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Applying Critical Discourse Analysis Techniques on some Arabic Political Speeches

Prof. Dr. Riyadh Khalil Ibrahim*

College of Languages, Baghdad University

Hyoucif@tu.edu.iq

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Abstract: This paper is an attempt at applying techniques of critical discourse analysis (henceforth CDA) techniques on some local Arabic political speeches, using van Dijk (1995-2006) as a model for data analysis. The study aims at investigating the way social power, abuse, are exercised by politicians in their speeches. The analysis reveals that most of the techniques related to the meaning, argumentative and rhetorical levels have been employed in Al-Abadi speech delivered on the occasion of Kurdistan Region Referendum on 25th Sept.2017 to persuade the audience of his ideopolitical agenda.

* Corresponding Author: Prof. Dr. Riyadh Khalil Ibrahim , E-Mail : Hyoucif@tu.edu.iq , Tel :009647701715071 , Affiliation: College of Languages, University of Baghdad -Iraq.

تطبيق تقنيات تحليل الخطاب النقدي على بعض الخطابات السياسية العربية

الخلاصة: تعد هذا البحث محاولة لتطبيق تقنيات تحليل الخطاب النقدي على بعض الخطابات السياسية العربية بأستخدام نموذج فان دايك (1995-2006) كأداة لتحليل الخطابات المختارة. ان الهدف من الدراسة هو استقصاء طرق استخدام السلطة الاجتماعية ، التعسف او السيطرة التي يمارسها السياسيون في خطاباتهم

لقد اظهر تحليل الخطابات المختارة استخدام غالبية تقنيات تحليل الخطاب على المستويات الدلالية ، الحوارية والبلاغية في خطابات العبادي التي القيت بمناسبة استفتاء اقليم كردستان في الخامس والعشرين من ايلول 2017 وذلك لاقناع المشاهدين بأجنداته وافكاره السياسية .

الكلمات المفتاحية : تحليل الخطاب النقدي ، السلطة ، السيطرة ، خطاب سياسي

1.Introduction

Critical discourse analysis (henceforth, CDA) is associated with researchers such as Roger Fowler, Norman Fairclough, Teun van Dijk and Ruth Wodak. This discipline is compatible theoretically as far as its practitioners use linguistic analysis as a basis for its interpretations of texts. According to van Dijk (2001:352) CDA is “a type of discourse analytical research that primarily studies the way social power abuse, dominance, and inequality are enacted, reproduced, and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context” in order to reveal, and eventually resist social injustice (V Its current focus on language and discourse was initiated with the "critical linguistics" (henceforth, CL) that emerged at the end of the 1970s. CL is the first form of linguistically-oriented critical methods to discourse analysis. CL analysts raise a number of issues concerning the interrelationship of language and ideology. One of these is to do with the way in which racist dominant ideologies become deeply rooted in daily political affairs.(ibid).

CDA has led many researchers since the 1980s significantly to the works of the British sociolinguist Faricloudh (2001:134) who provides the following definition and aims for CDA:

By CDA I mean discourse analysis which aims to systematically explore often opaque relationships of causality and determination between (a) discursive practices, events and texts, and (b) wider social and cultural structures, relations, and processes; to investigate how such practices, events and texts arise out of and are ideologically shaped by relations of power and struggles over power; and to explore how the opacity of these relationships between discourse and society is itself a factor securing power and hegemony.

Wodak (1989) contends that CDA can be defined is basically concerned with analyzing opaque as well as transparent structural relationships of dominance, discrimination, power, and control manipulated in language use. In another research conducted by Wodak (2001:2)

CDA aims “to investigate critically social inequality as it is expressed, signaled, constituted, and legitimized, and so on by language use (or in discourse)”. Thus, CDA is socially constructed and conditioned by power relations, and seeks to establish change against domination and inequality.

Van Dijk (2001:352) defines CDA as “a type of discourse analytical research that primarily studies the way social power abuse, dominance and inequality are enacted, reproduced and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context”. This indicates that the goal of critical theories of CDA is to monitor and guide human language and action. Critical theories empower individuals with crucial knowledge that free them from a specific sort of fancy and mastery.

Accordingly, CDA is particularly interested in such issues as inequality, sometimes paying attention to the importance of critical recipients who should have a critical stance towards taking for granted ways of understanding the world. This means that CDA analysts try to create positive receivers who are not taking what they hear or read for granted but they need to think twice and always be suspicious of the credibility of any information presented .

In other words, CDA analysts are mainly concerned with examining both implicit and explicit structural relationships of dominance, discrimination, power and control as manifested in language use.

2. Key Concepts of Critical Discourse Analysis

These concepts include the following:

2.1 Critique

The term (critique), which is indispensable for CL and CDA can be defined as “a shared perspective on doing linguistic, semiotic or discourse analysis” (Van Dijk 1995a: 139). *Critical* or *Critique* could be traced back to the influence of the Frankfurt school and Jürgen Habermas.

Wodak (2001:12) uses the term critical in a broader sense, as having distance to the data, embodying the data in the social, and political stance explicit having focus on self-reflection as scholars undertaking research, it also denotes the practical linking of social and political engagement when conducting scientific research. Hence, critique is the making of visible interconnectedness of things, which enable one to distinguish between the manipulative and the suggestive procedures of persuasion and discursive procedures of convincing argumentation.

CDA focuses its *critique* on the intersection of language/discourse/ speech and social structure. It is in uncovering ways in which social structure relates to discourse patterns to uncover the social dimensions of language use. These dimensions are the object of moral and

political evaluation, and analyzing them should have effects in society: empowering the powerless, giving voices to the voiceless, exposing power abuse, and mobilizing people to remedy social wrongs (ibid).

2.2 Discourse

A distinction is made between 'text' and 'discourse', related to the tradition in text linguistics as well as rhetoric in German and the Central European educational and institutional context. In the English speaking world, 'discourse' is often used both for writing and verbal texts (Wodak, 2001:7). The discourse-historical approach has been elaborated and linked to the socio-cognitive theory of Van Dijk (1996) who views 'discourse' as macro abstracted structured forms of knowledge and the shared memory of social practices associated with ideology, whereas 'text' refers to the micro concrete spoken utterances or written documents.

