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SCHOOL OF LANGUAGES, LITERACIES AND TRANSLATION

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A Genre Analysis of the Public Speeches of Former Leaders of al-Qaeda's bin Laden and Liberation Tiger Tamil Eelam's Prabhakaran

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Abstract

Studying genre has recently witnessed great interest among scholars from different disciplines. The term *genre* is used to denote both a class of texts as communicative events as well as the representation of such a class in an abstract model. This study draws upon Bhatia's (1993) cognitive structuring model which is composed of moves that can be realised through certain strategies. The researchers select two public speeches delivered by two former leaders of the terrorist groups of al-Qaeda and Liberation Tiger Tamil Eelam (LTTE). This paper concentrates on the genre analysis by looking at the linguistic realisations and the communicative functions of the text. That is, the researchers investigate the moves and strategies used by bin Laden and Prabhakaran to convey their communicative purposes. This research reveals that the cognitive structuring of the two analysed speeches consists of three essential moves: opening, argumentative and closure. The two speakers demonstrated differing opening and closure moves in their respective speech. Pertaining to the argumentative move, both speakers used the same strategies. Moreover, the selection of each strategy is determined by the two speakers' communicative purpose, the subject of the speech, the audience, the place and the occasion.

Key words: Genre analysis, Cognitive Structuring, Move, Strategy, Political speeches.

1. Introduction

The word genre is of French origin meaning *kind* or *class*. It refers to a particular type of text in that it does not only describe surface features of a discourse, but also reveals the rationale behind it (Zhan, 2012). Public speeches, as a genre of political discourse, exhibit language as a way to manifest communicative goals to manipulate the mind of the audience and to incite violence as in the case of bin Laden's and Prabhakaran's public speeches. The researchers have found that there is no comparative study of the public speeches of al-Qaeda's bin Laden and LTTE's Prabhakaran when these two groups were at the peak of adopting violence. Therefore, the researchers attempt to identify the conventional moves that typify this genre. The researchers hope to raise public awareness when language is used by such political leaders to manipulate the laypeople.

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Thus, the researchers utilise the genre theory outlined by Bahatia (1993) to underscore the generic structures which can be of importance to the analysis of these two speeches. This is done through the mediation between function and form of the text from a socio-cognitive structuring perspective with reference to certain conventional moves and steps when analysing this genre. Therefore, the cognitive structuring of political speeches within generic constraints can be achieved through investigating the linguistic realisations.

2. Literature Review

The study of genre has been recently reconceptualised in relation to its role in the production and interpretation of discourse and thus genre analysis has been changed from a descriptive to an explanatory activity (Bawarshi, 2000; Bhatia, 2002; Bawarshi & Reiff, 2010). The concept of genre has been significantly studied in various disciplines such as media, literature, rhetorics, and more recently linguistics. Linguistically, the concept of genre has been increasingly used within several disciplines namely the Systemic Functional Linguistics (Halliday & Hasan, 1989), rhetorical studies (Freedman & Medway, 1994), applied linguistics (Swales, 1981, 1990; Bhatia, 1993), linguistic pragmatics (Levinson 1992), and critical discourse analysis (Fairclough, 1993, 1995; Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999; Wodak & Meyer, 2009). In these disciplines, discourse includes fixed utterance groups which follow identifiable patterns to satisfy certain social goals (Cap & Okulska, 2013). Although the concept of genre was first introduced in applied linguistics in 1970s, the status of genre analysis was formally established in the 1980s in Swales's (1981) and Bhatia's (1983) studies who incorporated the cultural and social explanations in the analysis of language structures. Therefore, the *modus operandi* of genres can be defined and characterised through the use of two conceptions. The first conception states that genres are defined in terms of social (Martin, 1985; Eggins & Martin, 1997; Heuboeck, 2009) or communicative (Swales, 1990) purposes. The second conception is that the genre should be conventionalised within the discourse community owning that genre. Therefore, texts can have schematic structures imposed by a genre. Such schematic structures can be formulated as sequential models of text organisation, realising functionally distinct stages (moves or steps) towards the accomplishment of the communicative purpose (Martin, 1985; Swales, 1990; Eggins & Martin, 1997; Heuboeck, 2009). Thus, the analysis of any genre can provide an analytic method of the communicative functions found in the genre with the linguistic realisations of these functions (Liu, 2012).

