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**The Use and Function of Repetition in Political Speeches
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Zásady pro vypracování:

Studentka se ve své diplomové práci zaměří na charakteristiku a užití řečnických figur v anglických politických projevech, a to zejména na opakovací řečnické figury. Nejprve na základě studia relevantní odborné literatury z oblasti lingvistiky definuje a vymezí pojem "řečnická figura", resp. "opakovací řečnická figura". Dále bude opakovací řečnické figury klasifikovat a charakterizovat, se zaměřením na jejich formu a význam (opakování gramatických struktur, lexikálních jednotek, sémantické vztahy mezi lexikálními jednotkami). Následně provede analýzu vybraných politických projevů s cílem zmapovat výskyt a objasnit užití popsaných jazykových prostředků. Na základě analýzy studentka shrne frekvenci užití zkoumaných figur, vysvětlí jejich funkce, vliv na posluchače a efektivitu s ohledem na sdělnou funkci jazyka. Na závěr zdůvodní převažující tendence a shrne hlavní funkce a smysl opakování v politických projevech.

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PODĚKOVÁNÍ

Nato mtomíst ěbychcht ělapod ěkovatvedoucímépráce PhDr.Pet řeHuschové,Ph.D.za její cenné rady, vst řícnost a ochotu, kterou projevovala v pr ůběhu zpracovávání této diplomovépráce.Speciálnídíkypat řítakémérodin ěap řátelůmzaprojevovanoupodporu.

ABSTRACT

This diploma thesis deals with the use and function of repetition in political speeches. The theoretical part is devoted to the theoretical background that is fundamental for the analysis conducted in the practical part. The theoretical part explains characteristic of public speeches and rhetorical devices. Then classifications and functions of repetition are explained.

The aim of the practical part is to evaluate specific uses and functions of repetition as well as to find out what kind of repetition is the most commonly used type in the studied political speeches of Barack Obama. Repetition may be encountered positively as well as negatively. So the appropriateness of repetition in political speeches will be verified in this paper having in mind the effect on listeners.

KEYWORDS

repetition, functions of repetition, rhetorical device, political speech

ABSTAKT

Tato diplomová práce se zabývá užitím a funkcí opakování vanglických politických projevech. Teoretická část poskytuje nezbytně nutné teoretické zámezí, sloužící jako podklad pro druhou – praktickou – část práce, ve které jsou teoretické poznatky aplikovány na vybrané anglické politické projevy. Teoretická část práce nejdříve představuje charakteristiku mluvených projevů a řečnických figur. Dále následuje popis klasifikací funkcí jazykového prostředku opakování.

Jedním z hlavních cílů práce je kvalitativně zhodnotit použití jednotlivých funkcí opakování a dále zjistit, který typ opakování se nejčastěji objevuje ve zkoumaných politických projevech Baracka Obamy. Vhodnost užití prostředku opakování je často diskutovanou tématikou. Proto je tato problematika opakování také hodnocena. V neposlední řadě je v úvahu brán i vliv jazykového prostředku opakování na posluchače.

KLÍČOVÁSLOVA

jazykový prostředek opakování, funkce opakování, řečnická figura, politický projev

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1 INTRODUCTION

This diploma paper studies the uses and functions of repetition in political speeches. Repetition can be approached from various perspectives. For the purpose of the paper it is narrowed primarily to the rhetorical repetition of same or similar items from linguistic perspective. Repetition in political speeches seem to be connected with repeated slogans and with drilling politicians' ideologies into audience's mind. Nevertheless, repetition may serve more functions than just influencing the audience, as will be explained in this paper. The aim of the study is to evaluate specific uses and functions of repetition as well as to find out what kind of repetition is the most commonly used type in political speeches.

The use of repetition is discussed not only on the scientific level but also on more usual level, for example in writing classes. Repetition, thus, encounters many positive as well as negative approaches of various linguists, stylisticians and rhetoricians. The appropriateness of repetition in political speeches will be verified in this paper.

The thesis is divided into two main parts. The first part is devoted to the theoretical background that is fundamental for the analysis conducted in the practical part in the second part of the paper. The characteristics of public speeches and their political aspects are introduced at the beginning of the theoretical part. The next chapter explains rhetorical devices, their functions and their importance in political speeches. Then, the main theoretical chapter dealing with repetition follows. Repetition seems to be a complex term that underwent many discussions. To introduce the term, its meaning is defined. Consequently, the various possibilities of classification are provided and concrete tools of repetition are explained. Then, functions of repetition are dealt with having in mind the forthcoming analysis of a spoken discourse.

The practical part reflects the theoretical background provided in the first four chapters of the paper. Selected political speeches of Barack Obama, the contemporary president of the United States of America, are investigated in the practical part applying information presented in the theory. The acquired data will be qualitatively as well as quantitatively evaluated. The primary concern of the practical part is to evaluate the functions of repetition in political speeches. However, various possibilities of classification and specific rhetorical figures will be discussed as well.

2 A CHARACTERISTIC OF A PUBLIC SPEECH

This paper deals with the use and function of repetition in political speeches, therefore the term public speech and its political aspects are introduced firstly. Also the types of public speeches are shortly commented on.

According to *The Oxford Companion to the English Language*, speech is defined as “a usually formal occasion when a person addresses an audience often with the help of notes or prepared text.” (McArthur, 1992, p. 965). The same book also gives the explanation for the term of public speaking. Public speaking includes “both the activity and the art of speaking in public, whether formally or in more informal situations, such as giving a talk or taking part in a discussion.” (McArthur, 1992, p. 821).

Obviously, the same facts are related to political speeches as well. However, political speeches happen in a formal setting rather than in an informal one. Michael and Suzanne Osborn state that political speeches take place in a social setting and become a social act. The success of elected politicians is dependent on the effectiveness of their speeches. (Osborn, M., Osborn S., 1988, p. 6). Therefore, the speeches must be properly prepared beforehand to reach the needed results and hold politicians popularity. Clark states that public speeches are in the form of a monologue, because there are almost no requirements for interaction. So, the speeches must be scripted for a proper organization (Clark, 1996, p. 81).

The Osborns also mention other important aspects associated with this area such as the faith in public communication, freedom of speech and also ethical responsibility of the speaker (Osborn, M., Osborn S., 1988, p. 7). In other words, speaker's belief into the power of speaking is important for his or her success. Other accompanying features to achieve success are speaker's power to influence the audience and his or her honest intentions.

Schaffner then speaks about political texts as a part of the political life. They are usually determined by the political membership of the speaker and the topics are related to politics. These speeches are meant for members of the same political group, wider public or they can be addressed to the whole nation. The aim of the speaker is to give a relevant message to his or her audience and reach a specific political function (Schaffner, 1996, p. 201–203). Beard agrees with these statements and points out that

the political ideas cannot be separated from the language but the way language is used help to shape the ideas (Beard, 2000, p. 18). As suggested, political speaking is highly influenced by speaker's beliefs and political membership.

To be a successful speaker, it is necessary to transmit the speaker's will to the audience. For this purpose, the presenter uses different types of speeches. They are prepared in different ways and according to speaker's needs for various occasions. There are three main types of speeches defined by various authors. Stephen Lucas divides speaking into the following types: speaking to inform, speaking to persuade and speaking on special occasions (Lucas, 2008). The same categories are used in Osborn M. and Osborn S. (1988) and Verderber et al. (2007).

The purpose of informative speeches is to share knowledge and ideas. Informative speeches are not supposed to change audience's beliefs but they can shape their perceptions in the topic area and show new alternatives. (Osborn, M., Osborn S., 1988, p. 293-295). The goal of speaking to persuade is to influence or change audience's beliefs, values, attitudes or behaviour. This type of speech makes high demands on speakers. The speakers have to motivate listeners to believe them by providing reliable explanations (Verderber et al., 2007, p. 258). The special occasional speeches are connected to extraordinary situations of daily lives and may create a ceremonial atmosphere. (Lucas, 2008, p. 382). All three types of speeches are seen in political speeches as well.

Different speaking occasions lead to the employment of specific language. Crystal points out that the language of politicians uses a mixture of old and new rhetorical methods. The rhetoric of a speech is structured in order to give audience chances to applaud. This is supported by strong rhythm and intonation. Together, it creates a sense of rhetorical power and completeness (Crystal, 1995, p. 378).

As was mentioned, political speeches are carefully prepared. The preparation is done in a way that should attract audience's attention, so the usage of rhetorical devices is frequently observed. Rhetorical devices are more closely dealt with in the following chapter.

3 AN INTRODUCTION TO RHETORICAL DEVICES

Rhetorical devices are an integral part of public speeches. Therefore, this chapter deals with them. Their characteristics are provided and then their functions introduced.

Language is the most important aspect in speeches. As the Osborns claim, proper choice of words helps a speaker to express his or her thoughts accurately and determines whether the speaker's speech becomes successful or not. Various techniques, when carefully used can facilitate speaker's success. It is not only the language that captures the attention; but pauses and vocal emphasis affect listeners as well. The language, however, must be simple enough and the use of repetition should guarantee the understanding (Osborn, M., Osborn S., 1988, p. 230- 231). As suggested, many things are important in the speech.

In this paper the concern is on the tools of language and its effects. It can be presumed that the language must be highly adapted to fulfil speaker's intentions and rhetorical devices can make the process of creating a high-quality speech simpler.

3.1 A characteristic of rhetorical devices

To look more closely at rhetorical devices, it is useful to understand both terms separately. *The Oxford Companion to the English Language* defines the term rhetoric as "the study and practice of effective communication," also as "the art of persuasion" and lastly as "an insincere eloquence intended to win points and get people what they want." (McArthur, 1992, p. 863). In the same book the term device is explained in following words:

"A linguistic or literary formula that produces an effect, such as a figure of speech (metaphor, metonymy), a narrative style (first person, third-person), or a plot mechanism (flashback, flash forward)." (McArthur, 1992, p. 288).

It follows from these definitions that rhetorical devices are used for an effective communication, for persuading the audience and for arousing particular effect on audience via using specific figures.

The New Princeton Encyclopedia of Poetry and Poetics says that "the chief effect of using rhetorical devices in prose is simply to impose lexical and syntactic structure."

(Preminger, Brogan, 1993, p. 1349-1350). In other words, a variation in words or sentence structuring helps the speaker to express himself/herself more accurately. This is also supported by Kristiina Volmari who characterizes rhetorical devices as concrete tools that are used to reach speaker's specific purpose. (Volmari, 2009, s. 46). Subsequently, Verderber et al. state that rhetorical devices are "designed to create audience attention, hold interest, and aid memory." (Verderber et al., 2007, p. 8). Volmari also summarizes that rhetorical devices are used for persuasion, clarification, to attract the reader and for making the language more vivid. (Volmari, 2009, s. 46-47).

Rhetorical devices were, up to now, characterized by description of their use. It arises that rhetorical devices can improve the speech via choosing specific figures. The term rhetorical figure is needed for the use in political speeches because it more closely connects to repetition, the primary aim of this paper.

The definition of rhetorical figure is provided for example by *The Penguin Dictionary of Literary Terms and Literary Theory* and it closely corresponds to the rhetorical repetition. Rhetorical figure is "an artful arrangement of words to achieve a particular emphasis and effect (...). A rhetorical figure does not alter the meanings of words, as a metaphor may do." (Cuddon, Preston, 1999, p. 748). Thus, rhetorical figures are distinguished from all figures of speech in that the meaning of words is literal and the specific effect is achieved due to the arrangement of words. Baldick proposes that "rhetorical figures can emphasize or enliven a point in several different ways: by placing words in contrast with one another, by repeating words in various patterns." (Baldick, 2001, p. 97).

For now, the functions of rhetorical devices will be clarified shortly.

3.2 The use and function of rhetorical devices

Rhetorical devices serve many different functions. Their use is determined by the specific situation and speaker's intention. McGuigan stresses that rhetorical devices should seem to be used naturally because the argument then seems to be stronger (McGuigan, 2008, p. 9-10). Michael and Suzanne Osborn focus on the power and the tools of language as words are the most important elements in speeches and its usage may establish speaker's triumph or loss (Osborn, M., Osborn S., 1988, p. 230).

In connection, McGuigan suggests four main functions of rhetorical devices – to persuade, to inform, to express and to entertain (McGuigan, 2008, p.9-10). The possible functions are discussed in following lines.

As the Osborns simply speaker tries to help the listener to see what he or she sees. It means that words are chosen to reflect the speaker's opinion and to show his or her thoughts. Speaker's expressions are usually supposed to evoke feelings and to support speaker's claims (Osborn, M., Osborn S., 1988, p.231-232). The speaker tries to persuade as well as inform the audience.

Another important function provided by the Osborns is to awaken feelings, particularly in persuasive and ceremonial speeches (Osborn, M., Osborn S., 1988, p. 232, 240). According to Lucas, skilful selection of rhetorical tools stimulates strong reactions (Lucas, 2008, p.224). Vickers points out that "The credibility of rhetorical effect is (...) seen as depending on truth to life in the emotion presented." (Vickers, 2002, p.309). In other words, to arouse emotions is speaker's crucial task and the effect is dependent on how the speaker is able to establish real life emotions. This, in turn, may be compared to McGuigan's function to entertain.

Rhetorical devices can often be used for creating so-called group identity that also tries to stimulate listeners to some action. People naturally tend to unite. Therefore, speaker may demonstrate his or her closeness to awaken intensive feelings in audience that they can change the problem situation together (Osborn, M., Osborn S., 1988, p. 235). McGuigan adds that rhetorical devices also help to make sure that speaker convey excellent ideas or can get the audience where he or she needs. This corresponds with the function to express (McGuigan, 2008, p.9-10).

To sum up, the purpose of using rhetorical devices is to help listeners to see the world in speaker's eyes, to arouse audience's feeling and to make the audience act as one group. To accomplish this, speaker tries to be persuasive, informative and entertaining. Speaker's goals may be achieved by deliberate and sensible use of rhetorical devices. One of the rhetorical devices that may help to achieve these functions is repetition which is dealt more closely in the following chapter 4.

4 REPETITION

This chapter firstly deals with the meaning of repetition and provides explanations of the term. Secondly, it provides various ways of classification and closer exposition of some significant repetitive figures in connection to political speeches. Thirdly, functions of repetition are identified.

Fischer states that repetition appears in ordinary daily situations via doing the same routines repeatedly. Various ceremonial occasions or casual rituals are done with “exact repetition of words and actions.” Nevertheless, many people are not aware of its presence and those who are in most cases do not appreciate it. (Fischer, 1994, p. 9). Bazzanella claims that people repeat when they say “hello” or when they behave according to social requirements. Repetition is found in language, literature or music. From linguistic perspective, words are often repeated in spoken discourse without speaker’s conscious awareness. When used intentionally repetition can have rhetorical or intensifying effects (Bazzanella, 1996, p. vii).

Concerning linguistics, repetition is a broad phenomenon. Jucker approaches it as a comprehensive topic that interests phonologists, morphologists, syntacticians, psycholinguists, discourse analysts and pragmatists. (Jucker, 1994, p. 47). As it is suggested, repetition is a complex term. To make it manageable, this paper concentrates on repetition used in political speeches viewed from the point of linguistics.

4.1 The meaning of repetition

The chapter 4 of this paper deals with repetition, therefore it should be emphasised here that repetition is narrower term than an rhetorical device or figure of speech. The studied repetition may produce emphasis or cohesion by patterns of sound. It may impact the audience and emphasize or awaken speaker’s points. It should be reminded that repetition does not differ from its literal meaning and from normal word order. Its concern is not on the differences from traditional meaning or extended meaning of words but on the skilful arrangement of words that can arouse particular effects.

Firstly, the meaning of repetitions should be indicated. Repetition is something that happens again. Personevens suggests that the term repetition can be understood as self-

explanatory. (Persson, 1974, p. 1). Despite this fact, several definitions are included to provide necessary information. *The Penguin Dictionary of Literary Terms and Literary Theory* defines repetition as

“an essential unifying element in nearly all poetry and much prose. It may consist of sounds, particular syllables and words, phrases, stanzas, metrical patterns, ideas, allusions and shapes.” (Cuddon, Preston, 1999, p. 742).

Similarly *The New Princeton Encyclopedia of Poetry and Poetics* suggests that repetition involves recurrence of corresponding elements (Preminger, Brogan, 1993, p. 1035). *The Oxford Companion to the English Language* also agrees with above mentioned words and in addition to that it says that repetition creates rhythm. (McArthur, 1992, p. 862). Moreover, repetition is described by McArthur as

“doing, saying or writing the same thing more than once. (...) The recurrence of processes, structures, elements and motifs is fundamental to communication in general and language in particular.” (McArthur, 1992, p. 861).

Everything that appears more than once can be regarded as repetition. As a result repetition is an essential element that appears in speeches and also everyday conversations. The recurrence of sounds, words or syntactic structures is used for rhetorical effects. It also serves as a unifying element in writing. Repetition appears on syntactic as well as expressive level.

Aitchison is worth quoting for a useful summary. She implies that repetition is hidden under many different names that are dependent on who is repeating and what is repeated. For example:

“When parrots do it, it’s parroting. (...) When children do it, it’s imitation. (...) When orators do it, it’s epizeuxis, epiphora, anadiplosis, polyptoton or antimetabole. When novelists do it, it’s cohesion. When poets do it, it’s alliteration, chime rhyme or parallelism. (...) When morphemes do it, it’s reduplication.” (Aitchison, 1994, p. 15).

These are just several examples. Aitchison provides 27 terms altogether that can be considered as repetition and she adds that many other terms are to be found in specialized areas such as rhetoric. Moreover, as many kinds of repetition exist, it can even be said that “language depends on repeated patterns.” (Aitchison, 1994, p. 15-16).

The topic of repetition is broad, so the focus of this paper is narrowed to repetition in political speeches. More concretely, it is narrowed to repeated sounds, words, phrases and patterns that supposedly have an effect on audience and fulfil specific functions. Fowler and Fowler present rhetorical repetition as trying to "secure impressiveness" and suggest that rhetorical repetition "dictates whole structure of the sentence." (Fowler and Fowler, 1922, p. 209-210).

4.1.1 Useful or useless repetitions

Are repetitions good or bad? Many discussions are led with the objective to find the answer. To begin with, *The New Fowler's Modern English Usage* explains that repetitions in ordinary grammatical structures can be accidental. Repetition can be undesirable if the same words are repeated too closely to each other and result from lack of care (Fowler, Burchfield, 2000, p. 667-668). The improper usage is a frequently mentioned problem. For example Preminger and Brogan believe that inappropriate use is grounded in its overuse by poets (Preminger, Brogan, 1993, p. 1035). McArthur reminds that formal writing ordinarily avoids repetition "for the sake of economy and in favour of a tradition of elegant variation." (McArthur, 1992, p. 862).

The above mentioned authors take into consideration written style. Nevertheless, a spoken discourse of political speeches is analysed in the practical part of this diploma paper. Tannen touches the style of political speeches and mentions the problems of reading a written document aloud which may create more difficulty in understanding because listeners have to pay attention to every single word (Tannen, 2007, p. 59). Preserving the same level of concentration is difficult; therefore repetition may be useful in these situations, as it makes the listening less demanding. Also Fowler and Burchfield state that the repetition of sounds or words is reasonable when used for rhetorical effects (Fowler, Burchfield, 2000, p. 668).

Repetition may be often considered as undesirable and showing carelessness. As a result, it is arguable whether repetition is useful or not. It appears in speeches, writings and conversations quite often. Generally, it is understood that repetition has negative effects but only when used inadequately or with carelessness. In connection, Aitchison states: "Linguists are therefore faced with the paradox that repetition is widely used, yet widely avoided." (Aitchison, 1994, p. 18). Quirk et al. contrast that lexical recurrence is

generally avoided as it may seem obtrusive. They also stress that repetition is tolerated in legal language to escape misinterpretation. Nevertheless, repetition is commonly used in non-specialized text to produce emphasis (Quirk et al., 1985, p. 1441).

The question of repetition being positive or negative is not to be answered straightforwardly. Fowler and Fowler in their book *The King's English* summarize that “we have instances of repetition that are good in themselves; we have repetition that are neither particularly good nor particularly bad in themselves, but that offend simply by recurrence.” (Fowler H. W., Fowler F. G., 1922, p. 211). To summarize these discussions, repetition may be perceived as useful but also as useless in many cases depending on the speaker's skillful usage.

4.2 Classification of repetition

As suggested by various authors, for example Tannen (2007), Aitchison (1994) or Johnstone et al. (1994), repetition can be analyzed from many different perspectives. This subchapter provides various forms of classification, as mentioned by these authors. These authors take into consideration mainly conversational style. Some features are, however, the same for public speaking usage. It is also important to emphasize that each distinction is concerned on slightly different linguistic areas.

4.2.1 Immediate and delayed repetition

Aitchison provides an umbrella term called temporal scale, which defines the gap between repeated elements. (Aitchison, 1994, p. 19). Tannen speaks about temporal scale, too. She sees delayed repetition in a wider sense. She points out that “delayed can refer to delay within a discourse, or delay across days, weeks, months and years.” Some widely used fixed expressions, for example well known metaphors, famous sayings or clichés, are repeated through time by multiple speakers (Tannen, 2007, p. 64). Johnstone et al. draw the attention to the function of displaced repetition and suggest that it seems to serve as a cohesive device. For instance, anaphora¹ signals displaced repetition and may indicate also a topic change. Rhyming in poetry is also type of

¹The term anaphora is explained in detail in chapter 4.3

delayed repetition (Johnstone et al., 1994, p. 14). The sentence (1) shows delayed repetition where a phrase is repeated in two consecutive sentences.

- (1) *We can stop* sending our children to schools with corridors of shame and start putting them on a pathway to success .
We can stop talking about how great teachers are and start rewarding them for their greatness by giving them more pay and more support. (Speech 1, 14-15)²

On the opposite scale stands immediate repetition. Obviously, it refers to situations when elements are uttered straight away. The elements can be of any size from a sound to a whole sentence or text. Immediate repetition is connected with plurality or intensification or with whatever is pronounced again. Immediate repetition may be felt as poetic and focussing on audience (Johnstone et al., 1994, p. 13-14). Immediate repetition is illustrated on the following example (2).

- (2) *There is something happening. There's something happening* when Americans who are young in age and in spirit, who've never participated in politics before, turnout in numbers we have never seen because they know in their hearts that this time must be different. (Speech 1, 6)

Both immediate and delayed repetitions are applied in the analysis of political speeches in the practical part. Sometimes there are longer text passages between repeated expressions which can make the identification a bit difficult. For this reason, authors as Bazanella (1994), Persson (1974) and Tannen (2007) tend to avoid studying delayed repetition. However, no exception will be put in this paper and both types of immediate and delayed repetition will be studied. Supposing, each type provides a function.

4.2.2 Exact and partial repetition

Tannen places exact and non-exact repetition to be connected to the “scale of fixity”. Exact repetition concerns on the same word that is spoken in the same pattern (Tannen, 2007, p. 63). Sentence (3) illustrates the use of exact repetition. Aitchison takes into consideration also partial repetition, also named “repetition with variation” (Aitchison, 1994, p. 19). Partial repetition is referred to by Johnstone et al. as non-exact

²The example is taken from the corpus enclosed in appendices 9.2. Speech 1 refers to the number of the speech. The number 6 refers to paragraph where the sentence or sentences are found in a wider context. This method is used also in all other examples taken from the corpus. Examples not from the corpus follow ordinary citing norms.

repetition and it involves alteration of some words and pronouncing sentences in the same pattern (Johnstone et al., 1994, p. 14-15). Sentence (4) shows the partial repetition, where the same stem is adjusted and slightly different word created. A careful look at the example number (3) reveals that it can be considered as partial repetition as well due to their similar structures.

(3) *Those are the battles* that we need to fight. *Those are the battles* that we willingly join. (Speech 2, 46)

(4) And I know that in this crowd today, there is no shortage of *patriots*, or of *patriotism*. (Speech 2, 38)

Paraphrase is placed on the other side of the scale. Aitchison is not sure whether to include paraphrase to repetitions or not (Aitchison, 1994, p. 15). On the other hand, Tannen (2007) and Johnstone et al. (1994) do not express any doubts and decidedly include it. Paraphrase is recognized when similar idea is said in different words (Tannen, 2007, p. 63). Johnstone et al. then show a technical point of view on exactness of repetition and state that “we could count linguistically or otherwise analytically segmentable forms and see how many of them are repeated from model to copy.” (Johnstone et al., 1994, p. 15). They add that paraphrase is seen as repeating on semantic level not on segmentable forms (ibid). It is explained that paraphrase should be considered as a specific type of repetition.

Both exact and partial repetitions will be studied in the practical part of this paper, whereas paraphrase will not be included. The reasons for excluding paraphrase are that it does not have clearly identifiable form in the speech and its aims seem not to be relevant to this study.

4.2.3 Intentional and unintentional repetition

These two opposite types of repetition are commonly encountered both in conversation and in speech. Biber et al. mention the difficulty in deciding whether repeats are planned or unplanned and whether they are the results of hesitation or not (Biber et al., 1999, p. 1056). Aitchison supports this by admitting that it is not easy to distinguish whether specific repetition is used consciously or not (Aitchison, 1994, p. 21). Both authors associate this problem mainly with spoken utterance.

Also psycholinguists differ between “automatic and controlled processes.” Controlled or intentional repetition refers to things happening consciously according to the speaker’s choice of words. Moreover, intentional repetition is seen in written language and particularly in poetry (Aitchison, 1994, p. 21-22). Biber et al. proposes that deliberate repetitions are used for emphasis, maintaining attention or for clarity (Biber et al., 1999, p. 1056). In example (5) the phrase *Yes, we can* is repeated three times and it is definitely perceived as intentional.

- (5) For when we have faced down impossible odds, when we've been told we're not ready or that we shouldn't try or that we can't, generations of Americans have responded with a simple creed that sums up the spirit of a people: *Yes, we can. Yes, we can. Yes, we can.* (Speech 1, 27)

On the other hand, unintentional repetition is used randomly in spoken language (Kjellmer, 2008, p. 40). Aitchison understands unintentional repetition as a simple form, often occurring as slips of the tongue (Aitchison, 1994, p. 22). Biber et al. add that unplanned repetition can be termed as false start, meaning that speaker returns in his or her speech and begins once again (Biber et al., 1999, p. 1062). Tannen comments on the automaticity of repetition and presents a neurolinguistic research originally conducted by Whitaker. The research concentrates on aphasic patients who due to brain damages cannot spontaneously express themselves and so they can only repeat with a simple variation. The research shows that shadowing of a prior utterance is automatic. Similar automaticity appears in ordinary conversations (Tannen, 2007, p. 92-93). Sentence (6) illustrates the use of unintentional repetition, where the phrase is repeated with no clear purpose in speaker’s mind.

- (6) *We will finish the job--we will finish the job* against Al Qaidain Afghanistan. (Speech 1, 18)

Biber et al. (1999), Aitchison (1994) and Kjellmer (2008) comment on conversational utterances. It can be concluded from their findings that repetition in political speeches is mainly intentional because speeches are carefully prepared and rehearsed before being delivered. Ehrlich states that repetition in public speeches is more likely to be intentional because random repetition is more typical for unplanned discourses (Ehrlich, 1994, p. 88) Nevertheless, unintentional repetition may appear in public addresses as well, in cases of slips of the tongue or false starts. Both cases will be analyzed in the practical part of this paper.

4.2.4 Self-repetition and allo-repetition

This type of repetition is commonly used in conversations. However, its use is functional also for speeches. It is suggested that self-repetition functions mainly as a self-correction (Johnstone et al., 1994, p. 15-16) or in cases when speakers say again what they have said before (Bazzanella, 1996, p. ix). Sentence (6) above serves as the example of self-repetition, the speaker says *We will finish the job* for the first time, then pauses and starts the sentence once again. Other repetition, also called allo-repetition, includes echoing of the same words by another speaker. This often happens in dialogues (Bazzanella, 1996, p. ix). This is commonly seen in child language when children try to imitate (Aitchison, 1994, p. 29). The example (7) presents the use of allo-repetition in a conversation.

