

Climate Change in Political Speeches

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A Thesis Presented to The Department of Literature,
Area Studies and European Language

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Summary

Climate change is often described as one of the greatest challenges we face today. There is a broad consensus among scientists that anthropogenic climate change is real and has already started to affect our lives. However, knowledge about climate change has proven to be difficult to transfer to the public and even more difficult to make people take action against climate change. Studies show that there are several challenges in communicating climate change. How do politicians try to overcome these challenges in order to persuade people to fight climate change?

The aim of this study is to find out how politicians try to communicate a complex topic such as climate change and how they try to persuade their audience to take action against climate change. Tools from classical rhetorical tradition have been used as a framework to analyze two political speeches given by Barack H. Obama and David W. D. Cameron at the UN Climate Change Conference in Paris in 2015.

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Abbreviations and explanations:

COP21: UN Paris Climate Change Conference 2015

C, S1: Cameron’s speech, sentence 1

O, P1: Obama’s speech, paragraph 1

1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

Climate change is often described as one of the greatest challenges we face today. There is a broad consensus among scientists that anthropogenic climate change is real, that it is already happening and that the consequences of these changes can be severe. However, knowledge about climate change and its consequences has proven to be difficult to transfer to the public.

Several studies on climate change communication have been carried out and several challenges have been identified: First of all, climate change is a complex topic and requires more extensive knowledge to understand how human activity are causing climate change to happen and how the consequences of climate change affect us (Pongiglione, 2012). Secondly, the media coverage of the climate change debate has been misleading. Even if most scientists agree that climate change is real, both parties in the debate has been given an equal amount of attention. This has led to more confusion and has given deniers room to affect climate change politics (Boykoff, 2007).

Some of the challenges in communicating climate change can be explained through psychological mechanisms: The consequences of climate change are difficult to predict. This creates a distance in time between us and the consequences of climate change. When we feel that this does not affect us, we refrain from doing something about it. People are more concerned about events in their everyday lives than possible future consequences of climate change (Pongiglione, 2012).

Fear images has often been used to communicate climate change, but this is a way of communication that must be used with caution. An overwhelming use of fear images and threatening messages has had the opposite effect of what was intended: People tend to go into a state of denial believing that their individual efforts will not make a difference (Pongiglione, 2012).

When there are so many challenges relating to communicating climate change, how does people who call for action against climate change try to overcome them?

1.2 Aims and scope

This thesis analyzes climate change communication in political speeches by using theory from the classical rhetorical tradition. The objective of this thesis is to see how climate change is communicated through political speeches, and how politicians use language to call for action against climate change.

Classical rhetorical tradition has its origin from Aristotle. Both Jonas Bakken (2009) and Jonathan Charteris-Black (2014) argues that classical rhetoric presents tools that are useful in analyzing political speeches, especially to see how they communicate a topic and how they try to persuade its audience. This tradition also allows you to analyze a text at different levels.

The material for this thesis constitutes of two speeches given by Barack Hussein Obama II (from hereinafter referred to as Obama) and David William Donald Cameron (hereinafter referred to as Cameron) at the Climate Change Conference in Paris in 2015 (COP21) which marked a turning point in international climate change negotiations.

The research questions for my thesis are:

Q1: How is climate change communicated through political speeches?

Q2: How do politicians try to persuade its audience to act upon climate change?

Q3: How do politicians try to overcome some of the challenges related to climate change communication?

1.3 Outline of thesis

Section 2 describes the theoretical framework for this thesis which includes Bitzer's theory on the rhetorical situation and classical rhetorical tradition and how these theories can be used to identify different means of communication. This section also explains the ideas behind conceptual metaphor theory and critical metaphor analysis which has been applied to analyze the use of metaphors in the speeches.

Section 3 gives a description of climate change as a scientific and environmental issue by giving a short explanation of the climate change and its consequences. This section also provides a political perspective on climate change by seeing how climate change affects

politics at a national level in the UK and the USA and how climate change has affected international negotiations. Lastly, this section presents some of the challenges in communicating climate change and gives an outline of previous research that has been done on climate change communication.

Section 4 gives an overview of choices regarding method and material and a more detailed description of how the analysis was carried out.

Section 5 presents the findings and discussion of them. The speeches by Obama and Cameron has been analyzed separately before comparing them. The texts have been analyzed at different levels to provide a more in-depth analysis of how climate change is being communicated in political speeches.

Finally, section 6 offers some final remarks on this study.

2 THEORY

2.1 The rhetorical situation

In his article “The Rhetorical Situation”, Lloyd F. Bitzer (1992) argues that the circumstances in which rhetorical discourse occurs is important. He defines these circumstances as the “rhetorical situation”. This topic has often been neglected by theorists or treated indirectly such as Aristotle does when he claims that different situations require different types of texts. Bitzer (1992, 1-2) claims that all who study rhetorical discourse, should take the rhetorical situation into consideration because rhetorical discourse is created by and depends upon the rhetorical situation. Both Jonas Bakken (2009) and Jonathan Charteris-Black (2014) agrees that the circumstances of rhetorical discourse play an important role in how a speech is shaped. Bakken (2009) refers to Bitzer’s theory while Charteris-Black (2014) draws upon the tools from critical discourse analysis (CDA). Both theories serve the same purpose; to analyze the circumstances of a speech, but by using different approaches.

According to Bitzer (1992, 6), a rhetorical situation always has three constituents of any rhetorical situation: Exigence, audience and constraints.

2.1.1 Exigence

Every rhetorical situation has a problem, an exigence, that needs to be fixed. Bitzer (1992, 6) defines exigence as “an imperfection marked by urgency”. Exigencies can be found in almost any sort of context, but not all of them are necessarily rhetorical exigencies. Bitzer (1992, 6) claims that an exigence is only rhetorical when it has the possibility to change or call upon actions that will lead to change. In addition, a rhetorical exigence requires the assistance from the discourse in order to lead to change. If the exigence can be fixed by one’s own action or by using a tool, then it is not rhetorical. Bitzer (1992) uses pollution of the air as an example of a rhetorical exigence. Pollution of the air is a rhetorical exigence because its positive modification heavily relies on the assistance of discourse to create public awareness and make people take the right actions which will lead to change: reduction of pollution (1992, 6-7).

2.1.2 Audience

A rhetorical situation always requires an audience. Rhetorical discourse produces change by influencing the decisions and actions of the people who are listening (1992, 7). Bitzer's definition of a rhetorical audience is limited to those people who can be influenced by rhetorical discourse and who have the power to change the exigency through their actions. People who do not have the possibility to do anything about the situation are defined as "mere hearers or readers" (1992, 7). However, in many cases the audience is not always easy to identify (see section 4.2.1.).

2.1.3 Constraints

According to Bitzer (1992, 8), every rhetorical situation contains a set of constraints such as persons, events, objects, relations etc. These constraints have the power to affect and limit the decision and action needed to fix the problem. Standard constraints include beliefs, attitudes, documents, facts, motives, traditions and so on. Other constraints are linked to a speaker's personal character and style (Bitzer 1992, 8). A speaker who is supposed to hold his/her speech in front of teenagers, will shape his/her speech differently than if the speaker is holding a speech in front of an audience which consists of only elderly people.

2.2 Arrangement

Arrangement refers to the different parts or stages of a speech. There is no general agreement on how a speech should be arranged, but according to the Aristotelian tradition of rhetoric, a speech should consist of at least four parts: An introduction, a narrative, proof and conclusion. (Charteris-Black 2014, 16).

2.2.1 The Prologue

According to Charteris-Black (2014, 16-17), the prologue serves mainly two purposes: It introduces a topic to the audience and helps the speaker to establish a relationship with his or her audience. The introduction of a topic is important and should be done in a way which makes the audience interested in the topic. A speaker can catch the interest of an audience by emphasizing the importance of the subject or try to surprise the audience.

There are different techniques that can be used to establish a relationship with an audience. Some techniques are directed towards the audience either through flattery or by making an appeal to goodwill. A speaker can also establish his own ethos in order to connect with his/her audience. This is often done by demonstrating that the speaker's values are the same as those of the audience and is often signaled by using the pronoun "we". Another way is to confess a speaker's lack of experience or inadequacy, as a result, the audience will often perceive the speaker as a humble person (Charteris-Black 2014, 16-17).

2.2.2 The Narrative

The narrative is used to outline the main arguments of the speech by presenting central information about the topic. Appeals used here are therefore often based on ethos or logos (Charteris-Black 2014, 22). The information presented in the narrative serves as a framework for the speech and is often used as a springboard for the main arguments (Charteris-Black 2014, 17-18).

2.2.3 The Proof

Charteris-Black (2014, 19) describes "proof" as the stage where a speaker decides whether the arguments of the speech should be combined with the artistic proofs or not, and if yes, which of the artistic proofs will be used in combination with the arguments to make them more persuasive. The appeals at this stage can involve all three types of artistic proofs: ethos, pathos and logos (Charteris-Black 2014, 22). See section 2.3 for more detailed description.

2.2.4 The Refutation

This stage involves the refutation of an opponent's argument or attacking an opponent's ethos or character. Refutation of an opponent's argument is done by presenting the counterargument, then reject it and present an alternative option that favors the speaker. Appeals in this stage are often based on ethos or logos. This stage can be treated separately or as a part of previous stage (Charteris-Black 2014, 20-22).

2.2.5 The Epilogue

The epilogue is used to remind the audience of a speaker's main argument. This is done by summarizing or repeating the main arguments. The epilogue was often used to motivate the audience to make a decision or act in a way that is favorable to the speaker. The epilogue and use of artistic proofs were especially important in these situations. An effective way to do this is to use pathos to evoke emotions among the audience (Charteris-Black 2014, 21-22).

2.3 Classical rhetoric: proofs

The classical tradition of speech making as an art can be traced back to Ancient Greece. Aristotle made a distinction between inartistic proofs and artistic proofs. Inartistic proofs were based in sources of persuasion that existed before oratory and not in the language itself. Examples of inartistic proofs include laws and evidence from witnesses. (Charteris-Black 2014, 8). Artistic proofs on the other hand, were created through oratory. They were known as *ethos*, *pathos* and *logos* and refers to three different types of appeals (Charteris-Black 2014, 8). *Ethos* describes how a speaker can be persuasive through his or her character. *Pathos* refers to appeals based on emotion, and *logos* to appeals based on reason and logic.

2.3.1 Ethos

When an orator seeks to persuade an audience by using ethos, he or she will do so by establishing a relationship with themselves and the audience. This appeal is based on the character of the speaker, especially on positive qualities such as: practical wisdom, goodwill and virtue, which together would contribute to his or her overall ethical credibility (Charteris-Black 2014, 8).

Aristotle defines ethos as: "An ability that is productive and preservative of goods, and an ability for doing good in many and great ways, actually in all ways in all things" (Aristotle I, 9.1-5). We consider a person to be trustworthy if he or she is vice, show good judgement and can make good decisions. Ethos also refer to the moral virtuousness of the speaker. We believe that a person who does good deeds and show a high level of moral, is less likely to deceive us, and lastly; the person must show that he/she cares for us and acts in a way that serve our best interests (Bakken 2009, 34).

Demonstrating ethical credibility is necessary to establish trust, and in contemporary oratory, “trust” is the equivalent to “goodwill” in classical oratory. Both are based in a belief that someone in a position of authority will put the interests of the people in front of his or her personal interests. We will only be persuaded by the arguments of an orator if we trust him or her. (Charteris-Black 2014, 8-9).

Charteris-Black (2011, 4) claims that trust has become a rare commodity in democracies today. An increased awareness of how public opinion can be manipulated has made people more suspicious and for orators it is therefore even more important and challenging to convince the public that they and their policy can be trusted(Charteris-Black 2011, 4).

2.3.2 Pathos

The second artistic proof, pathos, refers to emotional appeal. Aristotle (I, 9.5) claims that people can be persuaded “when they are led to feel emotion [pathos] by the speech; for we do not give the same judgement when grieved and rejoicing or when being friendly and hostile.”

People’s judgement can be affected by their emotions. An orator must therefore be able evoke feelings among his/her audience. If he/she fails to do so, the audience may lose interest and stop listening. Pathos is therefore often used to strengthen the arguments in a speech. In addition to persuade someone to agree with you, pathos often serves as a motivation for people to do something (Bakken 2009, 39-40). According to Bakken (2009, 41-42), there are two ways of putting an audience in a certain emotional state: One way is to show the emotion you wish to evoke in your audience. If you want to awake anger within you audience, you should express anger through your gesture, facial expression, use of voice and so on. The second strategy is used to evoke feelings by describing situations where these feelings occur. Today’s technology makes it possible for us to do so in numerous ways, such as by using film, picture, music and so on.

2.3.3 Logos

A speaker can use arguments based on reason to persuade someone. However, the persuasiveness of logos depends on whether people consider our arguments to be true or not. If we want our arguments to be believable, there are two things that we need to pay attention to: The audience need to recognize the things we describe. The way we portray the world,

people and objects must conform with the how the audience perceives these things. Secondly; the arguments we present to support our claim must both be considered as true or highly likely by the audience (Bakken 2009, 44-45).

Charteris-Black (2014, 11) claims that the most persuasive means of arguing is by using a syllogism. A syllogism is a structure which consists of two premises; a major premise and a minor premise, as well as a conclusion. The conclusion will only be accepted if the audience accepts the premises as true:

The following example is based on an argument in Obamas speech from the COP21 meeting:

Major premise: The economy is on a firm path towards a low-carbon future.

Minor premise: A low-carbon future is good for us.

Conclusion: We should put the right rules and incentives in place.

