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**The use of linguistics in indicating the influence of political power in shaping politicians' behaviour: The case of Demetrios D. Bousdras<sup>1</sup>**

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**Abstract**

This study investigates the language used in Demetrios, D. Bousdras's political speeches to Thessalian farmers during the period 1909-1917 by identifying language choices through the applications of appraisal theory and conceptual metaphor theory (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, 2003; Martin & White, 2005). Critical discourse analysis is also used to interpret and explain the socio-political context hidden in the discourse (Fairclough, 1989). Extracts from five political speeches selected from Bousdras's book (1951) were analysed. The language patterns drawn from the speeches' corpus have shown that Bousdras used language to communicate vision to the farmers. Implications of the findings indicate that intervening political structures, such as political regimes, parties and state structures can shape individual behaviour (Sotiropoulos & Bourikos, 2002).

**Key words:** appraisal theory; conceptual metaphor theory; political power; critical discourse analysis; political discourse; vision

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## 1. Introduction

There is a plethora of studies relating to the use of metaphor and appraisal theory in relation to analysing politicians' ideology and aspirations. Chartets- Black (2011) argued that a pure metaphor is a word or phrase that changes its use from a common or basic sense to another sense contrary to the common use. His analysis of political speeches of four British (Winston Churchill, Enoch Powell, Margaret Thatcher and Tony Blair) and five American politicians (Martin Luther King, Ronald Reagan, Bill Clinton, George Bush and Barack Obama) showed that metaphor is essential to their persuasiveness. He argued that metaphor is a way of presenting shared experience and familiarity and helps politicians to present innovative ideas and political issues. In addition, Helander (2014) investigated alignments in speeches by Sir Winston Churchill and Tony Blair. His analysis showed that both speakers aligned themselves with their audiences pointing out that the linguistic appraisal devices were used to legitimise the speakers' opinions and intentions.

There is little research on the rhetoric of Greek politics in the 20th century. One of the few studies on analysing Greek politics in 1909 refers to Mazower's (1992) article where he discussed the rise of Venizelos and makes a comparison of him with the generation of politicians which preceded him, and with his leading contemporary Gounaris. The author argued that Venizelos used his rhetorical skills and the press and became the agent of national regeneration. He concluded that the interpretation of his rise highlighted the personality-centred quality of Greek politics of the time. Bousdras was a politician who eventually supported Venizelos's party and became one of his senators (1932-1935). However, the literature on the political rhetoric of Venizelos's senate of the period is meagre. Sotiropoulos and Bourikos (2002) argue that one of the limits and problems of past approaches to Greek political elites is that existing studies in the literature tend to focus on profiles of individuals rather than on structures. Available studies tend to neglect the intervening political structures, which shape individual behaviour. Demetrios Bousdras was the one who fought for the big idea of farming by taking over with the aim to vindicate Antypas's and other fighters' endeavours who lost their lives in support of the big idea. On the 22 of May 1909 he founded and chaired the Lowland Farming Association in Karditsa; in 1910 he created his own political agrarian party being elected as an MP

for 24 years. Bousdras's fights had positive outcomes a) the release of enslaved peasants; b) the rehabilitation of landless cultivators; c) the formation of the agrarian bank with the law 4332/1929 under Venizelos's government; and d) the commencement of hydraulic works. It is important to analyse his speeches and show how political regimes of the period shaped his political behaviour by supporting Venizelos's party.

This article will analyse the rhetoric Bousdras used in his speeches. The collection of the corpus is made from Bousdras's book (1951). The specific texts were selected because the purpose of the article is to show how language was used to communicate vision in relation to the influence of political power. Bousdras's efforts to convince Thessalian farmers will show how his political approach changed over time thus highlighting thus the strength of political power. This article will make a modest contribution to the literature by covering the gap on lack of studies on the influence of political power in the Greek political elite context (Sotiropoulos & Bourikos, 2002). Specifically, the analysis will identify discursive strategies in order to show the strength of political power. These strategies were discovered through the principles of appraisal theory and conceptual metaphor theory (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, 2003; Martin & White, 2005). The interpretation of the strength of this political power will be explained via the use of critical discourse analysis (Fairclough, 1989, 1992).

## **2. Theoretical background**

Discourse is a term with different definitions integrating various meanings, which covers a large area from linguistics, through sociology, philosophy and other disciplines (Titscher, Meyer & Vetter, 2000, p. 42). Fairclough (1989, p. 24) states that the term refers to "the whole process of interaction of which a text is just a part". Fairclough claims that discourses could be used by speakers to express their ideological content in texts as does the linguistic form of the text. In similar lines Dellinger (1995) argues that texts are organised syntactic forms whose 'content-structure' reflects the ideological organisation of a particular area of social life. Schaffer (1996) argues that political discourse is a sub-category of discourse and can be based on two criteria: functional and thematic. According to Schaffer (1996)

political discourse results from politics and it is historically and culturally determined. It fulfils different functions in relation to different political activities. It is also thematic because topics are related to various forms of politics such as political activities, political ideas and political relations.

