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Human Rights and CDA

The Relevance of
Ideology in Language

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Sono trascorsi ormai cinque anni dall'inizio del mio percorso universitario al Campus di Treviso dell'università Ca' Foscari di Venezia.

Sono stati anni estremamente formativi, che mi hanno reso appassionato all'interculturalità e che hanno arricchito smisuratamente il mio bagaglio culturale.

Non potrei lontanamente concepire di essere arrivato al culmine dei miei studi accademici senza il sostegno e l'amore incondizionato della mia famiglia e di tutti i miei parenti. Mamma, Papà, Silvia, Tommy, siete sempre stati la mia guida e cercherò sempre di rendervi orgogliosi.

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Infine, è mediante questo lavoro che vorrei esprimere la mia più profonda stima nei confronti di tutti i docenti - eccellenti sia dal punto di vista didattico, sia umano, una caratteristica non affatto scontata - che mi hanno accompagnato sin dal mio primo giorno di triennale nel settembre del 2017, e che hanno inconsciamente contribuito alla stesura di questa tesi.

Buona lettura.

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1. Introduction

The aim of this dissertation is to analyze the subtle yet utmost relevance of language – in particular, as conceived through the lens of sociolinguistics – in political discourse and, generally speaking, in governments. Thus, I will take a body of speeches into exam, all of which are related to the first moments of the current war in Ukraine. I will base my analysis on a series of excerpts of three speeches, delivered by the Prime Ministers of the three major English-speaking countries: Boris Johnson (UK), Joe Biden (USA), and Justin Trudeau (Canada). Before tackling the main issue of this paper – which is to say, to provide a critical discourse analysis (to which we will refer as CDA, from now on) of fragments of speeches – it is imperative to outline the most defining features of the aforementioned countries, specifically in matter of Human Rights. As a matter of fact, the Human Rights record is a sociological and political cue of great relevance: its analysis, both considering its pros and cons, will aid us to shed a light on the systemic ideologies of a nation (or, in some cases, of a nation's government), hence, to initiate the CDA maneuver whilst keeping the speakers' intentions at mind.

It is obvious that a considerable amount of research is to be brought forward in regard to the politicians that compose our canvas: their backgrounds, their idiolect... all in all, their ideology. At the end of this essay, through a brief conclusion, I will sum up all the key points implied in this work, specifically those regarding the ways the topic of Human Rights and the political discourse itself are intertwined, acknowledging how each perspective leads to different results and ways of expressing oneself.

Since ancient times, language has always been used by “those in charge” to transmit an ideology and to manipulate the masses' mind. As the semiotician **Gunther Kress** states in one of the journals of world-famous sociolinguist **Teun Adrianus van Dijk** (1985: 29), “*Ideologies find their clearest articulation in language. Hence, a powerful way of examining ideological structure is through the examination of language*”. The present investigation is an attempt to highlight – through the aid of **Halliday's** notions of SFL (1985), which will be furtherly outlined – the relationship between language and ideology involved in political discourse, and more in depth, to identify the intrinsic ideological assumptions which are undetectable in the texts, and subsequently ascertain whether the speakers' ideologies are manifest in their speeches. The corpus consists of Presidents' Joe Biden,

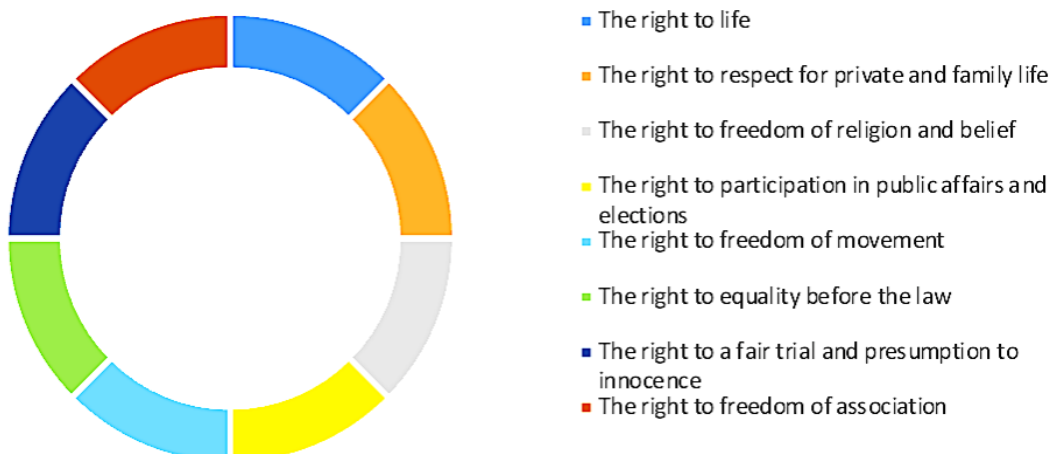
Boris Johnson and Justin Trudeau speeches in March 2022 concerning the dawn of the conflict in Ukraine. The data consist of source texts in English, in the form of a political transcript. Whereas President Joe Biden’s speech transcript is available on the US Government official website, in the case of the other two Presidents’ conference, I manually transcript the video of their joint interview, which is accessible via numerous sources. The encountered results proved the theory according to which the employment of CDA for source text analysis helps the listener to become more and more aware of the stylistic conventions, let alone the social and situational contexts of the speech, in order to grasp the speakers’ both overt and covert references – determined by the relationship between power and ideology on the discourse-linguistic level.

2. Definition of Human Rights

As for the entirety of the countries that taken into exam, it is possible to summarize the concept of “Human Rights” through the following definition:

« Human rights are the basic rights and freedoms that belong to every person in the world. »

Most Common Examples of Human Rights



World's most translated document, *The Universal Declaration of Human Rights* (UDHR) – a milestone document in the history of human rights – sets out for the first time fundamental human rights to be universally protected. In 1948, the UN General Assembly recognized the validity of this document as it sets out a standard of achievements for all countries around the world. Its international stance is also due to the fact that the *Declaration* had been drafted by diplomats with different legal and cultural backgrounds, thus resulting in an insightful and accurate analysis.

The following is an excerpt from the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*; adopted and proclaimed by General Assembly resolution 217 A (III) of 10 December 1948

« Whereas recognition of the inherent dignity and of the equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family is the foundation of freedom, justice and peace in the world,

Whereas disregard and contempt for human rights have resulted in barbarous acts which have outraged the conscience of mankind, and the advent of a world in which human beings shall enjoy freedom of speech and belief and freedom from fear and want has been proclaimed as the highest aspiration of the common people,

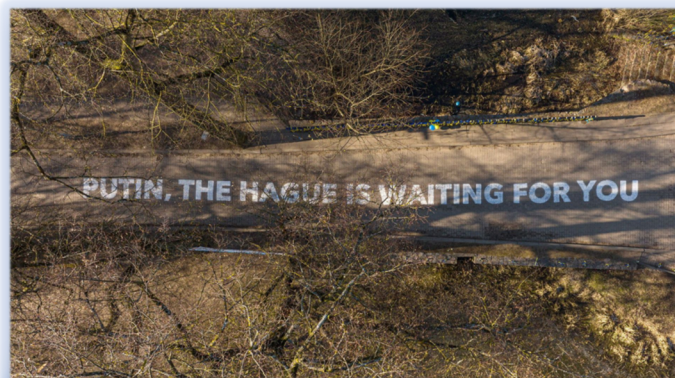
Now, therefore,

The General Assembly,

Proclaims this Universal Declaration of Human Rights as a common standard of achievement for all peoples and all nations, to the end that every individual and every organ of society, keeping this Declaration constantly in mind, shall strive by teaching and education to promote respect for these rights and freedoms and by progressive measures, national and international, to secure their universal and effective recognition and observance, both among the peoples of Member States themselves and among the peoples of territories under their jurisdiction. »

The abovementioned rights are inherent to all human beings, regardless of race, sex, nationality, ethnicity, language, religion, or any other social status. Human rights aim at safeguarding – above other – the right to life and liberty, freedom from slavery and torture, freedom of opinion and expression, the right to work and education, and many more. Every inhabitant of planet Earth

should be entitled to these rights, with no discrimination. Needless to say, the ongoing assault of the Ukrainian population – in terms of civilian casualties, bombing and shelling of residential areas, as well as of pediatric hospitals and schools, amid other atrocities – is a flagrant violation of a great deal of human rights. The international NGO **Human Rights Watch** (HRW), that conducts research and advocacy on human rights, has already delivered several statements concerning the severeness of the situation, outlining which types of violations have occurred and which could be the possible outcome. In this regard – nearly as a memento – on March 7, Vilnius Mayor **Remigijus Simasius** spray-painted a message for Russian President Putin in Lithuania’s capital city, near to the Russian embassy, warning that he’ll be tried in the International Criminal Court in the Hague for war crimes committed in Ukraine: *“Putin, the Hague is waiting for you”*.



Nevertheless, I will not linger upon the repugnant human rights violations that the Ukrainian people have been – and still are – forced to endeavor. It would be unnecessary, as I reckon that the vast majority of us has already acknowledged the consequences brought forth by this harrowing onslaught. Instead, I will proceed to investigate the history of human rights in the countries whose PMs have built my speech corpora.

In which way are Human Rights relevant in CDA?

How do different declinations of its perspective affect the political discourse?

My intent is not malicious nor harshly polemic, yet it is out of mere curiosity that I started drawing comparisons between the UK, the USA, and Canada’s alleged traditional values, and whether institutional speeches are influenced, yet subtly, by systemic embedded mechanisms in

these nations' cultures. As we live in an era of great innovation, – both in technological and socio-cultural terms – looking at the Human Rights record of the countries we will take into exam and, getting to know the profound and systemic roots of their cultures, will aid us to uncover the core values – the essence – of these nations, through their PMs' speeches. Of course, I have considered that, oftentimes, it is the speaker's sheer point of view that leaks through the flow of words of his speech: besides analyzing the Human Rights record, I will provide examples of overt condemnations of human rights violations the Presidents addressed towards the Russian government, as well as covert utterances which tend to be politicized – yet not entering political grounds myself.

Before delving in the political CDA, I will now provide a brief overview of the cultural and political backgrounds of the three countries taken into exam, by underlining the criticisms and weaknesses of their systems through time, as well as the fields in which significant improvements and innovations have been made. Subsequently, we will establish whether these background-related instances are detectable in their PMs' discourse and rhetoric.

2.a. Human Rights in the UK

i. The HRA: Background

In the United Kingdom, human rights are granted by the 1998 **Human Rights Act** (HRA). The HRA gives effect to the rights set out in the European Convention on Human Rights, the so-called *Convention rights*. Fundamentally, it allows UK nationals to rely on such rights before the domestic courts.

ii. The HRA: Criticism

The legislation has not been universally accepted. Some have named it a *Criminals' charter*, following suggestions that it had been abused by various litigants.

The key issue is that Human Rights courts are becoming more “activist” and compromised in dealing with futile political questions that should belong to politicians and actual activists. Some political figures have expressed their criticism regarding the way in which the courts have dealt with an increase in judicial reviews and human rights cases. Some sort of tension seems to have risen between the Parliament’s supremacy and the rule of law, deriving by extensive paperwork concerning the HRA. Therefore, political affairs such as asylum, immigration, and counterterrorism are causing an everlasting friction in terms of their management.