Swales (1990) stated that "A genre comprises a class of communicative events, the members of which share some set of communicative purposes. These purposes are recognised by the expert members of the parent discourse community, and thereby constitute the rationale for the genre" (p.58). Thus, he focused on the communicative purpose of a discourse. In the same vein, Bhatia (1993) defined a genre as a "recognizable communicative event characterized by a set of communicative purposes identified and mutually understood by members of the speech community in which it occurs" (p.13-16). Fairclough (1995) pointed out that genre is "language use associated with a particular social activity" (p.138). Hence, genre analysis is used to identify conventional elements of any text belongs to a genre in an attempt to find patterns and form-function relations so as to discuss the relation between the socio-cultural and cognitive constraints (Swales, 1990; Bhatia, 1993).

Many researchers have examined the genre of political speeches such as Yuan (2005), Pagliarini (2011), Weber (2011) and Liu (2012). Yuan (2005) examined eight speeches delivered by state leaders in domestic universities which were analysed based on Hasan's (1978) and Martin's (1986) models. Hasan's (1978) model focuses on the connection between a genre and

context of situation; whereas, Martin's (1986) model focuses on the relation between a genre and culture. Therefore, the combination of these two models would yield a better understanding of the notion of genre, both in theory and in practice. Thus, Yuan's (2005) study concluded that state leaders' speeches are 'genre complex' which are determined by both the context of situation and the context of culture.

Pagliarini (2011) examined the genre analysis and rhetorical analysis of president Obama's inaugural address as a genre based on Bhatia's (1993) genre theory and Fairclough's (1995) theory respectively. This study examined the genre of President Obama showing how Obama influenced and invoked revelation among the American people. Pagliarini concluded that Obama's inaugural address is typical of its genre because it is characterised by typical features such as *prosperity*, *new beginning* and *collective dreams*. The beginning and the end of the speeches have special and typical characterisation of the genre. Moreover, traditional and untraditional features appear as the most important fixed moves constituting the genre.

Weber (2011) examined the genre of the American presidential inaugural address using a computer assisted analysis of fifty-six inaugurals amalgamated with the study of ten selected speeches using a move analysis and a rhetorical analysis. The speeches were selected from (1789) to (2009) to find out the changeability of the inaugural address over time. This was done through the use of WordSmith Tools to generate and identify the important themes and words in the corpus. Thus, the results of the analysis showed that the use of obligatory moves was consolidated over the last fifteen decades: 1) Greeting the audience, 2) The transition of the Presidency, 3) Depicting the progress, the present situation and the challenges of the U.S.A., 4) Calling for change, 5) Recalling America's ideals and values, 6) Addressing the role and responsibility of the American people and 7) Closing. Weber also concluded that there were differences between speeches in the use of rhetorical devices. Whilst, the inaugural addresses after the 19th century showed more similarities between each other. This indicates that the genre of the American presidential inaugural address is not fixed and is changeable over time.

Liu (2012) also studied the American presidential inaugural addresses as a social-cultural production which reveals the western way of competence and performance. Liu was interested in finding out the most prominent strategies used in the analysis of American presidential inaugural addresses to reveal the communicative purposes reflected by the American political speaker as an effective communicator. Liu concluded that there were eight moves as generic structures for this genre. Each communicative intention of these moves was in line with the overall communicative purposes of the genre and can be realised through certain linguistic characteristics.

Furthermore, Zhan (2012) analysed the genre of 28 Prepared Public Speeches (PPS) taken from the last ten years delivered by different speakers in the fields of education, law, politics and economics using Bhatia's (1993) genre framework. The aim of this study was to scrutinise the cognitive structuring of the English PPS, investigating the typical strategies and unfolding the main factors that influence speakers' choices, by revealing linguistic realisations of the moves and strategies. Zhan concluded that genre strategy does not only belong to one specific move, but it can also appear in other moves with different functions.