- (7) Deborah: You know who else talks about that? Did you ever read R.D. Laing?
The Divided Self?
Chad: Yeah. But I don't?/?/.
Deborah: *He talks about that too.*
Chad: *He talks about it too.* (Tannen, 2007, p. 68)

Johnstone et al. also consider self and other repetition in writing style. If the writer is using the words of someone else, it would count as other repetition. Self-repetition occurs when the writer paraphrases his or her words. However, the consideration of this is slightly vague in written text (Johnstone et al., 1994, p. 16).

The concern is brought to self-repetition used in spoken utterances in this paper, it may serve as self-correction or it may repeat previous words to reach different functions. Various functions of repetition will be introduced in the subchapter 4.4.

4.2.5 Different size of units

Another variable of repetition is the size of the repeated unit. Kjellmer sees a wide range of possible elements that can represent repetition. It includes sounds, syllables, words, phrases and also sentences. There is no limit to the highest number of repeating words (Kjellmer, 2008, p. 39). Tannen deals quite closely with the repetition of phonemes, morphemes, phrases and longer discourses or sequences. She proposes that the employment of recurring patterns is a basic component in the work of literary scholars

(Tannen, 2007, p. 34-35). Johnstone et al. describe it similarly but refer to units on phonological, grammatical, lexical or syntactical level (Johnstone et al., 1994, p. 11).

Next, figures of repetition are divided into three categories based on the unit size in the book *A Handlist of Rhetorical Terms*. The categories are: repetition of letters, syllables, and sounds; repetition of words; repetition of clauses, phrases, and ideas (Lanham, 1991, p. 189-191). Each category supplies a long list of rhetorical devices that belong to repetition. Some specific figures are explained below in the subchapter 4.3. For illustration, example (8) shows the repetition of phonemes and example (9) shows the repetition of a phrase.

(8) It was a creed written into the founding documents that declared the destiny of a nation. (Speech 1, 28)

(9) *It was* a creed written into the founding documents that declared the destiny of a nation.
It was whispered by slaves and abolitionists as they blazed a trail towards freedom through the darkest of nights. (Speech 1, 28-29)

Johnstone et al. sum up that “Repetition is thus a basic structural principle on all levels. Repetition is more available, so it’s more likely to be used” (Johnstone et al., 1994, p. 11). Following this statement, repetition is seen as important in utterances and its role is significant. Therefore, some basic figures and their functions are explained in the following section.

4.3 Specific types of repetition

Vickers comments on rhetorical repetition and claims that “it seems safe to say that no theory could ever embrace all types of repetition used in rhetoric, in literary or in other texts.” (Vickers, 1994, p. 98). Agreeing with this statement, figures are carefully chosen in this paper. The choice is influenced by their occurrences in political speeches enclosed in appendices and also by the frequency of reference of figures mentioned by authors dealing with repetition and public speaking such as Tannen (2007), Vickers (1994) or Osborn and Osborn S. (1988).

The functions of various figures may be wide, Vickers emphasizes that rhetorical figures are polysemous. He then adds that the form of devices is fixed, but their meaning and feelings are not. Those depend on the language itself and on speaker’s intentions (Vickers, 2002, p. 307). Now, selected repetitive figures are defined.

Alliteration

The first figure is alliteration, illustrated on the example (10). According to the Osborns, it is a technique that uses the repetition of sound at the beginning of words. Alliteration possesses the power of capturing listeners' attention and strengthening the speaker's intentions. (Osborn, M., Osborn S., 1988, p.247).

(10) middle-aged folks were willing to walk instead of ride the bus (Speech 3, 64)

Anaphora

Anaphora is defined as "the repetition of the same words or phrases at the beginning of successive phrases, clauses, sentences or lines." (Preminger, Brogan, 1993, p.73). Its use is shown on the example (11).

(11) *We have been* told we cannot do this by a chorus of cynics. (26) ... *We've been* asked to pause for a reality check. *We've been* warned against offering the people of this nation false hope. (Speech 1, 27)

Preminger and Brogan further comment that anaphora is favoured because its structure reinforces the meaning of words; foregrounds sequence of sentences and arranges sentences in a similar way. It may be also understood as a form of parallelism due to its repeating pattern (ibid). The Osborns think that it is suitable for conclusions to confirm and connect the ideas formed through the speech (Osborn, M., Osborn S., 1988, p.247).

The opposite of anaphora is epistrophe which "repeats words at the ends of clauses, lines or stanzas" (Preminger, Brogan, 1993, p.73) Leanne also defines a term mesodiplosis in which word or phrase is repeated around the middle of successive sentences. (Leanne, 2009, p.110).

Polysyndeton

Polysyndeton is defined by Baldick as a "term for repeated use of conjunction to link together a succession of words, clauses, or sentences." (Baldick, 2001, p.199). Polysyndeton is demonstrated on the example (12).

(12) a generation that uses their own creativity *and* talent *and* technology (Speech 4, 87)

Preminger and Brogan state that conjunction *and* is often applied. However, some other conjunctions are suitable as well, for example preposition *or* which presents various options. Polysyndeton "may add emphasis to the items in an enumeration or may

represent the flow and continuity.” (Preminger, Brogan, 1993, p. 968). Quintilian observes that sentences incorporating this device become more dynamic, intensive and filled with affection. Through repeating, the rhythm becomes important. (Quintilian, 2006, 9.3.53). Leanne adds that polysyndeton “serves as a very valuable technique for building up or amplifying a point.” The sentence thus seems to belong and the list of words is longer as well (Leanne, 2009, p. 118).

Parallelism

Parallelism is distinguished in *The New Princeton Encyclopedia of Poetry and Poetics* as “the repetition of identical or similar syntactic patterns in adjacent phrases, clauses or sentences.” The pattern of parallelism is usually doubled but may be repeated more times (Preminger, Brogan, 1993, p. 877). It arises from the definition that parallelism is distinguished by the repeated syntactic forms that are inequivalence. The instance (13) indicates its use.

(13) It starts with *changing our hearts, and changing our minds, broadening our spirit.* (Speech 3, 53)

Fabb deals with parallelism more closely and suggests three subcategories. One is syntactic parallelism and the two other are lexical and phonological parallelism. Syntactic parallelism is often accompanied by lexical parallelism and involves “a pair of parallel words, one in each section of the text” (Fabb, 2003, p. 462-463). The words may have similar form or number of syllables. The sentences may look the same but some elements may be changed or different word categories may be used. The words *changing* and *broadening* in the example (13) represent lexical parallelism. Moreover, Fabb continues that similar structures seem to be complex and aesthetical (ibid). It means that parallelism used in rhetoric seems convincing and makes the speech look good. The Osborns develop that parallel structures help to focus on the main points and serve many advantages, such as providing an outcome which is clearly noticeable due to the slight variation, emphasizing the main points or developing contrast. These structures are easily remembered (Osborn, M., Osborn S., 1988, p. 189). Johnstone et al. sees the importance of patterned speaking in manipulating and calling audience’s attention to the speaker’s utterance (Johnstone et al., 1994, p. 13).

As a consequence of presented definitions, it should be stressed that the uses and functions of listed devices are based on speaker's will and his or her deliberate usage. The functions of these devices will be verified in the practical part of the thesis.

4.4 Functions of repetition

This subchapter firstly provides an overall description of various functions that repetition may serve and contrasts different opinions of linguists. After the general explanation, the functions relevant to the aim of this paper are chosen and explained in more detail.

Johnstone et al. try to answer a difficult question about functions of repetition and provide a wider range of functions as follows:

“Repetition functions didactically, playfully, emotionally, expressively, ritualistically; repetition can be used for emphasis or iteration, clarification, confirmation; it can incorporate foreign words into a language, in couplets, serving as a resource for enriching the language.” (Johnstone et al., 1994, p. 6).

The listed functions do not cover all possible functions, though. Other uses include academic copying quotes, serving, or for sustaining conversation. It serves as a persuasive device as well (Johnstone et al., 1994, p. 6). The long list of functions suggests a variety of uses. As a result the functions change according to different speakers' purposes.

As hinted above, the number of possible functions seem to be almost unlimited. Tannen is worth quoting suggesting that: “it would be hubris (and hopeless) to attempt to illustrate every form and function of repetition.” (Tannen, 2007, p. 64). Kjellmer is also aware that it is not possible to try to analyse all functions of repetitions because there are so many of them. Some functions may be carried out together and it is difficult to distinguish which one is the more prominent. The transcription of speech makes defining the function even more difficult, because intonation is not provided there (Kjellmer, 2008, p. 43). These arguments are applicable also for the analytical part of this paper. Audiorecording will be consulted, if available.

Johnstone et al. (1994) try to describe the functions of repetition more generally and in a broader perspective. They mainly notify the reader about the infinite amount of

possible usages. Nevertheless, having listed possible functions, a need for categorization appears. Aitchison tries to summarize the functions of repetition into three overlapping categories.

“First, repetition may extend existing language resources; Second, it promotes textual cohesion and comprehensibility with text used in its widest sense to include spoken speech; third it facilitates conversational interaction.” (Aitchison, 1994, p. 19).

The first two terms concentrate mostly on self-repetition; the latter term concentrates on other repetition (Aitchison, 1994, p. 19). The characteristic of public speech is that it does not require interaction, the type of conversational interaction which Aitchison suggests is not dealt with in this paper.

From Persson's point of view, six different functions of repetition can be distinguished. These are intensifying, emphatic, conjoined, mimetic, simple and purposive repetition (Persson, 1974). Persson's work *Repetition in English* provides a comprehensive description and division of repetition and explains the most common functions of repetition in a wider perspective of spoken discourse and other texts. On the contrary, Bazzanella (1996) or Tannen (2007) concentrate only on conversational style.

To the author's knowledge, the functions dealing with public speaking are not described in detail in a single book. Therefore, various functions presented in this text are put together from various authors' points of views and chosen according to their relevance for the use in political speeches. Persson's division is primarily used in this diploma paper. However, not all of his classification is used and other is added. For instance, Persson does not include cohesive function which is mentioned by Aitchison (1994) or Hoey (1991) and which is included in the functions here as well.

4.4.1 Cohesive repetition

Function of repetition named cohesive is mentioned shortly by Aitchison (1994) and more extensively by Halliday and Hasan (1980), or Hoey (1991) who devoted a whole book named *Patterns of Lexis in Text* to this topic.

Firstly the term cohesion must be introduced. Cohesion is defined by Hoey as a grammatical or lexical part of the text that connects sentences to other sentences in the

text (Hoey, 1991, p. 266). Halliday and Hasan explain that cohesion can be achieved partly through grammar and partly through vocabulary. (Halliday, Hasan, 1980, p. 5). Grammatical cohesion will not be dealt here. The concern of this work is brought only to lexical cohesion because it deals with recurring lexis.

Now, the lexical cohesion or the term repetition in connection to its ability to create a unified text will be explained. According to Hoey, repetition promotes textual cohesion and shows the relations among sentences (Hoey, 1991, p. 35). He defines this use of repetition as occurrence of items in sentences. Reoccurring items are used again so that something new may be said about them or added to them (Hoey, 1991, p. 268). This is illustrated on example (14) where the phrase *I've seen* introduces two consecutive sentences and serves to structure the text and add new information.

(14) *I've seen* good legislation die because good intentions weren't enough, because they weren't fortified with a political majority and political will. *I've seen* this country--this country's judgment clouded by fear. (Speech 3, 63)

Although Tannen does not speak clearly about cohesion, she states that "repetition allows a speaker to set up a paradigm and slot in new information", and thus it enables the speaker to produce a fluent speech (Tannen, 2007, p. 58). The description she provides corresponds to what is mentioned here as cohesive function of repetition. Halliday and Hasan then use the term reiteration for referring to repetition in their work and define it more concretely. According to them, "reiteration is a form of lexical cohesion which involves the repetition of a lexical item." (Halliday, Hasan, 1980, p. 278). The following example (15) shows the reoccurrence of words *my grandfather*. The phrase cannot be substituted and have to be repeated. It also serves to make a connection between paragraphs.

(15) His father-- *my grandfather* --was a cook, a domestic servant to the British. But *my grandfather* had larger dreams for his son. (Speech 5, 96-97)

Comparing the terminology, the authors agree on basic term of repetition. What Hoey calls repetition Halliday and Hasan treat as "repetition of a lexical item". Moreover, Hoey develops Halliday and Hasan's theory of reiteration of the same lexical items. He divides it into simple and complex lexical repetition. Simple repetition, example (16), occurs when items are repeated without big alternation. The alternation can be for instance in changes from singular to plural. The words in simple repetition do

not change the word class. The context of simple repetition can be compared to the exact repetition mentioned in the subchapter 4.2.2.

(16) That's why tonight *belongs to* you. It *belongs to* the organizers, and the volunteers, and the staff who believed in this journey and rallied so many others to join the cause. (Speech 1; 24)

Complex lexical repetition, on the other hand, as illustrated on the example (17), concerns words that share a morpheme but can be represented by a different word class and so have a different grammatical function. Words that are identical in form but are used in different grammatical functions also belong to complex lexical repetition. It must be pointed out that the repetition of prefix or suffix does not fit into this category (Hoey, 1991, p. 53-58).

(17) Through hard work and perseverance my father got a scholarship *to study* in a magical place, America, that shone as a beacon of freedom and opportunity to so many who had come before. While *studying* here, my father met my mother. (Speech 5, 97-98)

The characteristics of Hoey's classification of the complex lexical repetition are the same as a rhetorical device named polyptoton. According to *The New Princeton Encyclopedia of Poetry and Poetics* polyptoton "increases patterning without wearying the ear, and it takes advantages of the differing functions." (Preminger, Brogan, 1993, p. 967). In other words, using this device is seen as positive and not bothering the listeners but rather helping the text to seem coherent. Complex lexical repetition can be also understood as partial repetition dealt with in the subchapter 4.2.2.

Lexical cohesion does not include only the iterated items but, as Halliday and Hasan describe, it includes also the usage of different words with the same meaning—synonym, near-synonym, and also the usage of a general word for more specific member of the group—superordinate. Collocational also belong to lexical repetition and it concerns lexical items that have a common word meaning (Halliday, Hasan, 1980, p. 278, 284-285).

The short explanation of the use of synonyms and collocations is included to provide a complete background of lexical cohesion. These terms will not be dealt with in the analysis closely because the use of synonyms and collocation seem to go too far from the repetition of words. The use of synonyms may be even understood as the avoidance of repeating and as such it is not the study aim of this paper. The same or

similar items are supposed to be more influential and more easily recognizable for the listeners.

As to the advantages of cohesive repetition, Tannen states that repeated items facilitate better comprehension by providing not so demanding text for the hearer. If all uttered words carried new information it would be more difficult for the listener to understand the speech. Such redundancies not only create cohesion but also the hearer receives the speech more easily (Tannen, 2007, p. 59). On the other hand, Quirk et al. speak about lexical recurrence mainly negatively. According to them, an ironic effect may be created by overuse of one word and it may become disturbing (Quirk et al., 1985, p. 1441). Their negative view is influenced by taking into consideration mainly unintentional repetition, which is not seen as positive. Moreover, they also point out that especially in legal language this process is tolerated to avoid misunderstanding (Quirk et al., 1985, p. 1441). The Osborns also indicate that repetition is avoided in writing classes for creating redundancy but in communication it is seen positively because it helps understanding and achieving clarity (Osborn, M., Osborn S., 1988, p. 250). They do not acknowledge rhetorical effect of repetition as their concern is based more on written than on spoken discourse. Contrastively, Tannen takes into consideration the spoken discourse and states that repetition is perceived positively because it serves listeners for better orientation in the speech and helps them to pay attention more easily.

4.4.2 Emphatic repetition

According to Persson, emphatic repetitions have emotive connotations. He also points out that the emotions aroused via repetition are natural and considered as a "linguistic universal." (Persson, 1974, p. 166). Persson explains that emphatic repetition "reinforces or draws extra attention to a concept." (Persson, 1974, p. 50). Similar suggestion is also made by the Osborns who state that by repeating sounds, words or phrases listener's attention is caught and its frequent use helps to emphasize the significant attributes in the speech (Osborn, M., Osborn S., 1988, p. 297). The following example (18) illustrates the usage.

- (18) For when we have faced down impossible odds, when we've been told we're not ready or that we shouldn't try or that we can't, generations of Americans have responded with a simple creed that sums up the spirit of a people: *Yes, we can. Yes, we can. Yes, we can.* (Speech 1, 28)

The phrase *Yes, we can* is repeated three times and creates emphasis. This statement reinforces what the speaker needs to say and emotions in audience are aroused. With those words, the speaker draws hearer's attention, tries to move them to action and persuades them to act. Audience's awareness is increased by the repeated part.

As reported by Persson, emphatic repetition can be represented by a single item but also by a larger unit of speech that is used to contrast, to focus and to arouse emotions. More concretely, this type includes "repetition with emphatic, emotive, assertive, exclamatory, exhortative, insistent, urgent or contrastive force." (Persson, 1974, p. 50). As a consequence, emphatic repetition fulfils not only the function of emphasis but also arousing various emotions and showing vehemence belongs to its basic characteristics. The example (18) shows repetition of a sentence with an urgent force. In connection to emphatic repetition, Quirk et al. work with the term reinforcement. Reinforcement features colloquial style in which some items are repeated to produce emphasis, focus or thematic arrangement. In the simplest form the words or phrases are repeated with a stress in speaking for the purpose of clarity or emphasis (Quirk et al., 1985, p. 1416). It should be highlighted that Quirk et al. consider not only the repetition of words but also the accompanying feature of emphasis in speech.

Persson then describes that emphatic repetition is recognizable due to its impossibility to be paraphrased. Another distinction is that it is not an integral part of the sentence and it seems to be more disjointed, as illustrated on example (19) (Persson, 1974, p. 50-51).

(19) *The man is a fool! A fool!* (Persson, 1974, p. 50)

The above paraphrased authors are mainly aimed on general linguistic, not on a specific style. Vickers, though, primarily concentrates on the field of rhetoric and confirms that repetition is commonly associated with emphasis and emotional intensity. He adds that if the repetition is done properly, it changes the listeners by being emotionally overwhelming (Vickers, 1994, p. 97-98). He is aware of the function of rhetorical devices to awaken feelings. He states that "Thus from Aristotle to the end of eighteenth century the figures (...) were regarded (...) as capturing specific and clearly defined emotional states." (Vickers, 2002, p. 304-305). It is explained that emphatic repetition may be produced by rhetorical devices and together with emphasis can arouse

arrange of different emotions. Persson continues the emphatic repetition form semiotic connotations, such as “irony, sarcasm, despair jubilation, enthusiasm” devices that produce this effect are called prosodic devices (Persson, 1974, p. 55).

As suggested by Persson and Vickers, various emotions are connected with emphatic repetition. Also Quintilian consents with this opinion. He specifies that words may be repeated for amplification or pity. Then he adds that reiteration can also function forcefully and sound ironically (Quintilian, 2006, 9, 3, 28-30). Also Vickers emphasizes that the theory of the emphasis and emotions is not complete, that the functions are not limited in rhetorical practice and that it is only writer's will how he or she employs the devices (Vickers, 1994, p. 97-98). Quintilian continues in this concept. He states that various figures may cause the feeling of vehemence. The speeches then became more vigorous and through this they evoke strong emotions in the audience (Quintilian, 2006, 9, 3, 54).

This category of emphatic use of repetition is connected with the use of rhetorical devices because repetitive figures may be used to make the speeches more vivid and to awaken feelings. Vickers quotes Demetrius explaining that repetition is a valuable device which creates vividness and passionate tone and uses forceful figures such as anaphora or climax³ (Vickers, 2002, p. 305). In his analysis, Vickers mentions that similar or symmetrical sentence structures (parallelism) are able to produce emphasis and by adding new things, to make the new information more prominent (Vickers, 1994, p. 100-101).

To sum up, emphatic repetition uses repetition of words, phrases or clauses and may be represented by a wider range of various emotions aroused in audience. However, the forceful feelings may appear hand in hand with emphasis in speaker's speech.

4.4.3 Intensifying repetition

As the heading signals, this function serves to intensify an utterance. Persson classifies intensifying repetition as an “intensification of degree or extent” and “intensification of quantity” (Persson, 1974, p. 15). Aitchison speaks about this use as well. She adds that “Intensification involves an increase in quantity or quality, and

³ The term climax is used for “an ascending series of words, ideas, or events, in which intensity and significance increases step by step.” (McArthur, 1992, p. 223).

includes superlatives and augmentative uses.” (Aitchison, 1994, p. 20). The following sentence (20) illustrates the intensifying use, the utterance *a sad, sad dream* can be paraphrased as *averysaddream*.

(20) It was a *sad, sad* dream. (Persson, 1974, p. 51)

Persson differentiates that this type of repetition covers cases that express degree or quantity and intensify duration (Persson, 1974, p. 20-22). Then, intensifying repetition is easily recognizable because it involves only one word, is paraphrasable, as showed on the example (20), and the meaning stays the same. Another typical characteristic is that the repeated item is seen as an integral device. (Persson, 1974, p. 51-52). He also points out that intensification achieved by repeated items chiefly occurs not only in areas of adjectives and adverbs but also in nouns and verbs. Intensifying repetitions communicate mainly cognitively rather than a motive effect. (Persson, 1974, p. 20-22)

Intensification is also achieved via intensifiers. Quirk et al. suggest that *very, much, far* and *so* can be repeated to produce this effect. These items are used to premodify adjectives or adverbs (Quirk et al., 1985, p. 473). Persson works with the idea as well (Persson, 1974, p. 40). According to Quirk et al. an intensifying effect can be also achieved by repeating nouns more than twice. It suggests an increase in quantity or number, as shown on the example (21). The coordinative use shows continuity in increasing (Quirk et al., 1985, p. 980).

(21) We saw *dogs and dogs and dogs*. (Quirk et al., 1985, p. 981)

Other feature denoting gradual increase is the use of coordinated comparatives (Quirk et al., 1985, p. 467). Persson mentions more concretely “repetition denoting continuous increase in degree”. (Persson, 1974, p. 130). He states that it includes two or more comparatives joined with a conjunction *and* (ibid), as in the example (22).

(22) She is getting *better and better*. (Quirk et al., 1985, p. 467)

To make the category of intensifying repetition completed, this category of repetition includes also statements that denote changes in degree, quality or quantity. This may be achieved by repeating the same item one by one, by connecting comparatives with a conjunction *and* or due to the use of intensifiers.

4.4.4 Hesitational repetition

The name of this subchapter is adjusted for the purpose of this paper, so as the heading corresponds to function of repetition. Persson mentions the term hesitational repetition in his chapter on simple repetition and states that there are similarities in functions between the two. The hesitational repetition mostly concerns items such as articles, personal pronouns and prepositions with a low informational value and indicates a cognitive activity (Persson, 1974, p. 152). In this paper the inclination is to hesitational repetition for its name being more explanatory and referring to its function. However, the material included under this term will be broader than only articles or pronouns. The following example (23) illustrates hesitational repetition repeating pronouns.

(23) *I-I put "Hope" on my campaign signs* (Speech 3, 61)

Persson defines simple repetition as having an unclear function. According to him, simple repetition puts nothing more to the expressed utterance. It does not change the meaning either semantically or emotively. It is usually used only to fill the gap in speaking or to provide a space to think about what to say next. Expression "false start" is connected to it as well (Persson, 1974, p. 152-153). Kjellmer also describes the use of repetition as hesitation or uncertainty as well. He specifies that speaker tries to process the utterance in his mind before saying the intended part (Kjellmer, 2008, p. 48). The next example (24) shows a hesitational repetition that is employed as the repeated start.

(24) *You know, awhile back–awhile back* I met a young man named Shamusina V.F.W. (Speech 5, 118)

The term has been defined. It is important to add that this function is similar to the usage of hesitational repetition in conversations. Hesitational repetition mostly appears in conversational style but also a public speaker with a well-prepared speech sometimes hesitates and needs time to think. Slip of tongue does not avoid him/her either. Moreover, also a skilful speaker sometimes needs to think about his next words or, more concretely, to find his/her next words in the scripted speech.

Hesitational repetition is the only type of the all the functions presented in this paper that encompasses only strictly described cases. The hesitational repetition implies only to self-repetition which is exact, immediate and unintentional. The strict limitation

is conditioned by the function itself. It should help the speaker to start again or to shortly think about his next words. As Biber et al. state, these repetitions are the result of dysfluency and are used involuntarily. Additionally, it is often difficult to decide what the result of dysfluency is and what is not (Biber et al., 1999, p. 1056). Biber et al. (1999) and Kjellmer (2008) speak about the categorization described above in the same way. Therefore, it is possible to clearly state the form of hesitational repetition. Another motive is that public speeches are prepared beforehand, and so the hesitation is clearly observable and seen as exact, immediate and unintentional.

Kjellmer also tries to identify the position of repeated items in a sentence. He states that clause introductory position is the most common for planning; this repeating gives the speaker time for preparation. The planning process in speaker's mind influences the items that are repeated. Those are predominantly found "at the beginning of noun phrases and verb phrases and at the beginning of clauses." (Kjellmer, 2008, p. 48-49).

The theoretical part described the necessary features of repetition from its classifications to its functions. The connected aspects of public speeches and uses of rhetorical devices were presented as well. So a practical part may follow trying to apply the theoretical background to these selected political speeches.

5 PRACTICAL PART

This chapter provides an analysis of selected political speeches, while referencing them to the theoretical background presented in the first four chapters of the paper. The aims, methods of the survey and examined corpus are described firstly. Then the analysis of acquired data follows. Main attention is paid to the explanation of uses and functions of repetition. Lastly, summary of results recapitulates and concludes the findings.

5.1 Aims and methods of the analysis

As it is presented in the theoretical part the possible usage of repetition is wide. The practical part concerns on studying the repetitive occurrences in political speeches. The studied iterated items are sounds, words, phrases and clauses as well as repeated syntactic structures (parallelism).

The primary concern is put on the qualitative evaluation of the studied political speeches. The qualitative evaluation deals with identifying and evaluating the uses and functions of repetition. The effects of immediate and delayed repetition with connection to its functions will be compared. Subsequently, a quantitative analysis is provided measuring the occurrences of individual uses and functions; it serves to provide the frequency of repeated items in the studied corpus. Moreover, the study may also provide information whether repetition in investigated political speeches is used appropriately. Minor focus will be devoted to studying rhetorical devices and their use.

Concerning the structure of analysis, the functions of repetition in political speeches are studied firstly. The significant patterns of each category are described and explained on few representative samples. The analyzed functions of repetition are: cohesive, emphatic, intensifying and hesitational. While analyzing the corpus, a category of unclear cases arose. As a result, a category mixing cohesive and emphatic functions was created. Section 5.3.6 is devoted to comments on specific uses. Not all occurrences could have been put into specific categories. Therefore, the marginal cases are discussed separately at the end of the analysis before the summary of results.

The remarks on exactness and immediacy are included in subchapters discussing specific functions. Intentionality of repetition is mentioned in the hesitational function

of repetition. Based on the assumption made in the theoretical part in subchapter 4.2.3 all other instances are used intentionally because they are planned.

It should be emphasized that this study analyzes five political speeches, all of which were delivered by the same politician. That is quite a limited investigated corpus. Therefore, any attempts to generalize presented results should be carried out with appropriate caution.

