CDA and PDA Made Simple

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Language, Ideology and Power in Politics and Media

Bahaa-eddin M. Mazid

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CDA and PDA Made Simple:
Language, Ideology and Power in Politics and Media

By Bahaa-eddin M. Mazid

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To my wife and my daughters,
for having to pay for it all,
and to my teachers and students,
past and present

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Note: The book sign 🕮 refers to a digression; F = further work; A = Appendix

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Foreword

By Prof. Ahmed Sokarno

FOREWORD

In this book, "*CDA and PDA Made Simple: Language, Ideology and Power in Politics and Media*", Professor Mazid has managed to mainly explore the relationships between language and ideology or power/control and how such relationships are represented. To achieve such an objective, he has relied on CDA (Critical Discourse Analysis) and PDA (Political Discourse Analysis). Let us first be introduced to these models. CDA is a model that "has fostered multidisciplinarity and methodological eclecticism within its research programme." (Kopytowska 2012:ii). Thus it draws upon the principles established in several disciplines and theories (e.g. social theories, theories of language and methodologies of language analysis etc.) with the purpose of probing into "often opaque relationships of causality and determination between (a) discursive practice, events and texts, and (b) wider social and cultural structures, relations and processes" (Fairclough 1955:33). Similarly, van Dijk (2001) has defined CDA as "a type of discourse analytical research that primarily studies the way social power abuse, dominance, and inequality are enacted, reproduced, and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context. With such dissident research, critical discourse analysts take explicit position, and thus want to understand, expose, and ultimately resist social inequality." (p.352)

PDA, as pointed out by van Dijk (1997:11), "deals especially with the reproduction of political power, power abuse or domination through political discourse, including the various forms of resistance or counter-power against such forms of discursive dominance". Politicians (e.g. presidents, prime ministers etc.) use certain strategies to persuade the public to adopt or accept their viewpoints and hence gain their support or win their votes. The ideologies of politicians are often hidden in their speeches; they are not explicitly stated for fear of rejection or for implicitly affecting the public's way of thinking. It is the role of PDA to expose such hidden agendas and awaken the people to the reality of political discourse.

Professor Mazid's 1999 study on ideology and control was based on a diverse set of data. This early study has inspired him to provide us with a detailed overview of the two models or research tools in this book: CDA and PDA. He starts by giving us a definition of terms that recur in the

book. Furthermore, chapter 3, which is concerned with literature review, contains a plenty of information concerning concepts or models utilized in CDA and PDA, concepts such as speech acts, context, power and ideology in language, classroom discourse. Note that literature reviews are generally expected to contain pertinent information concerning the issues to be raised in subsequent chapters. For example, we are introduced in chapter 2 (the literature review) to the works that are related to transitivity but no reference is made to modality, metadiscourse or presupposition. On the contrary, this chapter refers to such irrelevant concepts/studies as classroom discourse, gender encounters and politics of translations for these are not part of the analyses given in chapters 5-8. This by no means affects the quality of the book which is intended to provide the reader with a simplified version of these complicated models as well as their associated constructs.

Four chapters (i.e. 5-8) constitute the analytical heart of the book. These chapters are especially revealing for they show how CDA or PDA can be employed as research tools for highlighting the relationships between language and ideology or control/power as realized in specific texts: political or nonpolitical texts. In these chapters, the researcher has given his full attention to transitivity, modality, metadiscourse and presupposition as manifested in the selected data (i.e. two political texts (i.e., (1) Sadat's Speech to the Israeli Knesset and (2) The US declaration of Independence), two advice columns (e.g. (1) *Al-Ahram* and (2) *Cosmopolitan*) and six headlines (i.e. one headline from each of the following: *Al-Ahram, Al-Osboa and Ad-Dustour* and two headlines from the *Herald Tribune* and one from *The Times*)).

The overall work of Prof. Mazid emphasizes the fact that language and the context in which it is used coexist and have a bidirectional effect on each other: language shapes, and is shaped by, the social and cultural context in which it is used. This is true of any discourse, be it political or otherwise. This simplified version of the models will definitely satisfy the needs of readers who often find them difficult to digest. In addition, discourse students are more likely to derive benefit from this book, which contains analyses of authentic data.

