexibility and co-operation, equal and harmonious power among the EU members, democratic accountability for the national parliaments, and the fairness the EU and single market for all its members. In the fourth part entitled "*Flexible Union*", Cameron stated that he was in favor of a in-out referendum that would give the voice for the

British people to decide about the future of Britain and the EU. However, he explicitly declared that it would be wrong to make an immediate choice before solving the problems that are encountered by the Eurozone ,or leave before revising the EU treaty and make things right.

In the fifth part, which is entitled “*real choice*”, Cameron explicitly showed his desire to maintain Britain within the EU. Moreover, he set up the importance of postponing the in/outreferendum until the EU treaty is revised. Also, Cameron argued that such a decisive decision about the future of both the EU and Britain needs time and careful evaluation in order to be able to decide on what serves Britain and what the very best future for Britain is. Besides, the former Prime Minister stressed on the fact that Britain is more powerful in the EU and more opportunities would be opened to the British people if they remain in the EU.

2.3 Data Analysis Procedures

The source of data for the present analysis is David Cameron’s Bloomberg Speech. Thus, for the present study, we have opted for two rhetorical theories, Bitzer’s Rhetorical Situation theory and the four Aristotelian Rhetorical appeals (1356a) because we believe that they suit the objectives set for this investigation. The main implication of the rhetorical situation theory is that any rhetorical or persuasive speech involves three components exigence, audience and constraints. Therefore, one of our central aims is to identify the rhetorical situation of the Bloomberg speech and discuss each element of this theory with evidence from our selected corpus. Also, this investigation accounts for the four Aristotelian persuasive appeals (logos, ethos, pathos and kairos). In fact, our attention is oriented toward exploring Cameron’s usage of these appeals in his Speech and determining which one of them comes up more often in our corpus. Therefore, we believe that these two rhetorical frameworks are pertinent for our analysis’ goals. Yet, it’s noteworthy to stress on the fact that no previous research has already attempted to analyze David Cameron’s Bloomberg speech using these two theories at the same time. Therefore, with the present study, we hope to make a modest contribution to the field of discourse analysis and the study of rhetoric.

Section Two: Findings and General Discussion

Throughout the present section we attempt to analyze David Cameron’s 2013 Bloomberg Speech from a rhetorical perspective. More specifically, we attempt to apply the Rhetorical Situation Theory as suggested by Bitzer (1968) in our selected corpus, analyze Cameron’s use of Aristotelian rhetorical proofs or appeals in his discourse. What is specific to

this research is the introduction of a fourth Aristotelian rhetorical appeal, along with the Rhetorical Triangle (e.i; ethos, pathos, and logos), which is kairos. Also, this section seeks to identify and discuss the rhetorical strategies addressed in this speech.

Before starting our analysis, it is important to mention that we have divided our selected corpus into 15 paragraphs that are set as follows:

Table 1. The Division of the Bloomberg Speech into 15 Paragraphs

Paragraph Number	Paragraph Delimitation
Paragraph 1	“This morning I want to speak.....the family in Britain”.
Paragraph 2	“So I want to speak.....a better deal for Europe too”.
Paragraph 3	“So I speak as.....within the European Union”.
Paragraph 4	“Let me start with.....far reaching change”.
Paragraph 5	“So let set out.....single market council”.
Paragraph 6	“The second principle.....but it is just valid”
Paragraph 7	“My third principle is.....off the table”.
Paragraph 8	“My fourth principle.....the EU does business”.
Paragraph 9	“My fifth principle is.....approach for the European Union”.
Paragraph 10	“So now let me turn.....is now wafer thin”.
Paragraph 11	“Some people say.....reforming fisheries policy”.
Paragraph 12	“So we are starting.....any other Member State”.
Paragraph 13	“But the question.....we hear a lot about”.
Paragraph 14	“There are some who.....will decide”.
Paragraph 15	“And I say to.....generations to come”.

2.4 Outline of the Speech

We find it of great importance to outline the content of the Bloomberg Speech before moving on to our rhetorical analysis.

2.4.1 The First Paragraph

The Bloomberg speech starts by an introductory sentence that signals a historical overview of the European continent.

“This morning I want to talk about the future of Europe. But first, let us remember the past.”

In fact, in the opening paragraph of his speech, David Cameron clocks back 70 years ago to the Second World War and the fall of the Berlin wall in order to praise the determined efforts and cooperation of their founding fathers and the European partners to restore peace in Europe. Throughout this paragraph, we believe that Cameron intends to say that the European countries, including Britain, should be grateful to the European Union which brought peace and liberty to Europe.

“70 years ago, Europe was being torn apart by its second catastrophic conflict in a generation. A war which saw the streets of European cities strewn with rubble. The skies of London lit by flames night after night. And millions dead across the world in the battle of peace and liberty. As we remember their sacrifice, so we should also remember how the shift in Europe from war to sustained peace came about. It did not happen like a change in weather. It happened because of determined work over generations. A commitment to friendship and a resolve never to re-visit that dark past- a commitment epitomised by the Elysee Treaty signed 50 years ago this week.”

At the end of this paragraph, Cameron declares that today the EU has climbed one step, and has took this cooperation to a new level. That is, its new struggle is no more to restore peace in Europe but to deliver prosperity to its nations.

“But today the main, over-riding purpose of the European Union is different: not to win peace, but to secure prosperity.”

2.4.2 The Second Paragraph

In the second paragraph, Cameron portrays Britain as an “*island nation*”, strong-minded and independent, that has always worked hard to guarantee the stability of its country. Besides, he adds that in addition to being strong-minded and independent, Britain is also an opened country that has always been involved in the European questions.

“We have the character of an island nation- independent, forthright, passionate in defense of our sovereignty.”

“Britain is characterised not just by its independence but, above all, by its openness. We have always been a country that reaches out. That turns its face to the world.”

Thereafter, Cameron puts forward the British contribution to the stability of Europe. In fact, the former British Prime Minister shows that over its long history, Britain has always led prominent European challenges to safeguard the wealth and success of the European

continent. Hence, we believe that this paragraph seeks to convey a clear message: Britain has never been an isolationist and narrow-minded nation.

“Over the years, Britain has made her own, unique contribution to Europe. We have provided a haven to those fleeing tyranny and persecution. And in Europe’s darkest hour, we helped keep the flame of liberty alight. Across the continent, in silent cemeteries, lie the hundreds of thousands of British servicemen who gave their lives for Europe’s freedom. In more recent decades, we have played our part in tearing down the Iron Curtain and championing the entry into the EU of those countries that lost so many years to Communism. And contained in this history is the crucial point about Britain, our national character, our attitude to Europe.”

2.4.3 The Third Paragraph

David Cameron carries on his speech by listing the three major challenges that are faced by the EU today: the Eurozone crisis, the global competitiveness challenge and the lack of democratic consent within the EU nations. Besides, He believes that these questions should be the primary concern of the EU leaders because if not addressed now, these issues will have serious consequences. That is to say, Britain will be rode toward an eventual Brexit. Following that, Cameron clearly shows his opposition toward an eventual Brexit from the EU when he states:

“If we don’t address these challenges, the danger is that Europe will fail and the British people will drift towards the exit. I do not want that to happen. I want the European Union to be a success. And I want a relationship between Britain and the EU that keeps us in it.”

Cameron ends up this paragraph by stating the reason that drove him to be there on that day. We believe that this is made in purpose to help his audience expect what will be explored in this Speech.

“That is why I am here today: To acknowledge the nature of the challenges we face. To set out how I believe the European Union should respond to them. And to explain what I want to achieve for Britain and its place within the European Union.”

2.4.4 The Fourth Paragraph

Cameron goes into details by discussing the three major issues that challenge the EU and their consequences on the prosperity of the Union and its members. Furthermore, the former British Prime Minister invites his EU partners to address these issues now otherwise they can expect the failure of the EU and profound implications for its nations. Therefore, he

suggests a wide-ranging reform of the EU treaty as a remedy to surpass these challenges that threaten the prosperity of the whole European continent.

“And my point is this. More of the same will not secure a long-term future for the Eurozone. More of the same will not see the European Union keeping pace with the new powerhouse economies. More of the same will not bring the European Union any closer to its citizens. More of the same will just produce more of the same- less competitiveness, less growth, fewer jobs. And that will make our countries weaker not stronger. That is why we need fundamental, far reaching change.”

2.4.5 The Fifth Paragraph

“So let me set out my vision for a new European Union, fit the 21st Century. It is based on 5 principles. The first: Competitiveness.”

By the above sentence, David Cameron pursues his discourse by sharing his vision of a new EU that responds to the needs and trends of the 21ST century. Besides, Cameron invites his European colleagues to build up a new Union based on five principles: Competitiveness, flexibility, member states’ power, democratic accountability and fairness. Then, he displays his first principle: Competitiveness. Obviously, Cameron is firm about the principle of competitiveness; according to him, the EU should be able to compete with the global market. In this regard, Cameron calls the EU members to project their efforts on completing the single market services and creating an Union that helps Europe’s entrepreneurial companies to embrace the global market instead of holding them back with directives.

2.4.6 The Sixth Paragraph

“The second principle should be flexibility. We need a structure that can accommodate the diversity of its members – North, South, East, West, large, small, old and new. Some of whom are contemplating much closer economic and political integration. And many others, including Britain, who would never embrace that goal.”

This paragraph introduces the second principle on which an ideal Union should be based on: Flexibility. In fact, Cameron highlights the diversity that characterises the EU and insists on the reality that what the EU members need is not a parallel level of integration or a one size Union; but it is rather a new structure that fits their diversity and that exempts them

from rules that keep them back. Following that, Cameron pictures the ideal Union as the one that guarantees freedom, choice and openness to its nations. Accordingly, he states:

“We believe in a flexible union of free member states who share treaties and institutions and pursue together the ideal of co-operation. To represent and promote the values of European civilization in the world. To advance our shared interests by using our collective power to open markets. And to build a strong economic base across the whole of Europe.”

2.4.7 The Seventh Paragraph

“My third principle is that power must be able to flow back to Member States, not just away from them. This was promised by European Leaders at Laeken a decade ago.”

In the seventh paragraph, David Cameron keeps on discussing the principles that should govern a successful Union. His third principle suggests that the EU should give a primary consideration to the views of all the EU Member States before any decision making. Besides, the EU nations should have the power to decide on the decisions to approve and the ones to reject. Furthermore, he stands firm on the fact that the EU should be mindful of the diversity of its members; according to him, the EU nations do not share the same legislation and do not make the same choices.

2.4.8 The Eighth Paragraph

“My fourth principle is democratic accountability: we need to have a bigger and more significant role for national parliaments.”

The former British Prime Minister moves to the principle of democratic accountability that states that the national parliaments should be given a voice in internal and external issues. According to Cameron, European leaders should have the consent of their national parliaments before making any choice because they represent the people. Also, people should be given a say to choose what they believe to serve their interests and the interests of their nation instead of deciding on their behalf.

2.4.9 The Ninth Paragraph

“My fifth principle is fairness: whatever new arrangements are enacted for the Eurozone, they must work fairly for those inside it and out.”

Cameron moves to talk about the principle of fairness that should constitute a fundamental characteristic of the EU. Indeed, he suggests that the relationship between the EU member states should be built upon equity, justice, and respect.

2.4.10 The Tenth Paragraph

“Today, public disillusionment with the EU is at all time high. There are several reasons for this.”

After having exposed his vision of how a successful EU looks like, Cameron comes to talk about the British nation’s attitude toward the EU. Accordingly, he states that the British people are disappointed and annoyed by the regrettable choices made by the EU and the lack of democratic consent in Britain. Besides, he adds that the Britons blame the EU leaders for their unfulfilled promises and for their failure to give the voice to the people and to deliver referendums.

2.4.11 The Eleventh Paragraph

“Some argue that the solution is therefore to hold a straight in-out referendum now. I understand the impatience of wanting to make that choice immediately. But I don’t believe that to make a decision at this moment is the right way forward, either for Britain or for Europe as a whole.”

Accordingly, in the eleventh paragraph, Cameron declares that persisting to ignore the Britons’ voice and consent can lead Britain to an eventual Brexit. The former British Prime Minister finds it evident that if the British people are asked whether to remain within or to leave from an Union that gives them little choice, it will be more probable that they will leave. For this reason, Cameron is in favor of a referendum, but not an immediate one. In fact, he believes that delivering a Brexit referendum in the midst of this political crisis is far from being the right choice because no one knows what kind of Europe will come out from the measures that will be undertaken to secure the Eurozone.

“We need to allow some time for that to happen-and help to shape the future of the European Union, so that when the choice comes it will be a real choice.”

Moreover, Cameron invites the British people to take whatever time is necessary to think about the new Europe that will emerge from this crisis, a reformed EU that offers its member states flexibility, fairness, openness and modernity. Also, his message is clear: an immediate in-out vote is not the solution Britain and Europe need; according to him, they rather need reforms.

2.4.12 The Twelfth Paragraph

“I believe the best way to do this will be in a new treaty so I add my voice to those who are already calling for this.”

Cameron goes on to say that a new Treaty would be the solution for a flexible, competitive and democratically accountable Europe. Accordingly, Cameron is firm on this point; even if there is “no appetite” for the other European partners, Britain will negotiate the reforms it needs. After that, Cameron states that the British nation should take time to think of what can be the best future for Britain.

2.4.13 The Thirteenth Paragraph

It is obvious for Cameron that Britain is a powerful country that can make its own pathway. However, he argues that Britain has more power within the European Union. Besides, according to him, even if Britons decide to leave the EU, the decisions made in the Union would always affect Britain in a way or in another because Europe would continue to be Britain’s “*biggest market*” and “*geographical neighborhood*”.

2.4.14 The Fourteenth Paragraph

Again, Cameron puts an emphasis on the fact that Britain is more influential on the international stage because of its substantial role in the EU. Therefore, Cameron believes that the British nation should measure the size of such a decision because if Britain leaves the EU “*it would be a 1-way ticket*”. That is to say, there would be no turning back. Thus, he invites the British nation to carefully consider the good and bad aspects of the EU in order to make the real choice.

2.4.15 The Fifteenth Paragraph

Finally, in the fifteenth paragraph, the former British Prime Minister concluded his speech by addressing his EU partners by shedding light on the fact that an eventual British departure would spoil both Britain and the EU. Therefore, he invites his European colleagues to join their efforts to Britain in order to construct this new updated Europe that would make its member states feel more comfortable in their relationship with this Union. Besides, Cameron ends up his speech by showing that he is in favor of a new reformed EU, and stating that such a vision is not impossible; that is, with “*courage and conviction*”, Britain and its European partners would be able to achieve this vision of a more flexible, opened, free, fair, and democratically accountable Union.

2.5 Analyzing the Rhetorical Situation of the Bloomberg Speech (2013)

The first part of our analysis relies on Bitzer's Rhetorical Situation theory (1968) in order to explore the rhetorical context in which David Cameron has delivered his speech. For this purpose, the three components: exigence, audience, and constraints are identified and analysed.

