

The Manifestation of Discursive Devices in Male and Female Politician Speeches: A Socio-Cognitive Study

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Abstract: *Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is a form of discourse analytical study that focuses on how text and language in the social and political context enact, perpetuate, and oppose social power abuse, domination, and inequality. Critical discourse analysts take an explicit position in such dissident research, and so seek to analyze, expose, and ultimately oppose social injustice. This study examines four political speeches made by male and female politicians (Boris Johnson, Jill Biden, Jeanine Hennis-Plasschaert, Justin Trudeau). Adopting Van Dijk's Socio-Cognitive Model (2005), this article focuses on examining various ideologies and attitudes by analysing male and female politicians' speeches to see how they attempt to defend their opinions and persuade their audience. The linguistic analysis of the speeches reveals the way how male and female politicians disseminate or express their beliefs differently. The results of the investigation indicate that devices such as "actor description, authority, illustration/example, generalization, national self-glorification, and norm expression" are used to show positive self-representation while devices such as "burden, comparison, euphemism, implication" are used to show negative other representation. Also, those who use these devices more often tend to speak more formally and with stronger ideological biases in their discourse. So, they start using more sophisticated discursive strategies, frameworks, and rhetorical tools in a new way. And that Female politicians use discursive*

devices distinct from those employed by Male politicians.

Key Words: *discursive devices, socio-cognitive, micro-level structure, macro-level structure.*

1. Introduction

Critical Discourse Analysis, according to Van Dijk (1998), is a field concerned with examining and analysing written and spoken texts in order to uncover the discursive roots of power, dominance, inequality, and prejudice. It looks at how these discursive materials are kept and reproduced in different social, political, and historical contexts.

The framework on which Van Dijk worked is known as 'socio-cognitive' discourse analysis. He was fascinated by the study of language users' mental representations and processes as they produce and comprehend discourse and engage in verbal interaction, as well as the knowledge, ideologies, and other ideas that social groups share. His approach looks at how such cognitive phenomena are linked to discourse structures, verbal engagement, communication events and contexts, as well as society structures like dominance and social inequity.

A socio-cognitive approach to discourse is a subset of the larger social constructionism theory or philosophy, which maintains that social and political 'reality' are constructed by social members. Unlike some other forms of social constructionism (such as Discursive Psychology or Conversation Analysis), this approach not only believes that such

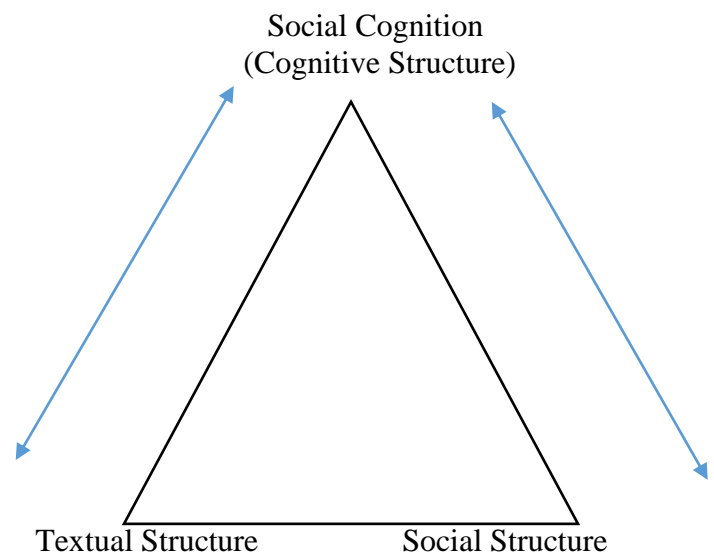
'constructions' are mental representations implemented by the brain, but also that these mental processes and representations should be taken seriously and analysed in detail, for example in terms of recent cognitive science advances. Socio-cognitive Discourse Studies is not a method, but it may employ a variety of methods. It's a multidisciplinary CDA that uses a cognitive interface to connect discourse structures to social structures. This type of multidisciplinary discourse study of the cognitive component could be as methodologically diverse as its discourse or social structure analysis. As a result, it is preferred to refer to Socio-cognitive Discourse Studies rather than Socio-cognitive Discourse Analysis (SCDS) (van Dijk, 2017).

The Discourse–Cognition–Society triangle characterizes Van Dijk's socio-cognitive approach to discourse within the broader framework of critical discourse studies. While all CDS approaches look at how discourse and society interact, a socio-cognitive approach suggests that these interactions are cognitively mediated. Discourse structures and social structures are of distinct kinds, and the only way to connect them is through language users' mental representations of themselves as individuals and social members.

First and foremost, SCA's goal is twofold: (1) to identify and map the cognitive equipment that people use to produce and understand their own discourse, and (2) to explain how that cognitive apparatus affects discourse structure and interpretation in a given communicative context. Van Dijk stresses that his framework is not a method for discourse analysis; it does not provide an instruction manual. As a result, it uses a wide range of tools and concepts from a variety of disciplines, including sociology and cognitive psychology, to examine the role of knowledge in discourse production and comprehension in a particular society (Gyollai, 2020).

A model in which the link between text and society is mediated by cognition is needed to provide a clearer account of the discursive construction of social inequality. An example of one such model is the van Dijk socio-cognitive approach, which ties together textual, cognitive, and social structures. Van Dijk argues that social cognition influences both the structure of texts and

the structure of society. "The system of mental representations and processes that group members use" is how social cognition is defined. Van Dijk argues that social cognition is theoretically necessary to mediate between micro-level concepts like text and macro-level concepts like social relations. As a matter of fact, an explanation of how texts can be socially beneficial necessitates an account that links textual structures and social cognition. The figure below represents Van Dijk's socio-cognitive approach.



