

Implicit Ideologies behind the Use of Negation in Political Discourse

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الايديولوجيات الضمنية وراء استخدام النفي في الخطاب السياسي

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Abstract

The study tends to investigate the ideological positioning of Joe Biden's and Bill Clinton's inaugural addresses. with its diverse categories of Critical Stylistics, negation is adopted as one toolkit called suggested by Jeffries (2010), in order to describe the ideologies that are hidden in the presidents' inaugural addresses. To explore the ideology in each category of negation, the researcher adopted qualitative and quantitative approaches. The findings reveal that negating steers the text in an effective way, especially in the syntactic category. Furthermore, since these are introductory addresses, most of the ideologies are positive, such as unity, democracy, and indiscrimination.

Key Words:

Ideology, Negation, Implicit, critical and Stylistics

المخلص

تسعى الدراسة إلى استقصاء الموضع الأيديولوجي لخطابات التنصيب لكل من جو بايدن وبييل كلينتون. يتم اعتماد أداة تُسمى النفي مع فئاتها المختلفة من الأسلوب النقدي كما اقترح جيفريز (٢٠١٠) لكشف الأيديولوجيات المخفية في خطابات التنصيب للرؤساء. لاستكشاف الأيديولوجيا في كل فئة من فئات النفي، يتم استخدام مناهج نوعية وكمية. تكشف النتائج أن النفي يوجه النص بطريقة فعالة، خاصة في الفئة النحوية. بالإضافة إلى ذلك، ونظرًا لأن هذه هي خطابات تنصيب، فإن معظم الأيديولوجيات إيجابية، مثل الوحدة وعدم التمييز والديمقراطية.

الكلمات المفتاحية: أيديولوجي، النفي، ضمني، نقدي، الاسلوبية

1. Introduction

Language is a means of collaborating our ideas and thoughts. A foundation for communication, a tool for sending messages, and a potential source of power in spoken and written forms. Language and power have a multifaceted relationship. In political speech, language talent builds, maintains, and reinforces relationships, expresses ideas, and helps programs and policies, language plays a vital role. That's why language is undeniably a important political concern. A writer or a speaker needs to accomplish influence from the receiver to get power using language. To accomplish considerable impact, a person usually has to convey his/her thoughts efficiently through specific texts or talks. Thus, a politician uses language to affect his addressees in his speech. A variety of tools can be used to show how the readers often influence by the texts in order to change their ideological perespectives to match the opinions of the authors. So, this study aims to investigate the use of negation and its common types used in political discourse and the hidden ideologies behind the use of negation as a means to help the linguists who are interested in studying critical discourse analysis. In short, This study attempts to answer the following questions:

1. What are the most common types of negation used in political discourses?
2. What are the hidden ideologies behind the use of negation in political discourses?

2. Methodology

This work utilizes a description qualitative method of analysis. As a model of analysis, the researcher adopted one of the ten toolkit of analysis of CS of Leslie Jeffries (2010) tools which is named **negating**. Jeffries' model perceives stylistics to be focusing on the choices made by the text creators like the political ones. Politician is bound to the pressure to make the accurate choice suitable to express his intention. These choices are always ideologically loaded , whether they are consciously or not,. Two discourses have been selected from transcripts of both the president Joe Biden's Appointment Speech on 21 January 2020 from Time Magazine and Clinton's Introductory Speech on 20 January 1994.

3. literature Review

Various critical stylistic investigations have been undertaken. Some of which employed a limited number of textual-conceptual functions to study meaning in the text.

Evans and Schuller (2015) utilized textual-conceptual analysis techniques such as naming, presupposing, and hypothesizing in order to examine how the term "terrorism" was used in British press reports on Fusilier Lee Rigby's 22 May 2013 murder. The inquiry focuses on how the publications justify the use of the term "terrorism."

Abdel-Moety (2018), an Egyptian, conducted a study using a critical stylistic method as a model of analysis to examine the ideology of war and socioeconomic class in literature. Her analysis led her to the conclusion that both ideas play a significant role in the book, which in turn presents a perspective on the oppressed society within a specific time period. The textual conceptual tools that the analysis model proposes are used to identify this. With the use of these instruments, authors of texts can practice influencing readers. The analysis comes to the conclusion that the novel's fundamental themes—war and social class, which are mentioned at the outset. They are represented through the tools: naming and describing; negating, presenting actions/events/states; prioritizing; hypothesizing; implying and assuming; presenting others' speech and thoughts; and presenting time, space, and society. The listed tools of analysis helped in uncovering the way the author of the novel illustrates the circumstances of British society before, during, and after World War II.