3. Theoretical Framework

The researchers employed Bhatia's (1993) model of cognitive structuring which involves the interpretation of genre via the incorporation of social, cognitive and linguistic factors. Bhatia

(1993) recognised genre as a communicative event, considering that a shared communicative purpose is the principal criterion of classifying a collection of texts into a genre and acknowledging that a genre possesses a historically evolved stable textual structure. This prioritises the use of cognitive orientation which represents the novelty of Bhatia's interpretation of genre. This means that there are conventions which the genre users can manipulate to reach their goals and intentions; however those users are not able to deviate from the constraints imposed by the genre (Li, 1998 as cited in Zhan, 2012). The cognitive structuring represents exemplary regularities of how a specific genre is arranged. These organisational regularities are cognitive in that they reflect accumulated and conventionalised knowledge shared with a particular discourse community. Such knowledge is an acquired response to the discourse conventions which arise from preferred ways of creating and communicating information within particular communities. Thus, the successful and effective communication requires conformity with the generic constraints (Zhan, 2012).

Bhatia's (1993) genre model confirms that the cognitive structuring consists of moves and strategies which can reflect the communicative purpose of a genre. The moves are used to fulfil a function and their cooperation helps achieve the communicative purpose of a discourse. Each move composes of a number of strategies that the writers/speakers can use to attain the purpose of the move. Each genre has a communicative purpose and a communicative goal. Therefore, the writer/speaker may have the choice to employ certain strategies in order to achieve a peculiar communicative purpose, depending on certain factors such as the occasion, the nature of the topic, and the audience.

In agreement with Bhatia (1993), the researchers conceptualise the structures of the public political speeches under analysis as comprising three obligatory and essential moves with a number of strategies and steps which perform specific communicative functions as listed and discussed below:

1. **Opening (Introduction)** – the beginning part of the speech in which the speaker acknowledges the audience. This can be explained with the use of salutation which provides an expression of gratitude for the audience; it is marked by a high degree of formality and politeness.
2. **Argumentation** – the main part of the speech dealing with the issue under consideration, the internal structure of which depends on the topic and the position taken by the speaker. It can usually be subdivided into: a. *introduction* b. *description of the situation/problem*, and c. *evaluation*.
3. **Closure** – the ending part of the speech in which the speaker provides a conclusion of the argumentation in the speech. From an interactional point of view, it marks the end of the contribution of the speaker. It entails calling for an action.

4. Methodology

With the aim of identifying the most important moves and strategies in public speeches, bin Laden's speech "The World Islamic Front" (1998) and Prabhakarans's speech "National Heroes' Day" (1992) were selected to obtain adequate data of genre analysis. Bin Laden's speech was taken from Lawrence's (2005) book *Messages to the World: The Statements of Osama Bin Laden*.

This book provides a collection of bin Laden's transcripts all from different time periods and are translated from Arabic into English by James Howarth. This text can also be accessed electronically on al-Jazeera's website. As for the English version of Prabhakaran's speech, it was collected from the website, www.eelemview.com where his speeches are chronologically organised. Bin Laden's and Prabhakaran's speeches are considered significant in political realms because they further elucidate the ideology of the groups. To achieve this, the researchers applied Bhatia's (1993) model of genre analysis to highlight the moves and strategies of genre analysis found in both speeches.

5. Data Analysis and Discussion

The data will be analysed according to the theoretical framework mentioned earlier in section 3. This section is divided into sub-sections; mainly the first subsection deals with bin Laden's speech analysis and the second one is devoted to Prabhakaran's speech analysis. However, due to space constraints, some of the examples from the two speeches can only be presented elliptically.

5.1 Bin Laden's speech analysis

On 23 February 1998, the full text of Osama bin Laden's speech *The World Islamic Front* was published by the Arabic newspaper, Al-Quds al-Arabi based in London. This speech signed by Osama bin Laden and his closest supporters, Ayman al-Zawahiri, the leader of the Jihad Group in Egypt; Abu Yassir Rifa'i Ahmad, the leader of Egyptian Islamic Group; Sheikh Mir Hamzah, the Secretary General of Jamiat Ulema (Assembly of Scientists) of Pakistan; and Maulana Fazlur Rahman, the leader of the Jihad Movement in Bangladesh. This speech faxed to this newspaper under the International Islamic Front which was unified under the banner of al-Qaeda for jihad against the United States of America and the Israelis in which a religious fatwa – Islamic religious decree – was proclaimed to kill the American civilians and fight the US military worldwide.