(Hart, 2010, p.15)

Discourse and politics can be related in essentially two ways: (a) Political processes and structures are produced at a socio-political level by contextual events, interactions, and discourses of political actors in political contexts, and (b) Shared political representations are tied to individual representations of these discourses, interactions, and contexts at a socio-cognitive level of description. In other words, political cognition acts as a critical theoretical link between the individual and social components of politics and political discourse (Van Dijk, 2002).

The first point to note about political discourse is that it is not a genre, but rather a group of genres

determined by a social domain, namely politics. Scientific discourse, educational discourse, and legal discourse, on the other hand, constitute the discourse genres of the realms of science, education, and law, respectively. Thus, government deliberations, parliamentary debates, party programs, and politician speeches are just a few of the genres that fall under the umbrella of politics. The discourse of politicians is known as political discourse. For the time being, this excludes even those discourse genres that exist at the intersections of the domains of politics and other domains, such as the discourse of a student demonstration, anti-abortion campaign messages, corporate talk intended to influence tax or investment legislation, or everyday political conversation.

That is, even if their goal is to influence political decision-making, their discourses belong in other social realms. A law addressing education policy, on the other hand, is a type of political discourse, even if it has or wants to have effect in the education field. After limiting the scope of political discourse to the 'professional' world of politicians' actions, the next point is that such discourse is also a type of institutional discourse. That is, only political discourses created in institutional settings such as governments, parliaments, or political parties are evaluated. This implies that a politician's casual talk with her friends does not qualify as political discourse; the discourse must be produced by the speaker in her official role as a politician and in an institutional environment. Discourse is political, in a more action-oriented sense, when it achieves a political deed in a political institution, such as governance, legislation, election campaigns, and so on (Van Dijk, 2003).

Despite the existence of numerous analyses and academic studies in the domain of discursive devices and political ideologies, there are still several issues of direct significance to the field that remain unanswered, including the following:

1. How political ideologies are formed and represented?
2. Do male and female politicians employ socio-cognitive discursive strategies in the same manner?
3. What discursive devices are used more often by female politicians to portray their

positive self-representation and negative other representation?

4. What discursive strategies are used most often by male politicians to portray their positive self-representation and negative other representation?

A socio-cognitive approach not only elucidates the central role of mental representations but also demonstrates that many aspects of discourse can only be fully defined in terms of various cognitive conceptions, particularly those of participants' information, beliefs, and knowledge.

2. Previous Studies

Following a discussion of the socio-cognitive devices used in political speeches, a number of relevant studies illustrating how these devices might be examined in a range of political speeches are provided. One of the studies was conducted by In a paper titled "A Critical Discourse Analysis of Two Iraqi Politicians' Speeches in terms of Teun Van Dijk's Socio-Cognitive Model," Nasih (2020) explored various ideologies, views, and attitudes using Teun Van Dijk's Socio-cognitive model. The purpose of the research was to analyze the speeches of Iraqi politicians to see how they defend their opinions and attempt to persuade the audience. The research hypothesizes that political language plays a crucial role in reflecting and shaping the community.

In addition, in an article titled "Critical discourse analysis of Micro and Macro structures in Talks by Two Iranian Presidents at the United Nations General Assembly: A Socio-cognitive Perspective," Shakoury and Makarova (2021) focused on micro- and macro-level discourse features in these presidents' addresses to the United Nations General Assembly. It seeks to ascertain if major disparities in the micro and macro structures of these political discourses are indicative of characteristics such as divergent political stances, worldviews, and personal histories.

Moreover, Afzal, Hameed, and Jabeen (2022) demonstrated in their article titled "The Use of Macro and Micro Structures in Pakistani Prime Minister's Speech at UNGA: A Critical Discourse Analysis Approach" that political speeches delivered by state leaders or politicians can sometimes spark controversy, particularly when speakers present arguments for or against particular issues. Critical discourse studies are undertaken in a

variety of situations to explore so-called political discourses. For instance, Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) investigates the relationship between the many functions of discourse structures and the socio-political situations in which these structures emerge. It also emphasizes topics like as domination, ideology, manipulation, and power. This research used van Dijk's (1980) framework to assess the macro and micro patterns of the speech, as well as the underlying motivation for utilizing such discourse forms.

3. Methodology

The model adopted in this article is Van Dijk's socio-cognitive model of CDA where discourse, social, and cognitive assessments are combined in this approach. It is predicated on the idea that cognition mediates between society and discourse and that discourse analysis focuses on various talk and text patterns (Van Dijk, 1995).

Included in the micro-level analysis are vocabulary, syntax, subjects, local semantics, and schematic structures. Consequently, the social analysis includes "overall societal structures, such as parliamentary democracy and capitalism; institutional/organizational structures, such as racist political parties; group relations, such as discrimination and racism; and group structures, such as identity, tasks, goals, norms, position, and resources" (Van Dijk, 1995). In contrast, the macro-level approach transmits power, dominance, and inequality between social groups.

As its corpus of data analysis, the current study seeks to analyze a given number of political speeches. The researcher thoroughly examines the texts and classifies them according to the specified model. In addition, the researcher delves further into the texts to find the strategies politicians use to convey their ideologies.

