

DEICTIC CONSTRUCTION OF IDEOLOGIES IN SELECTED SPEECHES OF AMERICAN AND EUROPEAN LEADERS ON UKRAINE-RUSSIA WAR

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DOI: <https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.15257031>

Abstract

The research analysed the ideological construction of deixis in selected speeches of American and European leaders on Ukraine-Russia war. Thirty-five samples were taken from eleven speeches delivered by the European, American leaders and the Secretary General of the United Nations. The random samples were quantitatively and qualitatively analysed using van Dijk's socio-cognition model. Four types of deixis were analysed: person, time, place and discourse deixis. The findings showed that person deixis occurred for 243 times representing 68.8% of the entire deixis; time deixis for 8 times representing 2.3% of the entire deixis; place deixis for 25 times representing 7.1%; and discourse deixis for 78 times representing 22.1% of the entire 353 times of occurrences for all the four deixis. This indicates that the most dominant deixis is person deixis. The reason for the frequent use of person deixis was the need for the leaders to foreground themselves and their allies in the speeches. The political leaders attempted to register their opinions on the war and as well solicit for pragmatic actions from allies and partners. They projected certain realities around the war; reinforced their political authority and their ability to shape the direction of events surrounding the war. The study concluded that a critical discourse analysis of grammatical items is useful to unravel speakers' interests in certain events.

Keywords: Critical Discourse Analysis, Deixis, Political Speeches, World leaders, Ukraine-Russia War

1.0 Introduction

In the context of a public speech delivered in a time of war, political discourse is seen as a form of political action and a plan of political process in governance. In this sense, all members of the society are involved in this process and it calls for their active participation in the political process. In this case, the category of evaluation requires special focus on the manner in which prominence can be given to certain parts of the text-in-talk and in such a way, the attention of the audience might be attracted and manipulated. It also reveals the stance of the speaker and his character of persuasion, confidence and power. Such is the thrust and concern of a study that focuses on political discourse.

Bell (1975) argues for what constitutes the main thrust of political discourse. He opines that the triad of power, influence and authority constitute the linguistic modes of interacting with others in pursuit of political goals and effects (p. 12). This is a new paradigm that conceives of language as the "perceptual lens" for examining political phenomena and of political deeds as being "built of and around words" (p. 12). This view correlates with Hudson's (1978) position that language should be understood as a strategic resource whereby politicians gain and hold power (p.61). The meaning-making practices of politics therefore involve both political actions and the political language used to describe them. Both are symbolic forms that shape and disseminate public meanings of intrinsically ambiguous and complex political phenomena (Edelman, 1964, p.1). This recognition of the fundamental relationship between language and politics can be traced to classical Greek and Roman treatises on rhetoric (Dunmire, 2012, p.735). Because of the vital role political oratory played in the

affairs of the state, Aristotle viewed the art of rhetoric as key to citizenship during the rise of city-states in ancient Greece.

Politics is a struggle for power in order to put certain political, economic and social ideas into practice. In this process, language plays a crucial role, for every political action is prepared, accompanied, influenced and played by language. Language is closely bound up with our social and cognitive development from childhood, and our identity formation. The attitude that a listener can adopt towards the speech of another speaker has been a significant issue in sociolinguistics. One example of the first language attitude studies was conducted by Labov in 1966 where he walked around 3 NYC department stores, asking the location of the departments he knew were on the fourth floor. By pretending not to hear, he had each informant pronounce the two words twice, once spontaneously, and one carefully. Informants were shop workers at different grades, giving a further possible stratification.