Figure 1: Structure of a syllogism

An opponent can attack the structure of this syllogism by challenging one of the two premises (Charteris-Black 2014, 11). For instance, the first premise indicates that economic growth and measures taken to reduce CO2 emissions do not conflict with one another. An opponent can challenge this premise by stating that drastic reductions in CO2 emissions, such as investing in expensive renewable technology, will have negative effects on the economy.

Using syllogism as a way of arguing is often time consuming and classical rhetoricians therefore preferred to use an incomplete syllogism instead, also known as enthymeme. This construction leaves out part of the argument, and by doing so invites the audience to supply the missing premise. The rhetorical effect of this is that the audience believed that they have arrived at the conclusion by themselves (Charteris-Black 2014, 11-12).

Premise: The economy is on a firm path towards a low-carbon future.

Conclusion: We should put the right rules and incentives in place.

Figure 2: Structure of an enthymeme

Another way of arguing is by using induction. This is done by using specific examples and to present a statement as a general law:

Example 1:	Caren (4) likes ice cream
Example 2:	Jonathan (6) likes ice cream
Example 3:	Jules (7) likes ice cream
<hr/>	
Statement:	All children like ice cream

Figure 3: Example of induction

This way of arguing cannot present us with any valid conclusions, but by presenting several specific examples, we can say that the statement we make based on these examples are highly likely. This way of arguing is commonly used in empirical research, but less so in political speeches. Just like the premises of a syllogism or enthymeme, the examples we present to support a statement, must conform with how the audience experiences and perceives the world (Bakken 2009, 47-48).

2.4 Style

Classical rhetoricians used to differentiate between style and delivery. “Style” referred to actual word choices while “delivery” referred to the performance such as control of the voice, gestures and facial expression (Charteris-Black 2014, 32).

The choice of style was often influenced by the branch of oratory. Classical rhetoricians believed that different styles would be suitable for different situations. Aristotle defined three types of speech which represent six different ways of presenting an argument: Deliberative, forensic and epideictic speech. Deliberative speech referred to the future and was used to either recommend or discourage actions regarding the future, for example whether a country should go to war or not. The second type of speech is called forensic speech which concerns past actions and were used in the courtrooms where people would try to persuade a jury or a judge to get a person convicted or judged as innocent. Epideictic speech concerned the present and was used to either praise or criticize someone (Charteris-Black 2011, 7-8). Forensic speech often required clarity and would therefore use plain style characterized by the use of simpler figures such as isocolon or antithesis. Deliberative and epideictic speech on the other hand, would require a more elevated style which often involved the use of more complex figures such as metaphors (Charteris-Black 2014, 33).

Even if style is influenced by the different branches of oratory, this correspondence is only partial according to Aristotle. The most important thing was to make sure that the style would fit the current situation which would allow a deliberative speech to be carried out in plain style (Charteris-Black 2014, 33).

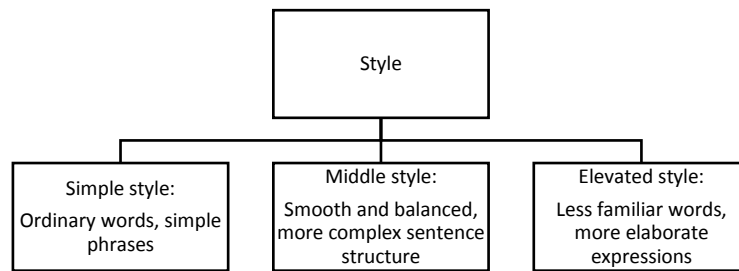


Figure 4: Style in classical rhetoric (adapted from Charteris-Black 2014, 38, figure 2.2.)

2.4.1 Rhetorical figures

A major consideration when choosing a specific style, was to find the right balance between clarity and elevation. This depended upon the complexity of word choices: ordinary words and simpler phrases would lead to a plain style, while less familiar words and more elaborate expressions were characteristics of an elevated style. Simpler words made the speech easier to comprehend, while more complex words encouraged wonder and admiration among the audience. There is also a middle style which is a combination of plain and elevated style (Charteris-Black 2014, 32-33).

Charteris-Black (2014, 39) claims that the selection of figures is an essential component of style. The use of different figures and how they interact with one another give rise to the impression of style. There are two main categories of figurative language in classical rhetorical tradition: Schemes and tropes. A table including all schemes and tropes used in this study can be found in the appendices.

A scheme is a figure of speech that affects the grammatical structure a sentence so it that it differs from a normal or expected structure. This effect is achieved by rearranging word order

which can also have an aesthetic appeal. Examples of schemes: chiasmus, parallelism (Charteris-Black 2014, 39).

A trope is a figure of speech in which words are used in a way where their meaning differs from their normal literal meaning. Tropes are valuable because they allow a speaker to evaluate something as positive or negative or to intensify an appeal, usually pathos (Charteris-Black 2014, 45). Classical tropes include: metaphors, metonyms, allusion, irony, hyperbole and so on (Charteris-Black 2014, 39).

2.5 Conceptual Metaphor Theory

In their book *Metaphors We Live By*, Lakoff and Johnson (2003, 9) states that metaphors are used to understand one thing through the terms of another. For example: ARGUMENT IS WAR. Expressions such as “Your claim is indefensible”, “His criticisms were right on target” show that we do talk about arguments in terms of war (Lakoff and Johnson 1980, 454). Metaphors make it possible for us to understand different aspects of a complex concept, but it will also hide other aspects which are not coherent to the concept: ARGUMENT CAN ALSO BE COOPERATION. The metaphors we create originates mainly from three things: Our bodies senses and mobility. Our interaction with our physical surroundings: actions, objects etc. And through our interaction with other individuals from our own culture: political, religious, social etc. (Lakoff and Johnson, 2003).

Charteris-Black (2011, 28) claims that metaphors play an important role in political speeches and in making the speech more convincing. Metaphors are used for ideological purposes because they activate unconscious emotional associations which politicians can use to tell the right story. According to Charteris-Black (2011, 28), conventional metaphors play a significant part in political language. Charteris-Black gives several examples on how metaphors are used in political speeches: E.g. water metaphors are commonly used by the political right to talk about immigration in a negative way, such as “floods of immigrants”.

3 ASPECTS OF CLIMATE CHANGE

3.1 Climate change: Science

Before doing any research on climate change communication, a good starting point is to know what climate change is all about. The complexity of the term is easily seen when you look at different definitions of climate change which can vary a bit from one another. The following definitions are from online dictionary Oxford Dictionaries (OD) and the International Panel on Climate Change (IPCC).

A change in global or regional climate patterns, in particular a change apparent from the mid to late 20th century onwards and attributed largely to the increased levels of atmospheric carbon dioxide produced by the use of fossil fuels (OD)

The changes that are thought to be affecting the world's weather so that it is becoming warmer (Macmillan Online Dictionary)

Climate change in IPCC usage refers to a change in the state of the climate that can be identified (e.g. using statistical tests) by changes in the mean and/or the variability of its properties, and that persists for an extended period, typically decades or longer. It refers to any change in climate over time, whether due to natural variability or as a result of human activity(...) (IPCC, 2007)

However, when we think about climate change today or read about it in the media, our main concerns are the possible consequences of climate change. Scientific research shows that the consequences can vary: Some consequences are more immediate than others, and some consequences affect our lives directly and others more indirectly. As our awareness about the topic increases, we start to understand that climate change is not just an environmental issue, it is a political issue, an economic issue and an ethical issue as well.

3.1.1 Climate change: Causes and consequences

In “Climate Change 2014: Synthesis Report” (2014) the IPCC claims that the changes we already experience in our climate today is largely a result of human activity and the emission of greenhouse gases. Scientists have observed changes in the climate from 1950 until today.

Their findings show that the atmosphere and the oceans have gotten warmer, the amount of snow and ice has decreased and that sea levels have risen (IPCC 2014, 2)

Scientists expect surface temperature to continue to rise over the 21st century. This will lead to a series of consequences that will affect our lives in different ways: The most known consequence of climate change is more extreme weather. Scientists believe that climate change will lead to more intense and extreme precipitation events, storms, droughts and heat waves (IPCC 2014, 10-15).

In addition to more extreme weather, the IPCC report (2014, 10-15) also states that inland and coastal floods, landslides, water scarcity, air pollution, rising sea levels poses great risks especially to people in urban areas. Rising sea levels also threatens populations in coastal and low-lying areas.

Climate change will also affect our food and water resources: Lower oxygen levels, warming and acidification of the ocean will reduce marine biodiversity. In combination with a growing population and an increase in food demand, climate change poses great threats to our food security. Climate change can also lead to a reduction in water resources in dry subtropical regions which is also very likely to intensify competition for these resources (IPCC 2014, 15)

Scientists also believe that climate change can affect us economically. Climate change is likely to slow down economic growth and make it more difficult to fight poverty. Less access to food and water can lead to new poverty traps and force people to move. These conditions increase the risks of violent conflicts (IPCC 2014, 16).

Several measures must be taken to adapt to and minimize the effects of climate change. These include reduction in CO₂ emissions and policies and cooperation at all scales. Innovation, investment in environmental friendly technology and infrastructure, as well as changes in lifestyle are other measures that needs to be taken (IPCC 2014, 17-26).

3.2 Climate change: politics

3.2.1 The Paris Climate Agreement 2015

Even if the IPCC (2014) calls for cooperation at all scales in order to fight climate change, most people regard climate change as a problem that it is best solved through international

agreements (Pongiglione, 2012). For several years, representatives from countries all over the world have joined in meetings to address climate change. One of the latest and more known events was the Climate Change Conference in Paris, also known as COP21. This conference took place from the 30th of November to the 11th of December in 2015. The conference resulted in an agreement where countries committed to fight climate change and adapt to its effect (UNFCCC, 2017). The agreement has been described by many as a turning point in these negotiations as previous attempts, such as the Copenhagen Climate Conference (COP15) in 2009 were unsuccessful.

The aim of the Paris Agreement is to strengthen the global effort against climate change by reducing CO₂ emissions and help vulnerable countries to adapt to the immediate changes of climate change. Countries have agreed to strengthen their efforts in order to keep the global temperature rise below 2 degrees Celsius. Each country will make their own national contribution based on their own climate targets and rich countries will also provide support to the more vulnerable countries and help them adapt to climate change effects. The agreement also requires parties to report regularly on their emission and the implementation of their goals (UNFCCC, 2016). The Paris Agreement entered into force on the 4th of November 2016 and has been ratified by 148 countries (UNFCCC, 2017).

3.2.2 Climate change politics: The UK and the USA

This thesis focuses on political speeches held by representatives from Great Britain and the USA at COP21. It is therefore interesting to look at how these countries deal with climate change at a national level and international level. Maxwell T. Boykoff (2007) studied the media coverage of climate change in both the UK and the USA between 2003-2006. His findings showed that media coverage in USA from 2003-2004 diverged from the scientific consensus on climate change and that this tendency declined in the following years. In the UK however, there was no indication of a major divergence in media reporting.

The media coverage on climate change also mirrors the different roles US federal and UK governments have had in international climate negotiations. The UK has portrayed itself as a champion of domestic action and international cooperation. The U.S. on the other hand, has often taken a more hesitant role to fight climate change and has been branded as a foot-dragger (Boykoff 2007, 471).

Boykoff (2007) also claims that climate change has been more politically divisive in the U.S. compared to the UK. This claim is supported by Paul R. Brewer (2011) who studied the nature of climate change debate in the USA. His analysis showed that the debate on climate change mirrors the political polarization in the USA where Democrats were more likely to accept climate change and the fact that it is man-made than Republicans.

3.3 Previous research on climate change communication

3.3.1 Challenges of communicating climate change

Several studies have been carried out on climate change communication. As mentioned earlier, climate change is a complex topic and several studies have investigated the challenges of communicating climate change.

Caren Cooper (2011) points at three challenges in communicating climate change. First of all, scientists have problems with transmitting knowledge to the public. Communication of scientific topics often involves a one-way communication with no possibility for the audience to participate and communicate directly with the scientists. This often gives scientists an authoritative tone, which can create distrust among the audience (Cooper 2011, 232).

Secondly, climate change deniers have actively been using mass media to take advantages of the problem scientists face when communicating climate change to spread doubt about skepticism about the topic (Cooper 2011, 232). Lastly, both Cooper (2011) and Boykoff (2007), emphasizes the problem with media portrayal of climate change. The journalistic norm emphasizes the importance of balanced reporting and that both sides of a debate should get equal attention. However, this does not conform with the consensus among scientists that human actions are contributing to climate change. This has led to confusion instead of clarifying the topic and has allowed policy actors to avoid responsibility and delay action (Boykoff, 2007).

Francesca Pongiglione (2012) points at several psychological and cognitive mechanisms that makes it difficult to communicate climate change. She emphasizes the importance of explaining climate change to produce individual action against climate change. However, to

do so people need to understand how their behavior cause climate change to happen and how this again affects us (Pongiglione 2012, 176).

So, why is it difficult for us to see how climate change affect our lives? First of all, it is difficult to foresee the actual impacts of climate change. Most risks are long-term risks and this creates a distance in time that does not alarm us compared to more urgent issues that we deal with in our daily lives (Pongiglione 2012, 179-180).

Secondly, people tend to have a global perspective on climate change instead of a local or personal perspective. As a result, people believe that climate change does not concern their own country or that problems will not affect their lives.

Thirdly, communicating climate change has often been done by using fear messages. Pongiglione (2012, 180-182) warns against this sort of communication, since a common reaction to these fear messages is a form of psychological removal: Why should individuals take action against climate change if their actions are too powerless?

Lastly, pro-environment behavior implies sacrifices and a change of habits that most people are not willing to make. Due to lack of information, many people think of this as lowering their living standards which makes fighting climate change less appealing (Pongiglione 2012, 185).