In addition, for the purpose of data analysis, a qualitative method is used in order to provide a comprehensive study of the selected corpus. When doing the analysis, the researcher examines each text individually and sentence by sentence. Each text is divided into specific numbered sentences, and each sentence is examined individually. The numbers continue from the beginning to the end. In addition, the chosen lines in each model statement

identify the discursive device that these lines include.

4. Data Analysis

This section is devoted to the analysis of the acquired data, namely political speeches. In this section 4 texts are analysed using the adopted model discussed in the previous sections. All of the remarks were delivered by British, American, and Canadian leaders on separate occasions. In addition, discursive devices from the socio-cognitive approach (2005) are used in the study.

4.1 Analysis of Boris Johnson's Speech, July 7, 2022 (on his resignation as a prime minister, in 10 Downing Street / London)

4.1.1 The Micro-Level Analysis

In "*I want to say to the millions of people who voted for us in 2019--many of them voting...*", the prime minister Boris Johnson's usage of the phrases "*millions of people*" and "*many of them*" is unclear, since the actual number of people and those who voted for conservatives are not specified. As a result, statement "*...millions of people... ..many of them...*" belongs to vagueness category. He utilizes the hyperbole category in "*...incredible mandate, the biggest...*" when he exaggerates the number of his mandates and supporters. Moreover, he employs vagueness in "*so hard in the last few days ...*" when he refers to the "last few days" without giving the exact number of days. when he mixes two distinct notions, he uses the disclaimer category "*not just because I wanted to do so, but because I felt it was my job*".

Johnson uses the polarization category in "*I'm immensely proud of the achievements...*" to contrast the good characteristics of the ingroup "this government" with the negative characteristics of the outgroup (the previous government). In addition, he uses lexicalization category when he references "*fastest vaccine*" and "*fastest exit from lockdown*" to establish that they delivered the vaccine before any other European nation. Then, he adopts the category of vagueness by stating "*in the last few months*" without defining the exact number of days. In "*the people of Ukraine ...*", he uses the populism category to address the whole Ukrainian population. In "*...I know that we in the UK ...*", he utilizes the category of authority to convey his sympathy for the Ukrainian people's fight for independence. His use

of "we" to refer to the people of the United Kingdom is also populism.

In addition, Johnson uses the authority category in "*we've been pushing forward*" to demonstrate that he has knowledge and expertise in expanding investment in infrastructure, skills, and technology. He employs hyperbole to characterize their development program as the best in a century in sentence "*The biggest in a century...*". In "*genius and talent and enthusiasm...*" he uses the theme of national self-glorification while praising the British people. Moreover, when he addresses what should be done to make the United Kingdom prosperous in "*...we must keep levelling up ...*", he uses the norm expression category. Utterance "*if we can do that in this country...*" is an example of a counterfactual in which he analyses what may occur if the United Kingdom continued to unleash its capacity. While "*I've tried to persuade my colleagues ...*" is an example of euphemism and implication categories, it shows that he is forced to give up despite not wanting to.

He employs the category of presupposition in "*I regret not to have been successful ...*" when he believes he has failed. When he says "*it's hard not to be able to see through so many ideas and projects myself,*" he is employing euphemism "*it's painful not to be able to see ... so many ideas ...*" to disguise the reality that the ingroup drove him to leave, i.e., he minimizes the negative characteristics of the ingroup. The statement "*so many ideas*" also belongs to the category of vagueness since it does not define the actual number of concepts. Since he depicts the populace as a herd in "*But, as we've seen... the herd instinct...*", he uses the metaphor category. In an effort to show his generosity, he employs the euphemism category once more in "*...no one is remotely indispensable ...*" to remind them that they, too, will be replaceable. In "*...Darwinian system.*", he utilizes the lexicalization category to argue that only the most successful person would climb to the top and become a great new leader, i.e. only the best individuals would succeed and others should be allowed to fail unaided. When he mixes the opposing notions of assisting families and changing the way things are done, he continues and employs other categories such as disclaimer in "*...but changing and improving ...*". Then, in "*...we need to pay for great public services*", he uses the norm

expression category to define a variety of acts that must be made to encourage growth and income. In "*I will give you as much support ...*", when he proves his expertise by extending his support to the new leader, he exploits the authority category once again.

He uses the populism category when speaking generally to the British public "*the British public...*". In "*I know that there...*", he uses the Evidentiality category because, as a political person, he knew what would occur when he gave up. Then, in "*perhaps quite a few...best job in the world*", he applies the vagueness category when he uses phrases like "*many individuals*" and "*quite a few*" in which the referents are not clearly identified, i.e. the specific number of those who will be delighted and those who will be dissatisfied is not provided. In addition, he employs hyperbole when he claims that the post of British prime minister is the best job in the world. He then uses the disclaimer category in "*But them's the breaks.*" because he blends two distinct thoughts: his regret at quitting the world's greatest job and his satisfaction that this is the universal norm.