This work devotes itself to the extraction of Lesslie Jeffries' tool(2010) entitled *Presenting the Speech and of Others*.

3-1. Critical Stylistics

Critical Stylistics appeared as a influential method for addressing ideology in language, serving as a nexus between critical studies and stylistics. The term was used initially by Jeffries (2007) to create a flow of stylistics that centered on ideology, indicating the viability of stylistic analysis to both literary and non-literary texts and as a result, this derived Jeffries to conclude that the same analytical approaches are needed to be applied for all the types of text analysis, suggesting differently, that meaning is built in basically the same way through texts. According to Jeffries (2014), stylistic analysis is the spirit of the endeavor to get the inherited power in the language.

Similar to other methods of critical linguistic analyses, Critical Stylistics is regarded as a technique used to explore the ideology in texts (Jeffries, 2014a:411).

Critical Stylistics, however, advocates that nominalization, as one feature of language, in previous critical approaches, was the only way of recognizing how meanings are shaped by texts (Jeffries, 2014:413).

As may be seen, several methods in the stylistics subject are presented in this section. Not every method has been included here, as the goal is to highlight the stylistics fields that are now being overused in order to identify where computer science fits in as an analytical framework. It also aims to illuminate the ways in which ideology has been used in various artistic contexts. As the aforementioned illustration shows, ideology is less clearly present in the older movements than in the more recent ones. The formal and aesthetic characteristics of language and their effect on the reader are the core emphasis of the early formalist/structuralist movements.

This, nevertheless, does not throw accusations on the early approaches of taking ideology for granted; rather it holds that the term 'ideology' has not been projected explicitly, and with the same amount of interest and emphasis, as it is dealt with by the recent approaches.

3-2. Political Discourse

The art of persuasion, or rhetoric, plays a major role in political discourse because politicians frequently employ persuasive or manipulative language usage that is not typical of the general public (Chilton and Schäffner, 2011: 304).

Political actors struggle with one another for supremacy in the use of political language in an effort to gain power and the public's support (Fairclough, 2000: 3). This is a struggle for supremacy. A "struggle to achieve dominance of political position over others [...] is partly enacted as a struggle for the dominance of political language," according to (ibid: 3). the genre of political speech functions as a means of establishing power. As "in the constitution of social groups," language plays a role in politics, which adds to the definition of politics as a whole (Chilton and Schäffner, 2011: 303). Language is the vehicle through which politicians practice the art of politics, positioning themselves to obtain what they need and more (Joseph, 2004: 347). Therefore, for a politician to effectively communicate and win support, a political message revolves on the values of the audience. One focus of linguistic research in political discourse is based on the strategic use of political keywords for achieving political aims. For

example, changing the name of Labour into New Labour was considered by Fairclough (2000: vii) as a manipulating technique to control public perception and not merely a reflection of a change in political ideology.

3-3. Leslie Jeffries' Tools of Critical Stylistic Analysis

According to Jeffries (2010:1), many of tools are being applicable effectively to show the power of texts to influence readers leading them to alter their ideological perspectives to be align with the viewpoints of the writer of texts. Stylistics, according to Jeffries' model (2010: 3), is related to the writer's decisions. The right to choose exactly the accurate words to cover their meaning is undoubtedly for those who create texts. Their choices are invariably instinct with ideology. Whether they are conscious of it or not,

Farther more, to link the greatest aspects of stylistics and critical linguistics, the purpose of this approach is to go beyond the surface of language to manifest the stylistic choices that form a text's meaning. Telling "what the text is doing" is the intention of the tools. For that reason, Jeffries (2010:15) urges that the tools propose a present-participle response to this question:

1. "Hypothesizing"
2. "Naming and Describing"
3. "Negating"
4. "Presenting Actions /Events/ States"
5. "Prioritizing"
6. "Equating and Contrasting"
7. "Implying and Assuming"
8. "Presenting Time, Space and Society"
9. "Exemplifying and Enumerating"
10. *Presenting the Speech and Thoughts of Others*"

These tools can be classified in terms of linguistic techniques such as structural approach (tools 1-6) and pragma-semantic (tools 7-10). They all display a collection of scholarly contributions such as: Fowler (1991), Fowler et. al. (1979), Haliday (1994), Fairclough (1989), Simpson (1993.).

