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FRAMING IDEOLOGY AND POWER: A CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF NAWAZ SHAREEF SPEECHES

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ABSTRACT

Political discourse including public speeches is often analyzed through the Critical Discourse Analysis. Politicians make public speeches to win favorite response from their audience. This paper examines the persuasive and hegemonic strategies implied by Nawaz Shareef to influence his public. In order to strengthen his point of view, the speaker delivers speeches which highlight that the emphasis is given on lexical devices and this hypothesis helps the researchers in collecting such speeches. In order to have clear reflection of exhibition of purpose and power Taiwo's Micro, Meso and Macro levels are taken into account. In addition to it, the present study is underpinned only with the application of Micro level analysis in accordance with Taiwo's devices. Results reveal speaker's Western style of speech and depict that repeated words, usage of personal pronouns, platform of speech and words for appraisal are there to show intimacy as well as speaker's persuasive and hegemonic strategies. Moreover, the findings of the research show an obvious impact of context on choice of lexical categories employed by Nawaz Shareef in his political discourse. The present study's approach may help to fill up the gape present in the existing literature. A number of other approaches can be implemented on these speeches to infer other results as well.

INTRODUCTION

Politics is an effort to have power for the sake of exercising certain political, economic and social ideas. So as to communicate ideas of any kind, the

speakers or writers have only one choice and that is language. In this process of politics, language gains a very important and striking status because language influences, prepares, accompanies and plays every political action. The language for politicians is a major tool for persuasion and changing ideas and beliefs of the people. Politicians' language is filled with ideology, power and depicting the traditional and contextual backgrounds.

Discourse, as a term, is explained with a variety of definitions. When discourse is linked with study of a language, it opens new horizons towards the use of language, dialects of that language, statements which are considered acceptable and the patterns which are made in a speech in or within a society. Analysis is simply evaluation by splitting down the things into different parts or pieces. Discourse analysis deals with connection of linguistic features, writing or speech, among each other. Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is a field of discourse analysis that studies the relationship between discourse and ideology. It is a field of study that has underpinned the linguistics in a different way to explore the hidden ideologies behind plain words which seem simple but can be elaborated very much with different aspects and dimensions. Many a CDA analyst embarks on a text with a political purpose or has agenda of some kind. In many cases, CDA analysts advocate for inequality in society and social change, aim at reflecting how a text could be representative of a particular ideology. CDA aims at making the connections transparent among discourse practices, social practices and social structures, connections that might be opaque to the layperson (Sheyholislami, 2001).

Evolution of CDA has taken many turns and nowadays most of the linguists have described this in numerous forms even it has become widely applied method of research in political discourse. Teun A. Van Dijk, Ruth Wodak and Michael Meyer believe that CDA discusses social power and abuse as in the following definitions:

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is 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 (Van Dijk, 1993)

The work of Norman Fairclough (2006) has initiated dialectical theory of discourse and also instigated approach which changed into social change. Contemporary change of social process regarding discursive aspects has been explored in Fairclough's approach. This transdisciplinary work not only brings dialogues closer but also depicts a collective effort made by the individuals. His fresh work throws light and study neoliberalism—the idea of 'community' in worldwide safety and the perceptions of being powerful politically in terms of 'globalization' and the 'knowledge based economy'. He has presented his work in connection with UK Labour politic and in relation to New Capitalism (Jessop, Fairclough & Wodak, 2008).

Current progresses which have been combined for cognitive perspectives and Critical Discourse Analysis involve Koller's oeuvre (2005). Her theory regarding cognitive metaphor has been kept in view specifically in the arena of corporate discourse. Paul Chilton's cognitive linguistic approach has made important contributions to the analysis of political discourse, as well as to the development of the CDA research agenda (Chilton, 2002, 2003, 2004).

Critical Discourse Analysis is a program of social analysis that critically analyses discourse - that is to say language in use - as a means of addressing social change (Scollon, 2001)

The 'discourse-historical approach' (DHA) (Reisigl & Wodak, 2001; Reisigl & Wodak, 2009) was specifically devised for an interdisciplinary study of post-war antisemitism in Austria (e.g., Wodak et al., 2009). The distinctive feature of this approach is its attempt to integrate systematically all available background information in the analysis and interpretation of the many layers of a written or spoken text, specifically taking into account four layers of context (Wodak, 2001).