Pongiglione (2012, 185-186) believes that basic causal knowledge about climate change can lead to an increased awareness of the importance of one's own actions. This makes psychological denial and dismissal more difficult. If people are not able to identify the cause of a problem, the results is often apathy (Pongiglione 2012, 185-186).

Jules Boykoff (2012) claims that climate change or global warming often ranks nearly at the bottom in U.S. public opinion polls. This is much due the reasons described by Pongiglione (2012) where people for various reasons feel that climate change does not affect them. In order to overcome these challenges, Boykoff (2012, 256-257) suggests that a reframing of climate change as an economic issue or a national security issue will make people more interested about the topic. Most Americans care more about these issues and a reframing of climate change can lead to an increased interest and awareness of the topic.

3.3.2 Other research on climate change communication

Other research on communicating climate change involves to master's theses by Jorunn Skinnemoen (2009) and Marianne B. Heien (2009). Skinnemoen carried out an analysis of metaphors in climate change discourse by using conceptual metaphor theory, her findings indicate that some metaphors were more commonly used to describe climate change and environmentalism than others. The most common metaphors were movement metaphors (including journey metaphors) and war metaphors, other metaphors were related to sports, construction, personal relationship etc. Each of these metaphors were used to describe different aspects of climate change.

Marianne B. Heien (2009) carried out a discourse analysis of the 2007 Nobel Peace Prize lectures by Al Gore and Rajendra K. Pachauri. Her findings showed that Gore and Pachauri used very different strategies when communicating climate change. Her analysis showed, among other things that Pachauri appeared more modest and less passionate than Al Gore.

Her analysis also includes studies of metaphors which includes the identification of journey metaphors, war metaphors, illness metaphors, life/creation and death/destruction and different types of personifications. Her study also showed that fear appeals were used to evoke feelings among the audience.

Charteris-Black (2014) has carried out a rhetorical analysis on Obama's first inaugural speech in 2009 and Cameron's European Union speech in 2012. His findings showed that Obama often chooses an elevated style, characterized by a complex combination of schemes and tropes. Cameron on the other hand relies primarily on the appeals of ethos and logos, especially the introductions and refutations of counter-arguments. Cameron's use of rhetorical figures and an appeal based on ethos and logos often characterizes the choices of a middle style (Charteris-Black 2014, 222-223).

4 MATERIAL AND METHOD

The aim of this study is to find out how politicians try to communicate a complex topic such as climate change and how they try to persuade their audience to take action against climate change and overcome challenges presented in section 3.3.1. To answer these questions, I used tools from classical rhetorical tradition as a framework to analyze two political speeches given by Barack Obama and David Cameron at the UN Climate Change Conference in Paris in 2015. In addition to classical rhetoric, I also used Bitzer's theory (1992) on the rhetorical situation (see section 2.1.) to analyze the circumstances of these speeches. I have also used conceptual metaphor theory as described by George Lakoff and Mark Johnson in their book *Metaphors we live by* (2003) to identify and classify different metaphors by various source domains.

My analysis includes the study of style, arrangement, artistic proofs and classical rhetorical figures such as schemes and tropes. This allows me to study a speech at different levels: I can study the speech as a whole, but also narrow it down to specific paragraphs, sentences or even words. This analysis is therefore highly qualitative, seeking to answer how language is used to communicate climate change and contribute to the persuasiveness of a speech. Numeric data, such as word frequency and collocation have been used to identify some metaphors, but these quantitative elements, play a minor role in this study.

4.1 Material

The material for this study is quite small and limited to two speeches given by Obama and Cameron at the COP21 meeting. These two politicians represent two countries who share many similarities as well as differences and which I believe, would make a good foundation for an analysis and comparison of how language is used to persuade an audience or communicate climate change. The countries play very different but important roles in international politics. The USA usually takes a leading role in international politics, while Britain now plays a smaller role in these matters. However, according to Boykoff (2007, 471) this is not the case in climate change politics. Britain has portrayed itself as a champion of domestic action and international cooperation. The USA on the other hand, has been more hesitant in acting upon climate change. The debate on climate change exists in both countries,

however the level of skepticism towards climate change is much more common in the USA compared to Britain.

The COP21 meeting serves as an important frame for the study of these speeches. It provides me with a context where both speeches are addressing the exact same problem, but due to their differences described above, they are likely to address climate change in different ways.

Because I wanted to do an in-depth rhetorical analysis, I have decided to analyze only two speeches. This is mostly due to the limitations of time and scope of this study. In addition, if I had decided to analyze more speeches, a broader study would have to be carried out at the cost of the details provided by an in-depth analysis.

4.2 Method

As mentioned earlier, this analysis involved the study of texts at different levels. I therefore found it useful to divide the process of analyzing the speeches into different stages. I used close reading to identify different rhetorical features and to analyze how they contribute to the style of the speech and how the speech communicates and try to persuade its audience. The speeches have been analyzed separately, then compared to one another.

4.2.1 Stage 1: Identifying the rhetorical situation

At this stage, I used Bitzer's theory (1992) to analyze the circumstances of the speeches also known as the "rhetorical situation" by Bitzer. Bitzer's theory is primarily meant to be used as a tool for speech writers. However, Bakken (2009, 57) argues that Bitzer's theory serves well as a tool for rhetorical analysis as well. I have defined the rhetorical situation by using the three constituents as described by Bitzer (1992): exigence, audience and constraints. The first constituent was relatively easy to define: The urgent problem that needs to be fixed, was the same for both Obama and Cameron: The challenges of climate change. Climate change is a rhetorical exigence in this situation because it cannot be fixed by one person or by using a tool (see section 2.1.1).

Using Bitzer's theory as a tool for analysis also presented a few challenges. Bakken (2009, 57) points out that it is not always easy to identify the audience in every situation. Following the definitions of Bitzer (1992, 7), the audience in this situation is limited to the other political

leaders that were present at the conference. The press, and other people who followed the conference through different means of media, are not defined as an audience by Bitzer, but as “mere hearers or readers” (1992, 7). The audience must be someone who can solve the problem and in this situation, these people are the other leaders because they are the only one who can come to an international agreement on how to tackle climate change.

However, it is unlikely that these people are the only one politicians and their speech writers have had in mind, when writing the speeches. For instance, if Obama says something which his fellow Americans disagree with, they can try to stop or postpone some of his political initiatives or even vote for a future president that will try to reverse them. In such a situation, the “mere hearers or readers” do have the power to affect the situation. As I analyzed the speeches by Obama and Cameron, I found that some passages of the speeches seemed to be aimed at other groups as well and not just the leaders present at COP21. In my analysis, I will mainly follow Bitzer’s definition of an audience and limit them to the political leaders present at COP21. However, I have also decided to comment upon some elements of the speeches that seemed to be directed towards other groups as well as the primary audience.

The third constituent which focuses on the different constraints of the situation, required more extensive research. The speeches by Obama and Cameron differed a lot from one another, especially in length, which led me to believe that the two politicians have been given different time limits for their speeches. I have compared the two speeches with speeches held by other leaders from the conference. This was done by comparing several manuscripts from UN’s webpage: “Statements made during the Leaders Event at the Paris Climate Change Conference - COP 21 / CMP 11” (2015). In addition, I watched video clips of the two speeches on YouTube to measure the time of their speeches. Cameron’s speech lasted for 4.31 minutes (Sky News, 2015) or roughly 5 minutes since part of the introduction was cut. In the clip, about one minute into his speech, Cameron also added a comment which was not part of the original manuscript: “So let me, **in my three minutes**, take this argument the other way around” (Sky News, 2015, my emphasis). Cameron’s speech is notably shorter than Obama’s speech (The Obama White House, 2015) which lasted for 13.59 minutes. All of these elements indicate that Cameron and Obama have indeed been given different time limits. In addition to this, several articles from various newspapers have been read for more context such as other events happening at the time. There was especially one event which gained a lot

of focus during this period: The terrorist attacks in Paris which happened only a few weeks prior to COP21.

4.2.2 Stage 2: Defining arrangement and artistic proofs

The basis for analyzing the arrangement of the speeches were the descriptions of arrangement by Charteris-Black (2014, 16-22). The artistic proofs have been identified by using the definitions by Aristotle (1991), Bakken (2009) and Charteris-Black (2014) as described in section 2.

4.2.3 Stage 3: Identifying and analyzing rhetorical figures

The identification and analysis of rhetorical figures was by far the most extensive and time-consuming part of my thesis. This stage involved several rounds of close reading the text to identify different rhetorical figures. These figures were then analyzed separately to see how they contributed to the use of artistic proofs. Some figures would fit in more than one category and I have made comments on examples where this occurred.

The identification of schemes and tropes were based on the definitions by Charteris-Black (2014, 40-41, 46-47). To avoid any misunderstandings, it is worth mentioning that some of Charteris-Black's definitions varies a bit from those that can be found in rhetorical dictionaries or other encyclopedias. I therefore chose to stick with the definitions by Charteris-Black. Tables with definitions and examples from my analysis have been included in the appendices.

Analyzing some rhetorical figures required more effort than others, such as the use of metaphors. Charteris-Black (2014, 174) claims that metaphors play an important role in persuasive genres and in his own book "Analyzing political speeches" (2014) metaphors in particular, have been given more attention than other rhetorical figures. To identify and analyze metaphors, I have mostly followed a source-based approach described by Charteris-Black (2014):

1. Identify all potential metaphors. This was done by close reading the text and identify all candidate metaphors with a marker.
2. Confirm or reject initial classifications. This was done by using the online Oxford Dictionaries (OD) to check if the if a word has a more basic sense, than what has been.

In some cases, a corpus (COCA) was used to see if a word is being used as a metaphor. Further comments on choices made at this stage can be found below in section 4.3.3.

3. Classify conceptual metaphors by using a source-based approach. This is done by grouping similar metaphors to establish a more general category. According to Charteris-Black (2014, 186) this approach has a few challenges when it comes to defining categories: If the categories are too specific, some metaphors will fit into more than one category. If the categories are too general, some metaphors can be grouped together that are too remote to be meaningful.

4.2.4 Stage 4: Analysis of specific paragraphs: Interaction between schemes and tropes, define style

The next step in this process includes the analysis of specific paragraphs to see how these figures are used in combination with one another and how they contribute to the style (as described in section 2) of the speech and enhance the use of artistic proofs. These findings together with those from previous stages have been used to identify and comment upon the style of the speeches by Cameron and Obama.

4.2.5 Stage 5: Comparison of the two speeches

At the final stage, I will compare the two speeches to look at similarities and differences in how they communicate the topic of climate change and how they try to persuade the audience. The comparison between the two is based on the findings from previous stages: The arrangement of the speeches, the use of artistic proofs and rhetorical figures, their choice of style and how the rhetorical situation might have affected any choices regarding their speeches.

4.3 Comments on method

4.3.1 Classical rhetorical tradition

Although my study follows the classical rhetorical tradition closely, some modifications have been made in order to fit with the intentions of my study. It is often common in classical

rhetorical tradition to evaluate the successfulness of a speech. I have decided to not include this evaluation in my analysis as my intention is to study how a speaker communicates with his audience and how he seeks to persuade them, not whether his speech succeeded or not. The context for my study also makes it difficult to measure the successfulness of the speeches in question: Charteris-Black (2014, 5) defines a successful speech as the speech which has the strongest persuasive effect. This can be measured by how the audience responds to the speech, for example by the level of applause. It is not possible for me to evaluate the speeches by Obama and Cameron as successful or not based on these criteria. The formal situation in which these speeches were given, makes cheering or overwhelming applause an unlikely way to respond. In one way, I could argue that the speeches must have been successful because the countries at COP21 managed to reach an agreement. However, other circumstances have most likely contributed to the resulting agreement at COP21: Stronger scientific evidence and an increased public awareness regarding climate change have most likely put more pressure on world leaders to address the problem. Charteris-Black (2014, 99) does point out that immediate responses are less reliable than longer-term responses and in my case, I believe it is too early to say anything about the Paris Agreement as it has yet to be implemented by the different countries.

4.3.2 On definitions of schemes and tropes

Due to the limitations of my thesis, I have not been able to discuss every rhetorical figure found in these two speeches. I have therefore chosen to comment on some of the more common features.

4.3.3 On metaphor analysis

Charteris-Black (2014, 179) says his 5-step method for classifying and categorizing metaphors are time-consuming and a laborious process. The study of metaphor is an enormous field and alone could be a research topic for an entire master's thesis, such as the one conducted by Jorunn Skinnemoen (2009). However, in my thesis, metaphors are mainly one of many components. I found it necessary to study metaphors into more detail in order to say something about how they contribute to communication and persuasion, but due to time limitations my focus has been on identifying patterns in the use of metaphors, not to identify

every single one. I will therefore not comment upon all categories of conceptual metaphors, but on some of the more common categories used in the speeches.

5 FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

5.1 Analysis David Cameron Speech GOP21 Paris 2015

5.1.1 The rhetorical situation

The two first exigencies have already been discussed in more detail in section 4.2.1. The exigency that calls for action is climate change and the challenges it poses to our way of living. The primary audience for Cameron are his fellow leaders who are participating in this conference and who have the power to change the current situation for the better. Lastly, the situation contains a series of constraints: He is one of many leaders who will give their remarks on the issues surrounding climate change. The list of manuscripts found on UNFCCC (2015) indicates that Cameron was one of the last leaders to give their speech during the COP21 meeting. There are also strong indications that Cameron and the other leaders have been given a time limit, which in Cameron's case seem to be on roughly 4-5 minutes (see section 4.2.1.). These two constraints will not only affect the length of the speech, but his choice of rhetorical figures and style as well. Other constraints include physical objects: Cameron will stand at a podium and give his speech to the audience. The event puts another constrain on the situation. The conference is a formal event with many prominent people which makes it natural to address some of the them at the beginning of his speech. Also, the event does not give him much room to interact with the audience and any use of humor or informal language would not conform with the formalities of this event either. Section 3.3.1 presents some the challenges in communicating climate change and present another constrain on the situation as Cameron will have to take some of these into consideration when writing his speech.