Language is inseparable from the political domain. It can be used in strategies to influence public thought. Political discourse is about "the text and talk of professional politicians or political institutions, such as presidents and prime ministers and other members of government, parliament or political parties, both at the local, national and international levels" (van Dijk, 1997,11). Language of political activities and political relations has a key role in the exchange of values in social life and transforming power into right and obedience into duty. It is common knowledge that politics is concerned with power; the power to make decisions, to control resources, to control other people's behaviours, and often to control their values (Ike-Nwafor, 2015, p. 15). Politicians, have at one time or another, been accused of not only steering people's thoughts and beliefs but also of controlling their thoughts and beliefs. They persuade their audience of the validity of their political claims through common resources which include expert skills, the restriction of information, and the ability to confer favours on others or to injure them without physical force, and crude bribery in order to protect certain group interest. For instance, in the wake of the coup in Niger, where President Mohammed Bazoum was ousted on July 26, 2023, the current head of the West African regional body, ECOWAS, President Bola Tinubu, in his speech, relayed three justifications for various actions and propositions made by the regional body. The intent was to legitimise the group's actions and persuade the public to belief in the same. Language, therefore, is projected not just as a means of communicating ideas but also as a tool for accomplishing goal-directed actions. It is a very strong device in promoting certain ideologies, institutions and distorting realities.

Deictic expressions, like English 'this, that, here, and there' occur in all known human languages. They are typically used to individuate objects in the immediate context in which they are uttered, by pointing at them so as to direct attention to them. The object is singled out as a focus, and a successful act of deictic reference is one that results in the speaker and addressee to the same referential object. The researcher believes that investigating political speeches has a promise of revealing some of the realities behind what politicians do with words, especially in terms of how they use words to reference other words, hence, the reason for the present research into the ideological representations of deictic expressions in selected speeches of world leaders on the Ukraine-Russian war. The following questions will guide our analysis: (i) What are the deixis used in the texts? (ii) What ideologies are projected within the texts? (iii) How do the ideologies project positive representation of self and negative presentation of others?

2.0 Literature Review

Text is something that happens, in the form of talking or writing, listening or reading. When we analyse it, we analyse the product of this process, and the term 'text' is usually taken as referring to the product... (Halliday 1994, p.311). Text means any stretch of language in use on which we choose to focus; it can be of any length and spoken or written. We may speak of a complete text to refer to the whole of the language event (for example, a whole research paper, an entire letter, an entire book, a complete lecture); or we may speak of a text fragment (a paragraph from a book, five minutes of a one hour lecture, and so on). But the distinction between a text and a text-fragment is not very precise, and

often the simple term text is applied to any piece of actual language regardless of its completeness. Further, the term text may be applied to an ongoing discourse process (the sales transaction as it occurs, the lecture as it is being given, a speech as it is being delivered, etc.) or to a written or electronic record of the event (a transcript or a tape-recording of the lecture).

Discourse and language can be used to make unbalanced power relations and portrayals of social groups appear to be commonsense, normal, and natural when in fact the reality is prejudice, injustice, and inequities. Using just words, those in power, or wishing to be so, can misdirect our concerns for persistent, larger systemic issues of class, gender, age, religion, and culture seem petty or nonexistent. Unless we begin to debunk their words, we can be misled and duped into embracing the dominant worldview (ideology) at our expense and their gain. When discourse is effective in practice, evidenced by its ability to organize and regulate relations of power, it is called a "regime of truth" (Foucault, 1980). It is this regime, a system by which a political system is controlled, that is revealed when we engage in critical discourse analysis.

Given the power of the written and spoken word, CDA is necessary for describing, interpreting, analyzing, and critiquing social life reflected in text (Luke, 1997). CDA is concerned with studying and analyzing written texts and spoken words to reveal the discursive sources of power, dominance, inequality, and bias and how these sources are initiated, maintained, reproduced, and transformed within specific social, economic, political, and historical contexts (Van Dijk, 1988). It tries to illuminate ways in which the dominant forces in a society construct versions of reality that favor their interests. By unmasking such practices, CDA scholars aim to support the victims of such oppression and encourage them to resist and transform their lives (Foucault, 2000), the central tenet of critical theory and the critical science approach (McGregor, 2003).

2.1 Discourse Construction of Deixis

There is a large literature on deixis in several fields. Some linguists and philosophers have called such expressions "indexicals" Levinson (1983, pp.68-94) classifies the deixis into five types: person deixis, place deixis, time deixis, social deixis and discourse deixis. Deixis refers to a word or phrase that shows the time, place or situation a speaker is in when talking. Also known as deictic expressions (or deictics), they typically include pronouns and adverbs such as 'I', 'you', 'here', 'there', and tend to be used mostly where the context is known to both the speaker and the person spoken to.