Successful politicians are the ones who have achieved success by using rhetoric skilfully and aiming at persuading their audience of the validity of their views. Wareing (2004) argues that the proper selection of words might influence strongly the attitudes of an audience because it could affect people's perception of the others and of themselves. Kouzes and Posner (2006, p. 18) suggested that leaders need to know who they are talking to and speak to them in language they will find engaging. They also stated that leaders should talk about a future destination in ways that others find appealing.

In addition, Van Dijk (2006, p. 733) argues that political situations do not simply cause politicians to speak in certain ways but instead 'there is a need for cognitive collaboration between situations and talk or text, that is context'. Such contexts might help to define how people experience and interpret the for-them relevant aspects of the political situation. Thus, when acting as a Prime Minister, MP, party leader or demonstrator will be perceived by speakers or/and recipients as a relevant context category in political discourse.

Theories such as conceptual metaphor theory and appraisal theory are valuable in making political discourse clear and convincing. Lakoff and Johnson (2003) argued that conceptual metaphor has two domains: the 'source domain' which is the conceptual domain which contains the metaphorical expressions that are tangible or 'mapped from', and the 'target domain' which is the conceptual metaphor that needs to be understood due to its 'abstractness' or 'mapped into'. A 'map' of related thoughts, knowledge, experience and/or behaviour from the source domain are being used to give an idea of what the target domain means and a metaphor is a tool used to connect these 'thoughts'. Therefore, abstract concepts which do not fully make sense can be compared to concepts that are clearer in our experience or thought (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, p. 115).

Metaphors have an impact on cognitive perception and since politics are closely connected with ideology, metaphors influence to a great extent people's political conviction (Lesz, 2011, p. 21). Burkholder and Henry (2009, p. 110) argue that metaphor in political discourse functions as a persuasive tool. Penninck (2014) also argues that metaphor can invigorate a message and arouse emotional response. These emotions can have an influence on how a leader is perceived. Mio, Riggio and Resse (2005, p. 288) indicated that the higher the metaphor use in political speeches, the more they seem to inspire individuals. The researchers argued that the emotions aroused by speeches connect with the topic or rhetor while simultaneously what measures need to be taken are communicated. Their survey on American presidents' charisma indicated that those presidents that used twice as many metaphors in their inaugural speech were perceived as more charismatic.

Daulay (2011) argues that appraisal theory is a linguistic theory about emotions, ethics and aesthetics. It concerns language resources that help to determine how speakers express themselves in relation to their audience. Martin and White (2005) argue that there are five categories of appraisal theory: attitude, appreciation, judgement, engagement, and graduation. This theory makes explicit negotiation elements, classifies them and shows the process of their function in actual situations.

A leader needs to be able to communicate his or her stance on what is good or bad in order to develop mutual purposes and shared values (Bennis, 2003; Collins & Porras, 1991). Communicating the leader's vision means eliciting agreement with those stances from followers (Yukl, 2002). The use of appraisal theory is useful in explaining how to elicit this desired response, which is how to construct relations of alignment and rapport between the speaker and the actual or potential respondents (Martin & White, 2005, p. 2). Followers are being active participants in committing to the leader's vision by making the vision a reality (Rost 1993).

The combination of the use of both appraisal theory and conceptual metaphor theory can make a linguistic analysis clearer because as Avila Soto (2012) argues despite the strong descriptive power of appraisal theory, this description does not sufficiently explain the use of metaphorical constructions employed in the expression of evaluative meanings. Avila Soto (2012) argued that it is necessary to establish a

preliminary empirically-based descriptive link between the conceptual metaphor theory and appraisal theory since evaluative meanings expressed in the configuration of political discourse include both literal meaning forms and a substantial number of metaphorical expressions.

### **3. Method**

These principles of appraisal theory and conceptual metaphor theory were used in order to analyse extracts from political speeches and show Bousdras's linguistic charisma in trying to encourage farmers to fight for their land. The interpretation of the linguistic features identified in the extracts is grounded in Fairclough's assumptions in critical discourse analysis (CDA), which is a research paradigm that linguistically addresses the prevailing social problems by opposing dominant ideological positions (Wodak & Meyer, 2005). Fairclough's notions of CDA transform into an analytical method used in this article including:

the linguistic description of the language text, interpretation of the relationship between the discursive processes and the text, and explanation of the relationship between the discursive processes and the social processes (Fairclough 1989, p. 97).

#### *Sample*

Bousdras's book contains a variety of speeches delivered to Thessalian farmers, members of the Lowland association, members of parliament, conference attendees etc. This article analyses only the speeches delivered to Thessalian farmers.

#### *Data collection*

The selected extracts comprise a large portion of the entire original speeches offered in Bousdras's book. The specific sentences from the speeches were selected because of their rich linguistic nature. Every effort has been made by the author to accurately translate the extracts into English. Bousdras used Katharevousa and not modern Greek and various names mentioned in his speeches when translated into English remained in the accusative for the sake of translation accuracy.