2. 5. 1 Exigence

Based on Bitzer's definition, the exigence of the Bloomberg speech is the problem that caused Cameron to recognize the need for delivering this speech. When the former British Prime Minister delivered this speech, the European Union was hit by a series of crises and challenges. In this regard, we assume that the first exigence that caused David Cameron to deliver this speech, in January 23 of the year 2013, is the necessity to undertake reforms within the EU in order to face the challenges that are faced by the EU Member States and to meet the demands of the 21ST Century. Indeed, from the very beginning of his speech, the Conservative leader stated *"So I want to speak to you with urgency and frankness about the European Union and how it must change- both to deliver prosperity and to retain the support of its people"* (paragraph 2). Thus, this need to make some changes within the EU is what caused Cameron to deliver this speech. However, we believe that there is another stimulus that drove the former British Prime Minister to Bloomberg to stand up in front of his audience and speak to them. Throughout our analysis, we have identified another motivation for this speech. The second exigence that called Cameron to deliver this speech is explicitly stated in the speech. Indeed, the UK Independence party started to shake the public opinion leading British people to think of an immediate in-out vote or Brexit referendum. In other words, the idea of leaving the EU for the interest of the country seemed to increase and entrench within the British community; in fact, in a period of political and economic crisis within the EU, British people began to question the relationship of Britain and the EU and started to persuade themselves that the interest of their country lies out of the EU. In this climate of uncertainty and confusion that take over the British nation, Cameron, who was a prominent figure of the remain and anti-Brexit party in the UK, had to deliver a discourse in order to reassure the British people and persuade them that it would be a precipitous decision to choose whether to leave or to stay within the EU at the midst of an economic and political crisis. In fact, at that moment, the Union was still in evolution; people did not know what kind of EU will emerge when this European crisis would be brought to an end. Also, we believe that this second exigence is clear from the tenth paragraph of this speech when Cameron clearly stated *"Some*

argue that the solution is therefore to hold a straight in-out referendum now. I understand the impatience of wanting to make that choice immediately” (Paragraph 10). Besides, he added that *“A vote today between the status quo and leaving would be an entirely false choice”*. Moreover, this exigence is further evident from this sentence extracted from the tenth paragraph *“We need to allow some time for that to happen- and help to shape the future of the European Union, so that when the choice comes it will be a real one”*. Thus, from these statements, we assume that the second motivation that caused this speech to be delivered is the British nation’s desire to have their word and vote immediately for or against an eventual Brexit.

Taken as a whole, we can conclude that Cameron was able to recognise the need for delivering a speech in order to persuade his audience of the need to reform the EU and convince them that an immediate Brexit referendum does not serve the interests of Britain and the EU.

2.5.2 Audience:

The rhetorical situation as conceived by Bitzer always requires an audience; thus, in this part, we attempt to identify the audience David Cameron urges to reach through this discourse. Yet, it is important to mention that Bitzer’s conception of audience does not denote those mere hearers who listen to the Bloomberg Speech, but it rather denotes those people who have the power to move from spectators to projectiles and respond to Cameron’s call. In this sense, the Bloomberg Speech seeks first to influence the British nation. In fact, it is evident that this speech is addressed to the British people. In his speech, Cameron claimed that *“It is time for the British people to have their say”* or *“I say to the British people”* (Paragraph 12). Yet, with the term *“British people”*, Cameron targets two major groups of Britons: the Eurosceptics and the Europhiles. However, this speech is addressed mainly for the Eurosceptic Britons, who are in favor of an immediate in-out vote, in order to convince them that an immediate Brexit does not serve the interests of Britain and that such a decisive decision needs more time and debate. Furthermore, the former British Prime Minister directed this speech to his EU partners. Indeed, Cameron directly addressed his EU colleagues when he stated: *“And I say to our European partners, frustrated as some of them no doubt are by Britain’s attitude: work with us on this”* (Paragraph 14). That is, he invited them to cooperate and join their efforts to solve the problems faced by the EU and establish a flexible union that fits all the European members and retain their supports.

Obviously, Cameron's speech is addressed to different audiences. In other words, he directed this discourse first to a domestic audience (the British nation); and second, to a foreign public, more specifically the EU leaders. Besides, all this addressed audience can act as mediators for Cameron's desired change. In fact, the Britons can change Cameron's exigence by dropping the notion of an immediate in-out referendum. Also, the EU partners can cooperate with him to make the reforms needed to maintain Britain in this Union. Therefore, we believe that Cameron directed his speech to the right audience.

2.5.3 Constraints

The third component that constitutes the rhetorical situation is constraints. Constraints are persons, beliefs, documents or relations that can constrain the decision or action of David Cameron's audience. What is noticeable from this speech is that David Cameron successfully detected some constraints prior to delivering his speech. Indeed, we notice that he considered the fact that his discourse is addressed to a large audience with different background knowledge; therefore, he employed simple linguistic structures and a proper diction to convey clear messages and a vivid language in order to help his audience visualise what he said and thus understand him better. Furthermore, we notice that David Cameron prudently considered and gave an answer to the different counter-arguments that can be put forward against him. For example in the sixth paragraph Cameron stated that *"Some will claim that this offends a central tenet of the EU's founding philosophy. I say it merely reflects the reality of the European Union today"* (Paragraph 6). However, Cameron ignored important constraints that can limit the Bloomberg speech's influence. First, the conservative leader claimed that Britain is very different from the other EU nations; this implies that Britain's place is not within the EU. In fact, this claim can be used against him. Moreover, Cameron also declared that Britain is a powerful country that can trace its way alone. That is to say, Britain can manage perfectly well without having relations with the EU. In fact, this claim can also play against him and restrain his credibility.

In addition to the constraints that emerged from the speech, there are other constraints that are involved in the context that surrounds the speech and that can eventually constrain the judgment of Cameron's audience. First of all, the question of Brexit has politically divided the British nation into two parties: a pro-Brexit party and an anti-Brexit one. Indeed, the pro-Brexit community can be one possible constraint to the decision of the British people and the exigencies' modification. For example, the UKip (UK Independence Party), which is a pro-Brexit party, may respond to the Bloomberg speech with critics and counter-arguments to

convince Cameron's audience that leaving the EU is better for Britain. Another constraint is the media. In point of fact, the way media comment on this speech and the way they depict David Cameron's image influences on the audience's attitudes and judgment. Besides, the political analysts' view and interpretation of this speech and the arguments put forward by Cameron plays also an important role in constraining the audience's decisions. In addition to all the above constraints, the European Union treaty and the European partners can also constrain the Bloomberg speech persuasiveness in that they can refuse any negotiation and any concession in favor of Britain. Lastly, any negative event or incident that can happen within the EU can also constrain the Bloomberg speech and limit its influence upon Cameron's audience. For instance, if another economic or political crisis hits the EU again, this can limit this speech's influence.

2.6 Identifying the Four Aristotelian Rhetorical Appeals in the Bloomberg Speech (2013)

At this stage of our analysis, we attempt to identify and analyse the use of the four Aristotelian appeals or proofs by David Cameron and determine how he used them to influence upon his target audience. Yet, we find it worth mentioning that, all over his speech, David Cameron presented different arguments for different claims.

2.6.1 Logos

Throughout his speech, David Cameron employed logos to appeal for his audience's power of logic and reasoning. This part of our analysis identifies and analyses examples of Cameron's usage of logos.

Example (1): *"70 years ago, Europe was being torn apart by its second catastrophic conflict in a generation. A war which saw the streets of European cities strewn with rubble. The skies of London lit by flames night after night. And millions dead across the world in the battle of peace and liberty. As we remember their sacrifice, so we should also remember how the shift in Europe from war to sustained peace came about. It did not happen like a change in weather. It happened because of determined work over generations. A commitment to friendship and a resolve never to revisit that dark past- a commitment epitomised by the Elysee Treaty signed 50 years ago this week."*(Paragraph 1).

Example (2): *"From Caesar's legions to the Napoleonic wars. From the Reformation, the Enlightenment and the Industrial Revolution to the defeat of Nazism. We have helped to write European history, and Europe has helped write ours."* (Paragraph 2).

From the opening paragraph of his speech, we note that David Cameron appealed for logos through the use of historical facts. Since no one can deny history, we believe that Cameron referred to historical facts to prove that Britain and Europe have always worked together in order to safeguard Europe's interests and that this cooperation successfully brought peace and stability to Europe. As shown in example (2), Cameron's reference to history is further found in the second paragraph of his speech as a means to support his claim that, throughout history, Britain and Europe have always helped each other to solve important European questions and to write the European history.

Example (3): *“Over the years, Britain has made her own, unique contribution to Europe. We have provided a haven to those fleeing tyranny and persecution. And in Europe's darkest hour, we helped keep the flame of liberty alight. Across the continent, in silent cemeteries, lie the hundreds of thousands of British servicemen who gave their lives for Europe's freedom.”*(Paragraph 2).

Example (4): *“In more recent decades, we have played our part in tearing down the Iron Curtain and championing the entry into the EU of those countries that lost so many years to Communism. And contained in this history is the crucial point about Britain, our national character, our attitude to Europe”*(Paragraph 3).

Similarly, the usage of logos is obvious in the second and third paragraph. The two examples above are instances of logical arguments put forward by Cameron. In fact, we believe that the former Prime Minister is firm about the crucial contribution of Britain to the EU throughout the past decades. And to support his position, Cameron used solid and authentic evidence that prove Britain's contribution to the prosperity and development of Europe. Hence, we believe that by citing these examples of the British contribution to Europe's growth, Cameron sought to attract the attention of his EU partners on the importance of Britain as a member of the EU and all the supports it gives to this European family. Also, we believe that these evidences further attract the Eurosceptic Britons' attention into the fact that Britain has always been a country that reaches out, collaborates, and combines its efforts with other European countries in order to achieve what best serves Europe.

Example (5): *“We have always been a country that reaches out. That turns its face to the world. That leads the charge in the fight for global trade and against protectionism. This is Britain today, as it's always been: Independent, yes- but open, too.”*(Paragraph 3).

Another example of logos is to be found in the third paragraph. In this example, we notice that Cameron used authentic examples of Britain's engagement with Europe to appeal for his audience's logic. Indeed, he advanced the questions of global trade and protectionism

as real examples to demonstrate that Britain has always spearheaded important European questions and no one can ignore this.

Example (6): *“These problems have been around too long. And the progress in dealing with them, far too slow. As Chancellor Merkel has said-if Europe today accounts for just over 7 per cent of the World’s population, produces around 25 per cent of global GDP and has to finance 50 per cent of global social spending, then it’s obvious that it will have to work very hard to maintain its prosperity and way of life.”*(Paragraph 4).

The account for logos is evident in example (6) since Cameron refers to statistics to prove that these issues slow the growth of Europe and therefore should be addressed immediately. In fact, we believe that the reference to statistics helped Cameron to call his audience’s attention on the profound implications these issues could have for the EU and its members and on the importance of solving them without delay.

Example (7): *“But when the Single Market remains incomplete in services, energy and digital- the very sectors that are the engines of a modern economy- it is only half the success it could be. It is nonsense that people shopping online in some parts of Europe are unable to access the best deals because of where they live. I want completing the single market to be our driving mission.”*(Paragraph 5).

The above example (7) extracted from the fifth paragraph, shows Cameron’s appeal for logos. In fact, he advanced the undeniable argument of shopping online as an everyday example that shows that the Single Market’s services are incomplete and thus should be given attention by the EU Member States.

Example (8): *“Some will claim that this offends a central tenet of the EU’s founding philosophy. I say it merely reflects the reality of the European Union today. 17 members are part of the Eurozone. 10 are not. 26 European countries are members of Schengen- including 4 outside the European Union- Switzerland, Norway, Liechtenstein and Iceland. 2 EU countries –Britain and Ireland- have retained their border controls. Some members, like Britain and France, are ready, willing and able to take action in Libya or Mali. Others are uncomfortable with the use of military force. Let’s welcome that diversity, instead of trying to snuff it out.”*(Paragraph 6).

Also, Cameron further appealed for logic in example (8). That is, we observe that Cameron is logical in his argumentation since he referred to statistics to prove the EU diversity and to raise his audience’s consciousness on this reality.

Example (9): *“And to those who say a new settlement can’t be negotiated, I would say listen to the views of other parties in other European countries arguing for powers to flow back to European states. And look too at what we have achieved already. Ending Britain’s obligation to bail-out Eurozone members. Keeping Britain out of the fiscal compact. Launching a process to return some existing justice and home affairs powers. Securing protections on Banking Union. And reforming fisheries policy.”*(Paragraph 12).

In example (9), we believe that Cameron referred to the different reforms that Britain has already achieved in the EU legislation as a logical argument supported by authentic examples to persuade his audience that reforms can be undertaken to safeguard the interests of Britain without resorting to an eventual Brexit.

Example (10): *“Continued access to the Single Market is vital for British businesses and British jobs. Since 2004, Britain has been the destination for 1 in 5 of all inward investments into Europe. And being part of the Single market has been key to that success.”*(Paragraph 13).

In example (10), Cameron further appealed for logos by putting forward the example of the increasing returns on investments following Britain’s membership in the Single Market in order to persuade his audience that the British interests and profits are best served within the EU.

To conclude, we can say that Cameron’s most consistent effort to appeal for his audience logic revolved around the use of historical facts and fact-checked evidence that can’t be denied by his audience. Besides, we can say that logos is properly appealed for in this speech.

2.6.2 Ethos

It is evident from the beginning of this speech that Cameron’s aim is not to reflect an authoritative image but rather to establish credibility and trustworthiness. In order to construct a credible character, the former British Prime Minister gave prominence to demonstrate his goodwill toward his audience. The following examples of ethos are analysed.

Example (1) *“I don’t just want a better deal for Britain. I want a better deal for Europe too.”*(Paragraph 3).

Example (2): *“If we don’t address these challenges, the danger is that Europe will fail and the British people will drift towards the exit. I do not want that to happen. I want the European Union to be a success. And I want a relationship between Britain and the EU that keeps us in it.”*(Paragraph 3).

Example (3): *“Because I believe something very deeply. That Britain’s national interest is best served in a flexible, adaptable and open European Union and that such a European Union is best with Britain in it. Over the coming weeks, months and years, I will not rest until this debate is won. For the future of my country. For the success of the European Union. And for the prosperity of our peoples for generations to come.”*(Paragraph 15).

As shown in the above quoted examples (1), (2), and (3), Cameron demonstrated his goodwill by showing his concern towards his country and Europe and his willingness to achieve what is in their interests.

Example (4): *“Today, public disillusionment with the EU is at an all time high. There are several reasons for this. People feel that the EU is heading in a direction that they never signed up to. They resent the interference in our national life by what they see as unnecessary rules and regulation. And they wonder what the point of it all is.”*(Paragraph 10).

Example (5): *“They see Treaty after Treaty changing the balance between Member States and the EU. And note they were never given a say. They had referendums promised- but not delivered. They see what has happened to the EU. And they note that many of our political and business leaders urged Britain to join at the time.”*(Paragraph 10).

In the examples (4) and (5), Cameron further showed his goodwill towards his nation by speaking on behalf of the British citizens and exposing their concerns and feeling of confusion and deception toward the EU choices that were made without their consent. Thus, he portrayed himself as a Prime Minister who is aware of the preoccupations of his nation and what makes them feel sceptical towards the place of Britain in the EU.

Example (6): *“It is national parliaments, which are, and will remain, the true source of real democratic legitimacy and accountability in the EU.”*(Paragraph 8).

Example (7): *“It time for the British people to have their say. It is time to settle this European question in British politics. I say to the British people: this will be your decision.”*(Paragraph 12).

Example (8): *“At the end of that debate you, the British people, will decide.”*(Paragraph 14).

Moreover, we believe that through the examples (6), (7), and (8), the Conservative leader affirms his goodwill towards the British nation when he promised them to hold a democratic in-out referendum if the Conservative party wins the majority in the general elections of 2015. Indeed, this important step shows that Cameron respects the British people’s will.

As described in our theoretical part, the orator's credibility can also be established through the usage of expressions that denote deference or respect towards the audiences' opinions. The following examples (9), (10) and (11) contain deference expressions deployed by Cameron to express his respect for his audience's standpoints.

Example (9): "*we understand and respect the right of others to maintain their commitment to this goal.*"(Paragraph 6).

Example (10): "*There is not, in my view, a single European demos.*"(Paragraph 8).

Example (11): "*These 5 principles provide what, I believe, is the right approach for the European Union.*"(Paragraph 9).

Example (12): "*I understand the appeal of going it alone, of charting our own course.*" (Paragraph 12).

Furthermore, in the examples (13) and (14), Cameron tried to assert his credibility by citing other European leaders to show that his opinions are shared among other EU partners.

Example (13): "*As Chancellor Merkel has said-if Europe today accounts for just over 7 per cent of the world's population, produces around 25 per cent of global GDP and has to finance 50 per cent of global social spending, then it's obvious that it will have to work very hard to maintain its prosperity and way of life.*"(Paragraph 4).

In example (13), Cameron referred to the German Chancellor Merkel to direct his audiences' attention to the fact that he is not the only one to claim that there are business problems within the EU that would impact on the economic prosperity of Europe.