Deictic expressions are also sometimes called 'indexicals' which include (1) demonstratives (2) first and second person pronouns (3) tense markers (4) adverbs of time and place and (5) motion verbs (Yule, 1996, p.9). Deictic expressions, like English 'this, that, here, and there' occur in all known human languages. They are typically used to individuate objects in the immediate context in which they are uttered, by pointing at them so as to direct attention to them. There are three traditional types of deixis: temporal - relating to time: the 'when'. Spatial, or local - relating to place: the 'where'. Personal - relating to the speaker, or the person spoken to: the 'who'. Place/spatial deixis is an expression used to show the location which is relevant to the location of a participant in the speech event. Spatial deixis has three forms: (1) adverbs of place such as 'here' and 'there' (2) demonstratives which refer to a place or thing; (3) the motion verbs which are another form of deixis, especially 'come' and 'go'. These verbs are deictic when they are used to indicate movement towards or away from the speaker. Levinson (1983) states that distance is a concept which is linked with place deixis and has two dimensions in the deictic system: proximal, near or close to speaker and distal dimension, remote from the speaker and/or closer to addressee. 'This', 'these', 'here' are used refer to the proximal or near entity, whereas, 'that', 'those', and 'there' refer to the distal entity.

'I' and 'you' are examples of personal deixis, (people). Person deixis is a deictic reference to the participant role of a referent. It deals with the grammatical categories of people involved in an utterance. It includes the speaker, the addressee and referents which are neither speaker nor addressee. Person deixis has three kinds: (1) first person deixis (I, we) which refers to the speaker or to group of

speakers, (2) second person deixis (you) which refers to the addressee or a group of addressees, and (3) the third person deixis (he, she, it and they) refers to other participants in the context of situation.

Other categories of deixis are social and discourse deixis. Discourse deixis happens when we use deictic expressions to refer to something we are talking about in the same utterance: 'This is an amazing book'. This 'refers to the book. Another example is 'That was a brilliant film.' Because the film has already been mentioned in the same conversation, 'that' refers back to it, instead of 'this'. Discourse deixis describes deictic expressions which indicate prior or succeeding parts of the discourse. It is used for words which refer backwards (by what is called anaphora), or forwards (another term 'cataphora') (Suleymanova, 2018).

Social deixis is used as a term of address to indicate social or professional status. It is "concerned with the codification of the social status of the speaker, the addressee, or a third person or entity referred to, as well as the social relationship holding between them" (Huang, 2007, p.163). The information carried by social deixis may include social class, kin relationship, age, sex, profession and other group. It refers to the level of relationship between people than to information (Wijaya, 2012). In many languages there is a distinct change of form for second-person pronouns, to indicate familiarity or politeness. Jan is talking to his friend in German and when he wants to say 'you' will use 'du'(you). When he is talking to his professor or supervisor he will more likely address them with 'Sie' (formal-you). Formality and familiarity in English are expressed in other ways, such as using forms of address, terms of endearment, formal and informal language. The current study is focused on four of these five forms of deixis, namely, temporal, spatial, personal and discourse deixis as used in our selected data.

2.2 Political Discourse and Ideology

Language is a powerful political weapon for shaping political belief and action. As a kind of discourse, political discourse is regarded as a product of political system. The purpose is to create power through language to realize the political intention of politicians (Fowler, 1979, p.2) and to make political decisions (Ananko, 2017, p.129). Political discourse is said to be characterised by high degree of manipulation. In this respect, the interest to its study is predetermined, firstly, by the search of optimal means of influence of politicians on the audience and, secondly, by the necessity of recognizing the true intentions of the speaker and covert mechanisms of manipulation of the audience (Sheigal, 2000, p.45). One of the functions of language is the way it shapes our perception of reality. Ike-Nwafor (2015, p. 15) maintains that politics is concerned with power - the power to make decisions, to control resources, to control other people's behaviours, and often to control their values. Like their counterparts in other parts of the world, certain nuances accompany the ways Nigerian politicians use language which reveal peculiar dynamics that shape politics in Nigeria. Language is projected not just as a means of communicating ideas but also as a tool for accomplishing goal-directed actions. It is admitted that political discourse has considerably changed recently. It has become faster, sharper and tougher due to the intensive use of mass media, social media and social networking (Ananko, 2017, p.128).