This means that the general idea of the word '*discourse*' varies according to the different surrounding context and the system of beliefs of speakers when they are communicated in different aspect of social life, however, speaking of discourse is not only restricted to written and spoken language, but also extends to include visual images (ibid: 6).

2.3 Power

Fairclough (1992) defines power not only as unbalanced authority that exists among individuals who exercise relations of power in the same discursive event, but also in terms of how specific people have different abilities to access and control as well as how discourses are produced, distributed and inspired.

Van Dijk (1996: 84) argues that power is characterized as relations among social groups, institutions, and organizations. He focuses on social *power* that has a powerful effect on the actions and cognition of dominated groups. Social power is shared and presupposed by the members of the dominated group; as for the analysis of social problems, this means that understanding the nature of social power is a central presupposition. Such power deals with properties of relations among different social groups, for instance, powerful groups always have exclusive privilege and access to the public minds and a specific social domain through different forms of discourse such as, media, employment, and education to sustain, conceal and normalized power and inequality (ibid: 85).

This implies *control* exercised by one group or organization over the *actions* and/or the *minds* of another group, thus limiting the freedom of action of the others, or influencing their knowledge, attitudes or ideologies.

2.4 Domination

CDA analysts are interested in the way discourse (re)produces social domination, that is, the power abuse of one group over others, and how dominated groups may discursively resist such abuse (Wodak, 2001:9). This can be concluded from Wodak's definition of CDA as “fundamentally interested in analyzing opaque as well as transparent structural relationships of dominance, discrimination, power and control as manifested in language” (ibid).

Van Dijk (1995b:254) states that “the modern and often more effective domination is mostly cognitive, and enacted by persuasion, dissimulation or manipulation, among other strategic ways to *change the mind of others in one's own interests*”.

Van Dijk (1996: 85) puts it in other words when he states that ‘social power and dominance are often *organized and institutionalized*, so as to allow more effective control and to enable routine forms of power reproduction’. Domination emerges with advanced economic societies that tend to establish different ways of justifying unequal distribution of resources and maintain the social hierarchies of the groups (ibid).

2.5 Identity

According to Wodak (2001:13) the concept of identity has two possible relations of comparison among individuals: *similarity* and *difference*. Ivanic. This may refer to people speak in membership categorizing manner of ‘us’ and ‘them’, when they become members of a group, and tend to be identified with that group.

Identity gives us an idea of who we are and of how we relate to others and to the world in which we live, it marks the ways in which we are the same as others who share that position, and the ways in which we are different from those who do not. Often, identity is most clearly marked by difference in terms of polarization and conflict between: man/woman, black/white, poor/rich, east/ west and so on.(Wodak,1989).

2.6 Ideology

Ideology is intensively investigated differently by many scholars, but van Dijk’s (1995a) ideological theory offers better understanding of this notion by combining and interfacing among its three core components that have only been studied separately before and they, according to him are:

- i. Cognitively, ideology consists of ideas in people's minds, which are usually studied by cognitive psychologists.
- ii. Societally, ideology also involves a group membership and value judgment, which are generally investigated by sociologists and social scientists.
- iii. Linguistically, ideology is not an innate knowledge and, therefore, it needs to be learnt, acquired, or changed through written or spoken discourse.

Fairclough (1992: 87) defines ideologies as “constructions of reality.... Which are built into various dimensions of the forms/meanings of discursive practices, and which contribute to the production, reproduction or transformation of relations of domination”. Discourse is the most prominent way that ideologies are re/produced, maintained, and resisted. The negative notion of 'ideology' has also become the central element in the common sense, social sciences, and political uses of the term, namely as a system of false, misguided or misleading beliefs as opposite to truth of scientific knowledge (van Dijk, 2006d: 7).

According to these definitions, ideology is a tool for misusing of power, dominance, and hence social inequality. It also implies the possibility of formulating other ideologies rather than dominated ones that are unnecessarily false or negative.

2.7 Racism

From ideological perspective racism is a false system of beliefs that human mental and physical abilities, as well as personalities can be differentiated and might be hated on the basis of ethnicity, race, color or religious doctrine . This view is asserted by Van Dijk (2000a:25) who describes racism as:

“One major characteristic selected as the basis for the categorization and negative evaluation of non-Western peoples who are apparent differences of bodily appearance, primarily skin color. These real or imaginary differences later developed into folk taxonomies about different ‘races’” This European ideology of racial superiority was often used to motivate, explain, or legitimate the exploitation, oppression, or extermination of non-European peoples of other races.

The typical example of such racism is the immigrants of non-Western origins and peoples of the Third World countries, since they are being categorized negatively in terms of racial and cultural differences (ibid).

3. The Model Adopted and Methodology

The model adopted in this study is mostly relying on van Dijk (1995b, 2006d) in which he proposed selection of subtle ideological categories presenting a fundamental contrast between ‘positive self-representation’ and ‘other negative representation’. Positive self-representation (or in-group favoritism) is a semantic macro- strategy used for the purpose of ‘face-keeping’ or ‘impression management’. Negative other- representation is another semantic macro-strategy serves to derogate out-groups, these macro-strategies show ingroup-outgroup distinction, polarization and differentiation such as ‘good’ vs. ‘bad’, ‘superior’ vs. ‘inferior’, ‘us’ and ‘them’ formulated by ‘ideological square’, both are distributed on three levels:

In the meaning level, van Dijk (ibid:61-85) deals with such ideological categories as '*actor description*', '*compassion*', '*polarization*', '*presupposition*', '*vagueness*', and '*lexicalization*', , the argumentation level, focuses on such ideological categories '*illustration*'

, '*openness/honesty*' , '*counter factuality*' and '*consensus*', and the rhetorical level covers such ideological categories as '*hyperbole*', '*metaphor*', '*contrast*', '*euphemism*', '*number-game*', and '*citing*'.