3-3-1. Negating

This tool enables the hearers to build a hypothetical worldview that is considered unreal. This is supported by Jeffries (2010, pp. 106-107) when she says that negation depends on the capacity of the hearers/readers to shape a certain case in his/her mind which is absolutely different from the one which is asserted in the given text. In turn, the hearers imagine this

hypothetical situation since it has some types of persuasive power. What matters is that the pragmatic force played a significant part in creating this hypothetical situation in the hearer's mind, even though these situations don't actually occur (Braber et al., 2015, p. 394). Negation as a grammatical phenomenon, in general, can be indicated by a number of different ways, Jeffries (2010: 108-9):

1. The addition of negative element "not" to the initial element of the verb phrase as in: was not, do not, are not, does not, did not etc.
2. Pronouns such as no way, no one, nothing, nowhere, etc.
3. Nouns signifying absence or lack such as scarcity, dearth; adjectives such as absent, scarce; verbs such as lack, fail, refuse, omit, etc.
4. Affixes indicating negative meaning as in impolite, unacceptable, homeless, carefree, illegal, etc.

Thus, The negation clues can be classified as syntactic, lexical, and morphological.

Additionally, according to Jeffries (2010, pp. 108-9), negating can be achieved by a set of triggers like,

- 1- Syntactic triggers: Auxiliary or dummy verbs are employed by adding the negative component.

1. ***"Sleep will not come no matter how hard you try not to recall."***

2. ***"Ashen face and pallid, if I don't act fast he will bleed out."***

- 2- Using pronouns: Such as nobody, no one, etc.

3- Lexical triggers: These include nouns as in absence, lack, verbs as in reject, exclude, adjectives as in absent, scarce, and adverbs as in seldom and rarely.

"1. The CO tells us we have lost another of the men Killed in action by a bomb".

"2. Is it worth it, this human cost, young blood split and innocence lost?"

- 4- Morphological triggers: Adding the negative prefix to adjectives such as irrational, unprofessional, and disagreeable, verbs such as dislike, and nouns such as inactivity.

"1. Agreeing to disagree, we depart."

"2. xJust meters away the Taliban lay unaware of the terrible price they will pay."

3-3-1-1 The ideological Implication of Negation

There is an ideological purpose for the implication of negation is to build a a hypothetical, not-existing world to be closed with reality. This will allow the producer of the text to make the audience to imagine

hypothetical world to be real virtually by connecting it to a real world elements.

Forming this unsubstantial world in the mind of the receptors would prompt them to interpret this unreal world which in fact contrasts with the image which is stored already in their minds. In other words, the use of negation in the texts would generate a contradictory image in audiences' minds.

The process of negating a mental image proposition has the influence of shaping expectations about the world whether it is real or virtual, leaving the reader a free to accept or reject the proposed expectations (Jeffries, 2014: 411). Juxtaposing both a negative and positive mental images leads the audience to a better understanding of the situation interpretation relying on the available options. Ideologically, the creator of the text can lead the audience to envies a positive version of the negative image in the text.

4. Data Collection & Data Analysis

The descriptive qualitative and quantitative methods describe the data and determine which category of negating is the most frequent. Ary et al. (2010) said that in qualitative studies, human beings are primary instruments to gather and analyze the data study. The data is got from transcripts of both the president Joe Biden's Inauguration Address on 21 January 2021 from Time Magazine and Clinton's Inaugural address on 20 January 1993. The researchers follow the step of data analysis by Ko (2015). Initially, the researchers identify the inaugural address transcripts, which were presented by Joe Biden and Clinton, to examine the theme or issue. As a model for this paper, researchers choose the negating toolkit of Jeffries', and its various categories (2010) model for it is utilized dominantly in Biden's and Clinton's speeches, they represent what the president aims to do, and they are effective in showing the hidden ideologies. The thematic analysis is carried out by breaking down the collected data into smaller constituents to be analyzed in descriptive treatment (Vaismoradi et al., 2013). In addition, the qualitative study is supported by frequencies and percentages to find out the most frequent category of negating and the motive behind utilizing it.

5. Results and Discussions

5-1 Biden's Ideologies

Extract (1)

“Today, we celebrate the triumph not of a candidate, but of a cause, the cause of democracy.”

An overarching theme that Biden focuses on is democracy in a moment of a confluence of crises such as a devastating pandemic, an economic downturn, racial justice, and climate change. Thus, utilising the syntactic trigger of negating not Biden shows the triumph of democracy over other issues after four years of Trump. Besides, he emphasises truth as healthy for any democracy.

