

A Critical Discourse Analysis of PM Modi's Political Speech on 'सवच् छ् भारत अभियान'

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Abstract: *The close relation between language and ideology has always been a recursive subject of study among linguists. Politicians usually tend to depend on language manipulation in order to convey certain messages. They talk about a topic, supposedly known for granted, while the receiver is not so familiar as the status quo requires. Using critical discourse analysis, the present study tries to determine the presuppositions and entailments, and hence the ideology, in a speech delivered by the Prime Minister of India, Shree Narendra Modi. The speech is an appeal from Modi to India. Upon a closer scrutiny, the findings of this study reveal that the prime Minister Narendra Modi attempted to use different categories of persuasive strategies in order to achieve political and ideological aims.*

Keywords: *presupposition, discourse analysis, entailment, ideology, language, power, ideology.*

Introduction

Politics is a determination for power in order to put certain political, economic and social ideas into practical application. This paper analyzes discourse of political speech, by Prime Minister Narendra Modi during his campaign for swatchta. The aim of this paper is to figure out the hidden ideologies and future agendas and other linguistics components of his speech. Van Dijk. T. A. (1997) describes that Probably more than any other kind of discourse, political discourse is eminently ideological. Politics is a social activity that can be defined, first and foremost, as a struggle for power, between those who are in power and those who are not but would like to be, although it can also be defined as a set of cooperation strategies carried out by some social institutions with a view to solving some social conflicts. Inherent properties of politics are a clash of interests, persuasion and manipulation, imposition of opinions as common sense, defining allies and opponents. According to van Dijk, "discourse" can refer to a description of all genres in politics or to politicians' discourses, so in politics "discourse" is "a socially constituted set of such genres, associated with a social domain or field" (van Dijk 1998:196).

Political speech is a genre of political discourse and is part of public discourse. It is characterized by formal lexis and monolog form and it is usually carefully crafted by professional speech writers, which leaves no room for improvisations on the part of the speaker. Ideology can enter discourse at several levels, therefore both form and content can be ideologically marked, but ideological meaning can also be reproduced through interpretation of text. CDA accepts all these social contexts and figure out the connections between textual structures and takes this social context into account. The aim of this paper is to identify, compare and contrast discourse structures within ideological strategies used in the speeches delivered by Prime Minister Modi. Several levels will be observed: semantic macrostructures (topics), local meanings and lexical style within speech acts, rhetorical devices, forms of indirectness and strategies especially aimed at positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation in order explain to what extent the speakers' partisan ideologies are reflected in their linguistic choices. The point that has to be tested or contested is whether the speeches follow the postulates of the "ideological square" as presented by van Dijk (1998, 2008).

Data collection

The material studied in this paper was extracted from the speech of Prime Minister Modi. It was on August 15, 2014, during his Independence Day speech, that Prime Minister Narendra Modi launched the Swachh Bharat Mission (SBM), with these words:

"Brother and Sisters, we are living in 21st century. Has it ever pained us that our mothers and sisters have to defecate in open?"

For the current study, both paradigms are used for complete understanding of PM Modi's Discourse.

Methodology

The methodology framework in this paper draws on critical discourse analysis as conceived by its most outstanding theoreticians (Fairclough 1992, 1995a, 1995b, 2001a, 2001b, 2003; Fairclough and Wodak 1997; van Dijk 1997, 1998, 2001, 2008; Chilton and Schäffner 1997; Chilton 2004) and it is a combination of various approaches adapted to the corpus and the aim of research. CDA is developed from a critical theory of language that depicts language as a means of social practice which are all bound with certain historical contexts (Janks, 1997). CDA provides theories and methods for empirical studies of the relations between discourse and social and cultural developments in different social domains. According to Jorgensen and Phillips (2007) there are multiple investigations of CDA which all determine the features of the linguistic analysis. There are five main features that can be identified. These features are:

1. The character of social and cultural processes and structures is partly linguistic- discursive.

2. Discourse is both constitutive and constituted.
3. Language use should be empirically analyzed within its social context.
4. Discourse functions ideologically.

5. Critical research.

The analysis first establishes the social practice, that is, how various social, economic, political and other phenomena manifest themselves in discourse and how some text can influence and even trigger some changes in society. The next step is the description of discursive practice, which includes the production, distribution and consumption of texts. Finally, the interpretation of discourse occurs at two levels (Fairclough 2001a): the level of context and the level of text. At the contextual level we mention the global and local situational context and on the other hand the inter-textual context. At the textual level the global meaning, i.e., semantic macrostructures or topics are studied and compared in order to establish whether there is some pattern in the choice and sequence of topics. This analysis is followed by the analysis of local meanings in propositions, which is the focal point in this paper. At this level the presence as well as the absence of some lexical unit and how some choice contributes to the positive or negative self - presentation are studied.