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Preface

PREFACE

✍ "Language reflects power structures – and language has an impact on power structures. Language can be seen as an indicator of social and therefore political situations – and language can also be seen as a driving force directed at changing politics and society. Language is an in-put as well as an out-put factor of political systems. It influences politics – and is influenced by politics…. Language can be an instrument for or against enlightenment, for or against emancipation, for or against democracy, for or against human rights. Language can be used by totalitarian regimes, and it can be used as a means of resistance against these regimes" (Pelinka, 2007: 129-131).

Mazid (1999) investigates ideology, power and control relationships as expressed through transitivity, modality, metadiscourse, and presupposition in various genres in Arabic and English. The data of the study consisted of two political speeches, two advice columns, and six headlines. Following the principles and procedures of the (then) most recent versions of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), the analysis was done in three stages: (1) situating the texts in their socio-historical contexts, (2) analyzing the four pragmalinguistic aspects listed above in each text, and (3) discussing and interpreting the findings and making cross-linguistic, cross-cultural and cross-genre comparisons. The analysis of the two political speeches and the two advice columns revealed significant cross-linguistic/cultural and contextual differences related to agency, pronominal reference, access, and reach, strategic functions, reasoning styles, modality of obligation and necessity, metadiscourse of certainty, mitigation, and citation, and presuppositions. Although the Arabic headlines were not compared to the English ones, both sets were found to be ideological and to encode control relationships in different ways.

So many things have happened since 1999. New players on the political stage have emerged, some of them already disappeared – e.g., Obama, George Bush, Bin Laden, Saddam Hussein, Gadhafi, Mubarak, Bashar Al-Assad and Hassan Nasrallah. An invasion of Iraq, a host of revolutions in the Arab world, the so-called "Arab Spring", which broke out in Tunisia in 2010, have been reshaping the political scene in many

Arab countries. One outcome of the Arab revolutions is the temporary rise of Islamist movements after the collapse of some long standing regimes. An important tool in starting and maintaining those revolutions has been the use of SNS – social networking sites – most notably Facebook and Twitter and many news websites and channels. A multimodal version of CDA/ PDA – see later in this book - has become inevitable.

My involvement with these issues and developments resulted in an article on a speech by Bush, an analysis of cartoons of Bush and Bin Laden, an analysis of the language of the war on Iraq, an analysis of a sad email from Baghdad, and a rereading of a fable from *Kalila wa Dimna*, in addition to remarks on hatespeak before and after the Arab revolutions (Mazid, 2012). It has been a long and captivating story which culminated in a book in Arabic where pragmatics, CDA and Political Discourse Analysis (PDA) are made simple (Mazid, 2010), and a book in English taking CDA to the area of Translation Studies (Mazid, 2007a). My rather old research project (1999) is only a skeletal background in this book. The aim of the book is not simply to provide an update on the project, but to provide a fairly comprehensive introduction to and a simplification of CDA and PDA.

Key-Words/ Hashtags: CDA and PDA – ideology - power and control – transitivity – modality - metadiscourse – presupposition – US *Declaration of Independence* – Sadat's Speech to the Knesset - advice columns - separation and compromise - epistemic authority – politics of pronouns – multimodality

It is beyond the scope of this preface to thank everyone who has contributed to the completion of this story. Having worked on (critical) discourse analysis for some 15 years, I have learned so much from so many people. My debt to Professor Saad Gamal is too immense to be expressed adequately here or elsewhere. He literally initiated me into discourse analysis and has never ceased to provide advice, guidance as well as reprimand, whenever necessary. I am also grateful to other "intellectual parents" who have been so supportive and encouraging and have taught me so much ever since I came in contact with them while working on my MA and later on my Ph.D – Professors Ali Ezzat, Geanette Attiya, Paul Stevens, Salwa Kamel and Hassan Taman. Professors Attiya and Taman are now dead, may their souls rest in peace, but their impact on their students, their minds and lives, still lives. I'd like to also thank the late Professor Robert De Baeugrande, and Professors T. A. van Dijk, Ruth

Wodak and Paul Chilton, for their advice and encouragement and the inspiration they continue to provide to people who perhaps have never seen them in person. With another group of people, I have played the reluctant role of a teacher or supervisor, but they seem to have become much more than simply "students". Two of them passed away tragically - Media Majeed (shot dead in Iraq after completing her thesis on the war on Iraq discourse!) and Mohammad Abul Hassan. Their contributions remain, and I hope I have not misrepresented them in my work. Hossam Abdel Wareth, Hala Nasr-eddin and Ahlam Al-Harbi continue to contribute actively as discourse analysts. I am also grateful to Hammam Abdelbary for helping me in the proofreading of the manuscript at a very critical stage. Amanda Millar and Carol Koulikourdi from CSP, I owe a lot to their patience and support..

