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A CRITICAL SOCIOLINGUISTIC APPROACH TO THE ANALYSIS OF POLITICAL DIALECT DIFFERENCES

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Abstract

The current paper is intended to examine political dialect variations critically. It foreshadows that the language that politicians use pre-presidentially is different from the language they use thereafter. Variation and changeability can best be studied within the agenda of critical sociolinguistics which has established a connection between people's place in the societal hierarchy and the linguistic and other phenomena of oppressions in that place. Accordingly. Twenty political English and Arabic discourses are analyzed socio-critically.

1. Research Methodology

1.1. The Problem

According to the best of the researcher's knowledge, The critical causes of political variations have not been given their due attention critically. Therefore, the current paper attempts to investigate such causes by uncovering answers to the following questions:

1. What are the shared strategies used in the English and Arabic discourse ?
2. What are the similarities and differences between the English pre-presidential and presidential discourse?
3. What are the similarities and differences between the Arabic pre-presidential and presidential discourse?
4. What are the similarities and differences between the English and Arabic pre-presidential and presidential discourse?

1.2 The Aims

This study aims at:

1. Identifying the shared strategies used in the English and Arabic discourse .
2. Finding out the similarities and differences between the English pre-presidential and presidential discourse.
3. Highlighting the similarities and differences between the Arabic pre-presidential and presidential discourse.
4. Identifying the similarities and differences between the English and Arabic pre-presidential and presidential discourse.

1.3 The Hypotheses

It is hypothesized that:

1. Allocating roles to participants is the most shared strategy in the English and Arabic discourses .
2. The English pre-presidential discourses are similar to the presidential discourses in the utilization of three strategies: generic and specific, assimilation, and identification. On the other hand, they are different in the use of speech acts.
3. The Arabic pre-presidential discourses are similar to the presidential discourses in the utilization of three strategies: generic and specific, differentiation, and association. On the other hand, they are different in the use of speech acts.
4. Similar strategies are used in both English and Arabic pre and post presidential discourses while they differ in the utilization of speech acts.

2. Critical Sociolinguistics

The rise of the theory of critical sociolinguistics (CS henceforth) has been the tool that calls for handling the derisory theory of power and its lack of an agenda for social change. CS has established a connection between peoples' place in the societal hierarchy and the linguistic and other kinds of oppressions that they are subjected to at different levels (Mey, 1985: 342).

For Max Weber (1947: 37), power is considered as the central concept in relations of inequality. Power denotes the probability of persons or groups carrying out their will even when opposed by others. Weber argues that classes, status groups and political parties are all involved in the distribution of power. Power is based on access to resources which might include economic resources, as well as physical force like that of the military.

CS has its roots in Pecheux's approach of critical social theory; The major source for Pecheux's approach in social theory was Althusser's Marxist theory of ideology (1971).

Althusser has emphasized the significant contribution of ideology to reproducing or transforming socio-political relations. He also argues that ideology, far from being just disembodied 'ideas', occurs in material forms. Furthermore, ideology works through constituting persons as social subjects, fixing them in subject 'positions' while at the same time giving them the illusion of being free agents {Pecheux (1979) cited in Fairclough (1992:310)} .

3. The Model

The adapted model of the study is based on Hymes (1974) *speaking* model and van Leeuwen's (2008) model of *social actor theory*.

3.1. Hymes (1974) Speaking Model

For Hymes (1974: 55-9) sociolinguistic variables are concerned with analyzing the social factors that influence the language users' linguistic choices. He has produced a classificatory grid for the contextual factors of communicative events including sixteen components which has come to be known as the *speaking model*:

Situation which stands for the (1) *setting* and (2) *scene*, and implying time and place, in which a speech event takes place. Here, Hymes emphasizes that the psychological setting is to be taken into account as whether the event is formal, informal, serious, festival, etc.

Participants for Hymes this term refers to speaker or sender; addressor; hearer or receiver or audience; and addressee.

Ends refer to conventional *outcomes* and individual *goals* of a speech event that have a definite influence on the choice of styles in each language. For Hymes, there is no speech event without an end; even if it is only phatic.

Act sequence is the term used to refer to the *message form* and *message content*. It, thus, concerns the topic of the speech event, which is believed to be

totally predetermined and almost invariable. Hymes holds that message form and content are interdependent and that "how something is said is part of what is said."

