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Implicit Ideologies in Selected Political Speeches: A Socio-cognitive Approach

**A Dissertation Submitted to the
Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences at Koya University
as a Partial Fulfilment for the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy in English Language and Linguistics**

By

Arazoo Rashid Othman

MA in English Language & Linguistics 2006/ University of Koya
BA in English Language & Literature 2002/ Salahaddin University

Supervised By

**Asst. Prof. Dr. Salah Mohammed Salih
(Ph.D. in Linguistics)**

1445 (H)   **2023 (AD)**   **2723 (K)**

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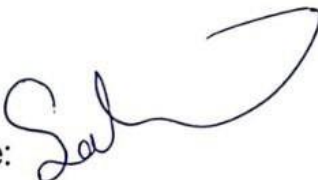1445 (H)   2023 (AD)   2723 (K)

Supervisor's Approval

Hereby, I **Asst. Prof. Dr. Salah Mohammed Salih,** state that this PhD dissertation, as entitled **Implicit Ideologies in Selected Political Speeches: A Socio-cognitive Approach,** was prepared under my supervision at the Department of English / Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences / Koya University by **Arazoo Rashid Othman** as a partial fulfillment for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy (PhD) in English Language and Linguistics.

I have read and reviewed this work and I confirm that it is an original work to the best of my knowledge.

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Head of Department/School Approval

Upon recommendation of the supervising faculty whose name and signature appear above, I have forwarded this dissertation for review by the examining committee.

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Viva Examining Committee Approval

We, the viva examining committee confirm that we have read this thesis as entitled **Implicit Ideologies in Selected Political Speeches: A socio-cognitive Approach** We have examined the student **Arazoo Rashid Othman** in relation to all aspects of this thesis. In our opinion, it meets the standards of a thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy (PhD) in English Language and Linguistics.

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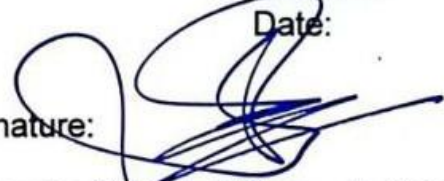
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DEDICATIONS

This work is dedicated to:

- My Parents who have always been my livelong teachers and role models.

- My dear husband and love of my life, Darya, who has been my biggest supporter

- My two sons, Dareen and Dasan, who are the suns of my life

- My wonderful siblings who have been the source of support and inspiration throughout my life.

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation investigates the implicit ideologies in political speeches from a socio-cognitive perspective. Implicit ideologies are the underlying ideologically based attitudes of group members that are not voiced because they are deemed improper or otherwise detrimental (against the aims) in the communication environment. The Discourse–Cognition–Society triangle exemplifies a socio-cognitive approach to discourse. While the discourse component examines the linguistic structures of text and speech; the cognitive component is concerned with the mind, memory, and cognitive processes and representations involved in the creation and interpretation of discourse; still the social component is concerned with how discourse patterns are perceived and explained in terms of socially shared ideas, as well as how these ideologies impact the mental models of individual language users. Despite the existence of numerous analyses and academic studies in the domain of ideologies, there are still several issues of direct significance to the field that remain unanswered, including: how are political ideologies formed, represented, interpreted in terms of cognitive mechanism? What are the discursive strategies most frequently used in the selected politicians' speeches at the Micro-level? How are positive self-representation and negative-other representation uncovered in the selected politicians' speeches at the Macro-level? And to what extent are those politicians different in using discursive devices at the Micro-level to show positive self-representation and negative other-representation at the Macro-level?

In accordance with the questions proposed, it is hypothesized that explicit and implicit ideologies are conveyed differently in political speeches; that politicians communicate implicit ideologies using a variety of discursive methods to depict the ingroup favourably and the outgroup negatively; that social and cognitive structures influence ideologies; and that implicit ideologies would be conveyed in terms of cognitive process.

To verify the hypotheses and analyze the selected data, a broad-based model is adopted based on van Dijk's (2005) socio-cognitive approach twenty sample texts are selected. In addition, a qualitative method is employed in this study. The conclusions validate van Dijk's (2005) model for use in analyzing political speeches. Ideologies are influenced by both social as well as cognitive processes. Politicians use discursive devices in a unique manner pertaining to a socio-cognitive viewpoint to embody their ideologies implicitly in their speeches and that each speaker employs distinct discursive methods to show positive self-representation and negative other-representation. Both positive self-representation and negative other-representation are ideological goals whose fundamental purpose is to control the thoughts of its audience by highlighting the contrast between positive self-representation and negative other-representation. Some politicians demonstrate positive self-representation more than negative other-representation in their speeches to affect the audience, while others

demonstrate negative other-representation more than positive self-representation. This means that they concentrate on the positive qualities of the ingroup more than they do on demonstrating the negative qualities of the outgroup to express their ideologies.

FIGURES

TABLES

ABBREVIATIONS

Abbreviated forms	Full Forms
DA	Discourse Analysis
CDA	Critical Discourse A
CDS	Critical Discourse Studies
SCDS	Socio-cognitive Discourse Studies
S/F	Systemic Functional
SR	Social Representation

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

This study which is an exploratory study, entitled Implicit Ideologies in Selected English Political Speeches: A Socio-Cognitive Approach, attempts to analyze implicit ideologies in political speeches using a socio-cognitive approach, as it asserts that social or political structures can only influence text and speech through the minds of language users. Members of a social group represent both social and discourse structures in their minds and are thus able to conceptually connect them prior to expressing them verbally.

1.1 Statement of the Problem and Research Questions

Despite the existence of numerous analyses and academic studies in the domain of ideologies, there are still several issues of direct significance to the field that remain unanswered, relating to how political ideologies are formed, represented, interpreted in terms of cognitive mechanism:

1. What are the discursive strategies most frequently used in the selected politicians' speeches at the Micro-level?

2. How are positive self-representation and negative other-representation uncovered in the selected politicians' speeches at the Macro-level?

3. To what extent are those politicians different in using discursive devices at the Micro-level to show positive self-representation and negative other-representation at the Macro-level?

1.2 The Aims

The current dissertation aims at:

1. Identifying the discursive strategies most frequently used in the selected politicians' speeches at the Micro-level.

2. Exploring the Positive Self-representation and Negative-Other representation covered in the selected politicians' speeches at the Macro-level.

3. Investigating the difference among these politicians in the use of discursive devices at the Micro-level to show positive self-representation and negative other-representation at the Macro-level.

1.3 Hypotheses

In accordance with the research questions proposed above, it is hypothesized that:

1. Social and cognitive structures influence ideologies and that implicit ideologies are conveyed in terms of cognitive processes.

2. Explicit and implicit ideologies are conveyed differently using a variety of discursive methods.

3. Politicians communicate implicit ideologies to depict the ingroup positively and the outgroup negatively.

1.4 The Procedures

To answer the research questions, verify hypotheses, and arrive at results, the following procedures will be followed:

1. An overview of the relevant literature on critical discourse analysis, implicit ideologies, socio-cognitive and political discourses and discursive devices is provided.

2. A model that incorporates the discursive devices proposed by van Dijk (2005) is adopted.

3. 20 political speeches qualitatively based on the adopted model are analyzed.

4. The results of analysis to attain the findings of the research are analyzed and compared.

5. Based on the findings, conclusions are drawn.

1.5 The Scope

The scope of this research is limited to the socio-cognitive analysis of (20) political speeches (mostly American, British, German, and Canadian) for the purpose of finding the techniques and strategies employed by politicians to insinuate their ideologies. In doing so the current study qualitatively analyses the written transcripts containing speeches delivered by politicians presented in English language, but more space is dedicated to the speeches given by American and Britain politicians, as the researcher finds their political language abound in enormous characteristics of discursive devices, which in return provide significance to the study.

1.6 Data Analysis

The data for this study are online-accessible political speeches. The researcher used (20) samples, of which (10) are delivered by female politicians and (10) by male politicians. Moreover, the selected political speeches are those of political leaders from the United States, the United Kingdom, Germany, and Canada, which were picked at random to best meet the objectives of this study.

1.7 Significance of the Study

This research is conducted in the hopes that it will serve as a useful resource for those dealing with implicit ideologies in discourse, critical discourse analysis, as well as analysts of politics and political speeches, as it demonstrates how speeches are formed and how implicit ideologies are embedded in the speeches.

CHAPTER TWO

THEORITICAL BACKGROUND

The present chapter is devoted to an investigation into the socio-cognitive approach, its relation to the other approaches of critical discourse analysis and discourse analysis, as well as ideologies and implicit ideologies, to establish a basis for our study. It attempts to make explicit the ideologies implied in political speeches depending on the socio-cognitive approach. Then, it is further proceeded to give an overview of political discourse and its relation to implicit ideology.

2.1 Discourse Analysis and Critical Discourse Analysis

Discourse analysis (henceforth, DA) cannot be limited to linguistic analysis; it must also include the role of context in the interpretation process. For example, *It's half past three* to someone who is running towards the station hoping to catch the 3.25 train, suggests that he has missed his train; to someone whose tea-break starts at half past three, it will imply that the tea-break has just begun; and so on. van Dijk (2014) prefers the term "discourse studies," for he thinks that discourse analysis is not a method but a cross-discipline in which a large number of qualitative and quantitative methods are being used in addition to the usual methods of grammatical or linguistic analysis. In the 1960s and 1970s, this cross-discipline became increasingly fused with concurrent but initially largely independent of other studies of text and talk.

Critical Discourse Analysis (henceforth, CDA) is an approach to DA that considers language a social activity and is concerned with how ideologies and power relationships are conveyed via language. When doing research, critical discourse analysts are particularly concerned with questions of inequality, and they frequently ask themselves, "Who benefits?" CDA, unlike many other types of linguistic analysis, is concerned not just with words on a paper but also with social context, for example, how and why the words are written or uttered and what other texts they are referencing.

Norman Fairclough (1989) was the first to establish the approach, which used a three-dimensional framework to analyse data. Text analysis is used in the first step (description), which is linked to critical linguistics, and is derived from Halliday's systemic functional grammar. The second stage (interpretation) focuses on the relationship between text and interaction, treating the text as a result of the production process as well as a resource in the interpretation process. The last step (explanation) considers the social implications of the production and interpretation processes, as well as the link between interaction and social context (Baker and Ellece, 2011).

Other critical discourse analytic approaches have been proposed, but they all tend to combine text analysis with a consideration of the larger social environment. The discourse-historical approach of Reisigl and Wodak (2001) uses argumentation theory, whereas Van Leeuwen (1996) focuses on social actor representation. Van Dijk's socio-cognitive approach to CDA uses a three-part memory model, whereas Hart and Luke (2007) concentrate on the relationship between cognitive linguistics and CDA. While Jorgensen and Phillips (2002) state that CDA is a set of ideas and methods for investigating the links between discourse and social and cultural changes across a variety of social domains, van Dijk (2001), on the other hand, claims that CDA is a form of discourse-analytical study that investigates how ideology, identity, and inequality are (re)enacted in texts generated in social and political situations.

Partington (2004) and Baker (2006) propose a CDA approach that uses corpus linguistics approaches to discover large-scale patterns, while O'Halloran (2003) provides a model of the interpretation stage of CDA based on connectionism, cognitive linguistics, inferencing, and relevance theory. Even within these distinct "flavors" of CDA, there is rarely a rigid, step-by-step approach to analysis. The analyst has a lot of leeway in terms of selecting texts, combining different analytical approaches, and the sequence in which they used. This can make analysis difficult for novices, and this freedom, combined with the fact that CDA is concerned with highlighting social problems like prejudice and

exclusion, can lead to accusations of bias (for example, practitioners could choose texts that prove their point while ignoring those that do not). CDA has responded to this criticism in two ways: (1) by recognizing that the concept of the "neutral" researcher is a fallacy and advocating reflexivity, in which the researcher reflects on his or her own position and how it evolves as the research progresses; and (2) by incorporating triangulation, such as combining small-scale qualitative analysis with practices from corpus linguistics such as lexical analysis.

In addition to the aforementioned principles, CDA adheres to a number of others. First, CDA considers discourse and society to be mutually constitutive, i.e., a society cannot exist without speech, and discourse cannot exist without social interaction. However, this does not imply that all activity is discursive. CDA, on the other hand, provides for the interaction of discursive and physical activity. Second, because it is emancipatory in character and concerned with power relations, CDA generally investigates specific discursive contexts where dominance and inequality are prominent (Bhatia and Flowedew, 2008).

Moreover, eight basic principles of CDA were proposed by Fairclough and Wodak (1997). For researchers interested in doing CDA, these principles are a good place to start. These are:

- CDA addresses social problems
- Power relations are discursive
- Discourse constitutes society and culture
- Discourse does ideological work
- Discourse is historical
- A sociocognitive approach is needed to understand how relations between texts and society are mediated
- DA is interpretive and explanatory and uses a systematic methodology.
- CDA is a socially committed scientific paradigm

In CDA, the term "critical" is frequently connected with the examination of power relations. The Frankfurt School of critical theory gave birth to this idea of critical thinking. Naturalism (the belief that social practices, labels, and programs represent reality), rationality (the belief that truth is the result of science and logic), neutrality (the belief that truth does not reflect any particular interests), and individualism are all rejected in critical research and theory. Critical research rejects Marxists' overly deterministic approach to social theory in favour of dialectic between human agency and structural determinism. The goals of critical discourse analysts, like any research, are not neutral. Corson's goal, according to him, is to "examine hidden power relations between a piece of discourse and larger social and cultural formations," and he is interested in "uncovering inequality, power relationships, injustices, prejudice, bias, and other such issues." (Rogers, 2004)

Endeavour to define, analyse, and explain the link between the form and function of language is another interpretation of the term "critical" in CDA. Grammar, morphology, semantics, syntax, and pragmatics make up the form of language. The function of language refers to how individuals utilize language to achieve a goal in various contexts. The form and function of language, according to critical discourse analysts, are related. Furthermore, they begin by assuming that some networks of form–function relationships are regarded more highly in society than others. Another meaning of the term "critical" is that CDA clearly confronts social issues and attempts to solve them via analysis and social and political action. The analyst's aim is expressly geared toward finding social problems and studying how discourse functions to build and is historically constructed by such concerns in this sense of "critical." Analysts think that examining texts for power is insufficient to dismantle such discursive power. Instead, the analyst must begin by analysing texts and then go on to the social and political contexts in which they appear (Ibid).

The theoretical underpinnings of the critical approach are views of the relationship between "micro" events (including verbal events) and "macro"

structures that see the latter as both the conditions for and the products of the former, and thus reject rigid boundaries between the study of the "micro" (of which the study of discourse is a part) and the study of the "macro" (Fairclough, 1995).

In terms of its methods, CDA uses a set of linguistic theories in the service of socio-diagnostic critique. It is stated that the right linguistic tools can bring previously hidden properties of text and discourse to the surface so that they can be examined. This raises awareness and corrects a widespread underestimation of the role that language plays in shaping ideology and society (Hart, 2010).

2.2 Major Approaches to CDA

Rhetoric, text linguistics, anthropology, philosophy, social psychology, cognitive science, literary studies, sociolinguistics, as well as applied linguistics and pragmatics, all have their origins in Critical Discourse Studies (henceforth, CDS). Even though all approaches to CDA share the ideas of ideology, critique, and power, they can be put into three groups based on how their theories and ways of analyzing things are different.

2.2.1 Wodak's Framework of CDA: Discourse-Historical Approach

The constitutive problem-oriented, multidisciplinary approach is critical DA. CDS is not concerned with studying a single language unit but rather with analyzing, comprehending, and explaining social processes that are inherently complex and so necessitate a multidisciplinary and multi-methodological approach. The objects under examination do not have to be connected to unpleasant or unusually "serious" social or political experiences or events; this is a typical misconception of CDS's purposes and goals, and the term "critical," which does not signify "negative" in everyday language. Any social phenomenon begins to be critically investigated, questioned, and not taken for granted.

The term "critical" is used to describe CDS's common vision and program. In contrast to conventional theory, which focuses exclusively on understanding and describing society, "critical theory" suggests that social theory should be directed toward criticizing and altering society as a whole. Critical theory should be focused on the entirety of society in its historical uniqueness, and it should increase society's knowledge by integrating the main social disciplines, including economics, sociology, history, political science, anthropology, and psychology. Critical theories aim to create and disseminate critical knowledge that allows people to free themselves from oppression through self-reflection. As a result, they want to bring about "enlightenment and empowerment." These theories aim to not only describe and explain, but also to eliminate a certain type of illusion. Regardless of various ideologies, critical theory aims to make actors aware of their own wants and interests (Wodak and Meyer, 2016). Features of the historical approach to CDA, according to Wodak (2001), are:

1. The approach is interdisciplinary.

2. Interdisciplinarity is located on several levels: in theory, in the work itself, in teams, and in practice.

3. The approach is problem oriented, not focused on specific linguistic items.

4. The theory as well as the methodology is eclectic; that is theories and methods are integrated which are helpful in understanding and explaining the object under investigation.

5. The study always incorporates fieldwork and ethnography to explore the object under investigation (study from the inside) as a precondition for any further analysis and theorizing.

6. The approach is abductive: a constant movement back and forth between theory and empirical data is necessary.

7. Multiple genres and multiple public spaces are studied, and intertextual and inter-discursive relationships are investigated. Recontextualization is the most important process in connecting these genres as well as topics and arguments (topoi).

8. The historical context is always analysed and integrated into the interpretation of discourses and texts.

9. The categories and tools for the analysis are designed according to all these steps and procedures as well as to the specific problem under investigation.

10. Grand theories serve as a foundation. In the specific analysis, middle range theories serve the analytical aims better.

11. Practice is the target. The results should be made available to experts in different fields and, as a second step, be applied with the goal of changing certain discursive and social practices.

2.2.2 Fairclough's Framework of CDA: Dialectal Relational Approach

Critical Discourse Analysis, according to Fairclough, is DA that aims to investigate how discursive practices, events, and texts emerge from and are ideologically shaped by power relations and struggles over power; how such practices, events, and texts arise out of and are ideologically shaped by wider social and cultural structures, relations, and processes; and how such practices, events, and texts are often opaque in their relationships of causality and determination between discursive practices, events, and texts and wider social and cultural structures, relations, and processes. CDA is both theory and method, or rather, a theoretical perspective on language and, more broadly, semiosis (including "visual language," "body language," and other forms of semiosis) as one element or "moment" of the material social process, which leads to new ways of analyzing language or semiosis within broader social process analyses. Furthermore, it is a theory or method that is in a dialogical relationship with other social theories and methods and that should engage with them in a transdisciplinary rather than an interdisciplinary way, meaning that specific co-engagements on specific aspects of the social process may lead to developments of theory and method that shift the boundaries between different disciplines (Fairclough, 2001).

"Language is a part of society," states Fairclough (1989). In addition, he states that language and society are linked not in an external sense but rather internally. To put it another way, linguistic phenomena reflect social phenomena and vice versa. Fairclough (1989) defines language as "a social process." He distinguishes between text and discourse, arguing that text is a type of product but discourse is a process—a social interaction process—in which text is a component. Furthermore, he states that language is "a socially conditioned process," in which "process" refers to the production of text as well as the process of understanding the text, both of which are linked to societal practices.

Fairclough (1992) thinks it essential to alter the model in order to articulate his own "social theory of speech." He explains that discourse is itself "constitutive" or "constructive" of social structure (rather than simply constrained by it) and that there are three types of "constructive effect": one is concerned with the construction of social self or identity, another with the construction of social relationships between people, and a third with the construction of "systems of knowledge and belief." According to him, these effects "correspond to three functions of language and dimensions of meaning that coexist and interact in all discourses."

However, they do not correlate to the three language functions described in S/F grammar. The third, the ideational, is shared by both. However, Halliday combines the first two functions, identity and relational, into a single interpersonal function. So, according to Fairclough, how discourse functions automatically to generate a first-person position or "I" and how it helps to develop interactions with the second-person "other" may be distinguished from each other. Fairclough's discourse theory appears to diverge from the S/F paradigm by suggesting three primary functions, two of which are interpersonal subdivisions, and demoting the textual function to the status of a helpful accessory. His seeming ambiguity about what to do with this function stems from the fact that, unlike the ideational and interpersonal functions, it is not reflective of any external social function but rather an enabler for their fulfilment in text. As Fairclough proposes,

discourse functions include the ideational and interpersonal (including identity and relationship). The textual is, as its name implies, a textual function rather than a speech function. As a result, it is not only a helpful addition to discourse theory but also the necessary mechanism by which the theory may be demonstrated via analysis. Furthermore, he states that discourse may be found in sociocultural activities at many levels—at the personal, institutional, and societal levels (Fairclough, 1995).

Fairclough (1989) proposes a paradigm called CDA in light of language as discourse and social practice, as well as the interrelationships between language, ideology, and identity CDA. This paradigm, according to Fairclough (1995), consists of three dimensions of discourse concepts, resulting in a three-dimensional DA technique. "It may be viewed as (i) a linguistic text, spoken or written; (ii) discourse practice (text creation and text interpretation); and (iii) a sociocultural activity," according to Fairclough (1995).

In Fairclough's opinion, discourse is a type of social activity. This has many implications: first, it suggests that discourse is a form of action (socially reproductive), implying that people act on the world and each other; second, it implies that discourse is a way of representation. Third, it suggests that discourse and social structure have a dialectical relationship, i.e., that social structure and social practice have a link. He has identified three elements of discourse's positive impact. These three impacts relate to the three language functions and meaning dimensions that interact and coexist in all discourse. To begin with, speech plays a role in the development of social identities and subject positions. Second, it aids in the formation of interpersonal social interactions. Third, it contributes to the development of knowledge and belief systems. In language, these three characteristics have different functions: the first has an identity function, the second has a relational function, and the third has an ideational purpose. The identity function is concerned with how social identities are established in discourse, whereas the relational function is concerned with how discourse participants' social relationships are performed and negotiated. The last function

is concerned with how texts represent the world and its processes, relationships, and entities (Fairclough, 1992).

Any instance of discourse is viewed as being an instance of

- A text
- A Discursive Practice
- Social Practice
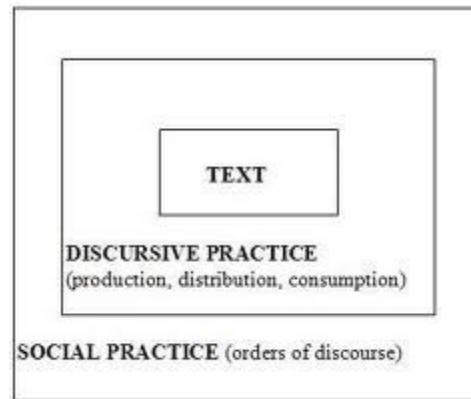
Figure (1) Fairclough's (1995) Model (Adopted)

Text, according to Fairclough, is "written and spoken language generated in a discursive event." The examination of a text and discursive practice are organized under a few topics. Vocabulary, grammar, cohesion, text structure, force, coherence, and intertextuality are among the headings. When analysing a text, vocabulary mostly deals with single words. When analysing a document, grammar is concerned with the words that are integrated into clauses and sentences. The way clauses and sentences are connected together is referred to as cohesion. Text structure is concerned with the text's organizing characteristics. In the analysis of discursive practice, the other three categories (force, coherence, and intertextuality) are employed. These seven elements make up a framework for analysing texts that takes into account the status of text production and interpretation as well as the text's formal characteristics (Fairclough, 1992).

Fairclough (1992) further elaborates on that and states that, in order to analyse speech, discursive practice entails three major acts. Text production, text distribution, and text consumption are the three processes in question. Depending

on societal variables, the nature of these processes differs among different forms of discourse. Texts are created in certain ways and in particular social contexts. An article in any newspaper, for example, is created through a process of obtaining sources such as press agency reports, converting these sources into a draft report, choosing where the report should be placed in the newspaper, and revising the report. There are more difficult techniques for producing a text. Texts are digested in a variety of ways, depending on the social context. Some texts have a basic distribution, for example, a casual conversation that belongs simply to the immediate context of the situation in which it occurs. Other texts, on the other hand, have a more complicated distribution. For example, writings written by a politician are dispersed throughout a variety of organizations, each with its own consumption patterns and ways of replicating and modifying texts.

In Fairclough's view, intertextuality is utilized to analyse discursive practice. An intertextual viewpoint emphasizes the historicity of texts in the production process, reacting to earlier writings. In terms of distribution, intertextuality aids in the exploration of relatively stable networks through which texts flow, experiencing specific modifications as they transition from one type of text to another. Political speeches, for example, are frequently turned into news stories. Intertextuality is useful in terms of consumption because it emphasizes that intertextuality does not only construct or shape the text but also the other texts that interpreters bring to the interpretation process. He saw intertextuality as a social practice that incorporates some socially regulated ways of producing and interpreting discourse, rather than a form in which some texts are connected. Fairlough (1992) distinguished clearly and fundamentally between manifest and constitutive intertextuality. Manifest intertextuality refers to the heterogeneous constitution of texts derived from other distinct texts. While constitutive intertextuality refers to the heterogeneous constitution of texts out of other types of conventions (elements) of discourse.

The third dimension of DA is social practice. This dimension is concerned with the social study of the discursive event's institutional and organizational circumstances. This dimension examines discourse in terms of ideology and power, placing discourse in the context of power as hegemony. Social practice, according to Fairclough (2001), is a "rather stable kind of social activity" (examples would be classroom teaching, television news, family meals, and medical consultations). "Every practice is an articulation of diverse social elements within a relatively stable configuration, always including discourse." Discursive practice is a particular form of social practice. Analysis of discourse as a piece of discursive practice centres on processes of text production, distribution, and consumption. These processes are social, and they require reference to the specific economic, political, and institutional context within which discourse is produced. Thus, CDA according to Locke (2004) views

- a prevailing social order as historically situated and therefore relative, socially constructed and changeable;

- a prevailing social order and social processes as constituted and sustained less by the will of individuals than by the pervasiveness of particular constructions or versions of reality - often referred to as discourses.

- discourse as colored by and productive of ideology (however 'ideology' is conceptualized).

- power in society not so much as imposed on individual subjects as an inevitable effect of a way particular discursive configurations or arrangements privilege the status and positions of some people over others.

- human subjectivity is constructed or inscribed by discourse.

- reality as textually and intertextually mediated via verbal and non-verbal language systems, and texts as sites for both the inculcation and the contestation of discourses.

- the systematic analysis and interpretation of texts as potentially revelatory of ways in which discourses consolidate power and colonize human subjects often through covert position calls.

2.2.3 van Dijk's Framework of CDA: Socio-cognitive Approach

Critical discourse analysis is a form of discourse analysis that focuses on how text and language in the social and political context enact, perpetuate, and oppose social power abuse, dominance, and inequality. Critical discourse analysts take an explicit position in such dissident research and so seek to analyse, expose, and ultimately oppose social injustice (van Dijk, 2001).

Teun A. van Dijk (1943–) is one of the leaders and shapers of the critical approach to discourse analysis, most commonly referred to as "critical discourse analysis" (CDA). He is most widely known for his socio-cognitive approach to critical research on racism, ideology, knowledge, context, and cognitive approaches to discourse processing. CDA, according to van Dijk (1998), is a field concerned with examining and analyzing 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. CDA is a critical perspective, position, or attitude within the field of interdisciplinary discourse studies rather than a method. As a result, CDA stands for "discourse analysis with an attitude" (van Dijk, 2001). In recent years, van Dijk and others have used the larger name "critical discourse studies" (CDS) to underline the field's institutional resemblance to other multidisciplinary disciplines, including women's studies, cultural studies, and gender studies. This will be discussed in greater depth in the coming sections.

2.3 Socio-cognitive Approach

In the socio-cognitive approach, learning is a result of both cognitive and social processes. In addition to gaining knowledge from their environment, humans process new information by drawing on past experiences and then assimilating it with what they already know to form a gestalt or whole. The socio-cognitive approach, on the other hand, argues that knowledge is neither created nor gained by humans in a vacuum. Instead, it is learned and passed down from one

generation to the next in "social structures" such as social classes, culture, or media messages.

When individuals within a society learn what it means to be a member of a certain social class at a certain time and place, they learn socially constructed realities. In some ways, the socio-cognitive approach completes the social activist postmodern epistemological circle by grounding it in more practical constructions present in lived experience. It is not enough to know how our reality is constructed and that people live within a social dialectic; it is also necessary to act upon it and change it. In other words, although humans are socially situated beings and do not actively participate in constructing "the truth," they do have agency over what happens in the world.

2.3.1 The Discourse-Cognition-Society Triangle

The framework on which vanDijk 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 investigates how such cognitive phenomena are related to discourse structures, verbal engagement, communication events and contexts, as well as societal structures such as 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" is 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 in

and of itself, but it may employ a number 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's 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 (SOCIO-COGNITIVE DISCOURSE STUDIES (HENCEFORTH, SCDS) (van Dijk, 2017).

Socio-cognitive discourse study studies how discourse structures are linked to social structures through a complex socio-cognitive interface. It critically examines the cognitive features of the use of specific concepts or metaphors in the same way that Cognitive Linguistics does. SCDS, on the other hand, is concerned with the continuous communicative common ground and shared social knowledge, as well as the attitudes and ideologies of language users as contemporary communicative participants and members of social groups and communities.

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. This is true of phonological stress, syntactic word order, topic and focus, proposition structures, local coherence relations between propositions, pronouns, and co-reference, global meanings or discourse topics, indexical expressions, evidential terms, terms of appraisal, metaphors, frames, implications, presuppositions, and argumentations, among many other discourse structures (Ibid).

Socio-cognitive discourse study does so by analysing explicit psychological theories of mental representations, such as the individual mental models of journalists or other language users, and the ways in which these models mediate between shared social cognition (knowledge, attitudes, and ideologies), societal structures, and actual text and talk. Unlike other CDS studies, which analyse and explain discourse in terms of its social and political contexts, SCDS

takes it a step further by incorporating a cognitive interface between discourse and society. It asserts that there is no direct link between various structures, such as discourse and society, and that social and political structures can only influence text and speech through the minds of language users. This is possible because social members embody both social and discourse structures in their minds, allowing them to cognitively connect them before expressing them in text and speech (van Dijk, 2016)

According to van Dijk, CDS not only conducts social and political analyses of text and speech, but it also expresses a clear view on how a large media institution might abuse its power by manipulating readers' attitudes about immigration. It explains why and how political and media symbolic elites are able to control public discourse and views, potentially contributing to the country's reproduction of racism and xenophobia. Scholars, rather than their methods, are defined by CDS' critical approach: CDS scholars and researchers are committed to social equity and justice from a socio-political perspective. They're particularly interested in the discursive (re)production of power abuse as well as resistance to it. As academic contributions to such opposition, their goals, ideas, methodologies, data, and other scholarly activities are chosen. CDS is more problem-oriented than discipline-oriented, and it necessitates a multidisciplinary approach. An ethical framework is required for a critical discourse approach. Its findings could lead to the conclusion that certain forms of dominating text or discourse are unjust or illegitimate, such as when they violate human and social rights. Sexist or racist language, for example, may be considered to violate basic gender and ethnic equality and justice norms and principles (Ibid).

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. Thus, text and speech can only be influenced by people's interpretations of social interaction, social situations, and social structures. Conversely, discourse can only influence social interaction and social structures through the same cognitive interface of mental models, knowledge, attitudes, and ideologies that influence social interaction and social structures.

For most psychologists, cognitive mediation is as fundamental as it is obvious. Nonetheless, many interactionist approaches to discourse today are still anticognitivist, confining their analysis to what is supposed to be directly 'observable' or socially 'accessible,' as behaviorism was many decades before. This empiricist constraint overlooks the fact that grammatical and other discourse structures, particularly semantic, pragmatic, and interactional structures, are not observable at all but rather language users' cognitive representations or inferences from actually occurring conversation or conduct. When people use language, they not only act (speak, talk, write, listen, read, etc.), but also think (Van Dijk, 2009).

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. The linguist 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).

With his work, van Dijk has successfully made the crucial shift from text analysis to discourse analysis. The focus of van Dijk's socio-psychological comprehension of news production and comprehension practices is on social cognition processes specifically—how cognitive "models" and "schemas" influence the processes of production and consumption. Linking media texts to their context is important to van Dijk because it allows him to demonstrate in

minute detail how social relationships and processes are accomplished at a micro-level through routine practices (Fairclough, 1995).

Moreover, van Dijk's socio-cognitive model, in which the link between text and society is mediated by cognition, is needed to provide a clear account of the discursive construction of social inequality, 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 model proposed in the socio-cognitive approach is diagrammatically represented in Figure 2, where the shaded area signifies the microlevel focus of text analysis and the bidirectional arrows the dialectical relation between textual structure and social structure mediated by social cognition (Hart, 2010).

Social Cognition (Cognitive Structure)

Textual Structure   Social Structure
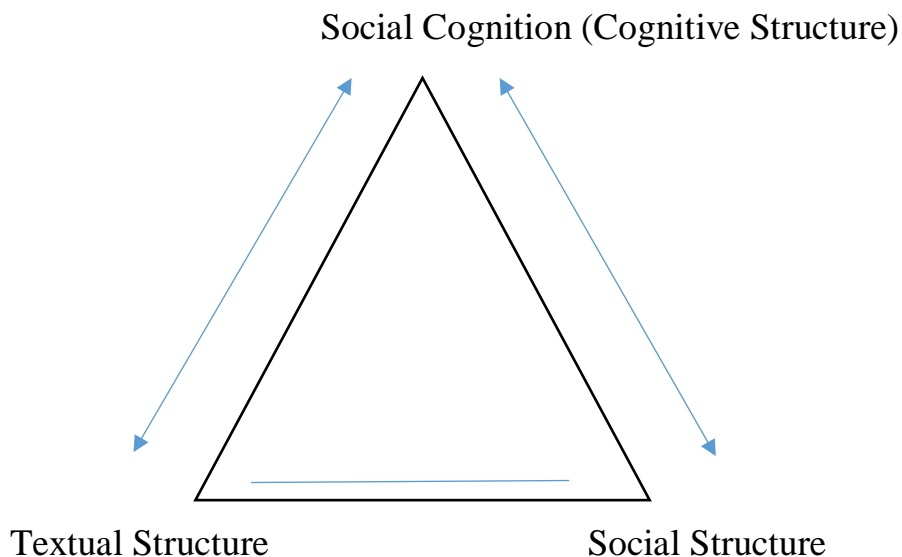
Figure (2) Textual-cognitive-social Structure Triangle (Adopted)

Social cognition is linked to social memory, as defined by van Dijk (2002). According to van Dijk, cognitive processes and representations are defined in terms of an abstract mental structure called memory, which is divided into short-

term and long-term memory. Information is processed in short-term memory and compared to information preserved in long-term memory. Long-term memory is further subdivided into episodic memory and semantic memory. Semantic memory stores more generic, abstract and socially shared information, such as our understanding of the language or knowledge of the world, while episodic memory saves information based on personal experiences (van Dijk 2002).

Given the disparity between the socially shared nature of semantic memory and the idiosyncratic nature of episodic memory, van Dijk (2002) refers to semantic memory as social memory. Social cognitions are mental structures and representations that are shared socially. Social cognitions are social because they are shared and presupposed by group members, despite the fact that they are embodied in the minds of individuals. In this way, the socio-cognitive model connects individualism and social constructivism, which are both related to text consumption. Attitudes, ideologies, beliefs, prejudices, discourses, and member resources are all examples of social cognitions. Importantly, texts are the primary means through which these socially situated cognitive structures and representations are learned, employed, and altered. The capacity for metarepresentation in humans aids this process. A representation of a representation is referred to as a "metarepresentation." Texts are public metarepresentations that "carry mental representations" and "have, at least by extension, some of the mental representations' qualities." Text interpretation entails creating cognitive metarepresentations of the text's language representations (Hart, 2010).

Thus, van Dijk's socio-cognitive is divided into three components, which are the cognitive component, the social component, and the discourse component.

2.3.1.1 Discourse Component

The previous explanations imply that all links between discourse and society are mediated by social cognition. Social structures of dominance can be replicated only through certain behaviors of dominant group members, which are

in turn regulated by social cognition. Thus, elite discourses such as news stories about ethnic affairs impact societal structures of ethnic domination via the socially shared views of members of dominating groups concerning ethnic minority groups and ethnic relations. Social cognitions serve as the critical interface in both directions of impact. Furthermore, discourse is necessary for the acquisition and modification of social cognition (van Dijk, 1992).

While the nuances of the theory's cognitive and social components must be worked out in collaboration with psychologists and sociologists, the discourse component is clearly the primary responsibility of critical discourse analysts. These frequently need to form relationships with the other components, just as linguists do in their psycholinguistic and sociolinguistic research. Critical discourse analysts do not have to come up with their own theory of how discourse works, which they may share in large parts with other discourse analysts. They generally, however, go beyond such structural theories of discourse. Furthermore, they define and explain how discourse can be used in society to (re)produce or resist power abuse (van Dijk, 2009).

Discourse is a multidimensional social phenomenon. It is linguistic (verbal, grammatical), an action (an assertion or a threat), a mode of social interaction (a conversation), a mode of social practice (a lecture), a mental representation (a mental model, an opinion, knowledge), a communicative event or activity (a parliamentary debate), and a cultural product all at the same time (a telenovela). This component includes two elements: the structure of discourse and the ideological structures of discourse.
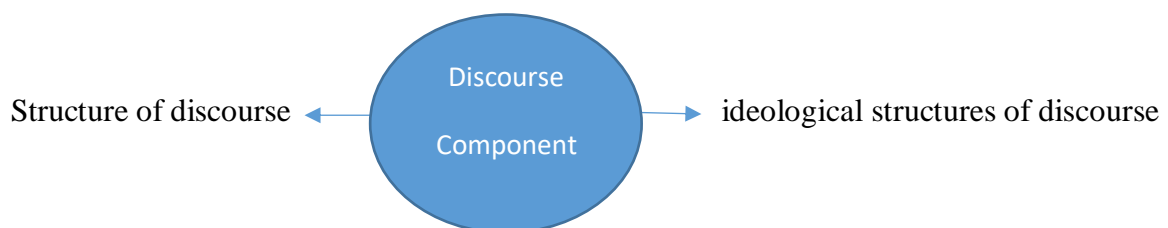
Figure (3) Discourse Component (Adopted)

2.3.1.1.1 Structures of Discourse

Initially, such an approach was articulated as an extension of structural, functional, or generative grammars to include the phonological, morphological, syntactic, and semantic structures of sentences. For instance, it was shown that the intonation or syntax of sentences may depend on the structure of previous sentences or turns of text and talk. More precisely, such text or discourse grammars accounted for a discourse's semantic local and global coherence, for example, the functional relationships between its propositions (such as generalization or specification) and semantic macrostructures. However, it was eventually discovered that a fundamental concept like coherence could not only be explained in terms of links between propositions (meanings), but also in terms of mental representations of what a discourse is about: mental models. For example, a causal or temporal relationship between events may be represented in such a mental model, providing a basis for the model-based discourse's local coherence (van Dijk, 2009).

Following this early grammatical explanation of discourse structures beyond the level of the sentence, several subsequent theories of discourse offered a slew of additional structures and techniques that could not be articulated using conventional linguistic categories of grammar. As a result, many genres of discourse have their own overarching schematic organization (or superstructure) with distinct categories, such as summaries (headlines, titles, abstracts, announcements, and so on), introductions or orientations, complications, interesting events or experiments, and resolutions, commentary, and conclusions or coda — depending on the genre. Likewise, argumentative genres such as common disputes, scientific papers, and editorials may contain a variety of different types of arguments and conclusions.

2.3.1.1.2 Ideological Structures of Discourse

Critical discourse study is especially interested in investigating discourse structures that are involved in the (re)production of power abuse. Discourse

patterns reveal the dominant social groupings' underlying attitudes and ideologies. Here are some of these ideological discourse structures:

- Polarization. Underlying ideologies are polarizing between a positive representation of the ingroup and a negative representation of the outgroup.

- Pronouns. Language users (or organizations advocating on behalf of ideological groups) frequently employ the 'political' pronoun "We" (along with us, ours, and so on) to refer to themselves and other group members. Similarly, they use the word "They" to refer to members of other, rival, or dominated groups (theirs, them). Given the broad polarization between ingroups and outgroups, the pair "Us" vs "Them" is its pronominal representation.

- Identification. The main category of group ideologies is their identity. Members of ideological groups identify with 'their' group, e.g. As a feminist, I/we … Speaking as a pacifist, I/we …

- Emphasis of positive self-descriptions and negative other-descriptions. Ideologies are frequently structured on a positive self-schema. Under the effect of ideological ingroup–outgroup polarization, (e.g., in nationalist discourse, we frequently see praise of Our country) and a focus on negative other-descriptions, as in racist or xenophobic discourse.

- Activities. Ideological groups are often (self) identified by what they do, what their typical activities are.

- Norms and values. Ideologies are built on norms of conduct, or values of what should be striven for, as is the case for Freedom, Equality, Justice, Independence.

- Interests. Ideological struggle is about power and interests. Hence, ideological discourse typically features many references to our interests, such as basic resources (food, shelter, and health) as well as symbolic resources such as knowledge, status, or access to public discourse (van Dijk, 2005).

2.3.1.2 Cognitive Component

This component is concerned with the mind, memory, and, in particular, the cognitive processes and representations that are involved in the production and comprehension of discourse. SCDS is known for putting a lot of emphasis on how discursive and social structures affect how people think (van Dijk, 2009 and 2017)

van Dijk (1995) claimed that any convincing account of the relationship between discourse and social structure requires an explanation that first and foremost connects structures in text and talk with structures in the mind, from a socio-cognitive rather than solely post-structuralist perspective. He claims that the socially shared "system of mental representations and processes of group members" is what drives social activity. To investigate the cognitive or conceptual consequences of text and talk in social, economic, and political contexts, studies should look at the cognitive or conceptual effects of language use. Of course, cognitive linguistics has its own explicit theory of the link between language and conceptualization. As a result, the inclusion of cognitive linguistics in CDA is highly justified. Their union, on the other hand, could be mutually beneficial.

Dabrowska and Divjak (2015) state that cognitive linguistics provides CDA with the "missing link" it requires explaining the connection between discursive and social behaviours. However, CDA allows cognitive linguistics to broaden its studies beyond linguistic and conceptual structure to include the restrictions that they impose on society's organization. This triangle relationship has long been mentioned in Cognitive Linguistics, such as when Lakoff and Johnson (1980; 156) stated that "metaphors generate realities for us, especially social realities." As a result, a metaphor might serve as a guide for future acts, which must, of course, suit the metaphor.

Cognitive integration and societal integration are inextricably linked. To bring them together, there should be a mediator or interface. The context model serves as an interface. A context is defined as a "subjective mental representation, a dynamic on-line model of the participants concerning the relative aspects of the

communication situation that are relevant to them right now." One of the most essential parts of the "context" of discourse and text is the cognition of the participants. It encompasses the knowledge, beliefs, and intentions of interaction participants as well as the mental processes of text and talk production and comprehension (van Dijk, 2006; 163).

Not only what an author writes, but also how she writes, is determined and explained by the contexts and societies in which she writes. The context or situation in which he or she is writing influences lexical items, syntax, communication tactics, and many other aspects of his or her writing style. It is also their conception of that context, which is strongly tied to the cognition and ideology of writers that supplies norms or specific conventions, rather than their presence in that context or society (van Dijk, 2006).

Additionally, van Dijk (2008) claims that, in the sense that it does not confine racism to only ideology or just "visible" kinds of discriminatory practices; an appropriate theory of racism is nonreductive. The same can be said about the role of discourse in racism. This is notably true for discourse's "meanings" and hence also for beliefs, or cognition. Discourses are more than just modes of interaction or social activities; they also express and carry meanings, which might influence our attitudes toward immigrants and minorities. The discourse–cognition link is particularly important in explaining how ethnic prejudices and beliefs are expressed, transmitted, shared, and perpetuated in society. For example, a passive sentence may obscure responsible agency in the mental models formed about a racist event; a specific type of metaphor (such as "an invasion of refugees") may exacerbate our negative opinion of others; and a euphemism like "popular resentment" may mitigate the negative self-image that an expression like "racism" may suggest.

However, Ensink and Sauer (2003) declare that communication is a type of social interaction in which people evaluate, interpret, and influence one another on a variety of levels. The way it is thought about discourse is determined by the interactive aspect of communication. The idea that interaction must take place on

"common ground" is fundamental to this nature. Participants in the interaction must share and assume that they share a specific corpus of knowledge. People frequently "calculate" which knowledge they possess and which knowledge their partners possess in order to determine which knowledge is shared. Because interaction assumes knowledge, it is based on cognitive aspects. Although communication and interaction are primarily social ideas, they require a cognitive base.

The participants' cognition in any interaction in a certain discourse community may control the communication process. The selection of lexical elements, syntactic..., and interactional tactics may be hampered by living in different societies or contexts with distinct cultures and cognitive tendencies. For example, native academics may use more engagement indicators to show that their writers are responsible for engaging the readers in order to have successful communication (Golmohammadi et al, 2014).

The interface of social cognition is taken seriously in van Dijk's multidisciplinary framework as socially shared mental strategies and representations that monitor the production and interpretation of discourse. The key concept of understanding text and talk cannot be effectively explained by simply looking at the visible representations of such mental processes. This is not to say that cognitive analysis should be restricted to individual or universal psychological understanding processes. On the other hand, many elements of cognition should be explored in this double social perspective, at the level of interaction and at the level of groups, institutions, or other social structures, in the same way that discursive activities are understood as social (and historical). In this way, van Dijk's approach goes beyond most of what is currently known about psycholinguistics (van Dijk, 1992). The Cognitive component is diagrammed as follows:
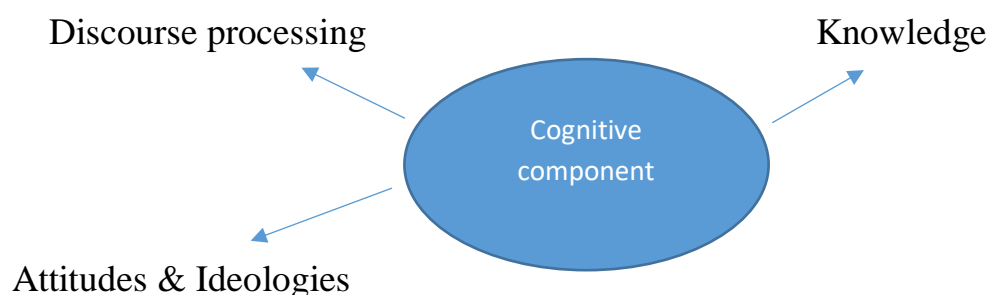
Figure (4) Cognitive component (Adopted)

2.3.1.2.1 Discourse Processing, Mind, Memory

Individual social actors as members of social groups and communities engage in processes such as thinking, perceiving, knowing, believing, comprehending, interpreting, planning, hoping, feeling, and so on in their minds or memories. These memory-related cognitive processes are carried out in the brain and are documented in neuropsychology. The fact that brain lesions, such as those induced by accidents, illness, or degradation (e.g., Alzheimer's disease), can create aphasia or other linguistic and discursive disorders, is nevertheless important to know about the relationship between discourse and the brain. Memory cognitive processes work on specific cognitive structures known as (mental) representations, producing, altering, storing, and (de)activating them, for example. Thus, diverse types of mental representation include thoughts, knowledge, beliefs, interpretations, plans, attitudes, and ideologies. Cognitive processes and representations cause and control all human behaviour and interaction, including language use and conversation. Short-term memory (STM) and long-term memory (LTM) are two types of memory. STM is also known as working memory (WM) because it is where "online" processes of attention, understanding, and action production occur, often in fractions of seconds with the limited information held in the memory buffer(s) of WM. The results of these processes are stored in LTM, for example in the form of knowledge or beliefs, which can be activated and utilized by WM for future activities, such as when one remember something or need that "information" for perception, action, or discourse (van Dijk, 2016).

Working Memory (WM)—also known as Short Term Memory (STM)—and Long Term Memory (LTM) are two types of memory embedded in the brain. On the one hand, LTM contains recollections of autobiographical experiences and knowledge stored in episodic memory (EM), and on the other, more generic, socially shared knowledge, attitudes, and ideologies are stored in semantic memory (SM). These cognitive processes are used to strategically produce and understand discourse. Words, phrases, clauses, sentences, paragraphs, or turns are

processed sequentially in WM, whereas mental models, knowledge (and sometimes ideologies) are represented and managed in LTM (van Dijk, 2009).