Example (14): "*But I agree too with what President Barroso and others have said. At some stage in the next few years the EU will need to agree on Treaty change to make the changes needed for the long term future of the Euro and to entrench the diverse, competitive, democratically accountable Europe that we seek.*"(Paragraph 12).

Also, in example (14), Cameron referred to the former Portuguese President of the European Commission to shed light on the fact that other European leaders have already suggested this idea of a Treaty change as a solution that would help the EU to overcome its crisis and secure its future.

Besides, it is worth to note that in his speech, Cameron offered the EU leaders to implement the principle of fairness into the European Union. Thus, we believe that he

advanced this suggestion to depict himself as a fair and honest leader in order to establish his credibility.

In addition to showing his goodwill and respect, David Cameron used inclusive pronouns “we” “us” and “our” as a strategy to establish a credible character. As the bellow tables (1) and (2) show, Cameron’s use of inclusive pronouns is superior to his use of the pronouns that express uniqueness. Indeed, he employed the first plural pronouns to evoke a sense of togetherness and unity between him and his audience, to identify himself as a part of his audience, to show shared responsibility and interests, and to appeal for a collective action. Thus, the following examples of Cameron’s use of inclusive pronouns are briefly analysed.

Example (15): “We have the character of an island nation-independent, forthright, passionate in defence of our sovereignty.”(Paragraph 2).

In example (15), Cameron used the inclusive “we” to identify himself as a member of the British nation and to show their national character of an island nation.

Example (16): “For us, the European Union is a means to an end-prosperity, stability, the anchor off freedom and democracy both within Europe and beyond her shores-not an end in itself.”(Paragraph 2).

The conservative leader employed the inclusive “us” in example (16) to connect with the Britons and to portray himself as the representative of the British people.

Example (17): “And it’s right we begin to address these issues now.”(Paragraph 4).

In example (17), Cameron shifted to include himself as a member of the EU leaders. In fact, he used “we” to invite his EU partners to a collective action in order to address the issues that are faced by Europe.

Example (18): “And that will make our countries weaker not stronger.”(Paragraph 4).

Also, Cameron used the inclusive “our” in example (18) to attract the attention of his European partners on the common threat that threatens their countries if they do not act together upon the challenges they face.

Example (19): “So let us use this moment, as the Dutch Prime Minister recently suggested, to examine thoroughly what the EU as a whole should do and should stop doing.”(Paragraph 7).

Furthermore, Cameron used the pronoun “us” in example (19) to invite the EU leaders to a collective action in order to fix the strengths and weaknesses of the EU.

Table 2. The Frequency of Occurrence of Inclusive Pronouns in the Speech (by Cameron)

Inclusive Pronouns	Frequency in the Speech
We	105
Us	21
Our	51

Table 3. The Frequency of Occurrence of Pronouns of Uniqueness in the Speech (by Cameron)

Pronouns that express Uniqueness	Frequency of Use in the Speech
I	50
My	5

To add credibility to his words, David Cameron made a considerable use of modal verbs in his speech. As it can be observed in Table (4) below, Cameron significantly used the modalverb will (50 times) so as to show his determination and willingness to change the EU for the better. Also, to portray himself as a leader who envisages the next steps to undertake in order to achieve what best serves the British nation and the EU Member States. Moreover, he employed the modal verbs should (21 times) and must (9 times) to give recommendations and picture himself as the leader who has the solutions to overcome the challenges faced by the EU and conserve the British support. In addition to will and should, the modal verb can is also repeatedly employed in Cameron’s speech. Indeed, Cameron used can (20 times) mostly to highlight his insistence on the fact that reforms can be undertaken in order to build a successful Union. The following examples of Cameron’s usage of modal verbs in the Bloomberg speech are discussed.

Example (20): “*Over the coming weeks, months and years, I will not rest until this debate is won.*” (Paragraph 15)

In example (20), David Cameron employed the modal verb will to display his determination and engagement to work hard until the EU leaders and the British people join their efforts in order to deliver a flexible, competitive and modern Union.

Example (20): *“But if there is no appetite for a new Treaty for us all then of course Britain should be ready to address the changes we need in a negotiation with our European partners.”* (Paragraph 12)

In example (20), Cameron utilised the modal verb should in order to suggest that even if the other EU nations are not excited about possible reforms within the EU, the British nation should be prepared to negotiate its membership within the Union.

Example (21): *“With courage and conviction I believe we can achieve a new settlement in which Britain can be comfortable and all our countries can thrive.”* (Paragraph 15)

In example (21), Cameron used the modal verb can twice in the same sentence as a means to insist on the fact that with willingness and collaboration, it will be possible to build a strong EU that would deliver prosperity and stability to all its Member States.

Table 4. The Frequency of Occurrence of Modal Verbs in the Speech (by Cameron)

Modal Verbs	Frequency in the Speech
Will	50
Should	21
Can	20
Would	17
Must	9
Could	4

Additionally, we believe that keeping his speech in a high degree of formality helped Cameron to establish credibility. Indeed, all over our analysis, we have observed that Cameron’s speech is free of any joke and inappropriate comments. In fact, this proves that Cameron was aware of the seriousness and sensitiveness of the issues that are facing him when delivering this speech. That is to say, we believe that the use of a formal language helped Cameron depict himself as a serious leader who doesn’t take things lightly and who is aware of the solemnity of the situation.

All things considered, we can say that Cameron succeeded to exhibit his credible character primarily by showing his goodwill and respect towards his audience. Also, the use of inclusivity, modality, and formal language, has considerably helped to assert his credibility.

2.6.3 Pathos

In his Bloomberg speech, we notice that David Cameron relies much more on logos and ethos rather than on pathos. In fact, it is clear that the emotive language is not spread across the speech. However, this does not mean that Cameron's speech is free of any emotional appeal. Indeed, Cameron appealed for his audiences' emotional side in many occasions. In what follows, we have identified, illustrated and discussed examples of emotions that Cameron appeals for in his speech.

In the opening paragraph of his discourse, the Conservative leader made an expressive and emotive description of the Second World War and evoked the European Unification and the sacrifices of their European ancestors using a vivid imagery to make the audience visualise this event. In fact, he employed the hyperbolic sentence "*Europe was being torn apart by its second catastrophic conflict*" and the metaphor "*The skies of London lit by flames night after night*" to describe the disastrous and destructive consequences of the war. Following that, Cameron used a simile "*it did not happen like a change in the weather*" to describe how it was difficult to the European countries to restore peace in Europe and to put aside their rivalry and unify their efforts to overcome this dark past through the Elysee Treaty that marked the beginning of the European Union. Also, we believe that through this expressive introduction, the former British Minister sought to raise his audience's sense of gratitude towards the EU which brought peace into Europe and engaged itself, as Cameron metaphorically says, to heal those wounds of their obscure past.

Alongside metaphorical and hyperbolic expressions, Cameron further used an allusion as an emotional stimulus. Indeed, Cameron's reference to Churchill's powerful expression "*the twin marauders of war and tyranny*" that describes the inclemency of the war sought to evoke once again his audience's sense of gratitude towards the EU which closed the darkest chapter of the European history.

From his speech, we notice that David Cameron is aware that his domestic audience is confused and sceptical about the British place in the European Union. In other words, the British people believe that the only possible outcome for Britain is an immediate Brexit referendum. Besides, Cameron is aware that an immediate in-out vote at the midst of this

European crisis would drive Britain into an eventual Brexit. Therefore, he attempted to awaken a sense of optimism in the British people and to entrench a positive vision of the future of the EU in their minds. In fact, throughout his speech, Cameron tried to persuade his audience that the EU best days are yet to come.

Example (1): *“So I speak as a British Prime Minister with a positive vision for the future of European Union. A future in which Britain wants, and should want, to play a committed and active part.”*(Paragraph 3).

In example (1) Cameron conveyed his positive vision for the future of the EU. In fact, all through his speech, the former British Prime Minister tried to persuade his audience to adopt this optimistic vision for the future of the EU in order to make them give up the idea of the exit. Accordingly, Cameron stated that whatever the complaints against the current EU are, this doesn't mean that it is a failure. Besides, he seems to be confident that with negotiations and reforms, these challenges faced by Europe can be met and a flexible, competitive, fair, democratic, and modern European Union would emerge.

Example (2): *“It does not seem to me that the steps which would be needed to make Britain- and others- more comfortable in their relationship in the European Union are inherently so outlandish or unreasonable.”*(Paragraph 15).

Example (3): *“I know there will be those who say the vision I have outlined will be impossible to achieve. That there is no way our partners will co-operate. That the British people have set themselves on a path to inevitable exit. And that if we aren't comfortable being in the EU after 40 years, we never will be. But I refuse to take such a defeatist attitude- either for Britain or for Europe.”* (Paragraph 15).

Example (4): *“With courage and conviction I believe we can achieve a new settlement in which Britain can be comfortable and all our countries can thrive.”*(Paragraph 15).

Furthermore, the former British Prime Minister seems to be confident in the vision he draws of the updated European Union that would emerge from a renegotiation of the EU rules with his EU colleagues. Thus, in addition to raising a sense of optimism in his audiences, examples (2), (3) and (4) demonstrate how David Cameron tried to raise his audiences' confidence in the achievability of a new settlement that would give birth to a modernized, flexible and democratic Union. In fact, in the examples above, he reassured his audience that with courage, willingness and conviction, his positive vision of the future EU would be attained.

After an in-depth analysis, it is evident that through his speech, Cameron wanted to raise the sentiment of threat in his EU partners in order to push them to react and help him to overcome these issues and renew with the British nation.

Example (5): *“If we don’t address these challenges, the danger is that Europe will fail and the British people will drift towards the exit.”*(Paragraph 3).

Example (6): *“More of the same will just produce more of the same- less competitiveness, less growth, fewer jobs. And that will make our countries weaker not stronger.”*(Paragraph 4).

From the two examples above (5) and (6), we conclude that Cameron aimed to make his EU partners threatened by and concerned about the consequences of ignoring the issues he discussed earlier in his speech. In fact, his message to the EU leaders is clear: if they do not join Britain’s efforts to maintain the EU unified, Europe will lose the support of Britain and fail to keep its powerful position in the world.

Obviously, it is evident that the Conservative leader did not give much prominence to the emotional appeal in his speech.

2.6.4 Kairos

Saying the right thing at the right time makes the speech more influential and effective; this is what Aristotle referred to as the power of kairos. In other words, Kairos is to deliver the appropriate speech in particular circumstances. We believe that David Cameron appealed for kairos and created the perfect moment to deliver his message about the future of Britain within the European Union. In fact, the Bloomberg speech was delivered on 23 January 2013; and we believe that Cameron chose this day to coincide with the 50th anniversary of the signature of the Elysee Treaty, on 22 January 1963, that marked the reconciliation of the two biggest European enemies France and Germany and the beginning of the EU. Thus, Cameron chose the event that marked the birth of the EU to talk about its future and the future of Britain within it. In other words, he took advantage of this important historical event, that marked the end of a dark chapter and the beginning of an union, to deliver his speech about Britain and the EU. Also, we think that Cameron further established kairos since he intervened at the heart of the EU crisis to deliver a speech in which he successfully shed light on the weaknesses of the European Union and the sectors it needs to work on in order to create an ideal Union. Hence, this speech came at the midst of a British

uncertainty to reassure the British nation that everything is under control. That is to say, Cameron intervened at the right time to reassure the British nation.

Obviously, Cameron succeeded to recognise the opportune moment to deliver this speech; besides, we believe that the fact of delivering the right speech at the right moment, increased the persuasive power of this speech.

2.7 Figures of Speech

The former British Prime Minister aimed to be persuasive and to increase the success of his speech. Therefore, he used a figurative language to comply with the emotions of his audience and to improve the clarity of his ideas. At this stage of our analysis, nine figures of speech are identified and analysed.

2.7.1 Metaphors

Metaphors are given a noteworthy importance all over this speech. We believe that by employing metaphors, Cameron sought to help his audience relate abstract ideas to concrete objects so that they can absorb clear ideas. Moreover, we believe that Cameron's usage of metaphorical expressions aimed at attracting the ears of the audience so that they give more attention to the Conservative leader's speech. Thus, Examples of Cameron's metaphors are analysed in the following excerpts:

Example (1): *"70 years ago, Europe was being torn apart by its second catastrophic conflict in a generation. A war which saw the streets of European cities strewn with rubble. The skies of London lit by flames night after night. And millions dead across the world in the battle for peace and liberty."*(Paragraph 1).

In example (1), David Cameron employed three metaphorical expressions to stress the cruelty and harshness of the Second World War. The first metaphorical expression "*being torn apart*" is used by Cameron to highlight the devastating consequences of this war on Europe. In fact, what he intended to convey with this expression is that Europe was destroyed and ruined by this war. In the same example, Cameron employed two other metaphors "*The streets of European cities strewn with rubble*" and "*The skies of London lit by flames night after night*" to describe the dark climate that pervaded the European cities during the war. Indeed, Cameron used the expression "*strewn with rubble*" to mean that building debris are found everywhere in the European cities. Also, by using the third metaphorical expression "*The skies of London lit by flames*", Cameron intended to say that London was encircled by

the flames of the explosions which never died down even during the night. So, we believe that these quoted metaphors aim to emotionally connect with his audiences.

Example (2): “*Healing those wounds of our history is the central story of the European Union.*”(Paragraph 1).

In the quoted metaphor “*Healing those wounds of our history*”, the former British Prime Minister did not mean to cure the physical injuries caused by the Second War, but rather to make people go over the long-lasting trauma and forget the terrible experiences they experienced due to this war. In fact, he indirectly compared the war’s traumas to physical injuries that are cured by the European Union. Thus, the idea Cameron intended to convey through the above example is that after the end of the War of the Nations, the EU has engaged itself in erasing the bad memories of the war and help the European nations make a fresh start and open the door to a new peaceful continent. Accordingly, we believe that Cameron employed this metaphor to evoke a sense of gratitude in his audience so that they feel grateful towards the EU nations that worked hard to make Europe forget these dark chapters of its history.

Example (3): “*For us, the European Union is a means to an end – prosperity, stability, the anchor of freedom and democracy both within Europe and beyond her shores- not an end in itself.*”(Paragraph 2).

In example (3), Cameron further drew an indirect comparison between the European Union and an anchor to describe what the EU represents for Britain. In fact, he compared the EU to an anchor. Yet, he used the word “*anchor*” because it symbolises steadfastness and stability. In its literal meaning, the anchor is the heavy object used to steady a ship in a specific place and to hold it in its place during the tempests. Thus, we think that David Cameron metaphorically used this phrase “*anchor of freedom and democracy*” to imply that the EU fixes and secures freedom and democracy in Europe and all over the world. Obviously, Cameron employed this metaphorical expression to draw the attention of his domestic audience on the importance of the EU to its Member States and help them relate this importance into a concrete object in order to know the degree of its importance.

Example (4): “*And in Europe’s darkest hour, we helped keep the flame of liberty alight.*”(Paragraph 2).

In example (4), the former British Prime Minister implicitly associated liberty to a fire that is manifested by a flame. In its original context, it is the flame of a fire that is kept alight, but in this example it’s the flame of liberty that is kept alight. This expression “*the flame of*

liberty” metaphorically refers to widespread liberty. So, he employed this metaphor to allude to the fact that even in the worst days of the Second World War, Britain managed all its efforts to help Europe secure freedom and liberty.

Example (5): “*We have a character of an island nation – independent, forthright, passionate in defence of our sovereignty.*” (Paragraph 3).

In example (5), David Cameron drew an implicit association between the British nation and an island. When portraying Britain as an “*island nation*”, it is evident that he did not refer to its geographical setting since Britain is not an island; it is geographically linked to other European countries. Therefore, we think that this metaphorical expression “*Island nation*” implies that the British nation is distinct and different from its neighbors in regard to its character and national identity. Thus, we believe that Cameron intended to say that the British people are psychologically different from the other next-door European countries in the sense that they are independent, frank, straightforward and impassioned when it comes to defend their country’s sovereignty.

Example (6): “*I never want us to pull up the drawbridge and retreat from the world.*”(Paragraph 3).