- **Replacing the HRA?**

Some have argued that the HRA puts little effort in protecting historic constitutional rights and liberties, such as the right to trial by jury or free speech. As a matter of fact, the Conservatives have suggested a new Bill of Rights to replace the HRA. It is still uncertain exactly how this would operate in practice in relation to the European Convention on Human Rights, though the Conservatives have implied that they would seek a greater national “margin of appreciation” in how the rights were applied in a national context. While it seems implausible that the UK would opt out of the European Convention on Human Rights, if the HRA were repealed and the Convention rights were no longer contained in UK law, aggrieved parties might once again have to take their case to the Strasbourg court for determination. Moreover, depending on the funding available (through legal aid or otherwise), parties might find it less easy to bring rights-related proceedings to trial.

- What do UK violations of its human rights and other international obligations mean for British democracy?

iii. The *Benighted Kingdom*?

Executive Director of The **Universal Rights Group** **Marc Limon**, named his country “*The Benighted Kingdom*” in an article published in March 2021. He claims that, over the past five years, right-wing governments have systematically cut away at the human rights guidelines and respect for the rule of law that have long held British democracy together. Their strategy was not to collapse democracy, yet they did so for reasons of political expediency and personal ambition, merged with the conviction that the UK is somehow ‘special,’ that the normal laws of democratic relevance are not significant, that Human Rights and rule of law corners can be cut without facing any consequence. The UK’s international legal obligations have been oftentimes neglected, such as its refusal to comply with the International Court of Justice’s 2019 ruling – which has now been broken twice – that it should relinquish the Chagos Islands to Mauritius. Allegations of election fraud have also been moved, specifically in the context of the 2016 EU referendum, which have not been properly investigated.

The author then reiterates:

“Inciteful political rhetoric has led to female opposition MPs being threatened and harassed, and in one case murdered. Judges and lawyers have been branded ‘enemies of the people’ or ‘woke liberals’ for keeping the government in check or protecting the rights of those in vulnerable situations. Parliament – the epicenter of British democracy – has been illegally prorogued (suspended) in order to push through unpopular legislation. Critical journalists have been thrown out of government press briefings. Political dishonesty and disinformation have become a matter of course, with ministers and even the prime minister frequently lying in parliament – without consequence. During the current pandemic, friends of majority MPs have become rich on government contracts – distributed without tender or transparency. Inequalities have widened. Judicial review and Britain’s place in the European Convention on Human Rights are routinely threatened”.

The 1986 **Public Order Act** allows police to impose restrictions assumed they a demonstration that one could create *'serious public disorder, serious damage to property or serious disruption to the life of the community.'* The new bill significantly extends these reasons for limiting protests. It gives police the power to enforce strict restrictions if protests *'may result in serious disruption to the activities of an organization'* or could cause *'serious unease, alarm or distress'* to a passer-by. The bill also hints, in conspicuously nebulous language, that demonstrations and protests should not *'intentionally'* or *'recklessly'* cause *'public nuisance.'*

Moreover, the bill suggests new conditions on *'one-person protests.'* These would empower police to extinguish the demonstration of a single person if the *'noise generated by the person carrying on the protest may result in serious disruption to the activities of an organization which are carried on in the vicinity of the protest.'* Finally, the bill allows the home secretary to outline the meaning of *'serious disruption'* by *'regulation.'* Basically, she has the right to modify the reasons for inhibiting protest as she likes and to do so without approval from the Parliament. Speaking in contradiction of the bill in Parliament, **David Lammy** MP, the Shadow Secretary of State for Justice said the new legislation jeopardizes the *'fundamental freedoms that the British public hold dear [...] and by giving the police the discretion to use these powers some of the time, it takes away our freedom all of the time.'* *'The Government's bill,'* he resumes, *'targets protesters causing too much noise and says that those who cause annoyance could be jailed for up to 10 years.'* If such *'draconian limits'* had been set in the period of *'the great protest movements'* of recent history.

Despite such formidable opposition, the policing bill passed its second reading in the House of Commons, with a comfortable majority of 96 votes. In discarding criticism of the bill, the Home Secretary, **Priti Patel**, assumed that it does nothing to destabilize the right to protest – which she branded a *'cornerstone of democracy.'* It would simply *'give police the powers to take a more proactive approach in tackling dangerous and disruptive protest.'* The UK is no longer excepted to democratic backsliding, or to the risk that State actors will use their position to abuse rather than defend human rights, than is the US, or any other UN member State. For, as President **Joe Biden** wanted to prompt Americans, democracy is fragile, and human rights mustn't be taken for granted. Rather, they *'must always be defended and we must be ever vigilant.'*

2.b. Human rights in the United States

i. The Bill of Rights

Human rights in the United States are legally protected by the US Constitution, specifically the Bill of Rights, as well as from state constitutions, treaty and customary international law, legislation enacted by Congress and state legislatures, state referenda and citizen's initiatives. The Federal Government has ratified the Constitution, in order to guarantee unalienable rights to its citizens and – at a certain extent – non-citizens. These rights have evolved over time through constitutional amendments, legislation, and judicial precedent. Along with the rights themselves, the portion of the population granted these rights has expanded over time. Within the United States, federal courts have jurisdiction over international human rights laws.

ii. A “flawed democracy”

The United States is generally given high to fair marks on human rights. For example, the Freedom in the World Index lists the United States in the highest category for human freedom in civil and political rights, with 83 out of 100 points as of 2021. The Press Freedom Index, published by Reporters Without Borders, ranks the U.S. 44th out of 180 countries with a score of 23.93 out of 100 as of 2021, with higher scores indicating worse press freedom. The Democracy Index, published by the Economist Intelligence Unit, described the United States as a "flawed democracy," with a score of 7.92 out of 10, making it the 25th most democratic country in the world as of 2020. The **Human Rights Measurement Initiative** finds that the United States performs worse than average for Quality of Life, Safety from the State, and Empowerment rights compared to other high-income countries. The United States often receives high rankings for economic freedom, with The Heritage Foundation, a conservative think tank, ranking it the 20th most economically free country in the world out of 178 ranked in 2021.

Theoretically, democracy is outstandingly resilient. It is strengthened by the different rights set out in the **International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR)** and the **International Covenant on Economic and Social Rights (ICESCR)**. Together, these rights and parallel State obligations deliver a sturdy and profoundly textured web of checks and balances that hold democracy together.

However, as US President **Joe Biden** recently reminded us - following the US Senate's acquittal of former President Trump - *"this sad chapter in our history has reminded us that democracy is fragile."* Where political leaders or governments cut away at the individual strands that hold this web of rights and obligations – hence, democracy – together, the overall democratic edifice cannot stand. And as democratic institutions are weakened, so are rights more easily violated. Thus, instead of building upwards – with improvements in the enjoyment of human rights leading to greater democratic resilience and thereby further improvements in human rights – a downward spiral takes hold.

This fact holds true for deep-rooted, stable democracies as much as it does for recently independent or fragile States. The US is a good example. The US Constitution has long given Americans one of the most full-bodied systems of democratic checks and balances in the planet – and one of the strongest systems of human rights protection. Yet, in the space of four years, a single businessman and reality TV star, **Donald Trump**, was able to shake the country's democratic foundations.

iii. Criticisms

Due to a whole history of happenings and crucial turning points, the "American Dream" castle has been crumbling with time. Below you will find the most relevant cases in which the US human rights record has been stained by the Government's own hands:



2.c. Human Rights in Canada

i. The Canadian Human Rights Act

As the Canadian Human Rights Commission states, in Canada, human rights are protected by federal, provincial, and territorial laws. Canada's human rights laws are conceived through the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. In 1948, Canadian lawyer and scholar **John Humphrey**, played a substantial role in writing the Declaration. When it was concluded, the Declaration offered a list of 30 articles delineating everyone's universal human rights. The first two articles are about equality and freedom from discrimination, the foundation of the Canadian Human Rights Act.

- The **Canadian Human Rights Act** of 1977 safeguards people in Canada from discrimination when they are employed by or receive services from the federal government, First Nations governments or private companies that are regulated by the federal government such as banks, trucking companies, broadcasters and telecommunications companies. Citizens can rely on the Canadian Human Rights Act to protect themselves against harassment or discrimination when based on one or more grounds of discrimination such as race, age and sexual orientation.
- The **Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms** of 1982 is part of Canada's Constitution. The Charter defends every Canadian's right to be treated equally under the law. The Charter guarantees wide-ranging equality rights and other fundamental rights such as the freedom of expression, freedom of assembly and freedom of religion. It only pertains to governments, and not to private individuals, businesses, or other organizations. This implies that an individual cannot mount a Charter challenge against a private business, organization, or a person who is not acting on behalf of the government. The Charter also shields the rights of all Canadians from infringements by laws, policies, or actions of governments, including authorities such as the police.

Provincial and territorial human rights laws are analogous to the Canadian Human Rights Act and enforce many of the same values. They guard people from discrimination in areas of provincial and territorial jurisdiction, such as restaurants, stores, schools, housing, and most workplaces.

ii. [Human rights violations and controversial episodes](#)

Canada is a varied, multi-cultural democracy that experiences a global reputation as a defender of human rights and a convincing record on core civil and political rights protections guaranteed by the **Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms**. The government of Prime Minister **Justin Trudeau** has made noteworthy efforts to advance human rights in Canada. The Trudeau government has been a vocal advocate for a pluralistic society that respects the rights of immigrants, people with disabilities, lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender (LGBT) people, and other minorities.

Despite these efforts, Canada continues to struggle to address longstanding human rights challenges, including wide-ranging abuses against Indigenous peoples, the continued confinement of immigration detainees in jails, and a prison law that does not rule out sustained solitary confinement. Canada also wrestles with grave human rights matters relating to the overseas operations of Canadian extractive companies, and assiduous exports of military equipment to countries with a record of human rights violations.

➤ **Religious Freedom**

In June 2019, the Canadian province of Quebec passed Bill 21 banning certain categories of public employee from wearing religious symbols at work. Teachers, judges, police officers, among other civil servants, are prohibited from wearing symbols of their faith (including hijabs, kippahs, and turbans) in the workplace. The controversial law also prohibits anyone with religious face coverings from receiving government services, including healthcare and public transit. In enacting the ban, Quebec preemptively invoked the exceptional “notwithstanding” clause, which allows provincial or federal authorities to temporarily override some of the guarantees of the Charter of Rights and Freedoms, making it difficult to overturn the law in the courts.

In May, three United Nations special rapporteurs warned that the law is “*likely to undermine the freedom of conscience, religion and equality of citizens.*”

➤ **Indigenous Rights**

There still are great challenges to unfasten decades of structural and systemic discrimination against Indigenous people in Canada. While Canada officially removed its objector status to the **United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP)** in 2016 and

vowed to implement UNDRIP in conformity with the Canadian Constitution, a private member's bill to guarantee that Canadian laws are in harmony with UNDRIP failed to pass in the Senate in June. Scarce access to clean, safe drinking water continues to pose a major public health concern in many Indigenous communities—and continues to hinder efforts to advance Indigenous rights in Canada, one of the world's most water-rich countries. The government has committed to end all drinking water advisories on First Nations reserves by 2021. As of September, 56 First Nations communities across Canada remained subject to such long-term water advisories, which warn communities when their water is not safe to drink.

In September, the Canadian Human Rights Tribunal found that the federal government intentionally and recklessly discriminated against Indigenous children living on reserves by avoiding to provide funding for child and family services. The Trudeau government filed an application seeking a judicial review of the ruling in October. In January 2019, the United Nations Human Rights Committee discovered that Canada, through the long-standing controversial Indian Act, was still discriminating against First Nations women and their progenies. In August, the Trudeau government proclaimed that First Nations women would be treated equally under the Indian Act, enabling them to preserve their Indigenous status if they marry non-Indigenous men.

