



Language and Gender in the Saudi Shura Council

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A thesis submitted to The University of The West of England

for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

This research was sponsored by Princess Nourah Bint Abdulrahman University, Riyadh, Saudi Arabia

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September 2020

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List of abbreviations and symbols

Symbol	Use
AP	Attached Pronoun
CoP	Community of Practice
DP	Detached Pronoun
IP	Implied Pronoun
KSA	Kingdom of Saudi Arabia
MSA	Modern Standard Arabic
RQ	Research Question
SSC	Saudi Shura Council

Abstract

The Saudi Shura Council (SSC) is the consultative assembly of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. Its members debate proposals for new laws, scrutinise the operations of the civil service, and advise the King of legislative matters. In 2013, women joined the Council for the first time. This thesis offers a first account of the linguistic practices of the Saudi Shura Council as a whole, and more narrowly, focusses on the linguistic performance of female members and considers ways in which it diverges from the established practices of male members of the council. I do this by investigating the constraints placed on speakers in this quasi-parliamentary setting and by analysing the macro-functions of the council in general before conducting microanalyses of individual contributions of debates in the Council.

The thesis takes a pragma-rhetorical approach to the analysis of two particular linguistic features of debates, namely: questions and pronouns. These features were chosen for more scrutiny through an emergent, bottom-up process after the transcription and close analysis of 16 sessions of the Council's business amounting to 11.93 hours (and 76,096 words). In looking at both pronouns and questions, the tensions between form and function are explored, as are the rhetorical uses of these features. I seek to apply developments in parliamentary discourse analysis in the emerging Western tradition to a new setting, that of a deliberative, non-executive institution in Saudi Arabia. I discuss the challenges this presents.

In this setting, questions do not have obvious recipients and are used for persuasive purposes rather than having a clear interrogative function. Female members pose twice as many questions as men and these are qualitatively different from those asked by men. The questions posed by women are often highly critical of the processes and procedures of the Council. Female members appear to be setting themselves apart from the 'business as usual' of the Council. The lack of political parties in Saudi Arabia likely accounts for the fact that more first-person singular pronouns are used in this setting than has been found in Western parliaments. Female members use first person plural pronouns to signal their (collective) gender identity and to build the persuasiveness of their arguments.

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Acknowledgments

I will start by thanking God Almighty for giving me the strength and the inspiration to pursue my PhD. Then thank everyone who helped me in various stages of writing this thesis. I was blessed with a great support system which I will forever value.

I owe the biggest gratitude to my supervisors Dr. James Murphy and Dr. Kate Beeching for guiding me through every step of the way. I met James before applying for my degree and felt that we would be a great team and my intuition was right! He provided me with constant encouragement and support from day one until the end. Thank you for bearing with my endless ideas and helping me bring them to reality. Also thank you for the constant meetings ‘therapy sessions’ where I express my frustrations and concerns then leave feeling much better. Thank you, Kate, for being my mentor and bringing me back to reality whenever I get distracted. A special thanks to Dr. Jonathan Charteris-Black, who I referred to in my thesis, for allowing me to attend his classes that made me view political discourse from a new angle and inspired the direction of my research. I will always value the connections I made at UWE as it helped me grow from a student to a researcher and hope to maintain them in the future.

I would like to thank my parents for their endless support, prayers, love and motivation. I was privileged to have a father who always allowed me to become the person I am today, he encouraged me to speak up my mind and express my thoughts since I was young. I used to watch the news and read newspapers to bond with him, our discussions motivated me to pursue political discourse. My mother has been my biggest cheerleader, she always pushed me to do my best and believed in me. When someone believes in you, you believe in yourself. Without my family’s constant support this journey would have been difficult. I would also love to thank my brothers and protectors, especially my dear brothers Turki and Musaad for accompanying me through this journey, for listening to my complaints and bearing with my moods. I will always value the time we have spent together in the UK and knowing you better.

I was privileged in having the support of great friends who were there for me every step of the way, I can only mention a few. I will start with my Bristolian friends Dimitra, Dana and Ghina. Dimitra was the first student I met she was my office buddy and study mate, we motivated each other every day and helped each other survive this journey. Dana and Ghina

were my baby sisters and young spirits who lifted my soul whenever I was feeling down. I would extend my thanks to my friends who prepared me for this journey my old friend Dr. Fahda who I saw grow and get her degree from the UK, she started first, so she made sure I took the right path and avoided her mistakes. I was also very fortunate to have my colleagues and friend Mashaal Al-Jasser who was living close by and was there for me whenever I needed her. I'm forever grateful for their support and the friendships I made.

Last but not least, I'm very grateful for my country and Princess Nourah Bint Abdulrahman University for funding my PhD study.

Chapter 1 The Saudi context

Introduction

Saudi society has come under increasing scrutiny internationally in recent years. In particular, over the last five years, the focus has been on the position of women in KSA. Women's exclusion from public life in contemporary KSA has been the subject of heated debate from the media and other public fora, with a focus, for instance, on women being allowed to drive. Other internal Saudi matters, such as the guardianship laws, i.e., the need for women to gain permission from a male guardian to travel, conduct official business, and receive an education, have generated column inches in Western news outlets¹. In part, incremental social changes, such as women gaining the right to drive, and alterations to the guardianship laws have been a reaction to the increasing internationalization of Saudi society and, potentially, the use of social media within KSA as many cultural issues have been raised through social media platforms like Twitter (Alkarni 2018, p.62). However, the position of women in KSA is still an under-researched area, and even less explored is the role of women in the political system of the Kingdom. This thesis seeks to remedy that by exploring the language of the Saudi Shura Council (SSC) and particularly the linguistic performance of those females who joined the SSC from 2013 onwards.

The status of women being seen as inferior in politics is not new, and nor is it unique to Saudi Arabia. In 350 BCE, Aristotle, in his paper "Politics", had a superior masculine view of citizenship as he excluded women from the definition of a citizen along with children and slaves (Everson 1988, P.97). Indeed, women in the West struggled to be seen as political equals until the twentieth century, where their campaigns succeeded and gave them the right to vote, but women on an international level remain politically underrepresented (Rombough and Keithly 2010). However, in 2013, Saudi women were invited to join the SSC to become part of the Saudi political process for the first time. They were appointed as 20% of the Council (30 seats out of 150), a similar proportion to most international councils (Women in National

¹ BBC news: <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-middle-east-46789875>

NY times : <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/06/22/world/middleeast/saudi-women-guardianship.html>

Parliaments, 2019), as the world-wide average of females in parliament is 24%. The female members invited to the Council are full members; they share the same rights and obligations as men, participate in the Council's weekly meetings, and can join its committees as consultants. Underlying the issue of women's representation in politics and the demand for increased numbers of women in decision-making roles is the understanding that women have particular interests that are best represented by women (Lovenduski and Norris 2003). The main aim of this thesis is to analyse language and gender tendencies in the SSC. This follows a rich heritage of studies into language and gender in the West, as discussed by Zimmerman and West (1975), Fishman (1983), Spender (1980), Tannen (1993), and Wodak (1997), and by more recent studies, which have explored differences in linguistic performances between male and female politicians particularly in parliamentary settings (see Shaw 2000, Christie 2003, Chilton 2004, Ilie 2010a, Yu 2013 and Formato 2014 or see Chapter 2 section 2.4).

As female inclusion in the political sphere has arrived relatively late in KSA compared to other countries, there has been little to no exploration of this development in either the political or the linguistic literature. In order to give the reader sufficient context of the social and political situation which may affect linguistic performance in the SSC, the rest of this chapter will focus on providing some historical, socio-economic, and contemporary background about KSA, which is an essential aspect for understanding the position of women in the region. The structure of this chapter then, is as follows. In section 1.2, I provide details of the position of females in the Kingdom. Then, in section 1.2.1, I discuss the rights of women in the *Qur'an* and Islamic law in contrast to the socio-economic situation, and the main influencer of the position of women is explained in section 1.2.2. In section 1.3, I discuss the wider political system and the role of the SSC, which is the object of study for this thesis. Next, in section 1.4, I explore the aims and research questions of the whole thesis while in section 1.5, I set out details of the structure of the thesis.

1.2 Background about women rights in Saudi Arabia

Women's position in KSA has been shaped by many factors, such as social attitudes, superficial and literal interpretations of Islamic teachings, the accessibility and quality of education, and the historical socio - economic and political conditions (Khayat, 2006). Engaging women in the public field has been difficult in the Saudi context, as it required the overturning of historical laws discriminating against women (Fatany 2013, Khayat, 2006).

Those policies had led to negative attitudes towards Saudi women, as they were a result of socio-cultural norms and the influence religious hardliners, who continue to impose their distorted Islamic rulings and their rigid interpretations of Islamic concepts to support their baseless ideas (Fatany 2013, Ansary 2008, Khayat 2006). To reach this position, women's rights went through several stages and experienced various challenges. Therefore, I will give background information about Saudi women's position and how it is changing because of the reform being implemented within the Kingdom to include women more generally in all government sectors.

One of the main factors affecting the process of modernisation is a socio-economic factor in that the Saudi society is composed of a wide diversity of cultures, tribes, and people with different cultural and religious values. Fatany (2013) explained this social matter by identifying the original population of the country, which comprised nomadic tribes and Bedouins, who lived in underdeveloped remote communities but moved to the cities due to economic growth, meaning the major cities increased in size to accommodate the jobs developed from the oil industry. The nomads and villagers imposed their traditional Bedouin and rural costumes on the more open minded, cultured cities and held a hard position, refusing to change and modernise. Therefore, the tribal and rural community values and 'social traditions' became dominant. Similarly, religious traditions have played a significant role in Saudi society, which contains many conservative religious hardliners. However, the economic upheaval resulting from the increased income from oil gave rise to a trend towards education abroad and a change in lifestyle, and these two changes affected the whole structure of society (Yamani, 1996, p.265). Oil and its wealth had a significant impact on Saudi culture in a short time, as the country developed rapidly, leading to a struggle between moderate reformers and conservative hardliners. This struggle caused religious extremism to emerge in Saudi Arabia. Starting in 1968, at a period called Al-Sahwah al-Islamiyyah "Islamic Awakening", initially, it was a nonviolent movement (Ansary, 2008 p.112). Saudi women played a role in this movement, going beyond their traditional domestic roles to participate in preaching, advocating sex segregation laws and defining their position as Saudi women (Le Renard, 2008, p.623). However, in the 1980s, this movement became dangerous; it was shaped and manipulated by an external political movement, which abused religion as a way to motivate the public to commit violence in the name of Islamic Jihad (Ansary, 2008 p.112). Such radical thoughts led to many terrorist attacks inside and outside the country, which raised much controversy about KSA. The country had to take serious action by applying some changes to the laws, which will

be discussed below, to fight radicalism and progress with modernisation and reform and confront the danger of terrorism threatening the Kingdom's security and stability (Ansary, 2008).

Since KSA is the birthplace of Islam on which the Saudi monarchical system is based, it might be assumed that the oppression of Saudi women's rights is related to Islam. This is due to the misrepresentation of Islam spread by religious extremists, who represent domination and control, opposing Westernisation and declaring the West their enemy (Ansary, 2008). Terrorism has spread negative images and views of women's rights, opposing the Western views of women regarding their appearance and practice. In fact, those extremists have neglected the fact that many Muslim women do not want to be Westernized as found in Esposito and Mogahed's (2007, p.101-102) study based on interviewing Muslim women from around the world. They discovered that Muslim women are educated and have a bright future, and that they were not oppressed in contrast to the portrayal in the Western media. Nonetheless, Muslim women do want to have the same legal rights as men, to vote without the influence of family, to work at any job they are qualified for, and even to serve in the highest level of government. Saudi women also wanted the right to drive, which they were granted later in 2017 during the period of this study. Being forbidden from such practices is not related to Islamic values; while Islam has restrictions regarding women's private lives and public appearance, it does not discriminate between men and women in other public practices and maintains equal rights for both genders. Islam emphasises that all people are equal before God; women and men have the same religious obligations (*The Holy Qur'an: At-Taubah {The Repentance: 9: 71}*). The Holy Qur'an is the ultimate source of authority and credibility for understanding and reflecting the true image of Islam; therefore, I will give evidence from this source about the status of women and their rights in Islam.

1.1.1 The rights of women in Islam

The rights of women in the *Qur'an* and Islamic law have been preserved since the beginning of Islam (Engineer 2004). In the pre-Islamic era, the Jahiliyah "period of ignorance", they buried women alive because they were ashamed of them. Prophet Mohammad denounced and totally rejected this practice. Engineer (2004, p. 2) asserted that, similarly, women were totally denied any rights; they were treated like goods and could be inherited from one man to another and were also enslaved. Islam corrected these values via the Quran and the prophet's teachings,

which ordered men to respect and care for women. It also showed that women are equal to men; they are all humans and deserve the right to live and not be mistreated.

In the Quran, Islam indicated that all humans are equal. Indeed, a verse in the Hujurat (Chambers) Sura states ‘God does not consider anyone to be superior on the basis of gender, colour, social status or wealth; instead, such judgments are based on piety and obedience to God:

(يَا أَيُّهَا النَّاسُ إِنَّا خَلَقْنَاكُمْ مِنْ ذَكَرٍ وَأُنثَىٰ وَجَعَلْنَاكُمْ شُعُوبًا وَقَبَائِلَ لِتَعَارَفُوا ۗ إِنَّ أَكْرَمَكُمْ عِنْدَ اللَّهِ أَتْقَاكُمْ ۗ إِنَّ اللَّهَ عَلِيمٌ خَبِيرٌ)

(سورة الحجرات: 94 :13)

Which is translated as:

*O mankind, indeed we have created you from male and female and made you peoples and tribes that you may know one another. Indeed, the most noble of you in the sight of Allah is the most righteous of you. Indeed, Allah is Knowing and Acquainted (The Holy Qur'an: Hujurat {The Chambers: 49: 13}).*²

In fact, the Quran places an equal obligation on men and women regarding the Islamic political system in the form of commanding *Ma'ruf* (good) and forbidding *Munkar* (evil). This fundamental political obligation is gender neutral and can be applied to public rights, as both genders are expected to follow this demand. Surah At-Taubah (The Repentance) says:

(وَالْمُؤْمِنُونَ وَالْمُؤْمِنَاتُ بَعْضُهُمْ أَوْلِيَاءُ بَعْضٍ يَأْمُرُونَ بِالْمَعْرُوفِ وَيَنْهَوْنَ عَنِ الْمُنْكَرِ وَيُقِيمُونَ الصَّلَاةَ وَيُؤْتُونَ الزَّكَاةَ وَيُطِيعُونَ اللَّهَ وَرَسُولَهُ ۗ أُولَٰئِكَ سَيَرْحَمُهُمُ اللَّهُ ۗ إِنَّ اللَّهَ عَزِيزٌ حَكِيمٌ)

(سورة التوبة: 9: 71)

This is translated as:

² All the Quran translation provided in this thesis are from Sahih International translation available in <https://www.kalamullah.com/Books/Quran%20-%20Saheeh%20International%20Translation%20.pdf>

The believing men and believing women are allies of one another. They enjoin what is right and forbid what is wrong and establish prayer and give zakāh³ and obey God and His Messenger. Those - God will have mercy upon them. Indeed, God is Exalted in Might and Wise. (The Holy Qur'an: At-Taubah {The Repentance: 9: 71})

This verse proves that Islam commands Muslim women, as it commands men, to be concerned with and engaged in ordering people to do what is right and prohibits them from doing what is wrong. It generalises the roles expected from both men and women to participate in public roles that require applying God's orders. This verse shows that women are permitted and encouraged to engage in public life, including participation in politics. Muhibbu-din (2019) also argues that there is no religious text in Islam preventing women from exercising political rights (p.47). He adds that over 1,400 years ago, Muslim women, like men, were granted political rights, being judges and Muftis in legal issues; they also gave allegiance to the Caliph, and pledged loyalty to the Islamic ruler in a way similar to Western voting (ibid., p.49).

This shows that some restrictions put upon women may be related to extremism rather than to Islam. This highlights the need to achieve a balance between Islamic rules and modernisation to combat extremism. As the actions of extremists have distorted the actual image of Islam, leading to stereotypical perceptions of Muslims, most of the deprivation of public rights Saudi women suffer from are associated with religious extremism and social restraints (Ansary 2008). As explained in this section, Islamic laws and teachings do not forbid Saudi women from public participation, as their roles were recognised as an influential element of Saudi society.

1.1.2 The position of women in the Saudi Arabian public domain

Social and cultural restraints have limited women's participation in developing the Saudi community due to the obstacles females have encountered in seeking knowledge and employment. The process of modernisation has faced many challenges, and Fatany (2013, p.14) has identified six major challenges to progress: combatting terrorism, confronting extremism, confronting the hard-line position against women, reforming the judiciary,

³ Zakāh is one of the five pillars of Islam, a form of payment Muslims are obliged to pay annually to charity, accounting customarily for 2.5% of the individual's total wealth. It is considered a way to purify one's income and wealth from sometimes worldly, impure ways of acquisition.

implementing social and economic reform, and upgrading the educational system. All these challenges had to be faced and are still being addressed by the government as we will discuss at the end of this thesis. In 2009, King Abdullah Bin Abdul-Aziz initiated a political reform movement to tackle these issues. This process included the bold steps of reshuffling the government by promoting reformers and firing controversial officials, including the conservative head of the religious police and the country's most senior judge. The King began by creating a national rehabilitation program to combat terrorism and fight extremism.

Female roles started gaining public recognition in 2006, when the government took a major step towards supporting women's role in society by making identification cards mandatory, despite the rejection of Ulema 'religious scholars', who opposed the inclusion of women's photos on their ID card, even though they had their photos in their passports. In 2009, a female deputy minister, Dr Norah AlFaiz, was given responsibility for female education; this was the highest position allocated to a woman up until that point. In 2011, the King, in his speech in the SCC, openly defied the hardliners criticising their position and granting women political rights. Saudi women were previously restricted to working in certain fields, such as medicine, nursing, administration, and teaching, where they had their private space separate from men. However, gradually, they were allowed to start engaging with the public; in 2011, women were granted permission to work in retail stores - first in lingerie stores, to sell to their fellow women, thus replacing foreign men who had previously occupied these positions. Currently, women work in all types of retail stores, accessed by both men and women, and their numbers are expected to increase in time.

A further step towards reform was taken in September 2011 when King Abdullah issued a Royal decree to finally grant women the right to run and vote in municipal elections and become official members of the SSC. For the SSC, an amendment was made to article 3 of the Shura law saying:

The Shura Council shall be composed of a President and 150 members, selected by the King from among scholars, experts and specialists. The representation of women shall not be less than 20% of the number of members. Their rights, duties and all their affairs shall be determined by Royal decree.

In 2013, 30 women took their seats on the formerly all-male SSC. These women joined the 6th round of the SSC, a body that review reports from the government and presents recommendations to the King on policy issues. Regarding municipal elections, women started voting in 2015. Previously, KSA had been the only country in the world that had not granted women suffrage. Therefore, this decision was a significant victory for women in a country where they were not allowed to drive and had to have a male chaperone with them in public at all times. Regarding international participation, in 2012, KSA lifted the ban forbidding women from competing in the Olympic Games and sent three athletes to London, as significant step that was opposed by conservative clerics. All these advances in women's rights emphasise the importance of studying their first political representation in a male-dominated field.

In 2015, King Salman became the new King of KSA and followed in the footsteps of his late brother King Abdullah, and a new vision was offered by the King's son, the young crown prince Mohammad Bin Salman. In 2016, he introduced a new vision of the country called 'Saudi Vision 2030'. This vision is directed towards changing the direction of the Saudi economy from being an oil-based economy to making it a global investment powerhouse. This vision came with several reforms in the Saudi system, the most recent being lifting the ban on women driving. This decision was accompanied with the opening of the Global Centre for Combatting Extremist Ideology (GCCEI) in Riyadh in September 2017. Following this event, King Salman issued a Royal decree to lift the ban against women driving, thus allowing them to drive in June 2018. This was a significant change in the situation in Saudi, as it was the only country in the world that had banned women from driving. More changes have happened engaging Saudi females in the international political scene, as in 2019, Princess Reema Bint Sultan Al-Saud was appointed the first female Saudi Ambassador to the USA. All these changes have been due to the modernisation steps made by the government, which will result in many more changes in the future. Saudi society is going through a process of change, and women's situation is expected to develop over time in accordance with the government's plans and vision.

The question of whether females have the same opportunities in their career path with respect to their male counterparts is not only a Saudi but a global concern (Khayat 2006, p.251). Internationally, it has taken women some time and only gradual steps to obtain equal rights with men in public roles. Nowadays, women's status has improved in most cultures, and the situation is generally different from those times when women were treated as inferior to men

or denied the right even to express themselves. Now, women can freely speak in public, and they have shown their capabilities in the public arena. Saudi female roles in the past were traditionally viewed as not being engaged in the public arena; their role was chiefly confined to domestic and limited roles that conformed to the Kingdom's sex segregation laws (Le Renard 2008). These laws have set a challenging task for Saudi women even though they have successfully managed to live within the sex segregation policy and maintained the government law by creating their own private 'women only' space where they can practise everything they cannot do in public and feel comfortable being on their own for example in schools, universities, government offices, gyms, and some shops (Le Renard 2008).

In decision-making positions, women must now live up to the expectations of both the King and the whole country, especially Saudi women, whom they represent. They are expected to outline the challenges that have slowed progress and identify the policies that have undermined female roles in society and their contributions to society's welfare (Fatany, 2013). The inclusion of women in the SSC promises to bring some changes in Saudi society, as they might be expected to develop new policies to improve women's position in society and to speak on behalf of oppressed and underprivileged women. They will also be able to confront and address the challenges that hinder women's progress in general, including the reluctance to support women in leadership positions, the 'legal guardianship' rule, the strict culture of segregation within society, and the discriminatory policies and the opposition to women driving at that time (Fatany, 2013, p.43). Female Shura councillors might arguably be expected to address women's issues and motivate women to become active citizens who can help society advance and prosper.

The selected members were carefully picked by the King from different specialities to express Saudi women's needs. They are among the elite Saudi women who have had a widely recognised influence on the Saudi nation as a whole. They expressed their awareness of their role in an interview with the NY Times (2013) where Dr Khawla Al-Kuraya, a professor of pathology, and director at the King Fahad National Centre for Children's Cancer and Research, commented: "This enormous, rapid and noteworthy progress means Saudi society and its governing body are finally ready to acknowledge and respect women's voices and their rights". Dr. Kuraya is one of the 30 women appointed to the Council, and her comment reveals her realization of the role they have in reflecting the voices of Saudi women. Granting women, a

position in the SCC has shown a major recognition of their capabilities and qualifications. It is a political decision aimed at changing the negative attitudes of society towards them.

It will be interesting to see how they present their voices and become proactive citizens as newcomers to the Council. Of special interest to this thesis is an exploration of whether the SSC has followed the international norms of gender in politics. As many researchers, like Hansen (1997), Childs (2002; 2004), and Bird (2005) have claimed, females in political positions “stress somewhat different issues than do their male counterparts, including several of particular concern to women: education, family leave, childcare, and abortion rights” (Hansen 1997, p.87). To give a more linguistic scope to the analysis of gender difference, this thesis aims to examine the micro linguistic elements employed in political debates, like questions and pronouns, and link them to the macro elements as a means to describe the use of ‘rhetorical’ tools in discourse persuasion and argumentation.

1.2 The Saudi Political System

KSA is an absolute monarchy with some religious influence in the wider political system. The King is the head of the government and has full political power over the region; his official title is the Custodian of the Two Holy Mosques (demonstrating the importance of religion in Saudi society). The Saudi royal family is called AlSaud, and this is where the name of the country came from. Decisions are mainly made on the basis of consultation among the senior princes of the royal family, the “Royal court”, and the religious establishment; a group of Islamic scholars led by the Al ash-Sheikh, who gathers with senior ulema’s and studies the laws of the country in relation to religion, they influence almost every aspect of social life as they are closely tied to the political agenda of the House of AL Saud (Korany and Hillal Dessouki 2009, p.358). The Allegiance Council comprises members from the royal family and is responsible for determining the new King and Crown Prince. The Qur'an, the basis of Islamic law (Shari'a) and the Sunnah, “the verbally transmitted record of the teachings, deeds and sayings, silent permissions (or disapprovals) of the Islamic prophet Muhammad” (Encyclopaedia Britannica, 2018) both serve to form the country’s constitution. All citizens of

full age have a right to attend, meet, and petition the King directly through the traditional tribal meeting known as the *Majlis*⁴.

1.2.1 The background of Saudi Shura Council

Political parties play no role in the SSC, unlike other parliamentary systems. The SSC has limited powers; its main role is drafting and constructing laws and examining the annual reports submitted by state ministries and agencies. It also has the power to propose laws to the King and cabinet, but it cannot pass or enforce laws, which is a power reserved solely for the King, given the nature of KSA as an absolute monarchy. The Saudi parliamentary system is unique and manufactured to fit the Kingdom's political system. The Consultative Assembly is called *Majlis AsShura*; it has 150 members who are appointed by the King, as there is no election. Members are selected from different professional fields and experiences, which can add to the Council. The Council operates on the basis of its 14 committees; each committee is assigned issues related to its own specialism.

The SSC is part of the Saudi legislative body, which includes public opinion having different representatives from various fields of Saudi society. AlMuhanna (2005) says that the Saudi ruler:

Should consult his people, because Allah ordered His Prophet to consult the Muslims by saying: 'and consult them in the affairs.' This order was directed to the Prophet, who was supported by revelations from Allah, and should apply to the ruler who must follow his footsteps. (p. 46)

Majlis (as in *Majlis AsShura*) is a term derived from the verb 'to sit' and is commonly used to refer to a place in a home where guests are entertained (much like the British English 'sitting room'). However, it has – by semantic extension – developed a sense that relates to the notion of a 'Council'. It is a term that is used in other Muslim countries (including non-Arabic-speaking ones) to refer to the national parliament, e.g., *Majlis-al-Umma* (the Kuwaiti Parliament), *Majlis-e-Shoora* (the Pakistani Parliament), and *Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi* (The Grand National Assembly of Turkey). This semantic extension is not unique to

⁴ The *Majlis* was defined by Alrasheed (2002, p.81-82) as "the traditional meeting known in Arabia for centuries. In Saudi those meetings are held weekly in the palace. This gathering, in theory, is open for everyone, but in practice, only those who have business to discuss or a request to make are expected to attend. The King sits in the *Majlis* with his brother, the royal family members, tribal shaykhs and men of authority, and they meet the public".

Majlis, of course, with members of the House of Commons (and elsewhere) taking a seat and a parliament which is in session being described as a sitting one. The other part of the Council title is the noun شورى (*shura*), which means "consultation" and refers to (among other things) a topic in Islamic law or sharia, which is the religious law derived from the holy Quran in the verse (whose affairs are a matter of counsel) (وَأْمُرْهُمْ شُورَىٰ يُبَيِّنُ لَهُمْ) “Surah: Ash-Shûra, verse 38 and Prophet Mohammad’s sayings; it is the basic law applied in Muslim countries. This reveals the strong religious connotations of the word “Shura”, as it is linked to the Islamic base of the Saudi constitution, which places importance on the notion of consultation.

Shura (consultation) in KSA has passed through several stages since the arrival of the late King Abdul-Aziz into Mecca in 1924. He called for the application of *Shura* at that early period. King Abdul-Aziz made *Shura* the foundation of his government to fulfil the divine order by applying *Shariah* (Islamic Jurisprudence) and *Shura* as parts of it. He intended to establish an Islamic *Shura* state applying *Shariah* as it is prescribed in the Qur'an and authentic *Sunnah*. The process of modernizing the Saudi *Shura* started in the late King Fahd’s reign when he issued the new *Majlis Ash-Shura* Law in 27/8/1421 H (23/11/2000) to replace the old one issued in 1347 H (1926) giving members more rights and authority. In January 2013, during the reign of King Abdullah Bin Abdul-Aziz, Saudi females joined the Council for the first time as part of the country’s move towards national reform and modernisation.

1.2.2 Women joining the Saudi Shura Council

One of the country’s initial reform movements towards modernization was by granting Saudi women the right to participate in politics starting with the SSC. Their entry was gradual; in 2006, six women were nominated to the Council and selected by the President to act as part-time consultants when their input was needed to sit and discuss international and internal matters of the Kingdom. There is no recorded session of their participation, but this led to the greater step of having them as permanent full-time members in 2013.

At the time when females were granted the right to be part of the Saudi decision-making process, it was considered a mark of immense progress in a conservative and religious country where rights were limited, as discussed in the previous section (1.2). Giving women the opportunity in a public forum in which their voices could be heard in the Council’s weekly meetings was considered one of the greatest steps towards modernising Saudi (Fatany, 2013). Nonetheless, KSA remains committed to its regulations in women’s position against a mixed

workplace, especially in the government. The women remain segregated within the Council, with their own seating area and separate doors within the same room. However, women can join any of the Council's committees including economic, family, and foreign affairs, according to their speciality and interests.

When females were invited to join, several policies had to be amended to match the joining of a new gender that needed their own rights and needs with compliance to Sharia and Saudi law. As reported by Asharq Al-Awsat Online (2013):

“The first amendment was to article 3 regarding the composition of the SSC the 150 members are chosen by the King from among scholars, experts, and specialists, with women comprising no less than 20 percent. The members' rights and obligations and all their affairs are defined by a royal decree. The second amendment was to article 22, first, each of the ad hoc committees constitutes a number of members defined by the Council, but it should not be less than five. The Council chooses these members and names the head of the committee and his/her deputy, taking into consideration the committees' needs, the specialization of the members, and women's participation in the committees. Second, the Council can form among its members special committees to study a particular subject, and each committee has the right to form among its members one or more branch committees to study a specific aspect. Third, women in their membership of the SSC enjoy complete membership rights and abide by the obligations and responsibilities as well as assuming the relevant tasks. Fourth, in confirmation of what was stated in the preamble of the decree by ‘the King and his cabinet’, women members commit to the principles of Islamic Shariah without any breach whatsoever and wear a proper hijab (veil), taking into account the following stipulations:

1: Reserving a place for women to sit, as well as her own gate for entry and exit to the main Council Chamber, and everything related to her affairs to ensure independence from men.

2: Reserving places for women, fully independent from places reserved for men, to include offices for them and for employees with required equipment and services, and space for prayer.

Fifth, this decree is to be delivered to specialized parties for adoption and implementation.”

I go into more detail about the accommodations made to the setting of the SSC to facilitate women joining in chapter 4 (on the parliamentary discursive practices).

1.3 Aims and research questions

Moving on from the social and political information provided as a context for this study, I outline in this section the overarching themes of the thesis and the research questions to be explored. Investigating the Council’s discourse will show that how people use language plays a crucial role in their representation. Any political action is prepared, accompanied, controlled, and influenced by language (Schäffner 1996, p.210), and therefore, it will be interesting to see whether the addition of women has created a new dynamic in the Council and how they tend to present themselves as newcomers. The scholarly interest around women in male-dominated institutions in the public sphere, specifically from researchers in the fields of politics, gender studies, and linguistics, helps to build an overall picture of what has stayed the same and what has changed for women in politics in recent decades. The Council has never been studied from a linguistic perspective before; therefore, this study will be the first to examine the language of the Council and so contributes to knowledge by exploring gender and the first Saudi females’ participation. I divide the research questions into overarching and specific questions for each analysis chapter.

This research aimed to undertake a discourse analysis of the SSC for the first time. The challenge here was that there were no previous studies of the linguistic features of the Council; therefore, the Council’s language was observed generally in the first instance. My intention was to examine the differences between male and female speakers of the Council by looking at their argumentation and persuasion techniques. The overarching research questions I was asking in regard to the debates of the SSC were as follows:

- 1.1. To what extent do male and female members differ in their use of rhetorical proofs during Council debates?
- 1.2. To what extent do females conform to the male norms of the Council?

1.3. To what extent do female members present themselves as newcomers in the Saudi Shura Council?

To address these questions, I chose to analyse the discourse of the SSC and to focus particularly on the use of pronouns and questions by members of the community of practice. I analyse the rhetorical language used in the political discourse of the Arabic speeches delivered by both male and female speakers to identify gender differences. I provide the answer to these questions in the final chapter (Chapter 9).

1.4 Theoretical background

The theoretical basis of this thesis provides the underpinning for the discourse analysis of the Council's debates, firstly in a general way, since the discourse of the SSC has never been studied before and then in a more detailed way. There is a strong connection between the macrostructure and micro-structure of the Council's proceedings which was investigated in this thesis. This in turn led to identifying the general language of the Council, then moving to more details about the pragmatic tools which were used as rhetorical devices in the Council debates. The framework implemented in this study utilizes many views and theories like rhetoric, discourse analysis, gender and pragmatics to support the analysis of the Council discourse. In recent years, there has been considerable focus on parliamentary discourse in the West (see Chapter 2 section 2.2). Political language is designed in a way to achieve certain goals such as convincing the target audience to accept the ideas, beliefs and points of view of the speaker. It may ask the audience to carry out certain actions such as supporting particular policies proposed by the speaker, or joining some initiatives, *inter alia*. Fairclough and Fairclough (2013) asserted that argumentation, and practical argumentation, in particular, is an integral part of any political discourse analysis. They maintained that this type of argumentation can be either for or against a particular issue in mind, and this in turn can lead to making decisions (Fairclough and Fairclough, 2013, p. 1). Therefore, focusing on argumentation and persuasion will give a comprehensive understanding of the political agenda of the speaker. The main goal for the debates in the Council is to reach a decision regarding the agendas under discussion. In order for the other members to accept the decision an argument needs to be persuasive. Rhetorical analysis is one of the major tools adopted in this thesis. It is a method for analyses which investigates the persuasive techniques used in discourse. By and large, it can be defined

as the arts of discourse and specifically ‘the art of persuasive discourse’ (Cockcroft and Cockcroft, 1992, p. 3) will be discussed in section 3.4.

At this point it would be right to stress that the investigation into the SSC discourse does not concern itself with the Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) agenda. The task which many CDA analysts set themselves is to: ‘produce and convey critical knowledge that enables human beings to emancipate themselves from forms of domination through self-reflection’ (Wodak & Meyer, 2009, p.7). Even though CDA is considered with issues of gender, the gender approach of this thesis mainly focuses on comparing and describing the language use between both genders and explaining the differences in language use. This work share Wilson’s view that when it comes to the language used by politicians:

[t]he question that is interesting from the linguistic point of view is how did they do it, not whether they should have done it or not. In classic terms, we are interested in describing what happened, not in prescribing what should happen. In order to understand what politicians, do with language it is important to understand what it is possible to do with language in general.

(Wilson, 1990, p.15)

This thesis seeks ‘to provide a linguistic account of actual political talk’ (Wilson, 1990, p.16) by focussing on describing what members (both males and females) seek to achieve through their linguistic choices. It describes and compares how and why members use these tools to present their argument in order to achieve particular communicative goals through their debates in the council.

The focus of this thesis is on the role which gender plays in the discourse of the Saudi Shura Council – this is a legitimate question to explore given the recent introduction of female members, and studies discussed in Chapter 2 which have shown the importance of gender identity in parliamentarians’ oral contributions in Western parliaments. In the past years as explained in section (1.2) the Saudi society can be described as a patriarchal society.

Patriarchy is defined by Walby (1989, p.214) as a system of social structures, and practices in which men dominate, oppress and exploit women. She identified six structures, only two structures of patriarchy are important for this thesis ‘the patriarchal state’ and ‘the patriarchal culture’. The patriarchal state; is defined as the way state controls the access of women to

state resources and power as part of the patriarchal society, when women are not part of the decision-making process means they have less power in the state (Walby, 1989, p.224). Saudi women were excluded from politics and decision making positions by the state, but these rules were relaxed and modernised with time, adding women to the Council in 2013 is considered one of the initial steps, followed by much more positions like ambassadors, ministers, etc. and rights like guardianship, driving, etc. The patriarchal culture; is defined as a set of discourses which are institutionally rooted, rather than as ideology which is either free-floating or economically determined (Walby, 1989, p.227). Which means these structures are determined more by culture as in Saudi the segregation rules in education and workplace are related to social norms and religion, therefore, these rules were reinforced by the state. Again, these structured are gradually being relaxed in Saudi, they still exist, but with less power than the before (see section 1.2).

Another point to consider in the analysis of this thesis is the term gender (over sex). It is preferred in this thesis (and in many studies exploring linguistic differences between males and females), following West & Zimmerman (1987) in which it is argued that linguistic performance is not simply about the essential biological differences between men and women, but is more to do with the roles which men and women are expected to play in wider society. In other words, when people talk, they are often ‘doing gender’ – i.e. performing attitudes which are acceptable to the category assigned by one’s sex. So, sex is defined as something ascribed by biology; anatomy, hormones and physiology while gender is an achieved status linked to culture and human behaviour rather than biology (West and Zimmerman ,1987, p.125). Sauntson (2020, p.1) defines gender as something dynamic, active and sometimes a site of struggle.

I argue that in the Council gender identity may be performed precisely because the female members are newcomers who were admitted to the Council on the basis of their sex. That having been said, I do not simply consider female members’ contributions as being produced in a particular way just because they are women. Whilst this is the crucial factor which decided upon their admission to the Council, it is not the only aspect to their identity. The notion of intersectionality needs to be considered (see Crenshaw, 1989). Intersectionality is the idea that aspects of our identity are intertwined and inseparable. In discussing the position of African American women in society, Crenshaw (1989) argues that their experiences cannot be understood as being ‘black’ and ‘women’, but rather must be

considered as ‘black women’ – as such feminist and antiracist politics must consider the interactions between these two fundamental aspects of people’s identities.

So, whilst the focus of the thesis is to consider differences in the linguistic performance of male and female speakers in the SSC, I do not see this from an essentialist perspective, rather I recognise that the rhetorical patterns drawn upon may not be because a council member is a woman, but that this may be incidental. Other features of her identity may be at play: for instance, her profession, her academic background, the region which she represents, etc. A number of these aspects are adduced when it comes to the discussion of individual examples from speeches made in the SSC. However, the wider context of Saudi women reflecting their newfound voice publicly for the first time in a patriarchal workplace cannot be ignored or forgotten. Since politics has been a patriarchal; male dominated environment, which would naturally lead to the assumption that men have power over women based on their long experience in the field, it will, therefore, be interesting to see if female speakers are influenced by the male-dominated Council or they would develop their own gender identity, in other words, do they ‘do gender’ by following female norms, or do they ‘do gender’ by following the established male norms of the council?

This study is data driven – that is to say, I started with no pre-conceived ideas about which linguistic features would be ultimately investigated, instead I took a bottom-up approach to see what the recurrent patterns were in the talk of male and females’ members of the council were, and then explored those in extensive details. The ‘Parliamentary Debates’ were analysed using concepts from discourse analysis, pragmatics and rhetoric.

In analysing the data, I identified qualitative and quantitative differences in the linguistic choices made by male and female speakers. The quantitative study allowed me to see whether there were recurrent patterns in the use of questions and pronouns, which helped to answer the overarching research questions. It also pointed to directions for further closer analysis of a qualitative nature. The qualitative approach analysed the discourse of the Council adopting a pragma-rhetorical direction looking at the macro and micro elements affecting the speaker’s debates.

1.5 Thesis structure

This thesis represents in detail the findings from a linguistic study which investigated language and gender in the Saudi Shura Council. This section outlines how the structure and the content of all the chapters in the thesis are organized. It shows the steps taken in this study, how it progressed from the literature to the analysis to the findings and how each chapter informed the others. It describes how the research evolved starting from Western literature in parliamentary discourse to defining the linguistic grounds of the Saudi parliamentary discourse. The thesis is divided into nine chapters, including the introductory chapter.

Chapter 1, the current chapter, introduces the motivation behind this thesis. This thesis uses a bottom up research, starting by presenting the socio-economic and political background of the region, then addressing my aims and overarching research questions 'RQ's'. It briefly provides an overview of the background research whilst presenting some background information which motivates and justifies this research. It moves from general to specific background, addressing the position of women in general then in Saudi then the Saudi situation and finally giving an overview of the Saudi political system leading to the Shura Council.

Chapter 2 discusses relevant literature on parliamentary discourse, women in parliament and Arabic political discourse. It reviews the theoretical approaches that were applied in this study. I start by justifying why I am using Western parliamentary studies on the SSC, by comparing the Council with Western parliaments. Then I explore parliamentary discourse in general and the approaches taken towards studying parliamentary discourse. Then I discuss my other motivation for this study, which is gender in parliament, from the literature I refer to the unique features found in females' parliamentary participation. After discussing parliamentary discourse and gender in the West, I will try to bridge the gap in the Arabic literature by discussing Arabic political discourse. The Arabic studies do not include parliamentary or gender comparison studies, however the literature review revealed features and approaches that can be undertaken for the analysis in this thesis. Then I move to more specific background concerning Saudi political discourse. Finally, in this chapter I address the other gap which is linguistic studies about Saudi women discourse as previous studies have only focused on the sociolinguistic practices. However, they may contribute to the findings of this study. All these studies will help fill the gap in knowledge.

