SUBJECTIVITY IN POST-ATTACK PRESIDENTIAL SPEECHES: HOLLANDE'S AND MACRON'S SPEECHES

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Abstract

In this paper, we propose a linguistic analysis of the post-attack speeches of Presidents François Hollande and Emmanuel Macron, which were delivered in the aftermath of the international terrorism wave that has challenged Europe since 2015. The discourse analysis here conducted demonstrates that the political and social activities following these murderous events are based on a highly emotionally-charged language, both at the micro-textual and macro-textual level. The analysis shows that the presidential utterances contain discourse markers, such as personal pronouns or deictic elements, that trace the speaker's presence as well as a subjective modality expressed by adverbs, modal verbs, and subjective words that communicate the ethos *and* pathos *of the speaker to the addressee. The paper aims to highlight not only the discursive aspects common to both post-attack official speeches; but also the differences in the ethical approach of the two Presidents.*

Keywords: *markers of speech,* pathos *and* ethos*, political discourse, subjectivity in discourse*

1. INTRODUCTION

Following the international terrorism events, the Presidents of the French Republic, as Heads of State and guarantors of democracy, assumed an institutional role of defence and displayed their commitment to fight against terrorism. In the present paper, we propose an analysis of the presidential speeches delivered in the aftermath of major terrorist attacks in Europe, including the *Charlie Hebdo* attack of January 7, 2015, which inaugurated the surge of international terrorism in the European continent. Ever since, Presidents François Hollande and Emmanuel Macron have spoken in several public occasions, denouncing the attacks and presenting possible measures to face the terrorist wave. These speeches are interesting from an enunciative and lexical point of view, given that *pathos* prevails over *logos* to promote an ethical commitment in the name of the core values of the French Republic. After presenting the specificities of the post-attack presidential discourses, we will analyse the enunciation modalities of the speeches, in the form of deictics, adverbs and modal verbs. First, the analysis will identify the markers of emotional discourse at the micro-textual level. Then, we will focus on some lexical elements to analyse the emotional and persuasive charge of post-attack speeches. Finally, we will define some typical features of Hollande's speeches (HS) compared to Macron's (MS).

1.1. Pathos *and* ethos *in the Presidential speech*

From a sociolinguistic point of view, political discourse has a performative function, in that it produces self-legitimation acts that secure political power to people while allowing them to pursue their goals. Political speech may also be considered as a fundamental discursive recourse to maintain a specific "enunciative authority" [1]. Moreover, it may be instantiated through several discursive acts, that is through the description of the facts, the personal commitment of the politician, and the perlocutionary effect while convincing and persuading the addressee. Considering its heterogeneous nature, political discourse may also change according to manifold factors. Charaudeau [2] identifies different analytical criteria, such as how the speaker comes into contact with the addressee, i.e., the dimension of regulation; what kind of self-image the speaker gives, i.e., the dimension of *ethos*; how the speaker emotionally engages with the addressee, i.e., the dimension of *pathos*. Lastly, there is also the dimension of *logos,* which includes the discursive strategies that are employed to communicate with others.

Presidential discourse is a sub-genre of political discourse in which these four dimensions are intrinsically interwoven. First, the President addresses his public for multifarious reasons, e.g., to get elected, make official communications, announce political actions, etc. In doing so, he formulates

enunciative acts with a performative aim. According to Mayaffre [3], any political decision upheld by the Head of State is based on their public speech, which aims to establish, consolidate, and perpetuate a national identity. Second, through a rhetorical and enunciative system, the presidential speech reveals the President's personal charisma by means of *logos* and *ethos*. Third, there is a close relation between the discursive self-representation they construct and the way they rhetorically convey it to their audience. In fact, presidential discourse consists not only of *logos* but also of *pathos,* that is the rhetoric of emotions. As Charaudeau puts it, *pathos* is a discursive strategy adopted to involve the addressee at an emotional level. In this regard, presidential discourse is characterised by a "trilogy of emotions" [4], whereby triggered emotions emerge from specific communicative contexts in which the speaker and their addressee share common knowledge, similar beliefs and values.

Post-attack speeches are a kind of presidential speeches that emerge from two different communicative settings. While, on the one hand, they refer to events directly targeting the Nation, on the other, they develop as a reaction to events that have occurred out of the national borders. In these instances, the effects of *pathos* vary from anguish to hope, indignation and repulsion, to sympathy and compassion against and/or towards the persecuted. Interestingly enough, in Charaudeau's view [4], in such discourses, emotions can be distinguished according to a shifting degree of rationality, which produces indignation or anguish. However, emotions can also be informative, such as boredom or interest; appreciative, such as hatred and anger; responsive, such as pity or compassion; and, lastly, they can incite action, such as indignation or pride. As a matter of fact, post-attack discourses ultimately aim to address the collective community by means of action or in the defence of common values. Discourse strategies may therefore be articulated through different types of emotions, but also through rhetorical arguments [5], which provide an argumentative structure to the *logos*. In the present paper, we analyse how emotions come to be evoked in these speeches in order to shed light on the relationship between *logos* and *pathos*, factual reality and emotional reaction to the presented events. More specifically, we focus on the linguistic strategies used in the different communicative situations and how these emotions are linguistically realised.

2. CORPUS ANALYSIS OF POST-ATTACK PRESIDENTIAL SPEECHES

2.1. Structure and method of corpus analysis

The specialised research corpus consists of two subcorpora; the first one including twenty-eight speeches by President François Hollande (HS), and the second one twenty-eight speeches by President Emmanuel Macron (MS). The speeches were given in the aftermath of several terrorist attacks occuring across Europe since 2015, i.e., November 13, 2015, Paris; March 23, 2015, Brussels; July 14, 2016, Nice; May 22, 2017, Manchester; June 3, 2017, London; August 17, 2017, Barcelona; October 2020, Nice. The subcorpora further comprise speeches on the security measures that were proposed on the occasion of subsequent presidential meetings with other Heads of State. More specifically, while Holland's corpus includes speeches that focus on the fight against terrorism in Iraq and Syria, Macron's comprises his inauguration speech, which refers to the security measures introduced to prevent other terrorist attacks; the speech given during the first Remembrance Day for Victims of Terrorism; but also, speeches that deal with issues of cybersecurity, the new face of terrorism, and the campaign against the financing of terrorism. The analysed texts have been selected from the Elysee website [6], and specifically from the sections "Intérieur et Sécurité", "Développement et Francophonie", and "Institutions et réformes de l'État". The keyword *terrorism* has been chosen as a search query. The temporal range considered for the study ranges from January 2015 to February 2021.