There are other ideological categories which are used by van Dijk (1995b, 2006d) in his analyses which are not dealt with because they are irrelevant to the analytical framework of the present study. The analytical framework of this study includes three domains or levels of overall impression management strategies: '**meaning**', '**argumentation**', and '**rhetoric**', with abroad term that is contextually relevant at all levels of text structure, called '**contextual overview**' covering all levels of analysis.(see Fig.1. below).

3.1 The Contextual Overview

Van Dijk (2006c:732-133) contends that for the concept of discourse in any ideopolitical analysis, "It is not sufficient to notice, for instance, that political discourse often features the well-known political pronoun '*we*'. It is crucial to relate such use to such categories as who is speaking, when, where and with/to whom, that is, to specific aspects of the political situation. "This is because, context is defined as "the mentally represented structure of those properties of the social situation that are relevant for the production or comprehension of discourse" (van Dijk, 2001b:356)This explains the phenomenon of multi-interpretations for the same communicative situation by different speakers , this indicates that contexts are subjective and control all the aspects of discourse production and comprehension, because contexts (or mental models) are mentally constructed and varied from person to person (ibid) .The three levels of analysis are :

3.2 The Meaning Level

According to van Dijk (2000b:90), the meaning level "is the core level for the expression of beliefs, such as personal and social knowledge, opinions, attitudes, ideologies, norms and values".

Van Dijk (1997b:28) states that "another ideologically relevant property of meaning is propositional relations, such as *implication*, *entailment* and *presupposition*". This indicates that the meanings that might have positive properties of out-groups or negative ones about in-groups will be implied or presupposed. He adds that the famous ideological function of disguising "real social or political facts or conditions may be semantically managed by various ways of leaving information implicit" (ibid).

Hence, the description of others should be carefully examined for the various strategies of separated and polarized perspectives and ideologies that are signaled by the words used in the description. This is supported by the selected persuasive ideological techniques of meaning as defined below:

3.2.1 Actor Description: The way one describes actors or members of a particular society in a negative or positive way depending on our ideologies (van Dijk, 2006d: 62), for instance, "*China has been a currency manipulator*"

3.2.2 Compassion: Involves "showing empathy or sympathy for (weak) victims of the other actions, to enhance the brutality of the other". (Van Dijk, 1995b:154). This might show unreal

empathy, but apparent one, this strategy is manipulatively powerful, for instance, the speaker empathizes with the dilemma of the refugees, meanwhile, emphasizing their existence in the country as an economic and social burden for the whole nation. This argument may refer the positive self - presentation and negative other-presentation.

3.2.3 Polarization: This strategy is used for separating, categorizing and contrasting of the parties involved into a positively represented 'us' and a negatively represented 'them'. Polarization may "also apply to 'good' and 'bad' sub-categories of out-groups, as is the case for friends and allies on the one hand, and enemies on the other to be rhetorically enhanced when expressed as a clear contrast" (van Dijk, 2006d: 80). This discursive polarization between (good) Us and (bad) Them follows more general patterns of ideologically based social cognitions of and about in-groups and out-groups as expressed at all the levels of text and talk (ibid: 81).

3.2.4 Presupposition: Presuppositions are contextual assumptions embedded within a sentence or a phrase. Beard (2000: 118) defines them as "a thing that is assumed, but not stated, at the beginning of a line of argument." Discourse is incomplete and implicit, in a sense that much information is not expressed, only understood to be *implied* or *presupposed*. Moreover, the common shared knowledge among people or ideas are taken for granted and unchallenged in propositions (van Dijk, 2006d: 82). This is generally the case for all the forms of the shared (common ground) knowledge and opinions in political debates. To decide what information and knowledge about in-groups and out-groups foregrounded, or backgrounded is heavily driven by ideologies, prejudices, national stereotypes that are false of many individuals.

3.2.5 Vagueness: This is used to create uncertainty and ambiguity, such as talking about delicate issues such as immigration displacement, constitution, and the expressions of possibility. Controversial opinions about ethnic groups typically call for hedging and other forms of vagueness. van Dijk (2000b: 94) states that vagueness is "characteristically functions as a form of the impression management: protecting our own face (when being vague about racism for instance), and where possible being vague about the positive properties of the others". Quantifiers that have vague meanings such as " ('few', 'a lot'), adverbs ('very') nouns ('thing'), and adjectives ('low', 'high'), among other expressions may be typical in such discourse". (van Dijk, 2006d: 84).

3.2.6 Lexicalization: According to van Dijk(1995:154) this category can be considered as an overall ideological strategy for negative other-representation through the semantic features of "the selection of (strongly) negative words to describe the actions of the others: *terrorism*, *destroy*, *extremism*, *jihadist*, etc." If the lexicalization of the underlying conceptual meanings is analyzed, "few properties of discourse will be as directly revealing about ethnic opinions as the words being chosen to describe *them* and *their* actions and properties" (van Dijk,2000b:95) Lexicalization analysis is relevant in the descriptions of other groups' actions and properties.

3.3The Argumentation Level

Van Dijk (2006b: 376) believes that the argumentative manipulation “effect upon the readers” is graded according to their qualification and critical sense of recipients, because, critical audience who has enough information and arguments are competent to resist manipulative discourse.

This refers to the “general strategies of manipulative discourse appear to be predominantly semantic” (ibid). However, as is the case for the implementation of ideologies, the preferred or non-preferred meanings may also be de/emphasized by using certain argumentative ideological techniques as defined as follows:

3.3.1 Illustration: A powerful manipulative strategy in argumentation is “to give concrete examples”(van Dijk, 2006d:69), generally in the form of a summary, short story, illustration or making a general point defended by the speaker more concrete and dynamic. Concrete examples have not only the power to be easily imaginable and better memorable, but also to “suggest impelling forms of empirical proof to precisely contribute to negative other-presentation” (ibid:70).

3.3.2 Openness, Honesty: One way to do this is to use phrases such as frankly..., honestly..., or we should not hide the truth, and so on, to show honesty of speaker and presuppose dishonesty of others. The honesty involved here is therefore purely strategic and rhetorical. Thus, speakers suggest that their argument satisfies the positive values of honesty and openness, while at the same time indulging in negative other-presentation or even blatant derogation (van Dijk, 1995b: 385).