➤ **Violence against Indigenous Women**

In June, the National Inquiry into *Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls* – launched by the government in 2016 to address endemic levels of violence against Indigenous women and girls – liberated its final report. The inquiry made 231 recommendations and settled that acts of violence against Indigenous women and girls amount to “*genocide.*” Prime Minister Trudeau vowed that the government will develop a national action strategy to “*turn the inquiry's calls to justice into real, meaningful, Indigenous-led action.*”

➤ **Solitary Confinement**

In June, the British Columbia Court of Appeal established that the practice of prolonged solitary confinement is considered as unconstitutional and a violation of inmates' rights. The federal government is currently appealing a similar decision in Ontario, which also struck down Canada's precedent solitary confinement laws as unconstitutional. While the federal government has

updated its prison law, it has been criticized for not eliminating the possibility of prolonged solitary confinement.

➤ **Corporate Accountability**

Canada is home to two-third of the world's mining companies and its overriding position generates an occasion to blaze a trail in addressing human rights defies in the extractives sector. However, no Canadian law provides a mechanism to empower authorities to exercise meaningful scrutiny and oversight of the human rights impact of Canadian extractive companies operating overseas.

➤ **Disability Rights**

After years of activism by disability rights advocates, Canada passed the **Accessible Canada Act** in June 2019. The act, which aims at making Canada barrier-free by 2040, requires federally regulated sectors to comply with impending accessibility regulations in employment, programs and service delivery, buildings and public spaces, and transportation that operate across provincial or federal borders. The act does not apply to provincially regulated sectors, although Ontario, Manitoba, and Nova Scotia have effected accessibility legislation. British Columbia has committed to implement accessibility legislation.

➤ **Key International Actors**

In May, the UN special rapporteur on hazardous substances, **Baskut Tuncak**, visited Canada to appraise the federal government's progress on managing toxic materials and their effect on human rights. The rapporteur found that Indigenous people are unduly affected by toxic waste and expressed discontent at the failure of both the province of Ontario and the federal government to address the health consequences of mercury contamination in the First Nation community of Grassy Narrows.

Now that we have finally acknowledged the core values which uphold the human rights structure in these countries, as well as their (numerous) flaws and episodes of violation, the following CDA will be brought forth with an increased awareness. In the next pages, you will find excerpts of the previously mentioned speeches; they will be supported by a conclusion whose goal is to clarify certain expressions in relation to the concepts provided earlier. Subsequently, to further prove my point, I will be able to deliver an accurate CDA through the aid of Halliday's model, enriched by side-analyses.

In conclusion, I will scrutinize the speeches to prove my essential point – the relevance of Human Rights in the CDA – by underlining the similarities between the speakers and their nations' embedded values, which we have just read about in the previous pages through the HR record analysis. This process corresponds to the "interpersonal metafunction" of the Hallidayan CDA model, in which language is explored through a different lens.

3. Critical Discourse Analysis of a corpora of speeches

3.a. The CDA: Introduction, Background and Functions

1. Introduction

From the ancient times, language has been using as an ingenious device for transmission of ideology and for manipulation of the audience minds by those who have been in power. As Kress in **Van Dijk** (1985: 29) states, "*Ideologies find their clearest articulation in language. Hence, a powerful way of examining ideological structure is through the examination of language*". Adopting Critical Discourse Analysis with particular emphasis on the framework of **Fairclough** (1989) and utilizing the notions of SFL by **Halliday** (1985), the present investigation is an attempt to shed light on the relationship between language and ideology involved in translation in general, and more specifically, to uncover the underlying ideological assumptions invisible in the texts, both source text (ST) and target text (TT), and consequently ascertain whether or not translators' ideologies are imposed in their translations.

The issue of genre and text type has been the topic of hot debates in the field of translation. Every genre has its own conventions and approach, which distinguishes it from the other text types; thus, only the matter of word choice and structure cannot be determining cues in the act of translation. Various text types require different techniques and strategies for translation to be efficient in conveying the intended message of the source text into the target text. Another paramount phenomenon is the *inter-relatedness* of the texts and the social context in which they are conceived. Every text will be organized according to some matters, beliefs and ideologies of a group, community, party, or a nation. This issue makes the translation from a source to a target much more challenging since the selected words, their arrangement, the structure in which they appear are not chosen arbitrarily and there would be some main thought according to which these texts are written.

Amongst distinctive genres, political texts may appear trickier for translation. In the beginning, they may seem just as the other text types but the ideas that hide behind the word choice; structure and message of these texts are intricate and subtle. Ideologies, attitudes, and feelings are expressed through language (written or spoken) and by analyzing speeches we can figure out the speaker's thoughts and emotions about or towards an event or phenomenon. The enquiry into politicians'

remarks and comments becomes indispensable when we find out that their ideologies and intentions are not always stated clearly and explicitly. As Van Dijk (1993:29) contends, the text (written or spoken) is like "*an iceberg of information*," and it is only the "*tip*" which is really articulated in words and sentences. Consequently, he settles that the analysis of the implicitness is extremely advantageous in the study of the underlying ideologies.

2. Background

Language connects with the social through being the main sphere of ideology, and through being both a site of, and a stake in, struggles for power. Ideology has been named the foundation of the social representations of groups, and, in psychological versions of CDA matured by **Teun A. van Dijk** and Ruth Wodak, there is supposed to be a socio-cognitive interface between social structures and discourse structures. The historical dimension in critical discourse studies also plays an important role. CDA is an application of discourse analysis, it is generally established that methods from discourse studies, the humanities and social sciences may be implemented in CDA research. This is on the circumstance that it can effectively and crucially harvest intuitions into the way discourse replicates (or resists) social and political inequality, power abuse or domination.

CDA does not constraint its analysis to specific structures of text or talk, but methodically relates these to structures of the sociopolitical context. CDA has been used to assess rhetoric in political speech acts, and any forms of speech that may be used to manipulate the impression given to the audience. However, there have been blemishes notable with CDA. For example, it has been said that it is concurrently too broad to clearly recognize manipulations within the rhetoric yet is also not powerful enough to properly detect all that researchers ought to establish.

3. Functions

➤ **Fairclough's analysis of relationships between concrete language use and the wider social cultural structure** (from Norman Fairclough, *Language and Power*)

Fairclough introduced the concepts that are now regarded as fundamental in CDA such as "*discourse, power, ideology, social practice and common sense.*" He argues that language should be analyzed as a social practice through the lens of discourse in both speaking and writing. He developed a three-dimensional framework for studying discourse, where the aim is to map three separate forms of analysis onto one another: analysis of (spoken or written) language texts, analysis of discourse practice (processes of text production, distribution, and consumption) and analysis of discursive events as instances of socio-cultural practice. Particularly, he combines micro, *meso* and *macro*-level interpretation. At the micro-level, the analyst ponders diverse properties of textual/linguistic analysis, e.g., syntactic analysis, use of metaphor and rhetorical devices. The meso-level or "*level of discursive practice*" implicates examining issues of production and consumption, for example, which institution produced a text, who is the target audience, etc. At the macro-level, the analyst is focused on intertextual and interdiscursive elements and tries to consider the broad, societal tides that are affecting the text being taken into exam.

➤ **Schäffner:** *"Here a fairly new branch of linguistics, which is called Critical Discourse Analysis, comes in handy to level the problem of neglecting the hidden ideologies behind a text and tries to disclose them and show the certain features away from the canon of laypeople. Because of the complexity of the discourse in terms of both structure and meanings, the understanding of text does not just come from the analysis of vocabulary, grammatical features, or cohesive devices. For gaining a thorough understanding, the worldview that the author and the receptor bring to the text and both situational and inter-textual must be considered. CDA provides this opportunity to adopt a social perspective and critical thinking into investigation. Therefore, this is the main objective of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) to discover and shed light on the hidden part of discourse. In political discourse, words are at the service of transferring the power or ideologies of one group or nation to the other. Because of globalization, political texts may be required to be translated to the other languages. Here, the task of the translator is not just rendering the linguistics features of the*

source text, but he should be aware of the underlying theories and ideologies which scaffold a political text and, in some cases, try to add, delete or clarify the text in order to make it comprehensible for the target text audience. Translation, although often invisible in the field of politics, is actually an integral part of political activity". (Bassnett & Schaffner, 2010:22).

As a matter of fact, translation is part of the expansion of discourse, and a bond between diverse discourses. It is through translation that information is made accessible to addressees beyond domestic borders; and it happens recurrently that reactions in one country to statements that were made in another country are reactions to the information as it was provided in translation (Schaffner, 2004:118).

- **Van Dijk's social-cognitive model:** Teun A. Van Dijk's insight on Critical Discourse Analysis merges cognitive theories with linguistic and social studies. Van Dijk uses cognition as the middle layer of a three-layer structure, which consists of discourse, cognitive and society. By implementing a cognitive approach, researchers are more comfortable in understanding how larger social phenomena are armored through popular, everyday discourse. Critics of this practice believe that his approach is based on the reproduction of ideologies rather than their evolution.
- **Halliday:** Discourse analysis considers different theoretical and methodological approaches such as linguistic, anthropology, philosophy, psychology, and sociology. The nature of language is meticulously interconnected to the demands that we make on it and the functions it must serve. Essentially, these functions are specifically culture-related. "*The particular form has taken by the grammatical system of language is closely related to the social and personal need that language is required to serve*" (Halliday, 1978, p. 142).

In aid of our research, it is of utmost importance to mention **Systematic functional grammar** (SFG), which was conceived by **M.A.K. Halliday**, and it is constructed on grammatical description. It states that language is considered as a network of systems for the creation of meaning. Functional language is a tool for interaction, assumed that language forms are inexorably quantified by the functions or uses that they serve (Huzhunglin, 1988, p. 307).

According to Halliday and Hassan (1989, p. 10), a text is "*language that is functional*"; meaning written and verbal language which conveys social meaning in a specific and real situation. In fact, Halliday states that texts provide the opportunity to study meaning and the functional use of phrases and words, rather than just the combination of words and sentences. It simultaneously relates two perspectives: text as product and text as process. A text is considered as *product* when it studies the linguistic structures; it concurrently is a process in terms of semantic elements or the encoding of meaning. These grammatical systems are the core aspect for understanding meaning in different ways.

Halliday's focal idea is that language is established *metafunctionally*. Therefore, Halliday's functions of language are called *metafunctions* and they have three kinds of semantic units: ideational functions, the interpersonal function, and the textual function.

In the next pages, I will explain the approaches implied in the CDA that will be provided later on. Building on Halliday's systemic functional grammar (Munday 2008: 90), these approaches focus on register and discourse level. The analysis is carried out within the three functions or meanings of Hallidayan model of language (ideational meaning, interpersonal meaning, and textual meaning).

- Nominalization
- Active and Passive voices
- Modality
- Thematization
- Emotive language (emotive lexical choices)

4. Our Analysis

➤ TEXTUAL METAFUNCTION

"The textual metafunction relates to mode; the internal organization and communicative nature of a text" (O'Halloran, 2006, p. 36). "This comprises textual interactivity, spontaneity, and communicative distance" (Coffin, 2006, p. 245). The aspects such as lexical density, grammatical complexity, coordination, and the use of nominal groups can define the spontaneity. The communicative distance aims to investigate the text's cohesion regarding how it combines and how it uses the abstract language.

Coffin (2006) pointed out that the context related to lexical, grammatical and intonational aspects can assess cohesion according to lexical chains, speech register, tonality, tonicity, and tone. The lexical feature puts emphasis on lexical repetition and sense relationship. Grammatical aspects consider the role of joining adverbials and the meaning repetition that is reflected through elements such as ellipsis, substitution, and reference.