5.1.2 Artistic proofs and arrangement

Prologue

The prologue is very short and includes the necessary formalities. Using the criteria from section 2, I have defined the introduction to consist of the two first sentences of his speech:

1. Thank you very much Mr President and can I start by thanking the French President and the French people for hosting us here in Paris. Now we're at the stage of this conference, after a whole series of speeches, where I think we can safely say that every point that needs to be made has been made, although not by every single speaker. (C,S1-2)

He starts his speech by thanking the President of COP21, the French President and the French people for hosting this Conference. He does not mention any names. He also uses the introduction to conclude that every point that needs to be made, has been made.

The purpose of the prologue is to catch the interest of the audience, create a connection between the speaker and the audience to make them listen to you. In his short prologue, Cameron does not try to establish his own ethos. By starting his speech with the obligatory formalities, he shows respect, a quality which most people feel positive about. Apart from that he does nothing to establish his own ethos in the introduction.

Narrative

In the narrative, he continues by describing what they need to reach a good agreement. He quickly summarizes the main points:

2. We all know exactly what is needed to make a good deal here in Paris. We need a deal that keeps 2 degrees alive. A deal with a binding legal mechanism. A deal that has a 5 year review so we can see how we are doing. A deal for the poorest and most vulnerable in terms of finance. A deal so that we can measure and verify what happens with the agreement that we make. And a deal that transfers technology from the richest countries to the poorest countries. (C, S3-9)

This short summary becomes the framework for the rest of his speech. The narrative is characterized by rhythmical pattern and an emphasis on the words "a deal". This is due to the use of anaphora create a rhythmic pattern which will be discussed further below. This rhythm plays an important part in the narrative for various reasons and is best explained by looking at it in combination with the rest of the narrative:

3. So let me take this argument the other way around. Not what we need to succeed – we all know that – but what we would have to say to our grandchildren if we failed. (C, S10-11)

Cameron uses this statement to break the established rhythmical pattern described in example 2. This sudden change of pattern contains an element of surprise and emphasizes the message:

That he will offer a new perspective on the topic. The narrative serves its purpose: present essential facts that is used as a framework for the rest of the speech, but it also differs from other characteristics of the narrative presented in section 2. According to Charteris-Black (2014,), appeals used in the narrative is based on either ethos or logos. This narrative is combined with pathos. The element of surprise has an ability to trigger emotions among the audience and will make them more inclined to listen. Cameron also uses flattery towards the audience claiming that they all know what they need to succeed. He therefore uses parts of the narrative to establish a relation between him and the audience.

Ethos

Cameron establishes most of his ethos through his concerns for how climate change will affect future generations as seen in the following example:

4. What I'm saying is that instead of making excuses tomorrow to our children and grandchildren, we should be taking action against climate change today (C, S40).

By referring to future generations as “children” or “grandchildren”, Cameron creates a picture of himself as a caring father or grandfather and by doing so he also reinforces his ethos as a person who puts other people's interest before his own personal interests. The comparison between future generations and children also has a strong emotional effect which will be discussed further below.

Pathos

As mentioned earlier, a very prominent picture in Cameron's speech (2015), is the description of future generations as children and grandchildren. In fact, his entire speech resembles a conversation between a parent or grandparent that will have to explain to his/her children and grandchildren why they failed to make an agreement. One of the reasons for why people have not taken more action to fight climate change is because of the complexity of the problem (see section 3.3.). There is a distance in time between us and the future generations whose lives will be more affected by climate change than ours. In order to close this distance, Cameron (2015) refers to future generations as “children” and “grandchildren”. This also strengthens the emotional appeal known as pathos: We do not like to watch innocent people suffer. It makes us feel uncomfortable and we will therefore wish to do something about it (Bakken 2009, 41). By describing a possible future where our children or grandchildren are suffering

because of our failure to address climate change, Cameron strengthens our relations to future generations and closes the time gap between us. Many politicians participating in the conference, were probably parents and grandparents themselves and this way of using pathos increases our feeling of responsibility and the urge to help someone we care deeply about.

In addition to the description of future generations as children, Cameron also compares climate change to war. This is done by using an allusion to a British recruitment poster from the First World War: “Daddy, what did you do in the great war?” (poster included in the appendices) During the war, the government had problems with recruiting enough people to the army. Many men hesitated in joining the army because as wage earners, it was their responsibility to take care of their family. The money that was offered as compensation to the families was not enough. Some of the recruitment posters therefore used this sense of duty to family to emphasize the importance of joining the war and they therefore pictured children who held their fathers to account for what they did during the war to protect the country and not only the family. These posters were visually strong and are remembered by many (British Library, 2017). It is therefore likely that many Britons would recognize this allusion, but less likely that the people from other countries would be familiar with this. The allusion to World War 1 compares fighting climate change with fighting a war. The comparison to war and portrayal of future generations as children strengthens the use of pathos even further since climate change can be seen as a threat to our own children and grandchildren.

Logos

The use of syllogism or enthymeme to present arguments that support his statement is not common in Cameron’s speech. There is one syllogism at the end of his speech which follows the typical construction of two premises and a conclusion:

Premise	What we are looking for is not difficult
Minor premise	It is doable
<hr/>	
Conclusion	We should come together and do it

Figure 5: Syllogism in Cameron’s speech

The syllogism that favors Cameron’s view: That it is possible to reach an agreement on fighting climate change.

As mentioned earlier (see section 2.2.3), the persuasiveness of a syllogism depends on the audience and whether they accept the premises which support the conclusion as true. An opponent can therefore challenge one of the premises in a syllogism in order to refute the argument. It is therefore important to choose premises that are difficult to challenge. When Cameron claims that it is not difficult to land an agreement on climate change, an opponent can prove this premise wrong by saying: “If reaching an agreement is not difficult, then how can it be that the world has not been able to reach an agreement yet?” This syllogism is therefore based on premises that can be easily challenged and therefore less effective in persuading an audience. However, my findings when analyzing remaining parts of the speech (refutation and epilogue) suggests that the syllogism served other purposes as well and will be commented upon below.

Cameron also uses induction to support some of his arguments. In the following example, Cameron argues that fighting climate change does not necessarily have negative effects on the economy. He does so by present several examples that support his statement. This examples also indicates that Cameron tries to relate climate change to economy as suggested by Boykoff (2012) on section 3.3.1. He does so, by focusing on the positive aspects of climate change:

5. But they would ask us why is it difficult to reach a legally binding agreement when in 2015 there are already 75 countries – including countries across most of the continents of our world – that already have legally binding climate change legislation? Countries like Britain. And countries that aren’t suffering from having legally binding climate change legislation; countries that are thriving with that legislation. (C, S23-25)

Refutation

Cameron refutes several counterarguments when it comes to fighting climate change, or at least, different aspects of the same counterargument: “It was too difficult”. Example 6 illustrates how Cameron presents an opponent’s argument and example 7 illustrate how he refutes the argument:

6. Perhaps we’d have to argue it was too difficult to have a review after 5 years. (C, S26)
7. Why, they’d ask us, is it difficult to have a review after 5 years? No one is being asked to preordain what that review would say. No one is being asked to sign up

to automatic decreases in their carbon emissions. If we are off track in 5 years' time, a review isn't difficult. (C, S27-30)

This pattern is common throughout Cameron's speech and makes the speech more coherent. However, it is not before the end of his speech that he explicitly offers an alternative option:

8. What we are looking for is not difficult, it is doable and therefore we should come together and do it. (C, S40)

Refutation of an opponent's argument seems to be Cameron's main strategy in his speech. Throughout his speech, he presents several arguments which he later refutes. Charteris-Black's (2014, 220-221) analysis of Cameron's speech on the European Union showed that this strategy was also used in that speech. As seen in example 2, Cameron uses anaphora to create a steady rhythmical pattern of the narrative. The refutation of opposing arguments throughout his speech, has a similar effect. He creates a steady and predictable pattern by presenting an opponent's arguments and refuting them. This pattern is broken at the end of his speech, which makes his last argument, the syllogism in figure 5 above, stand out more clearly.

Epilogue

The epilogue is very short and becomes a considerable contrast to the rest of the text which as noted above, focuses on creating a pattern by presenting and refuting counterarguments. The epilogue in the following example, which includes the syllogism mentioned above, stands out because it breaks this pattern:

9. What I'm saying is that instead of making excuses tomorrow to our children and grandchildren, we should be taking action against climate change today. What we are looking for is not difficult, it is doable and therefore we should come together and do it. (C, S40-41)

Cameron also uses the epilogue to refer to the facts presented in the narrative which described what an international agreement needed to include. He does not explicitly repeat the facts, but I will argue that this is contrivable from the context. However, the epilogue does give room for interpretation.

5.1.3 Rhetorical Figures: Schemes

Cameron's speech contains several rhetorical figures, but some are more frequently used than others. In this speech, there is a significant use of different schemes, especially anaphora, ellipsis and repetition. Among rhetorical tropes, the use of allusion, synecdoche and rhetorical questions seems to be more dominating than others.

Anaphora

According to Charteris-Black (2014, 42), anaphora is often used to create a style of delivery where a rhythm is established and which accelerates into a crescendo and creates a powerful emotional effect. The acceleration is a result of a series of anaphora which is repeated at increasingly shorter intervals. This is not the case in Cameron's speech. Cameron uses anaphora to establish a steady rhythm. The anaphora has been marked in bold in the following example:

10. **We need a deal** that keeps 2 degrees alive. **A deal** with a binding legal mechanism. **A deal** that has a 5 year review so we can see how we are doing. **A deal** for the poorest and most vulnerable in terms of finance. **A deal** so that we can measure and verify what happens with the agreement that we make. **And a deal** that transfers technology from the richest countries to the poorest countries. (C, S4-9)

Cameron's use of anaphora also allows him to put a lot emphasis on each sentence which also intensifies his message.

Ellipsis

Cameron chooses to leave out a lot of information by omitting words or phrases. He presumes that the audience is able to retrieve the information from the context:

11. We'd have to say, "it was all too difficult", and they would reply, "well, what was so difficult? (C, S12)

In this example, Cameron presupposes that the audience know that he refers to fighting climate change. A suggestion for the phrase that has been omitted is marked in bold: "It was all too difficult **to come to an agreement on fighting climate change.**" This information should be easily retrieved from the context. The purpose of the conference in Paris was to come to an agreement to fight and adapt to climate change. It is therefore not necessary to

mention this information and Cameron can allow himself to leave it out. The use of ellipsis also helps him to keep the sentences short and simple and in combination with anaphora, contributes to establish a steady rhythm where changes in this rhythm is used to introduce or emphasize crucial points in his speech.

Another reason for why Cameron has chosen to use ellipsis is found by analyzing the circumstances of his speech. Several leaders gave their speech on climate change. Cameron gave his speech at the latter part of this conference and most likely had to keep his speech within a certain time limit. It is therefore unnecessary to repeat information that has already been given by other speakers and most likely repeated throughout this conference. Cameron shows that he has been aware of these circumstances by leaving out unnecessary information.

Repetition

The repetition of the phrases “It was too difficult” and “What was so difficult?” and several variants of them can be found throughout Cameron’s speech. This gives the speech a rhythmical balance and contributes to coherency. The actual phrases are not repeated that often. The phrase “What was so difficult?” is repeated three times, but variants of the phrase occurs throughout the speech. These repetitions add emphasis and intensifies meaning (Charteris-Black 2014, 41). And gives the impression that Cameron gives is certain in his case.

5.1.4 Classical rhetorical figures: tropes

Allusion

As mentioned earlier, there is one dominating visual picture in Cameron’s speech: A conversation between a parent or grandparent and a child. I have previously mentioned that this can be interpreted as an allusion to a British recruitment poster during World War 1 (see section 5.1.3) This allusion compares fighting climate change to fighting in a war. Climate change represent a danger and a threat and this also emphasizes the importance of reaching an agreement and the need for action. The allusion to war, and the use of synecdoche where grandchildren are used to represent future generations, strengthen the use of pathos. The overall effect of this picture is that the distance we feel when we read about the consequences of climate change becomes smaller and more personal. The complexity of climate change as a

scientific topic is also simplified and becomes more comprehensible when it is compared to the dangers of war.

This interpretation relies heavily on the allusion to World War 1 and requires knowledge about British history and culture (see section 5.1.3). A person who does not have this background information would analyze this speech differently as the war element disappears. It is not likely that his fellow leaders at the conference are meant to recognize this and indicates that this part of the speech is directed towards his domestic audience. However, the emotional appeal of the poster can be transferred to advocate for actions towards climate change today. The picture of a conversation between an adult and a child without any allusion to war still has a powerful emotional appeal.