Furthermore, van Dijk (2016) contends that discourse production and comprehension are extremely complex cognitive processes performed in real time ('online') and in parallel by specific working memory operations such as the processing of sounds, images, phonemes, morphemes, lexical items, syntactic structures, local and global meanings, overall patterns of text or talk (superstructures), and interaction structures and strategies. How these numerous complicated concurrent processes involved in the production and understanding of discourse are controlled and coordinated in fractions of a second and with obviously limited memory resources is one of the many difficulties to be solved. A summary of all processes involved would fill pages of description (or computer program code)—from phonemes, graphemes, or image parts on the "lower" levels to producing or understanding overall meanings, topics, conversational interaction, narratives, or persuasive strategies on the "higher" levels of parallel processing. Part of the control system in complex discourse is likely to be overarching semantic macrostructures ("themes") that regulate the production and comprehension of local sentence meanings (propositions).

van Dijk (2016) adds that language use and discourse activate and apply specific linguistic and discursive knowledge units, norms, and strategies in LTM, such as grammar, lexicon, local and global semantics, pragmatics, conversation, and other types of interaction. While many of the above-mentioned notions and processes of memory and discourse processing are (somewhat) evident in psycholinguistics, the cognitive psychology of discourse focuses on the description and explanation of "higher" level of discourse processing. Such higher-level processes may include the establishment of local coherence between sentence meanings (propositions) and expression in various types of cohesion or co-reference (e.g., pronouns), the overall coherence of topics and expression in headlines, titles, or summaries, the schematic overall organization (superstructures) of stories, argumentation, news, or other genres, or the complex local and global coordination of speech acts and conversational inflections.

2.3.1.2.2 Knowledge

Knowledge is defined as beliefs that satisfy each community's epistemic standards, such as trustworthy perception, discourse, or inference. The system of knowledge gained over our lifetime and shared by members of epistemic communities serves as the foundation for all cognition, and hence for all thought, perception, understanding, action, interaction, and conversation. Although the knowledge system's overall organization is unclear, it is considered to be organized locally by hierarchical categories of concepts and schemas of many sorts, such as scripts of everyday episodes, schemas of things, persons, or groups of people, and many more. Generic, socially shared knowledge is applied in the development of personal mental models that represent our unique experiences, perceptions, and interpretations of events and situations. It is acquired and extended in part through the generalization and abstraction of these mental models, through discourses about such experiences (stories, news), and through pedagogical and expository discourse that directly expresses such knowledge, as in parent–child discourse, textbooks, and mass media (van Dijk, 2009).

Unlike most philosophical and psychological approaches to knowledge, van Dijk tried to distinguish between two types of knowledge, namely, the knowledge shared by a specific group on the one hand, and the general cultural knowledge shared across different groups throughout society on the other. The latter, common ground knowledge, is the bedrock of all social interaction and communication and is frequently implicit in discourse. This type of knowledge is widely accepted, uncontested, and uncontroversial and is imparted throughout socialization and in school in a particular society. In society, these widely held "factual" views are acknowledged as (and referred to as) "knowledge."

van Dijk (2002) adds that there are factual views that are regarded as "true" exclusively by members of certain social groups, such as scientists, specialists, professionals, adherents of specific faiths, members of a political party, or any other type of group. The same criteria that apply to knowledge apply here (this knowledge is habitually uncontested, accepted as common sense, commonly

presupposed, etc.), but only at the group level. Within the group, this collective information is referred to as "knowledge." Outside the group, however, such knowledge may readily be referred to as "belief" or "opinion," that is, beliefs that are not determined to be true according to the general culture's or other groups' truth standards (which does not entail that such views are wrong from an abstract "universal" perspective). Much political knowledge is group knowledge, and competing organizations sometimes dismiss it as "mere political opinion." Typically, feminists' knowledge of male dominance in society is denied by many males, and the same is true for environmental groups' knowledge of pollution, which is opposed by polluters. The opposite is also true: racist organizations have their own group knowledge, even if many other members of society contest it and dismiss it as prejudiced notions.

People currently have only a fragmentary understanding of the location(s) of socio-culturally shared knowledge in the brain and their structures or organization in memory, for example, in terms of hierarchical relationships between concepts (e.g., a car is a vehicle), or as frames, stereotypes, or more dynamic scripts or scenarios. Additionally, similar to mental models of actual occurrences, it has been claimed that such generic knowledge is multimodal, incorporating visual, sound, smell, sensorimotor, and emotional input (e.g., what we know or have experienced about cars) (van Dijk, 2016).

As is the case with their knowledge of language and discourse, which they share with other members of linguistic and discursive communities, social actors share sociocultural knowledge of the world with members of various epistemic communities, as well as attitudes, ideologies, norms, and values with members of various social groups. These kinds of social cognition are often housed in what has been referred to as "semantic memory," a subset of LTM, but may be better referred to as "social memory." World knowledge acquisition and application are critical for all cognitive processes such as perception, comprehension, action, interaction, language usage, communication, and discourse. Such knowledge is activated and used in discourse comprehension to interpret words, sentence

meanings, and overall discourse meanings, as well as to construct personal mental models. In the acquisition or alteration of generic knowledge of the world, the interpretation of language and the construction of mental models of individual occurrences can be generalized and abstracted from. Knowledge is presupposed, expressed, conveyed, and corrected in a variety of ways in nearly all structures at all levels of discourse, including the use of stress distribution or word order to organize topic (known) and focus (new or more salient) information in sentences, the expression of knowledge sources in evidential, the use of presuppositions and implications, and the rights of participants to share new events during conversation. Both are dependent on the relationship between knowledge and discourse: the majority of our non-experience-based knowledge is learned through discourse, and discourse production and comprehension need massive quantities of socially shared knowledge. Numerous discourse structures require epistemic description and explanation, including the topic-focus articulation of sentences, indefinite articles, evidentials (identifying the source of our knowledge), implications, implicatures, presuppositions, and argumentation, to name a few (van Dijk, 2009).

According to van Dijk (2015) since participant knowledge is necessary for the processing of all discourses and all interactional talk, its usage is a component of the communicative situation. Thus, context models include a unique knowledge device (K-device) that "calculates" at each stage of discourse processing which knowledge is (already) shared by the recipients and so may be presupposed and which knowledge or information is (presumably) new and thus must be stated. This K-device is in charge of the huge array of epistemically significant discourse structures stated previously. Particularly crucial for CDS is the fact that knowledge is a source of power. Certain groups or organizations within society enjoy preferential access to specialized knowledge and hence have the ability to influence or otherwise exert control over public discourse and the subsequent actions of others.

2.3.1.2.3 Attitudes and Ideologies

While social knowledge is defined as beliefs shared by the majority or all members of epistemic communities or cultures, there are two types of social (often evaluative) beliefs that are shared by only certain groups: attitudes and ideologies. Thus, while the majority of people understand what abortion and immigration are, certain groups may have varying opinions about them — for example, as being good or terrible, forbidden or permitted, depending on their underlying ideology. Although the precise mental structure of such socially shared attitudes is unclear, it is likely that they are schematically structured. For example, an attitude toward immigration may include views about the identity, origin, characteristics, activities, and goals of immigrants as well as their relationships with "our own" group, all of which are related to either positive or negative judgments based on norms and values. According to Van Dijk's framework, attitudes are primarily social and group-based. Individuals may have personal beliefs, but only as members of such groups do they share attitudes. Because ideas and attitudes are evaluative in nature, they are seldom taken for granted, uncontroversial, or uncontested, and so rarely form part of the cultural common ground. Nonetheless, any culture may have views about immigrants in general and Muslims in particular, opinions toward what "ordinary people" believe, and more broadly toward immigration. It is assumed that a group's common social representations (knowledge and attitudes) are organized around underlying ideologies. Ideologies are by necessity broad and abstract, as they must encompass a wide variety of attitudes in a variety of social areas. Thus, a racist ideology may exert control over not just immigration attitudes but also housing, employment, education, and the culture of immigrants and minorities (Van Dijk, 2002).

Moreover, van Dijk (2009) argues that attitudes are frequently founded on or structured around more basic ideologies that regulate the acquisition and modification of more specific beliefs. Thus, a racist ideology can have influence over negative sentiments toward immigration, affirmative action, quotas, ethnic diversity, and cultural ties. As is the case with much social cognition, the precise

mental organization of ideologies continues to be disregarded, but some of their broad categories occur often in ideological discourse: identity, action, objectives, relationships with other groups, and resources or interests. All of them are critical for the social definition of groups, particularly Us vs. Them, a polarized structure that regulates power abuse, dominance, rivalry, and collaboration within groups, as well as all ideological discourse. General ideologies, as well as their more specific attitudes, wield power over people's personal experiences, or mental models. And if these biased models control discourse, they frequently manifest themselves in polarized ideological discourse structures. Thus, in such ideological discourse, it may be observed that a positive representation of "our" group and a negative representation of "others"—always contingent on the communicative situation, i.e., our context models—at all levels of text or talk: topics, lexicon, descriptions, argumentation, storytelling, and metaphors, among others.

However, van Dijk (2016) states that social actors are generally ignored in linguistics and cognitive psychology but extensively studied in the social sciences. They may also act and communicate as members of social movements or ideological groups and share views on fundamental social issues such as immigration, abortion, or terrorism. Although extensively investigated in social psychology, the precise cognitive structures of these attitudes are still unclear. As with generic knowledge, socially shared attitudes can be applied and described in the personal opinions of group members' mental models—and then (partially) conveyed in discourse. These social attitudes may be structured further by more basic (positive or negative) ideologies such as socialism, feminism, neoliberalism, racism and anti-racism, militarism and pacifism, and so on. While the cognitive location and organization of ideologies are unknown at the moment, they are likely to contain fundamental categories defining social groups, such as an individual's identity, actions, goals, norms and values, and resources, as well as their (often polarized) relationships with other groups (allies or enemies). This polarization between Us (the ingroup) and Them (the outgroup) may also manifest itself in certain social attitudes and later in mental models and the discourses that reflect them.

2.3.1.3 Social Component

Discourse, in the broadest meaning of van Dijk's triangle, is a communicative event that encompasses conversational exchanges, written text, physical gestures, visual images, and other semiotic signifiers. Personal and social cognition, beliefs, objectives, values, emotions, and other mental structures are all included in this definition of cognition. Society is composed of both local microstructures and political, social, and universal macrostructures that are characterized by groups and their connections, such as domination and inequality. Social and cognitive factors are considered while determining the context of discourse in this triangle. Indeed, context is classified into two types: micro and macro. Micro context refers to the characteristics of the immediate situation and interaction in which a communicative event happens. Macro context refers to the historical, cultural, political, and social framework in which a communicative event occurs (van Dijk, 2009).

Language users' minds are concretely embodied in actual people who, in addition to being distinct individuals, are members of social groups, institutions, and organizations that engage and communicate with one another via text and talk. Thus, just as one requires a cognitive interface to define and explain a variety of discourse features, a societal foundation for cognition and discursive interaction is also required (van Dijk, 2014).

Clearly, CDA requires a significant social component. Dominant groups abusing their power or resisting powerful groups, as well as organizations, institutions, companies, and nation governments, among other societal macrostructures, are concerned with this. CDS is particularly interested in groups and organizations that govern public discourse directly or indirectly, as well as their leaders, the Symbolic Elites, in fields including politics, mass media, education, culture, and corporate enterprises.

A portion of this societal account of discursive domination and resistance has been expressed in terms of social cognition, or the shared knowledge, attitudes, and beliefs of members of various societal organizations. A more

sociological approach focuses on the micro-level of social members' everyday interactions on the one hand and on the macro-level of groups' and organizations' general structures and relationships on the other. For example, most of the information people read in the newspaper or watch on television is contingent upon the internal organization of news production inside media firms, as well as the relationships between such corporations and the government, political parties, or social groups. These high-level societal macrostructures are really implemented and replicated at the fundamental micro-level of the social order by the everyday acts and interactions of its members. And the majority of such local interactions take place via text and talk (van Dijk, 2009).

Social

Component

Micro and Macro   Power and Domination
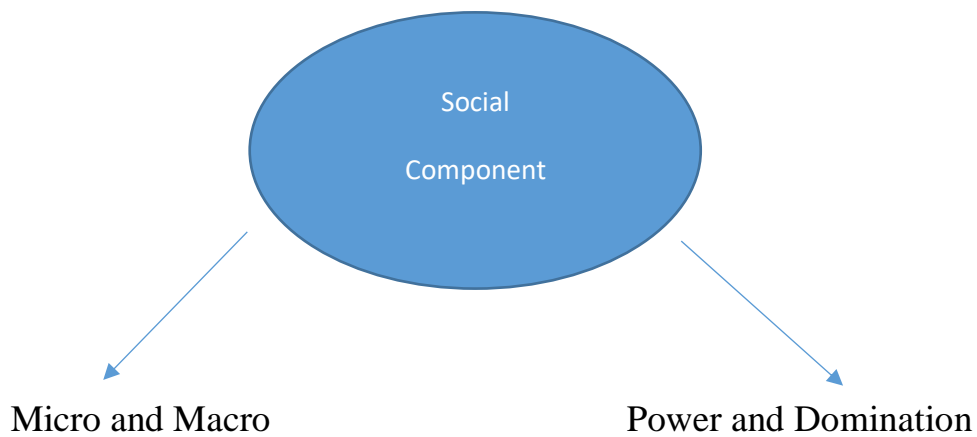
Figure (5) Social component (Adopted)

2.3.1.3.1 Micro (local) vs Macro (Global)

Macro-micro levels and interaction-cognition components of society can be seen in this initial effort at defining context in more interactional terms. That is, context definitions are being constructed and updated by participants as dynamic, local inferences and understandings (meanings, constructs, etc.) of communicative situations. Such comprehensions necessitate the use of abstract, socially shared knowledge about a group or society. At the same time, contextualized interactions generate and replicate the groups, communities, and institutions to which people belong. At each moment in talk and text, and therefore also socially, a synthesis of micro (agency)–macro (structure, system) and cognition–interaction facets of society is encountered.

van Dijk (2009) states that apart from different types of theoretical analysis that connect micro and macro structures of society (such as abstract member–group or part–whole relationships between local and global acts), it can be observed that such a connection can also be a participant construct, as in context definitions: Participants may portray themselves and their current behaviors as contributing to, realizing, or otherwise being connected to macro categories such as groups, institutions, or social interactions and processes. Numerous issues with the macro–micro difference vanish when it is acknowledged that macrostructures can impact participants' multi-level representations of social situations. van Dijk argued that social structure (whether micro or macro) has no effect on talk or text and that a cognitive interface is required.

Furthermore, van Dijk (2007) adds that context is classified into two types: micro and macro. The qualities of the current context and interaction in which a communication event occurs are referred to as the micro context. The historical, cultural, political, and social framework in which a communication event takes place is referred to as the macro context. When considering the larger social, political, and cultural contexts of language, the term "culture context" has been employed, for example, in the tradition of British empiricism, which gave rise to systematic linguistics: Halliday, Malinowski, and Firth. However, establishing such a difference is not always straightforward. For instance, the participants' social identity and institution may be viewed as situational or, more broadly, sociocultural. Additionally, the well-known but controversial difference in the social sciences between micro and macro structures, or levels of description, is discussed.

Cognitively, contexts follow the standard schematic structure, although the categories may contain more local or global level information at any one time, depending on the nature of the current interactions and the participants' characteristics, such as their aims. People essentially use the same tactics in terms of interaction: participants may attend to, and then show, social categorizations at varying degrees of comprehension. Specific interactions (such as requests for

explanation), for example, may increase the relevance of higher-level settings, social identities, interactions, and goals. This macro perspective may lead to responses that are in-order descriptions of current conversation and interaction (van Dijk, 2009).

Simultaneously, the concept of macrostructure would account for such critical intuitive concepts as subject, theme, gist, upshot, summary, and similar ones that are common in daily English and hence appear to be significant in language usage. van Dijk states that the term "macrostructure" has been used previously, specifically by the eminent (then East) German linguist Manfred Bierwisch. However, he used it to refer to the customary general structure of stories—the type of schematic (formal, category) structure that van Dijk later dubbed superstructure in order to separate it from the semantic macrostructure that defines the text's overall meaning. Current sentence grammars were abandoned at this point, as there was no theoretical idea in syntax or semantics comparable to macrostructure. Macrostructures were related to their (local) microstructures, that is, to the propositions expressed in the text's sentences, using mapping rules (e.g., those of deletion, generalization, and construction) that theoretically simulate the types of information reduction that occur during the abstracting or summarizing process (van Dijk, 1995).

In addition, Fairclough (1995) adds that the idea of "macrostructure" is critical to thematic structure analysis: "the macrostructure of a text" refers to its general arrangement in terms of themes or subjects. It is a hierarchical arrangement in the sense that the overarching theme of a text can be identified, which is generally expressed in terms of a few more particular themes, which may be expressed in terms of even more detailed themes, and so on. A text's schematic structure is characterized in terms of the ordered components from which it is constructed. Thus, van Dijk recommends that a news report normally include a headline, a lead, an "events" part that summarizes the story's major occurrences, and maybe an element that includes verbal comments to the story. Each element of the schematic structure corresponds to a broader theme in the thematic

structure. The headline of a news item establishes the text's general topic. A fundamental aspect of a text type's schematic structure is the principles that control how its thematic content is organized. In the case of news reporting, there is a strong "relevance principle" that dictates that more broad information should appear first, followed by more specific information. Thus, news stories' first headlines and lead parts often feature more broad information. The "microstructure" of news discourse is evaluated in terms of semantic relationships between propositions: causation, consequence, and so on. Additionally, microanalysis finds syntactic and lexical elements of newspaper style as well as rhetorical qualities of news reports, such as those that lend reports an appearance of factuality.

Additionally, Van Dijk (2008) explains that context models may be used to depict social or communicative situations at a variety of different degrees of abstraction or granularity. That is, models may depict both contextual, immediate, continuous, face-to-face interactions at the micro level and larger social or historical contexts, i.e., social structure, at the macro level (parliamentary debates over the Iraq war, British foreign policy, etc.). These levels may fluctuate within a single communication event and are noted in text or talk. In his satirical critique of the Liberal Democrats, for example, Blair temporarily activates both his own and his receivers' party memberships - a symptom of a more permanent, global condition. Thus, it can be assumed that:

- Language use, discourse, verbal interaction, and communication belong to the micro-level of the social order.
- Power, dominance, and inequality between social groups are typically terms that belong to a macro level of analysis.
- CDA must conceptually bridge the "gap" between micro and macro approaches, which is itself a sociological construct.
- In everyday interaction and experience the macro- and micro level form one unified whole. For example, a racist speech in parliament is a micro level of social interaction within the context of a debate, but it may also

implement or be a constituent component of legislation or the reproduction of racism at the macro level.

- There are numerous techniques for analyzing and connecting these levels, and therefore arriving at a unified critical analysis:

1. **Members-groups**: Language users participate in discourse as members of (many) social groups, organizations, or institutions; and groups, in turn, may act "through" their members.

2. **Actions-process**: Individual actors' social acts are thus integral components of group activities and societal processes such as legislation, news production, and the reproduction of racism.

3. **Context-social structure**: Discursive interaction situations are similarly embedded in or constitutive of social structure; for instance, a press conference may be a standard practice for companies and media institutions.

4. **Personal and social cognition**: Language users as social actors possess both personal and social cognition: personal memories, knowledge, and ideas, as well as those shared with other members of the group or culture.

It can be concluded that, according to van Dijk (2009), macro-level information may be less aware of or focused on, serving merely as useful background information, as is also the case with macro-meanings (themes) during semantic discourse production and comprehension. In other words, as is the case with mental models in general, some local features of the model may be focused on at some point (e.g., the institutional role of the current speaker), whereas the model's macro-level information may be focused on only infrequently in order to produce or comprehend fragments of discourse.

2.3.1.3.2 Power and Domination

The terms "power" and "domination" are used here to refer to a specific control relationship between social groups or organizations, not to a quality of interpersonal relations. Consistent with the overall system presented here, such control has both a social and cognitive dimension: on the one hand, control of

dominated groups and their members' actions (and thus discourses); on the other hand, control of their personal and socially shared cognitions—mental models, knowledge, attitudes, and ideologies. Discourse is fundamental to the exercise of power. It is similar to any other social activity that has the potential to exert control over members of dominated groups, for example through rules, directives, and prohibitions, as well as their discourses. However, discourse communicates social cognition as well, and so it has the potential to "manage the minds" of other groups and their members (van Dijk, 2009).

According to van Dijk (1992), social power is simply defined here as a quality of intergroup interactions in terms of the influence members of one group or institution have over the activities of members of another group. This type of power is based on access to highly valued social resources, such as force, wealth, income, position, or education. Apart from the use of coercive or coercive power, such control is frequently persuasive: others' actions are indirectly controlled by influencing their mental states of action, such as intentions, plans, knowledge, or beliefs. This is the point at which power becomes relevant to discourse and social cognition. For certain groups, social authority may be restricted to particular domains or situations (for example, those of politics, the media, or education). Additionally, power is rarely absolute, as long as other groups retain some level of action and thought freedom. Indeed, several types of power produce opposition in the form of counter-power initiatives. The focus of CDA is on dominance, which is defined here as an abuse of social power, that is, a deviation from established standards or norms of (inter)action in the favour of the more powerful group, resulting in different types of social inequity.

Group power is founded on material resources like property or capital, as well as symbolic resources such as knowledge, position, celebrity, and access to public discourse. Such symbolic power resources in ethnic interactions may include skin tone, ethnic origin, nationality, or culture. It is observed that in order to define the critical concept of power, the theory's three key components must be invoked: (i) society, defined as macro-level regulating groups and organizations

and micro-level controlling members and interactions; (ii) cognition, defined as individuals' own mental models or the group's or organization's shared knowledge and ideas; and (iii) members of groups or organizations' discourse as a means of regulating interaction and communication. While power in general may be justified, as in democratic societies or between parents and children in families, CDS is mainly concerned with power abuse or domination. This type of "negative" social power connection may be described in terms of legitimacy as well as the violation of social norms and human rights. This frequently means that control benefits the powerful group while harming the less powerful group. Thus, racism is a social structure of dominance that favours white (European) people over non-white (non-European) people (van Dijk, 2009).

Racism is a kind of domination that whites (Europeans) wield over ethnic or racial minorities or over non-Europeans in general. Discrimination is used to perpetuate dominance by imposing privileged access to social resources. Additionally, it is repeated by legitimizing such access through mind control techniques such as persuasion and other tactics of obtaining acceptance or cooperation from the dominated group. More broadly, this might be seen as the process of producing consent and consensus. Once again, text and talk are critical components of the cognitive processes behind this reproduction process. Their investigation may shed light on frequently used but imprecise concepts of manipulation.

Additionally, dominance entails privileged access to diverse modes of discourse or communicative events. Dominant groups, or elites, can be defined by their privileged access to a broader range of public or otherwise prominent discourses in comparison to less powerful groups. That is, elites have a more active and tightly regulated relationship with political, media, academic, and educational discourses. They may dictate the time, location, conditions, participants' presence and role, as well as the themes, style, and audience for such discourses. Additionally, elites are the favoured characters depicted in public discourse, such as news stories, as a sort of "topical access." This also means that

elites have a greater probability of accessing the thoughts of others and, therefore, exercising persuasive power. Less powerful groups have active access only to everyday conversations with family members, friends, and co-workers; less controlled access to institutional dialogues (for example, in their interactions with doctors, teachers, and civil servants); and largely passive access to public discourses, such as those of the mass media. Dominance is largely maintained and legitimized in contemporary society by preserving and legitimizing such unequal access patterns to discourse and communication, and thus to the public mind: who is permitted (or required) to speak or listen to whom, how, about what, when and where, and with what consequences (van Dijk, 1992).

Thus, van Dijk (2013) states that the framework's fundamental presuppositions are as follows:

1. Power is a property of social groupings, institutions, and organizations' relationships. As a result, only societal power is examined here, not individual power.

2. Social power is described as the degree to which one group or organization (or its members) exerts influence over the actions and/or minds of (the members of) another group, therefore restricting the others' freedom of action or influencing their knowledge, attitudes, or beliefs.

3. The power of a certain group or institution can be 'distributed' or limited to a particular social area or scope, such as politics, the media, law and order, education, or corporate enterprise, resulting in distinct 'centers' of power and elite groups that govern such centers.

4. Dominance is defined here as a sort of social power abuse, that is, the illegal or immoral exercise of control over others for one's personal benefit, which frequently results in social inequity.

5. Privileged access to highly valued social resources like wealth, jobs, or prestige, or even preferred access to public dialogue and communication, constitutes power.

6. Social power and dominance are frequently institutionalized and organized in order to facilitate more effective control and regular forms of power reproduction.

7. Dominance is rarely total; it is frequently gradual and may be faced with resistance or counter-power on the part of dominated groups.

However, van Dijk (2002) declares that not only can power abuse include the use of force, as in police violence against black adolescents, but it may also have a detrimental effect on people's brains, restricting their freedom of action and, more importantly, their thoughts. That is, dominant groups or institutions can shape the structures of text and talk in such a way that recipients' knowledge, attitudes, norms, values, and ideologies are influenced — more or less indirectly — in the dominant group's interest by gaining preferential access to and control over the means of public discourse and communication. Much "modern" power in democratic societies is persuasive and manipulative rather than coercive (via the use of force) or incentive-based, such as through the explicit issuance of directives, orders, threats, or economic consequences. Clearly, discourse is critical in this process of "manufacturing others' consent." The primary goal of CDA is thus to investigate the precise cognitive structures and techniques involved in these processes shaping groups' social cognitions.

He also adds that, in general, what is at stake here is the manipulation of mental models of social events by the employment of certain discourse structures, such as thematic structures, headers, style, rhetorical figures, and semantic techniques. Unless readers or listeners have access to alternative information or mental resources to counter such persuasive messages, the result of such manipulation may be the formation of preferred models of specific situations (e.g., a "yace riot"), which may be generalized to more general, preferred knowledge, attitudes, or ideologies (e.g., about blacks or youths).

2.4 Ideology

The first semiotic theory of ideology was created by Soviet philosopher V.N. Voroshilov in his 1929 work Marxism and the Philosophy of Language, a work in which the author openly asserts that "without signs, there is no ideology." In his perspective, the world of signs and ideology are coextensive: consciousness forms only via the material embodiment of signifiers, and because these signifiers are material, they are not merely "reflections" of reality but an important part of it. "Consciousness logic," Voloshinov argues, "is the logic of ideological communication, of a social group's semiotic interaction. "If we strip awareness of its semiotic and ideological substance, we are left with nothing". The word is the quintessential "ideological phenomenon," and awareness is just the internalization of words, a form of "inner speech." To put it differently, awareness is less something "inside" us than it is something that surrounds and connects us, a network of signifiers that binds us together (Eagleton, 2014).

Ideology is defined as discourses that categorize the world in order to legitimize and sustain social patterns. Ideology is viewed as "false consciousness," and power is viewed as the property of specific individuals or organizations. As with CDA, they view ideology as a practice with dispersed and discursively organized power. A discourse's ideological substance can be determined through its consequences. The purpose is to illustrate that some discourses serve to advance one group's interests at the expense of another. Ideology critique, which gained popularity in the 1970s and has historical origins in Marx and the Frankfurt School, is a significant style of criticism. According to this concept, society's power relations are accompanied by a hegemonic language that routinely obscures reality. The purpose is to illustrate that some discourses serve to advance one group's interests at the expense of another.

Critique's objective is to destroy power by exposing the reality hidden behind ideology. For instance, some may argue that sexual equality exists in our culture. Simultaneously, a social study may suggest that men earn more than women and that women spend more time than men on home responsibilities.

Thus, there is a discrepancy between how things actually are and how people perceive them, and this mismatch provides the basis for critique. Individuals do not perceive reality objectively because their worldview is distorted by ideologies. For instance, there may be an ideology that asserts that the sexes have finally achieved equality, and this ideology may perpetuate a male-dominated hierarchy in the labor market and, maybe, a female-dominated family. Thus, ideology promotes uneven power relations, but individuals are blind to this because they suffer from false consciousness: what they perceive is ideology rather than reality. The researcher's purpose in a critique of the prevalent ideology is to expose ideology as distortion, allowing individuals to see through ideology and alter reality (Jørgensen and Phillips, 2002).

Menard (2017) argues that ideology has traditionally been conceptualized in two ways: Marxist ideas emphasize ideology as false consciousness or distorted reality, whereas sociological traditions consider ideologies as rigid worldviews. Marx had a pessimistic view of ideology. Marx saw ideological notions as distortions of reality to the extent that they serve to preserve dominance relationships by obscuring inherent conflicts. These inconsistencies are not just epistemological but also material in nature. Subjects are viewed as being duped by market inconsistencies that are difficult to disentangle; they fool both the dominated and dominant classes. Marx claimed that it is transformative political activities, not critical thoughts or science, that break ideological structures. Marx's ideology of "distorted reality" or "false consciousness" has been especially contentious in some current work because it might be seen as supporting the concept that there are accurate or genuine ways of interpreting the world.

In short, a critique of the prevailing ideology seeks to expose power via the truth. This interpretation of critique has come under fire from social constructionist researchers. To begin, it has been criticized for adhering to a traditional Marxist view of society in which the base dictates the superstructure, or, in our terminology, discourses are created by non-discursive factors, most notably the economy. Second, it presupposes the existence of an underlying truth

about social conditions and the researcher's privileged access to that reality. Thirdly, it implies that this fact is powerless. CDA indicates that discourses can be more or less ideological. The most ideological discourses are those that convey a skewed view of reality (misrepresentation) and hence contribute to the perpetuation of domination relationships in society. This echoes the critique of ideology: discourse analysis should expose ideological representations and seek to replace them with more accurate representations of reality (Jørgensen and Phillips, 2002).

In critical discourse studies, ideologies are systems of ideas and values that explain particular political and social regimes, legitimize hierarchies, and perpetuate group identities. Ideologies are embedded in both structures and events; ideologies are representations that contribute to dominance relationships, that are enacted in social behaviours (etiquette, genres, etc.), and that are "inculcated" in identities.

Menard (2017), citing Chouliaraki and Fairclough (1999), defines ideologies as practices derived from certain points of view that resolve conflicts and antagonisms in ways that are consistent with the goals and aims of dominance. By seeing ideologies as constructions of practices, it can be observed that they are formed in social life (economics, politics, culture, and daily life) via acts that are both temporally and geographically placed and have developed into habitual ways of doing things. Social worlds and the ideologies contained within them are produced by individuals in the course of their daily, and sometimes banal, activities. When considering ideologies as produced through particular views or viewpoints, the emphasis is on contradictory positioning that might result in antagonisms between or among various subjects. By considering ideology as practices derived from certain points of view that resolve conflicts, problems, and antagonisms, the message is that a heavy reliance on dialogically and differences in text production may suggest authority, domination, and ideological labour.

The final argument is that ideology is viewed as being formed through certain points of view that marginalize difference in ways that coincide with

dominance ambitions. This means that ideological investigations must encompass social analyses with the objective of interpreting and explicating those goals of dominance from cultural and historical perspectives. This last argument also implies the idea that hegemony is never fully achieved in social semiotic explanations of ideology. Social practices are governed by an infinite number of interdependent systems, which implies that outcomes are never totally predicted and oppositional resources are always likely to be developed (van Dijk, 2012).

Social cognition's level of abstraction and complexity necessitates significant social learning through experience (models) or outright indoctrination. As a result, ideologies are acquired relatively late in their development and not uniformly across group members. Certain specialists (ideologues) inside a group will have more expansive ideologies than "ordinary" group members. Membership in an ideological group, on the other hand, almost always entails acceptance of a few key ideological principles. While classical work on political ideologies and some current directions in social psychology deny that people have (stable) ideologies, it appears plausible that for domains in which people have social attitudes, such as those that organize their daily lives, people do have ideologies that organize these attitudes. Personal ideological differences reflected in surveys and other discourse may be readily explained in terms of personal beliefs embedded in models of events (personal experiences) and context, and because people belong to diverse social groups, each with its own attitudes and ideologies (Ibid).

Ideologies are said to be organized first and foremost around group self-schemata, which include categories such as membership criteria, activities, goals, values and norms, social position, and resources. These are the categories in which critical information about one's own group is represented, as well as its relationship to other groups: who we are, what we do, and why we do it, etc. The social position category may include representations of potentially antagonistic interactions with other groups (Van Dijk, 2002).

To summarize van Dijk (1995)'s particular approach to ideology, which is somewhat in contradiction to other approaches, the following assumptions might be emphasized:

(a) Ideologies are cognitive. While ideologies are undoubtedly social and political in nature, and are associated with groups and societal structures, they also have a critical cognitive component.

(b) Ideologies are social. Since Marx and Engels, ideologies have been defined in sociological or socio-economic terms and are frequently associated with groups, group positions and interests, or group conflicts such as class, gender, or 'race' struggles, and thus with social power and dominance, as well as their concealment and legitimization.

(c) Ideologies are socio-cognitive. The critical component of social belief systems, such as those of knowledge, views, and attitudes, serves as a bridge between the cognitive and the social. That is, ideologies are primarily shared (or challenged) by social group members.

(d) Ideologies do not exist in a 'true' or 'false' state. "true" or "false" terms are not used to define ideologies. This is not to say that racists or male chauvinists do not harbor incorrect notions about blacks or women. Rather, they represent a social group's perhaps politicized, self-serving 'truth.' In that respect, they are more or less relevant or efficient interpretive (and action) frameworks for such groups if they are capable of furthering their goals.

(e) Ideologies can range in complexity. Ideologies do not have to be fully formed and explicit systems of belief. On the other hand, while research indicates that not everyone has explicit political ideologies, individuals may have more detailed ideologies about other, group-relevant social concerns. These ideologies might be simple or extremely complicated, consisting of a few fundamental ideas or vast frameworks such as the ideologies of 'democracy' or 'socialism'. Indeed, unlike the term 'ideology' as used in common text and talk, ideologies are not restricted to significant philosophical or political '-

isms'. Rather, they should be viewed as (the fundamental axioms) of a group's naïve, implicit social theory about itself and its place in society.

(f) Ideologies appear in a variety of ways depending on their situation. The fact that group member' ideological expressions frequently appear to be missing, imprecise, confusing, contradictory, or incoherent does not mean that ideologies are contradictory or that ideologies do not exist at all.

(g) Ideologies are broad and abstract in nature. Ideologies are situation-independent, and their potentially diverse manifestations are formed locally and contextually restricted. The primary theoretical justification for our hypothesis is that without an assumption of relative stability and continuity of ideological systems, we would be unable to explain why social members' ideological manifestations are frequently consistent and comparable.

Ideology has been a significant phrase for CDA since its inception, implying a close connection to the Marxist tradition from which it originated. Beginning with Marx, this tradition defined this critical phrase in a variety of ways, but for the majority, it referred to a coherent but distorted view of reality, warped and distorted to serve or reflect the interests and preconceptions of a certain group. The early statement by Kress and Hodge (1979) is illustrative: A structured assemblage of concepts organised around a certain viewpoint is known as an ideology. (Hodge, 2012).

Furthermore, Verschueren (2012) adds that ideology is a sociocultural-cognitive phenomenon that is completely integrated. As the term "common sense" indicates, cognition is not viewed as a solely individual feature of human beings, despite the fact that each individual possesses a unique mechanism for processing. While ideology, like most other higher forms of cognitive processing, is socially situated, what distinguishes it as a cognitive phenomenon is that it also has aspects of society as an object and that its social situatedness involves a unique form of intersubjectivity or sharing, as well as affect and stance.

Indeed, ideology takes a variety of forms, but many researchers have exaggerated the "illusory," "false awareness," and "fetish" features of the

ideological phenomena in an attempt to describe them. Nonetheless, these characteristics of ideologies are incidental. As a result, a multidisciplinary theory of ideology is advocated that views ideologies as the interface between social structures and social cognition (Persson and Neto, 2018).

As van Dijk (1998) points out, "ideologies enable individuals to arrange their disparate social beliefs about what is true for them, good or terrible, right or wrong, and to behave appropriately." In other words, ideologies serve as the foundations for social groups' shared representations. They may be seen socio-cognitively as the axiomatic foundation for such representations, that is, the system of shared ideas and beliefs among group members. In this way, ideologies are more basic than random collections of socially shared ideas and beliefs. "Ideologies manage a social group's identity, behaviours, goals, norms and values, and resources, as well as its relationships with other social groups." From this vantage point, ideologies may be viewed as self-serving and a function of the material and symbolic goals of certain groups, particularly their power interests over other groups. As a result, ideologies are intrinsically linked to issues of power, dominance, conflict, competition, social antagonisms, and contradictions. As Fairclough (2003) notes, ideologies "contribute to the establishment, maintenance, and change of social relations of power," since some of them serve to legitimize domination or express opposition in power relations (van Dijk, 2006).

In this regard, van Dijk (1998) emphasized that, in addition to their pervasiveness in the mass media and public discourse, dominant ideologies frequently, if not always, incorporate artifices of mystification, falsehood, distortion, guise, and manipulation into their major strategies, discourses, and contents. This is because it is important to ideologize in order to dominate. This is accomplished, for example, through the universalization and naturalization of dominant ideas and beliefs, the mystification of operations and appearances logic, dissimulation and manipulation, and the promotion of shared senses and meanings embodied in discourses that contribute to the maintenance of power relations.

Quoting from Mészáros (2005), he claims that the power of dominant ideologies is enormous and that it can only exist "because of the strategic advantage of mystification, which enables the individuals on the receiving end to embrace, "consensually," values and practical policies that are actually quite contrary to their essential interests." Thus, ideological conflicts are clearly asymmetrical because "the power to mystify the adversary is a prerogative reserved for the governing ideology alone." In this regard, critical, non-dominant, or hostile ideologies cannot mystify their adversaries since they have nothing to give (or conceal) those who are firmly established in their positions of command and self-aware of their interests. Thus, it might be argued that concepts like distortion, dissimulation, falsehood, and concealing of true contradictions are contents or modes of operation of dominant ideologies, as mystifying processes and discourses are a vital necessity and resource for maintaining dominant positions.

Some theorists distinguish discourse from ideology, as Roger Fowler puts it: "Discourse is speech or writing viewed through the lens of the beliefs, values, and categories it embodies; these beliefs, values, and categories collectively constitute a way of looking at the world, an organization or representation of experience, ideology in a non-derogatory, neutral manner." Different forms of discourse contain distinct representations of experience, and the source of these representations is the discourse's communicative context (Mills, 1997).

In the early twentieth century, it was considered normal—even beneficial— to promote an ideology. Both politicians and civilians wore their "isms" proudly. Ideology was a way for individuals to show their political loyalty and identity. However, over the last three decades, ideology has devolved into an insult, always associated with the opposition. Ideology is either viewed as naively idealistic or, occasionally, as a form of sinister motivation. However, it is almost always disparaged as a strict commitment to tribe and dogma at the expense of empiricist optimization (Glaser, 2014).

Eagleton (2014), on the other hand, states that it may be beneficial to regard ideology less as a collection of discourses and more as a collection of effects inside discourses. In a socio-cognitive approach, ideologies serve as the foundation for organizing the shared social cognitions of members of social groups, organizations, and institutions. Ideologies are cognitive as well as social in nature. They primarily serve as a link between the cognitive representations and processes that underpin discourse and action and the sociocultural status and interests of social groups. Additionally, this definition of ideology enables us to make a critical connection between macro-level analyses of groups, social formations, and social structure and micro-level studies of situated individual interaction and discourse.

Ideologies are progressively learned by members of a group or culture via complicated and typically lengthy processes of socialization and other types of social information processing. As systems of principles that structure social cognitions, ideologies are supposed to exert influence over a group's social reproduction through the minds of its members. Ideologies are mental representations of a group's fundamental social qualities, such as its identity, tasks, objectives, norms, values, status, and resources. Given that ideologies are often self-serving; they appear to be organized around these grouping schemes. For example, white racists view society primarily through the lens of a confrontation between whites and non-whites, in which whites' identity, aspirations, values, positions, and resources are perceived to be threatened by the others. They do this by framing their interactions with others primarily in terms of **US** versus **THEM**, in which **WE** are linked with good traits and **THEY** are connected with negative properties (van Dijk, 2005).

Another significant source of individual and social variance in ideologies and their manifestation in discourse is the self-evident reality that an individual may belong to many groups and hence share different ideologies. These may be mutually contradictory, which implies that language users may have to strategically negotiate and manage their possibly divergent allegiances in each

social context of interaction and discourse. This is also evident in discourse, which may reflect the outcomes of such ideological conflicts, internal conflict, and insecurity, or the social pressures individuals confront in implementing the ideologies of the various groups to which they belong. Thus, a black woman journalist in the United States may be forced to reconcile the ideological systems of gender, race, profession, and nationality, and the resulting tensions will undoubtedly impact her social activities, news reporting, and other discourse, depending on the social situation (van Dijk, 1995).

Ideologies are not necessarily negative. Ideologies can be beneficial or harmful depending on the outcomes of the social behaviors they support. Thus, racism and anti-racism, as well as sexism and feminism, are ideologies. Thus, ideologies may be used to build or sustain societal domination, as well as mobilize dissidents and opponents. They may, under certain circumstances, assist in establishing and organizing the social beliefs and practices of any social group. Naturally, this neutral definition of ideology does not exclude us from critically examining and opposing bad ideologies, just as no universal theory of power precludes us from criticizing and opposing power abuse and dominance. In other words, ideologies are not, by definition, dominant ideologies (van Dijk, 2001).

More broadly, the negative interpretation of the term implies the following polarization of **US** and **THEM**: **WE** have true knowledge, while **THEY** have ideologies. Ideologies frequently evolve as a result of opposing interests between two or more groups, social conflict or rivalry, or situations of dominance. Such contradiction can be manifested cognitively and discursively through numerous types of polarization, as illustrated by the well-known pronoun pair **Us** and **Them**. The overarching goal of ideological discourse is to emphasize Our good points and Their bad points, resulting in semantically realized polarization. In racist discourse, for example, several assertions and narratives based on this type of contrast can be found: We work hard, They are lazy, They easily get jobs (housing, etc.), and WE do not, and so on. This type of recurring discursive

contrast implies that the underlying attitudes and ideologies are similarly polarized, identifying **ingroups** and **outgroups** (van Dijk, 2000).

In Brief, the major tenets of ideology according to van Dijk's approach are:

a. Among other things, ideologies are belief systems.

b. These are common systems of beliefs among members of a social group.

c. Additionally, groups share additional beliefs, such as knowledge and attitudes.

d. The collective beliefs of a group will be referred to as 'social representations' (SRs).

e. Ideologies are these SRs' organizing, 'fundamental' beliefs.

f. Not only do groups have their 'own' ideologically motivated «knowledge» (sometimes referred to as «beliefs» by other groups), but they also have more general, consensual, culturally shared knowledge, which may be referred to as (cultural) 'common ground'.

h. Common ground may be defined experimentally as all presupposed beliefs in public discourse. This indicates that such common ground is uncontroversial, commonsensical, and so non-ideological for a particular culture.

i. The term "common ground" also refers to the collective standards and values held by individuals of a culture.

j. Groups choose a subset of these cultural values and organize them according to their own ideologies, for example, liberty, equality, justice, or objectivity.

i. Ideologies very certainly have a canonical structure that enables their acquisition, usage, and transformation.

m. Although it is not yet knowing what this structure may be, it is most likely connected to a group's fundamental social qualities, such as membership requirements, activities, goals, norms and values, relationships with other groups, and special group resources (or lack thereof) —or the term 'capital''.

n. Ideologies and their structures may also be viewed as the cognitive core of a group's and its members' identity, that is, as a group's social self-schema.

o. Ideologies and the social representations they organize exert influence on the social practices of group members as actors (van Dijk, 2003).

According to van Dijk, ideologies are fundamental frameworks of social cognition that are shared by members of social groups, are composed of meaningful choices of sociocultural values, and are arranged around an ideological schema that expresses a group's self-definition. Ideologies have a social function in that they support the group's interests, but they also have a cognitive function in that they structure the group's social representations (attitudes, knowledge), which means they indirectly monitor the group's social activities and, by extension, what its members write and say.

2.4.1 Structure of Ideologies

As is the case with the majority of cognitive systems, ideologies are unlikely to be an ad hoc collection of evaluative notions. Rather than that, they are structured in a variety of ways. Thus, several ideologies, for example, those that underpin social conflict, dominance, and resistance, may be organized around a polarization that defines ingroups and outgroups. For example, racist and nationalist ideologies frequently divide individuals into Us and Them, as well as into ingroups and outgroups such as whites versus blacks, our "own" people vs. foreigners, or the "established" against the "outsiders." Due to the importance of social structure and, consequently, of position and rivalry for access to social resources, many groups may incorporate one or more reference groups or outgroups into their own ideologies. This ideological notion of interactions with other groups is almost certainly part of a larger schema that organizes ideologies and other forms of social cognition. That is, if all social members construct ideologies in response to their group membership and are required to do so regularly and effectively, it may be assumed that they also develop a structural schema into which the particular and changeable ideological axioms fit. A schema of this type is composed of a handful of fundamental categories and a set of rules or techniques for defining or processing the relationships between these categories.

van Dijk (1995) argues that, to express the (own) group's fundamental interests, it will be assumed that ideologies may be thought of as a form of group self-schema. Set against a sociological theory of groups and social formations, this schema consists of a small number of fundamental categories that organize the evaluative propositions characterizing the (kind of) group:

- Identity / Membership. Who is a member of the group and who is not, who is accepted and who is not? This is especially true for racist, ethnocentric, xenophobic, or nationalist ideologies that believe that only "we, white Europeans," belong in Europe and that others should be denied admission, at least as (equal) citizens. But the same might be true for ideologies that are different, like those of ethnic minority groups or feminists. This category often includes the group's self-defined basic (e.g., inherent or more or less permanent) characteristics, such as origin, appearance, ethnic origin, gender, language, and religion. Discrimination against other groups is frequently based on these fundamental qualities ascribed to these other groups, but they also serve as the foundation for opposition ideologies. This category is generally used to identify social categories such as women and men, white and black people, the elderly and the young, citizens and foreigners or immigrants, and so on.

- Tasks / Activities. What are the normal activities of 'we'? What are our responsibilities? What is our group's purpose or mission? Thus, journalists are clearly (self-)represented as journalists, professors as educators and researchers, and feminists as activists against male chauvinism. Typically, this category refers to (ideologies of) professional groups and societal roles, such as academics and carpenters, mothers and dads, action groups and unions.

- Goals. Typical group actions are typically motivated by one or more overarching social goals: journalists write news to inform the public or to act as a watchdog for society; doctors promote health; professors teach to educate the young or conduct research to discover the truth; and

environmentalists protest pollution to protect nature and promote health. The primary function of goals is to form goal-oriented groups, such as anti-racists and feminists. Bear in mind that these are ideological categories; they do not always reflect what group members are, do, or aim towards.

- Norms / Values. Each group's tasks and objectives are evaluated using group-specific ideological criteria, namely norms and values, such as objectivity in reporting (journalists), justice in enacting or enforcing laws (politicians, judges), or security in protecting the country and its citizens (politicians, judges) (police, military). Typically, political and religious groups are defined by their norms and principles, such as liberals and conservatives, Catholics and Protestants.

- Position. Each group defines itself not only in terms of its inherent characteristics, tasks, objectives, and standards of judgment, but also in terms of specific other groups: journalists in terms of their public (or news actors), professors in terms of their students, physicians in terms of their patients, and feminists in terms of women and men in general (gender), and chauvinist men in particular. That is, the category of Position denotes friends and foes, allies and adversaries, opponents and supporters, as well as social relations of domination and intergroup rivalry and conflict.
Clearly, this is the core category of self-schemata of social groups described as ideologies. Typical positions-based groups include the elites and the masses (the 'people'), bosses and subordinates, and so on.

- Resources. All groups live and reproduce only if they have access to limited social resources. Thus, specific groups might be identified or characterized by their (preferential) access to particular tangible or symbolic resources, such as citizenship, residency, status, human rights, respect, employment, health, housing, welfare, money, knowledge, or public discourse. Thus, journalists may wish to safeguard their privileged access to information, professors may wish to safeguard knowledge, managers may wish to safeguard capital or profits, and feminists may wish

to safeguard equal pay. Access to resources (or lack thereof) defines the rich and poor, employed and unemployed, homeless, and, in general, the Haves and Have-Nots.

Although there is a long legacy of philosophical and political thinking on the nature of ideologies, less attention has been dedicated to their precise nature, socio-cognitive structures, and discursive reproduction. Indeed, a comprehensive, multidisciplinary theory of ideology, ideological discourse, and related behaviours is still in its infancy. The following is the schematic structure of ideologies.

Identity (Who are we? Who belong to us? Where do we come from?)

Activities (What do we usually do? What is our task?)

Goals (What do we want to obtain?)

Norms and values (What is good/bad, permitted/prohibited for us?)

Group relations (Who are our allies and opponents?)

Resources (What is the basis of our power, or our lack of power?)

To begin, ideologies must be defined as types of social cognition, that is, in psychological terms. In current cognitive science, the nebulous concept of "ideas" is frequently analyzed in terms of beliefs and belief systems, which are stored in "semantic" long-term memory as precise mental representations. Although ideologies are belief systems and hence cognitive constructs, this does not negate their social nature. Rather than that, they are socially shared among members of a collectivity and are founded on and produced as a result of social interaction in social situations that are part of social structures. This is the historical process through which ideologies are established for the group as a whole (van Dijk, 2011).