In example (6) taken from the third paragraph, Cameron used the word “*drawbridge*” to symbolise the British connections with the world. Thus, he compared the British relationships with the outside world to a drawbridge. In its literal meaning, a drawbridge means a movable bridge that can be raised. So, we believe that Cameron metaphorically employed this word to refer to the British connections with the rest of the world. In fact, David Cameron wanted to say that he doesn’t want to cut off from Europe and the world and that he cannot accept that the British nation isolates itself from the rest of the nations.

Example (7): “*Let’s stop all this talk of 2-speed Europe, or fast lanes and slow lanes, of countries missing trains and buses, and consign the whole weary caravan of metaphors to permanent siding.*”(Paragraph 6).

Obviously, the phrase “*the whole weary caravan of metaphors*” is employed in a metaphorical way in example (7). Indeed, we assume that this figurative expression denotes the endless suggestions, promises and speeches made by the EU leaders. Thus, through this example, Cameron wanted to say that instead of wasting energy in untold propositions, it would be more helpful to the EU nations to join their efforts together and address the issues faced by Europe.

Example (8): *“But far from unraveling the EU, this will in fact bind its Members more closely because such flexible, willing cooperation is a much stronger glue than compulsion from the centre.”* (Paragraph 6).

The example (8) above demonstrates a metaphorical usage of the word “glue”. In fact, in the sixth paragraph, David Cameron indirectly compared the flexible and willing cooperation between the EU Member States to a stronger glue. The implication of this metaphor is that this updated EU alliance that would hold the EU partners together would be stronger and more solid. In other words, Cameron intended to say that this new Union would bring the EU nation closer together just like glue sticks objects together.

Example (9): *“If we left the European Union, it would be a 1-way ticket, not a return.”*(Paragraph 14).

In example (9), the former British Prime Minister implicitly associated the Brexit to a “1-way ticket” in the sense that if Britain exits from the Union, it won’t be able to rejoin it again. We believe that by employing this metaphorical expression, Cameron wanted to attract the attention of his audience on the importance of measuring both the advantages and disadvantages of Britain’s membership in the EU before taking any decisive decision.

Broadly, David Cameron successfully used a metaphorical language to captivate his audience’s ears and bring clarity into his ideas by helping them to relate abstract ideas into concrete objects. Also, Cameron succeeded to implement metaphorical expressions in a way that evokes emotions in his audiences as it is shown in the examples (1) and (2).

2.7.2 Similes

As far as simile is concerned, David Cameron made use of it in order to add some aesthetics to his speech and to bring clarity and lucidity to his ideas. Thus, two examples of similes are identified and analysed in this research.

Example (1): *“As we remember their sacrifice, so we should also remember how the shift in Europe from war to sustained peace came about. It did not happen like a change in the weather. It happened because of determined work over generations. ”* (Paragraph 1).

At the beginning of his speech, Cameron used the simile “*It did not happen like a change in the weather*” to highlight how hard it was for Europe, to switch from war and rivalry to peace and reconciliation. Thus, Cameron wanted to emphasise the fact that the

European unification did not happen overnight. In fact, it is, according to him, the result of a sincere willingness and a long-lasting cooperation to restore peace in Europe.

Example (2): “*We can no more change this British sensibility than we can drain the English Channel.*”(Paragraph 2).

Also, David Cameron portrayed the British character as strong-minded and independent. He therefore equated the willingness to change the British character to the will to drain the English Channel in order to emphasise that it is beyond the bounds of possibility to the EU Member States to change the British nature.

To conclude, we believe that the former British Prime Minister’s use of similes aims to help his audience visualise what he intended to say and thus make his idea clearer.

2.7.3 Hyperbole

Another figure of speech that David Cameron used in his speech is hyperbole.

Example (1): “*I am not a British isolationist.*”(Paragraph 1).

We believe that Cameron exaggerated when he used the word isolationist; in fact, no British citizen wants Britain to be isolated from Europe or from the rest of the world, not even the Eurosceptics. However, we think that Cameron employed this exaggerated word to put an emphasis on his position towards an eventual Brexit from the EU. Indeed, what he wanted to say is that he is against Britain’s withdrawal from the EU.

Example (2): “*Competitiveness demands flexibility, choice and openness-or Europe will fetch up in a no-man’s land between the rising economies of Asia and market-driven North America.*”(Paragraph 6).

Furthermore, we note Cameron’s exaggeration in example (2) when he stated that if competitiveness is not reinforced by flexibility “*Europe will fetch up in a no-man’s land*”. In fact, Europe’s competitiveness will be affected if there is no flexibility within the EU, but this won’t bring Europe down. Obviously, Cameron intentionally employed this hyperbolic phrase to capture his audience’s attention and highlight the importance of creating a flexible Union.

Example (3): “*The EU must be able to act with the speed and flexibility of a network, not the cumbersome rigidity of a bloc.*”(Paragraph 6).

Besides, Cameron carries on discussing the principle of flexibility and employed the hyperbolic expression “*not the cumbersome rigidity of a bloc*” to describe the current flexibility of the EU which is, according to him, cumbersome and rigid just like a bloc. Also,

Cameron's usage of hyperbole in this example aims to attract the attention of the EU leaders to address this issue.

All in all, Cameron properly employed hyperbolic language to attract the ears of his audience and put an emphasis on his claims.

2.7.4 Idioms

As far as idiomatic expressions are concerned, two examples of idioms are identified and discussed in David Cameron's speech.

Example (1): *"Let us not be misled by the fallacy that a deep and workable single market requires everything to be harmonized, to hanker after some unattainable and infinitely level playing field."*(Paragraph 7).

The quoted idiom "*level playing field*" in example (1) refers to a situation in which everyone has the same advantages and disadvantages (Cambridge Dictionary, 2019). Thus, the implication of this idiom in Cameron's statement is that the EU Member States are different; they take different decisions and make different choices therefore they cannot have the same benefits and downsides in the EU. That is, they do not have the same advantages and disadvantages in being a Member State in the European Union.

Example (2): *"But it will be decision we will have to take with cool heads."* (Paragraph 12).

As shown in example (2), "*Cool heads*" is another idiomatic expression employed in this speech; it is defined in the Cambridge Dictionary (2019) as "*To stay calm in a difficult situation*". Indeed, Cameron used this idiom to imply that in such a confusing and stressful situation in Europe and Britain, the British people should manage to keep calm and think carefully before taking any decisive decision concerning the Brexit.

In conclusion, Cameron employed these idiomatic expressions to convey a clear message and to connect with the British people since these expressions belong to the British culture.

2.7.5 Personification

All over our analysis, we observed that examples of personification are spread in this speech.

Example (1): *"Over the years, Britain has made her own, unique contribution to Europe."*(Paragraph 2).

In example (1), David Cameron attributed the human characteristic of making contribution to Britain which is a country. That is, a country cannot contribute to the growth of a continent. In fact, this personification implies that the British leaders and citizens contributed to the European progress.

Example (2): “*Britain is characterised not just by its independence but, above all, by its openness.*”(Paragraph 3).

In example (2), Britain is given the human traits of independence and openness. Again, Cameron used the word Britain to allude to the British citizens.

Example (3): “*If we don’t address these challenges, the danger is that Europe will fail and the British people will drift towards the exit.*”(Paragraph 3).

It is evident that a continent cannot experience failure since failure is an experience that is specific to human beings. So, what Cameron wanted to convey in example (3) is that if these European questions are not addressed, the cooperation between the European leaders and populations will fail and Britons will exit from the EU.

Example (4): “*And that will make our countries weaker not stronger.*”(Paragraph 4).

Again the features of weakness and strength are part of the humans’ character. In example (4), Cameron personified the European countries and referred to them as being people that can be weakened or strengthen.

Example (5): “*We must not be weighed down by an insistence on a one size fits all approach which implies that all countries want the same level of integration.*”(Paragraph 6).

Moreover, the European countries acquired once more the human property of desire and wants in example (5). In this example, Cameron intended to say that the EU leaders and citizens do not want the same level of integration within the European Union.

Example (6): “*So let us use this moment, as the Dutch Prime Minister has recently suggested, to examine thoroughly what the EU as a whole should do and should stop doing.*”(Paragraph 7).

In example (6), Cameron personified the European Union organisation by attributing it the person’s power to act, to do or stop doing things. Obviously, Cameron used the word EU to refer to the European Union leaders.

Example (7): “*Countries are different. They make different choices.*”(Paragraph 7).

It is not the countries that make choices, but it is rather their leaders. In fact, example (7) is another example in which the EU countries acquired the human’s power of making choices.

Example (8): “*In the same way we need to examine whether the balance is right in so many areas where the European Union has legislated including on the environment, social affairs and crime.*”(Paragraph 7).

The power of enacting rules is unique to humans. However, in example (7), Cameron attributed this human characteristic to the EU organization.

Example (9): “*It is to the Bundestag that Angela Merkel has to answer. It is though the Greek Parliament that Antonis Samaras has to pass his government’s austerity measures.*”(Paragraph 8).

Also, the German and Greek National Parliaments are personified by Cameron in example (9). In fact, Cameron portrayed the German and Greek parliament as people to whom their leaders should provide answers and give account before making any choice within the EU.

Example (10): “*There are some who suggest we could turn ourselves into Norway or Switzerland-with access to the single market but outside the EU. But would that really be in our best interests? I admire those countries and they are friends of ours but they are different from us.*”(Paragraph 14).

Example (11): “*It matters to the United States and other friends around the world, which is why many tell us very clearly that they want Britain to remain in the EU.*”(Paragraph 14).

Besides, in the examples (10) and (11), the former British Prime Minister referred to countries as the friends of Britain, and thus assigned them the human characteristic of friendship.

Overall, it may be said that Cameron attributed human traits and characteristics to countries, governments and organisations which is very common in political speeches. So, we think that he employed personifications not to impress the audience but rather to put an emphasis on the non-living object being personified.

2.7.6 Tricolon

David Cameron repeatedly employed tricolon all over his speech to emphasise his ideas in order to help his audience absorb them and also to make his sentences appealing and rhythmic. For instance, the following three selected examples contain tricolon.

Example (1): *“We are starting to see this in the demonstrations on the streets of Athens, Madrid and Rome. We are seeing it in the parliament of Berlin, Helsinki and the Hague.”*(Paragraph 4).

Example (2): *“I want us to be at the forefront of transformative trade deals with the US, Japan and India as a part of the drive towards global free trade.”*(Paragraph 5).

Example (3): *“Some people say that to point this out is irresponsible, creates uncertainty for business and puts a question mark over Britain’s place in the European Union.”*(Paragraph 11).

2.7.7 Anaphora

This speech contains anaphoric examples employed by Cameron mainly to highlight certain ideas and make this speech pleasant to listen to. The following examples of anaphora are analysed and discussed.

Example (1): *“We have always been a country that reaches out. That turns its face to the world. That leads the charge in the fight of global trade and against protectionism.”*(Paragraph 3).

In example (1), Cameron repeated the word “that” to emphasise the fact that Britain is a country that is open to the world in general and to Europe in particular.

Example (2): *“In a global race, can we really justify the huge number of expensive peripheral European institutions? Can we justify a Commission that gets ever larger? Can we carry on with an organisation that has a multi-billion pound budget but not enough focus on controlling spending and shutting down programmes that haven’t worked?”*(Paragraph 5).

Example (2) is another anaphoric example in which Cameron repeated the verb “can” three times at the beginning of each sentence to give prominence to these questions and to attract the attention of the European Leaders on them.

Example (3): *“It is to the Bundestag that Angela Merkel has to answer. It is through the Greek Parliament that Antonis Samaras has to pass his Government’s austerity measures. It is to the British Parliament that I must account on the EU budget negotiations, or on the safeguarding of our place in the single market.”*(Paragraph 8).

Moreover, Cameron repeated the pronoun “it” three times in example (3) to highlight the idea that the European leaders should have the consent of their National Parliaments before taking any decision concerning their countries.

2.7.8 Parallelism

In addition to Tricolon and anaphoric sentences, David Cameron also relied on parallel sentences to put an emphasis on his ideas and attract the ears of his audience. The following examples are instances of parallel sentences.

Example (1): “*The map of global influence is changing before our eyes. And these changes are already being felt by the entrepreneur in the Netherlands, the worker in Germany, the family in Britain.*” (Paragraph 1).

In example (1), the three phrases “*the entrepreneur in the Netherlands, the worker in Germany, the family in Britain*” are placed in parallel structures to highlight the fact that the changes in the world economy impacts on the European citizens.

Example (2): “*That is why I am here today. To acknowledge the nature of the challenges we face. To set out how I believe the European Union should respond to them. And to explain what I want to achieve for Britain and its place within the European Union.*” (Paragraph 3).

Also, in example (2), David Cameron started his sentences with parallel structures “*to acknowledge... To set out... To explain*” in order to attract the attention of his audiences on the motives that pushed him to carry out his speech.

Example (3): “*And my point is this. More of the same will not secure a long-term future for the Eurozone. More of the same will not see the European keeping pace with the new powerhouse economies. More of the same will not bring the European Union any closer to its citizens.*” (Paragraph 4).

Furthermore, the former British Prime Minister employed the same structure in example (3), to put an emphasis on the fact that things should be changed in the EU in order to guarantee a successful European Union.

Example (4): “*Because with courage and conviction I believe we can deliver a more flexible, adaptable and open European Union in which the interests and ambitions of all its members can be met. With courage and conviction I believe we can achieve a new settlement in which Britain can be comfortable and all our countries can thrive.*” (Paragraph 5).

The parallel structure “*with courage and conviction I believe we can*” is repeated twice in example (4) to stress the fact that a new settlement can be negotiated and a new EU can be built if they are determined to achieve this. By repeating this structure, Cameron further sought to raise the feeling of confidence in his audience.

2.7.9 Rhetorical Questions

As far as rhetorical questions are concerned, we identified the following:

Example (1): “*In a global race, can we really justify the huge number of expensive peripheral European institutions? Can we justify a Commission that gets ever larger? Can we carry on with an organisation that has a multi-billion pound budget but not enough focus on controlling spending and shutting down programmes that haven’t worked?*”(Paragraph 5).

Example (2): “*And I would ask: when the competitiveness of the single market is so important, why is there an environment council, a transport council, an education council but not a single market council?*”(Paragraph 5).

So, in the fifth paragraph, Cameron addressed the quoted questions in the examples (1) and (2). It is Obvious that Cameron did not ask these questions to have an answer, but rather to stimulate his audience’s reflection. In other words, these rhetorical questions sought to push his audience to be conscientious of these questions. Furthermore, the Conservative leader addressed these questions to put an emphasis on the necessity of considering these questions in order to boost the competitiveness of the Single Market.

2.8 Synthesis of the Findings

This paper examined the rhetorical situation that surrounds the Bloomberg speech (2013) and the different rhetorical strategies used by the former British Prime Minister to construct a persuasive speech. In the conclusion of our analysis, we have come to the following conclusions:

In the first part of our analysis, we have concerned ourselves with the examination of the Bloomberg speech’s rhetorical situation. Our analysis has revealed that David Cameron succeeded to recognise the necessity to deliver his speech in order to invite his EU Partners to tackle the problems that hinder the prosperity of the EU; also, to convince them of the necessity to revise the Treaty that governs the EU in order to promote a more comfortable and flexible Union. Additionally, he succeeded to detect the urgency to pronounce this speech in order to persuade his domestic audience that Britain’s interests are best served within the EU

and that an immediate Brexit referendum is not the right choice to make. Moreover, we have concluded that the Conservative leader addressed the Bloomberg speech to the right audiences who can act as mediators for change and make the desired judgment. Indeed, he addressed the EU leaders who can respond in a positive way to his call to renegotiate the EU legislation and take action to enact the principles he suggested for a comfortable EU that would retain the British support. Moreover, he addressed the British nation which can accept to postpone the in-out vote until the negotiations between Britain and the EU Member States come to an end. Furthermore, in terms of constraints, this analysis has shown that Cameron was able to envisage some constraints that could restrict the influence of his speech. For instance, he considered the fact that his speech is addressed to a large audience with different background knowledge; therefore, he employed simple linguistic structures along with a clear diction. However, he failed to consider others which can limit the influence of this speech. For instance, he did not consider the fact that claiming that Britain can manage well without the help of the EU can play against him.