#### 4. Data analysis and results

The extracts from the speeches to be analysed are put in numerical order starting from Text 1 while the linguistic analysis follows. Linguistic elements, which are analysed are in bold. Sometimes discussion of the same linguistic features present in various texts is offered. The repetition of this analysis of these features was considered important in order to clarify Bousdras's political approach and elucidate political power-influence.

**Speech 1 (16th September 1909, Karditsa):** Texts 1-5 are extracts selected from the speech delivered in the main square of Karditsa where the first rally for the agrarian matter took place.

Text 1

...in the House of parliament, a while ago, among others the **prominent** politician Alexandros Zaimis said that the state must reduce its military expenditures because it absorbs half of the budget. **But the opinion is false.** Firstly, nations do not thrive by economising but only by large and inexhaustible resources... (Bousdras, 1951, pp. 2-4).

Bousdras is assessing human behaviour in relation to the sub-category of judgement 'social esteem' which has to do with 'normality' to show how unusual someone is (Martin & White, 2005, p.52): 'the **prominent** politician, Alexandros Zaimis'. In addition, he uses the engagement category since he is using linguistic resources by which he 'adopts stance towards the value positions being referenced by the text and with respect to those they address' (Martin & White, 2005, p.92). Specifically, Bousdras is using 'dialogic contraction' and the subcategory of 'disclamation' which refers to resources concerning ways in which the textual voice positions itself at odds with, or rejecting some contrary positions (Martin & White, 2005, p. 97). This resource is realised through lexico-grammatical items such as concessions: '**But**, this opinion is wrong'. Bousdras invokes critical assessment of the situation. This assessment is further developed in the following extract where Bousdras is trying to strengthen the value of the army.

## Text 2

...as it is known the strength is given only by the army and the fleet,...Greek people will gladly pay the high costs for the military forces first because the queen town is not conquered yet, the joy and hope of the Greeks, and **therefore the king who is turned into marble has not come back to life** and secondly because the army secures the existence of the states and creates their grandeur...( Bousdras, 1951, p. 3 ).

In this extract Bousdras is using the well-known Greek prophecy about the fall of Constantinople where the legend refers to an angel who rescues Constantine XI the emperor as the Ottomans enter the city. The angel turns Constantine into marble and places him under the earth in a cave near the Golden Gate. The legend dictates that the marble king waits to be brought to life and re-conquer the city for the Christians (Nicolle, Haldon & Turnbull, 2007, p. 191). This legend is used by Bousdras in order to show his endeavour to pave the way to the introduction of an argument in favour of establishing a movement in order to take action.

## Text 3

**...We need to draw our attention elsewhere and find the road to progress.** Land is the only source from which everything derives from, the source to which everything is returned and the source whose existence is eternal... Farmers and merchants were the ones who created Athens' glory. However, the fame belongs first and foremost to agriculture...The tsifliks therefore, need to be eradicated via compulsory expropriation because of public necessity. **For this reason, there is a need to create an agrarian movement like the army movement** (Bousdras, 1951, p. 4).

Bousdras is using a conceptual metaphor of a journey to call on the Thessalian farmers to participate in the journey of fighting to eradicate the tsifliks. In a journey, there will be a traveler who marches towards a destination through certain routes on which there will be obstacles (Lakoff & Turner, 1989). In similar lines, a country and its people will encounter difficulties on their way to be successful.

In this extract, we can see that the Thessalian farmers are travelers. In 1909, farmers had experienced hardships and were deprived of land. This was a major problem of that time and Bousdras is encouraging farmers not to give up by inviting them to join the journey to freedom by making a collective effort to get through. This example further indicates the function of simplification in political discourses. Thompson (1996, p.186) argued that abstracted and complicated politics could be made easy to understand by making the topic familiar to people. He argues that the journey is as familiar topic for people and the above extract show that farmers could march towards the journey of freedom, which will help them ‘find the road to progress’ by becoming members of the ‘agrarian movement’.

#### Text 4

...Agriculture by which people are supplied with the appropriate commodities gives birth to industry, as known. **As a mother and a daughter (it) nourishes trade. Those sectors produce riches which form the string of the nervous system of the countries...**(Bousdras, 1951, p.4).

In this extract Bousdras is making use of the human metaphor. Lakoff and Johnson (1980) argue that personification is a special type of metaphor where the object is specified as being a person in order to describe a variety of experiences with non-human entities in relation to human motivation, characteristics and activities. Thus, in political speeches, the nation as a person is used in order to describe some phenomena.

Specifically, Bousdras is using a human metaphor to show that nation is dependent on agriculture and presents agriculture as human. He is then using aspects of the person mapped onto agriculture, which helps people understand specific concepts of agriculture. In particular, growth is mapped on development and it is used to make clear to the farmers that a state is developing and growing thanks to agriculture. In the same way, a human who grows up becomes mature being able to tell others how to be mature, referring to the idea of kinship. This means that a nation which becomes fully developed can tell other undeveloped countries how to develop in an appropriate way. In Bousdras’s example, agriculture helps a country to grow, and based on agriculture, industry and trade flourish.