However, van Dijk (2006) states that the premise about ideologies being structured does not imply that they are coherent in any manner. They are socio-psychological systems, not rational ones. Thus, they may be diverse or inconsistent, particularly during their first, more or less spontaneous stages, even

though various ideologues (authors, leaders, instructors, and preachers, for example) may attempt to increase coherence through explicit manifestos, catechisms, and theories. Thus, while ideologies may organize other social beliefs held by communities, this does not guarantee that these other social beliefs are coherent, as demonstrated by the well-known racist beliefs that immigrants are lazy and unwilling to work while simultaneously taking our jobs. Additionally, it is known that individuals employ a variety of tactics to reconcile or ignore contradictions between their ideological beliefs and the "facts" with which they are presented.

2.4.2 Implicit Ideologies

Propositional connections, such as implication, entailment, and presupposition, are another ideologically significant characteristic of meaning. Thus, overtly declared information may stress negative features of outgroups or positive properties of ingroups, but implied or presumed meanings may do the opposite. The well-known ideological function of concealing "real" social or political facts or conditions may be linguistically handled in a variety of ways through the use of implicit information. This also demonstrates the critical distinction between mental models (beliefs) and discourse meanings, despite the fact that we frequently infer what people 'really mean' when they say something. This also demonstrates the critical distinction between mental models (beliefs) and discourse meanings, even though we frequently infer what people "really mean" (their models) when they talk. Similarly, acts or occurrences can be described in minute detail or at a higher degree of abstraction. Such variation may also be used to convey ideological perspectives; after all, who has an interest in knowing or hiding such facts regarding social events? (van Dijk, 1998)

Within this broad framework, van Dijk (1995) states that a sound theory of ideology makes clear, among other things, the following:

- how ideologies, considered as fundamental systems of social cognition, really appear'

- what constitutes their basic parts;

- how they are internally organized;

- how they affect other aspects of social cognition such as shared knowledge and group attitudes;

- What sociocultural factors result in the acquisition or modification of ideologies;

- what social, cultural and political functions these ideologies have;

- Finally, how ideologies are really 'used,' that is,

  ➢ how they are performed in discourse and other social practices,

  ➢ how they are communicated among group members,

  ➢ how they are altered, and

  ➢ how they are reproduced as a core socio-cognitive property of a social group (van Dijk, 2000).

In summary, semantics is a fertile arena of ideological "labor" in discourse, and practically all meaning structures are capable of "signifying" social positions, group perspectives, and interests when used to describe events, persons, and actions. Obviously, people do not always express everything they know or believe, either because it is irrelevant in the current situation, because the recipients may already know or believe many of these things, or because they do not want the recipients to know what they know or believe for whatever reason. These restrictions are contextual, and as such, they are given by the pragmatic module and the context model information (the representation of what the speaker believes about the beliefs of the recipient). In general, only a small amount of contextually relevant information from event models will be used to construct discourse meaning. Other information may be kept implicit or may be signalled through proper discourse structures, allowing receivers to infer it as needed or desired. Obviously, the more people who share pre-existing beliefs, the more likely it is that discourse will leave implicit meaning (expressing such beliefs) (van Dijk, 1998).

Speakers do not need to state everything they know or believe for a variety of "pragmatic" (contextual) reasons. Indeed, a substantial portion of discourse is implicit, and this implicit information may be inferred by recipients based on shared knowledge or attitudes and thus constructed as part of their mental models of the event or action represented in the discourse. Apart from this overarching cognitive-pragmatic rule of implicitness (do not express information that recipients already possess or can easily infer), there are additional interactional, socio-political, and cultural constraints on implicitness, such as those governed by politeness, face keeping, or cultural norms or propriety. Implicitness is frequently employed in immigration arguments to communicate notions that would be viewed as biased or racist if spoken explicitly. Alternatively, information may be left implicit since it conflicts with the overarching aim of positive self-presentation. Thus, negative aspects regarding ingroup action frequently remain implicit (van Dijk, 2000).

Furthermore, according to van Dijk (1998), the well-known semantic qualities of implicitness and explicitness in discourse are simply described in terms of mental models: implicit information is information about a mental model that might have been included or should have been included in the semantic representation of a discourse. As with the amount of specificity and the relative incompleteness or fullness of descriptions, it may more broadly be asserted that propositions may be made explicit or left implicit depending on the speakers' objectives as group members. Apart from pertinent components of actions, this is frequently the case in the expression of conditions (causes) and consequences of events, as evidenced by the frequent omission of ethnic conflict causes that reflect negatively on our ingroup (e.g., police brutality, inner city neglect, poverty, unemployment, or employer discrimination). On the other hand, ideologically blaming the victim in this instance implies that the outgroup's bad characteristics (e.g., drug misuse, cultural deviance) will be made explicit. The study of ethnic media representation frequently revealed ideological characteristics such as semantic implicitness or explicitness.

Between the presence and lack of information is a stage in which statements are not explicitly conveyed in discourse but are inferred from other explicitly expressed propositions. The usual semantic linkages of implication and presupposition are involved here, and both entail conclusions based on models and social knowledge. The ideological purpose of such semantic linkages is not always obvious. As with the ideological square, it can be inferred that implicit information is not openly claimed and thus not emphasized, and that information in general must be suppressed in the speaker's and ingroup's interests. This is particularly true when the indicated information cannot be easily derived from socially shared knowledge. When such implied information is required to determine whether a text's propositions are true or false, presuppositions are used, and these may serve the same ideological function: information is assumed to be "given" or "true" and is thus presupposed by the discourse, but it is quite possible that the presupposed information is dubious or false. That is, it is impliedly declared to be true in this case, but without emphasizing the "assertion." Following the ideological square's tactics, it's straightforward to choose which information regarding ingroups and outgroups will normally be stated and which will be left implicit (Ibid).

It was discovered that the overarching ideological, group-based principle at work here is that information that is favourable to or about one's own group or unfavourable to the outgroup will tend to be topical, significant, and explicit. Information that paints a negative picture of ourselves (or the Others) will most likely remain un-topicalized, buried, ambiguous, and sparsely described (van Dijk, 2005).

In summary, according to van Dijk 1998, speakers use lexical and grammatical style to communicate or discreetly signal their ideological opinions about events, persons, and participants. The same is true for syntactic structures and their variants. Sentences may be articulated in the active or passive voice, and the agents and patients of the acts described in such sentences may be made more or less explicit, as is the case with nominalizations. More broadly, word order,

phrase structure, and clause relations all have the potential to place information in more or less prominent positions, which has a subtle influence on processing and model construction. According to the ideological square, outgroup members' positive action roles will be relegated to a lesser prominence or position, and vice versa for their negative action roles (and conversely for the positive and negative roles for ingroup members). The idea that minor sound fluctuations can directly code for underlying opinions in event and context models, i.e. without explicit semantic articulation, is especially useful for ideological analysis. As a result of ideological beliefs, admiration, praise, derogation, blame, and a variety of other discourse functions may be signaled implicitly – and thus deniably. Thus, sound structures of talk with or among women and men, whites and blacks, superiors and subordinates, and generally ingroup and outgroup members can reveal, emphasize, conceal, or persuasively convey ideologically motivated opinions about events or participants in the context.

2.5 Political Discourse and Ideology

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, among the genres that fall under the umbrella of politics are government deliberations, parliamentary debates, party programs, and politician speeches.

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 discourse belongs in other social realms. On the other hand, a law addressing education policy is a type of political discourse, even if it has had or wants to have an 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).

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).

Their subjects might be on almost any social issue that politicians find intriguing and relevant to discuss. The sole (loose) constraint would be that the themes generally concern occurrences in the public domain, particularly those that necessitate collective decision-making, policies, regulation, or legislation; perhaps their lexical choices, for example, or their style; as with any other type of institutional discourse, there is frequently a general formality limitation. There are few terms used exclusively by politicians, yet certain jargon shared by politicians and bureaucrats may exist (ministries, government agencies, etc.); for example, in parliamentary debates, there are a few ceremonial formulations for addressing or speaking about other MPs, as well as addressing the chair, although they cannot constitute the genre on their own.

What is the debate's overarching structure or format? Politicians following their own interactional and argumentational categories and rules would be shocking. As a result, a parliamentary discussion is similar to any other debate, such as those held at large firms' annual stockholders' meetings. The chair follows a precise time schedule and assigns turns, much as in other institutional or organizational meetings (van Dijk, 2003).

Many additional aspects of political discourse are clearly described in terms of contextual — rather than 'textual' — categories, such as:

(a) The global domain: politics

(b) The global act(s) being implemented: legislation, policy mailing, etc.

(c) The global setting (House of Parliament, session of parliament, etc.)

(d) The local political acts being accomplished: Tabling a motion, `doing' opposition, etc.

(e) The political roles of the participants: MP, representative, party member, member of the opposition, etc.

(f) The political cognitions of the participants: Political beliefs and ideologies; aims and objectives, etc., these (and additional) categories constitute a schema that determines the structure of the communicative events represented by participants in their context models. To put it another way, the political nature of debates, speeches, meetings, campaigns, advertisements, and so on is determined by the environment, rather than the structural aspects of the subject itself. (Ibid)

In addition, Harrison and Boyd (2003) state that political discourse is propelled forward by ideology. Politics may be described as the collision of ideas disguised as conflicts of interests. Although ideological discussion was a significant component of political life prior to the twentieth century, it affected politics in ways that were unprecedented in earlier centuries. To begin, governments and politicians look for explicit ideological explanations for their actions and make purposeful efforts to implement policies that advance an ideological goal. Furthermore, contemporary communications technology has expanded the scope of ideological discussion and rivalry. Additionally,

contemporary regimes bolster their authority by influencing public opinion along ideological lines, appealing to values shared by citizens and rulers alike. Thirdly, the influence of actual public opinion (developed as a consequence of individuals' own experiences) on policymaking is diminished. Ideological spin doctors manipulate public opinion to such an extent that little ideological debate occurs outside of the political elites. Finally, in liberal societies, segments of the intellectual class accept the ideologies and stances of extremist political parties, providing political and economic elites with potent ideological instruments for manipulating the public. They further explain that, regardless of the political system, political ideology is more inextricably tied to state authority than it has ever been. The twentieth century, and there is little reason to believe that the twenty-first will be any different, was one of ideological deception, exaggeration, and simplicity. Ideologies have frequently masqueraded as "political religions," claiming to be the only vehicles for "truth" and pursuing some type of human perfection, such as the abolition of all social conflicts. This brand of ideological politics appears to be a natural outcome of the mobilization of millions of people in a vast democracy.

It is stated that if there is one area of society where ideologies abound, it is politics. Indeed, the conventional definition of ideology frequently refers to political ideologies such as socialism, communism, (neo-)liberalism, and, more recently, green politics. van Dijk's definition of ideology is broader, and so it is reasonable to suppose that in addition to these political ideologies, additional ideologies such as ecological, feminist, or racial ideologies may be articulated in political discourse. Given that ideologies are defined in terms of fundamental beliefs shared by members of groups, political discourse serves as the arena in which politicians enact their multiple ideological identities: they speak as politicians but also as conservatives or liberals, men or women, feminists or antifeminists, racists or anti-racists, and so on.

Indeed, one of the reasons contemporary political science has frequently been hesitant to accept the concept of ideology is that social actors may have

unique mixtures of ideologies in their actual discourse or social practices. That is, an MP might be economically neo-liberal, radically progressive on social matters like abortion or minority rights, and still be a devout nationalist. Alternatively, she may be a feminist while opposing liberal abortion legislation, and so forth. People have thought that one or more underlying ideologies control political discourse and its properties, possibly through specific social attitudes on the one hand, more personal mental models of concrete events on the other, and context models of the communicative situation on the third (van Dijk, 2003).

Furthermore, the relationship between discourse and political ideologies is frequently studied in terms of political discourse structures, such as the use of biased lexical items, syntactic structures such as actives and passives, pronouns such as US and THEM, metaphors or topoi, arguments, and numerous other discourse properties. However, it should be highlighted that discourse should be conceptualized in terms of its contextual structures as well. It is insufficient to note, for example, how frequently the well-known political pronoun ("we") appears in political discourse. It is critical to connect such use to specific features of the political situation, such as who is speaking, when, where, and with or to whom. Due to the fact that such political situations do not simply force political actors to speak in this manner, a cognitive interface between the political situation and talk or text, i.e., a mental model of the political situation, is once again required. These mental models determine how people experience, evaluate, and portray the political situation that is significant to them (Gumperz, 1982).

While text or talk demonstrates ideologies discursively, it is individuals, politicians, or protestors that own ideologies—not only in this social practice or discourse but generally in others as well. The information included in the many categories of the pragmatic context model—for example, who is involved in the communicative situation—first and foremost governs the speech acts and other present situational acts. Thus, the present utterance may be seen as either a political promise or a threat, depending on the participants' power or relationships, their political position (government or opposition, my party or your party), and

their intents to assist or damage the receiver. Second, pragmatic context models exert control over the material that is included in the semantic mental model that (inter)subjectively determines what participants discuss, such as the Iraq war. Thus, an MP or minister speaking to his or her peers in parliament will express and imply quite different information than a politician delivering a speech or doing an interview. Thirdly, context models influence all aspects of political discourse's style, including lexical choice, pronoun use, syntactic structure, and other grammatical choices that are contingent on the way situations are characterized. Thus, the lexical and syntactic style of a legislative discussion will be significantly more formal than that of an informal party gathering or a propaganda pamphlet (van Dijk, 2006).

Contexts refer to these particular mental models. In other words, contexts are participant-created subjective descriptions of communicative situations. They exert complete control over the production and comprehension of discourse. Thus, political discourse is characterized not only in terms of discursive structures but also in terms of political contexts. Thus, acting as a Member of Parliament, Prime Minister, party leader, or demonstrator will generally be viewed as a politically significant context category in political discourse by speakers or recipients, but being a dentist or a doorkeeper will be considerably less so. Similarly, political contexts can be determined by special settings, such as parliamentary buildings, or by specific events, such as debates or meetings, which are frequently timed precisely, as is the case with parliamentary debates. Furthermore, political discourses and their structures can perform political functions only when they are used to carry out political acts or processes, such as governing, legislating, or forming opposition, and when they are used to accomplish very specific political aims, such as defending or defeating a bill or winning an election. Finally, political actors do not just react to political situations blindly; they possess political knowledge and share political norms and values, as well as political ideologies. Indeed, it is through this method of contextualization that one is able to connect the participants' ideologies to their discourses (Gumperz, 1982).

Finally, context models shape the overall format or schema of political discourse, such as the formal turn-taking organization, the opening and closing of a parliamentary debate, the conversational structure of a political interview, the overall organization of a party program, or the layout of a political advertisement in a magazine or on a billboard. For example, in the British House of Commons, only the Speaker has the authority to begin and close parliamentary sessions and debates, distribute turns, and determine whether interruptions or questions are permitted, among other things. So, the rules and structures of parliamentary interaction, as well as the people who take part in it, are inextricably linked to the way MPs talk about things in debates (van Dijk, 2006).

Ideologies can exist explicitly and/or implicitly in discourses; it has been established that CDA has the legitimacy to interpret implicit ideologies, though explicit ideologies would be clearly described. However, there are differing perspectives on CDA's potential to reveal implicit ideologies. Understanding the kinds of connections that exist between ideologies and discourses, as well as the reasons for using ideologies (especially implicit ones) in the first place can open up new avenues for evaluating these discourses.

2.6 Previous Works

Following a review of the core principles of ideology and discourse, as well as the socio-cognitive devices used in political speeches, numerous illustrative studies demonstrating how ideology may be explored on a variety of levels are offered and also 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 Purvis and Hunt (1993) in an article 'Discourse, ideology, discourse, ideology, discourse, ideology' put that modern social theory is replete with references to "discourse" and "ideology." Occasionally, the two notions are employed interchangeably, while on other occasions, they are inverted. This study aimed to explain the role that these notions have in modern disputes. It presented

a retrieval exercise that reveals the two core concepts create unique theoretical traditions that, while distinguishable, may both be utilized effectively.

In addition, Määttä (2014) in an article entitled 'Discourse and ideology –why do we need both' considered speech and ideology as contentious notions. He reviewed some of the ways they have been utilized in French discourse and CDA. He examined the development of ideas is occurring pertaining to operational notions, essences, and the truth.

Moreover, in a dissertation entitled "Ideology, Media and Conflict in Political Discourse and Its Translation During the Arab Spring: Syria as a Case Study" Omer (2016) tackled "the relationship between a number of issues in relation to ideology, media, political discourse, language, and translation". As a theoretical framework, CDA and narrative theory were utilized. In order to analyze the data circulating on the Arab Spring, it was also intended to identify common political instruments and methods utilized in political discourse creation and media discourse. The researcher aimed to determine "the ideological impact of both the translator and the patron on the outcome of the translation process".

Pihlaja and Musolff (2017) in an article entitled 'Discourse and Ideology' focused on the manifestation of ideology in social media interaction, both in explicit contestation and in implicit frameworks. Likewise, Al Rawi (2017) in an article under the title of "The Validity Of CDAAs A Means Of "Uncovering" The Ideologies Implicit In Discourse" Several perspectives on the appropriateness of CDA as a method to exposing ideologies were examined, and instances of hegemony and the link among both CDA as well as language cognition were offered. However, exploring the link between the structure of ideology and the structure of discourse according to a socio-cognitive approach has not been thoroughly researched. Thus, the present study tries to investigate this link through discussing a number of views and providing several examples.

One of the studies was conducted 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

adopting 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 et al (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.

The current study is distinct from the others in that it takes a socio-cognitive approach and focuses on the implicit ideologies rather than the explicit ones. Ideologies are influenced by social and cognitive systems, and implicit ideologies are communicated through cognitive processes. Different discursive techniques are used to impart explicit and implicit beliefs in different ways. Implicit ideologies are communicated by politicians to portray the ingroup positively and

the outgroup negatively. Given that the research includes the speeches of both male and female politicians, it demonstrates how both use discursive strategies in various ways. Females employed some discursive strategies more frequently than the males, whereas others were used less frequently. In order to convey their ideology, the females employed discursive techniques such as actor description, metaphor, populism, and generalization more often than the other techniques. They also gave instances of their ideas in order to convince the audience to support them. They regularly used the illustration/example category in their presentations as a result. In order to influence the audience, some politicians use positive self-representation more frequently than negative other-representation, while others use negative other-representation more frequently than positive self-representation.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This chapter is mostly dedicated to presenting the model of analysis adopted in this study. To analyse the selected data, the researcher starts by proposing the adopted model in the present study based on classifications and taxonomies developed by van Dijk (2005). Furthermore, the method of analysis is presented in detail to show the steps followed in the analysis of the selected data. The last section explains the kind of data and the number of texts selected and how and where the data for analysis is obtained.

3.1 Model of Analysis

The study examines implicit ideologies in political speeches according to the socio-cognitive approach presented by van Dijk (2005) which involves cognition, social psychology, sociology, and discourse analysis. Implicit ideology is defined as an "automatic, implicit and unintentional mental process" that reveals the cognitive dispositions of speakers or writers, namely their unconscious and reflexive ideological beliefs. The cognitive definition of ideology is offered in terms of the social cognitions held by group members. The social component reveals who is engaged in the development and reproduction of ideologies, as well as the types of groups, relationships between groups, and institutions. The discourse component of ideologies describes how ideologies impact one's daily texts and talks, how one interprets ideological discourse, and how discourse contributes to the reproduction of ideology in society.

The socio-cognitive model of CDA is proposed by van Dijk. 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.

van Dijk's (2005) political discourse analysis model looks to be a comprehensive analytical tool for identifying ideological disagreement in political speech (van Dijk, 2005). He provides the following summary.

- **Emphasize "Our" good things.**

- **Emphasize "Their" bad things.**

- **De-emphasize "Our" bad things.**

- **De-emphasize "Their" good things.**

These four concepts play a crucial part in the context-based strategy of "positive self-representation and negative other-representation." Self-representation disputes the individual's behaviour as a member of a group while firmly transmitting several ideological views; positive self-rerepresentation highlights individuals' good behavior, such as speaking nice things about Us and bad things about Them. This positive posture is an abstract representation of group conflicts, and when the interaction pattern fights with other groups, it serves as a symbol for group conflicts (van Dijk, 2000).

Both the self-positive or in-group preference representation and the negative other representation are semantic macro strategies. In addition to this macro-semantic ideological square, various micro-structure qualities such as syntax, lexical items, and discursive devices can be employed to embed the positive ideology in the public's head (van Dijk, 2002, 2005). In this way, van

Dijk identifies specific instances of ideology in discourse by specifying various degrees of analysis (syntax, semantics, lexicon, context, etc.). van Dijk (2005) employed 25 discursive devices that, in Dijk's words, are broad techniques of ideological discourse production and a convenient identification or recognition procedure for ideological analysis of political discourse.

According to van Dijk (2005), these 25 discursive devices are: Actor description (meaning), authority (argumentation), burden (topos), categorization (meaning), comparison (meaning, argumentation), consensus (political strategy), counterfactuals (meaning, argumentation), disclaimers (meaning), euphemism (rhetoric, meaning), evidentiality (meaning, argumentation), example/illustration (argumentation), generalization (meaning, argumentation), hyperbole (rhetoric), implication (meaning), irony (meaning), lexicalization (style), metaphor (meaning, rhetoric), national self-glorification (meaning), norm expression (normalization), number game (rhetoric, argumentation), polarization: US-Them categorization (meaning), populism (political strategy), presupposition (meaning), vagueness (meaning), and victimization (meaning).

The following table presents the model of analysis prepared by the researcher through adopting all the analytical categories that are used to illustrate the ideological based properties of discourse structures introduced by van Dijk's (2005) socio-cognitive approach.

Table (1) The Adopted Model

Item No.	Text	Micro-level Analysis																								Macro-level Analysis	
		Actor description	Authority	Burden	Categorization	Comparison	Consensus	Counterfactuals	Disclaimers	Euphemism	Evidentiality	Illustration	Generalization	Hyperbole	Implication	Irony	Lexicalization	Metaphor	National Self-glorification	Norm expression	Number game	Polarization	Populism	presupposition	Vagueness	Victimization	Positive Self-representation	Negative Other - representation

3.1.1 Micro-level Analysis

1. **Actor Description (meaning)**

   This category presents information about a place, person, and thing, or the roles they play in a particular situation. Thus, actors are described by their first or family name, or they are described as members of a group to show the ideology of positive self-presentation and negative other representation. Never being neutral, descriptions serve semantic, rhetorical, and argumentative purposes in the articulation of thoughts and positions about the legality of a phenomenon.

2. **Authority (Argumentation)**

   Authority is a category that describes a speaker's knowledge of a subject or topic using data or evidence supplied by authorities to present their beliefs, opinions, or claims in a way that gauges the reactions of the audience. The term "authority" also refers to the use of deductive or cognitive thinking (logic) by discourse makers to convince the audiences. Many speakers use the trap of citing authority in their arguments, especially those authorities who are widely acknowledged as specialists or spiritual influencers.

3. **Burden (topos)**

   This category highlights a group's financial or human loss to affect the audience's emotions. Additionally, in politics, it is used to grab the audience's attention and win over the public. It contains presumptions that are assumed to be true, personal, and adequate grounds for accepting a given conclusion.

4. **Categorization (meaning)**

   This category attempts to group the people that are being talked about into different types or classes such as immigrants, economic immigrants, and genuine immigrants. Human behaviour has shown us that individuals often label others. When groups have been identified and classified using

different phrases or labels, they may be given favourable or undesirable traits.

5. **Comparison (meaning, argumentation)**

This category represents a direct comparison between two groups which are usually classified into ingroups and outgroups. Such comparisons often suggest the outgroup's low score on the comparison's standards. The category is used to compare the positive characteristics of ingroups with the negative characteristics of outgroups. It may also be used to draw a comparison between the conditions of the groups in the present and the past.

6. **Consensus (political strategy)**

Consensus is used to demonstrate two parties' agreement against a danger. Consensus is often employed by politicians to seek unity with other parties engaged in a disagreement so that they agree on an arrangement. One of the political methods that is often used in discussions on topics of national significance is creating a desire for consensus.

7. **Counterfactuals (meaning, argumentation)**

This category implies circumstances beyond the facts. Counterfactuals are significant in political discussions and demonstrate what would occur if an action is not taken or a strategy or legislation is not devised.

8. **Disclaimers (meaning)**

It is a category used to unite dissimilar concepts. It is used to illustrate the positive and negative features of a subject. Disclaimers are a common combination of the ideologically motivated techniques of positive self-representation and negative other-representation.

9. **Euphemism (rhetoric, meaning)**

Euphemism is one of the most common methods employed in political speeches. It is employed when a politician discusses both the positive and negative characteristics of the outgroup and the ingroup. It is a well-known

tactic politicians use to make their ideologies and speeches more acceptable by their audience.

10. **Evidentiality (meaning, argumentation)**

Evidentiality refers to the fact that when discourse producers express their beliefs about something, their speech will be more reliable if it is accompanied by some evidence or proof. Each society has its own standards for determining excellent or poor evidence. Information politics may need a variety of sorts of evidence such as "I've seen it with my eyes", "I've seen it on TV" or "I read it in the newspaper" or it may refer to the authority figures or institutions. Thus, it shows the source of a speaker's information.

11. **Example/ Illustration (argumentation)**

Examples are used to back up one's opinions to persuade their audience. In addition to being clearly imagined and more recalled, tangible examples may also offer compelling types of factual evidence. Specific examples make speeches more colourful. Sometimes specific examples are given by politicians to imply specific ideologies.

12. **Generalization (meaning, argumentation)**

This category enables us to understand how information is generalized especially when it underlines the good deeds of the ingroup. It is usually expressed by using the pronoun "we". And as stated by van Dijk (2005), it highlights how a speech may convey the cognitive relationship between more specific examples. This is represented in mental models and more generic beliefs, such as social attitudes or ideologies.

13. **Hyperbole (rhetoric)**

In political speech, hyperbole is the deliberate use of exaggerated language to emphasize positive self-representation and negative other-representation (van Dijk, 2005).

14. **Implication (meaning)**

Implication shows the inferred meaning of a political speech's statement. The speaker keeps the meaning of his speech implicit while speaking, especially when he does not want to make a negative remark about the ingroup knowing that his utterance does not conform to their standards.

15. **Irony (meaning)**

Irony refers to a situation in which the speaker uses irony yet intends the opposite of what he or she says. As van Dijk (2005) asserts, when complaints are not conveyed directly but rather in ostensibly softer expressions of irony, they may be more powerful.

16. **Lexicalization (style)**

This is a device that is used most frequently in political speeches. It indicates the use of semantic properties of words to show or characterize something or someone in a positive or negative way. Using more Lexicalization in discourse is a reference to using a variety of lexical styles; political speakers typically utilize Lexicalization to convey their unique opinions to their listeners (Nasih and Abboud, 2020). Sometimes a negative term or informal expression is used to suggest the negative-other presentation ideology.

17. **Metaphor (meaning, rhetoric)**

Metaphor is a technique used by discourse producers to familiarize unknown words, expressions or concepts. van Dijk (2000) states that the majority of metaphors are negative and thus adhere to the negative other-description method. This is particularly true when metaphors transcend concrete means of insult.

18. **National self-glorification (meaning)**

The vast majority of politicians who talk nowadays use this strategy. It refers to giving an account of the history of a nation or country, as well as its values, and principles. It is almost always used to promote a nationalist ideology.

19. **Norm expression (normalization)**

These are remarks that are often made towards the conclusion of political speeches. To have a powerful impact on the audience, speaker gives advice to the audience about what they should do and what they should avoid. It allows them to make a positive presentation of themselves.

20. **Number game (rhetoric, argumentation)**

Number game refers to the use of numbers or statistics by the speaker to enhance his opinions and views. It represents truth to raise the legitimacy and authenticity of the statements of opinions.

21. **Polarization: *US-Them* categorization (meaning)**

Polarization is a discursive method that helps to classify individuals as belonging to either an in-group or an out-group, which then allows for the construction of positive and negative representations of the in-group and the out-group, accordingly (Shakoury and Makarova, 2021). Comparing the good characteristics of an ingroup with the negative characteristics of an outgroup divides individuals into two camps: "US" and "Them."

22. **Populism (political strategy)**

Populism is a device of discourse that the person who makes the discourse uses to refer to individuals in general. It can be expressed in different ways including "people," "all those," or "everyone."

23. **Presupposition (meaning)**

In this category, the speaker makes an assumption about something, yet they are unsure as to whether or not the assumption is accurate. van Dijk (2003) claims that a special sort of semantic implication is presupposition, which is true regardless of the truth or falsity of the present statement. Thus, it is possible to express propositions whose veracity is assumed and uncontested.

24. **Vagueness (meaning)**

Vagueness is a discursive device that is used by political speakers to refer to statements which their referents are not clearly defined. This can be represented by quantifiers such as "some, few, a lot of, …" or They may

rely on the recognitional usage of demonstratives to present them as vague terms with undefined referents.

25. **Victimization (meaning)**

Victimization is a category in which the speaker portrays the members of the ingroup as helpless victims brought on by the actions of the members of the outgroup.

3.1.1 Macro-level Analysis

The macro-level includes the positive self-representation and the negative-other representation strategies which are expressed by politicians implicitly or explicitly using micro level devices.

1. **Positive Self-representation**

This is a strategy which emphasizes the positive aspects, characteristics, and acts of the ingroup. van Dijk (2003) states that positive self-representation is essentially ideological because they are based on the positive self-schema that defines the ideology of a group.

2. **Negative-Other representation**

This is an ideological strategy which emphasizes the negative and undesirable actions of the outgroup and de-emphasizes their positive deeds. It is expressed through many discursive devices.

3. 2 Method of Analysis

The current study seeks to analyze 20 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 implicit ideologies.

The analysis seeks two levels: micro and macro. At the micro level, the analysis is carried out based on van Dijk's twenty-five discursive devices which are: Actor description, authority, burden, categorization, comparison, consensus, counterfactuals, disclaimers, euphemism, evidentiality, example/illustration, generalization, hyperbole, implication, irony, lexicalization, metaphor, national

self-glorification, norm expression, number game, polarization: US-Them categorization, populism, presupposition, vagueness, and victimization. At the macro level, two categories are sought: either positive self-representation or negative-other representation.

For the purpose of data analysis, the 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 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, beginning with (1) and ending with (608). In addition, the chosen lines in each model statement identify the discursive device that these lines include. Due to the large number of devices and lack of space, the entire remarks could not be included in the model; nevertheless, all statements and speeches are included with their corresponding numbers in the appendix section at the end of the study.

3.3 Data for Analysis

The majority of the data for the analysis of this research comes from online sites. This research analyses 20 randomly chosen online political speeches for their underlying ideologies using the socio-cognitive approach, which are:

- President Biden's speech at 9/11 Memorial Ceremony. September 11, 2022. The Pentagon/ Arlington/ Virginia.

- Joe Biden's Speech at January 7, 2022 on the December job reports 2021. The White house.

- Jill Biden's speech on international women's day. March 8, 2022. The White house.

- In the event of a Democratic presidential candidacy, Jill Biden's DNC address on September 11, 2020, during the Democratic National Convention.

- Boris Johnson's speech on his resignation as a prime minister. July 7, 2022, in 10 Downing street/ London.

- Boris Johnson's final speech as prime minister. September 6, 2022 on the steps of Downing street.

- Liz Truss's speech on being the new prime minister. September 6, 2022 on the steps of Downing street.

- Prime Minister Liz Truss'e speech on the death of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II. September 8, 2022 in 10 Downing street.

- Donald Trump posted a video on Twitter on October 7, 2020 where he said contracting COVID-19 was a "blessing from God."

- Donald Trump's final speech as president January 20, 2021 at Joint Base Andrews, Maryland.

- UN envoy for Iraq Jeanine Hennis-Plasschaert's speech at a special ceremony on July 30, 2022 for the return of the bodies of 100 Barzani genocide victims. Erbil/ Kurdistan/ Iraq.

- Jeanine Hennis-Plasschaert's speech on women journalists at Shifa Gardi International Award ceremony/ Erbil. 22-02-2020

- Justin Trudeau's speech on Toronto-bound flight PS752 memorial/ January 8, 2022/ Toronto, Canada.

- Justin Trudeau's victory speech in Montreal, Quebec, Canada, September 21, 2021.

- Speech by Chancellor Angela Merkel at the opening of the international conference in Bonn. December 5, 2011.

- Speech by Chancellor Angela Merkel at the military tattoo given in her honour in Berlin on December 2, 2021.

- King Charles III delivered his first address as sovereign Friday, after the death of his mother, Queen Elizabeth II. September 9, 2022. London.

- King Charles III's first address at Parliament since becoming Britain's new monarch after the death of his mother, Queen Elizabeth II. September 12, 2022. London
- Michelle Obama's speech US election campaign. October 14, 2016. Manchester, New Hampshire.
- Michelle Obama's speech from the 2020 Democratic National Convention. August 18, 2020.

The findings will then be examined critically from a socio-cognitive perspective.

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA ANALYSIS

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

The analysis will start by identifying categories of discursive devices at the micro-level Actor description, authority, burden, categorization, comparison, consensus, counterfactuals, disclaimers, euphemism, evidentiality, example/illustration, generalization, hyperbole, implication, irony, lexicalization, metaphor, national self-glorification, norm expression, number game, polarization: US-THEM categorization, populism, presupposition, vagueness, and victimization while at the macro-level, the two categories of Positive Self-representation and Negative Other-representation will be identified.

Following each table there are two sections to discuss the categories of discursive devices used and their implication. The first section will be about the micro-level while the other section is devoted to the categories of the macro-level.

4.1 Analysis of Joe Biden's Speech September 11, 2022

Table (2) Analysis of Joe Biden's Speech September 11, 2022

Item No.	Text 1	Actor description	Authority	Burden	Categorization	Comparison	Consensus	Counterfactuals	Disclaimers	Euphemism	Evidentiality	Illustration / example	Generalization	Hyperbole	Implication	Irony	Lexicalization	Metaphor	National self-glorification	Norm expression	Number game	Polarization	Populism	presupposition	Vagueness	Victimization	Positive Self-representation	Negative Other - representation
																			Micro-level Analysis								Macro-level Analysis	
1	…to all the families and loved ones …			*																								*
2	Twenty-one years ago …																									*	*	
3	..where my wife is …	*																									*	
4	And I know, for all those of you …		*																								*	
5	but they can also open up …								*																			
6	they could have done if …							*																				*
7	Grief is the price we pay for love…																	*										
8	Many of us have experienced …														*												*	
9	Jill and I are holding all of …		*																								*	
10	Terror struck us on that brilliant …	*																									*	
11	The American story…	*																	*								*	
12	In the crucible of 9/11, in the days …																		*								*	

Item No.	Text 1	Actor description	Authority	Burden	Categorization	Comparison	Consensus	Counterfactuals	Disclaimers	Euphemism	Evidentiality	Illustration / example	Generalization	Hyperbole	Implication	Irony	Lexicalization	Metaphor	National self-glorification	Norm expression	Number game	Polarization	Populism	presupposition	Vagueness	Victimization	Positive Self-representation	Negative Other - representation
																			Micro-level Analysis								**Macro-level Analysis**	
13	We saw it in the police …																		*								*	
14	We learned about the extraordinary..																		*								*	
15	And here at the Pentagon …					*																						
16	.. I remember. I was a U.S. senator..										*																*	
17	They were heroes..	*																									*	
18	..to the gates of hell..									*																		*
19	.. the greatest fighting force..													*													*	
20	hundreds of thousands..																				*							
21	And to all our service members..												*															
22	but will never fail ..								*																			
23	Through all that has changed …																					*					*	
24	It took 10 years ..								*			*																

Item No.	Text 1	Micro-level Analysis																									Macro-level Analysis	
		Actor description	Authority	Burden	Categorization	Comparison	Consensus	Counterfactuals	Disclaimers	Euphemism	Evidentiality	Illustration / example	Generalization	Hyperbole	Implication	Irony	Lexicalization	Metaphor	National self-glorification	Norm expression	Number game	Polarization	Populism	presupposition	Vagueness	Victimization	Positive Self-representation	Negative Other-representation
25	I authorized a successful …		*																*								*	
26	threaten the American people ..																						*					
27	And 20 years after Afghanistan…																							*				
28	Our intelligence and defense…														*												*	
29	We'll continue to monitor …																			*							*	
30	What was destroyed, we …				*																							*
31	.. think about all those …												*															*
32	Ordinary Americans responding …				*																							
33	.. the midst of these dark days …																*											*
34	… a true sense of national unity.																		*								*	
35	.. we also had to face …																			*							*	
36	not only a nation … the most unique nation …													*					*								*	

Item No.	Text 1	Micro-level Analysis																									Macro-level Analysis	
		Actor description	Authority	Burden	Categorization	Comparison	Consensus	Counterfactuals	Disclaimers	Euphemism	Evidentiality	Illustration / example	Generalization	Hyperbole	Implication	Irony	Lexicalization	Metaphor	National self-glorification	Norm expression	Number game	Polarization	Populism	presupposition	Vagueness	Victimization	Positive Self-representation	Negative Other - representation
37	We don't always live up to it …								*																			
38	… and our people.																						*					
39	… on behalf of all those we lost …			*																								*
40	That's a job for all… …two decades ago									*											*							
41	We have an obligation …																			*								
42	We the People …																						*					
43	every now and … ..we have to do..																			*					*			
44	a day not only to remember but…									*																		*
45	We'll secure our democracy …						*																	*			*	

4.1.1 Micro-Level Analysis of Biden's Speech September 11, 2022

As shown in Table (2), Joe Biden's speech begins by affecting the audience's emotions by speaking about the individual losses in the 9/11 event. He uses the **burden** category, as in the utterance (1), to denote the victimization of a group via the loss of human life. Biden used burden in his speech to demonstrate his sombre memorial ceremony and to remember those who died on September 11.

He also uses the **victimization** category in utterance (2) when referring to the people who have been lost and saying that their precious lives have been taken from them in order to represent members of the ingroup as victims who have been victimized by members of the outgroup in order to show a negative other presentation.

Since this category may be used to describe a person, place, entity, or object, Biden introduces and describes the location "Pennsylvania" by using the category **actor description** in (3). In utterance (4), the **authority** category, which indicates the speaker's understanding of a topic, is utilized. Biden demonstrates his authority by asserting that he has experience with how the loss of a person's life would render that person's existence pointless.

The **disclaimer** category is used by Biden in (5) to highlight both the positive and negative aspects of a topic. He makes a caveat by saying that our memories have the power to heal us but also have the power to reopen old wounds. Another category that Biden employed in his speech is **counterfactuals** in (6), which is a reference to circumstances that go beyond the facts.

When Biden remarks, "*Grief is the price we pay for love*," (7) he is using a phrase that belongs to the **metaphor** group. He also says that this is one of the words that Queen Elizabeth has used to explain her grief. In utterance (8), he says that "many of us have experienced that grief" which is an example of the **implication** category, which suggests that he himself has experienced the sadness and sorrow that come with the loss of a loved one. However, he does not explicitly

state his feelings because he does not want to make derogatory comments about himself. In (9), he uses the **authority** category to demonstrate his experience in offering condolences to people in grief. In (10) by using the **actor description** category, he describes that morning when terror struck USA.

Another area that Biden refers to in his speech is **national self-glorification** (11). Political speakers often engage in acts of national self-glorification in order to extol the virtues of their nations. **National self-glorification** is also employed in (12), when he praises the American people for being courageous and self-sacrificing in order to rescue their nation. The same applies to (13) and (14) when he praises the fire-fighters and police officers who refused to stop, as well as the passengers on Flight 93 who sacrificed themselves for the sake of other innocent people. This demonstrates the idea of nationalism.

Biden makes use of the **comparison** category in (15), which is a tool that compares the favourable qualities of the ingroup with the unfavourable qualities of the outgroup. He used it to contrast the positive actions taken by the American people with the negative actions taken by terrorists. In addition, he used the **evidentiality** category in (16), to provide proof for anything, and where he got the information. The **actor description** is also used in utterance (17), in which he praises Pentagon workers for being more dedicated than ever to ensuring the nation's safety. Biden used the **euphemism** category in (18) when he states that they will pursue them to the gates of hell. Euphemism is used by politicians to moderate their ideologies. He's using this category here because he doesn't want to say anything bad about the ingroup.

In his utterance (19), Biden uses **hyperbole**. It is the deliberate use of exaggerated language to focus on positive self-representation. When he asserts that young men and women joined the military in order to become the greatest fighting force in the world's history, he exaggerates to highlight the strengths of Americans. In (20), he utilizes the **Number Game** category to strengthen his

beliefs and attitudes against terrorism and to provide credibility to his claim that American forces are battling terrorists all over the globe.

In utterance (21): the category of **generalization** embodies to the manner in which the information is generalized. He relays the information about the heroic actions taken by the ingroup to those individuals who were killed on 11/9 in general, especially when he repeats **"***we owe you***." We** and **you** are generalized to demonstrate the heroism of their conduct and the goodness of their character. By "we," he implies that the whole world owes the American people for defending them against terrorism. In addition, he uses the **disclaimer** category in (22) when he seeks to unify divergent ideas, he says that they owe those who sacrifice a tremendous obligation, despite the fact that they will never give up in the battle against terrorism. The **polarization** category is used in utterance (23) to classify people as ingroup or outgroup members. Here, he shows the good things about the American people as an ingroup, like how they care about others, and the bad things about terrorists as an outgroup, like how they want to hurt people.

In utterance (24), he uses the **illustration/example** category to support his view on terrorism. Occasionally, individual instances are used to infer a certain ideology; he used Bin Laden as an example to convey that they would ultimately prevail, even if it took too long. In addition, it is a **disclaimer** category in which he attempts to connect two opposing notions, namely that it will take 10 years to kill Bin Laden, which is a lengthy period of time, and that he would ultimately be killed. In the **authority** category of his utterance (25), he attempts to catch the audience's attention by boasting that he led a successful strike and that he has experience doing these things and can do them effectively.

The **populism** category is used in (26) to refer to the American people in general, who cannot be scared again. The **presupposition** category is utilized in sentence (27) where he assumes another assault on the United States; however, he is uncertain as to whether or not his assumption is right, while the utterance

(28) is an **implication**, especially when he states *"counterterrorism professionals in the building behind me,"* he utters it as a threat to the terrorists and to demonstrate his power, as "behind me" implies that they are backing him.

The **norm expression** category is employed in (29) where he attempts to explain his future actions to influence the public by claiming that they would disrupt the terrorists and protect the American people. Through this, he gives a positive representation of himself. However, he utilizes the **comparison** category in (30) when he compares their acts to those of terrorists, stating that whereas terrorists destroy, they rebuild. When terrorists threaten, they reinforce...

The **generalization** category is employed in (31) when he describes the members of the ingroup as heroes who exhibit a positive self-representation by referring to *"all those heroes."* When attempting to classify American citizens as "ordinary Americans," he used the **categorization** category in (32) and the **lexicalization** category in (33) when using words such as "extraordinary" and "unexpected ways." These words have implied meanings that he does not want to state directly, so he states that they will respond in a way that nobody expects.

Additionally, Biden utilizes the **national self-glorification** category in (35) to assert that the country has a genuine feeling of national unity and has returned the light cooperatively. This indicates the nationalist ideology. In (35) he uses the **norm expression** category to define the action they should take to combat the worst impulses, fear, and violence... directed at Muslim Americans. This exemplifies humanitarianism ideology. **National self-glorification** and **hyperbole** are two categories that are used by Biden in his utterance (36) when he argues that they together protect their country and that they are the most unique nation in the world; therefore, he uses exaggerated language when praising the country's history, principles, and people. As Biden employs the disclaimer category in (37) because he combines two distinct notions, namely, that they do not live up to it and that they have never abandoned it, He wants to demonstrate that they are powerful nonetheless. He also uses **populism** in (38) when he says

that the terrorists wanted to destroy their country and people. He calls the American people "*ingroup members*" to show that he thinks they are like him.

Biden uses the **burden** category again in (39) to denote those 21 years ago, they lost a group of individuals who sacrificed their lives for the country. In utterance (40), he utilizes the **euphemism** category as he did not want to show a bad characteristic of the ingroup while remembering a group of individuals who passed away many years ago. In addition, given that he discusses what people should do to safeguard their democracy and that it is their obligation to do so, it is claimed that he is nearing the conclusion, and therefore it is a **norm expression** category. And in (42), he uses the **populism** category in that he talks about the people of the USA in general and repeats it several times to show that he is also one of those ordinary people. The **vagueness** category is one employed by political speakers when the specific referent is not clearly stated, as in Biden's utterance (43) when the phrase "every now and then" is referenced but the particular times are not specified. The **norm expression** category is also used to state that they must defend democracy every day.

Biden utilizes the **disclaimer** category in sentence (44) to link two disparate ideas: 11/9 is not just a day for remembering those who were slain on that day, but also a day of rebirth and resolution for every American. As he nears the conclusion of his speech, he uses the **presupposition** category in (45) when he presupposes that they will be capable of safeguarding their democracy and the consensus category when he asserts that the various American political parties will work together to protect the country from terrorism, since consensus is the agreement of parties against a threat; this demonstrates nationalism.

4.1.2 Macro-level Analysis of Joe Biden's Speech September 11, 2022

A- Positive Self-representation

Through reading Joe Biden's speeches, it is noticeable that he utilizes the positive self-representation strategy a lot in his speeches. He emphasized the abuse of the group of innocent American people victimized on September 11 by terrorists, American power, and hunting down all terrorists. Having read the speech, it is noticeable that he used this strategy through several discursive devices such as burden, disclaimer, actor description, national self-glorification, metaphor, hyperbole, number game, etc. However, he emphasized in his speech that a group of Americans had been victimized, and he could feel the families' anguish. He also focuses on the strength of America that terrorists cannot be broken down. He also emphasizes that their troops are serving in Iraq, Afghanistan, and many other places to attack terrorists, and they disrupt terrorists wherever they find them.

At the same time as a positive self-representation is shown when sadness is utilized as a price, i.e., since we love, we have to pay, and the pain is the payment, the negative alternative description is offered here: terrorists murdered our loved ones. Moreover, he gives a positive representation of himself when he attempts to explain his future actions to influence the public by claiming that they would disrupt the terrorists and protect the American people.

B- Negative Other-representation in Biden's Speech

This strategy can be seen in the use of ideological categories with negative connotations such as "lexicalization, burden, victimization, disclaimer,... etc." He emphasizes the bad actions and brutality of terrorists by referring to the victims of September 11 (victimization). He recognizes terrorists, namely Bin Laden and Zawahiri, as an outgroup (illustration, disclaimer).