Chapter 3 outlines the methodology of the thesis. It moves from the literature discussed in chapters 2 and 3 to the methodological approaches taken in relation to this study. It outlines the methodology of the thesis starting with macro linguistic structure then moving to a more detailed investigation of particular structures with its own methods of analysis for the two linguistic phenomena that each have their own dedicated literature and methodology (chapters 5 and 7). I here discuss the theoretical framework for the project as a whole – both theoretically and methodologically, this study draws on discourse analysis, pragma-rhetoric and corpus linguistics approaches. I describe how I built the corpus and moved from data collection to data selection. I then give a brief description of the speakers and their background as this will influence their discourse.

Chapter 4 provides an overview of the discursive and linguistic practices of the SSC. It starts by describing the Council, its name and defines its system and role in Saudi government. All the background information provided will lead to describing the activity frames of the council; special-temporal, participation and interaction frames will be identified and described. Each frame describes a particular affective aspect of the Council. The Spatial-temporal frame describes the setting of the council and where the members sit and the organization relating to where the debates take place. The participant frame in the SSC defines the forms of address used among the members and reveals the members' roles and their audiences. The most essential part of this thesis is concerned with the interaction frame of the Council where it describes the ritualized opening and closing of the sessions followed in the council, and how turn taking and interruptions are managed within the Council. Discussion time where most of the debates happen is described with its rules and what is presented during that time. The chapter ends by introducing parliamentary meta-discourse practices. This directs the rest of the thesis towards the study of pronouns and questions which appear to be basic everyday linguistic units but are employed by members in a wider more complex rhetorical role.

Chapter 5 starts by defining pronouns in grammar-based and discourse-based studies followed by a comparison of the form of pronouns in Arabic and English. The second section surveys previous studies about 1st person plural and singular pronouns and links them to political discourse, parliamentary discourse and gender. Theoretical concepts related to pronouns concerning identity and positioning are reviewed. Moving from the literature, this chapter has

specific dedicated RQ's (2.1-3) that will be presented. The analytical framework for the quantitative and qualitative analysis is explained in detail, presenting different approaches for each first-person pronoun (singular & plural). This method is applied in the analysis of pronouns in chapter 6. Finally, the methodology taken towards the analysis of pronouns is discussed in detail.

Chapter 6 focuses on the quantitative and qualitative analysis of occurrences of pronouns in males and females' discourse. I then discuss the findings in relation to the RQ's and literature presented in chapter 5.

Chapter 7 focuses on the role of questions, with a literature review and an account of the theoretical underpinning for the study. Questions were identified in the macro-analysis as an important aspect of Council discourse, along with pronouns (Chapters 5 and 6). Questions as a linguistic unit are defined and then the form of questions in Arabic is described. The literature discussing the function of questions is introduced to direct towards the choice of questions to be investigated in the data. For further explanation about questions and their possible motivations are presented to give a better analysis in order to compensate for the fact that these questions do not get a direct answer. Literature related to question and gender, power, persuasion and parliament are discussed. Then the research questions for this chapter are introduced and followed by the methodology that will be applied in the analysis at the chapter that follows.

Chapter 8 focuses on the quantitative and qualitative analysis of occurrences of questions in males and females' discourse. I then discuss the findings in relation to the RQ's and literature presented in chapter 7.

Chapter 9 presents the conclusions, summarizing the outcomes of the results outlined in the previous chapters and then re-addressing the overarching and specific RQ's by making links to the literature. This discussion takes into consideration the finding of the two linguistic phenomena and links them to gender and rhetoric studies. The limitations and recommendations of this study are discussed in detail. The concluding chapter thus provides insights into the contribution to knowledge and the implications for further research in the field that could be taken into consideration in the future.

Chapter 2 Literature Review

Introduction

This chapter discusses the literature related to the investigation of language and gender in the SSC. Since the topic of this study has not been investigated previously, a number of approaches, texts, and contextual analyses are drawn from the extant literature to shed light on the SSC discourse and then link it to language and gender. It starts by identifying the general approach of this thesis, then moves on to explain the theoretical approach adopted for the analysis of parliamentary discourse and other elements related to language and gender. Then, studies about Arabic political discourse are discussed to identify the gap this research aims to fill. To the best of my knowledge, studies on Saudi parliamentary discourse have not included a linguistic perspective, or consideration of Saudi women's political representation. Studies done on Western parliamentary discourse provide a lead in this direction which has to be adjusted for the Saudi context. The Arabic situation is presented through studies conducted in the Arab world about political discourse in general. Then a microscopic investigation is undertaken of Saudi political discourse, women in Saudi, and studies about their language in relation to gender. A comprehensive overview of the literature concerning political discourse, parliamentary discourse, Arabic political discourse, Saudi politics, and Saudi women's use of language is presented to underpin the direction of this thesis.

2.1 Parliamentary discourse

Since this thesis is interested in the discourse of the SSC, it is first important to explore what has been meant by the term 'discourse' and how parliamentary discourse has been analysed. *Discourse* is a form of social action and interaction (Van Dijk 1997:20). Discourse and politics are interrelated in the sense that language is used by politicians as a tool to achieve their goals and to influence and persuade their audience. *Political discourse analysis* can be treated as a sub-category of discourse in general and can be based on two criteria: functional and thematic (Schäffner, 1996). It is mainly concerned with investigating the language used in the political arena, such as debates, speeches, interviews, and hearings. Political language is designed to

achieve certain goals, such as convincing the target audience to accept the ideas, beliefs, and points of view of the speaker. *Parliamentary discourse* is a sub-genre of political discourse; Van Dijk (1997, p.20) argues that ‘discourse in parliament is only political when it is overtly part of, and functional within the parliamentary debates, if it is for the record’.

One way of investigating political discourse is by adopting a pragmatic approach; for example, Wilson’s (1990) investigation adopted a pragmatic approach to analysis by excluding the nonverbal cues, such as gesture, posture, facial expression, and the like, and focused instead on the role of verbal devices. *Pragmatics* is generally defined as the study of language usage (Levinson 1983, p. 5). In our sense, we are dealing with discourse and conversational analysis. Levinson (1983) argued that pragmatics is the study of aspects of discourse structure while Wilson’s (1990) approach was mainly concerned with describing the micro-structure of political talk limited to presupposition, pronominal, self-reference, metaphors, and question strategies. He found that applying a pragmatic approach to political talk can produce a larger body of insights into the nature of the discourse beyond its simple linguistic meaning. His work indicates the need to restrict the study to certain linguistic elements regarding the analysis of political talk and provides support for the direction of this thesis, as it is limited to describing two linguistic devices, namely, pronouns (Chapters 5 & 6) and questions (Chapters 7 & 8).

Chilton’s (2004) study examined the micro-structure of language in the British parliament, focusing on individuals’ interaction. His investigation highlighted the importance of understanding the macrostructure of institutional rules and procedures (see chapter 4) before applying any discursive analysis to the micropatterns. The main focus of his chapter on parliamentary language was on the interactions that occur during question time. Understanding the function of political discourse from a pragmatic perspective and looking at the effective linguistic tools used in question and debating time has formed the base for this thesis and directed the research towards investigating the micro level of language, as it is an effective persuasive tool that affects the speakers’ discourse. Jones (1994, p.5) stated that ‘at the micro level we use a variety of techniques to get our own way: persuasion, rational argument, irrational strategies, threats, entreaties, bribes, manipulation anything we think will work’. Chilton (2004: p.92) viewed the emphasis on the micro-structure of language as primarily and politically significant in showing the interaction among individuals and argued that these interactions give rise to the macro goals of the discourse. The aim of this thesis is to examine

the micro-structure of the language used by members as a means and technique for persuasion in their debates.

One of the leading scholars who have investigated parliamentary discourse is Ilie (2003a, 2003b, 2006, 2009, 2010a, 2010b, 2013, 2015a, 2015b, 2015c and 2018). She has explored parliamentary discourse from a pragmatic and rhetorical perspective and has highlighted the linguistic and rhetorical dimensions of parliamentary discourse, focusing on macro and micro-level investigations of parliamentary debating procedures, parliamentary question–answer patterns, and politeness principles and argumentation strategies across parliaments. She has explored parliaments as the most dynamic political institutions of democratic societies and as representing a traditional setting for open, confrontational dialogue among elected members of the citizenry (Ilie 2015c, p.1). Her work emphasises the importance of understanding the macro level of parliamentary discourse, and the rules and constraints which operate there, as these influence the examination of the micro linguistic tools employed by members as a rhetorical device. Ilie’s analysis and methodologies were superficial as she failed to dedicate her work to a certain approach. Her papers and work seemed experimental, they were incomplete and didn’t connect to each other. This was reflected in her analysis as she did not present a clear step by step approach that can be applied to the study of parliamentary discourse. She presented many methods and possible ways of analysing parliamentary discourse, but she failed to carry on and fully define and explain the application of a specific method. However, it’s undeniable that that reading her work gave me inspiration and lead me to my analysis as her direction and analytical techniques inspired and motivated this thesis. It just needed adding more layers through using other studies and evidence to complete her views and create a clear and approachable form of analysis.

One of the first things that Ilie has drawn particular attention to is the macro-level of debates by publishing several papers on parliamentary debates (2003, 2006, 2010b, 2018), showing that there are three discourse frames: spatial-temporal, participant, and interaction. The importance and influential nature of these frames is reflected in the fact that they were applied in Fetzer’s (2013) collection. The chapters in this edited volume explored the pragmatics of political discourse by examining the macro structure of discourse in relation to political discourse. Furthermore, in her book, Saftoiu (2013) applied the spatial-temporal frames to her analysis of the Romanian Parliament. Her study found that seating ‘space’ has an effect on the debates, as the British House of Commons seating raises confrontation while in the Romanian

parliament, MPs are seated in a semi-circular form, all facing a central area where the President of the Chamber sits together with the vice-presidents and two secretaries. In this setting, the main speaker goes to the rostrum and delivers his/ her speech or makes interventions, if previously announced by the President of the Chamber. This means that interaction within the Romanian Parliament is conventional and is regulated by a set of rules included in various official documents. Her analysis of forms of address and activities during parliamentary sessions revealed that MPs use various forms of address to construct a set of identities, social and professional, and then act according to them during their debates. This proves that although communication in the Parliament looks more like a sequence of monologues, each of the monologues “reveals the constant presence of the speaker’s dialogic attitude” (Ionescu-Ruxăndoiu 2012, p.152). This emphasises the significance of analysing individual members’ discourse as each has a rhetorical motivation. We will see later that this lack of interactivity is a feature of discourse in the SSC.

Ionescu-Ruxăndoiu (2012) called such a direction towards the study of political discourse the pragma-rhetorical approach combining both pragmatic and rhetorical studies as they emphasize both the micro and macro-structure of parliamentary discourse. Her volume about parliamentary discourse across cultures includes a selection of papers that discuss studies on European parliaments with a focus on the Romanian parliament in particular. The authors in this volume commonly deal with parliaments as communities of practice and of discourse, and, in order to do so, they are inspired by institutional interactionism, by historical conceptualism and contextualism, and by linguistic pragmatics and rhetoric. The pragma-rhetorical approach was used to examine the micro-structure of elements such as *surtout* “above all” and the use of *si* “if” in French in European Union Parliament debates. Although in the chapter about this approach the writers did not directly refer to Ionescu-Ruxăndoiu’s pragma-rhetorical approach directly, the methodology of applying this approach was discussed in the introduction of the book where she described the macro-structural level through observing multileveled elements as in:

The general organization of the discourse: opening and closing sequences; basic sequences; dialogical sequences; local adjustments. The degree of observing/violating the institutional norms and constraints. The general orientation of the discourse towards consensus or confrontation; relative weight and forms of

agreement and disagreement; possibilities and forms of mediation. The relative weight and forms of expressing rationality and emotion in the discourse structure. The general structure of argumentation.

Ionescu-Ruxăndoiu (2012, p.11)

She viewed the micro-structural level from a pragmatic perspective, as it accounts for speech acts, actional and interactional discourse aspects, as well as aspects concerning the argumentative dimension. Some of these aspects are speech acts (direct and indirect acts; forms of indirectness), deixis (mainly, designations for the speaker and the addressees), the implicit; forms and strategies of implication; the split of the speaker's voice: polyphony and multivocality (applies to pronouns in chapter 8); politeness/ impoliteness strategies (on record/off record strategies); and meta-communicative forms. Regarding basic actional aspects, it focuses on address forms and other forms, forms of reaction from the audience and dialogic strategies while regarding basic interactional aspects, the micro-level aspect of argumentation includes sources and types of arguments, argumentative strategies, fallacies, and argumentative connectives.

A more thorough approach to the study of parliamentary discourse is a pragma-rhetorical approach applied by Ilie (2018), who applied it to political discourse analysis from a gender perspective by comparing Clinton and Obama during a political interview and from a parliamentary perspective by looking at parliamentary questions in the UK House of Commons. Our concern at this point is how she applied it to parliamentary discourse, as she looked at the metadiscourse framing strategies in question-answer sequencing, as has been illustrated with a case study based on the questioning and answering practices during a PMQs session in the UK parliament featuring an adversarial encounter between the Prime Minister Gordon Brown and the leader of the Opposition David Cameron. The findings show that, unlike the questioning strategies in courtroom interaction, which are meant to elicit specific answers and to rule out unsuitable ones, parliamentary questioning strategies (Ilie 1999), especially during PMQs, are not intended to elicit particular answers but rather to score points by criticizing, accusing, embarrassing, and/or challenging the respondent/the Prime Minister to make uncomfortable, damaging, or self-revealing declarations (see chapter 6 on questions). By applying a pragma-rhetorical approach, she targeted the emergence and co-construction of meaningful interpersonal communicative interaction. Ilie supported this approach, as she

recognised it to be fine-grained and multi-layered; pragmatics have been complemented by the analytical tools of rhetoric (rhetorical appeals, persuasive argumentation mechanisms) to better address the challenges of political discourse genres that tend to target a wide and diverse audience and therefore have to display increasing heterogeneity and multiple goal-settings (Ilie 2018, p.113). Her study is a good example of the application of the pragma-rhetorical approach on parliamentary studies, however her application will not be followed in this thesis as each political establishment is different and the SSC is unlike any other. Nonetheless, her study motivated the direction of this thesis as will be discussed in Chapter 3.

All these studies have served as models for the present study introducing the combination of pragmatics and discourse in discourse analysis studies, as they feed into the overall understanding of the discourse direction and goal.

2.2 Language and gender in talk

Following on from the previous section where I described language practices in the parliament, I here comment and expand on how these practices can be seen in relation to gender. As this thesis is concerned with gender, it compares male and female speakers' linguistic tools. In the present time, gender has moved from being studied as a (a priori) characteristic of the speaker (that was somehow reflected and translated into language) to a fluid and dynamic dimension that is shaped or constructed by and in language (Litosseliti & Sunderland, 2002). It is suggested that men and women use language differently for different means and in order to answer RQ 1.1 'To what extent do male and female members differ in their use of rhetorical proofs during Council debates?' and RQ 1.3 To what extent do female members present themselves as newcomers in the Saudi Shura Council? (see Chapter 1, section 1.3), we need a comprehensive view about the causes for such differences and whether there is as big a difference as the previous literature on language and gender has claimed. Cameron (1996) described gender as "an extraordinary intricate and multi-layered phenomenon – unstable, contested, intimately bound up with other social divisions" (1996, p. 33). However, Wodak (1997) made the point that notwithstanding the outside context, the study of gender must be strictly related to the social and cultural construction of men and women. Women in Saudi, like women in the rest of the world, have suffered from cultural constraints, which have led to their late inclusion in the political field (see section 1.1). We might expect such a situation to cause (male) dominance over females as in Zimmerman and West (1975), Fishman (1983), Spender

(1980), and Tannen (1993), who all argued that men, through language and in different ways (e.g., interruptions), tended to dominate women.

Women in the workforce and especially in politics are expected to conform to the male norms of professional behaviour (Tannen, 1990), and this may be the case in the SSC. According to Tannen (1990, p.77), women and men have different speech styles; she defines them as "rapport-talk" and "report-talk" respectively. "Rapport-talk" for women means that conversations in private settings involve language for intimacy and to create social connections, while for men, conversations are for information, and thus involve "report-talk" (ibid., 1990, p.77). Pennebaker (2011) explained this in a simple way: women talk more about people, and men talk more about objects and things. While a large number of studies have dealt with parliamentary discourse in general and gender in particular, analysing females' linguistic behaviour in a public male-dominated setting will give a better understanding of the expectations of how Saudi women will act as newcomers in the political domain.

2.3 Women and Parliament

Rather than dwelling on the long history of studies on language and gender at large, in reviewing the literature, I want to favour studies which have explored the effect of gender in parliamentary language practices, since this is naturally closer to the focus of the thesis. Regarding the UK House of Commons, one of the oldest parliamentary institutions in the world, Walsh argued that in the period 1945-1983, elected women mainly seemed to "have internalized prevailing masculinist discursive norms, rather than seeking to challenge them" (2001, p. 67). Meanwhile, in the US, Yu's (2013) corpus study of Congressional speeches from the 101st to the 110th Congress 1989–2008 set out to examine gender differences in language use in the setting of political debates. Her study was superficial and mainly relied on the trend analysis of certain linguistic features, rather than going into details about their uses and context. But noteworthy, and praiseworthy about the paper is the sheer size of the corpus which she interrogates. Yu found that females did not conform to the male norms of the congress. As women used longer words and fewer pronouns, which are suggested as a characteristic of masculine language (Biber et al., 1998; Koppel et al., 2003). Congresswomen also used fewer articles and more emotion words in all five emotion subcategories (positive feeling, optimism, anxiety, anger, and sadness), which is consistent with the findings of previous studies on stereotypical feminine language characteristics (Haas 1979, Mullany 2007). The trend analysis

further discovered that all of the differential patterns that have exhibited more than a small effect have actually remained consistent over the past 20 years, regardless of the topics of debate and the number of Congresswomen in the House. Female legislators seem to have formed a unique style that combines female characteristics and professional expectations and that conforms to some masculine language forms. This study also found a new pattern of gender difference that has not been reported in the literature: female legislators used more possessive first-person pronouns (*our* and *my*), while males used more nominative ones (*we* and *I*). This means that females in the congressional field have favored possessive forms over first-person pronouns. What we don't get in her study is an exploration of how these pronouns are used. A detailed exploration of the context is missing. Whilst her findings about first person pronouns can support this thesis, it will be interesting to see if the case is the same in the SSC.

Shaw (2000) examined gender and turn taking in parliamentary settings. In her study of the British House of Commons, she states that "political debates are speech events which foreground issues of power and the 'floor', and allow the opportunity of assessing the ways in which the gender of participants affects their construction as more or less powerful participants in debates" (Shaw, 2000: p.401). Male speakers tend to make illegal interventions and break the rules more frequently in their parliamentary debates than women do, which gives them control over the floor. This shows that male speakers have different norms of interaction from those of female speakers in the parliament, which leads to the finding that male and female members belong to the same "community of practice", but on different terms according to gender. Thus, her study shows that there are different norms of interaction between male and female speakers, which is something this research investigates.

Christie (2003) explored the realization of gender in parliamentary debate through the analysis of the different ways in which male and female MPs use politeness resources within their practice. She suggested that the concern about the voice of others being heard and valued may be related to a broader pattern in parliamentary debate than the data she had examined had brought to light. She indicated that one way in which gender is realized in this practice is through a female MPs' clear concern to observe the transactional norms of brevity, informativeness, and relevance in parliamentary discourse through their choice of language, which is also apparent in their limited use of apologies compared to male MPs in the study. In turn, this concern may be related to a pattern found by Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (1995), the findings of which suggested:

“an extension of the generalization that women have to do much more than men simply to maintain their place in the standard language market [...] women may have to use linguistic extremes in order to solidify their place, wherever it might be.”

(Eckert & McConnell-Ginet 1999, p.195-6)

This is in accordance with Wodak (2003), who, in her study of the EU parliament, hypothesizes that women “have to justify their existence [...] and often they have to compete with conservative stereotypes, whereas men are spared this kind of legitimization pressure” (p.688). She found that the MEPs interviewed constructed themselves as having one of three types of habitus, i.e., ‘assertive activist’, ‘expert’ and (making a) ‘positive difference’. While insisting on the intersectionality of MEP identities – e.g., national, political, and gender, Wodak (2003) argues that gender (as a social construct) may well affect the linguistic practices used by men and women to describe their political role in a gendered space. In addressing this issue, Christie (2003) argues that debate data give evidence that the community exists as a practice and that women can be viewed as apprentice members. In chapters 6 and 8 of this thesis, I will explore the roles female Shura members tend to inhabit during debates.

In a later article, Shaw (2006) analyses the ‘female voice’ and women’s transgression of rules. Her findings support what she argued in 2000, namely, that women tend to adhere to the rules more than do their male counterparts, who use transgressing rules to wield power in the lower Chamber of the UK parliament (the House of Commons). Interestingly, this adherence to the rules (e.g., parliamentary language) is connected to women’s attitude in consciously objecting to male practices, as women also believe that this will give them an advantage as powerful ‘core’ members of the CoP. Shaw’s arguments on women and rule breaking suggest, on the one hand, that there is a gender differential in participation in parliament but also that women, as a group of politicians, are viewed as ‘interlopers’, and therefore, they tend to behave differently from the ‘other’ gender group (male politicians), as they may observe themselves as outsiders.

In comparing the language behaviour of men and women parliamentarians, Ilie examines strategies of (mis)using forms of address in the UK and Swedish parliaments to undermine political opponents and to achieve different goals, e.g. exercising power (Ilie, 2010a, 2013; see 5.2.7 for a review). Similarly, in an investigation into the use of metaphors used by male and female British parliamentarians, Charteris-Black (2009) argues that men use more metaphors

as part of experienced and skilled politicians' rhetoric, thereby signalling themselves as both new and old practitioners of 'political' language in the parliament.

Formato (2014), on the other hand, discusses gender construction in the Italian parliament, by looking at address forms, such as *Noi* 'we' first person plural pronouns (see chapter 7), and violence metaphors in parliamentary debates on violence against women. Formato's research analysis suggests that the 'male' norm is still used when speakers address or attract the attention of female politicians, as masculine unmarked forms are still used to address female delegates, e.g., Signor Ministro. Female address forms are mostly used by females to address each other (p.339). This reveals that there is a gender difference concerning the address forms used among the members in the Italian parliament.

These studies demonstrate that there are some fruitful avenues to explore when it comes to comparing the linguistic practices of male and female Council members in the SSC. Particularly focusing on rhetorical devices and the use of pronouns, both of which we will return to later in this thesis.

2.3.1 Women act for women

One of the main characteristics that has appeared in the investigation of gender difference in parliament is that women act to represent women. Female MPs often identify a set of issues that they regard as 'women's issues' (Hansen 1997; Childs 2002; Bird's 2005), and they express a readiness to 'act for' women (Childs 2004). Survey analysis has shown that female MPs, in comparison to their male colleagues, share a greater concern for women's interests (Norris 2000; Lovenduski and Norris 2003).

Lovenduski and Norris (2003), analysing women's participation in the UK parliament, discuss the substantial contribution that female MPs make in both the frontstage and back-stage of the Parliament. The rise of female MPs increases the chance of changing the proportion of female and male MPs and contributes to modifying the parliamentary culture over time. In addition, female MPs specifically tend to work on topics such as sex equality in politics and in other fields, such as family-related matters and issues concerning women at different stages of their life.

Confirming this, Bird's (2005) study into oral and written questions found that the sex of the questioner was a predictor when it came to whether the question related to 'women', 'men' or 'gender'. Her study was limited to looking at these words and identifying the themes in which these words were used rather than looking at the context of their discourse, which does not tell us much about their linguistic performance. However, her findings were useful for the analysis of this thesis, she found that women were more likely to ask questions about gender-related issues is. Questioners also shared an understanding of the main issues that affected women: employment, domestic violence, political representation, and health were most frequently addressed. These questions support the finding that women MPs recognize and identify with 'women's issues' (Bochel and Briggs 2000; Childs 2002). Similar findings emerge from Catalano (2009), as female politicians were more willing to raise issues related to 'women' and/or 'gender' than were their male counterparts. However, she failed to tell us anything about what the female politicians had to say, and it does not explore the content of their contribution whether females were supportive of other women or not. So, it is only useful up to a point. What we need are more studies focussed on the linguistic performance of men and women, not just the frequency with which they use certain words in their speeches.

One may wonder why women would engage in such topics, taking a broader perspective on the topic of women and politics. True (2013, p. 357) proposes that women's current participation in public life and involvement in gender-awareness issues does not necessarily solve the deep-rooted inequality in women's economic and social status. However, women still act for women and speak on their behalf by addressing their issues in their debates, as it may reflect their feeling of injustice and the need to reach a solution. It was interesting to explore whether female SSC members felt under still greater pressure to advocate for women in Saudi Arabia.

2.3.2 Gender sexism in parliament

Moving on to consider the potential for sexism in language use, Sunderland (2004) reports the challenges feminist linguists have faced in the past to achieve gender-inclusive language, amongst which is the embedded sexism prevalent in (early) English grammar books (17th-18th centuries but also later), e.g., male firstness and use of the generic 'he'. More recently, reforms have aimed at reducing women's invisibility in language as well as in society, e.g., through

discouraging the use of generic terms (chairman), redefining asymmetries to balance address terms (Mr and Miss/Mrs) and promoting fairer descriptions of generic and address forms (e.g., Ms, see 5.2.1) in dictionaries and grammar books. As Walsh (2001, p.70) has found, during that period, women suffered from instances of verbal sexual harassment as one of obstacles that female parliamentarians encountered in the Lower Chamber of the UK parliament.

One of the studies that focused on sexism in parliamentary discourse is by Ilie (2018), who examined the discrimination and sexism that women face in the UK parliament. She focused on the multi-level analysis looking at three recurrent strategies: objectifying women MPs through fixation on personal appearance rather than professional performance (e.g., making trivialising comments about women's hair and style of dress); patronizing women MPs through the use of derogatory forms of address (e.g., directly addressing them by the terms of endearment "honey", "dear", "woman"); and stigmatizing women MPs through abusive and discriminatory labelling (e.g., ascribing to them stereotypically insulting names). Her findings reveal that women are still challenged in the parliamentary platform and are still treated as newcomers and that their institutional legitimacy is still called into question. At the same, she found that with time, women are becoming more solidly established in parliament and are increasingly in a position to react to gender discrimination and sexist behaviour.

In this section, I have reviewed previous key studies on female and male parliamentarians. I have shown that there is a complex relation between gender(ed) practices and roles in the workplace and how male and female MPs tend to use language, both the differences and the similarities. This forms part of the investigation of the language phenomena (RQ 1.1-1.3, 2.1-2.3, 3.1-3.3) and the construction of gender in the parliament by groups of male and female speakers (overarching RQ).

2.4 Arabic political discourse

Regarding research on political discourse and parliamentary language, the focus so far in this thesis has been on Western political institutions. However, in this section, I shed light on studies analysing Arabic political discourse in particular and illustrate the common features of this discourse to examine the similarities and differences between the Arabic and the English political speeches. There is a significant gap in the literature in relation to Middle Eastern parliamentary language, especially in relation to political speeches given by women. Amaireh's (2013) study, "A Rhetorical Analysis of the English Speeches of Queen Rania of Jordan",

sought to remedy this. To my knowledge, this is the only investigation devoted to the speeches of a female Arabic public figure. Political speeches more generally have received considerable attention in rhetorical analysis; some Arabic studies have analysed the rhetoric of key political figures. Both Al-Hammed (1991) and Shunnaq (2000) analysed the political speeches delivered by the late Egyptian President Gamal Abdul Nassir while Mahadin (1995) and Nusir (1998) analysed the speeches of the late King Hussein of Jordan, and Al-Osaimi (2000) analysed the persuasive techniques of the speeches of the late Faisal ibn Abd al-Aziz, King of Saudi Arabia from 1964 until 1975. In addition, El-Zu'bi (2000) analysed the speeches of Prince Hassan bin Talal of Jordan, and Al-Rawabdeh (2005) analysed the speeches of King Abdullah II of Jordan. Abdel-Moety (2015) analysed president El-Sisi's inaugural speech using rhetorical analysis while, similarly, Aboraas (2017) has analysed the rhetorical means used by the former Saudi Minister of Foreign Affairs Adel Al-Jubair. These speeches were characterised in terms of rhetorical analysis. All these studies have provided insight into some collective characteristics of Arabic political discourse.

2.4.1 Arabic rhetoric

Every culture shapes rhetoric to its own cultural means, which means that different cultures have different rhetorical tendencies (Kaplan, 1966, p.1). This is referred to as the “contrastive rhetoric” hypothesis. It could be argued that the term ‘culture’ is a vague concept and must be analysed in terms of variables. Previously, scholars in the field of linguistics have tended to classify culture as the influences on a person associated with the region that he or she derives from, such as in Japanese culture, US culture, or French culture. However, his notion has been criticized as “homogenous, and as all-encompassing systems of rules or norms that substantially determine personal behaviour” (Atkinson, 1999, p.626).

The cultural identity of an individual can also be influenced by other subcultural factors than merely the demographic culture in which he or she resides, like family background, regional background within the home country, socioeconomic class, religious culture, the culture of the education system in his or her country, and influence from other larger regional cultures outside of the individual's home region (Atkinson, 1999, p. 626; Kaplan, 1966, p. 3).

2.4.2 Arabic oratory history

Greek philosophy played an important role in the formation of Arab and Muslim culture (Hamod, 1963, p.97), especially during the reign of the caliph Al-Ma'mun (ruled 813-33), as he encouraged massive translation of Greek logic and philosophy into Arabic. Thanks to *Bait AlHikmah*⁵, which Al-ma'mun founded around 830 CE, Aristotle's *Organon* was translated into Arabic in 840 CE. However, the Arabs did far more than merely translate Aristotle's works: "They studied it, considered it, reconciled its paganism with their own monotheism, and transmitted both the original texts and their responses to those scholars who followed" (Borrowman, 2008, p. 346). In addition, AlOsaimi (2008) found that Arabs, like the Greeks, are oral people; therefore, they rely more heavily on oral than written persuasion.

AlOsaimi (2008) uses the words 'Muslim' and 'Arab' interchangeably in describing rhetoric, as he believed that they complement each other. He describes Arabic rhetoric as Islamic, though others have criticized this usage, as it limits Islamic oratory to Friday sermons rather than everyday oratory. However, Islam is a religion that encompasses all aspects of Muslim life, combining state with religion. Thus, mosques are multifunctional institutions, being not only places for worship but also places for education, for consultation, and for religious as well as political debates. Friday sermons link life to religion, as they have a social and political content: "It's a manifestation of the importance of rhetoric and persuasion in Islam, every Friday a rhetorical situation is created and consequently a rhetorical discourse is invited" (Al-Osaimi, 2008, p.17). He explains that the connection between Islamic and Western rhetoric goes back to Mehren (1853), who was the first to bring Muslim rhetoric to the attention of western writers. Arabic Islamic rhetorical tradition is very similar to the western system of rhetoric in one important way: they are both built on the ideas of persuasion (Merriam 1974, p.43-49). Nonetheless, the characteristics of rhetoric from Islamic tradition differ from the Aristotelian view concerning enthymematic argument; thus, an argument was viewed as probable by Aristotle while Muslim theologians believed it was certain. This goes back to Muslim theologians believing that absolute knowledge is conveyed through the Glorious Qur'an and prophetic traditions. It is the source of certainty, as being uncertain means questioning the truth of religion. Hamod (1963, p.97) suggested that Muslim rhetorical theory is unique, as it is basically a style-centred theory in which the major emphasis is on embellished and ornate

⁵ Meaning 'The House of Wisdom' an academic centre for learning and transmission of classical wisdom in Baghdad, Iraq.

language rather than content. He also suggested that all arguments based on the Quran and the Sunnah are persuasive devices among Muslims, whereas non-Muslims find logical and dialectical arguments more effective (ibid., p.98).

2.4.3 The characteristics of Arabic speeches

The main objective of this section is to investigate the characteristics of Arabic political speeches in particular. It also compares them to English speeches in order to consider the similarities and the differences between the two types. The characteristics of Arabic speeches, as several studies have revealed, are similar to those of other western studies but have some distinctive features that are linked to the Arabic culture and religion. A brief outline of the common features of Arabic political speeches is presented, as the speeches analysed in this study are in the Arabic language. Knowing the characteristics of Arabic political speeches allows me to investigate the members' style in their debates and to examine whether they are influenced by the Arabic stylistic features of political language or whether they develop their own distinctive style.

2.4.3.1 Emotiveness

Emotiveness helps the speakers appeal to the audience's emotions; the speeches may reflect feelings like happiness, sadness, excitement, and even disappointment through the use of particular words that stir the audience's emotions. The rhetorical studies carried out by Al-Hammed (1991), Mahadin(1995), Nusir (1998), Al-Osaimi (2000), El-Zu'bi (2002), and Amaireh (2013) reveal that Arabic political speeches are highly emotive and rely on vocabulary designed to elicit strong emotional reactions from the audience.

2.4.3.2 Repetition

Politicians frequently use repetition to emphasize their points and hammer home their ideas. Indeed, repetition can make a speech more memorable; there is a strong connection between repetition and memory, as through repetition, the audience relies on memory, while the speaker recalls the audience's attention and directs them to a previous point, he / she has explained. This phenomenon is dominant in political speeches in general and in Arabic political speeches in particular. A great deal of research has centred on the phenomenon of repetition in Arabic political speeches. AlHammed (1991), Nusir (1998), Shunnaq (2000), AlOsaimi (2000),

ElZu'bi (2002), and Amaireh (2013) studied Arabic political speeches and observed that repetition was frequently found in their discourse as a persuasive device to influence the audience and convince them of the speaker's point of view. This may be because the Quran also has a lot of repetition; therefore, it can be said that this characteristic is borrowed from the Quran.

2.4.3.3 Religious References

Religious expressions and images are pervasive in Arab political speeches in general and are used to strengthen the speaker's argument. Chilton (2004, p. 173-193) identified the role of religion in political discourse as it appeared in US political speeches as 'Bush' and Muslim discourse 'Bin Laden'. Indeed, some US presidents, like Clinton and Bush, have used religious language in their speeches. In comparison, a closer examination of Arabic political speeches reveals that more frequent recourse to religious resources is made in these speeches than in English ones. This feature was evident in all the studies of Arabic political speeches. Arabic orators tend to quote verses from the Holy Qur'an and Sunnah (Prophet Mohammad's sayings) in order to be more persuasive. This characteristic was revealed in the research by AlHammed (1991), AlOsaimi (2000), Shunnaq (2000), El-Zu'bi (2002), AlRawabdeh (2005), Amaireh's (2013), Abdel-Moety (2015), and Aboraas (2017). The reason for the use of the Holy Qur'an and the Sayings of the Prophet Mohammad is that they are viewed as the ultimate sources of credibility in the Arab and the Muslim worlds. The vast majority of Arabs are religious people who adhere to their faith. Therefore, if any orator wants to approach them, he /she should argue based on these Holy resources.

2.4.4 Saudi political discourse

When it comes to Saudi political discourse, not much research can be found but one of the leading studies that has affected this research is AlOsaimi (2008), who examined speeches by King Faisal Al-Saud when he was the king of Saudi Arabia from 1964 until 1975. He sheds light on the fact that persuasive techniques can be culturally specific since each culture has different values and perceptions which will be drawn upon to influence their discourse (AlOsaimi, 2008 p. 251). This is supported by what he has found in Al-Faisal speeches regarding the means of persuasion in Saudi culture. He linked Arab oratory to Islamic rhetoric in general, as the results of the study show that King Faisal's speeches were conditioned by his Islamic faith, as he combined liturgical and political language effectively. In his arguments, he

was greatly influenced by the Quran and Prophetic traditions. He tended to quote verses from the Holy Qur'an and the Sunnah of the Prophet Mohammad to support his arguments and make them more persuasive. Such a finding shows the strong connection between religion and politics. The King also used others means of persuasion, such as logical, emotional, and ethical appeals. This suggests the applicability of the Aristotelian method to non-western discourse. As such, the application of rhetorical practices will be explored in the analysis chapters of this thesis.

In a more recent study of Saudi politics, Aboraas (2017) presented a case study of speeches the former Saudi Minister of Foreign Affairs Adel Al-Jubair made in 2016 and 2017. Aboraas used CDA to reveal the use of analogy and argumentation as the persuasive techniques employed in this discourse. His analysis covered notions of reiteration, modality, register, intertextuality, topics, presupposition and implicature, pronominal distribution, and nominalization. He found that in order to be persuasive, Al-Jubair used a cohesive and connected style to deliver his ideas. He also made his speeches have greater impact through using metaphors as he made cross-references between the two divine texts, namely, the Quran and the Bible. Furthermore, nominalization is a technique used to maintain detachment from positions Saudi might be blamed for and to create curiosity on the part of the audiences. The persuasive styles like reiteration, intertextuality, and register are clear language signals which are aimed at persuading people of Al-Jubair's presentation points. Al-Jubair's use of modality helped him achieve success in the sense that he was optimistic in his notes. He believed that his pronominal distributions were composed and effective. In all the speeches, he used pronouns like *we*, *I*, *our*, and *us* to indicate authority and responsibility in general and show political power, that is, the power of taking decisions. Furthermore, these pronouns produce an atmosphere of group solidarity and political unity, giving a feeling of closeness between Al-Jubair and his audience. Aboraas (2017) argues that the nominalization and passivisation adds depth of Al-Jubair's discourse. The researcher has shown clear bias towards his admiration of Aljubair oratory style and concludes that he has a unique rhetorical style to the point that he recommended that it should be taught.

These studies discussing Saudi politics were relevant; being concerned with rhetorical analysis, this thesis takes the same direction and these studies give an overview of the Saudi political practices in light of rhetoric.

2.4.4.1 *Saudi women situation and language studies*

AlGhathami (2013) examined the gender identity of Saudi females in single and mixed gender interaction by looking at the linguistic gender identity markers through examining mixed and single gender recorded conversations and the use of questionnaires. She examined involvement style like using minimal responses, hedging, assuming group membership by using given names, and using questions. An interesting finding is that she found that there is a shift in gender identity when women adopt male norms of speaking in mixed-sex conversation because there was a decrease in the number of instances of topic development and minimal responses. In addition, there was a decrease in interruptions and a higher number of questions. Most of the interruptions by women in mixed-sex conversation were for the purpose of maintaining their turn or for providing related details that required urgent presentation. As in West and Zimmerman's (1983) study, which showed that men neglect women's right to speak or to finish their turn, therefore women may feel the need to take a turn and interrupt. There was a reduction in turn-taking violations in mixed-sex conversations due to changes in the function and form. Women used this less in the presence of men, as most of their violations were to take a turn in the conversation, to change a topic, to reintroduce a topic that was not completed, or to engage in side talk with other female members in the conversation, ignoring the main conversation that was taking place.

She also found that hesitation was not found to be a linguistic strategy amongst Saudi women and that men had to change topics to get the attention of women because men were not interested in most topics. Similar to what West and Zimmerman (1983) found that when men communicate with women, they seem to interrupt more and provide less support to the topic under investigation as a result of their lack of interest.

Whilst the studies presented here have focused on everyday talk, we will be able to see if any of these patterns which emerged as mixed-sex interaction spill over into a more formal institutional setting.

Conclusion

All the studies discussed helped shape the direction of this study and show that parliamentary discourse can be covered from different multidisciplinary and cross-cultural approaches. The studies presented highlight the importance of linking the macro structure to the microstructure of the language of the parliament, especially in the SSC since it has not been studied from a linguistic perspective before. It also emphasizes the role of rhetoric in the Arabic culture, as it

became part of Arabic oratory and so is worth investigating its modern form. As such, I will provide a description of the general discourse structure of the Council before undertaking a microanalysis of members' talk. This allows an exploration of the style of talk female SSC members adopt, which the literature would predict as being in some ways distinctive from male members' talk. We would especially expect to find differences in the topics of questions, pronoun use, and rhetorical strategies members engage in based on the previous findings. From the Arabic rhetorical studies, we can see that the approaches of rhetorical analysis and Arabic political discourse are strongly linked. This shows the universality of Aristotle's rhetoric as it applies to the analysis of non-Western discourse.