In the context of a public speech delivered in a time of war, political discourse is seen as a form of political action and a plan of political process in governance. In this sense, all members of the society are involved in this process and it calls for their active participation in the political process. In this case, the category of evaluation requires special focus on the manner in which prominence can be given to certain parts of the text-in-talk and in such a way, the attention of the audience might be attracted and manipulated. It also reveals the stance of the speaker and his character of persuasion, confidence and power.

3.0 Theoretical Framework

The theory adopted for analysis of data is van Dijk's socio-cognition model of Critical Discourse Analysis. van Dijk (1995) essentially perceives discourse analysis as ideology analysis because, according to him, "ideologies are typically, though not exclusively expressed and reproduced in

discourse and communication, including non-verbal semiotic messages, such as pictures, photographs and movies” (p. 17). For van Dijk, it is the socio-cognition - social cognition and personal cognition – that mediates between society and discourse. He defines social cognition as “the system of mental representations and processes of group members” (p. 18). For van Dijk, “ideologies...are the overall, abstract mental systems that organise...socially shared attitudes” (p. 18). Ideologies thus “indirectly influence the personal cognition of group members” in their act of comprehension of discourse among other actions and interactions (p. 19). He calls the mental representations of individuals during such social actions and interactions “models”. For him, “models control how people act, speak or write, or how they understand the social practices of others” (p. 2). Of crucial importance here is that, according to van Dijk, mental representations “are often articulated along Us versus Them dimensions, in which speakers of one group will generally tend to present themselves or their own group in positive terms, and other groups in negative terms” (p. 22).

A significant part of van Dijk’s thesis is based on what he calls “mental and context models” (van Dijk, 2001). According to him, a mental model (personal and social cognition), which is a subjective representation of specific events reflects an individual’s Episodic Memory. Mental models feature personal knowledge, beliefs and opinions which may be instantiations of socially shared attitudes controlled by ideologies and they constitute the input of discourse production and comprehension (van Dijk, 2001; 2002). vanDijk (2006 cited in Odebunmi& Oni, 2012) makes a distinction between Episodic Memory (part of Long Term Memory) and Working Memory (Short Term Memory) – the two encompass the formation, activation or actualization of a mental model and are useful for the production and comprehension of discourse. The “actual processing of information (e.g. perception, discourse understanding and production, the monitoring of interaction, etc.) takes place in STM (Short Term Memory), and makes use of information (e.g. knowledge) stored in LTM (Long Term Memory)” (van Dijk, 2002, p. 208). He further made a distinction in LTM between Episodic Memory and Semantic Memory though both are constituents of LTM: “Episodic Memory stores personal experiences that result from processing (understanding) in STM and Semantic Memory stores more general, abstract and socially shared information, such as the knowledge of the world or language” (Odebunmi& Oni, 2012, p. 36). Most recently, van Dijk has focused on issues of racism and ideology and on an elaboration of a theory of context.

4.0 Research Methodology

The work investigated the use of deictic expressions and how they project various ideologies or ideological positions of various world leaders in the speeches they delivered on the Ukraine-Russian war. vanDijk’s socio-cognition model of Critical Discourse Analysis (henceforth, CDA) constituted the theoretical framework for the study. CDA was deemed appropriate for the analysis in order to unravel the system of mental representations of the identified leaders and their perceptions and interpretations of the war. It also helped to unearth the underlying root of their reactions to the event. Data were sourced online. The sources include The Times of Israel online newspaper, the United Nations official website, The Rev blog, the official website of the Government of the United Kingdom, and Reuter.com. Data were randomly sampled based on geo-political distribution.