3.3.3 Counter Factuality: This involves using standard conditional formula such as (what would happen, if...) by the speaker (or writer) in order to allow her/him to “demonstrate absurd consequences when an alternative is being considered... As a warning or advice, counterfactuals are relevant in political debate... to show what would happen if we would NOT take any measures or formulate policies or a law” (van Dijk, 2006d: 66). Hence, what is presupposed by this move is not only false, but also contrary to reality.

3.3.4 Consensus: A well-known argumentative political move that is based on emphasizing the issue of 'national interest' to call for national consensus and legitimacy of policies that are not partisan, but for the whole nation and people's interest, thus, the country should '*hold together*'(van Dijk, 2006d: 66). This is a very typical political-ideological move in arguments where “racist ideologies combine with nationalist ones” (ibid) to win over the opposition, as in ‘threats’ from outside are typically met with a call for national consensus. Consensus is also used to refer to the UN and the international community as a political maneuver in order to legitimate launching wars or taking counterterrorism preemptive actions against specific groups or nations as international beneficial for the whole world, whereas the international legitimacy is ignored or mitigated when it relates to in-groups such as the U.S and its allies (ibid: 67).

3.4 The Rhetoric Level

Van Dijk (2000b: 100) uses the concept of rhetoric in his model in a limited, relevant and specific sense in order to “refer to (generally optional) structures at various levels of discourse that result from special operations”, that regulate specific forms of comprehension, for instance in persuasion, discourses aim at influencing opinions, they are at the interface with the semantic level (lexicalization, hyperbole, euphemism, etc.) “because they manipulatively emphasize and de-emphasize meaning, the expression, and the formation of mental models of ethnic events and social representations of in-group and out-group” (ibid).

Hence, rhetorical strategies will typically play a role as part of an overall strategy of persuasion and impression management in this general analytical framework of the ideological square. Rhetorical ideological techniques are defined as follows:

3.4.1 Hyperbole: A semantic rhetorical device that is used for extremely enhancing, overstating, and exaggerating meaning to increase impact or to attract attention (van Dijk, 2006d: 73), for instance, “the bomb attack at the World Trade Center, in which only a few people died, or other, possible terrorist attacks, are compared with a nuclear holocaust” (van Dijk, 1995b: 395). It is used “within the overall strategy of positive self-presentation and negatives other- presentation... Sometimes such forms of hyperbole are implied by the use of special metaphors”, for instance to describe the arrival of many immigrants to Europe as “opening the floodgates” (van Dijk, 2006d: 73). It may be anticipated that political speeches are loaded with hyperbolic expressions to derogate the alleged bad actions or properties of nations or persons that challenge policies of the challenged groups or institutions often described in mitigated, euphemized, or self-glorified terms.

3.4.2 Metaphor: Metaphor is one of the semantic persuasive devices that are based on implicit comparison of the two categories with meaning extension. The most well-known example of political metaphor is “*the war is a game*”, as in “Bush has to *pick up his game* in Iraq” It is important to be aware that metaphors are capable of both highlighting and hiding aspects of the phenomena described. However, most political metaphors are negative, and “thus fall under the overall ideological strategy of negative other-description” (Van Dijk, 2006d: 78).

3.4.3 Euphemism: A means of manipulation used by politicians as more polite or positive words to soften a harsh, unpleasant, or offensive reality. Euphemism in discourse is the opposite of metaphor as far as ideology is concerned, while metaphor exaggerates and derogates out-group, euphemism mitigates and dissimulates in-groups (Trask, 1999:89). However, both are used to distort reality, for instance, the invasion of Iraq was called “*a liberation*” (though it was later defined as an occupation) and a euphemized noun phrase “*prison abuse*” was coined after the Abu Ghraib prison scandal broke in spring 2004 in order to avoid the word “torture”

Van Dijk (1995a:140) finds that the rhetorical move of euphemism, along with down toning and minimizing negative impression, are co-hyponyms of superordinate semantic category of mitigation that are used to deny one's negative actions such as “*I did not threaten him, but gave him friendly advice*”, “*I did not insult him, but told him my honest opinion*”,

etc. In other words, the use of euphemism presupposes the denial of systemic racism of the in-group or dominant society (ibid).

Van Dijk (ibid:141) asserts that intensive use of euphemism is also well-known in the military propaganda and news reports about the Gulf War in 1990, such as "*surgical strikes*", "*friendly fires*", "*laser-guided*" or "*smart bombs*". An analogous use of euphemism is made in elite discourse on ethnicity or race relations, in which racism is typically denied, and replaced by less harsh words.

3.4.4 Number-Game: As a rhetorical argumentative strategy, political debaters use numbers and statistics in their arguments to persuasively emphasize objectivity and precision, and hence to suggest scientific credibility by representing what are selectively framed as "correct facts" against mere opinion and impression by others. The number-game is also a rhetorical move of highlighting and exaggerating (Van Dijk 2000a:45).

3.4.5 Contrast: Contrast is traditionally a semantic device but van Dijk (2000b, pp.93-4) states that it can "be studied in a rhetorical analysis" in what serves the aims and perspectives set forth by the analyst. This technique is usually used by language users to shed light or emphasize the contrastive points between people, actions, and issues. It is highly used by politicians to contrast their (actions) goodness with others' badness where the former is always good, moderate or superior while the latter is the opposite.

3.4.6 Citing: Citing technique along with number-game are vigorously penetrating ones in depicting us and our actions -as language users - as good, truthful, and positively portrayed on the contrary of others who seem to lack these attributes and charismatic properties. Citing (or quoting) from others - even if being opponents- can be strategically used and adapted in favor of the one who cites. van Dijk (2006a:136) shows how the citing technique can be deftly utilized by language users either to show or emphasize their integrity, goodness, or otherwise. This technique covers not only citing from iconic or historical figures but also from religious, judiciary or constitutional texts and resources.