Chapter 3 Methodology and Data

Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to outline the macrostructure of this thesis and also explain in detail how the selected data have been carefully chosen to fulfil the goals of the analysis. The first political representation for Saudi women in the Kingdom is the leading motivation for this study. There has been a lack of work on Saudi Parliamentary discourse from a linguistic perspective. This chapter moves us from the literature reviewed in chapter 2, to the general overall methods chosen in order to establish the direction of this thesis. Then a more detailed methodologies for the micro-structure of this thesis will be presented in Chapters 5 and 7 for the analysis of ‘questions and pronouns’ in this thesis and its intersection with gender in the SSC. In the first part of this chapter, I present how my thesis is informed by relevant approaches employed to analyse data in terms of discourse analysis, highlighting the theories and methods that I use for this study. Secondly, I introduce the objectives of this research. Thirdly, I present the data, i.e. the transcriptions of parliamentary debates, and provide a rationale for this choice that further contribute to the rationale of the project as a whole. I describe how the set of parliamentary debates was chosen, the reasons why and what challenges this has entailed. I also provide an overview of speakers’ details (gender, profession) in an attempt to provide as much information as possible on the contextual and situational factors that are relevant to this investigation of language in relation to gender in the SSC.

3.1 From literature to methods (researching the Council discourse)

This thesis aims to conduct a discourse analysis of the debates undertaken in the SSC as the approaches towards the analysis of the data for this study were adopted from the studies discussed in chapter 2. The main method adopted for the analysis of this thesis is a pragma-rhetoric approach applied by Ionescu-Ruxăndoiu (2012) and Ilie (2018) on the study of parliamentary discourse (discussed in chapter 2). Larrazabal and Koorta (2002) has explained that is a cognitive approach to both pragmatics and rhetoric, as they combine two kinds of intentions; communicative ‘pragmatic’ and persuasive ‘rhetoric’ intentions.

The main concerns of the rhetoric of political discourse (Charteris-Black 2005, Amaireh 2013, Ilie 2016b) and of the pragmatics of political discourse (Wilson 1990, Chilton 2004, Ilie 2015b) point in the same direction: political rhetoric focuses on the person-specific and situation-based persuasion techniques and argumentation strategies of politicians, while the pragmatics of political discourse focuses on deconstructing and reconstructing genre-specific mechanisms of deliberation, adversariality and power struggle underpinning discursive practices in political institutions.

3.1.1 Pragmatics

Pragmatic analysis is concerned with the communicative intention of the speaker (Larrazabal and Koorta 2002, Ilie 2010b; 2018) based on the work of Austin's (1962) speech acts, Grice's (1969, 1989) maxims and Searle's (1969) developed speech act theory. Pragmatic analysis examines the shifting aspects of meaning construction, transfer, deconstruction and reconstruction of language by focusing on the interpretation of context-sensitive multifunctional elements like utterances, ambiguities and misunderstandings (Ilie, 2018, p.90). It is concerned with mapping the ways in which the meaning(s) of utterances change in relation to the context of use, the time and goal of the interaction and the roles and relationships between the interlocutors (Ilie, 2018, p.90).

The studies reviewed in chapter 2 reveal that every parliament has its own norms which distinguish their linguistic practices from other parliaments. Therefore, we need to focus on many social, personal and political factors that govern members' interactions, as they affect their linguistic choices and the thoughts they present through discourse. From a pragmatic perspective, parliamentary discourse practices display distinctive institutional, interactional and interpersonal complexity through their multi-level instantiations of a particularly impactful political discourse genre (Ilie, 2018, p.103). The community of practice approach discussed in relation to gender and parliamentary discourse in section 2.3 can be extended to the wider context of parliamentary practices. At this point in accordance with Ilie's (2018, p.103) view, members of a parliament belong to the same community of practice where there are supposed to perform in accordance with institutional conventions by acting and interacting with each other both in adversarial and in collaborative ways (e.g. to advance opposite standpoints, to attack political opponents, to negotiate solutions, and to reach commonly agreed goals). She emphasised the fact that the appropriateness, relevance and impact of the MPs' speech acts

embedded in micro elements such as question-answer sequences can provide important clues about their underlying reasons, motivations and goals.

Connecting the macro and micro-structure analyses was encouraged by many researchers like Wilson's (1990), Chilton (2004), Ilie (2003, 2006,2009, 2010a, 2010b) and Fetzer (2013) all of whom encouraged a pragmatic approach towards the study of parliamentary discourse. Combining the general description of the Council debates and going through the transcribed corpora has led to the selection of particular linguistic elements to be analysed according to their reoccurrence and their effect on the argument. Therefore, the focus from a pragmatic perspective was triggered from the macro function of the Council discourse. Under investigation in this thesis are the micro-structure of questions and pronouns.

3.1.2 Rhetoric

The notion of rhetoric is ancient; it was developed as early as the first decades of the fifth-century B.C. in Greece (Richards, 2008, p. 1). Rhetoric is an art, which focused on how to use language in an effective and persuasive way. It is also the study of its use. Aristotle has defined rhetoric as “the art of discovering all the available means of persuasion in any given case”. He viewed rhetoric as an art that is composed of macro level principles, which must be applied flexibly depending on the relationship among speaker, audience and occasion. *Rhetoric* is a method of analysing discourse and investigating the persuasive techniques used in this discourse. It includes both speech and writing. This thesis applies rhetorical discourse analysis to analyse parliamentary discourse debates and its persuasive nature, it is concerned with oratory, as the aim of politics is to persuade, seek the support of people, excite them, or claim reform through political speeches. This approach was inspired by Western parliamentary and Arabic political discourse studies discussed in Chapter 2.

Political rhetoric, examines “common ways in which techniques of persuasion operate in political life; how argumentation strategies are employed to shape judgements” (Martin 2013, p.1). Rhetorical Political Analysis; is a study of political language, ideology, and strategy, showing the benefits of utilizing concepts from rhetoric for the analysis of political language (Ilie, 2018, p.87). Parliamentary debates are meant to achieve a number of institutionally specific purposes, namely position-claiming, persuading, negotiating, and agenda-setting and opinion building (Ilie, 2006, p.193). Rhetoric reinforces the persuasive intention of the speaker

(Larrazabal and Koorta, 2002) therefore, it is an important part of parliamentary debates as member's debates revolve around focused discussions about government policies and eliciting clarifications about reports from committees and ministries.

Ilie's (2018) has discussed the rhetorical approach in political discourse in relation to rhetorical genres and artistic proofs. She referred to three rhetorical genres; the deliberative, the forensic and the epideictic genres. She defined each as:

“1-The deliberative genre: typically, manifest in oratorical discourse whose target is an audience that has to make a decision by evaluating the advantages and disadvantages of a future course of action.

2-The forensic genre: recognisable in the rhetorical framing of actual involvement and accountability concerning past actions and interactions.

3-The epideictic genre: particularly focused on the discursively framed image and personal profile of a public person, political leader, etc.”

(Ilie, 2018, p.94)

Ilie identified parliamentary discourse practices as basically belonging to the deliberative genre of political rhetoric, and to a lesser extent to forensic and epideictic genres (Ilie, 2018, p.104). Its main function is targeting an audience that is asked to make a decision by evaluating the advantages and disadvantages of a future course of action (Ilie, 2018, p.104).

The other way of applying rhetorical analysis as followed by Ilie and others such as Andersen (2008), Charteris-Black (2014) and Formato (2014) is classical artistic proofs; they reflect on the speaker's persuasive intentions through the language they use in their debates. Despite the fact that the Aristotelian's classification of rhetoric was introduced hundreds of years ago, it is still being used as the theoretical framework for analyzing political language in modern times.

In order to gain a better understanding of these proofs, their origin needs to be identified as they came from Aristotle's rhetoric (1984) which is divided into five canons: *Invention, Arrangement, Style, Delivery* and *Memory*. This thesis is interested in speaker's persuasive intention which is connected to *invention*; the process of developing and reforming your arguments, it has a strong connection with persuasion as it includes the three artistic proofs.

Aristotle identified three proofs with each having a different appealing force; appealing to the character of the speaker ‘ethos’, appealing to emotions ‘pathos’ and appealing to argument or reasoning ‘logos’. These proofs are of importance to my analysis as they will be used to justify speakers’ intentions in choosing particular linguistic tools in their discourse.

Ethos, meaning “moral, showing moral character”. It is about establishing the speaker’s character and credibility through his/her ethical appeal – so it points towards the speaker rather than the audience. Ethos relates to speakers’ personalities and characters; they try to show their trustworthiness and reliability, which are reflected through communication (in Aristotle 1984, p. 2155). The audience is usually affected by the personality of the speaker and the image they have about this speaker in their minds.

Aristotle asserted that people trust ethical and credible people more than others, and this type of personality is more likely to persuade the target audience than others. It is the persona of the speaker or the constructed identity created for rhetorical purposes (Sloane, 2001, p. 267) one must establish a premise for the argument in order to gain credibility.

In its modern usage in rhetorical studies, ethos has a broader sense than the Aristotelian definition; it is the group of values and ethics that individuals or a community hold which are reflected in their language, their actions and their social standing (Cockcroft and Cockcroft, 1992, p. 19). It is about the communicator’s collective identity, which is multidimensional; it encompasses: family, origin, nationality, social status, personal characteristics and previous sayings and doings (Gunderson, 2009, p. 296). For example, King Salman’s nationality is a Saudi citizen, the current King of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia and the head of the government, his family, his speeches, his personal traits, his religious upbringing, his likes and dislikes of people and aspirations represent a substantial part of his ethos. Aristotle strongly believed that the speech itself should reflect the speakers’ credibility, not any prior knowledge of their history before they start speaking. On the other hand, and contrary to Aristotle, Wilson (1990), Cockcroft and Cockcroft (1992), AlOsaimi (2000) and Amaireh (2013) asserted that the previous image of the speaker is extremely important in enhancing persuasion; they believed that the audience is mainly influenced by the preconceived image of the speaker.

Modern rhetoricians have suggested that ethos has two parts: personality and stance. The first part of ethos is personality or the personal image of the communicator, which includes: dress, lifestyle, political charisma (voice, language) and appearance (Cockcroft and Cockcroft, 1992,

p. 20). The second dimension of ethos is stance, which can be defined as the position or the attitude of the person in relation to the self, topic and to the audience. The stance towards the topic is the way communicators involve themselves in the issues they address (Cockcroft and Cockcroft, 1992, p. 20). A communicator's stance can be consistent or inconsistent; he or she might / might not be committed to facing the demands of certain issues. Finally, the stance of the communicators towards the audience is achieved by the identification between the sender and the receiver, and the sender tries to use language that is familiar and close to the audience (Cockcroft and Cockcroft, 1992, p. 25).

Pathos, is the appeal to emotions or passions. Aristotle used this to express awakening emotion (pathos) in the audience so as to induce them to make the desired judgment (Aristotle, 1984. p.119). There are various ways that language can be used in order to move the audience and stir their emotions. Human-beings have a myriad of emotions which speakers can arouse in the audience such as: anger, calmness, friendship, kindness, unkindness, enmity, pity, pride, shame, love, hate, hope, fear, envy, greed, aggression, vengefulness, indignation, scorn, admiration, jealousy and generosity as Aristotle said in his Rhetoric (Aristotle, 1984, p. 2194-2213). Aristotle concentrated on the direct ways of appealing to the audience and stirring their emotions; however, there are other ways that can be used to move the audience and arouse their emotions. In addition to the direct arousing of the audience's emotions, there are indirect ways such as telling stories, quoting speeches or religious books, or asking rhetorical questions, all these linguistic tools may contribute to affecting the audience's emotions, and these and others will be discussed in the analysis chapters 6 and 8.

Telling stories is a strategy speakers' use to arouse people's emotions as demonstrated in the survey of literature on the features of political speeches. There is a great deal of research centred on the importance of storytelling in Western political speeches, especially those delivered in presidential campaigns where it had an effect on arousing the audience's emotions and convincing them of their points of view (Holloway 1987, Jamieson 1990, Gardner 2006, Andersen 2008). This feature also appeared in Amaireh's (2013) research in which she found that Queen Rania used this strategy to appeal to her audience and relate to them. Stories are not just told to entertain; they have essential functions in life; people tell stories in order to communicate and sustain social relationships.

AlOsaimi (2000) also found that the late King Faisal sought to arouse the audience's emotions by directly appealing to their feelings; he appealed to different emotions of courage, confidence, love, friendship, enmity, shame, benevolence, pity and calmness. As speakers may try to stimulate different feelings like hope, concern or consciousness in the audience to persuade them to do something or agree with their views. Using tools like stories and inclusive pronouns can engage the audience as will be discussed in the analysis chapters.

Logos is the third part of *Invention*, is about using logic and reasoning to convince the audience of the speaker's / writer's argument (Aristotle, *Rhetoric*, in Aristotle 1984, p. 2155). It depends on basing an argument on reason to persuade an audience through logic, as one must give logical reasoning to support an argument. An argument can be defined as interrelated claims and supporting reasons to reinforce the stance or the position of the arguer (Toulmin, 1958, p. 1, Toulmin, Rieke, & Janik, 1984, p. 13). Arguments from reason (logical arguments) have some advantages, namely that they require some form of data or evidence and so are more difficult to manipulate or to counter. Arguments can either be *inductive* from specific to general or *deductive* from a general principle to a specific case in hand (Jonsen and Toulmin, 1988). Speakers producing a logical argument, use reasoning and sound evidence like numbers and quotation of reports in order to convince their audience. The speakers should consider the audience when structuring their argument, so as to know what types of proofs they need to use to convince them.

There are different types of arguments according to the classical and modern classification. Toulmin (1952, 2003) has suggested different types of arguments that targets the persuasive intentions like; an argument from past time circumstances, arguing by quoting authoritative people, an argument from consequences, an argument from cause to effect and vice versa, an argument from statistics, an argument from analogy and other more frequent types of arguments used in order to convince the addressee(s) of the speakers' / writers' points of view.

After presenting the classification of rhetoric, we can see that the proofs presented can apply to any context of conversation. As Aristotle and Quintilian recognised that different contexts required different methods of persuasion: influencing political decisions would not require the same methods as teaching or lecturing. Therefore, rhetoric involves identifying, analysing and understanding the full range of the means of persuasion, and working out which are appropriate in particular circumstances (Charteries-Black, 2014, p.5). These proofs can be used in

parliamentary discourse analysis as suggested by Ilie (2010b, p.61), the discourse of MPs “is meant to call into question the opponents’ ethos, i.e. political credibility and moral profile, while enhancing their own ethos in an attempt to strike a balance between logos, i.e. logical reasoning, and pathos, i.e. emotion eliciting force.” These proofs can be used to analyse a speaker’s means of persuasion. The next section will highlight the relationship between rhetoric and pragmatics as the political domain is where rhetoric is enhanced and constitutes an indispensable element in this field.

3.1.3 Pragma-Rhetorical Approach

Pragmatics and rhetoric complement each other and so conducting an analysis of the micro and macro-structure of the debates in the SSC applying both approaches gives rise to a pragma-rhetorical approach. This approach has been applied to the cross-cultural pragma-rhetorical analysis of parliamentary insults (Ilie 2004), strategies of refutation in public speech (Ilie 2009) and to gendering election campaign interviews (Ilie 2011). A clear application of this approach on parliamentary discourse was proposed by Ionescu-Ruxăndoiu (2012) and Ilie (2018) who identified the different micro and macro elements that can be examined in parliamentary discourse (see section 2.1). In this section a general overview of this approach will be discussed to identify its role and contribution to parliamentary discourse analysis.

A connection between rhetoric and pragmatics was identified by Leech (1983, p.15). He was the first one to characterize the approach to pragmatics as “rhetorical”, in so far as it focuses on a goal-oriented speech situation. Modern theories have connected pragmatics to discourse when they defined rhetoric as “situated discourse” (Bitzer 1999, p.215) which makes all forms of human discourse rhetorical, as being produced in a particular situation. The combination of pragmatics and rhetoric as an analytical approach was suggested by Dascal and Gross (1999); marrying an ancient discipline such as rhetoric with a new discipline such as pragmatics resulted in a specific interdisciplinary theoretical and methodological framework for discourse analysis, combining pragmatics and rhetorical analysis.

One way to apply this approach is through adopting Larrazabal and Koorta’s (2002) view which suggested that this approach helps in fulfilling the communication intention ‘pragmatics’ and then the persuasive intention ‘rhetoric’ to achieve a successful persuasive-communicative action. These two approaches display differences in analytical focus, the theoretical

orientations of rhetoric and pragmatics complement each other in various ways. The overlap and integration between these two approaches, with particular emphasis on their use, motivated their application on the analysis of political discourse genres and practices. Both pragmatics and rhetoric are concerned with discursive and extra-discursive strategies that enable the negotiation and re-negotiation of context-situated meaning, and the co-performance of interpersonal and institutional relationships in terms of intentions and expectations (Ilie, 2018, p.88).

Integrating the two approaches involves joining a rhetorical perspectivalisation of pragmatic analysis and a pragmatic systematisation of rhetorical enquiry. The cross-fertilization of pragmatics and rhetoric makes perfect sense if we keep in mind that pragmatics focuses on language as it is used by human beings, whereas rhetoric focuses on human beings as they use language (Ilie, 2018, p.113). Ilie (2018, p.95) suggests that this approach combines ‘juxtaposing a pragmatic analysis of context-shaped interactions from the perspective of Gricean maxims with a rhetorical analysis from the perspective of rhetorical appeals of logos, ethos and pathos’.

What we can take from this description of the approach and the two studies that applied this on parliamentary discourse, is that each study had a different view towards the application of this approach as each institution has its own distinctive structure and rules that influence their debates and linguistic choices. This approach fits the direction of the present analysis as it emphasizes the effect of the institutional rules and procedures on the Council’s discursive practices. It reveals that the pragmatic, argumentative and rhetorical dimensions of any discourse are organically interwoven in the communicative reality. It is meant to restore the genuine convergence of the effects produced on each dimension as a result of a basic unifying function (the persuasive function, for the political discourse).

Applying a pragma-rhetoric approach requires a multi-levelled description of the communicative processes in the SSC. Parliamentary discourse is contextually relevant as it helps shape the mind of the recipients; other members as well as others as in the case of the SSC the Council of Ministers and the Kings see [Figure 1](#) and the public at large (Van Dijk, 2000, p.78). To provide a general understanding of the discourse context the socio-political situation of the Saudi context was presented in chapter 1. The speaker’s professional background is also presented in the data section 3.3. as this will be an influential factor

embedded in their persuasive and communicative intentions. Later in chapter 4 a macro investigation will include the application of Ilie's (2003a, 2003b, 2006) parliamentary activity framework. The activity framework was applied to describe the discursive practices of the Council which includes; the role of the Council, forms of address, session's opening and closing, the rules and regulation governing the SSC's discursive practices. After defining these macro elements, the micro linguistic elements that were used strategically by members in their debates are identified and the focus is directed towards questions and pronouns. The analysis of these linguistic elements included reference to the speaker's communicative and persuasive intentions. Integrating a pragma-rhetorical approach will develop a better understanding of the multi-level processes and forms of political discourse practices reflecting on participants' knowledge, beliefs and emotions, as well as in their interpersonal relations.

Pragmatics defines the speaker's intention as questions and pronouns are used strategically in discursive practices, in a way that influences the general structure of the argument. By contrast, rhetorical analysis considers the main macro levels involved in the process of persuading the audience. It interprets the same forms in relation to their contribution reflected in construing a certain image of the speaker and the process of influencing the reaction of the audience in a deliberate function.

In this chapter, I hope to have demonstrated the complementary nature of pragmatics and rhetoric and the contribution each makes to the analysis of discourse in the SSC, and specifically the micro-elements under investigation namely questions and pronouns.

3.2 Research objectives

In this section I will identify the objectives of this research to create a better understanding of the goals of this thesis and what it seeks to explore and find:

- 1- A general understanding of the SSC discursive practices.
- 2- The way male and female speakers operate in the same community of practice.
- 3- Explore gender difference in the debates of the council.
- 4- Explore the pragmatic devices members employ to achieve their communicative goals.
- 5- Discuss the micro-pragmatic form and the function of question and pronouns.

6- Analyse the macro-effect of these micro-linguistic elements as they are used as persuasive rhetorical devices influencing member's discourse and debates.

3.3 The dataset: SSC sessions

In this section, I describe the dataset and how I have collected the parliamentary debates discussing the challenges I have faced when transcribing the Council's videos (3.3.1). In 3.3.2, I discuss the process of data selection.

Saudi Arabia is the birthplace of Islam and home to Islam's two holy mosques, located in Mecca and Medina. The official language of the Kingdom is Arabic, Arabic has many dialects and using the Standard Classical Arabic is not practiced often as it is the language of the Holy Quran. The language of official discourse is Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) and is the H (High) variety as it serves for a high function; public pronouncements are publicly broadcasted and need to be formal and easily understood by the public, in contrast to the L (Low) variety which is used at home and in the private sphere (Romaine, 2000).

Parliamentary debates, namely the data I analyse, can be seen as a sub-genre of parliamentary discourse (other sub-genres are oral/written questions or reports of themed committees). Each debate in the SSC, as in other countries, is "a formal discussion on a particular topic which is strictly controlled by an institutional set of rules and presided over by the Speaker of the House" (Ilie, 2006, p. 193).

The data collected for this study need to serve the interest of the investigation of a social phenomenon (women in a traditionally male environment) in a micro context (the language used) within a macro context (the Saudi context). The fact that most parliaments have established their presence on the web makes the legislative process and parliamentary proceedings more transparent and subject to public scrutiny. The website of the SSC was my main source of the sessions and materials needed for the analysis of the council discourse – I consulted [\(https://www.shura.gov.sa/wps/wcm/connect/ShuraArabic/internet/Audio+and+Video/Council+Sessions/\)](https://www.shura.gov.sa/wps/wcm/connect/ShuraArabic/internet/Audio+and+Video/Council+Sessions/) in order to find data. The site has searchable databases of committee reports, records, hearings, votes, CV's and other parliamentary documents which were surveyed to understand the macro structure of the council. In this website, parliamentary

debates are available in the form of video recordings. The recordings are in Arabic, but the website has an English parallel version that provides translation for some general videos, albeit not for the recorded weekly sessions. Once I verified the availability of the data online for the public, I chose to use these datasets for my research.

3.3.1 Data collection of the parliamentary debates

The first step I had to take to start the analysis for this thesis was create my own dataset. In analysing the corpus of parliamentary debates, I took into consideration the limitations of the videos on the website, as they were not transcribed and that I had to personally pick and transcribe each session. In this sub-section I will explain this process in detail. The data is not transcribed and physically available like the Hansard Official Report of the proceedings of the United Kingdom (UK) Parliament (which itself is not a verbatim record of the language used). The transcription of the Council's spoken discourse needs to be carried out manually which makes the process of creating and developing a searchable dataset lengthy. But it has the advantage of being a transcript which more accurately reflects what is actually said in the Council. Shaw (2018) highlighted the risks of relying on the Official Reports of The British House of Commons- and so the process of transcription seeks to avoid similar pitfalls.

This study examines semi-spontaneous political discourse; a discourse partly pre-written as speakers ask for their turn to speak before the session and can be partly improvised by speakers. The sessions are broadcast on radio and television, as well as reported in the press and specialised publications. The data collection process started by checking the Council's website for the session's availability. I found a video archive for the period I want to focus on which is the 6th round, the point at which females joined the SSC from 2013 to 2017. The sessions available online are in Arabic with 70 sessions for each year, they vary in length from 20 to 60 minutes per meeting. In order to collect the debates and build my own corpus (with the aim of addressing the RQs) I selected a representative sample based on the amount of female participation extended over a period of time; to be able to evaluate their contribution. My main goal is having a sufficient data of females discourse by choosing sessions where they have participated the most, to have a comparable amount to the male discourse, as the females are only 30 out of 150 members and their participation may not appear in some sessions. Those sessions which had no female participation were excluded.

I picked 16 sessions 4 for each year, with a diachronic consideration by taking sessions from the beginning, the middle and the end of the year. This has applied to all sessions, however not for the 3rd year sessions as the available sessions were from the end of the year see Appendix A. Once the sessions were chosen, the transcription process started. Since my focus is on analysing conversations of video recordings, my transcription will follow the standard interactional sociolinguistic format developed by Gumperz (1982), focusing on the utterances produced and matters related to turn-taking. Marked by minutes and members' names, I have kept repetition, hedges and informal regional dialectal uses which are excluded from the official Hansard records. But for my analysis purposes I excluded phonetic elements such as intonation. The total of the 16 transcribed sessions reached 716 minutes/ 11.93 hours, 76,096 words excluding the beginning 'introductory music' and the end 'credits' of the videos, the main focus was on the spoken discourse starting and ending with the president of the council. The word count has included members' names to identify their turns for the general dataset.

From the data collected the discursive practices provided a general overview of the Council discourse, which built the basis of this research (see chapter 5). It revealed that parliamentary discourse is organised; this professional workplace for example has no random talk, no casual intervention, and no disruptive language use. The Council discourse appeared unsurprisingly normative, with guided rules and ritualized openings and closings which will be explained further in chapter 5.

3.3.2 Data selection for the analysis

In this section I will discuss the process that came after data collection, which is data selection, how the data was divided and processed for analysis purposes. After collecting my data and examining the council discourse, a macro structure of the Council discourse was built. Some micro elements have emerged from the data and proved to play a rhetorical role in members' participation during the sessions when they give their comments and feedback. For example, questions have appeared in my data without having an official questions time and they also did not receive an answer. This prompted the investigation of questions carried out in chapters 6 & 7. The investigation of pronouns is popular in political discourse and has proved to be effective as it revealed the speaker's position. This will be discussed in chapters 8 & 9. In order

to conduct a sufficient analysis for these micro elements the data was concentrated to focus on the debates only.

This means excluding the sessions opening and closing, turn giving by the president of the council and the committee members' presentation of reports as they do not contain any argumentative elements. This method was also applied by Formato (2014) in her analysis of the Italian parliamentary debates. The talk from the president of the Council and the Secretary General are ritualistic and are there to maintain order as giving turns, reading and casting votes. Also, the transcription of the Committee chair presenting their recommendation was excluded, as their participation did not contain any debating factors. These participations were to regulate the debates and obtain coherence during the sessions, in this case it was better to disregard them as including them would disrupt the goal of the analysis. The analysis of the linguistic elements of the debates was limited to members' debates regarding the presented recommendations and agendas. A separate word file was made for each session focusing on debates only. The corpus I will analyse is drawn from the file containing all the parliamentary selected extracts in a word file in chronological order. The first step was to divide the parliamentary debates according to years then I divided member's contributions according to the gender of the speakers in order to create two text files, one containing the female corpus and the other the male one excluding their names and turns to have an accurate word count. The file for the male's discourse contained 35,305 words and the file for female's discourse contained 9,689 words created for the purpose of comparison. The data is used to conduct the analysis of the main linguistic elements of this research as in finding questions from the context and the pronouns from the corpora, a detailed methodology will be presented in each chapter (chapters 6 'questions') & 8 'pronouns'). As a result, the examples introduced in this thesis stem from my transcriptions of the sessions and translations provided for the purposes of explanation and exemplification.

3.3.3 Glossing and translations

In this section, I briefly explain how I operate on the translations and the glossing of the excerpts extracted from the female and male corpora. In the two analysis chapters (Chapter 7 for questions and Chapter 9 for pronouns), I have inserted the excerpts in Arabic and provided English translations beneath: both appear indented and, the original extract, also in italics; the

linguistic phenomenon under investigation is underlined. The aim is to keep the English translations as faithful to the original as possible as the examples used in this study were selected in a way that accounts, as closely as possible, for both the content as well as the form of the spoken words. The translation is literal for the most part as long as the meanings can be inferred from the context and provide a clear translation for readers who do not speak Arabic. In cases where there is a need for clarification or further information to make the text comprehensible, such additions were added immediately following the translations as footnotes. This is done in an effort to show the content and the form of the Arabic source text as is to facilitate the discussion as much as possible. Additions to the translation to improve the connectivity and cohesion of the translation were added in text using square brackets. The original transcribed data contained spoken discourse features like repetition, hesitation, fillers and corrections; these elements were not included in the translation. A clean translation has been used to serve the goal of the analysis rather than focusing on spoken discourse features. Arabic names are hard to identify in regards to gender, therefore, members' gender is marked by a (M) for male speakers and (F) for female speakers.

3.3.4 The speakers

In this section, I present a detailed overview of the speakers in the corpus whose language I analyse. In the previous sections I focused on what the dataset includes and reasons why it is worth investigating. The aim of this section is to describe the speakers in detail, those speakers are the ones who appeared in the transcribed sessions. They were selected based on their participation in the sessions, there is no bias towards particular speakers as those are the ones that participated in the debates in my data. I will provide tables with the numbers of female and male politicians in the corpora (see [Table 1](#)). I will also provide background information about the speakers which will be useful in the analysis chapters 7 and 9 (see [Table 2](#)).

Table 1 Participants and Participation

Male/female	Participants	Number of Participations	Word count
male	85 out of 120	181	35,305
female	15 out of 30	35	9,689
Total	100 out of 150	216	44,994

In terms of gender, the total number of male politicians is 80% while female politicians only occupy 20% representing only a small percentage of the whole council. However, in my data collection I sought to gather female participation as much as possible. As table 1 reveals, 70% of the male speakers participated in my data while 50% of female speakers participated. The data collated from these speakers present a satisfactory number of members with 66.6 % of total of speakers participating. The male speaker corpus is higher in the total number of words than that of female politicians; by dividing the total number of words by the number of speakers and the number of their participation as in the table above – the male politicians tend to speak more (with an average of 415.35 words per member, while female politicians had an average of 276.82 words per member).

I will argue later, that members’ background plays a significant role in their participation. Therefore, in table 2, I show the speakers mentioned in the examples presented in this thesis with a description of their speciality and qualification. This affects their address forms and became an influential part in their debates. It is useful to have their backgrounds identified as they contributed further to the qualitative analysis and to my understanding of the extra- as well as the linguistic context.

Table 2 Speaker's background

#	Name	Gender	Profession	Speciality	Qualification
1	Dr. Abdul Aziz Al-Srani	M	Dean of Taibah University	Science	PhD
2	Dr. Abdulaziz Al-Otaishan	M	Board member for realestate companies	Engineer	PhD
3	Dr. Abdullah Al-Muneef	M	Head of Al-Muneef Office for financial and administrative consulting	Accounting	PhD
4	General Pilot Abdullah Al-Saadoun	M	previous Airforce	Military	MA
5	Dr. Ahmed Al-Zaili	M	Faculty member inKingSaud University	History	PhD
6	Dr. Amal Al-Shaman	F	Consultanat in Asshura	Education	Prof
7	Dr. Dalal al-Harbi	F	Faculty member in PNU journalist and researcher	History	Prof

8	Dr. Fahad Bin Jumah	M	Economics writer in Riyadh newspaper	Economy	
9	Dr. Faleh Al-Seghir	M	General supervisor for the network ALSUNNAH.ORG	Religious scholar	Prof
10	Dr. Fardous Al-Saleh	F	Previous faculty member in PNU	Nuclear physics	PhD
11	Dr. Fatima Al-Qarni	F	Faculty member in Princess Noura Bint Abdel-Rahman University	Education	PhD
12	lutinant pilot Hamad Al-Hassoun	M	previous Airforce	Military/engineer	
13	Dr. Hatim Al-Marzouqi	M	Deputy education Minister for Universities, Research and Innovation	Architectural engineer	PhD
14	Dr. Hayat Sindi	F	Visiting scholar at Harvard University	Medical Scientist	PhD
15	Dr. Khader Al-Qurashi	M	Previous deputy education Minister in the Ministry of education	Education	PhD
16	Mr. Khalifa Al-Dosari	M	Member of many boards including the Municipal Council in the Eastern Province	NA	NA
17	Dr. Khawla Al-kuraie	F	King Fiasal Specialist Hospital and research centre	Medical doctor	Prof
18	Dr. Lubna Al-Ansary	F	Faculty member in King Saud University	Medical doctor	Prof
19	Dr. Mansour Al-Kuraidis	M	Member of the national committee of agriculture in the Council of Saudi Chambers	Agriculture	PhD
20	Dr. Mastourah Al-Shammari	F	Member of the Arab parliament	Education	PhD
21	Mr. Mohammad Al-Ruhaili	M	Finance and Auditing positions	Business management	MA level
22	Dr. Mona Al-Mushait	F	Associate professor at King Khalid University and Hospital	Medicine	PhD
23	Dr. Nasser Al-Dawod	M	Deputy minister of the Ministry of Interior	Education	PhD
24	Dr. Nasser Al-Mousa	M	Consultant in the Ministry of Education	Education	PhD
	Dr.Nawaf Al Al-Faghm	M	Assistant of Security Affairs in Emirate of the province of Jazan	Security 'military'	Phd
25	Dr. Nasser Al-Shahrani	M	Vice-President of the Human Rights Commission	Finance, Management and law	PhD

26	Dr. Salwa Al-Hazzaa	F	King Fiasal Specialist Hospital and research centre	Medical doctor	Prof
27	Dr. Sultan Al-Sultan	M	Faculty member in AlQassim University	Civil engineer	PhD
28	Dr. Tariq Fadaq	M	Faculty member in King Abdulaziz University	Urban planning	PhD
29	Dr. Wafa Taibah	F	Faculty member in King Saud University	Education	PhD
30	Dr. Zeinab Abu Talib	F	Faculty member in King Saud University	Medical doctor	PhD
31	Dr.Zuhair Al-Harathi	M	Journalist, Member of Boards	Philosophy	PhD
32	Dr.Fayez Al-Shehri	M	Faculty member in King Fahad Security College.	Electronic media	PhD ⁶

To sum up, in analysing the member's debates, it is interesting to note that their professional background has played a role in making the argument persuasive.

3.4 Final remarks

The aims of this chapter were to discuss different theories and methodologies that have been widely used in the analysis of language and gender and how they may apply to my research, in order to answer the RQs. By using discourse analysis, corpus linguistics and by seeing them through a micro lens, I investigate a specific set of parliamentary debates and two groups of speakers (female and male) in order to present a small, yet representative, picture of the Saudi political domain. In this chapter, I presented the theoretical framework I use a combination of discourse analysis, pragma-rhetoric methods to support my qualitative findings. I also use corpus linguistics methods for building and working on the corpora of the debates, to provide quantitative results that's support the qualitative discussions.

I was required to make specific choices in the selection of the debates as I wanted to create a comparable dataset. The data chosen were meant to address the RQs and to provide a solid dataset for the analysis of the linguistic phenomena questions and pronouns used by groups of female and male speakers.

⁶ In the tables these are the member's real name, and this is ethically acceptable as this information is publically available online along with their CV's on the SSC website.

Chapter 4 The Discursive Practices of the Saudi Shura Council

Introduction

This chapter sets out to explore the linguistic practices in relation to the Council's norms and rules. The role of talk in an assembly forming part of the legislative process in a Middle Eastern absolute monarchy has not yet been scrutinized, whilst the discourse norms of Western parliaments democracies have been previously explored (see sections 2.1, Chapter 2). Parliamentary studies are mostly directed towards one parliament, the U.K. Parliament, which has drawn considerable attention and continues to be much explored. This interest likely emerges from its status as the oldest institution of its kind and its maintenance of a great deal of its institutional and discursive rituals. Parliamentary discourse has expanded to study other parliaments and has recently become an interdisciplinary concern. Whereas research from social and political sciences primarily focuses on the explanation of facts and interpretation of issues, political events and socio-political processes, linguistic research has used social and political sciences to discover the multi-levelness of institutional language, as language helps us realize politicians' political position. The interdependence between language-shaped facts and reality-prompted language prompt ritualization and change in political talk (Ilie, 2006, p.188).

This chapter aims to define the parliamentary practices of the Council as a means to uncover the first layer of the discursive structure of the council. These practices which form part of the parliamentary norms are worth investigating since they connect the SSC's political, cultural and religious effect on its interactional frames. The chapter will provide an overview of the Council context, including the distinctive openings and closings of parliamentary activities through ritualistic, liturgical language; the forms of address which focus heavily on the role the member has outside of the Council and which make use of honorifics; and the absence of roles like questioner/respondent which are common in Western parliaments. Understanding the whole picture of the Council's operational procedure will provide the motivation for the use of certain linguistic elements employed by the members. This chapter will explain the role of the SSC in the Saudi political system (section 4.1), then apply Ilie's (2003a, 2003b, 2006)

parliamentary activity framework in section (4.2) by exploring the spatial-temporal (4.2.1), participant (4.2.2) and interaction frames (4.2.3) of the SSC.

4.1 The Role of the SSC

The name, origin and general history of the Council were introduced in section 1.2., Chapter 1. This section will explain the role of the Council in more detail. Members of the SSC have no political affiliations (indeed, party politics is absent from the Kingdom); all members follow the King's orders as expected in an absolute monarchy and the basic laws of the Kingdom. Members work as the formal advisory body of Saudi Arabia; they are appointed by the King according to their suitability from different specialities and different parts of the region. It consists of 150 members, 120 males and 30 females. The Council operates on the basis of its 14 committees; each committee is assigned with issues regarding its own speciality. They operate on different affairs from Islamic, judicial, social, economy, security, health, transportation and human rights, for instance. Just as with ad-hoc select committees in the U.K. parliament, some specialised committees may be established to deal with issues related to a particular matter that need an investigation and do not have an assigned committee. Committee members meet privately to discuss and provide solutions to the issues they have in hand, and then committee heads bring their report back to the whole council with their recommendations during the official aired meetings. At this point, the report is up for discussion by other members who are not from the subcommittee to offer their views. It is these sessions which form the dataset in this thesis. The president of the Council (roughly equivalent to the Speaker of the House of Commons) asks members to vote on the matters presented and subsequent to this a report is sent to the Council of Ministers. If the King agrees with the decisions made by the SSC and the Council of Ministers, he issues a royal decree as in the process displayed in the figure below.

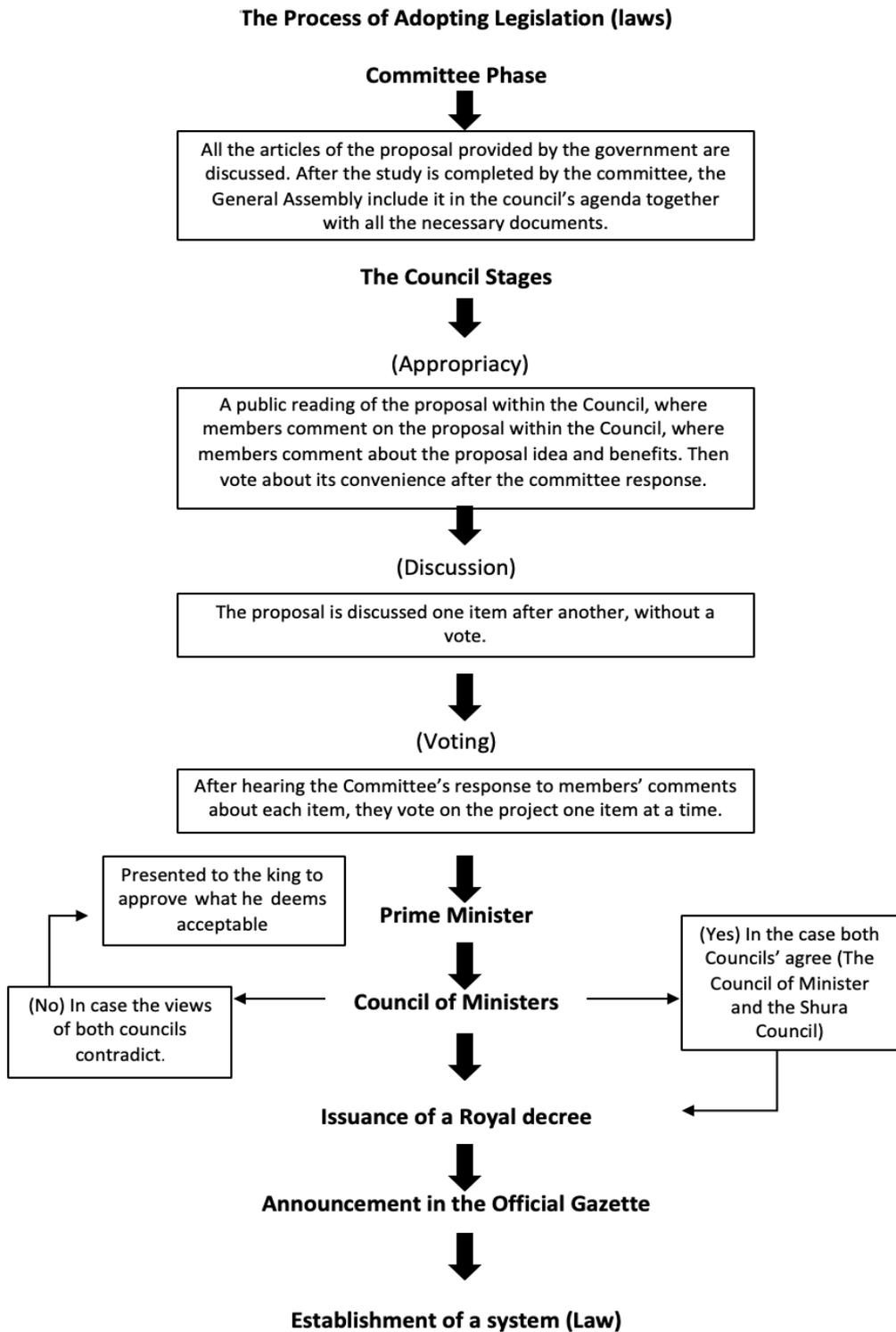


Figure 1 The process of adopting legislation laws in the SSC

This figure presents the process of introducing laws in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia (adapted and translated from the original Arabic found at:

[<https://www.shura.gov.sa/wps/wcm/connect/ShuraArabic/internet/Site+Map/>] (date accessed: 20/4/2018)

This reveals that the Consultative Assembly known as SSC has limited powers; their main role is drafting and construing laws, as well as examining annual reports referred to it by state ministries and agencies. It also has the power to propose laws to the King and cabinet, but it cannot pass or enforce laws which is a power reserved solely for the King, given the nature of Saudi Arabia as an absolute monarchy.