Collated data were qualitatively analysed by identifying deictic expressions and grouping them into their types. Analysis was done based on the ways those deixis functioned in various contexts to reflect different ideological positions of speakers. Eleven different speeches delivered by ten world leaders were selected and analysed. Selected speeches represent the opinions of these leaders on the war. The leaders include the American leaders (President Joe Biden and the Secretary of State, Anthony Blinken), the European leaders (French, Germany, United Kingdom), the United Nations’ Secretary General, Antonio Guterres and the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO). Their speeches were purposively selected for analysis.

Transcripts of the speeches were downloaded and the researcher identified the deictic expressions in the texts. Attention was focused on four deixis categories for analysis – temporal deixis, spatial deixis, personal deixis and discourse deixis. Upon the identification, samples were qualitatively analysed based on their functions and usages in contexts. Qualitative analysis focused on the analysis of

ideologies inherent within the speeches. To demonstrate the frequency of usages of deictic expressions, data were quantitatively shown.

5.0 Data Presentation and Analysis

The chapter undertakes data presentation and analysis. CDA emphasises the importance of studying texts in their full social and historical context. Hence, we attempt to profile the event (war) that has instigated the emergence of the data under consideration.

5.1 Ukraine-Russia War

Russia invaded Ukraine on 24th February 2022, marking a major escalation of the Russo-Ukrainian War, which began in 2014 following the Ukrainian Revolution of Dignity. The invasion has triggered Europe's largest refugee crisis since World War II with more than 4.9 million Ukrainians leaving the country and a quarter of the population displaced (Johnson, 2022).

At the start of the Russo-Ukrainian War in 2014, Russia annexed Crimea, and Russian-backed separatists seized part of the south-eastern Donbas region of Ukraine, sparking a regional war there (Wikipedia, 2022). In 2021, Russia began a large military build-up along its border with Ukraine, amassing up to 190,000 troops along with their equipment. In a broadcast shortly before the invasion, Russian president Vladimir Putin espoused irredentist views questioned Ukraine's right to statehood falsely accused Ukraine of being governed by neo-Nazis who persecute the ethnic Russian minority (Wikipedia, 2022). Putin also said the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) constitutes a threat to Russia's national security by expanding eastward since the early 2000s, which NATO disputed. Russia demanded NATO cease expansion and bar Ukraine from ever joining the alliance permanently. The United States and others accused Russia of planning to attack or invade Ukraine, which Russian officials repeatedly denied as late as 23 February 2022 (United Nations Human Rights Council, 2022).

The invasion has been widely condemned internationally as an act of aggression. According to United Nations Human Rights Council (2022), the United Nations General Assembly adopted a resolution which condemned it and demanded a full withdrawal. The International Court of Justice ordered Russia to suspend military operations and the Council of Europe expelled Russia. Many countries imposed new sanctions, which have affected the economies of Russia and the world, and provided humanitarian and military aid to Ukraine. Numerous companies withdrew their products and services from Russia and Belarus, and Russian state-funded media were banned from broadcasting and removed from online platforms. The International Criminal Court opened an investigation into war crimes that occurred in Ukraine since the 2013–2014 Revolution of Dignity through to war crimes in the 2022 invasion (Wikipedia, 2022).

5.2 Data Presentation and Analysis

The research aimed to analyse the way deixis have been used in the chosen data to represent various ideologies expressed by the speakers. It identified the occurrences of deixis used and analysed the ideologies projected through such usages. The study identified four deixis for analysis – person, place, time and discourse deixis. The collated data show that person deixis is the mostly used type in the data followed by discourse deixis which is less frequent, and finally time and place deixis which are rarely used in the data.

The table below shows the frequency of the use of each type of deixis during the speeches.