4.2 Analysis of Joe Biden's Speech January 6, 2022

Table (3) Analysis of Joe Biden's Speech January 6, 2022

Item No.	Text 2	Actor description	Authority	Burden	Categorization	Comparison	Consensus	Counterfactuals	Disclaimers	Euphemism	Evidentiality	Illustration / example	Generalization	Hyperbole	Implication	Irony	Lexicalization	Metaphor	National self-glorification	Norm expression	Number game	Polarization	Populism	presupposition	Vagueness	Victimization	Positive Self-representation	Negative Other-representation
46	.. a godawful firestorm that …													*	*													*
47	.. fell below 4% to 3.9% …																				*						*	
48	That's the most jobs in any …		*										*														*	
49	we brought down the poverty rate…												*														*	
50	.. America's back to work …		*										*								*	*					*	
51	the Biden economic plan…																*										*	
52	Today's report … ..of America's…										*	*															*	
53	a historic high, the highest …												*														*	
54	..went up more in 2021 than any…					*																					*	
55	There's been a lot of press …																								*			
56	today's report tells …										*																*	
57	Americans are moving up …																					*						
58	That's why they're quitting…									*																		*

Item No.	Text 2	Micro-level Analysis																									Macro-level Analysis	
		Actor description	Authority	Burden	Categorization	Comparison	Consensus	Counterfactuals	Disclaimers	Euphemism	Evidentiality	Illustration / example	Generalization	Hyperbole	Implication	Irony	Lexicalization	Metaphor	National self-glorification	Norm expression	Number game	Polarization	Populism	presupposition	Vagueness	Victimization	Positive Self-representation	Negative Other-representation
59	of recovery I … ..American people																*						*	*				*
60	the people who work the hardest..																									*		*
61	they're more chances than …					*																					*	
62	No wonder one leading …																					*					*	
63	..economy as a whole is stronger					*																					*	
64	Now I hear Republicans say..										*																	*
65	I don't understand														*													
66	A lot of people …																								*			
67	They want to talk down …																					*					*	
68	…Republican obstructionism														*													*
69	I know that even as jobs …																					*						*
70	families are still feeling …		*																								*	
71	…but to build on it.								*																		*	

Item No.	Text 2	Micro-level Analysis																									Macro-level Analysis	
		Actor description	Authority	Burden	Categorization	Comparison	Consensus	Counterfactuals	Disclaimers	Euphemism	Evidentiality	Illustration / example	Generalization	Hyperbole	Implication	Irony	Lexicalization	Metaphor	National self-glorification	Norm expression	Number game	Polarization	Populism	presupposition	Vagueness	Victimization	Positive Self-representation	Negative Other-representation
72	I've laid out a three-part plan…																			*							*	
73	we heard a lot of dire …																								*			
74	We acted. We brought …		*																								*	
75	The Grinch did not steal …																	*										*
76	… is now down by nearly 40%...																				*						*	
77	… American consumers				*																							
78	In the last few decades …																								*			
79	meat processing, …											*															*	
80	… fewer processors can …																								*		*	
81	I'm determined to end …																							*				*
82	I'll be meeting with my …		*																								*	
83	because healthy competition …									*																		*
84	That makes everybody …												*														*	

		Micro-level Analysis																									Macro-level Analysis	
Item No.	Text 2	Actor description	Authority	Burden	Categorization	Comparison	Consensus	Counterfactuals	Disclaimers	Euphemism	Evidentiality	Illustration / example	Generalization	Hyperbole	Implication	Irony	Lexicalization	Metaphor	National self-glorification	Norm expression	Number game	Polarization	Populism	presupposition	Vagueness	Victimization	Positive Self-representation	Negative Other-representation
85	I'm working to reduce …	*	*																								*	
86	..throughout this pandemic …																									*	*	
87	we've made quality coverage..	*																									*	
88	…since I became president																					*					*	
89	say it a million times …													*													*	
90	For example, we're … so nobody will…											*											*					*
91	Nobody making more …																						*				*	
92	Some of them… but all will help…								*				*												*			*
93	And it's urgent we get moving …																			*							*	
94	we face an important choice..					*							*														*	
95	I'm not an economist …								*																		*	
96	You increase the supply of cars…												*															*
97	there's a lot of people …																								*			

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Item No.	Text 2	Actor description	Authority	Burden	Categorization	Comparison	Consensus	Counterfactuals	Disclaimers	Euphemism	Evidentiality	Illustration / example	Generalization	Hyperbole	Implication	Irony	Lexicalization	Metaphor	National self-glorification	Norm expression	Number game	Polarization	Populism	presupposition	Vagueness	Victimization	Positive Self-representation	Negative Other-representation
																						Micro-level Analysis						Macro-level Analysis	
98	Their view of the economy …																					*					*	
99	America doesn't need …	*																									*	
100	we need an economy …		*																				*				*	
101	Let's make America.																			*							*	
102	I as president and the Congress…						*																*				*	
103	…grow the economic pie…																	*									*	
104	Republicans have thrown around…																					*						*
105	It has hit record after record …													*													*	
106	we've created .. working people.. everybody ..	*			*																		*				*	
107	…look at the results …	*																									*	
108	…talk to all of you…																						*				*	

4.2.1 Micro-Level Analysis of Joe Biden's Speech January 6, 2022

Biden begins his speech by using **implication** and **hyperbole** categories in the first few statements (46). He uses exaggerated language when he characterizes the Colorado wildfire as a "god-awful" firestorm. Then, as he states, he had to attend Reid's burial. This means that, despite having a packed schedule, he prioritized them in order to portray himself in a positive light.

Biden uses the **number game** category (47) in his utterance when he discusses decreasing the unemployment rate and creating new jobs. He uses these facts and data to strengthen his argument and persuade the audience. As he utilizes the authority **category** while claiming to be able to do these tasks quicker than the expectations of experts, he has authority and is more than an expert in performing these tasks. He uses the **hyperbole** category in (48) to demonstrate that he is the most successful president in history and that he has done things that no other president has ever been able to do; he is attempting to establish himself as the most successful president in history.

In addition, the **generalization** category is applied in utterance (49) since the knowledge that Americans received vaccinations and returned to work is generalized. When Biden states "we reduced the poverty rate," the pronoun "we" often refers to the ingroup. This suggests a cognitive connection between the economic recovery of the nation and this particular incident.

Biden employs the **number game** category in (50) when he compares the number of unemployed a year ago to the number of unemployed now and the ages of those who can find jobs. In (51) he uses the **lexicalization** category to refer to the entire process as the "Biden economic plan," thus positively representing himself by utilizing the semantic qualities of these terms. This suggests that he has a negative mental model of the former government and a positive mental model of his current administration. Here, he utilizes the **polarization** category also to polarize the ingroup's good deeds, his government, and the outgroup's bad, previous government, deeds.

The **evidentiality** category is used in (52) to reveal the source of his information when he states *"today's report"* to provide evidence and proof of his information, and the **illustration/example** category is used when he gives examples of men and women working in restaurants, tourism, etc. to support his opinions and convince the audience. As a result of his usage of the **hyperbole** category (53) to overstate his deeds, people's salaries became the highest in history. In addition, he uses the **comparison** category (54) when comparing the salary increase for employees in 2021 to those of prior years. The **vagueness** category is utilized in (55) because the referent to which *"a lot"* refers is not clearly stated, i.e., the precise amount of newspaper coverage is not identified. As he uses the **evidentiality** category in (56) to refer to today's report as his source of information to enhance his speech. He uses the **polarization** category in (57) to indicate the positive representation of the ingroup, which is his government, and the negative representation of the outgroup, which is the previous government, when he states that Americans are moving to better jobs with better pay. Moreover, in (58), he uses the **euphemism** category to conceal the bad aspects of the ingroup, which is the reason why individuals are leaving their positions, and he explains that the employees are able to advance.

In his speech, Biden uses the **presupposition** category in utterance (59) when he talks about the situation in the United States in 2021. He also uses the **lexicalization** category when he used the word *"recovery"* to apply the semantic properties of the word to show the good point of himself as if America was sick before. On the other hand, **populism** category is used here when he refers to American people in general. The **victimization** category is used in (60) to show that the members of the ingroup are hurt by the members of the outgroup. For example, the previous government hurt those who work the hardest because they did not get their rights.

He uses the **comparison** category in (61) when he contrasts the current state of the country with that of the previous administration in terms of expanded

employment possibilities, earnings, and advancement prospects. In (62), he uses the **polarization** category to make himself look good as a president who made 2021's economy the strongest in the last 50 years while making the previous administration look bad.

In utterance (63), he uses the **comparison** category when he states that the nation's economy is stronger now than it was before the pandemic and the **implication** category when he compares it to the circumstances before the pandemic, which implies that the economy was not satisfactory even before the pandemic and that the pandemic was not the cause of the poor economy. He also uses the **evidentiality** category in (64) when he states he got the information from the Republicans, proving to the audience that he did. When he repeats *"I don't understand"* in (65) to suggest that he is not the one who doesn't comprehend, he uses the **inference** category. In addition, he exploits the **vagueness** category in (66) when he states *"a lot of people,"* since the referent is not specified. In addition, the **lexicalization** category is used when he uses the term "malarkey" to convey the meaning that they are ignorant and do not comprehend. **Polarization** is employed in (67) because it is rhetorically strengthened by being represented as a clear contrast, i.e., by giving attributes to US and THEM that are linguistically opposites of each other. He compares the qualities of the ingroup as conservatives with the properties of the outgroup as republicans, i.e., the positive properties of themselves as they produced the recovery and the negative characteristics of republicans as they voted against legislation, finances, and cutting healthcare rates.

Additionally, he employs the **lexicalization** category in sentence (68) when he uses the words "my focus" and "Republican obstructionism" with the implied meaning that he cares more about keeping the recovery strong than Republicans' attempts to destroy it. He named the Republicans' efforts "Republican obstructionism" to imply that they are attempting to bring it down. In (69), he implies that employment and families were in a deplorable state while the

Republicans governed the country, hence it falls under the category of **presupposition**. As in (70), he uses the **authority** category, whereas in (71), he uses the **disclaimer** category, because in (70), he shows his experience in that families still feel bad because of high prices and costs, and he intends to fix this, whereas in (71), he connects the contrasting concepts of reversing and building economic progress. He uses the **norm expression** category in (72) because he describes a three-part strategy for dealing with cost families.

Biden utilizes the **vagueness** category in (73) when he used a vague term such as *"a lot of"* in which the target is not clearly defined; for example, when he says *"a lot of dire warnings,"* he indicates that he heard a huge number of terrible warnings to demonstrate a negative other representation. He uses the **authority** category (74) to demonstrate his problem-solving competence. He employs the **metaphor** category in (75) to describe the Grinch as a person who can take Christmas and vote. He did so to make unknown meanings familiar, i.e., to illustrate the negative characteristics of the outgroup. While the **number** game category is used in (76), many numbers are used to persuade and convince the audience of the speaker's thoughts and attitudes in this case.

The **categorization** category is employed in (77) to classify groups of individuals; when he refers to American consumers, he is referring to Americans who are consumers. Then, he utilizes the category of **vagueness** in (78) when he says "the previous few decades" and "too many" without explicitly specifying the referents. In addition, he uses the **illustration/example** category in (79) to provide tangible instances of what he is saying, demonstrate his points of view, and support his speech.

Utterance (80) is an example of **vagueness,** while (81) is an example of the **presupposition** category since he assumes there was exploitation before him and he is committed to eliminating it. Biden uses the **authority** category in (82) to demonstrate his understanding of how to grow the country's economy. However, in (83) he employs the **euphemism** category to prevent the construction of a bad

image when he says that robust competition results in cheaper prices and larger wagers. As a result, unfavorable sentiments about a group that was responsible for the economy are minimized. In (84), he uses the **generalization** category when he says *"everyone"* to mean all Americans.

In addition, he uses the **actor description** category in (85), in which he portrays himself as an actor who is working on numerous things for the country, and also the authority category, as he demonstrates his expertise in the advancement of the nation. In (86), he uses the **victimization** category to discuss the victims of the pandemic who are unable to return to work because they cannot obtain childcare. However, in (87), he uses the **actor description** category in which he identifies himself as a member of the ingroup that did many excellent things to cut the cost of healthcare so that more people could get it. In (88), he uses the **polarization** category to say that he is part of an ingroup. He then uses the fact that more people have gotten health insurance since he became president to make himself look good, implying that this was not possible before he became president.

Biden uses **hyperbole** to underline his positive self-representation when he states *"Having healthcare means having peace of mind a million times"* (89). He uses the **illustration/example** category in (90) to provide a specific picture of what he is accomplishing, and he also uses the populism category when stating that "nobody will pay," referring to people in general. In (91), he again uses **populism** when he refers to the general population as "nobody making..."

Furthermore, he employs the **vagueness** category in (92) where the referent is not clearly defined since he states *"some of them."* He does not state how many there are, and it is a disclaimer when he says *"some will show... but all will help America."* It is a disclaimer since he attempted to combine two distinct views; it is also stated that because he gives specific examples, "like investments in infrastructure," of what he is saying to support his point of view, it also falls within the illustration/example category. On the other hand, in (93) he uses the

norm expression category when he says what they should do: *"And it's urgent we get...."* In (94), he depicts a **comparison** between two groups by using the comparison category; generally, in and outgroups, he contrasts the good traits of the ingroup with the bad traits of the outgroup, i.e., his administration and the administration before it. When referring to all Americans in general, he also uses the generalization category *"All Americans."* Biden uses the **disclaimer** category again in (95), combining two separate notions that, although he is not an economist, he has been doing this for a long time *"I'm not an economist,..."* In (96), he utilizes the **illustration/example** category to support his arguments and opinions by giving a specific example on vehicles *"you increase the supply of cars..."* As in (97), he uses the **vagueness** category when he says *"a lot of people,"* and the referent (people) is not explicitly stated.

In (98), the **polarization** category is seen when Biden categorizes himself as an ingroup member with positive characteristics vs. an outgroup member with negative traits who wants to make families impoverished. He also employs the **lexicalization** category here when he states *"punish people,"* which indicates that since the outgroup's economy renders families destitute, this is a punishment for them; he wants to show negative other-representation. He embraces the **actor description** category in (99) when he explains that America should not accept less. He also uses the **populism** category in (100), stating, *"We need an economy... "* (we) implies that he considers himself a member of the public. This is also categorized as authority if he demonstrates that he is an expert in economics and how to stimulate growth.

In (101) he uses the **norm expression** category to describe what should be done to help the American economy prosper. In (102) **consensus** is seen because consensus is the agreement between two parties on doing something, so he mentions that he as the president and the congress can agree to develop a more prosperous economy *"I as the president and the congress...".* Additionally, he uses **populism** when he discusses the American people in general: *"to deliver for*

the American people." In addition, he utilizes the **metaphor** category in (103), where he compares the economy to a pie from which each person should get a share.

Biden uses the **polarization** category in (104) when he contrasts the negative properties of the outgroup, the Republicans, with his own positive characteristics as a member of the ingroup. While in (105) he exploits the **hyperbole** category as he overstated his accomplishments when he says, *"it has hit record after record on my watch..."* In addition, Biden uses the **actor description** category in (106) while discussing his performances, as he also uses the **categorization** category when he classifies individuals as *"working people do well,"* He also uses the **populism** category when referring to people in general and stating that *"everybody benefits."* When he proclaims his achievements and asserts that he is a man of acts and not words, he uses the actor description category again in (107). He uses the **populism** category in (108) when he concludes by addressing the audience as a whole and claiming, *"Talk to all of you..."*

4.2.2 The Macro-Level Analysis of Joe Biden's Speech January 6, 2022

A- Positive Self-representation

Biden demonstrates positive self-representation by emphasizing the economic recovery, decreasing unemployment rate, and increasing job opportunities. He utilizes categories like number game, authority, illustration etc. He highlights the fact that he promised to recover the economy of America, and he kept his promise. He shows his positive representation and compares the unemployment rate, job opportunities, health care, and many other sectors to show that the American economy is now stronger than before. *"So, but this morning, I want to talk about, I think it's a historic day for our economic recovery. Today's national unemployment rate fell below 4% to 3.9%, the*

sharpest one-year drop in unemployment in United States history". "Today's report also tells us record wage gains, especially for workers in some of America's toughest jobs, women and men who work in the frontline jobs in restaurants, hotels, travel, tourism, desk clerks, line cooks, wait staff, bellman."

B-Negative Other-representation

In the second speech, he recognized the Republicans as the outgroup and emphasizes their weak points that he does not understand "Now I hear Republicans say today that my talking about this strong record shows that I don't understand. I don't understand." and that he tries to make the economic recovery stronger without paying attention to their obstructionism. *"And now, my focus is on keeping this recovery strong and durable, notwithstanding Republican obstructionism."*

4. 3 Analysis of Jill Biden's Speech on International Women's Day March 8, 2022
Table (4) Analysis of Jill BIDEN'S Speech March 8, 2022

Item No.	Text 3	Actor description	Authority	Burden	Categorization	Comparison	Consensus	Counterfactuals	Disclaimers	Euphemism	Evidentiality	Illustration/ Example	Generalization	Hyperbole	Implication	Irony	Lexicalization	Metaphor	National self-glorification	Norm expression	Number game	Polarization	Populism	presupposition	Vagueness	Victimization	Positive Self-representation	Negative Other -representation
109	the past few years..																								*			
110	the challenges our nation faced ..	*																									*	
111	…mythical heroes or angels …																	*									*	
112	..touched by the gods or chosen..	*																									*	
113	…but they are also human								*																		*	
114	Some of these women …																								*		*	
115	They want to right the wrongs …																	*									*	
116	courage isn't really found …												*														*	
117	…the prickle of each possible …																	*									*	
118	your feet may falter..																*											*
119	It's hearing the chorus …														*													*
120	These women made an extraordinary…	*																									*	

Item No.	Text	Micro-level Analysis																									Macro-level Analysis	
		Actor description	Authority	Burden	Categorization	Comparison	Consensus	Counterfactuals	Disclaimers	Euphemism	Evidentiality	Illustration/ Example	Generalization	Hyperbole	Implication	Irony	Lexicalization	Metaphor	National self-glorification	Norm expression	Number game	Polarization	Populism	presupposition	Vagueness	Victimization	Positive Self-representation	Negative Other-representation
121	we have a choice to make too.																						*				*	
122	we have learned anything …												*														*	
123	Poverty and conflict..											*															*	
124	We've seen calls for justice …	*																									*	
125	Diplomacy at its best is a recognition …		*																								*	
126	that freedom for women in Afghan…									*														*				*
127	justice can only be justice …												*														*	
128	calls us to come together …						*																				*	
129	My husband understands …	*																									*	
130	We will make the choice to lead …																			*							*	
131	we have honored women …												*						*								*	
132	we will stand with you as we build …												*							*			*				*	

4.3.1 The Micro-level Analysis of Jill Biden's Speech March 8, 2022

In her statement on International Women's Day, Jill Biden employs categories that reflect her worldview, such as the **vagueness** category in utterance (109) since she did not specify the specific number. Then, in (110) she employs the **actor description** category while praising both male and female department employees.

Jill Biden uses the **metaphor** category in (111) to make the unusual familiar as she compares women to angels and legendary heroes. She utilizes **actor description** and the **hyperbole** category in (112) to depict the women as divinely destined for glory. She uses the **disclaimer** category in (113), when she mixes two disparate categories, namely that the women are both mythological heroes and humans. As she uses the **vagueness** category in (114), when she does not indicate the actual number of women, as in *"some of these women have spent their lives fighting for their cause..."* and *"some were called to service..."* She uses the category of **national self-glorification** in (115) to praise the women's desire to make the future better.

The utterance (116) is an example of the category of **generalization** since it expresses a broad perspective regarding bravery: *"courage isn't really found..."* Thus, bravery is a societal attitude and ideology. When she portrays courage as a prickle in (117), she is using the **metaphor** category *"it's the prickle of each possible disaster..."* Furthermore, in (118), she employs the **lexicalization** category when she uses the semantic attribute of the word *"falter"* in *"your feet may falter and choosing to walk forward,"* which implies that you may stumble occasionally but must keep moving. In (119), she uses the **implication** category, *"it's hearing the chorus of voices that say that you are not enough, ... ",* which indicates that some people believe women can not achieve things on their own and attempt to undervalue them, but you must continue to progress. However, in (120), she uses the **actor description** category when she describes these women.

"These women made an extraordinary choice..." and in (120), she uses the **populism** category when she uses *"we"* and regards herself as one of those women too. The **generalization** category is employed in (122) *"This year of illness has taught us that we are interconnected"*. She then uses the **illustration/example** category in (123) when she uses the instances of *"poverty and conflict,..."* to bolster her argument. She utilizes the **actor description** category in (124) to depict the circumstances during the pandemic and lockdown. In (125), she uses the **Authority** category to demonstrate her expertise in diplomacy: *"Diplomacy at its best is the recognition of this connection."* Then she uses the **presupposition** category as well as the **euphemism** category in (126) when she presupposes that there was no freedom for women in Afghanistan, nor education in Burma, nor fair elections in Belarus. She also used the **generalization** category in (127) once more to demonstrate a general attitude toward justice.

Jill Biden uses the **consensus** category in (128) to unite all the parties and demonstrate her nationalist ideology: *"your fight is our fight, and your courage calls us to come together again and again and again."* In (129), she uses the **actor description** category to represent her husband in order to demonstrate his ideology about women, but in (130), she uses the **norm expression** category to indicate what should be done to empower women and girls worldwide. In (131), **national self-glorification** is utilized when she honors women throughout the world, as well as the **generalization** category, in which she generalized a positive action of the ingroup: *"for the 15 years, we have honored women around the world..."* Finally, she uses the **norm expression** category in (132), that they will respect that connection and stand with them; as this is the generalization category, she generalized the ingroup's good actions, and it is also the populism category by using "for us all" when she regards herself as one of those women. *"And by choosing every day to honor that connection, we will stand with you as we build a brighter future for us all."*

4.3.2 The Macro-Level Analysis of Jill Biden's Speech March 8, 2022

A- Positive Self-representation

Jill Biden makes use of this strategy a lot in her speeches. She regards women and those who support them as the ingroup. She emphasizes the role of women for developing any country and also focuses on the fact that she and her husband encourage women everywhere. She did this through several discursive devices, such as actor description, generalization, metaphor, national self-glorification, etc. She emphasizes that women should be rewarded because without them, the country cannot be developed *"But the challenges our nation faced only inspired you to fight harder for democracy, universal rights, and the rule of law in all the places you serve. The President and Secretary Blinken are going to make sure that your faith is rewarded. And America will lead because you are forging the way"* (actor description). She shows that women are heroes *"When we hear of the stories of the women we honor today, it's easy to think of them as mythical heroes or angels among us, perhaps touched by the gods or chosen for greatness."* And courageous "It's the prickle of each possible disaster running the length of your back, but standing to face the unknown anyway" (metaphor). She demonstrates that they have honoured women and they support women *"My husband understands that we can't do this alone"* (actor description). "The United States will stand with you. We will make the choice to lead, to be bold, and to lift up women and girls everywhere who light our way. *"For 15 years, we have honored women around the world who have made the extraordinary choice to fight for something bigger than themselves"* (national self- glorification).

B-Negative Other-representation

Jill Biden utilizes this strategy in her speeches. She regards those who are against women as the outgroup. She expresses this by employing discursive devices such as lexicalization, implication, presupposition, etc. *"It's knowing that your feet may falter and choosing to walk forward. It's hearing the chorus of voices that say that you are not enough, that you will not succeed, and following a single note of hope through the din."* (lexicalization, implication) in this sentence, she indicates that some may try to underestimate you, but do not pay attention to them. *"Diplomacy at its best is a recognition of this connection. that freedom for women in Afghanistan strengthens communities everywhere, that education in Burma creates opportunity far away, that fair elections in Belarus will bolster our own democracy too, justice can only be justice if it's for all"* (presupposition). They deprived Afghan women of their freedom, and Burmese women of their education. As a result, she expresses the negative characteristics of those people. In her second speech, Jill Biden expresses negative other representations 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 to reimagine what our nation will be"* (presupposition).

4. 4 Analysis of Jill Biden's 2020 DNC Speech September 11, 2022

Table (5) Analysis of Jill Biden's Speech September 11, 2022

Item No.	Text 4	Actor description	Authority	Burden	Categorization	Comparison	Consensus	Counterfactuals	Disclaimers	Euphemism	Evidentiality	Illustration / Example	Generalization	Hyperbole	Implication	Irony	Lexicalization	Metaphor	National self-glorification	Norm expression	Number game	Polarization	Populism	presupposition	Vagueness	Victimization	Positive Self-representation	Negative Other-representation
133	Quiet that sparks with possibility…																	*									*	
134	ideas bouncing back and forth …																	*									*	
135	When I taught English here …	*																									*	
136	But this quiet is heavy …												*															
137	…the anxiety that echoes down…																	*										
138	The rooms are dark..	*																										
139	the magnitude of this loss …			*																								
140	Mourning a wife and mother, a daughter…	*	*																								*	
141	we figured it out together …						*																				*	
142	Reading stories, piled on the couch…	*																									*	
143	the dinner dishes waiting …																	*									*	
144	Love makes us …																	*									*	
145	…make a nation whole …												*														*	

Item No.	Text 4	Actor description	Authority	Burden	Categorization	Comparison	Consensus	Counterfactuals	Disclaimers	Euphemism	Evidentiality	Illustration /	Generalization	Hyperbole	Implication	Irony	Lexicalization	Metaphor	National self-glorification	Norm expression	Number game	Polarization	Populism	presupposition	Vagueness	Victimization	Positive Self-representation	Negative Other-representation
146	…many of you are doing right now…					*																					*	
147	There are those who want to tell us…																*											*
148	..but that's not what I've seen over these..								*																		*	
149	We're coming together, …						*																				*	
150	the heart of this nation still beats …																	*									*	
151	I wondered if I would ever smile…							*																			*	
152	It was summer, but there was no warmth								*																		*	
153	I watched Joe shave, and put on his suit..	*																									*	
154	…empty of our son.																*										*	
155	But I've always understood…								*																		*	
156	For the daughter who convinces …																							*			*	
157	people Joe gives his personal phone …														*												*	
158	He does it for you.		*																								*	

Item No.	Text 4	Micro-level Analysis																									Macro-level Analysis	
		Actor description	Authority	Burden	Categorization	Comparison	Consensus	Counterfactuals	Disclaimers	Euphemism	Evidentiality	Illustration /	Generalization	Hyperbole	Implication	Irony	Lexicalization	Metaphor	National self-glorification	Norm expression	Number game	Polarization	Populism	presupposition	Vagueness	Victimization	Positive Self-representation	Negative Other-representation
159	Joe's purpose has always driven…	*																									*	
160	…but if you listen ... ..sparks of change..								*									*									*	
161	educators, parents, first responders…				*														*				*				*	
162	We haven't given up.																					*					*	
163	…leadership worthy of our nation…																					*		*			*	
164	That's Joe, he and Kamala …	*																									*	
165	if I have the honor of serving as …							*																			*	
166	with Joe as president, …		*																								*	
167	someone with strong shoulders …																*										*	
168	I know that …										*																*	
169	…the promise of America for all of us																						*				*	

4.4.1 Micro-Level Analysis Jill Biden's Speech September 11, 2022

In her 2020 DNC address, Jill Biden uses metaphors to explain and familiarize herself with unfamiliar concepts. She uses the **metaphor** category in (133), when she depicts (Quite) as a living entity that brims with possibilities. Also in (134), she uses **metaphor** again when she describes ideas as a living, bouncing creature, implying that when one is thinking, numerous concepts are present in our minds. She uses the **actor description** category in (135) to define herself as an English teacher at Brandywine High School. *"But, this quiet is heavy"* (136) is an example of the **generalization** category, exhibiting a general viewpoint. She uses the **metaphor** category again in (137), when she compares *"anxiety"* to a living, echoing creature. In (138), 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 (139). Joe Biden's first wife and daughter were killed in a car accident. She expresses sympathy and grief for this loss. In (140), she effectively demonstrates that she has the ability to heal a damaged family, which falls under the category of **authority**, while in (141), she used the **consensus** category in which they are 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 (142), 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 (143), when she describes the dishes in the sink as being alive. In addition, she utilizes the **metaphor** category in (144) when she states that love can do things such as provide us (as refugees) a home and shield individuals from life's sufferings. Jill Biden uses the category of **generalization** in (145) 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 (146) 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, which implies that they (she and her husband) are able to unite the country to affect the audience. She uses the **lexicalization** category in (147), 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.*" Also, she employs the **lexicalization** category in sentence (147) when she uses the term "*those*," whose semantic characteristic implies that the individuals being discussed are emotionally distant and unlikeable. She tries to demonstrate a negative other representation here. As such, she uses the **disclaimer** category in (148) when she unites two incompatible ideas: while those people anticipate our being split, she does not perceive it: "*but that's not what I've seen over these last few months*".

Jill Biden uses the **consensus** category in (149) 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 in (150), 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 (151) 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 (152) to link the concept that it was summer and she had no remaining warmth. She used the **actor description** category in (153) 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 in (154) when she declared, "*a world empty of our son,*" the semantic quality of which is that he cares about you in the world.

She used the **disclaimer** category in (155) 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 is also an example of **implication**, since she did not state 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 (156) 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** in (157) 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 (158) when she stated, "*He does it for you,*" indicating that Joe can solve all of their problems.

In addition, she uses the **actor description** category in (159) to characterize Joe Biden's strength and loyalty. She uses the **disclaimer** category in (160) when she combines two distinct notions, namely, that a shift is imminent despite the current pandemic. In (161), 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 she employs the **populism** category in (162) when she refers to Americans as "*we*" and considers herself to be one of them. She employs the **presupposition** category in (163), 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 (164) as she explains to Joe and Kamala that they were able to make the country better. She uses **counterfactuals** in (165) to demonstrate what would occur if she were to become first lady. She deploys

the **authority** category in (166) when she exhibits Joe's skill to conquer the pandemic.

Moreover, in (167) 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 (168) when she provides evidence that she knows Joe is strong. She uses **populism** in (169) when she states that she is a citizen of the United States and uses the word "*us*."

4.4.2 Macro-level Analysis of Jill Biden's Speech September 11, 2022
A-Positive Self-representation

Jill Biden 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 them 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).

B-Negative Other-representation
Jill Biden utilizes this strategy in her speeches. In her first speech, she regards those who are against women as the outgroup. She expresses this by employing discursive devices such as lexicalization, implication, presupposition, etc. *"It's knowing that your feet may falter and choosing to walk forward. It's hearing the chorus of voices that say that you are not enough, that you will not*

succeed, and following a single note of hope through the din." (lexicalization, implication) in this sentence, she indicates that some may try to underestimate you, but don't pay attention to them. *"Diplomacy at its best is a recognition of this connection. that freedom for women in Afghanistan strengthens communities everywhere, that education in Burma creates opportunity far away, that fair elections in Belarus will bolster our own democracy too, justice can only be justice if it's for all."* (presupposition) They deprived Afghan women of their freedom, and Burmese women of their education. As a result, she expresses the negative characteristics of those people. In her second speech, Jill Biden expresses negative other-representations 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 to reimagine what our nation will be"* (presupposition)

4. 5 Analysis of Boris Johnson's Speech July 7, 2022

Table (6) Analysis of Boris Johnson's Speech July 7, 2022

Item No.	Text 5	Actor description	Authority	Burden	Categorization	Comparison	Consensus	Counterfactuals	Disclaimers	Euphemism	Evidentiality	Illustration /	Generalization	Hyperbole	Implication	Irony	Lexicalization	Metaphor	National self-glorification	Norm expression	Number game	Polarization	Populism	presupposition	Vagueness	Victimization	Positive Self-representation	Negative Other-representation
170	..millions of people.. ..many of them…																								*		*	
171	..incredible mandate, the biggest…													*													*	
172	so hard in the last few days …																								*			*
173	..but because I felt it was my job…								*																		*	
174	I'm immensely proud of the achievements..																					*					*	
175	fastest vaccine rollout…																*										*	
176	in the last few months…																								*			
177	the people of Ukraine …																						*				*	
178	…I know that we in the UK …		*																				*				*	
179	we've been pushing forward ….		*																								*	
180	The biggest in a century…													*													*	
181	genius and talent and enthusiasm…																		*								*	

Item No.	Text 5																										Positive Self-representation	Negative Other-representation
		Micro-level Analysis																										**Macro-level Analysis**	
		Actor description	Authority	Burden	Categorization	Comparison	Consensus	Counterfactuals	Disclaimers	Euphemism	Evidentiality	Illustration /	Generalization	Hyperbole	Implication	Irony	Lexicalization	Metaphor	National self-glorification	Norm expression	Number game	Polarization	Populism	presupposition	Vagueness	Victimization	Positive Self-representation	Negative Other-representation
182	…we must keep levelling up …																			*							*	
183	if we can do that in this country…							*																				*
184	I've tried to persuade my colleagues …									*					*													*
185	I regret not to have been successful …																							*				
186	it's painful not to be able to see … so many ideas …									*															*			*
187	But, as we've seen… the herd instinct…								*									*										
188	..no one is remotely indispensable …									*																		*
189	..Darwinian system..																*											*
190	..but changing and improving …							*																				
191	…we need to pay for great public services																			*							*	
192	I will give you as much support …		*																								*	
193	the British public…																						*				*	
194	I know that there…										*																*	

Item No.	Text 5	Micro-level Analysis																									Macro-level Analysis	
		Actor description	Authority	Burden	Categorization	Comparison	Consensus	Counterfactuals	Disclaimers	Euphemism	Evidentiality	Illustration /	Generalization	Hyperbole	Implication	Irony	Lexicalization	Metaphor	National self-glorification	Norm expression	Number game	Polarization	Populism	presupposition	Vagueness	Victimization	Positive Self-representation	Negative Other-representation
195	perhaps quite a few.. best job in the world													*											*			
196	But them's the breaks.								*																			*
197	…police, our emergency services..				*																						*	
198	…our fantastic prop force…																						*				*	
199	..Prime Minister is an education …												*															
200	... people possessed of such boundless…																		*								*	
201	…so many people...																								*		*	
202	…can sometimes seem dark…																											*
203	…I know that even if things …													*													*	

4.5.1 Micro-Level Analysis of Boris Johnson's Speech July 7, 2022

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 (170) belongs to **vagueness** category. He utilizes the **hyperbole** category in (171) when he exaggerates the number of his mandates and supporters. Moreover, he employs **vagueness** in (172) when he refers to the "*last few days*" without giving the exact number of days. Similar to (173), 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 (174) 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 in (175) when he references "*fastest vaccine*" and "*fastest exit from lockdown*" to establish that they delivered the vaccine before any other European nation. Then, in (176), he adopts the category of **vagueness** by stating "*in the last few months*" without defining the exact number of days. In (177), he uses the **populism** category to address the whole Ukrainian population: "*Let me say now to the people of Ukraine*". In (178), 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 (179) to demonstrate that he has knowledge and expertise in expanding investment in infrastructure, skills, and technology, as in "*we've been pushing forward a vast investment programme in infrastructure,*" demonstrating that he has knowledge and expertise in these areas. He employs **hyperbole** to characterize their development program as the best in a century in sentence (180). In (181) 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 (182), he uses the **norm expression** category. Utterance (183) is an example of a **counterfactual** in which he analyses what may occur if the United Kingdom continued to unleash its capacity. While (184) 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 (185) 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** (186) to disguise the reality that the ingroup drove him to leave, i.e., he minimizes the negative characteristics of the ingroup. The phrase "*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 (187), he uses the **metaphor** category. In an effort to show his generosity, he employs the **euphemism** category once more in (188) to remind them that they, too, will be replaceable. In (189), he utilizes the lexicalization category "*Darwinian system*" 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 (190). Then, in (191), he uses the **norm expression** category to define a variety of acts that must be made to encourage growth and income. In (192), 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 (193). In (194), he uses the **Evidentiality** category because, as a political person, he knew what would occur when he gave up. Then, in (195), he applies the **vagueness** category when he uses phrases like "*many individuals*" and "*quite a few*" in which the referents are not clearly identified. In addition, he employs

hyperbole when he states that the post of British prime minister is the best job in the world. He then uses the **disclaimer** category in (196) 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 in (197) 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 (198), he uses the **populism** device. In (199), he employs the category of **generalization** to provide a comprehensive view on the question of prime ministership. However, in (200), he embraces **national self-glorification** by emphasizing the uniqueness of the British people. He employs **vagueness** again in (201) when he uses the phrase "*so many*" without specifying the exact number. He exploits the **authority** category to demonstrate his experience in (202). 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 (203) when he states "*Our future together is golden,*" which implies that he aspires to be their future leader in some capacity.

4.5.2 Macro-Level Analysis of Boris Johnson's speech July 7, 2022
A-Positive Self-representation

As it can be observed, 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).

B-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. 6 Analysis of Boris Johnson's Speech September 6, 2022

Table (7) Analysis Boris Johnson's Speech September 6, 2022

Item No.	Text 6	Actor description	Authority	Burden	Categorization	Comparison	Consensus	Counterfactuals	Disclaimers	Euphemism	Evidentiality	Illustration /	Generalization	Hyperbole	Implication	Irony	Lexicalization	Metaphor	National self-glorification	Norm expression	Number game	Polarization	Populism	presupposition	Vagueness	Victimization	Positive Self-representation	Negative Other-representation
204	Well this is it folks																*										*	
205	thanks to all of you...																						*				*	
206	torch will finally…																*										*	
207	unexpectedly turned																*											*
208	..to be a relay race…									*						*												*
209	they changed the rules half-way…									*					*	*												*
210	…but never mind that now …								*																		*	
211	… that lacquered black door …	*																										*
212	..the people who got Brexit done..	*																									*	
213	..70 per cent of the entire population got a dose…		*																		*						*	
214	..that is government for you …	*																			*						*	

Item No.	Text 6	Micro-level Analysis																									Macro-level Analysis	
		Actor description	Authority	Burden	Categorization	Comparison	Consensus	Counterfactuals	Disclaimers	Euphemism	Evidentiality	Illustration / Example	Generalization	Hyperbole	Implication	Irony	Lexicalization	Metaphor	National self-glorification	Norm expression	Number game	Polarization	Populism	presupposition	Vagueness	Victimization	Positive Self-representation	Negative Other - representation
215	..everybody involved in this government..																						*				*	
216	will continue to have that economic …		*																								*	
217	I know that Liz Truss and this …										*		*							*							*	
218	if Putin thinks that he can succeed …							*																				*
219	the reason we will have those …		*																								*	
220	13,790 more police on the …										*										*						*	
221	…going up by 2030 to 50 GW …																			*							*	
222	..the private sector is investing …					*								*													*	
223	…down to lows not seen since …													*													*	
224	…those booster rockets …																	*									*	
225	..like Cincinnatus I am returning …																	*										*

Item No.	Text 6	Actor description	Authority	Burden	Categorization	Comparison	Consensus	Counterfactuals	Disclaimers	Euphemism	Evidentiality	Illustration / Example	Generalization	Hyperbole	Implication	Irony	Lexicalization	Metaphor	National self-glorification	Norm expression	Number game	Polarization	Populism	presupposition	Vagueness	Victimization	Positive Self-representation	Negative Other-representation
		Micro-level Analysis																									**Macro-level Analysis**	
226	…but the most fervent support…								*																			
227	we can and we will get through it …		*																								*	
228	..time for the politics to be over folks…									*																	*	
229	it's time for us all… …people of this …																			*			*				*	
230	I am proud to have discharged …																		*								*	
231	we are one whole… ..but they will never..									*									*								*	
232	if Dilyn and Larry can put …															*											*	
233	..the British people..																						*				*	

4.6.1 Micro-Level Analysis of Boris Johnson's Speech July 7, 2022

Johnson in his speech uses the **lexicalization** category in statement (204) when he states, "*Well, this is it*," which indicates that that is the end. Here he uses the semantic property of this phrase, which is an example of lexicalization. He uses the **populism** category in his utterance (205) when he addresses the audience as "*folks*" to refer to those people in general. In utterance (206), he uses the **lexicalization** category "*torch*" in "*and the torch will finally be passed to a new conservative leader,*" clarifying his intention across the semantic feature of this word, which means that the one who comes should guide and light the way for people. He then uses another **lexicalization** category in (207), when he uses the word "*unexpectedly*" in "*... in what has unexpectedly turned out...*" indicating that he did not expect to resign abruptly, according to the semantic property of the word. He also uses **irony**, **euphemism**, and **implication** in his utterance (208) as he wants to convey complaints indirectly, but in ironically powerful expressions, when he says it has suddenly become a relay race. It is a **euphemism** since the avoidance of negative impression formation about the negative acts of the ingroup is mitigated. And it is **implication** because the negative details about the ingroup tend to remain implicit.

He uses **irony**, **euphemism**, and **implication** again in (209) when he states that they changed the rules half-way through, which indicates that he hasn't completed his administration yet. This is to hide the negative acts of the ingroup. In (210), he uses the **disclaimer** category to connect two dissimilar ideas, saying that while the ingroup's act was bad, you folks didn't care. In (211), he uses an **actor description** to describe how the new prime minister enters through the lacquered black door. Furthermore, he uses **actor description** again in (212), identifying those who received the vaccine. He also adopts the **number game** category in utterance (213) when he uses some numbers, such as "*70 percent of the entire population got a dose within 6 months*," to enhance his speech. When he demonstrates that they had done this before any other country, he uses the

authority category. Utterance (214) is an example of the **actor description** category that Johnson used in his speech to introduce the conservative government. It can also be said that this is a **polarization** category since it categorizes people into an ingroup, which is the conservative government, and praises their acts, and an outgroup.

Furthermore, utterance (215) is a **populism** device because he refers to every individual from people when he says "*everybody involved in this government*." Johnson employs the **authority** category in (216) when he shows his knowledge of how to make the economy strong. After that, he uses the **evidentiality** category in (217), when he is the source of information and gives proof that Truss can do everything she can to get people through a crisis. Here, he uses the **generalization** category when he uses the word "*we*" to refer to the Conservative government, and he generalizes the good acts of the ingroup. It can also be a **norm expression** category in the sense that he is showing what should be done to make the country endure the crisis. He employs the **counterfactuals** category in utterance (218) when he mentions a situation beyond facts that Putin thinks he can succeed by blackmailing and bullying the British people. And it is also a **polarization** category since he categorizes people as ingroups (the British) and outgroups (Putin). Johnson also uses the **authority** category in (219) to demonstrate his expertise and the reasons why we need the funds now and in the future. He uses the **number game** category in (220) when he gives several numbers as "*crime down 38 percent in the last three years*," "*13, 790 more police on the streets*," etc., and he also uses the **illustration/example** category here by giving several concrete examples to make more plausible a general point he talks about and to suggest impelling forms of empirical proof.

Likewise, Johnson utilizes the **norm expression** category in (221) when he shows the things they should do to make the country better. He uses the **comparison** category in (222), stating that the UK's private sector is comparable to China itself, and the number of tech companies in the UK is greater than that

of France, Germany, and Israel combined. Here, the **hyperbole** category can be noticed too, in that he is exaggerating the number of companies in the UK and the three countries combined. He again uses the **hyperbole** category in (223) when he talks about the rate of unemployment that has never been that low since he was ten years old. He employs the **metaphor** category in his utterance (224) when he assimilates himself as a booster rocket that has fulfilled its function. He uses the **metaphor** category in (225) when he likens himself to Cincinnatus, a Roman leader who left Rome for a bucolic existence on his farm. He was later called upon to return to Rome and lead as a dictator, apparently suggesting he would return quietly to the backbenches. And in his utterance (226), he uses the **disclaimer** category to describe when positive and negative acts are mentioned, saying he will offer nothing to the government and he will offer the most fervent support.

Moreover, Boris Johnson uses the **authority** category in (227), as he shows his authority and knowledge in making the country stronger. In (228), he employs the **euphemism** category when he asks his fellow conservatives to be over folks, so he mitigates the negative acts of the ingroup and advises them politely. In his utterance (229), he adopts the **norm expression** category when he mentions what Liz Truss and her program should do for the people of this country. He also uses the **populism** category here, adopting phrases like "*deliver for the people of this country*" and "*what the people of this country want.*" He then uses the **national self-glorification** category in (230) when he glorifies himself and what he did for the people and country. He also praises the UK, whose diplomats, security services, and army forces are globally admired. In utterance (231), he uses the **disclaimer** category to connect both a negative act of the outgroup and a positive opinion that they will try to break the UK's union but will fail. He uses the **irony** category in utterance (232) when he shows a negative act of the ingroup ironically but powerfully; he intends that the Conservative Party will not put aside their occasional difficulties. He uses the **populism** category in (233) when he addresses the audience and referred to the British people.

4.6.2 Macro-Level Analysis of Boris Johnson's Speech July 7, 2022

A- Positive Self-representation

Boris Johnson demonstrates that a large number of people voted for him. He tries to show his positive characteristics. This strategy has been used here through several discursive devices such as lexicalization, populism, disclaimers, etc. *"Well this is it folks"* (lexicalization). *"thanks to all of you for coming out so early this morning."* (populism). *"they changed the rules half-way through but never mind that now"* (disclaimer). He also used the strategy through number game, polarization, norm expression, etc. "and never forget - 70 per cent of the entire population got a dose within 6 months, faster than any comparable country" (number game). "that is government for you – that's this conservative government the people who organised those prompt early supplies of weapons to the heroic Ukrainian armed forces, an action that may very well have helped change the course of the biggest European war for 80 years. And because of the speed and urgency of what you did" (polarization). *"And I know that Liz Truss and this compassionate Conservative government will do everything we can to get people through this crisis. And this country will endure it and we will win"* (norm expression).

B-Negative Other-representation

Boris Johnson expresses this strategy through discursive devices like irony, counterfactuals, implication, etc. *"to be a relay race"* (irony). *"and if Putin thinks that he can succeed by blackmailing or bullying the British people then he is utterly deluded"* (counterfactuals). *"And like Cincinnatus I am returning to my plough"* (implication). Discursive devices such as euphemism, actor description, etc. are used to demonstrate this strategy. "they changed the rules half-way through" (euphemism). "and through that lacquered black door a new Prime Minister will shortly go to meet a fantastic group of public servants" (actor description).

4. 7 Analysis of Liz Truss's Speech September 6, 2022

Table (8) Analysis of Liz Truss's Speech September 6, 2022

Item No.	Text 7	Actor description	Authority	Burden	Categorization	Comparison	Consensus	Counterfactuals	Disclaimers	Euphemism	Evidentiality	Illustration / Example	Generalization	Hyperbole	Implication	Irony	Lexicalization	Metaphor	National self-glorification	Norm expression	Number game	Polarization	Populism	presupposition	Vagueness	Victimization	Positive Self-representation	Negative Other-representation
234	I have just accepted Her Majesty …		*																								*	
235	Boris Johnson delivered Brexit …	*																										
236	I'm honoured to take on this …		*																								*	
237	What makes the United Kingdom …																		*									
238	Our people have shown grit …																						*				*	
239	Now is the time to tackle the issues…																			*							*	
240	We need to build roads, homes …											*																*
241	We need more investment …																			*								*
242	…what it takes to tackle those …		*																								*	
243	…But we can do it							*																			*	
244	…safe streets…																							*				*
245	I will take action this day …		*																								*	
246	United with our allies …						*																				*	

Item No.	Text 7	Micro-level Analysis																									Macro-level Analysis	
		Actor description	Authority	Burden	Categorization	Comparison	Consensus	Counterfactuals	Disclaimers	Euphemism	Evidentiality	Illustration / Example	Generalization	Hyperbole	Implication	Irony	Lexicalization	Metaphor	National self-glorification	Norm expression	Number game	Polarization	Populism	presupposition	Vagueness	Victimization	Positive Self-representation	Negative Other-representation
247	I will get Britain working again …																							*				*
248	..to grow the economy through …											*															*	
249	…the energy crisis caused by Putin's …		*																									*
250	…people can get doctors' …		*																								*	
251	…delivering on the economy, …		*																								*	
252	We shouldn't be daunted …																			*							*	
253	As strong as the storm may be …																	*									*	

254	British people are stronger …				*																				*	
255	Our country was built by people …																*								*	
256	Ride out the storm…															*									*	
257	…modern brilliant Britain that I know...								*																*	
258	…prosperity for all people …		*																			*			*	

4.7.1 Micro-level Analysis of Liz Truss's Speech September 6, 2022

Liz Truss utilizes the **authority** category in her speech in utterance (234) when she shows that she is going to form a new government. She uses the **actor description** category in (235) while describing Boris Johnson, saying that he delivered the vaccine and stood up to Russian aggression, and he was a hugely consequential prime minister. In (236), she uses the **authority** category again, saying that she would accept this responsibility for the sake of the country. She adopts **national self-glorification** in (237), as she praises the UK as a great country. She also uses the **populism** category in (238) when she says "*our people*" to refer to the people of the UK. She uses the **norm expression** category in (239), since she mentions the things that should be done to tackle the issues that are holding Britain back. She employs the **illustration/example** category in (240), in which she gives concrete examples like building roads, homes, and broadband faster to make more plausible a general point defended by her, which is developing Britain. She uses the **norm expression** category in (241) when she mentions what she should do: make more investments and great jobs. She uses the **authority** category in (242) to show that she knows how to deal with the problems they face as they try to develop their country.

Truss uses the **disclaimer** category in (243), where she connects two dissimilar concepts: a negative one that says it will not be easy to face the challenges, and a positive one that says they can face them. She employs the **presupposition** category in her utterance (244) as she makes an assumption that Britain is not a nation with high-paying jobs and the streets are not safe enough. In utterance (245), the **authority** category is used by her when she shows her knowledge and experience in making Britain an aspirational nation. She uses the **consensus** category in 246, in which she shows an agreement between her party and their allies to stand up for freedom and democracy. Moreover, she uses the **presupposition** category in (247) when she makes an assumption that Britain

isn't in a good situation now. She then gives several concrete examples of her plans and how to make Britain work again; thus, there is an **illustration/ example** category in (248).

Truss employs the **authority** category in (249) when she shows her expertise in dealing with the energy crisis caused by Putin. She again uses the **authority** category in (250) when she shows how to make the health service better. Because she used the **authority** category in (251) and demonstrated her knowledge of making the nation better by emphasizing long-term success, she employed the **norm expression** category in (252) when she presented what they shouldn't do for their country.

Liz uses **metaphor** in (253) when she compares an opponent to a storm in her strength. On the other hand, she uses the **comparison** category in (254) when she was sure that British people were stronger than any enemy. She utilizes the **national self-glorification** category in (255), as she glorifies her country and the people of her country. Furthermore, in (256), she uses the **metaphor** category again to describe the enemy as a storm. Utterance (257) is in the **evidentiality** category, as she is sure that they can make Britain a modern and brilliant country. And in (258), she employs the **authority** category when demonstrating her expertise in ensuring prosperity for all people and future generations, as well as the **populism** category when referring to all people in Britain in general.

4.7.2 Macro-level Analysis of Liz Truss's Speech September 6, 2022
A- Positive Self-representation

Liz Truss uses positive self-representation strategies more than negative other representation strategies, in which Britain is the ingroup. She employs discursive devices like norm expression, national self-glorification, illustration/example, actor description, metaphor, etc. to express this strategy. She puts emphasis on the greatness of Britain and Queen Elizabeth II *"What makes*

the United Kingdom great is our fundamental belief in freedom, in enterprise, and in fair play." (national self-glorification). *"We shouldn't be daunted by the challenges we face"* (norm expression). "As strong as the storm may be" (metaphor).