The second part of our examination analysed Cameron's appeal for the four Aristotelian appeals: logos, ethos, pathos and kairos. Our analysis has shown that the Conservative leader effectively entrenched the four appeals in his speech. Besides, we have noticed that logos and ethos are dominant in this speech. That is, much of Cameron's efforts to persuade his audience are based on presenting logical arguments supported by historical facts and fact-checked evidence. Also, the former British Prime Minister gave considerable prominence for establishing a credible character so that his audience would believe his claims. Indeed, we have observed that all over his speech, Cameron successfully demonstrated his goodwill towards his audience as a means to look credible. Even though he did not place much attention in persuading his audience by means of emotional appeal, we have pinpointed four main emotions in this speech: gratitude, optimism, confidence and threat. Indeed, we have noted that Cameron attempted several times to evoke in his audience's a sense of gratitude towards the efforts the efforts provided by the EU Member States to maintains peace and stability in Europe; and also a sense of optimism, positivism, and confidence towards the future of the EU. In addition to generating a sense of gratitude optimism and confidence in his audience, Cameron attempted to evoke a feeling of threat in his audience. In fact, throughout his speech, Cameron tried, in a number of occasions, to raise a sense of threat in the EU leaders in order to convince them of the necessity to solve the EU's problems and also to direct their attention on the importance of maintaining the support of Britain. Besides, we

have ended up this part with the identification and examination of the fourth rhetorical appeal kairos. Accordingly, we have concluded that Cameron delivered the right speech at the right moment. Thus, we believe that he chose to carry his speech on January 23 of the year 2013 to coincide with a momentous event in the history of Europe and the European Union which is the 50th anniversary of the Elysee Treaty. Indeed, the signature of this treaty is an important event in the EU history since it marked the first step towards a European reconciliation and Unification after the Second World War. Furthermore, Cameron intervened at the right time to reduce the tensions among the British nation. All things considered, we can say that the four Rhetorical Appeals are successfully implemented in Cameron's speech to intensify his persuasiveness.

The last part of our analysis examined the different figures of speech employed by Cameron to reinforce his persuasiveness. In terms of figurative language, we have concluded that Cameron addressed nine prominent figures of speech especially tricolon, parallelism, and anaphora to attract the ears of his audiences and put an emphasis on his ideas and claims. Furthermore, Cameron laboriously used metaphors, hyperbole, similes, and personifications to help his audience relate abstract ideas to vivid objects so that they absorb his ideas in a clear way.

Conclusively, we have identified thirteen (13) rhetorical strategies in this speech. Indeed, David Cameron combined the four rhetorical appeals (logos, ethos, pathos, and kairos) with nine figures of speech (Metaphors, similes, idioms, hyperbole, personification, tricolon, anaphora, parallelism, and rhetorical questions). Yet, we believe that this rhetorical combination helped the conservative leader to deliver a vibrant and persuasive message.

Section Three: Conclusions, Limitations, and Suggestions for Further Research

This study examined the Rhetorical Strategies used by David Cameron in his 2013 Bloomberg speech. We have based our analysis on Bitzer's Rhetorical Situation theory (1968) and the four classical appeals suggested by Aristotle (1356a). Additionally, we have explored the main rhetorical devices employed by the Cameron in order to influence on his audience's decision and action. This rhetorical discourse analysis perspective enabled us to explore the rhetoric of the Bloomberg speech and how Cameron sought to persuade his audience throughout his speech. Moreover, this analytical research also helped us to think of further investigations in the field of rhetoric that are suggested in the present section. However, this

research is not free of limitations and obstacles. In fact, we have faced some difficulties that are mentioned in this section.

2.10 Conclusion of the Study

This study examined the Bloomberg speech's rhetorical situation and the rhetorical strategies used by David Cameron's in his historical Bloomberg speech. Taken as a whole, we can say that despite that he was under pressure from his Conservative Party and the Eurosceptic MPs, the former British Prime Minister was able to stand in front of his audience to deliver an optimistic speech in a plain style. Rhetorically speaking, it is clear that the Bloomberg speech is not the most powerful speech in the career of David Cameron. However, he succeeded to combine between rhetorical appeals and a vivid language in order to give a persuasive touch to his speech. Indeed, he knew how to use history and real evidence to build a logically constructed argumentation and how to demonstrate his goodwill in order to seem as a credible leader who has the interest of his audience in mind. Yet, Cameron did not much build his speech on emotional appeals, but he attempted to awake his audience's emotions like: gratitude, optimism confidence and treat. Moreover, Cameron properly appealed for kairos in the sense that he has chosen the right moment to deliver the right speech. What is further apparent in this speech is that Cameron did not use figurative language to impress his audience; in fact, he rather sought to add power to his claim and make his audience understand his ideas in a clear way.

2.11 Limitations of the Study

The main limitation we have encountered during our analysis is the lack of resources. In fact, we have been unable to get access to many books and articles published in the field of rhetoric first because they were not for free and second because the field of discourse studies in general and rhetoric in particular, is a newly explored domain in the Algerian universities; and thus, rhetorical works are not available in our university library. In fact, this obstacle slowed us up, but we have managed to find other sources that guided us all over our research. However, this did not stop us from carrying our study and attaining our research objectives.

2.12 Suggestions for Further Research

With a broad range of classical and revisited theories, Rhetorical Discourse Analysis is an interesting and fascinating area of research for the students who wish to work in discourse analysis, and especially for those who are interested in political discourse. In fact exploring

the rhetoric used by politicians to persuade their audience to make the desired judgment is an enriching and meaningful experience that gives the researchers the opportunity to work in an original research topic. Our examination of the rhetorical strategies used in Cameron's Bloomberg speech, inspired us to think of further research topics that can be investigated. These are some suggestions for further investigations in the field of rhetoric:

- The present study accounted for Bitzer's rhetorical situation theory and for the four Aristotelian appeals logos, ethos, pathos and kairos to analyse the Bloomberg speech delivered by David Cameron. Other investigators can account for the same theories to analyse another speech.
- Our analysis is an examination of the rhetorical devices employed by Cameron in his 2013 Bloomberg speech. Other researchers can further explore the Five Classical Canons of rhetoric in the same speech or another selected speech.
- They can also engage themselves in a Comparative study of the rhetoric of a British leader and the Rhetoric of an American politician.
- If the future researchers are not interested in analysing the rhetoric used by politicians, they can direct their research to explore the persuasive techniques used in advertising.
- If the researchers are interested by the feminist movement, they can also examine the feminist rhetoric of female leaders.

All in all, we believe that the above propositions can inspire future researchers who wish to work in discourse studies or rhetorical studies, and thus, contribute to this area of research.

General Conclusion

This study aims at identifying the rhetorical situation of David Cameron's Bloomberg speech (2013); and to find out the various rhetorical strategies employed by the former British Prime Minister with a focus on his usage of the four persuasive appeals logos, ethos, pathos, and kairos. In order to fulfill our research objectives, we have integrated two rhetorical models of analysis: Bitzer's Rhetorical Situation Theory (1968) and the four Aristotelian Rhetorical Appeals (1356a) (logos, ethos, pathos, and kairos). It should be recalled that this research is based on four questions. First what is the rhetorical situation of the Bloomberg speech? Second, what are the rhetorical strategies employed by David Cameron in his Bloomberg speech? Third, does Cameron appeal for the four Rhetorical Appeals? Fourth, given that the four Classical Appeals: logos, ethos, pathos, and kairos are appealed for in this speech, which of them is mostly appealed for? Also, we have predicted three pre-answers to three of our questions. First, we have assumed that David Cameron relied on a figurative language in his speech. Second, we have assumed that the four Aristotelian appeals are implemented in the speech. Finally, the third assumption is that logos and ethos are the most evoked appeals in this speech. Yet, the main findings of our research are summarized in the following notes.

In summary, we can say that in terms of the rhetorical situation, this present research has revealed that there are two main rhetorical exigencies that motivated David Cameron to deliver this speech. The first exigence is evidently the various challenges that obstruct the success of the EU. The second exigence for this speech is the British nation desire to hold an immediate Brexit referendum. Thus, we have concluded that David Cameron succeeded to recognise the urgency to deliver this speech. Moreover, in terms of the rhetorical audience, this examination has shown that the Bloomberg speech is addressed to two audiences. First, to the EU leaders in order to persuade them to renegotiate the EU Treaty that would address the problems encountered by the EU, and retain the support of its Member States. And second, to the British people in order to convince them that an immediate in-out vote would be a wrong decision. In this regard, we have concluded that David Cameron has addressed the right audience that can respond to his call and modify the exigencies. That is, the EU leaders can modify the first exigence of this speech if they accept to revise the EU Treaty in order to act upon the issue that hamper the EU progress, while the British nation has the power to modify

the second exigence if they put off the idea of a Brexit referendum until the Treaty renegotiation. Finally, in terms of rhetorical constraints, we have come to the conclusion that Cameron has succeeded to consider some constraints that can limit the influence of his speech, such as the counter-arguments he may receive, but he ignored others. Additionally, we have identified other constraints that are out of Cameron's control and that can restrict the Bloomberg speech's influence on the audience. For instance, the media criticism and the UKip reactions to this speech are other possible constraints to this speech.

Furthermore, in terms of rhetorical appeals, we have deduced that *logos*, *ethos*, *pathos*, and *kairos* are the first rhetorical strategies used by David Cameron. Indeed, the former British Prime Minister effectively implemented the four persuasive appeals in his Bloomberg speech. However, *logos* and *ethos* are dominant in this speech. Indeed, Cameron's persuasive strategy relied much more on the logical appeal by presenting a logical argumentation supported by historical facts and solid evidence. Also, Cameron tried to persuade his audience by constructing an image of himself that inspires trust and confidence. In fact, throughout his speech, Cameron attempted to show his goodwill and respect towards his audience as a means to establish his credibility. Concerning *pathos*, we concluded that the Bloomberg speech is not *pathos*-driven, but Cameron attempted in several times to emotionally appeal for his audience. Indeed, we have identified four emotions that Cameron tried to raise in his audience all over this speech: a feeling of gratitude, optimism, confidence, and threat. As for *kairos*, we have concluded that this speech was delivered at the right moment. In fact, Cameron has meticulously chosen to deliver his speech on January 23, 2013 to concur with the 50th anniversary of the signature of the Elysee Treaty that marked the end of the European Rivalry and the beginning of a European Union. In addition to this, we came to the conclusion that Cameron intervened at the right time with the right speech to raise the British people's spirits and reassure them with the thought that their concerns are listened to and that the British government has the solutions to overcome the EU crisis without weakening Britain's power.

Additionally, this analytical research reveals that Cameron effectively addressed various figures of speech to strengthen his persuasiveness. Indeed, we have identified eight (8) figures of speech employed in this speech: metaphors, similes, hyperbole, idioms, personification, tricolon, anaphora, parallelism, and rhetorical questions. Thus, in one hand, Cameron used metaphors, similes, and personification to help his audience relate abstract ideas to concrete objects in order to make his ideas clearer and to emotionally connect with them. In another hand, he employed hyperbole, tricolon, anaphora, parallelism, and rhetorical

questions to put an emphasis on his ideas and attract his audience's ears on the importance of his claims. In this respect, we concluded that David Cameron was skillful in combining rhetorical strategies to persuade his audience.

Finally, the present rhetorical discourse analysis shows that David Cameron's Bloomberg speech contains thirteen (13) rhetorical strategies in his speech. Hence, David Cameron employed the four persuasive appeals (logos, ethos, pathos, and kairos) along with nine (9) figures of speech (metaphor, similes, hyperbole, idioms, personification, tricolon, anaphora, parallelism, and rhetorical questions) to increase the persuasiveness and rhetorical power of his speech. Indeed, we believe the combination of these rhetorical devices spices up Cameron's speech and increases the memorability of his words.

As a final note, and all things considered, we can say that we succeeded to apply the two rhetorical models of analysis (i.e., Bitzer's and Aristotle's) in order to analyse our selected corpus and reach valid conclusions. Also, we have been able to reach our research objectives by identifying the rhetorical situation of the Bloomberg speech, examining the four Aristotelian Appeals, and revealing the rhetorical devices used by the Conservative leader to build a persuasive speech. And finally, we can consider that we have answered our questions and confirmed our assumptions by a pertinent analysis and valid conclusions.

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Abstract in French (Résumé)

A travers son histoire, le discours public Britannique a joui de discours intemporels avec une vigueur dans la rhétorique politique des plus louables. Autrement dit, les leaders de la politique Britannique comme Winston Churchill et Margaret Thatcher ont triomphé dans la scène rhétorique à travers leurs mémorables discours d'envergure et leurs manœuvres rhétoriques de marque. A l'instar de ses prédécesseurs, David Cameron détient à son tour, une agilité impressionnante à combiner diverses stratégies rhétoriques à fin de prodiguer un vibrant message. Dans ce sens, la présente investigation analytique se penche sur les stratégies rhétoriques employées par l'ex Premier Ministre Britannique dans discours Bloomberg (2013). Notre attention est orientée vers la situation rhétorique qui entoure ce discours politique, et notamment vers les appels persuasifs implémentés dans son corps. Ainsi, deux modèles d'analyse rhétorique sont intégrés dans ce discours, la Théorie de la Situation Rhétorique avancée par Bitzer (1968), et les quatre appels rhétoriques Aristotéliens (logos, ethos, pathos, et kairos). Cette investigation revêt une démarche descriptive qui repose principalement sur une méthode mixte, comprenant simultanément une analyse qualitative pour la description des outils rhétoriques utilisés dans ce discours, et une représentation quantitative dans des tabulations de certaines fréquences. La présente étude a révélé que David Cameron a reconnu la nécessité de fournir ce discours. En effet, il a fourni le discours approprié au moment opportun. En outre, Cameron s'est adressé à l'auditoire adéquat qui a le pouvoir de modifier l'exigence du discours. Il a été aussi capable d'envisager certaines contraintes en mesure de limiter l'influence de son discours. Cette analyse a également démontré que Cameron a implémenté de manière efficace les quatre appels Aristotéliens dans son discours comme outil de persuasion pour persuader son auditoire. Cependant, il est important de mentionner que les deux appels persuasifs logos et ethos sont dominants dans ce discours. En effet, la plus part des efforts de Cameron pour persuader son auditoire sont basés premièrement sur des arguments logiques fournis et les preuves concrètes renforçant ses présomptions et deuxièmement sur l'établissement d'un personnage crédible qui inspire la confiance. Aussi, cette étude a démontré que le leader du parti conservateur Britannique a réalisé une forte combinaison de huit différentes états de figures de discours principalement les métaphores, et tricolon afin de promouvoir ses idées et rendre son discours à la fois attractif et rythmique. Enfin, cette étude a conclu que, dans son discours, Cameron a employé en tout douze stratégies rhétoriques dans le but d'augmenter l'effet persuasif de ses mots.

Mots Clés: David Cameron, le Discours Bloomberg, les Stratégies rhétoriques, la Théorie de la Situation Rhétorique de Bitzer, Exigence, Audience, Contraintes, Logos, Ethos, Pathos, Kairos, la Rhétorique Britannique.

