

Discourse analysis of Iraqi Prime Ministers' inauguration Speeches

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Abstract—This study analyses inauguration speeches by the Iraqi Prime Minister Adil Abdul-Mahdi. The aim is to find the ways the Prime Minister persuades the public to accept and support his policies. This study draws upon Halliday's Systemic Functional Linguistics, particularly transitivity analysis, for the analysis of power and ideology incorporation within political discourse. The study revealed that the PM used material processes frequently to strengthen the policies of his government and to attract the audience's emotions to follow the government's direction.

Keywords: *Iraqi PM, inauguration, discourse analysis, SFL, power, ideology*

I. INTRODUCTION

The research is about Political discourse analysis, and it is a field of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), which focuses on discourse in political forums such as (debates and speeches). One of the important features of Discourse Analysis (DA) is to study texts and conversations in the social context. According to Halliday's systematic functional linguistics (Halliday, 2003; Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004), texts should encode both personal and social processes. In other words, texts should be generated, comprehended and put into a social context. Discourses are interpreted as communicative events because discourses between people convey messages beyond that of what is said directly (see Hart, 2014; Harper, 2003; Hardt-Mautner, 1995). What is important in such discourse is the social information that is transferred allusively. Choosing political discourse came, because it will be targeting the misinformation of the society and the way political hegemony is manifested through discourse.

This study aims at finding out how power and ideology are incorporated through discourse by every PM, and secondly find out how to use the power of speeches by every PM to persuade the public to accept and support his policies. The study, also, aims to answer the questions (1) how do politicians use power and ideology in language to manipulate the people, and make them do what they want, (2) what are the linguistic devices and strategies used by politicians to dominate the public through inauguration speeches and control their choices.

II. POLITICAL DISCOURSE: IRAQI PM ADIL ABDUL MAHDI

After Saddam Hussein's was ousted in 2003, Iraq's new leaders tried to chart a democratic course after decades of dictatorship. A permanent government was elected in October 2005 and Adil Abdul-Mahdi served as finance minister in the government in 2004. He played an important role in conducting negotiations with the US administration to write off Iraq's foreign debts and persuading international donors to write off much of that debt (see Al-Shadeedi and Veen, 2020; Thgeel, 2020; Yorulmaz and Duman, 2019). The history of the man shows that he does not find anything wrong in resigning his position when the pressure increases. Also, he resigned from his position as oil minister in the government of Abadi in 2016.

Adil Abdul Mahdi joined the government because he wanted to gain a privileged position in the new political framework to which he belongs. But that was not easy, because his origins did not make his way to leadership positions easy. In 1980, he joined the ideology of the Islamic Supreme Council of Iraq. He hopes to achieve his ambition to obtain a Privileged position, too. After not seeing any progress to gain what he wishes, he claimed to be secular and open to all parties and ideologies, including the American occupation authority. He, then, introduced himself as a Shi'a. Adil Abdul Mahdi's conversations and dreams lead him constantly towards leadership. Adil Abdul-Mahdi's career in the field of politics enabled him to negotiate, discuss and convince rivalling political parties very easily. Being a political figure and an elite in politics justifies the selection of his speeches as the data for the analysis of power and ideology in discourse.

For the analysis of the data, I employ Halliday's Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL), mainly transitivity. Halliday uses the term 'transitivity' in a much broader sense. In particular, it refers to a system for describing the whole clause, rather than just the verb and its object. He argues that transitivity is the name given to a network of a system whose point of origin is the 'major' clause. The transitivity systems are concerned with the types of a process expressed in the clause, with the participants in this process, animate or inanimate, and with various attributes and circumstances of the process and participants (Halliday, 1995; 1985; 1967). The analysis of the ideational function enables me to find out the formal features of Abdul-Mahdi's Speeches, and to explore the relationships among language, ideology and

power. This results in finding out the way discursive power is used to persuade the public.

III. CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS: POWER AND IDEOLOGY

Within discourse analysis, the word 'Rhetoric' derives from Greek "rhêtotikê", which means 'the art of speaking, and it overlaps in modern English with 'oratory' (Connor, 1996: 62), a word of Latin origin that denotes the meaning of skills in public speaking. Its classical origins help define it as an 'art of using language to persuade or influence others. Aristotle maintains that rhetoric is a skill to 'influence the readers or audiences opinions' (Goodnow, 2011: xi). The main focus of CDA is public speech, such as political speeches, newspapers, official documents and so on. CDA aims to examine the relationship between language, ideology, and power. Furthermore, it aims to find out the exploitation of language dominance through text. CDA is a method for analyzing texts to deal with the question of inequality and power, the relation between language and power and how language is used to represent An attitude and an ideology (Fowler, 1991: 10).

Political discourse is not primarily defined by a topic or style, but rather by who speaks to whom, as what, on what occasion and with what goals. In other words, political discourse is especially 'political' because of its functions in the political process. (Van Dijk, 2002: 225). In the inaugural speech by the Iraqi PM, the speaker is expected to declare his government's policy for the public to accept and support his policy. Iraq fought a 3-year war with ISIS and culminated in victory. After Al-Abadi's government Adel Abdul Mahdi's government came, who won the elections and performed his first political speech on 10/25/2018. Almost all the Iraqi people were impatient for the new government to see the reforms and policies of the new government. The reforms and policies reflect a political ideology the PM wants to impose and persuade the public.