B-Negative Other-representation

It is observed that Russia and other outside forces are seen by her as the outgroup. She adopts devices like authority, comparison, etc. to express this strategy. *"We now face severe global headwinds caused by Russia's appalling war in Ukraine and the aftermath of Covid."* (illustration/example). *"Secondly, I will deal hands-on with the energy crisis caused by Putin's war."* (authority). *"As strong as the storm may be, I know that the British people are stronger."* (comparison). She exemplifies the negative traits of Russia, and Putin's is a horrible dictatorship that foments conflict and crises.

4. 8 Analysis of Liz Truss's Speech September 8, 2022

Table (9) Analysis of Liz Truss's Speech September 8, 2022

Item No.	Text 8	Micro-level Analysis																									Macro-level Analysis	
		Actor description	Authority	Burden	Categorization	Comparison	Consensus	Counterfactuals	Disclaimers	Euphemism	Evidentiality	Illustration / Example	Generalization	Hyperbole	Implication	Irony	Lexicalization	Metaphor	National self-glorification	Norm expression	Number game	Polarization	Populism	presupposition	Vagueness	Victimization	Positive Self-representation	Negative Other-representation
259	…We are all devastated …												*														*	
260	The death of Her Majesty …			*																									
261	Queen Elizabeth II was the rock …																	*										*	
262	Our country has grown …	*																										*	
263	Britain is the great country …	*																	*									*	
264	She ascended the throne just …	*																										*	
265	We are now a modern …												*						*									*	
266	Queen Elizabeth II provided …	*																										*	
267	…spirit of Great Britain …																	*										*	
268	It is an extraordinary achievement …	*																										*	
269	Her devotion to duty is an example to us...											*																*	
270	…visited more than 100 countries…																				*							*	

Item No.	Text 8	Actor description	Authority	Burden	Categorization	Comparison	Consensus	Counterfactuals	Disclaimers	Euphemism	Evidentiality	Illustration / Example	Generalization	Hyperbole	Implication	Irony	Lexicalization	Metaphor	National self-glorification	Norm expression	Number game	Polarization	Populism	presupposition	Vagueness	Victimization	Positive Self-representation	Negative Other-representation
							Micro-level Analysis																				**Macro-level Analysis**	
271	..come together with our friends …						*																					
272	..her extraordinary lifetime…													*													*	
273	..a day of great loss..			*																							*	
274	..but Queen Elizabeth II leaves ...								*																			
275	…the loss of his mother			*																								
276	we must come together as a people..																			*							*	
277	…the magnificent history of our great...																		*								*	

4.8.1 Micro-Level Analysis of Liz Truss's Speech September 8, 2022

Liz Truss starts her speech by using the **generalization** category as in (259) when she uses "*we are all*" in which she generalizes that good act as politicians usually generalize the good deeds. She employs the **burden** category in (260), in which she expresses her sadness at losing the queen, to shake the audience's feelings. Utterance (261) is an example of a **metaphor** since she depicts Queen Elizabeth as the rock on which modern Britain was built. She then uses the **actor description** category in her utterance (262) to define the queen as having made Britain flourish. In (263) she uses the **national self-glorification** category in which she praises Britain, saying that it is a great country, and also the **actor description** category since she describes Queen Elizabeth. In addition, she uses the **actor description** category in (264), in which she describes the queen as having ascended the throne after the Second World War and championed the development of the commonwealth.

Truss continues speaking and uses other categories, like the **national self-glorification** category in (265) when she glorifies the nation as modern, thriving, and dynamic. She also uses another category in the same sentence, which is the **generalization** category, when she uses the word "we" in which a good act is generalized to show positive self-representation. Additionally, she employs the **actor description** category in (266) when she introduced the queen, saying that she provided them with stability and strength. While in (267), she uses the **metaphor** category in which she considers Britain as a living thing that has a spirit, and Queen Elizabeth is the spirit to familiarize what is unfamiliar. She then uses the **actor description** category in (268) as she continues describing Queen Elizabeth.

Furthermore, in (269), she uses the **illustration/example** category to make her speech more alive by presenting Queen Elizabeth as an example of devotion to duty for the Britons. After that, she uses the **number game** category in (270),

as she uses the numbers "*100 countries*" and "*lives of millions around the world*" to enrich her speech and to represent facts against mere opinion. In her utterance (271) she employs the **consensus** category, which is an agreement between parties against a thread, i.e., they all agree together to face the difficult days ahead. In (272) she adopts the **hyperbole** category when she overstates Queen Elizabeth's service as an extraordinary lifetime service. While in (273), she uses the **burden** category again while talking about the loss of Queen Elizabeth. In (274), she also employs the **disclaimer** category when she states, "*They lost the queen, but the queen leaves a great legacy*," which connects two dissimilar ideas.

Liz uses the **burden** category again in (275), when she mentions the loss of King Charles III's mother. She adopted **norm expression** category in (276) as she asks the people to come together to support King Charles III by helping him and offering him loyalty and devotion. And she utilized the **national self-glorification** category in (277) as she praised the history of the country.

4.8.2 Macro-level Analysis of Liz Truss's Speech September 8, 2022
A-Positive Self-representation

Here, this strategy is used through the discursive devices such as generalization, metaphor, actor description, etc. *"We are all devastated by the news we have just heard from Balmoral."* (generalization). **"*Queen Elizabeth II was the rock on which modern Britain was built*"** (metaphor). *"She ascended the throne just after the Second World War. She championed the development of the Commonwealth - from a small group of seven countries to a family of 56 nations spanning every continent of the world."* (actor description).

B-Negative Other-representation

In spite of representing the self positively, most of the time, Liz Truss utilized negative other-representation strategy in her speech of September 8, 2022. She did that through discursive devices like consensus as in *"In the difficult days ahead, we will come together with our friends…across the United Kingdom, the Commonwealth and the world…"* (consensus).

4. 9 Analysis of Donald Trump's Speech October 7, 2020

Table (10) Analysis of Donald Trump's Speech October 7, 2020

Item No.	Text 1	Actor description	Authority	Burden	Categorization	Comparison	Consensus	Counterfactuals	Disclaimers	Euphemism	Evidentiality	Illustration / Example	Generalization	Hyperbole	Implication	Irony	Lexicalization	Metaphor	National self-glorification	Norm expression	Number game	Polarization	Populism	presupposition	Vagueness	Victimization	Positive Self-representation	Negative Other-representation
278	Hi,																*										*	
279	perhaps you recognize me														*													
280	…an exciting place to be …	*																										
281	…but the doctors said …								*																			
282	These are great professionals…	*																									*	
283	we have the greatest doctors												*														*	
284	the greatest nurses, the greatest first …				*									*					*								*	
285	everybody																						*					
286	This is a great country.																		*								*	
287	I spent four days there and I went …	*																									*	
288	and other things too																								*			
289	Regeneron, and it was like, …	*																									*	
290	I felt good immediately													*													*	

Item No.	Text 1																											Positive Self-representation	Negative Other-representation
		Actor description	Authority	Burden	Categorization	Comparison	Consensus	Counterfactuals	Disclaimers	Euphemism	Evidentiality	Illustration / Example	Generalization	Hyperbole	Implication	Irony	Lexicalization	Metaphor	National self-glorification	Norm expression	Number game	Polarization	Populism	presupposition	Vagueness	Victimization		
291	we have Regeneron	*											*																
292	I've authorized it..		*																									*	
293	…we're going to work it…		*																									*	
294	…hundreds of thousands of doses																				*							*	
295	..emergency use authorization…		*																									*	
296	..things that nobody even thought of …																							*					*
297	…everybody has done is incredible	*																										*	
298	I view these …										*																		
299	…but to me it wasn't …								*																			*	
300	…we have to get them done …																			*								*	
301	I want to get them to the hospitals…		*																										
302	Johnson & Johnson. Moderna,.										*																		
303	…but frankly, the politics …								*																				*

Item No.	Text 1	**Micro-level Analysis**																									**Macro-level Analysis**	
		Actor description	Authority	Burden	Categorization	Comparison	Consensus	Counterfactuals	Disclaimers	Euphemism	Evidentiality	Illustration / Example	Generalization	Hyperbole	Implication	Irony	Lexicalization	Metaphor	National self-glorification	Norm expression	Number game	Polarization	Populism	presupposition	Vagueness	Victimization	Positive Self-representation	Negative Other - representation
304	..they want to play their games …														*													*
305	…but we did it.								*																		*	
306	Nobody else, nobody else …														*							*						*
307	…they've ever acted in history													*													*	
308	..no president has ever pushed him..																					*					*	
309	…Eli, Lilly, and the others…											*																
310	in my opinion, remember this …		*																								*	
311	Some people don't know …											*													*			*
312	I want everybody to be given …																						*				*	
313	I feel like perfect.											*															*	
314	I said, "Let me take it." …										*																*	
315	It was my suggestion.		*																								*	
316	…but it really did a fantastic job	*							*																		*	

Item No.	Text 1	Actor description	Authority	Burden	Categorization	Comparison	Consensus	Counterfactuals	Disclaimers	Euphemism	Evidentiality	Illustration / Example	Generalization	Hyperbole	Implication	Irony	Lexicalization	Metaphor	National self-glorification	Norm expression	Number game	Polarization	Populism	presupposition	Vagueness	Victimization	Positive Self-representation	Negative Other-representation
																											Macro-level Analysis	
317	I want to get for you …		*																								*	
318	It was China's fault, and China…																							*				*
319	China is going to pay a big price…																			*								*
320	We're going to get it into the hospitals		*																								*	
321	And you'll see some amazing …										*																*	
322	…hundreds of thousands of troops																				*						*	
323	This is easy stuff for them.																		*								*	
324	…made a lot of it.																								*		*	
325	…just like I did										*																*	
326	a blessing in disguise																	*									*	

4.9.1 Micro-Level Analysis of Donald Trump's Speech October 7, 2020

When Trump starts addressing his audience, he begins with the word "*Hi*" which is an informal word, instead of (*hello*) to indicate that he is as if a friend of them; in this regard, the **lexicalization** category is used in (278). He then uses the **irony** category in (279) when he says, "*Perhaps you recognize me?"* Here he means the opposite, that of course they recognize him because he is the president, but he states this ironically to indicate something more powerful, especially in the sentence after he says, "*It's your favourite president.*" Trump employs the **actor description** category in (280) when he describes the situation he was in that day; he also describes the Oval Office at the White House, which is an exciting place. He uses the **disclaimer** category in (281) when he combines two different ideas that he could've stayed in the White House while sick but didn't. Utterance (282) is an example of an **actor description**, as he describes the doctors as great professionals who have done an excellent job.

Donald Trump utilizes the **generalization** category in (283), which is sometimes used by politicians to generalize good deeds, as he claims "we have the greatest doctors in the world" so "*we*" is generalized. It could also be a category of **national self-glorification** because he praises his country's doctors. And also, it is in the **hyperbole** category when he exaggerates in glorifying the doctors of his country by saying that they are the greatest in the world. He uses the **categorization** category in (284), when he categorizes people. He then uses the **populism** category in (185) when, at the end of the sentence, he mentions "everybody" to refer to the people in general. In utterance (286), he again uses the **national self-glorification** category when he exalts the country as a great one.

Furthermore, Trump employs **actor description** category in (287) when he identifies himself that how was he feeling to demonstrate that he was sick. In (288) he uses **vagueness** category when he says "and other things too" he doesn't clarify what are the other things. Also, he uses **actor description** category in

(289) since he labels Regeneron that it was unbelievable. And also, he adopts **hyperbole** category in (290) when he uses an exaggerated language while he is describing Regeneron that he felt good immediately after taking it.

Moreover, Trump adopts the **actor description** category in (291), in which he labels Regeneron again as a drug. Here, too, can be found the **generalization** category when he tries to generalize a good act like having Regeneron. In his utterance (292) he uses the **authority** category when he shows his expertise in authorizing the drug, and firstly he generalizes the act when he says, "we've authorized it," but later he refers to himself to show his knowledge and experience when he says, "I've authorized it." In addition, when he claims that it is free, he employs the **authority** category in (293). In (294) he uses the **number game** category, in which he uses numbers such as "hundreds of thousands" to represent facts versus his opinions.

He uses the **authority** category in (295) to show that he is experienced in how to get things done to make people feel better. In (296), the **presupposition** category is used, in which he presupposes that a few months ago things were worse than now and nobody thought of making things better. He employs the **actor description** category in (297), in which he describes the jobs of scientists and labs as incredible. Utterance (298) demonstrates the **evidentiality** category by providing evidence for his belief that he experienced this drug and that it is so good. In utterance (299), the **disclaimer** category is used when he mentions two dissimilar notions as negative and positive aspects of the drug: "I know they call them therapeutic, but to me it wasn't therapeutic". Trump uses the **norm expression** category in 300 to state what should be done to cure the disease. And also, he uses the **authority** category in (301) as he shows his expertise to get the drug to all hospitals, which is more important than the vaccine.

In addition, Trump uses the **Illustration/example** category in (302) when he gives concrete examples of what he expresses to enhance his opinion; he gives examples of the vaccine companies. In (303) the **disclaimer** category is used

when connecting two notions, like they should have had a vaccine before the election and the notion that they couldn't do it, which is a different notion. He also uses the **implication** category in (304) when he says, "they want to play their games" which implies that the other party didn't let him do so. He wishes to present a positive self-image while presenting a negative image of others. He didn't say what they exactly did to remain implicit. This may be the result of shared knowledge that became part of the audience's mental model.

Moreover, Trump adopts the **disclaimer** category in (305), since he says that they are going to have the vaccine after the election and then says that they did it, which connects two dissimilar ideas. He then, in (306) uses the **implication** category when he says nobody was able to do it except him. Here, some information remained implicit as a result of either shared knowledge among them or because he did not want to show any negative act of himself, such as "nobody" to indicate somebody. In 307, he adopts the **hyperbole** category when he exaggerates in praising himself for getting the FDA to act as quickly as possible in a way that they hadn't done before. He employs the **polarization** category (308) when he classifies himself as an ingroup that has positive characteristics and the other presidents of the USA as the outgroup that has negative characteristics. He then uses (309)'s **illustration/example** category to provide proof and evidence for his points of view. Trump uses the **authority** category in (310) to demonstrate his understanding of the vaccine as therapeutic and his expertise in therapeutic as a cure. He also uses the **vagueness** category here when he uses "some people" in which the referent is not clearly identified. Then he gives an example of his opinion in (311), so it's in the **illustration/example** category. In (312), he uses the **populism** category because he says, *"I want everybody..."* to refer to everyone in the population. And also, he uses the **illustration/example** category in (313) in that he gives an example about the cure to convince the audience about his opinion.

However, he employs the **evidentiality** category in (314), as he gives evidence about what he is expressing about the drug. In (315), he also demonstrates **authority** by demonstrating his experience with the drug by saying, "It was my suggestion." After that, he shows the **actor description** category in (316) when he describes the drug as fantastic. Utterance (317) is an example in the **authority** category because he wants the people to get off drugs to show his positive self-representation. Trump uses the **presupposition** category in (318) when he makes the assumption that China is behind COVID. After that, he employs **norm expression** category in (319) to clarify what he was going to do to make China pay a big price for what they'd done.

Furthermore, Trump utilizes the **authority** category in (320) when he shows his expertise in getting the drug into hospitals. In his utterance (321), he uses the **evidentiality** category, saying that he shows proof that amazing things happen since the military is doing the distribution, while in (322), he uses the **number game** category when he uses "hundreds of thousands of troops..." to enhance his speech. He also uses the category of **national self-glorification** in (323), when he praises the country's military. Utterance (324) shows the **vagueness** category since he doesn't identify the exact number of the drug as he says "a lot of it". He also gives a clear example about the quality of the drug since he himself uses it and felt better; this is in the **illustration/example** category (325). He also employs the **lexicalization** category in utterance (326), referring to his capture of Covid as "a blessing in disguise" in order to make use of the semantic feature of these words that, as Covid was captured, they might generate that wonderful medicine.

4.9.2 Macro-Level Analysis of Donald Trump's Speech October 7, 2020

A- Positive Self-representation

Donald Trump represents this strategy in his speeches. He stresses the good things about himself as a president, the greatness of their doctors, and the good features of Regeneron. He achieves this through discursive devices such as hyperbole, actor description, polarization, and evidentiality. *"I felt good immediately. I felt as good three days ago as I do now"* (hyperbole). *"But I spent four days there and I went in and I wasn't feeling so hot, and within a very short period of time, they gave me Regeneron. It's called Regeneron, and other things too"* (actor description).

B-Negative Other-representation

It can be seen that Donald Trump uses a negative other-representation strategy in his speeches. He stresses the bad features of China; China is considered the outgroup. He represents this through lexicalization, presupposition, and other categories. *"The first thing we have to do is pay our respects and our love to the incredible people and families who suffered so gravely from the China virus"* (lexicalization). *"You're not going to pay for it. It wasn't your fault that this happened. It was China's fault, and China is going to pay a big price for what they've done to this country. China is going to pay a big price for what they've done to the world. This was China's fault, and just remember that*" (presupposition). He states that China is to blame for the Corona virus; China made the mistake that resulted in the disaster.

4. 10 Analysis of Donald Trump's Final Speech January 20, 2021

Table (11) Analysis of Donald Trump's Final Speech January 20, 2021

Item No.	Text 10	Actor description	Authority	Burden	Categorization	Comparison	Consensus	Counterfactuals	Disclaimers	Euphemism	Evidentiality	Illustration / Example	Generalization	Hyperbole	Implication	Irony	Lexicalization	Metaphor	National self-glorification	Norm expression	Number game	Polarization	Populism	presupposition	Vagueness	Victimization	Positive Self-representation	Negative Other-representation
327	This has been an incredible four years	*																									*	
328	…so many other people …																								*		*	
329	People have no …									*																	*	
330	…but they just did a fantastic job.								*																		*	
331	…all of you, everyone.																						*				*	
332	Mark Meadows who's here …	*																									*	
333	But it's been …								*																		*	
334	we've accomplished a lot, …																								*		*	
335	our first lady… with the people …	*																					*				*	
336	But what we've done								*																		*	
337	What we've done …	*																									*	
338	…rebuilt the United States military …											*																*
339	We took care of the vets …											*															*	

		Micro-level Analysis																									Macro-level Analysis	
Item No.	Text 10	Actor description	Authority	Burden	Categorization	Comparison	Consensus	Counterfactuals	Disclaimers	Euphemism	Evidentiality	Illustration / Example	Generalization	Hyperbole	Implication	Irony	Lexicalization	Metaphor	National self-glorification	Norm expression	Number game	Polarization	Populism	presupposition	Vagueness	Victimization	Positive Self-representation	Negative Other-representation
340	…they've never had that before …					*																						*
341	…those rights before…					*																						*
342	Our military is thrilled.																		*									*
343	We also got tax cuts											*															*	
344	I hope they don't raise …																							*				*
345	If you look at the regulations …											*															*	
346	What we started had we not been …							*																			*	
347	our numbers are the best ever																		*								*	
348	…nobody had ever seen before													*														*
349	nobody blames us for that														*													*
350	we built it twice …					*																					*	
351	...you're gonna see incredible …		*																									
352	But you're gonna see …								*																			

Item No.	Text 10	Micro-level Analysis																									Macro-level Analysis	
		Actor description	Authority	Burden	Categorization	Comparison	Consensus	Counterfactuals	Disclaimers	Euphemism	Evidentiality	Illustration / Example	Generalization	Hyperbole	Implication	Irony	Lexicalization	Metaphor	National self-glorification	Norm expression	Number game	Polarization	Populism	presupposition	Vagueness	Victimization	Positive Self-representation	Negative Other-representation
353	It's a rocket ship up.																	*									*	
354	.. the greatest country in the world																		*								*	
355	They're calling it a miracle.																	*									*	
356	instead of nine years																				*						*	
357	…many years to develop …		*																								*	
358	you should start to see really good …																			*							*	
359	the next few months																								*			*
360	skyrocket downward																	*										
361	We've left it all …														*													*
362	had a lot of obstacles																								*		*	
363	…75 million votes… history of sitting presidents													*							*						*	
364	record by a lot																								*		*	
365	many millions …																								*		*	

Item No.	Text 1	Micro-level Analysis																									Macro-level Analysis	
		Actor description	Authority	Burden	Categorization	Comparison	Consensus	Counterfactuals	Disclaimers	Euphemism	Evidentiality	Illustration / Example	Generalization	Hyperbole	Implication	Irony	Lexicalization	Metaphor	National self-glorification	Norm expression	Number game	Polarization	Populism	presupposition	Vagueness	Victimization	Positive Self-representation	Negative Other -representation
366	In the history of sitting presidents	*																										*
367	300 federal judges and three great											*									*						*	
368	That's a very big number													*													*	
369	we've done a lot																								*		*	
370	we have to do is pay our respects …																			*							*	
371	…the China virus																*											*
372	…but we want to pay great love …								*																		*	
373	to all of the people																						*				*	
374	…you are amazing people …	*																									*	
375	This is a great, great country.	*																									*	
376	…the future of this country has never …																							*				
377	They have the foundation to do …									*																	*	
378	the things that we've done …	*																									*	

Item No.	Text 1	Micro-level Analysis																									Macro-level Analysis	
		Actor description	Authority	Burden	Categorization	Comparison	Consensus	Counterfactuals	Disclaimers	Euphemism	Evidentiality	Illustration / Example	Generalization	Hyperbole	Implication	Irony	Lexicalization	Metaphor	National self-glorification	Norm expression	Number game	Polarization	Populism	presupposition	Vagueness	Victimization	Positive Self-representation	Negative Other-representation
379	We will be back in some form.														*													*
380	I want to thank Congress …						*																				*	
381	We will see you soon.														*													*

4. 10.1 Micro-level Analysis of Donald Trump's Final Speech Jan 20, 2021

In his final speech, Donald Trump uses many ideological categories, such as **actor description** (327), when he identifies the four years of being president. In (328) he employs the **vagueness** category when he thanks his family and so many other people, in which the referent is not identified clearly as to whom the people are. He also adopted the **euphemism** category in (329), which is the avoidance of negative formation impressions, i.e., negative opinions about the outgroup. In utterance (330), he utilizes the **disclaimer** category when he tries to connect two different ideas together, as his family could have an easier life, but it worked for you. While in (331), the **populism** category is used as he uses "everyone" to refer to every individual in the audience. Utterance (332) is an example of the **actor description** category when he refers to Mark Meadows and thanks him. In his utterance (334) he employs the **vagueness** category, as in "we've accomplished a lot," but the exact things they accomplished are not identified. He then uses the **actor description** category in (335) when he labels the first lady as a woman of beauty and dignity. He also uses the **populism** category here: "our first lady has been a woman..." When he mentions "our" that he regards himself as one of the people.

Moreover, Trump employs the **disclaimer** category in (336) when he tries to say that they act more than speak by uniting two dissimilar ideas. "What else has to be said, right? But what we've done". He uses the **actor description** category in (337) to describe what they've done. He uses the **illustration/example** category in utterance (338), as he gives an example illustrating or making more plausible the point of what they've done. He employed the **illustration/example** category in (339) when he refers to "vets" as "We took care of the vets..." to suggest impelling forms of empirical proof. He then uses the **comparison** category in (340) when he compares the acts of the ingroup with the acts of the outgroup; the vets have given them an approval rating

like there has never been before. He again uses the **comparison** category in (341) when he compares present situations with past situations: "We didn't have any of those rights before when I came on". And he also employs the **national self-glorification** category in (342) when he extols veterans, people, and the military.

Furthermore, Trump uses the **illustration/example** category in utterance (343), as in "We also got tax cuts," to make his speech more "lively" because it is based on personal experiences, as well as to make his point of view more plausible. He also uses the **presupposition** category in (344) as he makes the assumption that they may raise their taxes. He uses the **illustration/example** category in utterance (345), as he gives examples on job numbers to be easily imaginable and to provide empirical proof. In (346) he uses the **counterfactuals** category to demonstrate what would happen if we weren't hit by the pandemic. He adopts the **national self-glorification** category in (347) when he praises the job numbers they have that are the best ever. Then he exaggerates in identifying the job numbers, saying that they were at a level that nobody had ever seen before, so he uses the **hyperbole** category here in his utterance (348). While in (349), he utilizes the **implication** category since he uses a sentence that seems to imply some other meaning that is not stated explicitly. This is because it may not be consistent with the strategy of positive self-representation, as in "We got hit, nobody blames us for that," which may mean there are other people to be blamed. Utterance (350) demonstrates a **comparison** between the past situation and now, when the stock market was at its highest position, so it falls under the comparison category. He uses the **authority** category in utterance (351), demonstrating his knowledge and expertise in creating more job numbers. He also employs the **disclaimer** category in (352) as he unites two different notions, namely, that the situation is complex and that incredible things will happen. He uses the **metaphor** category in (353), as he integrates the economy of his country like a rocket ship.

In addition to using utterance (354), the **national self-glorification** category used by Trump in which he praises the country and its economy, he also

uses the **metaphor** category in (355) when he embraces the vaccine as a miracle. In his utterance (356), he employs the **number game** category to emphasize credibility. He then adopts the **authority** category in (357), to show his expertise about developing a vaccine, and that there are two vaccines; the other one is coming immediately. He also states what they should do to see great numbers of vaccines in the next few months; so he uses the **norm expression** category in (358), and he also employs the **vagueness** category in (359), when he asserts "the next few months" but the exact quantity of months is not recognized. He further consumes the **metaphor** category in (360) as he embraces the increase in the number of vaccines as a skyrocketing downward trend.

He uses the **implication** category in (361), in which he keeps the negative characteristics of the ingroup as implicit and also hides his sadness that he leaves, especially when he says "We've left it all on the field," as if he worked hard but left it for the other people; he hides the negative details about himself. In (362), he develops the **vagueness** category as he states, "And we had a lot of obstacles and we went through the obstacles" i.e., the quantity of obstacles is not recognized clearly. Utterance (363) is an example of the **number game** category, in which he uses numbers to enhance his credibility, and also the **hyperbole** category, as he uses hyperbolic language "that's a record in the history of sitting presidents" to indicate that he is the only president who got that amount of votes in history. He uses the **vagueness** category in (364), when he says, "That's an all-time record by a lot," but he didn't say how much. He again uses the **vagueness** category in (365), as he says "By many millions" but the exact referent, i.e., the exact amount of a million, is not recognized. In (366), he employs the **actor description** category when he defines himself as the only president in history who got many millions of votes to show the ideological strategy of positive self-representation and negative other representation.

Furthermore, in utterance (367), he uses the **number game** category to represent facts versus opinions and impressions. He also uses the

illustration/example category here, which gives concrete examples of federal judges and court justices, to illustrate his point about his acts as president. In (368), he employs the **hyperbole** category when he overstates the number of federal judges; that's a record-setting number. Trump utilizes the **vagueness** category in (369), when he states, "we've done a lot" but the exact amount of reference is not recognized. In utterance (370), he employs the **norm expression** category when he states that they had to pay their respects to the families who suffered from the Corona virus. He uses the **lexicalization** category in the in-utterance (371), referring to the Corona virus as the "China virus" to indicate that they are to blame for the pandemic. In (372), he creates the **disclaimer** category to connect a negative to a positive idea, namely, they must be cautious, but they must also show love to those who have suffered. "So be very cautious," he said. Be very, very careful, but we want to pay great love, great love to all of people that have suffered, …". In his utterance (373), he employs the **populism** category to refer to every individual that suffered from the virus.

Furthermore, Trump uses the **actor description** category in (374), referring to the audience as "amazing people." He also uses the **national glorification** category in (375) when he praises the country, saying that it is a great country. Utterance (376) is the **presupposition** category; he presupposes that even in the future, the country will not be better than this because it is so good now. He attempts to adhere to the general ideology of positive self-presentation. In utterance (377), he uses **euphemism** that a positive characteristic of the outgroup is mitigated when he says "they have the foundation to do something really spectacular" means that he has laid the foundation; this is to indicate positive self-representation. He employs the **actor description** category in (378) when he describes his activities and what he has done. In (379), he uses the **implication** category when he states, "We will be back in some form" which keeps his ideological strategy implicit. He applies the **consensus** category in (380), as he shows an agreement between him and Congress. In (381), the

implication category is used when he states, "We will see you soon" in which he keeps that information implicit to be inferred by the audience from shared knowledge and constructed as part of their mental models.

4. 10.2 Macro-level Analysis of Donald Trump's Final Speech Jan 20, 2021

A- Positive Self-representation

Trump represented himself positively through utilizing devices like actor description, comparison, national self-glorification, etc. *"What we've done has been amazing, by any standard"* (actor description). *"91 percent approval rating they've never had that before, the vets have given us the VA, the vets have given us an approval rating like has never been before. We took care of our vets and beautiful vets they were very badly treated before we came along. And as you know, we get them great service and we pick up the bill and they can go out and they can see a doctor, if they have to wait long periods of time. We got it so that we can, sadly, get rid of people that don't treat our vets properly."* (comparison). "Our military is thrilled." (national self-glorification). He emphasizes that no other president in history has done what he has done.

B-Negative Other-representation

This strategy is used by Donald Trump through adopting discursive devices like presupposition, hyperbole, implication, etc. *"I hope they don't raise your taxes. But if they do, I told you so!"* (presupposition). *"If you look at what happened until February, a year ago, our numbers were at a level that nobody had ever seen before. And even now we really built it twice."* (hyperbole). *"We got hit, nobody blames us for that, the whole world got it and then we built it again."* (implication).

4.11 Analysis of Plasschaert's Speech July 30, 2022

Table (12) Analysis of Plasschaert's Speech July 30, 2022

Item No.	Text 11	Micro-level Analysis																									Macro-level Analysis	
		Actor description	Authority	Burden	Categorization	Comparison	Consensus	Counterfactuals	Disclaimers	Euphemism	Evidentiality	Illustration / Example	Generalization	Hyperbole	Implication	Irony	Lexicalization	Metaphor	National self-glorification	Norm expression	Number game	Polarization	Populism	presupposition	Vagueness	Victimization	Positive Self-representation	Negative Other - representation
382	We are here to commemorate, …			*																								*
383	those who tragically lost their lives …																									*		*
384	The pain of not knowing what …	*																										*
385	…the return of 100 Barzanis …																				*							*
386	we all know …												*															
387	These horrific events preceded the Anfal..																									*		*
388	Commemoration ceremonies, …												*															*
389	a ceremony like this also serves as …											*															*	
390	100 men and boys have come home…											*																*
391	We honour them. And we can only…												*														*	
392	the diversity of the Kurdistan Region…	*																									*	
393	we are reaching an important …		*																								*	
394	honour the many lives lost …			*																								*

Item No.	Text 11	Micro-level Analysis																									Macro-level Analysis	
		Actor description	Authority	Burden	Categorization	Comparison	Consensus	Counterfactuals	Disclaimers	Euphemism	Evidentiality	Illustration / Example	Generalization	Hyperbole	Implication	Irony	Lexicalization	Metaphor	National self-glorification	Norm expression	Number game	Polarization	Populism	presupposition	Vagueness	Victimization	Positive Self-representation	Negative Other -representation
395	honour *them* by working together …						*																				*	
396	…all people to prosper …																						*				*	
397	I wholeheartedly reaffirm our …		*																								*	
398	..scars of monstrous inhumanity …																	*										*

4.11.1 Micro-Level Analysis of Plasschaert's Speech July 30, 2022

Ms. Jeanine Hennis-Plasschaert, special representative of the United Nations Secretary-General for Iraq, in her July 30, 2022, speech used various ideological categories. She employs the **burden** category in (382) to symbolize the loss of a group of Barzani men and boys. In her utterance (383), she uses the **victimization** category to describe how ingroup members are victimized by outgroup members; Saddam victimized 8000 Barzanis. In (384), she uses the **actor description** category to describe the feelings of those who have lost loved ones. She utilizes the **number game** category in (385), as she uses numbers to represent the facts to enhance her opinion. She uses the **generalization** category in (386), as she gives a general opinion about a subject: *"As we all know, the immense tragedy does not stop here."* Plasschaert employs the **victimization** category in (387) when she refers to those Kurdish people who were victimized through Anfal, the genocide by the Baath regime. She uses the **generalization** category in (388) when she gives a general opinion about commemoration ceremonies, saying that they are used to remember the lives of loved ones who have died. Utterance (389) is an **illustration/example** category used by her to give a concrete example to make more plausible a general point defended by her, which is the aim behind holding ceremonies like that. And also, she uses the **generalization** category here as she states that it "serves as a stark reminder to all" so she generalizes a good act of the ingroup.

Plasschaert utilizes the **illustration/example** category in (390) when she gives an example of the men and boys who have come home to illustrate her point about Anfal and genocide. While in (391), she uses the **generalization** category as she generalizes a good act of the ingroup, which honored the lost ones.

She employs the **actor description** category in (392) when she designates the Kurdistan region and the Republic of Iraq. In (393), she uses the **authority** category as she shows her expertise in how to make every citizen in Kurdistan and Iraq live in peace. When she refers to those who died, she uses the burden

category in 394. She adopts the **consensus** category in (395), as she shows an agreement between all parties to encourage them to work together in order to heal the wounds left by conflict and division. In 396, she applies the **populism** category when she refers to all people and how to make them prosper. She also uses the **authority** category to support her case in (397), when she demonstrates her loyalty and unity with Kurds. And in (398), she uses the **metaphor** category when she claims "those who continue to bear the scars of monstrous inhumanity," so she embraces the enemy as a monster.

4.11.2 Macro-level Analysis of Plasschaert's Speech July 30, 2022

A- 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 Saddamists, terrorists, and Daesh. Throughout her speeches, she emphasizes the victimization of innocent people and tragedies such as the Anfal Campaign, a genocidal campaign. *"Having said this: it is also well-known that we are reaching an important crossroads for the well-being of all: here in the Kurdistan Region and in Iraq at large. Hence, I can only emphasize the magnitude of what is at stake: the ability for every citizen to live in peace, prosperity and dignity."* (authority).

B- Negative Other-representation

It can be observed that this strategy is used in Plasschaert speeches by employing discursive categories such as burden, victimization, etc. *"We are here to commemorate, with great sadness, the enforced disappearance - 39 years ago - of 8000 Barzani men and boys. They vanished, never to be seen again."* (Burden). Here, she wants to emphasize the bad actions of the Saddam regime, as he killed 8000 Barzani men and boys.

4. 12 Analysis of Plasschaert's Speech February 2 2022
Table (13) Analysis of Plasschaert's Speech February 2 2022

Item No.	Text 12	Actor description	Authority	Burden	Categorization	Comparison	Consensus	Counterfactuals	Disclaimers	Euphemism	Evidentiality	Illustration / Example	Generalization	Hyperbole	Implication	Irony	Lexicalization	Metaphor	National self-glorification	Norm expression	Number game	Polarization	Populism	presupposition	Vagueness	Victimization	Positive Self-representation	Negative Other-representation
399	It is a great honor to speak to you …		*																								*	
400	Frontline reporting in times of war is…												*															*
401	we need people to stand up …												*														*	
402	Telling the truth is a tremendous …												*														*	
403	over 1,000 journalists were …																				*							
404	…seven deaths of journalists …																									*		*
405	But it is happening.								*																			*
406	United Nations Secretary-General …										*																*	
407	…the organization Reporters …										*																*	
408	…female journalists face serious human...					*																						*
409	we depend on courageous …												*														*	
410	Individuals like Shifa Gardi …										*																*	
411	She was a pioneer …	*																									*	

Item No.	Text 12	Actor description	Authority	Burden	Categorization	Comparison	Consensus	Counterfactuals	Disclaimers	Euphemism	Evidentiality	Illustration / Example	Generalization	Hyperbole	Implication	Irony	Lexicalization	Metaphor	National self-glorification	Norm expression	Number game	Polarization	Populism	presupposition	Vagueness	Victimization	Positive Self-representation	Negative Other -representation
412	She was killed by an explosive device …																									*		*
413	Arwa Damon is brave: …	*																									*	
414	ordinary people's lives …																						*					*
415	Arwa has covered armed …	*																									*	
416	she visited families...											*															*	
417	she makes action follow words …	*																									*	
418	The world depends on journalists …	*																									*	

4.12.1 Micro-Level Analysis of Plasschaert's Speech February 2 2022

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 (399) to support her case by showing her expertise in women journalists' situations. She employs the **generalization** category in (400) since she presents a general opinion about the subject. Furthermore, in her utterance (401), she adopts the **generalization** category when she generalizes the good acts of the ingroup by saying that they needed fearless journalists. In (402), she uses the generalization category again when she gives a general viewpoint and generalizes it to apply to everyone. In utterance (403), 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 (404), as she talks about those journalists as members of the ingroup who are victimized. Furthermore, in (405), 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 (406) 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 (407) 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 408 as she compares female journalists with male journalists and finds that women face more violations of human rights than men. Utterance (409) is a **generalization** category in which she generalizes a good act to refer to the ingroup through using the pronoun "we." However, in utterance (410) 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 (411) when she defines Shifa Gardi as a pioneer to emphasize positive self-description. While in 412, she adopts the **victimization** category when she shows Shifa Grdi as a victim victimized by the outgroup, which is ISIS, to emphasize the negative other description.

Furthermore, she uses the **actor description** category in (413) when she describes Arwa Damon as a brave woman and the **populism** category in (414) 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 (415) as she describes Arwa, who covered armed conflict in Iraq. In (416), 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 (417) and (418), as she defines Arwa and focuses on her positive self-description.

4.12.2 Macro-level analysis of Plasschaert's Speech February 2 2022

A-Positive Self-representation

Plasschaert 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.

B-Negative Other-representation

She also adopted negative other-representation strategy through discursive devices such as victimization, as in *"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. 13 Analysis of Justin Trudeau's Speech September 21, 2021

Table (14) Analysis of Justin Trudeau's Speech September 21, 2021

Item No.	Text 13	Actor description	Authority	Burden	Categorization	Comparison	Consensus	Counterfactuals	Disclaimers	Euphemism	Evidentiality	Illustration / Example	Generalization	Hyperbole	Implication	Irony	Lexicalization	Metaphor	National self-glorification	Norm expression	Number game	Polarization	Populism	presupposition	Vagueness	Victimization	Positive Self-representation	Negative Other-representation
419	You are sending us back to work with…		*																								*	
420	a progressive plan ..but what we've …								*								*										*	
421	Some have talked … …but that's what…								*															*	*			*
422	I see Canadians standing together…					*																					*	
423	…our team, our government is ready												*														*	
424	When I became prime minister…				*																						*	
425	… a once-in-a-century pandemic…	*																									*	
426	…but what I did know …						*		*																		*	
427	I have heard you										*																*	
428	…but you want us to concentrate…								*																		*	
429	…not worry about this pandemic …		*																								*	
430	The moment we face demands real …		*																								*	
431	We hear you																*										*	

Item No.	Text 13	Micro-level Analysis																									Macro-level Analysis	
		Actor description	Authority	Burden	Categorization	Comparison	Consensus	Counterfactuals	Disclaimers	Euphemism	Evidentiality	Illustration / Example	Generalization	Hyperbole	Implication	Irony	Lexicalization	Metaphor	National self-glorification	Norm expression	Number game	Polarization	Populism	presupposition	Vagueness	Victimization	Positive Self-representation	Negative Other-representation
432	Friends																*										*	
433	…some people, some special people																								*		*	
434	The other parties and their families …		*				*																					*
435	…our institutions remain strong												*						*								*	
436	…we will stand up for you …																					*					*	
437	I hear you																*										*	
438	Our shared future is built vote by vote …		*																								*	
439	I had the opportunity to meet so many …		*																								*	
440	There are a lot of people …																								*		*	
441	there have been a lot of late nights…																								*		*	
442	But together, we've done something …								*																		*	
443	my mother, who is here tonight …	*																									*	
444	… to build a stronger Canada																		*								*	

| Item No. | Text 13 | Micro-level Analysis | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Macro-level Analysis | |
		Actor description	Authority	Burden	Categorization	Comparison	Consensus	Counterfactuals	Disclaimers	Euphemism	Evidentiality	Illustration / Example	Generalization	Hyperbole	Implication	Irony	Lexicalization	Metaphor	National self-glorification	Norm expression	Number game	Polarization	Populism	presupposition	Vagueness	Victimization	Positive Self-representation	Negative Other -representation
445	Prime Minister Wilfrid Laurier said..										*																*	
446	…but let us still more look to …								*																		*	
447	Let us feel the warmth of a new …																			*							*	

4.13.1 Micro-Level Analysis of Justin Trudeau's Speech September 21,2021

Justin Trudeau utilizes the authority category in (419) 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 (420) 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 (421), he uses the **vagueness** category when he states, *"Some have talked about division,"* 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 (422) 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 (423), he adopts the **generalization** category as he generalizes the good acts of the ingroup.

Trudeau employs the **comparison** category in his utterance (424), 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 (425) when he describes Corona as a once-in-a-century pandemic. He also uses the **disclaimer** category in (426), 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 in (427) as he gives evidence of his attitude that people want deeds, not words; he did this by claiming, *"I have heard you."* While in (428), 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 (429) and (430) to show his expertise on those to back up his situation. And also, he utilizes the **lexicalization** category in (431), 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 in (432) 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 (433) because he says *"some people, some special,"* in which the referent is not clearly identified, i.e., how many people and who the people are. Utterance (434) 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 in (435) 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 (436), 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 (437) 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 (438) and (439) are **authority** categories in which he demonstrates his expertise and knowledge to back up his points of view. In (440), he uses the **vagueness** category when he refers to a number of people by using *"There are a lot of people..."* but the exact number of people is not identified. He used the **vagueness** category again in (441), mentioning *"a lot of late nights and early mornings,"* but the exact referent is not clearly documented. And also in (442), 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 (443) when he labels his mother. In 444 he falls into the category of **national self-glorification** when he glorifies his family history. Utterance (445) 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 (446)—"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, he adopts the **norm expression** category in (447).

4.13. 2 Macro-level analysis of Justin Trudeau's Speech September 21,2021

A-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 colour or the language they speak.

B-Negative Other-representation

He used this strategy when he regards the other parties as the outgroup in his speech. He demonstrated this through using discursive devices such as disclaimers and consensus and authority. *"Some have talked about division, but that's what I see. That's not what I've seen these past weeks across the country."* (disclaimer). *"The other parties and their families—thank you for being part of this important moment. Political life isn't easy. This is a path you choose because you believe in serving those around you. Thank you for your service to the elections. To the Elections Canada staff and volunteers who signed up to be part of this democratic process and who will be working around the clock to count votes and tally results—thank you."* (consensus, authority).

4. 14 Analysis of Justin Trudeau's Speech January 8, 2022
Table (15) Analysis of Justin Trudeau's Speech January 8, 2022

Item No.	Text 14	Micro-level Analysis																									Macro-level Analysis	
		Actor description	Authority	Burden	Categorization	Comparison	Consensus	Counterfactuals	Disclaimers	Euphemism	Evidentiality	Illustration / Example	Generalization	Hyperbole	Implication	Irony	Lexicalization	Metaphor	National self-glorification	Norm expression	Number game	Polarization	Populism	presupposition	Vagueness	Victimization	Positive Self-representation	Negative Other-representation
448	…strong voices who've been by …	*																									*	
449	…Whether we're going back to work...					*																					*	
450	…ones of the Flight PS752 victims, …			*																								*
451	…for Victims of Air Disasters….																									*		*
452	I'm thinking about the conversations…		*																								*	
453	…by developing a new pathway to …		*																								*	
454	…Iran has failed to meet the deadline…																					*						*
455	Canada will stand together …			*			*																			*	*	
456	…no country responsible for …		*																									*
457	Canada is leading the Safer Skies …																		*								*	
458	We've also created a new Conflict Zone…		*																								*	
459	…I know this won't bring back …										*															*		*
460	…your fellow Canadians are …																			*							*	

4.14.1 Micro-Level Analysis Justin Trudeau's speech January 8, 2022

In his speech, Justin Trudeau uses the **actor description** category as in (448) since he describes some people who helped him achieve justice. They are described by their actions and their roles in achieving justice. The overall ideological strategy is to achieve positive self-presentation. In 449, he applies the **comparison** category when he compares two situations, which are that usually in January people look forward, while for those who lost loved ones in the Flight PS725 accident, it is a time of sorrow and grief. Here, he compares the acts of the outgroup with the ingroup that is victimized by them. He employs the **burden** category in (450) when he talks about a group of Canadians who lost their lives two years ago. This is to demonstrate the negative acts of the outgroup and to give sufficient reasons to make the audience accept the conclusion.

Trudeau utilizes the **victimization** category in 451 when he talks about the group of people victimized in air disasters. Politicians usually use victimization when they tend to represent others in negative terms, to make others associated with a threat, and to represent the ingroup as victims of such a threat. He employs the **authority** category in (452) and (453) when he tries to show his grief to those families who lost people by stating that they were ready to help them and that they were with them, and he promises them to achieve justice and transparency. In his utterance (454), he uses the **polarization** category, in which he categorizes people between US and THEM. He regards themselves as a US group and Iran as THEM. He categorizes the bad acts of the outgroup and the good acts of the ingroup: Iran's contempt for human life on the one hand, and Canadians' desire for justice on the other. He employs the **consensus** category in 455 when he demonstrates the agreement of all groups together as members of the coordination group as a unified front against a threat, which is Iran.

Likewise, Trudeau uses the **burden** category in 455 that focuses on human loss. He is referring to those who died in air disasters. He also uses the

victimization category when he refers to the lost people in the disaster as victims victimized by the outgroup, which is Iran. In utterance (456), he adopts the **authority** category, in which he tries to support his opinions by denoting the regulations that should be changed and how to prevent accidents and terrorist attacks. However, in (457), he uses the **national self-glorification** category when he praises Canada for leading to safer skies to demonstrate positive self-description. In (458), he applies the **authority** category when he tries to convince the audience that they were creating real change in the investigation processes. The victimization category can be noticed here too, as he brings up those who were victimized by the members of the outgroup when he states "who were murdered" Utterance (459) clarifies the **evidentiality** category by demonstrating as a leader that he understands that nothing can take away their pain and that his remarks cannot bring back people they have lost. And Trudeau utilizes **norm expression** category in (460) when he confirms what their fellow Canadians were going to do to make them not feel lonely and that they stood with them as Canadians and as a country.

4.14.2 Macro-level analysis Justin Trudeau's Speech January 8, 2022

A- Positive Self-representation

He adopted this strategy in his speeches when he focused on Canadians positive characteristics and regards himself as the ingroup. He did that through adopting devices such as burden, evidentiality, consensus, norm expression, etc. *"But for the loved ones of the Flight PS752 victims, January 8th is a day of pain, of sorrow, of grief. Because on this day two years ago, Canada lost so many people who were part of our country."* (burden). *"I know this won't bring back the people you lost and I know nothing can take away your pain."* (evidentiality). *"Canada will stand together with the members of the Coordination Group as a unified front, and we will not rest until Iran is held accountable."* (consensus);

here he represents Canada's positive characteristics, namely, that they are all united and stand together. Thus, Canadians are considered the ingroup.

B-Negative Other-representation

Reading Trudeau's speeches reveal that he uses this strategy in his speeches through categories such as vagueness, victimization, burden, comparison, and so on. He considers Iran and Iranian officials and other outside forces that believed in the division of Canadians as the outgroup. He emphasizes Iran's viciousness and the Iranian officials who shot down Flight PS725 and killed a group of people. *"Early January is usually a time when we look forward to the year ahead. Whether we're going back to work or school, or just turning over a new leaf, it's a moment for fresh starts. But for the loved ones of the Flight PS752 victims, January 8th is a day of pain, of sorrow, of grief."* (comparison); he compares the positivity of the ingroup and the negativity of the outgroup. *"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. *"Today, on the National Day of Remembrance for Victims of Air Disasters – and every day – we remember those who were taken by unthinkable tragedies. Tragedies like Ukraine International Airlines Flight 752, Ethiopian Airlines Flight 302, Air India Flight 182. Tragedies that took sisters, brothers, parents, children, and friends. They were newlyweds returning home after celebrations abroad. They were students hoping to become engineers, scientists, or simply get their high school diploma. Doctors and teachers who were loved. Small business owners who gave back to their community."* (victimization); he represents a negative ideology of Iran that is regarded as an enemy.