Pakistani politicians' political discourse is generally filled with the issues prevailing in the country. This paper analyzes three speeches of Nawaz Sharif. This study is also restricted to the three speeches delivered on different occasions to different variety of audience. In addition to this, discussion has also been made on the different and differing aspects of political discourse. Critical discourse analysis of these three selected speeches vouchsafes how ideology is depicted, how influence is shown, and how persuasion is made by Nawaz Sharif. The researcher will try to achieve following objective through his research.

OBJECTIVE

1. To ascertain the impact of hidden ideology and power upon linguistic choices in a political discourse

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

How do lexical choices in Nawaz Sharif's political discourse exhibit his purpose and power?

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The researcher employed techniques of CDA for analysis because the discipline of CDA was established with the assumption that reconstruction of texts helps in finding out relationship between language and power. Furthermore, such research can help to identify the ways ideologies are propagated through text (Wodak, 2013). CDA-practitioners tend to work on applied topics and social domains such as: Political discourse, ideology, racism, the discourse of economics, advertisements and promotional culture, media language, gender, institutional discourse and education (Blommaert, 2005).

The researchers used secondary source i.e. internet to collect the data. Data has been collected from—<http://www.pmo.gov.pk>. Speeches delivered on

three different occasions constitute the data of this research. The present study will primarily be qualitative in nature i.e. descriptive research methods will be used in the current research. In order to strengthen the qualitative research, complex method will be used. According to this, quantitative method will be used to validate qualitative data. Technique of purposive, non-random sampling will be used to select Nawaz Sharif's three speeches for analysis. Analysis will be done by following Faircloughian method of Critical Discourse analysis.

Moreover, speeches will be analyzed on Micro level, specifically—lexical devices. This level of analysis helps a researcher to strengthen his standpoint and to be more critical, Moreover, the analysis at this level is in line with the view of Taiwo (2004), who believes that two devices employed by the speakers to present their ideology and show their power are—linguistic and graphological

- Linguistic devices, in this research, include figurative language (e.g. metaphor, personification, antonomasia, metonymy, simile, enumeration, amplification, rhetorical question, epithet, antanagoge).
- Graphological devices include lexical devices and syntactical devices. Lexical devices include parts of speech and they are named as lexical categories. Syntactical devices include only infinitive, participle, gerund and active and passive sentences.

DATA ANALYSIS

Conventionally, nouns, verbs and prepositions are those entities which are referred to word classes. In modern aspects, these are called lexical categories. Now, noun, verb, adjective, adverb and adposition are lexical categories. These become part of the sentence in prepositions or postpositions. In older context, lexical categories were regarded on semantic base. In modern linguistics, morpho-syntactic base defines them in terms of grammatical property (Valin, 2001). The researchers have mapped their minds after thorough reading of the speeches what categories of lexical devices should be included and what should be excluded. Finally, Nominals i.e. Nouns and Pronoun, Adjectives, Verbs and Adverbs have been included for analysis. The relevance and irrelevance to the topic and research cleared the idea of exemption of other lexical items from the speeches. In the selection of nouns, possessives, infinitives and gerunds have been excluded, while collective nouns, single nouns are the part of this research. Second category in nominals is pronouns. The researchers have limited the selection of pronouns, only personal pronouns— Nominative case, possessive case, objective case and reflexives have been considered. Adjectives fall in the second category; their selection has also been considered working in a specific limit excluding participles. Third one is verb. All type of verbs have not been discussed whether they have function of finite or non-finite, causatives and showing possession. Verb showing actions or state have been the part of this research for this dissertation. Finally and fourthly, adverbs at one side have been used in a very low numbers but have been considered too.