The analysis develops according to two different levels. On the one hand, the macro-textual level aims to investigate the textual structure of the collected texts, which have been written and then read to a real or/and virtual audience. The micro-textual level, on the other hand, focuses on the subjective discourse markers, such as personal pronouns, modal verbs, adverbs, and emotional terms, which have been automatically extracted through the software *Iramuteq*. The latter has been used to measure lexical frequency and to carry out the lexical-semantic examination of the Presidential speeches.

2.2. Macro-textual overview of HS and MS

Hollande's and Macron's speeches combine two aspects; on the one hand, the description of facts, and on the other, the desire to establish a relationship with the interlocutor through discursive strategies, which can activate the dimension of *pathos*. In this sense, their performative acts are articulated in several micro-acts with different functions: a directive function that spurs their audience to denounce, that is an "ethical" action; promising/reassuring function when the Presidents commit themselves morally and institutionally to prevent and combat the terrorist wave; a representative role, since these speeches describe the events from an official and institutional perspective. These presidential discourses, therefore, encourage their interlocutors to denounce (1), make/maintain promises (2) and convey a represention of the Nation (3).

1. De nombreux projets menés par la société civile ont entrepris de diffuser sur internet un discours qui dénonce celui des groupes terroristes, un discours fondé sur nos valeurs humanistes. (MS)
2. Ceci Mesdames et Messieurs n'est en aucun cas une menace mais à coup sur une promesse, une promesse de travailler avec chacun d'entre vous (MS).
3. Ce sont les memes attaques, ce sont des terroristes, ce sont ceux qui veulent faire une guerre contre nos libertés, la démocratie et ce que nous représentons.

   (HS)

Since January 2015, presidential speeches have been marked by an emotional turn, as shown in the speech of November 18, 2015:

4. L'émotion est immense. La colère l'est tout autant. Chacune, chacun d'entre nous éprouve un sentiment intense de compassion pour les victimes des attentats. (HS)

In particular, Hollande's language refers to the emotional sphere while maintaining rigour and tenacity in the face of the murderous events (4). On the other hand, Macron's language acquires a more poetic and disenchanted tone, as in the commemorative speech delivered following the attack in Nice, on July 18, 2017 (5), where he quotes the French poet Apollinaire:

5. J'ai promené ma rage en ces jours blancs et froids. (MS)

According to Alduy, Macron has succeeded in "a rhetorical challenge" [7], given that he does not merely express what he thinks but manages to establish a compassionate dialogue, almost a theatrical relationship with the public.

France is at the center of the speeches of both Presidents. Hollande appeals to the state of emergency and the need for security following the terrorist attacks, while specifically referring to the threat of Daesh terrorism. Yet, he calls for unity and solidarity in the face of the crimes committed by the terrorists. For him, the fight against terrorism is a *pari*, a bet to win.


france
terroriste
terrorisme
prendre
aller
sécurité
pays
français
république
ministre
égalément
moyen
solidarité
policier
attentat
nécessaire
international
engager
moment
ville
mesure
premier
protéger
défense
national
attaque
intérieur
pari
daech
président
venir
guerre
mener
produire
frapper
lieu
conseil
europe
assurer
unité
état
lutter
service
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continuer
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peur
semaine
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grand
égard
donner
opération
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politique
représenter
protection
répondre
personnel
meilleur
coalition
demander
ensemble
détermination
niveau
françois
drapeau
dispositif
principe
renseignement
ennemi
publier
résolution
rassembler
apporter
disposer
préparer
nationalité
homme
horreur
peine
travers
perquisition
parlementaire
neutraliser
menacer
courage
commandant
citoyen
islamiste
gendarmerie
agresser
division
assassiner
charlie
adresse
déclencher
assumer
origine
jordanie
résidence
module
démonstration
renvoyer
impitoyable
municipal
vaillant
annoncer
quartier
souverain
communauté
fondamental
barbarie
particulier
représentant
sommeter
commencer
prolonger
montrer
sujet
garder
massacre
passer
terminer
culture
afrique
juillet
prochain
frontière
individu
cours
exprimer
arme
mois
porter
place
difficile
cause
zone
considérer
effectivement
public
respect
vendredi
pleinement
nice
effectif
capacité
détruire
adresser
risque
garantir
mobilisation
élysée
question
manquer
semaine
amitié
rappeler
gagner
violence
facile
nom
adopter
couleur
jeudi
intention
religion
procédure
laïcité
complicité
membre
quitter
bout
attacher
direction
drapeau
jean
françois
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article
libre
dispositif
principe
niveau
détermination
combat
jeune
administration
barbarie
fondamental
grave

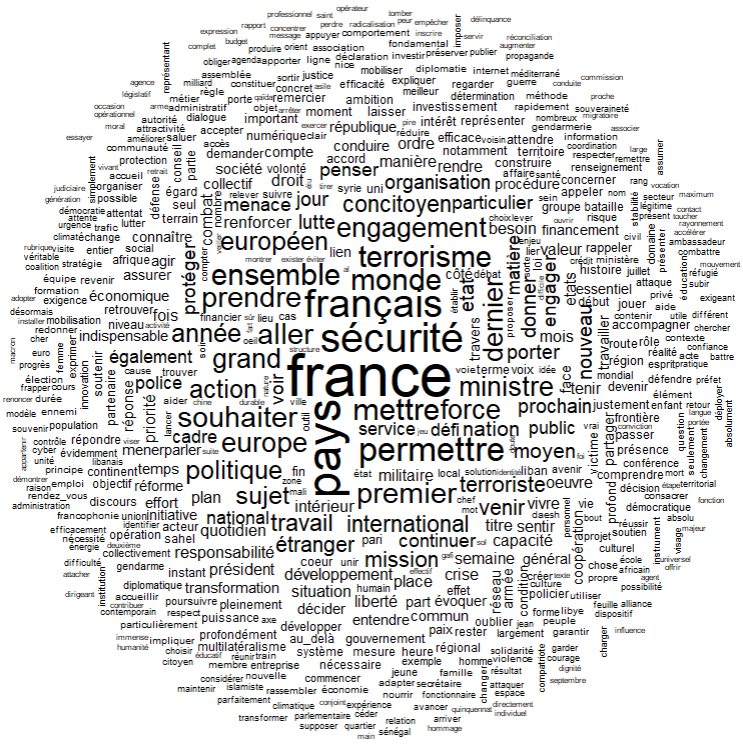


Fig. 2. MS Wordcloud

Source: Iramuteq 0.7 alpha 2 (2008-2014)

At a textual level, these speeches consist of a descriptive section, the function of which is to expose the facts, and an argumentative section, in which the values of liberty and democracy are defended and possible solutions are presented through an emotional tone. Both Macron and Hollande use, for this reason, a high number of adversative clauses and causal-consecutive clauses:

6. Et *donc*, sur ce sujet nous avons sans doute trop tardé, *mais* croyez moi nous n'attendrons plus. (MS)

7. Nous éradiquérons le terrorisme *parce que* les Français veulent continuer à vivre ensemble sans rien craindre de leurs semblables. Nous éradiquerons le terrorisme *parce que* nous sommes attachés à la liberté et au rayonnement de la France dans le monde. (HS)

Moreover, empathy is linguistically realised through a "cerebral vocabulary" [8] and a logical speech that shows sound reasoning and an action plan.

