

A MICROSTRUCTURE ANALYSIS OF HAIDAR AL-ABADI'S DISCOURSE ON THE KURDISTAN REFERENDUM

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ABSTRACT

Critical discourse analysis is an effective method for analyzing the special relationship between power and the traditional ideology in implied discourse. This paper is aimed at analyzing Haidar Al-Abadi's discourse on the Kurdistan Referendum at the micro level. It investigates the linguistic elements of Al-Abadi's discourse at the syntactic and semantic levels based on Van Dijk's sociocognitive framework. This paper shows how speakers in political speech use language to shorten the distance between people and win people's affirmation and support from the aspects of passivation, pronouns, modality and categorization. At the syntactic level, the speaker uses direct speech to tackle the issue of referendum. Moreover, the speaker uses the first plural pronoun to indicate his position as the representative of the Iraqi people against this issue, whereas, he uses the second and third pronouns to address his rivals in the KRG. At the semantic level, on the other hand, the speaker uses the two modals 'must' and 'will' to denote ~~to~~ necessity and certainty respectively. As far as the categorization of people is concerned, he classifies people into in-groups and out-groups, i.e., positively and negatively.

KEYWORDS: CDA, Sociocognitive Approach, Microstructure, Media, Kurdistan Referendum

1. INTRODUCTION/

Critiques in CDA are interested in studying the powerful elite in society that uses language to maintain, exercise or reproduce power. The concept of the elite in CDA is used to refer to groups of people who have control and access over specific communicative events, such as media, parliamentary debates, textbooks and law. Hence, this allows the elite to gain influence and achieve their goal of controlling the minds of the public (van Dijk, 1998: 14). When the elites use their position to convey their own ideological views in order to serve their own interest, it is called dominance (Weiss and Wodak, 2003: 15). The role that CDA takes is to expose such practices.

Generally speaking, politicians tend to use extensive varieties of linguistic devices such as metaphor, hyperbole, personification, etc. in order to achieve their political goals and interests. The purpose of using such linguistic devices is to determine and persuade the public thought, criticize their rival politicians, and try to make the public believe in politicians. Therefore, they use many discursive devices and perform

them in everyday speech. By focusing on politicians' speeches, critical discourse analysts can have more insight into how the politicians use language manipulatively to validate their ideologies and values for positive results (Nasih and Aboud, 2020: 2).

Politics can be viewed as "a struggle between those who seek to assert and maintain their power and those who seek to resist it" Therefore, there is a strong relationship between language and political activity. Chilton (2004: 3) argues that political discourse plays a crucial role in shaping people's thoughts and attitudes. Accordingly, politicians use their linguistic skills to modify and control people's thoughts and attitudes. In order to become a successful politician, one needs to be an eloquent orator in order to guide the receivers' emotions, actions and minds.

Taking the critical discourse theory as the framework, the critical discourse analysis method as the methodology, and the discourse of the Iraq ex-prime minister Haidar Al-Abadi as an example, this paper will explore the deep structure of his discourse by analyzing the syntactic and semantic aspects following Van Dijk sociocognitive approach. There are three

levels of analysis in the sociocognitive approach, namely superstructure, macrostructure, and microstructure. However, this research focuses on the microstructure level in order to answer the research questions.

1.2 Aims Of The Study

This study aims to investigate the microstructure level of the discourse of the Iraqi ex-Prime Minister Haidar Al-Abadi when addressing the Kurdistan Referendum in al-Zaman Newspaper published on September 25, 2017. It investigates the syntactic and semantic levels of the discourse in terms of passive voice, pronouns, modality and categorization respectively.

1.3 Research Question

The study attempts to answer the following question:

- How are the syntactic and semantic patterns used to construct Haider Al-Abadi's discourse on the Kurdish referendum?