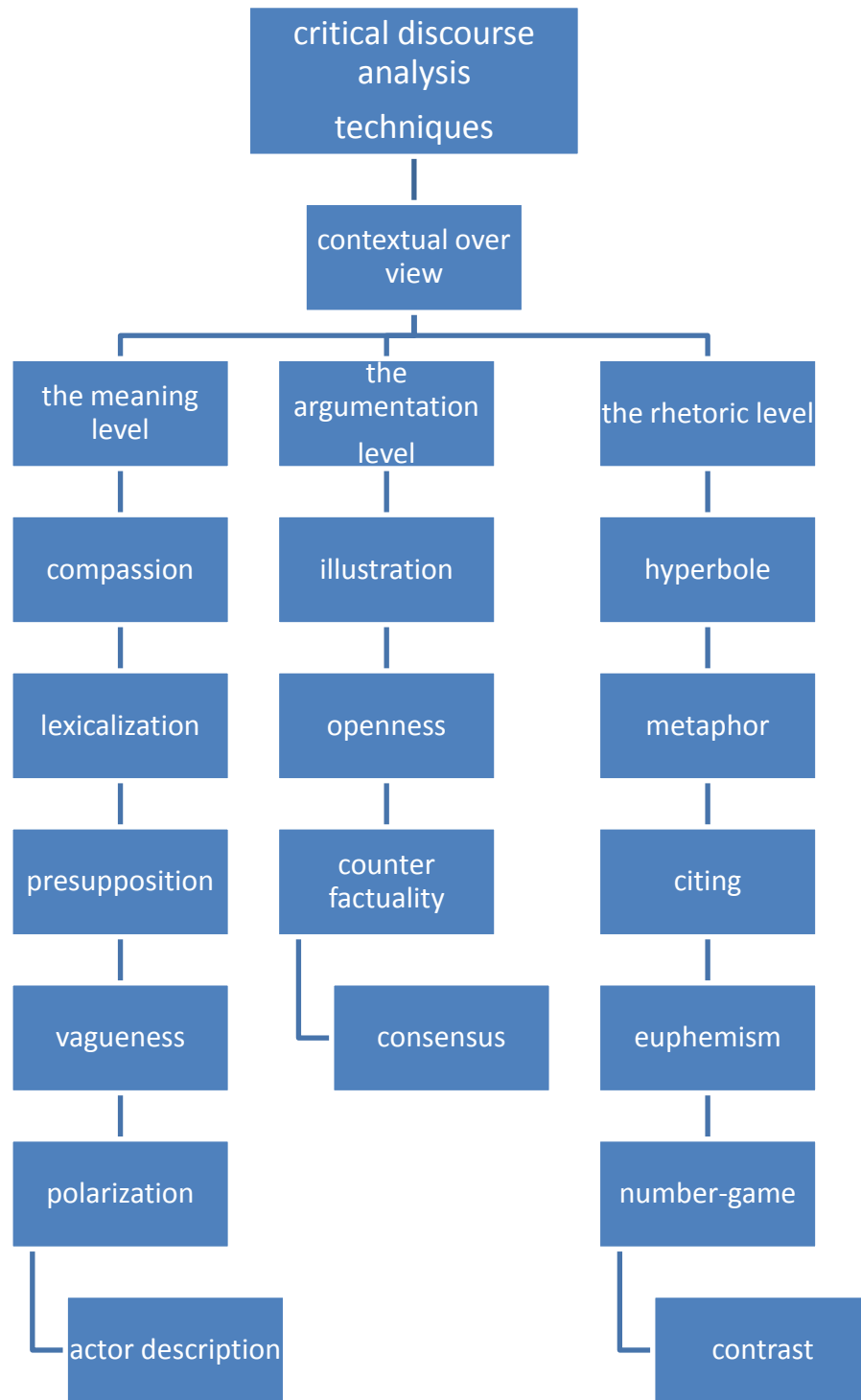


Fig. 1. The Model Adopted after van Dijk (1995 -2006) with some Modification

4. Data analysis: The Contextual Overview

Al-Abadi's speeches about the Kurdish referendum were of the most important speeches in the period of 24-29th September 2017. They took place in a very critical time where the Iraqi forces were fighting ISIS and had achieved great victories on this terrorist organization. They

have received much publicity coverage before as well as after their release. In his speeches, Prime Minister Dr. Haider Al-Abadi addresses many issues and covers variety of topics. The most important issues which he dealt with were: the role of the Iraqi forces in defeating ISIS on the Iraqi territories, saving the lives of people and taking care of the displacements. But the most important topic was the opposition of the Iraqi government over the Kurdish referendum which was going to take place in its determined date 25th September as Masoud Barzani , the Kurdish leader declared in his 22th September speech.

4.1 The Meaning Level

This level covers the following :

4.1.1 Actor Description

Actor descriptions are never neutral, but have intended meaning functions in the expression of opinions and viewpoints about others, because “all discourse on people and action involves various types of actor description” (van Dijk, 2006d: 62). Hence, some of these actor descriptions represent ‘members of groups’, ‘individuals’, ‘by first or family name’, ‘function’, ‘role’, or ‘group name’, and so on. This move is based on the overall ideological strategy of positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation as in the following example:

Example (1)

ان نظام الطاغية صدام قد بطش بكل العراقيين عربا وكردا وتركمانا والمكونات الاخرى لأنه كان يرى في كل العراقيين الشرفاء تهديدا له ولحكمه المستبد.... (5)

In this example the speaker uses a negative description to express his opinion so instead of saying Saddam's regime he said the *tyrant Saddam regime* to gain the support of the Kurd who have been affected by Saddam's government.

4.1.2 Compassion

The expressions of empathy and compassion may be largely untrue, and serve strategically to match the speaker's impression with the audience and welfare of some of the others, at the same time, invent, or enhance the savageness of the other. As in the example below:

Example (2):

في هذه اللحظات التي يبذل فيها ابناء العراق الغيارى ارواحهم ودماءهم الزكية دفاعا عن ارض الرافدين ووحدة البلاد....(1)

In this excerpt Al-Abadi shows his compassion to the Iraqi forces and enhancing the savageness of ISIS gangs by saying their fragrant blood and their souls .