The working definition of ideologies is that ideology is the 'function of the social representations shared by a social group' (Van Dijk, 2004: 4). Ideology is a set of leading views adopted by individuals and groups of people, something comprised of mindscapes that differ from person to person (Ulum & Köksal, 2019: 75).

IV. METHODOLOGY

A. Data

The data under analysis is the inauguration speech delivered by Iraqi PM Adil Abdul Mahdi in 2018. In October 25, 2018, the new President of Iraq, Abdul-Mahdi gave his inauguration speech, after winning the elections. While the country was in a very terrible situation, all Iraqi people saw the speech, they were waiting for the next steps of the new President with his government, to find solutions for bad situations.

B. Framework

This This study is a rhetorical analysis of the Iraqi elected President Abdul-Mahdi's inauguration speech, drawing upon Halliday's SFL and transitivity analysis. SFL is a model developed by Michael Halliday in which language is seen From a functional perspective. Language is "a network of systems or interrelated sets of options for Making meaning" (Halliday, 1995; 1985). SFL is an approach to linguistics developed by Halliday who sees language in a social context. Richards et al. (1992) believe that the theory behind this approach is functional rather than formal, that is, it considers language as a resource used for communication and not as a set of rules. In short, SFL states that particular aspects of a given context define the meanings likely to be expressed (Alaei1 & Ahangari1, 2016: 205). Halliday's systematic functional linguistics contains three functions Ideational, interpersonal and textual. In this study, only ideational function will be applied for the analysis of the speeches.

B.1 IDEATIONAL FUNCTION

In this function, language is used to convey the new information, to communicate the content that is unknown to the hearer' (Halliday, 1995; Yujie & Fengjie, 2018). The ideational meanings are the meanings about how we represent experience in language. Whatever use we put language to, we are always talking about something or someone doing something. SFL explained the ideational strand of meaning which involves components, one of them is the experiential meaning in the clause. Experiential meaning is expressed through the system of transitivity or process type, with the choice of process implicating associated participant roles and configurations. Transitivity structures express representational meaning, that is what the clause is about or in Halliday's term 'clause as representation'. (Eggins, 2004). The ideational function is mainly represented by the transitivity system in grammar. In this system, the meaningful grammatical unit is the clause that expresses what is happening, what's being done, what's felt and what the state is and so on. Transitivity is an important notion of Systemic Functional Grammar, which is widely used as a tool for Discourse Analysis. (Pynchon, 2015: 283).

B.2 TRANSITIVITY ANALYSIS

Transitivity is a system for explaining the whole clause instead of describing the verb and its object (Halliday, 1995; Thompson, 1996). According to Halliday (1994), transitivity reveals the reality which is made up of processes of going on, happening, doing, sensing, meaning, being and becoming. Transitivity focuses on each clause in the text, asking who are the actors, who are the acted upon, and what processes are involved in that action (Pynchon, 2015: 286). Halliday's transitivity system comprises three main types of processes: material, mental, and relational. There are also three minor types which are: behavioural, verbal, and existential processes. This

study will cover the three main types of processes, namely material, mental, and relational.

Material processes are verbs of doing and happening. These processes are expressed by an action verb. These action words are either abstract or concrete (e.g. eat, go, give). There are two participants in this process; an actor (the one who does the action) and the goal of the action (the one who is affected by the action) (See also, Rahimi & Sharififa, 2015: 345). For example:

Marry (Actor) is going (Material process) to school (Goal).

Relational processes are verbs of being. They are typically realized by the verb 'be' or some verbs of the same class (known as copular verbs), such as seem, become, appear (Pynchon, 2015). Relational processes can be classified into two types; attributive and identifying. The attributive expresses what properties an object possesses or what category it can be put into, or what type it belongs to, e.g., The temperature is high. The identifying means that an entity and another is uniform, e.g., Lily is a girl (Wang, 2010: 258)

Mental processes are verbs of sensing. They are grouped into subtypes which are perception (e.g., see, hear, feel), cognition (e.g., know, understand, believe), affection (e.g., like, love, admire), and desire (e.g., hope, want, wish) (Pynchon, 2015: 287). In the mental processes, there are two participants, namely a sensor (the conscious being that is feeling, thinking, or seeing) and a phenomenon (which is 'sensed' – felt, thought or seen). For example:

I (Sensor) believe (Mental process) you (Phenomenon).

V. DATA ANALYSIS

The ideational function (language as reflection) is realised by the transitivity analysis. The transitivity system construes the world of experience into a manageable set of process types. Material processes of actor's action (cut, play, do). These are processes, not entities, so the reference or meaning is on the verbs used to represent the process type. Relational process of copular verbs like V-be and stative verbs, such as is, are, seem. These verbs are of two types attributive, identifying. Mental process of sensor's realisation, recognition and belief, such as think, realize, consider.