5.2 Description of the corpus

The studied corpus is based on the speeches of Barack Obama, the contemporary president of The United States of America. He is known as a skillful public speaker and his speeches are vivid. The choice to concentrate on Barack Obama's speeches is influenced by his rapidly increasing popularity mainly due to his oratorical power. Among many rhetorical techniques he employs, the use of repetition is definitely counted as one of his strengths. Leanne Shell devoted a whole book called *Say It Like Obama* to analysing his speaking style. Leanne claims that "A notable hallmark of Barack Obama's communication style is his use of unique variations of repetition. Obama draws on a wide variety of repetition techniques that give power to his oration." (Leanne, 2009, p. 107).

The corpus includes five Obama's speeches, delivered during the period from 2002 to 2010. All the selected speeches are enclosed in the appendices 9.2. The repeated items are highlighted in italics. Each paragraph in the speeches is numbered. To leave the speech intact, the italicized words and phrases are listed in categories according to their functions just after each speech. In the corpus, 312 occurrences were identified. 281 instances are categorized clearly. The remaining 31 instances are marginal, not definitely identifiable. They seem to serve more functions and the decision which one is more prominent is decided with difficulty.

5.3 Analysis of the data

In this chapter the study of data is provided. Each category firstly introduces the function, then the representative samples help to draw general conclusions. The effects of exactness and immediacy are commented on in connection to functions.

5.3.1 Cohesive repetition

Cohesive function of repetition is an important part of political speeches. For the speech to be successful, one of its necessary features is being cohesive. Repetition is a valuable tool not just for creating cohesion but also because repeating the main points makes the speech or the main points more easily remembered.

Altogether, cohesive repetition in the examined corpus comprises 101 occurrences which is 31% of all identified repetitions and as such it belongs to the most numerous category.

As explained in subchapter 4.4.1, cohesive repetition helps the speaker to create a fluent speech by using the same word or phrase to show the connections between sentences. Items are repeated so that new things may be added to them. The following sentences (1) and (2) exemplify these.

- (1) And above all, we saw *a new generation* emerge-- *a generation* that uses their own creativity and talent and technology to call for a government that represented their hopes and not their fears (Speech 4,87)
- (2) And so Ashley *convinced her mother* that she really liked and really *wanted to eat* more than anything else mustard and relishes sandwiches... And she-- she concocted in her own mind at the age of nine that she would *convince her mother* that that's the only thing she *wanted to eat* everyday (Speech 3,68)

The example (1) shows the repetition of a word. The first occurrence introduces the subject; the second adds more concrete information to it. The example (2) repeats two phrases *convinced her mother* and *wanted to eat*. In this case, the speaker retells a story, and the items are repeated for better understanding and continuing the narrative.

5.3.1.1 Exactness and immediacy

Comparison of exact and partial, immediate and delayed repetition found in cohesive repetition will be dealt with now. Exact delayed repetition is represented in 66 instances, partial delayed in 34, exact immediate is represented once. It may be assumed from these numbers that delayed repetition functions cohesively. Supportive argument may be that when the occurrences are repeated with a distance among themselves they serve to make the text more coherent and interconnected. This finding is also supported by Johnstone et al. (Johnstone et al., 1994, p. 14). Another reason that supports this

finding is that only one case of immediate repetition was identified as cohesive in the studied corpus.

The usage of delayed repetition is presented on the selected excerpts of the Speech 3 on the example (3). The repeated item *wall* and its variants are reoccurring often at the beginning of the speech. The word is not mentioned in the next paragraph and then it appears again. When the topic of *wall* seems to be forgotten, it is reminded later in the speech as well. This usage shows that the speaker has a purpose that he wants to achieve and that the word *wall* serves to link the speech together.

(3) *The walls* of the city were too steep for anyone to climb.... *the mighty walls* of Jericho came tumbling down.(47)... *those walls* of oppression would not be moved.... maybe the cracks in *those walls* would start to show ... *the walls* would begin to sway(49)... What makes it even more difficult is that we have a politics in this country that seeks to drive us apart, that puts up *walls* between us.(53)... *the wall* that we must tear down before the hour grows too late.(Speech3,56)

Similar usages as presented above were found in studied corpus. Those usages are for example: *wecan* in Speech1, *war* in Speech2, *hope* in Speech3, *Egypt* in Speech4 and *believe* in Speech5. These examples show that not only words, but also phrases that are detached can make the text united. Sometimes the text inserted among the repeated occurrences may be quite long.

As the immediate repetition occurred only in one example, no clear conclusion can be made. The instance of immediate repetition, example (4), is rather rare. Here it serves to make a connection between paragraphs. The phrase is mentioned firstly at the end of the paragraph and then the idea continues in the consecutive paragraph.

(4) you made it clear that at this moment, in this election, *there is something happening in America* . (5) *There is something happening* when men and women in Des Moines...(Speech1,6)

Commenting on exactness and non-exactness, the studied speeches revealed that exact repetition is used more frequently than the partial one. Partial repetition usually appears to change the premodification of words, the plurality or the word class in the studied corpus. The changes appear not only in single words but also in longer structures. Comparison of partial and exact repetition is showed on the following examples.

- (5) He led by challenging our economic structures, *understanding* that it would cause discomfort. Dr. King *understood* that unity cannot be won on the cheap (Speech3,59)
- (6) *He told them* to stand together and march together around the city, and on the seventh day *he told them* that when they heard the sound of the ram's horn, (Speech3,47)

The words *understanding* and *understood* appear in the example (5). These words have the same stem. This usage can be called a complex lexical repetition or polyptoton and it represents partial repetition. Its serve to make the connection between sentences and is followed by a new thought. The example (6) represents exact repetition and the function is to continue the idea and to provide more facts. The examples shown above illustrate what appeared in the studied corpus and that no big differences in terms of function seem to be recognized between exact and partial repetition in category of cohesive function.

5.3.1.2 Frequently repeated patterns

Few repeating patterns can be identified in the category of cohesive repetition in the selected speeches. The significant instances will be discussed together with the explanations of the uses.

The first commented use of cohesion will be to add information to the statements. This function is present in the corpus in the number of 35 instances. The repeated items do not provide new information but the subsequent words convey a fresh thought. The following examples (7) and (8) will help to give details.

- (7) But *the reason* our campaign has always been different, *the reason* we began this improbable journey almost a year ago is because it's not just about what I will do as president. (Speech1,22)
- (8) But I also know that Saddam poses no imminent and direct threat to the United States or to his neighbours, *that the Iraqi* economy is in shambles, *that the Iraqi* military a fraction of its former strength (Speech 2,42)

The repeated word *the reason* in the example (7) is used to provide the motives for beginning with the campaign. The repeated phrase in the example (8) also helps to structure the sentence in a way that outlines providing new information. Both examples show that the repetition of a word or phrase may be able to signify that the speaker will add new reasons or new facts. Because the phrases are said again the audience expects that something new connected with the repeated items will be stated.

Rhetorical device anaphora seems to be frequently connected to the above mentioned pattern. Anaphora appears functioning cohesively in 23 cases, it includes items that appear either in the beginning of consecutive sentences or paragraphs. It is significant not only because of the number of occurrences but also because it appeals listener's feeling the most. The following sentences (9) and (10) illustrate the use of anaphora.

- (9) *It's not easy to stand in somebody else's shoes. It's not easy to see past our own differences.* (Speech 3, 53)
- (10) *I thought of the 900 men and women -- sons and daughters, husbands and wives, friends and neighbors, who won't be returning to their own hometowns. I thought of the families I've met who were struggling to get by without a loved one's full income* (Speech 5, 120)

In both selected cases, the phrases initiate the sentences and the use is to add other information, to say a new thing. When the sentences start in the same way, the listeners expect new things to be said. This way they can pay attention to new information. One of the reasons why anaphora seems to be well perceived by audience is that it is one of speaker's tools that may help him to structure his speech in a way that is easily observable because it creates a feeling of rhythm in the speech. Similarly, the repetition used for adding information helps the audience to pay attention to the important part being communicated rather than trying to find hidden meanings. Anaphora, as well as the structure adding information seems to make the text united. As mentioned in the theory 4.4.1, the listeners cannot go back to reread the key points. Therefore, one of the benefits of structuring the main ideas in the same way is that they can be memorized more easily.

The following pattern also deserves a considerable discussion. The attention is brought to words and phrases that occur at the end of one paragraph or sentence and then again at the beginning of the next paragraph to signal a change of the topic. This use shows the connection between paragraphs. The sentence (11) demonstrates how it appears in the corpus.

- (11) There are no *false hopes* in that. (64) I don't believe in *false hopes*. (Speech 3; 65)

The repeated words *false hopes* appear firstly at the end of the paragraph and for the second time in the first sentence of the next paragraph. The example (11) illustrates the change of the topic; the speaker repeats the word *hope* several times in the paragraph 64. But then he wants to change the audience's awareness and contrasts it with *false hopes*. As clarified on this example, repeating words function to make connection between paragraphs. When the topic is changed once, the expression might appear in several consecutive paragraphs to interconnect the text. The passages that could be classified as connecting paragraphs are found in 22 cases. Similarly, the pattern of connecting sentences was identified in 15 instances; it seems to interconnect consecutive sentences. This may be illustrated with the next examples (12) and (13).

(12) We have real *enemies* in the world. These *enemies* must be found. (Speech 5, 122)

(13) That's why tonight *belong* to you. It *belongs* to the organizers (Speech 1, 2)

The words *enemies* and *belong to* when mentioned for the first time introduce new ideas. Then in the next sentence the idea is repeated and developed. Furthermore, the cohesive effect does not have to be only in consecutive sentences but it may be also seen with few more sentences inserted in between, as was discussed above in connection with delayed repetition. Such usage may also make the utterance more interconnected.

The next pattern shows that words are repeated not only to connect the sentences but may be also used to give more details to the previously mentioned item. The following examples (14) and (15) illustrate the usage.

(14) *The word* Tahrir means liberation. *It is a word* that speaks to that something in our soul that cries out for freedom. (Speech 4; 92)

(15) And above all, we saw *a new generation* emerge-- *a generation* that uses their own creativity (Speech 4; 87)

The instances show the words being introduced in their first appearance and then being more closely described in the second occurrence. Similar usage is found in 12 examples in the corpus.

An interesting pattern of repetition signalling a possible result attracted the attention of the paper's authors. The phrases *new American majority* and *scripture tells us* in the following excerpts (16) and (17) are used in various paragraphs with a

longer distance between the repeated items. The speaker firstly suggests the topic then speaks about it and finally shows the result or conclusion which seems to make a closure to the topic.

- (16) You, all of you who are here tonight, all who put so much heart and soul and work into this campaign, *you can be the new majority* who can lead this nation out of a long political darkness. (11)... *Our new American majority can end* the outrage of unaffordable, unavailable health care in our time. (13)... *Our new majority can end* the tax breaks for corporations that ship our jobs overseas and put a middle-class tax cut in the pockets of working Americans who deserve it. (14)... We can do this with *our new majority*. (Speech 1, 16)
- (17) *Scripture tells us* that when Joshua and the Israelites arrived at the gates of Jericho, they could not enter.... That's what *scripture tells us*. (Speech 3, 47)

The attempt to signify possible solutions might be connected with the purpose of political speeches to influence audience. This form gives audience the feeling that the actions said to be done are carefully planned. Indicating a conclusion also helps the speaker to finish one topic and starting a new theme. The demonstration of the aim influences the listeners and reminds them of what was said before. For comparison, a category of cohesive emphatic repetition is dealt with later in the analysis, in the subchapter 5.3.3. In those cases, the repeated items appear more closely to each other and it is not possible to decide which of the two functions is more prominent.

After examination of the studied corpus it may be assumed that cohesive repetition seems to be delayed. The items are repeated throughout the speech either with greater or shorter distance between them. No significant differences between exact and partial repetition were detected. Comparing it to the theoretical input, it was confirmed that the words in cohesive repetition are mainly repeated for the purpose of adding new information after the iterated items. This function is often represented by anaphora. The next identified pattern served to make a succession between sentences and paragraphs. The words may appear near the end of one sentence and then at the beginning of the next sentence of paragraph or in several consecutive paragraph or sentences. Other detected usage covers repetition of a word so that more close description can be presented. All these instances create the utterance interconnected.

The influence on listeners may be seen in helping them to be better acquainted with the speech and to direct their concentration to the points the speaker wants them to. Also the repetition of key words throughout the speech is helpful for remembering.

5.3.2 Emphatic repetition

The function of repetition classified as emphatic appears to be the second most common case. It forms about 21% and contains 64 instances. As explained in chapter 4.4.2, this usage covers a variety of subfunctions. Primarily, it is used for creating emphasis. The emphasis is followed by other components that help to arouse audience's emotions, such as showing ideas in contrast, with urgency or insistently. All these elements help audience to focus on important parts of the speech and to emphasize speaker's objectives.

- (18) And when I am president of the United States, *we will end this war in Iraq and bring our troops home. We will end this war in Iraq. We will bring our troops home.* (Speech 1, 17-18)

The example (18) shows emphatic repetition. The first sentence resembles the two others, only in the second occurrence it is divided into two separate sentences. The speaker does not put the ideas in contrast, he simply says it resolutely and it gives the utterance the emphatic effect. Moreover, the use of phrase *we will* instead of *I will* gives signal to the audience that it is their common aim. Such uses evoke emotions and feelings of unity. Repeating the idea with the same words shows persistence and helps audience to focus.

5.3.2.1 Exactness and immediacy

Out of emphatic repetitions, exact delayed repetition covers 11 instances, partial delayed 10 instances. Exact immediate repetition is classified in 11 cases and partial immediate in 32 cases. These numbers reveal that partial immediate repetition is represented the most in the studied corpus. As partial immediate repetition is a distinct category, it concerns parallel structures in most cases, and therefore it will be discussed individually in a separate section 5.3.2.2.

The uses of exact immediate repetition will be examined firstly because they are comparable to the theory mentioned in the subchapter 4.4.2. Persson develops the

theory of emphatic repetition in detail and suggest that emphatic repetition “is a more disjointed phenomenon. The repeated items are either torn out of their context or originate as single-item exclamations.” (Persson, 1974, p. 52). It should be highlighted here that Persson studies only exact immediate repetition. He has a stricter categorization than the one used in this diploma paper. According to his words, emphatic repetition is dislocated from the sentence and it is not a necessary part of the sentence. His theory is compared with the uses of exact immediate repetition are illustrated on the following examples (19) and (20).

(19) *There is something happening . There's something happening* when Americans who are young in age and in spirit (Speech 1, 7)

(20) *Thank you so much. Thank you. Thank you. Thank you so much. Thank you so much. Thank you. Thank you. Thank you* (Speech 5, 94)

The example (19) repeats the phrase *there is something happening* . The phrase reoccurs in the Speech 1 at the beginning of several consecutive paragraphs to create cohesion. Repeating without delay, as in the excerpt (19), alters the function and serves to prioritize the process of ongoing changes. If the first sentence was skipped, the function would be only continuing with listing the shifts that are happening. Then, the example (20) shows an introduction to the Speech 5, the phrases are repeated many times to express speaker's emotions. It would be enough to say *Thank you* or *Thank you so much* just once. This way, it seems to be more prominent and the speaker shows strong gratitude. The repeated items could be deleted in both exemplified cases and no difficulty in understanding would be caused. However, the emphatic function would not be perceived then. The difference after removing the repeated phrase would not be so marked in the instance (19). On the other hand, in the example (20) where the phrase is repeated many times, the difference would be more noticeable.

Comparing the above formulated assumptions with Persson's approach, his description seems to be valid for the cases of exact immediate emphatic repetition. The repeated utterances seem to be unnecessary features of the sentences. Nevertheless, exact immediate emphatic repetition covers only 11 instances, which seem to be only a minor number to provide a general verification of Persson's statements.

The option of deleting the repeated item as a way of identifying a statement as emphatic repetition was introduced in the examples of exact immediate repetition. However, similar method may be employed in several cases of exact and partial delayed

repetition in the studied corpus. The cases of delayed repetition supporting Persson's theory are explained in the following examples (21) and (22).

(21) *I am here because of Ashley. I am here because of this young girl, and the fact that she's willing to fight for what she believes in.* (Speech 3, 70)

(22) *And I know that in this crowd today, there is no shortage of patriots, or of patriotism.* (Speech 2, 39)

The repeated phrase in the example (21), also classified as an anaphora, is followed by the name *Ashley*, the repeated phrase in the next sentence is followed by *this young girl* which refers to the same person mentioned in the first sentence. If it was said just once, the statement would not be so prominent. The example (22) shows the use of partial delayed repetition. It could be also named polyptoton. The words *patriots* and *patriotism* have the same stem, the suffixes slightly change the form but the meaning stays similar. As the highlighted items are repeated with a variation their function changes and serves to emphasize the speaker's reasons of being in the campaign in (21) and to stress the importance of patriotism in (22). If the second occurrences were deleted, the meaning of the utterance would not be affected. However, the emphatic force would be lost. As shown on these two cases, exact and partial delayed repetition may convey the same idea. Conveying similar ideas in repeated utterances as well as the impression of separation are the facts that seem to be important for seeing a connection to Persson's theory. The words and phrases are iterated with a slight change of words that precede or follow the repeated part. If one of the repeated items was missing, no big change in the meaning would be noticed. The second occurrences seem to be employed to pinpoint the priority.

To sum up, Persson's theory seems to be applicable for 23 instances. It is about one third of the occurrences of emphatic repetition in the examined corpus. The reason for the divergence between the corpus findings and the Persson's classification is probably influenced by the specifics of the studied corpus and the range of examined types of repetition. Persson concentrates on wider range of styles, but only political speeches are examined here. Next, Persson deals only with exact immediate repetition. Nevertheless, some cases of delayed repetition give the impression of fitting into Persson's definition. These cases seem to convey roughly the same meaning in the second occurrences and are seen as disjointed. Still, the majority of the other instances of emphatic repetition do not support Persson's identification. This may be affected by

the fact that the most extensive category of emphatic immediate repetition that is not taken into his consideration. As the partial immediate repetition mostly covers parallel structures, it cannot be treated in the same way and therefore is dealt with in the next section.

5.3.2.2 Partial immediate repetition

The partial immediate repetition takes a prominent place of emphatic repetition in the investigated speeches. Almost all cases appear to be in statements that are put in similar parallel syntactic structures. The parallel structures belong to partial immediate repetition and serve the speaker as a rhetorical device which affects listeners and makes the speeches more vivid. Parallelism is clarified in subchapter 4.3, explaining that it may be employed to persuade, to give focus on the main points, to put ideas in contrast and obviously to attract listener's attention. Parallelism helps the speaker to construct the key points in similar arrangement which creates a pattern in the speech. The pattern strongly influences the audience. Then, parallel structures also reinforce speaker's intentions; emotions become an inseparable part of the speech. These might be the reasons for its employment in political speeches. The usage of parallel structures is showed on the following examples (23) and (24).

- (23) Democrats, independents and Republicans who (...) and understand that, if we mobilize our voices to challenge the money and influence that stood in our way and challenge ourselves to reach for something better, *there is no problem we cannot solve, there is no destiny that we cannot fulfill.* (Speech 1, 12)
- (24) We have a deficit when (...) young Americans serve to our after tour after tour after tour of duty in a war that *should have never been authorized and should have never been waged.* (Speech 3, 51)

The sentences show the usage of syntactic parallelism. Both clauses are in parallel structures and are introduced by the same phrases *there is no* and *should have never been*. The idea expressed in the second reappearance is different. The reason the sentences seem to be emphatic is affected by the sentence structure. Also the words saying that almost nothing is impossible in (23) support the feeling of vehemence. The words in (24) also indicate as slightly different thought that the war should not have been approved. Going back to the above mentioned Persson's theory, it is not possible to exclude any part of the repeated elements because the second utterances express different ideas. Considering the effect on listeners it is possible to say that parallel

structures arouse their attention and the way the ideas are pronounced highlights the main points.

The structures similar as in the examples (23) and (24) seem to cause emphasis by the structure itself. The example (25) is slightly different and it might be perceived as creating gradual emphasis.

(25) Tonight, *if you feel the same energy that I do, if you feel the same urgency that I do, if you feel the same passion that I do, if you feel the same hopefulness that I do -- if we do what we must do,* (Speech 5, 136)

The consecutive sentences are introduced by the same phrase, anaphora – *if you feel the same* and finished by the same phrase, epistrophe – *that I do*. The words between these phrases are changed. The substituted words have similar meaning but the implication is getting stronger step by step. Thus, the emphatic effect may be supported not only by the sentence structure but also by the meaning of words and speaker's accentuation encourages the intention.

The following example (26) depicts a parallel structure used to show the emphasis more strongly, it seems to create emphasis gradually and to develop speaker's points.

(26) It's why *I believe that the walls in that room began to shake at that moment. And if they can shake in that room, then they can shake here in Atlanta, and if they can shake in Atlanta, then they can shake in the state of Georgia, and if they can shake in Georgia, they can shake all across America.* (Speech 3, 71)

This structure is defined as climax; it appears when the clause starts with words that ended the previous one. After finishing the last sentence the speaker is rewarded by applauding audience which makes it clear that the structure reached the expected outcome, it affected the audience.

Parallel structures in the examined political speeches may give priority to the important aspects of the address due to the proper structuring. Nevertheless, the emphatic effect can be reached more properly when the structure indicates a slow development. The response of audience may signal whether the structure was used accurately, affecting the audience's awareness and emotions.

Another significant pattern commonly observed in the category of emphatic repetition is a pattern that puts the ideas in contrast. The occurrences expressing ideas in

contrast cover 14 cases. The usage will be explained on the following examples (27) and (28).

(27) He did it with words, words that he spoke *not just to the children of slaves but the children of slave owners* (Speech 3, 59)

(28) *There are patriots who opposed the war in Iraq and there are patriots who supported the war in Iraq* .(Speech 5, 127)

The example (27) conveys the information in an inverted structure. Words *not just* and *but* help to structure the sentence and they indicate that the following message will be in opposition. Moreover, the phrases *children of slaves* and *children of slave owners* is also in antithesis, it gives the sentence a parallel structure. Generally, based on the studied corpus, ideas that are said to be in contrary are often accompanied by words signifying the contrast such as *not* and *but*. The example (28) also offers ideas in contrast, but the contrast lies in the meaning of words *opposed* and *support* which are antonyms. Delayed repetition may also contrast the main points, as shown on the following case (29).

(29) Well, I say to them tonight, *there is not a liberal America and a conservative America -- there is the United States of America. There is not a Black America and a White America and Latino America and Asian America -- there's the United States of America* .(Speech 5, 126)

Words are stated in opposing structure with the help of words *there is not* and *there is* . Also the adjectives that modify the word *America* are opposites which augment the contrast.

As suggested on the above examples, putting ideas in the contrastive form help to clarify speaker's main aims. The contrast may be achieved either by the assistance of structure *not-but* , by antonymous words or by using a negative statement first and then a positive one. The contrasting patterns employed together with parallelism seem to evoke emphatic effect.

The last prominent pattern is based on the importance of the number three. The statements in parallel structures that appear three times are found in 12 cases in the corpus. The occurrence of number three is mentioned for example by Leanne (2009) and Beard (2000, p. 38-39). Leanne talks about it as a tricolon or triadic extensions. She states that using triadic phrases or sentences help to amplify speaker's points. These

structures are also effective for emphasizing key features of the speech (Leanne, 2009, p. 119-121). Now examples (30)–(32) from the corpus will assist to analyze the usage.

- (30) For when we have faced down impossible odds, when we've been told *we're not ready or that we shouldn't try or that we can't*, generations of Americans have responded with a simple creed that sums up the spirit of a people (Speech 1, 28)
- (31) It is the great need of this hour as well, *not because it sounds pleasant, not because it makes us feel good, but because it's the only way* we can overcome the essential deficit that exists in this country. (Speech 3, 49)
- (32) *These enemies must be found. They must be pursued. And they must be defeated.* (Speech 5, 122)

The example (30) expresses speaker's thoughts in a similar structure that is repeated three times. The use of the conjunction *or* makes the statement last longer. Negation creates the impression of a similar pattern. The argument in this structure seems to show options to the audience but it also reveals speaker's emotions and that he does not agree with it. Next, the example (31) not only uses the triadic extension but also puts the ideas in contrasting structure with the help of structure *not–not–but* which makes the feeling of urgency more prominent. The last example (32) illustrating the repetition of three uses a parallel structure in three consecutive sentences. Due to the similar pattern in subsequent sentences it is shown that the key concepts may be effectively communicated through simple structure. Since the sentences are short the sense of rhythm increases and rhythmical structure is useful for arousing audience's attention and emotions.

Summarizing the usage of triadic extensions, it is apparent that the items in this structure give the impression of a proper organization and main aspects of the speech may be easily emphasized in this way. It may also be inferred that repeating something three times draws the attention to the important points but does not bother the listeners by stating it too many times. As the number of three seems to be the only number mentioned in the studied books its significance is evident.

To conclude the findings of emphatic repetition, it is evident that various uses and sentence structures appear in political speeches to express the insistency. It should be pointed out that emphatic repetition might be applied for putting the important features of the speech to focus. The focus might be achieved by repeating the idea in exact

words immediately. But it may be also expressed by delayed repetition where the meaning of repeated item is similar, only with a slight variation. It was also found out that exact immediate and some cases of delayed repetition may be perceived as items that are separable from the sentence.

Then, the researched addresses revealed that emphatic repetition could appear in parallel structures, it is the most common type in the examined corpus. Parallelism seems to be perceived as a helpful tool for stating the key ideas that should be emphasized. The structure may also be identified as being slightly poetical, therefore the audience may recognize these structures while listening and remember the exact words. It might be also deduced that when listeners remember speaker's words they may finally start to believe them and that it is often the politician's goal. Next, the ideas often appear in contrasting sentences to highlight opposing facts. Based on the studied speeches, the contrastive form may help to provide the sentences with motive feelings. The urgent emotions may be perceived especially when the statements are negated and then contrasted with positive sentence or when conjunctions are used. Lastly, when items or structures are repeated three times they can convey the impression of vehemence. As showed, emphatic repetition may be presented in various patterns to express the insistency.

5.3.3 Cohesive emphatic repetition

This category is created because while studying the selected speeches, it appeared that some instances of repetition might fulfil two functions together and it is difficult to determine which function is more important and put a borderline between them. As the headings suggest this category mixes cohesive and emphatic function of repetition. That means that the repeated items may seem to make the text united, at the same time emphatic effect is produced through repeating as well. The statements in this category are often accompanied by a stress in the speech. 20 cases are identified as cohesive emphatic repetition; they form 6% of all the repetitions found in the studied corpus. The following excerpt will help to explain the usage.

(33) *Heled* with words, but *healsoled* with deeds. *Healsoled* by example. *Heled* by marching and going to jail and suffering threats and beatings and being away from his family. *Heled* by taking a stand against a war knowing full well

that it would diminish his popularity. *He led* by challenging our economic structures, understanding that it would cause discomfort. (Speech 3;59)

The example (33) shows the phrase *he led*, introducing several consecutive sentences – anaphora. Similar use is seen in Speech 4, 81-86 with repeating words *we saw* in Speech 5, 113-117 with a phrase *John Kerry believes*. The phrases introducing the consecutive sentences make the text look coherent because new information is always added to the repeated phrase. The phrases are repeated several times which creates rhythm. The rhythm affects the hearers, helps them to remember the main speaker's points and draws their attention to new added information. Byrns supports this, saying that rhythm makes speech more entertaining and memorable (Byrns, 1994, p.207). The more times the phrase is repeated the more emphasis is felt in those words. It means that also the emphatic function is accomplished due to the repeating structure. The uniqueness then may be found in creating rhythm of the speech.

As the term anaphora has been touched it is necessary to point out that in the cases of cohesive emphatic repetition anaphora is identified in 16 cases. As suggested in the theoretical chapter 4.3, anaphora may fulfil many functions. It may be perceived as a device connecting ideas. The structure also seems to give emphasis to the presented thoughts.