In addition, this example shows how strength is mapped on economic condition and power. This implies that the health of a country is its economic condition. The sentence ‘Those sectors produce riches which form the string of the nervous system of the countries’ shows that industry and trade are very important for the economy of a country. Bousdras is using this metaphor because he wants to highlight the importance of agriculture on a country’s economy. This also enhances the farmers’ pride about their profession making them eager to participate in actions that protect it.

#### Text 5

(With the existence) of tsifliks no improvement is possible since farmers due to unbearable pressure, deadly hate land-owners and this is because according to the **dear departed** Professor of Political Economy, **Ioannin Soutso**, cultivating big tracts of land in Greece will be a utopia in the long term. In addition, according to the **renowned Adam Smith**, the great owner rarely makes his name as a great source of improvement. The tsifliks therefore, need to be eradicated via compulsory expropriation because of public necessity. **For this reason, there is a need to create an agrarian movement like the army movement. The movement is everything...** (Bousdras, 1951, p. 4).

In this extract Bousdras is assessing human behaviour in relation to the sub-category of judgement ‘social esteem’ which has to do with ‘normality’ to show how unusual someone is (Martin and White, 2005:52) as shown in the sentences: ‘the dear departed Professor of Political Economy Ioannin Soutso... according to the renowned Adam Smith’. This appraisal category is further combined with the use of the conceptual metaphor of a journey which is used by Bousdras in order to convince the farmers to fight in a collectivist manner as shown in the sentence: ‘there is a need to create an agrarian movement like the army movement’. The journey metaphor here shows how ‘burdens to bear’ (Lakoff and Johnson, 1999:188) in the farmers’ case the eradication of tsifliks could be eliminated by creating a context with the audience upon which they agree (they are all cultivating small tracts of land). This is what Bousdras is trying to underline by referring to what is argued by Ioannin Soutso and Adam Smith:

‘cultivating big tracts of land in Greece will be a utopia in the long term...and the great owner rarely makes his name as a great source of improvement’.

**Speech 2 (20th of January 1910, Karditsa):** Texts 6- 7 are extracts selected from the speech delivered in the main square of Karditsa, where a huge rally took place. Thousands of farmers and pupils of the primary school Pitsari Artesianou at the head of the priest of the village Anastasio Katsouda were gathered.

Text 6

...A house and land constitute fatherland. It is therefore a national need to acquire a country. **Money is available but even if there isn't, it can be found because it has a scent for personal interest and it jumps at the one who asks for it.** The government will listen to this national invitation. **But you need to be united because union brings strength....** if there are any differences among ourselves, we need to put them aside...**and we need to be willing to work with perseverance....**we need to maintain law because otherwise it will be difficult to receive capital and we don't want a second front with the criminal law (Bousdras,1951, p.14).

In this extract Bousdras is trying to exemplify the difficulties that need to be encountered during a journey because of impediments to movement. The journey metaphor explains that there will be barriers to overcome' and 'burdens to bear' (Lakoff & Johnson, 1999, p.188). Individuals have to be strong enough and make efforts to overcome these barriers in order to arrive at their destination, which refers to 'fatherland'. The personification metaphor is also used here since Bousdras is using this conceptual metaphor in order to place emphasis on the need to be patient and united in order to reach the destination and to underline the value of effort to achieve the goal. The source domain (barriers) is mapped onto the target domain (difficulties).

Text 7

... we need to maintain law because otherwise it will be difficult to receive capital and **we don't want a second front with the criminal law.** Do you agree with all these?...**Do not forget that you are Rigas Fereos's descendants. He was the one who swore to liberate our country and**

.....sang the everlasting: **“it's better to live for 1 hour as a free man than live for 40 years as a slave in prison....”** We owe to continue his work and swear by his name not to give up our fight till the end. **We haven't got a country. We want a country. Long live our country!** (Bousdras, 1951, pp. 14-15).

In this extract, Bousdras is using social sanction resources that are policed by the rules and regulations mainly coming from the state where members are expected to comply otherwise penalties will be given to those who do not comply (Martin & White, 2005). In this way, he is trying to persuade his audience that in order to receive capital needed for compulsory expropriation, citizens need to be lawful: ‘We don't want a second front with the criminal law’, shows that he used social sanction resources in relation to ‘propriety’ and how ethical someone is (Martin & White, 2005, p.52).

Bousdras is expressing positive judgement and ‘social esteem’ relative to the ‘capacity’ of his fellow descendant by the sentence: ‘Do not forget that you are Rigas Fereos’s descendants. He was the one who swore to liberate our country’. This creates a context with his audience upon which they agree (all of them are descendants of Rigas Fereos). Bousdras aligns himself with the audience through his positive attitude towards Greek people’s braveness, known in history. He is using thus ‘endorse’ by repeating what was ‘demonstrated and proven’ in Greek history. This judgement of ‘social esteem’ is foregrounded through the mode of reminding the song invented by Fereos who sang the everlasting: ‘it's better to live for 1 hour as a free man than live for 40 years as a slave in prison....’.