2. MICROANALYSIS

In his framework of macrostructures proposed in 1980 and later revised in 2013, Van Dijk proposes a distinction between two levels of analysis; global and local. The Global analysis is related to macrostructures which are represented by higher-level semantic or conceptual structures that organize the local microstructures of discourse. The global or macrostructures of discourse consist of two components; the semantic macrostructure in terms of theme or topic and the superstructure in terms of schematic structure. Microstructures of discourse, on the other hand, refer to the local meaning of the discourse, by observing the semantic, syntactic, stylistic and rhetorical aspects (Van Dijk, 1993: 23). The application of words, proposition, and certain rhetoric in the media is understood by van Dijk as part of the speaker's/writer's strategy. The use of certain words, sentences, and diction is not only viewed as a way of communication, but also viewed as a method of political communication to influence public opinion, create support, strengthen legitimacy, and eliminate rivals or adversaries (ibid). According to Sheyholislam (2001: 3), microstructure analysis is focused on the semantic relations between propositions, syntactic, lexical and other rhetorical elements such as quotations and direct or indirect reporting that provide coherence and give factuality to the news reports under microstructures of discourse in the text. In other

words, microstructures are the actual and directly 'expressed' structures of the discourse (Van Dijk, 1980: 37).

The micro-analysis of the current study is limited to the analysis of the structure of the text at two levels: syntactic and semantic.

2.1 Syntactic Analysis

Syntax refers to a traditional term for the study of the rules governing the way words are combined to form sentences in a language (Crystal, 2008: 471). According to Brown and Yule (1983: 15), the syntax of spoken language is typically much less structured than that of written language. Syntactic aspects of discourse are related to how phrases or sentences are arranged and presented, including forms of sentences (associated with a logical way of thinking that explains the proposition in a series of sentences), coherence (relation between word and sentence), and the selection of a number of pronouns. Within this step of analysis, two syntactic structures will be included, namely passivation and pronouns.

2.1.1 Passivization

Quirk et al (1985: 159) define 'voice' as "a grammatical category which makes it possible to view the action of a sentence in either of two ways; passive or active". According to Fairclough (1989: 125), some sentences can reveal the types of action processes that take place as active or passive by deleting the agent of the sentence.

Hansard (2008: 4) claims that while active voice helps to create clear and direct sentences, sometimes writers find that using an indirect expression is rhetorically effective in a given situation, so they choose passive voice. Moreover, writers in the sciences conventionally use passive voice more often than writers in other discourses. Passive voice makes sense when the agent performing the action is obvious, unimportant, or unknown when a writer wishes to postpone mentioning the agent until the last part of the sentence or to avoid mentioning the agent at all. The passive voice is effective in such circumstances because it highlights the action and what is acted upon rather than the agent performing the action.

2.1. Pronouns

According to Fairclough (1989: 81), Personal pronouns are very much related to the relationship of power and solidarity. He describes pronouns as certain values that are encoded in different formal aspects of language. Van Dijk (2006: 374) maintains that a pronoun

is used to manipulate language by creating an imaginative community. The speaker uses a pronoun to show the position of an individual or community in a text. For example, the pronouns 'us' and 'our' are usually used for positive representation of the speaker in the community. The pronouns 'they' and 'their', on the other hand, are used for negative representation of the speaker in the community. Another function of the pronoun is to show the social power and hegemony in the social structure. The pronouns 'I' and 'you' are often used to show the speaker's intention. For example, the pronoun 'I' is used as a personal attribute that shows the subjective approach of the speaker in speech, while the pronoun 'you' can be used as an influential pronoun to show the concern of the speaker towards the audience (Memon et al., 2014: 72).

2.2 Semantic Analysis

According to Van Dijk (2000: 45), ideology may appear all over in discourse. So, it is important to pay special attention to the semantics of ideological discourse that comprises the meaning of words, sentences and whole discourses. This level of analysis presents the meaning which tends to emphasize the text, for example by giving details on one side or making it explicit on the other side. This attempt aims to achieve certain purposes such as positive self-representation or negative other-representation. Semantics is simply defined as 'a major branch of linguistics devoted to the study of meaning in language' (Crystal, 2008: 421). In contrast to other linguistic theories, the functional-systemic linguistics of Halliday (1967, 1977, and 1978) recognizes not only ideational and interpersonal meaning, but also textual meaning (Schriffin et al, 2001: 77). That is, how the text is structured as a message in terms of theme-structure, given-new, rhetorical structure etc.