Short comments on the types of repetition that appear in cohesive emphatic repetition will be made. It was suggested that anaphora is a common type; therefore the fact that exact delayed repetition covers 14 cases is not surprising. The use of exact delayed repetition might be seen in the above quoted example (33). Partial delayed repetition is found in 7 cases, with usually little variation of words or clauses. The following example (34) shows partial repetition as well as represents an interesting usage.

- (34) *You want a fight, President Bush?* (44)
Let's fight to make sure our so-called allies in the Middle East, the Saudis and the Egyptians, stop oppressing their own people, and suppressing dissent, and tolerating corruption and inequality, and mismanaging their economies so that their youth grow up without education, without prospects, without hope, the ready recruits of terrorist cells. *You want a fight, President Bush? Let's fight to* wean ourselves off Middle East oil, through an energy policy that doesn't simply serve the interests of Exxon and Mobil. (Speech 2;45)

Two occurrences are showed in the example (34) but a closer look to the Speech 2 in the appendix 9.2 will show that sentences *You want a fight, President Bush? Let's finish the fight* (43) and *You want a fight, President Bush? Let's fight to* (43-45) are used in few consecutive paragraphs to start a new topic and therefore function cohesively. The use of rhetorical question ⁴ *You want a fight, President Bush?* to which the speaker provides the answer immediately has expressive power that affects the audience. The new subjects to be said are introduced with the phrase *let's* which suggests a solution to the situation. Again, because it is repeated many times it puts emphasis on the speaker's points.

Special attention should be devoted to repeated phrase *we can* and *Yes, we can* in Speech 1. These phrases are reiterated through the whole speech. The excerpts (35)-(37) follow to illustrate the usage.

- (35) *We can* bring doctors and patients, workers and businesses, Democrats and Republicans together, and *we can* tell the drug and insurance industry (Speech 1, 13)
- (36) *It was* a creed written into the founding documents that declared the destiny of a nation: *Yes, we can.* *It was* whispered by slaves and abolitionists as they blazed a trail towards freedom through the darkest of nights: *Yes, we can.* (Speech 1, 29-30)
- (37) *Yes, we can,* to justice and equality. *Yes, we can,* to opportunity and prosperity. *Yes, we can* heal this nation. *Yes, we can* repair this world. *Yes, we can.* (Speech 1, 32-33)

Near the beginning of the speech phrase *we can*, example (35), is repeated to provide information about abilities for fulfilling their aims. Then later in the speech, example (36), consecutive sentences are introduced by anaphora *it was* and finished by epistrophe *Yes, we can*. Rhythm is created by this usage and ending the statements with the same phrase provides emphasis. Lastly, example (37), the phrase *Yes, we can* is employed for introducing several consecutive sentences, and it serves as a summary of the suggestions speaker mentioned at the beginning of the speech. In this way the emphatic effect becomes prominent and the usage linking together the beginning and end of the speech makes the text cohesive. Similar pattern may be seen also in Speech 2, 37-41 where phrases *I don't oppose all wars* finish several consecutive paragraphs.

⁴ Rhetorical question is defined in *The Oxford Companion to the English Language* as a question that does not need an answer or the answer is subsequently provided by the speaker. The use of rhetorical question may help to create dramatic effect (McArthur, 1992, p. 867).

Then they are followed by phrase *what I am opposed to*. Other variants of these words are repeated in those paragraphs as well. These usages not only make the text coherent by using similar words in slightly different ways but also the feeling of urgency and speaker's emotions are expressed. The suggested findings might be that the combination of anaphora together with epistrophe and similar words can function cohesively. Together with reminding the key points in several parts of the speech rhythmic effect and also vehemence might be clearly recognized.

Cohesive emphatic repetition is not described in any of the theoretical books. This category is based on the occurrences from the examined political speeches and might be perceived as mixing the functions of cohesion and emphasis. However, it might be suggested that the repeated items providing the cohesive and emphatic feeling are frequently repeated in sentences or paragraphs so that urgency and rhythm is recognized. The impression of the sentences as being connected with each other or between paragraphs may be identified as well. The rhetorical device anaphora seem to be often noticed. Its frequent occurrence might be explained by the fact that it may serve various functions not only for cohesion but also for emphasis.

5.3.4 Intensifying repetition

The theory of intensifying repetition is described in the subchapter 4.4.3. Its main characteristic is the ability to intensify the meaning in quality, quantity or degree. The intensifying repetition is almost absent in the studied corpus, only three occurrences could be assigned to this function. However they are not fully in accordance with the theory. The usage will be explained on the following examples (38) and (39).

- (38) King inspired with words not of anger, but of *an urgency*, *a fierce urgency* that still speak to us today. (Speech 3, 48)
- (39) And so Ashley convinced her mother that she *really* liked and *really* wanted to eat more than anything else mustard and relishes and *wiches*. (68)

The word *urgency* is repeated and intensified in the example (38). The intensification in the second occurrence is achieved by using a modifying word *fierce* which denotes the urgency as being stronger and therefore it may be understood as increase in the degree. The example (39) repeats the word *really* preceding the verbs

liked and *wanted*. The word *really* expresses the accompanying features of the verbs signifying an increase in degree as well.

The rare presence of occurrences cannot lead to an accurate general conclusion to be made. The low number of occurrences might be influenced by the type of the studied corpus and the speaker's preferences. The significant feature of the corpus is a careful preparation of the delivered text. Intensifying repetition might be more frequent in unprepared texts. Thus, the reasons for almost no occurrence of intensifying repetition might be that the speaker prefers not to repeat the same word to express the increase in number or degree. Various quantifiers or intensifiers seem to be more suitable for these intentions. The use of such modifiers primarily avoids repetition and therefore no significant number is found in the corpus.

5.3.5 Hesitational repetition

As mentioned in chapter 4.4.4, this type of repetition does not serve any important function in political speeches and its use is unintentional. It mostly helps the speaker to process his or her next words or it may be seen as a false start. The number of the appearances of hesitational repetition in the whole corpus comprises 25 cases, it is almost 8% of the identified instances. Hesitational repetition is explained on the following example (40).

(40) *It wasn't just one voice -- It wasn't just one voice that shouted out before the walls of Jericho.* (Speech 3, 66)

The repeated phrase in the number (40) does not have a specific function that could be assigned to it. It is marked as a false start when the speaker needs more time to think or just wants to begin the sentence again. The difference that categorizes the expression belonging to hesitational rather than to emphatic repetition is based on the audio recording. The recording shows clearly that the sentence is not finished. The end of a sentence would be recognizable due to lowering speaker's voice at the end of the sentence. This feature is observable also in other cases of hesitational repetition and can help with the categorization.

Other important fact about hesitational repetition is that almost all the cases belong to exact immediate repetition, only three examples are partial immediate. An exceptional case of exact delayed repetition appeared once and was caused due to

speaker's commentary on something the listeners did . As suggested in the theoretical subchapter 4.4.4, hesitational repetition should be mostly exact immediate. This was affirmed in the studied corpus. Hesitational repetition is therefore understood as unintentional, the speaker does not plan it. It seems that this type of repeating shows speaker's uncertainty which forces him to restart. It should be also pointed out that hesitational repetition is the only case that seems to be unintentional in the examined political speeches.

Most of the cases of hesitational repetition seem to be classified as false starts. The sentences (41) and (42) show the occurrence.

(41) *People don't expect -- People don't expect* government to solve all their problems. (Speech 3, 108)

(42) *The pundits, the pundits* like to slice-and-dice our country into Red States and Blue States (Speech 5, 127)

In both cases the speaker starts the sentence, stops for a while and then carries on finishing the sentence at the second attempt. The repetition only helps the speaker to restart the statement and then continue fluently. As the audio recording shows, the speaker is forced to stop his speech in the example (41) because the audience responds loudly to his words. On the other hand, the repetition of *the pundits* in (42) is not caused by the audience; it might be just speaker's need to start again. If the stops are influenced by the audience the speaker understandably chooses a small pause before continuing in his speech. This phenomenon, where the stops are not intended by the speaker but influenced by the audience's response, appears in 11 cases of hesitational repetition.

False starts overstep all the other instances of hesitational repetition. The exceptional instances of partial immediate repetition are explained on the following excerpts.

(43) *And all of us understand insidious -- All of us understand intimately the insidious* role that race still sometimes plays on the job and in the schools, in our health care system, and in our criminal justice system. (Speech 3, 53)

(44) I've seen *this country -- this country's* judgment clouded by fear. (Speech 3, 62)

The sentences demonstrated in the numbers (43) and (44) cannot be considered as false starts but rather as slips of the tongue. Similar cases occur in the studied corpus only in three instances. The low occurrence of slips of the tongue may be attributed to the speaker's preparation before delivering the address and knowing the contents of the

speech. In both cases (43) and (44) the speaker makes a small mistake and then immediately corrects it. The self-correction in both instances is influenced by the script. The process of correction is seen well in the example (43) where Mr. Obama starts the sentence in a wrong way and has to repeat it correctly so that it makes sense.

Lastly, comments on the placing of the hesitational repetition are dealt with in comparison to Kjellmer's theory mentioned in this subchapter 4.4.4. His suggestion that hesitational repetition is frequently seen at the beginning of a sentence was mostly confirmed in the studied corpus. It occurred at the beginning of the sentence in 13 cases, it was also found near the beginning after a conjunction *and* in 3 cases and in 3 cases the repetition followed the phrase *you know*. So, the investigated speeches seem to be in accordance with Kjellmer's research. The usage at the beginning of the sentence is seen in the examples (42) or (43). Few exceptions that appeared are shown on the following sentences (45)-(47).

- (45) And *so I -- so I'm* puzzled *when -- when* some people, some of the other candidates make a mockery of the idea. (Speech 3, 61)
- (46) That is the true genius of America, *a faith -- a faith* in simple dreams (Speech 5, 105)
- (47) Democrats, independents and Republicans (...) who know that we can disagree without being disagreeable, *who understand -- who understand* that, if we mobilize our voices (Speech 1, 12)

The repeated part *so I* in the example (45) appears almost at the beginning of the sentence, only following conjunction *and*. The repetition of the word *when* in the second part of the sentence shows a different position. The repetition is more likely to be perceived with emotions connected to the previously mentioned words *so I'm puzzled*. The adjacent phrases *some people, some of the other candidates* evoke the emotions of confusion. The other examples (46) and (47) show the repeated phrases in a similar position as the conjunction *when* in the example (45). All three cases show that the repeated items are placed around the middle of the sentence, usually introducing a subordinate clause. Therefore, it could be concluded that Kjellmer's study seems to be valid for the corpus of this paper as well.

Summarizing the effects of hesitational repetition in the studied corpus, it was revealed that although hesitational repetition is mainly encountered in conversations, it has its place even in political speeches, though not so frequent. Hesitational repetition is unplanned, and can be perceived as undesirable. As suggested, hesitational repetition is unintentional and that is why it does not fulfil a significant function in the prepared speeches. In many cases it might be perceived only as the result of disturbing audience. The low number of occurrence may indicate that the speaker is well prepared for the speech. The occurrence of only three cases of the slips of the tongue might justify the assumption. The other cases of hesitational repetition may be referred to as false starts that help the speaker to begin a particular statement once again. As the repeated phrases appear mostly near the beginning of a clause this suggestion seems to be reasonable. Nevertheless, false starts are not always speaker's fault but may be a reaction to disturbing audience that forces the speaker to stop for a while.

5.3.6 Specific uses of repetition in the studied corpus

The collective number of specific uses is not provided because more concrete distinctions follow below and the numbers of occurrences of respective types are present there. The specificity of the corpus is based on the style-political speeches. As stated near the beginning of this paper in chapter 3.2, politicians try to attract the audience and this may be achieved by the proper use of rhetorical devices. The specific uses of repetition can be compared to Persson's term of purposive repetition which refers to cases that arouse the audience's attention (Persson, 1974, p. 168). It is also agreed that figures of repetition in speeches are used for emphasis; gaining the attention of audience and helping them remember main points. The significant occurrences in the studied speeches are introduced and explained in the following sections.

5.3.6.1 Alliteration

Alliteration covers 27 instances which forms almost 9% of all identified repetitions. Concerning this section, firstly the cases will be described and then their effect on listeners will be summarized. The examples (48) and (49) illustrate the form of alliteration.

(48) to care for those who were wounded (Speech 4, 85)

(49) none of those things lend themselves to simple solutions (Speech 3, 62)

As shown on the phrases *who were wounded* and *simple solutions*, the first letters of the consecutive words are identical. That is the basic feature of alliteration, the repetition of sounds at the beginning of words. Some other uses of alliteration are illustrated on the following examples.

(50) For the spirit of peaceful protest and perseverance (Speech 4, 78)

(51) Land of Lincoln (Speech 5, 95)

(52) The battles against ignorance and intolerance. (Speech 2, 46)

(53) a fire singing freedom songs (Speech 5, 130)

The excerpts (50) and (51) show that alliteration does not have to appear only in words that immediately follow each other but that some words may be inserted in between. Also a feature of combining two different sounds is commonly detected, as shown on the examples (52) and (53).

Lastly, the repetition of sounds may also appear as a phonetic parallelism, when the opening sounds of words are iterated in similar arrangement. This pattern may be joined with alliteration. The repeated initial sounds are significantly pronounced and recognized in the speech. The following examples (54) and (55) show this pattern.

(54) and drive the scourge of slavery from our soil (Speech 2, 37)

(55) It's the poison that we must purge from our politics, (Speech 3, 56)

The above mentioned examples describe the repetition of initial consonants or vowels. When trying to summarize the usage in the corpus and the effects on listeners, it is possible to conclude that alliteration is one of the rhetorical features which if employed properly is hearer-friendly and helps the speaker to attract the audience's concentration. Moreover, alliteration may be helpful for producing the impression of rhythm. The reoccurrence of initial sounds draws the audience's attention and may be used for a greater expressiveness, as in the examples (49), (51) or (53). Other functions may be connected to the arrangement of key points, as in the examples (50), (54) or (55). Leanne is worth quoting for a summary stating that "alliteration, used even subtly, can draw attention to words and enhance the eloquence of speech." (Leanne, 2009, p. 116).

5.3.6.2 Polysyndeton

Polysyndeton appears in this category 37 times, it is about 12% of all identified occurrences. As clarified in the theoretical part in subchapter 4.3, polysyndeton is recognized due to the repetition of a conjunction among phrases or clauses. It is expressed on the following examples (56) and (57).

(56) I wasn't born into money, *or* great wealth, *or* great privilege, *or* status. (Speech 3,60)

(57) They marched, *and* they sat in, *and* they were beaten *and* firehouses were sent on them, *and* dogs were sent on them, *and* some went to jail, *and* some died for freedom's cause. (Speech 3,64)

The example (56) shows the conjunction *or* between phrases and the example (57) demonstrates the repetition of a conjunction *and* between clauses.

The most common conjunction used in polysyndeton is *and*, it occurs in 24 instances, the preposition *or* occurs in 8 instances, 5 cases appeared with different conjunction or preposition. The occurrence of the conjunctions *and*, *or* supports the theory mentioned in chapter 4.3, stating that conjunction *and* is the most commonly observed in polysyndeton but that also a conjunction *or* may be seen in this structure. The examples (56) and (57) above illustrate polysyndeton with both conjunctions.

Studying the occurrences of polysyndeton, it was found out that polysyndeton may be used for providing more information or listing new items. These functions are illustrated on the following examples (58)-(60).

(58) all who put so much heart *and* soul *and* work into this campaign (Speech 1,11)

(59) We can no longer afford to traffic in lies *or* fear *or* hate. (Speech 3,56)

(60) I thought of the 900 men *and* women -- sons *and* daughters, husbands *and* wives, friends *and* neighbours, (Speech 5,120)

The instance (58) shows adding and providing more specific information. Slight difference may be recognized in the example (59) where the conjunction *or* is used. The speaker tries to offer choices. The choices can be seen as giving options for closer information and supporting the audience to develop an opinion. The example (60) only presents who *men and women* are trying to personalize them more concretely, the words are shown in pairs with conjunction *and*.

Lastly, polysyndeton is useful when trying to express a continuity and development. The sentences joined with a conjunction seem to be longer and in

progress. The example (61) shows an excerpt of a sentence that seems to belong by introducing each clause by a conjunction. This excerpt is found at the end of the speech and leads to a gradual conclusion of the speech.

(61) the people will rise up in November, *and* John Kerry will be sworn in as President, *and* John Edwards will be sworn in as Vice President, *and* this country will reclaim its promise, *and* out of this long political darkness a brighter day will come. (Speech 5, 136)

It may be summarized that polysyndeton in political speeches is a valuable device that helps to structure the sentence around the repeated conjunctions and extends the sentences providing new statements. This way the continuity of sentence is achieved. The audience listening to the address might recognize these structures and it helps them to concentrate on the aspects of the speech that follow the conjunction. The conjunctions seem to outline a continuity and development of the main aspects of the speech.

5.3.6.3 Continuing repetition

While studying the selected political speeches, occurrences indicating continuing repetition arose. Although found only in 4 instances, this pattern is not forgotten by linguists in the studied literature. Persson speaks about conjoined repetition which includes repetition fulfilling the function of continuation. He defines it as a repetition "denoting prolonged, continuous or repetitive processes." (Persson, 1974, p. 118). The choice to create an independent category here is also influenced by Quirk et al. (1985). Quirk et al. speak about the iterative use of coordination. They classify it as a means of expressive repetition and the use of conjunction *and* indicates a continuing process. Repeated verbs, adverbs and prepositions are mainly used for this purpose (Quirk et al. 1985, p. 980). Persson then describes the form which contains two identical words joined by a conjunction *and*. (Persson, 1974, p. 118).

The heading here is modified for the reasons of referring to its function more appropriately. So as it would not be mistaken with polysyndeton described in the previous section, in continuing repetition the words that precede and follow the conjunction are repeated. In polysyndeton, however, only the conjunction is repeated. The phrase *again and again* appeared twice in the studied speeches, one instance is illustrated in (62).

(62) We saw protesters chant “Selmiyya, selmiyya” -- “We are peaceful” -- *again and again*. (Speech 4, 83)

The phrase tries to express that the process is happening repeatedly. It is the word *again* that indicates the progressive function. The next examples (63) and (64) show a preposition *after* that joins the lexical items.

(63) young Americans serve *tour after tour after tour after tour* of duty in a war (Speech 3, 50)

(64) when men and women (...) come out in the snows of January to wait in lines that stretch *block after block* (Speech 1, 6)

The word *after* with its meaning itself denotes the continuation in time. The progress is not so marked in the example (64) where the pattern occurs only once. The example (63), however, repeats the paradigm three times which denotes that the process is longer.

Although the above paraphrased linguists do not discuss other conjoining words than *and*, the studied examples showed that the preposition *after* preceded and followed by the same words can show a continuing development as well as the conjunction *and*.

5.3.7 Marginal cases

Marginal cases are discussed in this section. The speaker's intention cannot be always definitely determined. The category of marginal instances includes 31 instances which is about 10% of the whole number of occurrences. In some cases, the doubts are often between two functions, but sometimes no clear role of repetition seems to be assigned according to the divisions suggested in this paper. Some cases then seem to be used for arousing hearer's attention or just for putting words in contrast.

A disputable use of anaphora complemented by another word in the middle of sentence, functioning as mesodiplosis, is found in the corpus. The usage helps to structure the main points but also seem to contrast and indicate possible solutions. The usage is illustrated on the following example (65).

(65) *Go into* the collar counties around Chicago, and people *will tell you* they don't want their tax money wasted, by a welfare agency or *by the Pentagon*. *Go in-- Go into* any inner city neighbourhood and folks *will tell you* that government alone can't teach our kids to learn (Speech 5, 108)

As the phrases are repeated only twice they might serve to connect the sentences. Probably, the phrases may arouse audience's attention because the repetition that suggests a consequence makes the patterns to be remembered. As it is repeated only twice, no strong feelings are awakened. Therefore, the functionfulfilling cohesive effect and stating new information seem to be more likely.

Other usages that evoke uncertain conclusion seem to suggest sentences or words in contrast. In this paper, the contrast was mainly connected to emphatic repetition. However, the marginal cases showing contrast might not be always perceived as emphatic. The following examples (66) and (67) might be helpful to concretize the usage.

- (66) so instead of offering tax breaks to *companies* shipping jobs overseas, he offers them to *companies* creating jobs here at home. (Speech 5, 113)
- (67) We can't pass a law called No Child Left *Behind* and then leave the money *behind*. (Speech 3, 58)

Both cases might be perceived similarly. The way words are repeated in the second part of the clauses seems to strengthen the contrast; however it might not be fully recognized in the speech itself. In the example (66) the speaker wants to express his attitude to the economic policy providing jobs. The repetition may emphasize the aim when trying to prioritize domestic companies instead of foreign companies. Similarly, the word *behind* in the number (67) might show the contrast of what is done and what should be done. These cases might be perceived as making the text united. The expressed contrasts might not be evident in the speech but they might at least attract the audience's attention.

The next cases might be viewed as providing emphasis or intensification.

- (68) we are *our brother's keeper* and *our sister's keeper* (Speech 3, 50)
- (69) then I have no doubt that all across the country, *from Florida to Oregon, from Washington to Maine*, the people will rise up in November (Speech 5, 136)

As both structures in the examples (68) and (69) are parallel, they might be seen as giving emphasis. More likely, they may express who *we* are in (68) speaking about the qualities and the repeated phase in (69) seems to indicate the number of people participating in elections. The intensifying effects might be perceived more prominently.

All the above marginal cases were intentional. Unintentional repetition is discussed on the following examples (70) and (71).

(70) Now--Now *let me be clear. Let me be clear*. (Speech 5, 122)

(71) *In the end--In the end--In the end*, that's what this election is about. (Speech 5, 128)

Both cases suggest that the repeated use is unintentional and therefore should be classified as hesitational repetition. But the example (70) seems to try to attract the audience's attention and to emphasize that the speaker will start expressing important thoughts. The example (71) might show hesitation before continuing but it might be also emphatic because repeating the phrase *In the end* three times seems to show speaker's urgency.

To sum up, the category of marginal cases confirms the suggestion made about functions of rhetorical devices and also about the functions of repetition mentioned in the theoretical subchapters 4.3 and 4.4 that not always only one function may be identified with one expression. The main problems in the studied corpus were discussed on the selected examples. The difficulties seem to be connected with categorizing emphatic repetition. The reasons might be that it is problematic to decide whether the speaker just tried to revive the speech, make it more interesting with repetition, wanted to emphasize specific points or whether the repetition just functions cohesively.

5.4 Summary of results

This subchapter summarizes the findings dealt with in the analytical part of this paper and provides the answers to the aims of the study. Firstly, it should be stated that the studied corpus comprises 312 occurrences of repetition in selected political speeches of Barack Obama. In several categories the amount of samples could not be considered as representative and therefore the findings might be influenced by the limited content of the studied corpus. The Table 1 shows a summary of all the occurrences and its percentage transparently.

Type/function of repetition	Occurrences	Percentage
Cohesive repetition	101	32%
Emphatic repetition	64	21%
Cohesive emphatic repetition	20	6%
Intensifying repetition	3	1%
Hesitational repetition	25	8%
Alliteration	27	9%
Polysyndeton	37	12%
Continuing repetition	4	1%
Marginal cases	31	10%

Table 1: The occurrences and percentage of identified cases of repetition.
Source: own research

The most frequently identified category in the corpus was that of cohesive repetition. With 101 identified instances, it appeared in almost in one third of all the occurrences of repetition. This finding does not seem to be surprising; every text or speech should be perceived as more appealing when it is coherent, and political speeches are no exception from this rule. The political speeches are prepared for delivering it to the audience, thus clear structure with repeating the same words seems to help listeners to receive the speech with less difficulty. It may also enable them to grasp the main message of politician's aims better. After the analysis, the cohesive repetition was identified to serve these functions: to add new information, to make connections between sentences and paragraphs and to provide closer description of a word (see section 5.3.1.2). Cohesive repetition appeared as a delayed repetition. The reoccurrence of a word after longer passage can bring the hearer back to what has been stated before and make connection throughout the speech.

The second most frequent identified category in the corpus was the emphatic repetition. It was identified in 64 instances, which amounts to 21% of all the occurrences of repetition. To persuade the audience is often one of politician's main goals and it can be achieved by emphatic repetition well. After investigating the corpus, it was found out that speaker used emphatic repetition to convey key ideas vehemently, to give them priority and to put them in contrast. Also triadic extensions that are based on the repeating items or structures three times serve to be emphatic (see section

5.3.2.2). Emphatic feeling was often achieved by partial immediate repetition (in 32 cases) then also by exact immediate repetition (in 11 cases) and both by exact (11 cases) and partial (10 cases) delayed repetition. The latter was present mainly in the form of parallel structure.

The next categories are not so prevailing. Polysyndeton was found in 12% of repetitions, marginal cases covered 10% of repetitions and alliteration with hesitational repetition comprised 9% and 8%, respectively. Out of these, polysyndeton and alliteration form the category of Specific uses in the subchapter 5.3.6. Alliteration helps to draw audience's awareness and to achieve greater expressiveness. Polysyndeton serves to prolong the sentences and also to centre listener's focus on the words after conjunction.

10% of all the identified repetitions in the corpus were classified as marginal cases. These are the cases where either no specific function or more functions could have been assigned to the repeated expression. Other questionable instances gave rise to a category of so-called cohesive emphatic repetition that covered 6% of the identified occurrences. The instances in this category were understood as making connection between paragraphs and sentences, while creating rhythm and producing the emphatic effect at the same time.

Hesitational repetitions were identified in about 8% of studied examples in the selected speeches. These are mainly unintentional repetitions that did not seem to fulfil any useful function in the speech. Low frequency of their occurrence in the corpus is therefore seen positively. Nevertheless, hesitational repetitions seemed to serve Mr. Obama as a false start giving him a short pause before continuing (see subchapter 5.3.5). The stops were caused by speaker himself or were caused by the loud applause from the audience, as audio versions of the speeches revealed.

Intensifying and continuing repetitions accounted only for about 1% of all repetitions. The relative absence of intensifying function, which is often studied purpose of repetition, was probably caused by the preferences of the analyzed speaker. He seems to prefer different ways to intensify the quantity or quality, than using repetition. Unlike intensifying repetition, the notion of continuing repetition is throughout the literature either mentioned either briefly or omitted altogether. In our corpus, continuing repetition was used successfully to signify a developing action.

Summary of exactness and immediacy follows. Table 2 maps their occurrences. Continuing and intensifying functions of repetition are not included, because their frequency in the corpus was too low to base any conclusion on them. The categories of alliteration and polysyndeton seem to be inappropriate for this evaluation due to its more specific categorization for rhetorical devices.

	EX,IM	PA,IM	EX,DE	PA,DE
Cohesive repetition	1	0	66	34
Emphatic repetition	11	32	11	10
Cohesive emphatic repetition	0	0	13	7
Hesitational repetition	21	3	1	0
Marginal cases	2	7	12	10

Table 2: Exactness and immediacy of repetition

Source: own research

Abbreviations: EX=exact, PA=partial, IM=immediate, DE=delayed.

Delayed repetitions, both exact (66 instances) and partial (34 instances), were mostly employed for cohesive purposes (see section 5.3.1.1). Also, longer passages may be inserted between repeated words or phrases. In such instances, what seems to be achieved by such repetition is the coherence of the text. The less text is inserted and when the repetition appears more times emphatic repetition seems to gain its prominence. This gave rise to a category of mixed cohesive emphatic function of repetition that classified with 20 instances of delayed repetitions. Some cases of delayed repetitions that served emphatic functions were identified less frequently than immediate repetitions. Also the exact delayed repeated phrases in the emphatic category were usually in two sentences of slightly similar meaning, and therefore could be cautiously linked to the effects of immediate repetition (closer information in section 5.3.2.1). All these assumptions may support previously suggested statement.