The analysis of the PM's speech showed that in the material process of doing and happening, two participants were identified, namely the actor and goal (see Table 1).

Table 1. Actor and goal

ACTOR	PROCESS	COAL
Our We Iraq Our people	Achieve Suffer Work Cooperate presented	Aspirations many problems results present and future a program

1. Our (Actor) highest goal is to achieve (Material process) the aspirations of our people who have suffered a lot (Goal).

2. Iraq (Actor) still suffer (Material process) from many problems (economic problems, unemployment problems, poverty, water problems, electric problems and education problems)(Goal).

3. we (Actor) will work (Material process) to find results for these problems(Goal).

4. we (Actor) have to cooperate (Material process) in one another hand for our present and our future(Goal).

5. we (Actor) Presented(Material process) a program (Goal).

Demonstrate that material process indicates government's activities. According to the clauses, most of the actors in Abdul-Mahdi's speech are we, our people and Iraq. Abdul-Mahdi uses our people and Iraq, because he has intention. Abdul-Mahdi wants to show the audience that he knows their suffering by reminding them what they and the country went through, so to make the audience believe in him. This indicates that Abdul-Mahdi and his government are action leaders who want to do their best for the people in future. But the responsibility will be on both, the new government and the people.

When using the pronoun (we), the PM wants to show the policies of his government, and that he has plans for the near future, that will make the country prosperous. Abdul-Mahdi will achieve his intention, which is winning the Iraq's confidence for him and his government. He could persuade the Iraqis to follow the new policies of his government and to support him.

In the analysis of relational processes, two processes were identified, attributive and identifying relations. By using the attributive relation, for example:

6. This program is ambitious and detailed ministerial.

The verb (is) states that (ambition and detailed ministerial) attributes to (the program). The speaker explained the properties of the new program, that the government presented. Such an elaboration can reach the speaker's aim of making his dominance unconsciously accepted by the audience. The audience wants this program to be applied by the government, because from the elaboration they believe it is for their benefit. So, the demands in the speech will be willingly taken by the audience.

In the analysis of identifying process, for example:

7. Our highest goal is to achieve the aspirations of our people.

The verb (is) identifies what goal the government is looking for. It shows the listeners that one of the important aims of the new government is to achieve people's aspirations. So, by this, Abdul-Mahdi will achieve his intention to win more support from the audience.

The mental process of sensing was also reported in the analysis of the PM's speech. For example:

8. We strive for peaceful transfer of power.

By using the mental process (strive) and it is a process of sensing, Abdul-Mahdi tries to attract the emotions of the audience, showing them that he and his government will do their best to provide a kind of peace in the country. The audience's confidence is built by the prospect that Iraq finally will be in peace and that never happened since 2003. The results will be that the Iraqi people will follow the government's direction and guidance in the next four years. Thus, the PM can impose his goals.

V.1 DISCUSSION

Material processes, relational processes and mental processes are relatively dominant processes. The material process was the most used process, followed by a less use of the relational processes and the mental process, respectively.

For material process, Abdul-Mahdi uses material actions such as (achieve, suffer, work, cooperate, present) to show that he presented a program and included the policies of his government. He also referred to the problems suffered by Iraq, to which he will work to achieve the aspirations of people. He also demanded cooperation from people towards the government and policies. It is only by this, he could persuade the Iraqi to follow the new policies of his government and to support him.

The use of the relational process included both attributive and identifying relations. By using attributive process, the PM explained the properties of the new program, and how it is prepared just for their benefit. By this, the audience can believe their benefit and the program to be applied. By this, the demands in the speech will be willingly taken by the audience. In the analysis of the identifying verbs, the PM shows that the highest goal of the new government is to achieve people's aspirations, so the audience will support the government work for their benefit.

Finally, the analysis of the mental processes shows that the PM Abdul-Mahdi and government work to provide a kind of peace in the country. It is difficult to achieve such a goal since Iraq had many wars inside and outside the country. So, in order to achieve that the audience must follow the new policies. By this, the PM will impose his control and the new government's guidance will be followed

VI. CONCLUSION

This study has drawn upon Halliday's transitivity model for the analysis of the Iraqi PM Abdul-Mahdi's inaugural Address. The analysis uncovered that the PM used more objective and more persuasive processes to reach the goals, namely material, relational and mental processes. The PM used material processes frequently to show the policies of his government. The use of mental process help

attract the audience's emotions by showing them that the PM and his government will do their best, to provide a kind of peace in the country. The results will be that the Iraqi people will follow the government's direction. For material and mental processes, they show how the PM use the power of speeches to persuade the public to accept and support his policies, especially by the use of the pronoun (we) and (our) to shorten the distance between the speaker and the audience. The use of the relational process was mostly with objective evaluation and judgment, so the audience will be more ready to receive the idea conveyed by the speaker. By using such processes, the PMs aim is to make his dominance unconsciously accepted by the audience. The relational process here shows how power and ideology are incorporated through discourse by the PM.

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