In order to demonstrate function-form connection through cognitive structuring of the text genre, a number of moves, strategies and steps are identified and realised in analysing the speech. In this text genre, the speaker used the problem-cause-solution organisational pattern. This can be illustrated in the discussion below.

5.1.1 Opening Move

The beginning of a public speech does matter a great deal to the success of the whole speech; therefore, bin Laden and his supporters gave the first impression which matters significantly to underplay the role of subsequent contact in forming or modifying people's opinions and state of knowledge. Bin Laden opened the speech with the most common Islamic salutation that is of praising God (Allah) and prayers to His messenger, Prophet Muhammad as shown below.

Example (1): *Praise be to God, revealer of the Book, controller of the clouds, defeater of factionalism, who says in His Book: "When the forbidden months are over, wherever you find the polytheists, kill them, seize them, besiege them, and ambush them." Prayers and peace be upon our Prophet Muhammad bin Abdallah, who said: "I have been sent with a sword in my hands so that only God may be worshipped, God who placed my livelihood under the shadow of my spear and who condemns those who disobey my orders to servility and humiliation."*

Bin Laden cited the Quranic verse delivered in a different context from the context of bin Laden to suit his evil goal in killing the infidels as he labelled them. This intentional manipulation of certain Quranic verses enabled bin Laden to increasingly incite sentiment among naive Muslims. The call in the extract *“When the forbidden months are over, wherever you find the polytheists, kill them, seize them, besiege them, ambush them”* for the death of polytheists following forbidden months is apparent within the Quran. However, the fatwa neglected the subsequent clause *“but if they turn [to God], maintain the prayer, and pay the prescribed alms, let them go on their way, for God is most forgiving and merciful”* which highlights that jihad must not be waged if non-believers adhere to God later. Bin Laden’s rhetoric is full of convenient omissions to help achieve his mean goals to perform his so called jihad. Instead, he developed a moral obligation amongst his community members who are encouraged to engage in the acts of ‘jihad’ and thus ascertaining the ultimate goal of killing the infidels. The same applies to the prophetic speech cited here. However, from the first two citations that were deployed by bin Laden and his supporters, the discourse topic is contextually given. Therefore, bin Laden explicitly referred to the topic of jihad in the very first two sentences of the salutation part of his speech, thus establishing the issue it deals with as the discourse topic of the speech.

5.1.2 Argumentative Move

In the argumentative move of this speech, the discourse topic of jihad to bin Laden can be further elaborated through the use of the persuasive strategies selected by bin Laden to elucidate his evaluative attitudes about the events and thus achieving the main purpose of the whole speech which is the incitement to killing the infidels defined by bin Laden as ‘jihad’.

Example (2): *Ever since God made the Arabian Peninsula flat, created desert in it and surrounded it with seas, it has never suffered such a calamity as these Crusader hordes that have spread through it like locusts, consuming its wealth and destroying its fertility. All this done at a time when nations have joined forces against the Muslims as if fighting over a bowl of food.*

Because it is important to indicate the continuity of the involvement of US aggression and its existence in the Arabian Peninsula with the development of the calamity of Muslim community, bin Laden organised this along temporal axes relating coherently past activities to present actions and future plans. He continued to state that the foreign presence in the Middle East has been a source of anxiety for the indigenous populations for many decades. He wanted to ensure that his audience envisages that the Judeo-Crusader alliance is against Muslims and it threatens all Muslims. He wanted to convey this message so as to make the Muslims committed to a course of action. In this way, he is agitating his audience and making them gradually react against the communal enemy through developing empathy with the audience. He addressed his audiences’ emotion by involving in the problem. By means of developing empathy, bin Laden made it easier for the audience to accept the problem and mentally prepared them for the declaration of ‘jihad’. Thus, he used this to start his argument for his proclamation of jihad and to achieve the support via seeking psychological identity and thus paved the way for his subsequent extracts employed.