When it comes to rules and regulations of the council, they are stated in the council website, but there is no record of the rhetorical features of the Council like Erskine May's *Treatise on the law, privileges, proceedings and usage of Parliament* (Limon and McKay 1997). Erskine May's treatise represents a code of behavior that regulates the various forms of parliamentary interaction in the U.K. Parliament. The Council's rhetorical features are to be observed from what appears from the recordings and are not formally stated. In what follows, I will examine what effect the rules stated in this system has on the forms of talk in the Council and how this creates differences from what one usually finds in the Western systems described through applying Ilie's (2006) parliamentary activity frames.

4.2 The SSC activity frames

Ilie (2003b) examines deliberation in parliament in regards to certain activity frames. As Ilie (2017, p.311) states, the main goal of this process is to negotiate a political solution for problems that affect people's everyday lives. The aim of applying these frames is to highlight the linguistic practices of the SSC discourse by investigating all related aspects or spatial-temporal, participant and interaction frames.

Ilie (2003b) develops the notion of the activity frame for parliamentary discourse, in order to capture the major characteristics of parliamentary discourse practices. In order to understand the parliamentary discourse of the Council, institutional norms and strategies need to be highlighted and identified. It is useful to account three main types of institutional frames, namely **spatial-temporal frame**, which considers, i.e. the physical environment of parliamentary institutions and participant positioning in space and time; **participant frame**, which regards the roles and identities of parliamentary agents, as well as speaker-addressee and speaker-audience relationship; and finally, **interaction frame**, which regards the institutional structuring and functions of various activity types that are carried out in

parliament. Applying this categorization will build an understanding of the Council’s linguistic interactions.

4.2.1 Spatial-temporal frame in the SSC



Image 1 Overview of the Council setting.



Image 2 Group photo of 6th round members⁷

Of the council’s setting which is quite impressive and extravagant, O’Brien (2011) has described it saying:

“Who visits the Shura Council is immediately overwhelmed not only by its state-of-the-art architectural design combining the originality of Islamic and Western styles but by its modern technological infrastructure which includes computer screens at members' desks, electronic voting with fingerprint identification, televised plenary and committee proceedings, and large press rooms and public galleries.”

The physical setting of the SSC is similar to the EU parliament, with the members of the Council sitting in a round plenary sitting organised in an alphabetical order see *image 1*. There is a reserved place for female members to sit grouped in the right side of the Council, as well as having their own gate for entry and exit in the main Council Chamber, and dedicated office space, etc. to ensure separation from men see *image 2*. This reflects the segregation laws in place in the Kingdom. The *President’s Chair* faces the members, he has his own bench sitting on top. The *Secretary-general*, who attends all the meetings and is responsible for taking the minutes and announcing the schedule and agenda of the sessions to the members, sits next to

⁷ See appendix B for copyright clearance as these photos are obtain from the SSC directly.

the President on the bench (similar to the clerks in the U.K House of Commons) below him. On the left of the President there is a despatch box where the committee heads come up and present their agendas facing other members. The public are allocated a balcony above the council overlooking the members under them, there are two separate balconies one of them is dedicated to female attendees and the other for guests and press. A much wider audience of TV-viewers have nowadays the possibility to watch the parliamentary sessions that are telecasted every week on Saudi television and available online at the Shura website. But in this case, the audience's viewing perspective is restricted to the specific filming angles chosen by parliamentary TV-camerapersons when foregrounding or backgrounding certain persons, interactions, etc.

Councillors speak from their chairs; they usually do not stand to provide their contributions. Only committee heads sometimes get up and come to the dispatch box to present their recommendations in front of the council. Important time-related constraints should also be considered in connection with the temporal frame, as the SSC makes clear stipulations on contributions in this regard. Articles 15-17 of the session law state that contributions should be no longer than 5 minutes, are at the invitation of the Chairman following a written request to speak, and expressly forbid interruptions. Since the comments are prepared in advance most participants do not use the full 5 minutes. This awareness of time leads members to state that they will be brief such as by saying "I will be brief/ باختصر or باختصار", or offering apologies for the length of their comments as in saying "apologies for taking too long / عفووا علي الإطالة". In cases where members go over 5 minutes, a beeping sound plays and they can be interrupted and cut off by the Speaker.

4.2.2 Participant frame in the SSC

In regard to the participant frame, Ilie (2015c, 2010, 2006) notes that in all parliaments, members enact specific roles and identities, the participants are mainly interacting with the audiences. In the SSC members are involved in a *co-performance* which is meant to address and engage an audience of members as active participants, who are expected to contribute explicit forms of *audience-feedback*, e.g. questions, responses, debating and even affect a wider non-present audience than other parliaments as they need to convince the King, their fellow members and the people.

4.2.2.1 *The SSC forms of address*

The SSC address forms are subject to influences from cultural “honorifics”, profession and religion. Ilie (2010, 2006) and Shaw (2000) both explore the idea that parliamentary address forms are subject to a complex interplay of socio-cultural constraint and a struggle for power. Ilie (2010) examines the rules controlling parliamentary forms of address and unravelled the overall effect and significance of the institutional activity in which the MPs engage, as they are meant to pursue their own agendas and undermine the positions of political opponents, as well as to challenge institutional role distribution and hierarchical authority. She also highlights the institutionalized relationships (social distance, and dominance) between MPs, the extent to which MPs share a common set of cultural expectations with respect to the social activity and the speech events that they are carrying out. Ilie (2010) identifies parliamentary forms as ‘ritualistic’ forms of address as they are constitutive and therefore discourse-integrated. She identifies a relatively restricted and well-defined range of parliamentary forms of address that equally apply to naming behaviours in the SSC as they do in the House of Commons where she undertakes her investigation. Within the SSC, the most common address forms fall into the following categories:

1- *Gender specific titles* like (sister ‘okht’ /أخت // brother ‘akh’ / أخ)

2- *Gender-neutral titles* like (colleagues ‘zumala’a’ or brothers “in Arabic can be used to address both genders” /أخوة’ekhwa)

3- *Institutional titles* (e.g. Prime Minister, Foreign Secretary) It can be (Ma’ali / معالي) or (sa’adat/ سعادة), the difference of these two titles will be explained later.

4- *Personal names* (i.e. first and/or last name of the addressee) - this differs from the House of Commons where naming is an activity restricted to the Speaker.

The councillors are not normally addressed by their first names, but usually by their official position title + first name+ last name. Most importantly, MPs are addressed and address each other in the 3rd person singular through the intermediary, the president of the council, who acts as a moderator. Interestingly, the only parliamentary participant officially addressed in the 2nd person is the president or Deputy Speaker the address form is (“Maali alraes/ معالي الرئيس” / “Your excellency the president”). In regards to gender titles, Arabic is a grammatical gender language, where gendered differences are obvious in the address form chosen.

The data suggests that there are other address forms which would not necessarily fit into Ilie's categorisations of parliamentary forms of address. Instead, they might be categorized as honorific titles:

“Honorifics are derived from outputs of politeness strategies where these directly or indirectly convey a status deferential between speaker and addressee or referent, where they indirectly convey such a status deferential, as in French Tu/ Vous pronouns do via the general strategy of pluralizing in order to impersonalize”

(Brown and Levinson, 1978, p.183)

Arabic is identified as a language which has a complex system of honorifics as well as, Japanese, Mudurese and Hindi; English, on the other hand, has no complex system of honorifics, but there are few cases of compound honorifics; e.g. professor doctor, dear sir, etc. (Richard et al., 1985, p.131). In Saudi Arabia like any Arabic country honorifics are applied to titles of profession like (your Excellency *the president*, his royal highness). These forms are used for people who have higher status in the council, which reveals something about politeness and convey a status deferential between speaker and addressee or referent. Irvine (1995, p.1) points out that *“linguistic honorifics are forms of speech that signal social deference, through conventionalized understandings of some aspects, of the form/meaning relationship”*.

In regard to institutional titles the President of the Council uses different forms in addressing the councilors. There is a necessary distinction that needs to be pointed out as members are addressed either (Ma'ali / معالي) or (sa'adat/ سعادة), they are both translated to the English “Your Excellency”. Honorifics help us identify the difference between the two Arabic titles (Mali / معالي) and (sa'adat/ سعادة), as they are used to distinguish members based on their position in the government. The SSC (Mali / معالي) title is given to someone in a high position such as a ministerial position or someone on the so called ‘excellent grade’; the highest grade in government jobs in Saudi Arabia. It is a title given to someone in a senior position like university rectors, presidents of commissions and some ambassadors; in the military it is equal to the position of a minister and to Lieutenant General who also occupies the excellent grade. The term (sa'adat/ سعادة) is used to refer to anyone who is in grade 15 in the governmental grading scale which is given to people who occupy senior positions in the governmental jobs like ministries and commissions; the highest of 15 grades and is above the excellent grade, in

the military scale it includes Major Generals. These titles are used to refer to each individual on formal occasions and in writing, so they are practiced in a way for all members to recognize their fellow members' positions.

There is an interplay between honorifics and professional identity in institutional titles, in which professional titles are regarded as institutional titles and are combined with institutional titles in addressing members. In regard to identity it can be a way of revealing members' professional roles in the Council through their address forms. As they are addressed in the Council as the following:

- The title (Sumo Alameer/ سمو الأمير) 'The Royal Highness prince' for the prince who belongs to the Royal family "Al Saud". There is only one Prince in this round.
- The title Doctor (masculine 'Doctor/ دكتور' / feminine 'Doctorah/ دكتورة') for a PhD holder or a physician.
- The title (Shaikh/ شيخ) or (Fadilah/ فضيلة) [chief] is given to someone in a religious position.
- The title (Mohandas/ مهندس) for an engineer.
- The title (masculine 'Ustadh/ أستاذ' / feminine 'Ustadhah/ أستاذة') equal to 'Mr' in English, in the Council it is usually given to anyone who doesn't have a distinctive institutional title either an MA or BA holder.
- The title Lieutenant (Liwa/ لواء) military position.
- The title pilot (Tayyar/ طيار) air force position.

Sometimes the titles appear as compound honorifics like (liwa Tayyar/ لواء طيار) "Lieutenant Pilot" and (Somo Alameer AlDoctor/ سمو الأمير الدكتور) "His Highness the Prince Doctor". We can see that these institutional/professional titles reinforce Zimmerman's (1998) situated identities, they are explicitly conferred by the context of communication, as they come into play with a particular type of situation. These address forms combine institutional address forms with professional titles such as engineer, pilot or doctor. This reveals that professional titles are equally important as institutional titles, which plays a role in their debates in the Council. As those identities become relevant when a member is addressed as *doctor* and he/she engages in a discussion regarding health issues of the country we realise that he/she is a medical doctor, which boosts their argument as it comes from a professional background. This also links to their position in the Council as they are picked as their titles show that they come from

different professional backgrounds to share their knowledge, give feedback and suggest recommendations. The same would appear with a *Shaikh* talking about issues concerning religion and Shariah, this qualifies him to talk about matters concerning religion. The Council religious identity appears in the Islamic address forms which are the gender neutral and specific titles ‘sister ‘okht’ /خت/, brother ‘akh’ /اخ/ and brothers ‘ekhwa’ /خوة/.’ All these titles give a wider view about the context about the context as they reveal the speakers’ background from their professional titles, which influences the audience judgement of their participation as it is coming from an expert.

4.2.2.2 *Members’ roles and audiences*

In order to explore members’ roles ‘President, deputy president, Committee Chair, Shura member’ Ilie’s (2006) institutional interaction view can be applied to the SSC, councilors debating reveals a role shift between the councilor’s public roles as a representative of the people and as members of the government who were picked to serve the King. As a result of the increasing mediatization of parliamentary proceedings, the councilors perform a major part of their work in “the public eye”. Ilie (2017, p.316) considered Goffman's (1981) notion of footing in order to identify the participation roles which parliamentarians can take up. Those roles are; *Direct participants* (speaker and addressees directly involved in the dialogue), *side participants* (present, but not directly involved in the dialogue) and *overhearers* (passive observers, onlookers). These equally apply to the SSC, where members’ discussion roles can be linked to their parliamentary roles as direct participants (Council members), moderator (President of the Council) and side-participant (fellow Council members). In Parliamentary discourse we have a more multi-layered audience due to the broadcasted sessions, Ilie (2017, p.316) added the category of overhearers then divided them to bystanders “insiders” (reporters, political journalist and occasional visitors) who are located in the visitors’ gallery, and eavesdroppers “outsiders” (TV-viewers).

However, Ilie’s categorization of TV viewers as eavesdroppers is, I believe, mistaken. This is a category which Goffman introduced to acknowledge hearers who the speaker had no knowledge were listening (i.e.. They were unratiified overhearers). TV viewers are known by the Council members to be listening, as such they should be treated as ratiified overhearers.

4.2.3 Interaction frame in the SSC

Ilie (2006) introduced this category to describe the interaction between the members in the parliament which is convention-based and rule-regulated. Parliamentary debates are an organized discursive process, they are well-regulated individual and group confrontations. The debates display a collective undertaking as national important matters are being discussed in a joint performance regulated by institutional laws. Some of the most salient parliamentary interaction frames categorized by Ilie will be applied to the SSC discourse; the opening and closing of sessions, turn-taking and talk-monitoring rules, interruptions and question answer patterns “replaced by discussion time”.

4.2.3.1 The openings and closings of SSC sessions

Proceedings in the Council are officially opened and closed by the president of the council, who also intervenes whenever the debates rules are not properly followed. The President opens the session by praising Allah and his prophet, then states the session number and date, after which he asks the secretary general to announce the agenda. The president then decides which agenda items to discuss and calls the Chairman of the committee to read their comments and offer their recommendations. The councilors also play a role in this if they have proposed a particular motion, they outline his/her view of why the council should adopt their motion.

At the beginning of every round, every four years, the members are assigned to their duties after a royal decree, and this is broadcast on Saudi television. There is an annual royal speech delivered at the opening session of the SSC by the King, or whomever he may ask to deputize. The speech focuses on the domestic and foreign policy of the state. On that occasion the King gives a speech in the Council in front of attendees from the members of the Council and government heads e.g. Ministers, Preachers, and Province Princes etc. This speech is similar to the Queen’s speech, which is a reminder of times when the King or Queen actually chose the legislation to be debated in Parliament. The speech details the government’s policies, future plan and also reminds members of their responsibilities and their duties that should be performed for the benefit of the public and in accordance with the government’s laws and policies.

There are no rules or guides about the opening and closing of the sessions. However, since Islamic legislation is the main guidance of Saudi politics, openings of the sessions can be characterised as ritualistic and are uniquely marked by liturgical language as shown below:

(1)

رئيس مجلس الشورى د. عبدالرحمن آل الشيخ: السلام عليكم ورحمة الله وبركاته بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم و
الحمد لله و الصلاة و السلام على رسول الله و على آله و صحبه بعون الله و توفيقه تفتح جلسة المجلس العادية
لهذا اليوم الاثنين الموافق 29-4-1437 هـ معالي الأمين تفضل.

1 *President of the SSC Dr. Abdullah Al Sheikh: alsalam alykum w rahamt allh w*
2 *barakatuh (Islamic greeting) “Peace, mercy and blessings of God” In the name of*
3 *Allah the Most Gracious, the Most Merciful. Alhamdullelah (Thanking God) And*
4 *prayer and peace be upon the Messenger of Allah and his companions*
5 *“supplicating God’s messenger Muhammed peace be upon him” and with the help*
6 *of God Almighty we start the regular meeting of the Council for this day Monday,*
7 *04/29/1437 AH, his excellency the secretary of the Council go ahead.*

The president always starts with the Islamic greeting (السلام عليكم ورحمة الله وبركاته) /alsalam alykum w rahamt allh w barakatuh), which is an Islamic norm, practised among Muslims in their daily lives. Then he opens the session with the Islamic phrase (بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم) /In the name of Allah the Most Gracious, the Most Merciful) this phrase appears at the beginning of Surahs in the Quran and is a preferable opening statement in Islam. It’s preferable when you start anything like an action “eating, studying” or writing, to mention the name of God first as it appears in formal official letters and opening of meetings e.g. universities, seminars or work. Then he supplicates God’s messenger Muhammed peace be upon him which is a marker of Sunni Muslims. This kind of use appears in religious preaching as well, preachers use this kind of speech opening and closing in their preaching’s. This conforms to Chilton’s (2004, p.174) suggestion that religious belief systems have a role in political discourse, as it reveals the strong connection between political discourse and Islamic tradition. The President ends the sessions when he announces that this is the end of the session and thanks the council as in saying, “-انتهت الجلسة رفعت /”, at this point there are no religious references

4.2.3.2 Turn-taking, talk-monitoring rules and Interruptions

According to the Saudi Shura law concerning the powers of the president, vice president, and secretary general. Article 3:

“The president shall open and adjourn Council sessions, manage and participate in discussions, give the floor, determine the discussion topic, draw the speaker's attention to time limit and subject matter of discussion, end discussion, and put matters to a vote. The president shall do whatever is deemed appropriate and sufficient to maintain order during sessions.”

Members in the council are not expected to have direct conversation with each other, but rather address the council at large. It is the president of the council who ensures orderly contributions and the observance of parliamentary rules. There is an order moving the conversation between the speaker, secretary general and the councilors. The turn-taking structure of parliamentary interaction shows that linguistic constraints are paralleled by institutional constraints. The president is in charge of monitoring speaker selection and turn assignment. He can also interrupt members if they pass the time restriction which is 5 minutes and also if they discuss something inappropriate or irrelevant to the topic offered to discussion. As such, in the SSC there is no such thing as an “authorised” interruption and unauthorized interruptions which are common in the UK House of Common are wholly absent in the SSC. The President of the Council does not allow members to intervene on one another. As such, talk in the SSC can be characterized as predominantly monologic, with references made within those monologues to contributions from earlier in the session (i.e. there is some level of intertextuality, in place of dialogicity) Speakers may be interrupted by the President of the Council if they say something inappropriate or for passing the time restriction as a beeping sound is released to indicate they have passed their 5-minute restriction, see below.

(2)

52:5: د.لبنى الأنصاري: (بعد تعدي الحد ٥ دقائق).....أختم مداخلتني بقولي أن صحة المجتمع أمانه في اعناقكم و مطلب وطني و حيوي و ليس بدعا و قد سبقتنا له دول متطورة مثل استراليا و كندا و دول فقيرة مثل زامبيا و غيرها فلماذا نتخذ اللف عن الركب الدولي و نحن في امس [الحاجة=

11:35: رئيس مجلس الشورى: [طيب يا دكتورة =

11:35: د.ل. أ.: = [في زمن الحزم والتحول؟ الرأي لكم والقرار قراركم ولكن أمل التصويت بلا إسقاط
توصية اللجنة و إعطاء هذا المقترح فرصة أخرى من خلال لجنة خاصة شكرا معالي الرئيس.

1 5:52: Dr. Lubna Al-Ansary (F): *(passed 5 minutes limit)...I conclude my statement*
2 *by saying that the health of the community is entrusted in our hands, and it is a*
3 *national and vital demand, not a pretence. We have been preceded by developed*
4 *countries such as Australia, Canada and poor countries such as Zambia and others.*
5 *Why should we take the international backing and we are in desperate [need =*

6 11:35: President of SSC: *[Ok Doctor =*

7 11:35: Dr.Lubna Al-Ansary (F): *[In a time of rigidity and transformation? It is your*
8 *decision and your decision, but I hope to vote without dropping the Committee's*
9 *recommendation and give this proposal another chance through a special*
10 *committee. Thank you, your Excellency the President.*

4.2.3.3 Discussion time

The SSC discourse appears only in discussion time as members offer their recommendations, address their questions and express their views either by criticizing or supporting the reports. Question time is an important part of many parliaments; however, the SSC does not have an official question time like Western parliaments. That said, members use their monologues to ask questions when the president offers the agenda for discussion, during discussion time. When committee heads offer their recommendations and present the annual financial reports of the government for the first time, the President of the Council invites members to give their comments and their views about the recommendations offered. The questions asked by members still correspond to Franklin and Norton's (1993) identification of the goals of parliamentary questions as oral questions are asked primarily when the MP considers some publicity is desirable. Whereas written questions are asked when the primary goal is to obtain information, this is the case in the SSC as member's can ask questions and send their contributions before prior to the session. Whilst not having a specific Questions-Answer time, I would still argue that the use of questions is face-threatening, as is argued by Pérez de Ayala (2001, p.147), Question time reveals a high frequency of face-threatening acts which is

counterbalanced by a wide range of politeness strategies in the U.K Parliament. The example highlights how (face-threatening) questions appeal in the monologues of SSC members:

(3)

د.فالح الصغير: لكن أضيف إذا اقربنا التوصية الأولى هل الثانية متناقضة معها؟ ام لا وجه التناقض ان الثانية توصي بمراجعة المزايا المالية كيف اللجنة توصي بمراجعة المزايا المالية وهي لم تتطلع على الميزانية اصلا؟

1 *Dr.Faleh Al-Seghir: I would like to add if we accept the first recommendation,*
2 *doesn't it contradict with the second one or not? The contradiction is that the*
3 *second recommendation recommends reviewing the financial benefits. How does*
4 *the committee recommend reviewing the financial benefits, when it hasn't even*
5 *reviewed the original budget?*

The questions addressed in the SSC do not form adjacency pairs as in 'question time' in other parliaments. Members may not get a direct answer to their questions. They do not require or receive an immediate answer, but they are still used as a rhetorical tool for the purpose of argumentation and persuasion. It still fills the purpose proposed by Ilie's (2006, p.20) "Parliamentary questioning strategies are not intended to elicit particular answers like rhetorical questions that might be used to embarrass and/or to challenge the respondent to make them uncomfortable or reveal declarations". As questions can be used as a way to attack or praise the reports and may involve information that is already known: 'Few members would run the risk of asking such a question without knowing the likely answer' (Franklin and Norton 1993: 112). An example of a rhetorical question is given in (4) below, where the speaker is not seeking an answer, but criticizing a social issue which is begging in the streets. The speaker disagrees with the Council and thinks that this issue needs to be criminalized.

(4)

د ناصر الشهراني: فكيف أننا في مجلس الشورى نعود لنقول أن هذه ظاهرة لا تجرم من الذي يجرم من الذي يدفع بفتيات صغيرات امام اشارة المرور يستغلون للأسف الشديد ثم يقال ان هذا ليس فعل مجرم اذا لم نجرب من يفعل مثل هذه بالفتيات و الأطفال فمن يجرم؟

1 *Dr. Nasser Al-Shahrani: So how do we in the Shura Council come and say that this*
2 *phenomenon is not criminalized who should we criminalize? young girls are*

3 *unfortunately exploited. who places them [beginning] in front of traffic signals⁸?*
4 *and then say that this is not a criminal act, if we do not criminalize those who do*
5 *such a thing to girls and children who do we criminalize?*

This question raises a lot of criticism against the Council's views towards street-begging. He also appeals to members' humanitarian nature in suggesting that child abuse is involved in this case, where children are used for begging to get sympathy from people. While they are actually monopolized and controlled from a bigger organization that collects this money and uses them for illegal practices. This shows that questions are addressed even when there is no official question time. In chapter 6, I will return to explore the rhetorical uses to which wider questions are put in the contributions made by male and female SSC members.

Other practices can be presented during discussion time as Councillors display different forms of debating. Councillors can make challenging and accusatory remarks as in the following extract by a female member who criticizes the treatment of women in the medical field and accuses it of being narrow and unfair.

(5)

دفاطمة القرني : الى حد كبير النظرة الاجتماعية والتثقيفية العامة تنظر الى المرأة في مرحلة الأنجاب وكأن
المرأة فقط مصنع للإنتاج ثم يغفل المرحلة التي تؤدي بها أن تكون فعلا مصدر منتج جيد ان صح التعبير بهذه
اللغة.

1 *Dr.Fatima Al-Qarni: To some extent the social and educational outlook looks at*
2 *the woman in the stage of procreation as if the woman is only a factory of*
3 *production and then forgets the stage that led to her being a really good source of*
4 *production, if it's appropriate to say in such a language.*

They also might employ countering, defensive and ironical, remarks about the suggestions and the reports presented as in this example below the speaker criticizes the low salary of retirees, as it is unreasonable and unacceptable in his view.

⁸ Young children are used by human traffickers who place them in front of traffic lights to beg for money when the cars stop. They stand in the hot weather under the sun and look in bad conditions to get people's sympathy.

(6)

أ. خليفة الدوسري: لازم يكون عندنا احساس بالمسؤولية مو معقول واحد يعيش بينا 2000 ريال واحنا قاعدين نتفرج عليه لا أنا ارفض ارفض و بشدة امانة و لا أعتقد انكم تقبلون.

- 1 *Mr. Khalifa Al-Dosari: We must have a sense of responsibility it's not*
- 2 *reasonable that one lives with 2000 Sr salary and we are sitting here watching*
- 3 *him I object and strongly object honestly, I do not think you accept this either.*

Discussion time is the time where members get to offer their recommendation, criticize and question reports as seen in the examples given, it compensates for question time in other parliaments. This example also reveals how members express their opinion and position through the use of pronouns.

4.2.3.4 *The SSC metadiscourse*

From the examples (1-6) mentioned above, we can see that members linguistic choices support their argument. Ilie's (2006) in her survey of parliamentary discourse has described these tools as metadiscourse; "a term generally used to indicate a shift in discourse levels, by means of which the speaker's multi-level messages are being conveyed alongside, above and/or beyond the unfolding discourse" (Ilie's, 2006, p. 190). She also emphasized their role in debates as it is used to highlight the co-occurrence and confrontation of competing ideological and personal representations, on the one hand, and the discursive interplay between the participants' interpersonal and institutional voices, on the other. She investigated several metadiscursive strategies in the British parliamentary discourse: metadiscursive argumentation through the use and misuse of clichés (Ilie, 2000), metadiscursive attribution, reporting and quoting strategies (Ilie, 2003a), and metadiscursive parentheticals (Ilie 2003b). Ilie (2018, p.113) later finds that these metadiscourse devices often intended to enable multiple audiences (specifically addressed MPs, listening MPs, journalists, parliamentary reporters, general public, TV viewers) to identify significant shifts and overlaps between the MPs' and Prime Minister's institutional, personal, and interpersonal levels of discourse during their adversarial interactions.

These metadiscursive devices can be rhetorically structured as communicative and interactional strategies used by speakers to signal, highlight, mitigate, or cancel parts of their

ongoing discourse and their varying relevance to different addressees and/or audience members. After surveying the general discourse of the Council some metadiscoursal features have appeared in the SSC debates. Like the use of questions as signaled in excerpts 5.4-3 we can see that these questions have carried meanings beyond their form, this will be explained further in chapter 7. Pronouns have also proven to play a similar role as in excerpt 5.6, this will be discussed in more detail in chapter 9. All these micro-linguistic tools carry meaning which goes beyond their basic linguistic use, in a way that influences the whole discursive process.

4.3 Final remarks

This chapter described the discursive practices and the general linguistic features of the SSC. From its practices the SSC proves to be the closest representation to a democratic parliament. Its role is limited to being a consultative body selected by the King rather than an executive body. It is a legislative assembly that is rule governed and highly influenced by the country's monarchy and religious laws as well as its wider culture. The purpose of this chapter was designed to give an overall understanding of the operation of the institution, through applying Ilie's parliamentary discourses frame. The analysis reveals that the council displays its own individual institutional norms/procedures and discourse practices that distinguish it from Western parliaments. This corresponds to Ilie's assertion (2015, p.6) that each individual parliament exhibits its own oratorical preferences and specific debating styles. One of its most distinctive features of the SSC is not having an official question time like other parliaments and this influences the discursive practices, which are mostly monologic rather than dialogic. The clear cultural-specific feature of state-supported religion and honorifics appears in the Council's norms and form of address. Religion plays a semantic and pragmatic role in the Council's discourse, it appeared in the opening/ closing of the sessions, marking the member's address forms like using title *Sheikh*. The uniqueness of the council does not affect members' roles as they still perform similar roles to other parliaments by drafting and construing laws, as well as examining and criticising annual reports by state ministries and agencies. It also has the power to propose laws to the King and cabinet, but it cannot pass or enforce laws which is a power reserved solely for the King. This does distinguish their role from legislators found in other parliaments. This suggests an additional rhetorical purpose of members' speeches, they do not only need to persuade their fellow members like other parliaments, and they need to convince the King and his cabinet for their recommendations to be accepted.

This chapter demonstrates that the macro structure of the SSC as a consultative assembly for an absolute monarchy influences the ways in which business is conducted and that members have developed their own linguistic norms to operate effectively under the circumstances. This chapter has provided an overview of the Council's macro linguistic practices which will inform the rest of this thesis focusing on the metadiscursive function of the micro elements, questions and pronouns, in the SSC.

Chapter 5 Questions: literature review and methodology

Introduction

As mentioned in the previous chapter, one of the prototypical forms of parliamentary discourse is ‘Question Time’ in the U.K. Parliament, ‘Question Period’ in the Canadian Parliament, ‘Frågestund’ in the Swedish Riksdag, ‘Questions au Gouvernement’ in the French Parliament, ‘Heure des questions’ in the Belgian Parliament, to name but a few. This questioning procedure was introduced in the European Parliament in 1973. Apart from oral questions, all these parliaments allow for questions tabled for written answers. The SSC does not have a specific question time, but members are invited to discuss the recommendation and reports during discussion time as noted in section 4.2.3, chapter 4.

However, that does not mean that questions are not asked or responded to; the nature of the questions often imply their own answers and, if they needed an answer, for the most part they do not get an immediate answer. The main aim of parliamentary discourse is to inform and persuade, questions thus play a central role in the political process. It is important to acknowledge the fact that questions have as effective a role in parliamentary debates as they do in social interactions (Kearsley, 1976). They also perform a multitude of rhetorical functions that go beyond mere factual information gathering (Kearsley, 1976). While the informational component of questions has been well-studied in the context of question-answering situations, there is relatively little work addressing the rhetorical and social role of these basic dialogic units. One domain where questions have a particularly salient rhetorical role is in political discourse. They can be used as part of an argument, for persuading, convincing, and encouraging others to accept ideas and positions they did not have before. Another factor that will also be considered in our analysis of questions is gender. Since females joined the council in 2013 now is a pertinent time to examine whether there are any gender differences in their debates.

This chapter is divided to two main parts; the first will review the literature about questions and the persuasive power of questions, then discuss questions in parliamentary discourse

specifically and identify the gap in the literature of gender and parliamentary questions, with literature about gender and questions in different fields. The second part, will set the methodological framework for the investigation of questions in the Council by presenting the form of questions in Arabic, then looking at ways to analyse the corpora which leads to the framework presented for the analysis (5.2.4).

5.1 Literature review

In this section I critically examine literature on questions with a specific focus on their function and uses. The aim is to provide sufficient and valid grounds to conduct an analysis of questions in the parliamentary debate's dataset. The analysis of questions in the Council will encounter some obstacles, like them not receiving an answer, a feature often used to define the act of questioning. To overcome this, I consider studies that focus on the grammatical form of questions, as well as studies from different orientations, i.e. where questions are seen in terms of persuasion, politics and gender.

I start by defining what is a question? (6.1.1). I go on to discuss the persuasive power of a question in 6.1.2. Then I review studies that discuss the function of questions in parliamentary discourse (6.1.3). After presenting the effect of questions in parliamentary discourse I try to fill the gap in gender and parliamentary questions through the discussion of women and gender in different types of literature (6.1.4) to give an overview and understanding of how and why women use questions in their discourse, so I can employ their view in my own analysis of the use of questions by females in the Council.

5.1.1 Questions definition and identification

Ilie (2015a) claims that no real communication can take place without questions; they are an essential part of communication. The study of questions was relegated from rhetoric and philosophy to grammar and linguistics, sciences that have long been committed to exploring the forms and functions of different kinds of questions, posed in various circumstances and for varying purposes (Ilie 2015a, p.1258). From a semantic point of view, a question is defined as a request for information. However, from a pragmatic point of view a question may be used not only to ask for information but also to press for action. It may be pragmatically defined as a request or demand that the respondent make commitments to propositions of a sort requested

by the question (Walton 1989, p.5). Questions are considered as communicative acts, ‘their concepts are pragmatic rather than semantic because they relate a speaker and an intended hearer in dialogue as a kind of action performed by the speaker and directed to the hearer’ (Van Eemeren and Grootendorst 1984, p.19).

Questions are known to be used by people in authority, thus the question of questions has drawn the attention of many researchers, who have investigated their role in institutional discourse (Ilie 1990, 2015a, 2015b). A question has been defined in many ways: questions exhibit a primarily answer-eliciting function as a question can be defined as a request for information (Hargie et al., 1987). Questions can be identified from their syntactic form, and the word includes that category with interrogatives which share characteristic subject-verb inversion, that is, polar (or yes/no) interrogative, disjunctive (or alternative) interrogative, tagged declaratives, and Wh-interrogatives (Archer 2005, p.24). Of course, this is true for English, but I will return in the methodology to explore how best to define questions in Arabic. As Walton has pointed out, "real cases of question-answer dialogue exist as real cultural and institutional practices" (1989 p.11). Questions are usually defined in relation to the answer based on the idea of dialogue. However, this is not the case in the Saudi Shura Council as questions do not receive an immediate answer. Questions can be examined based on their elicitation function as will be explained in section 1.3. From a linguistic perspective, questions are usually associated with interrogative function as they need an answer. But this is not the case for all questions, as in rhetorical questions instead of asking for information from the hearer or addressee, the speaker is making statements and “does not expect an answer” (Wang 2014, p.42). Rhetorical questions, in a variety of forms, are crucial in the Shura Council.

Parliamentary questions can be considered as speech acts (Ilie 2010). Speech acts are defined as “... the basic or minimal units of linguistic communication” (Searle 1969, p.16). According to Searle (1969, p.24), a speech act involves three different facets which make up the complete speech act: “utterance act” (uttering words); “propositional act” (referring and predicating); and “illocutionary act” (e.g., stating, commanding, or requesting). A question is a request performed by the speaker. It is a speech act involving a request for information that impose a representative act such as replies. There are two types of questions: direct and indirect. The simple kind belongs to the direct speech act. A speech act is an act which constitutes a matching of structure (e.g., a declarative) and a communicative function (assertion). On the other hand, there are other types of questions which can be indirect speech acts where structure and speech

function are not matched (Yule, 2000, p. 54-55). We consider these to be indirect questions. Rhetorical questions are considered as indirect speech acts, since they are acts performed as assertive and directive utterance, making statements that take the form of questions.

Austin (1962) drew a threefold distinction between different kinds of speech acts: locutionary acts, illocutionary acts and perlocutionary acts. Oishi (2006 P.3-4) defined these, suggesting that:

“locutionary acts include phonetic acts, phatic acts, and rhetic acts. Phonetic acts are acts of pronouncing sounds, phatic acts are acts of uttering words or sentences in accordance with the phonological and syntactic rules of the language to which they belong, and rhetic acts are acts of uttering a sentence with sense and more or less definite reference. Perlocutionary acts are, on the other hand, acts attributed to the effect of uttering a sentence”

Oishi (2006 P.3-4)

When it comes to illocutionary acts Searle (1975) defined all questions as having an illocutionary force: they are acts performed in saying something in its real, intended meaning which is what the speaker really means, they are direct. This feature can be applied to assertive, directives, and declarative statements. But according to the pragmatic approach to questions, a rhetorical question can be described as having the illocutionary force of a question (as convincing or persuading since it comes in the form of a question, but doesn't need an answer), as well as the perlocutionary effect of a statement (as accepting or rejecting) (Ene, 1983a; 1983b). Ilie (2009) describes a question as a speech act that gets someone to do or to realize something following on from the illocutionary act. Rhetorical questions are designed to elicit an action or reaction rather than information. In this study, we will examine the form and the function of questions from the translated discourse of the SSC. In our case since we are dealing with translated texts, we will identify questions from the Arabic text which will be identified later in section 5.2.2.

5.1.2 Questions and persuasion

There has been a focus in previous work on the persuasive power of rhetorical questions. Wang (2014; p.42-43) discusses the persuasive power of asking rhetorical questions by looking at the work of Howard (1990) and Ilie (1999). Howard (1990) conducted four experiments to examine the effects of asking rhetorical questions on message processing and persuasion, finding that the results of the experiments confirmed the view that rhetorical questions elicit judgments on the topic of the request when they are received and that the availability of relevant information when a judgment is first requested is a critical factor in determining whether message persuasion takes place or not. On the other hand, Ilie (1999) examined materials from talk shows, proposing a pragmatic framework for the interpretation of the discursive and argumentative functions of non-standard questions. Her investigation involves three types of argumentative non-standard questions: expository questions; rhetorical questions; and echo questions. She concludes that among the three types, rhetorical questions are more argumentative, because they imply that the speaker is firmly committed to their implied answer. Therefore, rhetorical questions are viewed as a persuasive device. As rhetorical questions appeal to emotions ‘pathos’ (Amaireh, 2013), Lara et. al. (2016) also agree that emotions are an argumentative device widely used by parliamentarians. They argue that the use of feelings and emotion as a strategy helps the MP to: (a) strengthen his/her speech. (b) Persuade the addressee. (c) Ensure a successful argumentative battle (Amaireh, 2013; p.130). All these studies demonstrate the rhetorical function of questions as they appeal to ethos, pathos and logos (see chapter 3, section 3.2), something that will be integrated in the qualitative analysis of the examples in chapter 7.

5.1.3 The function of questions in parliaments

According to Ilie (2015b, p.207), parliamentary questions are mainly used to get the government’s position on the record, to put pressure on ministers, to make a constituency point, to research an issue in depth and to help with the local campaign. Particularly significant was the following testimony about Question Time ‘QT’ and Prime Minister’s Questions ‘PMQs’ made by one MP: “It is one of the few areas where, as a back-bench MP, you can have a direct impact” (Ilie 2006; p.335) this reflects the importance of question time in parliamentary debates. The first study conducted into parliamentary question time was about the UK House

of Commons in Chester and Bowring's classic work in 1962. Since then there have been many developments and changes in this field. There is a recent interest in parliamentary questions in Western parliaments which have been scrutinized by a number of discourse analysts like Chilton (2004), Pérez de Ayala (2001), Bird (2005), Sivenkova (2008), Ilie (2010,2015c, 2018). What these studies have in common is their focus on sessions which are dedicated to asking questions of ministers as parliamentary questions have a dedicated question time in most parliaments. As discussed in the previous chapter, the SSC operates under very different norms and procedures, as such, there are no dedicated question periods. However, that does not mean that questions are wholly absent. I aim to find out why these questions are asked even if they did not receive an answer and whether gender plays a role in the five minutes of talk time allocated to members of the Council. At this point it is important to note that there is no literature about gender differences in the use of questions in parliamentary discourse from a pragma-rhetorical aspect.

Questions are an important part of political discourse: the ability to question the actions and intentions of governments is a crucial part of democracy (Pitkin, 1967), particularly in parliamentary systems. Politicians use questions as a powerful form of argumentation, but one that may not always be used to elicit information in verbal interaction, instead being a form of debating that carries different discourse intentions (Ilie 2015b, p.207). She also states that “these questions are often multifunctional and convey different degrees of argumentativeness depending on their specific contexts of occurrence” (Ilie 2006, p.190). Questions can be used for different interactional activities like scrutinizing or challenging what the respondent has said or done, evaluating the respondent’s statements, expressing criticism or accusations, and urging the respondent to act. In parliamentary interactions, questions are used for well-defined purposes, such as obtaining or recovering missing information, checking respondents’ feedback and opinions on matters of common concern, challenging respondents’ opinions or position-taking, directly or indirectly criticizing respondents’ verbal and non-verbal actions, or triggering respondents’ commitment to some future line of action (Ilie 2015b, p.201-202).

Questions that fulfil functions other than requesting information or explicit answers are normally included in the category of non-standard questions (Ilie 1999). For example, certain questions are used by speakers not to seek information, but to initiate various kinds of mutually relevant activities, such as signaling interpersonal collaboration or conflict, highlighting problematic issues, or voicing a challenge, an invitation, a reproach, a complaint, a warning, a

threat, an objection, a protest or an accusation. The category of non-standard questions is comprised of a wide and diverse range of questions that occur in different settings and constitute the interaction framework of different kinds of (institutional, semi-institutional and non-institutional) encounters (Ilie 2001).