2.3. Pathos *and* logos *in a subjective enunciation*

At the micro-textual level, enunciative markers have been detected and investigated in the speeches of the two Presidents. Maingueneau [9] distinguishes between two types of enunciation, i.e., through the "embedded utterances", the speaker gives clues of their presence; whereas by means of the "non-embedded utterances", there is no reference to the enunciative setting. Post-attack presidential speeches interestingly show "embedded utterances" since the speaker appears to be omnipresent. Through different types of enunciative markers and subjective markers, the speaker expresses their relation to what they say, e.g., contempt, disdain, appreciation, and proximity to the addressee.

In a previous article [10] that explored the role of personal pronouns and verbal tenses, it emerged that the personal pronouns *Je* and *Nous* confer *pathos* to the discourse. Consistently with this finding, by

speaking in the first person, singular or plural, the President identifies himself with their interlocutors to call for action or to express an "organic solidarity" with them:

8. *Nous* devons faire preuve d'une vigilance absolue et d'une détermination sans faille/ *Je* tiens à exprimer ma solidarité, mon amitié envers le peuple belge et les autorités belges, qui traversent une période difficile. (HS).

Verbal tense also contributes to express subjectivity. While the future tense marks the emotional and yet decisive tone pivotal for the fight against terrorism, the imperative mood indicates hope and tenacity:

9. La France *sera* impitoyable envers les barbares de Daech / Réunissons-nous ! (HS).

Modal markers, such as deictics, adverbs, and modal verbs, seem as well essential to convey emotions in the presidential discourses. If the enunciative markers express the "shown emotions" [11], lexical elements, such as nouns, verbs and adjectives, directly convey/evoke emotions. This category is further investigated in section 2.3.2.

2.3.1 Subjectivity through enunciative markers

The Presidents use deictic markers to establish a direct relationship with their interlocutors. The spatial and temporal localisation indicates the temporal and spatial proximity to the addressee. In the table below, the most frequent spatial and temporal adverbs are listed.

Deictic markers	**HS Frequency**	**MS Frequency**
Maintenant	4 occ.	9 occ.
Demain	6 occ.	12 occ.
Hier	5 occ.	7 occ.
Aujourd'hui	36 occ.	137 occ.
Ici	26 occ.	103 occ.
Là	35 occ.	64 occ.

Table 1. Frequency List of Deictics

As Kerbrat-Orecchioni [12] points out, two types of references are possible: the first one directly related to the enunciation, that is the deictic marker, and the second one linked to the context. The former creates a relationship with the co-enunciator or addressee. These are markers of subjectivity, according to which the speaker identifies themselves with the content of the utterance. The latter creates a distance because the spatial-temporal point of reference can be inferred from the discursive context or co-text. In this case, the speaker is absent, and the relationship with their interlocutor is interrupted. While the first type of discourse markers has been identified in both corpora, the second one is lacking. Indeed, there are no adverbial markers, such as *alors, la veille, le lendemain, un autre jour, à ce moment-là, à cet endroit-là*.

Moreover, it has been observed that deictic markers are always used with other markers of subjectivity, for instance, personal pronouns and modal verbs (10), as well as the present perfect (11):

10. *Je veux* le dire *ici* avec beaucoup de force parce qu'on ne saurait s'habituer à ces scènes de violence. (MS)

11. *Nous* nous *sommes réunis* en effet *aujourd'hui* pour envisager les suites de l'opération que nous menons au levant. (HS)

In particular, it is interesting to notice the opposition between *ici* and *là*. Through the deictic *ici/là,* the speaker identifies himself with the enunciator; he expresses his point of view by expressing proximity

or distance towards the topic of conversation. The speaker is responsible for what is said, and the enunciator is accountable for their viewpoint and attitude.

12. Au fil des mois et des années nous avons ainsi concentré notre travail sur al Qaida et Daesh car il est apparu que ce sont *là* les deux acteurs principaux du terrorisme mondial. (HS)

13. Assurément la réponse militaire ne pourra jamais être la seule réponse et je veux *ici* insister sur la nécessité d'une réponse politique. (MS)

The subjectivity expressed by the deictic has thus a double function. While serving as a discursive marker and indexing speakers who identify themselves with the enunciative context, it also functions as a marker of subjectivity, pointing to the attitude that they assume, in terms of *ethos*, and their emotional response to events, in terms of *pathos*.

In this category, we have also included adverbs that do not have a deictic but a subjective role for their ability to express a judgment about facts. These are, for example, adverbs of quantity, negation, and other adverbs of time. The most frequent adverbs in corpora are *beaucoup*, the restrictive negation *ne que*, *déjà* and *encore.* The adverb *encore* represents the standpoint of the President and his intent on doing more to prevent future terrorist threats (14). The adverb *beaucoup* quantifies the negativity of the terrorist phenomenon as well as the greatness of the Nation (15). The adverb *déjà* expresses an appreciative modality concerning the actions of the French people (16). Lastly, the restrictive negation (*ne…que*) shows contempt for terrorism by opposing it to national unity (17).