*Lexical Devices***TABLE 1**

Lexical Categories in Speech One (By Nawaz Sharif to All Countrymen at Independence-day)

Sr. No	Category	Frequency	Most frequently occurring words
1	Nominals	377+147 = 524	Pakistan (19), Country (13), Peace (7), People (7), God (6), Independence-day (5), Muslim (5), Future (5), Forefathers (4), Answers (4) we (48), our (36), us (15), I (13), they (8), it (8), their (7)
2	Adjective	69	Pakistanis (5), able (4), dear (3), positive (3), objective (3), separate (3), democratic (3), global (3), full (2), great (2), important (2), active (2)
3	Verb	128+24 =152	are (17), is (17), have (9), realize (5), fulfill (3), face (3), were (3), make (2), pledge (2), protect (2), achieve (2)

4 Adverb 42 Today (10), also (7), so that (3), now (2),

According to event and theme of the speech is seen through words what choices and what frequency the speaker adopted to give prominence to the occasion. In the above table, Pakistan, country, peace independence, Pakistani, dear, today, future, forefathers and answers have been repeated many times which indicate that the speaker is exploring to highlight the importance and the event and for which purpose that country was achieved by their forefathers. In addition to it the purpose which made their forefathers try for separate homeland. Secondly, the use of pronouns specially 'we', 'our' and 'us' notify or show that the speaker is trying to have intimacy at such occasion. Main word Pakistan is enjoying top position with high-rated frequency of 19. It implies the importance of speech and event.

TABLE 2

Lexical Categories in Speech Two (By Nawaz Sharif at Education Conference)

Sr. No	Category	Frequency	Most frequently occurring words
1	Nominals	338+81 419	Education(33), Pakistan(12), Government (10), Development(7) I(15), our(15), it(9), you(8), us(8)
2	Adjective	60	Key(4), Private(4), Important(3), International(3), Possible(3), Educational(2), Effective(2), Different(2), Equal(2), Modern(2), National(2), Religious(2), Strong(2), Social(2)
3	Verb	83	Is(23), congratulate(2), feel(3), has(3), have(2), thank(3)

4 Adverb 21 Here(2), also(2), 21st Century, Vision 2025, 2018

Inclusiveness of this speech is a word education. Platform of this speech is conference which can play a key role in the development of Pakistan. Focusing on education the speaker has paid ample attention to possible, important, possible, modern, effective, private, social, educational and religious ideas. Again, the use of first pronoun 'I', 'our', 'us' and 'you' portray the picture at one side of intimacy and on the other side of speaker's intentions toward this crucial idea and affair of education that is question of the day.

Table 3 : Lexical Categories in Speech Three (By Nawaz Sharif at World Islamic Economic Forum)

Sr. No	Category	Frequency	Most frequently occurring words
1	Nominals	391	World (25), countries (11), development (9), people (8), trade (7), growth (5), excellencies (5), economy (5), opportunities (5), years (4), globalization (4), services (4), forum (4), We (19), I(5), our (13), it(3), my(2), their(2), its(2)

2	Adjective	161	Islamic(13), global(13), economic(11), massive(2), national(3), Different(3), social(2), rapid (2)
3	Verb	80+15 =95	need(9), Is(8), are(6), has(4), have(3), own(3), suggests(2), increase(2), open(2), offer(2), remember(2), serve(2)

4 Adverb 59 Also(6), more(5), now(2), however(2), very(2), rapidly(2),

This speech is foreign listener based. The synthesis of this speech contains a bundle of words highlighting the thematic images of the event and forum. The speaker has put forward his appreciations by massive, rapid, services, development, trade, growth and globalization. Underpinning his speech, the speaker has incorporated a prominent word 'world' that deals with the major theme. The selection of adjective like Islamic, global and economic depict sure picture of theme. Repetition of 'we' and 'our' indicate the idea and theme that the speaker is evaluating, appreciating, inviting, collaborating and motivating the listeners in order to have proper advantage of this forum in every respect.

DISCUSSION AND FINDINGS

Question One: Discussion and Findings

How do lexical choices in Nawaz Sharif's political discourse exhibit his purpose and power?