Example (3): *There is now no longer any debate about three well acknowledged and commonly agreed facts that require no further proof, but we will repeat them so that people remember them.*

In the strategy of announcing the thesis, the entire argument was imbued with the discussion of the essential facts that support the declaration of jihad. Therefore, bin Laden started to discuss the agreed upon events related to the consequences of US's occupation of Islamic lands encouraging the people to move forward via the following two steps: 1) evaluation of regional and world issues relevant to the events from the point of view of bin Laden's ideology and, 2) evaluative description of facts relevant to the situation and related current and previous actions of USA army in different regions.

In this case, by retelling the facts of the occupation of Arabian Peninsula, attacking Iraq, and the occupation of Jerusalem, bin Laden and his supporters successfully gave the audience a clear idea about these facts that are threatening Muslims' life and security. Thus, the thesis of this speech has been explicitly stated in the narration of these facts and events which are designed to aid the audience's immediate understanding.

As a matter of fact, bin Laden certified a number of facts which in his opinion are acknowledged by all Muslims, then apparently the description of US's aggression is formulated in terms of opinions because although many people in the world would agree with what bin Laden asserted, some people would not. Therefore, what makes bin Laden's language more authoritative and projects him more determinative and willing to persuade Muslims to take action is the use of list-like representation. The list-like representation empowers discourse. Thus, he developed three basic subheadings organising the information in a chronological order through the use of connectives such as "Firstly ... Secondly... Thirdly" as if bin Laden wanted to present this order to show the pivotal axes of his speech. Therefore, he outlined the narration of facts through the problem description, highlighting urgency and problem evaluation, assuming that the audience share bin Laden's assessment.

Example (4): *Firstly, for over seven years America has occupied the holiest parts of the Islamic lands, the Arabian peninsula, plundering its wealth, dictating to its leaders, humiliating its people, terrorizing its neighbours and turning its bases there into a spearhead with which to fight the neighbouring Muslim peoples.*

In the above example, bin laden foregrounded the narrative of Western occupation of the Arabian Peninsula and the consequent deterioration of the territory of its people. As with bin Laden's use of the nominalisation 'occupation' in his speech, *US occupation of Arabian Peninsula* functions to transform a possible, future event into a presupposed, objectified entity. Such representations construe future events as assumed rather than contingent. That is, an American occupation of the Arabian Peninsula is presented as an assumed part of future reality that prescribes a particular course of action. Territorial dispute has been at the heart of the in-group conflict in the Middle East for centuries, and bin Laden presented this issue as the central theme in his declaration of jihad. Finally, he ended with restating *There is no clearer proof than America's excessive aggression against the people of Iraq, using the Peninsula as a base*, thus presenting a miniature speech and giving a sense of completeness.

Example (5): *Secondly, despite the great devastation inflicted upon the Iraqi people at the hands of the Judeo-Crusader alliance, and despite the terrible number of deaths—over one million—despite all this, the Americans are trying to repeat these horrific massacres again, as if they are not satisfied with the long period of sanctions after the vicious war, or with all the fragmentation and destruction.*

In this example, bin Laden established a chain of events through foregrounding the occupation of the Arabian Peninsula which was followed by the attack on Iraq in 1991. He described the catastrophic life that Iraqis have been suffering from as the US's army has already caused too much devastation, destruction and killing which entail the eradication process of the Muslims in Iraq. In the above example, bin Laden stated the fact that America waged the wars on Muslim lands only to serve the Jewish state and its occupation of Jerusalem and to reinforce Israel's survival and the extension of the occupation to Iraq, Sudan, Egypt and other countries.

In Examples (4) and (5), bin Laden specified namely three facts to be used as the supporting materials and to elaborate the speech. These three facts are of equal status, and all bear the same relation to the superordinate controlling speech. As for the development of the sub-topics, an order of importance is involved. In this short way of argument; however, the three subheadings are arrayed in order, in which information is structured in terms of descending importance: bin Laden first transacted with the occupation of the Arabian Peninsula, then the attack on Iraq in 1991, and ultimately the waging of war against Muslims in Iraq to serve the interests of the Jewish state which is the fundamental one.