14. Nous allons *encore* renforcer nos actions en Syrie comme en Irak. (HS)

15. Il y a *beaucoup* de blessés, c'est une horreur. (HS)

16. Je voulais donc mesdames et messieurs vous remercier pour le travail que vous avez mené depuis *déjà* plusieurs mois. (HS)

17. Ils espéraient nous diviser, ils n'ont fait que nous unir, ils voulaient semer la peur, ils *n'*ont récolté *que* notre détermination. (MS)

With reference to the difference between deontic and epistemic modal verbs, the use of the verbs *pouvoir* and *devoir* can be singled out in the two subcorpora. While the deontic value of the verb *pouvoir* expresses capacity and permission, the epistemic value indicates the likelihood of an event to take place. The verb *devoir* in the deontic value indicates an obligation, while the epistemic value communicates a probability. Barbet [13] argues that the epistemic modality can be more or less subjective if the speaker expresses uncertainty about what they communicate. In this case, no objective circumstance can confirm or reject the degree of uncertainty of what is expressed to the addressee. In the post-attack presidential speeches, modal verbs are highly recurrent, either with a deontic or epistemic value. To debase the enemy, the deontic modality of obligation is repeatedly used in Hollande's speech:

18.La procédure pénale *doit* également prendre en compte, de la manière la plus étroite possible, la spécificité de la menace terroriste. (HS)

In the following excerpt, persuasion is also expressed through the modal system, which indicates the degree of certainty and possibility of given actions, which are never expressed in the form of probability:

19. Je vous demande de garder ici toute votre confiance dans ce que nous *pouvons* faire avec les forces de sécurité pour préserver notre Nation des actes terroristes. (HS)

Macron's speech, on the other hand, relies on ethical obligations:

20. C'est pourquoi nous *devons* avoir une détermination absolue et une exigence méthodique pour lutter contre ce terrorisme. (MS)

President Macron shows his uncertainty, especially when referring to the future (21), by using the epistemic modal verb of *pouvoir*. The use of the subjunctive mood (22) or the future tense (23) further accentuates the feeling of uncertainty about future events:

21. Nous *pouvons* faire en sorte que l'avenir appartienne au dialogue et non à la guerre, à la coopération et non à la discorde. (MS)
22. Je souhaite que dès à présent nous *puissions* aller plus loin en termes de dématérialisation et de numération. (MS)
23. Tous les moyens *seront mis* en œuvre pour que l'action *puisse* être efficace. (MS)

Probability is rarely formulated by Macron, with the exception of unrelated issues (24) and with a metaphorical meaning (25)

24. J'espère que cet engagement envers les ressources ira de pair avec un engagement envers l'innovation et l'innovation organisationnelle, qui *doit* également être présent. (MS)
25. La France *doit* en être l'infatigable avocat parce que c'est le cœur de sa vocation. (MS)

2.3.2. Subjectivity through lexical markers

According to Maingueneau [14], not only can discursive markers be subjective, but there are some lexical elements that can express subjectivity. These are nouns, adjectives, and verbs explicitly evoking *pathos.* In this category, modal adverbs can also be singled out. For the analysis of "lexical pathos", we have considered the classification of emotions theorised by Charaudeau [15]. These emotions are translated into four registers of language, as theorised by Ballet [16] and analytically applied in Centrella [17]; i.e., the register of fear and indignation, which consists of rational emotions, and the register of hope and pity, which incites emotions in response to events. To these categories, we have further added the register of anger, an appreciative emotion, as well as the register of sadness, which includes affective appreciation or depreciation.

For Kerbrat-Orecchioni [18], the emotional reaction to events is lexically conveyed through affective lexical items. In addition to that, there is a set of subjective words ("subjectivèmes" in French) which hold an evaluative nature. This category is divided into non-axiological evaluative and axiological evaluative lexemes. Through the former, the speaker expresses a qualitative or quantitative evaluation, whereas through the second, the speaker conveys a value judgment, which can be appreciative or depreciative. In Table 2, the two corpora are presented according to this distribution.

Affective category	**HS Frequency**	**MS Frequency**
Admiration	2 occ.	2 occ.
Ambition	/	28 occ.
Amertume	/	2 occ.
Chagrin	3 occ.	/
Colère	1 occ.	/
Compassion	3 occ.	1 occ.
Dignité	3 occ.	11 occ.
Espoir/ espérer/espérance	/	12 occ.
Étonner	/	3 occ.
Heureux	/	5 occ.
Horreur	6 occ.	1 occ.
Indignation	/	1 occ.

Malheureusement/malheur	/	7 occ.
Peur/crainte/craindre	9 occ.	11 occ.
Pitié	/	1 occ.
Rage	/	5 occ.
Souhaiter	3 occ.	101 occ.
Tristesse/triste/tristement	1 occ.	3 occ.
Evaluative category non-axiological	**HS Frequency**	**MS Frequency**
Grand	20 occ.	92 occ.
Important	3 occ.	29 occ.
Profond/profondément	/	59 occ.
Nombreux	11 occ.	14 occ.
Axiological-evaluative category	**HS Frequency**	**MS Frequency**
Certainement	/	1 occ.
Demander	13 occ.	29 occ.
Estimer	2 occ.	2 occ.
Meilleur	7 occ.	24 occ.
Penser	20 occ.	58 occ.
Prétendre	/	1 occ.
Probablement	/	1 occ.
Réellement	1 occ.	1 occ.
Trouver	4 occ.	23 occ.
Soutenir	2 occ.	30 occ.
Vraiment	1 occ.	4 occ.

Table 2. Frequency List of Subjective Items

If Hollande's rhetorical style is drier, pushed by the urgency to communicate facts rather than to establish a direct relationship with his interlocutor; Macron's, on the other hand, is more lyrical, given that his speeches show an emotional nature. The most frequent words for each of the abovementioned category have been investigated in the two corpora.

The affective category merely refers to emotions and feelings. In both presidential speeches, anger and indignation are the predominant emotions which, according to Braud [19], hint at feelings of disgust and stigmatisation caused by the spectacle of what is deemed as intolerable. Indignation is the basis for both Presidents to revitalise collective dignity. On the other hand, Hollande expresses fear (*peur, craindre, crainte*) and his speech rhetorically evokes rational emotions. The only possible emotive response is in fact horror. At the same time, Macron stirs up emotions in response to the dramatic events through words and verbs of feeling, such as ambition (*ambition*) and hope (*espoir/espérance/souhaiter*). With reference to the latter, Braud [19] argues that hope is a powerful word, which exemplifies a progressive attitude oriented to the future. In particular, in Fig. 3, the word *peur* appears to be the most frequent in Hollande's speech, which refers to France and, particularly, to the state of fear that the Nation is enduring during the terrorist attacks.