Metaphor

Metaphors are sparsely used in Cameron’s speech. Examples of metaphors in Cameron’s speech includes personification:

12. And countries that aren’t **suffering** from having legally binding climate change legislation; countries that are **thriving** with that legislation. (C, S25)

Personification of countries is common in political speeches and is used to arouse empathy for a social group by evaluating them as heroic. Personification is also used to arouse opposition towards other groups by portraying them as villains. (Charteris-Black 2011, 61) in this context, however, personifications seem to be used to make national economy (a complex concept) easier to understand by using terms that we can relate more to. Other examples of metaphors found in Cameron’s speech has been included in the table below:

Source domain	Examples
Journey	If we are off track in 5 years’ time, a review isn’t difficult (C, S30)
Sports	How can we argue that it’s difficult when in London alone there’s 5 trillion of funds under management and we haven’t even really begun to generate the private finance that is possible to help in tackling climate change? (C, S33)
Construction	A deal with a binding legal mechanism . (C, S5)

Table 1: Examples of metaphors found in Cameron’s speech

Rhetorical questions

Rhetorical questions are a dominating feature in Cameron's speech:

13. What was it that was so difficult? Was it difficult to agree on 2 degrees? Was it difficult when 97% of scientists the world over have said that climate change is urgent and man-made and must be addressed? When there are over 4,000 pieces of literature and reviews making exactly this point? Why was, they would ask us, sticking to 2 degrees above industrial levels so difficult? (C, S17-21)

The rhetorical questions help to emphasize the overall theme of a conversation between a grandparent or parent and a child. The questions make the conversation between adult and child more authentic and they also contribute to the coherency of the speech. They strengthen the appeal based on pathos. Cameron describes a situation where children are demanding answers from adults on why they were not able to fight climate change. The audience will identify themselves with the adult in this conversation. Most people feel uncomfortable in a situation where someone accuses them of only caring about themselves. Cameron tries to evoke this feeling by describing a situation where these feelings occur.

Synecdoche

Cameron uses grandchildren and children to refer to future generations. This synecdoche in combination with the allusion to World War 1, serves as a framework for Cameron's speech and makes it coherent. In addition, it emphasizes the seriousness of the topic and the severe consequences climate change can lead to. The use of synecdoche also enforces the appeal of pathos. Cameron indicates that it is our children and grandchildren that will have to pay if we do nothing to fight climate change. The synecdoche therefore enforces the use of pathos and seeks to evoke feelings of discomfort within its audience. Most people cannot bear to watch innocent people, especially children suffer and will therefore be motivated to change the situation, or in this case: take action to fight climate change.

5.1.5 Combination of figures

As mentioned earlier, Cameron uses the allusion to World War 1 to describe a situation where children accuse adults for not doing enough to fight climate change. Cameron combines this allusion with rhetorical questions so that his speech resembles an actual conversation between

a parent/grandparent and a child. Other figures, such as personification in the following example, also adds to this description:

14. Our grandchildren would rightly ask us: **what was so difficult?** You had this technology, you knew it worked, you knew that *if you gave it to poor and vulnerable countries they could protect themselves against climate change* – **why on earth didn't you do it?** (C, S38-39)

In example 14, Cameron combines the allusion to World War 1 with synecdoche (underlined) with rhetorical questions (marked in bold) and personification (marked in italics). In this example Cameron points at one of the challenges of climate change: Poor and developing countries are more vulnerable to the impacts of climate change than more industrialized countries. Lakoff and Johnson (1980, 458) claims that abstract concepts (such as nations and poverty) are easier to comprehend in terms of another concept. By using personification, Cameron compares a poor country to a poor person. This suits the style of the speech which resembles a conversation between an adult and a child. It would be unrealistic for child to talk about a complex issue such as climate change by using scientific terms and a more advanced vocabulary. Personification is therefore useful to make his speech resemble a conversation with a child.

5.1.6 Summary and definition of style

When writing his speech, Cameron must make sure that the speech is within the time limit of roughly 3-5 minutes. Cameron was one of many leaders who gave their speeches at the conference. It is not necessary to repeat information that has already been given and most likely repeated by other politicians. These are probably some of the conditions that affects his speech. Cameron's speech is dominated by the use of rhetorical figures such as anaphora and rhetorical questions. The allusion to World War 1 serves as a main theme for his speech. The combination of schemes such as anaphora, ellipsis give the text a rhythmical balance and keeps the sentences short and to the point. Repetition of phrases such as: "What was it that was so difficult?" (C, S17) makes his speech more coherent. Metaphors are scarcely used in this speech, but contributes to explain complex concepts such as "poverty" through more familiar terms, such as a "poor person". Cameron's speech is mostly characterized by shorter and simpler phrases: "We all know exactly what is needed to make a good deal here in Paris. We need a deal that keeps 2 degrees alive" (C, S3-4). Cameron also prefer to use a less complex vocabulary such as "rich and poor countries" instead of "industrialized and

developing countries”. Based on these features, I will argue that Cameron has chosen a plain style for his speech which is suitable with the motif of his speech: A conversation between a child and an adult.

5.2 Analysis of Obama’s speech COP 21 Paris

5.2.1 The rhetorical situation

The exigency that needs to be modified at the COP21 meeting, is climate change. The primary audience for Obama is the other leaders present at the conference. However, as discussed in section 4.2.1, some elements of his speech seem to be targeted at other groups as well.

There are several factors in this situation that limit Obama’s room for action and speech. Politicians at this conference are representing their country and will have to consider their domestic audience carefully. This poses several challenges for Obama. The population of the USA have been politically divided for a long time. This polarization also divides the people on questions about climate change (Brewer 2011). Obama must carefully balance his speech to avoid too much negative reactions. Another constraint is the USA’s role in international politics. The U.S. has always had a very important role in international politics and has portrayed itself as a leading nation. However, when it comes to climate change, the USA has shown reluctance to take the same leading role much because of the political division in the country. This collision between the expectations from the international community and those of the American people, put great constraints on and affects the rhetorical situation.

In all of this, the Media plays a key role. Most people will read about or watch this conference in the newspapers or through other means of media. How Obama is portrayed in the media, can play a significant role in how other people perceive him.

Different events can also affect his speech. France suffered from a terrorist attack a few days prior to COP21. The USA have also suffered from terrorist attack and has later marked itself as one of the leading nations in fighting terrorism. Because of this, most people will probably expect the USA to comment upon the terrorist attacks in Paris and it is something Obama must consider when writing his speech.

Other things that he must consider in this situation include the physical setting. He will most likely stand on a podium and will be given a certain amount of time to give his speech. This is a one-way communication situation which allows him to speak without being interrupted. The situation is very formal, so it is unlikely that there will be reactions such as screaming and enthusiastic applause. In order to communicate climate change and call for action, Obama need to consider how he will try to overcome some of the challenges described in section 3.3.1.

5.2.2 Artistic proofs and arrangement

Prologue

The prologue of Obama's speech contains several of the characteristics described in section 2.4.1. He starts his speech by acknowledging people who have played an important role in preparing and hosting the conference:

15. President Hollande, Mr. Secretary General, fellow leaders. We have come to Paris to show our resolve (O, P1). We offer our condolences to the people of France for the barbaric attacks on this beautiful city. We stand united in solidarity not only to deliver justice to the terrorist network responsible for those attacks but to protect our people and uphold the enduring values that keep us strong and keep us free (...). (O, P2).

Obama continues his speech by offering his condolences to the French people who prior to this conference, suffered from a terrorist attack. By doing so, Obama portrays himself as a caring person, however these good characteristics is not applied to Obama alone. By using the pronoun "we", Obama clearly signals that he is a representative for the United States and he uses the prologue to establish the ethos of the USA as well. Obama also uses the prologue to connect with the audience, by clearly signaling that the USA and the audience share the same values. At the end of the prologue, Obama praises France for not cancelling the conference due to the recent terrorist attacks in Paris which also helps to establish a contact with the audience and the ethos of himself and the USA as person of good character.

Narrative

Can be found two places in his speech: First, he reminds the audience that the purpose of this meeting is to come to an agreement to fight climate change. He describes "climate change" as

a threat that will greatly affect our lives in years to come, but that they also have the power to do something about the problem.

16. Nearly 200 nations have assembled here this week -- a declaration that for all the challenges we face, the growing threat of climate change could define the contours of this century more dramatically than any other (...). (O, P3)

Obama later presents several examples that support his view on climate change as he describes it (see the following comments on the artistic proofs). Example 17 shows the second narrative which gives a description of what kind of deal the leaders at COP21 need to agree on. Obama presents what he thinks should be the most important element of the deal:

17. So our task here in Paris is to turn these achievements into an enduring framework for human progress -- not a stopgap solution, but a long-term strategy that gives the world confidence in a low-carbon future. (O, P13)

This narrative also works as a framework for the following description of the measures that must be included in this deal, such as targets set by each country that are regularly updated as their effort to fight climate change increases, a strong system of transparency, investments in new technology and so on (O, P14-18).

Ethos: America as a leading nation and already fighting climate change.

As mentioned earlier, Obama uses the prologue to establish the ethos of himself and the USA. He continues to make appeals based on ethos in later sections of his speech as well:

18. I've come here personally, as the leader of the world's largest economy and the second-largest emitter, to say that the United States of America not only recognizes our role in creating this problem, we embrace our responsibility to do something about it. (O, P7)

In example 18, Obama uses appeals to ethos by showing humility and admitting that the USA as the world's second largest polluter, have contributed to this problem and therefore has a huge responsibility in fighting climate change. The term "second largest polluter" is interesting. It is not incorrect since China has the largest emission of greenhouse gases today, however if we look at pollution per capita, the USA precedes China (Boykoff, 2012).

Obama faces a challenge when it comes to establishing America's ethos as the country has been branded a foot-dragger. Obama uses logos to contradict this impression and will be discussed further below.

Another way to establish someone's ethos is to show that you care about people's wellbeing. Obama does so by claiming that "the USA confirms their ongoing commitment to the Least Developed Countries Fund." (O, P17) and by showing concern for future generations and a willingness to fight climate change in order to secure the lives of future generations (O, P22-23).

Pathos

A strong appeal to pathos can be made by describing either expressing the emotions we wish to evoke in our audience or by describing something that we can relate to (Bakken, 2009, 41). In example 19, Obama uses descriptions to explain how climate change affects us. He refers to IPCC's Synthesis Report (2014) when he describes the consequences of climate change. However, the image he creates is far more vivid compared to the descriptions by the IPCC in example 20:

19. This summer, I saw the effects of climate change firsthand in our northernmost state, Alaska, where **the sea is already swallowing villages** and eroding shorelines; *where permafrost thaws and the tundra burns*; where glaciers are melting at a pace unprecedented in modern times. (O, P5)

20. The atmosphere and ocean has warmed, the amounts of snow and ice have diminished and sea level has risen (IPCC 2014, 2)

Obama uses rhetorical figures to create a more dramatic picture of how climate change affects us. Examples of figures used in the example above are personification (marked in bold) and antithesis (in italics). These figures are also used to give the speech an aesthetic appeal.

Obama also tries to evoke emotions in his audience by describing climate change in terms of war and combine this with a description of future generations as "children" and "grandchildren" (see section 5.2.4). This combination creates a strong appeal based on pathos. Obama reminds his audience that climate change poses a threat to our children and that it is our responsibility to protect them.

The comparison of climate change to war, allows Obama to use elements which make this speech resemble eve-of-battle speeches:

21. And, my fellow leaders, accepting this challenge will not reward us with moments of victory that are clear or quick. Our progress will be measured differently -- in the suffering that is averted, and a planet that's preserved. (Obama, 2015).

Example 21 illustrates how fighting climate change can be seen as a battle against evil where a victory will avert suffering and save our world. This is further supported by the use of war metaphors throughout the speech, which I will explain further below.

Logos

It is evident that Obama is familiar with the content of the latest IPCC report as seen in example 19. He refers to statistics (heat records) to prove that climate change is real and happening now. This argument follows the structure of induction where he presents examples that supports his statement that the consequences of climate change climate change are severe.

22. And it was a preview of one possible future -- a glimpse of our children's fate if the climate keeps changing faster than our efforts to address it. Submerged countries. Abandoned cities. Fields that no longer grow. Political disruptions that trigger new conflict, and even more floods of desperate peoples seeking the sanctuary of nations not their own. (O, P5)

This way of arguing is not typically seen in political speeches. But helps to emphasize his description of climate change as a cause to dramatic changes. My analysis of the rhetorical situation (see section 4.2.1) indicates that Obama has been given a time limit on roughly 10 minutes. He therefore has the time to elaborate on things that he finds important. Such as describing the consequences of climate change.

Enthymemes found in Obama's speech: Suggestions for minor premises have been inserted by me.

Premise	The climate is changing faster than our efforts to address it.
Conclusion	The result of this can be an unstable future.

Figure 6: Example of enthymeme in Obama's speech (O, P5)

The minor premise has been left out. My suggestion for a minor premise: The consequences of climate change are severe. This enthymeme will only be accepted by an audience if they believe that climate change has negative effects on us or that climate change is happening.

In order to strengthen this enthymeme, Obama backs it up with information from the IPCC synthesis report as seen in example 19 and 22. The second enthymeme is simpler than the first

example. As mention in section 2, an opponent can challenge one of the premises in order to attack the propositions made by Obama. The first example an opponent can challenge the premise that the consequences of climate change are unsure and difficult to predict and as a result, may not lead to a more unstable future. The second example has already been discussed in section 2.3.3.

Obama also refutes counterarguments from his opponents, here is one example:

23. Last year, the global economy grew while global carbon emissions from burning fossil fuels stayed flat. And what this means can't be overstated. We have broken the old arguments for inaction. We have proved that strong economic growth and a safer environment no longer have to conflict with one another; they can work in concert with one another. (O, P10)

The counterargument that he presents is that fighting climate change by reducing carbon emission is too expensive. He refutes the opponent's argument by giving the reason that that global carbon emissions stayed flat and the world still had economic growth last year. His alternative option is therefore that we do not have to choose one, but both. It is often normal to present the name of your opponent and his/her arguments prior to the refutation. Obama does not do this. One reason is that he is not referring to one person in particular, but rather a group of people: those skeptical to climate change. The counterargument presented in example 23, is one of the most common arguments made by climate skeptics and by refuting this counterargument, Obama attacks opponent's ethos in addition to strengthening his own ethos (Charteris-Black 2014, 20). In example 23, Obama also tries to reframe climate change as an economic issue and focuses on the positive economic outcome of fighting climate change.