As previously mentioned, there are two levels of linguistic analysis: global and local. The global meaning highlights the theme/ topic which

stands for the higher semantic level of discourse. Since the meaning of discourse is not limited to the higher semantic level (global), the local meaning or local semantics will also be highlighted. Consequently, two semantic structures namely modality and categorization are chosen for the analysis of the text.

2.2.1 Modality

Downing and Locke (1992: 379) define modality as a semantic group that enables speakers to convey various types of attitudes about specific events. In one way, the speaker's attitude is concerned with judging the truth of the event such as giving certainty, possibility and so on which is called "epistemic or extrinsic modality". In another way, speakers intervene in the event in terms of giving permission or obligation which is called "deontic or intrinsic modality". Likewise, Van Dijk's perspective on modality is very close to the one proposed by Downing and Locke (1992), since he regards modality as a part of semantic structure rather than only syntactic structure. Van Dijk (2013: 191), then, defines modality in terms of epistemic, deontic and other types of modalities that are controlled by hidden ideologies and attitudes. He suggests that facts may be shown as one of modality meaning such as possibility, probability, necessity, obligation, or permission. The analysis of modality in the selected texts is based on modality markers proposed by Downing and Lock (1992) in order to investigate the meaning and the frequency of occurrence. The analysis is limited to analyzing modal verbs in terms of both epistemic modality (which refers to the commitment to truth) and deontic modality (which refers to the commitment to necessity and obligation). Epistemic modality includes modals referring to certainty, probability and possibility while deontic modality includes volition, obligation, necessity, and permission. Table (1) shows the analysis of the components of modality in the texts.

Table (1) Modal Verbs based on Downing and Lock (1992)

No.	Types of Modalities	English modal verbs
1.	Epistemic Modality	Certainty Will, would, shall, Must, have to
		Probability Should, ought to, have to
		Possibility May, might, can, could

2.	Deontic Modality	Volition	Will, shall
		Obligation	Must, have to, have got, shall, should, ought to
		Necessity	Had to, must
		Permission	Must, may, can,

2.2.2 Categorization

Categorization is defined according to social psychology as the manner in which people tend to recognize things as similar or different (McGarty: 1999: 7). Van Dijk (2005: 735) states that "the categorization of people into in groups and outgroups, and even the division between good and bad outgroups, is not value-free, but imbued with ideologically based applications of norms and values". He adds that social psychology is concerned with how "people tend to categorize people", for example, parliamentarians tend to talk about other people by addressing them as immigrants, refugees, or asylum seekers, etc. Accordingly, any group of people may be distinguished and attributed positively and negatively depending on some values and specific ideologies that are shared by any group members.

3. MASS MEDIA

Media discourse refers to interactions that take place through a broadcast platform, whether spoken or written, in which the discourse is oriented to a non-present reader, listener or viewer (O'Keeffe, 2011: 441). In addition, Livesey (2011: 1) said that mass media refers to channels of communication that involve transmitting information in some way, shape or form to large numbers of people.

One of the most prevalent and powerful socialization mechanisms that work to shape people's skills, attitudes, norms, and behaviours appear to be the mass media, particularly the news media. (Shojae & Laheghi, 2012: 2535). Media does not only function as a link to reflect what people think or believe but as a source of redefining, manipulating or creating ideologies of different types (Septiani, 2014: 7). The idea, issue or personality presented in the media will influence how people think about that issue or personality (Tettah, 2011: 14). In other words, media texts intend to engage people, to convey some kind of information, and to produce reactions in their audiences which justify their

continuing production. This is because the media has the power to control readers' minds (ibid). Van Dijk (1996: 10) states that media power is generally symbolic and persuasive, in the sense that the media have the potential to control to some extent the minds of readers or viewers, but not directly their actions. The undeniable power of the media has inspired many critical studies in many disciplines: linguistics, semiotics, pragmatics, and discourse studies (Van Dijk, 1995: 28).