In addition, Johnson employs categorization category when he categorizes the persons under discussion as "*our police, our emergency services, and of course, our fantastic NHS...*" When addressing the British populace as a whole in "*...our fantastic prop force...*", he uses the populism device. In "*...Prime Minister is an education ...*", he employs the category of generalization to provide a comprehensive view on the question of prime ministership. However, in "*... people possessed of such boundless...*", he embraces national self-glorification by emphasizing the uniqueness of the British people. He employs ambiguity again in "*...so many people...*" when he uses the word "*so many*" without specifying the exact number. He exploits the authority category to demonstrate his experience in "*...can sometimes seem dark...*". In addition, he utilizes the lexicalization category since he uses the word "*dark,*" which signifies the lack of light and conveys his sorrow. In addition, he uses the implication category in "*...I know that even if things ...*" and adds "*Our future together is golden,*" which may imply that he aspires to be their future leader in some capacity.

4.1.2 Macro-Level Analysis

Positive self-representation

It can be observed that Boris Johnson uses a lot of positive self-representation in his speeches. He considered himself a conservative and a member of the ingroup. He emphasized his positive characteristics and how he tried to show them most of the time, getting Brexit done, and the large number of people who voted for him. He expressed this through discursive devices such as vagueness, hyperbole, polarization, etc. *“The reason I have fought so hard in the last few days to continue to deliver that mandate in person was not just because I wanted to do so, but because I felt it was my job, my duty, my obligation to you, to continue to do what we promised in 2019.”* (vagueness, disclaimer). *“And I want you to know how sad I am to be giving up the best job in the world.”* (hyperbole). *“Of course I'm immensely proud of the achievements of this government. From getting Brexit done, to settling our relations with the continent for over half a century, reclaiming the power for this country to make its own laws in Parliament, getting us all through the pandemic, delivering the fastest vaccine rollout in Europe, the fastest exit from lockdown.”* (polarization). *“I want to say to the millions of people who voted for us in 2019 - many of them voting Conservative for the first time - thank you for that incredible mandate, the biggest Conservative majority since 1987, the biggest share of the vote since 1979.”* (hyperbole, vagueness); He demonstrates that a large number of people voted for him. He tries to show his positive characteristics.

Negative Other-representation

Boris Johnson expresses this strategy mostly through euphemism, irony, etc. He regarded his fellow conservatives as the outgroup since they forced him to resign. *“In the last few days, I've tried to persuade my colleagues that it would be eccentric to change governments when we are delivering so much, when we have such a vast mandate, and when we are actually only a handful of points behind in the polls - even in mid-term after quite a few months of pretty relentless sledging, and when the economic scene is so difficult domestically and internationally.”* (Euphemism). *“I regret not to have been successful in those arguments and of course it's painful not to be able to see through so*

many ideas and projects myself.” (Euphemism). He expresses regret for leaving the position; he attempted to persuade his colleagues to let him continue, but they forced him to resign.

4.2 Analysis of Jill Biden's 2020 DNC Speech September 11, 2022 (in the event of a Democratic presidential candidacy, during the Democratic National Convention)

4.2.1 The Micro-Level Analysis

In her 2020 DNC address, Jill Biden uses metaphors to explain and familiarize herself with unfamiliar concepts. She uses the metaphor category in *“Quiet that sparks with possibility...”*, when she depicts *“Quite”* as a living entity that brims with possibilities. Also in *“ideas bouncing back and forth ...”*, she uses metaphor again when she describes ideas as a living, bouncing creature, implying that when we are thinking, numerous concepts are present in our minds. She uses the actor description category in *“When I taught English here ...”* to define herself as an English teacher at Brandywine High School. Utterance *“But this quiet is heavy ...”* is an example of the generalization category, exhibiting a general viewpoint. She uses the metaphor category again in *“...the anxiety that echoes down...”*, when she compares “anxiety” to a living, echoing creature. In *“The rooms are dark...”*, when she paints a picture of the school by talking about the rooms, the kids, the notebooks, the parents, etc., she uses the actor description category.

Jill Biden uses the burden category while discussing a family loss in *“the magnitude of this loss ...”*. Joe Biden's first wife and daughter were killed in a car accident. She expresses sympathy and grief for this loss. In *“Mourning a wife and mother, a daughter...”*, she effectively demonstrates that she has the ability to heal a damaged family, which falls under the category of authority. In addition, she presents herself as a bereaved wife, a mother, a daughter, and a sister, making this a category for actor description. While in *“we figured it out together ...”*, she used the consensus category in which they may together overcome a threat that is tearing the family apart. Here, Jill has an implied viewpoint. She wants to go step-by-step from describing a family to discussing how she may reunite a shattered family and the nation.

She uses actor description skilfully in *"Reading stories, piled on the couch..."*, when she explains various situations in her household and how she and her husband were able to overcome obstacles. Then, she uses the metaphor category in *"the dinner dishes waiting ..."*, when she describes the dishes in the sink as being alive. In addition, she utilizes the metaphor category in *"Love makes us ..."* when she says that love can do things such as provide us (as refugees) a home and shield individuals from life's sufferings. Jill Biden uses the concept of generalization when she expresses a broad perspective on love: *"Love makes us flexible and resilient. It allows us to become more than ourselves, together"*. She utilizes the comparison category in *"...many of you are doing right now..."* when she likens family to a country and herself to the audience, stating that they, too, are doing the same for their families. It is also a category of implication when she asserts, *"How do you make a broken family whole? The same way you make a nation whole"* which implies that they (she and her husband) are able to unite the country to affect the audience. She uses the lexicalization category when she uses the word *"those"* in *"There are those who want to tell us that our country is hopelessly divided, that our differences are irreconcilable."* whose semantic characteristic implies that the individuals being discussed are emotionally distant and unlikeable. She tries to demonstrate a negative other presentation here. As such, she uses the disclaimer category in *"...but that's not what I've seen over these..."* when she unites two incompatible ideas: while those people anticipate our being split, she does not perceive it.