Epilogue

Obama uses the epilogue to repeat the central facts presented in the first narrative (O, P3). The epilogue consists of three paragraphs: P23-25 (see appendices). Paragraph 23 is an appeal to pathos where he describes the importance of fighting climate change. It resembles the eve-of-battle speeches described in example 21 above. He also reminds us what is at stake and why it is important that they reach an agreement: To secure future generations.

24. Let that be the common purpose here in Paris. A world that is worthy of our children. A world that is marked not by conflict, but by cooperation; and not by

human suffering, but by human progress. A world that's safer, and more prosperous, and more secure, and more free than the one that we inherited. (O, P24)

He enforces the pathos by contrasting a broken future with a healed one as two possible consequences that depends on our choices and ability to fight climate change: A world marked by conflict or cooperation, human suffering or progress. He also echoes his words from the first narrative: That it is possible for us to do something about climate change (O, P3).

5.2.3 Classical rhetorical schemes:

Anaphora

Anaphora is used to create and accelerate a rhythm leading to a crescendo. This is done by making the anaphora appear with increasingly shorter intervals (Charteris-Black 2014, 42). This specific use of anaphora is very evident in Obama's speech. In the first part of his speech, anaphora is often found at the beginning of a paragraph:

25. So our task **here in Paris** is to turn these achievements into an enduring framework for human progress -- not a stopgap solution, but a long-term strategy that gives the world confidence in a low-carbon future. (O, P13)

The phrase "here in Paris" is repeated in the next four paragraphs. Later on, a set of anaphora occurs with shorter intervals, which gives the accelerating effect:

26. Just over a week ago, I was in Malaysia, where I held a town hall with young people, and the first question I received was from a young Indonesian woman. **And it wasn't about** terrorism, **it wasn't about** the economy, **it wasn't about** human rights. It was about climate change. (O, P20)

This way of using anaphora to give an accelerating effect, is common in African-American oratory. It is also known as a "calm-to-storm delivery style" and was often used by Martin Luther King Jr. (Charteris-Black 2014, 42). This style is suitable to Obama and his cultural background. It is worth mentioning that in this example, the anaphora can also be analyzed as parallelism where the repetition of a grammatical pattern helps to emphasize the different noun phrases following the subject: terrorism, economy and human rights. The anaphora in this paragraph occurs three times which makes it a part of a tricolon.

Parison

Parison is defined as a “figure in which there is a comparison between two entities” (Charteris-Black 2014, 41). Through his speech, Obama often uses a contrasting picture of a damaged or a healed world. The use of parison helps to emphasize this picture:

27. A world that is marked not by conflict, but by cooperation; and not by human suffering, but by human progress. A world that’s safer, and more prosperous, and more secure, and more free than the one that we inherited. (Obama, 2015)

The contrast of these two worlds is used to describe two possible futures that will be the consequences of the actions taken (or lack thereof) at the Climate Change Conference in Paris. The use of parison allows Obama to draw on pathos to convince his audience to take action. This is done in combination with other rhetorical figures and will be explained further below. Part of this cluster is also a tricolon which I have underlined in the example above.

5.2.4 Classical rhetorical tropes

Metaphor

Metaphors are quite common in Obama’s speeches when he chooses to use an elevated style. The table below gives examples on metaphors categorized by different source domains. There are more metaphors that can be sorted into different categories based on different source domains, but due to the limits of my thesis, I will comment on only some of them. Two of the most common metaphors in Obama’s speech are journey and war metaphors.

Source domain	Examples
Journey	For our part, America is on track to reach the emissions targets that I set six years ago in Copenhagen (...) (O, P12) And finally, here in Paris, let’s show businesses and investors that the global economy is on a firm path towards a low-carbon future (O, P18)
War	One of the enemies that we'll be fighting at this conference is cynicism, the notion we can't do anything about climate change (O, P11) (...) we'll unleash the creative power of our best scientists and engineers and entrepreneurs to deploy clean energy technologies and the new jobs and new opportunities that they create all around the world (O, P18)
Construction	(...) an act of defiance that proves nothing will deter us from building the future we want for our children (O, P2) (...) an agreement that helps us lift people from poverty without condemning the next generation to a planet that’s beyond its capacity to repair (O, P19)

Water	Political disruptions that trigger new conflict, and even more floods of desperate peoples seeking the sanctuary of nations not their own (O, P5)
	Here in Paris, let's also make sure that these resources flow to the countries that need help preparing for the impacts of climate change (...). (O, P17)

Table 2: Examples of metaphors found in Obama's speech.

War metaphors: TO TAKE ACTION AGAINST CLIMATE CHANGE IS WAR

Conceptual metaphors where “war” is being used as a source domain, are quite common in Obama's speech. They occur throughout the text and makes it more coherent. “Fight” is defined as

Word such as “enemy” and “fight” are often used a military context. Fight: Take part in a violent struggle involving the exchange of physical blows or the use of weapons or engage in war or battles. Enemy are often used to define a hostile nation, but can also refer to a person who is hostile or opposed to something (OD). However, the OD also offer alternative definitions: “Fight” is often used to describe a situation where two people argue. This is an indication that the metaphors have been conventionalized or entrenched. The link to a war domain is still visible.

As I mentioned earlier in section 5.2.2, Obama's speech has features that are similar to eve-of-battle speeches. Eve-of-battle speeches are given to motivate an audience who are facing imminent danger. These speeches are used by military leaders, but also given in a non-military context by politicians in times of crisis (Charteris-Black 2014, 34). Combined with the picture he creates of an uncertain future (a broken or healed world), metaphors enforce a strong call for action against climate change and that climate change is indeed a crisis.

The use of war metaphors can also hide certain aspects of climate change. Lakoff and Johnson (1980, 454) uses ARGUMENT IS WAR as an example. They give example which supports why it is meaningful to talk about arguments in terms of war: Your claims are indefensible. He attacked every weak point in my argument. His criticisms were right on target. I demolished his argument (Lakoff and Johnson 1980, 454). We do not just talk about arguments in terms of war. Wi win or lose arguments. We see the person we argue with as an opponent. When we are preoccupied with battle aspects, we lose sight of cooperative aspects. This can be the case with climate change. We often talk about climate change in terms of war: We fight or combat climate change. We set targets to reduce our CO2 emission, etc. This way of thinking is seen in debates on climate change. IPCC (2014) says that in order to adapt to

climate change, we need to cooperate. This aspect of climate change disappears when we talk about climate change in terms of war.

Water metaphors

Charteris-Black (2011, 13) claims that water metaphors are used to highlight immigration as something negative. Immigrants are viewed negatively by using de-humanizing metaphors, e.g. movement of water such as “tide” or “flood”. Obama refers to the IPCC Synthesis report (2014) when he claims that one of the consequences of climate change more conflict and more refugees. Articles in New York Times, Washington Post and The Guardian showed that the terrorist attack in Paris a few weeks prior to COP21 got a lot of attention. In addition to this, the ongoing refugee crisis in Europe was also a much-debated topic. It is possible that Obama chose to highlight conflict and the refugee crises to link them to the consequences of climate change and by doing so, show his audience that these events that we experience today can happen more often in the future due to climate change.

Periphrasis

Periphrasis is a figure where more words than necessary are used to express a meaning (Charteris-Black 2014, 47). In the following paragraph from his speech, Obama describes what the USA has already done to fight climate change:

28. Over the last seven years, we’ve made ambitious investments in clean energy, and ambitious reductions in our carbon emissions. We’ve multiplied wind power threefold, and solar power more than twentyfold, helping create parts of America where these clean power sources are finally cheaper than dirtier, conventional power. We’ve invested in energy efficiency in every way imaginable. **We’ve said no** to infrastructure that would pull high-carbon fossil fuels **from the ground**, and **we’ve said yes** to the first-ever set of national standards limiting the amount of carbon pollution our power plants can release **into the sky**. (O, P8)

Obama tries to contradict the impression of the hesitant role the USA has played when fighting climate change. Obama claims that the USA *is* taking its role seriously and has already made great efforts to fight climate change by investing in clean energy, reducing carbon emissions. The first sentence of this paragraph would be enough to state Obama’s point, but he deliberately chooses to elaborate by using an induction (see section 2.3.3.) to present specific examples that support his view. on this which makes these achievements

sound greater than they necessary are. This is emphasized by numerous figures that can be found within this paragraph: Antithesis (marked in bold) which creates contrasts between clean and dirty, ground (down) and sky (up), and yes and no. Clean and dirty power sources are metaphors used to describe environmentally friendly and polluting power sources or give association to morality where clean power sources can be seen as morally clean. (Skinnemoen 2009, 111-112). The periphrasis plays an important role in Obama's speech. As mentioned earlier the USA, has been criticized for not doing enough in fighting climate change. This paragraph, with its detailed description of the achievements made by the U.S. to fight climate change, serves as an answer to this criticism. This effect is enforced by the use of rhetorical figures such as periphrasis in combination with antithesis and metaphor.

Synecdoche

As mentioned earlier in 3.3.1, one of the challenges in communicating climate change and make people take action, is the complexity of the topic and consequences that do not affect us as much as future generations. This distance in time makes it easier to not take action against climate change and lessens our feeling of responsibility. In order to shorten this distance, Obama uses a synecdoche by referring to future generations as "children" and/or "grandchildren". The use of this particular synecdoche contributes to a strong emotional appeal to his audience.

5.2.5 Combination of figures

Obama is known for using an elevated style and it is often seen through his choice of rhetorical figures and the combination of them. He often combines rhetorical features from African-American rhetoric and classical rhetoric with each other. His speeches often contain rich and multiplex rhetorical features which makes it more difficult to analyze (Charteris-Black 2014, 51). My findings support this statement as seen in the analysis of the paragraph below:

29. [For I believe, in the words of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., that there is such a thing as being too late. And when it comes to climate change, that hour is almost upon us.] But if we act here, if we act now, if we place our own short-term interests behind the air that our young people will breathe, and the food that they will eat, and the water that they will drink, and the hopes and dreams that sustain their lives, [then we won't be too late for them.] (O, P22)

This paragraph combines the use of schemes such as anaphora (marked in bold. The repeated unit in the anaphora is actually *and the* + [Noun Phrase with relative clause]. In the text only the introductory *and the* is highlighted, because it makes it easier to see where each individual unit starts), parallelism (underlined) with tropes such as allusion (in square brackets) and synecdoche (italics). Obama uses a quote from Martin Luther King Jr. and his speech about the Vietnam War (Martosko, 2015) and puts it in a climate change context: “And when it comes to climate change, that our is almost upon us” (Obama, 2015). At the end of this paragraph, Obama refers to Martin Luther King Jr. once more and by doing so, creates frame that unifies the content in this paragraph. There are two parallelisms in this paragraph. The first one could also be analyzed as a isocolon, but because parallelism as Charteris-Black (2014, 41) defines it: “a repetition of syntactic pattern”, I find it more accurate to analyze it as parallelism. The last parallelism could possibly be analyzed as periphrasis since air, food and water are three things we need to survive and hope and dreams give our lives meaning. It could be summarized as “things we need to live sustainable and good lives” This could also be an antithesis as there is a contrast between the physical body (eat, drink and breathe) and the abstract mind (hopes and dreams). I will argue that “our young people” is a synecdoche because it refers to a more specific group of the term “future generations”. “**Our** young people” means the young people of today, rather than a series of future generation. However, from an individual perspective, “our young generation” is a broader term than “children” or “grandchildren”, while from an overall perspective, “our young generation” is more specific than “grandchildren” which can denote people that are not yet born. The anaphora contributes to the rhythm and the accelerating effect described 5.2.3. A videoclip (The Obama White House, 2015) of the speech shows that Obama uses the anaphora to accelerate when he says: “(...) the air that our young people will breathe, and the food that they will eat, and the water that they will drink,” then he pauses before he continues: “(...) and the hopes and dreams that sustain their lives, then we won't be too late for them” (Obama, 2015). It gives an accelerating effect leading to a peak. This accelerating effect suits very well with the message: We are almost too late to do something about climate change and have to hurry”.

5.2.6 Summary

Obama’s speech contains a wide range of rhetorical figures used in combination with each other. This gives the speech a complex and sophisticated style that fits very well with Charteris-Blacks’ definition of elevated style. Figures such as synecdoche and metaphors help

to enforce the use of pathos. Metaphors also play an important role in describing climate change, a complex concept, through more familiar terms such as war or movement. Figures such as periphrasis can be used to strengthen arguments based on logos or the speaker's ethos.

Obama's speeches contain a wide range of rhetorical figures. Some of the most common rhetorical figures found in this speech are: anaphora, parison, parallelism, metaphor, periphrasis and synecdoche. Schemes and tropes are very often used in complex combination with one another. Obama's way of combining several rhetorical figures gives his speech an aesthetic appeal and an elevated style.

5.3 Comparison between Obama and Cameron

5.3.1 The Rhetorical situation

The two first constituents are very similar for both Cameron and Obama. The urgent problem that needs to be fixed is climate change. Both politicians are addressing the same primary audience: the other leaders present at the COP21 meeting. Both speeches contain elements that are aimed at other groups and not just the primary audience. Examples of these groups are their fellow Britons and Americans or more specific groups such as climate skeptics.

Obama and Cameron have to deal with various constraints that limit their room for action and speech. These constraints include conflicting expectations from others, time limits, other events, and challenges related to climate change communication described in 3.3.1.