4. METHODOLOGY

This research employs both qualitative and quantitative methods as it analyzes and describes the discourse of the Iraqi ex-Prime Minister Haidar Al-Abadi when addressing the Kurdistan Referendum in al-Zaman Newspaper published on September, 25, 2017. A qualitative approach focuses on some aspects of texts such as entities, processes and meanings that cannot be investigated or even quantified according to their amount or frequency (Denzin and Lincoln, 2000: 8). Creswell (2014: 32) adds that a qualitative method applies the analysis in terms of words rather than numbers; it is concerned with analyzing the text inductively, beginning with a specific theme until reaching the general one. The qualitative analysis is based on careful analysis of the sources of the material and covers the explicit presentation of the researcher's understanding. It also considers others' perspectives and it has to be open towards re-interpretations (Mayring, 1983 cited in Septiani, 2014: 8). In addition to that, a qualitative analysis helps the researchers understand the meaning people have constructed, how people make sense of their world and the experiences they have in the world (Merriam, 2009 cited in ibid).

In order to achieve the goals of the study, the data are read critically, with emphasis on phrases, clauses, and sentences. The data are analyzed using van Dijk's sociocognitive approach at the microstructure level.

4. THE MODEL OF MICRO AND MACRO STRUCTURES

The micro approach deals with the linguistic elements of a text such as tenses, types of sentences, pronoun types (relative, reflexive, etc.), prepositions, verbs, etc. These micro units constitute the local-level features of a text such as sentences, clauses and phrases. They focus on vocabulary and grammar including cohesive relations and grammatical regularities (van Dijk and Kintch, 1983: 52).

The interaction between the macro and micro structures, as Hamburger (1981: 116) states, constitutes the coherence of a text, i.e., the elements of microstructure can be directly filled into the relevant constituents of the macrostructure of that text. Furthermore, both micro and macro structures have to be broken down into logical units. Each unit of macrostructure is fragmented over a number of microstructure elements which are not arbitrary elements, but represented semantically in the macrostructure (ibid: 130).

According to van Dijk's framework, the notion of 'Macro Structure' stands for the global meaning of a text; it refers to the higher-level semantic or conceptual structures which organize the local constituents (the microstructure) of a text (van Dijk, 1981: 41).

5. DATA ANALYSIS

Regarding the microanalysis of the text, the focus will be on the lexical level. At this level,

the syntactic and semantic structures will be taken into consideration. The syntactic analysis investigates the passive constructions and pronouns respectively. The semantic analysis, on the other hand, examines modality and categorization.

5.1 Syntactic Analysis

A two-level syntactic analysis of the speech under investigation is conducted in two phases. In the first phase, passivation is to be identified. In the second phase, pronouns which are frequently used features in the text have to be detected.

5.1.1 Passivization

Unsurprisingly, no passive statements have been detected in the discourse of the Iraqi ex-Prime minister Al-Abadi when addressing the Kurdistan Referendum. This indicates that the speaker tends to use direct speech in order to make his speech direct and to the point. Although the speaker does not refer to any specific person, however, it is obvious that he is addressing the officials in the KRG in his speech.

5.1.2 Pronouns

As mentioned earlier, the pronouns show the status of an individual or community in a text. Such pronouns can be used to show the positive or negative representation of an individual in the community. According to Fairclough (1989: 81), personal pronouns are very much related to the relationship of power and solidarity. Furthermore, he describes pronouns as certain values that are encoded in different formal aspects of language as shown in Table 2.

Table (2) The Frequency of Occurrence of Pronouns

Pronoun	Category	Number of Occurrence
We	In-group	4
You	Out-group	1
They	Out-group	7
Total		12

The first plural pronoun 'we' is used four times to refer to the speaker as the leader of the Iraqi government and can be treated as an in-group.

- بينما نحن هنا في المركز وعلى الرغم من الصعوبات الاقتصادية الكبيرة وكُلف الحرب الباهضة لِم نخفض الرواتب ولم نوقفها.

While we are here in the central government, and despite the great economic difficulties and high costs of the war, we did not cut salaries or stop paying them.