Table 1. Frequency of deictic expressions

Person Deixis	Place Deixis	Time Deixis	Discourse Deixis
first person 196 times	proximal 5 times	proximal 18 times	proximal 57 times
second person 11 times	distal 3 times	distal 4 times	distal 12 times
third person 36 times		others 3 times	others 9 times
Total: 243 (68.8%)	Total: 8 (2.3%)	Total: 25 (7.1%)	Total: 78 (22.1%)

The table shows that the mostly used type of deixis in the data is the person deixis, especially the first person deixis that the speakers mentioned 196 times during the speeches representing 68.8% of the entire deictic expressions used. The second type of deictic expressions used is the discourse deixis (proximal, distal and others) mentioned 78 times representing 22.1% of the entire deictic expressions used across the speeches. The third type of deictic expressions is time deixis (proximal, distal and others) mentioned 24 times representing 6.8% of the entire deixis used across the speeches. Last is the place deixis mentioned 8 times representing 2.3% of the entire 353 deixis used across the speeches.

5.3 Deictic Construction of Ideologies

Six major ideologies follow the way deictic expressions were used across the speeches. They include welfarism, common interests and values, sense of inclusion, accountability, diplomatic oversight and dominance authority. Person and discourse deixis expressed welfarism ideology. Same deictic expressions expressed common interests and values, sense of inclusion and diplomatic oversight. Person and time deixis expressed accountability. Time and discourse deixis expressed dominance authority.

5.3.1 Welfarism

Welfarism, as an ideology, indicates a commitment to empathise and accept responsibility to support others. Certain speakers (American leaders, their European counterparts, and the United Nations Secretary General) show their concerns for Ukraine and make use of first person pronoun to imply that they accept responsibility to bring succor and support to the people of Ukraine.

Data 1:

I had the honor of spending some time with the Ukrainian Prime Minister, who’s in town today.

Data 2:

Today, I’m announcing another \$800 million to further augment Ukraine’s ability to fight in the east — in the Donbas region.

Data 3:

We’ve sent thousands of anti-armor and anti-[air] missile[s], helicopters, drones, grenade launchers, machine guns, rifles, radar systems.

This ideology is also reflective of all types of aids and supports offered by the United States and her allies to the Ukrainian government. The anaphoric references instantiated under discourse deixis below suffice as illustrations:

Data 4:

This package includes heavy artillery weapons — dozens of Howitzers — and 144,000 rounds of ammunition to go with those Howitzers. **It** also includes more tactical drones.

Data 5:

We're sharing and will continue to share significant, timely intelligence with Ukraine to help defend them against Russian aggression. And on top of **this**...

Data 6:

Today, the United States is announcing that we intend to provide an additional \$500 million in direct economic assistance to the Ukrainian government. **This** brings our total economic support for Ukraine to \$1 billion in the past two months. **This** is money the government can help use to help stabilize their economy, to support communities that have been devastated by the Russian onslaught, and pay the brave workers that continue to provide essential services to the people of Ukraine.

Data 7:

And today, I'm announcing a program, "Unite for Ukraine" — a new program to enable Ukrainians seeking refuge to come directly from Europe to the United States... **This** program will be fast. **It** will be streamlined.

5.3.2 Common Interests and Values

Speakers, across the data, express common interests and shared values. Specifically, one of the objectives of the United States foreign policy is the protection of the country, its citizens and allies. It also prides itself in the protection of human right and democracy. The use of first person plural suggests the critical awareness by the speakers of the significance of alliance and coalition in war situation.

Data 8:

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.

Data 9:

I have been in close contact with a number of countries – including China, France, Germany, India, Israel and Turkey – on mediation efforts to bring an end to this war.

Aside person deixis, speakers also use discourse deixis to express the ideology of common interest and values:

Data 10

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 Rus- — the Russian military.

In the sample above, President Joe Biden of the United State makes use of discourse deixis to express the common interest and value that his nation shares with its allies in terms of placing sanctions on

Russia collectively. This has been realized in the text anaphorically. Aside anaphora, discourse deixis is also used cataphorically to anticipate the supports available for Ukraine from the United States and its allies:

Data 11

It's — you know, the sustained and coordinated support of the international community, led and facilitated by the United States, has a — is a significant reason why Ukraine is able to stop Russia from taking over their country thus far.

5.3.3 Sense of Inclusion

In a bid to engage the media, the speakers attempt to get them committed to same goal of empathizing with Ukraine while deriding Russia. The use of second person deixis projects the media as a partner in the effort to condemn Russia's infiltration of Ukraine:

Data 12

I talked about what I'm about to tell **you** about today...