Ilie has done a lot of work on Parliamentary questions by examining them from different angles. In parliamentary questioning practices Ilie (2015b, p.197) explains that, in the UK parliament questions by MPs may cover a wide range of topics, from issues of local interests to national and international policy concerns. While apparently requesting information, these questions actually constitute efficient strategies for requesting information from, and addressing challenges to, the government. She also looked at closed vs. open-ended questions; closed questions require yes/ no answers, while open-ended questions are normally conveyed by Wh-questions. She also examines standard vs. non-standard questions. What we normally call 'questions', i.e., utterances that are syntactically interrogative sentences, are often perceived by language users as seeking a formal answer and/or information (2015b, p.203). Requiring or expecting an answer is often regarded as the basic and most common function of so-called standard questions.

Other types of questions like rhetorical questions may be identified by adopting at the integrative pragmatic and rhetorical approach to the study of questions and responses used by Ilie (1994). Ilie wanted to account for context-based varieties and functions of rhetorical questions in order to distinguish them from standard questions, on the one hand, and other non-standard questions (such as echo questions, leading questions and examination questions), on the other hand. An essential property of rhetorical questions is that they constitute a particular use, not a particular category of questions. The rhetorical tactic of 'posing questions that expect no answer' is historically well-known to be an effective persuasive device, and one which influential speakers continue to use today (Frank 1990). Some of the more argumentatively powerful non-standard questions are rhetorical questions, whose multifunctionality and discursive versatility has been examined in several institutional contexts (Petty et al. 1981; Ilie 1994, 1995). According to these authors, which the multifunctional nature of rhetorical questions (as challenges, protests, disagreements, accusations, ironical remarks, etc.) is context-based and participant-shaped. Based on the respondent's reaction and response, it is reasonable to conclude that they are meant to be heard as questions and understood as statements (Ilie 2009).

When it comes to interrogative questions Oyeleye and Ayodele (2012) looked at interrogative questioning in Legislative Interactional Discourse (LID), which they defined as “a sub-genre of political discourse. Broadly speaking, the objectives that legislative discourse aims to satisfy are to legitimate or contest legislation, to represent diverse interests, to scrutinize the activity of government, to influence opinion and to recruit and promote political actors” (ibid., p.122). There are notable similarities with parliamentary discourse: both belong to political discourse and the goal of political discourse is to be persuasive. They found that the role of questioning in legislative discourse goes beyond being a mere request for information or action; questions are invested with discursive roles which include the structuring of talk exchanges particularly in initiating turns and enabling repair. They categorized interrogative questions as illocutionary acts, for example, an interrogative structure, can be used to give a command or an instruction, express a wish or perform various other functions, when used in an appropriate context. They identified that interrogative questions have different elicitations as will be discussed in 5.2.3.3. Generally speaking, interrogative questions are conceived as information-seeking or action-seeking structures. However, Balogun (2011, p.45) argues that “the ultimate goal of an interrogative clause is to seek for information from the hearer, to clarify some doubts or to get a confirmation or a denial of a particular fact where there is any”. Interrogative questions and their elicitations will be explored further in the SSC discourse.

Rhetorical and interrogative questions have different functions which will be explained in detail in the methodology section and identified in the analysis of question in the SSC.

5.1.4 Questions and gender

If we want to consider gender differences in the use of questions, there are many factors that need to be considered, especially the roles and positions that each gender occupies in society. As discussed in (section 2.3, chapter 2) gender differences can be viewed from the scope of community of practice. There is very little literature about gendered differences in parliamentary discourse (see Shaw 2000, 2006, Christie 2003, Wodak 2003, Formato 2014). The work that does exist does not explore gendered differences in the use of questions in politics. This requires returning to previous literature about questions in the context of gender and determining whether they relate to parliamentary discourse or the current linguistic situation. Females have been stereotyped for asking too many questions, being indirect and

being emotional, therefore we will examine women and questions, women's interrogative and rhetorical questions, then finally questions and power.

5.1.4.1 Women and questions

Many scholars offer different views and approaches to the study of questions, in different contexts. In regards to gendered differences there were no clear lines indicated. Each can lead us to the conclusion that the question of women asking questions is a complex one (Macaulay 2001, p.294). Lakoff's (1975a) 'Language and Woman's Place' was one of the first works in language and gender studies to suggest that it was the social role of women and the social pressure on them to 'talk like a lady' which was responsible for differences in language use between men and women. Prior to this publication sex difference research typically characterized women's language as inferior to the 'standard' or 'normal' speech of men. Lakoff claimed that women are socialized from childhood to adopt a gendered way of speaking which, because of their subordinate position in society, contains linguistic features (such as question tags, hedges, and polite forms) thought to convey their tentativeness and insecurity. Lakoff's identification of a 'women's language' has been criticized on a number of grounds. Firstly, Lakoff identified the features of women's language through introspection and unsystematic observations of white middle-class U.S. women. Whilst introspection can be viewed as a necessary starting point for research it is inadequate to apply those claims on a particular features of language use to an entire group in society. Lakoff (1973, 1975a) associated the use of question tags with female talk, as an expression to tone down the illocutionary force of their assertion or the adoption of an interrogative intonation instead of categorical statement. She also linked female questions to tentativeness and politeness. Additionally, Lakoff's hypotheses about women's speech (for instance that women use more question tags than men) have been tested by researchers and the results have been contradictory (Crosby and Nyquist 1977; Dubois and Crouch 1975).

In regards to the type of questions, Coates (1996, p.176), investigating women in groups, noted that questions are not unfunctional: "Questions can be used to seek information, to encourage another speaker to participate in talk, to hedge, to introduce a new topic, to avoid the role of expert, to check the views of other participants, to invite someone to tell a story". However, Coates also states, "There are few examples of information-seeking questions in women's friendly talk where information is the only goal of the question" (1996, p.177). According to

Coates, this is because "information-exchange" is not as significant for females as is "the maintenance and development of friendship" (1996, p.176). This study was conducted on women-only groups and may not be applicable to political discourse as it situated in mixed sex conversation. However, it can be interesting because women in private do not use questions to exchange information.

Females have been stereotyped for asking more questions than males. Lakoff (1975a) and Fishman (1990) found that female speakers ask more questions than male speakers: "[O]ut of a total of 370 questions asked in twelve and a half hours of conversation, women asked 263" (ibid, p.36). However, Fishman (1990) also noted that when women attempted to introduce new topics into conversation, they were more successful when they employed questions to do so (males did not do this). Since questions require answers, Fishman (1990) hypothesized that females' "greater use of questions is an attempt to solve the conversational problem of gaining a response to their utterances" (ibid, p.273). Accordingly, "[w]omen's conversational troubles reflect not their inferior social training but their inferior social position" (ibid, p.240). As relative newcomers to the Shura Council, and given the wider societal position of women in Saudi Arabia, we may well find similar issues coming to the fore in question usage in the Council.

On the other hand, Holmes (1995) examined the differences between male and female participants in formal seminars during question periods. She found that males asked more questions in this context, and asked twice as many of what she terms 'antagonistic elicitations' (explained in questions elicitation section 5.2.3.3) as did females. Such elicitations were formed by assertions which were challenging and aggressive. Both males and females employed approximately the same number of positive elicitations, and according to Holmes, approximately the same number of critical elicitations. Holmes' data demonstrates, however, that while males and females in New Zealand employ essentially the same number of positive elicitations which show agreement and interest, females favor 'critical elicitations' when they disagree, while males favor 'antagonistic elicitations'. The females employ negative elicitations which are more mitigating and face-saving. Part of the study into questions in the SSC will be to explore the uses to which they are put by male and female members.

A recent study by Hinsley et al. (2017) has found that men ask more questions than women in scientific conferences. They have linked this issue to gender and participation and the way that men seek to dominate the floor through the sanctioned act of questioning

In regards to studies of questions and Saudi women AlGhathami (2013) was discussed in section 2.4.2.1. She found that women ask more questions in mixed gender conversations and by asking more questions women adopted a competitive pattern of talk. This competitive pattern can be characterized by their attempts to force their engagement in the topic under discussion, provide negative forms of interruptions, ask direct questions, and use shorter turns that focused on statements. Being engaged in such a competitive framework forced Saudi women participating in this study to shift away from the style of talk known for its high level of involvement and support usually adopted by women, and adopt a pattern of talk that was based on competition as a strategy. This is in line with Barhouma's (2002) who found in his investigation of Arab communities, that men's speech rather than women approximated to the standard variety in more formal settings. This may lead to females following the males' norm of talk as this is the most practiced and standard form of talk.

5.1.4.2 Women and 'interrogative and rhetorical questions'

In this work, examining questions as a form of argumentation, we will focus on both interrogative and rhetorical questions in parliamentary discourse. When it comes to interrogative questions, we have both direct and indirect questions, females have been connected to indirectness in many works either with questions or requests for information. Lakoff noted that "the more one compounds a request, the more characteristic it is of women's speech, the less of men's" (1973, p.57). A request such as *won't you close the door?* Which is an indirect speech act, is characteristic of female speech, while *Close the door*, a direct speech act, is characteristic of male speech. West (1998) also found that indirect requests using quasi-question directives by female physicians helped them achieve higher patient competence.

Amaireh (2013) found that questions were used as a rhetorical strategy to appeal to Aristotle's pathos 'the audience's emotions'. Females have a history of displaying a tendency to express their emotions. There are a number of articles on political discourse such as Acuña Ferreira, 2009 that are concerned with stereotyping female's language, and the question as to whether it is characterized by emotions and subjectivity. The use of emotion words is considered a

common feminine language feature according to Yu (2013). This goes in line with the claim by Holmes (1998, p.463) “Women tend to focus on the affective function ‘interpersonal meaning’ of an interaction more often than men do who focus on the referential ‘informative meaning’”.

In regards to gender, questions and power Cameron et al.’s (1989) research on tag questions demonstrates that, some kind of questions are associated with *powerful* speakers. Harris (1984), in her study of the language of magistrates’ courts, established that questions are a crucial resource for powerful participants, since questions oblige the addressee both to produce an answer and to produce an answer that is conversationally relevant. In other words, questions control what the next speaker is able to say. Not only do powerful participants use many questions, but also participants *without* power are explicitly prohibited from using them in this situation.

Balogun (2011; p.47) believes that interrogative utterances “give a strong indication of class and power in society.” This, he claims, can be seen in the various ways by which the powerful exercise power over the powerless. All this literature about gender and questions discuss that there is indeed a gender difference in the use of questions. But the question is, is this true in political discourse? Questions in the SSC can be examined to reflect the power of the speaker in regards to gender. Females have been gaining power in political discourse recently and Saudi is not an exception, as females have recently joined the SSC. The questions used by Shura members will be examined and investigated to see whether there is a gender difference. As females are new members would they join the speech community or would they differ and create their own norms?

5.1.5 Questions Elicitation

Questions are conceived as a functional discourse category. Tsui (1992) notes that questions cannot simply be subsumed under either “request” or “directives”: she argues that utterances which elicit solely a verbal response should be referred to as “Elicitations”. Elicitation is a term first used by Sinclair and Coulthard (1975, p.28) to define an act that functions to request a linguistic (or non-linguistic) response from a co-interactant. Several studies have looked at question elicitation from different directions.

In terms of questions, Ilie (1999) examined three types of argumentative non-standard questions: expository questions; rhetorical questions; and echo questions in talk shows. She later applied this classification on parliamentary questions in 2018. The analysis was carried out in terms of response elicitation and argumentative orientation. According to the response elicitation criteria proposed by Ilie (1994, p.83), three major types of questions can be distinguished as:

1. Information-eliciting, answer-eliciting “+information-eliciting like: (standard Qs) – information-eliciting (examination Qs) ± information-eliciting (confirmation- eliciting Qs, permission-asking Qs, echo Qs, parliamentary Qs)”
2. Action eliciting “+ information & + answer-eliciting (questioner-action-eliciting) or ± information- & ± answer-eliciting (answerer-action-eliciting)”
3. Mental response-eliciting questions “–verbalization (Rhetorical Qs + tacit uptake or Rhetorical Qs + optional reactions (gestures, laughter, applause) + verbalization (Rhetorical Qs + optional answer/reply)”

In terms of argumentative orientation, Ilie (1999) made a classification of non-standard questions, according to which three main types of argumentative questions can be distinguished: argument-eliciting questions (interlocutor-oriented); argument-prefacing questions (interlocutor- and audience-oriented); and argumentative questions (message- and audience-oriented). The argument elicitation function of questions mainly relies on the answer and the discursive function which requires response evaluation: this is not the case in the Saudi Shura Council.

Holmes (1995, p.43-5) drew attention to questions elicitation by comparing male’s and female’s questions. She identified three types of questioning:

1. Supportive elicitation; imply a generally positive response to the content of the presentation, it can invite the speaker to elaborate or expand on some parts.
2. Critical elicitation; are less whole-heartedly or explicitly positive and contain a hint of criticism, they often consist of a modified agreement or a qualified disagreement, perhaps expressing a degree of negative evaluation or skepticism.
3. Antagonistic elicitations; generally, involve a challenging, aggressively critical assertion whose function is to attack the speaker’s position and demonstrate it is wrong.

She discovered that the males asked more questions in interviews and asked twice as many of what she terms 'antagonistic elicitations' compared to females. This categorization can be applied to Saudi Shura.

When we want to examine direct questions, we look at interrogative questions which can be used to request information. In Oyeleye and Ayodele's (2012, p.124-127) classification of Interrogative utterances in Legislative Interactional Discourse (LID), they apply two broad functional categories: elicitation and directive. "When used as elicitation, interrogative utterances are information-seeking. Interrogative utterances that elicit information in LID can be classified on the basis of the verbal responses which the questions prospect; among the various responses are inform, clarify, and confirm. On the other hand, as directives, they are action-seeking." They have classified elicitation into five functional classification of interrogative Utterances in LID:

1. Elicit-inform Interrogative Utterances, elicit-inform question invites the addressee to supply a piece of information that is unknown to the speaker. The responses therefore cannot possibly realize a confirmation or disconfirmation of the speaker's non-existent assumptions.
2. Elicit-clarify Interrogative Utterances. In the discursive format of legislative discourse, accuracy and facts are sacrosanct as they form the basis of sound legislation. To achieve this, questions are often put by the Speaker at various stages of the debate to get the accurate position adopted by the House or an individual on any particular issue. Elicit-clarify questions prospect a clarification of the preceding utterance or utterances. They can be realized by Wh-interrogatives or a high key repetition of a word or phrase in the preceding utterance.
3. Elicit-confirm Interrogative Utterances. Elicit-confirm interrogatives constitute another category of questions which invite the addressee to confirm the assumption contained in a speaker's utterance. Generally speaking, the function of the interrogative is to initiate a move that will give or assert agreement with the speaker's assumption.
4. Elicit-agree Interrogative Utterances. This sub-category of elicitation utterances invites the addressee to agree with the assumptions raised by the speaker that the proposition expressed is self-evidently clear. Elicit-agree questions provide leads that are quite useful as a way of achieving consensus among members on any issue before the House.

Sometimes a speaker could use elicit-questions, such as “are you with me?” or “don’t you agree with me?” as a way of obtaining concurrence from a listener thereby serving as a booster for the speaker to continue with his/her contribution. The response to elicit-agree questions may simply be yes (concurrence) or no (denial of the assumption).

5. Elicit-permit Interrogative Utterances. Elicit-permit questions in LID request the Speaker “fellow Councilors or the president” to grant permission to the utterer to take a solicited action. For instance, when the need arises for a speaker to refer to the statute books, cite a portion of either the standing rules of procedure of the House or the Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, or makes reference to any material that is needed as backings for the argument being presented by the speaker. The Speaker may grant or refuse the request.

This categorization is a useful way of defining the goal of asking an interrogative question. It makes analyzing an interrogative question possible as its elicitation is defined in relation to the intentions of the speaker which can, in their turn, be identified from the overall discourse and the context; therefore, questions need to be examined within the context in which they occur. The most common forms that can be applied to the Saudi Shura Council are elicit-inform and elicit-clarify Interrogative Utterances, as members usually seek information about the agendas or clarification about the presented proposals. Elicit-permit Interrogative is the least useful to my research as it can only be used to ask the president to read the recommendations or to speak, but they are not used as an argumentative tool.

All these categorizations overlap and are similar in many ways. However, we need to consider the fact that they are defined in relation to the answer which it is given to them. In the SSC these questions do not receive an immediate answer, so the functions of the questions cannot be categorised in the same way, by considering the answers. Therefore, we need to adopt an inductive practice to examine the questions first, then decide which of these categories can be applied to the Saudi Shura Council questions. As the function of the questions in the Council cannot be categorized the same way, by considering the answer.

In this literature review section about questions, I have attempted to summarize previous studies related to this study which are the definition of questions, then moved to the effect of these questions in discourse and finally linked them to parliamentary discourse. Then explored studies about gender and questions. A way to analyse questions that don’t receive an answer

was through their elicitation by assuming the speaker's intention for addressing such questions. All the literature discussed in this part section 5.1 has laid the foundations for the methodology part (5.2) and the analysis (Chapter 6).

5.2 Methodology

This methodology is derived from the main macro methodology presented in Chapter 3. In order to introduce the methods used to identify and analyse the use of questions as a rhetorical device in the SSC in relation to gender, I present the RQs (5.2.1) that the analysis chapter 6 seeks to answer. I then define the form of Arabic questions (5.2.2) as the analysis is on Arabic data. In (5.2.3), I present the function of the questions I have found in my corpora, I also find a way to analyse my questions as they do not receive an answer through looking at their elicitation discussed in section (5.2.3.3). I then develop my own analytical framework to fit the questions in the corpus (5.2.4).

5.2.1 Research questions

Previous literature has looked at the ways in which questions are used in the question time of Western parliaments, but in the majority of cases focusing on English and with some limited exploration of other languages. The current study builds on previous findings regarding the rhetorical uses of questions but has had to adapt them to questions which do not receive an answer to accommodate the nature of the interaction in the SSC. The specific questions to be answered are as follows:

- 2.1. How do members compensate for not having an official question time in the Saudi Shura Council?
- 2.2. Is there a gender difference in the use of questions among members during their debates?
- 2.3. Do members of the Council have a preferred means of questioning, through a choice of particular questions?

5.2.2 The form of questions in Arabic

It is necessary to distinguish between the different types of questions which are mainly categorized as Yes/No questions: with a Yes or No answer; alternative questions, with an answer choice either/or option; and *Wh-* questions, that can be in the form of What, Where,

When, Why and How. Levinson (1983) states that these questions have different pragmatic presuppositions, connecting language to the world and the speaker. Stalnaker (1973) associates these presuppositions with a sentence, with a condition that a speaker is normally expected to hold a common understanding between discourse participants when that sentence is uttered. However, Levinson (1983) associated these presuppositions with questions, **Yes/No questions** share the presupposition of an assertive structure, and will generally have a vacuous presupposition, being the disjunction, the truth/ falsity of the modified proposition is established by either of two possible answers such as yes or no. For example, in asking ‘did you go to work today?’ the answer is presupposed to be either yes or no. **Alternative questions**, presuppose the disjunction of their answer, but in this case non-vacuously as in ‘you want cheese or butter?’ the answer presupposed is either cheese or butter. **Wh-questions** introduce the presuppositions obtained by replacing the Wh-word by the appropriate existentially quantified variable, e.g. who by someone, where by somewhere, how by somehow, when by what time (Levinson 1983, p.184). As in ‘where did you go last night?’ the answer is presupposed to be by providing a location for example to a party or to an event.

When it comes to the analysis of Arabic discourse we need to briefly overview the basic characteristics of the Arabic language; it has its own script (written from right to left) in a 28-letter alphabet (25 consonants and 3 long vowels), with allographic variants and diacritics that are used as short vowels (except one diacritic which is used as a double consonant marker). Arabic script does not support capitalization and numbers are written from left to right. Question formation and the use of question words in Arabic are not complex. In general, the interrogative word is placed at the beginning of a sentence. There is no inversion of word order, usually just the insertion of the question word as in the categories below (Ryding 2005, p.401).

Like English, Arabic questions can be grammatically classified Wh-questions, yes/no questions and alternative questions. As I noted above, the form of the question does not mean that these questions are designed to elicit information; they can be rhetorical or answered by the speaker for a rhetorical purpose. In order to investigate the type of questions asked in Arabic I will explore the kinds of words used in place of Wh-questions. For example, we have 6 categories:

- 1- *What* “**ماذا / ما** (*maa/maada*)”/*which* “**أي** (*ayya*)”.
- 2- *Where* has 3 forms in Arabic *where* “**أين** (*ayna*)”/ *to where* “**إلى أين** (*ila ayna*)” /*from where* “**من أين** (*min ayna*)”.

- 3- *When/* “متى (mata)”.
- 4- *Why (why/* “لماذا (li-maada)” *what for /*“لماذا (li-maada).
- 5- *Who (who* “من (man)”/ *whose* “لمن (li-man)”).
- 6- *How/how much (how* “كيف (kayfa)”/ *how many* “كم (kam)”/ *how much* “كم (kam)”/ *how much (price)* “بكم (bi-kam)”/ *how long (time)* “منذ متى (mundu mata)”.

Yes/No questions: in Arabic, if you ask a question it takes the exactly the same form as the corresponding statement. The only difference is in intonation, and the optional addition of هل (hal) at the beginning of the question. هل is standard Arabic, but is also used in colloquial Arabic by educated speakers (Ryding 2005). Another way of posing yes/no questions is to begin the sentence with “أ؟ (a)” and to Tag questions, in which a declarative or an imperative sentence is turned into an interrogative by concluding with a tag such as “right?” “صحيح (saheh)”.

Alternative questions in Arabic appear in the use of the alternative conjunctions “أم” (am) or “أو” (aw). These can be either combined with Wh-question or Yes/No question forms. But they are usually combined with the هل (hal) at the beginning of the question then “أم” (am) or “أو” (aw) to function as “or”. They also appear in Wh-questions. There are also direct forms of questions starting with “the question is / السؤال هو” as in examples (7) and (8). This is very common in the Council; it appears in *Hypophora*.

5.2.3 The function of questions in the corpus

The functional approach to questions focuses on the role of the question within various interaction situations (Wilson 1990). It can be hard to categorize questions as one needs to look at their different discourse functions (Athanasidou 1991). Athanasidou states that questions can reflect the relationship between the speaker and the hearer, each type of question can reflect a different speaker intention. When all the questions from the SSC meetings are gathered, it is possible to connect them to political debates by dividing them into two subsets: questions for information (interrogative, direct, and indirect questions); and rhetorical questions. Since there is no immediate response required during the sessions this categorization seems most fitting, because they enable one to judge the question itself without the necessity of a response. Rhetorical tropes can appear in questions, they can be connected to questions

like Hypophora (“Question with an answer”), and Pysma (“asking a series of questions that requires a complicated answer”).

5.2.3.1 Interrogative questions

Labov and Fanshel (1977) analyze questions in speech act terms as 'requests for information'. Requests for information are represented as a means of supplying a need on the part of the speaker. The prototypical direct request for information is realized either as an imperative (say more, tell me) or as an interrogative where the speaker orders that information be given or presumes that by the means of the utterance of the illocutionary act itself the hearer is obligated to provide information. Direct and indirect questions have an interrogative function which is common in political discourse, because members seek answers to their questions about agendas and recommendations. Members usually justify their questions; they are not asked randomly. They have different ways of emphasizing the importance of the question, either by paraphrasing it or by mentioning the importance of getting an answer to the question using phrases like “we need an answer” or simply by saying “This is an important question”, or even by suggesting a possible answer.

It is reasonable in political debates to raise questions about the agendas presented. Most direct questions take the form of interrogative questions. According to Athanasiadou (1991) these questions are intended to establish a fact, and attribute responsibility. The questioner does not always know the answer. This set of questions is to test, to challenge, and to control. They can have a positive and / or negative answer. When a question is asked that requires an answer, there are implications about the dominance of the speaker: this matter is worth investigating. They may also be a request for unknown information; the speaker wants to know something and assumes the hearer knows the answer.

Indirect questions can be categorized under Searle’s taxonomy (1991) as indirect requests for information. This category of question can be analyzed through four principal felicity conditions for indirect directives: the preparatory condition (ability); the sincerity condition (wish or desire); the propositional condition (performance of future act, willingness to perform future act); and essential condition (counts as an attempt to get hearer to perform act). Thus, a speaker can employ an indirect request for information by invoking the preparatory condition: 'Can you open the door?'; the sincerity condition: 'I wish to have some biscuits and tea'; the

propositional condition: 'Will you come to work tomorrow?'; or the essential condition: 'Hannah, I'm interested in hearing about your trip'. All these types of directives can be linked to indirect questions.

In the data different types of interrogative questions 'direct and indirect' can be found. The questions are addressed to seek information rather than reaction, fulfilling the main purpose for asking questions.

5.2.3.2 Rhetorical questions

Sociological studies show that rhetorical questions are widely employed as a persuasive tool by political and commercial campaigners (Petty et al., 1981). The pragmatic definition of rhetorical questions provided by Ilie (1994) offers a concise and insightful explanation of their nature and functioning:

“A rhetorical question is a question used as a challenging statement to convey the addresser’s commitment to its implicit answer in order to induce the addressee’s mental recognition of its obviousness and the acceptance, verbalized or nonverbalized, of its validity.”

(Ilie 1994, p.128)

According to this definition, a rhetorical question can be described as having the illocutionary force of a question and the perlocutionary effect of a statement (Ilie 1994, 2018). In relation to parliamentary discourse Ilie (2018) has categorized rhetorical questions as a non-standard question, since they do not conform to the standard form by requiring an answer. The discourse function of this type of question according to Athanasiadou (1991) is that the speaker can reflect different intentions emphasizing a particular point to show that whatever they are asking the answer can be known.

Speakers employ rhetorical questions in order to serve certain goals, such as moving the audience by inciting their emotions, or they can be employed in logic, the formal system of using rules to reach a conclusion, so as to structure a sound argument. Rhetorical questions are highly strategic in the sense that they raise the audience’s level of awareness. It serves as a

forceful statement, often negative. To be specific, a positive rhetorical question acts as a strong negative assertion, and the negative rhetorical question acts as a strong positive assertion (Wang 2014). In political debates, as in everyday talk, rhetorical questions do not need an overt response, but will assist in establishing the veracity of the issues on the floor of the debate in a manner that will help the members to make an informed decision. Within the context of the member's contribution, it serves as backings for the argument being presented by the member and certainly will provide further grounds for the argument to be established. Rhetorical questions are used in many political speeches to appeal to the audience's emotions and logic and most importantly to reinforce an argument. Brown and Levinson (1978, p.228) consider rhetorical questions as politeness strategies used to minimize face risk, and they limit the uses of the rhetorical questions to the performance of particular acts: excuses, criticisms, sarcasm, and irony.

Rhetorical questions became an important part of many political speeches, appearing in the speeches, noted by Atkinson (2005), of Abraham Lincoln, Margaret Thatcher, and Winston Churchill, who used rhetorical questions in order to move the audience and catch their attention. They are also a characteristic apparent in Arabic speeches, being used in Nasir's speech discussed in Mushira and Holes (1991) as a way to get the audience involved in the development of the text. In Saudi political discourse, as Al-Osaimi (2000) discussed, the late King Faisal's use of rhetorical questions is an attempt to stimulate the audience. It was also used by a female Arab figure, Queen Rania, as a way to stir the audience's emotions in her English speeches (Amaireh, 2013).

When we want to relate the study of questions to parliamentary discourse, we need to identify the type of questions addressed in parliament in terms of pragma-linguistic criteria. Parliamentary questions often function as rhetorical questions and loaded questions, which are confirmation-eliciting, reaction-eliciting and/or action-eliciting, rather than information-eliciting in that they single out and expose the opponent's weaknesses, often in an ironical or sarcastic tone (Ilie 2015b, p.207). Instead of asking for information from the hearer or addressee, the speaker can use a question to make a statement (Zhang et al., 2017).

Rhetorical questions can be used in wider rhetorical moves. A particular trope involving questions is called Hypophora also known as Anthypophora and Antipophora. By asking questions and immediately answering them the speaker is able to refute an opponent or display

his or her knowledge. According to Zimmer (2012) hypophora is an effective rhetorical device as it displays the sense that the speaker is having a dialogue with the audience, asking the question arouses the curiosity of the audience about the answer. Thus, a well-timed pause between the question and answer can heighten the effect, it can also show that the speaker is confident and in control. Question and answer are built in to mimic the give and take of real conversation and vicariously involve the audience in the developing argument (Mushira et al., 1993, p.22). It may reveal many questions that members of your audience, “The people or fellow councilors”, may have in their minds.

A further trope involving questions is Pysma; this is a complicated form of questioning. A standard definition is that this involves asking a series of questions for rhetorical reasons (which would together require a complex reply). This form is used to show the speaker concerns about the topic discussed and the urgency of the investigation required for this matter. Members use it by consecutively posing 2 to 5 questions. They can be used to highlight divergent or convergent thoughts. When speaking about a particularly complex issue, one technique that reinforces this complexity is to ask a series of questions which, if answered, would all point in different directions. Instead it can highlight convergent thoughts, if the questions were answered, all of the answers would point in the same direction.

All rhetorical questions perform a discursive function that goes beyond the simple informational exchange process. These questions can signal the intentions of the speaker, as well as the nature of their relation with the interlocutor. As a divergent type of questions, rhetorical questions have aroused the interest of rhetoricians, grammarians, and pragmatists alike, who have approached their studies from different angles and made fruitful findings. Rhetoricians lay stress on the persuasive effect of rhetorical questions; grammarians focus on their syntactic and semantic features; and pragmatists take an interest in their communicative functions in diversified contexts. Rhetorical questions, like other rhetorical devices, add variety and interest to a speech.

5.2.4 Analytical framework

Questions are part of the speech acts performed in the Parliamentary discourse (Ilie 2010). It is important to keep in mind that speech acts are not performed or evaluated separately, as self-

standing units, they need to be examined within discourse. Therefore, questions need to be evaluated at the macro-level, with reference to the macro broader frames. It is for that reason that this study has applied pragmatic concepts in the description of political talk by examining the form and the function of parliamentary oral questions. The research was set to employ both quantitative and qualitative analysis to discover whether there is a gender difference in the use of questions. The quantitative approach was applied with identifying the number of the questions and their functions. Questions were extracted from 16 sessions over the period of 4 years. They were identified in relation to the context by examining pre-question and post-question text, as they need to be defined based on the context. The results from the quantitative analysis led to the qualitative analysis. The qualitative analysis enabled me to examine questions closely and to identify that ways in which these questions are used to reinforce the argument of the speaker. This study will investigate the form of the questions which are categorized to Wh-, Yes/No and alternative questions as in table .2 in section 7.

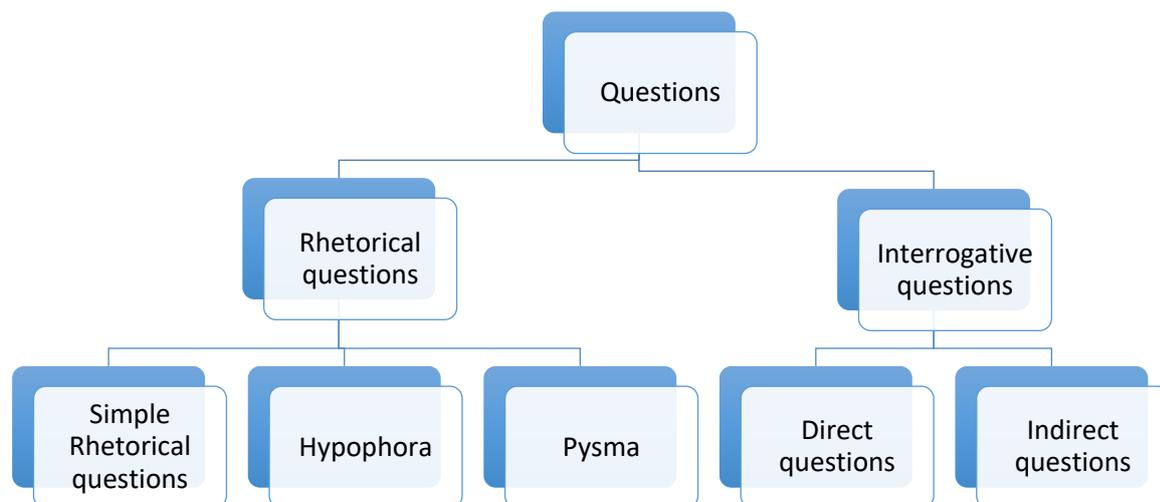


Figure 2 Taxonomy for the function of questions in the Council

The function is divided into two major categories: interrogative and rhetorical questions as in **Figure 2** Interrogative questions include direct and indirect questions. This categorization was chosen based on their answer, informational, and clarification eliciting function. One way to detect direct questions is from its grammatical form or by seeing the phrase “The question” or by its information eliciting function. Indirect questions are detected based on the information

eliciting function as they speaker may say “I don’t know” or “I wonder” which is an indirect request for information. Sometimes they are both combined with an answer eliciting function as “I hope to find an answer”. The other major category is rhetorical questions, here divided into 3 different categories: rhetorical questions; *Hypophora*; and *Pysma* which are rhetorical ways of asking questions. All the rhetorical questions are mainly detected for not having an information or answer elicitation, but rather being a statement used as a question with the intention of eliciting an action or reaction from fellow members. *Hypophora* and *Pysma* are rhetorical tropes, they are easily detected within the text. This is done on the basis of intuition. *Hypophora* can be spotted in two ways, either indirectly when the speaker presents a question then gives the answer after or can be directly extracted from the text by looking for the phrases “the question” and “the answer”. This form does not have any response elicitation function as it states both the answer and the question. *Pysma* is detected when a series of questions are asked together at once, it starts with 2 successive questions to an unlimited number.

After looking at the function of questions I examine the eliciting force of questions as discussed in the literature in section (5.1.5). The question elicitation types used in the analysis of questions in the Saudi Shura Council. As those questions do not receive an immediate response, they need to be treated differently. Not all the functions suggested by previous literature can be applied to the Shura questions, therefore these forms were narrowed according to the data. Also, most of the types of elicitation discussed in the literature overlap or collapse with each other. For instance, all of Ilie’s (1994) elicit categorizations are found in Ilie (2015b) and Oyeleye and Ayodele (2012). Holmes (1995) elicitations overlaps with Oyeleye and Ayodele’s (2012) and also can fit with the other studies like supportive elicitation overlaps with elicit agree and critical elicitation overlaps with elicit clarify. Therefore, the elicitation types in **Figure 3** were selected.

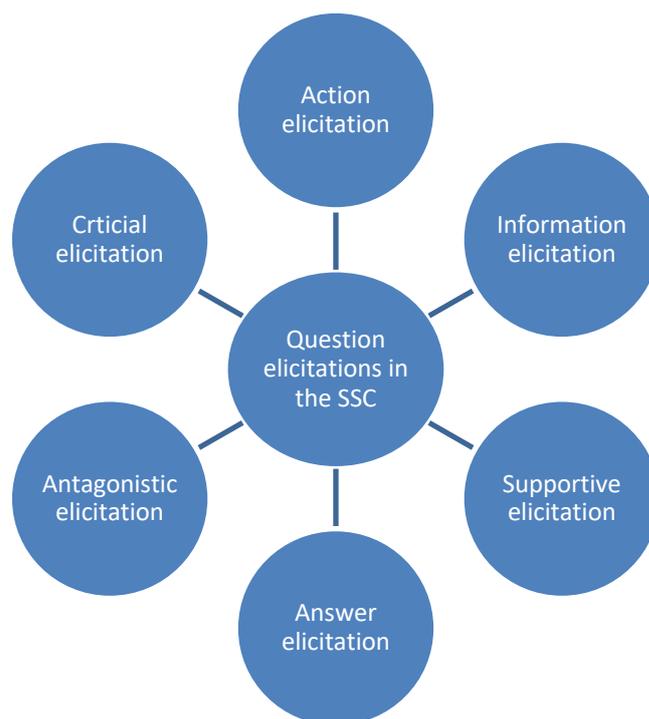


Figure 3 Questions elicitation in the SSC

The Saudi Shura questions are unique as they do not have a particular question time, therefore we could not rely on one type of categorization like Ilie's (1994). Since we are trying to investigate gender difference in questioning, Holmes' (1995) categorization was considered even though it may not appear in all the questions (such as interrogatives and elicit information or clarification). Because I have categorized questions according to their function in **Figure 2** we have two main forms interrogative and rhetorical questions, but the categorization of their elicitation in **Figure 3** would apply mostly on all the types of questions. It is important to consider that there is no clear distinction between all these types of elicitations as they may overlap at some point. That said, they are useful for distinguishing the pragmatic function of questions and the persuasive intention behind their use.

5.3 Final remarks

In this chapter, I briefly introduced the persuasive power of questions; then show how it is viewed in political discourse. Gender and questions in parliamentary discourse has not been explored in previous literature. Therefore, I introduced general gender and questions studies to create a link to my analysis. In the second part of this chapter I presented the methodology used to carry out the analysis for this study, taking into consideration the questions found in the corpora, and how they can be analysed. I presented a division for the form of questions divided to Yes/No, Wh- and alternative questions. Then I developed a taxonomy for the analysis of the function of questions in more detail. Finally, I explored all these questions in relation to their elicitation to explain the speaker's intention for posing them.

In Chapter 6, I present quantitative findings for the forms of questions used by male and female politicians and discuss the qualitative findings to reach the results in terms of the use of pronouns as a rhetorical device among members in the Council.

Chapter 6 Questions analysis

Introduction

In chapter 5, I reviewed previous literature on the use of questions in parliamentary discourse with a focus on gender and explained the analytical framework. In this chapter I provide quantitative results and discuss qualitative insights concerning the use of questions as a form of argumentation and persuasion in the debates. I will look to answer this question RQ 2.1, *How do members compensate for not having an official question time in the Saudi Shura Council?* I have provided some grounds in the previous chapter in the analytical framework for the type of questions I will analyse. The answer to the third question RQ 2.2, *Is there a gender difference in the use of questions among members during their debates?* will appear through both the quantitative and qualitative analysis of interrogative and rhetorical questions which is found in this chapter. Also, through the discussion of the quantitative findings we will see the number and types of questions member ask in their debates to answer the second RQ 2.3, *Do members of the Council have a preferred means of questioning, through a choice of particular questions?* In the final section I provide answers to the research questions RQs (2.1/2.2/ 2.3) and I discuss the results in relation to the wider Saudi context (6.5).

The questions that will be analyzed in this corpus are from the Councillors' debates about the agendas and recommendations presented to them during their weekly meetings. Most of the questions are directed to the committee chairman or the president of the Council. However, whilst questions may be posed, they do not need to be answered immediately within the session. Instead, the questions posed may inform the nature of future reports to the Council. When we investigate questions in the SSC, we can see that the same speaker may ask questions in different sessions, so this style is linked to particular speakers rather than to all the speakers.

6.1 Quantitative analysis

The analysis of the questions in the SSC is divided between looking at their form, then their function. The tables below will show the quantitative findings from the dataset. Deciding the form of questions was based on searching for the words identified in section (6.2.2.1). While

the function of questions was identified from the qualitative analysis deciding the intention of the speaker for addressing such questions. The table below identifies the form of every question addressed in the Council which the numbers would vary from the function of questions as will be presented later in **Table 5**.

Table 3 The distribution of questions based on their form

Form of the question	Male raw	Male normalized (per 10,000 words)	Female raw	Female normalized (per 10,000 words)	Sig.	χ^2 Value
Wh/ questions	56	15.86	40	41.28	p < .001	10.82757
Yes/no questions	22	6.23	2	2.06	Not sig.	1.75645
Alternative questions	5	1.41	1	1.03	Not sig.	0.00
Total	83	23.5	43	44.38	p < .01	10.59295

The most popular form of questions used in the Saudi political debates among both genders is Wh- questions: 15.86 per 10,000 words for males and 41.28 for females. Females evidently use these questions far more with a significant gender difference in their use with a significance rate of p < .001 and a χ^2 Value of 10.82757. The Yes/No question is used three times more by male speakers with 6.23 for males and 2.06 for females, but with no significance rate- the raw numbers of occurrence here are very low. The alternative questions appear among males more with 5 questions and only one in females', as they are presented as something halfway between Wh- and Yes/No questions. This finding is different from those of Wilson's (1990) and Fetzer, et al.,'s (2015). Wilson (1990, p.149) discovered from a sample of 139 questions in the House of Commons discourse, that 116 of the questions were yes/no and only 23 were Wh-questions. Ilie (2015b, p.207) claim that most parliamentary questions belong to the closed category of yes-no questions, which are meant to constrain the respondent's answering options.

But the SSC presents a different case, favouring Wh-questions over Yes/No questions. This may be accounted for by the absence of an allotted question time in the Saudi Shura Council.