Analysis and discussion

Social and discursive practice

In the social practice of political speech the two concepts are in practice nowadays: one based on the ideological program of a political party and the other based on the needs of electorate and the problems they perceive as critical

The political speech of Shri Narendra Modi exemplifies the latter. As for the discursive practice, he produces his speeches in real time in front of his audience. At first the distribution of speeches was limited, but videos were soon uploaded on the BJP's websites or websites of some newspapers so that materials could reach and be consumed by Indians, but also by every individual interested in these topics throughout the world.

Contextual levels

What marked and directed the course of the political speech was the breakout of financial and economic crisis and it is reflected in his descriptions of grim circumstances that people happen to be in and in his empathy, but also in their references to the unsuccessful policy of the then administration. The local context always influences his lexical choice, degree of formality, speech acts and discourse structures. The speeches may be viewed as speech events within elections which represent discursive practice.

Participants

The audience at pre-election rallies is diverse in the sense that among them one can find political party members and registered voters, but also those still undecided, as well as political opponents and those that incidentally attend such events. They may be listeners with diverse political or social backgrounds and hence have identities formed by their education, profession, class, age or race. During the speech some of his identities surfaced:

the identity of a politician who promises a better life, of a fighter who is ready to fight for that life, but also of a "normal" person who understands Indian citizens and shows empathy.

Some of his identities, such as the "normal" person identity, can be noticed in his use of colloquial style or in some personal stories that can show his empathy with the audience.

Political discourse structures

In this part of the analysis (following van Dijk 1998, 2008) we tried to show how relevant these discourse structures were for the political speech as a political process of our interest and how they contributed to the political strategy of positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation.

Topics (semantic macrostructures)

Information emphasized as the most important in the speech is expressed in topics or semantic macrostructures and many of them are already worded with a view to positively representing himself and negatively the opponent. In these macrostructures we can find ideological opinions which can shape the coherence of the speeches

Local semantics (local meanings)

Most ideological beliefs can be usually found in local meanings since they are under the direct control of the speaker who chooses what propositions and lexical content will be presented to the audience. The positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation (often inextricably combined) are achieved mostly through lexicalization.

Speech 1: Positive self-presentation

- A. 'म देशवासय सेभ ा मांगनेनकला हूं.म भ ा म हर वयक्त् से100 घंटे मांगताहूं.म सवयंझाडूलगानेके लए नकलंगाू'
- B. 'न गंदगीक ं गान गंदगीकरनेदंगाू'
- C. भारत मांक सेवाकरनेके लए हर कसी को सीमा पर जाकर दशुमन् क गो लयांझेलनेक ज रत नह ंहै.गंदगीसेमकुत दलाना भी भारत मांक सेवाहै,देशभि त है.

- D. 'महात्मा गांधीनेहम गलामी सेमकुत सेदलाई, हम भारत मांको गंदगीसे मकुत दलाएंगे.येकाम हमारा है,हम सबका काम है.इसक श्रुआत यह संसे होगी
- E. भारत म समृध पी मेहमानको लाना हैतो परे हनदसु तान् साफ-सथरा करना होगा.
- F. अगर हम तय कर क म गंदगीनहं कं गा,म कूड़ा-कचरा बाहर नहं फंकंगा, अगर हम तय कर क हम गंदानहं कर गेतो कोई हमारेदेशको गंदानहं कर सकता.'
- G. चाहेमंदर हो, मि जद हो गु वारा हो या फर कोई अनय् सथान्, हम अपने आसपास क जगह को साफ करना है।
- H. अगर हमेकम पस म मंगलतक पहुंच सकतेह तो फर हम अपनेपड़ोस को साफ क्य नहं रख सकतेह ।
- I. सरकार और मंी अके लेसवच्छ भारत अ भयान को परान् नहं कर सकतेह।
- J. क्या सफाई करना सफ कमचारय क िजममेदाहै।क्या नागरक का इसम कोई रोल नहं है।हम इस सोच को बदलना होगा।
- K. शौचालय का नमाण वाकई बहुत जर है।

The analysis of phrases he used in his speech shows his willingness and enthusiasm for solving the critical issues of 'सवच्छ भारत अभियान' and he openly invites everyone to come forward and sit for better INDIA. The language used in the above cited expressions suggests that it is a grand scheme to clean up Indian streets and instill a sense of civic duty in citizens. Prime Minister Modi made the clarion call for the Swachh Bharat Abhiyan during his maiden Independence Day Speech in 2014.