4.1.3 Polarization

Terrorism is the central topic and issue in the speech which seems to be the halo around which the speech is revolving. The speaker on the one hand , is dedicating most of his speech to terrorism and the danger of terrorists and the consequences of their evil acts. On the other

hand , he foreshadows the end of this terrorist gangs by the heroic role of the Iraqi forces .
The speech under analysis polarizes terrorism vs. Iraqi forces as in the following example:

Example (3a):

في هذه اللحظات التي يبذل فيها أبناء العراق الغياري¹ ارواحهم ودماءهم الزكية دفاعا عن ارض الرافدين ووحدة البلاد.
وفي ايام اشتداد الحرب على الارهاب² ومع اقتراب تحقيق النصر النهائي على الدواعش³ في غربي الانبار والحويجة
وغربي كركوك وكل مكان.... (1)

In this example, Al-Abadi call the Iraqi forces (the brave sons of Iraq)¹ praising and highlighting the heroic acts of them against (terrorism)² represented by (Al Dwaesh – the fighters of ISIS gangs)³ located in the west of Anbar , Alhawija , the west of Kirkuk and everywhere .

وفي الوقت الذي توحدنا شعباً ومقاتلين لصد عصابة داعش المجرمة¹ نفاجاً بدعوات التفرقة والعودة الى عهد الظلام
والتسلط والدكتاتورية . (2)

ان قواتنا الغيورة² حررت تكريت والانبار والموصل وابعدت الخطر عن اربيل ومدن الشمال العزيزة ، وهذا واجب ديناه
وسنؤديه دفاعا عن كل شبر من ارض العراق الغالية . (2)

These are another examples from many through Al-Abadi's speeches. He calls the enemies (ISIS criminal gangs)¹ to express their barbarous ideology of killing innocent people. Whereas he calls the Iraqi forces (our brave forces)² and mentions some of their recent victories and promise to free all of Iraq .In the following example the is a polarization between new and past Iraq.

Example (3b) :

ماذا جنى العراقيون من الصراعات التي زجهم بها الطاغية صدام داخليا وخارجيا ؟
لاشيء سوى الدمار واشباع غروره وتسلطه وتهوره الذي اوصل العراق الى الضياع والتخلف وفقدان الأمن
والاستقرار. (4)

ان نظام الطاغية صدام قد بطش بكل العراقيين عربا وكردا وتركمانا والمكونات الاخرى لأنه كان يرى في كل العراقيين
الشرفاء تهديدا له ولحكمه المستبد (5)
قواتنا الامنية ليست كالقوات السابقة فهدفها هو حماية المواطن ورأيتهم ما فعلته في نينوى والموصل ضحوا بانفسهم لاجل
حماية المواطنين وهذه القوات التي تحمي المواطنين وتحمي العراق وليست كجيش صدام (14)

هناك من يضح مسائل الطائفية والعنصرية ويحمل الاخر كل مشاكل الماضي والنظام البعثي الصدامي قام بجرائم فضيعة
بحق كل العراقيين بطغيانه وبظلمه ومن الخطا تحميل العرب هذه المسؤولية ومن الخطا تحميل طائفة معينة هذه المسؤولية
هذه المسؤولية تُحمّل للذين اصطفوا مع نظام صدام من الاكراد والعرب من الذين ظلموا الكرد هم بعثيون عرب وبعثيون
اكرد والذين ظلموا العرب هم بعثيون اكراد وبعثيون عرب (13)

As we can see Al-Abadi make a comparison between his government and Saddam Hussein government. In the above quoted instance, it can be noticed that Iraq is presented with two images; one of the past and the other is of the present through the use of different lexical options associated with each one of them. The new Iraq is built on *democratic basis* and the respect of *human rights*. The speaker presents an adorable image of the new Iraq through the use of very positively loaded lexical options. This semantic condensation is followed by another series of nouns with very constructive and optimistic associations (*our forces are not like Saddam's forces because their goal is to protect people as you see nowadays*). Old Iraq is presented by the metonymic use of *Saddam* as the ruler of that ex-going regime. The name of the ruler is associated with *destroying* and *the violation of human rights*.

4.1.4 Presupposition

Here, the speeches adopt one of the cores of ideological arguments that is presuppositions. Because presuppositions belong to knowledge and beliefs that are not stated, but simply presumed, candidates are able to instill ideological presuppositions into their arguments that take racist beliefs against the World of Islam and the Middle East for granted. The use of presuppositions enables both speakers to share with the audience a lot stereotyped and orientalist information that derogates out-group representation and hides or mitigates in-group representation. This can be seen in the following example:

Example (4) :

هناك من يضح مسائل الطائفية والعنصرية ويحمل الاخر كل مشاكل الماضي والنظام البعثي الصدامي قام بجرائم فضيحة بحق كل العراقيين بطغيانه وبظلمه ومن الخطا تحميل العرب هذه المسؤولية.... (13)

Al-Abadi presupposes that the hearers know the ones who try *to agitate Racism and Sectarianism*. He persuade the audience not to be misled by those deceivers.

4.1.5 Vagueness

Vagueness can be used as new forms of implicitness and indirectness . It is a semantic property of texts that functions to conceal responsibility for self- negative actions. One way of concealing in-group or speaker's responsibility is the use of sentences in syntactic structures of passivation and nominalizations. In the speeches under analysis , this is for instance the case when the actions of in-group are described, as follows:

Example (5):

ومن الخطا تحميل طائفة معينة هذه المسؤولية هذه المسؤولية تُحمل للذين اصطفوا مع نظام صدام من الاكراد والعرب من الذين ظلموا الكرد هم بعثيون عرب وبعثيون اكراد والذين ظلموا العرب هم بعثيون اكراد وبعثيون عرب والذي يتحمل مسؤولية هذا الظلم هي الجهة والاشخاص الذين قاموا بهذا الاضطهاد ولايتحمل المسؤولية اهل بغداد واهل باقي العراق. (13)

In this example Al-Abadi uses some manipulation to settle this problem because in Saddam's regime there are Arabs who were tortured by Kurds and at the same time Kurds were killed by Arabs and those two were followers of Saddam's tyrant regime. Therefore, the ones to be blamed are those themselves not the whole Arab or Kurd people.