Asking Yes/No questions from a closed category requires an immediate answer which is not apparent in the Council as questions are not answered on the spot. They are therefore, unlikely to stimulate the debate to go on as the questions are embedded in debate and talk time. Asking Wh-questions will enable members to carry their discussion further as they are more open-ended and will still be useful even if they do not elicit an immediate response. Using this method, the speaker will still be able to convey more of an effect as a more discursive response is required. It might also be related to them questioning the agendas presented and the best way to express their view and create an argumentative question is through the use of an open-ended question category such as Wh- questions. As Koshik (2003, p.68) found that Wh-questions are used as challenging questions in institutional talk; because instead of asking for new information, they are used to convey a strong epistemic stance of the questioner, especially a negative assertion. As a result, Wh-questions can be accompanied by accounts which give the grounds for the challenge. From our analysis we have also noticed that there is a gender difference in the form of the question. Males tend to mix Yes/No and Wh- questions in their interrogatives as examples (7,10,12,13), while females' favour Wh-questions as examples (8,9,11,14). There is a significant difference in males' and females' use of questions with $p < .01$ and a χ^2 Value of 10.59295. Which leads to **Table 4**.

Table 4 The ratio for the number of questions by male and female speakers

Males	Females
(35,305) words	(9,689) words
16.99 Per 10,000 words	38.18 Per 10,000 words

Before moving to the next table I would like to point out that when it comes to the total number of questions, we can see a difference in the numbers presented in **Table 3** of the form of questions as it had a total of 126 questions while the function **Table 5** displays only 97 questions in total. This is because *Pysma* contains a series of questions and each question has its own form. That is why there are more questions in the form table while according to their function there are only 97 types.

Table 5 The distribution of questions based on their function

Questions		Male Raw	Rate per 10,000 words	Female Raw	Rate per 10,000 words	Sig.	χ^2 Value
Rhetorical Questions	Simple Rhetorical question	16	4.53	8	8.25	Not sig.	1.34157
	Pysma	10	2.83	8	8.25	p < .05	4.31960
	Hypophora	11	3.11	2	2.06	Not sig.	0.04083
Total		37	10.48	18	18.57	Not sig.	3.44690
Interrogative Questions	Direct	20	5.66	14	14.45	p < .05	6.63150
	indirect	3	0.84	5	5.16	Numbers too small to carry out a test for significance	
Total		23	6.51	19	16.61	p < .001	11.67587

From the quantitative findings, the analysis of the function of questions in the table shows that there is a slightly significant difference between the general category of rhetorical and interrogative questions with the ratio of 12.22 per 10,000 words for rhetorical questions and 9.33 for interrogative questions. Most of the questions in the Council were rhetorical questions; including *Pysma*, *Hypophora* and simple rhetorical questions with the rate of 10.48 for men and 18.57 for women. But with no significant difference in the use of rhetorical questions gender wise, except when it comes to *pysma* women use them more with a significant difference of p < .05 with χ^2 Value of 4.31960. While interrogative questions (direct and indirect questions) were slightly less used than rhetorical questions with the rate of 6.51 for men and 16.61 for women. The least popular type of questions were indirect questions with the normalisation number of 0.84 by males and 5.16 by females. This conforms to Lakoff's (1975a) as women in her finding have addressed indirect interrogative questions more than men. In both forms direct and indirect questions there is a significant gender difference with significance of p < .05 for each. This shows that females use indirect questions more than men,

there is a significant difference with $p < .05$ with χ^2 Value of 5.70717. The same applies for all the interrogative questions there is a significant difference as females use them more than males with the significant difference of $p < .001$ and χ^2 Value of 11.67587. Women use interrogative and rhetorical questions similarly with almost equal rates (18.57 for rhetorical questions and 16.61 for interrogative questions), while men tend to use rhetorical questions slightly more with 10.40 for rhetorical questions and 6.51 for interrogative questions.

According to this section we can notice that there is a quantitative gender difference when it come to the use of questions as women asked substantially more questions than men and this will be explored further in the qualitative analysis in the following section.

6.2 Qualitative insights into the use of questions in the SSC

The quantitative findings in Tables **Table 3**, **Table 5** and **Table 4** reveal that there is a statistical gender difference in the use of questions in the SSC. In this section the questions based on **Figure 2** in applying the taxonomy of questions analysis then identify its type of elicitation in **Figure 3**. The main goal of this section is to discuss how and why members use questions in their discourse and the speaker's persuasive intentions behind them. Therefore, the analysis of this chapter will begin with interrogative then rhetorical questions. Since the questions addressed in the Council do not receive an answer, the analysis will be based on identifying the speaker's intention by looking at their elicitation presented in **Figure 3**.

6.2.1 Interrogative Questions

Interrogative questions are divided into direct and indirect questions based on **Figure 2** taxonomy, this function is common in political discourse especially if there was a dedicated question time, since members seek answers to their questions about agendas and recommendations. In terms of elicitation according to Oyeleye and Ayodele's (2012) five categories of the elicitation of interrogative utterances, the most common is to elicit-inform and elicit-clarify Interrogative Utterances; the least popular are elicit-confirm, elicit-agree and elicit-permit Interrogative Utterances.

6.2.1.1 Direct questions

When it comes to this function of questions in the SSC, we can find many questions having the pre-questioning tag like “the question is, I’m asking, or I wonder”. This case appeared in 13 out of 97 questions (13.4 % of questions posed by both male and female speakers) these can be considered **direct questions** as they usually elicit information. Example (7) illustrates this preamble to a question:

(7)

د. عبد الله المنيف: فالسؤال الذي يتبادر الى الذهن ما هو أساس هذا الطلب للدعم؟ وزارة المالية بالتاكيد لن تتوالى متى ما وجد الدعم السببي لأي طلب.

- 1 *Dr. Abdullah Al-Muneef (M): The question that comes to mind is what is the basis*
- 2 *of this request for support? The Ministry of Finance will not comply when there*
- 3 *isn't any justification request for this support.*

In order to support the question, the Councillor is saying that the Ministry of Finance will not comply with this report if it did not have a clear justification. This type of question was used to in an interrogative manner to elicit clarification; this question is put by the speaker to get an accurate position to know why financial support was needed as it was not mentioned in the report.

We can look at females’ use of direct questions in order to compare their style with males as in excerpt (8):

(8)

د. زينب أبو طالب: السؤال الذي ينبغي أن تجيب عليه هذه الوثيقة هو ما هي ملامح السياسة السكانية للمملكة ذات الصلة بمكانة المملكة الاقتصادية و الدينية و التنمية السياسية و الاقتصادية و الاجتماعية في المملكة و متوافقة مع الحدود الجغرافية الممتدة و المساحات الشاسعة المأهولة و غير المأهولة؟ فمثلا السياسة السكانية في الصين واضحة فهي سياسة الطفل الواحد.

- 1 *Dr. Zeinab Abu Talib (F) :Your Excellency the president the question that*
- 2 *should be answered in this document is what are the characteristics of the*
- 3 *Kingdom's population policy in relation to the Kingdom's economic status,*

4 *religious, political, economic and social development in the Kingdom? And is*
5 *it compatible with the extended geographical boundaries and the vast*
6 *inhabited and uninhabited areas? For example, China's population policy is*
7 *clear - it is the one-child policy.*

This question was repeated again at the closing of her debate, this is a characteristic of Arabic rhetoric, and considered rhetorically persuasive (see section 2.4.3 of the characteristic of Arabic speeches).

(9)

مرة أخرى أسأل ما هي السياسة السكانية للمملكة؟

Again, I'm asking what is the population policy of the Kingdom?

Dr. Zeinab emphasizing the importance of the answer, eliciting an answer before asking the question using the modal auxiliary “ينبغي /should” in example 8; modality concerns the writer’s (or speaker’s) attitude toward and/or confidence in the proposition being presented (Lillian, 2008, p.2). At its strongest, *should* in English takes on the meaning of moral obligation, or duty (defined in moral or legal terms) Is it the same for ينبغي. At its weakest, it merely offers advice, if subjective, or describes correct procedure, if objective (Coates, 1983, p.59). Like ‘should’, ينبغي reflects the speaker’s judgment that another person is obligated to perform some action (Fowler, 1985, p.72). Using this word, the speaker obliged the committee to answer the question. In order to clarify the request, she indicated clearly all the factors that need to be considered, then she supported it with examples to clarify that the aim of the question is we need to suggest that a similar answer or system is need in Saudi Arabia. She repeated the question at the end of the argument, thus reinforcing the persuasive power of the question and how important it is to consider it. This type of question is to the Elicit-inform Interrogative Utterance (Oyeleye and Ayodele, 2012). She backed the question using different methods of support as using the directive auxiliary modal “ينبغي /should”, repeating the question then giving examples of the answer she needs.

The example below illustrates the fact that male speakers also repeat the question.

(10)

د. منصور الكريديس: لكن المتتبع لميزانية الهيئة بندهل كيف هذه الهيئة تقوم بهذه المهام في ظل ميزانية محدودة جدا؟ تقرير الهيئة و في كل عام ميزانية الهيئة لهذا العام 181 مليون ريال بند الرواتب يشكل 50% من هذه الميزانية بند المشاريع اللي هو الباب الرابع يشكل 29 مليون ريال. معالي الرئيس أيها الأخوة والأخوات أنا أتسأل كيف هذه الهيئة تقوم بهذه المهام في ظل هذه الميزانية الضعيفة؟

1 *Dr. Mansour Al-Kuraidis (M): Would an observer of the commission budget not*
2 *be amazed at how it carries out these tasks under a very limited budget? The*
3 *Authority's budget for this year is SR 181 million. The salaries band constitutes*
4 *50% of this budget. The projects band which is the fourth section constitutes SR*
5 *29 million. Dear President, Brothers and Sisters, I ask how this body carries out*
6 *these tasks under this weak budget?*

Dr. Mansour paraphrased the idea from limited budget to weak budget to emphasize his surprise that it was possible to complete the work on so little money; he uses the words *amazed, very limited*. He also supported this question using numbers a strategy which conforms to Yu's (2013) finding that a higher percentage of determiners, numbers, and modifiers characterized a male style in congressional discourse. The first question can be considered as a rhetorical question because he uses it to lead to the last interrogative questions. The second question was asked to elicit clarification from the committee as in how the commission was able to function under this budget, the committee needs to clarify as it seems a somewhat shocking revelation.

(11)

د. حياة سندي: اذا كان متسول غير سعودي ماذا نفعل بهم؟ لان معظم المتسولين غير السعوديين لا يوجد عندهم هوية فممنهم من حرق جواز السفر أو هويته ما نعرف هو ايش من أي بلد ماذا نفعل؟

1 *Dr. Hayat Sindi (F): If the beggar is non-Saudi what do we do with them? Because*
2 *most non-Saudi beggars do not have an identity, some of them burn their passport*
3 *or identity. We don't know from which country he came, what do we do with them?*

Dr. Hayat here is trying to draw attention towards non-Saudi beggars and frames it as a “social issue”. She repeated the question at the beginning of the argument and again at the end. The question was used to elicit clarification as this situation is urgent and needs to be attended to.

Before repeating the questions both speakers in examples 10/11 took the opportunity to justify why this question was important, before presenting it again either to show their amazement as in excerpt 10 or to confirm it is an urgent issue that needs addressing as in examples 8/9/11. This repetition can also be used to elicit a reaction as this matter needs to be resolved. This feature has frequently appeared in female’s discourse as in examples 8,9 and 11.

Some questions can be used to add some logic to the argument and the matter being discussed, as in Mr. Khalifa in the example below rationalizing the situation of giving women leave of absence from work, to discuss that it’s a complicated point that needs to be directed to a specialized authority.

(12)

أ. خليفة الدوسري: مثلا لو جينا احنا نطبق حقوق المرأة مثلا والولادة ووفاة الزوج وكذا في بعض الدول تعطي المرأة الي سنتين حضانة الطفل وتدفع الراتب هل الشركات تستطيع ان تدفع راتب سنتين؟ أنا أعتقد إذا بغينا نعمل مثل هذه القوانين هذه القوانين مميزة وتستحق النظر فيها ولكن التأمينات الاجتماعية هي المعنية بدفع هذه المبالغ.

1 *Mr. Khalifa Al-Dosari (M): For example, if we want to apply women’s rights in*
2 *regard to leaves for losing her husband or maternity leave. In some countries,*
3 *women get two years maternity and get paid their salaries. Are the companies*
4 *capable of paying a 2 years’ salary? I think, if we want to apply such laws, these*
5 *laws are valuable and worthy of consideration, but the social security systems are*
6 *the ones that are responsible for paying these sums.*

He is trying to question the committee’s proposal as it may not be easy to apply, and this is not the responsibility of the Ministry of Labor. He stated his opinion by saying “I think/ أنا أعتقد” he is trying to soften the tone of his criticism by saying “these laws are exceptional and worthy of consideration/هذه القوانين مميزة و تستحق النظر فيها”, following Holmes (1995) definition of a

supportive question, as he is not disagreeing with the recommendation, he thinks it is good but needs improving. His opinion comes after stating the question he addressed his personal opinion; he thinks it's valuable and worthy of consideration. But he disagrees with its direction, as it should not be directed towards the Ministry of Labor but should be directed towards the social security system to determine whether they are able to cover the leave of absence costs.

This softening supportive form of interrogatives is a common feature of the male discourse norms in the SSC, as can be seen in the following example.

(13)

د. سلطان السلطان: حمد لله لدينا في بلادنا مراكز ابحاث جيدة ولدينا اجهزة ولدينا مراكز بس نحتاج الربط. فلماذا ما نفكر في موضوع؟

- 1 *Dr. Sultan Al-Sultan (M): Thank God, we have in our country good research*
- 2 *centres and we have tools and we have centres, but we need to link them. So why*
- 3 *don't we think about it?*

One of the males' form of phrasing an interrogative question can come in the form of a suggestion, they tend to adopt a soft tone in questioning like example (13). It is a supportive kind of questions, since the speaker is talking about the positive resources that the country offers and suggests that the solution is simple. The question is also used in elicit-agreement interrogative utterances; the speaker is inviting other members of the Council to think or agree with the assumptions raised by the speaker that the proposition expressed is self-evidently clear. Elicit-agree questions provide a lead that the speaker is asking for the consensus of his fellow colleagues that the solution to the problem is clear. The response to elicit-agree questions may simply be yes, it's a good idea or no, it can't be implemented as it's hard or not simple. Moreover, the non-specific time frame of 'thinking about' something reduces the urgency with which an agreement needs to be arrived at. That reduces still further the potential face threat of the member's intervention.

In contrast to this lack of urgency of male members and desire to reduce the potential for questions to be seen as critical, distinctive feature of the female's interrogative questions either

direct or indirect is to express the need for an answer before or after asking the question. We see this in Excerpt (8), (14), (15) in a direct question:

(14)

د. أمل الشامان: يظهر لنا ان المنجز من فرع الهيئة في منطقة الحدود الشمالية في التقرير السابق هو 80% في حين ان نسبة الانجاز في التقرير الحالي بلغت 75% إذا كانت هذه النسبة نسبة من الانجاز السنوي المفترض و إذا كانت هذه النسبة هي نسبة انجاز كامل للمشروع فهذا غير مقبول كيف للمشروع ان تتناقص نسبة إنجازة؟ ايضا اتمنى ان أجد اجابة من اللجنة.

1 *Dr. Amal Al-Shaman (F): We have seen that the completion of the branch of the*
2 *Commission in the northern border in the previous report is 80% while the*
3 *completion rate in the current report amounted to 75% if this is a percentage of*
4 *the estimated annual achievement and if this percentage is the percentage*
5 *completion of the complete project its unacceptable. How can the project*
6 *decrease the rate of achievement? I also hope to find an answer from the*
7 *committee.*

Dr. Amal uses numbers to support her argument. The question is intended to achieve many things, like trying to elicit clarification as there is a contradiction in the report that needs to be clarified the numbers are inconsistent. This question fits into Holmes' (1995) definition of antagonistic elicitation as she used the word "غير مقبول/Unacceptable" and accused the report of being contradictory, supporting it with statistics to reinforce her argument which was characterized as a male a strategy according to Yu's (2013) finding that a higher percentage of determiners, numbers, and modifiers characterized a male style in congressional discourse. She also seeks to elicit the answer at the end saying, "I hope to find an answer from the committee/ اتمنى ان اجد اجابة من اللجنة". All these elicitations reinforce the persuasive power of the question as she used many tools to support the question.

The robust nature of female members' questioning comes out in the qualitative analysis. Whilst formally (and quantitatively) we may saw difference only in numbers but no major differences in how male and female members use questions, we do see clear differences when we look to individual instantiations of questions.

6.2.1.2 Indirect questions

Indirect questions appear in females discourse 5 times (5.16 ratio) in comparison to males 4 times (0.84 ratio) of their total questions. We can see that there is a significant difference between males and females with the significance rate of $p < .05$ this confirms the claim that females tend to be indirect Lakoff (1975a) as indirect questions appearing more females discourse rather than males. According to Athanasiadou (1991) these questions are characterized by the ignorance of the questioner of the answer and his avoidance taking the dominant role of asking a direct question. They are used as a polite request for information rather than an aggressive or direct form, it can be linked to softening the tone of the question. Most of the indirect functions in the debates are coined with phrases like “I don’t know/ لا اعلم, ادري”, “I wonder/ أنا أتساءل”, “لا اعرف, لا اعلم, ادري”. All those questions can be considered indirect as they do not look like a question, but they have the potential to elicit an answer.

Another indirect question by a female speaker using ‘I don’t know/ لا اعلم’ to request information.

(15)

د. أمل الشامان: وما زال العدد مرتفع لم يذكر التقليل نوعية هذه البلاغات ولا الملاحظات ولا الاجراءات التي تمت للتعامل معها او التقليل منها حتى ولا اعلم ما هو السبب ولما لم تستفسر اللجنة عن هذا الامر ارجوا ان أجد اجابة من اللجنة.

- 1 Dr. Amal Al-Shaman (F): The number is still high (the report) did not mention
- 2 the reduction of the quality of these filed reports and there are no notes and no
- 3 procedures to deal with or reduce them even I do not know what the reason is
- 4 and why the Committee did not inquire about this matter I hope to find an answer
- 5 from the Committee.

The speaker has adopted this form of questioning in her debate to shows her critical position towards the committee’s report, she used both direct and indirect questioning both pointing to the urgency of getting an answer for both. ‘I don’t know’ here is a form of indirect questioning because it is followed up with the more explicit statement indicating her desire for an answer. This question carries negative criticism using “did not mention the reduction of the quality of these filed reports and there are no notes and no procedures/ لم يذكر التقليل نوعية هذه البلاغات و لا

”الملاحظات و لا الاجراءات“ the negative form is carried in the double negation using “no/لا”. This question was used to elicit-clarification she used the phrase “I don’t know what is the reason/ لا اعلم ما هو السبب”, then indicated that the committee needs to clarify this lack of knowledge. She also hints that the committee did not inquire about this point, if not they need to pay it attention.

On the other hand, another indirect question from a male speaker which clearly displays a different softer tone.

(16)

د. ناصر الداوود: أنا أتساءل هل مخرجات هذا البرنامج تفي بحاجة مستشفى الملك فيصل التخصصي.

Dr. Nasser Al-Dawod (M): I wonder if the outputs of this program meet the needs of King Faisal Specialized Hospital.

The male’s form of indirect questioning seems simpler and more to the point in this example. The tone is much softer than in example 15 as he said “I wonder/أتساءل” alone, without adding the need for an answer. We can notice a gender difference in the function of the question as in the female form, she has insisted on the answer and used negative forms more, while in the male question it carried a much softer tone as in “I wonder or I don’t know” with no additional force added.

6.2.2 Rhetorical questions

Rhetorical questions are used to provoke, emphasize or argue in political debates. The use of rhetorical questions varies between males and females in how they tend to use them and combine them with other devices in my data. In this dataset we will examine three different types of rhetorical questions: simple rhetorical questions, *Hypophora* and *Pysma*. In total rhetorical questions were used often in the Council; of all the questions asked, 56.7% of them were rhetorical in nature.

6.2.2.1 Simple rhetorical questions

Simple rhetorical questions were used with the normalised rate of 4.53 for males, while females used them with a higher rate of 8.25 with no significant difference. Both males and females in the SSC use them in a similar way.

One example of the rhetorical use of questions is in giving comments about the case using an analytical way as in explaining the pension situation and supporting it with examples and numbers, the giving the obvious answer to this question as in examples (17) and (18).

(17)

أ. خليفة الدوسري: يعنى حنا نتكلم اليوم عن زيادة دخل المتقاعدين ونتكلم ان نربطها بالزيادة السنوية وأعتقد هذا الموضوع يحتاج الى دراسة أعمق لان الزيادة السنوية هذه لا تنطبق على المتقاعدين الزيادة هذه تخص المال في اشياء معينة لا تنطبق على المتقاعد.....الواحد ما عنده بيت ويستلم راتب تقاعدي 6000 ريال والسكن معدل في المملكة 20.000 ريال فمعناته عنده هو 4000 ريال يعيش فيها. هل هذا معقول؟ إذا تقاعدوا وهو عمرة 60 سنة وما عنده بيت مو الخوف عليه نقول عمرة الافتراضي 70 سنة لا الخوف على اسرته عنده اطفال عنده زوجة وكلن يعلم انه الراتب التقاعدي بعد ما يموت الزوج يتوزع فالزوجة بالأخير راح تحصل لها 1000 ريال إذا حصلت الزوجة 1000 ريال كيف تدفع السكن؟

1 Mr. Khalifa Al-Dosari (M): I mean, we are talking today about increasing the income
2 of retirees and we are talking to link them to the annual increase. I think this subject
3 needs a deeper study because this annual increase does not apply to retirees... [12
4 lines removed critically explaining the policy proposed by the committee]..If one do
5 not have a house and receives a pension of 6000 riyals, the average housing in the
6 Kingdom is 20,000 riyals which means he has 4000 riyals to live from. Is this sensible?
7 [5 lines deleted about retirees turning to poor people] ...If he retires at the age of 60
8 years and does not have a house, we are not concerned about him let's say his default
9 age is 70 years. We are concerned about his family he has children and a wife. We all
10 know that the pension after the death of the husband is distributed among the members
11 of the family. The wife would get 1000 riyals. If the wife got 1000 riyals, how would
12 she pay for housing?

Mr. Khalifa analyzes the report logically by going through facts and numbers to prove that it does not make sense in the cases he has mentioned in both questions. His first question in line 7 can be categorized as an antagonistic elicitation; he is criticizing the report, in the lines removed from the example highlighting his objection by saying that it does not make sense as in “*Is this sensible? / هل هذا معقول ؟*”. He used a different question later on to prove that the suggestion does not make sense, he predicted the future situation of the retiree and expressed his concerns using words like “concerned about his family/الخوف على أسرته” which reflect on the Councillor’s awareness of his social responsibility and role adopting the Aristotelian tool ethos (see chapter 3 section 3.2.1 on rhetoric). These questions were designed to stir the audience’s emotions *pathos* by mentioning the retiree’s family and future situation, to draw attention to the undesirable consequence of applying this policy. He also appeals to *logos* through the use of number and logic to prove that this situation is not logical and support *pathos* by appealing to the audience emotions.

Rhetorical questions can be used to criticize the reports of the committee and question them either by asking questions about how those recommendations can be applied or by giving sarcastic comments. One way of criticizing the recommendation and its application is by questioning how they are applicable as the example below.

(18)

د. فالح الصغير: لكن أضيف إذا اقربنا التوصية الأولى هل الثانية متناقضة معها ام لا وجه التناقض ان الثانية توصي بمراجعة المزايا المالية كيف اللجنة توصي بمراجعة المزايا المالية وهي لم تتطلع على الميزانية أصلا؟

1 *Dr. Faleh Al-Seghir (M): “I would like to add to that if we approve the*
 2 *first recommendation, does the second one contradicts with it or not? The*
 3 *second recommendation recommends reviewing the financial benefits.*
 4 *How does the committee recommend reviewing the financial benefits,*
 5 *without even looking at the budget?”*

Another question about the same topic ‘financial support’ was addressed by a female member.

(19)

د. فردوس الصالح: الأمر الآخر أحد الحلول التي يطلبها الصندوق الدعم المالي كيف يطلب الدعم المالي ولديه هذه الأموال الموجودة التي لم توزع؟ لابد من المناقشة قبل ان يطلب الدعم المالي.

- 1 *Dr. Fardous Al-Saleh (F): The other thing is one of the solutions required by*
2 *the Fund is financial support How can they request financial support when*
3 *they have an existing fund that has not been distributed? The transfer must be*
4 *made before requesting financial support*

Males and females were similar in their application of rhetorical questions. They both applied critical elicitation to prove their point: there is a great degree of negative evaluation or scepticism towards the financial request.

Rhetorical questions can be used to prompt sarcasm as in example (20).

(20)

د. ناصر الموسى: السؤال الذي يطرح نفسه هنا هو هل هذه ادارة جودة ام انها ادارة للعلاقات العامة؟

- 1 *Dr. Nasser Al-Mousa (M): The question arises here is this a quality*
2 *assurance department or a Department of Public Relations?*

This question was addressed by Dr. Nasser. He uses an alternative question to criticize the role of the quality assurance department, pointing out that it is not doing its job and is performing a different role which is public relations. So, this is a critical elicitation type of question, expressing scepticism about the role of the quality assurance department, and asserting that it's not practicing its assigned role.

On the other hand, a female member has presented a sarcastic question differently.

(21)

د. أمل الشامان: هل فكرت الهيئة في سبب زهاب هذا الكم من المواطنين للدول المجاورة في الاجازات والعطل؟ الى درجة انها اصبحت ظاهرة يعبر عنها بالكاريكاتيرات الساخرة وكأنها هجرة جماعية موسمية لهذه الدول.

1 *Dr. Amal Al-Shaman (F): Did the Commission think about why this number of*
2 *citizens went to neighbouring countries in vacations? to the extent that it*
3 *became a phenomenon expressed by sarcastic cartoons as a seasonal mass*
4 *migration of these countries.*

She followed the question with a sarcastic comment to ridicule this matter, pointing out that it became a matter of public humiliation, appearing in cartoons in the press. She supports her view by talking about “neighbouring countries” she was hinting at Dubai; this conforms to newspaper headlines “The number of Saudi tourists in Dubai increased to 6% in 2016 to 1.64 million, equivalent to 11% of the city's 14.9 million tourists” (Aljazeera.net 2017).⁹ A great number of Saudis go to spend their holidays in Dubai. This became a huge matter to ridicule in social media and newspapers. This form of questioning can be considered antagonistic elicitation as she is aggressively attacking the commission of tourism for not attracting tourism and driving Saudis to leave the country and spend their vacations abroad, rather than in their own country. This question does not have an answer as this issue was not addressed in the report, the question was posed for a rhetorical means to say that the commission is ignoring reality and the inability to attract tourism.

Then again, she asks another question to emphasize this comment.

(22)

د. أمل الشامان: هل سألت الهيئة نفسها لماذا لا يكون لدينا ارقام قياسية من السياح بين المدن داخل المملكة؟

1 *Dr. Amal Al-Shaman (F): Did you the Commission ask itself why we do not*
2 *have a recorded number of tourists between cities within the Kingdom?*

This is a critical elicitation question, as Dr. Amal is criticizing the Commission for not addressing this matter. This question does not have an answer; the commission did not give an answer to this question or may not have considered it. By posing both of these questions Dr. Amal is trying to emphasize the importance of promoting local tourism and that the commission

⁹ <http://www.aljazeera.net/news/ebusiness/2017/2/8/عدد-ارتفاع-السائح-السعوديين-السياح-عدد-ارتفاع>

needs to compete with neighbouring countries to achieve that. She may also be seeking to embarrass the commission by implying that they have not even been able to ask themselves this question because they are less than competent.

Females tend to give sarcastic comments after their rhetorical questions as in examples (21) and (23).

(23)

د. حياة سندي: الطلبات معجزة للشباب الواعد ولا تتوفر لديهم في هذا الزمن من لدية الآن عقار او ضمان 60%؟ من قيمة المشروع من يستطيع ان يوفر هذه الضمانات ت غير القادرين عليها يعني باختصار الصندوق هو لتنمية الأغنياء.

1 *Dr. Hayat Sindi (F): These requests are obstacles for the promising youth, that*
2 *they do not own at this time. Who owns a real estate or have 60% of the value*
3 *of a project? [to start building a house] In short the fund is for helping the rich*
4 *[people].*

Giving such comments may also emphasize the fact that these questions do not have or need an answer and that they are presented to emphasize a certain point. We can say that this is an antagonistic elicitation for the post-question comment which is challenging the fund by saying “the fund is for helping the rich/ الصندوق هو لتنمية الأغنياء” this is a sarcastic comment as the real estate fund is supposed to help the poor or those who are unable to buy or build houses, not for those who are already rich and have the money to own a house.

One way of using these questions is to support a vote an appeal to persuade other members.

(24)

د. لبنى الأنصاري: فلماذا تتخذ اللف عن الركب الدولي ونحن في أمس الحاجة (مقاطعة من رئيس المجلس أكثر من 5 دقائق) في زمن الحزم والتحول؟ الرأي لكم والقرار قراركم ولكن أمل التصويت بلا لإسقاط توصية اللجنة وأعطاء هذا المقترح فرصة أخرى من خلال لجنة خاصة.

1 *Dr.Lubna Al-Ansary (F): Why should we not follow the international path*
2 *when we are in desperate need (interrupted by the president for passing her*
3 *time more than 5 minutes) in a time of firmness and transformation? The*
4 *decision is yours and the decision is your decision, but I hope to vote No to*
5 *the committee's recommendation and give this proposal another chance*
6 *through a special committee.*

By saying “*why should we not follow the international path?*” the question is used as a form of critical elicitation as she is criticizing the direction they are taking. The speaker is trying to be persuasive by using the words “*in a time of firmness and transformation/ زمن الحزم و التحول*” which is the national direction of the country’s policy as King Salman has been named the King of firmness and his period is considered transformational; the goal was to be persuasive and affect the emotions of the audience to make them vote ‘no’. Then she gives them the choice and asserts her opinion that she wants this suggestion to be given another chance which is both a supportive and action elicitation kind of comment. This is a critical, supportive and action elicitation type of question as she is asking other members to support her suggestion by voting no. It’s a rhetorical question as there is no answer required to the question itself, the question was used as a persuasive tool.

Whilst the use of rhetorical questions in and of themselves is not really different between men and women, when we look to the wider discourse in which they are utilised we do find differences. Female members will often use critical, sarcastic follow ups to reinforce the antagonistic nature of the initial rhetorical question. They also appeal to others to demonstrate that they are not alone in believing the content to their assertion dressed up as a question.

6.2.2.2 Hypophora

Hypophora is a phenomenon of asking a question and immediately answering it. This form of questioning shifts the conversation from dialogue to monologue in order to draw and retain the attention of the audience, by giving the question more of an argumentative weight. Hypophora also allows the speaker to position themselves as knowledgeable on the topic discussed. It is used by men with a ratio of 3.11 (per 10,000 words) more than women’s ratio of 2.06 with no significant difference, including 1 which was categorized as *Pysma*.

The answer to the question need not simply be positive in nature but can also highlight matters which would not be satisfactory responses as in the two following examples about the financial difficulties expressed by Saudi Arabian airlines.

(25)

د. ناصر الشهراني: لكن كم ستوفر الدولة؟ كم ستوفر الدولة على الخزينة العامة من الرواتب التي ستدفعها؟ عندما تخصص الخطوط السعودية ستوفر في سنة واحدة ممكن ضعف هذا الرقم الذي ستدفعه لمرة واحدة.

- 1 *Dr. Nasser Al-Shahrani (M): But how much would the state save? How much*
- 2 *would the state save from the public treasury from the salaries it will pay?*
- 3 *When you privatize Saudi Arabia airlines, you will be able to save in one*
- 4 *year twice the amount you will pay for one time.*

(26)

د. سلطان السلطان: ماذا ينقصنا؟ لا ينقصنا المال ولا ينقصنا المؤهلين ولا ينقصنا تاريخ الخطوط السعودية ولا ينقصها أي شيء أي شيء.

- 1 *Dr.Sultan Al-Sultan (M): What do we lack? We do not lack the money*
- 2 *and we do not lack qualifications and we do not lack the heritage of*
- 3 *Saudi Airlines and do not lack anything.*

Saudi Airlines suffered huge losses throughout the years, even though they are supported by the government and get discount fuel prices from the Kingdom. They are wasting the government money and resources. This issue caused frustration in the Council, as in in 2016 they lost 3.5 billion Riyals (AlBorsanews.com 2017). These questions were asked and then answered to express what the viewers' "fellow Councillors and TV viewers" are thinking. It was addressed to reveal many questions that members of the audience "The people or fellow Councillors" may have in their minds. This can be linked to Levinson's (1988) complex participation structure, as the speaker is trying to be a medium by involving the audience and the addressees' thoughts and questions by asking and answering them. This reflects the disappointment of the members and was used to elicit criticism towards the Airlines' situation.

This form of questioning can be used for supportive elicitation in asking for their fellow member's cooperation. As in the example below when the speaker tries to seek for members support by investigating the issue of crops.

(27)

د. أحمد الزيلعي: السؤال هو ماذا يفعل الناس حين تختفي هذه المحاصيل؟ التي تصاعدت أسعارها الى مستويات غير مسبوقه أيموت الناس جوعا أم يبيعون الغالي و الرخيص لشراء لهوة ذرة أو دخل و الاجابة هي تمرير هذه التوصية ذلك انه بينى في جيزان حاليا صوامع للغلال فما المانع ان يكون من بين هذه الصوامع صويمعة لخرن الذرة و الدخل كما هو الحال مع خزن القمح بهدف الأمن الغذائي و بهدف تزويد السوق بحاجة الناس اليه و هل يعجز الدولة التي تنفق المليارات مشكورة لاستيراد القمح وأو حتى الشعير لغذاء الانعام أن تستورد الذرة و الدخن و تخزنها تحقيقا للأمن الغذائي للمنطقة و ما حولها فالغذاء ثقافة و موروث تاريخي و حضاري و الدخن و الذرة و محصولان لهما قيمة غذائية عالية و يؤكلان حتى بدون ايدام أمل من المجلس الموقر المعاونة و الموافقة على هذه التوصية مع دعواتي للجميع بالأجر و الثواب من الله سبحانه و تعالى و أسمح لي يا معالي الرئيس بقراءة التوصية.

1 Dr. Ahmed Al-Zaili (M): *The question is, what do people do when these crops*
2 *disappear? When prices are rising to unpredictable levels, would people starve to*
3 *death or sell “all that they have” the cheap and the expensive (cultural idiom) to*
4 *buy a pound of maize or millet and the answer is passing this recommendation,*
5 *because currently in Jizan new silos are being built for grain, why not be among*
6 *these [grain] silos, silos to store maize and millet, as in the case with wheat storage*
7 *for the purpose of food security and to fulfil the market and people's needs. Is the*
8 *country unable to do so after “thankfully” spending billions to import wheat, or*
9 *even on barley to feed the animals, to import and store maize and millet to secure*
10 *food for the region and its surroundings. Food is culture, historical and cultural*
11 *heritage, millet, maize are two crops of high nutritional value and eaten even*
12 *without vegetables. Therefore, I hope from the Council to cooperate and accept*
13 *this recommendation. My prayers for all of you may God Almighty reward you for*
14 *your good deeds, your Excellency the President can you allow me to read the*
15 *recommendation.*

Dr. Ahmed uses the phrases “the question/ the answer” to present the problem and the solution. He also accompanied the question with a sarcastic comment embedded in the

rhetorical question before the answer which is framed as a further question “*would people starve to death or sell “all that they have” the cheap and the expensive (cultural idiom) to buy a pound of maize or millet?*”. He uses emotionally effective words like “starve to death/ أم يموت الناس جوعاً” or “sell “all that they have الرخيص و الغالي” to appeal to the audience’s emotions expressing the worst-case scenario if they did not support this recommendation. The answer was clear that by supporting this recommendation all these results will be presented, he also offered a solution: providing silos to store maize and millet as they are already being built in Jizan. He also emphasized the importance of maize and millet and how they are part of the Saudi culture that should be preserved. This question answer format is mainly for supportive elicitation to get other members to vote for his recommendation. The invocation of prayers may be seen as a further appeal to emotions to persuade other members to support his proposal.

The female speakers used this technique to discuss something they have knowledge about female’s rights in society. This corresponds to Childs (2002, 2004) and Bird’s (2005) discussed in section 2.3.1. Such support for female rights enhances the persuasive power of the argument that female members are here to call for the rights of their fellow females ‘Saudi citizens’. The sense of being advocates for women’s issues is true for all the female Councillors, as all the questions in examples (28) and (29) and (33) illustrates their position in demanding equal rights with men.

For instance, in the following example a female speaker is asking for equal property rights with men:

(28)

د. وفاء طيبه: فلم لا يساوي ولا يحقق العدل في الفرص في حق التملك بالنسبة للمرأة والرجل؟ وهو حق محفوظ لها في الاسلام فاذا ارادت المرأة ان تمتلك منزلا حفاظا على مالها من الهدر وحفاظا على مستقبلها سواء كانت متزوجة أو غير متزوجة..

- 1 *Dr. Wafa’a Taibah (F): So why there is no equality or Justice in opportunities for*
- 2 *property ownership between women and men? And this is a right reserved for her in*
- 3 *Islam if a woman wanted to own a house to invest her money and to protect her*
- 4 *future, whether married or unmarried they...*

In the next example the speaker is asking for equal employment right.

(29)

د. أمل الشامان: في البداية أود ان استحضر قرار مجلس الوزراء الموقر رقم 120 بتاريخ 12/4/1425
والذي يلزم كل جهة حكومية بإيجاد فروع نسائية هذا القرار تم التأكيد عليه بعدة أوامر سامية لاحقة
.....و لكن ماذا عن وزارة العدل؟ بعد 10 سنوات من صدور قرار 120 الوزارة لازالت الى الآن
توصد الباب امام توظيف النساء مخالفه بذلك قرار مجلس الوزراء وسائر التأكيدات الواردة عليه تقرير
الوزارة بقول إنه تم استحداث 300 وظيفة نسائية وأن لديها خطة لاستحداث أكثر من 2000 وظيفة
للنساء ومع ذلك لا الوظائف الشاغرة شغلت ولا الوزارة بين في تقريرها أسباب تعثرها في هذا الجانب
ولا اللجنة الموقرة سألت المندوبين عن أسباب هذا التعثر.

1 *Dr. Amal Al-Shaman (F): First, I would like to recall the Council of Ministers'*
2 *Resolution No. 120 dated 12/4/1425, which obliges every government agency to find*
3 *women's branches. This decision was confirmed by several orders later... [2 lines*
4 *removed about the agencies that applied it].But what about the Ministry of Justice?*
5 *10 years after the issuance of the 120 decision of the ministry it's still closing the door*
6 *towards the employment of women, which contradicts the decision of the Council of*
7 *Ministers and other assurances received. The ministry's report says that 300 jobs*
8 *were created for women and that it has a plan to create more than 2000 jobs for*
9 *women. However, the vacant jobs were not filled, and the Ministry did not, in its*
10 *report, explain the reasons for its failure in this regard.*

Both questions were presented to address women's rights and their position in society, this shows that they have knowledge of what females are suffering from and what issues need to be acknowledged as they have done their research. In example (28) Dr.Wafa is asking for equal rights with men and that there is no Islamic reason "as it is the origin of the country laws" that argues for women having the same property rights as men. This also shows that female argue their rights within the frame of the country laws, which appeals to logic that there is no clear reason for depriving women from property rights. In example (29) Dr. Amal criticizes the Ministry of Justice for not applying the orders they were given to hire females in the ministry and may point out that it is a matter of discrimination that needs to be resolved as the ministry failed to follow the orders of the country.

According to all these examples we can certainly say that *Hypophora* is a form of questioning used by members to display their knowledge about certain topics and reflect on questions that many people have in mind. This is also a persuasive method as they reveal issues to the public and answer them on the spot fashioning the answer to fit their concerns using different means of elicitation. There is no real gender difference in how hypophora is used, but it is interesting to notice that it is used to display knowledge about particular topics, which enables speakers to describe themselves as having some expertise in the topic discussed and bring up to logical reasons to support their argument.

6.2.2.3 *Pysma*

Pysma- the issuance of multiple questions in quick succession- is used more frequently by female members than male members. *Pysma* is mostly used for interrogative functions by both genders. The questions varied from Wh-Questions to Yes/No questions, though females only used Wh-Questions asking about, how, when, where, why and what as in excerpts (31) and (33). *Pysma* is the issuance of multiple questions in quick succession. *Pysma* is a powerful persuasive and argumentative tool in debating. It is a rhetorical strategy that puts pressure on the respondent.