Second part of the speech : negative other-presentation (often inextricably combined)

- A. 'पहलेजनता नेसफाई क अब हम कर रहेह' (Removed them from power)
- B. सरकार को सीधेरासतेपर दौड़ाना हैतो काननू केजंगलको भी साफ करनेक जरत है.
- C. ढेरसारेकाननू साफ करनेक जरत है.
- D. पहलेक सरकार को काननू बनानेम आनंदआता था. मनेठान लय हैसारेगैरजर काननू को खतम् कर दंगा.
- E. 'भारत म जब बक का राष्यकरण हुआ था तब पव धानमंी मती इंदरा गांधीनेकहा था क बक गर ब के लए होनेचा हए और बक का पैसागर ब केकाम आना चा हए. बक का राष्यकरण हुए 30-40 साल हो गए, लेकन बक गर ब केकाम नहं आए.'
- F. हम गांधीकेनेतृत्व म आजाद हा सल हुई है।उनका देशको सवच्छ रखनेका सपना अभी अधरा है।
- G. सवच्छ भारत अ भयान केलोगो सेसाफ है क गांधी जी हम देखरहेह। वह हमसेपछ रहेह क हम देशक सफाई कब करगे।

India became far from cleanliness after 67 years of independence. Therefore this mission is a serious campaign started by the Government of India to establish the country completely clean and sanitization with various programs. Together you can make the change. An Eco-friendly society is always needed its citizen to be healthy and clean in every face of life. This program will bring togetherness among people and take care of the citizen of India and take care of you.

Analysis and discussion of data

Analysis of data

- A. The analysis of the speech begins with a categorization of lexical choice. The preference given to the expressions like Bhiksha in the expression 'म देशवासय सेभं मांगनेनकला हूं,म भं म हर वयक्त् से100 घंटेमांगताहूं,म सवयंझाड़ लगानेके लए नकलंगा' has an emotive and touching appeal.
- B. The scope of negation covers the morphophonemic morphological, syntactic and semantic levels of language. As far as syntax is concerned, it is related to the structure of the sentence in terms of whether it is simple, complex or compound. Therefore, the role of negation is an important noticeable aspect in case of compound sentences also. It is found that certain coordinators exert an influence on negative sentences while there are other coordinators that do not display similar behavior. Coordination is possible in Hindi Urdu with all the major syntactic categories, and it may occur with structures at the lexical, phrasal or intermediate level. The following sentences illustrate the occurrence of the coordinator am that serves to coordinate various kinds of elements ranging from sentences, verb phrases, verbs, nouns, adjectives and adverbs. PM Modi makes use of it in the expressions like 'न गंदगीकं गान गंदगीकरनेदंगा' The above given sentences is an example of clause-level coordination.
- C. The political speech of P M Modi is 'characterized by intense feeling' and emotive appeal. An emotive issue is one which is likely to arouse people's passions, while an emotional response is one which is itself full of passion. The sentence भारत मां क सेवाकरनेके लए हर कसी को सीमा पर जाकर दशु मन्क गो लयांझेलनेक जरत

नह ैहै.गंदगीसेमकुत दलाना भी भारत मांक सेवाहै,देशभि त है. has an emotive

appeal. Prime Minister Modi uses emotive expressions like Bharat ma, goliyan jhelna, ma ki sewa , deshbhakti in order to have a greater emotional impact on their audience. Such wording is also known as high-inference language or language of persuasive techniques. PM Modi wanting to persuade us to agree with him often try to engage our emotions. He does this by including words that carry emotional weight. This can be persuasive because it encourages the reader to respond on an emotional level, rather than considering the facts or it may subtly affect the way the reader views the topic.

- D. At times PM Modi makes use of Pathos that represents an appeal to the emotions of an audience. An emotional appeal uses the manipulation of the emotions rather than valid logic to win an argument. Emotional appeal is a logical fallacy, whereby a debater attempts to win an argument by trying to get an emotional reaction from the audience. To elaborate the point further we cite a few examples from his speeches on demonetization.

"I left my home and everything for the country. Whatever I have done, I have done with complete honesty and for the benefit of the people,"

P M Modi said as his voice choked and he struggled to contain his emotions.

"I also feel the pain but bear it till December 30 to straighten things. After that, I'm ready to face any punishment meted out by the people in any square,"

Modi said after laying the foundation for a new international airport at Mopa in Goa.

His impassioned plea, which he repeated while addressing a big crowd at Belagavi in Karnataka,

Findings and results

The speech can be differently read if one reads it from a semantic perspective without attempting to analyze and detect the hidden messages and ideologies behind each and every uttered word. Without a scrutinized analysis of the speech, people will take PM Modi's ideologies for granted and think that his speech is a call of cleanliness, sanitation, and health security without any implicit agendas. As mentioned in the analysis section, the speech is highly pre suppositive. Throughout the analysis of the speech, multiple ideologies were detected and analyzed. Cleanliness, sanitation, and public-health are the major ideologies that are detected in the speech using presupposition and CDA as tools of analysis. Of course, other ideologies can be found in the speech such as the criticism of the opposition and many other ideologies, however, the analysis focused only on the most preeminent ideologies in the speech. Hence, it can be concluded that PM Modi always has its own agenda, its own principles and ideologies and it is the role of the Indian leaders to explicitly and implicitly spread these ideologies.

Addressees should be aware of what they listen to, they are asked to think before they believe, to contemplate before they react, and finally to know that each and every utterance said is said for a purpose, it is their role to find these purposes, check its credibility and influence on them and then they are free to follow or to refuse it.

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