- اسألوا مسؤولي الاقليم : لماذا لا تدخل واردات النفط في حساب واضح مععلن يطلع عليه المواطنين كما نفعل نحن هنا في الحكومة المركزية.

Ask the officials in the region: Why do not they put oil revenues in a transparent and stated bank account so that the citizens can monitor, as we do in the central government?

- ووجهنا اجهزة الرقابة المالية للقيام بواجبها ولكنهم ، وبحجة استقلالية الاقليم ، كانوا يرفضون عمل اجهزة الرقابة والنزاهة.

We directed the financial control agencies to carry out their duties, but they, under the pretext

of the independence of the region, rejected the work of the control and integrity agencies.

Here it is important to make a distinction between exclusive and inclusive 'we'. Wales (1996: 66) declares that 'we' is generally used to refer to the speaker and third parties who may or may not be present in the immediate situation. However, exclusive 'we' does not refer to the addressee. i.e., the use of the exclusive 'we' can be exploited to share responsibility. Inclusive 'we', on the other hand, refers to the speaker and the listener. Accordingly, the first plural pronoun 'we' used by the speaker is considered exclusive since it doesn't refer to the addressee.

The second pronoun 'you' is a less frequent pronoun and is used only once to refer to the Kurdish officials as out-group members.

- سرقت أموال النفط والإقليم ومشكلاتكم داخلية

You have stolen the oil and the region's money and your problems are internal.

Finally, the third plural pronoun 'they' is the most frequent pronoun used by the speaker to address his rivals or opponents and can be understood as out-group.

- اسألوا المسؤولين في الإقليم: أين تذهب أموال النفط وهم استولوا على ما يقارب 900 ألف برميل نفط يوميا اي ما يعادل ربع النفط المنتج في باقي العراق؟

Ask the officials in the region: where do oil revenues go? They seized nearly 900,000 barrels of oil per day, which is equivalent to a quarter of the oil produced in the rest of Iraq.

- لماذا لا يدفعون رواتب الموظفين في الإقليم رغم تخفيضها الى مستويات دنيا مع انهم يحصلون على كميات نفط اعلى بكثير من نسبة السكان في الإقليم مقارنة ببقية مدن العراق.

Why do not they pay the salaries of employees in the region, despite their reduction to minimum levels, taking into account that the oil they get is in inverse proportion to the population of the Region as compared to other cities in Iraq.

- لماذا لا يسمحون للرقابة المالية على الاموال العامة؟

Why don't they allow financial control over public funds?

- ووجهنا اجهزة الرقابة المالية للقيام بواجبها ولكنهم ، وبحجة استقلالية الإقليم ، كانوا يرفضون عمل اجهزة الرقابة والنزاهة ولكنهم ويعتبرونه تدخلا ، بينما الهدف الحقيقي هو التغطية على

الفساد وسوء الإدارة.

We directed the financial control agencies to carry out their duties, but they, under the pretext of the independence of the region, they rejected the work of the control and integrity agencies and they considered it interference, while the real goal was to cover up corruption and mismanagement.

In summary, the syntactic analysis of Al-Abadi's discourse on the Kurdistan referendum reveals that he does not use any passive constructions at all. This demonstrates that the speaker is exclusively addressing his rivals in the KRG directly and accuses them of being the main cause of the problem. As far as the use of pronouns is concerned, the speaker uses the pronoun 'we' as the chairman of the Iraqi cabinet or as the representative of the Iraqi people and is understood as in-group. Meanwhile, he uses the second pronoun 'you' and the third pronoun 'they' to address the officials in the KRG and is understood as an out-group.

5.1 Semantic Analysis

Semantic analysis of Al-Abadi's discourse consists of two levels: modality and categorization.

5.1.1 Modality

Modality is the first component that is included in the analysis of the semantic level of Al-Abadi's discourse at the micro-analysis level. Modality has a crucial role in constructing personal or social identities on one the hand and in revealing the status of power and authority on the other hand. The analysis is basically based on Downing and Lock's model (1992). They suggest that there are two main types of modality: namely epistemic and deontic. They can be further classified into subtypes. Epistemic modality refers to the commitment to truth, whereas deontic modality refers to the commitment to necessity or obligation. This indicates that the addresser is superior to the addressee as shown in table 3.