We will scrutinize the following parameters:

- Number of words
- Nominalizations
- Modality analysis (modal verbs, tense, personal pronouns)

➤ IDEATIONAL METAFUNCTION

The ideational function is related to those functions that offer a basis for understanding human experience as a kind of resource for realizing the "reality" (Halliday, 1994). In other words, this function provides both new information and elements that are unfamiliar to the listener. The events and experience are represented by this function in both the real and intuitive world. Based on Halliday, this function is separated into logical and experiential metafunctions. Logical refers to the blend of two or more grammatical units into a more complex one. The experiential function refers to grammatical options that allow individuals to create meanings about the world around them and language evolved through this process. The analysis of the text based on this ideational function consists of 'transitivity' and 'voice'. Huzhunglin (1988, p. 312) states that "these functions

determines the accessible options in meaning as well as specify the nature of their structural awareness".

Transitivity is a system for explaining the whole clause instead of describing the verb and its object (Thompson, 1996, p. 78). According to Halliday a clause consists of three components: process, participant, and circumstances. Halliday divides these processes into 6 types: material process, mental process, relational process, behavioral process, verbal process, and existential process. Transitivity system represents ideational function in grammar. Transitivity system comprises six processes as follow:

- Material processes: physical action in the real world.
- Relational processes: expressing possession, equivalence, attributes...
- Mental processes: processes of cognition, affection, and perception.
- Verbal processes: processes of communication
- Behavioral processes: hybrid processes = a material + mental process.
- Existential processes: processes of existing by an empty there in subject position.

➤ **INTERPERSONAL METAFUNCTION**

Based on Huzhuanglin (1988, p. 313), *"the interpersonal function embodies all uses of language to express social and personal relations"*. This includes the various ways the speaker enters a speech situation and performs a speech act'. According to O' Halloran (2006, p. 15), *"The interpersonal metafunction relates to a text's aspects of tenor or interactivity"*. *"Like field, tenor comprises three component areas: the speaker/writer persona, social distance, and relative social status"*. *"Social distance and relative social statues are applicable only to spoken texts, although a case has been made that these two factors can also apply to written text"*.

The speaker/writer is related to attitude, personalization, and place. This refers to the neutral attitudes of speaker and writer by using of positive and negative language. Relative social statues probe if speakers are equal or not. Coffin (2006, p. 22-23) argues that social distance means how close the speakers are, e.g., how the use of nicknames shows the degree to which they are close.

Relative social statuses investigate whether they are equal in terms of power and knowledge on a subject, for example, the relationship between a mother and child would be considered unequal. Focuses here are on speech acts (e.g., whether one person tends to ask questions and the other speaker tends to answer), who chooses the topic, turn management, and how capable both speakers are of evaluating the subject. The speaker uses language to provide a relationship between himself and hearer: he uses language to inform, question, greet, persuade etc....

Two terms that are used to express the interpersonal functions are modality and mood. Modality ranges between extensive positive and extensive negative in social communication. Mood regards the role that is selected by the speaker in a speech situation and the role that is allocated the addressee. (Huzhunglin, 1988)

5. Insight: Translation, Ideology and Power

The aim of a political discourse analysis, which adopts critical goals, is to denaturalize ideologies. Denaturalization involves showing *how social structures determine properties of discourse and how discourse determines social structures* (Fairclough, 1995). According to Fairclough (1989), CDA's objective is methodically exploring how these non-transparent relationships are factors in seizing and securing power and it sheds light on power struggles, social inequities, non-democratic processes, and other injustices in hopes of encouraging people to improvement actions. A critical discourse analyst should be capable to discriminate ideology from knowledge so the concept of discourse is vital for a scientific understanding.

Acknowledging that ideology has always functioned as an '*invisible hand*' in translation practice, and the fact there are elements which influence translation, not only of a linguistic nature, but also representing the transmission of ideology between different nations and countries, a cultural and ideological movement prospered in the ground of translation studies that was represented in the approach towards the analysis of translation from a cultural studies angle (Munday 2008: 125).

According to van Dijk (1997, 2001), ideology is articulated in discourse. Therefore, translation can also articulate, that is produce and reproduce, ideology. Ideologies are individual opinions, and as a result, different translators sharing diverse ideologies can translate political texts differently. It is possible that translators who support opposing political parties will translate political discourse differently and will exhibit different attitudes to the ideologies expressed by the source text. Therefore, different translations can reflect differences in ideologies, which can potentially surface as differences in superstructure. Translators, as members of a society, are inevitably affected by the rules, values, and beliefs of their native country. Consequently, translating a text, they apprehend it, try to filter it, adjust the text to the acknowledged norms of their society and then produce a new form of the ST which would have higher degree of acceptability from the perspective of readers.

3.b. Boris Johnson and Justin Trudeau joint conference (March 7, 2022)

Prime Minister Boris Johnson made a statement at a joint press conference with Dutch Prime Minister Mark Rutte and Canadian Prime Minister Justin Trudeau.

PM Boris Johnson:

«I'm very pleased to welcome Prime Minister Trudeau and Prime Minister Rutte to London. During the excellent meetings we have had today we reaffirmed that our three countries stand shoulder-to-shoulder against Russia's barbaric invasion of Ukraine.

In the 12 days since Russia launched this illegal and brutal assault, the world has come together in solidarity with the indomitable people of Ukraine.

Last week, 141 countries – nearly three quarters of the entire membership of the United Nations – voted to condemn Putin's war. And 39 countries – including the UK, Canada, and the Netherlands – voted to refer Putin's actions to the International Criminal Court. This is the largest such action the Court has ever seen and will allow the chief prosecutor to open an investigation to ensure Putin cannot commit these crimes with impunity.

As Ukrainians resist Russia's onslaught with courage and tenacity, the international community must aid their struggle in every way we can. We will only succeed if the whole international community moves together with the same spirit of unity we have seen in recent days.

Justin, Mark, and I have been discussing that today. And later this afternoon I am going to be speaking to the leaders of the US, France, and Germany to further coordinate our action.

To aid these efforts, today the UK is joining our Dutch and Canadian friends to mobilise more practical and sustained support for Ukraine.

Our new 'International Ukraine Support Group' will coordinate the efforts of the international community to provide long term, and unwavering assistance, now and in the future. And we will be encouraging more countries to join us.

This is the moment for Ukraine's friends to create a coalition of humanitarian, economic and defensive military support to ensure that Putin fails. That is why today I am announcing a further £175m of UK aid for Ukraine - \$100m of which will be provided directly to the Ukrainian Government. This brings the total UK support announced during this crisis to around £400m.

After 12 days it is already clear that Putin has made a miscalculation. He has underestimated Ukrainians, their heroic resistance. He has underestimated their leader, and he has underestimated the unity of the West. And we will continue, as colleagues, to do anything we can to strengthen that unity in the days ahead to ensure that Putin fails in this catastrophic invasion of Ukraine.

Thank you very much. »

PM Justin Trudeau:

«Thank you, Prime Minister Johnson, for hosting, it's great to be joined here by Prime Minister Rutte as well. It's been a very productive first day of my trip to Europe. We've been focused on solidarity with partners and allies: we're focused on stronger economic ties, jobs, growth and the middle class and support for the middle class. But also, obviously, for standing up for democracy, against authoritarianism, and standing with Ukraine every step of the way. This morning, I was able to have an audience with Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II at Windsor Castle. We- I congratulated her, obviously, on the platinum jubilee, and [I] was able to talk a little bit about the situations we're facing and draw on her long experience of for having seen much over these past decades.

When I met earlier with Boris, we discussed stronger security ties, continuing to defend our shared values, continuing our work together on advancing free trade, and creating more middle-class jobs; and also on climate action, where we need to build a sustainable, secure future. I also had a bilateral meeting with Mark Rutte, where we talked about the enhanced importance of NATO, continuing to work together to fight disinformation and protecting freedom of the press, and continuing to work strongly with our friends in the European Union. But of course, throughout, the focus is on the people of Ukraine, and our solidarity with Ukraine, our pushing back against the illegal Russian invasion of Ukraine and standing up for democracies around the world.

[...]

We are working together to mobilize the global community to step up to support Ukraine, and we'll continue to defend democracy and the values that underpin it and continue to make sure that Putin is held accountable. Today, Canada is announcing new sanctions on ten individuals complicit in this unjustified invasion. This includes former and current senior government officials, oligarchs, and

supporters of Russian leadership. The names of these individuals come from a list compiled by jailed opposition leader Aleksej Naval'nyj.

These sanctions put increased pressure on Russia's leadership, including on Putin's inner circle. This is, of course, an addition to all the other sanctions we've announced, including our recent announcement on imposing massive tariffs on Russian and Belarusian imports. The work we're doing together is punishing Putin and his enablers where it hurts most, in particular by crippling their financial system and sanctioning their central bank. So far, in aid for Ukraine, Canada has sent about a billion dollars' worth of financial assistance and humanitarian aid.

But we have more to do. »

3.c. Joe Biden's Presidential Statement (February 24, 2022)

1:43 P.M. EST

President Joe Biden:

« Sorry to keep you waiting. Good afternoon. The Russian military has begun a brutal assault on the people of Ukraine without provocation, without justification, without necessity.

This is a premeditated attack. Vladimir Putin has been planning this for months, as I've been — as we've been saying all along. He moved more than 175,000 troops, military equipment into positions along the Ukrainian border.

He moved blood supplies into position and built a field hospital, which tells you all you need to know about his intentions all along.

He rejected every good-faith effort the United States and our Allies and partners made to address our mutual security concerns through dialogue to avoid needless conflict and avert human suffering.

For weeks — for weeks, we have been warning that this would happen. And now it's unfolding largely as we predicted. In the past week, we've seen shelling increase in the Donbas, the region in eastern Ukraine controlled by Russian-backed separatists.

Rus- — the Russian government has perpetrated cyberattacks against Ukraine.

We saw a staged political theater in Moscow — outlandish and baseless claims that Ukraine was — Ukraine was about to invade and launch a war against Russia, that Ukraine was prepared to use chemical weapons, that Ukraine committed a genocide — without any evidence.

We saw a flagrant violation of international law in attempting to unilaterally create two new so-called republics on sovereign Ukrainian territory.

And at the very moment that the United Nations Security Council was meeting to stand up for Ukraine's sovereignty to stave off invasion, Putin declared his war.

Within moments — moments, missile strikes began to fall on historic cities across Ukraine.

Then came in the air raids, followed by tanks and troops rolling in.

We've been transparent with the world. We've shared declassified evidence about Russia's plans and cyberattacks and false pretexts so that there can be no confusion or cover-up about what Putin was doing. Putin is the aggressor. Putin chose this war. And now he and his country will bear the consequences.

Today, I'm authorizing additional strong sanctions and new limitations on what can be exported to Russia. This is going to impose severe costs on the Russian economy, both immediately and over time. We have purposefully designed these sanctions to maximize the long-term impact on Russia and to minimize the impact on the United States and our Allies.

And I want to be clear: The United States is not doing this alone. For months, we've been building a coalition of partners representing well more than half of the global economy.

Twenty-seven members of the European Union, including France, Germany, Italy — as well as the United Kingdom, Canada, Japan, Australia, New Zealand, and many others — to amplify the joint impact of our response.

I just spoke with the G7 leaders this morning, and we are in full and total agreement. We will limit Russia's ability to do business in Dollars, Euros, Pounds, and Yen to be part of the global economy. We will limit their ability to do that. We are going to stunt the ability to finance and grow Russia — the Russian military. We're going to impose major — and we're going to impair their ability to compete in a high-tech 21st century economy.