4.1.6 Lexicalization

Lexicalization reveals the communicative value of the selection of word meaning in creating an overall ideological square strategy associated with radical contrast of negative other-presentation and positive self-representation. Consider the following example :

Example (6) :

وفي ايام اشتداد الحرب على الارهاب¹ ومع اقتراب تحقيق النصر النهائي على الدواعش² (1)
وفي الوقت الذي توحدنا شعباً ومقاتلين لصد عصابة داعش المجرمة³ نفاجاً بدعوات التفرقة والعودة الى عهد الظلام
والتسلط والديكتاتورية⁴ (2)

In these excerpts Al-Abadi makes use of heavy loaded words to express the negative other-presentation in using *terrorism*¹ to describe the inhumane actions of *Al-Dwaish*² instead of calling them the enemy fighters to show their insignificance and savage nature . Another usage is that of *criminal ISIS gangs*³ to emphasize the criminal hard-hearted behaviours of those killers in killing innocent people. The fourth usage of lexicalization is through the *dark era of exploitation and dictatorship*⁴ to refer to Saddam's regime. As we could see this technique is highly employed to serve the ideology of the speaker.

4.2 The Argumentation Level

This level covers the following :

4.2.1 Illustration

Giving concrete examples is one of the powerful manipulative strategies in argumentation, which can be in the form of a summary, short story or illustrating by making concrete and live examples, since they are based on direct experiences. The following example illustrates this:

Example (7) :

قواتنا الامنية ليست كالقوات السابقة فهدها هو حماية المواطن ورأيتم ما فعلته في نينوى والموصل ضحوا
بانفسهم لاجل حماية المواطنين وهذه القوات التي تحمي المواطنين وتحمي العراق وليست كجيش صدام (14)

In this example Al-Abadi argues by saying you *have seen what they did in Ninawa* as a concrete evidence which is known for everyone that the Iraqi forces are fighting for all of the Iraqi people. In comparison with the forces of Saddam who had done a brutal deeds with civilians in the past.

4.2.2 Openness, Honesty

Van Dijk (1995b:155) argues that the honesty move is used as “a well-known form of denying possible negative statements”. One way of expressing ‘openness, honesty’ is by using phrases such as honestly, or certainly we should not hide the truth as forms of disclaimers. This can be shown in the following example:

Example (8) :

ونؤكد اليوم اننا لن نتخلى عن مواطنينا الكرد وقد رفضنا ونرفض الدولة الطائفية والدولة العنصرية ، وسيبقى العراق لكل
العراقيين ولن نسمح ان يكون ملكا (3)

In this paragraph Al-Abadi emphasizes that he will not abandon the Kurds citizens and assures them that they are part of Iraq despite everything happened in the past.

4.2.3 Counter Factuality

Counterfactual presuppositions are created through the use of *If-clause*. The use of such conditional structure by the speaker(or writer) indicates that what is presupposed is not only not true but also *contrary to facts*. This kind of presupposition is rarely used by the Prime Minister Dr. Haider Al-Abadi in his speech. The following extract is an instance of this kind of presupposition.

Example (9) :

الاستفتاء اجري بدون اي اعتراف دولي والغريب بالامر ان المسؤولين الذين قرروا الاستفتاء هم انفسهم اجرؤا الاستفتاء وهم انفسهم اعلنوا نتائجه بدون اي رقابة قانونية حيادية، وبالتالي لن يترتب اي اثر على هذا الاستفتاء ونتائجه، اذا¹ كان يقصد بها رأي عام فنحن غير مستعدين للنقاش.....(11)

In this example, the speaker employs *if-clause* (if)¹ to create a counterfactual presupposition. Through the *if-clause* construction, the speaker initiates a presupposition to reflect the fact that the referendum is illegal and unconstitutional on local and global scales. Therefore, the politicians who made this referendum should have made it appropriately to expect its results.

4.2.4 Consensus

Consent and consensus play a fundamental role in the exercise of power and the reproduction of ideologies that support such power, ideological interaction is often associated with various forms of manipulation, with strategies that manage or control the mind of the public at large to manufacture the consent or fabricate a consensus in the interests of those in power in the speeches of Al-Abadi this technique was of high value because he was dealing with internal crisis and tried to globalize it let us consider this example:

Example (10) :

الاستفتاء اجري بدون اي اعتراف دولي والغريب بالامر ان المسؤولين الذين قرروا الاستفتاء هم انفسهم اجرؤوا الاستفتاء وهم انفسهم اعلنوا نتائجه بدون اي رقابة قانونية حيادية، وبالتالي لن يترتب اي اثر على هذا الاستفتاء ونتائجه، اذا كان يقصد بها رأي عام فنحن غير مستعدين للنقاش حول نتائج الاستفتاء لانه غير دستوري وغير شرعي واجراءاته غير صحيحة سواء بالمقاييس العالمية او المقاييس العراقية وحتى بمقاييس الاقليم نفسه حتى ان رئيس برلمان الاقليم اعتبره غير شرعي.... (11)

Al-Abadi makes use of this technique to globalize and support his objection about the referendum declaring that it is illegal locally , internationally and even the region president of Kurdistan refused this referendum.

4.2 The Rhetoric Level

This level covers the following:

4.3.1 Euphemism

Euphemism or euphemization is one of the techniques used by language users to put down the negative connotations associated with the use of a certain word or expression. This semantic technique is geared towards reducing the negative connotations interrelated to the use of certain word or expression. Despite this relieving effect, the essence of the euphemized expression remains the same.