Biden intends to overcome such crises so, in his first days in office, he pledges to fulfil climate change, which is given a priority in his administration. Using the syntactic trigger of negation not, he shows how his action is a strong one in that he wants to make all Americans cooperate in the fight against climate change. He intends to make America the leader of the world as it was before. This reveals the ideology of reformation as:

Extract (2)

“A cry for survival comes from the planet itself. A cry that can’t be any more desperate or any more clear.”

Biden attempts to unify the people by re-telling them the story of history many times, which depends on all the American people using the syntactic trigger of negating not. This reveals the ideology of inclusiveness for the president as:

Extract (3)

“The American story depends not on any one of us, not on some of us, but on all of us.”

Biden also utilises the lexical trigger of negation in his inaugural address as it scores 18 times, constituting 36%. Biden intends to make his audience realise these possible events even before the time of their taking place. He sticks to all categories of negation: syntactic, lexical, pronominal, and morphological categories. This can be stated by the following:

Extract (4)

“We must reject a culture in which facts are manipulated.”

Using the lexical trigger of negating reject makes the audience build a hypothetical world in which there is a chance for public debates based on shared facts and truths rather than lies and misinformation. This shows the ideology of credibility of the president.

When Biden talks about the dangerous effect of this pandemic virus, he also employs lexical negating as in lost and closed making the audience realise this positive hypothetical world in which there are many jobs and

businesses even before the time of their taking place. This shows the ideology of restoration as in:

Extract (5)

“Millions of jobs have been lost.”

Extract (6)

“Hundreds of thousands of businesses closed.”

Biden repeatedly stresses that Americans should work together for unity in a moment of crisis and challenges such as domestic terrorism, and racial injustice promising his whole soul to overcome such challenges and make America once again the leading force for good. He comments on the importance of unity by utilising the lexical trigger of negating without and negative pronoun no, which is used only 6 times constituting (12%), making the audience build a virtual world which is devoid of such challenges. That is, America’s strength, peace, and progress can be attained through unity as in the following.

Extract (7)

“Without unity, there is no peace, only bitterness, and fury.”

Extract (8)

“No progress, only exhausting outrage.”

Extract (9)

“No nation, only a state of chaos.”

Extract (10)

“Unity is the path forward.”

Another big problem he talks about in his inaugural address is racism. He intends to create justice between races. He says that he will do anything he can to unite all races and create equal opportunity for all regardless of the colour of their skin. Thus, this time, he utilises lexical negating deferred and pronoun negating no and the ideology of justice between races is spotted. This can be shown by the following:

Extract (11)

“The dream of justice for all will be deferred no longer.”

Biden also utilises morphological trigger of negating (4) times constituting (8%). He focuses on unity more than once as it brings law, job, and hope as in:

“Uniting to fight the common foes we face extremism, lawlessness -----, joblessness, hopelessness”

Biden is interested in utilising the four categories of negating according to Jeffries’ model of the textual conceptual set of tools. These are syntactic, lexical, pronominal, and morphological triggers. Thus, Table

1 reveals a total of (50) triggers even though in different percentages. In fact, Biden seems to employ one category or another according to his own wish and more importantly, according to which ideology he wants to convey. The most dominant one is the syntactic trigger of negating as it is utilised (22) times constituting (44%).

5-2 Clinton's Ideologies

Clinton seems to package his speech up with only three categories of negating namely: syntactic, lexical, and pronouns. However, they are distributed with different proportions. Thus, Table 2 reveals a total of 38 negating triggers in his first inaugural address. The most dominant one is the syntactic trigger of negating as it occurs 15 times with a percentage (39%). By utilising syntactic triggers of negating, Clinton draws a strong positive world, though hypothetical to evoke some crucial ideological effect in the hearers' minds to fulfil his aims and make them struggle for the sake of their country. This can be shown by the following:

"When our founders boldly declared America's independence to the world and our purposes to the Almighty, they knew that America, to endure, would have to change, not change for change's sake but change to preserve America's ideals: life, liberty, the pursuit of happiness."

After declaring America's independence, an overriding theme Clinton focused on in his first inaugural address is a clarification call for generational change utilising the syntactic trigger of negating not. This change must be for the sake of the whole community, and it is worrisome if this change does not happen as it has sluggish effects on all aspects of American life. This reveals the ideology of patriotism.