Data 13

Russian forces have retreated from Kyiv, leaving behind them a horrifying evidence. And **you've** seen it and you reported it — your folks.

5.3.4 Accountability

The United States and its allies share the ideology of holding governments of nations accountable to their obligations under universal human rights norms and international human rights instruments. Hence, the speakers engage various entities (countries, individuals and corporations) and hold them accountable in their obligations in forms of actions, appropriate responses, etc. The use of third person deixis exemplifies this ideology:

Data 14

And, by the way, I — I don't say this often, but I think we should give enormous credit to the folks in your agencies that are on the ground in Ukraine, in these spots. And **they're** — **they're** really — I've spoken to several of **them**. It's a — we owe **them**.

Data 15

Now **they've** launched and refocused their campaign to seize new territory in eastern Ukraine.

Data 16

You got to admit, you have — must be amazed at the courage of this country, the resolve that **they're** showing, not just the milit- — their military, but the average citizen: men and women, young — young men, young women as well.

Data 17

Our unity at home, our unity with our Allies and partners, and our unity with the Ukrainian people is sending an unmistakable message to Putin: **He** will never succeed in dominating and occupying all of Ukraine. **He** will not — that will not happen.

Data 18

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.

Data 19

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.

The third persons in the data point to various entities who were the objects of the speakers' attention during the speeches. They include the Ukrainian leader, the Ukrainian forces and the people, the Russian leader, Vladimir Putin, and world digital corporations. Across the speeches, the speakers commend the efforts of the Ukrainian leader, Volodymyr Zelenskyy, the Ukrainian forces (military and civilian volunteers) and the Ukrainian people in their resolute historic move to defend their country. The United States President, Joe Biden, in particular, derides the Russian leader for the attack while announcing various sanctions on all Russian interests in America. The sanctions also extend to the Russian elites while further commending the complementary efforts of world digital corporations like TikTok, Netflix, etc.

5.3.5 Diplomatic Oversight

America, in particular, is reputed for playing the role of a big brother over other countries of the world. In this regard, President Joe Biden, in his speeches, often makes reference to the United States constant trail of events in Ukraine. For instance, the use of proximal place deixis references him drawing attention to specific realities and target actions around the war:

Data 20:

We don't know precisely how things will play out, but **here's** what the world can expect to see unfold. In fact, it's unfolding right now, today, as Russia takes steps down the path to war and reissued the threat of military action.

Data 21:

We've heard some of these basic allegations from Russian-backed speakers **here** today.

Data 22:

We've been warning the Ukrainian government of all that is coming, and **here** today, we are laying it out in great detail...

The use of distal place deictic expressions registers a strong presence for the United States in Ukraine as a reliable watchdog. Across the speeches, President Joe Biden indicates United State's strong relevance and absolute control of events as they unfold.

Data 23:

Netflix has stopped its projects **there**; BBC Studios and ITV Studios have stopped trading with Russia too.

Other speakers make use of Proximal time deixis to express the need for urgent actions and to demonstrate their conscious trailing of events as they unfold:

Data 24:

We need peace **now**.

Data 25:

And we're in a critical window **now** of time where that — they're going to set the stage for the next phase of this war.

Data 26:

Now they've launched and refocused their campaign to seize new territory in eastern Ukraine.

Other time deixis, which are neither proximal nor distal, reference the capacity of speakers to superintend over events as they unfold:

Other temporal deixis, which are neither proximal nor distal, reference the capacity of speakers to trail events as they unfold.

Data 27:

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

Data 28:

In the past few days, Russian media has already begun to spread some of these false alarms and claims to maximize public outrage...

The use of discourse deixis also abounds to express the ideology of diplomatic oversight. Discourse deixis are words and phrases that indicate the relationship between an utterance and the prior discourse. They are a kind of commentary on the text or conversation by the speaker (Abdulameer, 2019, p.297). For instance, proximal discourse deixis, in the data, use anaphora to point to the war and a huge devastation caused by the Russian forces in Kyiv.