Social goals set by government are often the destinations of a journey. The source domain (destinations) is mapped onto the target domain (social goals). Among the final destinations freedom and liberty are included (Lakoff & Turner, 1989). This is shown in the above text. Bousdras is using this conceptual metaphor to influence Thessalian farmers that their goals are worthwhile instilling confidence in them. In addition, Bousdras is using the ‘attitude’ category where he is evaluating people’s character. In particular, he is using the sub-category of ‘affect’ which is ‘concerned with emotions with positive and negative emotional responses and dispositions’ (White, 2004b, p. 4). According to White [ibid] these emotions can be expressed

directly (explicit or inscribed) and in this extract Bousdras is using affectual values as being construed as qualities (Martin & White, 2005): ‘the immortal’. Moreover, Bousdras is using his positive feeling to use “affect” as targeting to some specific stimulus (i.e. to work like Fereos). Here, Bousdras is using affectual values which refer to the relational process dimension (Martin & White, 2005, p.47).

**Speech 3 (24th of November 1910, Karditsa):** Texts 8- 11 are extracts selected from the speech delivered in Karditsa where a rally took place.

Text 8

**...our land is sick.** It suffers from a social and economic disease. A few days ago, the political doctor, the Prime Minister Venizelos paid a visit. He examined the patient but his diagnosis was wrong because he considered that the reason for the existence of the quarrels was the lack of settlement of the relationships between tenant farmers and land owners announcing that the settlement is the medicine. **But the lack of settlement is not the reason but the external occasion....** God help us if this wrongful diagnosis prevails because the disease will last longer and the microbe will corrode the agricultural organism. The real cause of the quarrels is the tsifliks’ estate development. This is violence and plundering. And this hatred against the “rapists” which is passed on from generation to generation **displays current land owners as living monuments of usurpers** (Bousdras, 1951, pp. 77-78).

This extract shows how Bousdras’s argument is made clear with the combination of the principles of both the appraisal theory and conceptual metaphor theory. Bousdras is using the personification metaphor (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980) when he is referring to the land as being sick. He is then referring to the Prime Minister Venizelos as being its political doctor. These interesting metaphors are further elaborated when Bousdras is using the descriptive appraisal theory categories to offer his evaluation and indicate that tenant farming is not the right medicine.

Specifically, Bousdras is using ‘dialogic contraction’ and the subcategory of ‘disclamation’ (Martin & White, 2005) when he says ‘But the lack of settlement is not the reason but the external occasion’. He is negatively evaluating the impact of tenant

farming on wise Thessalian farmers' life. 'Judgment' is related to 'propriety' since land owners are judged as people who stick to nothing.

#### Text 9

Expropriation is the medicine. It will strike a lethal blow against serfdom, it will cut the bonds, as the sword of Alexander will cut the Gordian knot. Only Venizelos has the medicine and we will buy it if he sells it, I mean we will support him if he adopts the liberation. For this today we have to think about the price... **Politics is the broad sense is business**, a speculative act and the mind of wise people is changeable. In this prefecture there are two parties: the agrarian and the Venizelian. The Agrarian party supports the expropriation and the Venizelian supports the settlement of the relationship between tenant farmers and land-owners. **You should vote for the Agrarian party because it represents the general and simultaneously your individual interests.** In this case, the expropriation unites and coincides the general with the individual ideal. If expropriation is attained, all slave farmers and each of them separately **will become free and owners of land.** Just as I say, everyone today is not fighting for others, but for himself. Secondly, you will clearly show that the resolution of the agrarian matter is an urgent need. **Feudal tyranny will be gone and the victory of the rural idea will be great...** In the past, you used to vote for Trikoupin or Deligiannin? What was the gain of it? **If you now vote for Venizelos, what will you gain?...** (Bousdras, 1951, pp.77-79).

In this extract Bousdras is using the war metaphor. Xu (2010) argues that the conceptual metaphor 'politics is war' explains why a presidential election campaign is a war. It is argued that during this campaign all candidates will try by all means to fight for a presidential position. In addition, war metaphors are used by politicians to underline that in order to achieve social goals that are worthwhile, personal sacrifice and physical struggle are necessary. Furthermore, politicians will try to imply that short-term hardships are necessary in order to obtain long-term goals. This implies that the politicians use war metaphors to evaluate social goals. Of course, there will be enemies in war and social evils could be an inhibiting factor in progress.