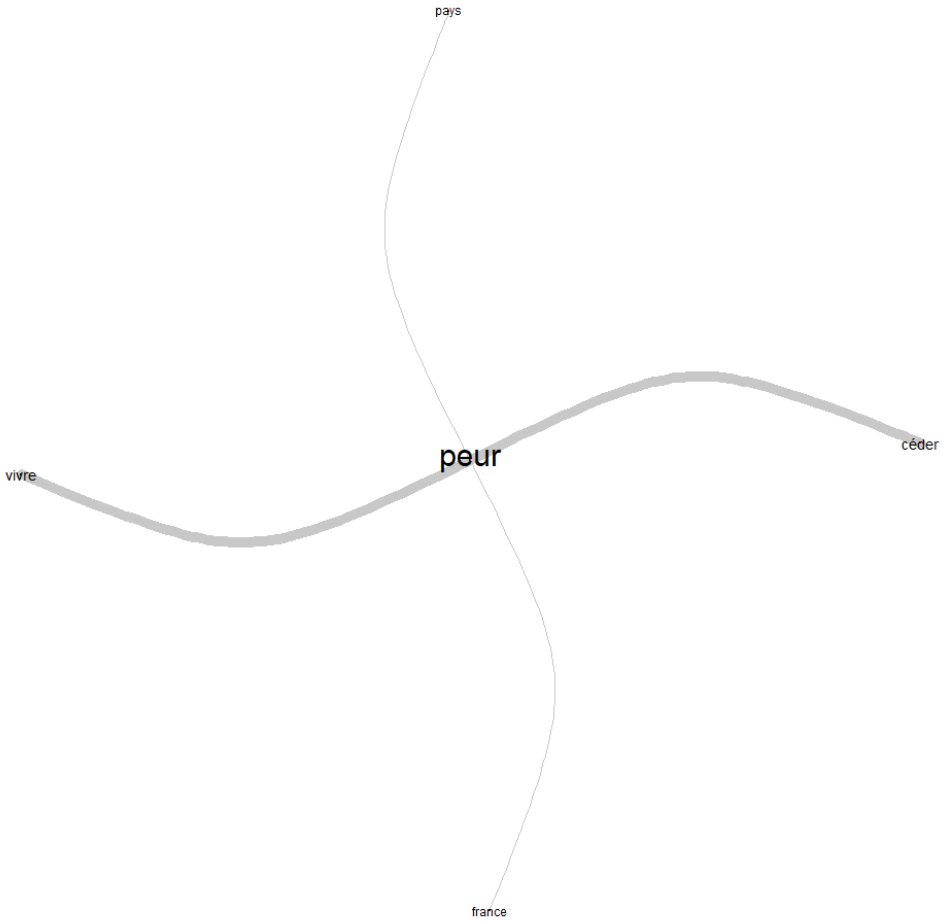


Fig. 3. HS Graph "Peur"

Source: Iramuteq 0.7 alpha 2 (2008-2014)

In Fig. 4, the verb *souhaiter* indicates that Macron attempts to respond to the terrorist attacks with ambition by demonstrating commitment, galvanising collective action, and promoting political reforms.

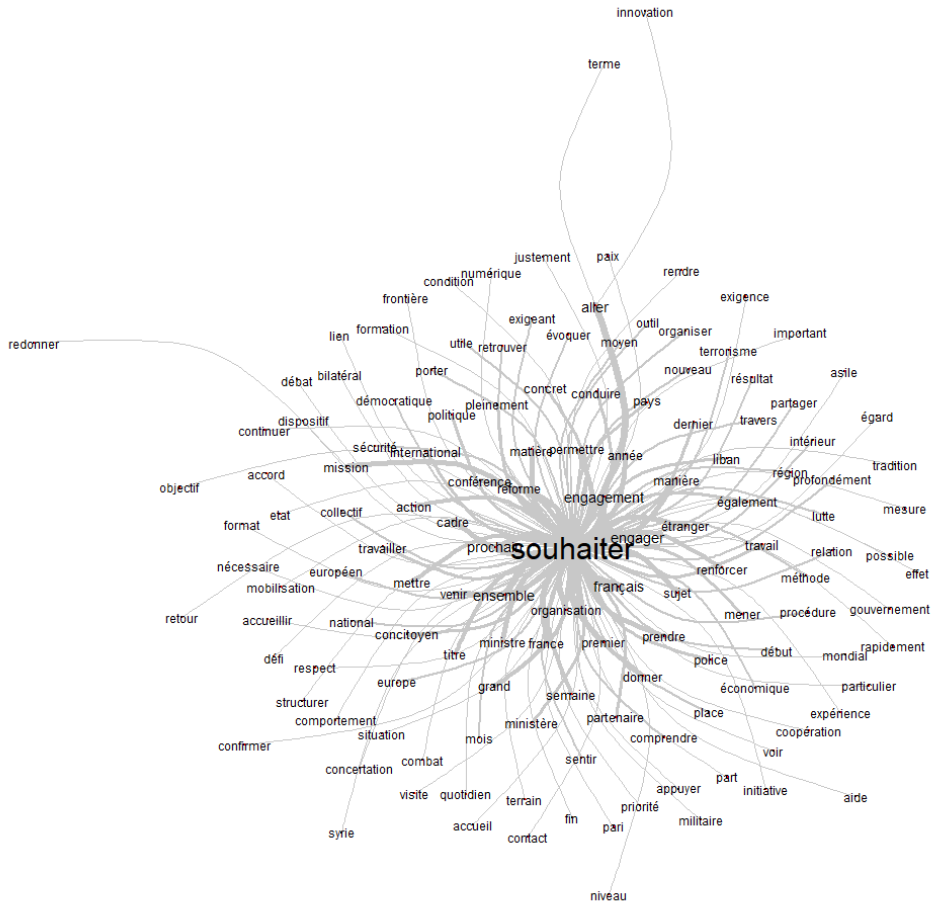


Fig. 4. MS graph "Souhaiter"

Source: Iramuteq 0.7 alpha 2 (2008-2014)

The evaluation of non-axiological evaluative lexemes, qualitative or quantitative, is similarly present in both corpora. The adjective *grand* is the most frequent, which expresses the qualitative nature of events without any personal judgment from the speaker. For example, in Fig. 5, Hollande attributes the adjective *grand* to France's strength, solidarity, but also to the terrorist threat.