We've already seen the impact of our actions on Russia's currency, the Ruble, which early today hit its weakest level ever — ever in history. And the Russian stock market plunged today. The Russian government's borrowing rate spiked by over 15 percent.

In today's actions, we have now sanctioned Russian banks that together hold around \$1 trillion in assets. We've cut off Russia's largest bank — a bank that holds more than one third of Russia's banking assets by itself — cut it off from the U.S. financial system.

And today, we're also blocking four more major banks. That means every asset they have in America will be frozen. This includes V.T.B., the second-largest bank in Russia, which has \$250 billion in assets.

As promised, we're also adding names to the list of Russian elites and their family members that are sanctioning — that we're sanctioning as well.

As I said on Tuesday, these are people who personally gain from the Kremlin's policies and they should share in the pain. We will keep up this drumbeat of those designations against corrupt billionaires in the days ahead.

On Tuesday, we stopped the Russian government from raising money from U.S. or European investors.

Now, we're going to apply the same restrictions to Russia's largest state-owned enterprises — companies with assets that exceed \$1.4 trillion.

Some of the most powerful impacts of our actions will come over time as we squeeze Russia's access to finance and technology for strategic sectors of its economy and degrade its industrial capacity for years to come. Between our actions and those of our Allies and partners, we estimate that we'll cut off more than half of Russia's high-tech imports.

It will strike a blow to their ability to continue to modernize their military. It'll degrade their aerospace industry, including their space program. It will hurt their ability to build ships, reducing their ability to compete economically. And it will be a major hit to Putin's long-term strategic ambitions. And we're preparing to do more. In addition to the economic penalties we're imposing, we're also taking steps to defend our NATO Allies, particularly in the east.

Tomorrow, NATO will convene a summit — we'll be there — to bring together the leaders of 30 Allied nations and close partners to affirm our solidarity and to map out the next steps we will take to further strengthen all aspects of our NATO Alliance.

Although we provided over \$650 million in defensive assistance to Ukraine just this year — this last year, let me say it again: Our forces are not and will not be engaged in the conflict with Russia in Ukraine. Our forces are not going to Europe to fight in Ukraine but to defend our NATO Allies and reassure those Allies in the east.

As I made crystal clear, the United States will defend every inch of NATO territory with the full force of American power. And the good news is: NATO is more united and more determined than ever. There is no doubt — no doubt that the United States and every NATO Ally will meet our Article 5 commitments, which says that an attack on one is an attack on all.

Over the past few weeks, I ordered thousands of additional forces to Germany and Poland as part of our commitment to NATO.

On Tuesday, in response to Russia's aggressive action, including its troop presence in Belarus and the Black Sea, I've authorized the deployment of ground and air forces already stationed in Europe to NATO's eastern flank Allies: Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, and Romania.

Our Allies have also been stepping up, adding — the other Allies, the rest of NATO — adding their own forces and capabilities to ensure our collective defense.

And today, within hours of Russia's unleashing its assault, NATO came together and authorized and activated — an activation of response plans. This will enable NATO's high-readiness forces to deploy and — when and where they're needed to protect our NATO Allies on the eastern boundaries of Europe.

And now I'm authorizing additional U.S. forces and capabilities to deploy to Germany as part of NATO's response, including some of U.S.-based forces that the Department of Defense placed on standby weeks ago.

I've also spoken with Defense Secretary Austin and Chairman of the Joint Chiefs, General Milley, about preparations for additional moves should they become necessary to protect our NATO Allies and support the greatest military Alliance in the history of the world — NATO.

As we respond, my administration is using the tools — every tool at our disposal to protect American families and businesses from rising prices at the gas pump.

You know, we're taking active steps to bring down the costs. And American oil and gas companies should not — should not exploit this moment to hike their prices to raise profits.

You know, in our sanctions package, we specifically designed to allow energy payments to continue. We are closely monitoring energy supplies for any disruption. We have been coordinating with major oil producing and consuming countries toward our common interest to secure global energy supplies.

We are actively working with countries around the world to elevate [evaluate] a collective release from the Strategic Petroleum Reserves of major energy-consuming countries. And the United States will release additional barrels of oil as conditions warrant.

I know this is hard and that Americans are already hurting. I will do everything in my power to limit the pain the American people are feeling at the gas pump. This is critical to me.

But this aggression cannot go unanswered. If it did, the consequences for America would be much worse. America stands up to bullies. We stand up for freedom. This is who we are.

Let me also repeat the warning I made last week: If Russia pursues cyberattacks against our companies, our critical infrastructure, we are prepared to respond.

For months, we have been working closely with our private — with the private sector to harden their cyber defenses, sharpen our ability to respond to Russian cyberattacks as well.

I spoke late last night to President Zelenskyy of Ukraine and I assured him that the United States, together with our Allies and partners in Europe, will support the Ukrainian people as they defend their country. We'll provide humanitarian relief to ease their suffering.

And in the early days of this conflict, Russian propaganda outlets will keep trying to hide the truth and claim success for its military operation against a made-up threat.

But history has shown time and again how swift gains in territory eventually give way to grinding occupations, acts of mass civil — mass civil disobedience, and strategic dead-ends.

The next few weeks and months will be hard on the people of Ukraine. Putin has unleashed a great pain on them. But the Ukrainian people have known 30 years of independence, and they have repeatedly shown that they will not tolerate anyone who tries to take their country backwards. This is a dangerous moment for all of Europe, for the freedom around the world. Putin has a — has committed an assault on the very principles that uphold global peace.

But now the entire world sees clearly what Putin and his Kremlin — and his Kremlin allies are really all about. This was never about genuine security concerns on their part. It was always about naked aggression, about Putin's desire for empire by any means necessary — by bullying Russia's neighbors through coercion and corruption, by changing borders by force, and, ultimately, by choosing a war without a cause.

Putin's actions betray his sinister vision for the future of our world — one where nations take what they want by force. But it is a vision that the United States and freedom-loving nations everywhere will oppose with every tool of our considerable power.

The United States and our Allies and partners will emerge from this stronger, more united, more determined, and more purposeful. And Putin's aggression against Ukraine will end up costing Russia dearly — economically and strategically. We will make sure of that. Putin will be a pariah on the international stage. Any nation that countenances Russia's naked aggression against Ukraine will be stained by association.

When the history of this era is written, Putin's choice to make a totally unjustifiable war on Ukraine will have left Russia weaker and the rest of the world stronger.

Liberty, democracy, human dignity — these are the forces far more powerful than fear and oppression. They cannot be extinguished by tyrants like Putin and his armies. They cannot be erased by people — from people's hearts and hopes by any amount of violence and intimidation. They endure. And in the contest between democracy and autocracy, between sovereignty and subjugation, make no mistake: Freedom will prevail.

God bless the people of a free and democratic Ukraine. And may God protect our troops. »

3.d. CDA, Our Analysis: Data & Statistics

Speaker 1: Boris Johnson

METAFUNCTION TYPE	PARAMETERS	FREQUENCY	
1. TEXTUAL METAFUNCTION	<u>Number of...</u>	WORDS	399
		SENTENCES	21
		PARAGRAPHS	9
	<u>Nominalizations</u>	V to N zero-derivation:	13 (76,5%) 2/13, 15,4% of V to N
		Adj to N	4 (23,5%)
		Adv to N	/ (0%)
		Usage rate	4,26% of all words
	<u>Modality Analysis</u>	Number	Percentage
	PRESENT SIMPLE	14	(28%)
	PRESENT PERFECT	9	(18%)
	PAST SIMPLE	5	(10%)
	PAST PERFECT	/	(0%)
	FUTURE SIMPLE	6	(12%)
	FUTURE IN THE PAST	1	(2%)
	INFINITIVE/GERUND	15	(30%)
2. IDEATIONAL METAFUNCTION	Process Type	Number	Percentage
	Material Processes	26	(50%)
	Relational Processes	5	(9,6%)
	Mental Processes	5	(9,6%)
	Verbal Processes	6	(11,55%)
	Behavioral Processes	6	(11,55%)
	Existential Processes	4	(7,7%)

Examples of Transitivity Analysis (Material Process)

Actor	Process	Goal
<i>We, Putin, The international community, more countries, Ukraine's friends...</i>	<i>Have had, (cannot) commit, must aid, join, create...</i>	<i>Excellent meetings, crimes, Ukrainians, us, a coalition...</i>

Speaker 2: Justin Trudeau

METAFUNCTION TYPE	PARAMETERS	FREQUENCY	
1. TEXTUAL METAFUNCTION	Number of...	WORDS	430
		SENTENCES	18
		PARAGRAPHS	6
	<u>Nominalizations</u>	V to N	30 (83,3%)
		of which gerundive: zero-derivation:	8/30, 26,7% of V to N 4/30, 13,3% of V to N
		Adj to N	6 (16,7%)
		Adv to N	/ (0%)
		Usage rate	8,37% of all words
	<u>Modality Analysis</u>	Number	Percentage
	PRESENT SIMPLE	16	(33,3%)
	PRESENT PERFECT	6	(12,5%)
	PAST SIMPLE	8	(16,7%)
	PAST PERFECT	/	(0%)
	FUTURE SIMPLE	1	(2,1%)
	INFINITIVE/GERUND	17	(35,4%)
2. IDEATIONAL METAFUNCTION	Process Type	Number	Percentage
	Material Processes	21	(47,8%)
	Relational Processes	4	(9,1%)
	Mental Processes	3	(6,8%)
	Verbal Processes	6	(13,6%)
	Behavioral Processes	8	(18,15%)
	Existential Processes	2	(4,55%)

Examples of Transitivity Analysis (Material Process)

Actor	Process	Goal
<i>We, These sanctions, Canada, I, The work we are doing...</i>	<i>are working, put, has sent, had, is...</i>	<i>to support Ukraine, increased pressure, about a billion dollars' worth of financial assistance, a bilateral meeting, sanctioning their central bank ...</i>

Speaker 3: Joe Biden

METAFUNCTION TYPE	PARAMETERS	FREQUENCY	
1. TEXTUAL METAFUNCTION	Number of...	WORDS	1.998
		SENTENCES	112
		PARAGRAPHS	19
	Nominalizations	V to N	88 (83,1%)
		of which gerundive:	3/88, (3,4%) of V to N
		zero-derivation:	14/88, (15,9%) ...
		Adj to N	18 (16,9%)
		Adv to N	/ (0%)
		Usage rate	5,3% of all words
	Modality Analysis	Number	Percentage
	PRESENT SIMPLE	75	(35,9%)
	PRESENT PERFECT	24	(11,5%)
	PAST SIMPLE	29	(13,9%)
	PAST PERFECT	/	(0%)
	FUTURE SIMPLE	40	(19,1%)
	INFINITIVE/GERUND	41	(19,6%)
2. IDEATIONAL METAFUNCTION	Process Type	Number	Percentage
	Material Processes	109	(62,3%)
	Relational Processes	12	(6,85%)
	Mental Processes	22	(12,6%)
	Verbal Processes	11	(6,3%)
	Behavioral Processes	12	(6,85%)
	Existential Processes	9	(5,1%)

Examples of Transitivity Analysis (Material Process)

Actor	Process	Goal
<i>The Russian military, He, the Russian government, We, I, NATO, the United States...</i>	<i>has begun, moved, has perpetrated, 've shared, am authorizing, will convene, will defend...</i>	<i>a brutal assault, blood supplies into position, cyberattacks against Ukraine, declassified evidence about Russia's plans, additional strong sanctions, a summit, every inch of NATO territory...</i>

OVERALL PRONOUN ANALYSIS

PERSONAL PRONOUN		SAMPLE SPEECHES					
		Johnson		Trudeau		Biden	
		N#	Rate	N#	Rate	N#	Rate
First Person	I (me)	4	(22,3%)	5	(21,8%)	18	(18,9%)
	We (us)	9	(50%)	12	(52,2%)	46	(48,4%)
Second Person	You (you)	1	(5,5%)	1	(4,3%)	5	(5,3%)
Third Person	He (him)	3	(16,7%)	/	(0%)	5	(5,3%)
	She (her)	/	(0%)	1	(4,3%)	/	(0%)
	It (it)	1	(5,5%)	4	(17,4%)	10	(10,5%)
	They (them)	/	(0%)	/	(0%)	11	(11,6%)
POSSESSIVE PRONOUN							
My (mine)		/	(0%)	1	(8,3%)	1	(1,8%)
Our (ours)		4	(57,2%)	6	(50%)	30	(53,5%)
Your (yours)		/	(0%)	/	(0%)	/	(0%)
His (his)		/	(0%)	1	(8,3%)	6	(10,75%)
Her (hers)		/	(0%)	2	(16,7%)	/	(0%)
Its (Its)		/	(0%)	/	(0%)	6	(10,75%)
Their (theirs)		3	(42,8%)	2	(16,7%)	13	(23,2%)

3.e. Highlighted speeches: visual representation of the CDA

Speaker 1: Boris Johnson

PM Boris Johnson:

«I'm very **pleased** (*mental process*) to **welcome** (*material process*) Prime Minister Trudeau and Prime Minister Rutte to London. During the excellent meetings we **have had** (*material process*) today we **reaffirmed** (*verbal process*) that our three countries **stand** (*relational process*) shoulder-to-shoulder against Russia's barbaric **invasion** of Ukraine.