On the other hand, immediate repetitions were mostly identified as serving emphatic function (altogether 43 instances) in the studied speeches. It might be suggested from these findings that the repetition of statements without delay in exact immediate repetition or in similar structures in partial immediate repetition, may be recognized as prioritized and thus emphatic. Partial immediate repetition, structuring ideas in similar pattern, was mostly recognized as emphatic (32 cases). The most

frequent identification of exact immediate repetitions was in the category of hesitational repetition (21 instances), for uses when speaker may either gain time to restart a statement or to self-correct.

Lastly the effects of repetition on listeners are discussed. The repetition in the studied political speeches seems to be intentional mainly fulfilling a specific function. Repetition functions as making the text cohesive and more suitable for audience's perception of the speech but it also helps to emphasize key points and helps listeners to remember them by repeating. Sometimes repetition may be used only for trying to please hearers' ears and as such it can make them to pay attention. As most of the cases of repetition are carefully planned they seem to be useful. However, hesitational repetition seems not to serve an important function and could be seen as useless if caused only by speaker's fault. But sometimes the speaker is forced to stop by the audience and repeating the initial sentence words helps him to start again. The suggested conclusion might be that repetition is mainly useful and appropriate in the studied political speeches because it helps listeners to pay attention and also helps to drill speaker's thoughts into their heads.

6 CONCLUSION

This diploma thesis deals with the uses and functions of repetition in political speeches. It consists of theoretical and practical part. The theoretical part was devoted to the theoretical aspects of repetition, as seen from linguistic perspective, whereas the practical part identified types and functions of repetition. The aim of this thesis was to find out answers and reasons for the most commonly used functions and to compare the effects of immediate and delayed repetition. Also the appropriateness of the usage of repetition in political speeches in connection to the audience was commented on. Qualitative as well as quantitative analysis was applied to achieve these aims.

The theoretical part comprises first four chapters beginning with the introduction to public speeches that informed about the style being examined in this thesis. Then the effects of rhetorical devices were explained and their main uses discussed. The functions of rhetorical devices closely correspond to the employment and functions of repetition in political speeches. The last theoretical chapter was devoted to the repetition itself providing its classification and functions. Contrasting various linguists, the categories were chosen and adjusted to be suitable for the use of the paper. Then the selected classifications and functions were explained.

These selected theoretical concepts were applied in the practical part to five political speeches of Barack Obama. 312 occurrences of repetition were identified in the examined speeches. The most common function of repetition was the cohesive function with 32% of all identified repetitions. Each text should be coherent at first place and lexical cohesion is a way to achieve this. Emphatic repetition covered 21% of identified cases. The frequency of emphatic repetition seems to be justifiable due to the studied style of public speeches in which the speaker often needs to emphasize key points and repetition is a suitable tool to achieve this goal. Other found categories were: polysyndeton - 12%⁵, marginal cases - 10%, alliteration - 9%, hesitation repetition - 8%, cohesive emphatic repetition - 6%. Intensifying and continuing repetition formed only 1% of all the occurrences.

Comparing immediate and delayed repetition, the assumption from subchapter 4.2.1 about delayed repetition mostly functioning cohesively seems to have been

⁵All following percentages refer to the number of all identified repetitions in the corpus.

confirmed. Delayed repetition was also found serving different functions as well. However, it was found in the category of cohesive repetition most frequently. Exact immediate repetition functioned mostly as hesitational repetition. It was also found in few instances of emphatic repetition where it may be connected to Persson's theory mentioned in 4.4.2. Partial immediate repetition was recognized mostly serving as emphatic repetition in the pattern of parallelism.

As far as the effects on listeners are concerned, intentional repetition seem to be perceived positively in the examined speeches because it may help the audience to focus and to concentrate. On the other hand, unintentional repetition (only hesitational repetition in the studied corpus) seems to be undesirable, not fulfilling any specific function apart from serving as false start.

7 RESUMÉ

Tato diplomová práce se zabývá užitím a funkcí opakování v anglických politických projevech. Je rozdělena na dvě části. Teoretická část poskytuje nezbytně nutné teoretické základy, sloužící jako podklad pro praktickou část práce, ve které jsou teoretické poznatky aplikovány na vybrané anglické politické projevy. Jedním z hlavních cílů práce je kvalitativně zhodnotit použití jednotlivých funkcí opakování a dále zjistit, který typ se objevuje nejčastěji ve zkoumaných politických projevech. Rozdíly mezi okamžitým a opožděným opakováním jsou také porovnány. Vhodnost užití prostředku opakování je často diskutována o teorii, zejména na vědecké úrovni lingvistů, stylistů či rétorů, ale také na běžné úrovni například v hodinách slohu. Proto je tato problematika opakování také hodnocena. V neposlední řadě je v úvodu brání vliv jazykového prostředku opakování na posluchače. Politické projevy jsou totiž hlavně cíleny na obecnost a ulehčení orientace v průběhu řečnění.

V teoretické části této práce je nejprve představen styl veřejných mluvených projevů, na který je zaměřen zkoumaný prvek opakování. Pro účelnost projevů je také nezbytně vhodné užití řečnických prostředků. Proto tato kapitola přináší vzhledem do charakteristiky a užití těchto prostředků, které je zaměřené hlavně na posluchače. Po těchto úvodních stranách následuje nejduležitější kapitola teoretické části zaměřující se na opakování. Význam opakovací figury je nejprve charakterizován v úvodu čtvrté kapitoly a často diskutovaná vhodnost či nevhodnost užití opakování je zde projednávána. Na základě prostudování relevantní lingvistické literatury je popsána klasifikace opakování. U všech kategorií je zohledněn styl upřednostňovaný v této práci, to znamená mluvený projev. Prostředek opakováním může být hodnocen z hlediska časového - na okamžité a opožděné opakování, z hlediska ustálenosti - na exaktní a částečné opakování a na parafrázování. Dalším aspektem klasifikace je záměrné a neúmyslné opakování. Z pohledu mluvčího je možné rozlišit opakování sebe samého a opakování způsobené jinou osobou. Definovaným hlediskem hodnocení je také velikost opakované jednotky. Následně, některé významné opakovací řečnické figury jsou vysvětleny. Neméně důležitým hodnocením je vymezení jednotlivých funkcí opakování. Po pečlivém nastudování relevantní literatury, byly vytvořeny a následně popsány tyto kategorie opakování: kohézní (soudržné), emfatické (zdůrazňující),

intenzifikační (zesilující) a váhavé (opakování způsobené váháním). Veškeré teoretické poznatky ve čtvrté kapitole jsou pro lepší pochopení doplněny ilustrativními příklady, které z velkého množství korpusek vybraných pro účely této práce jsou uvedeny v příloze 9.2.

Praktická část vychází z teoretických poznatků první části práce a analyzuje možnosti opakování ve vybraných anglických politických projevech. Zkoumaný vzorek je složen z pěti anglických mluvených projevů z časného amerického prezidenta Baracka Obamy. Zaměření právě na toho politika je ovlivněno tím, že s oblibou užívá řečnických opakovacích figur. Nasbíraná data jsou kvalitativně a kvantitativně hodnocena. Cílem analýzy je zhodnotit jednotlivé funkce a užití opakovacích figur. Četnost výskytu u jednotlivých skupinách je také posouzena. V neposlední řadě, zaměření užití okamžitě a opožděného opakování jsou kontrastovány. Vedle těchto cílů, jedním z úkolů analýzy je hledání odpovědi na příměřenost a užitečnost smyslu opakování v politických projevech. Vliv opakování na posluchače je také brán v potaz.

Ve vybraných politických projevech bylo identifikováno 312 výskytů prosté ředky opakování. Výskyty byly zařazeny do kategorií podle funkcí popsaných v teoretické části. 281 výskytů bylo možné jasně zařadit do jasných kategorií, bohužel ne všechny výskyty mohly být jasně identifikovány, proto 31 příkladů bylo zařazeno do kategorie hraničních případů (5.3.7). Ještě před prezentováním jednotlivých výstupů analýzy je nutné zdůraznit, že uvedené závěry jsou založené na zkoumaném vzorku, který je značně limitovaný. Z toho to důvodu jsou výsledky analýzy předkládány s náležitou opatrností a měly by být interpretovány s opatrností.

Nejčetněji zastoupená je kategorie kohézního opakování se 101 výskyty, které tvoří 32 % identifikovaných výskytů. Toto zjištění není úplně překvapivé. Soudržnost textu je důležitá pro jeho lepší atraktivnost. Dále by zjištěno, že lexikální opakování je vhodné pro lepší udržení pozornosti a orientace posluchačů. Z analýzy vyplynulo, že kohézní opakování může sloužit k řízení nových informací, tvoření spojitosti mezi větami a odstavci a také k poskytování detailnějšího popisu slov (viz oddíl 5.3.2.1). Kohézní opakování se ve studovaném vzorku projevů objevilo jako opožděné, což je také podpořeno v teoretické podkapitole 4.2.1. Znovu objevování se slov či frází v delším úseku textu také může vytvářet návaznost projevu.

Druhá často se objevující kategorie je emfatické opakování. To zaujímá 21 % z identifikovaných případů - 64 výskytů. Z prostudování korpusek vyplynulo že

emfatické opakování může sloužit k sdělování klíčových myšlenek energicky, s důrazem a nebo v kontrastní formě. Opakování slov či vět několikrát za sebou se také objevilo ve spojitosti se zdůrazňováním myšlenek. Emfatické opakování bývá používáno za účelem probuzení určitých pocitů u posluchačů. Na rozdíl od kohézního opakování, ve kterém se častěji objevuje opožděné opakování, u emfatického opakování převažuje okamžitě opakování buď ve formě exaktní či částečné. Částečné opakování se převážně vyskytuje ve formě paralelních větých struktur.

Další kategorie polysyndetonu a literace zabírají 12% a 9% ze zjištěných případů opakování a jsou zařazeny do specifických případů. Aliterace byla ve zkoumaných projevech vnímána prostředek pro udržení pozornosti posluchačů či pro lepší znění projevu. Polysyndeton sloužil k prodloužení větých a k zaměření koncentrace poslouchajících na slova následujícího spojkou.

Kategorie hraničních případů zabírá 10% ze zkoumaných výskytů. U těchto případů bylo těžké určit specifickou funkci (5.3.7). Problematika přesného definování je také zmíněna v teoretické části (viz 4.3 a 4.4), kdy ne vždy je jasné, čeho chtěl mluvčí dosáhnout. Diskutabilní případy tak daly vzniknout kategorii kohézního emfatického opakování, které tvoří 6% z identifikovaných prostředků opakování. Tyto případy jsou chápány jako spojnice mezi větami či odstavcem a zároveň vícečetné opakování vzbuzuje dojem vytvoření rytmu projevu a dodává mu nadřazenost.

Opakování způsobené váháním bylo identifikováno u 8% prostudovaných případů. Tento typ opakování je jako jediný ze zkoumaných, chápán jako neúmyslný. Tudíž mu není připisována významná funkce. Jeho nízká frekvence je vnímána spíše pozitivně. Váhavé opakování ve zkoumaných projevech působí jako prostředek zvaný „chybný start“ poskytující krátkou pauzu před pokračováním. Jak odhalily zvukové nahrávky projevu, tyto porušení jsou buď způsobena mluvcem samotným nebo hlasitě se projevujícím publikem.

Kategorie intenzifikačního a pokračujícího opakování představuje 1% zkoumaných výskytů. Intenzifikační opakování je často popisováno v odborné prostudované literatuře, jeho relativní absence ve studovaném korpusu je pravděpodobně způsobena preferovaným stylem vybraného mluvčího, který volil jiné varianty pro vyjádření většího množství či zesílení kvality než prostředku opakování. Opakování označující rozvíjející se činnost je v prostudované literatuře zmiňováno

spíše okrajově, přesto se některé výskyty ve zkoumaném souboru dat této funkce objevily.

Opožděné opakování bylo použito hlavně pro kohézní účely a tuž se jednalo o opakování exaktní (66 výskytu) či částečné (34 výskytů). Opakování může vyvolávat dojem soudržnosti textu právě když se jednotlivé opakované výskyty objevují jako oddálené. Čím méně textu se vyskytuje mezi opakovanými výskyty tím se kohézní funkce pomalu vytrácí a střídá ji spíše funkce emfatická. Tento fakt se zdá být opodstatněný v kategorii kohézního emfatického opakování (20 výskytů), která byla vytvořena základě žijšího textu práce. Některé případy opožděného opakování mohou také plnit emfatickou funkci, okamžité opakování je však pro kategorii emfatického opakování častější. Význam vět, které se objevují jako opožděné emfatické je často velmi podobný, a proto je možné je spojit se efektem okamžitého emfatického opakování. Tyto předpoklady podporují návrh, že výše zmíněné opožděné opakování je ve velkém měřítku jak kohézní.

Nadruhé straně, okamžité opakování se nejčastěji vyskytovalo v prostudovaných projevech v emfatické funkci (43 případů). Exaktní či částečné opakování, které se objevuje hlavně v paralelních větách strukturách může být vnímáno jako vyjadřující důraz, a proto jako emfatické. Částečné okamžité opakování v podobných větách strukturách se objevuje hlavně jako emfatické (32 výskytů). Exaktní okamžité opakování bylo nejčastější u váhavého opakování (21 výskytů), v případech kdy mluvčí potřebuje zařít znovu.

Naposledním, ale neméně důležitým místem je nutné věnovat několik slov vlivu opakování na posluchače. Opakování ve zkoumaných politických projevech je ve velké míře vnímáno jako záměrné. Přestože výzkumná část práce je založena na omezeném vzorku zkoumaných projevů, mohlo by být shrnuto, že vědomé užití opakování v politických projevech může být chápáno jako prospěšné především pro poslouchající publikum. Užitečnost záměrně použitých prostředků opakování může být viděna v rovině tvářející kohézní text a zdůrazňující hlavní myšlenky. Dále také může sloužit k probuzení zájmu posluchačů, kudržení jejich pozornosti či pro větší expresivitu projevu. Samozřejmě také neúmyslné opakování se může objevit. Ve zkoumaných projevech se takto jeví opakování způsobem a významem.

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9 APPENDICES

9.1 Abbreviations

addinfo–adding information

conpar–connecting paragraphs

consent–connecting sentences

repsp–words or phrases are repeated through speech

word–providing more information about a word

EX–exact repetition

PA–partial repetition

IM–immediate repetition

DE–delayed repetition

9.2 Corpus

Speech1

Barack Obama, January 8, 2008 [cit. 2010-11-17]

Source, transcript and audio available: <<http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2008/01/08/AR2008010804032.html>>

- 1 *Thank you*, New Hampshire. I love you back. *Thank you. Thank you*. Well, *thank you* so much. I am still fired up and ready to go. *Thank you. Thank you*.
- 2 Well, first of all, I want to congratulate Senator Clinton on a hard-fought victory here in New Hampshire. She did an outstanding job. Give her a big round of applause.
- 3 You know, a few weeks ago, *no one imagined* that we'd have accomplished what we did here tonight in New Hampshire. *No one could have imagined* it.
- 4 For most of *this campaign*, we were far behind. We always knew our climb would be steep. But in record numbers, *you* came out, and *you* spoke up for change.
- 5 And with *your* voices and *your* votes, *you* made it clear that at this moment, in this election, *there is something happening in America*.
- 6 *There is something happening* when men and women in Des Moines *and* Davenport, in Lebanon *and* Concord, come out in the snows of January to wait *in line* that stretch *block after block* because they believe in what this country can be.
- 7 *There is something happening*. *There's something happening* when Americans who are young in age and in spirit, *who've never* participated in politics before, turn out in

numbers *we have never* seen because they know in their hearts that this time must be different.

8 *There's something happening* when people vote *not just for party that they belong to, but the hope that they hold in common* .

9 And whether we are rich *or* poor, black *or* white, Latino *or* Asian, whether we hail from Iowa *or* New Hampshire, Nevada *or* South Carolina, we are ready to take this country in a fundamentally new direction.

10 *That's what's happening in America* right now; *change is what's happening in America*.

11 You, *all of you* who are here tonight, *all* who put so much heart *and* soul *and* work into *this campaign* , *you can be the new majority* who can lead this nation out of a long political darkness.

12 Democrats, independents and Republicans who are tired of the division and distraction that has clouded Washington, who know that we can *disagree* without being *disagreeable*, *who understand -- who understand* that, if we mobilize our voices to *challenge the money and influence that stood in our way and challenge ourselves to reach* for something better, *there is no problem we cannot solve, there is no destiny that we cannot fulfill* .

13 *Our new American majority can end* the outrage of unaffordable, unavailable health care in our time. *We can bring -- we can bring* doctors *and* patients, workers *and* businesses, Democrats *and* Republicans together, and *we can* tell the drug and insurance industry that, while they get a seat at the table, they don't get to buy every chair, not this time, not now.

14 *Our new majority can end* the tax breaks for corporations that ship our jobs overseas and put a middle-class tax cut in the pockets of working Americans who deserve it.

15 *We can stop* sending our children to schools with corridors of shame and *start* putting them on a path way to success.

16 *We can stop* talking about how great teachers are and *start* rewarding them for their greatness by giving them more pay and more support. *We can* do this with *our new majority*.

17 *We can* harness the ingenuity of farmers *and* scientists, citizens *and* entrepreneurs to free this nation from the tyranny of oil and save our planet from a point of no return.

18 And when I am president of the United States, *we will end this war in Iraq and bring our troops home*.

19 *We will end this war in Iraq. We will bring our troops home. We will finish the job -- we will finish the job* against Al Qaid in Afghanistan. *We will* care for our veterans. *We will* restore our moral standing in the world.

20 And *we will* never use 9/11 as a way to scare up votes, because it is not a tactic to win an election. It is a challenge that should unite America and the world against the common threats of the 21st century: terrorism *and* nuclear weapons, climate change *and* poverty, genocide *and* disease.

21 *All of the candidates in this race* share these goals. *All of the candidates in this race* have good ideas and *all* are patriots who serve this country honorably.

22 But *the reason our campaign* has always been different, *the reason* we began this improbable journey almost a year ago is because *it's not just about what I* will do as president. *It is also about what you* , the people who love this country, the citizens of the United States of America, can do to change it.

23 *That's what* this election is all about.

24 *That's why* tonight *belongs to* you. It *belongs* to the organizers, *and* the volunteers, *and* the staff who believed in this journey and rallied so many others to join the cause.

25 We know the battle ahead will be long. But always remember that, no matter what obstacles *stand* in our way, nothing can *stand* in the way of the power of millions of voices calling for change.

26 *We have been* told we cannot do this by a chorus of cynics. And they will only grow louder and more dissonant in the weeks and months to come.

- 27 We've been asked to pause for a reality check. We've been warned against offering the people of this nation false hope. But in the unlikely story that is America, there has never been anything false about hope.
- 28 For when we have faced down impossible odds, when we've been told we're not ready or that we shouldn't try or that we can't, generations of Americans have responded with a simple creed that sums up the spirit of a people: Yes, we can. Yes, we can. Yes, we can.
- 29 It was a creed written into the founding documents that declared the destiny of a nation: Yes, we can.
- 30 It was whispered by slaves and abolitionists as they blazed a trail towards freedom through the darkest of nights: Yes, we can.
- 31 It was sung by immigrants as they struck out from distant shores and pioneers who pushed westward against an unforgiving wilderness: Yes, we can.
- 32 It was the call of workers who organized, women who reached for the ballot, a president who chose the moon as our new frontier, and a king who took us to the mountaintop and pointed the way to the promised land: Yes, we can, to justice and equality.
- 33 Yes, we can, to opportunity and prosperity. Yes, we can heal this nation. Yes, we can repair this world. Yes, we can.
- 34 And so, tomorrow, as we take the campaign south and west, as we learn that the struggles of the textile workers in Spartanburg are not so different than the plight of the dishwasher in Las Vegas, that the hopes of the little girl who goes to the crumbling school in Dillon are the same as the dreams of the boy who learns on the streets of L.A., we will remember that there is something happening in America, that we are not as divided as our politics suggest, that we are one people, we are one nation.
- 35 And, together, we will begin the next great chapter in the American story, with three words that will ring from coast to coast, from sea to shining sea: Yes, we can.
- 36 Thank you, New Hampshire. Thank you.

Identified cases of repetition in Speech 1

Cohesive repetition

1. For most of *this campaign*, we were far behind. (4) ... You, all of you who are here tonight, all who put so much heart and soul and work into *this campaign* (11)... But the reason *our campaign* has always been different, (22)... And so, tomorrow, as we take *the campaign* south and west... (34, PA, DE, repsp)
2. ... you made it clear that at this moment, in this election, *there is something happening in America*. (5) *There is something happening* when men and women in Des Moines... (6, EX, IM, compar)
3. *There is something happening* when men and women in Des Moines... (6) *There's something happening* when Americans who are young in age and in spirit, (7) *There's something happening* when people vote not just for party that they belong to, but the hopes that they hold in common. (8) ... we will remember that *there is something happening in America*, (34 EX, DE, anaphora, compar)
4. You, all of you who are here tonight, all who put so much heart and soul and work into this campaign... (11, EX, DE anaphora, addinfo)
5. ... if we mobilize our voices to *challenge* the money and influence that stood in our way and *challenge* ourselves to reach for something better, ... (12, EX, DE, addinfo)
6. *you can be the new majority* who can lead this nation out of a long political darkness. (11) ... *Our new American majority can end* the outrage of unaffordable, unavailable health care in our time. (13) *Our new majority can end* the tax breaks for corporations that ship our jobs overseas and put a middle-class tax cut in the pockets of working Americans who deserve it. (14)... We can do this with *our new majority*. (16, PA, DE, compar, anaphora)

7. *All of the candidates in this race* share these goals. *All of the candidates in this race* have good ideas and *all* are patriots who serve this country honorably. (20, PA, DE, addinfo, anaphora)
8. But *the reason* our campaign has always been different, *the reason* we began this improbable journey almost a year ago is because it's not just about what I will do as president. (22, EX, DE, addinfo)
9. *That's what* this election is all about. (23) *That's why* tonight belongs to you. (24, PA, DE, anaphora, compar)
10. That's why tonight *belongs to* you. It *belongs to* the organizers... (24, EX, DE, consent)
11. *We have been* told we cannot do this by a chorus of cynics. (26) ... *We've been* asked to pause for a reality check. *We've been* warned against offering the people of this nation false hope. (27, EX, DE, addinfo, anaphora)
12. ..., generations of Americans have responded with a simple *creed* that sums up the spirit of a people: (28) It was a *creed* written into the founding documents that declared the destiny of a nation: (29, EX, DE, connecting sentences)
13. *we will* remember that there is something happening in America, (34) ... And, together, *we will* begin the next great chapter in the American story, ... (35, EX, DE, anaphora)

Emphatic repetition

14. *Thank you*, New Hampshire. I love you back. *Thank you. Thank you*. Well, *thank you* so much. I am still fired up and ready to go. *Thank you. Thank you*. (1, EX, IM)
15. You know, a few weeks ago, *no one imagined* that we'd have accomplished what we did here tonight in New Hampshire. *No one could have imagined* it. (3, PA, DE)
16. But in record numbers, *you* came out, and *you* spoke up for change. (4) And with *your* voices and *your* votes, *you* made it clear that at this moment, in this election, there is something happening in America. (5, PA, DE, connecting with audience, emotion of unity)
17. *There is something happening*. *There's something happening* when Americans who are young in age and in spirit (7, EX, IM)
18. *not just for party that they belong to, but the hope* *est that they hold in common* (8, PA, IM parallelism)
19. *That's what's happening* in America right now; *change is what's happening* in America. (10, PA, IM, parallelism)
20. ..., who know that we can *disagree* without being *disagreeable*, ... (12, PA, DE, polyptoton)
21. ..., *there is no problem we cannot solve, there is* *no destiny that we cannot fulfill*. (12, PA, IM, parallelism)
22. And when I am president of the United States, *we will end this war in Iraq and bring our troops home*. (17) *We will end this war in Iraq. We will bring our troops home*. (18, EX, IM)
23. For when we have faced down impossible odds, when we've been told *we're not ready or that we shouldn't try or that we can't*, ... (28, PA, IM, parallelism, polysyndeton, three)
24. ..., generations of Americans have responded with a simple creed that sums up the spirit of a people: *Yes, we can. Yes, we can. Yes, we can*. (28, EX, IM, three)
25. ... that *we are one people, we are one nation*. (35, PA, IM, parallelism)
26. *Thank you*, New Hampshire. *Thank you*. (36, EX, DE)

Cohesive emphatic repetition

27. *We can* bring doctors and patients, workers and businesses, Democrats and Republicans together, and *we can* tell the drug and insurance industry... (13) *We can* stop sending our children to schools with corridors of shame and start putting them on a pathway to success. (15) *We can* stop talking about how great teachers are and start rewarding them for their greatness by giving them more pay and more support. *We can* do this with our

- new majority. (16) ... *We can* harness the ingenuity of farmers and scientists, (17, EX, DE, anaphora)
28. *We will* end this war in Iraq. *We will* bring our troops home. *We will* finish the job-- we will finish the job against Al Qaidain Afghanistan . *We will* care for our veterans. *We will* restore our moral standing in the world. (19) And *we will* never use 9/11 as a way to scare up votes, ... (20, EX, DE, anaphora)
29. *It was* a creed written into the founding documents that d eclared the destiny of a nation: *Yes, we can.* (29) *It was* whispered by slaves and abolitionists as they blaz ed a trail towards freedom through the darkest of nights: *Yes, we can.* (30) *It was* sung by immigrants as they struck out from distant shores a nd pioneers who pushed westward against an unforgiving wilderness: *Yes, we can.* (31) *It was* the call of workers who organized, women who reached for the ballot, a pres ident who chose the moon as our new frontier, and a king who took us to the mountaintop and pointed the way to the promised land: *Yes, we can,* to justice and equality. (32) ... And, together, we will begin the next great chapter in the American story, with three wor ds that will ring from coast to coast, from sea to shining sea : *Yes, we can.* (35, EX, DE, anaphora, epistrophe)
30. *Yes, we can,* to justice and equality. (32) *Yes, we can,* to opportunity and prosperity. *Yes, we can* heal this nation. *Yes, we can* repair this world. *Yes, we can.* (33, EX, DE, anaphora)

Hesitational repetition

31. Democrats, independents and Republicans who are tir ed of the division and distraction that has clouded Washington, who know that we can d isagree without being disagreeable, *who understand--who understand* that, (12, false start, audience)
32. *We can bring--we can bring* doctors and patients, workers and businesses, Demo crats and Republican together (13, false start, audience)
33. *We will finish the job--we will finish the job* against Al Qaidain Afghanistan. (19, false start)

Specific uses of repetition

34. And with your voices and your votes, you made (5, alliteration)
35. It was a creed written into the founding documents that declared the destiny of a nation: (29, alliteration)
36. It was the call of workers who organized, women who reached for the ballot, (32, alliteration)
37. men and women in Des Moines and Davenport, in Lebanon and Concord (5, polysyndeton)
38. And whether we are rich or poor, black or white, Latino or Asian, whether we hail from Iowa or New Hampshire, Nevada or South Carolina, we are ready to take this country in a fundamentally new direction. (9, polysyndeton)
39. all who put so much heart and soul and work into this campaign (11, polysyndeton)
40. we can bring doctors and patients, workers and businesses, Democrats and Republicans together (13, polysyndeton)
41. the ingenuity of farmers and scientists, citizens and entrepreneurs (17, polysyndeton)
42. terrorism and nuclear weapons, climate change and poverty, genocide and disease (20, polysyndeton)
43. It belongs to the organizers, and the volunteers, and the staff who believed in this journey and rallied so many others to join the cause. (24, polysyndeton)
44. For when we have faced down impossible odds, when we've been told we're not ready or that we shouldn't try or that we can't, (28, polysyndeton)
45. come out in the snows of January to wait in line that stretch block after block because they believe in what this country can be. (6, continuing)

Marginal cases

46. There's something happening when Americans who are young in age and in spirit, *who've never participated in politics before*, turnout in numbers *we have never seen* (7, EX, DE, cohesive, emphatic)
47. But always remember that, no matter what obstacles *stand* in our way, nothing can *stand* in the way of the power of millions of voices calling for change. (25, EX, DE, rep sp contrast)
48. We've been warned against offering the people of this nation *false hope*. But in the unlikely story that is America, there has never been anything *false about hope*. (27, PA, DE, contrast)
49. *It's not just about what I* will do as president. *It is also about what you*, the people who love this country, the citizens of the United States of America, can do to change it. (22, EX, DE, parallelism, contrast, emphatic, unity)
50. with three words that will ring *from coast to coast, from sea to shining sea* (35, PA, IM, parallelism)

Speech 2

Barack Obama, delivered on October 2, 2002. [cit. 2011-02-23]

Source, transcript: <<http://www.npr.org/templates/story/story.php?storyId=99591469>>

- 37 Good afternoon. Let me begin by saying that although *this has been billed as an anti-war rally*, I stand before you as someone *who is not opposed to war* in all circumstances. The Civil War was one of the bloodiest in history, and yet it was only through the crucible of the sword, the sacrifice of multitudes, that we could begin to perfect this union, and drive the scourge of slavery from our soil. *I don't oppose all wars*.
- 38 My grandfather signed up for a war the day after Pearl Harbor was bombed, fought in Patton's army. He saw the dead and dying across the fields of Europe; he heard the stories of fellow troops who first entered Auschwitz and Treblinka. He fought in the name of a larger freedom, part of that arsenal of democracy that triumphed over evil, and he did not fight in vain. *I don't oppose all wars*.
- 39 After Sept. 11, after witnessing the carnage and destruction, the dust and the tears, I supported this administration's pledge to hunt down and root out those who would slaughter innocents in the name of intolerance, and I would willingly take up arms myself to prevent such tragedy from happening again. *I don't oppose all wars*. And I know that in this crowd today, there is no shortage of patriots, or of patriotism.
- 40 *What I am opposed to is a dumb war. What I am opposed to is a rash war. What I am opposed to is the cynical attempt* by Richard Perle and Paul Wolfowitz and other armchair, weekend warriors in this administration to shove their own ideological agendas down our throats, irrespective of the costs in lives lost and in hardships borne.
- 41 *What I am opposed to is the attempt* by political hacks like Karl Rove *to distract us from a rise in the uninsured, a rise in the poverty rate, a drop in the median income — to distract us from* corporate scandals and a stock market that has just gone through the worst months since the Great Depression. *That's what I'm opposed to. A dumb war. A rash war. A war based not on reason but on passion, not on principle but on politics*. Now let me be clear— I suffer no illusions about Saddam Hussein. He is *a brutal man. A ruthless man. A man who* butchers *his own people* to secure *his own power*. He has repeatedly defied UN resolutions, thwarted UN inspection teams, developed chemical and biological weapons, and coveted nuclear capacity. He's a bad guy. The world, and the Iraqi people, would be better off without him.
- 42 But I also know that Saddam poses no imminent and direct threat to the United States or to his neighbors, *that the Iraqi economy is in shambles, that the Iraqi military a fraction of its former strength, and that in concert with the international community he can be*

contained until, in the way of all petty dictators, he falls away into the dustbin of history. I know that even a successful war against Iraq will require a U.S. occupation of undetermined length, at undetermined cost, with undetermined consequences. I know that an invasion of Iraq without a clear rationale and without strong international support will only fan the flames of the Middle East, and encourage the worst, rather than best, impulses of the Arab world, and strengthen the recruitment arm of al-Qaida. I am not opposed to all wars. I'm opposed to dumb wars.