Bin Laden proposed a solution stating its potential benefits, and warned of the consequences if the solutions were not considered. The desirable suggestion which was agreed upon by religious scholars through Islamic history is jihad. He made a coherent transition to the strategy of suggesting a solution via shifting the topic from describing the situation of the US aggression on Muslim lands, and specifying the problem to resorting to Al-Qaeda's version of jihad. While using an Islamic saying to make an emphatic claim and establish an intertextual connection as in the extract *fighting to repel an enemy, which is the strongest way to defend freedom and religion, it is agreed that this is a duty. After faith, there is no greater duty than fighting an enemy who is corrupting religion and the world*. Bin Laden stressed the religious frame of the continuous commitment of Muslims to this cause and the ability to undertake the action of jihad as the solution to the problem.

An important transition to the evaluation strategy is signalled by the explicit sentence, *On this basis, and in accordance with God's will, we pronounce to all Muslims the following judgment*, which attracts the attention of the audience to the forthcoming end of engagement and to the importance of the evaluative part of the speech. Bin Laden in this move highlighted the solidarity of this Islamic Front. He formulated a retribution strategy that incorporates both rewards and punishment. Therefore, to encourage Muslims worldwide to engage in jihad, he mentioned the positive reinforcement for those committed to jihad and the rewards they will deserve in the Hereafter through manipulating Quranic verses that suit naive Muslims to fight and kill infidels and this underscores the global theme of the speech.

5.1.3 Closure Move

As the beginning of the speech indicates the first impression, an ending move is also important in that the closing remarks are the last opportunity for bin Laden to have the speech be understood and responded to. Bin Laden did not end his speech with the traditional way of ending a speech. Nevertheless, he pushed the speech to the climax again by citing Quranic verses which reflect the essence of his speech to refresh the audience's memory and remind them of the theme of 'jihad', and inspire them to act. Such a motivating conclusion fits the speaker's purpose which is to convince the audience to be involved in 'jihad' and motivate them that their self-sacrifices will give them mortality in the Hereafter.

5.2 Prabhakaran's speech analysis

After a temporary truce held in 1990, both Sinhala government and LTTE have broken the negotiations of peace as both combatants have established their military power, and then resuming the fight. Consequently, the Indian Peace Keeping Force (IPKF) withdrew from Sri Lanka with the escalation of brutality and violence between Sinhala army and LTTE. When the IPKF withdrew, LTTE controlled many parts in the north and established government-like functions. Moreover, the Sinhala army launched an attack attempting to retake Jaffna, but it failed. Then, the security forces controlled Pooneryn which is a vital town in the northern area of Sri Lanka arranged just underneath Jaffna Peninsula. This phase of war is known as the Eelam War II which is marked by ruthlessness and brutality because both sides have inflicted major damage on the combatants and civilians. Therefore, the Sinhala-Tamil crisis reached its climax of escalating the violence. On 27 November 1992, Prabhakaran delivered his speech on the National Heroes' Day and broadcast on the Tamil Channels. This speech does not only provide reverence to LTTE martyrs, but also it is an important indication of the plan-of-action for LTTE throughout the following year. The sentiment of Prabhakaran's speech intends to incite and stimulate the Tamil people inside and outside Sri Lanka to support the Tamil cause.

5.2.1 Opening Move

Example (6): *My Beloved People of Tamil Eelam, Today is Heroes Day. It is the sacred day when we cherish in our memory those exceptional beings who, by their sacrifice, have made our freedom struggle a heroic epic in the annals of world history.*

Prabhakaran opened his speech with a formulaic salutation, *My Beloved People of Tamil Eelam* in which he addressed his nation directly. This initial communicative act sets pace for what follows. From the beginning, Prabhakaran determined the occasion of the speech which is the national heroes' day. Then, this is followed by the expressions of reminiscence, praise and gratitude to the Tamil martyrs who sacrificed their lives for a noble cause. Prabhakaran's use of remembering and praising techniques is to solicit audience to make the right inference of the Tamil question he was asking. Thus, the role of Tamil martyrs is often emphasised in the opening move because Prabhakaran manipulated liberation values which the Sinhala government did not pay any attention to them. Therefore, the salutation strategy has primarily an interpersonal

function of connecting the communication and the solidarity between Prabhakaran and his community. The communicative purpose of Prabhakaran's salutation is seen to claim the authority, to establish his competence and to create common grounds, i.e. it is associated with the ethos mode of persuasion to achieve Prabhakaran's credibility and to establish group identity.