Key tackles the tone, manner or spirit through which a speech event is performed. Arguably, speech events that have identical setting, participants, ends, and topic may differ in key, which can be either sarcastic, thoughtful, routine, meticulous, serious, ironic, etc.

3.2 van Leeuwen (2008) *Model of the Study*

Van Leeuwen (2008: 23 -54) has proposed the model of " Social Actors ". The social actor is usually situated in a social practice that contextualizes him/her. Leeuwen, in his model, has established the sociological and critical relevance of many categories before turning to the question of how they are realized linguistically. This framework gives an essential focus on the sociological categories of discourse. It swivels around social actors.

The current study is based on the following four items of Leeuwen's(2008: 80-9) model of social actor

1.Role Allocation: Investigating the different roles that social actors are given in discourse is the main issue of this element. " It emphasizes that the role of the social actor does not require correspondence with the grammatical function that it is given".

2.-Assimilation: It means to "individualize elite persons and assimilate ordinary people". In other words , social actors are depicted as persons or as groups. Van Leeuwen (2008: 35-6) proposes two types of Assimilation: aggregation , wherever , definite and indefinite quantifiers are realized, and Collectivization , by virtue to discourse, can be realized in different words to denote a group of social actors, as in ' community ' , 'team' or 'group'.

3.Association and Dissociation: They refer to collections of social actors that are shown to take part in the same activity or share the same interest . It can be recognized by the use of the coordinator 'and ' or by the accompaniment which is represented by the preposition ' with'.

4.4.Indetermination and Differentiation: Indetermination occurs when social actors are represented as "unspecified or anonymous". Individuals or groups are indeterminate. 1-It is typically realized by indefinite pronouns (somebody, someone, some people , etc).

5. The Data

The eclectic model is adapted to analyse English and Arabic political discourses delivered by Bill Clinton and Barham Salih. Both texts are chosen from two angles : before and after occupying the political position.

4.1. *The English Political Discourse*

4.1.1 *Bill Clinton's Pre-Presidential Discourse*

Setting

Scene and setting :Bill Clinton, speech at Democratic National Convention, July 26, 2004.

Ends : the purpose of the speech is to show the importance of establishing a decent work for the Americans. Act sequence : Clinton makes use of the speech act of suggesting. He suggests cooperation in order to build America better than before.

1.America just works better when more people have a chance to live their dreams.

1.Role Allocation: The role of people is activated as the speaker wants everybody to work.

2. Genericisation and Specification: In this category of analysis, social actors are presented with a generic reference (plural noun) :people.

3. Assimilation: In this linguistic category of analysis, social actors are either presented as individuals or groups.

4. Association: This category is depicted when members of social actors participate in the same activity or share the same interest: their dreams
Indetermination: 'Exaphoric reference' depicts the realization of indetermination in discourse.: American people, their dreams.

2. I do not believe we can repair the basic fabric of society until people who are willing to work have work. Work organizes life. It gives structure and discipline to life.

1. Role Allocation: In this category of analysis, social actors are activated as in: I, we,

2. Identification: This category of analysis is depicted by the use of "I" and "we".

3. You don't have to wait till your party's in power to have an impact on life at home and around the world.

1. Role Allocation: The depiction of this category is clear through the activation of the social actors by giving them a dynamic part in the action as in "you don't have to wait".

2. Genericisation and Specification: In this category of analysis, social actors are represented having generic reference through the use of the second person pronoun "you".

4. Frankly, I'm fed up with politicians in Washington lecturing the rest of us about family values. Our families have values. But our government doesn't.

1. Role Allocation: In this category of analysis, social actors are activated since they are given roles in the text. For example I'm fed up"

2. Identification: this category is activated through the use of the pronoun "I" as the speaker is excluded from other politicians who don't have values.

3. Genericisation and Specification: In this category of analysis, generic reference is referred to by using :families. Social actors are represented with a specific reference as in politicians in Washington,

5. You can't blame your opponents for applying a strategy that beats your brains out with regularity.

1. Role Allocation: social actors are given roles by using the pronoun "you".

2. Identification: This category of analysis is represented in this text through the depiction of ' the identification' of the following : you, your opponents.

3. Genericization and Specification: This category of analysis is clarified through the use of generic reference once and specific reference once again as in you and your opponents.

4.1.2 Bill Clinton's Presidential Discourse

Setting

Scene and setting :Bill Clinton, speech at Democratic National Convention, 1992.