- 43 So for those of us who seek a more just and secure world for our children, let us send a clear message to the president today. You want a fight, President Bush? Let's finish the fight with bin Laden and al-Qaida, through effective, coordinated intelligence, and a shutting down of the financial networks that support terrorism, and a homeland security program that involves more than color-coded warnings. You want a fight, President Bush?
- 44 Let's fight to make sure that the U.N. inspectors can do their work, and that we vigorously enforce a non-proliferation treaty, and that former enemies and current allies like Russia safeguard and ultimately eliminate their stores of nuclear material, and that nations like Pakistan and India never use the terrible weapons already in their possession, and that the arms merchants in our own country stop feeding the countless wars that rage across the globe. You want a fight, President Bush?
- 45 Let's fight to make sure our so-called allies in the Middle East, the Saudis and the Egyptians, stop oppressing their own people, and suppressing dissent, and tolerating corruption and inequality, and mismanaging their economies so that their youth grow up without education, without prospects, without hope, the ready recruits of terrorist cells. You want a fight, President Bush? Let's fight to wean ourselves off Middle East oil, through an energy policy that doesn't simply serve the interests of Exxon and Mobil.
- 46 Those are the battles that we need to fight. Those are the battles that we willingly join. The battles against ignorance and intolerance. Corruption and greed. Poverty and despair. The consequences of war are dire, the sacrifices immeasurable. We may have occasion in our lifetime to once again rise up in defense of our freedom, and pay the wages of war. But we ought not—we will not—travel down that hellish path blindly. Nor should we allow those who would march off and pay the ultimate sacrifice, who would prove the full measure of devotion with their blood, to make such a narrow sacrifice in vain.

Identified cases of repetition in speech 2

Cohesive repetition

51. And I know that in this crowd today, there is no shortage of patriots, or of patriotism (39) ... But I also know that Saddam poses no imminent and direct threat to the United States or to his neighbors... I know that even a successful war against Iraq will require a U.S. occupation... I know that an invasion of Iraq without a clear rationale and without strong international support will only fan the flames of the Middle East (42, EX, DE, add info, anaphora)
52. What I am opposed to is the attempt by political hacks like Karl Rove to distract us from a rise in the uninsured, a rise in the poverty rate, a drop in the median income — to distract us from corporate scandals and a stock market that has just gone through the worst months since the Great Depression. (41, EX, DE, add info)
53. But I also know that Saddam poses no imminent and direct threat to the United States or to his neighbors, that the Iraqi economy is in shambles, that the Iraqi military is a fraction of its former strength (42, EX, DE, add info, mesodiplosis)
54. Let us send a clear message to the president today. You want a fight, President Bush? (43, EX, DE, consent)
55. Those are the battles that we need to fight. Those are the battles that we willingly join. The battles against ignorance and intolerance. (46, EX, DE, repetition)

56. The consequences of war are dire, *the sacrifices* immeasurable. . . . Nor should we allow those who would march off and pay the ultimate *sacrifice*, who would prove the full measure of devotion with their blood, to make such an awful *sacrifice* in vain (46, EX, DE, resp)
57. The consequences of war are dire, the sacrifices *immeasurable*. . . . Nor should we allow those who would march off and pay the ultimate sacrifice, who would prove the full *measure of devotion with their blood*, (46, PA, DE, consent, polyptoton)

Emphatic repetition

58. there is no shortage of *patriots*, or of *patriotism*. (39, PA, DE)
59. *What I am opposed to is a dumb war. What I am opposed to is a rash war. What I am opposed to is the cynical attempt by Richard Perle* (40, PA, IM, three)
60. A man who butchers *his own people* to secure *his own power* . (41, PA, IM, parallelism)
61. That's what I'm opposed to. *A dumb war. A rash war. A war based not on reason but on passion, not on principle but on politics* . (41, PA, IM, three, contrast)
62. He is *an brutal man. An ruthless man. A man who* butchers his own people to secure his own power (41, PA, IM, three)
63. I know that even a successful war against Iraq will require a U.S. occupation *of undetermined length, at undetermined cost, with undetermined consequences* . (42, PA, IM, parallelism, three)
64. *Those are the battles that we need to fight. Those are the battles that we willingly join*. (46, PA, IM, anaphora, parallelism)

Cohesive emphatic repetition

65. I stand before you as someone *who is not opposed to war* in all circumstances. . . . *I don't oppose all wars*. (37) *I don't oppose all wars*. (38, 39) . . . *What I am opposed to is the cynical attempt* by Richard Perle (40) . . . *What I am opposed to is the attempt* by political hacks like Karl Rove to distract us from a rise in the uninsured, . . . *That's what I'm opposed to* . (41) *I am not opposed to all wars. I'm opposed to dumb wars*. (42, PA, DE, anaphora, epistrophe)
66. *You want a fight, President Bush? Let's finish the fight* with bin Laden and al-Qaida, (43) . . . *You want a fight, President Bush?* (43) *Let's fight to make sure* that the U.N. inspectors can do their work, . . . *You want a fight, President Bush?* (44) *Let's fight to make sure* our so-called allies in the Middle East, the Saudis and the Egyptians, stop oppressing their own people. . . . *You want a fight, President Bush? Let's fight to wean ourselves off Middle East oil* (45, PA, DE compar, emphasis, anaphora)

Specific uses of repetition

67. and drive the scourge of slavery from our soil (37, alliteration)
68. I supported this administration's pledge to hunt down and root out those who would slaughter innocents in the name of intolerance (39, alliteration)
69. weekend warriors (40, alliteration)
70. fan the flames (42, alliteration)
71. pay the wages of war (46, alliteration)
72. irrespective of the costs in lives lost and in hardships borne (40, alliteration)
73. The battles against ignorance and intolerance (46, alliteration)
74. After Sept. 11, after witnessing (39, polysyndeton)
75. after witnessing the carnage and destruction, the dust and the tears (39, polysyndeton)
76. the Saudis and the Egyptians, stop oppressing their own people, and suppressing dissent, and tolerating corruption and inequality, and mismanaging their economies (45, polysyndeton)
77. economies so that their youth grow up without education, without prospects, without hope (45, polysyndeton)

78. Corruption *and* greed. Poverty *and* despair. (46, polysyndeton)

Marginal cases

79. What I am opposed to is the attempt by political hacks like Karl Rove to distract us from *arise in the uninsured, arise in the poverty rate, a drop in the median income* (41, PA, IM, parallelism, contrast, three)

Speech 3

Barack Obama, delivered 20 January 2008 [cit. 2010-11-13]

Source, transcript and audio available:

<<http://www.americanrhetoric.com/speeches/barackobama/barackobamaebenezerbaptist.htm>>

Ebenezer Baptist Church Address

47 *Scripture tells us* that when Joshua and the Israelites arrived at the gates of Jericho, they could not enter. The walls of the city were *too steep* for any one person to climb. They were *too strong* to be taken down by brute force. And so, *the people* sat for days, unable to pass on through; but God had a plan for *His People*. *He told them* to stand together and march together around the city, and on the seventh day *he told them* that when they heard the sound of the ram's *horn*, they should speak with one *voice*. And, at the chosen hour when the *horn* sounded and a *chorus of voices* cried out together, the mighty walls of Jericho came tumbling down. That's what *scripture tells us*.

48 And *there are many lessons to take* from this passage, *just as there are many lessons to take from this day, just as there are many memories* that fill the space of this church. As I was thinking about which ones we needed to remember at this hour, my mind went back to the very beginning of the modern Civil Rights era. Because *before* Memphis and the mountaintop, *before* the bridge in Selma *and* the march on Washington, *before* Birmingham *and* the beatings, the fire hoses, *and* the loss of those four little girls, *before there was King* the icon *and* his magnificent dream, *there was King* the young preacher *and* a people who found themselves suffering under the yolk of oppression. And on the eve of the bus boycotts in Montgomery, at a time when many were still doubtful about the possibilities of change, a time when there were those in the black community who not only *mistrusted* each other, but *mistrusted* themselves-- King inspired with words *not of anger, but of an urgency, a fierce urgency* that still speak to us today. "Unity," he said, "*is the great need of the hour.*" "Unity is the great need of the hour." Unity is how we shall overcome.

49 What Dr. King understood is that *if* just one person *chose* to walk instead of ride the bus, *those walls* of oppression would not be moved. But maybe if a few more decided *to walk*, those foundations might start to shake. *If* just a few women were *willing to do what Rosa Parks had been willing to do*, maybe the cracks in those walls would start to show. *If* a teenager took rides from North to South, *maybe* a few bricks would come loose. *Maybe* if white folks marched because they'd come to understand that their *freedom* was wrapped up in the *freedom* of others, that they too had a stake in the impending battle, *the walls* would begin to sway, *and* if enough Americans were awakened to injustice, *if* they joined together North *and* South, rich *and* poor, Jew *and* Gentile, then perhaps that wall would come tumbling down, and justice would flow like waters of righteousness, like a mighty stream. "*Unity is the great need of the hour.*" That's what Dr. King said. *It is the great need of this hour* as well, *not because it sounds pleasant, not because it makes us feel good, but because it's the only way* we can overcome the essential *deficit* that exists in this country.

50 *I'm not talking about the budget deficit. I'm not talking about the trade deficit. I'm talking about the moral deficit* in this country. *I'm talking about an empathy deficit*, the inability to recognize ourselves in one another, to understand that we are *our brother's keeper* and

- our sister's keeper*, that in the words of Dr. King, "We are all tied together in a single garment of destiny." *We have an empathy deficit* when we're still sending our children down corridors of shame, schools in the forgotten corners of America where the color of your skin still affects the content of your education. *We have a deficit* when CEOs are making more in ten minutes than ordinary workers are making in an entire year, when families lose their homes to unscrupulous lenders who can make a profit, when mothers can't afford a doctor when their children are stricken with illness.
- 51 *We have a deficit in this country* when we have *Scooter Libby justice for some and Jena justice for others*, when our children see hanging nooses from a schoolyard tree today, in the present, in the 21st century. *We have a deficit* when homeless veterans sleep on the streets of our cities, when innocents are slaughtered in the deserts of Darfur, when young Americans serve *tour after tour after tour after tour* of duty in a war that *should have never been authorized and should have never been waged*. *We have an empathy deficit in this country* that has *to be closed*. *We have a deficit* when it takes a breach in the levees *to reveal* the breach in our compassion, *when it takes* a terrible storm *to reveal* the hungry that God calls on us to feed, the sick that He calls on us to care for, the least of these that He commands that we treat as our own. So, *we have a deficit to close*. *We have* walls, barriers to justice and equality that must come down, and to do this, we know that "*unity is the great need of the hour*."
- 52 However, all too often, when we talk about *unity* in this country, *we've come to believe* that it can be purchased on the cheap. *We've come to believe* that racial reconciliation can come easily; that it's just a matter of a few ignorant people trapped in the prejudices of the past, and that if the demagogues and those who would exploit our racial divisions will simply go away then all our problems will be solved. All too often, we seek to ignore the profound structural and institutional barriers that stand in the way of insuring *opportunity for all of our children, or decent jobs for all of our people, or health care for those who are sick*. We offer *unity*, but we are not willing to pay the price that's required.
- 53 Of course, true *unity* cannot be so easily purchased. *It starts with a change in attitudes. It starts with changing* our hearts, *and changing* our minds, broadening our spirit. *It's not easy to* stand in somebody else's shoes. *It's not easy to* see past our own *differences*. We've all encountered this in our own lives. What makes it even more difficult is that we have a politics in this country that seeks to drive us apart, that puts up *walls* between us. We are told that those who *differ from us on a few things, differ from us on all things*, that our problems are the fault of those *who don't think like us or look like us or come from where we do*. The Welfare Queen, *she's taking our money*. The Immigrant, *he's taking our jobs*. The *believer* condemns the *nonbeliever* as immoral, and the *nonbeliever* chides the *believer* for being intolerant.
- 54 And for most of this country's history, we in the African-American community have been at the receiving end of *man's inhumanity to man*. And all of us understand *insidious--All of us understand intimately the insidious* role that race still sometimes plays *on the job and in the schools, in our health care system, and in our criminal justice system*.
- 55 And yet, *if we are honest with ourselves*, we must admit that none of our hands are entirely clean. *If we're honest with ourselves*, we'll acknowledge that our own community has not always been true to King's vision of a beloved community. *If we're honest with ourselves*, we have to admit that there have been times when we've scorned our gay brothers and sisters instead of embracing them. The scourge of anti-Semitism has at times revealed itself in our community. For too long, some of us have seen immigrants only as competitors for jobs instead of companions in the fight for opportunity. Every day our politics fuels and exploits this kind of division *across all races and regions, across gender and party*. It is played out on television; it is sensationalized by the media. Last week, it crept into the campaign for President with *charges and countercharges* that serve to obscure the *issues* instead of illuminating the critical choices we face as a nation. None of our hands are clean.

- 56 So let us say that on this day of all days, each of us carries with us the task of *changing our hearts and minds*. The divisions, the stereotypes, the scapegoating, the ease with which we blame the plight of ourselves on others -- all of that distracts us from the common challenges that we face, war and poverty, inequality and injustice. *We can no longer afford to build ourselves up by tearing each other down. We can no longer afford to traffic in lies or fear or hate. It's the poison that we must purge from our politics, the wall that we must tear down before the hour grows too late.* Because if Dr. King could love his jailer, if he could call on the faithful, who once sat where you do, to forgive those who had set dogs and fire hoses upon them, then surely we can look past what divides us in our time and bind up our wounds and erase the sympathy deficit that exists in our hearts.
- 57 But if *changing our hearts and our minds* is the first critical step, we cannot stop there. *It's not enough to bemoan the plight of the poor in this country and remain unwilling to push our elected officials to provide the resources to fix our schools. It's not enough to decry the disparities of health care and yet allow the insurance companies and the drug companies to block real reform in our health care system. It's not enough -- It's not enough for us to abhor the costs of a misguided war, and yet we continue to allow ourselves to be driven by a politics of fear that sees the threat of an attack as a way to scare up votes instead of a call to come together in a common effort.*
- 58 *Scripture* tells us that we are judged not just by word but by deed. And if we are truly *to bring about the unity that is needed*, that is so crucial in this time, we have to find it within ourselves to act on what we know, to understand that living up to this country's ideals and its possibilities is going to require *great effort and great resources, sacrifice and stamina. We can't pass a law called No Child Left Behind and then leave the money behind.* That is not a serious *effort in bringing about the unity that is needed*. *We can't celebrate Dr. King's dream, and yet still have insufficient funds to cash that promissory note that was promised at the beginning of this nation. That is what is at stake in this great debate we are having today. Changes that are needed are not just a matter of tinkering around the edges. They will not come if politicians simply tell us what we want to hear. All of us will be called upon to make some sacrifice. None of us will be exempt from responsibility. We've had to fight to fix our schools, but we also have to challenge ourselves to be better parents, and turn off the television set, and put away the video game, and our men have to be home with our children. That, too, is part of the challenge that we must make.*
- 59 We will have to confront the biases in our criminal justice system, but we also have to acknowledge the deep-seeded *violence* that still resides in our own communities, in too many of the hearts of our young people, and *we have to break the grip of that violence wherever we see it. That's how we're going to bring about the change that we seek. That's how Dr. King led this country through the wilderness. He did it with words, words that spoke not just to the children of slaves but the children of slave owners, words that inspired not just black but also white, not just Christian but also Jew and Muslim and Buddhists and Atheists, not just the southerner but also the northerner. He led with words, but he also led with deeds. He also led by example. He led by marching and going to jail and suffering threats and beatings and being away from his family. He led by taking a stand against a war knowing full well that it would diminish his popularity. He led by challenging our economic structures, understanding that it would cause discomfort. Dr. King understood that *unity* cannot be won on the cheap, that we would have to earn it through great *effort and determination*. That's *the unity*, the hard earned *unity* that we need right now. That is *the effort, the determination* that can transform blind optimism into *hope*.*
- 60 *You know* people have remarked on the fact that I talk about *hope* a lot in my campaign. *You know they--they* tease me a little bit. Some have been scornful. They say, "Ah, *he's talking about hope* again. He's so idealistic. He's so naïve. He's a hope monger." That's

- okay. It's true. *Italkabout hope. Italkabout it a lot because the odds of me standing here today are so small, so remote that I couldn't have gotten here without some hope.* You know *my--my* daddy left me when I was two years old. *I needed some hope together.* I was raised by a single mother. *Ineededsomehopetogether* . I got in trouble when I was a teenager, did some things folks now like to talk about. *Ineededsomehopetogether* . I wasn't born into money, *or great wealth, or great privilege, or status.* I was given love, an education, and some *hope.* That's what I got. That's my birthright.
- 61 *So I talk about hope. I--I* put " *Hope*" on my campaign signs. It doesn't even have my name on them sometimes--just says " *Hope.*" Folks don't know who they're voting for, but it makes them feel good. Say, you know, huh? I spoke about *hope* at the Democratic Convention. *I--I* wrote a book called *The Audacity of Hope.* And *so I--so I'm* puzzled when -- when some people, some of the other candidates make a mockery of the idea. They say I'm pedaling *false hopes* . "Get a reality check," they tell me. And *I have to--I have to* try to understand what they're saying. *The implication is -- is* that if you are *hopeful*, that you somehow must be engaging in wishful thinking. *Your--Your* head must be in the clouds; that you must be passive *and* just sit back *and* wait for things to happen to you. That seem to be *the implication* .
- 62 And so I have to explain to people that's not what *hope* is. *Hope* is not blind optimism. *Hope* is not ignorance of the barriers and hurdles and hazards that stand in your way. *Hope*'s just the opposite. *I know* how hard it will be to provide health care to every single American. The insurance companies, drug companies, they don't want to give up their profits. *I know* it won't be easy to have an energy policy that makes sense for America because the oil companies like writing the energy bills. *I know* that alleviating poverty, or making sure all our children can learn, or eliminating the scourge of racism in our society -- none of those things lend themselves to simple solutions.
- 63 *I know* because *I fought* on the streets as a community organizer in poor neighborhoods on the Southside of Chicago alongside those without jobs or without prospects for the future. *I have fought* in the courts as a civil rights attorney for those who had been *denied* opportunity on the job or *denied* access to the ballot box. *I've seen good legislation die because* -- Well, I've seen that too -- *I've seen good legislation die because* good intentions weren't enough, because they weren't fortified with a political majority and political will. *I've seen this country--this country*'s judgment clouded by fear. *I know* how easily *a country* can be misled when it is afraid. *I know* how hard it is. Everybody here understands how difficult it is to bring about true *change, change* that we can believe in. But *I also know* this -- that nothing in *this country* worthwhile has ever happened except somebody somewhere decided to *hope*.
- 64 *That's show* this country was founded because a group of patriots decided they were going to take on the British Empire. Nobody was putting their money on them. *That's how* slaves and abolitionists resisted that evil system. *That's show* a new President was able to chart a course to insure that this nation would no longer remain half slave and half free. *That's show* the greatest generation defeated Fascism and overcame a Great Depression. *That's show* women won the right to vote. *That's show* workers won the right to organize. *That's how* young people *and* old people *and* middle-aged folks were willing to walk instead of ride the bus, and *folks* came down on Freedom Rides. They marched, *and* they sat in, *and* they were beaten *and* fire houses were *sent on them* , *and* dogs were *sent on them* , *and* some went to jail, *and* some died for freedom's cause. That's what hope is . *Imagining and then fighting for and struggling for and sometimes dying for* what didn't seem possible before. There's nothing naïve about that. There are no *false hopes* in that.
- 65 I don't believe in *false hopes* . Imagine if John F. Kennedy had looked up at them soon and said, "Well, that's too far." *False hopes* , we can't go there. If Dr. King had stood on the Lincoln Memorial and said, "Y'all go home; we can't overcome." There's no such thing as *false hopes* , but what *I know* deep in my heart is that we cannot bring about *change unless we are unified, unless we do it together* . *Change does not happen* from the top

- down--in America or anywhere else. *It happens* from the bottom up. *It happens* because ordinary people dream extraordinary things. It's because all of you decide that *change* must come. That I know.
- 66 *It wasn't just one voice -- It wasn't just one voice* that shouted out before the walls of Jericho. *All the voices* came together, a *chorus of voices*. That's what gives me *hope*: not just those who ascend to high office, but the *changes that are happening* in ordinary places. *The stories* that give me my *hope* *don't happen* in the spotlight. When I think about Dr. King, I suspect he was sustained not by having dinner with Presidents; not by getting the Nobel Peace Prize; but coming back to church and seeing the mothers of the church and the deacons. Those who maintained their dignity were standing up straight in the face of injustice. That's where he drew his *hope*. He saw God in their faces. *Those stories don't happen* on a presidential stage; *they happen* in the quiet quarters of four lives. *They happen* in the moments we least expect. So, let me close by giving an example of one of those stories.
- 67 There is a young woman, 23 years old, white woman, named Ashley Baia, who organizes for *our campaign* in Florence, South Carolina. Ashley has been working to organize mostly black folks. She's in Florence, South Carolina. She's been doing it since the beginning of *the campaign*, and the other day she set up a round table discussion where everyone around was telling their story about who they were and why they were there. And so, *Ashley explained*, she started things off, *by explaining* why she was there. *And she explained* that when she was nine years old her mother got cancer, and because she had to miss a day of work she was let go; and she lost her healthcare; and then she had to file for bankruptcy. They were on hard times, and that's when Ashley, nine-years-old at the time, decided she had to do something to help her mom, and she knew that food was one of their most expensive costs. They didn't have a lot of money. Ashley lived in a poor household.
- 68 And so Ashley *convinced her mother* that she *really liked* and *really wanted to eat* more than anything else *mustard and relish* sandwiches. She had heard that condiments like *mustard and relish* were cheap. And *she--she* concocted in her own mind at the age of nine that she *would convince her mother* that that's the only thing she *wanted to eat* everyday, because she figured that would be a way of saving money for the family and helping them alleviate their hardships. So she did this for a year until her mom got better. And in that round table she told everyone that the reasons she joined *our campaign* was so that she could help millions of other children in the country who want and need to help their parents too. She had heard me speak about my mother having cancer and having to worry about maybe not getting the health care she needed because of a preexisting condition, and she had connected with that. She thought, *maybe Barack would fight for my mother. And if he would fight for my mother, then maybe I will fight alongside him.* That's what had brought her to Florence.
- 69 So Ashley finishes her *story* and then goes around the room and asks everyone else why they're supporting *the campaign*. They all have different *stories* and different reasons: *some* bring up specific issues; *some* talk about, upset about, affirmative action; *some* talk about, you know, "I want to see more jobs in the community"; *some* are frustrated about trade; *some* just like me.
- 70 So they all got a bunch of different reasons, and finally, at the end of this discussion, they come to this elderly black man. He's been sitting here quiet the whole time, hasn't been saying a word. And Ashley asks him why is he there. *And he doesn't* bring up a specific issue. *He doesn't say* healthcare or the economy. *He doesn't talk* about the Iraq War. *He doesn't say* anything about education. *He doesn't say* that he's there because he likes Barack Obama, or he's proud of the possibility of the first African American President. *He simply says* to everyone in the room, "*I am here because of Ashley. I am here because of this young girl, and the fact that she's willing to fight for what she believes in.*" And that

- reminds me that I still have some *fight* left in me, and I'm going stand up for what *I believe in*."
- 71 Now, by itself, that single moment of recognition between that young white girl and that old black man, *that's not enough to* change a country. By itself, *it's not enough to* give health care to the sick *or jobs* to the *jobless* or education to our children, but it is where we begin. *It's why I believe that the walls in that room began to shake at that moment. And if they can shake in that room, then they can shake here in Atlanta, and if they can shake in Atlanta, then they can shake in the state of Georgia, and if they can shake in Georgia, they can shake all across America.* And if enough of our voices join together, if we see each other in each other's eyes, we can bring *those walls tumbling down*. *The walls of Jericho can finally come tumbling down*.
- 72 That is our hope, but only *if we pray together, if we work together, and if we march together*. Ebenezer, *we cannot walk alone*. Brothers and sisters, *we cannot walk alone*. *In the struggle* for justice and for equality, *we cannot walk alone*. *In the struggle* for opportunity and justice, *we cannot walk alone*. *In the struggle* to heal this nation and repair the world, *we cannot walk alone*. So I ask you to *walk with me and march with me and join your voices with mine*, and together we will sing the song that tears down the wall that divides us and lift up an America that is truly indivisible with liberty and justice for all.
- 73 *May God bless* the memory of the great pastor of this church.
- 74 *And may God bless* the United States of America.
- 75 *Thank you. Thank you.*