Pysma can have both an interrogative and rhetorical function. For an interrogative function; they come in the form of loaded questions introduced by Walton (1981), as it contains a bias towards one side of some controversial issue in that it contains propositions that are implicitly presupposed by the question. For the rhetorical function they have an illocutionary force that is meant to challenge, accuse and embarrass the opponent (Ilie, 2018, p.110) in which the speaker interrogates the committee about all the missing facts that were neglected in the report. This is a powerful form of questioning used mostly by members for an interrogative function, to elicit answers about the reports they have in hand.

In the following example the speaker is questioning the ministry's report, as a way to criticise their role in finding solutions for the social phenomenon of begging in the streets.

(30)

د. زهير الحارثي: هل درس هذا الامر بجديّة من قبل الوزارات والاجهزة المعنية؟ هل طرحت حلول؟ ما هي توصيات اللجنة الوطنية؟ كيف نرضى ان نجد سعوديين يتسولون في الشوارع؟

1 *Dr.Zuhair Al-Harhi(M): Has this issue been seriously studied by the relevant*
2 *ministries and agencies? Have they come up with solutions? What are the*
3 *recommendations of the National Committee? How can we be ok with finding*
4 *Saudis begging in the streets?*

Dr. Zuhair was trying to speak about a particularly complex issue and highlights divergent thoughts. By asking all these questions, he is trying to point out that ignoring these issues has led to a shameful result which is, Saudi citizens begging in the streets. This technique was particularly used to appeal to pathos, the audience's emotions. This question is action-eliciting as the speaker suggests the Council needs to do something to fix this.

A similar way of using pisma as a rhetorical technique by a female speaker to discuss the situation of ambulances in the Saudi Red Crescent Authority.

(31)

د. وفاء طيبه: كيف تتوزع سيارات الإسعاف على المناطق في المملكة الـ 13 وكيف تخدم السيارات
القرى الصغيرة؟ ما متوسط مدة الاستجابة لطلب الاستغاثة؟ كم عدد وتخصصات الطاقم في السيارة؟
وكيف يتفق ويختلف كل ذلك مع المعايير العالمية؟ ليست لدينا معلومات!

1 *Dr.Wafaa Taibah (F): How are ambulances distributed on the 13 areas of the*
2 *Kingdom and how do the cars serve small villages? What is the average response*
3 *time to emergency calls? How many crews are there in the car and what are their*
4 *specialties? And how does all this fit with global standards? We don't have any*
5 *information!*

In this example Dr. Wafa points out the fact that the answers to these questions are missing from the report by saying “ليست لدينا معلومات! / We don't have any information!”. This is clearly an information-eliciting question but can also be seen as lightly critical of the report's author for failing to provide such basic information. It also points out that there are international standards that needs to be met in the operation of ambulances in the Kingdom.

An example of a complicated *Pysma*, the following example contains a series of questions with answers.

(32)

د. فايز الشهري: السؤال هنا هل الوضع الصحي بشكل عام مرضي؟ هل الخدمات الصحية في المملكة ترضينا جميعا؟ ثم سؤال بشكل آخر هل البحث العلمي ايضا على مستوى يتواكب مع تطلعات المجتمع والقيادة؟ الجواب الطبيعي هو لا إذا كان الوضع الصحي ووضع البحث العلمي بشكل عام بهذا المستوى الذي لا نرضى عنه فينبغي على اللجنة وعلى المجلس أن تشجع كل الجهود التي تدعم هذا المجال.

1 *Dr. Fayez Al-Shehri (M): The question is, is the overall health situation*
2 *satisfactory? Do health services in the Kingdom satisfy us all? Then another*
3 *question, is scientific research also at a level that is consistent with the*
4 *aspirations of the society and our leadership? The natural answer is no if the*
5 *health situation and the situation of scientific research in general is such that we*
6 *are not pleased with the Committee and the Council should encourage all efforts*
7 *that support this area.*

Dr. Fayez asks a series of 3 questions consecutively to highlight a convergent thought. He used the word the question/the answer very clearly which makes it a form of *Hypophora* when he simply answered by 'No'. He combined *Hypophora* with *Pysma* to attract the audience's attention and reinforce the persuasive power of his argument, to show his dissatisfaction with the health services in the Kingdom. He also clearly states his satisfaction using the phrase "لا نرضى عنه / not pleased". The speaker is trying to elicit a reaction from other members towards all his comments about the health situation in Saudi. He is also appealing to pathos 'raise audience emotions' and ethos 'raising the sense of the Council responsibility' through logos that their performance is not meeting the government aspirations.

Another question is addressed by a female member asking about the inclusion of female jobs in the Ministry of Justice.

(33)

د. أمل الشامان: السؤال الذي يتبادر للذهن الآن لماذا لا يكون العاملين في هذه الدوائر من النساء؟ لماذا تنتظر المرأة الدخول على الرجال ومراجعتهم والحديث عن امور يصعب عليها الحديث عنها امام الرجال؟ لماذا تضطر المرأة ان تحضر معها معرف عند الحضور الى المحكمة أو كتابة العدل لتعرف عن هويتها؟ لدينا اليوم الآلاف من الخريجات في الشريعة والقانون وغيرها يستطيعن خدمة شريحة كبيرة من النساء في هذا المجال.

8 *Dr. Amal Al-Shaman (F); The question that comes to mind now is why the workers*
9 *in these departments are women? Why do women wait for men to be consulted*
10 *and to talk about things that are difficult for them to talk about in front of men?*
11 *Why does a woman have to bring an identifier with her when she comes to court*
12 *in order to identify her? Today we have thousands of female graduates in Sharia,*
13 *law and others who can serve a large portion of women in this field.*

This example displays a rare case of *Pysma* where the questions are all rhetorical and do not need an answer, Dr. Amal is raising a politically sensitive subject. Then she gives a suggested solution to this problem at the end and includes another rhetorical device which is *Hypophora*. All these questions were raised to appeal to *logos* and support an argument that this does not make any sense and the solution to this problem is very clear and simple. She was addressing women's rights and issues by repeating the word *women* which appears in all questions, to show this is a matter of discrimination against women. As a female speaker she was able to incorporate all these rhetorical devices in one question. This question is action eliciting as something needs to be done to solve this issue that is disturbing women, and the solution is simple can be through hiring female Sharia law graduates to serve other female citizens.

Dr. Amal is addresses this issue by attempting to solve the employment issues of fresh law graduates and a social issue "females not feeling comfortable dealing with males" conforming to the Kingdom's policy of segregation "in which in the governmental sector females are served by female employees and vice versa". This confirms the fact that Saudi Arabian women interpret

feminism within the boundaries of their specific culture and Islamic standpoint and Council women are not protesting against these rules.

In the following example a male speaker uses *pysma* to question the performance of the investment fund in solving the unemployment issues.

(34)

د. خضر القرشي: للصندوق اضافة الى النتائج الحقيقية للاتفاقيات المنفذة والتي لم تنفذ اين هذه التوصية؟ والقرار هذا هل نفذ؟ ولماذا؟ وكيف؟ يخلو تقرير من القوائم المالية تقرير صندوق مالي أنشئ لحل مشكلة البطالة او جزء منها بدون تقرير الحقيقة فهو عديم الفائدة.

1 *Dr. Khader Al-Qurashi (M): In addition to the results the actual*
2 *implementation of the agreements that have not been implemented, where is*
3 *this recommendation? And why? And how? The report lacks financial*
4 *statements. The fund is financial repost was established to solve the problem*
5 *of unemployment or part of it. Without this statement the report is useless.*

Dr. Khader used all the questions to criticize the report and interrogate the committee about the previous agreement as there is information missing from the report as are the financial charts about the unemployment issue. All three questions were rhetorical: they were used to elicit action from the committee. He is trying to say that what is happening does not make sense as it made the report literally “عديم الفائدة/useless”.

Pysma is a device more commonly used amongst female members, but is used for similar purposes to male members. In particular, *pysma* allows Council members to implicitly criticise the reports which have been laid before the SSC for being deficient in the information provided. That female members are more willing to present such critiques is noteworthy and underlines the critical nature of rhetorical questions.

6.3 Final remarks

The quantitative and qualitative analysis of questions has presented some interesting findings. In this section I will summarize the findings and answer the research questions presented in chapter 5. Following the first RQ 2.1. *How do members compensate for not having an official question time in the Saudi Shura Council?* We discovered that questions exist in members' debates, even though they do not receive an immediate answer since they are used primarily as an argumentative device. Most of the questions posed in the Council debates had a negative connotation and were used as a means for criticizing or questioning the reports. The Councillors in the SSC used questioning in an effective way to support their arguments during their debate time. Most of the questions carry a negative connotation, as they occur 'in an environment of already-established disagreements, challenges or complaints' (Koshik 2003, p.68). The questions vary, however, in the ways that they are positioned in the argument (e.g. at the beginning, middle or end) and how they are supported in the surrounding discourse. Most of the questions were accompanied with justifications and more persuasive elements to make a more powerful rhetorical point: this type of question is not asked to seek information, but can actually provide information. That is why it is important to consider the context by examining the post and pre-questioning utterances. We saw that these were most typical amongst female members of the SSC. Asking questions can be a style related to specific speakers as we can see the same speakers asking questions in different sessions.

This is further investigated in the answer to RQ 2.2. *Is there a gender difference in the use of questions among members during their debates?* Since this was the females' first round and first participation in the Council, we can see that they are trying to establish their ground, wanting to do more and trying to have an effective position in the Council. Also, we will be able to answer RQ 2.3. *Do members of the Council have a preferred means of questioning, through a choice of particular questions?* We can see due to the nature of the Council the types of questions posed had to stand on their own since they do not receive an immediate answer. From the questions examined we can find there is a difference in the use of questions among genders. Saudi women have been able to establish an effective role as newcomers to the Council by asking more questions than men. Females favoured open ended Wh-questions which allowed them to carry the conversation further than the closed Yes-No questions. Given that Wh-questions contain

presuppositional content, we could argue that the preponderance of their use reflects a more conflictual approach taken by female members.

By examining the function of questions, we discovered that there is no clear line for indicating the function of question, suggesting that we need to look at the context as a whole to decide, because some might have *Pysma*, *Hypophora*, and interrogative functions all together. But by making this categorization we were able to discover that rhetorical questions are as important as interrogative questions in SSC parliamentary discourse. Males tend to use rhetorical questions more than females in their debates. The most popular rhetorical questions for both genders are the simple rhetorical question that does not need an answer. We found that female members' use of rhetorical questions tended to be accompanied by asarcastic post-question comments. *Hypophora* was used as an argumentative tool, a way for members to display their knowledge about the topics they were discussing and to create a monologue. The topics on which members wished to demonstrate their knowledge varied, with female members focusing on women's issues when using hypophora.

Topicality of questions is a wider phenomenon: females asked 6 out of 37 questions about females' rights either for employment or public rights. This conforms to previous parliamentary studies (Childs 2002; 2004, Bird 2005) which found that women tended to act for women and call for females' rights in parliament. Females' questions were mostly related to their topic of interest which is, women's rights as they feel the need to represent their fellow Saudi women as a whole. That is why this issue dominated their questions. Men who have been in the Council since it started, by contrast, chose more diverse questions in relation to the topics they discussed. Interestingly the Saudi Airlines agenda raised a lot of questions among the members as there had been many newspaper headlines on this issue. There were 13 questions on this issue in total, 11 questions by males and 2 questions by females, in sessions 5 and 70 of year 2. This reflects Councillors' frustration and agitation about this matter.

When we examine questions, we look at the other persuasive tools in the context like giving examples, telling stories, sharing experiences and giving numbers or further explanation to indicate the reason or reasons for asking the question. These tools can be explored to investigate what the elicitation or underlying purpose of the question is. Most of the questions posed have negative connotations which leads to them being combined with comments which support these

negative connotations and provide a justification for asking the question. In order to compare males' and females' style or choice of persuasive device, tools such as examples, sarcastic comments, modal auxiliaries etc. were analysed. We can see that women tended to be more directive than men in their questions, often using the word 'should' that shows moral obligation, such as 'the Council should...' as well as strong emotive words such as "deprive, unacceptable". Females, as newcomers to parliament, have adopted several distinctive styles as we can see in examples (8) (14) (15). It was a common feature of females' questions to require an answer or reaction by saying "this question should be answered" or "we need an answer" or in an indirect way "there is no information". When we look at the supportive elements of questions, we can consider what the purpose of the question is. Females frequently use antagonistic elicitation questions in contrast to male members, employing them as an argumentative device, as in examples (14) (21) (23): they challenge the committees and their agendas. Holmes' (1995, p.46) research says 'in their contributions to the discussion, men expressed proportionately twice as many of the antagonistic elicitations as women did', while we can see it as a form used by women more in the Saudi Shura Council. When we apply Holmes' (1995) questions categorization of the 3 types of question elicitation to the Saudi Shura questions we find Critical elicitation was also popular among men and women. Antagonistic questions were used by both men and women to attack the reports and demonstrate that they are wrong. It is a feature that appeared in female questions, it can be linked to them wanting to know more about what is happening in the Council and to become more involved. Women also used a directive form of question using modal auxiliaries which were stereotyped in previous research literature as a characteristic of men's discourse. Insisting on an answer is a common characteristic of the females' questioning, as they demand an answer before or after posing the question.

The analysis has shown that questions can be asked within the debates for argumentative reasons even if the Council does not have an official question time. The members employed questioning as a style in their debates in order to make their argument more persuasive. Questions play an effective role in parliamentary debates as past research has shown and the SSC is not an exception. Females have developed their own style by using particular questioning patterns that are distinctive from those adopted by men. They use questions to exert their new-found power in the Council either to challenge or to demand answers about issues that concern them. It might be suggested that the more precarious position of female members (and women in wider Saudi society) gives a sense of urgency to the discursive performance of those members.

Chapter 7 First person pronouns: literature review and methodology

Introduction

This chapter examines the rhetorical use of Arabic first-person pronouns in the discourse of the Saudi Shura Council (SSC). Before these uses can be explored in detail, there are cross-linguistic differences between Arabic and English pronouns that need to be addressed and considered. Arabic is a pro-drop language which can drop subject pronouns, though they do still appear as a form of emphasis. Arabic also has different forms of pronouns: detached, attached, and implied. While most of the literature analysing the use of pronouns in political discourse is in English, in this study, careful consideration has been given to the pronoun system in Arabic and particularly to ways of identifying and quantifying the use of pronouns in a pro-drop language. Since this study is directed towards language and gender in the SSC, pronouns were considered as a means to identify if there is a quantifiable gender difference in the choice of pronoun made by male and female Council members. A new approach was developed and applied to enable the quantitative analysis of such a complex pronoun system. Qualitative analysis was based on previous literature that had identified personal pronouns as a crucial part of the analysis of political discourse because they give a sense of who speakers identify themselves with.

Part of the motivation for exploring the use of pronouns stems from what Chilton and Schäffner (1997, p.216) argue, that pronominal choice gives implicit information concerning the situational intersubjective positioning of referents in the mental discourse universe entertained by the speaker. Moreover, pronouns can be analysed in terms of Davies and Harré's (1990) theory of positioning. This theory suggests that speakers use language to attribute social roles to themselves and others during a span of discourse. The use of pronouns can be viewed as a discursive tool, which allows Council members to position themselves in relation to other members. Politicians position themselves with regard to their discussants and, by extension, to the audience at a given moment of speaking to fulfil a discursive goal. As well as tools for positioning, pronouns can equally be viewed as parts of a rhetorical repertoire since they correspond with Atkinson's (1984) proposal that a discourse is rhetorical if it is inclusive and interactive. Indeed, a number of scholars, including Larner (2009), Karapetjana (2011), Amaireh

(2013) and Formato (2014), have suggested that pronouns are employable for persuasive means. They can be exploited by members of the Council, since the discourse practised in the SSC can be performed in pre-prepared speeches, as members ask to speak in advance, as explained in chapter 4. This allows speakers to direct their discourse towards their goals either to propose a motion, or to support, reject, or criticise a recommendation. This allows us to build on the previous chapter where we explored the pragma-rhetorical function of questions. Here we will explore how pronouns are used in support of arguments.

This chapter will provide further evidence of pronouns being used as rhetorical tools by politicians to create and protect their image and to frame the way people see them, as well as to persuade. It will present the literature, methodology, research questions, and analytical frame for the analysis of the first-person pronouns in the SSC. It will be divided to two main parts; the first part (7.1) will review literature about the pronouns and politics, then move to parliamentary discourse, then connect pronouns to gender studies. The final part of 7.1 will discuss the role of pronouns in discourse by talking about identity and positioning. The second part will introduce the research questions (7.2.1), then discuss the identification of pronouns specifically in Arabic. Next the analytical framework will be presented that will enable a detailed analysis of members' pronominal choices through a specially developed taxonomy that accommodates the data. All the literature reviewed, and the methodology presented in this chapter will support the analysis of first-person pronouns in chapter 8.

7.1 Literature review

In this section I critically examine literature about the use of pronouns from different areas to give a comprehensive view of possible approaches to their analysis. The aim is to provide sufficient and valid grounds to conduct an analysis of pronouns in the SSC dataset. The analysis of pronouns in the Council needs to be tailored to fit the data found in the debates. In order to do so, I consider studies that focus on grammar and studies which have a different orientation, i.e. where pronouns are seen in terms of politics, gender, and identity and positioning.

This section will start by identifying pronouns in general (7.1.1) and investigating the role of pronouns in political discourse (7.1.2). I then review studies that have discussed pronouns particularly in parliamentary discourse (7.1.3). After presenting the role of pronouns in parliamentary discourse I try to link pronouns to gender studies (7.1.4) and investigate other

perspectives for analysing pronouns like identity and positioning (7.1.5). These studies will provide an overview and understanding of how and why members use pronouns in their discourse so I can identify their rhetorical function, then fine-tune the methodology needed for the analysis of pronouns in the Council.

7.1.1. Pronouns definition and identification

This study will focus on the 1st person pronouns in Arabic, the form of the Arabic pronouns will be explained in section 7.2.2., then the function of first-person pronouns will be presented in section 7.2.3. English pronouns will be discussed for the purpose of comparison. Personal pronouns have been investigated from a grammatical point of view, as they are an important part of noun phrases. They are defined by Wales (1996) as word “standing for a noun or a substitute for a noun” or “that the pronoun is said to stand for a noun already mentioned or replaces an earlier NP” (1996, p. 1). The English pronouns are classified according to (1st/2nd/3rd) person, number (singular, plural), gender (masculine, feminine) and case (subjective, objective, genitive). This study will focus on the correspondence for the English first person pronouns; they are used to refer to the self, they come in singular (I, me) and plural (we, us) forms. The corresponding personal possessive adjectives are also investigated (my, our).

In order to investigate pronominal choices, the analysis will be devoted to less systematic and more contextually dependent uses of these pronouns, showing how these items can encode different aspects of the communicative intentions of the speakers. Wilson (1990, p.47) refers to this approach as 'pragmatic' in that the meaning associated with pronominal usage is not systematically related to variables such as formality, status, class, sex or the like, but is more dependent on the specific context of utterance and the roles and goals of the Speaker (s). Many studies have taken a pragmatic approach to study the significance of pronouns in discourse, for example, Alavidze (2017) argued that pronouns can be used as pragmatic markers that need to be considered as linguistic “bullets” used by politicians to achieve their goals. This corresponds to Maitland and Wilson (1987) who showed how individual politicians vary in the use of the pronominal system according to scales of distancing/involvement of self with respect to the topics under discussion or the discourse participants.

7.1.2. Pronouns and Politics

Studies that have highlighted the effect of pronouns in political discourse include Chilton and Schäffner (1997), Bramley (2001) Karapetjana (2011) Håkansson and (2012) Fetzer (2014). When a member makes his pronominal choice, he is placing himself above or outside the shared responsibility of his colleagues (Beard 2000, p.45). Each personal pronoun has its own function that will serve the agenda of the speaker. In what follows, I will examine previous work in political discourse analysis which examines the use of pronouns. This will inform the discussion of pronoun use in the Shura Council.

Chilton and Schäffner (1997, p.216) argue that pronominal choice gives implicit information concerning the situational intersubjective positioning of referents in the mental discourse universe entertained by the speaker. They analysed previous British Prime Minister, John Major's speech on 14 October, 1994 and found that the repetitive use of the first personal "I" indicates that he appears authoritative and knowledgeable whereas his audience are subordinate and less knowledgeable. Furthermore, Chilton and Schäffner (1997) show how the pronouns *we/us/our/ours* are dexterously deployed in this speech. According to the authors, "We" may include the speaker, the direct hearers in the hall as well as those who consider themselves supporters of the party. Contextually, it excludes the opposition Labour Party (they or them). They argue that the associated verbs come from lexical fields pertaining to belief, conflict, moral rectitude and provision. The following is an illuminating example from Major's speech:

How wrong they have been... and how right we have been... it is we who have... we have won... we've beaten... we are the party of the union... they are our issues... This is our ground [not Labour's].

(Chilton and Schäffner, 1997, p.218)

This example shows how the speaker was able to use the plural pronouns as a persuasive tool to emphasise his position himself, through including 'the union party' and excluding 'the labour party' particular groups. Plural pronouns can be used as a form to include and exclude particular discursive groups.

Bramley's (2001) PhD thesis gives a detailed explanation about the use of pronouns in the construction of 'self' and 'other' in political interviews. Her analysis revealed why members use certain pronouns such as *I* and *we* and how they are employed to reflect different identities.

She related the use of the first-person singular pronoun *I* forms (me, my, mine, myself) as politicians use them to express the individual ‘self’ in their interviews. She divided the analysis of the singular pronouns into 3 main categories. The first category is linking *I* to the construction of an individual image based on Labov and Fanshel’s A-event; when a speaker is talking about something that is part of his/her biography, this is known as an A-event (Labov and Fanshel 1977, p.62). The second category was devoted to *I* as part of ‘I think’ which is used in combination with both A-events ‘something the speaker knows and the audience doesn’t’ and D-events, where a D-event is something that is disputable (Labov and Fanshel 1977, p.62). Her final category was using the pronoun *I* to take control over the interview topic, which would not apply to my study. She also analysed the plural pronoun *we* (and its related forms us, our, ourselves) in terms of collective identity and group membership. She analysed *we* as a form of institutional identity on five bases; ‘us and them’ dichotomy, not me/ not just someone else, *we* co-implicating the people, *we* collective response and modified and upgraded ‘*we*’ and ‘*us*’. The other *we* is analysed in terms of ‘*we have*’ as a personalised substitute for the existential marker ‘there is’. Even though these categories are related to political interviews, such uses are likely to be found in other forms of institutional talk. All these categories will be helpful in analysing SSC members’ pronominal choices and develop a better understanding for such choices.

Karapetjana (2011) investigated the pronominal choice in political interviews of two Latvian politicians to discover why politicians make such choices. The way politicians speak and present themselves is a part of their personality and a way to show themselves as individuals (Karapetjana 2011, p.43). The use of personal pronouns can create an image of the politician in question, both negative and positive. Bramley (2001), Karapetjana (2011) and Alavidze (2017) agreed that the pronoun *I* implies a personal level ‘view’ and makes it possible for the speaker to show authority and personal responsibility as well as commitment or lack of commitment depending on the context. Karapetjana’s (2011, p.43) research also showed that the personal pronoun *we* can be used by the politician if he/she wishes to share responsibility, and also to create involvement with the audience. She also stated that the plural form of the pronoun *we* is particularly used when the decisions are controversial, to give a sense of collectivity and sharing responsibility. She continued by claiming that *I* is mostly used to make general statements, and that politicians sometimes avoid using *I*, because of its distancing effect (Karapetjana 2011, p.43). The distinction she made between singular and plural pronouns will be significant to our analysis as members tend to switch between these forms in their discourse

and she has given a couple of reasons to explain that. Moreover, it will be interesting to see whether a Council which only makes recommendations rather than direct decisions feels the need to engage in this sort of distancing behaviour.

Håkansson (2012) investigated the pronominal choices used by two American presidents, George W. Bush and Barack Obama, in their State of the Union speeches. The main focus of the study was to determine to whom the two presidents referred when they used the pronouns “*I*, *you*, *we*” and “*they*” and to compare the pronominal choices of the two presidents. The study found that there was a significant difference in the pronominal choices of the two Presidents. The pronoun *I* is used when the speaker wants to express his individualism rather than as a representative of a group while the pronoun, *we* is used to show a sense of collectivity and shared responsibility. Håkansson also divided the functions of the pronouns *I* and *we* in political speeches. The functions of the pronoun *we* can be divided into two main types which are the inclusive *we* and the exclusive *we*. The inclusive *we* refers to the speaker and his/her audiences while the exclusive *we* exclude an audience, but refers to the speaker and other third parties. The functions of *I* can be divided to express a speaker's opinion, to describe a speaker in a positive image, to create relationship with audiences, to show personal involvement or commitment, and to show a speaker's authority. Such division will be suitable for the study of pronouns in the SSC as it creates a clear taxonomy for the use of both plural and singular pronouns.

There is a connection between pronouns and other parts of speech like cognitive verbs and modality. Fetzer (2014) examines the distribution and communicative function of cognitive verbs in political discourse, giving particular attention to their impact on the expression of commitment. She discovered that cognitive verbs with first-person singular reference allow the individual agent to express epistemic, emotive, and social commitment. Whereas their first-person plural counterparts allow them to present themselves as collective identities expressing collective epistemic, emotive, and social commitment on behalf of a political group, party, or government (Fetzer 2014, p.394). She uncovered that cognitive verbs with a first-person singular reference allow the individual agent to express epistemic, emotive, and social commitment. In contrast, their first-person plural counterparts allow them to present themselves as collective identities expressing collective epistemic, emotive, and social commitment on behalf of a political group, party, or government (Fetzer 2014, p.394). She discovered that by using cognitive verbs as parentheticals, political agents express different

degrees and different types of commitment. The most common cognitive verbs in her study were *think* and *believe* used with first-person plural self-reference, they boost epistemic commitment. This also holds for *believe* with a first-person singular self-reference. With *I think* used as a parenthetical, things are more ambivalent, as it has different effects according to its position: if used in the initial position of a turn or clause with phonological prominence, it boosts epistemic commitment; if used medially or finally without phonological prominence, it tends to attenuate epistemic commitment, and at the same time, target the communicators' faces in an indirect manner, signifying emotive commitment (Fetzer 2014, p.394-95). She concluded that political speeches are functionally equivalent to an answer sequence but without an explicit question. In that extended sort of answer, the politicians are expected to provide clear-cut information and clear-cut opinions as if they are answering a question. Her study highlights the strong connection between pronouns, cognitive verbs, and modality, as pronouns are employed by speakers as either boosters or attenuators to serve their discursive goals.

All these studies reveal the motivation behind analysing pronouns in the SSC. There have been many studies in the West dedicated to the analysis of pronouns in political discourse as they play an important role in revealing members' positions. They also show that pronouns can be linked to other persuasive means and can work as a booster to make members' speeches more effective. The effect of pronouns at a wider institutional level will be investigated in the next section to see if the Shura Council will exhibit a similar case.

7.1.3 Pronouns and parliament

Recently there have been studies that focused on the use of pronouns on a parliamentary or institutional level rather than a personal level. Those studies were on various languages like Vuković (2012) 'Montenegrin', Vertommen 'Dutch' (2013), Formato 'Italian' (2014) and Ranjha and Islam 'Urdu' (2018). These studies have only focused on plural pronouns and defined them from a pragmatic perspective, having an exclusive and inclusive function that affect speaker's discourse. According to Levinson (1983, p.69) *we* has an exclusive and inclusive pragmatic function that is identified directly in languages other than English. In English like Arabic this distinction can be made within the context or in combination with other words like 'we all know' (inclusive) to include (the speaker+ everyone) or 'we the committee' (exclusive) to exclude (the speaker + particular group). The matter being argued in these studies is how speakers use the plural pronoun *we* to position themselves and others for rhetorical reasons to achieve their political goals.

Vuković (2012) has explored the use of pronouns in the parliament of Montenegro, she compared pre-prepared speeches and spontaneous interventions as she believed that pronominal choices differ across those two types of talk. She also implied that personal pronouns contribute to personal choices, as pronouns shift depending on the message a politician wants to send; vote for me, or vote for us, or even vote against them. She discussed the idea that the Montenegrin politicians in their pre-prepared speech use more of the first-person plural (*we*) perspective, while it was significantly less frequent in spontaneous talk. She also found that *we* can have both an exclusive and inclusive function. Exclusive meaning is found when the reference of the pronoun is commonly a political party. Whereas the inclusive meaning (the reference is to an implied subject), appears in the case of the first-person plural verbs where the subject is omitted. She indicated that politicians use the singular person pronoun *I* more to assert their position and draw attention to the addressee whose face is challenged bringing them to the foreground. She also added that politicians consciously use language that evokes different groups identification, which serves as part of their persuasive strategy and this is not restricted to Montenegrin politics, but is a common persuasive device of politicians in general. Some of the speeches in the Shura Council are pre-prepared as members ask to comment before the sessions and prepare for their comments in advance; they are not completely spontaneous. It will be interesting if the SSC display similar results to the Montenegrin parliament, in having more plural pronouns in their pre-prepared speeches.

On a similar approach Vertommen (2013) showed that first person plural pronoun '*we/wij*' in Dutch government and opposition party talk can be used inclusively and exclusively to convey different meanings in mediated political panel debates. This study was based on quantitative analysis using an SFL (Systematic Functional Linguistic) approach to investigate the experiential and interpersonal meta-function of the plural pronouns. The results show that the government party use the exclusive *we* to refer to themselves more than the opposition party used for the same purpose, they also use them differently to serve different discursive goals. Inclusive *we* is used the same way by both parties to refer to the whole nation, mostly for the purpose of comparison with other countries. The study demonstrated how subtle pronominal choices in combination with selections from Transitivity and Mood (Appraisal) resources contribute to the image building of the self and/or the other. This directed the attention to mood choices expressing deontic and epistemic modality, this will be useful in our analysis as there is a strong connection between pronouns and modality. The study revealed that there is a

difference in pronominal choices in government and opposition party talk, as their choices serve different purposes and contribute to its rhetorical function.

The use of personal plural pronouns '*we/noi*' in the Italian Parliament was investigated by Formato (2014) with a focus on gender and rhetoric. She also identified the inclusive and exclusive function of plural *we* as it can suggest members intention to construct different 'discursive groups' within the parliament, similar to Wilson (1990) who drew attention to different group memberships in the political context. Formato (2014) has created a more detailed analysis by dividing the pronouns into inclusive national *noi* referring to Italians and exclusive political *noi* forms referring to all MP's, MP's of the same party, MP's from different parties (or coalitions), committee/ Specific MPs, Government and Politicians/politics. She also explored gender related *noi* forms, she divided this category in two forms, the first is *gender* referring to 'same gender group' either men or women in general and the second category is *gender plus politics* referring to political groups and divided to two sub-categories; the first is referring to 'same gender group politicians' and the second refers to both 'female and male politicians' using the masculine and feminine '*noi* gender split' forms. Such categorisation will be considered in relation to the use of *we* in the SSC. She discovered that there is a gender difference in the pronouns used as male and female speakers use *we* to show association with different groups in and out of the parliament. She found that male politicians tend to use *noi* forms to affiliate with (and construct themselves through) the members of their same party-political group while female politicians affiliate themselves with their gendered role as female MPs, but also in the gender group 'women'. She identified that through the use of the plural forms' members construct different groups especially in regard to gender and rhetoric, which will be of particular interest to this study and will be used in the analytical framework for the analysis of plural pronouns.

Naturally, there are differences between the parliamentary settings adduced in the studies mentioned and the SSC, every parliament has its own distinct system. One of the main differences is the absence of political parties in the Saudi system. This is likely to generate different potential uses of the personal pronouns, particularly in relation to the creation of in and out-group membership in terms of different committees, the Council, the government or the whole nation. First person singular pronouns also play a role in the SSC discourse. The previous studies about pronouns and parliament have been limited to plural pronouns, which

reveals that there is not a lot of research that looks at singular first-person pronouns in parliamentary discourse, the only ones found were in Vuković (2012) and Yu (2013). This gap will be filled with the literature that discussed the use of singular pronouns from individual rather than group speeches discussed in section (7.1.2). After approaching studies about pronouns in political and parliamentary discourse, another aspect of the analysis will be discussed in the following section (7.1.4) which is pronouns and gender.

7.1.4 Pronouns and gender

The topic of pronouns and gender in political discourse has gained a lot of attention recently. In this section, we will explore some of the studies comparing the choice of personal pronouns in male and female speeches. Studies have looked at the use of pronouns in relation to gender across different disciplines and have had different results that will contribute to the discussion of the findings of this study. For example, a sociolinguistic universal of women using linguistic devices to stress the solidarity between a speaker and a listener was proposed by Holmes in (1998) and supported later by Argamon et al. (2003) who found that female writers used personal pronouns when referring to a listener/reader at a higher rate than male writers. Male writers had a tendency to use ‘gender-neutral’ generic pronouns, i.e. *they*, *them*, *their*. While female writers’ language pointed to a greater personalization of the text using {I, you, she, her, their, myself, yourself, herself} to create a relationship between the speaker and the audience. When studying linguistic practices in a traditionally male field such as politics, other variables have to be taken into consideration while interpreting results. Brownlow et al.’s (2003) research of linguistic behaviour of men and women in unscripted televised interviews found that women used the pronoun *I* more than men, thus being more self-focused. This was at odds with many studies like Larner’s (2009) and Yu’s (2013) which found that men used the pronoun *I* at a higher rate than women in the political field to exhibit dominance. Most of these studies have focused on the frequency of pronoun use among males and females rather than giving detailed reasons for their choices. A closer look will be given to other studies about females and political discourse to investigate gender as a factor influencing their discursive practices.

Larner (2009) analysed pronouns in presidential speeches from a basic grammatical point of view; plural *we* and *us* were categorised as inclusive pronouns and singular *I* and *you* were categorised as exclusive pronouns. Her study was based on examining feminine rhetoric in male presidential discourse. She compared pronouns in acceptance and inaugural speeches and

connected their pronominal choices to rhetoric. The speeches analysed were given by male speakers, but she interpreted their choices by categorising the inclusive pronouns “*we, us*” as feminine rhetorical devices, while exclusive pronouns “*I, you*” were considered masculine rhetorical devices. She found that in acceptance speeches, speakers try to prove their individualism and authority through exclusive pronouns, whereas in inaugural speeches they try to express unity through the use of more inclusive pronouns. So, pronouns were employed to serve different goals by the speakers as their choices might be considered feminine or masculine according to their appeal. Her exploration regarding pronouns was limited to the grammatical perspective rather than expanding her discussion to pragmatics, seeing the exclusive function of the plural *we*.

In regard to pronouns, gender and rhetoric Amaireh (2013) examined the rhetorical proofs in Queen Rania’s English speeches; she combined qualitative and quantitative analysis methods by linking the classical Aristotelian classification of rhetorical proofs (qualitative) to rhetorical tools (quantitative). She linked Aristotle’s ethos (see chapter on rhetoric) to the use of pronouns like (*I, we, my*). She proposed that pronouns play a great role in members’ self-representation:

“Pronouns are not only used for referentiality in order to identify who is / are meant to be included or excluded in the communicative interaction; they also have social dimensions. They can determine the distance between the participants. Furthermore, they can reflect the intimacy through sharing of other people’s emotions. This can be realised by selecting the appropriate pronoun for the situation, and using the tactics of inclusion and exclusion”

(Amaireh 2013, p.83-82)

According to this we can see the effect of pronouns as a rhetorical device in political discourse as members can employ them as a persuasive tool. Such view will enrich the analysis of the pronouns used by members in their debates in the SSC, and the motivation behind their pronominal choices.

Pronominal choices in the US political domain have attracted the attention of discourse analysts. A number of studies were dedicated to analysing the pronominal choices of Hilary Clinton, however they had different interpretations. For instance, Arustamyan’s (2014) study

found that the frequent use of the pronoun *I* was interpreted as Clinton's attempt to separate herself from others and present herself as an independent and accomplished politician. Another study about Clinton by Jones (2016) examined her style from 1992 till 2013 and found that she adopted a more masculine style in her discourse as her involvement and power in politics expanded, she followed the masculine norms of communication to seek influence in a male-dominated setting. This was related to her use of pronouns as her feminine style gradually decreased from the time, she joined the political domain till the present. This suggests that the more experienced she became the less pronouns she used. Another study by Alavidze (2017) suggested that through the use of first-person singular pronouns Hilary presented personal responsibility as well as commitment and involvement through highlighting her good qualities and accomplishments. The same study suggested that Trump used first person singular pronouns differently to support his personal authority and show responsibility towards what he says or claims. This study reinforces to me the importance of considering the social and cultural concerns of the society in which a speech was produced in order to offer a rich analysis, and to consider the wider context of pronominal use.

Pronominal choices were investigated in regard to gender by Ilie (2018) applying a pragma-rhetoric approach (see Chapter 2 section 2.1). She found that there is a gendered difference in using rhetorical appeal in pronominal deixis. Clinton consistently boosts her ethos in self-assertive statements particularly based on her experience in politics, whereas Obama's ethos underlies his audience-targeted assertive speech acts that are present- and future-oriented. Obama's appeal to the people is an emotional appeal addressed to the audience of citizens and voters and aimed to arouse their feelings and enthusiasms. They also both used the *ad verecundiam* appeal, also called 'argument from authority' (Walton 2010, p.58-9), which is an inductive argument whereby an arguer cites the testimony of an authoritative person in support of some conclusion. Clinton's *ad verecundiam* appeal is illustrated through her experience in collaborating with foremost authorities on environmental policies, as she explicitly states as in "*I joined with Sens. [Barbara] Boxer and [Bernie] Sanders because I thought that their bill was the most forward-leaning ...*" (Ilie, 2018, p.100). While Obama tries to make up for his rather short period in the Senate, compared to Hillary Clinton, and maximize his environmental concern, by addressing a rhetorical *encomium* (i.e. a persuasive rhetorical device offering enthusiastic praise) to both Al Gore, a publicly acknowledged authority in environmental issues, and community activists: "*Al Gore deserves a lot of credit for that, as do activists in the*

environmental community and outlets like Grist". Both speakers have used pronouns to serve their agenda differently based on their previous background and knowledge. Applying a pragma-rhetoric approach helped in exploring both the micro and macro structure of these pronouns looking at their background and the language they use to fulfil their discursive goals.

In congressional discourse, Lenard (2017) examined female's pronominal choices as they were strategically dedicated to sharing public rather than private experiences. Both male and female politicians have used first person singular pronouns to serve different discursive means. Female politicians used the pronoun *I* to separate themselves from the audience and group/party affiliation and to position themselves as independent and accomplished politicians, which is consistent with Arustamyan's (2014) findings. Male politicians, on the other hand, did not feel the need to establish themselves because they might have already done it, or they possibly believed that their right for establishment had been granted with the election. Therefore, by sharing their personal experiences, male politicians used the pronoun *I* to create relationships and build rapport. According to the statistical data, we can conclude that men and women used the first-person plural pronoun at the same rate, but for different means. Arustamyan's analysis discovered that there are no statistically significant gender differences i.e. male and female politicians used personal pronouns *I*, *we*, *he/she* and *they* at an equal rate. This reinforces the idea that a mixed-method approach to this type of data is valuable.

There is a great deal of variation in the findings of the papers discussed, and some are seemingly equivocal on the role of gender regarding use of pronouns. They do, however, demonstrate that speakers can have various motivations for selecting their pronouns in a discourse and that they are mainly used by the speakers as a rhetorical device to appeal to their audience. They also revealed the importance of context, as it plays a significant role in these results in directing the speaker's motivation. Pronominal choices also depend on the political position of the speaker, that is, either as a presidential candidate, a politician, or a member of Congress.

7.1.5 Pronouns, identity and positioning

This examination of the existing literature on pronouns in political discourse has revealed that politicians have agendas which prompt them to adopt different identities, and different pronouns play an important role in flagging these identities. As Wilson notes, "[p]oliticians

would be particularly sensitive to the use of pronouns in developing and indicating their ideological position on specific issues” (Wilson, 1990, p.46). Research into the grammatical features of political discourse, such as pronouns and verbs, has demonstrated how politicians can create ideologies and attach identities to them (Fetzer 2008, 2011). Wodak (2011) explored the discursive and social practices of MPs and showed that politicians construct or are constructed by frontstage and backstage identities that appear through their discursive practices. MPs tend to use this strategy for persuasive reasons to convey a dramatic effect to their audience. Additionally, Ilie (2015a, p. 316) proposed that in debating, MPs reveal role shifts between their public roles as representatives of a part of the electorate and their private roles as members of the electorate they represent. The alternation between personal pronouns ‘I’ and ‘we’ reflects the politician’s movement between his/her identity as an individual and his/her identity as a member of a group. By using the pronoun, *we*, the speaker includes others in the utterance, thus creating a group with a clear identity while making others responsible for potential issues as well (Bramley 2001, p.76). According to Bucholtz and Hall (2015), “we” reflects democratic values and relational identity; it shows social rather than personal identity.