The sentence: ‘politics in the broad sense is business... and the mind of wise people is changeable’ shows that Bousdras is using the metaphor ‘politics is business’ which is related to ‘war is politics’ pursued by other means (Lakoff, 1993). These metaphors imply that ‘the political gains’ of conflict (election campaign) must be balanced ‘against costs’. Bousdras’s judgement implies that voting for the agrarian party and not for Venizelos’s party will turn out to be positive for them because ‘gains are believed to outweigh costs’. Bousdras is trying to persuade farmers that even though Venizelos’s party supports reaching a settlement regarding the relationship between tenant farmers and land owners, which means immediate relief of hardship, the agrarian party supports that such a settlement will not solve the problem but ‘the disease will last longer’. Therefore, Bousdras is trying to persuade them that voting for the agrarian party will be good for farmers’ life in the long run.

In addition, in the above extract Bousdras is using the conceptual metaphor social evils are war (Lakoff, 1991). The source domain (enemies) is mapped onto the target domain (social evils). The example shows that the social evil is ‘feudal tyranny’, which can make a society become unsteady affecting people’s lives limiting people’s joy of peace and freedom. By this metaphor Bousdras is pointing out the specific enemy making thus clearer what needs to be done by the farmers. He is showing that there is a way to fight this social enemy and evil.

By this metaphor, it is shown that Bousdras’s aim is to employ the function of persuasion. Mio and Katz (1996, p. 127) point out that metaphor in politics is used to convince or persuade the public for action or to characterize political opponents. Moreover, Bousdras is negatively evaluating the land owners’ actions. This is evident in the use of the words ‘feudal tyranny’ making them thus reprehensible people. Therefore, Bousdras is using ‘social sanction’ to emphasise the immorality of the situation and persuade farmers to take action and vote for a party that will liberate them since as shown past parties haven’t done anything to solve the problem.

Text 10

**...Shame on you if you lose your courage.** You with your fights, from the lowest dregs of the Thessalian population, rise in a conspicuous position, in the highest top. You are virtuous. The whole Greece is honourably talking

about you. **Your intelligence and honour are judged today...** (Bousdras, 1951, p. 79)

In this extract, Bousdras is using 'appreciation' which refers to 'evaluations which are concerned with positive and negative assessment of objects, artefacts, processes and states of affairs rather than human behaviour' (Martin & White, 2005, p.56). Bousdras is using the subcategory of 'reaction' where the focus is on the impact or quality of products and processes of the listener. Martin and White (2005, p.57) states that 'reaction is related to affection (emotive)...and oriented to interpersonal significance'. Bousdras is trying to encourage the farmers to vote for the agrarian party and prove by this action that they are intelligent and honourable.

Text 11

**...As you well know freedom is not given to people but it is conquered by struggles and maintained by bravery. Blood is the price of freedom. Even Paradise opens its gates after much sadness caused on earth.** The grief is the price and that's why we buy our place in this as in the cemetery. But don't you think that the sword is the key of paradise? Without any sweat there is no virtue... But if you do not fulfil your duties and you become indifferent towards your interests, we clearly state that we will remain and will continue to fight for the liberation movement because freedom is the greatest wealth of people, it is air, the oxygen of life. And with God's blessing we will go through it (Bousdras, 1951, pp 79-80).

In this extract Bousdras is employing the metaphor 'difficulties are impediments to movement' (Lakoff & Johnson, 1999, p. 188) to indicate the difficulties of the journey: 'blood is the price of freedom' and to explain to the farmers the process of reaching their destination, that is their freedom. The source domain (destinations) is mapped onto the target domain (social goals). The extract illustrates that Bousdras is using an effective way to encourage farmers to work hard to achieve their goal by highlighting the fact that people will leave arduousness behind them when they know that a very bright future is waiting for them.

**Speech 4 (16th of October 1911):** Text 12 is an extract selected from the speech delivered to the liberated farmers encouraging them to lead a new life.

#### Text 12

Every dog has his day and now the weeds and wild herbs are eradicated...you need to bridle your passions...**[S]econd, you need to implant into your mind the idea of love** because the taste of love is sweet prolonging life while hatred has a bitter taste corrupting life...**[T]hird, learn farming trade** because the ones who master this trade will become rich **and wealth is the father of happiness**...**[F]ourth, implant into your mind the willpower to work** because willpower is stronger than fate. Labour is life.... **Labour is the biggest virtue. It is God's blessing, leading to happiness. No day without work and like Appellis, the known painter used to say "no day without a stroke of the brush"**. Fifth, **feed land because land is the mother of life**.... for its food, it returns multiple interests, it produces products in abundance. Sixth, remember that time is money and you shouldn't waste your time. **"Be chary of your time"**, our ancestors used to say. Seventh, save up money...you always need to remember that you are mortal and simultaneously you need to take care of having goods in order to become immortal.... **[E]ighth, pay your instalments to the state** because in this way you will assist your colleagues...think about your feelings if others walked out on you. Your deeds should be based on what you would like others to do for you **"don't do to others what we don't want them to do to us"**. Above all you should be grateful because gratitude brings profit.... (Bousdras, 1951, pp.227-228):

In the following sentences

- 'second, you need to implant into your mind the idea of love',
- 'third, learn farming trade because the ones who master this trade will become rich and wealth is the father of happiness',
- 'Labour is the biggest virtue'.