5.2.2 Argumentative Move

Although this speech is a commemoration of the anniversary of the National Heroes' Day which defines the ideology and mission of LTTE; it is also concerned with evoking the events in the Sinhala-Tamil struggle. Therefore, the argumentative move structure includes various strategies of claiming centrality of the issue, description of the situation and evaluation.

In the strategy of centrality of the issue, Prabhakaran moved to argue for the importance of the set of values in the history of mankind establishing the reliability of the position and thus considered as representing attitudes and beliefs as shown in the extracts below.

Example (7): *For thousands of years, since the birth of civilisation, human beings have been struggling for freedom. They were struggling to emancipate themselves from the structures of oppression. The innumerable struggles, revolutions and wars that erupted on the face of this planet for centuries are none other than the manifestations of the human passion for freedom. Human beings enslave human beings. They destroy each other. They exploit each other. Man has become the foremost enemy of man. Righteousness is undermined when one infringes on the human world.*

Prabhakaran started his argument with the presentation of the struggle since the birth of civilisation arguing that *human beings have been struggling for freedom*. This indicates that the struggle for freedom which erupted for centuries as long as there is subjugation can be continued to the present in order to enhance the existential coherence of LTTE as an armed group acting consistently towards a goal of independence. The use of a linear thematic progression pattern permits Prabhakaran to move gradually from the causes of struggle to highlight the newly-gained awareness of the uniqueness of Tamils' struggle through the remarkable feats of self-sacrifice. The persuasive strategies here include a strong statement of Prabhakaran's argument that Tamil struggle will convey the hopes of Tamils for freedom supported by praising values and actions central to the ideology of the organisation.

Example (8): *Today, our liberation struggle is situated in a complex historical conjuncture faced with new challenges and new crises. Our enemy, having firmly closed down the doors of peace, has embarked on a course of escalating the war. The Government is not prepared to put forward any substantial proposals to resolve the Tamil national question.*

Example 8 shows the transition to the strategy of describing the situation by evaluating the issue at hand from Prabhakaran's ideological viewpoint. After marking the move boundary and the related topic shift, Prabhakaran specified the discourse segment topic, i.e. Sinhala government has chosen the option of escalating the war which is directly related to the global theme – the continuity of struggle as a reaction of the aggressive war. Prabhakaran's argumentation is based on highlighting positive and negative aspects of the situation in the process of evaluating good things

and bad things, thus leading the audience to the logical conclusion that what Tamils have done is undoubtedly positive and deserves praise. Positive value is assigned to the Tamil people through the use of negation as in *we are not warmonger*; the negative sentence highlights Prabhakaran's view that despite the positive developments there are also negative aspects of the situation in relation to Sinhala government as illustrated in the following example.

Example (9): *In spite of the fact that the enemy has suffered set-backs in the war front and faced serious economic crisis as a consequence of the war and in spite of the realisation that the LTTE cannot be defeated militarily, the Sri Lankan regime has not given up its militaristic approach. The Government is primarily concerned with modernising the armed forces, escalating the war of aggression and to seek a military solution. From the strategy of the Government we must be quite clear about one thing. That is, there has been no change in the hegemonic attitude of the Sinhala-Buddhist chauvinism to dominate and rule over the Tamil nation by armed might. As long as the Sinhala nation is buried in the mud of racist politics, we cannot expect a fair and reasonable solution from the Sinhalese ruling class. Our people should realise this bitter political reality.*

In Example (9), Prabhakaran used a negative sentence structure and negative vocabulary (*modernising the armed forces, escalating the war of aggression and to seek a military solution*) to hedge this negative evaluation. By relating his dissatisfaction with the progress made to the peace talks by the Sinhala government, he managed to reinforce the expression of positive evaluation of the efforts of the Tamil community and particularly LTTE in the peace negotiations. It is relevant to note that while Prabhakaran used a mixed pattern of thematic progression, in all sentences expressing negative evaluation, the thematic subject is the Sinhala government. This, according to Prabhakaran's views, can add objectivity and factuality of the information conveyed which may not be true. The persuasive force of Prabhakaran's argumentation is enhanced by the coherent development of his speech, which stresses continuously the positive and negative aspects of the situation supported by explicit marking of contrastive relations and lexical cohesion.