Table (3) The Frequency of Occurrence of Modality Verbs

Types of Modality	Category	Number of Occurrence
Must	Necessity (Epistemic Modality)	1
Will	Certainty (Deontic Modality)	1
Total		2

The speaker uses only two modality verbs in his speech when addressing the issue of the referendum of Kurdistan. The first modality verb used by the speaker is 'must' as a kind of commitment to necessity. The second modality verb is 'will' to indicate a commitment to certainty.

- ما يجب توضيحه لشعبنا الكردي العزيز ان معظم مشاكل الاقليم داخلية وليست مع بغداد وبالتالي فانها ستتفاهم مع دعوات الانفصال، والصعوبات الاقتصادية والمالية في الاقليم من نتائج الفساد وسوء الإدارة.

What must be clarified to our dear Kurdish people is that most of the region's problems are internal and not with Baghdad, and therefore they will exacerbate with calls for secession, and so economic and financial difficulties in the region result from corruption and mismanagement.

In a nutshell, the models used by Al-Abadi are carefully chosen. That is, he uses the modal 'must' to indicate necessary actions against the KRG and the modal 'will' to display certainty of the consequences of the officials in the KRG.

5.1.2 Categorization

Van Dijk (2005: 735) states that the categorization of people into groups is not value-free but imbued with ideologically based applications of norms and values. Accordingly, any group of people may be distinguished and attributed positively and negatively depending on some values and specific ideologies that are shared by any group member.

Al-Abadi in his speech accused some people in Iraq and the Kurdistan Region of being Saddam's regime advocates and categorised them as stary people who supported the tyranny of the Ba'ath Party. Those people became a tool of oppression against the Iraqi people in general and the Kurds in particular.

- كان هناك نفر ضال من كل القوميات اصطف مع الطاغية من العرب والکرد ومن القوميات الاخرى . وقد ساندته في بطشه بالمواطنين الكرد بعثيون عرب وبعثيون كرد.

There was a deviant group of all nationalities who lined up with the tyrant from the Arabs, Kurds, and other nationalities, and he was supported in his oppression of the Kurds by both Arab and Kurdish Baathists.

In the above example, Al-Abadi categorizes those people as out-groups and attributes them negatively.

6. CONCLUSION

Critical discourse analysis using van Dijk's microstructure model in analyzing the discourse

of the Iraqi Ex-prime minister Haider Al-Abadi shows that the elite utilizes text elements to shape and influence public perception. The elements of the discourse analyzed in this study include syntactic structures represented by passive voice and pronouns and semantic structures represented by modality and categorization. Accordingly, the study has come up with the following conclusions:

- Al-Abadi in his discourse addressing the Kurdistan referendum exclusively uses active statements and no structures of passive voice have been detected. This indicates that the discourse used by Al-Abadi is exclusively direct and explicit when addressing the officials in the KRG.

- Three types of pronouns are used by Al-Abadi to identify in and out-groups. He uses the pronoun 'we' to refer to himself as the head of the government to show solidarity with the public and it has positive implications (in groups). The pronouns 'you' and 'they', on the other hand, are used to address the officials in the KRG and identify them negatively as out-groups.

- The speaker uses only two modal verbs. The first modal verb is used to confirm necessity and is represented by 'must'. The other modal verb is 'will' and has been used to denote certainty.

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Appendix

البارزاني يتهم بغداد بمعادة أربيل والعبادي يرد: سرقتم أموال النفط والإقليم ومشكلاتكم داخلية