Jill Biden uses the consensus category in *"We're coming together, ..."* to explain that they can agree to oppose any danger despite disagreements. *"we're coming together, and holding onto each other. We're finding mercy and grace ..."*. She also uses the metaphor category since she claims *"the heart of this nation still beats with kindness, and courage that is the soul of America Joe Biden is fighting for now"* She depicts the country as a living entity with a beating heart and a soul. Nonetheless, she uses counterfactuals in *"I wondered if I would ever smile..."* when she specifies a condition beyond the fact that she would never be able to smile again after her son's death. She utilized the disclaimer category in *"It was*

summer, but there was no warmth" to link the concept that it was summer and she had no remaining warmth. She used the actor description category in *"I watched Joe shave, and put on his suit..."* to describe how her husband Joe Biden seemed following the loss of his child. It also falls under the area of implication, which indicates that he is so powerful that he can do anything for you, even though he is weak. She used the lexicalization category when she declared, *"a world empty of our son,"* the semantic quality of which is that he cares about the people in the world. She used the disclaimer category in *"But I've always understood..."* when she connected two distinct thoughts since she could not grasp how he could continue despite the fact that she understood why he did it. It's also an example of implication, since she didn't say why she understood why he did it, so it's assumed that he did it because of them.

Moreover, Jill Biden uses the presupposition category in *"For the daughter who convinces ..."* when she assumes that if a daughter wanted to drive her mother to a breast cancer screening, she would miss work due to traffic, that college students face homelessness and abuse, and that mothers serving in Iraq as Marines miss their children's birthdays. She employed the category of implication when she said, *"for all those people to who Joe gives his number,"* which indicates that Joe is a simple guy who converses with everyone and is an average person. She used the authority category in the sentence *"He does it for you."* indicating that Joe can solve all of their problems.

In addition, she uses the actor description category in *"Joe's purpose has always driven..."* to characterize Joe Biden's strength and loyalty. She uses the disclaimer category in *"...but if you listensparks of change..."* when she combines two distinct notions, namely, that a shift is imminent despite the current pandemic. In *"educators, parents, first responders..."*, she uses the categorization category to classify individuals as educators, parents, and first responders. She also uses the populist category when referring to every American citizen, as *"Americans of all walks of life ..."* She also utilized the category of national self-glorification when she praises Americans for fighting for each other. Further, she employs the populism category in *"We haven't given up."* when she refers to Americans as "we" and considers

herself to be one of them. She employs the presupposition category in “...*leadership worthy of our nation...*”, which posits that there was no nation-worthy and honest leadership. In addition, the polarization category polarizes them as an ingroup with good attributes and the prior administration as an outgroup with negative characteristics. Then she utilizes the actor description category in “*That’s Joe, he and Kamala ...*” as she explains to Joe and Kamala that they were able to make the country better. She uses counterfactuals in “*if I have the honor of serving as ...*” to demonstrate what would occur if she were to become first lady. She deploys the authority category in “*with Joe as president, ...*” when she exhibits Joe’s skill to conquer the pandemic.

Moreover, she employs the lexicalization category when she states, “*we need someone with strong shoulders,*” implying that Joe is strong since he was able to pull his family together despite his sadness over the loss of his son, and he can do the same for the country. She uses the evidentiality category in “*I know that ...*” when she provides evidence that she knows Joe is strong. She uses populism in “*...the promise of America for all of us*” when she says that she is a citizen of the United States and uses the word “us.”

4.2.2 The Macro-level analysis

Positive Self-representation of Jill Biden’s speeches

Jill Biden makes use of this strategy a lot in her speeches. In her speech, she emphasizes the good characteristics of her husband. She demonstrates her husband’s positive representation through categories such as actor description, metaphor.... He clarifies that her husband can do for you what he did for his family. “*Four days after Beau’s funeral, I watched Joe shave, and put on his suit. I saw him steel himself in the mirror, take a breath, put his shoulders back, and walk out into a world empty of our son. He went back to work. That’s just who he is. There are times when I couldn’t even imagine how he did it, how we put one foot in front of the other and kept going.*” (actor description). “*the dinner dishes waiting in the sink*” (metaphor).

Negative Other-representation

Jill Biden utilizes this strategy in her speeches. In her speech, Jill Biden expresses negative other-presentations using

categories such as disclaimer, presupposition, and so on, and she views the previous administration as the outgroup. She emphasizes that Americans need someone who is a leader and honest, someone with strong shoulders, to indicate that the previous government was not like that, so she shows the other government’s negative characteristics. “*There are those who want to tell us that our country is hopelessly divided, that our differences are irreconcilable, but that’s not what I’ve seen over these last few months.*” (disclaimer). “*We just need leadership worthy of our nation, worthy of you, honest leadership to bring us back together, to recover from this pandemic, and prepare for whatever else is next. Leadership is to reimagine what our nation will be.*” (presupposition).