All the speakers try in their speeches to carry prerequisites which are considered to be the essential part of speech for the sake of propagating ideology in a light and sophisticated way. They do this through the repetition of words and phrases using in a very systematic way. According to Lim (2002) discerning the pattern and technique of making keywords occur facilitates the insight of the listeners and keywords give a rapid understanding of any body of text. For the sake of persuasion and showing ideology hidden in the words, the speaker has tried to convey the government's intentions. The following paragraphs are showing this technique

Opening with appraisal for persuasion

For this purpose of persuasion, in the opening sentences of speeches the speaker has offered a plenty of sentences in the appraisal for his audience. The use of this technique in the very beginning of the speeches enables the speaker to be close to the audience. Moreover, the speaker is making speeches on three different platforms which arise the need of this technique.

In the first speech, the speaker has embellished his speech with the sentences about Pakistanis residing abroad so that he might gain the attention and

emotional attachment with all the Pakistanis. The following examples are to show closeness in order to make the audience ready to agree with his statements.

They deem the green flag as a symbol of honour and hold it dearer than their lives (Speech One, Line 4-5).

Similarly, in the next lines of his speech, the speaker has paid a tribute to those who sacrificed their lives for the establishment of Pakistan.

Countless people gave their blood to kindle the light of freedom (Speech One, Line 5-6).

Today, we remember our forefathers and pay tribute to them for sacrificing all they had to give us identity (Speech One, Line 7-9).

Same situation in the speech two is seen in third paragraph, when the speaker has at one side thanked all of the participants and then put in his statements which depict his unprejudiced and unbiased thinking as is shown below.

It is my hope that this historic conference, while bringing together all the stakeholders under the same roof, would serve as catalyst in accelerating the pace of progress in the field of education in Pakistan (Speech Two, Line 16-18).

Observation of third speech also presents the same picture of positive opinion to make the atmosphere favorable for him.

I commend the efforts of organizers of the Forum to have achieved such remarkable success within a short period of 8 years since its inception (Speech Three, Line 6-7).

Persuasion and power in speeches

According to Fairclough, ideologies “only arise in class societies characterized by relations of domination” and therefore discourse is ideological only in so far as it contributes “to sustaining or undermining power relations” (1995). In connection with this statement, explanation of the following lines has been given demonstrating the speaker’s ideology and power purpose.

We have started in the right direction with sincerity (Speech One, Line 80-81).

To demonstrate that the speaker has intelligence enough to tackle the affairs of state, the speaker has added the statement along with the prediction of power that We have taken the decision in a right way and what We are going to do is being done with sincerity. The words right direction show the speaker’s perception and self-confidence that the government is working in the light of constitution that cannot be blamed ever or no one can point that out. At one

side, the speaker is showing intention to do something worthwhile and on the other side, he is announcing the words right direction.

I assure you that the federal and provincial governments will extend to you their fullest cooperation in this regard and wish you success in your deliberations (Speech Two, Line 100-101).

The authority of assurance is attributed to a particular person at such a huge forum on which he is speaking. The speaker is giving assurance to the audience i.e educationists, philanthropists and other stakeholders, this shows his power regarding fulfillment of the purpose for which that conference has been held. Governments—provincial as well as federal seems to be his subordinates in this regard.

I have asked the Planning Commission to give education top priority in our prospective plan known as Vision 2025 (Speech Two, Line 72-73).

By discussing Vision 2025, the speaker has announced his plans which are in progress or in prospective. Further, his power is reflected through the words I have asked. In order to give top priority, he is asking planning commission to do so.

We must remember that future of all mankind is now interdependent and no part or region of the world can achieve sustained progress in isolation (Speech Three, Line 105-106).

Future of mankind is interdependent are the words through which the speaker has given decision of progress only if they are with each other. Otherwise, the world would not achieve its goals in isolation. The ideology behind this is to work with cooperation and work wonders. In addition to it, common ties would enable the world to go ahead and have pace for progress.

Moreover, throughout the speech, the speaker has used a few words and phrases which are depicting power on his part.