4. 15 Analysis of Angela Merkel's Speech December 5, 2011

Table (16) Analysis of Angela Merkel's Speech December 5, 2011

Item No.	Text 15	Actor description	Authority	Burden	Categorization	Comparison	Consensus	Counterfactuals	Disclaimers	Euphemism	Evidentiality	Illustration / Example	Generalization	Hyperbole	Implication	Irony	Lexicalization	Metaphor	National self-glorification	Norm expression	Number game	Polarization	Populism	presupposition	Vagueness	Victimization	Positive Self-representation	Negative Other-representation
461	On behalf of the entire German …		*																								*	
462	..further develop our partnership …						*																				*	
463	The presence of 100 delegations …											*															*	
464	However, I agreed on condition that …								*																		*	
465	how should we work together …						*																				*	
466	..we've learned from 's history.																		*								*	
467	.. under the aegis of the United Nations..																					*					*	
468	…few people had access…																											*
469	Law and order were in an extremely …											*																*
470	…another realistic look at the situation.																							*				
471	the international community was …																					*					*	
472	…people in would one day be…																						*					
473	We've gained much experience since …											*															*	

		Micro-level Analysis																									Macro-level Analysis	
Item No.	Text 15	Actor description	Authority	Burden	Categorization	Comparison	Consensus	Counterfactuals	Disclaimers	Euphemism	Evidentiality	Illustration / Example	Generalization	Hyperbole	Implication	Irony	Lexicalization	Metaphor	National self-glorification	Norm expression	Number game	Polarization	Populism	presupposition	Vagueness	Victimization	Positive Self-representation	Negative Other-representation
474	allow me to name one example where ..											*															*	
475	However, we can now at least …								*																			*
476	Afghan security forces within the …	*																									*	
477	..responsibility for security in more …		*																					*			*	
478	More than 300,000 Afghan …																				*						*	
479	…peace and development in …																							*			*	
480	…That is our main goal.		*																								*	
481	…the Afghan Government…	*																									*	
482	..we've achieved, we must not lose sight..	*											*														*	
483	We can help here. We can contribute…		*																								*	
484	..want to live together in peace…												*															*
485	…Mr President, and the entire …						*																				*	
486	…the benefit of the people of.																						*				*	

4.15.1 Micro-Level Analysis Angela Merkel's Speech December 5, 2011

As she delivers a speech on behalf of the entire German government, Chancellor Angela Merkel uses ideological categories such as **authority** in utterance (461) to back up her case and demonstrate her authority. When she demonstrates unity and agreement between them and the Afghan government in her utterance (462), she uses the **consensus** category. She utilizes the **illustration/example** category in 463 when she provides an example about the presence of a number of delegations to defend her point about holding the conference. She also applies the **disclaimer** category in (464); she joins two distinct ideas. The first is the Afghan president's request to the German government to hold the conference; the second is to hold the conference on the condition that the Afghan president preside over it. This is to demonstrate the positive acts and positive description of the ingroup. Utterance (465) again falls into the **consensus** category when she emphasizes working together against the threat of terrorism. She adopts the national self-glorification category in 466 because she praises their history, in which they learned the lesson of counting on the support of the international community. In 467, she utilizes the **polarization** category when she polarizes the United Nations and the Taliban's reign of terror between ingroup and outgroup. In (468), she makes use of the **vagueness** category when she states, *"Back then, government and social structures were in ruins and few people had access to education or health care"* in which the exact number of people referred to is not recognized evidently. And in (469), she uses the **illustration/example** category, in which she provides a concrete example to make her point that the Taliban is a terrorist who has ruined everything more conceivable.

Likewise, in (470), she utilizes the **presupposition** category, in which she makes the supposition that before ten years, they didn't have a serious, realistic look at the situation, and this caused many bad things to happen. In 471, she uses the

polarization category when he divides people into the ingroup, which is the international community, and the outgroup, which is terrorism, and contrasts the properties of the US with the properties of THEM. In 472, she adopts the populism category, in which populism is combined with a human burden, particularly on Afghans, who bear the brunt of terrorism, in order to help and support them. In 473, the **generalization** category is used when she presents a general point of view and also generalizes the good acts to the ingroup as she uses the pronoun "we." In 474, she uses the category of **illustration/example** to provide a concrete example of her ideologies. She clarifies her general point of view in 474 by providing an example in 474 to convince the audience. She utilizes the **disclaimer** category in (475); she connects two distinct concepts together, i.e., although the security situation is not where they want it to be, they hand over responsibility to the Afghan security forces. She employs the **actor description** category in 476 since she defines the Afghan forces as doing much to improve the security situation. The 477 **authority** category is used when she shows her expertise in improving the security situation in Afghanistan, and their work will be done as their troops will no longer be there. This is also in the category of presupposition because she assumes that the security situation in Afghanistan is bad and that this was the reason for sending troops there.

Similarly, in 478, she adopts the **number game** category, as she provides numbers to represent facts rather than mere opinions. In (479), she uses the **presupposition** category as a result of shared knowledge between her and the audience when she presupposes that there are no peace and development in Afghanistan. She also uses the **authority** category in 480 to demonstrate her knowledge and experience about the importance of private sector involvement in Afghanistan reconstruction. Merkel employs the **actor description** category in (481) since she labels the Afghan government and the Afghan people as facing big challenges. When she gives a broad overview of the political process in 482, she employs the **generalization** category. And also, she generalizes the good acts

to the ingroup when she uses *"we."* She utilizes the **authority** category in 483 since she illustrates her proficiency when she asks President Karzai to use his political skills to improve the people's quality of life. In 484, she adopts the **generalization** category when she has a general point of view on people in general; she also uses the word "everywhere" to generalize her attitude. She uses the pronoun "we" to generalize the good acts to the ingroup. She employs the **consensus** category in (485); she exhibits the agreement between Germany and Afghanistan against the terrorist threat. And in (486) she uses **populism** category when referring to ordinary people that they should do everything for the benefit of people.

4.15.2 Macro-Level Analysis Angela Merkel's Speech December 5, 2011
A-Positive Self-representation

Angela Merkel frequently expresses positive self-presentation in her speeches. She emphasizes the positive aspects and characteristics of the German government and international community in order to positively represent them. Having read the speeches, it is noted that she positively uses this strategy in most of the discursive devices that are found in her speeches. She represents the German government and international community positively when she stresses that they continue building up the security forces in Afghanistan. She also focuses on their partnership with the Afghan government. She employs many categories like evidentiality, authority, consensus, etc. *"I also want to thank the band of the Federal Armed Forces for the musical accompaniment they are providing, despite the truly difficult conditions of the pandemic."* (Evidentiality category). *"For even after that, our task will be to continue building up the security forces, continue training and supporting them, even though our combat troops will no longer be there. The task then will be to consolidate the development work in order to achieve the goals we've set ourselves."* (authority*). "For we believe that*

this meeting will provide us with a unique opportunity to broaden and further develop our partnership with the Afghan Government, as well as with the Afghan people as a whole." (consensus).

B-Negative Other-representation

Merkel employs this strategy by using discursive devices such as illustration/example, polarization, disclaimer, etc. She stresses on the world's financial and economic burden and also on the Taliban's reign of terror and the crises he created in Afghanistan. She demonstrates the bad characteristics of the Taliban. He is known as a terrorist who wreaked havoc in Afghanistan. So she has a negative ideology about him and recognizes him as the enemy, i.e., the outgroup. *"The financial and economic crisis of 2008 and the many people who sought refuge in 2015 underscored"* (Examples and Evidentiality categories). *"Exactly ten years ago to the day, delegations from all over the world gathered here in under the aegis of the United Nations to discuss 's future following the demise of the Taliban's reign of terror. Ten years later, it is, of course time to take stock. Back then, government and social structures were in ruins, and few people had access to education or health care. Law and order were in an extremely precarious state."* (polarization).

4. 16 Analysis of Angela Merkel's Speech December 2, 2021

Table (17) Analysis of Angela Merkel's Speech December 2, 2021

Item No.	Text 16	Actor description	Authority	Burden	Categorization	Comparison	Consensus	Counterfactuals	Disclaimers	Euphemism	Evidentiality	Illustration / Example	Generalization	Hyperbole	Implication	Irony	Lexicalization	Metaphor	National self-glorification	Norm expression	Number game	Polarization	Populism	presupposition	Vagueness	Victimization	Positive Self-representation	Negative Other-representation
																			Micro-level Analysis								**Macro-level Analysis**	
487	..humility towards the office that I …		*																*								*	
488	…a significant role in our history.																		*								*	
489	…the band of the Federal Armed …										*																*	
490	all those who right now are putting …																						*				*	
491	The last two years of the pandemic…	*									*																*	
492	..democrats must end wherever hatred..																			*								*
493	The many internal challenges we are…												*														*	
494	The financial and economic crisis …										*	*																*
495	…if we take up our tasks not with …							*																			*	
496	...but rather, as I said three years ago …								*																		*	

4.16.1 Micro-Level Analysis of Angela Merkel's Speech December 2, 2021

Angela Merkel, in her speech on December 2, 2021, used several ideological categories. In her utterance (487), she utilizes the **authority** category and the **national self-glorification** category; she expresses her expertise and also praises herself. Utterance (488) is a **national self-glorification** category as she acclaims a place, which is the Bendlerblock building. She employs the **evidentiality** category in (489); she provides evidence of her knowledge when she thanks the band of the Federal Armed Forces. She uses the **populism** category in 490 when she refers to those who fight pandemics.

She utilizes the **illustration/example** category in (491) when she mentions *"the last two years of pandemic"* as an example. In 492, she describes what Democrats should do to avoid hatred and violence using the **norm expression** category. In (493), she uses the **generalization** category; she generalizes the worthy performances to the ingroup to demonstrate positive self-presentation of the ingroup. Utterance (494) is in the **illustration/example** and evidentiality categories; she gives the financial and economic crises and the fact that many people sought refuge in 2015 as examples and proofs of her knowledge and opinions.

Merkel utilizes the **counterfactuals** category in 495 when she clarifies what would happen if an alternative were considered: they can successfully shape the future if they take up the tasks with pleasure. In (496), the **disclaimer** category is used since she combines two dissimilar notions that they will perform the acts with pleasure and not with displeasure.

4.16.2 Macro-level analysis of Angela Merkel's Speech December 2, 2021

A-Positive Self-representation

Through adopting discursive devices like authority, counterfactuals, illustration/example, Angela Merkel utilized positive self-representation strategy. *"Standing before you here today, I feel two things above all: gratitude and humility – humility towards the office that I had the honour of holding for so long, and gratitude for the trust that was placed in me. Trust – of this I was always keenly aware – is the most important capital in politics. It should never be taken for granted. And I am most deeply grateful for it."* (authority). *"I am convinced that we can continue to successfully shape the future if we take up our tasks not with displeasure, resentment or pessimism"* (counterfactuals). *"These last 16 years as Federal Chancellor were truly eventful, and often very challenging. They were highly demanding, both politically and personally; at the same time, I always found them fulfilling. The last two years of the pandemic in particular have brought into clear focus how important trust in politics, science and social discourse is – and how fragile this trust can be."* (illustration/example).

B-Negative Other-representation

Merkel sometimes used the strategy of Negative Other-representation through devices as norm expression and evidentiality. *"Moreover, our democracy thrives on the fact that our tolerance as democrats must end wherever hatred and violence are seen as a legitimate means of asserting vested interests."* (norm expression); she regards haters as the outgroup. *"The financial and economic crisis of 2008 and the many people who sought refuge in 2015 underscored how much we all depend on cooperation beyond our national borders, and how crucial institutions and multilateral instruments are if we want to successfully meet the great challenges of our era: climate change, the digital transformation and refugees and migration. I want to encourage everyone to keep in mind that we must also see the world through other people's eyes; also recognise the sometimes uncomfortable and contrasting views of others and work towards balancing interests."* (evidentiality).

4. 17 Analysis of King Charles III's Speech September 9, 2022

Table (18) Analysis of King Charles III's Speech September 9, 2022

Item No.	Text 17	Micro-level Analysis																									Macro-level Analysis	
		Actor description	Authority	Burden	Categorization	Comparison	Consensus	Counterfactuals	Disclaimers	Euphemism	Evidentiality	Illustration / Example	Generalization	Hyperbole	Implication	Irony	Lexicalization	Metaphor	National self-glorification	Norm expression	Number game	Polarization	Populism	presupposition	Vagueness	Victimization	Positive Self-representation	Negative Other-representation
497	..was an inspiration and example to me..	*																									*	
498	..a promise with destiny kept …	*																									*	
499	we also share with so many of you …												*														*	
500	Served the people with so many …																						*				*	
501	In 1947, on her 21st birthday …											*															*	
502	Her dedication and devotion …	*																									*	
503	…which make us great as Nations …																		*								*	
504	…to see the best in people …																						*				*	
505	I know that her death brings …										*																*	
506	…I share that sense of loss …			*																							*	
507	…with you all …												*														*	
508	When the queen came to the throne…		*																								*	
509	… many cultures and many faiths.																		*								*	

Item No.	Text 17	Micro-level Analysis																									Macro-level Analysis	
		Actor description	Authority	Burden	Categorization	Comparison	Consensus	Counterfactuals	Disclaimers	Euphemism	Evidentiality	Illustration / Example	Generalization	Hyperbole	Implication	Irony	Lexicalization	Metaphor	National self-glorification	Norm expression	Number game	Polarization	Populism	presupposition	Vagueness	Victimization	Positive Self-representation	Negative Other-representation
510	But, through all changes …								*																			*
511	…must remain, constant …																			*							*	
512	…the Church of England …														*												*	
513	…our unique history																		*								*	
514	solemnly pledge myself …		*																								*	
515	…the charities and issues …														*													*
516	But I know this important …								*																		*	
517	…a time of change for my family…																			*							*	
518	I know she will …										*																*	
519	.. assumes the Scottish titles …		*																								*	
520	..they continue to build their lives ..									*																	*	
521	.. family and to the family of nations…																		*								*	
522	flights of Angels sing …																	*									*	

4.17.1 Micro-Level Analysis of King Charles III's Speech September 9,2022

In his speech, King Charles III tries to affect the audience's emotions through the use of several discursive devices. In his utterance (497), he utilized the **actor description** category. Since this category is used to describe a person, place, entity, or object, he used it when he described his mother, Her Majesty the Queen, because she was a source of love, affection, guidance, and understanding for him and the whole family. He used the **actor description** device in (498), as well, as he describes how his mother lived and mourned. While in (499), he adopted the **generalization** category since the category of generalization is used to refer to the manner in which the information is generalized, so here he indicates that he shares with the UK the Queen, implying that the people of the United Kingdom and many other countries owe them as the queen's family because they shared the most valuable thing with them, which is the queen. He applied the **populism** category in (500) to refer to the people of the UK and so many nations that are served by the queen.

Moreover, King Charles III utilized the **illustration/example** category in his speech, specifically in his utterance (501). Examples are used to back up one's opinions to persuade their audience, so he gives an example of his mother's lifelong devotion to people to imply a specific ideology and to support his idea that they shared his mother with people and that she devoted all her life to serve them. He again used the **actor description** category in (502) to praise his mother. He used the **national self-glorification** category in his utterance (503). Politicians usually use the national self-glorification category to give an account of the history of a nation or country, as well as its values and principles. He praises the nation, saying it is great, and also the queen, saying she is responsible for the nation's greatness. Furthermore, in 504 he adopted the **populism** category to refer to people in the United Kingdom and other nations in general, as this device is used to refer to all individuals in general.

Furthermore, King Charles III used an **evidentiality** device in (505) that is used to provide evidence for what he is saying and to show his source of information, so when he says *"I know,"* he is the source of information because he is a famous figure. Utterance (506) is a **burden** category that is used by King Charles to indicate human loss by showing his sadness over his mother's death. In 507, he applies the **generalization** category when he mentions *"with you all"* to refer to every individual in general. In 508, King Charles used the **authority** category, which shows the speaker's knowledge of a subject, to describe what the Queen did to Britain and the world after she ascended to the throne following WWII. Utterance (509), an example of **national self-glorification**, was used by King Charles to praise their culture and the queen. He utilized the **disclaimer** device in (510) as he connects two different ideas, positive and negative, that in spite of the changes and challenges they faced, their achievements have flourished. He also adopted the norm expression device in 511 when he indicates what they should do: that their values must remain constant.

In addition, King Charles III continues to use the discursive devices suggested by van Dijk to imply his ideology and to describe himself positively, as in (512) when he used the **implication** category to show his devotion to the church. In 513, he used the category of **national self-glorification** to praise their history and parliamentary government system. He utilized the **authority** device in 514 to show his expertise in upholding the constitutional principles of the nation and serving the people with loyalty and respect. In 515, he used the **implication** category again when he spoke about the charity that he was giving so much of his time to show that he cares about poor people and helps people in need to show that he is a good person. In (516), he adopted the **disclaimer** category as he gathers two unrelated ideas, which are that he has no time to help poor people and that others can take this responsibility to continue his deed.

He adopted the **norm expression** device in (517), as he claims that his family should change in order to be able to serve people. And he used the **evidentiality** category in (518) to show evidence that his wife could be relied on by saying that he knows that, so he is the source of the information. Moreover, in 519, he used an **authority** device to show that he is an expert in how to serve and rule the nation. Utterance (520) is an example of **euphemism** device used to hide the negative properties of the ingroup, which is his family, when he talks about Harry and Meghan only by mentioning that they continue their lives overseas without mentioning what they did or how they served the nation. In 521, he uses the category of **national self-glorification** to praise his mother, family, and how they served the nation. In (522), when he discusses angels that may sing to a person's soul, he finally employs the **metaphor** category.

4.17.2 Macro-Level Analysis of King Charles III's Speech September 9,2022

A-Positive self-representation

It is noticed that King Charles III uses positive self-representation in his speeches more than negative other-representation. He considers his family and UK as the ingroup. He used the devices like actor description, generalization, populism authority to do that. *"She made sacrifices for duty. Her dedication and devotion as Sovereign never wavered, through times of change and progress, through times of joy and celebration, and through times of sadness and loss."* (actor description). *"...in all the countries where the queen was head of state, in the Commonwealth and across the world, a deep sense of gratitude for the more than seventy years in which my mother, as queen, served the people of so many nations."* (populism). *"I know that her death brings great sadness to so many of you, and I share that sense of loss, beyond measure, with you all."* (generalization). He attempts to demonstrate that his family serviced all the

people, and he also wants to stress that the King family considers itself to be one of the common people.

B-Negative Other-representation

King Charles III expressed this strategy less than the positive self-representation; however, this strategy can be noticed in his speeches in a way that he tries to say that it is only his family that serves the nation through mentioning the role of the members of his family in serving people without mentioning the role of the other parties. He expressed this through utilizing devices like disclaimer, implication, …etc. *"But, through all changes and challenges, our nation and the wider family of Realms — of whose talents, traditions and achievements I am so inexpressibly proud — have prospered and flourished."* (disclaimer). *"It will no longer be possible for me to give so much of my time and energies to the charities and issues for which I care so deeply."* (implication).

4. 18 Analysis of King Charles III's Speech September 12, 2022

Table (19) Analysis of King Charles III's Speech September 12, 2022

Item No.	Text 18	Micro-level Analysis																									Macro-level Analysis	
		Actor description	Authority	Burden	Categorization	Comparison	Consensus	Counterfactuals	Disclaimers	Euphemism	Evidentiality	Illustration / Example	Generalization	Hyperbole	Implication	Irony	Lexicalization	Metaphor	National self-glorification	Norm expression	Number game	Polarization	Populism	presupposition	Vagueness	Victimization	Positive Self-representation	Negative Other-representation
523	I am deeply grateful for …		*																									*	
524	As Shakespeare says …										*																	*	
525	but feel the weight of history …								*																			*	
526	…betterment of us all.												*															*	
527	Parliament is the living …																	*										*	
528	We see in the construction of …	*	*																									*	
529	The great bell of Big Ben …																		*									*	
530	… her nations and peoples.																							*				*	
531	She set an example of selfless …										*																	*	

4.18.1 Micro-Level Analysis of King Charles III's Speech September 12,2022

King Charles III, in his speech on September 12, 2022, started his speech by using the **authority** category in 523 to show his authority when talking to the Lords and members of the House of Commons. He then used the **evidentiality** category in 524 when he provided a proof of his attitude that his mother was a great loss by mentioning one of Shakespeare's sayings that she was "a pattern to all princes living." He then used the **disclaimer** category in (525) to connect two different ideas in one utterance, claiming that while he can't help but stand in front of them because of his mother's loss, he is doing so for the sake of parliamentary traditions and the people's interest. In 526, the **generalization** category is used to refer to people in general and to consider himself one of them.

Moreover, King Charles III uses **metaphor** in 527 when he attempts to make the unknown familiar to the people by comparing the parliament to a breathing creature. While in 528, he adopted the **actor description** category to describe the hall construction, golden jubilee, and platinum jubilee. He also used the authority device to show his expertise and understanding of the situation and how to govern. In 529, he used the **national self-glorification** category again, praising Big Ben as a powerful symbol of the nation. In (530), he adopted the **populism** category when he refers to the people of the nation as being served by the queen. He then used the **illustration/example** category in (531) when he mentioned the queen as a tangible example of selfless duty and devotion to make the audience convinced that he can also serve like her since he is the queen's son.

4.18.2 The Macro-Level analysis of King Charles III's Speech September 12, 2022
A-Positive self-representation

As mentioned previously, King Charles III used positive self-representation mostly in his speeches. He tried to show the positive characteristics of the Queen and UK in general. "I am deeply grateful for the addresses of condolence by the House of Lords and the House of Commons, which so touchingly encompass what our late sovereign, my beloved mother, the Queen, meant to us all" (authority). "Parliament is the living and breathing instrument of our democracy, that your traditions are ancient" (metaphor). He demonstrated only the good qualities of the government and people.

B-Negative Other-representation

Although King Charles III did not express this strategy as strongly as he did his positive self-representation, it is still possible to see it in his speeches when he makes references to the members of his family and their contributions to society without mentioning the roles of other parties. He did that through using devices like disclaimers, illustration/example, etc. *"As I stand before you today, I cannot help but feel the weight of history which surrounds us, and which reminds us of the vital parliamentary traditions to which members of both Houses dedicate yourselves with such personal commitment for the betterment of us all"* (disclaimer).

4. 19 Analysis of Michelle Obama's Speech October 14, 2016

Table (20) Analysis of Michelle Obama's Speech October 14, 2016

Item No.	Text 19	Micro-level Analysis																									Macro-level Analysis	
		Actor description	Authority	Burden	Categorization	Comparison	Consensus	Counterfactuals	Disclaimers	Euphemism	Evidentiality	Illustration / Example	Generalization	Hyperbole	Implication	Irony	Lexicalization	Metaphor	National self-glorification	Norm expression	Number game	Polarization	Populism	presupposition	Vagueness	Victimization	Positive Self-representation	Negative Other - representation
532	a rough week, rough election																*											*
533	See, on Tuesday, at the White House…		*																								*	
534	So I thought it would be important …		*												*												*	
535	…hurtful, hateful language about …														*		*											*
536	..I simply will not repeat anything…									*																		*
537	…It has shaken me to my core …													*								*						*
538	…footnote in a sad election season.																*											*
539	.was not just a "lewd conversation"…																					*					*	*
540	And to make matters worse …														*													*
541	It is cruel. It's frightening.	*																										*
542	It's like that sick, sinking feeling										*																	*
543	It's that feeling of terror…													*														*
544	It reminds us of stories …										*																	*

Item No.	Text 19	Actor description	Authority	Burden	Categorization	Comparison	Consensus	Counterfactuals	Disclaimers	Euphemism	Evidentiality	Illustration / Example	Generalization	Hyperbole	Implication	Irony	Lexicalization	Metaphor	National self-glorification	Norm expression	Number game	Polarization	Populism	presupposition	Vagueness	Victimization	Positive Self-representation	Negative Other-representation
																											Micro-level Analysis →	**Macro-level Analysis** →
545	…but here we are, in 2016 …								*																			*
546	..And all of us are doing what women ..									*																		*
547	Maybe we're afraid to be that …														*													*
548	But, New Hampshire, be clear..								*																			*
549	Democrat, Republican, indep..				*																						*	
550	…but this isn't about politics …								*													*					*	*
551	…If all of this is painful to us …																									*		*
552	…to decent men everywhere.												*														*	
553	…vicious language about women…																*											*
554	someone recently told me a story …										*																	*
555	Strong men - men who are truly role…														*													*
556	People who are truly strong lift others up																					*					*	*

4.19.1 Micro-Level Analysis of Michelle Obama's Speech October 14, 2016

Michelle Obama used a variety of discursive devices in her speech on October 14, 2016—the US election. She started her speech by using the **lexicalization** category in (532). This device is used to refer to the use of the semantic properties of words to show or characterize something or someone in a positive or negative way. So she used this device by adopting expressions like *"a rough week"* and *"rough election"* to characterize Trump in a negative way, so she started her speech by criticizing a candidate who was Trump. Then she used another expression to adopt the same category again, such as "profound contrast" to show themselves positively and others negatively. She used the **authority** device in 533 as she attempts to show her expertise in how to value women and encourage them to learn and overcome obstacles. In her utterance (534), she adopted the **implication** category since she wanted to imply something in her speech that could be inferred by the audience. She wants to tell the audience that they value women while the other candidates disrespect women. It is also the authority category here to demonstrate her understanding of women's global situations and how to make their voices heard.

Additionally, in 535 she used the **lexicalization** category when she used words like *"hurtful"* and *"hateful"* language of the other candidate for the presidency about women to make women, on the one hand, not vote for him and to make the parents also not vote for him because of their daughters. It is also in the implication category since she seems to have found some words against women said by the other candidate, so she tries to make this a weak point of him and to show bad characteristics of him, i.e., to show negative other-representation. Moreover, she used the **euphemism** category in 536 to show that the candidate's bragging about sexually assaulting women represents him negatively, but she doesn't want to show negative self-representation since it is not convenient with the common standards. In 537, she adopted the **polarization**

category to categorize individuals as belonging either to the ingroup or the outgroup, then to show positive self-representation and negative other-representation. So she regards herself as the ingroup that has positive characteristics, which is respect for women, and the other candidate as the outgroup that has negative characteristics, which is disrespect for women. It can be said that this is also in the hyperbole category in that she uses exaggerated language to talk about their thinking about women.

Michelle applied the **lexicalization** category again in 538 when she used an expression like *"a sad election season"* to refer to this election that is a sad election for them as women since they are disrespected and disvalued. She used the **polarization** device in Area 539 to divide people into US and THEM. They and the people around them are part of the US group, which is represented positively, and the other candidate is part of the THEM group, which is represented negatively. In (540), she applied the **implication** category to show that the words are uttered not accidentally but that it is his personality to treat women like this. This is done to exploit women's vulnerabilities in order to prevent them from voting for him. In (541), she utilized the **actor description** category to describe the feelings of women when they are treated cruelly by men. In 542, she used the **illustration/example** category to provide a tangible example of her opinions in order to influence the audience; she provides an example of a woman's situation in the past. She also used the **hyperbole** category in 543 when she used exaggerated language as she talked about the feelings of women, saying that they feel like they are experiencing terror and violation when they hear these types of words about them. And in 544, she adopted the **illustration/example** category when she provides an example of the stories they heard from their mothers and grandmothers about women's violations.

Mrs. Obama utilized the **disclaimer** category in 545 when she tried to connect two unrelated ideas: that in the past they attempted to end the violence against women but today they again face it. In 546, she used the **euphemism**

category to conceal her negative self-representation when she claimed that women do not admit to facing violence because they see it as a sign of female weakness. So she tries to get women to admit that and face it with courage. In 547, she adopted the **implication** category to imply that even though people hear and see this type of violence, they do not say anything and instead choose quietness. Utterance (548) is an example of the **disclaimer** device used by Michelle to refer to the people who are quite in front of women's violations and regard them as normal, but this is not normal and they have to speak. In 549, she utilizes the **categorization** device when she categorizes American people into Democrats, Republicans, and independents to affect them all.

Michelle Obama used the **disclaimer** device in (550) when she gathers two different ideas: that she knows that this is an election campaign, but this is not politics to talk against women. She also used the polarization category, especially when she mentioned the words *"right and wrong,"* meaning that they as the ingroup were right and the other candidate as the outgroup was wrong. However, in Section 551, she adopted the **victimization** category to indicate that the ingroup members, who are women and girls, are victimized by the outgroup, which is the other candidate. She used the **generalization** device in 552 to generalize this topic when she claimed the word *"everywhere"* In 553, she used the **lexicalization** category when she claimed words like *"vicious language."* Here, she tries to affect men too, not only women, to vote for them. In 554, she used the **evidentiality** category to provide evidence on her attitudes and ideologies in order to persuade people to vote for Hillary Clinton to be the next president. Because Hillary is a woman, she wanted to draw women's attention and influence them to vote for a woman to protect women's rights. While in 555, she used the **implication** category to imply her views about the other candidate and to show his negative characteristics. When she says "strong men do not need to put down women," this means that Trump is not a strong man. She used the **polarization** category in 556 to categorize themselves as the ingroup and US

group to show positive self-representation that they are strong, and the other candidate as the outgroup and THEM group to show negative other-representation that he is not strong since he put the women down.

4.19.2 Macro-Level Analysis of Michelle Obama's Speech October 14, 2016

A-Positive Self-representation

Michelle Obama used this strategy a lot in her speeches. she regarded, her husband, and women in general as the ingroup. She expressed the positive self-representation by focusing on the good characteristics of the ingroup that they are on the top, care about the nation, women even all the people without regarding skin colour, religion or party. She did that through utilizing devices like polarization, actor description, comparison, etc. *"And I have to tell you that I can't stop thinking about this. It has shaken me to my core in a way that I couldn't have predicted. So while I'd love nothing more than to pretend like this isn't happening, and to come out here and do my normal campaign speech, it would be dishonest and disingenuous to me to just move on to the next thing like this was all just a bad dream"* (polarization).

B-Negative Other-representation

In her speeches, Michelle Obama used this strategy more than positive self-representation. She always wanted to show their good characters through showing bad characters of the others. She regarded Trump and those who voted for him as the outgroup. She focused on showing bad characteristics of the outgroup through utilizing several devices like implication, lexicalization, euphemism, etc. *"So I thought it would be important to remind these young women how valuable and precious they are. I wanted them to understand that the measure of any society is how it treats its women and girls. And I told them that they deserve to be treated with dignity and respect, and I told them that they should disregard anyone who demeans or devalues them, and that they should make their voices heard in the world."* (implication).

4.20 Analysis of Michelle Obama's Speech August 18, 2022
Table (21) Analysis of Michelle Obama's Speech August 18, 2022

Item No.	Text 20	Micro-level Analysis																									Macro-level Analysis	
		Actor description	Authority	Burden	Categorization	Comparison	Consensus	Counterfactuals	Disclaimers	Euphemism	Evidentiality	Illustration / Example	Generalization	Hyperbole	Implication	Irony	Lexicalization	Metaphor	National self-glorification	Norm expression	Number game	Polarization	Populism	presupposition	Vagueness	Victimization	Positive Self-representation	Negative Other-representation
557	And I know a lot of folks …																								*		*	
558	But I am here tonight …								*																		*	
559	…so many people hurting.																						*					*
560	I've heard your stories										*																	*
561	And thanks to so many																								*		*	
562	That's the story of America.																		*								*	
563	All those folks who sacrificed																						*				*	
564	There's a lot of beauty …	*																									*	
565	..a lot of struggle and injustice ..																								*			*
566	..work left to do.																							*				*
567	And who we choose as our …																							*				*
568	I am one of a handful of people...										*																*	
569	A president's words have …		*																								*	

Item No.	Text 20	Actor description	Authority	Burden	Categorization	Comparison	Consensus	Counterfactuals	Disclaimers	Euphemism	Evidentiality	Illustration / Example	Generalization	Hyperbole	Implication	Irony	Lexicalization	Metaphor	National self-glorification	Norm expression	Number game	Polarization	Populism	presupposition	Vagueness	Victimization	Positive Self-representation	Negative Other - representation
Micro-level Analysis spanning																											**Macro-level Analysis**	
570	They can summon our better angels…																	*										*
571	…doesn't change who you are.														*													*
572	…their votes didn't matter									*																		*
573	…the barriers felt too steep																	*										*
574	two votes per precinct two votes																				*							*
575	When my husband left office …														*							*					*	
576	as George Floyd, Breonna Taylor …											*																*
577	a Black life matters														*													*
578	..chaos, division, ..lack of empathy																*											*
579	..walk in someone else's shoes …																*											*
580	…we don't stand in judgment…												*														*	
581	..Barack and I have tried our best …					*																					*	
582	…if we've been lying to them this...							*																				*

			Micro-level Analysis																								Macro-level Analysis	
Item No.	Text 20	Actor description	Authority	Burden	Categorization	Comparison	Consensus	Counterfactuals	Disclaimers	Euphemism	Evidentiality	Illustration / Example	Generalization	Hyperbole	Implication	Irony	Lexicalization	Metaphor	National self-glorification	Norm expression	Number game	Polarization	Populism	presupposition	Vagueness	Victimization	Positive Self-representation	Negative Other-representation
583	…winning is everything…	*													*													*
584	…torch-bearing white supremacists.											*																*
585	They watch in horror as children..													*														*
586	Sadly, this is the America …														*													*
587	…we close out the noise and the fear...									*																		
588	…When others are going so low …																					*					*	*
589	We degrade ourselves…									*																		
590	Going high means standing fierce…																					*					*	
591	if we want to survive, we've …							*													*						*	
592	..unlocking the shackles of lies …									*								*										*
593	.. wrong president for our country…	*																										*
594	…but he is clearly in over …								*																			*

		Micro-level Analysis																									Macro-level Analysis	
Item No.	Text 20	Actor description	Authority	Burden	Categorization	Comparison	Consensus	Counterfactuals	Disclaimers	Euphemism	Evidentiality	Illustration / Example	Generalization	Hyperbole	Implication	Irony	Lexicalization	Metaphor	National self-glorification	Norm expression	Number game	Polarization	Populism	presupposition	Vagueness	Victimization	Positive Self-representation	Negative Other -representation
595	…message won't be heard…																*											*
596	by some people																								*			*
597	…I am a Black woman speaking…														*													*
598	But you also know that I care …							*																			*	
599	if you think things cannot possibly …							*																			*	
600	I know Joe. He is a profoundly …																					*					*	
601	When he was a kid, Joe's father lost …	*																									*	
602	Now, Joe is not perfect …	*																									*	
603	folks who know…											*																*
604	..to withhold our votes..		*																									
605	We have got to…																				*						*	
606	..working parents..											*															*	
607	..up to us to add…		*																								*	
608	..if we want to ..							*																				*

4.20.1 The Micro-Level Analysis of Michelle Obama's Speech August 18,2022

Michelle Obama in her DNC speech started by using the **vagueness** category in 557 since the referent is not specified as *"a lot of folks."* She then utilized the **disclaimer** device in 558 when she claims that although a lot of people connect this with politics, since she loves this country because of that, she is here, so again she connected two different ideas. When she refers to the many people in need in 559, she uses the **populism** category. She adopted the **evidentiality** category in (560) to provide proof of his view when she claims that she heard their stories and met so many of them. She also used the **vagueness** category in (561) since she claims that "so many who came before me" indicates that the exact referent is not specified. In 562, she uses the **national self-glorification** category when she praises America and the people of America. She utilized the **populism** category in (563) to refer to the people of America who sacrificed to overcome so much in their lives. In (564), she used the **actor description** category when she described the story of America as being beautiful and painful at the same time. She adopted the **vagueness** category in (565) when she states *"a lot of struggle"* but the exact type of struggle is not specified. In (566), she uses the **presupposition** device to claim that there is *"a lot of work left to do,"* implying that the previous president left so many tasks unfinished. In (567), she used the **presupposition** device to make an assumption about choosing the next president, who should be someone who makes them proud of their story; this presupposes that the previous president did not make them feel so.

Michelle utilized the **illustration/example** device in (568) since she gives herself as a tangible example who has seen the power of the presidency. In (569), she used the **authority** category to show her experience with the power of the president's words that can move markets, start wars, or break peace. In (570), she uses the **metaphor** device when she treats angels and

instincts as living things. In (571), she used the **implication** category since she doesn't want to show her ideology explicitly and prefers to keep it implicit. However, she utters some sentences to affect the audience and to show the negative other-representation. When she claims, "being president doesn't change who you are; it reveals who you are," implies that Trump's personality has not been affected or changed by being president; it has been revealed through being president. And when she claims "a presidential election can reveal who we are, too," She refers to that time of the election campaign when Trump talked about women in a disrespectful way, so this indicates what type of person he is. In (572), she uses the **euphemism** category when she refers to those people who vote for Trump, but she doesn't want to show the ingroup negatively, so she hides it by saying that *"those people chose to believe that their votes didn't matter."* She applied the **metaphor** category in (573), as she assimilates the barriers as living things.

Obama utilized the **number game** device (574) to raise the legitimacy and authenticity of her statements. She used the **polarization** and **implication** categories in (575). She used **polarization** to divide herself and Joe Biden and Donald Trump into US and THEM. They, along with Joe Biden, are the ingroup, according to her speech, and Trump is the outgroup. According to her speech, when they left the presidency, they had a record of job creation, health care for people,.. but after them, Trump ruined everything; millions of people are unemployed, 150000 people died as a result of the virus,... so they have good characteristics as the ingroup, and Trump has bad characteristics as the outgroup. It is also implied because she implies her ideology that she wants to influence people to vote for Biden, especially when she says "my husband and Joe Biden," which means that Biden also did all those things.

Utterance (576) is an example of the **illustration/example** category used by Michelle to provide examples of her opinion that Trump is racist, especially after (577), when she claimed *"a Black life matters is still... "*, implying that he

doesn't like black people and that black people face problems even now. In (578), she applied the **lexicalization** category to express the semantic properties of some words used by her, which are "chaos, division, and lack of empathy," to indicate that all these things would be found during Trump's governing. She used the **lexicalization** device again in (579), when she mentions *"empathy,"* to imply that Trump did not make an emotional effort to understand the black point of view. In 580, she used the **generalization** device by repeatedly repeating words like **"we"** and **"us"** to refer to the people in general and herself as ordinary people in America. In (581), she applied the **comparison** category, which is used to represent a direct comparison between two groups that are usually classified into ingroups and outgroups. The category is used to compare the negative characteristics of ingroups with the positive characteristics of outgroups. So here, she compared the positive characteristics of the ingroup, which is themselves, with the negative characteristics of the outgroup, which is Trump and his followers.

Moreover, Michelle Obama utilized the **counterfactuals** device in 582 to indicate circumstances beyond the facts; she expressed that some people were looking to know what would happen if they were wrong in their opinions. In (583) she adopted the **actor description** category that describes Trump as a selfish man who only wanted to be president, no matter what happened to everyone else. It is also an implication device, implying that Trump is a racist who only cares about white people. In 584, she applied the **illustration/example** category to provide examples of her view that Trump is racist. She used the **hyperbole** device in (585), which means she used exaggerated language to affect the audience and persuade them that he is unjust. Utterance (586) is the **implication** category used by Michelle to get people to vote for Joe Biden. While in (587), she used the **euphemism** category to avoid revealing that there is a skin color, age, and religion division. In (588), she adopted the **polarization** category, which divides themselves and Trump

into high and low categories. They and Biden are the ingroup, which is high, and Trump is the outgroup, which is low. In (589), she used the **euphemism** category to not show the negative characteristics of the ingroup, which includes the people as well, so she claims "We degrade ourselves," which means if they vote for Trump, they degrade themselves.

Additionally, Michelle Obama used the **polarization** category in (590) and again regarded themselves at the top who had positive characteristics, while Trump was at the bottom who had negative characteristics, namely that he is a hate person. In (591), she adopted the **counterfactuals** and the norm expression categories. counterfactuals because she tries to show them what they should do if they want to survive. Norm expression because she tries to persuade them of what they should and should not do. In (592), she uses the **metaphor** category when she describes lies as a living creature that's locked on by shackles. It is also in the euphemism category because she doesn't want to state her opinion explicitly that Trump is a liar because it's not convenient with the common standards, but uses it to make her ideology acceptable to the audience. In (593), she utilized the **actor description** category that expresses the negative characteristics of the outgroup, which is Trump. She adopted the **disclaimer** category in (594) to refer to Trump, saying that although he had more time to prove that he is good, he couldn't, so here she connected two different ideas.

In addition, Michelle Obama utilized the **lexicalization** category in (595) when she mentions expressions like *"won't be heard,"* which indicates the negative characteristics of the outgroup that refers to those people who vote for Trump and are regarded as his followers. In (596), she used the **vagueness** category when she stated *"some people,"* in which the exact referent is not specified. In (597), she uses the **implication** category when she implies her ideology because she doesn't want to show negative characteristics on the

ingroup when she says that although she is black and a member of the Democratic Party, she is not stating these things because of that; she is saying them because she cares about the country. In (598), she used the **disclaimer** category again to connect two unrelated concepts: that it is true she is from the other party, but she cares about the nation. In her utterance (599), she used the **counterfactuals** category to tell them what would happen if they did not elect Biden; this is to indicate circumstances beyond the facts. In (600), she used the **polarization** category to categorize Biden as the ingroup and Trump as the outgroup and to show the good characteristics of Biden and the bad characteristics of Trump, such as that Biden has worked in politics throughout his life while Trump has not. Biden listens to people, while Trump doesn't. Biden is one of the common people; he was a poor man's son, while Trump is and was rich.

Obama used the **actor description** device in (601) to describe Joe Biden and show his positive characteristics. For the same reason, she adopted the **actor description** category in (602). In (603), she adopted the **illustration/example** category to provide an example of her attitude that Trump will not win since he is doing things that indicate that he will lose. She utilized the **authority** category in (604) to show her expertise in elections. In (605), she used the **norm expression** category to tell the audience what they should do in order to win the election. In (606), she applied the **illustration/example** category to prove that all of them care about the nation. In (607), she utilized the **authority** category to show her knowledge and represent her opinions. She also used cognitive thinking to convince the audience about her views. She adopted the **counterfactuals** category in (608) to tell them what would occur if an action is not taken, i.e., what would happen if they did not elect her friend Joe Biden.

4.20.2 Macro-Level Analysis of Michelle Obama's Speech August 18, 2022
A-Positive self-representation

Michelle Obama used this strategy quietly in her speeches. she regarded, her husband, and Joe Biden as the ingroup. She expressed the positive self-representation by focusing on the good characteristics of the ingroup. She did that through utilizing devices like polarization, actor description, comparison, etc. *"Joe is not perfect. And he'd be the first to tell you that. But there is no perfect candidate, no perfect president. And his ability to learn and grow—we find in that the kind of humility and maturity that so many of us yearn for right now. Because Joe Biden has served this nation his entire life without ever losing sight of who he is; but more than that, he has never lost sight of who we are, all of us."* (actor description*). "And like so many of you, Barack and I have tried our best to instill in our girls a strong moral foundation to carry forward the values that our parents and grandparents poured into us. But right now, kids in this country are seeing what happens when we stop requiring empathy of one another."* (Comparison). In her speeches she tried to convince the audience about her opinions that the care nation.

B-Negative Other-representation

As it is mentioned previously Michelle Obama utilized negative other-representation more than positive self-representation in her speeches. She tried to demonstrate the negative qualities of the outgroup to convince people that the ingroup has much better characteristics. She did that through discursive devices such as lexicalization, euphemism, etc. *"I understand that my message won't be heard by some people. We live in a nation that is deeply divided, and I am a Black woman speaking at the Democratic Convention."* (lexicalization). *"have a candidate for president*

of the United States who, over the course of his lifetime and the course of this campaign, has said things about women that are so shocking, so demeaning that I simply will not repeat anything here today." (euphemism).

She emphasized that the outgroup disrespect women, racist, divided the nation, and has no empathy to affect the audience and convince them about her opinions.

4. 21 Findings

The study validates the applicability of van Dijk's (2005) approach to political speeches. In addition, it illustrates how the underlying ideologies of each political speech are disclosed through the implicit use of socio-political and ideological ideas and language techniques. The research demonstrates how politicians employ discursive strategies to communicate their implicit ideologies. In their speeches, each politician employs distinct discursive strategies to illustrate the underlying ideology. Thus, this section provides an analysis of the findings.

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.

In his speeches, Joe Biden used actor description, authority, populism, disclaimers, and vagueness to demonstrate his ideologies. He also employed comparison, illustration, generalization, hyperbole, national self-glorification, and norm expression to praise himself and the United States while criticizing the actions 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 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.

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 contrast, Liz Truss used actor description, authority, metaphor, illustration, national self-glorification, and norm expression more often than burden and disclaimers in her statements.

In his remarks, however, Donald Trump used discursive devices such as authority, actor description, disclaimers, illustration, national self-glorification, and vagueness. In addition, he used methods such as hyperbole, implication, lexicalization, number game, presupposition, and irony to convey his thoughts and beliefs. Meanwhile, Plasschaert used actor description, generalization, and illustration to explain her views in her talks.

In his talks, Justin Trudeau also used authority, disclaimers, lexicalization, vagueness, and consensus to depict positive self-representation and negative other-representation. His counterpart Angela Merkel used illustration, generalization, and authority devices to express her views. King Charles III also showed positive self-representation through national self-glorification and populism, while Michelle Obama used implication, lexicalization, and polarization to show both negative other-representation and positive self-representation.

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. The devices are not ideological in and of themselves; that is, it

cannot be claimed that certain categories are used to convey negative-other representation while others are used to represent positive-self representation; rather, the structure of discourses communicate ideologies. However, it can be seen that they 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.

Accordingly, some politicians show positive self-representation more than negative other-representation, while others demonstrate negative other-representation more than positive self-representation in their speeches to affect the audience. For example, Liz Truss in her speeches focuses on the good characteristics of the ingroup more than demonstrating the negative characteristics of the outgroup, as well as King Charles III, while Michelle Obama emphasizes the bad characteristics of the outgroup, as well as Boris Johnson, to express their ideologies.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSIONS AND SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

5.1 Conclusions

The present study was designed to investigate political speeches and the implicit ideologies embedded in them and the discursive devices used by the politicians to imply their ideologies. Thus, based on the analysis, and the discussion of findings, the study has arrived at the following conclusions:

1. The conclusions of the study validate van Dijk's (2005) model for use in analyzing political speeches. 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.

2. As hypothesized, ideologies are influenced by social as well as cognitive processes i.e., ideologies are shaped by the contexts in which people are educated the way they think.

3. Using the discursive devices, it is noticed clearly in political speeches since both positive self-representation and negative other-representation are ideological goals that shape the speech's context and language choice. Its fundamental goal is to control the thoughts of its audience by highlighting the contrast between "positive self-representation and negative other-representation."

4. From the perspective of cognitive linguistics, ideologies are understood via the functions of the discursive devices such as 'metaphor, populism, authority, etc.' used in discourses that make up the political viewpoint or frame particular policies.

5. No assertion is made that certain categories are employed for negative other-presentation and others for positive self-representation, etc. However, they are used to express the viewpoints and beliefs of the discourse makers, since ideas impact speech and discourses influence thinking. This is why it is important for each speaker to use their own individual strategies in their discourse interactions with the audience.

6. Since politicians frequently use these devices to sway an audience, it is stated that the discursive devices of (actor description, authority, generalization, disclaimers, hyperbole, metaphor, national self-glorification, norm expression, number game, polarization) are the foundations of implicit ideologies in political speeches.

7. Although it cannot be asserted that certain categories are used to convey negative other-representation while others are used to represent positive self-representation, it is observed from the analysis of the speeches 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.

8. It was clear from the data that male and female politicians used distinct discursive tactics in their speeches. There were some discursive strategies that were employed more often by women than men, while others were used less frequently. Women were more likely to hint about their ideology via the use of actor description, metaphor, populism, and generalization than men were.

9. Some politicians demonstrated positive self-representation more than negative other-representation in their speeches to affect the audience, while others demonstrated negative other-representation more than

positive self-representation. This means that they concentrated on the positive qualities of the ingroup more than they did on demonstrating the negative qualities of the outgroup to express their ideologies.

5.2 Suggestions for Further Research

Considering the significance of ideology and socio-cognitive viewpoint in several parts of life, most notably in politics, the researcher offers the following suggestions for further study:

1. Carrying out a comparative study of implicit ideologies in both Kurdish and English political speeches.

2. Conducting a contrastive analysis of the discursive devices used in the speeches of men and women politicians.

3. A comparative analysis of self-representation and other-representation in the speeches of American and British politicians

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Secretary Austin, General Miley,

(1) to all the families and loved ones who still feel the ache of that missing piece   of your soul, I'm honoured to be here with you once more to share in this solemn rite of remembrance and to reflect on all that was lost in the fire and ash on that terrible September morning and all that we found in ourselves to respond.
Twenty-one years ago — twenty-one years, and still we kept our promise: Never Forget.

(2) We'll keep the memory of all those precious lives stolen from — from us:

(3) 2,977 — at Ground Zero in New York; in Shanks Ville, where my wife is speaking now — in Pennsylvania; 184 of them here at the Pentagon.

(4) And I know, for all those of you who lost someone, 21 years is both a lifetime and no time at all.

(5) It's good to remember. These memories help us heal, but they can also open up the hurt and take us back to that moment when the grief was so raw.

(6) You think of everything — everything that they could have done if they had lived to just had a little more time: the experience you missed together; the dreams they never got to fulfil or realize.
I remember a message sent to the American people from Queen Elizabeth. It was on September 11. Her ambassador read a prayer of service at St. Thomas Church in New York, where she poignantly reminded us, quote,

(7) "Grief is the price we pay for love."