Abstract in Tamazight

Agzul s tmaziyt

Tasninawt tabriṭanit am tesninawin n Marikan. D ayen i d-ibanen deg umezruy-ines, innaw n Ibritaniyen yufrar s yinnaw n yal ass deg-i teṭṭuqet tesninawt tasertant s wazal-is. Anamek-is, imeqranen n tsertit n tmurt tabritanit am Winston Churchill d Margaret Thatcher ufraren-d s yinnaw nnsen d wayen ssexdamen d tasninawt ur nelli n menwala. Am wid i t-yezwaren, David Cameron yetwel nezzeh deg usexdem n tesninawt akken ad iseeddi izen-ines akken ilaq lhal. Deg ubrid-agi, tazrewt-agi s tesleḍt ad tbeḡgen amek yessexdam uneɣlaf amezwaru aqdim n tmurt tabritanit tasninawt deg yinnaw-ines Bloomberg (2013). Lwelha-nney ad tuɣal ɣer tesninawt i icudden ɣer yinnaw asertan, abeada tiɣri yettqenniḡen yettawi deg yidammen-is. ɤef waya, sin iberdan n tesleḍt n tesninawt ara naf deg yinnaw-agi, tizri n tesninawt s ɣur Bitzer (1968), d tizri nniḡen n tesninawt i d-yewwi Aristote(logos, ethos, pathos, et kairos). Anadi-yagi yebna ɣef uglam d twuruwin yemyekcamen tasleḍt qualitative d uglam n warrumen n tesninawt yettwaxedmen deg yinnaw-agi tgensest s leḡsab deg tafelwit. Anadi-yagi, ibeḡgen-d belli David Cameron iwelleh ar yinnaw-agi. ixdem-d innaw ilaqen di lawan i s-iwulmen. Arnu ɣer-s, Cameron ifren imdanen i wumi yemmeslay, widen izemren ad bedden innaw. Yella yezmer ad ixleq iḡewwiqen akken yeg talast i tezriṭ n yinnaw-ines. Tasleḍt-agi dayen tbeḡgen-d belli Cameron yessexdem akken ilaq tizi tasninawt n Aristote deg yinnaw-ines, d arrum iwulmen akken ad iqenneḡ wid i s-d-isellen. Maca, yewwi-d ad d-nemmeslay ɣef snat n tzriyin n qenneḡ logos d ethos i yessexdem aṭas deg yinnaw-ines. Dɣa, ayen i ɣef yeṭteb Cameron akken ad iqenneḡ wid i s-isellen yebna di tazwara ɣef wayen yesean llas d tṭbut ibanen i si yesseḡhed tamuyli-s, tis snat ɣef uxlaq n uwudam zemren ad amnen medden, ad tteklen fell-as. Syin ɣer-s, anadi-yagi ibeḡgen-d belli ameqran n ukabar n conservateur Abriṭani i yessawḡen ad yessexdem tesa yinnawen yemxallafen wa ɣef wa s umerwes-ines, ɣef waya akken ad iseeddi taktiwin-ines ad yerr innaw-ines ijebbed am yenzizen. ɤer tagara, tazrewt-agi tessawḡ tbeḡgen-d belli, deg yinnaw-ines, Cameron yessexdem qrad d mraw (13) n iberdan n tesninawt.

Awalen igejdanen: David Cameron, Yinnaw n Bloomberg, Iberdan n tesninawt, tizri n tesninawt s ɣur Bitzer (1968), Exigence, imdanen, iḡewwiqen, Logos, Ethos, Pathos, Kairos, Tasninawt tabriṭanit.

Appendices

Appendix 1: The Bloomberg Speech Transcript [UK Government Transcription]

This morning I want to talk about the future of Europe.

But first, let us remember the past.

70 years ago, Europe was being torn apart by its second catastrophic conflict in a generation. A war which saw the streets of European cities strewn with rubble. The skies of London lit by flames night after night. And millions dead across the world in the battle for peace and liberty.

As we remember their sacrifice, so we should also remember how the shift in Europe from war to sustained peace came about. It did not happen like a change in the weather. It happened because of determined work over generations. A commitment to friendship and a resolve never to re-visit that dark past - a commitment epitomised by the Elysee Treaty signed 50 years ago this week.

After the Berlin Wall came down I visited that city and I will never forget it.

The abandoned checkpoints. The sense of excitement about the future. The knowledge that a great continent was coming together. Healing those wounds of our history is the central story of the European Union.

What [Churchill](#) described as the twin marauders of war and tyranny have been almost entirely banished from our continent. Today, hundreds of millions dwell in freedom, from the Baltic to the Adriatic, from the Western Approaches to the Aegean.

And while we must never take this for granted, the first purpose of the European Union - to secure peace - has been achieved and we should pay tribute to all those in the EU, alongside NATO, who made that happen.

But today the main, over-riding purpose of the European Union is different: not to win peace, but to secure prosperity.

The challenges come not from within this continent but outside it. From the surging economies in the East and South. Of course a growing world economy benefits us all, but we should be in no doubt that a new global race of nations is underway today.

A race for the wealth and jobs of the future.

The map of global influence is changing before our eyes. And these changes are already being felt by the entrepreneur in the Netherlands, the worker in Germany, the family in Britain.

Deliver prosperity, retain support

So I want to speak to you today with urgency and frankness about the European Union and how it must change - both to deliver prosperity and to retain the support of its peoples.

But first, I want to set out the spirit in which I approach these issues.

I know that the United Kingdom is sometimes seen as an argumentative and rather strong-minded member of the family of European nations.

And it's true that our geography has shaped our psychology.

We have the character of an island nation - independent, forthright, passionate in defence of our sovereignty.

We can no more change this British sensibility than we can drain the English Channel.

And because of this sensibility, we come to the European Union with a frame of mind that is more practical than emotional.

For us, the European Union is a means to an end - prosperity, stability, the anchor of freedom and democracy both within Europe and beyond her shores - not an end in itself.

We insistently ask: How? Why? To what end?

But all this doesn't make us somehow un-European.

The fact is that ours is not just an island story - it is also a continental story.

For all our connections to the rest of the world - of which we are rightly proud - we have always been a European power - and we always will be.

From Caesar's legions to the Napoleonic Wars. From the Reformation, the Enlightenment and the Industrial Revolution to the defeat of Nazism. We have helped to write European history, and Europe has helped write ours.

Over the years, Britain has made her own, unique contribution to Europe. We have provided a haven to those fleeing tyranny and persecution. And in Europe's darkest hour, we helped keep the flame of liberty alight. Across the continent, in silent cemeteries, lie the hundreds of thousands of British servicemen who gave their lives for Europe's freedom.

In more recent decades, we have played our part in tearing down the Iron Curtain and championing the entry into the EU of those countries that lost so many years to Communism. And contained in this history is the crucial point about Britain, our national character, our attitude to Europe.

Britain is characterised not just by its independence but, above all, by its openness.

We have always been a country that reaches out. That turns its face to the world...

That leads the charge in the fight for global trade and against protectionism.

This is Britain today, as it's always been: Independent, yes - but open, too.

I never want us to pull up the drawbridge and retreat from the world.

I am not a British isolationist.

I don't just want a better deal for Britain. I want a better deal for Europe too.

So I speak as British Prime Minister with a positive vision for the future of the European Union. A future in which Britain wants, and should want, to play a committed and active part.

Some might then ask: why raise fundamental questions about the future of Europe when Europe is already in the midst of a deep crisis?

Why raise questions about Britain's role when support in Britain is already so thin.

There are always voices saying "don't ask the difficult questions."

3 major challenges

But it's essential for Europe - and for Britain - that we do because there are 3 major challenges confronting us today.

First, the problems in the Eurozone are driving fundamental change in Europe.

Second, there is a crisis of European competitiveness, as other nations across the world soar ahead. And third, there is a gap between the EU and its citizens which has grown dramatically in recent years. And which represents a lack of democratic accountability and consent that is - yes - felt particularly acutely in Britain.

If we don't address these challenges, the danger is that Europe will fail and the British people will drift towards the exit.

I do not want that to happen. I want the European Union to be a success. And I want a relationship between Britain and the EU that keeps us in it.

That is why I am here today: To acknowledge the nature of the challenges we face. To set out how I believe the European Union should respond to them. And to explain what I want to achieve for Britain and its place within the European Union.

Let me start with the nature of the challenges we face.

First, the Eurozone.

The future shape of Europe is being forged. There are some serious questions that will define the future of the European Union - and the future of every country within it.

The Union is changing to help fix the currency - and that has profound implications for all of us, whether we are in the single currency or not.

Britain is not in the single currency, and we're not going to be. But we all need the Eurozone to have the right governance and structures to secure a successful currency for the long term.

And those of us outside the Eurozone also need certain safeguards to ensure, for example, that our access to the Single Market is not in any way compromised.

And it's right we begin to address these issues now.

Second, while there are some countries within the EU which are doing pretty well. Taken as a whole, Europe's share of world output is projected to fall by almost a third in the next 2 decades. This is the competitiveness challenge - and much of our weakness in meeting it is self-inflicted.

Complex rules restricting our labour markets are not some naturally occurring phenomenon. Just as excessive regulation is not some external plague that's been visited on our businesses.

These problems have been around too long. And the progress in dealing with them, far too slow.

As Chancellor Merkel has said - if Europe today accounts for just over 7 per cent of the world's population, produces around 25 per cent of global GDP and has to finance 50 per cent of global social spending, then it's obvious that it will have to work very hard to maintain its prosperity and way of life.

Third, there is a growing frustration that the EU is seen as something that is done to people rather than acting on their behalf. And this is being intensified by the very solutions required to resolve the economic problems.

People are increasingly frustrated that decisions taken further and further away from them mean their living standards are slashed through enforced austerity or their taxes are used to bail out governments on the other side of the continent.

We are starting to see this in the demonstrations on the streets of Athens, Madrid and Rome. We are seeing it in the parliaments of Berlin, Helsinki and the Hague.

And yes, of course, we are seeing this frustration with the EU very dramatically in Britain.

Europe's leaders have a duty to hear these concerns. Indeed, we have a duty to act on them. And not just to fix the problems in the Eurozone.

For just as in any emergency you should plan for the aftermath as well as dealing with the present crisis so too in the midst of the present challenges we should plan for the future, and what the world will look like when the difficulties in the Eurozone have been overcome.

The biggest danger to the European Union comes not from those who advocate change, but from those who denounce new thinking as heresy. In its long history Europe has experience of heretics who turned out to have a point.

And my point is this. More of the same will not secure a long-term future for the Eurozone. More of the same will not see the European Union keeping pace with the new powerhouse economies. More of the same will not bring the European Union any closer to its citizens. More of the same will just produce more of the same - less competitiveness, less growth, fewer jobs.

And that will make our countries weaker not stronger.

That is why we need fundamental, far-reaching change.

21st century European Union

So let me set out my vision for a new European Union, fit for the 21st Century.

It is built on 5 principles.

The first: competitiveness. At the core of the European Union must be, as it is now, the single market. Britain is at the heart of that Single Market, and must remain so.

But when the Single Market remains incomplete in services, energy and digital - the very sectors that are the engines of a modern economy - it is only half the success it could be.

It is nonsense that people shopping online in some parts of Europe are unable to access the best deals because of where they live. I want completing the single market to be our driving mission.

I want us to be at the forefront of transformative trade deals with the US, Japan and India as part of the drive towards global free trade. And I want us to be pushing to exempt Europe's smallest entrepreneurial companies from more EU Directives.

These should be the tasks that get European officials up in the morning - and keep them working late into the night. And so we urgently need to address the sclerotic, ineffective decision making that is holding us back.

That means creating a leaner, less bureaucratic Union, relentlessly focused on helping its member countries to compete.

In a global race, can we really justify the huge number of expensive peripheral European institutions?

Can we justify a Commission that gets ever larger?

Can we carry on with an organisation that has a multi-billion pound budget but not enough focus on controlling spending and shutting down programmes that haven't worked?

And I would ask: when the competitiveness of the Single Market is so important, why is there an environment council, a transport council, an education council but not a single market council?

The second principle should be flexibility.

We need a structure that can accommodate the diversity of its members - North, South, East, West, large, small, old and new. Some of whom are contemplating much closer economic and political integration. And many others, including Britain, who would never embrace that goal.

I accept, of course, that for the single market to function we need a common set of rules and a way of enforcing them. But we also need to be able to respond quickly to the latest developments and trends.

Competitiveness demands flexibility, choice and openness - or Europe will fetch up in a no-man's land between the rising economies of Asia and market-driven North America.

The EU must be able to act with the speed and flexibility of a network, not the cumbersome rigidity of a bloc.

We must not be weighed down by an insistence on a one size fits all approach which implies that all countries want the same level of integration. The fact is that they don't and we shouldn't assert that they do.

Some will claim that this offends a central tenet of the EU's founding philosophy. I say it merely reflects the reality of the European Union today. 17 members are part of the Eurozone. 10 are not.

26 European countries are members of Schengen - including 4 outside the European Union - Switzerland, Norway, Liechtenstein and Iceland. 2 EU countries - Britain and Ireland - have retained their border controls.

Some members, like Britain and France, are ready, willing and able to take action in Libya or Mali. Others are uncomfortable with the use of military force.

Let's welcome that diversity, instead of trying to snuff it out.

Let's stop all this talk of 2-speed Europe, of fast lanes and slow lanes, of countries missing trains and buses, and consign the whole weary caravan of metaphors to a permanent siding.

Instead, let's start from this proposition: we are a family of democratic nations, all members of 1 European Union, whose essential foundation is the single market rather than the single currency. Those of us outside the euro recognise that those in it are likely to need to make some big institutional changes.

By the same token, the members of the Eurozone should accept that we, and indeed all Member States, will have changes that we need to safeguard our interests and strengthen democratic legitimacy. And we should be able to make these changes too.

Some say this will unravel the principle of the EU - and that you can't pick and choose on the basis of what your nation needs.

But far from unravelling the EU, this will in fact bind its Members more closely because such flexible, willing cooperation is a much stronger glue than compulsion from the centre.

Let me make a further heretical proposition.

The European Treaty commits the Member States to “lay the foundations of an ever closer union among the peoples of Europe”.

This has been consistently interpreted as applying not to the peoples but rather to the states and institutions compounded by a European Court of Justice that has consistently supported greater centralisation.

We understand and respect the right of others to maintain their commitment to this goal. But for Britain - and perhaps for others - it is not the objective.

And we would be much more comfortable if the Treaty specifically said so freeing those who want to go further, faster, to do so, without being held back by the others.

So to those who say we have no vision for Europe.

I say we have.

Flexible union

We believe in a flexible union of free member states who share treaties and institutions and pursue together the ideal of co-operation. To represent and promote the values of European civilisation in the world. To advance our shared interests by using our collective power to open markets. And to build a strong economic base across the whole of Europe.

And we believe in our nations working together to protect the security and diversity of our energy supplies. To tackle climate change and global poverty. To work together against terrorism and organised crime. And to continue to welcome new countries into the EU.

This vision of flexibility and co-operation is not the same as those who want to build an ever closer political union - but it is just as valid.

My third principle is that power must be able to flow back to Member States, not just away from them. This was promised by European Leaders at Laeken a decade ago.

It was put in the Treaty. But the promise has never really been fulfilled. We need to implement this principle properly.

So let us use this moment, as the Dutch Prime Minister has recently suggested, to examine thoroughly what the EU as a whole should do and should stop doing.

In Britain we have already launched our balance of competences review - to give us an informed and objective analysis of where the EU helps and where it hampers.

Let us not be misled by the fallacy that a deep and workable single market requires everything to be harmonised, to hanker after some unattainable and infinitely level playing field.

Countries are different. They make different choices. We cannot harmonise everything. For example, it is neither right nor necessary to claim that the integrity of the single market, or full membership of the European Union requires the working hours of British hospital doctors to be set in Brussels irrespective of the views of British parliamentarians and practitioners.

In the same way we need to examine whether the balance is right in so many areas where the European Union has legislated including on the environment, social affairs and crime.

Nothing should be off the table.

My fourth principle is democratic accountability: we need to have a bigger and more significant role for national parliaments.

There is not, in my view, a single European demos.

It is national parliaments, which are, and will remain, the true source of real democratic legitimacy and accountability in the EU.

It is to the Bundestag that Angela Merkel has to answer. It is through the Greek Parliament that Antonis Samaras has to pass his government's austerity measures.

It is to the British Parliament that I must account on the EU budget negotiations, or on the safeguarding of our place in the single market.

Those are the Parliaments which instil proper respect - even fear - into national leaders.

We need to recognise that in the way the EU does business.

My fifth principle is fairness: whatever new arrangements are enacted for the Eurozone, they must work fairly for those inside it and out.

That will be of particular importance to Britain. As I have said, we will not join the single currency. But there is no overwhelming economic reason why the single currency and the single market should share the same boundary, any more than the single market and Schengen.