Both Cameron and Obama must find a balance between the expectations of the British and American people on one side and the expectations of the international society on the other. This challenge is more difficult for Obama than Cameron, due to the political polarization in the U.S. which also divides Republicans and Democrats in questions about climate change as well. The USA has therefore been hesitant in taking the leading role in these matters which collides with the expectations of the international community. Studies (see section 3.2.2.) shows that there is no evident division in the UK.

Both Cameron and Obama faces several challenges when it comes to climate change communication. Section 3.3.1. presents some of these challenges: The complexity of the topic makes it difficult to transfer information to the public. The consequences of climate change

have also been difficult to predict and as a result, people believe that climate change will not affect them. Cameron and Obama must therefore find ways to overcome these challenges.

My analysis of the constraints suggests that Obama and Cameron were given different time limits for their speeches. Obama must have been given a time limit between 10 and 15 minutes, while Cameron's time limit must have been between 3 and 5 minutes. The time limits put great restraints on their speeches and the choices they make about style, content and so on. A timeframe of 3-5 minutes, can make it difficult to follow the arrangement and include all the elements described in 2.2.

5.3.2 Arrangement

Obama's and Cameron's speeches vary a lot in their arrangement. Obama is known for following the classical rhetorical tradition which is evident in the arrangement of his speech. Obama's speech consists of a prologue, two narratives and arguments based on different artistic proofs, refutation and an epilogue. Obama uses the epilogue to establish his own and his country's ethos and connect with his audience. He does so by demonstrating that he is a person of good character: He offers his condolences to the French people after the terrorist attack in Paris and praises them for not cancelling the COP21 meeting. He also shows the audience that he shares their values.

Cameron's prologue is much shorter and he does not use the prologue to establish his ethos or establish. He quickly moves on to the narrative where he presents some essential information about what kind of deal they need. This information serves as a framework for the rest of his speech.

Obama's speech has two narratives. In the first narrative, Obama describes climate change as a threat to humans. He emphasizes the severity of the problem, but also acknowledges that we have the power to do something about it. This narrative is followed by several examples and arguments on how climate change affects us. The second narrative gives a description of what the Paris Agreement should include.

Cameron's speech is mostly based on the appeal of logos and pathos. He spends most of his time presenting and refuting various counterarguments. This strategy has also been used in previous speeches. A central motif in Cameron's speech is the conversation between an adult and a child. The child which represents future generations, is accusing the adult for not doing

enough to fight climate change and demands answers. The child is presented with various reasons or arguments for why the adults never succeeded to reach an agreement on climate change. The child refutes all these arguments until there is no good explanation left. From there, Cameron moves swiftly to the epilogue of his speech where he claims that it is not difficult to reach an agreement and therefore, they should come together and do it.

Obama's speech draws on the appeals of all the artistic proofs: ethos pathos and logos. Logos is used to emphasize the grave consequences of climate change. He uses induction to give several examples which support his statements. He uses logos in combination with ethos to further establish the ethos of the USA by listing up all the measures that has been taken to reduce the effects of climate change. The severity of climate change is further emphasized by using war metaphors. Just like Cameron, Obama refers to future generations as children in order to evoke emotions among his audience. He reminds them of the responsibilities we have to keep our children safe and ensure their future.

In the epilogue, Obama reminds the audience that they have the power to do something about climate change. He then presents contrasting pictures of a world full of suffering and conflict and a world full of progress and safety. These descriptions represent the consequences of actions taken to address climate change and Obama hopes that this will motive the audience to make the right decisions.

5.3.3 Rhetorical figures

Both Obama and Cameron use "children" and "grandchildren" to refer to future generations and both Obama and Cameron compares climate change to war. Obama uses war metaphors and an allusion to the Martin Luther King Jr. and his speech on the Vietnam War. Cameron uses an allusion to World War 1 by referring to a recruitment poster "Daddy, what did you do in the Great War?". This allusion becomes an overall motif for Cameron's speech which resembles a conversation between a parent and child on climate change.

The comparison to war either through the use of metaphor or allusion conforms with previous studies on climate change discourse by Skinnemoen (2009) and Heien (2009). Their studies indicate that comparing climate change to war is a common way of communicating climate change and also emphasizes the severe consequences it might lead to. It also makes it easier

to understand climate change through a more familiar and comprehensible concept, namely war.

In addition to explain climate change through more familiar terms, this combination is also used to overcome one of the challenges in communicating climate change. Previous research indicates that a distance in time makes it more difficult for people to take action against climate change. By using grandchildren and children to represent future generations, the speaker closes the gap between us and the future consequences of climate change.

Both Obama and Cameron portrays climate change as an economic issue. Cameron uses personification to illustrate that legislations on climate change does not need to have negative effects on the economy. Obama uses enthymeme to argue that climate change presents economic opportunities e.g. new jobs through investment in environmental friendly technology. To treat climate change as an economic issue, is also a way of overcoming challenges in communicating climate change. First of all, the economy affects our everyday lives and is a topic that many people care about. In addition, by focusing on the economic possibilities, Obama and Cameron refute the argument that an environmental lifestyle is the equivalent of a lower lifestyle. This can make it more attractive to people to change their habits.

5.3.4 Style

Obama's speech is characterized by an elevated style. This evaluation is based on his use of rhetorical figures such as metaphor that is a common feature in elevated speech. The complex combination of several rhetorical figures as seen in section 5.2.4 is also a typical characteristic for elevated speech. Obama is also known for using an elevated style and my findings support this claim.

Cameron has chosen a plain style for his speech. This evaluation is based on the short sentences that dominates most of his speech. In addition, Cameron uses a simple vocabulary and uses words such as "rich" and "poor" countries instead of "industrialized" and "developed" countries. This plain style seems to fit well with the framework for this speech: A conversation between a parent and a child.

6 FINAL REMARKS

6.1 Limitations of the study

Classical rhetorical devices allow you to analyze a text at different levels and can be used to tell how people seek to persuade others. However, it does not allow you to comment upon all features. Charteris-Black (2014) suggests that in addition to classical rhetorical tradition, one could use traditional discourse analysis, critical discourse analysis and critical metaphor theory to get a more detailed picture of political speeches and their persuasive effect.

In addition, this study is based on interpretations. Even if I have used specific definitions in my analysis, it is still very likely that another person would interpret my findings differently.

The choice of material is quite small and my findings are not representative of common trends for how climate change is portrayed in political speeches. This will require broader and more extensive studies that cannot be done within the limits of this thesis.

6.2 Summary of findings

One of the challenges in persuading people to fight against climate change is the distance in time. People feel that the effects of climate change will happen sometime in the future and therefore has no effect on their daily lives. Both Cameron and Obama compare climate change to war to emphasize the severity of the topic. When combined with a synecdoche where children and grandchildren represents future generations, these figures close the distance in time a little between us and consequences of climate change.

By portraying an environmental friendly lifestyle as an economic opportunity, both Cameron and Obama seek to reject the argument that such a lifestyle implies a lower lifestyle and difficult changes of habits. Cameron's speech is dominated by the use of logos and pathos, while Obama's speech contains the use of all the artistic proofs.

Obama and Cameron have chosen two different styles for their speeches. Obama have chosen an elevated style which he is known for, while Cameron has chosen a plain style which fits with framework of his speech: A conversation between a parent and child.

6.3 Further studies

As mentioned in section 6.1, classical rhetorical tradition can be used to identify some features of political speeches. A further in-depth analysis of these speeches could include the use of discourse analysis, CDA and critical metaphor analysis.

It is also possible to carry out a more quantitative study to find out whether some of the features in these speeches are part of a general trend. Studies to identify changes over time in climate change discourse is therefore another interesting foundation for studies of climate change in political discourse.

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8 Appendices

8.1 PM speech to the COP21 summit in Paris

1. Thank you very much Mr President and can I start by thanking the French President and the French people for hosting us here in Paris.
2. Now we're at the stage of this conference, after a whole series of speeches, where I think we can safely say that every point that needs to be made has been made, although not by every single speaker.
3. We all know exactly what is needed to make a good deal here in Paris.
4. We need a deal that keeps 2 degrees alive.
5. A deal with a binding legal mechanism.
6. A deal that has a 5 year review so we can see how we are doing.
7. A deal for the poorest and most vulnerable in terms of finance.
8. A deal so that we can measure and verify what happens with the agreement that we make.
9. And a deal that transfers technology from the richest countries to the poorest countries.
10. So let me take this argument the other way around.
11. Not what we need to succeed – we all know that – but what we would have to say to our grandchildren if we failed.
12. We'd have to say, "it was all too difficult", and they would reply, "well, what was so difficult?"
13. What was it that was so difficult when the earth was in peril?
14. When sea levels were rising in 2015?
15. When crops were failing?
16. When deserts were expanding?
17. What was it that was so difficult?
18. Was it difficult to agree on 2 degrees?
19. Was it difficult when 97% of scientists the world over have said that climate change is urgent and man-made and must be addressed?
20. When there are over 4,000 pieces of literature and reviews making exactly this point?

21. Why was, they would ask us, sticking to 2 degrees above industrial levels so difficult?
22. Presumably we might have to say: well it was difficult to reach a binding agreement.
23. But they would ask us why is it difficult to reach a legally binding agreement when in 2015 there are already 75 countries – including countries across most of the continents of our world – that already have legally binding climate change legislation?
24. Countries like Britain.
25. And countries that aren't suffering from having legally binding climate change legislation; countries that are thriving with that legislation.
26. Perhaps we'd have to argue it was too difficult to have a review after 5 years.
27. Why, they'd ask us, is it difficult to have a review after 5 years?
28. No one is being asked to preordain what that review would say.
29. No one is being asked to sign up to automatic decreases in their carbon emissions.
30. If we are off track in 5 years' time, a review isn't difficult.
31. Perhaps we'd have to say it was too difficult to reach an agreement about finance, too difficult to get to \$100 billion of climate finance by 2020.
32. But how could we argue to our grandchildren that it was difficult when we've already managed to generate \$62 billion by 2014?
33. How can we argue that it's difficult when in London alone there's 5 trillion of funds under management and we haven't even really begun to generate the private finance that is possible to help in tackling climate change?
34. They'll ask us: was it really too difficult to agree to a mechanism to measure and verify what we've all signed up to?
35. How can that be so difficult, that we agree that over time we must make sure that we are delivering on the things that we said we would deliver on here in Paris.
36. And finally, would we really be able to argue that it was too difficult?
37. Too difficult to transfer technology from rich countries to poorer countries?
38. Our grandchildren would rightly ask us: what was so difficult?
39. You had this technology, you knew it worked, you knew that if you gave it to poor and vulnerable countries they could protect themselves against climate change – why on earth didn't you do it?

40. What I'm saying is that instead of making excuses tomorrow to our children and grandchildren, we should be taking action against climate change today.

41. What we are looking for is not difficult, it is doable and therefore we should come together and do it.

42. Thank you.

8.2 Remarks by President Obama at the First Session of COP21

1. President Hollande, Mr. Secretary General, fellow leaders. We have come to Paris to show our resolve.

2. We offer our condolences to the people of France for the barbaric attacks on this beautiful city. We stand united in solidarity not only to deliver justice to the terrorist network responsible for those attacks but to protect our people and uphold the enduring values that keep us strong and keep us free. And we salute the people of Paris for insisting this crucial conference go on -- an act of defiance that proves nothing will deter us from building the future we want for our children. What greater rejection of those who would tear down our world than marshaling our best efforts to save it?

3. Nearly 200 nations have assembled here this week -- a declaration that for all the challenges we face, the growing threat of climate change could define the contours of this century more dramatically than any other. What should give us hope that this is a turning point, that this is the moment we finally determined we would save our planet, is the fact that our nations share a sense of urgency about this challenge and a growing realization that it is within our power to do something about it.

4. Our understanding of the ways human beings disrupt the climate advances by the day. Fourteen of the fifteen warmest years on record have occurred since the year 2000 -- and 2015 is on pace to be the warmest year of all. No nation -- large or small, wealthy or poor -- is immune to what this means.

5. This summer, I saw the effects of climate change firsthand in our northernmost state, Alaska, where the sea is already swallowing villages and eroding shorelines; where permafrost thaws and the tundra burns; where glaciers are melting at a pace unprecedented in modern times. And it was a preview of one possible future -- a glimpse of our children's fate if the climate keeps changing faster than our efforts to address it. Submerged countries. Abandoned cities. Fields that no longer grow. Political disruptions that trigger new conflict, and even more floods of desperate peoples seeking the sanctuary of nations not their own.

6. That future is not one of strong economies, nor is it one where fragile states can find their footing. That future is one that we have the power to change. Right here. Right now. But

only if we rise to this moment. As one of America's governors has said, "We are the first generation to feel the impact of climate change, and the last generation that can do something about it."

7. I've come here personally, as the leader of the world's largest economy and the second-largest emitter, to say that the United States of America not only recognizes our role in creating this problem, we embrace our responsibility to do something about it.

8. Over the last seven years, we've made ambitious investments in clean energy, and ambitious reductions in our carbon emissions. We've multiplied wind power threefold, and solar power more than twentyfold, helping create parts of America where these clean power sources are finally cheaper than dirtier, conventional power. We've invested in energy efficiency in every way imaginable. We've said no to infrastructure that would pull high-carbon fossil fuels from the ground, and we've said yes to the first-ever set of national standards limiting the amount of carbon pollution our power plants can release into the sky.

9. The advances we've made have helped drive our economic output to all-time highs, and drive our carbon pollution to its lowest levels in nearly two decades.

10. But the good news is this is not an American trend alone. Last year, the global economy grew while global carbon emissions from burning fossil fuels stayed flat. And what this means can't be overstated. We have broken the old arguments for inaction. We have proved that strong economic growth and a safer environment no longer have to conflict with one another; they can work in concert with one another.