(8) Grief is the price we pay for love. Many of us have experienced that grief, and you've all experienced it.

(9) And on this day, when the price feels so great, Jill and I are holding all of you close to our hearts.

(10) Terror struck us on that brilliant blue morning. The air filled with smoke, and then came the sirens and the stories — stories of those we lost, stories of incredible heroism from that terrible day.
The American story — the American story itself changed that day. But what we did change — what we will not change, what we cannot change,

(11) never will, is the character of this nation that the terrorists thought they could wound.
And what is that character? The character of sacrifice and love, of generosity and grace, of strength and resilience.

(12) In the crucible of 9/11, in the days and months that followed, we saw what stuff America is made — Americans are made of. Think of all of your loved ones, particularly those on that flight — ordinary citizens who said, "We will not let this stand," who risked and lost their lives so even more people would not die.
We saw it in the police officers and firefighters who stood on the pile at Ground Zero for months amid that twisted steel and broken concrete slabs, breathing the toxins and ash that would damage their health, refusing — refusing to stop the search through the destruction. They never stopped and would not.

(13) We learned about the extraordinary courage and resolve, as I said, of the passengers on board Flight 93, who understood that they were living the open — they were there in the middle of the open shot of a new war,

(14) and who chose to fight back — not professionals — to si- — fight back, sacrificing themselves, refusing to let their plane be used as a weapon against even more innocents.

(15) And here at the Pentagon, which was both the scene of the horrific terrorist attack and the command center for our response to defend and protect the American people, so many heroes were made here. So many of your loved ones were those heroes.
It began almost immediately, with civilians and service members leaping to action as the walls collapsed and the roof began to crumble. They raced into the breach between the fourth and fifth corridors.
The impact created by the fire raged at twice the heights of this building.

(16) I remember. I was a U.S. senator walking up to my office, and I could see the smoke and flames.

(17) They were heroes. They went back into those soaring flames to try to save their teammates. Firefighters battled the ba- — the blaze of jet fuel long into the night, pushing past the bounds of exhaustion. Pentagon staff showed up to work on September 12th more determined than ever to keep their country secure.
As I said when I was up on 9/11,

(18) we will follow them to the gates of hell to be sure that they're not able to continue.
And millions of young men and women from across the nation responded to the 9/11 attacks with courage and resolve, signing up to defend our Constitution and joining

(19) the greatest fighting force in the history of the world. And in the years since 9/11,

(20) hundreds of thousands of American troops have served in Afghanistan, Iraq, and so many other places around the world to deny terrorists the safe haven and to protect the American people.

(21) And to all our service members and their families, our veterans, our Gold Star families, all the survivors and caregivers and loved ones who have sacrificed so much for our nation: We owe you. We owe you an incredible — an incredible debt,

(22) a debt that can never be repaid but will never fail to meet the sacred obligation to you to properly prepare and equip those that we send into harm's way and care for those and their families when they come home — and to never, ever, ever forget.

(23) Through all that has changed over the last 21 years, the enduring resolve of the American people to defend ourselves against those who seek us harm, and to deliver justice to those responsible for attacks against our people, has never once faltered.

(24) It took 10 years to hunt down and kill Osama bin Laden, but we did.

(25) And this summer, I authorized a successful strike on Zawahiri, the man who bin Laden — was his deputy on 9/11 and was the leader of al Qaeda. Because we will not rest. We'll never forget. We'll never give up.

(26) And now, Zawahiri can never again threaten the American people.

(27) And 20 years after Afghanistan is over but our commitment to preventing another attack on the United States is without end.

(28) Our intelligence and defense and counterterrorism professionals in the building behind me and across the government continue their vigilance against terrorist threats that has evolved and spread to new regions of the world.

(29) We'll continue to monitor and disrupt those terrorist activities wherever we find them, wherever they exist. And we'll never hesitate to do what's necessary to defend the American people.

(30) What was destroyed, we have repaired. What was threatened, we fortified. What was attacked — the indominable spirit — has never, ever wavered.
We raised monuments and memorials to the citizens whose blood sacrificed on these grounds, and in Shanksville and Ground Zero, to keep touch of the memory — keep it bright for all the decades to come. When future generations come here to sit in the shade of the Maple trees that shelter the memorial and grown tall and strong with passing years, they will find the names of patriots. They will feel the connection that will come to pass on September 11, 2001, and how our country was forever changed.

(31) And I hope they will think about all those of — all those heroes that were ~~more~~ [made] in the hours and days and years that followed.

(32) Ordinary Americans responding in

(33) extraordinary and unexpected ways.
I hope we'll remember that in the midst of these dark days, we dug deep, we cared for each other, and we came together.

(34) You know, we regained the light by reaching out to one another and finding something all too rare — a true sense of national unity.
To me, that's the greatest lesson of September 11. Not that we will never again face a setback, but that in a moment of great unity

(35) we also had to face down the worst impulses, fear, violence, recrimination directed against Muslim Americans, as well as Americans of Middle Eastern and South Asian heritage.
It's that, for all our flaws and disagreements, in the push and pull of all that makes us human, there is a nation that cannot accomplish — there's nothing this nation cannot accomplish when we stand together and defend with all our hearts that which makes us unique in the world: our democracy.

(36) We're not only a nation based on principles, but we are based on an idea unlike — we're the most unique nation in the world. An idea that everyone is created equal and should be treated equally throughout their lives.

(37) We don't always live up to it, but we've never walked away from it. That's what makes us strong. That's what makes us who we are.

(38) And that's what those hijackers most hoped to destroy when they targeted our buildings and our people. They failed. No terrorist could touch the wellspring of American power.

(39) And it falls to us to keep it safe on behalf of all those we lost 21 years ago, on behalf of all those who have given their whole souls to the cause of this nation every day since.

(40) That's a job for all of us. It's not enough to gather and remember each September 11th those we lost more than two decades ago. Because on this day, it is not about the past, it's about the future.

(41) We have an obligation, a duty, a responsibility to defend, preserve, and protect our democracy, the very democracy that guarantees the rights and freedom that those terrorists on 9/11 sought to bury in the burning fire and smoke and ash.
And that takes a commitment on the part of all of us — dedication, hard work — every day.

(42) For always remember: The American democracy depends on the habits of the heart of "We the People." That's how our Constitution — "We the People." The habits of heart of "We the People."

(43) It's not enough to stand up for democracy once a year or every now and then. It's something we have to do every single day.

(44) So this is a day not only to remember but a day of renewal and resolve for each and every American, in our devotion to this country, to the principles it embodies, to our democracy.

That is ~~who~~ [what] we owe those who remember today. That is what we owe one another. And that is what we owe future generations of Americans to come.

I have no doubt we will do this. We will meet this significant responsibility.

(45) We'll secure our democracy together as one America, the United States of America. That's who we are. That's who your loved ones were and why they gave so much.

Thank you. May God bless you all. And may God honor the members of the military we lost and all those we lost here on 9/11. May God protect our troops.

Joe Biden Speech
January 6, 2022.

(46) Shortly, you're going to hear a helicopter landing outside the window here.

(47) (46) I'm supposed to be in Colorado looking at the damage with the governor of a godawful firestorm that rolled through, and then I'm heading off to do Harry Reid's funeral.

(48) (47) So, but this morning, I want to talk about, I think it's a historic day for our economic recovery. Today's national unemployment rate fell below 4% to 3.9%, the sharpest one-year drop in unemployment in United States history. The first time the unemployment rate has been under 4% in the first year of a presidential term in 50 years, 3.9% unemployment rate. Years faster than experts said we'd be able to do it. And we have added 6.4 million new jobs since January of last year in one year.

(49) (48) That's the most jobs in any calendar year by any president in history.

(50) How? How? How did that happen? Well, the American Rescue Plan got the economy off its back and moving again, back on its feet, getting over 200 million Americans fully vaccinated, got people out of their homes and back to work, even in the face of wave after wave of COVID. We got schools open, we got booster shots,

(51) (49) we brought down the poverty rate. It went from 20 million people on unemployment roll a year ago to under two million people on the unemployment rolls today.

(52) (50) America's back to work, and there are more historical accomplishments. The increase in Americans joining the labor force was the fastest this year of any year since 1996. And among prime age were workers, ages 25 to 54, their increase in labor force participation was the biggest in 43 years, record job creation, record unemployment declines, record increases in the people in the labor force.

(53) (51) I would argue the Biden economic plan is working and is getting America back to work, back on its feet.

(54) But the record doesn't stop there.

(55) (52) Today's report also tells us record wage gains, especially for workers in some of America's toughest jobs, women and men who work in the frontline jobs in restaurants, hotels, travel, tourism, desk clerks, line cooks, wait staff, bellman.

(56) (53) They all saw their wages at a historic high, the highest in history.

(57) (54) Their pay went up almost 16% this year, far ahead of inflation, which is still a concern. Overall, wage gains for all workers who are not supervisors went up more in 2021 than any year in four decades.

(58) (55) There's been a lot of press coverage about people quitting their jobs.

(59) (56) Well, today's report tells you why.

(60) (57) Americans are moving up to better jobs with better pay with better benefits.

(61) (58) That's why they're quitting their jobs. This isn't about workers walking away and refusing to work, it's about workers able to take a step up to provide for themselves and their families.

(62) (59) This is the kind of recovery I promised and hoped for for the American people,

(63) (60) where the biggest benefits go to the people who work the hardest and are more often left behind, the people who have been ignored before, the people who just want a decent chance to build a decent life for their families, just given a clear shot.

(64) (61) For them, wages are up, job opportunities are up, layoffs are down to the lowest levels in decades, and they're more chances than ever to get ahead.

(65) (62) No wonder one leading economic, excuse me, analyst described what we've accomplished in 2021 as the strongest first year economic track record of any president in the last 50 years.

(66) (63) Today, America is the only leading economy in the world where the economy as a whole is stronger than before the pandemic.

(67) (64) Now I hear Republicans say today that my talking about this strong record shows that I don't understand.

(68) (65) I don't understand.

(69) (66) A lot of people are still suffering they say. Well, they are. Or that I'm not focused on inflation, malarkey.

(70) (67) They want to talk down the recovery because they voted against the legislation that made it happen. They voted against the tax cuts for middle class families. They voted against the funds we needed to reopen our schools, to keep police officers and firefighters on the job, to lower healthcare premiums. They voted against the funds were now using to buy COVID booster shots and more antiviral pills. I refuse to let them stand on the way of this recovery.

(71) (68) And now, my focus is on keeping this recovery strong and durable, not withstanding Republican obstructionism.

(72) (69) Because I know that even as jobs and families' incomes have recovered, families are still feeling the pinch of prices and cost.

(73) (70) So we're taking that on as well.

(74) (71) And the way to do that is not to step back from the economic progress we've made, but to build on it.

(75) (72) I've laid out a three-part plan to address cost families are facing. One, first part of that plan, fixing the supply chain. Two, protecting consumers and promoting competition. Three, lowering kitchen table costs, including with my Build Back Better Act.

(76) (73) First, the supply chain. A couple months ago, we heard a lot of dire warnings about supply chain problems leading to a crisis around the holidays, Thanksgiving and Christmas.

(77) (74) We acted. We brought together business and labor to solve the problems. The much predicted crisis didn't occur.

(78) (75) The Grinch did not steal Christmas nor any votes.

(79) (76) Look, the number of containers sitting on docks for more than eight days is now down by nearly 40%. The number of packages delivered on time was nearly 99%. Workers stayed on the job and did the job to bring goods to consumers. We're continuing to work to speed up every step of this process, the ports, trains, trucking.My bipartisan infrastructure plan law included significant investments in each of these areas. And I want to thank the 19 Republicans in the Senate and the 13 in the House who stepped in to help pass it so we didn't have to face another filibuster and lose a very badly needed plan.

(80) (77) The second area, protecting American consumers.

(81) (78) In the last few decades in too many industries, a handful of giant companies dominate the market.

(82) (79) In meat processing, railroads, shipping. Too often, they use their power to squeeze out smaller competitors, stifle new entrepreneurs, and raise the prices, reducing options for consumers and exploiting workers to keep wages unfairly low. You see that in your own life. Just look at your grocery bill and the cost of meat. It's not because the cattle farmer's getting rich. Matter of fact, it's the exact opposite.

(83) (80) It's because fewer processors can charge grocery stores much more money for their ground beef, for example. You've heard me say before, capitalism without competition isn't capitalism, it's exploitation.

(84) (81) And I'm determined to end the exploitation.

(85) (82) Later this month, I'll be meeting with my Competition Council, which includes key economic leaders from across my administration, to keep pushing for more broad action and increase competition across our economy

(86) (83) because healthy competition produces lower prices, higher wages, and more dynamic and innovative economies.

(87) (84) That makes everybody better off.

(88) (85) Third, I'm working to reduce the largest cost burden of household budgets, costs that don't need to be such a burden. And the biggest weapon in our arsenal is my Build Back Better Act, which will reduce what families have to pay for basic necessities to live a life, raise a family, from prescription drugs to healthcare, to childcare and more help so families can cover the cost of raising their children and caring for their loved ones, their older loved ones.

(89) (86) As we've seen over and over and over again throughout this pandemic, if people can't find affordable childcare, they can't work. Right now, there are two million extremely qualified men who have not been able to return to work because they can't find or can't afford childcare.

(90) (87) On healthcare, we've made quality coverage through the ACA more affordable than ever before, with families saving an average of $2,400 on their annual premiums and four out of five consumers finding quality coverage for under $10 a month. And the result when you reduce the cost of healthcare, more people can afford to get it.

(91) (88) Over four million people have gained coverage since I became president.

(92) (89) You've heard me say it a million times, having healthcare is also about peace of mind.

(93) (90) For example, we're going to make it so nobody will pay more than $35 a month for insulin. Imagine you're a parent, and with the one of the 200,000 children in this country have Type 1 diabetes. Insulin can cost on average, it's averaged 650 bucks a month, but cannot cost as much as a thousand dollars a month,

even though a vial of that insulin costs about 10 bucks to manufacture. We can do all this. We can do it without increasing inflation, without increasing the deficit.

(94)(91) Nobody making more than $400,000 a year, less than $400,000 a year will pay a penny more in federal taxes. So we're going to keep working on these fronts.

(95)(92) Some of them have components that are immediate, like unsticking the supply chain. Some will show their benefits over time, like investments in infrastructure, but all will help America's families.

(96)(93) And it's urgent we get moving on all of it without delay. Because at this moment as a country, we face an important choice. Do we take the steps to create an economy with strong, sustainable growth, higher wages, and more opportunities for all Americans?

(97)(94) Or do we settle for an economy that wasn't working for our middle class even before the pandemic began, an economy that delivered sluggish growth, stagnant wages, limited opportunities?

(98)(95) I'm not an economist, but I've been doing this a long time. But here's the way to look at it. If car prices are too high right now, they're two solutions.

(99)(96) You increase the supply of cars by making more of them or you reduce demand for cars by making Americans poorer. That's the choice.

(100)(97) Believe it or not, there's a lot of people in the second camp. You're hearing them complain that wages are rising too fast among very middle class and working class people who have endured decades of stalled incomes.

(101)(98) Their view of the economy says the only solution to our current, future challenges is to make the working families that are the backbone of our country poor or keep them in the state they're in. It's a pessimistic vision, and I reject it. I reject the idea that we should somehow punish people because they finally have a little more breathing room.

(102)(99) America doesn't need to settle for less,

(103)(100) we need an economy that has the capacity to generate more growth, more jobs, and more opportunity for all Americans. That's why we're going to keep doing everything we can to, one, unstick the bottlenecks that are keeping goods from getting to consumers, two, build better infrastructure so that we can get parts and goods to factory floors quicker and cheaper, three, bring more of that production back here to the United States to make our supply chain more secure.

(104)(101) Let's make America. Let's make what we're selling in America made in America so we're not at risk of foreign supply chains and shipping delays. And in doing so, get more Americans working in jobs with rising wages. And I want to be clear, I'm confident the Federal Reserve will act to achieve their dual goals of full employment at stable prices and make sure that price increases do not become entrenched over a long term with the independence that they need.

(105)(102) But the best way that I as president and the Congress as a legislature can tackle high prices is by building a more productive economy with greater capacity to deliver for the American people, a growing economy where people have more opportunities, more small businesses opening, and I might add parenthetically, there's 30% increase in the application for new small businesses, and goods get to market faster.

(106)(103) Economy where we don't just grow the economic pie to make sure people who bake the pie get a fair slice of it as well.

(107)(104) For too long, Republicans have thrown around terms like pro-growth and supply-side economics to drive an economic agenda that didn't deliver enough growth and supplied more wealth to those who already were very well off. From day one, my economic agenda has been different. It's been about taking a fundamentally new approach to our economy. One that sees the prosperity of working families as a solution, not the problem. There's never been a time I can think of when the middle class and working class have done well that the wealthy haven't done very well. Working families need to get a fighting chance. And by the way, the stock market, the last guy's measure of everything, it's about 20% higher than it was when my predecessor was there.

(108)(105) It has hit record after record after record on my watch while making things more equitable for working class people.

(109)(106) At the same time, we've created jobs, reduced unemployment, raised wages. As I've always said, when working people do well, everybody benefits. I'm determined to grow the economy from the bottom up and the middle out, because when we do, we get more growth, higher wages, more jobs, and over time, lower prices.

(110)(107) But don't take my word for it, just look at the results, historical results, results for working Americans. Economists call this increase to productive capacity of our economy. I call it building back better. That's what we're going to keep doing, we're going to keep building. I thank you all very much.

(111)(108) And I'll get a chance to talk to all of you on Tuesday when I am down in Georgia talking about voting rights, but thank you.

(112)

(113) First Lady Dr. Jill Biden Speech on International Women's Day

(114) March 8, 2021

(115) Good morning everybody, and thank you Secretary Blinken. Tony, Ambassador Russell, Ambassador Thomas-Greenfield, Joe and I have so much respect and admiration for each of you. And to the men and women of this department, we are so grateful for your work.

(116) In the past few years,

(117) our foreign service officers have seen how fragile and critical diplomacy can be. But the challenges our nation faced only inspired you to fight harder for democracy, universal rights, and the rule of law in all the places you serve. The President and Secretary Blinken are going to make sure that your faith is rewarded.

(118) And America will lead because you are forging the way.

(119) When we hear of the stories of the women we honor today, it's easy to think of them as mythical heroes or angels among us, perhaps touched by the gods or chosen for greatness. What else could explain such Herculean acts of fortitude and fearlessness?

(120) Yes, our awardees today are heroes, but they are also human. They want what we want: comfort, happiness, good meals with friends and family, memories that make them smile long after they're made.

(121) Some of these women have spent their lives fighting for their cause. Others are just starting out on a journey that they didn't ask for. Some were called to service and some couldn't escape it. They are fighting for their own lives and for their children.

(122) They want to right the wrongs of the past, build a brighter future for everyone. They aren't immune to fear. No one is. But in the course of their ordinary lives, each woman made an extraordinary choice.

(123) You see, courage isn't really found. It doesn't' conjure away our doubts. It's an intentional decision made.

(124) It's the prickle of each possible disaster running the length of your back, but standing to face the unknown anyway.

(125) It's knowing that your feet may falter and choosing to walk forward.

(126) It's hearing the chorus of voices that say that you are not enough, that you will not succeed, and following a single note of hope through the din.

(127) These women made an extraordinary choice to persist, to demand justice, to believe that, despite the obstacles and fear that they faced, there is a future worth fighting for.

(128) And we have a choice to make too.

(129) If we have learned anything in this year of sickness and sorrow, it's that we are all connected to one another, how one deadly breath can move through the world.

(130) Poverty and conflict, unrest and uncertainty, these aren't contained by borders. But we've seen how joy can spread too with the music of balcony concerts bringing comfort to people across the world.

(131) We've seen calls for justice echoing through the streets of cities near and far. And we've seen how the things that connect all of us, our love for family and friends, our hope that we will be together soon, transcend language and distance.

(132) Diplomacy at its best is a recognition of this connection.

(133) that freedom for women in Afghanistan strengthens communities everywhere, that education in Burma creates opportunity far away, that fair elections in Belarus will bolster our own democracy too,

(134) justice can only be justice if it's for all.

(135) Your fight is our fight, and your courage calls us to come together again and again and again.

(136) My husband understands that we can't do this alone. The United States will stand with you.

(137) We will make the choice to lead, to be bold, and to lift up women and girls everywhere who light our way.

(131) For 15 years, we have honored women around the world who have made the extraordinary choice to fight for something bigger than themselves. Today, we re-commit to being worthy of that courage, to understanding that our lives are tied together in immeasurable and powerful ways.

(132) And by choosing every day to honor that connection, we will stand with you as we build a brighter future for us all. Thank you.

Dr. Jill Biden 2020 DNC Speech
August 18, 2020

(133) Quiet that sparks with possibility just before students' shuffle in.

(134) 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.

(135) 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.

(136) But this quiet is heavy.

(137) You can hear the anxiety that echoes down empty hallways. There's no scent of new notebooks or freshly waxed floors.

(138) 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.

(139) As a mother and a grandmother, as an American, I am heartbroken by the magnitude of this loss, by the failure to protect our communities, by every precious and irreplaceable life gone. Like so many of you I'm left asking, how do I keep my family safe? You know, motherhood came to me in a way I never expected. I fell in love with a man and two little boys standing in the wreckage of unthinkable loss.

(140) Mourning a wife and mother, a daughter and sister, I never imagined at the age of 26, I would be asking myself, how do you make a broken family whole? (141) Still, Joe always told the boys, "Mommy sent Jill to us, and how could I argue with her?" And so we figured it out together, in those big moments that would go by too fast. Thanksgivings and state championships, birthdays and weddings, in the mundane ones that we didn't even know were shaping our lives.

(142) Reading stories, piled on the couch, rowdy Sunday dinners and silly arguments. Listening to the faint sounds of laughter that would float downstairs as Joe put the kids to bed every night, while I studied for grad school, or graded papers under the pale yellow kitchen lamp,

(143) the dinner dishes waiting in the sink. We found that love holds a family together.

(144) Love makes us flexible and resilient.

(145) It allows us to become more than ourselves, together. And though it can't protect us from the sorrows of life, it gives us refuge, a home.

(146) How do you make a broken family whole? The same way you make a nation whole, with love and understanding, and with small acts of kindness, with bravery, with unwavering faith. You show up for each other in big ways and small ones, again and again. It's what so many of you are doing right now for your loved ones, for complete strangers, for your communities.

(147) There are those who want to tell us that our country is hopelessly divided, (148) that our differences are irreconcilable, but that's not what I've seen over these last few months.

(149) We're coming together, and holding onto each other. We're finding mercy and grace in the moments we might have once taken for granted. We're seeing that our differences are precious, and our similarities infinite.

(150) We have shown that the heart of this nation still beats with kindness, and courage. That's the soul of America Joe Biden is fighting for now.

(151) After our son Beau died of cancer, I wondered if I would ever smile or feel joy again.

(152) It was summer, but there was no warmth left for me.

(153) 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,

(154) 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.

(155) But I've always understood why he did it.

(156) For the daughter who convinces her mom to finally get a breast cancer screening, and misses work to drive her to the clinic. For the community college student who has faced homelessness, and survived abuse, but finds the grit to finish her degree and make a good life for her kids. For the little boy whose mom is serving as a Marine in Iraq, who puts on a brave face in his video call, and doesn't complain when the only thing he wants for his birthday is to be with her. (157) For all those people Joe gives his personal phone number to, at rope lines and events, the ones he talks to for hours after dinner, helping them smile through their loss, letting them know that they aren't alone.

(158) He does it for you.

(159) Joe's purpose has always driven him forward. His strength of will is unstoppable. And his faith is pun shakable, because it's not politicians or political parties, or even in himself, it's in the Providence of God. His faith is in you, in us.

(160) Yes, so many classrooms are quiet right now. The playgrounds are still, but if you listen closely, you can hear the sparks of change in the air.

(161) Across this country, educators, parents, first responders, Americans of all walks of life are putting their shoulders back, fighting for each other.

(162) We haven't given up.

(163) 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 to reimagine what our nation will be.

(164) That's Joe, he and Kamala will work as hard as you do every day to make this nation better.

(165) And if I have the honor of serving as your First Lady, I will too.

(166) And with Joe as president, these classrooms will ring out with laughter and possibility once again.

(167) The burdens we carry are heavy, and we need someone with strong shoulders.

(168) I know that if we entrust this nation to Joe, he will do for your family what he did for ours, bring us together, and make us whole, carry us forward in our time of need,

(169) keep the promise of America for all of us.

So go to JoeBiden.com to join our campaign.

Mr Johnson's speech July 7, 2022

"Good afternoon everybody.

"It is clearly now the will of the parliamentary Conservative Party that there should be a new leader of that party and therefore a new prime minister.

"I agree with Sir Graham Brady, chairman of our backbench of MPs, that the process of choosing that new leader should begin now and the timetable will be announced next week.

"I today appointed a Cabinet to serve as I will until a new leader is in place.

(170) "I want to say to the millions of people who voted for us in 2019 –

(171) 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.

(172) "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,

(173) but because I felt it was my job, my duty, my obligation to you, to continue to do what we promised in 2019.

(174) "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,

(175) delivering the fastest vaccine rollout in Europe, the fastest exit from lockdown.

(176) "And, in the last few months, leading the West in standing up to Putin's aggression in Ukraine.

(177) Let me say now to the people of Ukraine:

(178) I know that we in the UK will continue to back your fight for freedom for as long as it takes.

(179) "At the same time, in this country, we've been pushing forward a vast programme of investment in infrastructure, skills and technology.

(180) The biggest in a century. Because if I have one insight into human beings, (181) it is that genius and talent and enthusiasm and imagination are evenly distributed throughout the population.

(182) "But opportunity is not. And that is why we must keep levelling up, keep unleashing the potential of every part of the United Kingdom.

(183) And if we can do that in this country, we will be the most prosperous in Europe.

(184) "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.

(185) "I regret not to have been successful in those arguments and of course

(186) it's painful not to be able to see through so many ideas and projects myself.

(187) "But, as we've seen at Westminster, the herd instinct is powerful and when the herd moves, it moves.

(188) "And my friends, in politics, no one is remotely indispensable. And our brilliant

(189) and Darwinian system will produce another leader equally committed to taking this country forward through tough times.

(190) "Not just helping families to get through it, but changing and improving the way we do things. Cutting burdens on businesses and families and, yes,

(191) cutting taxes. Because that is the way to generate the growth and the income we need to pay for great public services.

(192) "To that new leader, whoever he or she may be, I say: I will give you as much support as I can.

(193) "And to you, the British public,

(194) I know that there will be many people who are relieved and perhaps quite a few who will also be disappointed.

(195) And I want you to know how sad I am to be giving up the best job in the world.

(196) But them's the breaks.

"I want to thank Carrie and our children, all the members of my family, who have had to put with so much for so long.

(197) "I want to thank the peerless British Civil Service for all the help and support that you have given our police, our emergency services, and of course our fantastic NHS who, at a critical moment, helped to extend my own period in office, as well as our armed services and our agencies that are so admired around the world, and our indefatigable Conservative Party members and supporters, whose selfless campaigning makes our democracy possible.

"I want to thank the wonderful staff here at Chequers, here at Number 10, and our fantastic prop force detectives - the one group, by the way, who never leak.

(198) "Above all, I want to thank you, the British public, for the immense privilege that you have given me. And I want you to know that from now on until the new prime minister is in place, your interests will be served and the government of the country will be carried on.

(199) "Being Prime Minister is an education in itself.

(200) "I've travelled to every part of the United Kingdom and, in addition to the beauty of our natural world,

(201) I've found so many people possessed of such boundless British originality, and so willing to tackle old problems in new ways,

(202) that I know that even if things can sometimes seem dark now,

(203) our future together is golden.

"Thank you all very much."

Boris Johnson's final speech as Prime Minister
6 September 2022

(204) Well this is it

(205) folks

thanks to all of you for coming out so early this morning.

In only a couple of hours from now I will be in Balmoral to see Her Majesty The Queen

(206) and the torch will finally be passed to a new Conservative leader

(207) the baton will be handed over in what has unexpectedly turned out

(208) to be a relay race

(209) they changed the rules half-way through

(210) but never mind that now

(211) and through that lacquered black door a new Prime Minister will shortly go to meet a fantastic group of public servants

(210) the people who got Brexit done, the people who delivered the fastest vaccine roll out in Europe

(213) and never forget - 70 per cent of the entire population got a dose within 6 months, faster than any comparable country

(214) that is government for you – that's this conservative government the people who organised those prompt early supplies of weapons to the heroic Ukrainian armed forces, an action that may very well have helped change the course of the biggest European war for 80 years. And because of the speed and urgency of what you did –

(215) everybody involved in this government to get this economy moving again from July last year in spite of all opposition, all the naysayers

(216) we have and will continue to have that economic strength to give people the cash they need to get through this energy crisis that has been caused by Putin's vicious war.

(217) And I know that Liz Truss and this compassionate Conservative government will do everything we can to get people through this crisis. And this country will endure it and we will win

(218) and if Putin thinks that he can succeed by blackmailing or bullying the British people then he is utterly deluded

(219) and the reason we will have those funds now and in the future is because we Conservatives understand the vital symmetry between government action and free market capitalist private sector enterprise we are delivering on those huge manifesto commitments making streets safer –

(220) neighbourhood crime down 38 per cent in the last three years 13,790 more police on the streets building more hospitals – and yes we will have 50,000 more nurses by the end of this parliament and 40 more hospitals by the end of the decade putting record funding into our schools and into teachers' pay giving everyone over 18 a lifetime skills guarantee so they can keep upskilling throughout their lives 3 new high speed rail lines including northern powerhouse rail colossal road programmes from the Pennines to Cornwall, the roll-out of

gigabit broadband up over the last three years, since you were kind enough to elect me, up from 7 per cent of our country's premises having gigabit broadband to 70 per cent today. And we are of course providing the short and the long term solutions for our energy needs

(221) and not just using more of our own domestic hydrocarbons but going up by 2030 to 50 GW of wind power, that is half this country's energy electricity needs from offshore wind alone, a new nuclear reactor every year and looking at what is happening in this country, the changes that are taking place,

(222) that is why the private sector is investing more venture capital investment than China itself more billion pound tech companies sprouting here than in France, Germany and Israel combined

(223) and as a result unemployment as I leave office, down to lows not seen since I was about ten years old and bouncing around on a space hopper and on the subject of bouncing around and future careers

(224) let me say that I am now like one of those booster rockets that has fulfilled its function and I will now be gently re-entering the atmosphere and splashing down invisibly in some remote and obscure corner of the pacific

(225) And like Cincinnatus I am returning to my plough

(226) and I will be offering this government nothing but the most fervent support this is a tough time for the economy this is a tough time for families up and down the country

(227) we can and we will get through it and we will come out stronger the other side but I say to my fellow Conservatives

(228) it is time for the politics to be over folks

(229) and it's time for us all to get behind Liz Truss and her programme and deliver for the people of this country because that is what the people of this country want, that's what they need and that's what they deserve.

(230) I am proud to have discharged the promises I made my party when you were kind enough to choose me, winning the biggest majority since 1987 and the biggest share of the vote since 1979. delivering Brexit delivering our manifesto commitments – including social care helping people up and down the country ensuring that Britain is once again standing tall in the world speaking with clarity and authority from Ukraine to the AUKUS pact with America and Australia because we are one whole and entire United Kingdom whose diplomats, security services and armed forces are so globally admired

(231) and as I leave I believe our union is so strong that those who want to break it up, will keep trying but they will never ever succeed thank you to everyone behind me in this building for looking after me and my family over the last three years so well including Dilyn, the dog

(232) and if Dilyn and Larry can put behind them their occasional difficulties, then so can the Conservative party

(233) and above all thanks to you, the British people, to the voters for giving me the chance to serve all of you who worked so tirelessly together to beat covid to put us where we are today Together we have laid foundations that will stand the test of time whether by taking back control of our laws or putting in vital new infrastructure great solid masonry on which we will continue to build together paving the path of prosperity now & for future generations and I will be supporting Liz Truss and our new government every step of the way.

Thank you all very much.

Prime Minister Liz Truss's statement
6 September 2022

Good afternoon,

(234) I have just accepted Her Majesty The Queen's kind invitation to form a new government. Let me pay tribute to my predecessor.

(235) Boris Johnson delivered Brexit, the Covid vaccine, and stood up to Russian aggression. History will see him as a hugely consequential Prime Minister.

(236) I'm honoured to take on this responsibility at a vital time for our country.

(237) What makes the United Kingdom great is our fundamental belief in freedom, in enterprise, and in fair play.

(238) Our people have shown grit, courage and determination time and time again.
We now face severe global headwinds caused by Russia's appalling war in Ukraine and the aftermath of Covid.

(239) Now is the time to tackle the issues that are holding Britain back.

(240) We need to build roads, homes and broadband faster.

(241) We need more investment and great jobs in every town and city across our country.
We need to reduce the burden on families and help people get on in life.

(242) I know that we have what it takes to tackle those challenges.

(243) Of course, it won't be easy. But we can do it.

(244) We will transform Britain into an aspiration nation…with high-paying jobs, safe streets and where everyone everywhere has the opportunities they deserve.

(245) I will take action this day, and action every day, to make it happen.

(246) United with our allies, we will stand up for freedom and democracy around the world - recognising that we can't have security at home without having security abroad.
As Prime Minister, I will pursue three early priorities.

(247) Firstly, I will get Britain working again.

(248) I have a bold plan to grow the economy through tax cuts and reform. I will cut taxes to reward hard work and boost business-led growth and investment. I will drive reform in my mission to get the United Kingdom working, building, and growing. We will get spades in the ground to make sure people are not facing unaffordable energy bills and we will also make sure, that we are building hospitals, schools, roads, and broadband.

(249) Secondly, I will deal hands-on with the energy crisis caused by Putin's war. I will take action this week to deal with energy bills and to secure our future energy supply.

(250) Thirdly, I will make sure that people can get doctors' appointments and the NHS services they need. We will put our health service on a firm footing.

(251) By delivering on the economy, on energy, and on the NHS, we will put our nation on the path to long-term success.

(252) We shouldn't be daunted by the challenges we face.

(253) As strong as the storm may be,

(254) I know that the British people are stronger.

(255) Our country was built by people who get things done. We have huge reserves of talent, of energy, and determination. I am confident that together we can:

(256) Ride out the storm, We can rebuild our economy,

(257) And we can become the modern brilliant Britain that I know we can be.

(258) This is our vital mission to ensure opportunity and prosperity for all people and future generations. I am determined to deliver.
Thank you.

Prime Minister Liz Truss's statement on the death of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II. 8 September 2022

(259) We are all devastated by the news we have just heard from Balmoral.

(260) The death of Her Majesty The Queen is a huge shock to the nation and to the world.

(261) Queen Elizabeth II was the rock on which modern Britain was built.

(262) Our country has grown and flourished under her reign.

(263) Britain is the great country it is today because of her.

(264) She ascended the throne just after the Second World War. She championed the development of the Commonwealth - from a small group of seven countries to a family of 56 nations spanning every continent of the world.

(265) We are now a modern, thriving, dynamic nation.

(266) Through thick and thin, Queen Elizabeth II provided us with the stability and the strength that we needed.

(267) She was the very spirit of Great Britain – and that spirit will endure.

(268) She has been our longest-ever reigning monarch. It is an extraordinary achievement to have presided with such dignity and grace for 70 years. Her life of service stretched beyond most of our living memories. In return, she was loved and admired by the people in the United Kingdom and all around the world.

(269) She has been a personal inspiration to me and to many Britons. Her devotion to duty is an example to us all.

Earlier this week, at 96, she remained determined to carry out her duties as she appointed me as her 15th Prime Minister.

(270) Throughout her life she has visited more than 100 countries and she has touched the lives of millions around the world.

(271) In the difficult days ahead, we will come together with our friends…across the United Kingdom, the Commonwealth and the world…

(272) …to celebrate her extraordinary lifetime of service.

(273) It is a day of great loss,

(274) but Queen Elizabeth II leaves a great legacy.

Today the Crown passes - as it is has done for more than a thousand years - to our new monarch, our new head of state:

His Majesty King Charles III.

(275) With the King's family, we mourn the loss of his mother.

(276) And as we mourn, we must come together as a people to support him. To help him bear the awesome responsibility that he now carries for us all. We offer him our loyalty and devotion just as his mother devoted so much to so many for so long.

(277) And with the passing of the second Elizabethan age, we usher in a new era in the magnificent history of our great country, – exactly as Her Majesty would have wished –by saying the words…

God save the King.

Donald Trump Remarks
October 7, 2020

(278) Hi,

(279) perhaps you recognize me? It's your favorite president.

(280) And I'm standing in front of the Oval Office at the White House, which is always an exciting place to be. I got back a day ago from Walter Reed Medical Center.

(281) I spent four days there, and didn't have to, I could've stayed at the White House, but the doctors said, "Because you're president, let's do it." I said, "Fine. You tell me what to do, and I'm going to listen."

(282) These are great professionals. They've done a fantastic job.

(283) And by the way, not only at Walter Reed, all over the country, we have the greatest doctors in the world,

(284) we have the greatest nurses, the greatest first responders, law enforcement, by the way, incredible, firefighters,

(285) everybody.

(286) They're just great. We have great people. This is a great country.

(287) But I spent four days there and I went in and I wasn't feeling so hot, and within a very short period of time, they gave me Regeneron.

(288) It's called Regeneron, and other things too.

(289) But I think this was the key, but they gave me Regeneron, and it was like, unbelievable. I felt good immediately.

(290) I felt as good three days ago as I do now.

(291) So I just want to say, we have Regeneron. We have a very similar drug from Eli Lilly and they're coming out and we're trying to get them on an emergency basis.

(292) We've authorized it. I've authorized it. If you're in the hospital and you're feeling really bad,

(293) I think we're going to work it so that you get them and you're going to get them free, and especially if you're a senior, we're going to get you in there quick.

(294) We have hundreds of thousands of doses that are just about ready.

(295) I have emergency use authorization, all set, and we got to get it signed now, and you're going to get better. You're going to get better, really fast. (296) This is things that nobody even thought of a few months ago.

(297) The job that the scientists, the labs, everybody has done is incredible.

Then in addition to that, you have various other drugs that help a lot.

(298) But I view these, I know they call them therapeutic,

(299) but to me it wasn't therapeutic, it just made me better. I call that a cure. So I want to get these things done.

(300) So we have to get them done. We have to get them approved,

(301) and I want to get them to the hospitals where people are feeling badly. That's much more important to me than the vaccine.

(302) But on the vaccines, we have many companies that are in final stages for the vaccines, Johnson & Johnson. Moderna, Pfizer, all great companies, but many of them, and we're going to have a great vaccine very, very shortly. (303) I think we should have it before the election, but frankly, the politics gets involved and that's okay,

(304) they want to play their games.

(305) It's going to be right after the election, but we did it.

(306) Nobody else, nobody else would have been able to do it.

(307) The FDA has acted as quickly as they've ever acted in history.

(308) There's never been a time and no president has ever pushed him like I pushed them either, to be honest with you. But the FDA is approving things in a matter of weeks, that used to take a matter of years.

(309) So we have these drugs, Eli Lilly, and the others that are so good.

(310) But they are, in my opinion, remember this, they're going to say that they're, "Therapeutic." And I guess they are therapeutic.

(311) Some people don't know how to define therapeutic. I view it different, it's a cure. For me, I walked in, I didn't feel good. A short 24 hours later, I was feeling great, I wanted to get out of the hospital and that's what I want for everybody.

(312) I want everybody to be given the same treatment as your president because I feel great.

(313) I feel like perfect.

(314) So I think this was a blessing from God that I caught it. This was a blessing in disguise. I caught it. I heard about this drug. I said, "Let me take it."

(315) It was my suggestion. I said, "Let me take it,"

(316) and it was incredible the way it worked. Incredible. I think if I didn't catch it, we'd be looking at that like a number of other drugs, but it really did a fantastic job.

(317) I want to get for you what I got and I'm going to make it free.

(318) You're not going to pay for it. It wasn't your fault that this happened. It was China's fault, and China is going to pay a big price for what they've done to this country.

(319) China is going to pay a big price for what they've done to the world. This was China's fault, and just remember that.

(320) So we're going to get you the drug. It's going to be free. We're going to get it into the hospitals as soon as you can, as soon as we can.

(321) And you'll see some amazing things happen because we have … our military is doing the distribution. It's called logistics,

(322) and they deliver, hundreds of thousands of troops in a matter of days. (323) This is easy stuff for them.

(324) Our generals are all ready, we're waiting for the emergency use authorization and the drug companies have just made a lot of it. So hopefully this is going to be not just a therapeutic, it's going to be much more than a therapeutic. You're going to get better.

(325) You're going to get better fast, just like I did. So again,

(326) a blessing in disguise. Good luck.

Donald Trump's final speech as president
20 Jan 2021

Thank you. Thank you very much. Thank you.

Thank you very much, and we love you. And I can tell you that from the bottom of my heart.

(327) This has been an incredible four years. We've accomplished so much together.

(328) I want to thank all of my family and my friends and my staff and so many other people for being here. I want to thank you for your effort, your hard work. (329) People have no idea how hard this family work. And they worked for you.

(330) They could have had a much easier life, but they just did a fantastic job.

(331) I just want to thank all of you, everyone.

(332) I want to thank Mark Meadows who's here someplace right there I want to thank Mark.

(333) But it's been, it's been something very special,

(334) we've accomplished a lot,

(335) our first lady has been a woman of great grace and beauty and dignity. And so popular with the people, so popular with the people, in fact, honey, would you like to say a few words?

(336) What else has to be said, right? But what we've done – that's true, honey. Great job.

(337) What we've done has been amazing, by any standard,

(338) we rebuilt the United States military, created a new force called Space Force that, in itself, would be a major achievement for a regular administration, we were not a regular administration.

(339) We took care of the vets –

(340) 91 percent approval rating they've never had that before, the vets have given us the VA, the vets have given us an approval rating like has never been before. We took care of our vets and beautiful vets they were very badly treated before we came along. And as you know, we get them great service and we pick up the bill and they can go out and they can see a doctor, if they have to wait long periods of time. We got it so that we can, sadly, get rid of people that don't treat our vets properly.

(341) We didn't have any of those rights before when I came on. So, our vets are happy, our people are happy.

(342) Our military is thrilled.

(343) We also got tax cuts, the largest tax cut and reform in the history of our country by far.

(344) I hope they don't raise your taxes. But if they do, I told you so!

(345) If you look at the regulations which I consider the regulation cuts to be maybe even more important. That's why we have such good and have had such good job numbers. The job numbers have been absolutely incredible.

(346) What we started had we not been hit by the pandemic; we would have had numbers that would never have been seen.

(347) Already our numbers are the best ever.

(348) If you look at what happened until February, a year ago, our numbers were at a level that nobody had ever seen before. And even now we really built it twice.

(349) We got hit, nobody blames us for that, the whole world got it and then we built it again.

(350) And now the stock market is actually substantially higher than it was at its higher point prior to the pandemic. So it's really – you could say, we built it twice.

(351) And you're gonna see, you're gonna see incredible numbers start coming in. If everything is sort of left alone and be careful, very complex. Be careful.

(352) But you're gonna see some incredible things happening. And remember us when you see these things happening, if you – remember us because I'm looking at – I'm looking at elements of our economy that are set to be a rocket ship up.

(353) It's a rocket ship up.

(354) We have the greatest country in the world. We have the greatest economy in the world and as bad as the pandemic was, we were hit so hard just like the entire world was hit so hard, places that don't they got away with it didn't get away with it, they're suffering right now. We did something that is really considered a medical miracle.

(355) They're calling it a miracle. And that was the vaccine.

(356) We got the vaccine developed in nine months instead of nine years, or five years, or 10 years.

(357) A long time. It was supposed to take a long time, many, many years to develop a vaccine. We have two out. We have another one coming almost immediately, and it really is a great achievement.

(358) So, you should start to see really good numbers

(359) over the next few months. I think you're going to see those numbers really

(360) skyrocket downward.

(361) And I can always say this. We've worked hard. We've left it all, as the athletes would say, we've left it all in the field. We don't have to – we don't have to come and say we'll never say in a month when we're

sitting in Florida, we're not going to be looking at each other and say you know if we only worked a little bit harder, you can't work harder.

(362) And we had a lot of obstacles and we went through the obstacles.

(363) And we just got 75 million votes and that's a record in the history of – in the history of sitting presidents.

(364) That's an all-time record by a lot.

(365) By many millions.

(366) In the history of sitting presidents, it's been really just an honour.

(367) One of the things we're very, very proud of is the selection of almost 300 federal judges and three great Supreme Court justices.

(368) That's a very big number that's a record-setting number and

(369) so we've done a lot and there's still things to do.

(370) The first thing we have to do is pay our respects and our love to the incredible people and families who suffered so gravely

(371) from the China virus. It's a horrible thing that was put onto the world. We all know where it came from, but it's a horrible, horrible thing. So be very careful.

(372) Be very, very careful, but we want to pay great love,

(373) great love to all of the people that have suffered, including families who have suffered so gravely.

(374) So with that, I just want to say, you are amazing people.

(375) This is a great, great country. It is my greatest honour and privilege to have been your president.

(376) I will always fight for you. I will be watching, I will be listening. And I will tell you that the future of this country has never been better.

I wish the new administration, great luck and great success. I think they'll have great success.

(377) They have the foundation to do something really spectacular. And again, we put it in a position like it's never been before. Despite the worst plague to hit since I guess you'd say 1917, over 100 years ago.

(378) And despite that, despite that, the things that we've done have been just incredible. And I couldn't have done it without you.

So, just a goodbye. We love you.

(379) We will be back in some form.

(380) And again, I want to just, in leaving, I want to thank our Vice President Mike Pence and Karen. I want to thank Congress cause we really worked well with Congress, at least certain elements in Congress. But we really did. We've gotten so much done that nobody thought would be possible but I do want to thank Congress and I want to thank all of the great people of Washington, DC, all of the people that we worked with to put this miracle together.

So, have a good life.

(381) We will see you soon. Thank you. Thank you very much. Thank you very much. Thank you.

Ms. Jeanine Hennis-Plasschaert
30 July 2022

Excellencies,

Ladies and gentlemen,

(382) We are here to commemorate, with great sadness, the enforced disappearance - 39 years ago - of 8000 Barzani men and boys. They vanished, never to be seen again.

(383) And as we remember those who tragically lost their lives, our thoughts are also with their families and friends. To date, many of them are still waiting for the truth to come out, having cruelly been denied the opportunity to lay their loved ones to rest.

(384) The pain of not knowing what happened. The pain of waiting and hoping. There are no words to capture what these families have suffered. None. There are simply no words that can describe the feelings of profound despair.

(385) Today, we also memorialize the return of 100 Barzanis, the third of its kind. Between 2004 and 2005, 500 missing loved ones were returned to their ancestral homes. In 2011, another 93 were brought home to their final resting place. And while the search goes on, we express our hope that every last father, brother, uncle and son will be found.

(386) As we all know, the immense tragedy does not stop here.

(387) These horrific events preceded the Anfal Campaign, a genocidal campaign with the intent to destroy countless innocent people, and the wounding and maiming of many more. Few Kurdish families were spared.

(388) Commemoration ceremonies, such as this, are meant to remember the lives of loved ones lost, or forever changed.

(389) Having said this, a ceremony like this also serves as a stark reminder to all. A stark reminder that such horrific acts are never to be repeated.

Ladies and gentlemen,

(390) Today, 100 men and boys have come home. To rest. At last. Surrounded by their families and friends.

(391) We honour them. And we can only hope that their return brings some measure of peace to those who have searched for them all these years.

(392) You know, the diversity of the Kurdistan Region, and indeed the Republic of Iraq, is often described as one of its greatest strengths.

(393) Having said this: it is also well-known that we are reaching an important crossroads for the well-being of all: here in the Kurdistan Region and in Iraq at large. Hence, I can only emphasize the magnitude of what is at stake: the ability for every citizen to live in peace, prosperity and dignity.

(394) So, let us honour the many lives lost.

(395) Let us honour *them* by working together. It is the only way to begin to heal the deep wounds left by decades of conflict and division,

(396) to set the conditions which allow all people to prosper, in safety and security, with respect for one another.

(397) In closing, ladies and gentlemen, and in living memory of the victims, I wholeheartedly reaffirm our support and solidarity with those who continue to bear

(398) the scars of monstrous inhumanity. And I again extend our deepest sympathy to the families and friends of the missing and our condolences for the lives lost.

Thank you.

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Plasschaert's speech
22-2-2022

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"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.

(399) It is a great honor to speak to you at this important occasion to highlight the invaluable contribution of frontline reporting.

(400) 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.

(401) But for the truth to be conveyed…we need people to stand up, we need fearless journalists, we need persistence and determination.