Abbreviations. **CA**: Conversational Analysis; **CDA**: Critical Discourse Analysis; **CDS**: Critical Discourse Studies; **CID**: Criminal Investigation Department (Scotland Yard); **CP**: the cooperative principle of Grice (1975); **DA**: discourse analysis; **ISA**: Ideological State Apparatuses; **PDA**: political discourse analysis; **PLO:** Palestinian Liberation Organization; **PP**: the politeness principle of Leech (1983); **TS**: Translation Studies; **UN**: the United Nations; **US(A)**: the United States of America; **USSR**: the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics

Transcription Conventions. In transcribing examples and extracts from the sample Arabic data, the study uses the following symbols for Arabic sounds. Sounds not listed below are more or less the same as their English counterparts: (1) **Consonants:** ʔ ء voiceless glottal stop; **th** ث interdental voiceless fricative; **j** ج voiced palatal fricative; ħ ح voiceless pharyngeal fricative; **kh** خ voiceless uvular fricative; **dh** ذ interdental voiced fricative; **sh** ش voiceless palatal fricative; S ص voiceless pharyngealized fricative; **D** ض voiced pharyngealized plosive; **T** ط voiceless pharyngealized plosive; Z ظ voiced pharyngealized fricative; ʕ ع voiced pharyngeal fricative; **gh** غ voiced uvular fricative; **q** ق voiceless uvular plosive;; **w** و voiced bilabial semi-vowel; **y** ي voiced palatal semi-vowel; (2) **Vowels:** **/a/** front, low, unrounded; /**i**/ front, high, unrounded; /**u**/ back, high, rounded and pushed. The sound in, e.g., *beit*, which is the colloquial version of *bait*, is not like the diphthong in the English word "make"; however, it is used in the book, instead of /ee/, for convenience. Long vowels and emphatic/geminate consonants are shown by doubling the relevant symbol. Every transcription is immediately followed by a translation into English in brackets (). Square brackets [] signal an intervention or addition by the

researcher. The translations are as literal as they could be. A slash / divides two alternative translations. The translation of the Quranic verses in Sadat's Speech is adapted from A. Yusuf Ali, *The Holy Quran: Text, Translation and Commentary,* Cairo: Dar Al–Manaar. The translation is available online. The transcriptions are not accompanied with any syntactic information, because it is not relevant to the objectives of the study. Moreover, there is a good deal of flexibility in transcribing, so that some words are case marked and some are not, depending on the researcher's intuition as to how a sentence in the Arabic data might have been articulated. Transcriptions that are not done by me are kept as is. Translations of Arabic material, data, quotations, and so on, are mine, unless otherwise indicated. In analyzing presuppositions, the sign >> means "presuppose/s (that)."

Introduction:
Issues and Settings

INTRODUCTION: ISSUES AND SETTINGS

> "Some philosophers – Descartes is the best known – have defined humans as essentially linguistic animals. Aristotle, on the other hand, famously defined humans as political animals. No doubt both definitions contain a germ of the truth. What political discourse analysts would probably have to claim, if they were to think philosophically, would be that the one definition necessarily involves the other" (Chilton and Schaffner, 1997: 206).

The connection between the word and the world is not merely referential, nor is its referentiality innocent of human interest and motivation; we can do things with words. We can use language to hurt, stereotype, favor, or discriminate against one another. We can disrupt, condemn, or silence others "with, or through, or sometimes because of language". Language is political insofar as we use it to "define, extend, or even end human relationships". It has power insofar as we use it to "to do things to each other, or to get people to do thing" (Davis, 1993: 419). Language is a "loaded weapon" (Bolinger, 1980), perhaps the most powerful of human weapons, because it is only through language that human understanding can itself be "manipulated" and brought to cooperate in its own "subjugation" (Green, 1987: ix).