4.3 Analysis of Plasschaert’s Speech February 22, 2022 (on women journalists at Shifa Gardi International Award ceremony/ Erbil)

4.3.1 The Micro-Level Analysis

In her speech on February 22, 2022, UNAMI chief Ms. Jeanine Hennis-Plasschaert develops several categories that explicate her ideologies. She uses the authority category in “*It is a great honor to speak to you ...*” to support her case by showing her expertise in women journalists’ situations. She employs the generalization category in “*Frontline reporting in times of war is...*” since she presents a general opinion about the subject. Furthermore, in her utterance “*we need people to stand up ...*”, she adopts the generalization category when she generalizes the good acts of the ingroup by saying that they needed fearless journalists. In “*Telling the truth is a tremendous ...*”, she uses the generalization category again when she gives a general viewpoint and generalizes it to apply to everyone. In utterance “*over 1,000 journalists were ...*”, she uses the number game category when she talks about the number of journalists killed around the world to improve her speech because she tries to represent facts to support her opinion.

Plasschaert utilizes the victimization category in “*...seven deaths of journalists ...*”, as she talks about those journalists as members of the ingroup who are victimized. Furthermore, in “*But it is happening.*”, she uses the disclaimer category to demonstrate how she combines two dissimilar ideas: a positive one, the rejection of the idea of murdering journalists, and a negative one, the phenomenon itself. She uses the evidentiality category in her utterance “*United Nations Secretary-General ...*” to provide proof or evidence for her knowledge, in which she provides a statement by Antonio Guterres as evidence to her

speech. She then uses the evidentiality category again in "...the organization Reporters ..." when she refers to a report by the organization Reporters without Borders as a proof for her opinion and knowledge.

Likewise, Plasschaert employs the comparison category in "...female journalists face serious human..." as she compares female journalists with male journalists and finds that women face more violations of human rights than men. Utterance "*we depend on courageous ...*" is a generalization category in which she generalizes a good act to refer to the ingroup through using the pronoun "we." However, in utterance "*Individuals like Shifa Gardi ...*" she applies the illustration/example category when she offers Shifa Gardi as an illustration to help the reader understand and remember her viewpoint and to offer persuasive examples of empirical evidence. She adopts the actor description category in "*She was a pioneer ...*" when she defines Shifa Gardi as a pioneer to emphasize positive self-description. While in "*She was killed by an explosive device ...*", she adopts the victimization category when she shows Shifa Gardi as a victim victimized by the outgroup, which is Daesh, to emphasize the negative other description.

Furthermore, she uses the actor description category in "*Arwa Damon is brave: ...*" when she describes Arwa Damon as a brave woman and the populism category in "*ordinary people's lives ...*" when she refers to ordinary people as conflict victims; the populism strategy is associated with the human burden. She applies the actor description category in "*Arwa has covered armed ...*" as she describes Arwa, who covered armed conflict in Iraq. In "*she visited families...*", she uses the illustration/example category to illustrate her point of view and provide proof to her audience. She again uses the actor description category in "*she makes action follow words ...*" and "*The world depends on journalists ...*", as she defines Arwa and focuses on her positive self-description.

4.3.2 The Macro-level analysis Positive Self-representation

It can be perceived from reading Plasschaert's speeches that she utilizes a positive self-representation strategy through discursive devices such as generalization, authority, populism,

actor description, etc. She puts emphasis on the good things and features of the Kurdistan Region and Iraq and their people, as well as stressing the bad things and treatment of others like, terrorists, and ISIS. She successfully and positively demonstrates her positive representation and describes her position and reaction toward journalists, particularly women journalists. "*Telling the truth is a tremendous challenge. And one not necessarily appreciated by everybody.*" (generalization). "*Arwa Damon is brave: she often is the first one at the scene. But more importantly, in her reporting, she consistently reminds us all of the impact that conflict has on ordinary people's lives.*" (actor description). As a result, the ingroup consists of Kurdish and Iraqi people, as well as women journalists who are well represented.

Negative Other-representation

It can be observed that this strategy is used in Plasschaert speeches by employing discursive categories such as burden, victimization, etc. "*Individuals like Shifa Gardi. She was a pioneer, and, just as important: she was an example for many when she left her desk job to report on the liberation of Mosul. Unfortunately, her drive to uncover the atrocities committed by Daesh led to her early demise. She was killed by an explosive device near a mass grave.*" (victimization). Here, she focuses on the brutality of terrorists and ISIS by mentioning the result of the terrorists murdering journalists. As a result, the outgroup is the bad regime and terrorists, who are portrayed negatively.

4.4 Analysis of Justin Trudeau's Victory Speech Sep 21, 2021 (in Montreal, Quebec, Canada, September 21, 2021)

4.4.1 The Micro-Level Analysis

Justin Trudeau utilizes the authority category in "*You are sending us back to work with...*" as he represents himself as a leader who is experienced in how to make Canada get through the pandemic; this is to support his case. He employs the disclaimer category in "*a progressive plan ... but what we've*" to join two unrelated concepts: although there were votes to be counted, he won and was chosen to be the prime minister; this is to save face and show positive self-presentation. He also uses the lexicalization category here when he

claims "*Canadians have chosen a progressive plan,*" which indicates they have chosen him to continue to be their prime minister. In "*Some have talkedbut that's what...*", he uses the vagueness category in which the referent that he refers to by using the word "some" is not clearly identified, which could be due to shared knowledge between him and the audience. This utterance shows the presupposition category as well, since he makes the speculation that the outgroup tried to divide the Canadians. It is a disclaimer category too since he tries to join two contradictory notions, a negative one represented by the outgroup and a positive one represented by the ingroup: "*some have talked about division, but that's what I see. That's not what I've seen these past weeks across the country,*" i.e., the outgroup tried to divide the country, but people didn't let them do so. He applies the consensus category in "*I see Canadians standing together...*" when he refers to the agreement between all parties against the threat of division; this indicates national importance and shows nationalist ideology in which unity and the interests of the nation are placed before any political divisions. And in "*...our team, our government is ready*", he adopts the generalization category as he generalizes the good acts of the ingroup.