Euphemism, in all its forms, is a very active tool in the hands of language users, especially politicians, because it enables them to evade direct reference to sensitive issues and make their language more flexible and maneuvering. The following is one example:

Example (11) :

في هذه اللحظات التي يبذل فيها أبناء العراق الغيارى ارواحهم ودماءهم الزكية دفاعا عن ارض الرافدين ووحدة البلاد.
(1)

In the speech under analysis , Al-Abadi used the expression (*give their souls and their fragrant blood to defend ...*) instead of saying (dying for you) which is more direct expression with a sense of bloodiness and gloomy view. He changed the bad connotation of death to more elevated one which is the martyr's death for saving all the Iraqi people including the Kurds people.

4.3.2 Metaphor

Metaphor is one of the important techniques used by language users in general and politicians in particular. As a rhetorical device, politicians usually tend to coat their discourses with metaphors which are based on cognitive and /or linguistic basis . Since metaphor is an important rhetorical device used in political speech, discourse analysts usually utilize it in their analyses of political – and nonpolitical- speeches .

In the speech under analysis there seems a little use for this technique may be due the fact that he is addressing the ordinary people to urge them not to participate in the referendum. Here is an example :

Example (12) :

ودليل آخر على ان مشاكل الاقليم داخلية هو تجميد عمل البرلمان¹ لمدة اثنين وعشرين شهرا واستمرار حكومة الاقليم من دون غطاء قانوني بسبب سياسات المسؤولين في الاقليم . وهذه المشاكل الداخلية ضمن الاقليم ستتفاقم ايضا ، ولن يكون هناك اسناد لا من مجتمع دولي ولا من الجيران بسبب المواقف العدائية² لمسؤولي الاقليم ضد كل جيرانهم وضد المجتمع الدولي وهي سياسات تقف بالصد من مصالح مواطنينا في الاقليم. (11)

In the above excerpt there are two examples of metaphor. The first is that of usage of (freezing the parliament work)¹ the gerund *freezing* in its ordinary sense is not used with the work of parliament. He made use of this metaphor to highlight the problems in Kurdistan and the dictatorship of Al-Barazni who stopped the parliamentary work, which represent the

democratic practice of authorities. The second usage is that of (aggressive reactions)² of Kurdistan officials toward the neighboring countries and the international society. The word aggressive is used to describe animalistic behaviours but the speaker uses them to show the policy of Kurdistan to the Kurd people .

4.3.3 Contrast

Contrast - as a rhetorical technique - is utilized by language users to shed light on aspects of two situations, states of affairs, characters,...etc through a contrastive comparison. This contrastive comparison is not necessarily very overt but it can be the other way around. It can be exploited by speakers to emphasize goodness of one side and badness of the other. In fact, the utilization of contrast and contrastive pairs is usually considered one of the features prevalent in political speeches and it is called by classical rhetoricians *antithesis*. In the speech under analysis the speaker used different comparisons between ISIS and The Iraqi force , the old Iraq (Saddam Hussein) and the new Iraq (Al-Abadi) and the Kurd officials and the Iraqi government ... etc. We have covered some of these comparisons through our analysis.(see examples,3a &3b).

4.3.4 Citing:

Citing here is used to refer to quoting from other sources whether being religious, historical or from iconic figures. This technique can be effectively used to indicate certain points in the mind of language users. It can be used to enhance credibility, add charismatic features or emphasize/de-emphasize some issues and events,...etc. in the speech under analysis there was no occurrence for citing except one example which is often used to open Al-abadi speeches as in the following example :

Example (13):

(بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم) *in the Name of Allah the Merciful the compassionate* quoted from the Holy Quran as a common expression to begin your speech in the Muslim world.

4.3.5 Number-game

This technique refers to the use of numbers to enhance the credibility of the speaker, show the massiveness of an event or amplify/de-amplify some kind of action. This technique can be used to indicate hugeness or to serve certain ends in the mind of the speaker. The following is an example from the speech under analysis:

Example (14) :

أوجه كلامي لابناء شعبنا الكردي خاصة¹ : اسألوا المسؤولين في الاقليم اين تذهب اموال النفط وهم استولوا على ما يقارب 900 ألف برميل² نفط يوميا اي ما يعادل ربع النفط المنتج في باقي العراق .. (6)

Al-abadi in this excerpt directs his speech to the Kurd population using the expression (*I direct my speech to the Kurd population especially*)¹ . He urges them to ask for their right (salaries) which were cut by Kurdistan officials claiming that the federal government had cut the finance for Kurdistan region. Al-abadi's argues by suggesting *why don't you ask your officials where is the money they got from paying oil without permission from the federal government*. He used the technique of a number game by declaring that (*nine hundred thousand barrel of oil are sold per day ...*)² this amount equals a quarter from the Iraqi oil in total. Mentioning this fact , Al-abadi wanted to say that Kurdistan region is ruled by corrupted politicians who want to throw the responsibility on the Iraqi government.

4.3.6 Hyperbole

Hyperbole is a description of an event or action in exaggerated terms .It is used to emphasize strongly negative ideological meanings. The reverse is also true; if opponents' negative actions are to be exaggerated, speaker's negative actions are, of course, need to be softened. The following is an example:

Example (15) :

ن قواتنا الغيورة حررت تكريت والانبار والموصل وابعدت الخطر عن اربيل ومدن الشمال العزيزة ، وهذا واجب اديناہ
وسنؤديه دفاعا عن كل شبر من ارض العراق الغالية.... (1)

In this example the speaker overestimate the situation by saying that the Iraqi forces *pushed the danger away* from Erbil as if ISIS gangs were about to invade them. This usage is to persuade the people of Kurdistan not to vote for separation from Iraq which devoted the life of its soldiers to protect them from ISIS gangs.

5. Conclusions

The study reveals that most of the techniques used in critical discourse analysis are applicable to Arabic political speeches. This indicates that politicians, in general, manipulate the language system in their political speeches to convey the political agenda. Politicians seek to impose their own ideologies in their speeches via exercising power, dominance on the audience. Data analysis reveals that AL-Abadi has employed most of the critical discourse analysis techniques on the levels of meaning, argumentation and rhetoric. Accordingly, various techniques such as: illustration, openness, consensus, hyperbole, metaphor, euphemism, polarization, compassion, and lexicalization have been used to persuade listeners of the ideopolitical perspectives of the speaker towards Kurdistan Region Referendum.

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