Clinton issues a call for collective responsibility in a post-cold War world using the syntactic trigger of negating not.

That is, he asks the American people to take care of one another, and all Americans are responsible for the future nation. This reveals the ideology of inclusiveness as in: **Extract (12)**

"Let us take more responsibility not only for ourselves and our family but for our communities and our country."

An effective picture occurs through constructing and interpreting non-existent versions of the world which are created for many different reasons" utilising the syntactic trigger of negating (Jeffries, 2010, p. 106). Thus, he says:

Extract (13)

“Our democracy must be not only the envy of the world but the engine of our new renewal.”

By virtue of the syntactic trigger of negating not, Clinton attempts to say that democracy must be a source for renewal in all aspects of American life. Two ideologies of Clinton – democracy and renewal-are spotted.

Extract (14)

“To renew America, we must be bold. We must do what no generation has had to do before: we must compete for every opportunity. It will not be easy. It will require sacrifice, not choosing sacrifice for its own but for our own sake.”

As far as negating is concerned, Clinton issues a call for unique work and sacrifice for the sake of the American citizens to save them from what they suffer from. This shows the ideologies of patriotism and the reformation of America. What is more, he intends to make his government completely different from the one in the previous era, that is, a government which tackles all problems as in:

Extract (15)

“A Government for our tomorrow, not our yesterday”

As shown in Table 2, Lexical negation is also utilised in the second rank. It occurs (12) times constituting (32 %). This can be shown by the following: **Extract (16)**

“We inherit an economy that is still the world’s strongest but is weakened by business failure, stagnant wages, increasing inequality and deep divisions among our own people.”

Another problem that he emphasizes on in his first inaugural address is a sluggish economy which needs extra help to improve it very quickly. More specifically, using the lexical trigger of negating weaken, he concentrates on the way business is done in Washington. This reveals the ideology of reformation of damaged heritage in a post-cold-war world.

By using the lexical trigger of negating, he talks about a collective responsibility in the post-cold War generation to rebuild the nation and lead a renewed America though they encounter a kind of hatred and threat. This reveals the ideology of amelioration as in:

Extract (17)

“Today, a generation raised in the shadows of the cold war assumes new responsibilities in a world warmed by the sunshine of freedom but threatened still by ancient hatreds and new plagues.”

Though Clinton concedes that the nation encounters such deficits, he builds hope for a future in which there is a kind of freedom. Thus, utilising

lexical negating less shows an ideology of great positive transformation as in:

Extract (18)

“Today, the new world is freer, but less stable.”

Clinton attempts to convince the audience using such lexical triggers of negating as shrink, fail in addition to syntactic trigger of negating not as in:

\Extract (19)

“While America rebuilds at home, we will not shrink from the challenges nor fail to seize the opportunities of this new world.”

His administration pledges to do its part, renew the nation, and stand in front of all challenges if the nation does its part to serve.

Clinton utilises negative pronouns (11) times constituting (29%). In fact, when Clinton won as the president in the post-cold War, the nation suffered from a lot of problems such as unemployment, a sluggish economy, and a health care crisis. Thus, by virtue of the negative pronoun no, he constructs a hypothetical world characterised by the need for all Americans to cooperate with one another to serve the common good in order to overcome all these deficits. The ideology of renewal of America is spotted as in:

Extract (20)

“To that work, I now turn with all the authority of my office. I ask the Congress to join me. But no president, no Congress, and no government can undertake this mission alone. My fellow Americans, you,”

What is more, he excoriates the bad habit of people of “expecting something for nothing, from our government, or from each other”. People should depend on the new government without hesitation. This reveals the ideology of confidence in government.

Conclusion

From this paper, we can conclude the following:

- 1- Negation is a useful toolkit, whether at a past time or in the present. The harsh circumstances of a nation are reflected through all negative

triggers. What the president intends to present in his policy concentrating on the problems the nation encounters are represented through all triggers of negating. Jeffries' view of negating which implies constructing a hypothetical world besides the negative one has persuasive power. This, in turn, creates confidence in the president and his actions.

2- What we deal with is the speech of presidents and not specialists in language and linguistics; thus, they tend to utilise the common one, which is the syntactic category of negating. In addition, the purposes require syntactic category more than other categories.

3- Since the president expresses his vision to the nation in an inaugural address, all the ideologies are positive in both Clinton's and Biden's, such as unity, reformation, renewal, and democracy.

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