بغداد - قصي منذر

أربيل - الزمان

25/09/2017

أكد رئيس اقليم كردستان مسعود البارزاني امس المضي قدما بالاستفتاء والشروع بمحادثات مع الحكومة المركزية في بغداد بشأن نتائج الاستفتاء على الانفصال، في اول رد فعل له على الهجوم الشديد الذي شنه عليه رئيس الوزراء حيدر العبادي خلال كلمة متلفزة. وكان من اللافت ان يشن العبادي هجوماً شديداً على البارزاني وإن لم يذكر اسمه صراحة لبتهمه بمساعدة النظام السابق ويسرقة أموال النفط وأموال الشعب الكردي، مشدداً على القول ان بغداد لاعلاقة لها بمشكلات الاقليم ، عازياً تلك المشكلات الى عوامل داخل الاقليم. فيما قال البارزاني خلال مؤتمر صحفي في اربيل إن الانفصال وحده يتيح للأكراد ضمان سلامتهم، ولفت الى ان الشراكة فشلت مع بغداد ولن نعود الى بغداد للحديث عن الشراكة واستدرك ان الاستفتاء ليس لتحديد الحدود أو فرض أمر واقع على المناطق وأكد الاستعداد للتفاوض مع بغداد بعد الاستفتاء. واتهم البارزاني بغداد بتهمية الشارع لعداوة شعب كردستان و اضاف سنثبت اننا عامل خير وليس شر وشدد على ان الهدف هو ان تكون كردستان بلدا ديمقراطيا وجدد القول انه يطمح لدولة مدنية وليست مذهبية كما هي الآن. وقال ان الدستور العراقي لعام 2005 جيد ولم يكن لينجح لولا تصويت الكرد ، معلنا عن اعداد وثيقة سياسية تضمن حقوق ابناء كردستان. من جهته، قال العبادي في كلمة موجهة الى ابناء الشعب بأسره ان (نظام الطاغية صدام قد بطش بكل العراقيين عربا وكردا وتركمانا والمكونات الاخرى، لأنه كان يرى في كل العراقيين الشرفاء تهديدا له ولحكمه المستبد ، وقد رفض أكثرية العراقيين هذا القمع والتسلط، ولكن كان هناك نفر ضال من كل القوميات اصطف مع الطاغية من العرب والكرد ومن القوميات الاخرى . وقد ساندته في بطشه بالمواطنين الكرد بعثيون عرب وبعثيون كرد، كما شاركه ببطشه بالمواطنين العرب بعثيون من العرب والكرد ايضا ، ومن الظلم والعنصرية بعد تذكيرنا بهذه الحقائق الثابتة اتهام كل العرب واتهام اهل بغداد بالظلم بينما أشد الظلم وقع عليهم من نظام قمعي اصطف معه ضعاف نفوس من مختلف القوميات)، على حد قوله .

وتابع ان (مايجب توضيحه لشعبنا الكردي العزيز ان معظم مشاكل الاقليم داخلية وليست مع بغداد وبالتالي فانها ستتفاهم مع دعوات الانفصال، والصعوبات الاقتصادية والمالية في الاقليم من نتاج الفساد وسوء الادارة). وخاطب العبادي ابناء كردستان بالقول (اسألوا المسؤولين في الاقليم: اين تذهب اموال النفط وهم استولوا على ما يقارب 900 ألف برميل نفط يوميا اي ما يعادل ربع النفط المنتج في باقي العراق؟ لماذا لا يدفعون رواتب الموظفين في الاقليم رغم تخفيضها الى مستويات دُنيا مع انهم يحصلون على كميات نفط اعلى بكثير من نسبة السكان في الاقليم مقارنة ببقية مدن العراق ، بينما نحن هنا في المركز وعلى الرغم من الصعوبات الاقتصادية الكبيرة وكُلف الحرب الباهضة لم نخفض الرواتب ولم نوقفها). و اضاف (اسألوا مسؤولي الاقليم : لماذا لا تدخل واردات النفط في حساب واضح تعلن عليه المواطنون كما نفعل نحن هنا في الحكومة المركزية ، ولماذا لا يسمحون للرقابة المالية على الاموال العامة). وقال ان (هذه التساؤلات عن مصير اموال نفط الاقليم وعدم دفعهم الرواتب طرحناها على مسؤولي الاقليم مرات عدة ، ووجهنا اجهزة الرقابة المالية للقيام بواجبها ولكنهم ، وبحجة استقلالية الاقليم ، كانوا يرفضون عمل اجهزة الرقابة والنزاهة ويعتبرونه تدخلا ، بينما الهدف الحقيقي هو التغطية على الفساد وسوء الادارة). ولفت الى وجود دليل آخر على ان مشاكل الاقليم داخلية هو (تجميد عمل البرلمان لمدة اثنين وعشرين شهرا واستمرار حكومة الاقليم من دون غطاء قانوني بسبب سياسات المسؤولين في الاقليم)، . وأكد ان الحكومة لن تتعامل مع الاستفتاء ولا مع نتائجه ، وتحدث عن (خطوات لاحقة لحفظ وحدة البلاد ومصالح جميع المواطنين). ستتخذها حكومته .