Ends : the purpose of the speech is to coordinate with people to make a well being living for the Americans.

Act sequence : Clinton makes use of the speech act of promising. He promises to help the Americans in building their country and reinsure their children's lives.

1. That is why I stand here today...because I refuse to stand by and let our children become part of the first generation to do worse than their parents. I don't want my child or your child to be part of a country that's coming apart instead of coming together.

1. Role Allocation: It is identified through the allocation of social actors in the event as the speaker declares :I refuse.... Social actors in this category of analysis are given an active and dynamic part in the action of this texts.

1.Genericisation and Specification: In this analysed text, 'specific reference' is depicted via the use of proper names in order to reveal a certain ideology. According to Carter(1998:109), "the choice of words or of one syntactic construction instead of another will function not just in a vacuum but to articulate ideology". Revealing this ideology, the speaker declares "he and the Americans will take a role in developing their country.

'coordination' as in '. I don't want my child or your child to be part of a country that's coming apart instead of coming together.

3.That fundamental truth has guided my public career, and brings me here today. It is what we've devoted ourselves to here in Arkansas. I'm proud of what we've done here in Arkansas together.

1.Role Allocation: In this text, R A is depicted via activation as social actors are given an active part in the activity as in we've devoted ourselves .

2.Proud of the work we've done to become a laboratory of democracy and innovation. And proud that we've done it without giving up the things we cherish and honor most about our way of life. Solid, middle-class values of work, Will, family, individual responsibility, and community.

3.Role Allocation: In this tool of analysis, social actors are activated since they are given an active part in the action as in: we've done to become a laboratory of democracy and innovation

4.Association: This linguistic tool of analysis is depicted via the use of accompaniment as in: And proud that we've done it

5.Identification: This linguistic tool is represented in this text by means of work relations as in we cherish and honor most about our way of life. Solid, middle-class values of work, Will, family, individual responsibility, and community.

5.As I've traveled across our state, I've found that everything we believe in, everything we've fought for, is threatened by an administration that refuses to take care of our own, has turned its back on the middle class, and is afraid to change while the world is changing.

1.Role Allocation: In this linguistic tool of analysis, social actors are activated, since they are given roles in the activity as in: everything we've fought for.

2.Specification: Specific reference, in this linguistic tool of analysis, is shown through the use of (specified reference) as in:

Item	Frequency before occupying the	Per centage	Frequency after occupying the political	Percentage
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	political position		position	
Role Allocation	5	100%	5	100%
Genericisation	4	80%	2	40%
Specification	4	80%	2	40%
Assimilation	1	20%	-	
Identification	3	60%	-	
Association	1	20%	1	20%

Table (1) The Frequency of Occurrence of Pre and Post Presidential Strategies

4.2 The Arabic Political Discourse

4.2.1 Barham Salih's Pre-Presidential Discourse

Setting :

Scene and setting: An Interview on Al-Sharqia Tv., Program Bil-Hraf Alwahid, Kurdistan: Iraq. Spring Season.

Ends : the purpose behind such interview is to know why Barham Salih does not have the real opportunity to hold a political position and be a principal member in the political system.

Act sequence: The speaker proceeds his speech by focusing on the speech act of accusing those who participate in the political system since 2003-till 2016.

- The real problem in Iraq alludes that we are not lucky enough to have our own political settlement . We do not have that good judge since 2003

1.Role Allocation: this linguistic tool is depicted in the text by activating the social actors by giving them roles in the activity as

2.Assimilation is portrayed in the text by categorizing social actors into persons as

3.Indetermination and Differentiation: this tool of analysis is depicted in the text by using exaphoric reference

- The Iraqi political process has its own weakness and it needs a real attention since 2003 till now.

1.Role Allocation : this category is activated by activating the social roles of actors. In the above text, the speaker's role is activated as he announced that

2.Genericisation and Specification: specific reference is depicted in the above text by using (sing+ article

3.Association is depicted by the use of the coordinator .

-Kirkuk has passed through a real violation ,as it were, it really has passed through a harch change . Although it is full of oil, yet the political parties try to control this city and take its wealth.

1.Role Allocation: this category of analysis is depicted by activating social actors through giving a role in the event as the speaker declared

2.Genericisation and Specification : Genericisation is depicted by using the plural Indetermination is depicted by using exaphoric reference.

- Corruption has one coin . It is not concerned with Suni, shiithi , or any other sector. People from different directions but they agree on one thing which is corruption.