(402) Telling the truth is a tremendous challenge. And one not necessarily appreciated by everybody.

(403) In the past decade, over 1,000 journalists were killed worldwide.

(404) And now, only two months into 2020, already seven deaths of journalists have been registered. Unacceptable, of course.

(405) But it is happening.

(406) As United Nations Secretary-General António Guterres rightfully stated on the International Day to End Impunity for Crimes Against Journalists: "When journalists are targeted, societies as a whole pay a price. […] their work and that of their fallen colleagues reminds us that truth never dies. Neither must our commitment to the fundamental right of freedom of expression."

(407) Ladies and gentlemen, in their review of the year of 2019, the organization Reporters without Borders stated that there is an increasing climate of fear that journalists operate in.

(408) This climate affects all journalists, and female journalists in particular. Like their male colleagues, female journalists face serious human rights violations for practicing their profession. But because they are women, these violations often take specific, gender-based forms, including sexual violence, sexualized smear campaigns and workplace discrimination. In a field of work that is still mainly masculine, women often do not speak out in fear of retaliation, as a culture of impunity persists.

(409) In these situations, we depend on courageous individuals who take these risks upon themselves and reveal the truth on the ground.

(410) Individuals like Shifa Gardi.

(411) 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.

(412) She was killed by an explosive device near a mass grave.

Through this award, her legacy lives on: exposing the truth, and shining a light on the human side of conflict with compassion and candor. This year's winner of the Shifa Gardi award skillfully walks the fine line between telling the truth and taking risks, by listening to her intuition.

(413) Arwa Damon is brave: she often is the first one at the scene. But more importantly, in her reporting,

(414) she consistently reminds us all of the impact that conflict has on ordinary people's lives.

(415) Since 2003, Arwa has covered armed conflict in Iraq and the wider region, telling stories that the world needs to hear.

(416) Recently, for instance, she visited families who had been displaced by the fighting in Idlib.

(417) And she makes action follow words. She founded the International Network for Aid, Relief and Assistance. An organization that provides life-saving and life-altering medical assistance to refugee children impacted by war.

(418) The world depends on journalists like Arwa. May she - and her colleagues - not tire in reporting reality on the ground. Her brave reporting, with compassion and candor, bears witness to harsh human realities that are too often underreported. Arwa Damon deserves our greatest respect."

Justin Trudeau's victory speech
Sep 21, 2021

(419) 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
(420) a progressive plan.

(421) Some have talked about division, but that's what I see. That's not what I've seen these past weeks across the country.

(422) 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.

(423) As Canadians, you've elected parliamentarians to deliver on all this and our team, our government is ready.

(424) When I became prime minister six years ago, I couldn't know what the future held.

(425) We didn't know that we would be facing up to a once-in-a-century pandemic or a worldwide economic crisis,

(426) but what I did know is that together Canadians can overcome any obstacle and that is exactly what we will continue to do.

(427) I have heard you.

(428) I know you don't want to hear any more talk of elections and politics, but you want us to concentrate on the work that is necessary for you.

(429) You just want to get back to the things you love, not worry about this pandemic, or about an election, that you just want to know that your members of parliament of all stripes will have your back through this crisis. and beyond.

(430) The moment we face demands real, important change. And you have given this parliament, and this government, clear direction. You made a choice. You gave parliamentarians a clear mandate so that we put an end to this pandemic once and for all, and build a better future. You have elected a government in Ottawa that will fight for you, and deliver for you every day.

(431) We hear you. We hear you when you say you want more daycare spaces, a stronger health care system, affordable housing and good green jobs; to continue moving forward on the path to reconciliation [and] investments for the middle class and for all those who are working hard to join it.

(432) Friends, I am ready to carry on with the work, my team is ready. But above all tonight,

(433) I want to take the time to thank some people, some special people.

(434) The other parties and their families—thank you for being part of this important moment. Political life isn't easy. This is a path you choose because you believe in serving those around you. Thank you for your service to the elections. To the Elections Canada staff and volunteers who signed up to be part of this democratic process and who will be working around the clock to count votes and tally results—thank you.

(435) This election has confirmed that our democracy and our institutions remain strong.

(436) And to my fellow Canadians, there is no greater honour than serving you and serving this country. If you voted for our party, thank you. Thank you for putting your trust in our team to keep moving forward for everyone. 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.

(437) 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.

(438) I hear you, when you say that we can only move forward if no one is left behind. Our shared future is built vote by vote, door by door, and above all, person, by person.
That's something I learned when I first ran in Papineau, 12 years ago.

(439) During the last 12 years, as the member for Papineau, I had the opportunity to meet so many people from different backgrounds and lifestyles. And it's an honour for me to represent you. It's with you that I started

this wonderful adventure. So thank you for your trust as well, and I will continue to be there for you. My friends from Papineau riding.

(440) There are a lot of people who've worked hard, very hard, to get here tonight. First off, my fellow Liberals, my friends, congratulations. Whether you're a candidate staff or volunteer,

(441) I know there have been a lot of late nights and early mornings. There have been tough days.

(442) But together, we've done something incredible.

(443) And above all, I would like to thank my family. As always, my mother, who is here tonight, who started going through election nights like this when she was a little girl when my grandfather was running for Parliament in Vancouver north. But thank you, Mum, for always being there.

(444) Sophie, 12 years ago when we made the decision to become involved together in politics, it's because we wanted to defend our values, because we wanted to contribute to build a stronger Canada. Since the very beginning, we did it together. So thank you.

And to my children, Xavier, Ella-Grace, here, and Hadrien, who's been sleeping for some hours now upstairs— as we also need to do—we're working hard to build a better future for you, a better future for your generations and those to follow. Every day you remind me that this work is important, this work that we're doing together. So thank you for your patience while I have to be off on the job. And thank you for the sacrifices that you are doing.

(445) We've all worked so hard over the last few weeks and over the last few years, and we have come so far. My friends, tonight, I think of something Prime Minister Wilfrid Laurier said, as his generation was at the dawn of a new century. He said, "Let them look to the past, but let them still more look to the future."

(446) Let us not forget the past and the dark days we have come through together, but let us still more look to the future, and all that is still to come and all that we have still to build together.

(447) Let us feel the warmth of a new dawn and above all, let us seize the promise of a brand new day. Thank you my friends, thank you everyone!

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Justin Trudeau's speech
January 8, 2022

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Thank you, Amir. Thank you to everyone here today. Thank you Hamed for sharing your words, and your strength, your concern and your passion, and speaking so strongly for the families. Thanks everyone for being here today.

(448) I'm happy to be joined with some strong voices who've been by your sides and connecting with you for the past two years, whether it's Ralph Goodale, our special representative. Whether it's Ministers Joly, Alghabra, and Fraser. Whether it's MPs like Ali Ehsassi and Majid Jowhari. We have a team of people accompanying you through these difficult moments and working with you to achieve the justice, the answers, and the closure that is so incredibly important.

(449) Early January is usually a time when we look forward to the year ahead. Whether we're going back to work or school, or just turning over a new leaf, it's a moment for fresh starts.

(450) But for the loved ones of the Flight PS752 victims, January 8th is a day of pain, of sorrow, of grief. Because on this day two years ago, Canada lost so many people who were part of our country.

(451) Today, on the National Day of Remembrance for Victims of Air Disasters – and every day – we remember those who were taken by unthinkable tragedies. Tragedies like Ukraine International Airlines Flight 752, Ethiopian Airlines Flight 302, Air India Flight 182. Tragedies that took sisters, brothers, parents, children, and friends. They were newlyweds returning home after celebrations abroad. They were students hoping to become engineers, scientists, or simply get their high school diploma. Doctors and teachers who were loved. Small business owners who gave back to their community.

We remember all of them.

(452) Today, I'm thinking about the conversations I've had with many families. I'm thinking about the stories you told me. I'm thinking about the strength and resilience you have shown during these extremely difficult moments. And I can tell you that Canadians are also thinking about you. You are not alone. We are here for you, and we will continue to help.

(453) Whether it's by honouring the memory of your loved ones with a scholarship program, or by developing a new pathway to permanent residence for certain family members, we'll continue to support you. And to the families of those we lost on PS752, for whom today marks such a terrible anniversary, let me say this directly: I promise you we will always continue fighting for the accountability, transparency, and justice you deserve. Flight PS752 was shot down because of the recklessness and complete disregard for human life of Iranian officials. We cannot allow that to stand. Now that Iran has failed to meet the deadline for negotiations, we'll be vigorously continuing with other international mechanisms for accountability and justice.

(454), (455) Canada will stand together with the members of the Coordination Group as a unified front, and we will not rest until Iran is held accountable. On this National Day of Remembrance for Victims of Air Disasters, we are honouring those we have lost. We are honouring them, and we are committed to continuing our preventative efforts because tragedies like these should never happen.

(456) It is obvious to all that no country responsible for shooting down an aircraft should then also be in charge of the investigation. That doesn't make sense and it needs to change. Whether it's stopping civilian airplanes from being put in danger, or preventing accidents and terrorist attacks, we'll continue our work to keep people safe.

(457) Alongside our partners on the world stage, Canada is leading the Safer Skies Initiative to improve safety and security of air travel worldwide.

(458) We've also created a new Conflict Zone Information Office at Transport Canada, and we're pushing for international reforms to improve investigation processes and transparency.

The bottom line is this. We're making progress to create real change, even as we continue to fight for justice and accountability for the families of those who have been lost and who were murdered.

(459) I know this won't bring back the people you lost and I know nothing can take away your pain.

But let me say this. Each person was special and loved. They will never be forgotten.

(460) Across the country, your fellow Canadians are thinking of you. And they want you to know that even in the darkness of your loneliness and of your grief, your despair and your anger, you are never alone as we continue to stand with you as Canadians and as a country.

Thank you.

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Angela Merkel' speech
5 December 2011

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President Karzai,
Mr Secretary-General,
Ministers,
Excellencies,
Ladies and gentlemen,

(461) On behalf of the entire German Government, I'm delighted to welcome you all to today's International Afghanistan Conference. We – most especially the German Foreign Minister and the Federal Foreign Office – have prepared this Conference with enthusiasm and great commitment.

(462) For we believe that this meeting will provide us with a unique opportunity to broaden and further develop our partnership with the Afghan Government, as well as with the Afghan people as a whole.

(463) The presence of 100 delegations as well as of numerous representatives of civil society demonstrates the possibilities this Conference has to offer.

President Karzai, when you asked me at the NATO summit in last year whether would be prepared to organize another Afghanistan Conference, I was more than happy to comply with your request.

(464) However, I agreed on condition that you, President Karzai – as the representative of all Afghans – rather than the German Government preside over this event.

(465) This Conference focuses on the central question: how should we work together until 2014 and what will happen after 2014? I'd like to start by reiterating the message once more: will be able to count on the support of the international community after 2014.

(466) That is one of the crucial lessons we've learned from 's history.

(467) Exactly ten years ago to the day, delegations from all over the world gathered here in under the aegis of the United Nations to discuss 's future following the demise of the Taliban's reign of terror. Ten years later, it is of course time to take stock.

(468) Back then, government and social structures were in ruins and few people had access to education or health care.

(469) Law and order were in an extremely precarious state. Today, ten years later, we can undoubtedly claim to have made progress thanks to an unprecedented commitment.

(470) However, we also have to admit that after ten years it's worth the effort to take another realistic look at the situation.

(471) Ten years ago, the international community was pursuing two goals. Firstly, it was in the interest of us all that again evolved into a stable state so that it would never again harbour a terrorist threat to the whole world.

(472) Secondly, we wanted to assist the Afghan people – we wanted to help them help themselves so that people in would one day be able to live in peace and prosperity again.

(473) We've gained much experience since then – both positive and negative experience. We had to learn a lot about your country. And we were eager to learn. It's not so easy to always have a complete overview of structures in. However, there is one thing we've all noted: reconstruction isn't possible without security – and security will only be a facade without civilian reconstruction. From these two elements we have developed our strategy which, as President Karzai pointed out, has produced some promising results.

(474) Today almost two thirds of the Afghan population have access to medical care. Moreover, allow me to name one example where has first-hand experience, namely Mazar-e-Sharif, which – I'm glad to say – is in the process of evolving once more into a regional economic powerhouse.

However, we have also experienced setbacks time and again and have to admit that although the security situation has improved, we've not yet reached the point where we want to be one day.

(475) However, we can now at least gradually implement a strategy which is making it possible to hand over responsibility to the Afghan security forces. The basis for this was – and remains – training for Afghan security forces within the scope of partnering and mentoring.

(476) I would like to take this opportunity to thank those who are contributing towards security in and to express my special thanks to the . For it is doing much to improve the security situation.

(477) In a few months' time, responsibility for security in more than half of 's territory will be in Afghan hands. That will take us to a new qualitative level. We want to hand over responsibility for security in 's entire territory by the end of 2014. However, that won't be the end of our work. For even after that, our task will be to continue building up the security forces, continue training and supporting them, even though our combat troops will no longer be there. The task then will be to consolidate the development work in order to achieve the goals we've set ourselves. As President Karzai has just said, the task will, of course, still be about advancing the political process, the process of reconciliation, as well as 's economic development.

(478) The build-up of the security forces has advanced far. More than 300,000 Afghan soldiers and police officers are already serving. We will continue the concept of mentoring and partnering and, at the same time, be able to reduce our own troop numbers. , too, will do this at a responsible pace.

The regional conference held in on 2 November played a key role in paving the way for today's Conference. On that occasion, the states in the region pledged to accept an Afghan-led process of reconciliation. 's neighbourhood is, of course, another central issue.

(479) For I believe that peace and development in can also stimulate a flourishing development in the entire region.

(480) It goes without saying that the engagement of the private sector in is also of paramount importance. The European mining industry – encouraged by the European Union and – has decided to develop as quickly as possible a partnership which will help the Afghans to help themselves. should be able to benefit from its resources and to develop. That is our main goal.

(481) Ladies and gentlemen, there's no doubt that the Afghan Government and the Afghan people are facing major challenges.

(482) Despite all that we've achieved, we must not lose sight of reality. The political process, in which such issues as reconciliation and the distribution of power across all social and ethnic groups have to be resolved, is of great importance.

(483) We can help here. We can contribute our experience and offer assistance. However, only the Afghans themselves can solve these problems. I would therefore ask you, President Karzai, to use your political will and skills to help advance this political process, to fight corruption and drug trafficking, thus improving people's quality of life.

(484) We are firmly convinced that people in, just like anywhere else in the world, want to live together in peace. We want to support you along this way. This Conference will therefore have a clear message: can count on our support, not only the Government and institutions but everyone – men and women, young and old, regardless of their origins. We are united in our goal of a secure and sovereign in a peaceful and prosperous region.

(485) On that note, I wish you, Mr President, and the entire Conference every success. We are delighted to be your hosts. And we are ready to work hard with you in the coming years –

(486) for the benefit of the people of.

Angela Merkel's speech
December 2, 2021

Federal President,
President of the German Bundestag,
Excellencies,
Ladies and gentlemen,
Fellow citizens,

(487) Standing before you here today, I feel two things above all: gratitude and humility – humility towards the office that I had the honour of holding for so long, and gratitude for the trust that was placed in me. Trust – of this I was always keenly aware – is the most important capital in politics. It should never be taken for granted. And I am most deeply grateful for it.

(488) My thanks also goes out to you, Madam Minister, dear Annegret, and to the Federal Armed Forces for putting on this military tattoo – especially here, at the Bendlerblock building, a place that has played such a significant role in our history.

(489) I also want to thank the band of the Federal Armed Forces for the musical accompaniment they are providing, despite the truly difficult conditions of the pandemic.

(490) This is why, first of all, I want to say a special thank you to all those who right now are putting every effort into fighting the fourth wave of the pandemic, giving their all to save and protect lives: the doctors and nurses in the hospitals, the vaccination teams and all those in the Federal Armed Forces and aid organisations who are helping out in this fight. On behalf of all of us, I would like to express my special thanks and deepest recognition.

Earlier today, I met for yet another round of talks on measures to curb the pandemic with the Heads of Government of the Länder. Only a few hours later, I now have the honour of bidding you farewell, in this festive setting, after 16 years as Federal Chancellor. This series of events exemplifies better than pretty much anything else the unbelievable times in which we are living.

(491) These last 16 years as Federal Chancellor were truly eventful, and often very challenging. They were highly demanding, both politically and personally; at the same time, I always found them fulfilling. The last two years of the pandemic in particular have brought into clear focus how important trust in politics, science and social discourse is – and how fragile this trust can be.

Our democracy thrives on both our ability to engage in critical debate and to self-correct. It thrives on the constant balancing of interests and on mutual respect. It thrives on solidarity and trust – including trust in facts – and it thrives on the fact that protest must arise wherever scientific findings are denied and conspiracy theories and hate speech are spread.

(492) Moreover, our democracy thrives on the fact that our tolerance as democrats must end wherever hatred and violence are seen as a legitimate means of asserting vested interests.

(493) The many internal challenges we are up against are also reflected in foreign policy – not only since the beginning of the pandemic.

(494) The financial and economic crisis of 2008 and the many people who sought refuge in 2015 underscored how much we all depend on cooperation beyond our national borders, and how crucial institutions and multilateral instruments are if we want to successfully meet the great challenges of our era: climate change, the digital transformation and refugees and migration. I want to encourage everyone to keep in mind that we must also see the world through other people's eyes; also recognise the sometimes uncomfortable and contrasting views of others and work towards balancing interests.

Ladies and gentlemen, my political work would not have been possible without the wide range of support from my national and international political colleagues. I am extremely grateful to all of them. I want to thank my colleagues in the Federal Government, the German Bundestag and the German Bundesrat for our cooperation. I also want to say thank you for a culture of political debate that makes us the envy of many other nations. As well as a very special, emphatic thank you to my closest colleagues. Thank you for all of your help and support; this includes my family. Now, it will be up to the next government to find answers to the challenges that lie before us and to shape our future. For this, I wish both you, dear Olaf Scholz, and the Federal Government that you will lead all the very best, along with a sure hand and every success.

(495) I am convinced that we can continue to successfully shape the future if we take up our tasks not with displeasure, resentment or pessimism –

(496) but rather, as I said three years ago in a different context, with joy in our hearts. This, at least, has always been my motto, during my life in the GDR and all the more so in a free society. It is this heartfelt joy that I want all of us, and in a metaphorical sense our entire country, to feel in the future.

I thank you, from the bottom of my heart.

King Charles III's speech
Sept. 9, 2022

I speak to you today with feelings of profound sorrow.

(447) Throughout her life, Her Majesty The Queen — my beloved Mother — was an inspiration and example to me and to all my family, and we owe her the most heartfelt debt any family can owe to their mother; for her love, affection, guidance, understanding and example.

(448) Queen Elizabeth's was a life well lived; a promise with destiny kept and she is mourned most deeply in her passing. That promise of lifelong service I renew to you all today.

(449) Alongside the personal grief that all my family are feeling, we also share with so many of you in the United Kingdom, in all the countries where the queen was head of state, in the Commonwealth and across the world, a deep sense of gratitude for the more than seventy years in which my mother, as queen,

(450) served the people of so many nations.

(451) In 1947, on her 21st birthday, she pledged in a broadcast from Cape Town to the Commonwealth to devote her life, whether it be short or long, to the service of her peoples. That was more than a promise: it was a profound personal commitment which defined her whole life.

(452) She made sacrifices for duty. Her dedication and devotion as Sovereign never wavered, through times of change and progress, through times of joy and celebration, and through times of sadness and loss.

(453) In her life of service we saw that abiding love of tradition, together with that fearless embrace of progress, which make us great as Nations. The affection, admiration and respect she inspired became the hallmark of her reign. And, as every member of my family can testify, she combined these qualities with warmth, humor and an unerring ability always

(454) to see the best in people.

I pay tribute to my Mother's memory and I honor her life of service.

(455) I know that her death brings great sadness to so many of you, and

(456) I share that sense of loss, beyond measure,

(457) with you all.

(458) When the queen came to the throne, Britain and the world were still coping with the privations and aftermath of the Second World War, and still living by the conventions of earlier times.

(459) In the course of the last seventy years we have seen our society become one of many cultures and many faiths. The institutions of the State have changed in turn.

(460) But, through all changes and challenges, our nation and the wider family of Realms — of whose talents, traditions and achievements I am so inexpressibly proud — have prospered and flourished.

(461) Our values have remained, and must remain, constant.

(462) The role and the duties of Monarchy also remain, as does the Sovereign's particular relationship and responsibility toward the Church of England — the Church in which my own faith is so deeply rooted.

(463) In that faith, and the values it inspires, I have been brought up to cherish a sense of duty to others, and to hold in the greatest respect the precious traditions, freedoms and responsibilities of our unique history and our system of parliamentary government.

(464) As the queen herself did with such unswerving devotion, I too now solemnly pledge myself, throughout the remaining time God grants me, to uphold the Constitutional principles at the heart of our nation. And wherever you may live in the United Kingdom, or in the Realms and territories across the world, and whatever may be your background or beliefs, I shall endeavor to serve you with loyalty, respect and love, as I have throughout my life.

My life will, of course, change as I take up my new responsibilities.

(465) It will no longer be possible for me to give so much of my time and energies to the charities and issues for which I care so deeply.

(466) But I know this important work will go on in the trusted hands of others.

(467) This is also a time of change for my family. I count on the loving help of my darling wife, Camilla. In recognition of her own loyal public service since our marriage seventeen years ago, she becomes my queen consort.

(468) I know she will bring to the demands of her new role the steadfast devotion to duty on which I have come to rely so much.

(469) As my Heir, William now assumes the Scottish titles which have meant so much to me. He succeeds me as Duke of Cornwall and takes on the responsibilities for the Duchy of Cornwall which I have undertaken for more than five decades. Today, I am proud to create him Prince of Wales, *Tywysog Cymru,* the country whose title I have been so greatly privileged to bear during so much of my life and duty. With Catherine beside him, our new Prince and Princess of Wales will, I know, continue to inspire and lead our national conversations, helping to bring the marginal to the center ground where vital help can be given.

(470) I want also to express my love for Harry and Meghan as they continue to build their lives overseas. In a little over a week's time we will come together as a nation, as a Commonwealth and indeed a global

community, to lay my beloved mother to rest. In our sorrow, let us remember and draw strength from the light of her example.

On behalf of all my family, I can only offer the most sincere and heartfelt thanks for your condolences and support. They mean more to me than I can ever possibly express.

(471) And to my darling Mama, as you begin your last great journey to join my dear late Papa, I want simply to say this: Thank you. Thank you for your love and devotion to our family and to the family of nations you have served so diligently all these years.

(472) May "flights of Angels sing thee to thy rest."

King Charles III's speech
Sep 12, 2022

(473) My Lords and Members of the House of Commons, I am deeply grateful for the addresses of condolence by the House of Lords and the House of Commons, which so touchingly encompass what our late sovereign, my beloved mother, the Queen, meant to us all.

(474) As Shakespeare says of the earlier Queen Elizabeth, she was 'a pattern to all princes living'. As I stand before you today,

(475) I cannot help but feel the weight of history which surrounds us, and which reminds us of the vital parliamentary traditions to which members of both Houses dedicate yourselves with such personal commitment for

(476) the betterment of us all.

(477) Parliament is the living and breathing instrument of our democracy, that your traditions are ancient.

(478) We see in the construction of this great hall, and the reminders of medieval predecessors of the office to which I have been called, and the tangible connections to my darling late mother we see all around us, from the fountain in New Palace Yard, which commemorates the late Queen's Silver Jubilee to the sundial in Old Palace Yard for the Golden Jubilee, the magnificent stained glass window before me for the Diamond Jubilee, and so poignantly, and yet to be formally unveiled, your most generous gift to Her Late Majesty, to mark the unprecedented Platinum Jubilee, which we celebrated only three months ago with such joyful hearts.

(479) The great bell of Big Ben, one of the most powerful symbols of our nation throughout the world, and housed within the Elizabeth Tower, also named for my mother's Diamond Jubilee, will mark the passage of the late Queen's progress from Buckingham Palace to this parliament on Wednesday.

(480) My Lords and Members of the House of Commons, we gather today in remembrance of the remarkable span of the Queen's dedicated service to her nations and peoples. While very young, Her Late Majesty pledged herself to serve her country and her people, and to maintain the precious principles of constitutional government, which lie at the heart of our nation. This vow she kept with unsurpassed devotion.

(481) She set an example of selfless duty, which with God's help and your counsels, I am resolved faithfully to follow.

US election: Michelle Obama speech
14 October 2016

(482) So I'm going to get a little serious here, because I think we can all agree that this has been a rough week in an already rough election. This week has been particularly interesting for me personally because it has been a week of profound contrast.

(483) See, on Tuesday, at the White House, we celebrated the International Day of the Girl and Let Girls Learn. And it was a wonderful celebration. It was the last event that I'm going to be doing as First Lady for Let Girls Learn. And I had the pleasure of spending hours talking to some of the most amazing young women you will ever meet, young girls here in the US and all around the world.

And we talked about their hopes and their dreams. We talked about their aspirations. See, because many of these girls have faced unthinkable obstacles just to attend school, jeopardising their personal safety, their freedom, risking the rejection of their families and communities.

(484) So I thought it would be important to remind these young women how valuable and precious they are. I wanted them to understand that the measure of any society is how it treats its women and girls. And I told them that they deserve to be treated with dignity and respect, and I told them that they should disregard anyone who demeans or devalues them, and that they should make their voices heard in the world.

And I walked away feeling so inspired, just like I'm inspired by all the young people here and I was so uplifted by these girls. That was Tuesday.

(485) And now, here I am, out on the campaign trail in an election where we have consistently been hearing hurtful, hateful language about women - language that has been painful for so many of us, not just as women, but as parents trying to protect our children and raise them to be caring, respectful adults, and as citizens who think that our nation's leaders should meet basic standards of human decency.

(486) The fact is that in this election, we have a candidate for president of the United States who, over the course of his lifetime and the course of this campaign, has said things about women that are so shocking, so demeaning that I simply will not repeat anything here today. And last week, we saw this candidate actually bragging about sexually assaulting women. And I can't believe that I'm saying that a candidate for president of the United States has bragged about sexually assaulting women.

(487) And I have to tell you that I can't stop thinking about this. It has shaken me to my core in a way that I couldn't have predicted. So while I'd love nothing more than to pretend like this isn't happening, and to come out here and do my normal campaign speech, it would be dishonest and disingenuous to me to just move on to the next thing like this was all just a bad dream.

(488) This is not something that we can ignore. It's not something we can just sweep under the rug as just another disturbing footnote in a sad election season.

(489) Because this was not just a "lewd conversation". This wasn't just locker-room banter. This was a powerful individual speaking freely and openly about sexually predatory behaviour, and actually bragging about kissing and groping women, using language so obscene that many of us were worried about our children hearing it when we turn on the TV.

(490) And to make matters worse, it now seems very clear that this isn't an isolated incident. It's one of countless examples of how he has treated women his whole life. And I have to tell you that I listen to all of this and I feel it so personally, and I'm sure that many of you do too, particularly the women. The shameful comments about our bodies. The disrespect of our ambitions and intellect. The belief that you can do anything you want to a woman.

(491) It is cruel. It's frightening. And the truth is, it hurts. It hurts.

(492) It's like that sick, sinking feeling you get when you're walking down the street minding your own business and some guy yells out vulgar words about your body. Or when you see that guy at work that stands just a little too close, stares a little too long, and makes you feel uncomfortable in your own skin.

(493) It's that feeling of terror and violation that too many women have felt when someone has grabbed them, or forced himself on them and they've said no but he didn't listen - something that we know happens on college campuses and countless other places every single day.

(494) It reminds us of stories we heard from our mothers and grandmothers about how, back in their day, the boss could say and do whatever he pleased to the women in the office, and even though they worked so hard, jumped over every hurdle to prove themselves, it was never enough.

(495) We thought all of that was ancient history, didn't we? And so many have worked for so many years to end this kind of violence and abuse and disrespect, but here we are, in 2016, and we're hearing these exact same things every day on the campaign trail. We are drowning in it.

(496) And all of us are doing what women have always done: We're trying to keep our heads above water, just trying to get through it, trying to pretend like this doesn't really bother us maybe because we think that admitting how much it hurts makes us as women look weak.
Maybe we're afraid to be that vulnerable. Maybe we've grown accustomed to swallowing these emotions and staying quiet, because we've seen that people often won't take our word over his.

(497) Or maybe we don't want to believe that there are still people out there who think so little of us as women. Too many are treating this as just another day's headline, as if our outrage is overblown or unwarranted, as if this is normal, just politics as usual.

(498) But, New Hampshire, be clear. This is not normal. This is not politics as usual. This is disgraceful. It is intolerable.

(499) And it doesn't matter what party you belong to - Democrat, Republican, independent - no woman deserves to be treated this way. None of us deserves this kind of abuse.

(500) And I know it's a campaign, but this isn't about politics. It's about basic human decency. It's about right and wrong. And we simply cannot endure this, or expose our children to this any longer - not for another

minute, and let alone for four years. Now is the time for all of us to stand up and say enough is enough. This has got to stop right now.

(501) Because consider this. If all of this is painful to us as grown women, what do you think this is doing to our children? What message are our little girls hearing about who they should look like, how they should act? What lessons are they learning about their value as professionals, as human beings, about their dreams and aspirations?
And how is this affecting men and boys in this country? Because I can tell you that the men in my life do not talk about women like this. And I know that my family is not unusual.

(502) And to dismiss this as everyday locker-room talk is an insult to decent men everywhere.

(503) The men that you and I know don't treat women this way. They are loving fathers who are sickened by the thought of their daughters being exposed to this kind of vicious language about women. They are husbands and brothers and sons who don't tolerate women being treated and demeaned and disrespected. And like us, these men are worried about the impact this election is having on our boys who are looking for role models of what it means to be a man.

(504) In fact, someone recently told me a story about their six-year-old son who one day was watching the news- they were watching the news together. And the little boy, out of the blue, said: "I think Hillary Clinton will be president." And his mom said: "Well, why do you say that?" And this little six-year-old said: "Because the other guy called someone a piggy, and you cannot be president if you call someone a piggy."
So even a six-year-old knows better. A six-year-old knows that this is not how adults behave. This is not how decent human beings behave. And this is certainly not how someone who wants to be president of the United States behaves.
(505) Because let's be very clear. Strong men - men who are truly role models - don't need to put down women to make themselves feel powerful.
(506) People who are truly strong lift others up. People who are truly powerful bring others together. And that is what we need in our next president. We need someone who is a uniting force in this country. We need someone who will heal the wounds that divide us, someone who truly cares about us and our children, someone with strength and compassion to lead this country forward.
And let me tell you, I'm here today because I believe with all of my heart that Hillary Clinton will be that president.

Michelle Obama's DNC speech
Tue August 18, 2020

Good evening, everyone. It's a hard time, and everyone's feeling it in different ways.
(507) And I know a lot of folks are reluctant to tune into a political convention right now or to politics in general. Believe me, I get that.
(508) But I am here tonight because I love this country with all my heart, and it pains me to see
(509) so many people hurting.
(510) I've met so many of you. I've heard your stories. And through you, I have seen this country's promise.
(511) And thanks to so many who came before me, thanks to their toil and sweat and blood, I've been able to live that promise myself.
(512) That's the story of America.
(513) All those folks who sacrificed and overcame so much in their own times because they wanted something more, something better for their kids.
(514) There's a lot of beauty in that story.
(515) There's a lot of pain in it, too, a lot of struggle and injustice and
(516) work left to do.
(517) And who we choose as our president in this election will determine whether or not we honor that struggle and chip away at that injustice and keep alive the very possibility of finishing that work.
(518) I am one of a handful of people living today who have seen firsthand the immense weight and awesome power of the presidency. And let me once again tell you this: the job is hard. It requires clear-headed judgment, a mastery of complex and competing issues, a devotion to facts and history, a moral compass, and an ability to listen—and an abiding belief that each of the 330,000,000 lives in this country has meaning and worth.
(519) A president's words have the power to move markets. They can start wars or broker peace.

(520) They can summon our better angels or awaken our worst instincts. You simply cannot fake your way through this job.

(521) As I've said before, being president doesn't change who you are; it reveals who you are. Well, a presidential election can reveal who we are, too.

(522) And four years ago, too many people chose to believe that their votes didn't matter. Maybe they were fed up. Maybe they thought the outcome wouldn't be close.

(523) Maybe the barriers felt too steep.

Whatever the reason, in the end, those choices sent someone to the Oval Office who lost the national popular vote by nearly 3,000,000 votes.

(524) In one of the states that determined the outcome, the winning margin averaged out to just two votes per precinct—two votes. And we've all been living with the consequences.

(525) When my husband left office with Joe Biden at his side, we had a record-breaking stretch of job creation. We'd secured the right to health care for 20,000,000 people. We were respected around the world, rallying our allies to confront climate change. And our leaders had worked hand-in-hand with scientists to help prevent an Ebola outbreak from becoming a global pandemic.

Four years later, the state of this nation is very different. More than 150,000 people have died, and our economy is in shambles because of a virus that this president downplayed for too long. It has left millions of people jobless. Too many have lost their health care; too many are struggling to take care of basic necessities like food and rent; too many communities have been left in the lurch to grapple with whether and how to open our schools safely. Internationally, we've turned our back, not just on agreements forged by my husband, but on alliances championed by presidents like Reagan and Eisenhower.

(526) And here at home, as George Floyd, Breonna Taylor, and a never-ending list of innocent people of color continue to be murdered,

(527) stating the simple fact that a Black life matters is still met with derision from the nation's highest office.

(528) Because whenever we look to this White House for some leadership or consolation or any semblance of steadiness, what we get instead is chaos, division, and a total and utter lack of empathy.

(529) Empathy: that's something I've been thinking a lot about lately. The ability to walk in someone else's shoes; the recognition that someone else's experience has value, too.

(530) Most of us practice this without a second thought. If we see someone suffering or struggling, we don't stand in judgment. We reach out because, "There, but for the grace of God, go I." It is not a hard concept to grasp. It's what we teach our children.

(531) And like so many of you, Barack and I have tried our best to instill in our girls a strong moral foundation to carry forward the values that our parents and grandparents poured into us. But right now, kids in this country are seeing what happens when we stop requiring empathy of one another.

(532) They're looking around wondering if we've been lying to them this whole time about who we are and what we truly value.

They see people shouting in grocery stores, unwilling to wear a mask to keep us all safe. They see people calling the police on folks minding their own business just because of the color of their skin. They see an entitlement that says only certain people belong here, that greed is good, and

(533) winning is everything because as long as you come out on top, it doesn't matter what happens to everyone else. And they see what happens when that lack of empathy is ginned up into outright disdain.

(534) They see our leaders labeling fellow citizens' enemies of the state while emboldening torch-bearing white supremacists.

(535) They watch in horror as children are torn from their families and thrown into cages, and pepper spray and rubber bullets are used on peaceful protestors for a photo-op.

(536) Sadly, this is the America that is on display for the next generation. A nation that's underperforming not simply on matters of policy but on matters of character. And that's not just disappointing; it's downright infuriating, because I know the goodness and the grace that is out there in households and neighborhoods all across this nation.

(537) And I know that regardless of our race, age, religion, or politics, when we close out the noise and the fear and truly open our hearts, we know that what's going on in this country is just not right. This is not who we want to be.

(538) So what do we do now? What's our strategy? Over the past four years, a lot of people have asked me, "When others are going so low, does going high still really work?" My answer: going high is the only thing that works, because when we go low, when we use those same tactics of degrading and dehumanizing others, we just become part of the ugly noise that's drowning out everything else.

(539) We degrade ourselves. We degrade the very causes for which we fight.

But let's be clear: going high does not mean putting on a smile and saying nice things when confronted by viciousness and cruelty.

(540) Going high means taking the harder path. It means scraping and clawing our way to that mountain top. Going high means standing fierce against hatred while remembering that we are one nation under God, and

(541) if we want to survive, we've got to find a way to live together and work together across our differences.

(542) And going high means unlocking the shackles of lies and mistrust with the only thing that can truly set us free: the cold hard truth.

(543) So let me be as honest and clear as I possibly can. Donald Trump is the wrong president for our country.

(544) He has had more than enough time to prove that he can do the job, but he is clearly in over his head. He cannot meet this moment. He simply cannot be who we need him to be for us. It is what it is.

(545) Now, I understand that my message won't be heard

(546) by some people.

(547) We live in a nation that is deeply divided, and I am a Black woman speaking at the Democratic Convention. But enough of you know me by now. You know that I tell you exactly what I'm feeling. You know I hate politics.

(548) But you also know that I care about this nation. You know how much I care about all of our children.

(549) So if you take one thing from my words tonight, it is this: if you think things cannot possibly get worse, trust me, they can; and they will if we don't make a change in this election. If we have any hope of ending this chaos, we have got to vote for Joe Biden like our lives depend on it.

(550) I know Joe. He is a profoundly decent man, guided by faith. He was a terrific vice president. He knows what it takes to rescue an economy, beat back a pandemic, and lead our country. And he listens. He will tell the truth and trust science. He will make smart plans and manage a good team. And he will govern as someone who's lived a life that the rest of us can recognize.

(551) When he was a kid, Joe's father lost his job. When he was a young senator, Joe lost his wife and his baby daughter. And when he was vice president, he lost his beloved son. So Joe knows the anguish of sitting at a table with an empty chair, which is why he gives his time so freely to grieving parents. Joe knows what it's like to struggle, which is why he gives his personal phone number to kids overcoming a stutter of their own.

His life is a testament to getting back up, and he is going to channel that same grit and passion to pick us all up, to help us heal and guide us forward.

(552) Now, Joe is not perfect. And he'd be the first to tell you that. But there is no perfect candidate, no perfect president. And his ability to learn and grow—we find in that the kind of humility and maturity that so many of us yearn for right now. Because Joe Biden has served this nation his entire life without ever losing sight of who he is; but more than that, he has never lost sight of who we are, all of us. Joe Biden wants all of our kids to go to a good school, see a doctor when they're sick, live on a healthy planet. And he's got plans to make all of that happen. Joe Biden wants all of our kids, no matter what they look like, to be able to walk out the door without worrying about being harassed or arrested or killed. He wants all of our kids to be able to go to a movie or a math class without being afraid of getting shot. He wants all our kids to grow up with leaders who won't just serve themselves and their wealthy peers but will provide a safety net for people facing hard times.

And if we want a chance to pursue any of these goals, any of these most basic requirements for a functioning society, we have to vote for Joe Biden in numbers that cannot be ignored.

(553) Because right now, folks who know they cannot win fair and square at the ballot box are doing everything they can to stop us from voting. They're closing down polling places in minority neighborhoods. They're purging voter rolls. They're sending people out to intimidate voters, and they're lying about the security of our ballots. These tactics are not new.

(554) But this is not the time to withhold our votes in protest or play games with candidates who have no chance of winning. We have got to vote like we did in 2008 and 2012. We've got to show up with the same level of passion and hope for Joe Biden. We've got to vote early, in person if we can. We've got to request our mail-in ballots right now, tonight, and send them back immediately and follow-up to make sure they're received. And then, make sure our friends and families do the same.

(555) We have got to grab our comfortable shoes, put on our masks, pack a brown bag dinner and maybe breakfast too, because we've got to be willing to stand in line all night if we have to.

Look, we have already sacrificed so much this year. So many of you are already going that extra mile. Even when you're exhausted, you're mustering up unimaginable courage to put on those scrubs and

give our loved ones a fighting chance. Even when you're anxious, you're delivering those packages, stocking those shelves, and doing all that essential work so that all of us can keep moving forward.

(556) Even when it all feels so overwhelming, working parents are somehow piecing it all together without child care. Teachers are getting creative so that our kids can still learn and grow. Our young people are desperately fighting to pursue their dreams.

And when the horrors of systemic racism shook our country and our consciences, millions of Americans of every age, every background rose up to march for each other, crying out for justice and progress. This is who we still are: compassionate, resilient, decent people whose fortunes are bound up with one another. And it is well past time for our leaders to once again reflect our truth.

(557) So, it is up to us to add our voices and our votes to the course of history, echoing heroes like John Lewis who said, "When you see something that is not right, you must say something. You must do something." That is the truest form of empathy: not just feeling, but doing; not just for ourselves or our kids, but for everyone, for all our kids.

(558) And if we want to keep the possibility of progress alive in our time, if we want to be able to look our children in the eye after this election, we have got to reassert our place in American history. And we have got to do everything we can to elect my friend, Joe Biden, as the next president of the United States.

Thank you all. God bless.

الملخص

تبحث هذه الرسالة في المفاهيم الضمنية في الخطابات السياسية من منظور إجتماعي معرفي. تعرف ألمعتقدات الضمنية على انها المواقف الفكرية الأساسية لأعضاء المجموعة والتي لا يتم التعبير عنها لأنها تعتبر غير مناسبة أو انها لاتخدم الهدف في محيط الكلام. ويمثل مثلث الخطاب والإدراك والمجتمع نموذجًا للنهج الاجتماعي المعرفي للخطاب. فبينما يختص مكون الخطاب بالتراكيب اللغوية للنص والكلام؛ يهتم المكون المعرفي بالعقل والذاكرة والعمليات والتمثيلات المعرفية المشاركة في تكوين الخطاب وتفسيره؛ فيما يهتم العنصر الاجتماعي بكيفية إدراك أنماط الخطاب وشرحها من حيث الأفكار المشتركة اجتماعيًا، وكذلك كيفية تأثير هذه ألمعتقدات على النماذج العقلية لمستخدمي اللغة الفرديين.

على الرغم من وجود العديد من التحليلات والدراسات الأكاديمية في مجال ألمعتقدات ، لا تزال هناك العديد من القضايا والاسئلة ذات الأهمية المباشرة في هذا المجال دون إجابة، بما في ذلك كيف ترتبط ألمعتقدات بالخطاب؟ كيف تتشكل ألمعتقدات السياسية وتتمثل؟ كيف يتم تفسير ألمعتقدات الضمنية في الخطب السياسية؟ هل يتم تمثيل ألمعتقدات كبنى اجتماعية ومعرفية؟ كيف يتم التعبير عن ألمعتقدات الضمنية من حيث الآلية المعرفية؟ وبناءا على ماتقدم وضعت الفرضية التالية: أن ألمعتقدات الصريحة والضمنية يتم التعبير عنها بشكل مختلف في الخطابات السياسية؛ يعبر السياسيون عن معتقداتتهم الضمنية باستخدام مجموعة متنوعة من الأساليب الخطابية لتصوير الجماعة بشكل إيجابي والمجموعة الخارجية بشكل سلبي؛ وأن التراكيب الاجتماعية والمعرفية تؤثر على ألمعتقدات ؛ وان التعبير عن تلك ألمعتقدات الضمنية يتم بعملية معرفية.

للتحقق من الفرضيات وتحليل البيانات المختارة، تم اعتماد نموذج واسع القاعدة. حيث تم اختيار عشرين عينة من النصوص. بالإضافة إلى ذلك، تم استخدام الطريقة النوعية في هذه الدراسة. وخلصت هذه الدراسة إلى أن السياسيين يستخدمون الاساليب الخطابية بطريقة فريدة تتعلق بوجهة نظر اجتماعية معرفية لتجسيد معتقداتهم ضمنيًا في خطاباتهم وأن كل متحدث يستخدم أساليب استطرادية مميزة لإظهار التمثيل الإيجابي للذات والتمثيل السلبي للآخر، وكذلك ان بعض الأدوات الخطابية تم استخدامها في كثير من الأحيان من قبل السياسيين الاناث أكثر من السياسيين الذكور، في حين تم استخدام الادوات الأخرى بشكل أقل تواترا.

المفاهيم الضمنية في بعض الخطب السياسية المختارة:
منهج أجتماعي ادراكى

أرزوو رشيد عثمان

حاصل على شهادة الماجستير في اللغة الإنجليزية و علم اللغة في (٢٠٠٦)
كلية اللغات جامعة كوية

بكالوريوس في اللغة الإنجليزية و أدابها في (٢٠٠٢)
كلية التربية جامعة صلاح الدين

بأشراف :
أ. م. د. صلاح محمد صالح

| 1445 هجري | 2023 ميلادي | 2723 كردي |

پوخته

ئەم لێکۆڵینەوەیه گەڕانه بە دوای ئایدۆلۆژیای شاراوه لە وتاری سیاسیدا لە گۆشەنیگای کۆمەڵایەتی و مەعریفییەوه. ئایدۆلۆژیای شاراوه وا پێناسه دەکرێت که بریتییه لە هەڵوێستی هزری بنەڕەتی تاکەکانی کۆمەڵگەیەك، که گوزارشتیان پێناکرێت لەبەرئەوەی نەشیاون، یان ناتوانن ئامانج بپێکن لە چوارچێوەی ئاخاوتندا.

سێگۆشەی وتار، درکپێکردن، کۆمەڵگا نموونەیەك بۆ ئاستی مەعریفی وتار پێکدەهێنێت. لەبەرئەوەی پێکهاتەی وتار بریتییه لە دەستواژه زمانییەکان لە تێکست و ئاخاوتن، بۆیه پێکهاتەی مەعریفی بایەخ دەدات به بیر و هۆش و کارلێکردن و نواندنه مەعریفییەکان که بەشداردەبن لە پێکهاتنی وتار و شیکردنەوەیدا، لە ڕاستیدا هۆکاری کۆمەڵایەتی بایەخ دەدات به جۆری وتارەکه و شیکردنەوەیدا لە ڕووی بیرۆکه کۆمەڵایەتییه هاوبەشەکاندا، هەروەها چۆنیەتی کارتێکردنی ئەو ئایدۆلۆژیایه بەسەر نموونەی ئەقڵی بۆ بەکارهێنەره تاکەکانی ئەو زمانه.

سەرەڕای بوونی چەندین شیکردنەوه و لێکۆڵینەوەی ئەکادیمی لە بوارەکانی ئایدۆلۆژیادا، تا ئێستاش چەندین بابەت و پرسیاری گرنگی ڕاستەوخۆ بەو بابەته بێ وەڵام ماونەتەوه، بۆ نموونه: چۆن ئایدۆلۆژیا پەیوەست دەبێت به وتار؟ چۆن ئایدۆلۆژیا سیاسییەکان دروست دەبن؟ هەروەها: چۆن ئایدۆلۆژیای شاراوه لە وتاره سیاسییەکاندا شیدەکرێتەوه؟ ئایا ئایدۆلۆژیا دەکرێت وەك بنەمایەکی کۆمەڵایەتی و مەعریفی ئەژماربکرێت؟ چۆن گوزارشت لە ئایدۆلۆژیا شاراوەکان دەکرێت لە ڕێگەی هۆکاره مەعریفییەکانەوه؟ لەسەر بنەمای هەموو ئەوانه ئەو گریمانەیه هاته کایەوه: ئایدۆلۆژیا ئاشکرا و شاراوەکان به شێوەی جیاواز لە وتاره سیاسییەکاندا گوزارشتیان لێدەکرێت، سیاسییەکان گوزارشت لە ئایدۆلۆژیا شاراوەکانیان دەکەن به بەکارهێنانی کۆمەڵە هۆکارێکی وتاربێژی جیاواز بۆ وێنەکێشانی کۆمەڵ به شێوەیەکی ئەرێنی و وێنەکێشانی دەرەوەی کۆمەڵەکه به شێوەی نەرێنی، دەستواژه کۆمەڵایەتی و مەعریفییەکان کاردەکاته سەر بیروباوەڕەکان، گوزارشتکردنیش لەو بیروباوەڕه شاراوانه بەهۆی کرداری مەعریفی دەبێت.

بۆ بەدەستهێنانی گریمانەکان و شیکردنەوەی داتای هەڵبژێردراو پشت بەستراوه به نموونەی فراوان، بیست نموونه لە تێکست هەڵبژێردرا، سەرەڕای ئەوه ڕێبازی جۆری لە لێکۆڵینەوەکەدا بەکارهێنرا.

ئەو لێکۆڵینەوەیه پێیوایه سیاسییەکان شێوازی وتاربێژی تایبەت بەکاردەهێنن که پەیوەسته به تێڕوانین و جیهانبینی کۆمەڵایەتی و مەعریفی، بۆ بەرجەستەبوونی ئایدۆلۆژیا شاراوەکانیان لە وتارەکانیاندا، هەروەها هەر وتاربێژێك هۆکاری سەرنجڕاکێشیش بەکاردەهێنێ بۆ دەرخستنی خود به ئەرێنی و دەرخستنی ئەوی تر به نەرێنی.

هەروەها هەندێ لە ئامرازەکانی وتاردان زۆرجار لە لایەن سیاسی ڕەگەزی مێ زیاتر بەکارهاتوون بە بەراورد بە بەکارهێنانی لە لایەن سیاسی نێر، بە پێچەوانەوەی هەندێ ئامرازی تر بە شێوەی کەمتر بەکارهاتوون.

ئایدۆلۆژیای نادیار لە چەند وتارێکی سیاسی هەڵبژێردراو :

تیۆرێکی کۆمەڵایەتی دركیە

ئارەزوو رشید عثمان