Identified cases of repetition in speech 3

Cohesive repetition

80. *Scripture tells us* that when Joshua and the Israelites arrived at the gates of Jericho, That's what *scripture tells us* .(47).... *Scripture tells us* that we are judged not just by word but by deed.(58,EX,DE,compar,anaphora)
81. *The walls* of the city were too steep for any one person to climb.... *the mighty walls* of Jericho came tumbling down.(47)... *those walls* of oppression would not be moved.... maybe the cracks in *those walls* would start to show ... *the walls* would begin to sway (49)... What makes it even more difficult is that we have a politics in this country that seeks to drive us apart, that puts up *walls* between us.(53)... *the wall* that we must tear down before the hour grows too late.(56,PA,DE,rep)
82. And so, *the people* sat for days, unable to pass on through; but God had a plan for *His People*.(47,PA,DE,rep)
83. *He told them* to stand together and march together around the city, and on the seventh day *he told them* that when they heard the sound of the ram's horn, (47,EX,DE,consent)
84. when they heard the sound of the ram's *horn*, they should speak with one voice. And, at the chosen hour when the *horns* sounded(47,EX,DE,consent)
85. before *there was King* the icon and his magnificent dream, *there was King* the young preacher(48,EX,DE,addinfo)
86. "*Unity is the great need of the hour.*" (48)... "*Unity is the great need of the hour.*" That's what Dr. King said. *It is the great need of this hour* as well(49) We have walls, barriers to justice and equality that must come down, and to do this, we know that "*unity is the great need of the hour.*" (51,PA,DE,compar)
87. However, all too often, when we talk about *unity* in this country, ... We offer *unity*, but we are not willing to pay the price that's required (52) Of course, true *unity* cannot be so easily purchased.(53)... Dr. King understood that *unity* cannot be won on the cheap, that we would have to earn it through great effort and determination.(59,EX,DE,compar)

88. However, all too often, when we talk about unity in this country, *we've come to believe* that it can be purchased on the cheap. *We've come to believe* that racial reconciliation can come easily;....(52,EX,DE,addinfo,anaphora)
89. *It starts with* a change in attitudes. *It starts with* changing our hearts, and changing our minds, broadening our spirit.(53,EX,DE,addinfo, anaphora)
90. *It's not easy to* stand in somebody else's shoes. *It's not easy to* see past our own differences.(53,EX,DE,addinfo,anaphora)
91. It's not easy to see past our own *differences*.... We are told that those who *differ from* us on a few things,(53,PA,DE,consent, polyptoton)
92. *We can no longer afford* to build ourselves up by tearing each other down. *We can no longer afford* to traffic in lies or fear or hate.(56,EX,DE,addinfo,anaphora)
93. So let us say that on this day of all days, each of us carries with us the task of *changing our hearts and minds* .(56)... But if *changing our hearts and our minds* is the first critical step,(57,EX,DE,compar)
94. this country's ideals and its possibilities is going to require great effort and great resources, *sacrifice* and stamina.... All of us will be called upon to make *some sacrifice*.(58,EX,DE)
95. its possibilities is going to require great *effort*... That is not a serious *effort* (58,EX,DE)
96. We've had to fight to fix our schools, but we also have to *challenge* ourselves to be better parents... That, too, is part of the *challenge* that we must make.(58,EX,DE)
97. *We can't* pass a law called No Child Left Behind and then leave the money behind... *We can't* celebrate Dr. King's dream, and yet still have insufficient funds to cash that promissory note(58,EX,DE,addinfo,anaphora)
98. That's the *unity*, the hard earned *unity* that we need right now.(59,EX,DE,word)
99. Dr. King understood that unity cannot be won on the cheap, that we would have to earn it through great *effort and determination*. That's the unity, the hard earned unity that we need right now. That is *the effort, the determination* that can transform blind optimism into hope.(59,PA,DE,consent)
100. but we also have to acknowledge the deep-seeded *violence* that still resides in our own communities, in too many of the hearts of our young people, and we have to break the grip of that *violence* wherever we see it.(59,EX,DE,rep)
101. *words* that he spoke not just to the children of slaves but to the children of slave owners, *words* that inspired not just black but also white, not just Christian but also Jew and Muslim and Buddhists and Atheists, not just the southernerner but also the northerner. He led with *words*, but he also led with deeds.(59,EX,DE,addinfo)
102. He led by challenging our economic structures, *understanding* that it would cause discomfort. Dr. King *understood* that unity cannot be won on the cheap(59,PA,DE,consent, polyptoton)
103. That is the effort, the determination that can transform blind optimism into *hope*.(59)... You know people have remarked on the fact that I talk about *hope* a lot in my campaign.(60,EX,DE,compar)
104. *You know* people have remarked on the fact that I talk about *hope* a lot in my campaign. *You know* they--they tease me a little bit.(60,EX,DE,addinfo,anaphora)
105. "Ah, *he's talking about hope* again. He's so idealistic. He's so naïve. He's a hope monger."(60)... *So I talk about hope*. (61,PA,DE,compar)
106. *The implication* is--is that if you are hopeful, that you somehow must be engaging in wishful thinking.... That seems to be *the implication* .(61,EX,DE)
107. I know because *I fought* on the streets as a community organizer in poor neighborhoods on the Southside of Chicago... *I have fought* in the courts as a civil rights attorney...(63,PA,DE,addinfo,anaphora)
108. I have fought in the courts as a civil rights attorney for those who had been *denied* opportunity on the job or *denied* access to the ballot box.(63,EX,DE,addinfo)

109. *I've seen* good legislation die because good intentions weren't enough, because they weren't fortified with a political majority and political will. *I've seen* this country--this country's judgment clouded by fear. (63, EX, DE, add info, anaphora)
110. There are no *false hopes* in that. (64) I don't believe in *false hopes*. (65, EX, DE, compar)
111. *Change* does not happen from the top down -- in America or anywhere else. ... It's because all of you decide that *change* must come. (65, EX, DE, consent)
112. There is a young woman, 23 years old, white woman, named Ashley Baia, who organizes for *our campaign* in Florence, South Carolina.... She's been doing it since the beginning of *the campaign*, (67)... the reason she joined *our campaign* was so that she could help millions of other children (68) ... Ashley finishes her story and then goes around the room and asks everyone else why they're supporting *the campaign*. (69, PA, DE, compar)
113. And so, *Ashley explained*, she started things off, *by explaining* why she was there. *And she explained* that when she was nine years old her mother got cancer (67, PA, DE, consent)
114. really wanted to eat more than anything else *mustard and relish* sandwiches. She had heard that condiments like *mustard and relish* were cheap (68, EX, DE, repp)
115. And so Ashley *convinced her mother* that she really liked and really *wanted to eat* more than anything else mustard and relish sandwiches.... And she--she concocted in her own mind at the age of nine that she *would convince her mother* that that's the only thing she *wanted to eat* every day (68, PA, DE, repp)
116. So Ashley finishes her *story* and then goes around the room and asks everyone else why they're supporting the campaign. They all have different *stories* and different reasons (69, PA, DE, polyptoton,)
117. *some* bring up specific issues; *some talk about*, upset about, affirmative action; *some talk about*, you know, "I want to see more jobs in the community"; *some* are frustrated about trade; *some* just like me. (69, PA, DE, add info, mesodiplosis)
118. Now, by itself, that single moment of recognition between that young white girl and that old black man, *that's not enough to* change a country. By itself, *it's not enough to* give health care to the sick (71, PA, DE, add info)
119. *May God bless* the memory of the great pastor of this church. (73) *And may God bless* the United States of America. (74, PA, DE, add info)

Emphatic repetition

120. at a time when there were those in the black community who *not only mistrusted each other, but mistrusted themselves* (48, PA, IM, parallelism, contrast, emphasis in speech)
121. King inspired with words *not of anger, but of an urgency*, a fierce urgency that still speaks to us today. (48, PA, IM, parallelism, contrast)
122. "Unity," he said, "*is the great need of the hour.*" "*Unity is the great need of the hour.*" (48, EX, IM)
123. If just a few women were *willing to do what Rosa Parks had been willing to do*, maybe the cracks in those walls would start to show. (49, PA, IM, parallelism)
124. It is the great need of this hour as well, *not because it sounds pleasant, not because it makes us feel good, but because it's the only way* we can overcome the essential deficit that exists in this country. (49, PA, IM, parallelism, contrast, three)
125. *I'm not talking about the budget deficit*. *I'm not talking about the trade deficit*. *I'm talking about the moral deficit* in this country. *I'm talking about an empathy deficit*, (50, PA, IM, parallelism, contrast)
126. when young Americans serve tour after tour after tour after tour of duty in a war that *should have never been authorized and should have never been waged*. (51, PA, IM, parallelism, emphatic)
127. We have a deficit in this country when we have *Scooter Libby justice for some and Jena justice for others* (51, PA, IM, parallelism, contrast)

128. It starts with *changing our hearts, and changing our minds, broadening our spirit* .(53, PA,IM,parallelism,three)
129. Wearetoldthatthosewho *differfromusona fewthings,differfromusona llthings* ,(53, PA,IM,parallelism,contrast)
130. The Welfare Queen ,*she's taking our money*. The Immigrant ,*he's taking our jobs* .(53, PA,DE,parallelism,epistrophe)
131. our problems are the fault of those who *don't think like us or look like us or come from where we do* . (53,PA,IM,parallelism,contrast, polysyndeton, three)
132. *It's not enough--It's not enough* forustoabhorthe costsofamisguidedwar,and yetwe continuoallowoursevestobedrivenbyapoliticsoffear(57,EX,IM)
133. He did it with *words, words* that he spoke not just to the children of slaves but the childrenofslaveowners(59,EX,IM)
134. words that inspired *not just black but also white, not just Christian but also Jew and Muslimand Buddhists andAtheists, notjust the southerner butalso the northerner*.(59, EX,DE,contrast, polysyndeton)
135. He did it with words, words that he spoke *not just to the children of slaves but the childrenofslaveowners* (59,PA,IM,parallelism,contrast)
136. *Italkabout hope. Italkabout italotbecause the odds of mestanding here today are so small*(60,EX,DE)
137. I couldn't have gotten herewithout some hope. You kn owmy--mydaddy leftmewhenI was two years old. *I needed some hope to get here*. I was raised by a single mother. *I needed some hope to get here* .I got in trouble when I was a teenager, did some things folksnowliketotalkabout. *Ineededsomehopetothere* .Iwasn'tbornintomoney,or greatwealth,orgreatprivilege,orstatus. I was givenlove,aneducation,and somehope. (60,EX,DE)
138. Everybody here understands how difficult it is to bring about true *change, change* that we can believe in.(63,EX,IM)
139. *Imagining and then fighting for and struggling for and sometimes dying for* what didn't seem possible before.(64,PA,IM,parallelism)
140. *All the voices* came together, a *chorus of voices* .(65,PA,DE)
141. but what I know deep in my heart is that we cannot bring about *change unless we are unified, unless we do it together* .(65,PA,IM,parallelism)
142. She thought, *maybe Barack would fight for my mother. And if he would fight for my mother, then maybe I will fight alongside him*. (68,PA,IM,parallelism,climax)
143. *"I am here because of Ashley. I am here because of this young girl,*(70,EX,DE,)
144. *It's why I believe that the walls in that room began to shake at that moment. And if they can shake in that room, then they can shake here in Atlanta, and if they can shake in Atlanta, then they can shake in the state of Georgia, and if they can shake in Georgia, they can shake all across America*. (71,PA,IM,parallelism,climax)
145. we can bring *those walls tumbling down* . *The walls of Jericho can finally come tumbling down*.(71,EX,DE)
146. That is our hope, but only *if we pray together, if we work together, and if we march together*.(72,PA,IM,parallelism,three)
147. Ebenezer, *we cannot walk alone*. Brothers and sisters , *we cannot walk alone*. *In the struggle for justice and for equality, we cannot walk alone. In the struggle for opportunity and justice, we cannot walk alone* .*In the struggle to heal this nation and repair the world, we cannot walk alone* .So I ask you to *walk with me and march with me and join your voices with mine* (72,EX,DEparallelism,anaphora,epistrophe)
148. *Thankyou.Thankyou*. (75,EX,IM)

Cohesive emphatic repetition

149. *We have an empathy deficit* when we're still sending our children down corridors of shame ... *We have a deficit* when CEOs are making more in ten minutes than ordinary

- workers are making in an entire year, ... (50) *We have a deficit* in this country when we have Scooter Libby justice for some and Jena justice for others, when our children see hanging nooses from a school yard tree today, ... *We have a deficit* when homeless veterans sleep on the streets of our cities, ... *We have an empathy deficit* in this country that has *to be closed*. *We have a deficit* when it takes a breach in the levee to reveal the breach in our compassion, when it takes a terrible storm to reveal the hungry that God calls on us to feed, the sick that He calls on us to care for, the least of these that He commands that we treat as our own. So, *we have a deficit to close*. *We have* walls, barriers to justice and equality that must come down (51, PA, DE, anaphora)
150. And yet, *if we are honest with ourselves*, we must admit that none of our hands are entirely clean. *If we're honest with ourselves*, we'll acknowledge that our own community has not always been true to King's vision of a beloved community. *If we're honest with ourselves*, we have to admit that there have been times when we've scorned our gay brothers and sisters instead of embracing them. (55, EX, DE, anaphora)
151. *It's not enough* to bemoan the plight of the poor in this country and remain unwilling to push our elected officials to provide the resources to fix our schools. *It's not enough* to decry the disparities of health care and yet allow the insurance companies and the drug companies to block real reform in our health care system. *It's not enough* for us to abhor the costs of a misguided war, and yet we continue to allow ourselves to be driven by a politics of fear (57, EX, DE, anaphora)
152. *He led* with words, but *he also led* with deeds. *He also led* by example. *He led* by marching and going to jail and suffering threats and beatings and being away from his family. *He led* by taking a stand against a war knowing full well that it would diminish his popularity. *He led* by challenging our economic structures, understanding that it would cause discomfort. (59, EX, DE, anaphora)
153. I -- I put " *Hope*" on my campaign signs. It doesn't even have my name on them sometimes -- just says " *Hope*." ... I spoke about *hope* at the Democratic Convention. I -- I wrote a book called *The Audacity of Hope*.... They say I'm peddling false *hopes*.... The implication is -- is that if you are *hopeful*, (61) ... And so I have to explain to people that's not what *hope* is. *Hope* is not blind optimism. *Hope* is not ignorance of the barriers and hurdles and hazards that stand in your way. *Hope's* just the opposite. (62, PA, DE)
154. *I know* how hard it will be to provide health care to every single American.... *I know* it won't be easy to have an energy policy that makes sense for America because the oil companies like writing the energy bills. *I know* that alleviating poverty, or making sure all our children can learn, or eliminating the scourge of racism in our society -- none of those things lend themselves to simple solutions. (62) *I know* because I fought on the streets as a community organizer in poor neighborhoods on the Southside of Chicago... *I know* how easily a country can be misled when it is afraid. *I know* how hard it is.... But *I also know* this... (63, EX, DE, anaphora)
155. *That's how* this country was founded because a group of patriots decided they were going to take on the British Empire. Nobody was putting their money on them. *That's how* slaves and abolitionists resisted that evil system. *That's how* a new President was able to chart a course to insure that this nation would no longer remain half slave and half free. *That's how* the greatest generation defeated Fascism and overcame a Great Depression. *That's how* women won the right to vote. *That's how* workers won the right to organize. *That's how* young people and old people and middle-aged folks were willing to walk instead of ride the bus, (64, EX, DE, anaphora)
156. *Change does not happen* from the top down -- in America or anywhere else. *It happens* from the bottom up. *It happens* because ordinary people dream extraordinary things. (65) That's what gives me hope: not just those who ascend to high office, but the *changes that are happening* in ordinary places. *The stories* that give me my hope *don't happen* in the spotlight. ... *Those stories don't happen* on a presidential stage; *they*

happen in the quiet quarters of our lives. *They happen* in the moments we least expect. (66, PA, DE)

157. And *he doesn't* bring up a specific issue. *He doesn't say* healthcare or the economy. *He doesn't talk* about the Iraq War. *He doesn't say* anything about education. *He doesn't say* that he's there because he likes Barack Obama, or he's proud of the possibility of the first African American President. *He simply says* to everyone in the room, (70, PA, DE, anaphora)

Intensifying repetition

158. King inspired with words not of anger, but of *an urgency*, *a fierce urgency* that still speak to us today. (48)
159. And so Ashley convinced her mother that she *really* liked and *really* wanted to eat more than anything else mustard and relishes sandwiches. (68)
160. its possibilities is going to require *great* effort and *great* resources (58)

Hesitatory repetition

161. And *all of us* understand *insidious*--*All of us* understand *intimately* the *insidious* role that race still sometimes plays on the job and in these schools, (54, PA, slip)
162. You know *they--they* tease me a little bit. (59, false start)
163. You know *my--my* daddy left me when I was two years old. (60, false start), thinking time) stop, thinking
164. *I--I* put "Hope" on my campaign signs (61, false start)
165. *I--I* wrote a book called *The Audacity of Hope*. (61, false start)
166. And *so I--so I'm* puzzled *when--when* some people (61, false start)
167. And *I have to--I have to* try to understand what they're saying. (61, false start)
168. The implication *is--is* that if you are hopeful, (61, false start)
169. *Your--Your* head must be in the clouds (61, false start)
170. *I've seen good legislation die because* -- Well, I've seen that too -- *I've seen good legislation die because* (63, EX, DE, false start, audience)
171. I've seen *this country--this country's* judgment (63, PA, slip)
172. *It wasn't just one voice* -- *It wasn't just one voice* that shouted out before the walls of Jericho. (66, false start)
173. And *she--she* concocted in her own mind at the age of nine that *she* would convince her mother that that's the only thing she wanted to eat every day (68, false start)

Specific uses of repetition

174. The walls of the city were *too steep* for anyone to climb. They were *too strong* to be taken down by brute force. (47, alliteration)
175. counter charges that serve to obscure the *issues* instead of *illuminating* the critical choices we face as a nation. (55, alliteration)
176. It's the *poison* that we must *purge* from our *politics*, (56, alliteration)
177. *sacrifice* and *sacrament*. (58, alliteration)
178. *lend* themselves to *simple* solutions. (62, alliteration)
179. *middle-aged* folks were willing to *walk* instead of *ride* the bus (64, alliteration)
180. Because *before* Memphis *and* the mountaintop, *before* the bridge in Selma *and* the march on Washington, *before* Birmingham *and* the beatings, the fire hoses, *and* the loss of those four little girls, *before* there was King the icon *and* his magnificent dream, there was King the young preacher *and* a people who found themselves suffering under the *yolk* of oppression. (48, polysyndeton)
181. if they joined together North *and* South, rich *and* poor, Jew *and* Gentile, (49, polysyndeton)

182. All too often, we seek to ignore the profound structural and institutional barriers that stand in the way of insuring *opportunity for all of our children, or decent jobs for all of our people, or health care for those who are sick* .(52, polysyndeton, parallelism)
183. that race still sometimes plays on the job *and* in the schools, in our health care system, *and* in our criminal justice system.(54, polysyndeton)
184. Every day our politics fuels and exploits this kind of division *across* all races *and* regions, *across* gender *and* party.(55, polysyndeton)
185. war *and* poverty, inequality *and* injustice.(56, polysyndeton)
186. We've had to fight to fix our schools, but we also have to challenge ourselves to be better parents, *and* turn off the television set, *and* put away the videogame, *and* our men have to be home with our children.(58, polysyndeton)
187. He led by marching *and* going to jail *and* suffering threats *and* beatings *and* being away from his family.(59, polysyndeton)
188. I wasn't born into money, *or* great wealth, *or* great privilege, *or* status. (60, polysyndeton)
189. that you must be passive *and* just sit back *and* wait for things to happen to you (61, polysyndeton)
190. That's show young people *and* old people *and* middle-aged folks(64, polysyndeton)
191. They marched, *and* they sat in, *and* they were beaten *and* firehouses were sent on them, *and* dogs were sent on them, *and* some went to jail, *and* some died for freedom's cause. (64, polysyndeton)
192. it's not enough to give health care to the sick *or* jobs to the jobless *or* education to our children (71, polysyndeton)
193. We can no longer afford to traffic in lies *or* fear *or* hate.(56, polysyndeton)
194. this country's ideals and its possibilities is going to require great effort *and* great resources, sacrifice *and* stamina.(58, polysyndeton)
195. young Americans serve *tour after tour after tour after tour* of duty in a war. (50, continuing)

Marginal cases

196. they should speak with one *voice*. And, at the chosen hour when the horn sounded and *a chorus of voices* cried out together(47, PA, DE, intensifying, emphatic)
197. And *there are many lessons to take* from this passage, *just as there are many lessons to take* from this day, *just as there are many memories that fill the space of this church*.(48, PA, DE, parallelism, three, add info)
198. What Dr. King understood is that *if* just one person chose to walk instead of ride the bus, But *maybe if* a few more decided to walk, those foundations might start to shake. *If* just a few women were willing to do what Rosa Parks had been willing to do, *maybe* the cracks in those walls would start to show. *If* teenagers took rides from North to South, *maybe* a few bricks would come loose. *Maybe if* white folks marched because they'd come to understand that their freedom was wrapped up in the freedom of others, ..., and *if* enough Americans were awakened to injustice, *if* they joined together (49, EX, DE, cohesive, rhythm, attention)
199. their *freedom* was wrapped up in the *freedom* of others(49, EX, DE)
200. there is the ending of *man's* inhumanity to *man* (54, PA, DE)
201. Last week, it crept into the campaign for President with *charges* and *countercharges* (55, PA, DE, polyptoton)
202. The *believer* condemns the *nonbeliever* as immoral, and the *nonbeliever* chides *the believer* for being intolerant.(53, EX, DE, parallelism, contrast)
203. we are *our brother's keeper* and *our sister's keeper* (50, PA, IM, parallelism, intensifying)
204. We have a deficit *when it takes* a breach in the levees *to reveal* the breach in our compassion, *when it takes* a terrible storm *to reveal* the hungry that God calls on us to feed(51, EX, DE, parallelism, cohesion, result, consequence)

205. And if we are truly *to bring about the unity that is needed*, that is so crucial in this time, we have to find it within ourselves to act on what we know... That is not a serious effort in *bringing about the unity that is needed*.... *Changes that are needed* are not just a matter of tinkering around the edges. (58)... *That's how we're going to bring about the change that we seek.* (59, PA, DE, cohesive, consequence)
206. I've seen this country -- *this country's* judgment clouded by fear. I know how easily *a country* can be misled when it is afraid.... But I also know *this* -- that nothing in *this country* worthwhile has ever happened except somebodysomew here decided to hope. (63, EX, DE,)
207. We can't pass a law called *No Child Left Behind* and then leave the money *behind*. (58, EX, DE, contrast)
208. I don't believe in *false hopes*. Imagine if John F. Kennedy had looked up at them soon and said, "Well, that's too far." *False hopes*, we can't go there. If Dr. King had stood on the Lincoln Memorial and said, "Y'all go home; we can't overcome." There's no such thing as *false hopes*. (65, EX, DE)
209. I am here because of this young girl, and the fact that she's willing to *fight* for what she *believes in*. And that reminds me that I still have some *fight* left in me, and I'm going stand up for what *I believe in*." (70, PA, DE, cohesive, contrast)
210. *jobs* to the *jobless* (71, PA, DE)

Speech 4

Barack Obama, delivered 11 February 2011 [cit. 2011-04-20]

Source, transcript and audio available:

<<http://www.americanrhetoric.com/speeches/barackobama/barackobamaegyptrevolution.htm>>

Remarks on the Historic Revolution in Egypt

- 76 There are very few *moments* in our lives where we have the privilege to witness *history* taking place. *This is one of those moments. This is one of those times.* The *people of Egypt* have spoken, their voices have been heard, and *Egypt* will never be the same.
- 77 By stepping down, President Mubarak responded to the *Egyptian people's* hunger for change. But this is not the end of *Egypt's* transition. It's a beginning. I'm sure there will be *difficult days* ahead, and many questions remain unanswered. But *I am confident* that the *people of Egypt* can find the answers, and do so peacefully, constructively, and in the spirit of unity that has defined these last few weeks. For *Egyptians* have made it clear that nothing less than genuine democracy will carry the day.
- 78 The military has served patriotically and responsibly as a caretaker to the state, and will now have to ensure *a transition* that is credible in the eyes of the *Egyptian people*. That means protecting the rights of *Egypt's* citizens, lifting the emergency law, revising the constitution and other laws to make this change irreversible, and laying out a clear path to elections that are fair and free. Above all, *this transition* must bring all of *Egypt's* voices to the table. For the spirit of *peaceful protest* and *perseverance* that the *Egyptian people* have shown can serve as a powerful wind at the back of this change.
- 79 The United States will continue to be a friend and partner to *Egypt*. We stand ready to provide whatever assistance is necessary -- and ask for -- to pursue a credible *transition* to a *democracy*. *I am also confident* that the same ingenuity and entrepreneurial spirit that the young *people of Egypt* have shown in recent days can be harnessed to create new opportunity -- jobs and businesses that allow the extraordinary potential of this generation to take flight. And I know that a *democratic Egypt* can advance its role of responsible leadership not only in the region but around the world.
- 80 *Egypt* has played a pivotal role in human *history* for over 6,000 years. But over the last few weeks, the wheel of *history* turned at a blinding pace as the *Egyptian people* demanded their universal rights.

- 81 We saw mothers and fathers carrying their children on their shoulders to show them what true freedom might look like.
- 82 We saw a young Egyptian say, "For the first time in my life, I really count. My voice is heard. Even though I'm only one person, this is the way real democracy works."
- 83 We saw protesters chant "Selmiyya, selmiyya"-- "We are peaceful"-- *again and again*.
- 84 We saw a military that would not fire bullets at the people they were sworn to protect.
- 85 And we saw doctors and nurses rushing into the streets to care for those who were wounded, volunteers checking protesters to ensure that they were unarmed.
- 86 We saw people of faith praying together and chanting -- "Muslims, Christians, We are one." And though we know that the strains between faiths still divide too many in this world and no single event will close that chasm immediately, these scenes remind us that we need not be defined by our differences. We can be defined by the common humanity that we share.
- 87 And above all, we saw a new generation emerge -- a generation that uses their own creativity and talent and technology to call for a government that represented their hopes and not their fears; a government that is responsive to their boundless aspirations. One Egyptian put it simply: Most people have discovered in the last few days that they are worth something, and this cannot be taken away from them anymore, ever.
- 88 This is the power of human dignity, and it can never be denied. Egyptians have inspired us, and they've done so by putting the lie to the idea that justice is best gained through violence. For in Egypt, it was the moral force of nonviolence -- not terrorism, not mindless killing -- but nonviolence, moral force that bent the arc of history toward justice once more.
- 89 And while the sights and sounds that we heard were entirely Egyptian, we can't help but hear the echoes of history -- echoes from Germans tearing down a wall, Indonesian students taking to the streets, Gandhi leading his people down the path of justice.
- 90 As Martin Luther King said in celebrating the birth of a new nation in Ghana while trying to perfect his own, "There is something in the soul that cries out for freedom." Those were the cries that came from Tahrir Square, and the entire world has taken note.
- 91 Today belongs to the people of Egypt, and the American people are moved by these scenes in Cairo and across Egypt because of how we are a people and the kind of world that we want our children to grow up in.
- 92 The word Tahrir means liberation. It is a word that speaks to that something in our souls that cries out for freedom. And forever more it will remind us of the Egyptian people -- of what they did, of the things that they stood for, and how they changed their country, and in doing so changed the world.
- 93 Thank you.