Our participation in the single market, and our ability to help set its rules is the principal reason for our membership of the EU.

So it is a vital interest for us to protect the integrity and fairness of the single market for all its members.

And that is why Britain has been so concerned to promote and defend the single market as the Eurozone crisis rewrites the rules on fiscal coordination and banking union.

These 5 principles provide what, I believe, is the right approach for the European Union.

So now let me turn to what this means for Britain.

Today, public disillusionment with the EU is at an all time high. There are several reasons for this.

People feel that the EU is heading in a direction that they never signed up to. They resent the interference in our national life by what they see as unnecessary rules and regulation. And they wonder what the point of it all is.

Put simply, many ask “why can’t we just have what we voted to join - a common market?”

They are angered by some legal judgements made in Europe that impact on life in Britain. Some of this antipathy about Europe in general really relates of course to the European Court of Human Rights, rather than the EU. And Britain is leading European efforts to address this.

There is, indeed, much more that needs to be done on this front. But people also feel that the EU is now heading for a level of political integration that is far outside Britain’s comfort zone.

They see Treaty after Treaty changing the balance between Member States and the EU. And note they were never given a say.

They’ve had referendums promised - but not delivered. They see what has happened to the Euro. And they note that many of our political and business leaders urged Britain to join at the time.

And they haven’t noticed many expressions of contrition.

And they look at the steps the Eurozone is taking and wonder what deeper integration for the Eurozone will mean for a country which is not going to join the Euro.

The result is that democratic consent for the EU in Britain is now wafer thin.

Some people say that to point this out is irresponsible, creates uncertainty for business and puts a question mark over Britain’s place in the European Union.

But the question mark is already there and ignoring it won’t make it go away.

In fact, quite the reverse. Those who refuse to contemplate consulting the British people, would in my view make more likely our eventual exit.

Simply asking the British people to carry on accepting a European settlement over which they have had little choice is a path to ensuring that when the question is finally put - and at some stage it will have to be - it is much more likely that the British people will reject the EU.

That is why I am in favour of a referendum. I believe in confronting this issue - shaping it, leading the debate. Not simply hoping a difficult situation will go away.

Some argue that the solution is therefore to hold a straight in-out referendum now.

I understand the impatience of wanting to make that choice immediately.

But I don't believe that to make a decision at this moment is the right way forward, either for Britain or for Europe as a whole.

A vote today between the status quo and leaving would be an entirely false choice.

Now - while the EU is in flux, and when we don't know what the future holds and what sort of EU will emerge from this crisis is not the right time to make such a momentous decision about the future of our country.

It is wrong to ask people whether to stay or go before we have had a chance to put the relationship right.

How can we sensibly answer the question 'in or out' without being able to answer the most basic question: 'what is it exactly that we are choosing to be in or out of?'

The European Union that emerges from the Eurozone crisis is going to be a very different body. It will be transformed perhaps beyond recognition by the measures needed to save the Eurozone.

We need to allow some time for that to happen - and help to shape the future of the European Union, so that when the choice comes it will be a real one.

Real choice

A real choice between leaving or being part of a new settlement in which Britain shapes and respects the rules of the single market but is protected by fair safeguards, and free of the spurious regulation which damages Europe's competitiveness.

A choice between leaving or being part of a new settlement in which Britain is at the forefront of collective action on issues like foreign policy and trade and where we leave the door firmly open to new members.

A new settlement subject to the democratic legitimacy and accountability of national parliaments where Member States combine in flexible cooperation, respecting national differences not always trying to eliminate them and in which we have proved that some powers can in fact be returned to Member States.

In other words, a settlement which would be entirely in keeping with the mission for an updated European Union I have described today. More flexible, more adaptable, more open - fit for the challenges of the modern age.

And to those who say a new settlement can't be negotiated, I would say listen to the views of other parties in other European countries arguing for powers to flow back to European states.

And look too at what we have achieved already. Ending Britain's obligation to bail-out Eurozone members. Keeping Britain out of the fiscal compact. Launching a process to return

some existing justice and home affairs powers. Securing protections on Banking Union. And reforming fisheries policy.

So we are starting to shape the reforms we need now. Some will not require Treaty change.

But I agree too with what President Barroso and others have said. At some stage in the next few years the EU will need to agree on Treaty change to make the changes needed for the long term future of the Euro and to entrench the diverse, competitive, democratically accountable Europe that we seek.

I believe the best way to do this will be in a new Treaty so I add my voice to those who are already calling for this.

My strong preference is to enact these changes for the entire EU, not just for Britain.

But if there is no appetite for a new Treaty for us all then of course Britain should be ready to address the changes we need in a negotiation with our European partners.

[Political content removed]

It will be a relationship with the Single Market at its heart.

[Political content removed]

It is time for the British people to have their say. It is time to settle this European question in British politics.

I say to the British people: this will be your decision.

And when that choice comes, you will have an important choice to make about our country's destiny.

I understand the appeal of going it alone, of charting our own course. But it will be a decision we will have to take with cool heads. Proponents of both sides of the argument will need to avoid exaggerating their claims.

Of course Britain could make her own way in the world, outside the EU, if we chose to do so. So could any other Member State.

But the question we will have to ask ourselves is this: is that the very best future for our country?

We will have to weigh carefully where our true national interest lies.

Alone, we would be free to take our own decisions, just as we would be freed of our solemn obligation to defend our allies if we left NATO. But we don't leave NATO because it is in our national interest to stay and benefit from its collective defence guarantee.

We have more power and influence - whether implementing sanctions against Iran or Syria, or promoting democracy in Burma - if we can act together.

If we leave the EU, we cannot of course leave Europe. It will remain for many years our biggest market, and forever our geographical neighbourhood. We are tied by a complex web of legal commitments.

Hundreds of thousands of British people now take for granted their right to work, live or retire in any other EU country.

Even if we pulled out completely, decisions made in the EU would continue to have a profound effect on our country. But we would have lost all our remaining vetoes and our voice in those decisions.

We would need to weigh up very carefully the consequences of no longer being inside the EU and its single market, as a full member.

Continued access to the Single Market is vital for British businesses and British jobs.

Since 2004, Britain has been the destination for 1 in 5 of all inward investments into Europe.

And being part of the Single Market has been key to that success.

There will be plenty of time to test all the arguments thoroughly, in favour and against the arrangement we negotiate. But let me just deal with 1 point we hear a lot about.

There are some who suggest we could turn ourselves into Norway or Switzerland - with access to the single market but outside the EU. But would that really be in our best interests?

I admire those countries and they are friends of ours - but they are very different from us. Norway sits on the biggest energy reserves in Europe, and has a sovereign wealth fund of over 500 billion euros. And while Norway is part of the single market - and pays for the principle - it has no say at all in setting its rules: it just has to implement its directives.

The Swiss have to negotiate access to the Single Market sector by sector. Accepting EU rules - over which they have no say - or else not getting full access to the Single Market, including in key sectors like financial services.

The fact is that if you join an organisation like the European Union, there are rules.

You will not always get what you want. But that does not mean we should leave - not if the benefits of staying and working together are greater.

We would have to think carefully too about the impact on our influence at the top table of international affairs. There is no doubt that we are more powerful in Washington, in Beijing, in Delhi because we are a powerful player in the European Union.

That matters for British jobs and British security.

It matters to our ability to get things done in the world. It matters to the United States and other friends around the world, which is why many tell us very clearly that they want Britain to remain in the EU.

We should think very carefully before giving that position up.

If we left the European Union, it would be a 1-way ticket, not a return.

So we will have time for a proper, reasoned debate.

At the end of that debate you, the British people, will decide.

And I say to our European partners, frustrated as some of them no doubt are by Britain's attitude: work with us on this.

Consider the extraordinary steps which the Eurozone members are taking to keep the Euro together, steps which a year ago would have seemed impossible.

It does not seem to me that the steps which would be needed to make Britain - and others - more comfortable in their relationship in the European Union are inherently so outlandish or unreasonable.

And just as I believe that Britain should want to remain in the EU so the EU should want us to stay.

For an EU without Britain, without 1 of Europe's strongest powers, a country which in many ways invented the single market, and which brings real heft to Europe's influence on the world stage which plays by the rules and which is a force for liberal economic reform would be a very different kind of European Union.

And it is hard to argue that the EU would not be greatly diminished by Britain's departure.

Let me finish today by saying this.

I have no illusions about the scale of the task ahead.

I know there will be those who say the vision I have outlined will be impossible to achieve. That there is no way our partners will co-operate. That the British people have set themselves on a path to inevitable exit. And that if we aren't comfortable being in the EU after 40 years, we never will be.

But I refuse to take such a defeatist attitude - either for Britain or for Europe.

Because with courage and conviction I believe we can deliver a more flexible, adaptable and open European Union in which the interests and ambitions of all its members can be met.

With courage and conviction I believe we can achieve a new settlement in which Britain can be comfortable and all our countries can thrive.

[Political content removed]

Because I believe something very deeply. That Britain's national interest is best served in a flexible, adaptable and open European Union and that such a European Union is best with Britain in it.

Over the coming weeks, months and years, I will not rest until this debate is won. For the future of my country. For the success of the European Union. And for the prosperity of our peoples for generations to come.

Appendix 2: The Bloomberg Speech Transcript [BBC Transcription]

This morning I want to talk about the future of Europe. But first, let us remember the past.

Seventy years ago, Europe was being torn apart by its second catastrophic conflict in a generation. A war which saw the streets of European cities strewn with rubble. The skies of London lit by flames night after night. And millions dead across the world in the battle for peace and liberty.

As we remember their sacrifice, so we should also remember how the shift in Europe from war to sustained peace came about. It did not happen like a change in the weather. It happened because of determined work over generations. A commitment to friendship and a resolve never to re-visit that dark past - a commitment epitomised by the Elysee Treaty signed 50 years ago this week.

After the Berlin Wall came down I visited that city and I will never forget it.

The abandoned checkpoints. The sense of excitement about the future. The knowledge that a great continent was coming together. Healing those wounds of our history is the central story of the European Union.

What Churchill described as the twin marauders of war and tyranny have been almost entirely banished from our continent. Today, hundreds of millions dwell in freedom, from the Baltic to the Adriatic, from the Western Approaches to the Aegean.

And while we must never take this for granted, the first purpose of the European Union – to secure peace – has been achieved and we should pay tribute to all those in the EU, alongside NATO, who made that happen.

But today the main, over-riding purpose of the European Union is different: not to win peace, but to secure prosperity.

The challenges come not from within this continent but outside it. From the surging economies in the East and South. Of course a growing world economy benefits us all, but we should be in no doubt that a new global race of nations is underway today.

A race for the wealth and jobs of the future.

The map of global influence is changing before our eyes. And these changes are already being felt by the entrepreneur in the Netherlands, the worker in Germany, the family in Britain.

So I want to speak to you today with urgency and frankness about the European Union and how it must change – both to deliver prosperity and to retain the support of its peoples.

But first, I want to set out the spirit in which I approach these issues.

I know that the United Kingdom is sometimes seen as an argumentative and rather strong-minded member of the family of European nations.

And it's true that our geography has shaped our psychology.

We have the character of an island nation – independent, forthright, passionate in defence of our sovereignty.

We can no more change this British sensibility than we can drain the English Channel.

And because of this sensibility, we come to the European Union with a frame of mind that is more practical than emotional.

For us, the European Union is a means to an end – prosperity, stability, the anchor of freedom and democracy both within Europe and beyond her shores - not an end in itself.

We insistently ask: How? Why? To what end?

But all this doesn't make us somehow un-European.

The fact is that ours is not just an island story – it is also a continental story.

For all our connections to the rest of the world – of which we are rightly proud - we have always been a European power – and we always will be.

From Caesar's legions to the Napoleonic Wars. From the Reformation, the Enlightenment and the Industrial Revolution to the defeat of Nazism. We have helped to write European history, and Europe has helped write ours.

Over the years, Britain has made her own, unique contribution to Europe. We have provided a haven to those fleeing tyranny and persecution. And in Europe's darkest hour, we helped keep the flame of liberty alight. Across the continent, in silent cemeteries, lie the hundreds of thousands of British servicemen who gave their lives for Europe's freedom.

In more recent decades, we have played our part in tearing down the Iron Curtain and championing the entry into the EU of those countries that lost so many years to Communism. And contained in this history is the crucial point about Britain, our national character, our attitude to Europe.

Britain is characterised not just by its independence but, above all, by its openness.

We have always been a country that reaches out. That turns its face to the world... That leads the charge in the fight for global trade and against protectionism.

This is Britain today, as it's always been: Independent, yes – but open, too. I never want us to pull up the drawbridge and retreat from the world.

I am not a British isolationist.

But I do want a better deal for Britain, not just a better deal for Europe.

So I speak as British Prime Minister with a positive vision for the future of the European Union. A future in which Britain wants, and should want, to play a committed and active part.

Some might then ask: why raise fundamental questions about the future of Europe when Europe is already in the midst of a deep crisis?

Why raise questions about Britain's role when support in Britain is already so thin. There are always voices that say "don't ask the difficult questions."

But it's essential for Europe – and for Britain - that we do because there are three major challenges confronting us today.

First, the problems in the Eurozone are driving fundamental change in Europe. Second, there is a crisis of European competitiveness, as other nations across the world soar ahead. And third, there is a gap between the EU and its citizens which has grown dramatically in recent years. And which represents a lack of democratic accountability and consent that is – yes – felt particularly acutely in Britain.

If we don't address these challenges, the danger is that Europe will fail and the British people will drift towards the exit.

I do not want that to happen. I want the European Union to be a success. And I want a relationship between Britain and the EU that keeps us in it.

That is why I am here today: To acknowledge the nature of the challenges we face. To set out how I believe the European Union should respond to them. And to explain what I want to achieve for Britain and its place within the European Union.

So let me start with the nature of the challenges we face. First, the Eurozone.

The future shape of Europe is being forged. There are some serious questions that will define the future of the European Union – and the future of every country within it.

The Union is changing to help fix the currency – and that has profound implications for all of us, whether we are in the single currency or not.

Britain is not in the single currency, and we're not going to be. But we all need the Eurozone to have the right governance and structures to secure a successful currency for the long term.

And those of us outside the Eurozone also need certain safeguards to ensure, for example, that our access to the Single Market is not in any way compromised.

And it's right we begin to discuss these issues now.

Second, while there are some countries within the EU which are doing pretty well. Taken as a whole, Europe's share of world output is projected to fall by almost a third in the next two decades. This is the competitiveness challenge – and much of our weakness in meeting it I, frankly, self-inflicted.

Complex rules restricting our labour markets are not some naturally occurring phenomenon. Just as excessive regulation is not some external plague that's been visited on our businesses.

These problems have been around for too long. And the progress in dealing with them has been far too slow.

As Chancellor Merkel has said - Europe today accounts for just over 7 per cent of the world's population, produces around 25 per cent of global GDP. It currently has to finance 50 per cent of global social spending, then it's obvious that it will have to work very hard to maintain its prosperity and way of life.

Third, there is a growing frustration that the EU is seen as something that is done to people rather than acting on their behalf. And this is being intensified by the very solutions required to resolve the economic problems.

People are increasingly frustrated that decisions taken further and further away from them mean their living standards are slashed through enforced austerity or their taxes are used to bail out governments on the other side of the continent.

We are starting to see this in the demonstrations on the streets of Athens, Madrid and Rome.

We are seeing it in the parliaments of Berlin, Helsinki and the Hague.

And yes, of course, we are seeing this frustration with the EU very dramatically here in the United Kingdom.

Europe's leaders have a duty to hear these concerns. Indeed, we have a duty to act on them. And not just to fix the problems in the Eurozone.

For just as in any emergency you should plan for the aftermath as well as dealing with the present crisis so too in the midst of the present challenges we should plan for the future, and what the world will look like when the difficulties in the Eurozone have been overcome.

Now, the biggest danger to the European Union comes not from those who advocate change, but from those who denounce new thinking as heresy. In its long history Europe has experience of heretics who turned out to have a point.