In almost every piece of human discourse, there is some sort of bias: "sexist, racist, culturalist, nationalist, regionalist, ageist, lookist, ableist, sizeist speciesist, intellectualist, socio-economist, ethnocentrist, phallocentrist, heteropatriarchalist" (Garner, 1994: x). The powerful may use language to control, eliminate, marginalize, or assimilate the powerless, who in turn may keep silent, or use language to mock, challenge, or seek the approval of the powerful. In either case, language embodies, intentionally or unintentionally, its users' worldviews, or versions of reality, i.e., their ideologies.

The aim of this book is to provide a fairly comprehensive review and discussion of the main concepts in the critical study of language and discourse, an approach that has taken many names, e.g., politicolinguistics/

political linguistics, critical linguistics, critical discourse studies and critical discourse analysis, analyze some linguistic markers of ideology, power and control in some speech, verbal-visual and newspaper genres in English and (Modern Standard) Arabic and to identify cross-genre and cross-linguistic patterns, if any, in the linguistic realization of ideology, power and control. In addition, the book provides a simplification of the main principles, tenets and tools of critical and political discourse analysis.

1.1. What?

✍ "The notion of *politics* I am using here takes as its central concern the notion of *power* and views power as operating through all domains of life. Power is at the heart of questions of *discourse*, disparity and difference" (Pennycock, 2001: 27, emphases added).

The theoretical scope of the book encompasses a lengthy review of the literature in the area of critical discourse analysis (CDA); more broadly, in the areas of power, control, ideology and politics as realized and enacted in discourse. The review follows a detailed theoretical background on the main tenets and assumptions, tools and recipes, trends and extensions and critiques and applications of critical and political discourse analysis (PDA).

The analytical focus of this book is on how ideology and power are linguistically and metalinguistically realized, specifically through transitivity, modality, metadiscourse and presupposition in some discourse genres in English and Arabic and whether there are recurrent patterns in this realization. This analytical focus, inherited from the research project on which this book is based, branches into two major questions/issues (i) The use of transitivity, modality, metadiscourse and presupposition in encoding power and ideology and (ii) Cross-genre and cross-linguistic variation in the expression of ideology and power.

1.2. Who Cares?

The book belongs to the tradition of critical discourse analysis (Fowler & Kress, 1979; Fairclough, 1985, 1989; Fairclough and Wodak, 1997) and the investigation of language as power (Fowler, 1985; van Dijk, 1985). CDA builds on the recent development in speech Act Theory (Austin, 1962; Searle, 1969) and Systemic Functional Grammar or SFG (Halliday, 1985). The theoretical scope of the book is far more comprehensive than

the scope of the original research upon which it is based. Major contributions to CDA and PDA are included.

The analyses in the book, some old, some new, take the following for granted: Language is a social phenomenon which expresses meanings and values (e.g., Kress, 1990; Wodak, 2002a); Language is political in the broadest sense of the word – "I take it as unquestionable that there is no conceivable apolitical work in this, or any other, society" (Burton, 1982: 197); Power and control relationships are crucial to the understanding of language in use, and Language is ideological whether or not its users are aware of it, and whether or not they are willing to admit it.

More Postulates and Caveats in CDA

- CDA does not deal with "facts".
- CDA is reflexive.
- CDA is open to multiple readings.
- CDA must be plausible.
- CDA is subject to the same limitations of linguistic communication as any other discipline

(Flowerdew, 1999: 1090)

1.3. So What?

In addition to the tasks mentioned so far, this book summarizes some important insights from classical Arabic rhetoric on the issues addressed in the theoretical background and the literature review. Although the approach adopted in the analytical part of the study conforms to the basic tenets of CDA and uses some of its tools, the book adds a comparative perspective – English vs. Arabic. The original project also examines a discourse genre hitherto not approached from a CDA perspective; namely, the advice column, but the examination is not reproduced here. CDA has for the most part concerned itself with genres that are apparently political and/or power-marked, e.g., political communication. On the other hand, when the research project on which this book is based was completed, there was an obvious gap in CDA studies on Arabic discourse; Wageih (1994, 1996) and El-Kareh (1985) are among the few exceptions to this generalization. A substantial body of literature on CDA and PDA in Arab universities has materialized since 1999. The book seeks to further draw attention to the applicability of CDA to diverse discourse genres in English and Arabic. It adds some notes and extracts on the discourse of cartoons, emails, fables and other text types. The book is not merely an