In the 12 days since Russia **launched** (*material process*) this illegal and brutal **assault**, the world **has come together** (*behavioral process*) in solidarity with the indomitable people of Ukraine.

Last week 141 countries – nearly three quarters of the entire membership of the United Nations – **voted** (*material process*) to condemn Putin's war.

And 39 countries – including the UK, Canada, and the Netherlands – **voted** (*material process*) to **refer** (*verbal process*) Putin's **actions** to the International Criminal Court. This **is** (*existential process*) the largest such **action** the Court has ever seen (*material process*) and **will allow** (*material process*) the chief prosecutor to **open** (*material process*) an **investigation** to **ensure** (*behavioral process*) Putin **cannot commit** (*material process*) these crimes with impunity.

As Ukrainians **resist** (*behavioral process*) Russia's onslaught with courage and **tenacity**, the international community **must aid** (*material process*) their struggle in every way we **can** (*material process*).

We **will** only **succeed** (*material process*) if the whole international community **moves together** (*relational process*) with the same spirit of **unity** we **have seen** (*mental process*) in recent days.

Justin, Mark, and I **have been discussing** (*verbal process*) that today. And later this afternoon I **am going to be speaking** (*verbal process*) to the **leaders** of the US, France, and Germany to further **coordinate** (*material process*) our **action**.

To **aid** (*material process*) these efforts, today the UK **is joining** (*relational process*) our Dutch and Canadian friends to **mobilise** (*material process*) more practical and sustained support for Ukraine.

Our new 'International Ukraine Support Group' **will coordinate** (*material process*) the efforts of the international community to **provide** (*material process*) long term, and unwavering **assistance**, now and in the future. And we **will be encouraging** (*behavioral process*) more countries to **join** (*material process*) us.

This **is** (*existential process*) the moment for Ukraine's friends to **create** (*material process*) a coalition of humanitarian, economic and defensive military support to **ensure** (*behavioral process*) that Putin **fails** (*material process*).

That **is** (*existential process*) why today I **am announcing** (*verbal process*) a further £175m of UK **aid** for Ukraine - \$100m of which **will be provided** (*material process*) directly to the Ukrainian Government. This **brings** (*material process*) the total UK support **announced** (*verbal process*) during this crisis to around £400m.

After 12 days it **is** (*relational process*) already clear that Putin **has made** (*behavioral process*) a **miscalculation**.

He **has underestimated** (*mental process*) Ukrainians, their heroic **resistance**. He **has underestimated** (*mental process*) their **leader**, and he **has underestimated** (*mental process*) the **unity** of the West.

And we **will continue** (*material process*), as colleagues, to **do** (*material process*) anything we can to **strengthen** (*material process*) that **unity** in the days ahead to **ensure** (*behavioral process*) that Putin **fails** (*material process*) in this catastrophic **invasion** of Ukraine.

Thank you very much. »

Speaker 2: Justin Trudeau

PM Justin Trudeau:

«Thank you, Prime Minister Johnson, for **hosting** (*material process*), it's great **to be joined** (*material process*) here by Prime Minister Rutte as well. It's **been** (*existential process*) a very productive first day of my trip to Europe. We've **been focused** (*mental process*) on solidarity with partners and **allies**: we're **focused** (*mental process*) on stronger economic **ties**, jobs, growth and the middle class and support for the middle class. But also, obviously, for **standing up** (*material process*) for democracy, against **authoritarianism**, and **standing** (*material process*) with Ukraine every step of the way. This morning, I was able (*behavioral process*) to **have** (*material process*) an audience with Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II at Windsor Castle. We- I **congratulated** (*verbal process*) her, obviously, on the platinum jubilee, and [I] **was able** (*behavioral process*) to **talk** (*verbal process*) a little bit about the situations we're **facing** (*mental process*) and draw on her long **experience** of for **having seen** (*material process*) much over these past decades.

When I **met** (*relational process*) earlier with Boris, we **discussed** (*verbal process*) stronger security **ties**, **continuing to defend** (*behavioral process*) our shared values, **continuing** (*behavioral process*) our work together on **advancing** free **trade**, and **creating** more middle-class jobs; and also on climate **action**, where we **need** (*relational process*) to build a sustainable, secure future. I also **had** (*material process*) a bilateral **meeting** with Mark Rutte, where we **talked** (*verbal process*) about the enhanced **importance** of NATO, **continuing** (*behavioral process*) to work together to **fight** (*material process*)

disinformation and protecting (material process) freedom of the press, and continuing (behavioral process) to work (material process) strongly with our friends in the European Union. But of course, throughout, the focus is (relational process) on the people of Ukraine, and our solidarity with Ukraine, our pushing back against the illegal Russian invasion of Ukraine and standing up for democracies around the world.

[...]

We are working (material process) together to mobilize the global community to step up (material process) to support Ukraine, and we'll continue to defend democracy (behavioral process) and the values that underpin it (relational process) and continue to make sure (behavioral process) that Putin is held accountable (material process). Today, Canada is announcing (verbal process) new sanctions on ten individuals complicit in this unjustified invasion. This includes (material process) former and current senior government officials, oligarchs, and supporters of Russian leadership. The names of these individuals come (material process) from a list compiled by jailed opposition leader Aleksey Naval'nyj.

These sanctions put (material process) increased pressure on Russia's leadership, including on Putin's inner circle. This is (existential process), of course, an addition to all the other sanctions we've announced (verbal process), including our recent announcement on imposing massive tariffs on Russian and Belarusian imports. The work we're doing (material process) together is punishing

(material process) Putin and his enablers where it hurts most, in particular by crippling *(material process)* their financial system and sanctioning *(material process)* their central bank. So far, in aid for Ukraine, Canada has sent *(material process)* about a billion dollars' worth of financial assistance and humanitarian aid.

But we have more to do *(behavioral process)*. »

Speaker 3: Joe Biden

1:43 P.M. EST

President Joe Biden:

« **Sorry** (*mental process*) to keep you waiting. Good afternoon. The Russian military **has begun** (*material process*) a brutal **assault** on the people of Ukraine without **provocation**, without **justification**, without **necessity**.

This **is** (*existential process*) a premeditated **attack**. Vladimir Putin **has been planning** (*behavioral process*) this for months, as I've been — as we've been saying (*verbal process*) all along. He **moved** (*material process*) more than 175,000 troops, military **equipment** into positions along the Ukrainian **border**.

He **moved** (*material process*) blood **supplies** into position and **built** (*material process*) a field hospital, which **tells** (*verbal process*) you all you need to **know** (*mental process*) about his intentions all along.

He **rejected** (*behavioral process*) every good-faith effort the United States and our Allies and partners **made** (*material process*) to **address** (*relational process*) our mutual security **concerns** through dialogue to **avoid** (*material process*) needless conflict and **avert** (*material process*) human **suffering**.

For weeks — for weeks, we **have been warning** (*behavioral process*) that this would **happen** (*material process*). And now it's **unfolding** (*material process*) largely as we predicted.

In the past week, we've seen shelling increase (*material process*) in the Donbas, the region in eastern Ukraine controlled by Russian-backed separatists.

Rus- — the Russian government has perpetrated (*material process*) cyberattacks against Ukraine.

We saw (*mental process*) a staged political theater in Moscow — outlandish and baseless claims that Ukraine was — Ukraine was about to invade and launch (*material processes*) a war against Russia, that Ukraine was prepared (*behavioral process*) to use chemical weapons, that Ukraine committed (*material process*) a genocide — without any evidence.

We saw (*mental process*) a flagrant violation of international law in attempting to unilaterally create (*material process*) two new so-called republics on sovereign Ukrainian territory.

And at the very moment that the United Nations Security Council was meeting (*material process*) to stand up for Ukraine's sovereignty to stave off invasion, Putin declared (*material & verbal process*) his war.

Within moments — moments, missile strikes began to fall (*material process*) on historic cities across Ukraine.

Then came (*material process*) in the air raids, followed by tanks and troops rolling in.

We've been (*behavioral process*) transparent with the world. We've shared (*material process*) declassified evidence about Russia's plans and cyberattacks and false pretexts so that there can be no confusion or cover-up about what Putin was doing.

Putin is (*relational process*) the aggressor. Putin chose (*mental process*) this war. And now he and his country will bear (*material process*) the consequences.

Today, I'm **authorizing** (*material process*) additional strong sanctions and new **limitations** on what can be exported to Russia.

This **is going to impose** (*material process*) severe costs on the Russian economy, both immediately and over time.

We **have** purposefully **designed** (*behavioral process*) these sanctions to maximize the long-term impact on Russia and to minimize the impact on the United States and our **Allies**.

And I **want** (*mental process*) to be clear: The United States **is not doing** (*material process*) this alone. For months, we've **been building** (*material process*) a coalition of partners representing well more than half of the global economy.

Twenty-seven members of the European **Union**, including France, Germany, Italy — as well as the United Kingdom, Canada, Japan, Australia, New Zealand, and many others — to amplify the joint impact of our response.

I just **spoke** (*verbal process*) with the G7 **leaders** this morning, and we **are** (*mental process*) in full and total **agreement**. We **will limit** (*material process*) Russia's **ability** to do business in Dollars, Euros, Pounds, and Yen to be part of the global economy. We **will limit** (*material process*) their **ability** to do that. We **are going to stunt** (*material process*) the **ability** to finance and grow Rus- — the Russian military.

We're **going to impose** (*material process*) major — and we're **going to impair** (*material process*) their **ability** to compete in a high-tech 21st century economy.

We've already seen (mental process) the impact of our actions on Russia's currency, the Ruble, which early today hit (material process) its weakest level ever — ever in history. And the Russian stock market plunged (material process) today. The Russian government's borrowing rate spiked (material process) by over 15 percent.

In today's actions, we have now sanctioned (material process) Russian banks that together hold around \$1 trillion in assets.

We've cut off (material process) Russia's largest bank — a bank that holds more than one third of Russia's banking assets by itself — cut it off from the U.S. financial system.