Trudeau employs the comparison category in his utterance "*When I became prime minister...*", as he compares a situation in the past in which he didn't know what the future held for him with the present situation in which they are facing a pandemic. He applies the actor description category in "*... a once-in-a-century pandemic...*" when he describes Corona as a once-in-a-century pandemic. He also uses the disclaimer category in "*... a once-in-a-century pandemic...*", where he combines two different notions to indicate a positive self-description that, although there are pandemics and worldwide economic crises, Canadians can overcome them. This utterance also shows the consensus category since he shows agreement between all parties against the threats of pandemics and economic crises to show nationalist ideology.

Likewise, Justin Trudeau utilizes the evidentiality category as he gives evidence of his attitude that people want deeds, not words; he did this by claiming, "*I have heard you.*" While in "*...but you want us to concentrate...*", he uses the

disclaimer category because he states that they no longer want to talk about elections and instead want to see the work that is required for them; this means that he connected two different concepts, one of which is negative and the other is positive. He also uses authority categories "*...not worry about this pandemic ...*" and "*The moment we face demands real ...*" to show his expertise on those to back up his situation. And also, he utilizes the lexicalization category when he repeats, "*We hear you. We hear you,*" in which he uses certain lexical items to express his beliefs and opinions, which indicates that he understands them and knows that they want healthcare, an affordable house, good green jobs, and that they lack these things. Here, he addresses them informally by using these informal and popular lexical items.

Trudeau adopts the lexicalization category when he addresses the audience as "*friends,*" so he again makes use of informal lexical items to break the formality to indicate that they are on the same level and he is one of them. He uses the vagueness category in "*...some people, some special people*" in which the referent is not clearly identified, i.e., how many people and who the people are. Utterance "*The other parties and their families ...*" shows the consensus category in which he addresses the other parties and thanks them for being part of the election to show his positive characteristics. It is also an authority category in which he shows his authority to thank the other parties as well as his party for supporting his circumstances. He further uses the generalization category as he generalizes the good acts to the ingroup when he states, "*This election has confirmed that our democracy and our institutions remain strong*" which again indicates nationalist ideology. In "*...we will stand up for you ...*", he utilizes the polarization category as he categorizes people into ingroups (US: those who voted for us) and outgroups (THEM: those who didn't vote for us).

He employs the lexicalization category in "*I hear you*" when he uses certain lexical items to express his underlying concepts and beliefs; the expression "*I hear you*" is repeated several times, which indicates that he got them and tries to do what they want him to do to move forward without caring about the color of the skin, the language they speak, or the way they pray. This shows anti-racism

ideology. Utterances “*Our shared future is built vote by vote ...*” and “*I had the opportunity to meet so many ...*” are authority categories in which he demonstrates his expertise and knowledge to back up his points of view. In “*There are a lot of people ...*”, he uses the vagueness category when he refers to a number of people but the exact number of people is not identified. He used the vagueness category again mentioning “*a lot of late nights and early mornings,*” but the exact referent is not clearly documented. And also in “*But together, we’ve done something ...*”, he uses the disclaimer category since he claims that although there were tough days, they had done something incredible; this demonstrates that he associated two disparate thoughts together.

Additionally, Trudeau applies the actor description category in “*my mother, who is here tonight ...*” when he labels his mother. In “*... to build a stronger Canada*” he falls into the category of national self-glorification when he glorifies his family history. Utterance “*Prime Minister Wilfrid Laurier said...*” is an example of the evidentiality category when he gives Wilfrid Laurier’s statement as a proof of his point of view to make it more plausible. As he uses the disclaimer category in “*do not forget the past but look more toward the future*” two unrelated notions are connected here. In addition, because he mentions what they should do to build Canada together, in “*Let us feel the warmth of a new ...*” he adopts the norm expression category.

4.4.2 The Macro-level analysis

Positive Self-representation

Through reading Justin Trudeau’s speeches, it can be noticed that he applies this strategy a lot in his speeches by employing several discursive devices such as authority, polarization, consensus, etc. He emphasizes his and Canadians' positive qualities. He portrays Canadians positively and defines them as people who can overcome any obstacle. “*And if you did not vote for us, I want you to know that we will stand up for you and work for you every single day.*” (Polarization); he so successfully represents his positive characteristics that he serves them even if they did not vote for him. “*Because no matter how you voted, just like no matter where you come from, what language you*

speak, the colour of your skin, the way you pray, I hear you.” (Authority); here he shows that he is antiracist since he doesn’t pay attention to their skin color or the language they speak.

Negative Other-representation

Reading Trudeau's speeches reveals that he uses this strategy in his speeches through categories such as vagueness, victimization, burden, comparison, and so on. “*Some have talked about division, but that’s what I see.*” (Vagueness); he refers to the ideology of outside forces about Canadians, but he does not explicitly identify them.

5. Discussion

The socio-cognitive devices are utilized to represent the views and beliefs of the discourse producers, since not only do our thoughts influence our speech, but discourses also influence our thinking. For that reason, each speaker employs distinct discursive methods to influence the listener.