- ‘It is God's blessing, leading to happiness’.

Bousdras employs the ‘happiness’ variable which covers emotions concerned with ‘affairs of the heart’, that is sadness, anger, happiness and love (Martin & White, 2005, p. 49). Moreover, in the sentence ‘No day without work and like Appelis, the known painter used to say’, ‘no day without a stroke of the brush’, Bousdras is using ‘endorse’ (Martin & White, 2005) to persuade farmers to work hard like painter Appelis.

In addition, Bousdras is using the metaphor ‘time is money’ (Lakoff & Johnson, 2003, pp. 7-8). This conceptual metaphor is reflected through the target domain time and the source domain money. Lakoff and Johnson (2003) argue that the metaphor ‘time is money’ leads to the sub-categorisation of concepts such as time is a limited resource and time is a valuable commodity (e.g. we receive hourly wages). In the sentence ‘be chary of your time’ Bousdras is using the sub-category time is a valuable commodity because he tries to persuade the farmers to work hard and not lose time because as he explained earlier in his speech ‘land is the mother of life’. Bousdras is also using ‘endorse’ when he mentions that this proverb ‘be chary of your time’ was used by ancient Greeks. The sentence ‘don’t do to others what we don't want them to do to us’ shows that Bousdras is using ‘judgement of social sanction’ referring to the Old Testament.

**Speech 5 (during the first ten days of July 1917**, as cited by Bousdras, 1951, p.271). Text 13 is an extract from the speech delivered in the crowded squares of Karditsa and Trikala. (Bousdras ,1951, pp. 271-272):

Text 13

On behalf of Eleftherios Venizelos, I bring you his greetings. But I also bring you freedom .... **The enslaved earth breathes the fresh air of freedom. It was foreign and now it became yours.** The earth is the safest means of preservation of life and its life force intertwines with the instinct of self-preservation. Your endeavours for the acquisition of land and the longing for freedom recovery has not proved vain. **Now, you became full citizens and I**

**hope, the future will be overloaded by roses. After Calvary, the resurrection came.** (Bousdras, 1951, pp. 271-272).

In the following sentences ‘The enslaved earth breathes the fresh air of freedom’ and ‘it was foreign and now it became yours’ show that Bousdras is evaluating the farmers’ current state. He is using ‘value’, a sub-category of appreciation where he wants to emphasize how real is freedom now. This is also enforced by the use of the proverb ‘after Calvary, the resurrection came’. The sentence ‘Now, you became full citizens and I hope, the future will be overloaded by roses’ show that Bousdras is using ‘affect’ and the dimension ‘irrealis’ where his feelings involve (intention rather than reaction) with respect to a stimulus that is not yet actualised (Martin & White, 2005, p.48). Martin and White (2005) argue that ‘irrealis’ affect involves fear or desire. In this sentence the verb ‘hope’ indicates that the ‘irrealis’ resource involves desire.

## **5. Discussion of the results and conclusion**

The analysis of Bousdras’s speeches have shown that he is using language as an instrument to interact in a variety of situations being recognized as political environment (Chilton, 1998). Chilton (1998, p.688) argued that language is ‘the universal capacity of humans in all societies to communicate’, while ‘politics is the art of governance’. Bousdras in his speeches used linguistic devices in order to persuade farmers to take specified political actions.

It was found that there is a role of power in social relations (Wodak, 2001). Bousdras’s language choices can be interpreted by the use of CDA since through CDA, the same discourse can be used to construct unequal power relations (Dijk, 1996), but it can also be used to challenge power, to subvert it to alter distribution of power in the short and the long term (Wodak, 2001, p.11).

**Politics in the broad sense is business...You should vote for the Agrarian party because it represents the general and simultaneously your individual interests’...If you now vote for Venizelos what will you gain?...** (Bousdras, 1951, p.79) ...On behalf of Eleftherios Venizelos I bring you his

greetings. But I also bring you freedom. **The enslaved earth breathes the fresh air of freedom** (Bousdras, 1951, p. 271).

The analysis indicated that Bousdras communicated vision to the Thessalian farmers. It is shown that Bousdras is using specific features of leadership that must be present in an effective vision (Martin, 2011). Specifically, he is issuing a challenge suggesting that leaders should incorporate a statement in their visions presenting a challenge or a worthwhile long-range target towards which people can direct their energies (Nanus, 1990, p.17). Bousdras was encouraging farmers to fight for their land highlighting the concept of a vision as a road map to a future destination (Toffler, Toffler, Gibson, 1988): **'We need to draw our attention elsewhere and find the road to progress'** (Bousdras, 1951, p. 4).

Bousdras is also indicating the notion of urgency in order to communicate the vision as a road map. This urgency was discussed by Kotter (1995) in his article in the mid-1990s on why many transformation efforts fail: **'Secondly, you will clearly show that the resolution of the agrarian matter is an urgent need'** (Bousdras. 1951, p.79).