And today, we're also blocking (material process) four more major banks. That means every asset they have in America will be frozen (material process). This includes (relational process) V.T.B., the second-largest bank in Russia, which has (material process) \$250 billion in assets.

As promised, we're also adding (material process) names to the list of Russian elites and their family members that are sanctioning — that we're sanctioning (material process) as well.

As I said (verbal process) on Tuesday, these are (existential process) people who personally gain from the Kremlin's policies and they should share (behavioral process) in the pain. We will keep up (material process) this drumbeat of those designations against corrupt billionaires in the days ahead.

On Tuesday, we stopped (material process) the Russian government from raising money from U.S. or European investors.

Now, we're going to apply (*material process*) the same restrictions to Russia's largest state-owned enterprises — companies with assets that exceed \$1.4 trillion.

Some of the most powerful impacts of our actions will come (*material process*) over time as we squeeze (*material process*) Russia's access to finance and technology for strategic sectors of its economy and degrade (*material process*) its industrial capacity for years to come.

Between our actions and those of our Allies and partners, we estimate (*mental process*) that we'll cut off (*material process*) more than half of Russia's high-tech imports.

It will strike (*material process*) a blow to their ability to continue to modernize their military. It'll degrade (*material process*) their aerospace industry, including their space program. It will hurt (*material process*) their ability to build ships, reducing their ability to compete economically. And it will be (*material process*) a major hit to Putin's long-term strategic ambitions.

And we're preparing (*behavioral process*) to do more. In addition to the economic penalties we're imposing (*material process*), we're also taking (*material process*) steps to defend our NATO Allies, particularly in the east.

Tomorrow, NATO will convene (*material process*) a summit — we'll be there — to bring together (*relational process*) the leaders of 30 Allied nations and close partners to affirm (*mental process*) our solidarity and to map out (*material process*) the next steps we will take to further strengthen all aspects of our NATO Alliance.

Although we provided (*material process*) over \$650 million in defensive assistance to Ukraine just this year — this last year, let me say (*verbal process*) it again: Our forces are not and will not be

engaged (*behavioral processes*) in the conflict with Russia in Ukraine. Our forces are not going (*material process*) to Europe to fight (*material process*) in Ukraine but to defend (*material process*) our NATO Allies and reassure (*mental process*) those Allies in the east.

As I made (*mental process*) crystal clear, the United States will defend (*material process*) every inch of NATO territory with the full force of American power. And the good news is (*relational process*): NATO is (*relational process*) more united and more determined than ever.

There is (*existential process*) no doubt — no doubt that the United States and every NATO Ally will meet (*behavioral process*) our Article 5 commitments, which says (*verbal process*) that an attack on one is an attack on all.

Over the past few weeks, I ordered (*material process*) thousands of additional forces to Germany and Poland as part of our commitment to NATO.

On Tuesday, in response to Russia's aggressive action, including its troop presence in Belarus and the Black Sea, I've authorized (*material process*) the deployment of ground and air forces already stationed in Europe to NATO's eastern flank Allies: Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, and Romania.

Our Allies have also been stepping up (*material process*), adding — the other Allies, the rest of NATO — adding their own forces and capabilities to ensure our collective defense.

And today, within hours of Russia's unleashing its assault, NATO came together (*relational process*) and authorized and activated (*material processes*) — an activation of response plans.

This will enable (*material process*) NATO's high-readiness forces to deploy and — when and where they're needed to protect (*material process*) our NATO Allies on the eastern boundaries of Europe.

And now I'm authorizing (material & verbal process) additional U.S. forces and capabilities to deploy (material process) to Germany as part of NATO's response, including some of U.S.-based forces that the Department of Defense placed on standby weeks ago.

I've also spoken (verbal process) with Defense Secretary Austin and Chairman of the Joint Chiefs, General Milley, about preparations for additional moves should they become necessary to protect our NATO Allies and support the greatest military Alliance in the history of the world — NATO.

As we respond (material process), my administration is using the tools — every tool at our disposal to protect (material process) American families and businesses from rising prices at the gas pump.

You know, we're taking (material process) active steps to bring down (material process) the costs. And American oil and gas companies should not — should not exploit (behavioral process) this moment to hike (material process) their prices to raise (material process) profits.

You know (mental process), in our sanctions package, we specifically designed (material process) to allow energy payments to continue.

We are closely monitoring (material process) energy supplies for any disruption. We have been coordinating (relational process) with major oil producing and consuming countries toward our common interest to secure (material process) global energy supplies.

We are actively working (material process) with countries around the world to elevate [evaluate] a collective release from the Strategic Petroleum Reserves of major energy-consuming countries. And the United States will release (material process) additional barrels of oil as conditions warrant.

I **know** (*mental process*) this **is** (*existential process*) hard and that Americans **are** already **hurting** (*behavioral process*). I **will do** (*material process*) everything in my power to **limit** (*material process*) the pain the American people **are feeling** (*mental process*) at the gas pump. This **is** (*relational process*) critical to me.

But this **aggression cannot go** (*material process*) unanswered. If it did, the consequences for America **would be** (*material process*) much worse. America **stands up** (*behavioral process*) to bullies. We **stand up** (*behavioral process*) for **freedom**. This **is** (*relational process*) who we are. Let me also **repeat** (*verbal process*) the **warning** I made last week: If Russia **pursues** (*material process*) cyberattacks against our companies, our critical infrastructure, we **are prepared** (*relational process*) to respond.

For months, we **have been working** (*material process*) closely with our private — with the private sector to harden their cyber **defenses**, sharpen our **ability** to respond to Russian cyberattacks as well.

I **spoke** (*verbal process*) late last night to President Zelenskyy of Ukraine, and I **assured** (*mental process*) him that the United States, together with our **Allies** and partners in Europe, **will support** (*material process*) the Ukrainian people as they **defend** (*material process*) their country. We'll **provide** (*material process*) humanitarian **relief** to ease their suffering.

And in the early days of this conflict, Russian propaganda outlets **will keep trying** (*behavioral process*) to hide the truth and **claim** (*material process*) success for its military **operation** against a made-up threat.

But history **has shown** (*material process*) time and again how swift **gains** in territory eventually **give way** (*material process*) to grinding occupations, acts of mass civil — mass civil **disobedience**, and strategic dead-ends.

The next few weeks and months **will be** (*material process*) hard on the people of Ukraine. Putin **has unleashed** (*material process*) a great pain on them. But the Ukrainian people **have known** (*mental process*) 30 years of **independence**, and **they have** repeatedly **shown** (*behavioral process*) that they **will not tolerate** (*behavioral process*) anyone who tries to take their country backwards.

This **is** (*existential process*) a dangerous moment for all of Europe, for the **freedom** around the world. Putin has a — **has committed** (*material process*) an **assault** on the very principles that uphold global peace.

But now the entire world **sees** (*mental process*) clearly what Putin and his Kremlin — and his Kremlin **allies** are really all about. This **was** (*existential process*) never about genuine **security** concerns on their part. It **was** (*existential process*) always about naked **aggression**, about Putin's desire for empire by any means necessary — by **bullying** (*material process*) Russia's neighbors through **coercion** and **corruption**, by **changing** (*material process*) borders by force, and, ultimately, by **choosing** (*mental process*) a war without a cause.

Putin's actions **betray** (*mental process*) his sinister vision for the future of our world — one where nations **take** (*material process*) what they want by force.

But it **is** (*existential process*) a vision that the United States and **freedom**-loving nations everywhere **will oppose** (*material process*) with every tool of our considerable power.

The United States and our **Allies** and partners **will emerge** (*material process*) from this stronger, more united, more determined, and more purposeful.

And Putin's **aggression** against Ukraine **will end up** (*material process*) costing Russia dearly — economically and strategically. We **will make sure** (*behavioral process*) of that. Putin **will be** (*relational process*) a pariah on the international stage. Any nation that **countenances** (*material process*) Russia's naked **aggression** against Ukraine **will be stained** (*material process*) by **association**.

When the history of this era **is written** (*material process*), Putin's choice to make a totally unjustifiable war on Ukraine **will have left** (*material process*) Russia weaker and the rest of the world stronger.

Liberty, democracy, human dignity — these **are** (*existential process*) the forces far more powerful than **fear** and **oppression**. They **cannot be extinguished** (*material process*) by tyrants like Putin and his armies. They **cannot be erased** (*material process*) by people — from people's hearts and hopes by any amount of violence and **intimidation**. They **endure** (*behavioral process*).

And in the contest between democracy and autocracy, between **sovereignty** and **subjugation**, **make** (*mental process*) no mistake: **Freedom** **will** (*material process*) prevail.

God **bless** (*mental process*) the people of a free and democratic Ukraine. And may God **protect** (*material process*) our troops. »

3.f. HR Record and CDA compared



INTERPERSONAL METAFUNCTION

Speaker 1: Boris Johnson

RHETORICAL MEANS OF PERSUASION	EXAMPLES
<p><u>ETHOS</u> – Establishing political integrity (“Having the right intentions”)</p>	<p>“To aid these efforts, today the UK is joining our Dutch and Canadian friends to mobilise more practical and sustained support for Ukraine.”</p> <p>“Our new ‘International Ukraine Support Group’ will coordinate the efforts of the international community to provide long term, and unwavering assistance, now and in the future. And we will be encouraging more countries to join us.”</p>
<p><u>LOGOS</u> – Expressing political arguments (“Thinking Right”)</p>	<p>“Last week, 141 countries – nearly three quarters of the entire membership of the United Nations – voted to condemn Putin’s war. And 39 countries – including the UK, Canada, and the Netherlands – voted to refer Putin’s actions to the International Criminal Court.”</p>
<p><u>PATHOS</u> – Heightening emotional impact (“Sounding Right”)</p>	<p>“As Ukrainians resist Russia’s onslaught with courage and tenacity, the international community must aid their struggle in every way we can. We will only succeed if the whole international community moves together with the same spirit of unity we have seen in recent days.”</p> <p>“And we will continue, as colleagues, to do anything we can to strengthen that unity in the days ahead to ensure that Putin fails in this catastrophic invasion of Ukraine.”</p>
<p><u>MENTAL REPRESENTATIONS, MYTHS, FRAMES</u> (“Telling the right story”)</p>	<p>“After 12 days it is already clear that Putin has made a miscalculation. He has underestimated Ukrainians, their heroic resistance. He has underestimated their leader, and he has underestimated the unity of the West.”</p>

Speaker 2: Justin Trudeau

RHETORICAL MEANS OF PERSUASION	EXAMPLES
<p><u>ETHOS</u> – Establishing political integrity (“Having the right intentions”)</p>	<p>“But of course, throughout, the focus is on the people of Ukraine, and our solidarity with Ukraine, our pushing back against the illegal Russian invasion of Ukraine and standing up for democracies around the world.”</p>
<p><u>LOGOS</u> – Expressing political arguments (“Thinking Right”)</p>	<p>“These sanctions put increased pressure on Russia’s leadership, including on Putin’s inner circle. This is, of course, an addition to all the other sanctions we’ve announced, including our recent announcement on imposing massive tariffs on Russian and Belarusian imports. The work we’re doing together is punishing Putin and his enablers where it hurts most, in particular by crippling their financial system and sanctioning their central bank.”</p>
<p><u>PATHOS</u> – Heightening emotional impact (“Sounding Right”)</p>	<p>“We are working together to mobilize the global community to step up to support Ukraine, and we’ll continue to defend democracy and the values that underpin it and continue to make sure that Putin is held accountable.”</p> <p>“But also, obviously, for standing up for democracy, against authoritarianism, and standing with Ukraine every step of the way.”</p>
<p><u>MENTAL REPRESENTATIONS, MYTHS, FRAMES</u> (“Telling the right story”)</p>	<p>“I also had a bilateral meeting with Mark Rutte, where we talked about the enhanced importance of NATO, continuing to work together to fight disinformation and protecting freedom of the press, and continuing to work strongly with our friends in the European Union.”</p>