Identified cases of repetition in speech 4

Cohesive repetition

211. There are very few moments in our lives where we have the privilege to witness history taking place. This is one of those moments. (76, EX, DE, consent)
212. The people of Egypt have spoken, their voices have been heard, and Egypt will never be the same. (76)... But I am confident that the people of Egypt can find the answers (77)... the same ingenuity and entrepreneurial spirit that the young people of Egypt have shown (79)... Today belongs to the people of Egypt, (91, EX, DE, resp)
213. By stepping down, President Mubarak responded to the Egyptian people's hunger for change. (77)... The military has served patriotically and responsibly as a caretaker to the state, and will now have to ensure a transition that is credible in the eyes of the Egyptian people. (78) ... For the spirit of peaceful protest and perseverance that the Egyptian people (78) ... the wheel of history turned at a blinding pace as the Egyptian people demanded their universal rights. (80 EX, DE, resp)

214. But *I am confident* that the people of Egypt can find the answers, (77) ... *I'm also confident* that the same ingenuity and entrepreneurial spirit that the young people of Egypt have shown in recent days can be harnessed to create a new opportunity (79, PA, DE, add info, anaphora)
215. The military has served patriotically and responsibly as a caretaker to the state, and will now have to ensure *a transition* ... Above all, *this transition* must bring all of Egypt's voices to the table. (78) ... to pursue *a credible transition* to a democracy (79, PA, DE, consent)
216. to pursue a credible transition to a *democracy*. ... And I know that a *democratic* Egypt can advance its role (79, PA, DE, consent, polyptoton)
217. Egypt has played a pivotal role in human *history* for over 6,000 years. But over the last few weeks, the wheel of *history* turned at a blinding pace as the Egyptian people demanded their universal rights. (80, EX, DE, repetition)
218. these scenes remind us that we need not be *defined* by our differences. We can be *defined* by the common humanity that we share. (86, EX, DE, repetition)
219. And above all, we saw *a new generation* emerge -- *a generation* that uses their own creativity (87, PA, DE, word)
220. talent and technology to call for *a government* that represented their hopes and not their fears; *a government* that is responsive to their boundless aspirations. (87, EX, DE, add info)
221. *moral force* of nonviolence -- not terrorism, not mindless killing -- but nonviolence, *moral force* that bent the arc of history toward justice once more. (88, EX, DE, add info)
222. we can't help but hear the *echoes* of history -- *echoes* from German steering down a wall (89, EX, DE, add info)
223. "There is something in the soul that *cries* out for freedom." Those were the *cries* that came from Tahrir Square, and the entire world has taken note. (90, PA, DE, consent, polyptoton)
224. *The word* Tahrir means liberation. It is *a word* that speaks to that something in our souls that cries out for freedom. (92, PA, DE, word)
225. There is *something in the soul that cries out for freedom* ." (90) ... It is a word that speaks to that *something in our soul that cries out for freedom* . (92, EX, DE, comparison)

Emphatic repetition

226. *This is one of those* moments. *This is one of those* times. (76, EX, DE)
227. For in Egypt, it was the moral force of *nonviolence* -- not terrorism, not mindless killing -- but *nonviolence*, moral force that bent the arc of history toward justice once more. (88, PA, DE)

Cohesive emphatic repetition

228. *We saw* mothers and fathers carrying their children on their shoulders to show them what true freedom might look like. *We saw* a young Egyptian say, "For the first time in my life, I really count. My voice is heard. Even though I'm only one person, this is the way real democracy works." *We saw* protesters chant "Selmiyya, selmiyya" -- "We are peaceful" -- again and again. *We saw* a military that would not fire bullets at the people they were sworn to protect. *And we saw* doctors and nurses rushing into the streets to care for those who were wounded, volunteers checking protesters to ensure that they were unarmed. *We saw* people of faith praying together and chanting (81-86, EX, DE, anaphora)

Specific uses of repetition

229. For the spirit of *peaceful protest* and *perseverance* (78, alliteration)
230. I'm sure there will be *difficult days* ahead (77, alliteration)
231. nurses rushing into the streets to care for those *who were wounded* (85, alliteration)
232. talent and *technology* (87, alliteration)

233. And forever more it will remind us of the Egyptian people-- of what they did, of the things that they stood for, (92, polysyndeton)
234. of the things that they stood for, and how they changed their country, and in doing so changed the world. (92, polysyndeton)
235. a generation that uses their own creativity and talent and technology (87, polysyndeton)
236. We saw protesters chant "Selmiyya, selmiyya" -- "We are peaceful" -- again and again . (83, continuing)

Speech 5

Barack Obama, delivered on 27 July 2004, cit, 2011- 04-16

Source, transcript and audio available:

<<http://www.americanrhetoric.com/speeches/convention2004/barackobama2004dnc.htm>>

2004 Democratic National Convention Keynote Address

- 94 Thank you so much. Thank you. Thank you. Thank you so much. Thank you so much. Thank you. Thank you. Thank you, Dick Durbin. You make us all proud.
- 95 On behalf of the great state of Illinois, crossroads of a nation, Land of Lincoln, let me express my deepest gratitude for the privilege of addressing this convention.
- 96 Tonight is a particular honor for me because, let's face it, my presence on this stage is pretty unlikely. My father was a foreign student, born and raised in a small village in Kenya. He grew up herding goats, went to school in a tin-roof shack. His father -- my grandfather -- was a cook, a domestic servant to the British.
- 97 But my grandfather had larger dreams for his son. Through hard work and perseverance my father got a scholarship to study in a magical place, America, that shone as a beacon of freedom and opportunity to so many who had come before.
- 98 While studying here, my father met my mother. She was born in a town on the other side of the world, in Kansas. Her father worked on oil rigs and farms through most of the Depression. The day after Pearl Harbor my grandfather signed up for duty; joined Patton's army, marched across Europe. Back home, my grandmother raised a baby and went to work on a bomber assembly line. After the war, they studied on the G.I. Bill, bought a house through F.H.A., and later moved west all the way to Hawaii in search of opportunity.
- 99 And they, too, had big dreams for their daughter. A common dream, born of two continents.
- 100 My parents shared not only an improbable love, they shared an abiding faith in the possibilities of this nation. They would give me an African name, Barack, or "blessed," believing that in a tolerant America your name is no barrier to success. They imagined -- They imagined me going to the best schools in the land, even though they weren't rich, because in a generous America you don't have to be rich to achieve your potential.
- 101 They're both passed away now. And yet, I know that on this night they look down on me with great pride.
- 102 They stand here -- And I stand here today, grateful for the diversity of my heritage, aware that my parents' dreams live on in my two precious daughters. I stand here knowing that my story is part of the larger American story, that I owe a debt to all of those who came before me, and that, in no other country on earth, is my story even possible.
- 103 Tonight, we gather to affirm the greatness of our Nation -- not because of the height of our skyscrapers, or the power of our military, or the size of our economy. Our pride is based on a very simple premise, summed up in a declaration made over two hundred years ago:
- 104 We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness.

- 105 That is the true genius of America, *a faith--a faith* in simple *dreams*, an insistence on small miracles; *that we can* tuck in our children at night and know that they are *refed and clothed and safe from harm*; *that we can* say what we think, write what we think, without hearing a sudden knock on the door; *that we can* have an idea and start our own business without paying a bribe; *that we can* participate in the *political process* without fear of retribution, and that our votes will be counted-- *at least most of the time*.
- 106 This year, in this election we are called to reaffirm our values and our commitments, to hold them against a hard reality and see how we're *measuring up* to the legacy of our forbearers and the promise of future generations.
- 107 And fellow Americans, Democrats, Republicans, Independents, I say to you tonight: We have *more work to do*. *More work to do* for the workers *Imet* in Galesburg, Illinois, who are losing their union jobs at the Maytag plant that's moving to Mexico, and now are having to compete with their own children for jobs that pay seven bucks an hour; *more to do* for the father that *Imet* who was losing his job and choking back the tears, wondering how he would pay 4500 dollars a month for the drugs his son needs without the health benefits that he counted on; *more to do* for the young woman in East St. Louis, and thousands more like her, *who has the grades, has the drive, has the will, but doesn't have the money* to go to college.
- 108 Now, don't get me wrong. The people *I meet* -- in small towns *and* big cities, in diners *and* office parks -- *they don't expect government to solve all their problems*. They know they have to work hard to get ahead, and they want *to go into* the collar counties around Chicago, and people *will tell you* they don't want their tax money wasted, by a welfare agency or by the Pentagon. *Go in--Go into* any inner city neighbourhood, and folks *will tell you* that government alone can't teach our kids to learn; *they know* that parents have to teach, that children can't achieve unless we raise their expectations and turn off the television sets and eradicate the slander that says *a black youth with a book is acting white*. *They know* those things.
- 109 *People don't expect -- People don't expect government to solve all their problems*. But they sense, deep in their bones, that with just a slight change in priorities, we can make sure that every child in America has a decent shot at life, and that the doors of opportunity remain open to all.
- 110 *They know* we can do better. And they want *that choice*.
- 111 In this election, we offer *that choice*. Our Party has chosen *a man* to lead us who embodies the best this country has to offer. And *that man* is *John Kerry*.
- 112 *John Kerry* understands the ideals of community, faith, and service because they've defined his life. From his heroic service to Vietnam, to his years as a prosecutor and lieutenant governor, through two decades in the United States Senate, he's devoted himself to this country. *Again and again*, we've seen him make tough choices when easier ones were available.
- 113 His values and his record affirm what is best in us. *John Kerry believes* in an America where hard work is rewarded; so instead of offering tax breaks to *companies* shipping jobs overseas, he offers them to *companies* creating jobs here at home.
- 114 *John Kerry believes* in an America where all Americans can afford the same health coverage our politicians in Washington have for themselves.
- 115 *John Kerry believes* in energy independence, so we aren't held hostage to the profits of oil companies, or the sabotage of foreign oil fields.
- 116 *John Kerry believes* in the Constitutional freedoms that have made our country the envy of the world, and he will never sacrifice our basic liberties, nor use faith as a wedge to divide us.
- 117 And *John Kerry believes* that in a dangerous world war must be *an option* sometimes, but it should never be *the first option*.
- 118 You know, *a while back--a while back* I met a young man named Shamus in a V.F.W. Hall in East Moline, Illinois. He was a good-looking kid-- six two, six three, clear eyed,

- with an easy smile. He told me he'd joined the Marines and was heading to Iraq the following week. And as I listened to him explain why he'd enlisted, the absolute faith he had in our country and its leaders, his devotion to duty and service, I thought this young man was all that any of us might ever hope for in a child.
- 119 But then I asked myself, "Are we *servi*ng Shamus as well as he is *servi*ng us?"
- 120 *I thought of the 900 men and women-- sons and daughters, husbands and wives, friends and neighbors, who won't be returning to their own hometowns. I thought of the families I've met who were struggling to get by without a loved one's full income, or whose loved ones had returned with a limb missing or nerves shattered, but still lacked long-term health benefits because they were Reservists.*
- 121 When we send our young men and women into harm's way, we have a solemn obligation not to fudge the numbers or shade the truth about why they're going, to care for their families while they're gone, to tend to the soldier upon their return, and to never ever go to war without enough troops to win the war, secure the peace, and earn the respect of the world.
- 122 *Now-- Now let me be clear. Let me be clear. We have real enemies in the world. These enemies must be found. They must be pursued. And they must be defeated.* John Kerry knows this. And just as Lieutenant Kerry did not hesitate to risk his life to protect the men who served with him in Vietnam, President Kerry will do the same in the moment to use our military might to keep America safe and secure.
- 123 *John Kerry believes in America. And he knows that it's not enough for just some of us to prosper -- for alongside our famous individualism, there's another ingredient in the American saga, a belief that we're all connected as one people. If there is a child on the south side of Chicago who can't read, that matters to me, even if it's not my child. If there is a senior citizen somewhere who can't pay for their prescription drugs, and having to choose between medicine and the rent, that makes my life poorer, even if it's not my grandparent. If there's an Arab American family being rounded up without benefit of an attorney or due process, that threatens my civil liberties.*
- 124 *It is that fundamental belief-- It is that fundamental belief: I am my brother's keeper. I am my sister's keeper that makes this country work. It's what allows us to pursue our individual dreams and yet still come together as one American family.*
- 125 *E pluribus unum: "Out of many, one."*
- 126 *Now even as we speak, there are those who are preparing to divide us-- the spin masters, the negative ad peddlers who embrace the politics of "anything goes." Well, I say to them tonight, there is not a liberal America and a conservative America-- there is the United States of America. There is not a Black America and a White America and Latino America and Asian America-- there's the United States of America.*
- 127 *The pundits, the pundits like to slice-and-dice our country into Red States and Blue States; Red States for Republicans, Blue States for Democrats. But I've got news for them, too. We worship an "awesome God" in the Blue States, and we don't like federal agents poking around in our libraries in the Red States. We coach Little League in the Blue States and yes, we've got some gay friends in the Red States. There are patriots who opposed the war in Iraq and there are patriots who support the war in Iraq. We are one people, all of us pledging allegiance to the stars and stripes, all of us defending the United States of America.*
- 128 *In the end-- In the end-- In the end, that's what this election is about. Do we participate in a politics of cynicism or do we participate in a politics of hope?*
- 129 *John Kerry calls on us to hope. John Edwards calls on us to hope.*
- 130 *I'm not talking about blind optimism here -- the almost willful ignorance that thinks unemployment will go away if we just don't think about it, or the health care crisis will solve itself if we just ignore it. That's not what I'm talking about. I'm talking about something more substantial. It's the hope of slaves sitting around a fire singing freedom songs; the hope of immigrants setting out for distant shores; the hope of a young naval*

- lieutenant bravely patrolling the Mekong Delta; *the hope of* a millworker's son who dares to defy the odds; *the hope of* a skinny kid with a funny name who believes that America has a place for him, too.
- 131 *Hope--Hope in the face of difficulty. Hope in the face of uncertainty.* The audacity of hope!
- 132 *In the end,* that is God's greatest gift to us, the bedrock of this nation. *A belief* in things not seen. *A belief* that there are better days ahead.
- 133 *I believe* that we can give our middle class relief and provide working families with a road to opportunity.
- 134 *I believe* we can provide jobs to the jobless, homes to the homeless, and reclaim young people in cities across America from violence and despair.
- 135 *I believe* that we have a righteous wind at our backs and that as we stand on the crossroads of history, we can make the right choices, and meet the challenges that face us.
- 136 America! Tonight, *if you feel the same energy that I do, if you feel the same urgency that I do, if you feel the same passion that I do, if you feel the same hopefulness that I do--* if we do what we must do, then I have no doubt that all across the country, *from Florida to Oregon, from Washington to Maine*, the people will rise up in November, *and John Kerry will be sworn in as President, and John Edwards will be sworn in as Vice President*, and this country will reclaim its promise, *and out of this long political darkness a brighter day will come.*
- 137 *Thank you* very much everybody. God bless you. *Thank you.*

Identified cases of repetition in speech 5

Cohesive repetition

237. His father-- *my grandfather* --was a cook, a domestic servant to the British. (96) But *my grandfather* had larger dreams for his son. (97, EX, DE, compar) ...
238. But *my grandfather* had larger dreams for his son. (97) The day after Pearl Harbor *my grandfathers* signed up for duty (98, EX, DE, repp)
239. But *my grandfather* had larger *dreams* for his son. (96) ... And they, too, had big *dreams* for their daughter. A common *dream*, born of two continents. (99) ... And I stand here today, grateful for the diversity of my heritage, aware that my parents' *dreams* live on in my two precious daughters. (102) ... That is the true genius of America, a faith--a faith in simple *dreams* (105) It's what allows us to pursue our individual *dreams* and yet still come together as one American family. (124, PA, DE, repp)
240. *My father* was a foreign student, born and raised in a small village in Kenya. (96) ... Through hard work and perseverance *my father* got a scholarship to study in a magical place, (97) ... While studying here, *my father* met my mother (98, EX, DE, repp)
241. Through hard work and perseverance my father got a scholarship *to study* in a magical place, (97) ... While *studying* here, my father met my mother. (98, PA, DE, conpar, polyptoton)
242. My parents *shared* not only an improbable love, they *shared* an abiding faith in the possibilities of this nation. (100, EX, DE, addinfo)
243. They imagined me going to the best schools in the land, and even though they weren't *rich*, because in a generous America you don't have to be *rich* to achieve your potential. (100, EX, DE, repp)
244. And yet, I know that on this night they look down on me with great *pride*. (101) ... Our *pride* is based on a very simple premise, summed up in a declaration made over two hundred years ago (103, EX, DE, compar)
245. They stand here--And *I stand* here today, grateful for the diversity of my heritage, aware that my parents' dreams live on in my two precious daughters. *I stand* here knowing that my story is part of the larger American story (102, EX, DE, addinfo, anaphora)

246. that my *story* is part of the larger American *story*, that I owe a debt to all of those who came before me, and that, in no other country on earth, is my *story* even possible. (102, PA, DE, repsp)
247. *that we can* tuck in our children at night and know that they are fed and clothed and safe from harm; *that we can* say what we think, write what we think, without the *knock on the door*; *that we can* have an idea and start our own business without paying a bribe; *that we can* participate in the political process without fear of retribution, and that our votes will be counted -- at least most of the time. (105, EX, DE, add info, mesodiplosis)
248. *More work to do for* the workers I met in Galesburg, Illinois, ...; *more to do for* the father that I met who was losing his job and choking back the tears, ...; *more to do for* the young woman in East St. Louis (107, EX, DE, add info, mesodiplosis)
249. We have more work to do -- more work to do for the workers I met in Galesburg, Illinois, ...; more to do for the father that I met who was losing his job and choking back the tears, ... (107) Now, don't get me wrong. The people I meet -- in small towns and big cities (108) ... I thought of the families I've met, (120, PA, DE, compar)
250. *They know* they have to work hard to get ahead, and they want to ... *they know* that parents have to teach, ... *They know* those things. (108) ... *They know* we can do better. (110, EX, DE, consent)
251. The people I meet -- in small towns and big cities, in diners and office parks -- *they don't expect government to solve all their problems* ... (108) ... *People don't expect government to solve all their problems* ... (109, PA, DE, compar)
252. They know we can do better. And they want *that choice*. (110) In this election, we offer *that choice* (111, EX, DE, compar)
253. Our Party has chosen *aman* to lead us who embodies the best this country has to offer. And *that man* is John Kerry. (111, PA, DE, word)
254. And that man is *John Kerry*. (111) *John Kerry* understands the ideals of community (112, EX, DE, compar)
255. *I thought of* the 900 men and women -- sons and daughters, husbands and wives, friends and neighbors, who won't be returning to their own hometowns. *I thought of* the families I've met who were struggling to get by without a loved one's full income ... (120, EX, DE, add info, anaphora)
256. I thought of the families I've met who were struggling to get by without a loved one's full income, or whose *loved ones* had returned with a limb missing or nerves shattered, (120, PA, DE, add info)
257. We have real *enemies* in the world. These *enemies* must be found. (122, EX, DE, consent)
258. We are one people, *all of us* pledging allegiance to the stars and stripes, *all of us* defending the United States of America (127, EX, DE, add info)
259. *In the end*, that's what this election is about (128) ... *In the end*, that is God's greatest gift to us, the bedrock of this nation. (132, EX, DE, compar, anaphora)
260. *A belief* in things not seen. *A belief* that there are better days ahead. (132, EX, DE, add info, anaphora)
261. *A belief* that there are better days ahead. (132) *I believe* that we can give our middle class relief and provide working families with a road to opportunity. (133, PA, DE, compar, polyptoton)
262. *I believe* that *we can* give our middle class relief and provide working families with a road to opportunity. (133) *I believe we can* provide jobs to the jobless, homes to the homeless, and reclaim young people in cities across America from violence and despair. (134) *I believe* that we have a righteous wind at our backs and that as we stand on the crossroads of history, *we can* make the right choices, and meet the challenges that face us. (135, EX, DE, add info, anaphora)

Emphaticrepetition

263. *Thank you so much. Thank you. Thank you. Thank you so much. Thank you so much. Thankyou.Thankyou.Thankyou* (94,EX,IM)
264. We have *more work to do. More work to do* for the workers I met in Galesburg, Illinois (107,EX,IM)
265. and thousands more like her, *who has the grades, has the drive, has the will, but doesn't have the money to go to college.* (107,PA,IM,parallelism,contrast,three)
266. *These enemies must be found. They must be pursued. And they must be defeated.* (122,PA,IM,parallelism,three)
267. Well, I say to them tonight, *there is not a liberal America and a conservative America-- there is the United States of America. There is not a Black America and a White America and Latino America and Asian America-- there's the United States of America* .(126,PA,DE,parallelism,polysyndeton,contrast,emphasis in speech)
268. The pundits, the pundits like to slice-and-dice our country into *Red States* and *Blue States*; *Red States* for Republicans, *Blue States* for Democrats. But I've got news for them, too. We worship an "awesome God" in the *Blue States*, and we don't like federal agents poking around in our libraries in the *Red States*. We coach Little League in the *Blue States* and yes, we've got some gay friends in the *Red States* .(127,EX,DE,contrast)
269. *There are patriots who opposed the war in Iraq and there are patriots who supported the war in Iraq.* (127,PA,IM,parallelism,contrast)
270. *Do we participate in a politics of cynicism or do we participate in a politics of hope?* (128,PA,IM,parallelism,contrast)
271. John Kerry *calls on us to hope.* John Edwards *calls on us to hope* . (129, EX, DE, epistrophe)
272. *Hope in the face of difficulty. Hope in the face of uncertainty. The audacity of hope!*(131,PA,DE,anaphora)
273. Tonight, *if you feel the same energy that I do, if you feel the same urgency that I do, if you feel the same passion that I do, if you feel the same hopefulness that I do* -- if we do what we must do(136,PA,IM,parallelism)
274. John Kerry *will be sworn in as President,* and John Edwards *will be sworn in as Vice President*(136,PA,DE,epistrophe)
275. *Thank you very much every body. God bless you. Thank you.* (137,EX,DE)

Cohesiveemphaticrepetition

276. *John Kerry believes in* an America where hard work is rewarded; ... (113) *John Kerry believes in* an America where all Americans can afford the same health coverage our politicians in Washington have for themselves. (114) *John Kerry believes in* energy independence, so we aren't held hostage to the profits of oil companies, or the sabotage of foreign oil fields. (115) *John Kerry believes in* the Constitutional freedoms that have made our country the envy of the world, and he will never sacrifice our basic liberties, nor use faith as a wedge to divide us. (116) *And John Kerry believes that in* a dangerous world war must be an option sometimes, but it should never be the first option. (117)... *John Kerry believes in* America.(123,EX,DE,anaphora)
277. *If there is* a child on the south side of Chicago who can't read, that matters to me, *even if it's not* my child. *If there is* a senior citizen somewhere who can't pay for their prescription drugs, and having to choose between medicine and the rent, that makes my life poorer, *even if it's not* my grandparent. *If there's* an Arab American family being rounded up without benefit of an attorney or due process that threatens my civil liberties. (123,EX,DE,anaphora,mesodiplosis emphasizes previous points, emphasis in speech as well)
278. *I'm not talking* about blind optimism here -- the almost wilful ignorance that thinks unemployment will go away *if we just* don't think about it, or the health care crisis will

solve itself *if we just ignore it. That's not what I'm talking about. I'm talking about something more substantial.* (130, PA, DE, contrast, result)

279. It's *the hope of slaves sitting around a fire singing freedom songs; the hope of immigrants setting out for distant shores; the hope of a young naval lieutenant bravely patrolling the Mekong Delta; the hope of a mill worker's son who dares to defy the odds; the hope of a skinny kid with a funny name who believes that America has a place for him, too.* (130, EX, DE, speaker put emphasis)

Hesitational repetition

280. *They imagined--They imagined* me going to the best schools in the land (100, false start, audience)
281. That is the true genius of America, *a faith--a faith* in simple dreams (105, false start, audience)
282. *Goin--Gointo* any inner city neighborhood, ... (108, false start, audience)
283. *People don't expect--People don't expect* government to solve all their problems. (109, false start, audience)
284. You know, *a while back--a while back* I met a young man named Shamus in a V.F.W. (118, false start)
285. *Now--Now* let me be clear. (122, false start, audience)
286. *It is that fundamental belief--It is that fundamental belief:* I am my brother's keeper. (124, false start, audience)
287. *The pundits, the pundits* like to slice-and-dice our country into Red States and Blue States (127, false start)
288. *Hope--Hope* in the face of difficulty. (131, false start, audience)

Specific uses of repetition

289. *Land of Lincoln*, let me express my deepest gratitude (95, alliteration)
290. They would give me an African name, *Barack*, or "blessed," believing that in a tolerant America your name is no barrier to success (100, alliteration)
291. that among these are *Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness.* (104, alliteration)
292. that we can *participate in the political process* without fear of retribution (105, alliteration)
293. John Kerry believes in energy independence so we aren't *held hostage to the profits of oil companies, or the sabotage of foreign oil fields* (115, alliteration)
294. his *devotion to duty and service* (118, alliteration)
295. It's *the hope of slaves sitting around a fire singing freedom songs* (130, alliteration)
296. not because of the height of our skyscrapers, *or the power of our military, or the size of our economy.* (103, polysyndeton, intensifying?)
297. they are fed *and clothed and safe from harm* (105, polysyndeton)
298. in small towns *and big cities, in diners and office parks* (108, polysyndeton)
299. I thought of the 900 men *and women--sons and daughters, husbands and wives, friends and neighbors,* (120, polysyndeton, intensifying)
300. whose *struggling to get by without a loved one's full income, or whose loved one had returned with a limb missing or nerves shattered* (120, polysyndeton)
301. the people will rise up in November, *and John Kerry will be sworn in as President, and John Edwards will be sworn in as Vice President, and this country will reclaim its promise, and out of this long political darkness a brighter day will come.* (136, polysyndeton)
302. *Again and again*, we've seen him make tough choices when easier ones were available. (112, continuing)

Marginalcases

303. *They stand here*-- *And I stand here* today, grateful for the diversity of my heritage(102, PA, IM)
304. *Go into* the collar counties around Chicago, and people *will tell you* they don't want their tax money wasted, by a welfare agency or by the Pentagon. *Go in*-- *Go into* any inner city neighbourhood and folks *will tell you* that government alone can't teach our kids to learn(108, EX, DE, anaphora, mesodiplosis)
305. so instead of offering tax breaks to *companies* shipping jobs overseas, he offers them to *companies* creating jobs here at home.(113, EX, DE, repsp)
306. And John Kerry believes that in a dangerous world war must be *an option* sometimes, but it should never be *the first option*.(117, PA, DE, emphatic, contrast, cohesive)
307. "Are we *servicing* Shamus as well as he is *servicing*?"(119, PA, DE, parallelism, contrast)
308. Now -- Now *let me be clear. Let me be clear.* (122, EX, IM, catch the attention, unintentional)
309. *I am my brother's keeper. I am my sister's keeper* that makes this country work.(123, PA, IM, parallelism, emphatic. list of things, intensifying)
310. *In the end*-- *In the end*-- *In the end*, that's what this election is about. (128, EX, IM, emphatic, hesitational)
311. I believe we can provide *jobs to the jobless, homes to the homeless* , (134, PA, IM, contrast)
312. then I have no doubt that all across the country, *from Florida to Oregon, from Washington to Maine* , the people will rise up in November (136, PA, IM, parallelism, emphatic intensifying)