11. And that should give us hope. One of the enemies that we'll be fighting at this conference is cynicism, the notion we can't do anything about climate change. Our progress should give us hope during these two weeks -- hope that is rooted in collective action.

12. Earlier this month in Dubai, after years of delay, the world agreed to work together to cut the super-pollutants known as HFCs. That's progress. Already, prior to Paris, more than 180 countries representing nearly 95 percent of global emissions have put forward their own climate targets. That is progress. For our part, America is on track to reach the emissions targets that I set six years ago in Copenhagen -- we will reduce our carbon emissions in the range of 17 percent below 2005 levels by 2020. And that's why, last year, I set a new target: America will reduce our emissions 26 to 28 percent below 2005 levels within 10 years from now.

13. So our task here in Paris is to turn these achievements into an enduring framework for human progress -- not a stopgap solution, but a long-term strategy that gives the world confidence in a low-carbon future.

14. Here, in Paris, let's secure an agreement that builds in ambition, where progress paves the way for regularly updated targets -- targets that are not set for each of us but by each of us, taking into account the differences that each nation is facing.

15. Here in Paris, let's agree to a strong system of transparency that gives each of us the confidence that all of us are meeting our commitments. And let's make sure that the countries who don't yet have the full capacity to report on their targets receive the support that they need.

16. Here in Paris, let's reaffirm our commitment that resources will be there for countries willing to do their part to skip the dirty phase of development. And I recognize this will not be easy. It will take a commitment to innovation and the capital to continue driving down the cost of clean energy. And that's why, this afternoon, I'll join many of you to announce an historic joint effort to accelerate public and private clean energy innovation on a global scale.

17. Here in Paris, let's also make sure that these resources flow to the countries that need help preparing for the impacts of climate change that we can no longer avoid. We know the truth that many nations have contributed little to climate change but will be the first to feel its most destructive effects. For some, particularly island nations -- whose leaders I'll meet with tomorrow -- climate change is a threat to their very existence. And that's why today, in concert with other nations, America confirms our strong and ongoing commitment to the Least Developed Countries Fund. And tomorrow, we'll pledge new contributions to risk insurance initiatives that help vulnerable populations rebuild stronger after climate-related disasters.

18. And finally, here in Paris, let's show businesses and investors that the global economy is on a firm path towards a low-carbon future. If we put the right rules and incentives in place, we'll unleash the creative power of our best scientists and engineers and entrepreneurs to deploy clean energy technologies and the new jobs and new opportunities that they create all around the world. There are hundreds of billions of dollars ready to deploy to countries around the world if they get the signal that we mean business this time. Let's send that signal.

19. That's what we seek in these next two weeks. Not simply an agreement to roll back the pollution we put into our skies, but an agreement that helps us lift people from poverty without condemning the next generation to a planet that's beyond its capacity to repair. Here, in Paris, we can show the world what is possible when we come together, united in common effort and by a common purpose.

20. And let there be no doubt, the next generation is watching what we do. Just over a week ago, I was in Malaysia, where I held a town hall with young people, and the first question I received was from a young Indonesian woman. And it wasn't about terrorism, it wasn't about the economy, it wasn't about human rights. It was about climate change. And she asked whether I was optimistic about what we can achieve here in Paris, and what young people like her could do to help.

21. I want our actions to show her that we're listening. I want our actions to be big enough to draw on the talents of all our people -- men and women, rich and poor -- I want to show her passionate, idealistic young generation that we care about their future.

22. For I believe, in the words of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., that there is such a thing as being too late. And when it comes to climate change, that hour is almost upon us. But if we act here, if we act now, if we place our own short-term interests behind the air that our young people will breathe, and the food that they will eat, and the water that they will drink, and the hopes and dreams that sustain their lives, then we won't be too late for them.

23. And, my fellow leaders, accepting this challenge will not reward us with moments of victory that are clear or quick. Our progress will be measured differently -- in the suffering that is averted, and a planet that's preserved. And that's what's always made this so hard. Our generation may not even live to see the full realization of what we do here. But the knowledge that the next generation will be better off for what we do here -- can we imagine a more worthy reward than that? Passing that on to our children and our grandchildren, so that when they look back and they see what we did here in Paris, they can take pride in our achievement.

24. Let that be the common purpose here in Paris. A world that is worthy of our children. A world that is marked not by conflict, but by cooperation; and not by human suffering, but by human progress. A world that's safer, and more prosperous, and more secure, and more free than the one that we inherited.

25. Let's get to work. Thank you very much.

8.3 List of schemes found in Cameron's speech

Scheme	Definition	Examples/comments
Anaphora	Repetition of a phrase at the start of a unit	<i>We need a deal</i> that keeps 2 degrees alive. <i>A deal</i> with a binding legal mechanism. <i>A deal</i> that has a 5 year review so we can see how we are doing. <i>A deal</i> for the poorest and most vulnerable in terms of finance. (This is a common scheme in Cameron's speech)
Antithesis	Semantic relation of opposition or contrast	What I'm saying is that instead of making excuses <i>tomorrow</i> to our children and grandchildren, we should be taking action against climate change <i>today</i> . (Contrast between the present and the future)
Chiasmus	Word order in first part is reversed in the second part	(None found)
Ellipsis	Omission of a word or phrase	Was it difficult to agree on <i>2 degrees</i> ? ("Keeping global temperature rise below..." is omitted. Cameron assumes that this information is retrievable from the context)
Epiphora	Repetition of a phrase at the end of a unit (the repetition need	Perhaps we'd have to argue it was too difficult to have a <i>review after 5 years</i> . Why, they'd ask us, is it difficult to have a <i>review after 5 years</i> ? No one is being asked to preordain what that <i>review</i> would say. No one is being asked to sign up to automatic decreases in their carbon

	not to be identical)	emissions. If we are off track in 5 years' time, a <i>review</i> isn't difficult.
Isocolon	Use of two parts of similar length	Perhaps we'd have to say <i>it was too difficult to reach an agreement about finance, too difficult to get to \$100 billion of climate finance by 2020.</i>
Parison	A comparison between two entities	And countries that aren't <i>suffering</i> from having legally binding climate change legislation; countries that are <i>thriving</i> with that legislation. (A comparison between two conditions, this can also be analyzed as an antithesis)
Parallelism	Repetition of a syntactic pattern	We'd have to say, "it was all too difficult", and they would reply, "well, what was so difficult?" (Partial parallelism)
Repetition	Repetition of a word or phrase (Repetition always adds emphasis and so intensifies meaning)	We'd have to say, "it was all too difficult", and they would reply, " <i>well, what was so difficult?</i> " What was it that was so difficult when the earth was in peril? When sea levels were rising in 2015? When crops were failing? When deserts were expanding? <i>What was it that was so difficult?</i> (The actual question "What was so difficult?" is repeated three times, during the speech, however, several varieties of this question can be found throughout Cameron's speech: "What was it that was so difficult when the earth was in peril?")
Tricolon	Use of three parts of equal length	(None found)

8.4 List of Tropes found in Cameron's speech

Tropes	Definition	Examples/comments
Allusion	An indirect evocation of another well-known textual or cultural reference	Not what we need to succeed – we all know that – <i>but what we would have to say to our grandchildren if we failed.</i> (An allusion to recruitment posters during the First World War.)
Antonomasia	A person's name is replaced by an epithet	Thank you very much <i>Mr President</i> and can I start by thanking the <i>French President</i> and the French people for hosting us here in Paris.
Hyperbole	A word or phrase is deliberately exaggerated to intensify the meaning	(None found)
Irony	A meaning that is the opposite of what is conveyed literally by these words	(None found, however, some phrases have an ironic feel to them: "We'd have to say, "it was all too difficult")
Litotes/	A word or phrase that	What we are looking for is not difficult, it is

euphemism	makes a deliberate understatement	doable and therefore we should come together and do it. (Previous attempts show that reaching an agreement has proven to be quite difficult)
Metaphors	A shift in the sense of a word or phrase from its earlier, more concrete or more embodied sense	A deal with a binding legal mechanism . (...) help in tackling climate change?
Metonymy	An attribute of an entity is used to refer to another entity to which it is closely related in our experience	(None found)
Oxymoron	A combination of words of incongruous or contradictory meaning	(None found)
Periphrasis	There is a use of more words than what is necessary to express a meaning	(None found)
Personification	Human qualities are ascribed to non-human entities	And countries that aren't suffering from having legally binding climate change legislation; countries that are thriving with that legislation.
Rhetorical question	A question that is grammatically interrogative but for which the answer is already known and so not given	What was it that was so difficult when the earth was in peril? When sea levels were rising in 2015? When crops were failing? When deserts were expanding? What was it that was so difficult? (This is a common trope in Cameron's speech)
Synecdoche	A part is used to refer to the whole entity	What I'm saying is that instead of making excuses tomorrow to our children and grandchildren , we should be taking action against climate change today. (“Children” and “grandchildren” are used to refer to future generations which is a broader term.)

8.5 List of schemes found in Obama's speech

Scheme	Definition	Examples
Anaphora	Repetition of a phrase at the start of a unit	I want our actions to show her that we're listening. I want our actions to be big enough to draw on the talents of all our people -- men and women, rich and poor -- I want to show her passionate, idealistic young generation that we care about their future.

Antithesis	Semantic relation of opposition or contrast	We are the <i>first</i> generation to feel the impact of climate change, and the <i>last</i> generation that can do something about it.
Chiasmus	Word order in first part is reversed in the second part	(None found)
Ellipsis	Omission of a word or phrase	We have come to Paris to show our resolve. ("To address climate change" at the end of the sentence is omitted. This information is given by the context of the event: The Climate Change Conference)
Epiphora	Repetition of a phrase at the end of a unit (the repetition need not to be identical)	(None found)
Isocolon	Use of two parts of similar length	But if we act here, if we act now. Right here, right now. (These could also be analyzed as parallelism)
Parison	A comparison between two entities	A world that is marked <i>not by conflict, but by cooperation</i> ; and <i>not by human suffering, but by human progress</i> . (Can also be analyzed as isocolon or parallelism)
Parallelism	Repetition of a syntactic pattern	(...) if we place our own short-term interests behind <i>the air that our young people will breathe, and the food that they will eat, and the water that they will drink, and the hopes and dreams that sustain their lives</i> , then we won't be too late for them.
Repetition	Repetition of a word or phrase (Repetition always adds emphasis and so intensifies meaning)	Earlier this month in Dubai, after years of delay, the world agreed to work together to cut the super-pollutants known as HFCs. <i>That's progress</i> . Already, prior to Paris, more than 180 countries representing nearly 95 percent of global emissions have put forward their own climate targets. <i>That is progress</i> . (The phrase emphasizes that the measures taken so far are indeed progress)
Tricolon	Use of three parts of equal length	A world that's safer, <i>and more prosperous, and more secure, and more free</i> than the one that we inherited. (Can also be analyzed as anaphora since "and more" + adjective is repeated, or as a parison since "more" indicate a comparison between present and future conditions)

8.6 List of tropes found in Obama's speech

Tropes	Definition	Examples
Allusion	An indirect evocation of another well-known textual or cultural reference	For I believe, in the words of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., that there is such a thing as being too late. (This is an allusion to the Vietnam War, which emphasizes the grave consequences of climate change)
Antonomasia	A person's name is replaced by an epithet	As one of <i>America's governors</i> has said, "We are the first generation to feel the impact of climate change, and the last

		generation that can do something about it.”
Hyperbole	A word or phrase is deliberately exaggerated to intensify the meaning	For some, particularly island nations -- whose leaders I’ll meet with tomorrow -- climate change is a threat to their very existence. (This example is not necessarily hyperbolic, since it is true, but the use of words such as “threat to their very existence” certainly makes it sound more vivid, compared to the description given by the IPCC (2014, 13): “Costal and low-lying areas are at risk from sea level rise(...)”
Irony	A meaning that is the opposite of what is conveyed literally by these words	(None found)
Litotes	A word or phrase that makes a deliberate understatement	(None found)
Metaphors	A shift in the sense of a word or phrase from its earlier, more concrete or more embodied sense	(...) and even more floods of desperate peoples seeking the sanctuary of nations not their own. No nation is immune to what this means.
Metonymy	An attribute of an entity is used to refer to another entity to which it is closely related in our experience	“...helping create parts of America where these clean power sources are finally cheaper than dirtier, conventional power. ”
Oxymoron	A combination of words of incongruous or contradictory meaning	(...) where permafrost thaws and the tundra burns (...) (Can also be analyzed as antithesis since the phrase depict a contrast between warm and cold)
Periphrasis	There is a use of more words than what is necessary to express a meaning	Over the last seven years, we’ve made ambitious investments in clean energy, and ambitious reductions in our carbon emissions. We’ve multiplied wind power threefold, and solar power more than twentyfold, helping create parts of America where these clean power sources are finally cheaper than dirtier, conventional power (...) The advances we’ve made have helped drive our economic output to all-time highs, and drive our carbon pollution to its lowest levels in nearly two decades. (The last part of the part of Obama’s description of the measures taken by the USA to fight climate change summarizes what he has said earlier and could have been left out.)
Personification	Human qualities are ascribed to non-human entities	(...) the sea is already swallowing villages (...)
Rhetorical question	A question that is grammatically interrogative but for which the answer is already known and so not given	But the knowledge that the next generation will be better off for what we do here -- can we imagine a more worthy reward than that?
Synecdoche	A part is used to refer to the whole entity	Passing that on to our children and our grandchildren , so that when they look back and they see what we did here in Paris, they can take pride in our achievement.

8.7 Poster: "Daddy, what did you do in the Great War?"



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