The study also shows that Boris Johnson utilized *authority, disclaimers, populism, euphemism, lexicalization, and vagueness* often in his speeches, but relied to a lesser extent on *hyperbole, implication, lexicalization, national self-glorification, norm expression, and actor description* in his speech to demonstrate his ideologies and to show positive characteristics of himself and negative characteristics of the outgroup. In addition, Jill Biden often employed *actor description category, metaphor, and generalization* in her speeches to describe an entity, place, or object and to communicate her thoughts by using generic concepts. In her remarks, she also included the themes of *disclaimers, authority, lexicalization, and populism*, but to a lesser extent than the other categories to emphasize the good characteristics of her husband and to demonstrate her husband’s positive representation. Meanwhile, Plasschaert used *actor description, generalization, and illustration* to explain her views in her talks to emphasize the positive aspects and characteristics of the Kurdistan Region, Iraq, and its people, as well as the negative aspects and treatment of others, such as terrorists and ISIS. In his talks, Justin Trudeau also used *authority, disclaimers, lexicalization, vagueness, and consensus* to depict positive self-representation and negative other-representation and to show that

he is antiracist because he pays no heed to people's skin color or the language they speak.

6. Conclusions

The study validates the applicability of Van Dijk's (2005) approach to political speeches. The research demonstrates how politicians employ discursive strategies to communicate their ideologies. In their speeches, each politician employs distinct discursive strategies to illustrate the underlying ideology.

Given that the speeches of both male and female politicians are included in the study, the study shows that both employ discursive devices in different ways. Some discursive devices were used more often by the females than by the males, while others were utilized less frequently. The females used discursive devices such as *actor description, metaphor, populism, and generalization* more than the other devices to imply their ideologies; they also provided examples of their ideas to persuade the audience to agree with their beliefs. For that reason, they used illustration/example category frequently in their speeches.

It has been observed that, comparing to female politicians, male politicians are more likely to use discursive techniques such as *authority, ambiguity, disclaimer, euphemism, and presupposition* in their speeches. This is due to the fact that they strive to show a negative self-representation while simultaneously avoiding stating their sentiments in an open and direct manner. Thus, it is evident that politicians use discursive devices in a unique manner pertaining to socio-cognitive viewpoint to represent their opinions in their speeches.

7. References

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8. Appendixes

Boris Johnson's speech, July 7, 2022

“Good afternoon everybody,

It is now clearly the will of the parliamentary conservative party that there should be a new leader of that party and therefore a new Prime Minister and I have agreed with Sir Graham Brady the chairman of our backbench MPs that the process of choosing that new leader should begin now and the timetable will be announced next week and I have today appointed a cabinet to serve - as I will - until a new leader is in place so I want to say to the millions of people who voted for us in 2019 – many of them voting Conservative for the first time thank you for that incredible mandate the biggest Conservative majority since 1987 the biggest share of the vote since 1979 and the reason I have fought so hard for the last few days to continue to deliver that mandate in person was not just because I wanted to do so but because I felt it was my job, my duty, my obligation to you to continue to do what we promised in 2019 and of course I am immensely proud of the achievements of this government from getting Brexit done and settling our relations with the continent after half a century

Jill Biden's 2020 DNC Speech September 11, 2022

“Quiet that sparks with possibility just before students shuffle in. The murmur of ideas bouncing back and forth as we explore the world together. The laughter and tiny moments of surprise you find in materials you've taught a million times. When I taught English here at Brandywine High School, I would spend my summer preparing for the school year about to start, filled with anticipation. But this quiet is heavy. You can hear the anxiety that echoes down empty hallways. There's no scent of new notebooks or freshly waxed floors. The rooms are dark as the bright young faces that you'd fill them are now confined to boxes on a computer screen. I hear it from so many of you, the

frustration of parents juggling work while they support their children's learning are afraid that their kids might get sick from school. The concern of every person working without enough protection. The despair in the lines that stretch out before food banks, and the indescribable sorrow that follows every lonely last breath when the ventilators turn off.....”

Plasschaert's speech Febuary 22, 2022

“Excellencies,

Ladies and gentlemen,

“I called the truth the truth and unfairness unfairness from the day I was born”

This was written by the classical Kurdish poet Mahwy, who lived from 1837 to 1909. What was true then remains true today. It is a great honor to speak to you at this important occasion to highlight the invaluable contribution of frontline reporting. Frontline reporting in times of war is crucial. Crucial to expose the suffering on the ground, to pressure all parties to end the conflict, and to lay the foundations for a better future. The world depends on the truth being told. But for the truth to be conveyed...we need people to stand up, we need fearless journalists, we need persistence and determination. Telling the truth is a tremendous challenge. And one not necessarily appreciated by everybody. In the past decade, over 1,000 journalists were killed worldwide. And now, only two months into 2020, already seven deaths of journalists have been registered. Unacceptable, of course.....”

Justin Trudeau's speech Sep. 21, 2021

“You are sending us back to work with a clear mandate to get Canada through this pandemic and to the brighter days ahead, and my friends, that's exactly what we are ready to do. There are still votes to be counted, but what we've seen tonight is that millions of Canadians have chosen a progressive plan. Some have talked about division, but that's what I see. That's not what I've seen these past weeks across the country. I see Canadians standing

together, together in your determination to end this pandemic, together for real climate action, for \$10-a-day child care, for homes that are in reach for middle-class families, for our shared journey on the path of reconciliation. As Canadians, you've elected parliamentarians to deliver on all this and our team, our government is ready.....”