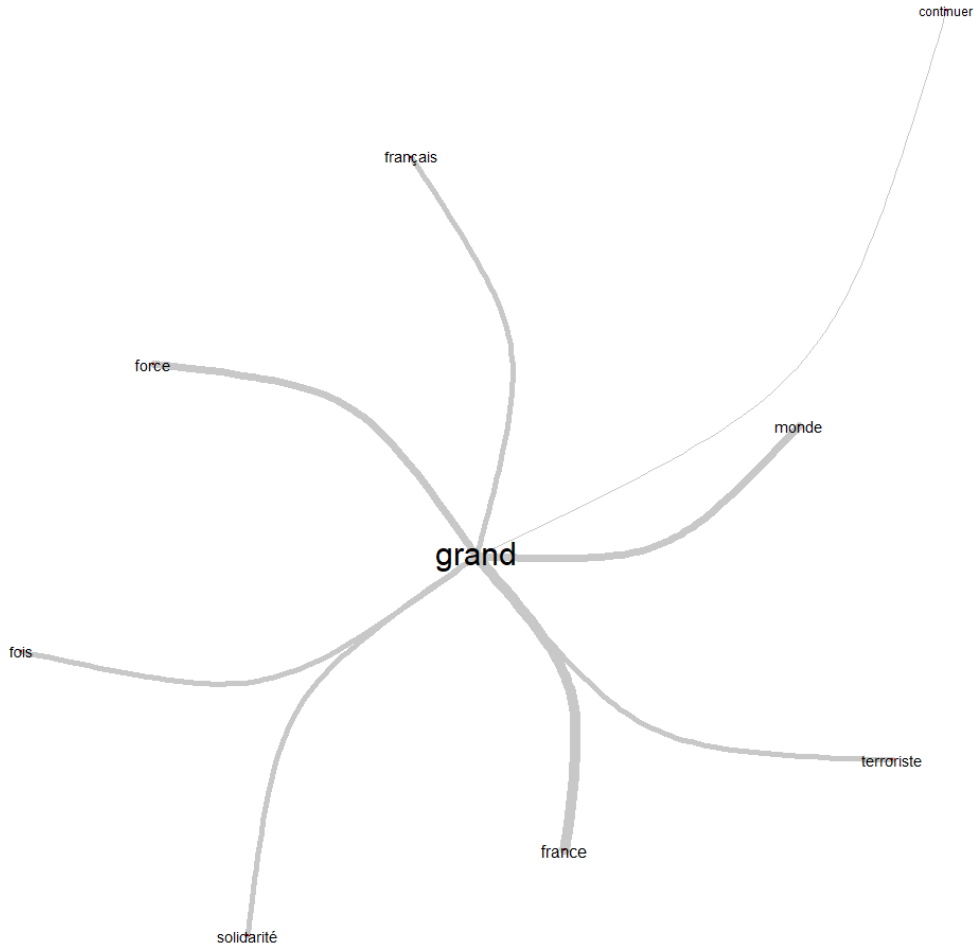


Fig. 5. HS Graph "Grand"

Source: Iramuteq 0.7 alpha 2 (2008-2014)

In Fig. 6, Macron attributes the same adjective to the French security system, the European commitment plan, and the sense of responsibility. Often, Macron's speech goes beyond the issue of innovation as a strategy to defeat terrorism.

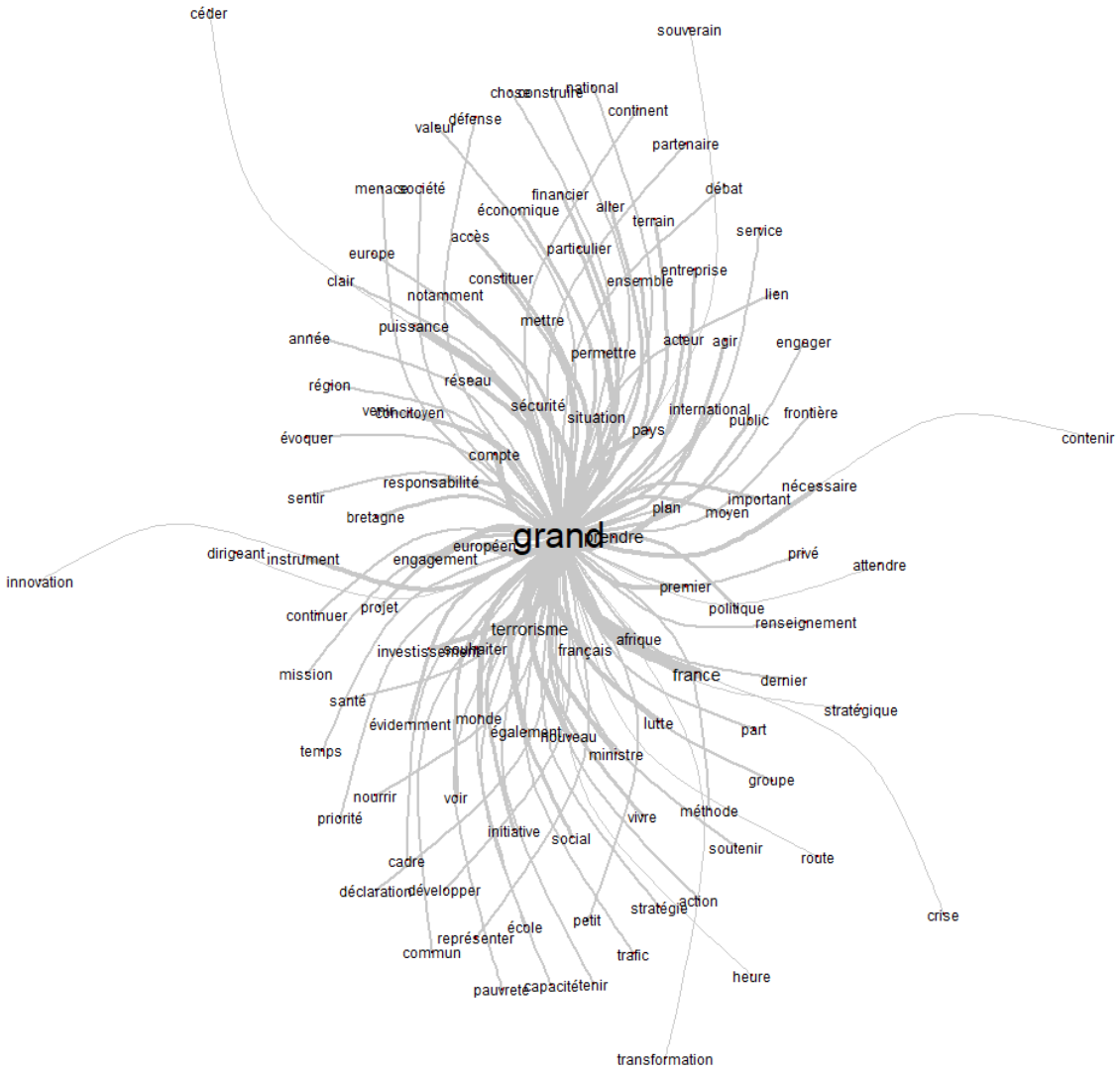


Fig. 6. MS Graph "Grand"

Source: Iramuteq 0.7 alpha 2 (2008-2014)

The axiological category is particularly interesting since it includes a number of verbs that express an evaluation of what appears as true/false/unsure to the speaker. In particular, these are opinion verbs like *penser*, *trouver* and speech act verbs like *demander, soutenir*. This category also includes a series of subjective adverbs, which express a judgment on reality, such as the adverb *vraiment* and a judgment on truth, such as *problablement*. The verb of opinion *penser* is the most frequent in both presidential speeches. In Fig. 7, Hollande uses this verb to express closeness to victims, recall national unity and foster the idea that terrorism is to be defeated.