Another consistent way in which Prabhakaran organised his arguments is the use of the reflexive move in which he defined himself and Tamil people by the use of personal pronoun *we* as shown in the following example.

Example (10): *We are not warmongers who love violence. In actual fact, spiritually, we love peace. We want a permanent, stable and honourable peace. It is because of this reason that in spite of this bloody war, we are keeping the doors of peace open. We have not closed down the path of peace. We have no such intention. One day, when our enemy knocks at our doors of peace, we will extend the hand of friendship. But our enemy is committed to violence. Therefore, he has imposed an unjust war on us. Today, the enemy's armed forces have come to our doorstep and are beating war drums. They are bent on devouring our land and to destroy us. He is prepared to shed any amount of blood in this war.*

These definitions serve the purpose of placing himself and his dream nation and more specifically LTTE in a more legitimate position to make a reasonable decision. Drawing the attention to such a status represents Prabhakaran's goals relative to an assessment of the audience's need for elaboration. This alleged and privileged status would be based explicitly on highlighting group membership, while at the same time categorising and defining the other in order to delegitimise their positions.

A coherent transition to the strategy of evaluation is signalled by the use of series of rhetorical questions to attract the attention of the audience to the forthcoming end of the speech which is marked by a high level of subjectivity indicated by markers of personal involvement of the speaker as in *what can we do?*. By pointing to the evaluation of the events and to the realisation of the policy of the organisation, Prabhakaran's evaluative strategy highlights the existential coherence of LTTE; furthermore, it indicates solidarity with the Tamil people.

5.2.3 Closure Move

This move closes the speech with a vocative incitement as demonstrated in the example below.

Example (11): *Let us continue to struggle. Let us continue our journey towards freedom in spite of the obstacles and sufferings we may encounter. Let us continue to struggle so that the sacrifices made by our martyrs and the blood spilled by our people will not be in vain. We have already encountered so many challenges, so many dangers and so many crises in the course of our struggle.*

The last rhetorical move in this speech – the closure – is primarily associated with interpersonal coherence related to directive meanings, conveyed by acts of inciting and praising. As Prabhakaran opened his speech with commemorating the martyrs, he closed his speech with the same strategy, yet with more commitment to the goal of struggle as those heroes did. Thus, the first and last moves have a crucial role in the construction of communication and solidarity within the Tamil community because they open and close the channel of communication and enhance continuity.

6. Conclusion

The purpose of this paper is to characterise the public speeches of two terrorist leaders of al-Qaeda and LTTE as a genre and to identify and examine the most important moves, strategies and steps used in the selected speeches. The cognitive structuring of the two analysed speeches involves three essential moves that are opening, argumentative, and closure. Within each move, there are strategies and steps to be followed in the generic analysis. In the opening move, bin Laden used a religious salutation (see Example 1) which is different from the opening move in Prabhakaran's speech as he used the traditional way of greeting in any political speech (see Example 6). The same can be seen for the closure move in the two speeches as it represents the final opportunity for the speakers to impress their audience. Importantly, the argumentative move is the most crucial because it consists of cells of information, the complexity of the subject, and configuration of the audience and in which both explicit and implicit premises and opposed standpoints of in-group

and out-group. Bin Laden has chosen to emphasise the crisis of the presence of the United States in Arab countries. The war between the Sinhala government and LTTE produced an essential part in Prabhakaran's argumentation to legitimise the use of violence. The same moves are represented in the two speeches; however, different ways of communication has been used by the two speakers. This study reveals that the choice of strategy is principally determined by the speaker's communicative purpose and influenced by the subject of the speech, the audience, the place, and the occasion.

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