Data 29:

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

Data 30:

Russian forces have retreated from Kyiv, leaving behind them a horrifying evidence. And you've seen **it** and you reported **it** — your folks.

Data 31:

You know, these past weeks have seen a terrible human cost of Putin's ambition for conquest and control. Approximately two thirds — two thirds — of all Ukrainian children have been displaced from their homes. More than 5 million Ukrainians have fled their country. **It's** an absolute outrage.

Other discourse deixis (apart from proximal and distal) highlight the efforts by the United States to expose the nitty-gritty of Putin's alleged machination in Ukraine.

Data 32:

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.

5.3.6 Dominance Authority

The speeches reflect the supremacy of the United States and its allies over Russia. Some aspects of the speeches reflect the deployment of long term memory to clarify positions of speakers and assert strong actions against opposition. This speaks of a strong deployment of power. The use of time deixis and distal discourse deixis, for instance, lends credence to expression of speakers' authority. Distal discourse deixis, in particular, instantiates the use of anaphora to catalogue various sanctions to be meted out to Russia:

Data 33:

Today, I'm announcing that the United States will ban Russian-affiliated ships from Our ports, as they did in Europe. **That** means no ship — no ship that sails under the Russian flag or that is owned or operated by Russian interests will be allowed to dock in a United States port or access our shores. None. None.

Data 34:

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

Data 35:

This is yet another critical step we're taking in concert with our partners in the European Union, the United Kingdom, and Canada and — further to deny Russia the benefits of the international economic system that they so enjoyed in the past.

5.4 Findings and Conclusion

The paper has attempted to deconstruct the ideological implications of deictic expressions in the speeches delivered by select world leaders on Ukraine-Russian war. Four deictic expressions have been identified in the texts, namely, person deixis (proximal, distal and others), time deixis (proximal and distal), place deixis (proximal, distal and others) and discourse deixis (proximal, distal and others). Person deixis is the dominant one used in the texts followed by discourse deixis. Place deixis is the third in terms of occurrences while time deixis is least.

Welfarism, common interests and values, sense of inclusion, accountability, diplomatic oversight and dominance authority are the six ideologies expressed by the usages of the four deixis – person, time, place and discourse. Person and discourse deixis expressed welfarism ideology. Same deictic expressions expressed common interests and values, sense of inclusion and diplomatic oversight. Person and time deixis expressed accountability. Time and discourse deixis expressed dominance authority. From this presentation, person and discourse deixis were more dominant than other deictic expressions in projecting the aforementioned ideologies. This connotes the fact that the leaders were more disposed to foregrounding the image of self when addressing issues.

With regards to portraying positive representation of self and negative presentation of others ideologically, the speakers used person deixis predominantly to focus more attention on self – their views, perspectives and responses to the war. They used the first person (singular and plural) to express their awareness of their personal responsibility and importance of forging alliance and coalition in the war. They specifically used the second person pronouns to refer to the media whom were addressed by the speakers. The use of proximal place deixis referenced the speakers drawing attention to specific realities and target actions around the war. Across the speeches, the speakers indicated their absolute control of events as they unfold. Proximal place deixis reinforced the vibrancy of steps and decisions taken to manage the outcome of the war.

In the texts, proximal and other time deixis referenced the need for urgent actions by the speakers. Proximal time deixis also lent credence to the expression of speakers' authority. In the data, proximal discourse deixis used anaphora to point to the war and a huge devastation caused by the Russian forces in Kyiv. They also referred to all components of aids and supports offered by the United States and her allies to the Ukrainian government.

In all of these, the leaders represented themselves and their interests positively. They also represented the Ukrainian leader, people and other forces that support their interests positively.

However, the Russian leader and his forces were represented negatively across the data. This explains why the distal discourse deixis instantiates the use of anaphora to catalogue various sanctions to be meted out against Russia. Other discourse deixis highlighted the efforts by the United States to expose the nitty-gritty of Putin's alleged machination in Ukraine thus portraying him in a bad light. The

implication of the sanctions meted out to Russia implies that power tilts favourably in favour of the United States and its allies.

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