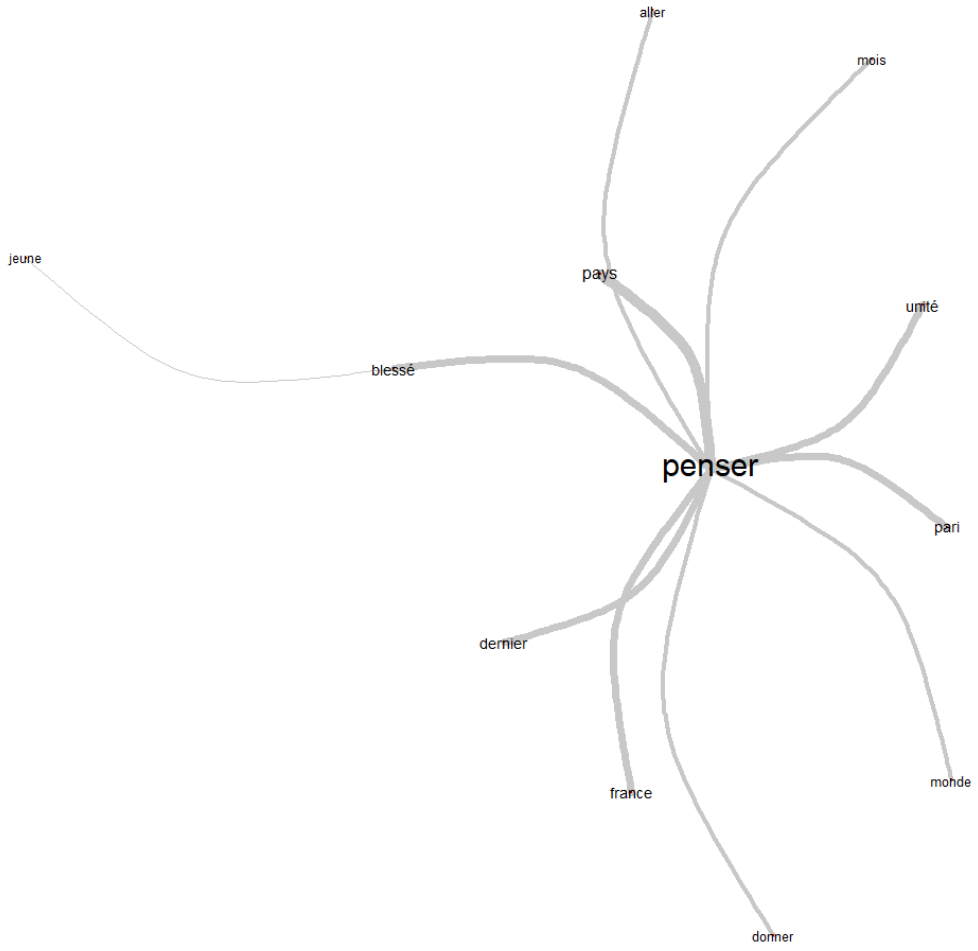


Fig. 7. HS graph "Penser"

Source: Iramuteq 0.7 alpha 2 (2008-2014)

In Macron's corpus (Fig. 8), the verb *penser* is connected with the French nation, the European continent, the collective thought and the value of freedom of the Nation, which establish a consequential connection between thought and action.

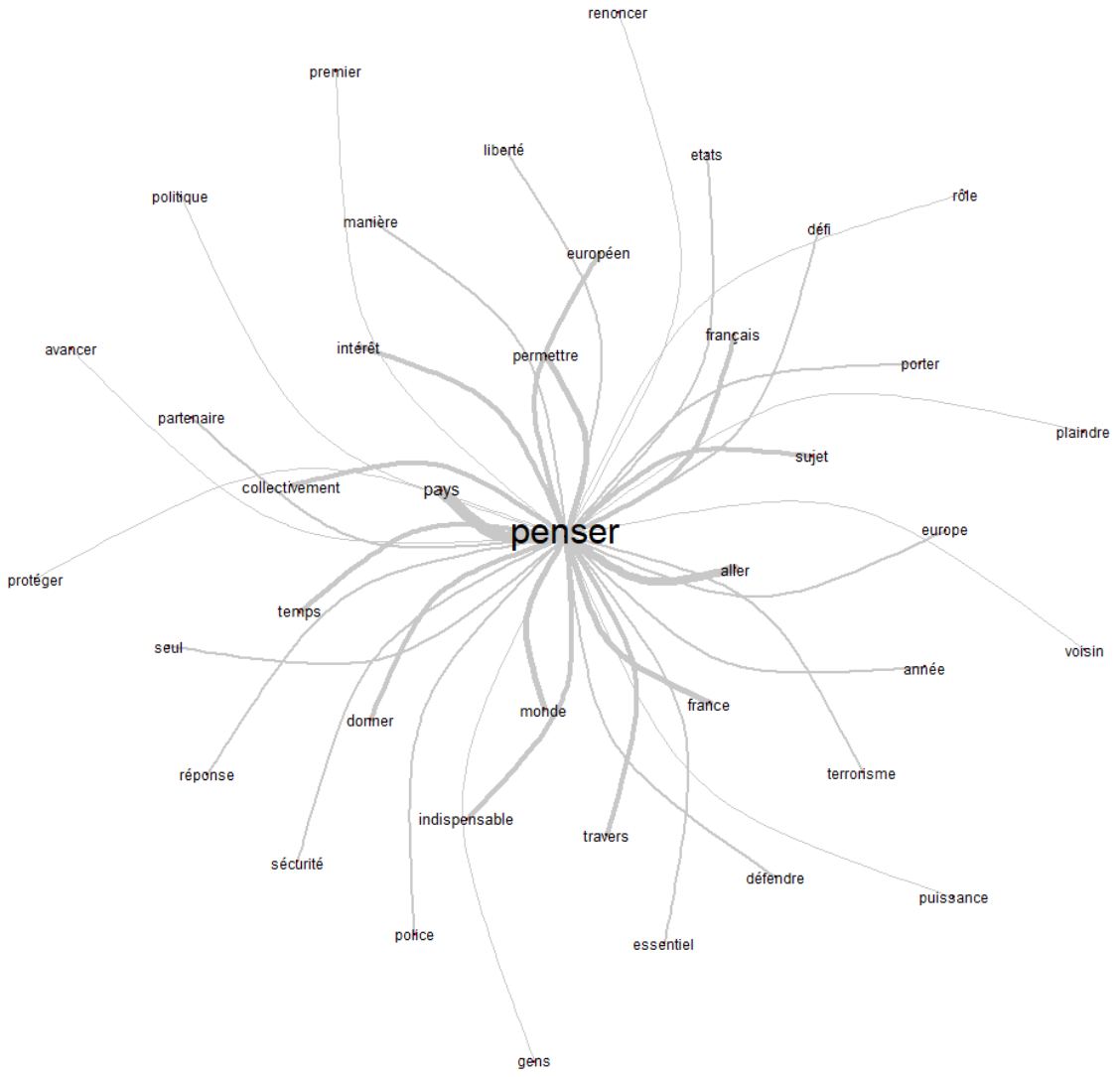


Fig. 8. MS graph "Penser"