1.Role Allocation: This category is identified in the text by giving social roles to the actors

2.Assimilation is depicted by using (sing +article)

3.Genericisation and Specification > Genericisation is depicted by using plural

4.2.2 Barham Salih's Presidential Discourse

Scene and setting: Dafoss Conference

Ends : the purpose behind such discourse is to shed light on the real procedure that he as a president and those who are responsible are going to maintain for Iraqi people.

Act sequence: The speaker proceeds his speech by focusing on the speech act of stating, advising, and promising Iraqi people that he will exert his efforts to establish a well- living for them.

-We all need to have the confidence of Iraqi people . We all need to remodify the rules of our institution and reinforce the confidence of Iraqi people with their political leaders..

- 1.Role Allocation: It is identified by allocating social roles to the actors
- 2.Assimilation is used by referring to group.

-Iraq has retrieved . It healed from all its injuries . We can move from the old centuries of wars and hunger to the new ones in which Iraqis can work together to recover their country.

1.Role Allocation is identified by allocating a particular role to the social actors including the speaker

2.Association is characterized by accompaniment

3.Association is identified by the use of coordinator .

4.Identification is shown through the speaker's emphasis on every aspect concerning the Iraqi life.

-We need to the economic preamble in order to create respectable jobs for Iraqis. The idleness is widespread and this will lead the worse . That is why we need to create the suitable education and expertise for Iraqis.

1. Role Allocation: allocating roles to the social actors is so obvious in the above text by having roles in the activity
2. Genericisation and Specification.
3. Genericisation is created by referring to generic reference.

-The Iraq country cannot provide all the expertises for all Iraqis. That is why the private sector should take a role ih the process of investment. It should aspire to the foreign investment.

1.Role Allocation: It is activated by allocating roles in the events

2.Genericisation and Specification . The former is utilized by the use of generic reference .The latter is utilized by the use of exaphoric reference

3.Differentiation: It is identified by making two groups

-We need to have our country as strong as possible in which Iraqis can have their full confidence in the foreign investment.

1.Role Allocation .It is identified by giving roles to the activity itself

2.Assimilation. It is assigned by the use of (sing article)

Item	Frequency before occupying the political position	Percentage	Frequency after occupying the political position	Percentage
Role Allocation	5	100%	5	100%
Genericisation	4	80%	3	
Specification	3	60%	4	80%
Assimilation	3	60%	3	60%
Identification	1	20%	1	20%
Association	1	20%	1	20%
Differentiation	2	40%	3	60%

Table(2) the above table shows the frequency of occurrence and the percentages of the eclectic model before and after being a political leader. It is clear that the role allocation is given the uppermost proportion with 10 frequency of occurrence. This means that social roles are activated in discourse and given high roles.

Conclusions

It has been concluded that :

1. The strategy of role allocating is the most shared one in the English and Arabic discourses. Both try to activate the role of people in the event. This verifies the first hypothesis which reads: *Allocating roles to participants is the most shared strategy in the English and Arabic discourses* .

2. The generic, specific, assimilation and identification strategies are more used in the pre-presidential discourse than in the post one . This does not validate the second hypothesis which reads as : *The English pre-presidential discourses are similar to the presidential discourses in the utilization of three strategies: generic and specific, assimilation, and identification*. Concerning the use of speech acts. It is clear that the political speaker utilizes the speech act of suggesting in his pre-presidential discourse whereas the speech act of promising plays a vital role in his post discourse. This validates the second part of the second hypothesis: *On the other hand, they are different in the use of speech acts*.

3. The Arabic discourses utilize the use of the strategies of generic and specific, differentiation, and association . While pre-presidentially the speaker uses the speech act of accusing, thereafter he uses the speech act of stating, advising, and suggesting. This confirms the third hypothesis which states: *The Arabic pre-presidential discourses are similar to the presidential discourses in the utilization of three strategies: generic and specific, differentiation, and association. On the other hand, they are different in the use of speech acts*.

4. The English and Arabic discourses ,nearly, utilize the same strategies. They both allocate roles to activities, make use of generic and specific references in addressing people, but they differ in their illocutionary acts in the sense that the English discourse utilizes suggesting and promising while the Arabic discourse utilizes accusing, stating, advising, and suggesting. This confirms the last hypothesis which states: *Similar strategies are used in both English and Arabic pre and post presidential discourses while they differ in the utilization of speech acct*.

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