- **I realize.....(Speech One)**
- **we can make a fresh start....(Speech One)**
- **We have the light.....(Speech One)**
- **We have the potential....(Speech One)**
- **my recent visit to China will bring....(Speech One)**
- **our morale is high..... (Speech One)**
- **we shall transform Pakistan.....(Speech One)**
- **I have.....(Speech One)**
- **we will defeat.....(Speech One)**
- **I want to tell you.....(Speech One)**
- **we will come out....(Speech One)**
- **must be an integral part....(Speech Two)**
- **I have no doubt.....(Speech Two)**
- **must prioritize...(Speech Two)**
- **I feel....(Speech Two)**

- **I invite you all to join...(Speech Two) □ Joined hands....(Speech Two)**
- **We strongly feel that....(Speech Two)**
- **I sincerely believe...(Speech Three)**
- **we may also note....(Speech Three)**
- **we must also guard...(Speech Three)**
- **we must transform.....(Speech Three)**
- **we must remember....(Speech Three)**
- **nor will have the ability...(speech Three)**
- **Islamic nations have much....(Speech Three)**
- **We need to....(Speech Three)**
- **We can lead....(Speech Three)**
- **In my view...(Speech Three)**

The above phrases and word depict hegemony as well as ideology or purpose of the speaker in order to persuade and convince the audience.

Religious expressions also facilitate the speaker to enhance the beauty of the speech and to convince the audience in connection with their religious temperaments. Obama has used the religious prayers from the Bible in order to gain sympathy and support of the godly Christian nation—Americans. He shows strong religious relationship in this regard in his speech (Wang, 2012). Similarly walking on the track of him, Nawaz Sharif has also been explored in terms of religious relationship. One out of three speeches is found favorable in this aspect. The only one speech, Speech One to the countrymen, contains such references as:

Today, we also pay homage to Quaid-e-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah for providing us a sincere and honest leadership that we consider as a gift of God (Speech One, Line 10-11).

We are extremely grateful to God for all the precious gifts (Speech One, Line 19-20). Whereas this Day reminds us of the kindness of God, it also invites us to selfaccountability (Speech One, Line 22).

The Almighty generously blessed us with numerous bounties but did we thank God for all the blessings bestowed on us (Speech One, Line 24-25).

With the grace of God our intentions are pious and our morale is high (Speech One, Line 80).

God be our saviour and guide (Speech One, Line 122)!

If a glance is taken towards the tenses, present and future tenses are seen dominating in the speeches. According to Halliday (1994), past, present and future are related to time 'now' at the time of speaking. Simple present tense is found most frequent in Obama's speech to highlight present situations of the world and domestic as well (Wang, 2010). Moreover, the use of tense has facilitated the president and audience as well to come in close relationship.

Future tenses have been adopted to underpin the intentions and prospective plans of the government.

As above research depicts the most frequent use of tenses of present and future, same is found in this work. The speaker has masterly added these two tenses in his speeches like Obama. Looking at the past tense, a few elements are found in the speech one in which the speaker has quoted the importance of the past and forefathers.

CONCLUSION

On the basis of the discussion, it is concluded that Nawaz Sharif, in his speeches, adopts Western Style. He makes linguistic choices to let the audience feel closeness and shortens the distances. Furthermore, **firstly**, he has the Western style of speech and his speech starts with appraisal sentences in order to be close to his audience. Similarly, his choice of different linguistic choices influences his speech as well. Most of his speech consists of noun and verbs. **Secondly**, Through the use of first person pronouns, he successfully strengthens his point of view and succeeds in gaining the support of the audience. On this ground, the present research infers that he uses simple words with most of the present and future tense in order to make his statement easily understandable and show the objectives of the government. This can help him persuade the audience in his policies. Ideology and power go side by side in his speeches. His style to deliver his standpoint carries the words of showing power as well. He persuasively achieves the strength to influence his audience through discourse. **Lastly**, the change of context carries with it the variation of linguistics choices in the speeches of Nawaz Sharif. Also, these speeches carry contextual background with them. In first speech, Independence-day influences vocabulary, second has impact of educational setting and third includes vocabulary regarding objective and planning of the World Islamic Economic Forum (WIEF).

Thought for further studies

Different aspects of these speeches can be disclosed and highlighted through this approach like social cognition. There are many other approaches which, keeping in view the same procedure, can be implemented on these speeches. With same context, this research can be analyzed further taking into account all linguistic features including preposition, articles etc and theories like pragmatism, topicalization etc. it is also possible to explore features of politeness in these speeches too

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