Source: Iramuteq 0.7 alpha 2 (2008-2014)

3. POST-ATTACK SPEECH: A NEW TYPOLOGY BETWEEN *ETHOS* AND *PATHOS*

In this section, we first reflect on the characteristics of post-attack presidential discourse following the corpus analysis. Then, in the second part, we define the specific features of the post-attack speeches of Hollande and Macron. This analysis allows us to clearly define the *ethos* of the two Presidents in conjunction with the way in which they convey *pathos* to their audience.

3.1. Features of post-attack speeches

The speeches of the two Presidents are an example of oral discourse based on a written style, that is a type of speech intended for oral use. Markers of orality are in fact frequent, even if the discourse is articulated by means of a coherent argumentation. As Maingueneau argues [20], this hybrid communicative format, in which the post-attack presidential speeches can be included, is based on different factors:

- the existence (or the lack thereof) of immediate physical contact, i.e., the speaker addresses an actual public but also a virtual audience;

- an unlimited number of potential addressees, e.g., if the speech is broadcast on TV or the web;

- the existence (or the lack thereof) of an invisible third party, e.g., in the case of television programs, there is a real viewer and a virtual one;

- the material stability of the text, i.e., which is broadcast by means of a digital or another medium.

Another important aspect of the analysed speeches is the emotional sphere. As argued by Cordell [21], this is characterised by the porosity of the threshold between the individual and the social, the private dimension of personal emotions and the public dimension of moral emotions as well as their formalisation through collective action. The personal feelings expressed by the two Presidents are compassion, pity, and sadness, but also admiration and ambition, which lead to the development of a social sensibility. Truc [22] recognises two types of sensibility with regards to the collective dimension following a terrorist attack: the sense of belonging and affective closeness to the citizens and the feeling of shared humanity and concern for the world. The former can be identified in the use of deictic, such as "the national we" or the adverb *ici*, *maintenant*. The latter can be found in expressions or words that reflect the sense of community: *concitoyens, ensemble, citoyens du monde, l'avenir du monde*, e.g., consider "La France est solidaire au monde"(MS), "Je veux dire toute ma solidarité" (HS), "Chacun d'entre nous éprouve un sentiment d'immense compassion pour les victimes des attentats et en même temps une exigence d'action (HS), "Les criminels et les trafiquants doit être le ferment de notre action politique" (MS).

In these speeches, the social/lexical function of emotions is different in comparison with how these are used in other political speeches. For example, during presidential campaigns, the main goal is to persuade and gain political consensus from the electorate through *pathos*, which triggers given emotions for specific purposes. In the analysed speeches, the words *compassion, horreur,* and *chagrin* have been frequently identified, whereas the words *colère, rage* appear more rarely. In this light, Cordell [23] maintains that this points to an emotional reaction that aims to activate humanity and recover collective dignity. On the other hand, anger only serves to devaluate the "enemy", and, as Centrella [24] emphasises, this is typical of electoral campaigns where controversial and vehement tones are employed by the political representatives against their political contenders.

3.2. Holland's speech VS Macron's speech

Through *pathos*, the two Presidents draw a precise construction of self, which consists of a discursive *ethos* - enunciative and subjective markers contribute to creating this image. Generally speaking, the two Presidents express their *ethos* in a similar way. As Raus highlights [25], they set up either an individual *ethos* based on a credible image (26) or a community *ethos* based on the identification with others (27):

26. Je veux le dire ici avec beaucoup de force parce qu'on ne saurait s'habituer à ces scènes de violence. (MS)

27. Nous devons faire preuve de compassion et de solidarité. (HS)

However, important differences can be singled out between Hollande's and Macron's speeches. If Hollande's is affected by the urgency of communication in the face of the murderous events, Macron face the events with emotional distance. Thus, Hollande's speech is simultaneously tenacious and emotional (28), while Macron's is ambitious and lyrical (29).

28. Ne cédons pas aux tentations de repli, ne cédons pas non plus à la peur, à l'excès. (HS)

29. Je vous ai réunis en effet pour partager avec vous aussi mon ambition pour les services qui assurent notre sécurité. (MS)

Hollande identifies himself with the French people through the persistent use of the personal pronoun *nous*, which establishes a sense of urgency. On the other hand, Macron employs *je* to discursively

represent himself as a reliable guide for the French Nation [26]. In this regard, Raus [27] would observe that Hollande's *ethos* confers him the role of "hero-mediator", who shares the *pathos* for past events with the national community while becoming their leading representative. As a matter of fact, Hollande mainly uses the deontic modality of necessity to stress the urge to fight terrorism. The *ethos* of Macron tends instead toward the role of the "action man". Linguistically speaking, this emerges through the use of the first person, which is employed to underline his position as a national guide, but also through speech act verbs, like *demander* and *prétendre,* which highlight that he is strongly oriented to act in order to prevent terrorism. The epistemic modal verbs concerning the future are more frequent in Macron's speech rather than in Hollande's, even if this modality is expressed as a possibility, yet rarely as a probability. Hollande's speech focuses on affective and instinctive emotions. On the other hand, Macron's speech concedes their interlocutors the time to express emotions in response to the dramatic events. These are compassion, fear, tenacity for Hollande; bitterness, regret and confidence in the future for Macron.

4. CONCLUSIONS

In conclusion, from Hollande's as well as Macron's subcorpora, a specific presidential style of post-attack speech has emerged. Far from being rigorous and formal, at the micro-textual level, it is based on emotional enunciations. Moreover, the Presidents' attitude is expressed primarily through a "logocratic power" [29], whereby speaking means acting through the weight of words in the post-attack contexts.

At the same time, the post-attack discourse follows rational reasoning procedures - the *logos*. Yet, it expresses *pathos* to approach the presidents' interlocutors, share common grievances and persuade them to react as a community so as not to succumb to the terrorist violence.

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