Speaker 3: Joe Biden

RHETORICAL MEANS OF PERSUASION	EXAMPLES
<p><u>ETHOS</u> – Establishing political integrity (“Having the right intentions”)</p>	<p>“Tomorrow, NATO will convene a summit — we’ll be there — to bring together the leaders of 30 Allied nations and close partners to affirm our solidarity and to map out the next steps we will take to further strengthen all aspects of our NATO Alliance.”</p> <p>“Although we provided over \$650 million in defensive assistance to Ukraine just this year — this last year, let me say it again: Our forces are not and will not be engaged in the conflict with Russia in Ukraine. Our forces are not going to Europe to fight in Ukraine but to defend our NATO Allies and reassure those Allies in the east”.</p>
<p><u>LOGOS</u> – Expressing political arguments (“Thinking Right”)</p>	<p>“Let me also repeat the warning I made last week: If Russia pursues cyberattacks against our companies, our critical infrastructure, we are prepared to respond.</p> <p>For months, we have been working closely with our private — with the private sector to harden their cyber defenses, sharpen our ability to respond to Russian cyberattacks as well.”</p> <p>“I spoke late last night to President Zelenskyy of Ukraine and I assured him that the United States, together with our Allies and partners in Europe, will support the Ukrainian people as they defend their country. We’ll provide humanitarian relief to ease their suffering.”</p>
<p><u>PATHOS</u> – Heightening emotional impact (“Sounding Right”)</p>	<p>“But this aggression cannot go unanswered. If it did, the consequences for America would be much worse. America stands up to bullies. We stand up for freedom. This is who we are.”</p>

	<p>“But it is a vision that the United States and freedom-loving nations everywhere will oppose with every tool of our considerable power. The United States and our Allies and partners will emerge from this stronger, more united, more determined, and more purposeful.”</p>
<p><u>MENTAL REPRESENTATIONS, MYTHS, FRAMES</u> (“Telling the right story”)</p>	<p>“Liberty, democracy, human dignity — these are the forces far more powerful than fear and oppression. They cannot be extinguished by tyrants like Putin and his armies. They cannot be erased by people — from people’s hearts and hopes by any amount of violence and intimidation. They endure.</p> <p>And in the contest between democracy and autocracy, between sovereignty and subjugation, make no mistake: Freedom will prevail.</p> <p>God bless the people of a free and democratic Ukraine. And may God protect our troops.”</p>

Finally, let's shed light on our speakers' political rhetoric and on the way each one of them interprets the flagrant violation of Human Rights committed by Russia in this ongoing war in Ukraine. As we previously analyzed, each country has singular human rights records: the US and Canada's flaws are mostly based on essential freedom violations and racial discrimination; the UK's, on the other hand, are prevalently political and are rooted in everlasting domestic disputes. To back up our theory, we will also consider the data extracted by the speeches i.e., pronouns, nominalizations... to clarify whether there are substantial differences in rhetoric.

No better adjective can describe **Boris Johnson's** speech better than '*concise*'. There's no clue that some harsh words have been spoken towards Russia, yet his rhetoric is not excessively inciteful; he does not linger upon what types of consequences the Russian Government will face. Johnson doesn't fail to mention "the unity of the West", a concept which could easily create turmoil in our days, also in relation of what we have read in the first pages of this dissertation. Concerning stylistic choices, Johnson's register is remarkably high; his word choice is careful but lacking emotional charge.

In our CDA it is evident that Johnson's use of language is straightforward: there's a great prevalence of present simple and to-infinitive verb phrases, which are a syntactical cue, as well as the majority of material processes in the 'ideational metafunction' analysis. Among these characteristics, we must not neglect that – of the three Presidents involved in our CDA – Boris Johnson has the highest usage rate of the personal pronoun 'I' (first person singular) and the possessive pronouns 'our' and 'their'. In this last case, I particularly refer to the part in which he was supporting Ukraine's citizens by glorifying "their heroic resistance" and subsequently, "their leader".

In the case of **Justin Trudeau**, the main focus is on underlining the paramount importance of *inclusivity* in his speech. Canada has undergone a series of cultural challenges and transformations which have made it one of the most pluralistic societies of today's world. Yet, as we read in the Human Rights record analysis in the first section, many criticisms are moved to the systemic intolerance and neglect of marginalized individuals, such as the Natives; therefore, for Trudeau it is imperative to express solidarity for Ukraine, to highlight the relevance of partners and allies and to strengthen the idea of unity, a mirror for both domestic and global contexts. He does mention economic sanctions with an increased incisiveness compared to PM Boris Johnson.

Justin Trudeau's style is definitely more informal. We notice the highest usage rate of the personal pronoun 'we', which proves the point on inclusivity, as well as a conspicuous presence of gerundive Verb-to-Noun nominalizations, typical of oral colloquial language.

I reckon the expression "flawed democracy" perfectly suits the United States. In our previous HR record analysis, it was quite evident that we are dealing with a controversial country which had a turbulent past, but which also is one of the most eminent global leading powers. **Joe Biden**, as the President of the United States of America, must always defend the core values of freedom and democracy: they are constantly named, as well as "God" and "our troops". It is obvious that history has taught us that those same exact values have been repeatedly violated (and still are being) in their own country; yet, the flag of democracy must always wave, at least in the wind of what is said through speeches and interviews, never failing to mention NATO.

As a matter of fact, through Biden's words the first impression is that the US is about to take direct action to counter Russia's aggression and won't be afraid to "respond" whether it could all spiral down. This is also backed by the copious presence of possessive pronouns 'his' and 'its', referring to Biden directly addressing Putin for his mistake and to him listing all the possible consequences for Russia (as "[we will] degrade *its* industrial capacity"). Biden's menacing tone is always supported by the highest usage rate of the future simple and of material processes, all referring to the imminent sanctions that, in the moment of speaking, were about to hit Russia.

The vocabulary type chosen by a speaker or writer influences the minds and the attitudes of the readers and the listeners differently. The types of words that a writer uses can activate particular presuppositions, reveal speaker's attitudes, require reader agreement for interpretation, and so forth. As pointed in the analysis of the source text of this part, using incisive and harsh words is a prevalent strategy used by politicians applying terms that dehumanize the enemy. Simply put it, they use terms that evoke fear, anger, and hatred; and it distances the audience, making it easier to accept a course of action towards the enemy. Our speakers have used the word "aggression" or "assault" more times in comparison to the neutral synonym "war" or "military operation".

This is going to prove that Russia's government and their authorities are not legal as the word "aggression" suggests such a meaning into the public mind.

In the above extract, to convince the public opinion that Russia's actions are not in compliance with international agreements and describe Russia as the violator of universal regulations. This topicalization helps the listeners to view the issue from this perspective that Putin has no respect for international agreements and regulations, and this makes the public mind point the finger of blame at the Russian Government.

Another relevant cue to consider is the use of thematization, which corresponds to the placement of information within a sentence and their order, which last can directly change the message of the sentence and affects the target audience comprehension. What the speaker or writer locates first will affect the interpretation of everything that follows. On the other hand, modality refers to a speaker's attitude towards, or opinion about the truth of a proposition expressed by a clause. It also extends to his/her attitude towards the situation or event described by a clause (Halliday, 1985). Modality basically represents the speaker's angle, either on the validity of the assertion or on the rights and wrongs of the proposal: it relates with the speakers' judgment of the inclination involved in what he is saying. Syntactically, verbs tend to convey concrete notions, actions, or processes rather than less effective abstract concepts. Although there is only a tendency, but it is quite enough to change readers' first interpretation out of the same issue.

4. Ending Remarks

“ When we think of politics, we think of it mainly in terms of the struggle for power in order to secure specific ideas and interests and put them into practice. This process of manifesting a political will and transforming it into concrete social action is realized first of all between political parties. In this process, language plays an important role. In fact, any political action is prepared, accompanied controlled and influenced by language. We could easily add other verbs to this list, such as guided, explained, justified, evaluated, criticized.”

Christina Schäffner, 1996

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The study of language has recently become more significant to a series of academic disciplines concerned with politics. Nonetheless, political scientists, linguists, and discourse analysts shed light on different facets when they debate the association between language and politics, and they also apply different theories and methods in doing so. Political scientists are primarily concerned with the consequences of political decisions and actions for a society and are involved in the political realities which are created in and through discourse. Linguists, on the other hand, have always been particularly keen on the linguistic structures used in order to get politically relevant messages across to the addressees, hence fulfilling a specific function. But also, a narrower linguistic analysis of political discourse cannot ignore the broader societal and political framework in which such discourse is embedded.

Van Dijk has recently argued, that *'despite some studies on "political language", discourse and conversation analysis has thus far had little to offer to political science'*, and he believes discourse analysis to be a *'genuine social, political or cultural analysis'* (van Dijk, 1994: 164). This interdisciplinary approach should probably harvest very promising outcomes. One problem in the complex of language and politics, however, is how to define what is political. Particularly in the twentieth century, because of the massive expansion of the Internet and mass media, more and more people are exposed to discourse that may be branded as political in nature. Moreover, people

tend to involve political action in their daily life; the opportunities for each person to be - more or less actively – involved in political discourse have increased enormously.

Our speakers' speeches are analyzed according to Halliday's systematic functional linguistic. Some features of two addressers are revealed as followed. Trudeau applied a colloquial language, consisting of simple words and short sentences that are understandable to different types of target audience. Conversely, Johnson and Biden preferred using more complex word structures and, overall, they also bent language in a more formal way, in a higher register. Regarding the transitivity analysis, which we carried out earlier, all three speeches have the highest usage rate of material processes out of all the other "process" categories, and by far.

This is especially prevalent in Biden's statement. Noticeably, his urge was to shed light on his country's response tactic and immediate counteraction, let alone on what the USA have already done and will do in future. Through the aid of the modality metafunction analysis, it is understandable that the presidents' use of verb tenses shows their firm will to accomplish announced tasks and to make their language as effective as possible, also by reducing the distance between the president and the audience. Another of the prominent factors of CDA is the use of personal pronouns. Trudeau and Biden give particular significance to personal pronouns such as 'we' to strengthen the sense of closeness with the audience, in the name of a common objective.



Pic source: <https://culturemagazin.com/joe-biden-boris-johnson-congratulate-justin-trudeau-on-third-election-win/>

The foremost aspiration of this thesis is to prove the hypothesis that studying the Human Rights record of a country is a helpful implement in the CDA process of political text, even if the CDA integration in translation is still a newborn field within Translation Studies and has not been examined comprehensively. I hope this comparative analysis can provide a broader analytical angle for other students by aiding them to recognize texts in connection with all kinds of textual and extra textual constraints such as ideology, power relations, and cultural and historical backgrounds. Certainly, this enquiry was an attempt to stress that the underlying ideological filter, most often perceived as an *invisible hand*, makes every text unprejudiced or innocuous - let alone texts having politicized language. Therefore, also translators, who will actively participate in the process of creating meaning, need to be very aware of every discursive strategy or choice – such as deletion, addition, and other syntactic and lexical variations – one might adopt during the production of the target text based on the source text. From this viewpoint, the data retrieved from this dissertation aims to contribute to a better understanding of politically colored texts whose contents are more or less tangible, and subsequently to give the audience a deeper insight on elusive and persuasive strategies which unconsciously locate readers in specific ideological positions.

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