Barzani accuses Baghdad of being hostile to Erbil, and Al-Abadi replies: You have stolen the oil and the region's money

Baghdad - Qusay Munther

Erbil- Azzaman

25/9/2017

The President of the Kurdistan Region, Masoud Barzani, affirmed yesterday that the referendum will proceed and the initiation of talks with the central government in Baghdad regarding the results of the referendum on secession, in his first reaction to the severe attack launched by Prime Minister Haider al-Abadi during a televised speech. It was remarkable that Al-Abadi launched a severe attack on Barzani, even if he did not mention his name explicitly, to accuse him of aiding the former regime and of stealing oil money and the Kurdish people's money, stressing that Baghdad has nothing to do with the region's problems, attributing those problems to factors within the region. While Barzani said during a press conference in Erbil that separation alone allows the Kurds to ensure their safety, and he pointed out that the partnership with Baghdad has failed and we will not return to Baghdad to talk about partnership. Barzani accused Baghdad of preparing the street for the enmity of the people of Kurdistan, and added, "We will prove that we are a factor of good, not evil." He stressed that the goal is for Kurdistan to be a democratic country. He said that the Iraqi constitution of 2005 is good and it would not have succeeded without the vote of the Kurds, announcing the preparation of a political document that guarantees the rights of the people of Kurdistan. For his part, Al-Abadi said in a speech addressed to the entire people that "the regime of the tyrant Saddam oppressed all Iraqis, Arabs, Kurds, Turkmens and other components, because he saw all honorable Iraqis as a threat to him and his tyrannical rule, and the majority of Iraqis rejected this oppression and domination, but there was a deviant group of all nationalities lined up with the tyrant from among the Arabs, Kurds, and other nationalities, and he was supported in his oppression of the Kurdish citizens by Arab Baathists and Kurdish Baathists, and he was also joined by Baathists from among the Arabs and Kurds in his oppression of the Arab citizens. Baghdad with injustice, while the most severe injustice befell them from a repressive regime, with whom weak souls of different nationalities lined up), as he said.

And he continued, "What must be clarified to our dear Kurdish people is that most of the region's problems are internal and not with Baghdad, and therefore they will coincide with calls for secession, and economic and financial difficulties in the region as a result of corruption and mismanagement." And they seized nearly 900,000 barrels of oil per day, which is equivalent to a quarter of the oil produced in the rest of Iraq. Why do they not pay the salaries of employees in the region, despite their reduction to minimum levels, even though they receive much higher quantities of oil than the proportion of the population in the region compared to the rest of the cities of Iraq, while We are here in the center, and despite the great economic difficulties and the high costs of the war, we did not cut salaries or stop them. And he added (Ask the officials of the region: Why do oil imports not enter into a clear and declared account for citizens to see, as we do here in the central government, and why do they not allow financial control over public funds). He said, "These questions about the fate of the region's oil money and their non-payment of salaries, we put it to the officials of the region several times, and we directed the financial control agencies to carry out their duties, but they, under the pretext of the independence of the region, rejected the work of the control and integrity agencies and considered it interference, while the real goal is to cover up corruption and mismanagement). He pointed out that there is another evidence that the region's problems are internal, which is (the freezing of parliament's work for a period of twenty-two months and the continuation of the region's government without legal cover because of the policies of officials in the region). He stressed that the government will not deal with the referendum or its results, and talked about (subsequent steps to preserve the unity of the country and the interests of all citizens). will be taken by his government.