Another feature of vision Bousdras is using is the value of depicting shared values. Bousdras in his speeches was trying to guide farmers by communicating a vision that focuses on motivating principles and values (Collins & Porras, 1991) using the tenet embraced by Kolzow (1999) on the role of vision in the context of strategic planning. Specifically, Kolzow (1999) argued that vision should contain a future that includes shared values that are valuable and important for individuals (Kolzow, 1999). Bousdras tried to appeal to the farmers' emotions by reflecting their hopes and dreams and helping them to see how they can contribute (Blanchard & Stoner, 2004, p.28). In his speeches, he showed that he knew their desires indicating that he was an effective leader in the sense that he depicted shared hopes by speaking in terms of 'we' and not 'I' (Kouzes & Posner, 2006).:

But you need to be united because union brings strength...if there are any differences among ourselves, **we need** to put them aside... **and we need** to be willing to work with perseverance....**we need** to maintain law because

otherwise it will be difficult to receive capital and **we don't** want a second front with the criminal law (Bousdras, 1951, p. 14).

In addition, Bousdras tried to promote bonding, a critical element in vision (Martin, 2011) in his effort to highlight the importance of these shared hopes:

...But if you do not fulfil your duties and you become indifferent towards your interests, we clearly state that **we will remain and will continue to fight for the liberation movement because freedom is the greatest wealth of people, it is air, the oxygen of life.** And with God's blessing **we will go through it** (Bousdras, 1951, p.80).

References to the past, present and the future in vision are also recommended in the leadership literature. Peters (1987, p. 404) suggested that an effective vision prepares for the future but also honors the past noting enduring themes which can make people feel more confident to deal with a new brave world. Bousdras is mentioning Rigas Fereos in his speeches to draw on this past glorious moment in Greek history and empower farmers' efforts:

**Do not forget that you are Rigas Fereos's descendants. He was the one who swore to liberate our country... and sang the everlasting: "it's better to live for 1 hour as a free man than live for 40 years as a slave in prison" ...we owe to continue his work** and swear by his name not to give up our fight till the end (Bousdras, 1951, pp.14-15).

Another feature of vision discussed in the literature refers to the use of imagery. Collins and Porras (1991, pp. 46-47) suggested that the notion of vision as image requires 'a vibrant, engaging, and specific description of what it will be like when the mission is achieved'. The following extract shows how Bousdras is trying to describe specifically how serfdom will be struck. Reference to Alexander's sword and the Gordian knot helps farmers envision the historical moment related to the legend of Phrygian Gordium associated with Alexander the Great. (Lane, 1973, pp.149-151). It is used as a metaphor for an intractable problem and 'to cut the Gordian knot' means to solve a problem by bold action and by violating conventional rules defining the problem and its accepted range of remedies (Hamilton, 2014): '...expropriation is the

medicine. It will strike a lethal blow against serfdom, it will cut the bonds, **as the sword of Alexander will cut the Gordian knot**' (Bousdras, 1951, p. 78).

The means to implement the vision is also discussed in the leadership literature. Allen (2006, p. 5) noted that when leaders execute a vision, they first frame the vision by defining what done means and then they make the vision operational by deciding what doing looks like. Bousdras in this extract is trying to convince the farmers that the vision of expropriation which will fight serfdom will be operational only if farmers decide to negotiate with Venizelos and support him if he adopts liberation: ...'Only Venizelos has the medicine and we will buy it if he sells it, **I mean we will support him if he adopts the liberation. For this today we have to think about the price**' (Bousdras, 1951, p. 78).

This analysis of Bousdras's speeches could help in identifying forms of linguistic manipulation used in the 20th century in Greece. According to Gazi (2009). Georgios, N. Hatzidakis (1848-1941) was the first professor of linguistics in University of Athens. According to his view 'the task of linguistics is to explore and present the process of the evolution of each language with the help of all the historical evidence that is accessible' (Hatzidakis, 1898, p. 8). Gazi (2009) argued that at the end of the nineteenth century, there is a shift within Hatzidakis's scholarship. This shift refers to trials to control language according to the priorities of political agendas formed by bourgeois.

The linguistic analysis of Bousdras's speeches indicate that the specific political context in Thessaly in the 20<sup>th</sup> century had an impact on the use of leadership from a communications standpoint, noting that 'leadership is human (symbolic) communication which modifies the attitudes and behaviours of others in order to meet group goals and needs' (Hackman & Johnson, 2004, p.428). Bousdras's goal was to encourage farmers to fight for their land reflecting Hackman's and Johnson's (2004, p.431) three clusters of communication skills that are: linking (which includes monitoring the environment and creating a trusting climate by fostering team building), envisioning (which relates to creating new visions), and regulating (which means influencing others by developing power). Bousdras tried to promote his agrarian party in order to solve the farmers' problem but eventually he used verbal

communication tools in order to manage change and gain compliance and negotiation by supporting Venizelos's politics. The main implication is that the linguistic analysis illuminated ways in which the dominant forces in a society construct versions of reality that favour their interests (Fairclough, 1992).

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