And my point is this. More of the same will not secure a long-term future for the Eurozone. More of the same will not see the European Union keeping pace with the new powerhouse

economies. More of the same will not bring the European Union any closer to its citizens. More of the same will just produce more of the same – less competitiveness, less growth, fewer jobs.

And that will make our countries weaker not stronger.

That is why we need fundamental, far-reaching change.

So let me set out my vision for a new European Union, fit for the 21st Century. It is built on five principles.

The first: competitiveness. At the core of the European Union must be, as it is now, the single market. Britain is at the heart of that Single Market, and must remain so.

But when the Single Market remains incomplete in services, in energy and in digital – the very sectors that are the engines of a modern economy - it is only half the success that it could be.

It is nonsense that people shopping online in some parts of Europe are unable to access the best deals because of where they live. I want completing the single market to be our driving mission.

I want us to be at the forefront of transformative trade deals with the US, Japan and India as part of the drive towards global free trade. And I want us to be pushing to exempt Europe's smallest entrepreneurial companies from more EU Directives.

These should be the tasks that get European officials up in the morning – and keep them working late into the night. And so we urgently need to address the sclerotic, ineffective decision making that is holding us back.

That means creating a leaner, less bureaucratic Union, relentlessly focused on helping its member countries to compete.

In a global race, can we really justify the huge number of expensive peripheral European institutions?

Can we justify a Commission that gets ever larger?

Can we carry on with an organisation that has a multi-billion pound budget but not nearly enough focus on controlling spending and shutting down programmes that haven't worked?

And I would ask: when the competitiveness of the Single Market is so important, why is there an environment council, a transport council, an education council but not a single market council?

The second principle should be flexibility.

We need a structure that can accommodate the diversity of the EU's members – North, South, East, West, large, small, old and new. Some of whom are contemplating much closer

economic and political integration. And many others, including Britain, who would never embrace that goal.

I accept, of course, that for the single market to function we need a common set of rules and a way of enforcing them. But we also need to be able to respond quickly to the latest developments and trends.

Competitiveness demands flexibility, choice and openness - or Europe will fetch up in a no-man's land between the rising economies of Asia and market-driven North America.

The EU must be able to act with the speed and flexibility of a network, not the cumbersome rigidity of a bloc.

We must not be weighed down by an insistence on a one size fits all approach which implies that all countries want the same level of integration. The fact is that they don't and we shouldn't assert that they do.

Some will claim that this offends a central tenet of the EU's founding philosophy. I say it merely reflects the reality of the European Union today. 17 members are part of the Eurozone. 10 are not.

26 European countries are members of Schengen – including four outside the European Union – Switzerland, Norway, Liechtenstein and Iceland. 2 EU countries – Britain and Ireland – have retained their border controls.

Some members, like Britain and France, are ready, willing and able to take action in Libya or Mali. Others are uncomfortable with the use of military force.

Let's welcome that diversity, instead of trying to snuff it out.

Let's stop all this talk of two-speed Europe, of fast lanes and slow lanes, of countries missing trains and buses, and consign the whole weary caravan of metaphors to a permanent siding.

Instead, let's start from this proposition: we are a family of democratic nations, all members of one European Union, whose essential foundation is the single market rather than the single currency. Those of us outside the euro recognise that those in it are likely to need to make some big institutional changes.

By the same token, the members of the Eurozone should accept that we, and indeed all Member States, will have changes that we need to safeguard our interests and strengthen our democratic legitimacy. And we should be able to make these changes too.

Some say this will unravel the principle of the EU – and that you can't pick and choose on the basis of what your nation needs.

But far from unravelling the EU, this will in fact bind its Members more closely because such flexible, willing cooperation is a much stronger glue than compulsion from the centre.

Let me make a further heretical proposition.

The European Treaty commits the Member States to “lay the foundations of an ever closer union among the peoples of Europe”.

This has been consistently interpreted as applying not to the peoples but rather to the states and institutions compounded by a European Court of Justice that has consistently supported greater centralisation.

We understand and respect the right of others to maintain their commitment to this goal. But for Britain – and perhaps for others - it is not the objective.

And we would be much more comfortable if the Treaty specifically said so freeing those who want to go further, faster, to do so, without being held back by the others.

So to those who say we have no vision for Europe. I say we have.

We believe in a flexible union of free member states who share treaties and institutions and pursue together the ideal of co-operation. To represent and promote the values of European civilisation in the world. To advance our shared interests by using our collective power to open markets. And to build a strong economic base across the whole of Europe.

And we believe in our nations working together to protect the security and diversity of our energy supplies. To tackle climate change and global poverty. To work together against terrorism and organised crime. And to continue to welcome new countries into the EU.

This vision of flexibility and co-operation is not the same as those who want to build an ever closer political union – but it is just as valid.

My third principle is that power must be able to flow back to Member States, not just away from them. This was promised by European Leaders at Laeken a decade ago.

It was put in the Treaty but it has never been properly fulfilled. We need to implement this principle properly.

So let us use this moment, as the Dutch Prime Minister has recently suggested, to examine thoroughly what the EU as a whole should do and should stop doing.

In Britain we have already launched our balance of competences review – to give us an informed and objective analysis of where the EU helps and where it hampers.

Let us not be misled by the fallacy that a deep and workable single market requires everything to be harmonised, to hanker after some unattainable and infinitely level playing field.

Countries are different. They make different choices. We cannot harmonise everything. For example, it is neither right nor necessary to claim that the integrity of the single market, or full membership of the European Union requires the working hours of British hospital doctors to be set in Brussels irrespective of the views of British parliamentarians and practitioners.

In the same way we need to examine whether the balance is right in so many areas where the European Union has legislated including on the environment, social affairs and crime.

Nothing should be off the table.

My fourth principle is democratic accountability: we need to have a bigger and more significant role for national parliaments.

There is not, in my view, a European demos.

It is national parliaments, which are, and will remain, the true source of real democratic legitimacy and accountability in the European Union.

It is to the Bundestag that Angela Merkel has to answer. It is through the Greek Parliament that Antonis Samaras has to pass his Government's austerity measures.

It is to the British Parliament that I must account on the EU budget negotiations, or on the safeguarding of our place in the single market.

Those are the Parliaments which instil proper respect – even fear - into national leaders.

We need to properly recognise that in the way the EU does business.

My fifth principle is fairness: whatever new arrangements are enacted for the Eurozone, they must work fairly for those inside it or outside of it.

That will be of particular importance to Britain. As I have said, we will not join the single currency. But there is no overwhelming economic reason why the single currency and the single market should share the same boundary, any more than the single market and Schengen.

Our participation in the single market, and our ability to help set its rules is the principal reason for our membership of the EU.

So it is a vital interest for us to protect the integrity and fairness of the single market for all its members.

And that is why Britain has been so concerned to promote and defend the single market as the Eurozone crisis starts to rewrite the rules on fiscal coordination and banking union.

These five principles provide what, I believe, is the right approach for the European Union.

So now let me turn to what this means for Britain.

Today, public disillusionment with the EU is at an all time high. There are several reasons for this.

People feel that the EU is heading in a direction that they never signed up to. They resent the interference in our national life by what they see as unnecessary rules and regulation. And they wonder what the point of it all is.

Put simply, many ask “why can't we just have what we voted to join – a common market?”

They are angered by some legal judgements made in Europe that impact on life in Britain. Some of this antipathy about Europe in general really relates of course to the European Court of Human Rights, rather than the EU. And Britain is leading European efforts to address this.

There is, indeed, much more that needs to be done on this front. But people also feel that the EU is now heading for a level of political integration that is far outside

Britain's comfort zone.

They see Treaty after Treaty changing the balance between Member States and the EU. And note they were never given a say.

They've had referendums promised - but not delivered. They see what has happened to the Euro. And they note that many of our political and business leaders urged Britain to join at the time.

And they haven't noticed many expressions of contrition.

And they look at the steps the Eurozone is taking and wonder what deeper integration for the Eurozone will mean for a country which is not going to join the Euro.

The result is that democratic consent for the EU in Britain is now wafer thin.

Some people say that to point this out is irresponsible, creates uncertainty for business and puts a question mark over Britain's place in the European Union.

But the question mark is already there and ignoring it won't make it go away.

In fact, quite the reverse. Those who refuse to contemplate consulting the British people, would in my view make more likely our eventual exit.

Simply asking the British people to carry on accepting a European settlement over which they have had little choice is a path to ensuring that when the question is

finally put – and at some stage it will have to be – it is much more likely that the British people will reject the EU.

That is why I am in favour of having a referendum. I believe in confronting this issue

– shaping it, leading the debate. Not simply hoping that a difficult situation will go away.

Some argue that the solution is therefore to hold a straight in-out referendum now. I understand the impatience of wanting to make that choice immediately.

But I don't believe that to make a decision at this moment is the right way forward, either for Britain or for Europe as a whole.

A vote today between the status quo and leaving would be an entirely false choice.

Now - while the EU is in flux, and when we don't know what the future holds and what sort of EU will emerge from this crisis is not the time to make such a momentous decision about the future of our country.

It is wrong to ask people whether to stay or go before we have had a chance to put the relationship right.

How can we sensibly answer the question 'in or out' without being able to answer the most basic question: 'what is it exactly that we are choosing to be in or out of?'

The European Union that emerges from the Eurozone crisis is going to be a very different body. It will be transformed perhaps beyond recognition by the measures needed to save the Eurozone.

We need to allow some time for that to happen – and help to shape the future of the European Union, so that when the choice comes it will be a real one.

A real choice between leaving or being part of a new settlement in which Britain shapes and respects the rules of the single market but is protected by fair safeguards, and free of the spurious regulation which damages Europe's competitiveness.

A choice between leaving or being part of a new settlement in which Britain is at the forefront of collective action on issues like foreign policy and trade and where we leave the door firmly open to new members.

A new settlement subject to the democratic legitimacy and accountability of national parliaments where Member States combine in flexible cooperation, respecting national differences not always trying to eliminate them and in which we have proved that some powers can in fact be returned to Member States.

In other words, a settlement which would be entirely in keeping with the mission for an updated European Union I have described today. More flexible, more adaptable, more open - fit for the challenges of the modern age.

And to those who say, and there are those who say it, a new settlement can't be negotiated, I would say listen to the views of other parties in other European countries arguing for powers to flow back to European states.

And look too at what we have achieved already. Ending Britain's obligation to bail- out Eurozone members. Keeping Britain out of the fiscal compact. Launching a process to return some existing justice and home affairs powers. Securing protections on Banking Union. And reforming fisheries policy.

So we are starting to shape the reforms we need now. Some will not require Treaty change.

But I agree too with what President Barroso and others have said. At some stage in the next few years the EU will need to agree on Treaty change to make the changes needed for the long term future of the Euro and to entrench the diverse, competitive, democratically accountable Europe that we seek.

I believe the best way to do this will be in a new Treaty so I add my voice to those who are already calling for this.

My strong preference is to enact these changes for the entire EU, not just for Britain.

But if there is no appetite for a new Treaty for us all then of course Britain should be ready to address the changes we need in a negotiation with our European partners.

The next Conservative Manifesto in 2015 will ask for a mandate from the British people for a Conservative Government to negotiate a new settlement with our European partners in the next Parliament.

It will be a relationship with the Single Market at its heart.

And when we have negotiated that new settlement, we will give the British people a referendum with a very simple in or out choice. To stay in the EU on these new terms; or come out altogether.

It will be an in-out referendum.

Legislation will be drafted before the next election. And if a Conservative Government is elected we will introduce the enabling legislation immediately and pass it by the end of that year. And we will complete this negotiation and hold this referendum within the first half of the next parliament.

It is time for the British people to have their say. It is time for us to settle this European question in British politics.

I say to the British people: this will be your decision.

And when the choice comes, you will have an important choice to make about our country's destiny.

I understand the appeal of going it alone, of charting our own course. But it will be a decision we will have to take with cool heads. Proponents of both sides of the argument will need to avoid exaggerating their claims.

Of course Britain could make her own way in the world, outside the EU, if we chose to do so. So could any other Member State.

But the question we will have to ask ourselves is this: is that the very best future for our country?

We will have to weigh carefully where our true national interest lies.

Alone, we would be free to take our own decisions, just as we would be freed of our solemn obligation to defend our allies if we left NATO. But we don't leave NATO because it is in our national interest to stay and benefit from its collective defence guarantee.

We have more power and influence – whether implementing sanctions against Iran or Syria, or promoting democracy in Burma – if we can act together.

If we leave the EU, we cannot of course leave Europe. It will remain for many years our biggest market, and forever our geographical neighbourhood. We are tied by a complex web of legal commitments.

Hundreds of thousands of British people now take for granted their right to work, live or retire in any other EU country.

Even if we pulled out completely, decisions made in the EU would continue to have a profound effect on our country. But we would have lost all our remaining vetoes and our voice in those decisions.

We would need to weigh up very carefully the consequences of no longer being inside the EU and its single market, as a full member.

Continued access to the Single Market, as I have said, is vital for British businesses and British jobs.

Since 2004, Britain has been the destination for one in five of all inward investments into Europe.

And being part of the Single Market has been key to that achievement.

There will be plenty of time to test all the arguments thoroughly, in favour and against the arrangement we negotiate. But let me just deal with one point we hear a lot about.

There are some who suggest we could turn ourselves into Norway or Switzerland – with access to the single market but outside the EU. But would that really be in our best interests?

I admire those countries and they are friends of ours – but they are very different to us. Norway sits on the biggest energy reserves in Europe, and has a sovereign wealth fund of over 500 billion euros. And while Norway is part of the single market – and pays for the principle - it has no say at all in setting its rules: it just has to implement its directives.

The Swiss have to negotiate access to the Single Market sector by sector. Accepting EU rules – over which they have no say – or else not getting full access to the Single Market, including in key sectors like financial services.

The fact is that if you join an organisation like the European Union, there are rules. You will not always get what you want. But that does not mean we should leave - not if the benefits of staying and working together are greater.

We would have to think carefully too about the impact on our influence at the top table of international affairs. There is no doubt that we are more powerful in Washington, in Beijing, in Delhi because we are a powerful player inside the European Union.

That matters for British jobs and British security.

It matters to our ability to get things done in the world. It matters to the United States and other friends around the world, which is why many tell us very clearly that they want Britain to remain in the EU.

We should think very carefully before giving that position up.

If we left the European Union, it would be a one-way ticket, not a return. So we will have time for a proper, reasoned debate.

At the end of that debate you, the British people, will decide.

And I say to our European partners, frustrated as some of them no doubt are by Britain's attitude: work with us on this.

Consider the extraordinary steps which the Eurozone members are taking to keep the Euro together, steps which a year ago would have seemed impossible.

It does not seem to me that the steps which would be needed to make Britain - and others – more comfortable in their relationship in the European Union are inherently so outlandish or unreasonable.

And just as I believe that Britain should want to remain in the EU so the European Union should want us to stay.

For an EU without Britain, without one of Europe's strongest powers, a country which in many ways invented the single market, and which brings real heft to Europe's influence on the world stage which plays by the rules and which is a force for liberal economic reform would be a very different kind of European Union.

And it is hard to argue that the EU would not be greatly diminished by Britain's departure.

Let me finish today by saying this.

I have no illusions about the scale of the task ahead.

I know there will be those who say the vision I have outlined will be impossible to achieve. That there is no way our partners will co-operate. That the British people have set themselves on a path to inevitable exit. And that if we aren't comfortable being in the EU after 40 years, we never will be.

But I refuse to take such a defeatist attitude – either for Britain or for Europe.

Because with courage and conviction I believe we can deliver a more flexible, adaptable and open European Union in which the interests and ambitions of all its members can be met.

With courage and conviction I believe we can achieve a new settlement in which Britain can be comfortable and all our countries can thrive.

And when the referendum comes let me say now that if we can negotiate such an arrangement, I will campaign for it with all my heart and soul.

Because I believe something very deeply. That Britain's national interest is best served in a flexible, adaptable and open European Union and that such a European Union is best with Britain in it.

Over the coming weeks, months and years, I will not rest until this debate is won. For the future of my country. For the success of the European Union. And for the prosperity of our peoples for generations to come.