One way of analysing identity is through adopting Zimmerman’s (1998) framework. Zimmerman outlined three types of identity: *discourse*, *situational* and *transportable identity*. *Discourse identity* is related to the moment-by-moment organization of the interaction, in spoken discourse that the most pervasive identities are those of the speaker/hearer. In the Council, there are particular discourse roles which unfold in the organization of the interaction; the speaker of the Council controls the interaction, as he allocates turns and time to other members and to heads of the committees in the Council. *Situated identities* are explicitly conferred by the context of communication, as they come into play with a particular type of situation. They include all the participants (speaker, hearer “other members, attendees and viewers”) as members’ identity in the Council; they are situated as “consultants” of the government who represent the public. Their duty is to study laws and suggest agendas and reports, as well as convincing the Council to consider their suggestions and proposals. Their professions or their professional titles may also affect their situated identity, as they are part of their address terms (see section 4.2.2.1), as they may bring those roles to the Council. As a result, members situate themselves in different roles as part of the Council or even exclude themselves from the Council, which can be revealed through their pronominal choice in the discussions. The last type of identities he suggested is *transportable identity*; Zimmerman defined these as identities that travel with individuals across situations and are potentially

relevant in and for any situation and in and for any space of interaction. This identity is also identified as an identity that is visible like gender, ethnicity, or age. He added that there is little evidence that participants reflect on their transportable identities such as gender in the interaction. However, this has been contested by other researchers, including Adams (2015).

Zimmerman's framework was adopted by Adams (2015), who suggested that females' pronominal choices can be linked to identity as reflected in their discourse. She considered Zimmerman's (1998) identity categorisation in analysing females' debates while campaigning for governor's positions in the USA. She revealed how speakers construct identities to convince the public, adding that in political debates, there are other situated identities that can be included in the context of the debate, as members' qualifications for running for or holding office may be related to educational and professional experience. Also, there are identities related to representing a political party or a political ideology. Members claim in their debates to be better at solving problems because of their experience, training, ideology, managerial style, and perhaps, personality and personal experience; hence, they make a better choice. She also located where they can appear, as they are a crucial part of the opening and closing statements of the debates. Her view about transportable identity was presented by referring to female candidates' appearance 'clothing and hair' and how females use their gender identity to support their reasoning. Her study revealed that female members may use situated and transportable gender identity as a rhetorical tool in political debates.

The three types of identity were also considered in relation to political debates in Vertommen's (2013) study (introduced in section 8.1.2); he connected exclusive and inclusive *we* to Zimmerman's (1998) identities in order to categorise them in political debates (2013, p.363-364). Vertommen pointed out that discussants may orient towards "situated identities" in their debates, the ones they wish to be associated with or which are allocated to them at the onset of the debate from their pronominal choice. As this type of identity was mostly used to distinguish between government and opposition party membership, these identities came into being within a specific activity type and which are somehow constrained by it. Each party entered into a discussion with different priorities and strategies. In the SSC situated identities can be viewed differently as there are no opposing parties. It can be linked to members' professional background as they are picked from different fields to give their views and opinion about their

area of expertise. Members may orient to or reflect on their professional knowledge to become persuasive.

These studies show that Zimmerman's identity frame can be applied to the analysis of pronouns in the case of the SSC. We will see that there are transportable and situational identities reflected in speakers' discourses; when members choose particular pronouns in their discourse, they orient to certain identities for rhetorical reasons. Even without discourse member's situated comments, 'professional' identities are predicted from their address forms (see section 4.2.2.1). Situated identity is different from discourse identity as member's discourse identity is linked to them being members in the Council, while situated identity is linked to a wider view, which is their input based on their professional background.

A connection between pronouns and positioning has been identified by some of the studies mentioned above, like Bramley (2001), Vuković (2012), since it is a conversational phenomenon. Through discursive practices and pronouns, members develop a sense of selfhood or multiple selfhoods that they wish to investigate (Mühlhäusler & Harré, 1990). According to Davies and Harré (1990, p.48-49), when taking up a particular position as one's own, a person inevitably sees the world from the vantage point of that position and in terms of the particular images, metaphors, storylines, and concepts which are made relevant within the particular discursive practices in which they are positioned.

Accordingly, all pronouns will be linked to positioning; as they reflect the speaker's position and reveal personal involvement, they can be an interactive tool that determines the relationship among speakers. For the analysis of particular types of pronouns, Davies and Harré's (1990) reflexive and interactive positioning theory can be adopted. Reflexive and interactive positioning will be explained in detail in the analytical frame in section (7.2.4.1). Identity and positioning play an important role in identifying the reason for the pronouns used in a member's discourse. There is a strong connection between those two concepts, which will be employed in the qualitative analysis of pronouns in chapter 8.

7.2 Methodology

In order to introduce the methods used to identify and analyse the use of pronouns as a rhetorical device in the SSC in relation to gender, I present the RQs (7.2.1) that the analysis in chapter 9 seeks to answer. I then identify and discuss the form of pronouns in Arabic (7.2.2); as the analysis is on Arabic data. In (7.2.3), I present the analytical framework developed from the pronouns found in my corpora which will be applied in chapter 8.

7.2.1 Research questions

The previous literature has looked at the ways in which first-person pronouns are used in Western parliamentary democracies, and in some cases specifically in relation to gender, but in the majority of cases focusing on English and with some limited exploration of other languages. The current study builds on previous findings regarding the rhetorical uses of personal pronouns but has had to adapt them to fit the specific characteristics of the Arabic personal pronoun system, the non-political party nature of the Saudi Shura Council, and the fact that women have only very recently joined the Council. These factors will undoubtedly have an impact on the ways personal pronouns are used for rhetorical effect. The specific questions to be answered are as follows:

- 3.1. Do members of the Council have a preferred means of positioning themselves (Singular *I*) and others (inclusive and exclusive *we*) through the use of pronouns?
- 3.2. Is there a difference between males and females' pronominal choices both in terms of form and function?

7.2.2 The form of pronouns in Arabic

This study will examine the form and the function of pronouns from the translated discourse of the Saudi Shura Council. In our case, since we are dealing with translated texts, we will identify questions from the Arabic text. Arabic is a null-subject language (i.e., one which permits the omission of pronouns in subject position, also called pro-dropping, or empty subject), and has different forms of pronouns of different strengths. Since Arabic is able to omit pronouns, their presence/absence in a structure is a free choice of the speaker and their (non-)use is likely to have a pragmatic function. This fact makes it interesting to investigate the use of pronouns in the language of the Shura Council. Languages like Arabic drop the subject

pronouns and all the information provided by the pronoun becomes attached to the verb as an attached dependent pronoun. Indeed, Kashima and Kashima (1998, p.465-66) suggested that languages which allow pronouns to be dropped in conversation enable their speakers to manipulate the prominence of the self and the other in discourse. For the purpose of this research, we need to identify the pronoun system in Arabic, as it has different forms from English. In many studies, the pronouns in Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) are categorised in two ways: an independent detached form and an attached form (i.e., a clitic pronoun or a pronominal affix depending on the verb tense). But such a categorisation fails to mention implied or hidden pronouns, which, to my knowledge, are discussed only by Fischer and Rodgers (2002).

Detached pronouns are defined by Hole (2004, p.177) as free-standing forms which are “a set of free morphemes that are written as separate words and that generally occur only in the position of grammatical subject (but may be used appositionally in other than subject position)”. These include the first-person singular form أنا /ana/ and the inclusive plural form نحن /nahnu/. These forms were identified as “strong pronoun[s]” by Lewis (2013) and JapenSarage and Kasiyarno (2015), who claimed that Arabic personal pronouns are divided into strong “detached” and weak “attached” pronouns. They are considered as strong pronouns because they are viewed as independent words. They are phonologically stressed and only occur in the nominative case (Abu-Cakra, 2007, p.87). Also, when they are in a subject position, they function as an appositive noun, defining the noun next to it, to give a special emphasis. The emphasis is also given to a detached pronoun preceding a verb (Abu-Cakra, 2007, p.88). It is known that Arabic sentence patterns follow a VSO ‘Verb-Subject-Object’ pattern. When a detached pronoun comes before a verb, it is a pattern that gives an emphasis to the subject of the sentence. Although classic Arabic grammars identify attached, detached, and implied pronouns, no such distinction about the strength of the different pronouns has been discussed, and this distinction is based on certain observations in studies that compared English to Arabic pronouns and that suggested such a difference, as they appear in the literal translation. This comparison will be taken into consideration in the discussion on the use of pronouns in this chapter, as we are dealing with attached and detached pronouns and translating them to English.

Attached pronouns are considered dependent when they come in a bound morpheme form. Hole (2004, p.177) defined them as ‘a set of bound pronominal clitics that can be suffixed to verbs, nouns, prepositions, and particles of various types and that may function as the grammatical object, indirect object, or possessor of the word to which they are suffixed’. They may be attached to most parts of speech, for example, nouns, verbs, and prepositions, with different meanings resulting in each case as explained in the figure below. This means they are identified within the context rather than being visible like independent pronouns.

Figure 4 below explains attached pronouns in their singular and plural form and how they change according to the word they are attached to.

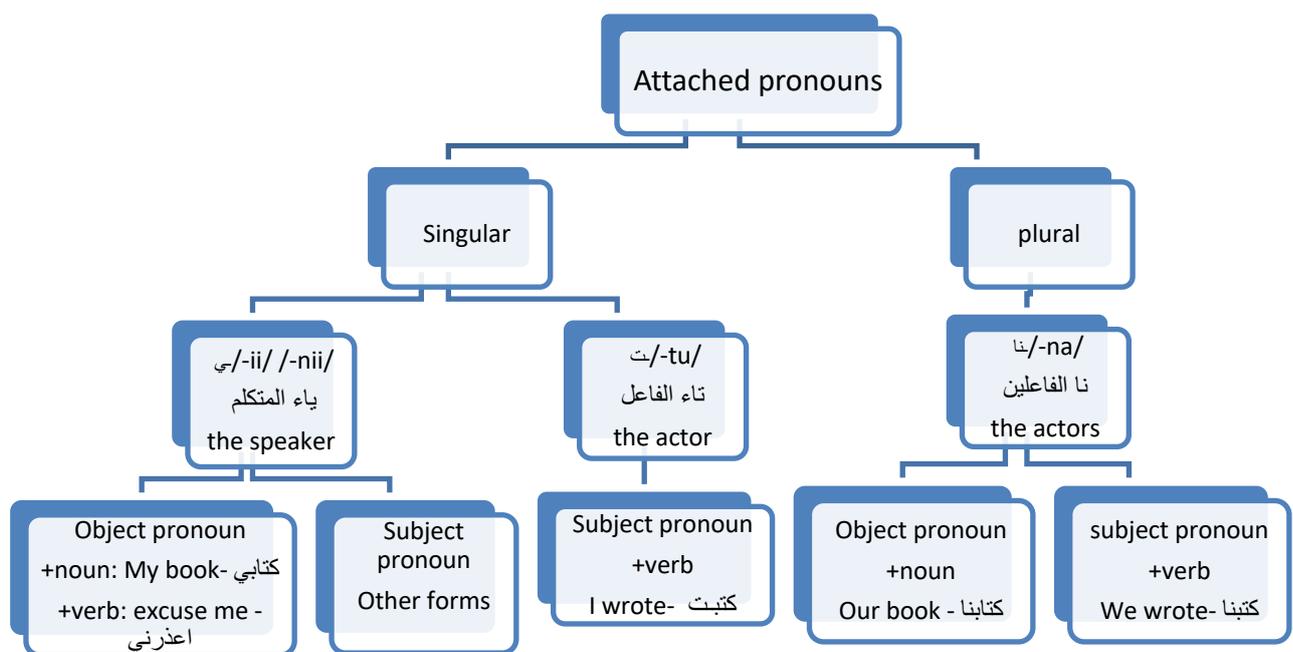


Figure 4 Arabic attached pronouns

Many studies, like Hassanein (2006), Lewis (2013), Albuhayri (2013), and JapenSarage and Kasiyarno (2015), refer to two types of pronouns only, namely, dependent and independent. After examining attached and detached pronouns, I argue that there is a pronoun missing from traditional Arabic grammar; what I’m calling the implied pronoun *damīr mustatir* (الضمير المستتر). *Implied* or *hidden pronouns* are identified in Qur’anic studies like in Dukes et al.(2010) that identified them as empty or hidden nodes, than can only be identified syntactically. They

are exclusively inflected to verbs; in some cases, they are clearly identifiable, while in others, they are hidden. This is because they may appear only in declension, through defining the syntactic function of words in a sentence. Certain verbs imply a pronoun subject through inflection, but it may be dropped from the sentence (Fischer & Rodgers, 2002). This study will focus on the implied pronouns that are detected in independent subject pronouns appearing at the beginning of the words appearing as a syllable. In singular pronouns they have a syllabic ‘schwa’ sound which I will symbolise by this sound / '- / attached to beginning of verbs with the Arabic letter "أ", not all words starting with this letter have an implied pronoun, but this is a clue for finding one. The plural form comes attached to the letter ن /n-/ , attached to the beginning of verbs. These pronouns are considered clitics, as they translate to the independent pronouns *I* and *we* and become the subject of the verb they are attached to. For example, in Arabic, the verb اعتقد أ translates as “I think” (pronoun + verb), which implies that there is a pronoun embedded in the verb providing the subject “I” in the English translation. Not all the forms / '- / and ن /n-/ which are found at the beginning of verbs are categorised as pronouns. Therefore, they have to be identified in context and checked individually. Another way to decide the existence of the pronoun is through checking if the Arabic verb translates to a (pronoun + verb); then there is an implied pronoun.

AlBuhayri (2013) explained that dependent pronouns are reduced forms of independent pronouns; thus, there is a pronominal suffix corresponding to each of the independent pronouns. The same applies to implied pronouns. **Table 6** shows how they are related to the attached subject and object pronouns. The independent object pronouns are from classical Arabic and do not appear in my data, but the dependent forms are derived from them.

Table 6 Subject and object pronouns in Arabic

pronoun	Detached subject pronoun	Implied subject pronouns	Attached subject pronoun	Detached object pronoun	Attached object pronoun
Singular 'I', 'me'	أنا /'anaa/	أ / '- /	ت /-tu/	إياي /iyyaaya/	ي -ya /-ii/ /n-ii/
Plural 'we', 'us'	نحن /nahnu/	ن /n-/	نا /-naa/	إيانا /iyyaanaa/	نا /-naa/

The difference between attached and implied pronouns is that attached pronouns come at the end of words, while implied pronouns come at the beginning of words. Attached pronouns come with any word form, like nouns, preposition, verbs, etc., while implied pronouns come in combination with verbs only. Attached pronouns are considered suffixed when in the object position, while they are considered clitics when in the subject position; the same applies to implied pronouns.

Having explored previous work on Arabic pronouns and the dataset from the Shura Council, **Table 7** summarizes the pronouns that will be investigated in the following chapter. The table shows the forms associated with particular pronoun categories both in the first person singular and plural.

Table 7 The selected pronouns for the analysis

pronouns	Form	Detached pronouns	Attached pronouns	Implied pronouns
Subject pronouns	Singular	I - أنا /ana/	ت/-tu/ ذهبت - I went	أ /' / أعتقد - I think
	plural	We - نحن /nahnu/	نا -na > /-naa/ كتبنا - We wrote	ن /n-/ نعقد - we think
Object of a noun pronouns	Singular		ي -ya > /-ii/- /-nii/ كتابي - My book	
	plural		نا -na > /-naa/ كتابنا - Our book	

7.2.3 Analytical framework

The analysis will look into the formal details of Arabic first-person pronouns which include detached, attached and implied pronouns. It will adopt both quantitative and qualitative approaches to complement each other. The quantitative analysis was developed to detect and quantify the pronouns in terms of gender, to see the preferred forms picked by male and female speakers. In order to quantify the pronouns in Arabic, a distinction was made between detached, attached and implied pronouns. I used the Find function in Microsoft Word 2016.

This function finds and highlights the search category. I searched all the items in the personal pronoun's category in **Table 7**. This helps in detecting the words with detached pronouns but in the case of attached pronouns it helped narrow my search, but I had to manually check if those words can be categorized as pronouns or not. This function also identifies the number of times a specific word occurred in the document. In the translated examples, since Arabic has a different pronoun system than English and some of the pronouns cannot be translated to English, I will signal them in the translated text to assist the non-Arabic speaking reader and show their position. The untranslated pronouns will be identified in the translated text as; detached pronouns (DP), attached pronouns (AP), and implied pronouns (IP).

As in the previous chapter, the counts will be normalized by calculating the frequency of the categories per 10,000 words, as the word count for each category varies since there are fewer words for females' than for males' discourse. It will help identifying the ratio of all the types of pronouns used between men and women. After that in order to identify gender differences in the frequency of use of different pronouns, the statistical test will be applied using an online source called Corpus Frequency Wizard to find the chi-square. This will help us identify whether any differences in frequency are significant or not.

7.2.4 Pronouns in the corpora

First person pronouns will be analysed using an empirical approach looking at their pragmatic role, employing both qualitative and quantitative analysis. The analysis will be devoted to more contextually dependent uses of pronouns, showing how these items can encode different aspects of the communicative intentions of the speakers. The forms of the pronouns were identified in the Arabic pronouns section 7.2.2 and will be analysed quantitatively in the next chapter. The taxonomy of functions of pronouns developed for the qualitative analysis is corpus driven and developed from previous literature to fit the pronouns used in the Council. The analysis of the first-person pronouns was based on what speakers try to convey with their choice of the pronouns. After examining the data, a singular and plural pronouns categorisation was established to help reveal the different ways in which members use these pronouns as a rhetorical tool to appeal to their audience. This categorization initially arose from a pilot study and was revised at different stages during the analysis in order to produce a taxonomy that could accommodate the intersected identities of the speakers and their possible construction of gender groups inside and outside the parliament. This taxonomy is built to cover the major uses

of these pronouns as they are not completely limited to these categories and may have other minor functions which will appear in the detailed analysis in chapter 8. Singular and plural pronouns can be used differently by members to fill a persuasive goal and they will be divided across different sections and sub-sections for the purpose of analysis.

7.2.4.1 First person singular pronouns

The function of first-person singular pronouns is corpus driven; as it was based on a detailed overview of all the pronouns found in the data. This categorisation was also motivated and developed from the previous literature to fit the pronouns found in the Council. The analysis is based on what speakers try to convey with their choice of the pronouns. In previous literature the study of singular pronouns was explored from a single speaker perspective rather than in group discourse. Therefore, the analysis of singular pronouns in a group context will be developed from the literature that focused on a single speaker. Singular pronouns are self-referencing unlike the plural pronoun *we*, therefore its reference will not be a point of further discussion. This section will focus on the collocations of first-person singular pronouns. These pronouns help frame the speaker's perspective; they will be analysed based on how speakers employ them to contribute to their political agenda. Bramley (2001), Karapetjana (2011), Håkansson (2012) Fetzer (2014) all agree that the singular pronoun *I* implies a personal level, it makes it possible for the speaker to show authority and personal responsibility as well as commitment and involvement. It allows the speaker to present him/herself as a private figure, which establishes different communicative goals with their audience. First-person singular forms can be used by speakers to show their individualism or to express their exclusion of the in-group identity.

The Arabic first-person singular pronouns and adjective in **Table 6** can be realised through the English form (*I/ me/ my/myself/ mine*) the analysis of this pronoun will be divided to 2 main categories; expressing opinion and positioning of the self. The function of pronouns is developed from Bramley (2001) and Håkansson (2012) as in the taxonomy developed below, but with some changes to accommodate the nature of the debates in the Council. Another theory was adopted to link pronouns and positioning from Davies and Harré (1990) who talked about positioning in general. All personal pronouns can be used for positioning, but for the purpose of the analysis there will be a separate category for positioning the self in order to identify

reflexive and interactive positioning in relation to the first-person singular pronoun (Davies and Harre,1990).

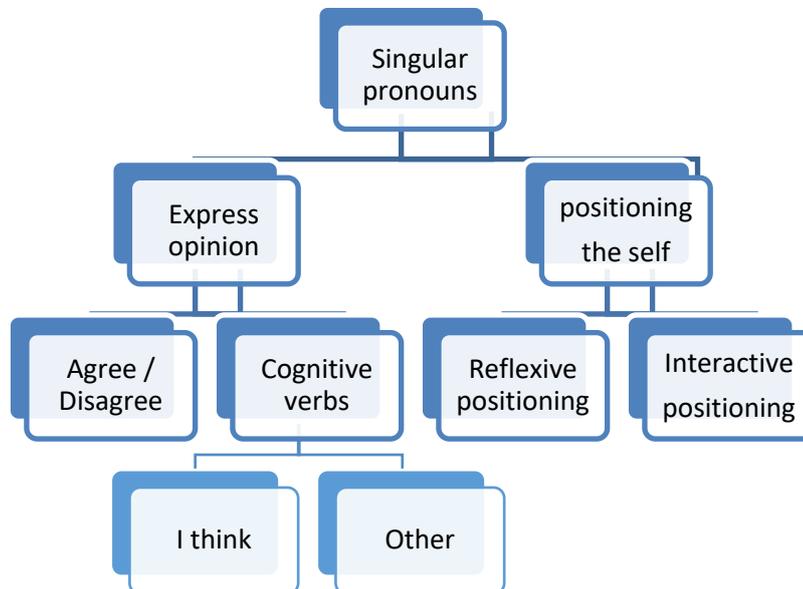


Figure 5 Singular pronouns categorization in the SSC

Members strategically use first person pronouns to express their opinion and position which inspired the above categorisation. They use the self-reference singular pronoun to direct the audience to their personal opinion or their position to make their statement public for a rhetorical effect. There is a strong connection between the choice of singular pronouns ‘weak or strong’ and their reference as they are affected by the context. They invite the addressees to adopt the speaker’s perspective and interpret a communicative contribution accordingly.

The ‘express opinion’ categorisation was divided into two variants in relation to casting their votes agree/disagree and cognitive verbs in relation to reflecting on a personal opinion. Since we are dealing with consultative assembly debates, where members vote on matters in the Council, expressing agreement and disagreement towards the agenda presented is an important part of their debates. These opinions are used in combination with singular pronouns to express authority and commitment though expressing agreement and disagreement. This can be through what appeared in the data as members express their opinion in combination with both detached (strong) and attached (weak) pronouns, both of which contribute to the strength of their argument. Terms or words to express agreement like ‘أؤيد [ʔyd] - *I support*’ and express disagreement like

'[ʔardf] أرفض - *I object*'. Members cast their votes using singular pronouns to reflect their personal opinion about the presented recommendations. In this way they show their individual opinion and votes and support them through their choice of the appropriate pronouns as will be discussed in detail in Chapter 8.

Cognitive verbs have been linked to first-person self-reference in many studies, such as Aijmer (1997) and Fetzer (2014), who examined the cognitive verbs 'think' and 'believe'. Cognitive verbs are typically referring to the subject position of the speaker. Subject pronouns are connected to cognitive verbs as from a semantic viewpoint, cognitive verbs are seen as a means of subjectification expressing the speaker's attitude towards proposition and force. This category is dedicated to cognitive verbs as they refer to the speaker's opinion or belief, which entail his intention for giving a particular opinion. Using cognitive verbs, the speaker invites the hearer to adopt his thoughts or claims. In discourse, cognitive verbs indicate that subjectively qualified information is made explicit, thus attributing an intersubjective dimension to the private domain (Fetzer 2014, 378). Cognitive verbs other than *I think* have a lower degree of certainty than *I think*.

Aijmer (1997, p.1) stated that spoken discourse is rich in the reoccurrence of phrases like *I think* which are sensitive to the speaker's communicative needs. Therefore, the cognitive verb [ʔaetqd] أعتقد / *I think* is dedicated a separate section in the analytical framework. As Bramley (2001) discussed it as a significant category 'I think' was described as a pragmatic marker and hedge by Lakoff (2012), but in later research by Holmes (1990) it was viewed as a powerful way to express assertiveness. From a discursive perspective cognitive verb like 'I think' are assigned the status of multifunctional devices expressing different types and different degrees of commitment (Fetzer 2008). [ʔaetqd] أعتقد / *I think* is used in the Council to express members' beliefs and sometimes uncertainty. The main function that will be considered in the analysis is the deliberative and tentative form introduced by Holmes (1990) to account for gender difference in the choice of *I think*. In the Council it is used more for a deliberative function which carries more of an authoritative strong meaning rather than the tentative weak function that expresses hesitation. Such a choice is important in building the image of the speaker and how they want to be seen. It is used by speakers to insert their position and express necessity by combining them with epistemic modality to heighten the level of the assumption or belief. It sometimes comes in combination with both weak and strong pronouns as in ['ʔanaa ʔaetqd]

أنا أعتقد' which translates to '*I personally think*' to show the speaker's epistemic and deliberative function strongly.

The second major category of singular pronoun that appeared in my data is members' tendency to directly position themselves in a particular position for a rhetorical reason. This categorisation is considered in relation to detached pronouns which are used to intensify the speaker's position. Here I have adopted Davies and Harré (1990) categorisation, reflexive and interactive positioning, to discuss how members position themselves within their discussions. Reflexive positioning according to Davies and Harré (1990, p.48-49) was defined as "the recognition of oneself as having the characteristics that locate oneself as a member of various sub classes of (usually dichotomous) categories and not of others -- i.e. the development of a sense of oneself as belonging in the world in certain ways and thus seeing the world from the perspective of one so positioned". This corresponds to the member's use of "I as a member of the Shura Council/أنا كعضو مجلس الشورى" as members' foreground their position for a rhetorical reason as will be argued later. It is used to reflect on a personal experience, as the speaker decides to share part of his or her autobiography. Telling a personal story can also be considered as a type of reflexive positioning as these experiences come in the form of stories through which speakers make sense of their own and others' lives.

The second category of positioning is interactive positioning, which is when members put themselves in the position of others, such as 'I as a patient/أنا كمريضة', to reflect their knowledge and awareness of the situation others are in. It was identified by Davies and Harré (1990, p.48-49) in the multiplicity of the self. In the sense of oneself belonging in the world in a certain way, thus seeing the world from the perspective you are positioned in. This recognition entails an emotional commitment to the category membership and the development of a moral system organised around belonging. It involves imaginatively positioning oneself as if one belongs in one category and not in the other (e.g., me as a patient and not a doctor). Positioning the self can be achieved in terms of the categories or story lines developed by the speaker about himself /herself or others through discourse.

7.2.4.2 First person plural pronouns

In the literature review, I identified various studies where the interest in plural pronouns was focussed on their inclusiveness and exclusiveness. This will be the main category for our

taxonomy. The plural pronoun taxonomy was easier to categorise, as it is based on the previous literature. The personal plural pronouns (*we/ us/ ourselves/ ours*) can be used to present a member's affiliation with a particular 'discursive group' and help in displaying different group identities. They are considered a type of positioning, as speakers decide to position themselves with different groups for rhetorical reasons. They can be used to indicate inclusion or exclusion by members as identified by previous research. The analysis will consider the categorisation of inclusive and exclusive plural pronouns *we*. As it was discussed in chapter 4 that the SSC is an assembly with no political parties, so there is no opposing party compared to the previous literature. The in-group identity will be limited to particular group, which can be used to exhibit solidarity and motivation rather than discrimination.

The analysis will adopt Formato's (2014) analysis of the rhetorical form of plural pronouns and adjust them to suit the SSC. These categorisations were adopted because this study also examines pronouns as a rhetorical device. All the *we* forms will be counted for the quantitative part, but not all *we* pronouns will fit in the qualitative analysis categorisation. As we will see, there are some generic forms like '*we all know*' that may be vague and hard to define. Formato's main focus in analysing plural pronouns was in terms of 'social groups' and 'discursive groups' as they differ in their conceptions of speakers' (lack of) consciousness or intentionality in affiliating with and constructing collections of people. The categorisation below is inspired by her rhetorical *Noi* forms.

We is categorised to two main categories political form and national form, they each have different functions and reference. The analysis will focus on the plural pronouns' inclusiveness and exclusiveness in relation to the Council, how members use those pronouns to include and exclude the public, the government, committees or the Council as a whole. Their choice will be highlighted in the qualitative analysis which will reveal members' goals for picking such groups. In the Council we can see that plural pronouns are used to induce group identities as insiders and outsiders. The analysis of plural pronouns will rely on identifying the inclusiveness and exclusiveness indicated in member's choice, and how they contribute to their argument.

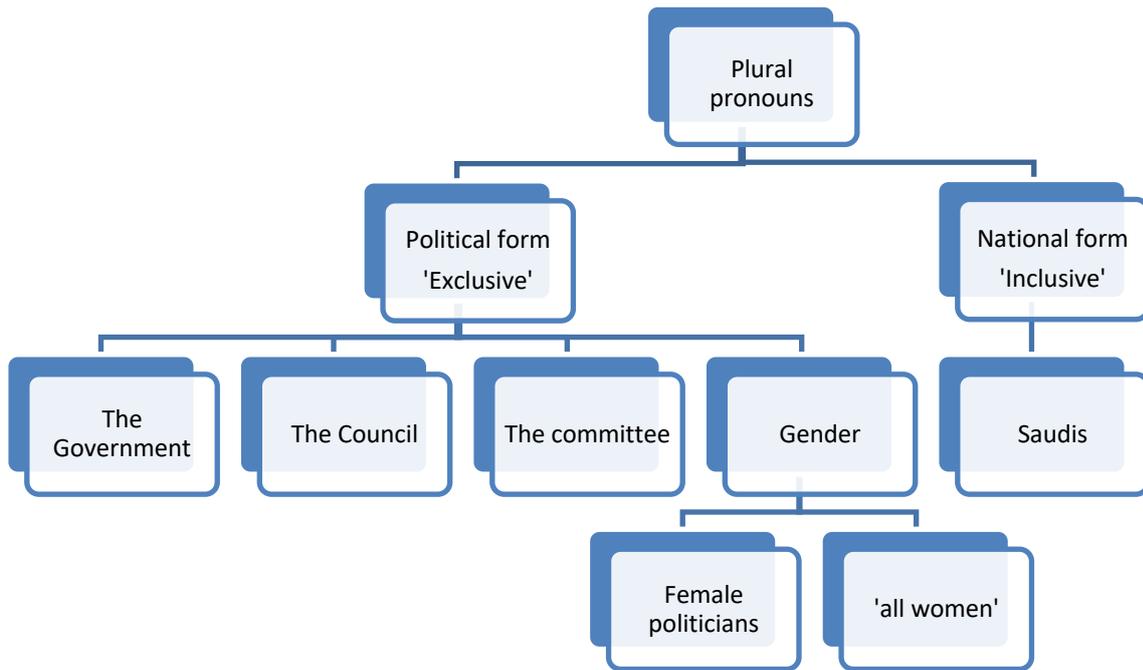


Figure 6 Plural pronouns categorization in the SSC

Each item in the above main categories contains a certain group as in the political form “exclusiveness” can be directed from something general like the government to the Council, the committee or even a particular gender group. We can refer to general groups moving to more specific group. The most general is *the government*; referring to other ministers, undersecretaries as part of the government, then the Council as it includes all the members of the Council. Moving to a more specific groups as *the committee*; refers to a more specific group in the Council referring to a particular committee. Then we have the gender category which is used exclusively by women either to refer to their peers in the Council or to their national counterparts in general. The gender category is based on ‘I plus same gender group’ (Formato 2014); in this category there are two sub-categories. The first one is exclusive to female members in the Council ‘female politicians’ and the other is exclusive to Saudi females ‘all women’, this categorisation is only used when there is a reference to gender within the context. The inclusive form is headed as *national form* as members use the inclusive, *we* to include all Saudis in their discourse. This is a common feature in parliamentary discourse as members are representing the people and refer to them in their debates. It “serves to arouse a special sympathy or patriotic feelings” (Pykkö 2002, p. 238).

Speakers do not use singular or plural pronouns exclusively; they interact with each other and overlap through their discourse. In order for a speaker to be persuasive, he/she will shift

between them. Other elements will appear in relation to these pronouns such as modality, verbs of cognition, metaphors and idioms. The analysis will also reveal which types of identity members tend to foreground and which they try to background through their pronominal choices. The qualitative approach was developed to build a clear understanding of the pronominal choices' members make. Plural and singular pronouns are used for specific goals by members in the Council as speakers use them to shift from different roles to make their discourse persuasive.

7.3 Final remarks

In this chapter, I first briefly introduced the persuasive power of pronouns; I then showed how it is viewed in political and parliamentary discourse. Other analytical approaches towards the analysis of pronouns was presented like gender, identity and positioning. In the second part of this chapter I presented the methodology used to carry out the analysis for this study, taking into consideration the pronouns found in the corpora, and how they can be analysed. I presented the pronouns in the corpora (see 7.2.3) to reveal how the quantitative analysis will be approached. Then I provided a taxonomy for the qualitative analysis in (section 7.2.4) which draws on approaches and areas that are developed specifically for the investigation of first-person plural and singular pronouns. This will be applied to the analysis and discussion of pronominal choices in the next chapter.

In Chapter 8, I present quantitative findings for the forms of pronouns used by male and female politicians and I discuss the qualitative findings to reach the results in terms of the use of how members 'male and female' employ pronouns as a rhetorical device in the SSC.

Chapter 8 Pronouns analysis

Introduction

In chapter 7, I reviewed previous literature on the use of pronouns in political discourse with a focus on gender and presented the analytical framework for this chapter. In this chapter I provide quantitative results and discuss qualitative insights concerning the use of pronouns in the debates taking a pragma-rhetorical approach. I have provided some grounds in the previous chapter in the analytical framework about the way pronouns will be analysed. However, in this chapter through the discussion of the quantitative findings we will see the number and types of pronouns members use in their debates in order to answer RQ's 3.1. *Do members of the Council have a preferred means of positioning themselves 'Singular I' and others 'inclusive and exclusive we' through the use of pronouns?* And 3.2. *Is there a difference between males and females' pronominal choices in terms of 'both form and function'?*. The answer to these questions will appear through quantitative and qualitative analysis of first person singular and plural pronouns. In the final section I provide answers to the research questions (RQs 3.1/3.2) and I discuss the results in relation to the wider Saudi context (8.3).

8.1 Quantitative findings

This section will highlight the quantitative findings of this chapter by comparing males and females use and choice of first-person pronouns. The raw numbers will be normalised to give the ratio of pronouns for males and females per 10,000 words, considering the word count of the total discourse of males (35,305) words and females (9,689) words.

Table 8 The quantitative results for the use of singular and plural pronouns

First person pronouns		Males Raw	Rate per 10,000 words	Females Raw	Rate per 10,000 words	Sig.	χ^2 Value
Singular Detached	[ʔanaa] أنا / I	167	47.3	27	27.9	p < .05	6.24421
Singular Attached	/-jʔ/ جي	122	34.6	23	23.7	Not sig.	2.44311
	/-tu/ تـ	46	13.0	3	3.1	p < .05	6.01247
Implied pronoun	/ʔ- / أ	310	87.8	63	65.0	p < .05	4.52734
total		645	182.69	116	119.72	P<.001	17.75376
Plural Detached	[nahnu] نحن	33	9.3	14	14.4	Not sig.	1.43924
	We						
Plural Attached	/-na/ نا	222	62.9	43	44.4	p < .05	4.13387
Implied pronoun	/-n-/ نـ	254	71.9	41	42.3	p < .01	9.79649
Total		509	144.17	98	101.14	p < .01	10.25463

In the table first-person singular pronouns are used more than plural pronouns among both genders. The Chi-square test shows that there is a significantly clear difference between males and female's choice of pronouns. Males generally use more personal pronouns (both singular and plural) than females, with the significant difference for singular pronouns = ($\chi^2=17.75376/p < .001$) and plural = ($\chi^2=10.25463/p < .01$). This suggested that male speakers tend to be more emphatic in their positioning than female speakers in their discourse. This also

corresponds to Larner's (2009), Andersson's (2012), Mulac et al.'s (2013), Yu's (2013) and Ahmad and Mehmood's (2015) who found that male speakers use first-person singular pronoun more than females in their discourse to show dominance. When it comes to all the types of pronouns male speakers use every type more than females, except for the plural detached pronouns where the ratio per 10,000 is slightly higher in females' sample (14.4) than the males with (9.3). This shows that females use the strong detached pronoun to express a strong connection with their audience more than males. The most used singular pronoun among both genders is the implied pronoun. This gives rise to the suggestion that members feel comfortable using implied weak pronouns more than the other types in their discourse. As explained before these pronouns can be embedded in a word, so they are part of the word to express that it has a pronominal reference.

Table 9 The quantitative results detached vs attached pronouns

Pronoun	Males raw	Rate per 10,000 words	Females raw	Rate per 10,000 words	Sig.	χ^2 Value
Detached	200	56,64	41	42,31	Not sig.	2.66881
Attached	954	270,21	173	178,55	p < .001	25.78387

The table compares the use of attached and detached pronouns between male and female speakers. The results display that there is no significant difference between their choices of the detached 'strong' pronouns, they use them almost equally. While attached 'weak' pronouns are used significantly more by males than by females in their discourse with a high significance value of ($\chi^2=25.78387$ /p < .001). Members in general use the attached pronouns (weak) more than the detached pronouns (strong). Weak attached pronouns are more popular among members than detached strong pronouns, this might be related to the fact that detached pronouns are used for emphasis rather than a subject marker. Weak pronouns can still refer to the subject of the discussion, therefore they are favourable since it has less emphasis on the subject yet refer to it in communication.

8.1.1 Singular Pronouns

Singular personal pronouns are used more than plural pronouns, and they are generally used with verbs of cognition ‘with implied pronouns’, or with other pronouns to express perception, sense and their opinion. They are also used to express a speaker’s position as in agreement or disagreement with the agendas presented. This can be through the use of these words to express either agreement ‘[’anaa ma’a] أنا مع - *I’m for*/ [’yd] أؤيد [’ad:m] أؤدم - *I support*/ [’atfq] أتفق - *I agree*’ or disagreement ‘[la ’yd] لا أؤيد - *I don’t support*/ [’anaa akhtlf] أنا اختلف - *I differ*/ [’rfd] أرفض - *I object or refuse* and [’anaa lst ma’a] أنا لست مع - *I’m not for*’. The most used singular pronoun is the implied pronoun; implied pronouns are embedded in the verbs as they help identify the subject of the sentence or argument. They can be used to express the speakers’ personal experience or opinion. This was expressed through the combination of verbs of cognition and implied pronouns such as [’aetqd] أعتقد / *I think*’ which appeared in the ratio of 17.11(77 times) per 10,000 words in my data, it was used by the speakers in the Council to mostly express a deliberative function rather than tentative to express their opinion on what needs to be done. They were sometimes combined with the detached pronoun [’ana] أنا / *I*’ for emphasis which can be translated to [’anaa ’aetqd] أنا أعتقد / *I personally*¹⁰ *think*’. Another common appearance for implied pronouns was with the verbs of cognition [’ara] أرى / *I see*¹¹ used by a ratio of 12.17 (43 times) for men and 9.2 (9 times) for women. Followed by [’atmna] أتمنى / *I hope*’ which was also used with a ratio of 7.93 (28 times) by men and 5.16 (5 times) by women. Singular pronouns can be used by the speaker to reflect on their experiences and position both ‘reflexive and interactive positioning’. Like with the possessive form of *I*, ‘my’ appears in the Arabic attached pronoun form /-j’-ي to report a personal experience in [’tjrbatj] تجربتي / *my experience*’ or a view in [’wjhh nzz-j’] وجهة نظري / *my point of view*’. Detached pronouns appear for emphasis as in emphasising the self as a way to reflect on their ethos that they have personally done certain things to prove that they have done their job properly and their opinion is coming from personal investigation and views as in [’anaa shkhsyan] أنا شخصيا / *I personally*’ and [’anaa mt’akd] أنا متأكد / *I’m sure*’. They also come in combination with

¹⁰ Personally, is used for translation purposes to emphases on the double pronouns as there are two pronouns used in the phrase (DP) and (IP).

¹¹ ‘I see’ is originally viewed as a verb of perception, however in my study it can be viewed as a verb of cognition to express an opinion, vision or knowledge as in example 39 أرى ضرورة الاسراع في دراسته / *I see the need to accelerate the study*’ so it is used to express a passive cognitive function rather than an active physical function ‘physical performance’.

detached pronouns for more emphasis as in expressing support in ‘[’anaa "yd]أنا أؤيد / *I personally support*’ and ‘[’anaa 'arfd]أنا أرفض / *I personally object*’. This enables speakers to establish stronger grounds and opinions to their audience. They also come in combination with deontic modality as in ‘[’anaa yjb]أنا يجب / *I must*’ to express the necessity for an action, this underlines the speaker’s commitment and sense of obligation.

8.1.2 Plural Pronouns

Most of the plural pronouns used in the Council refer to the Council as a whole ‘exclusive’ to Council members, followed by the inclusive form referring to the nation, then ‘exclusive’ to specific groups. There is no significant difference in the use of plural pronouns across males and females. They are mainly used to express inclusiveness and exclusiveness of the audience “fellow members, the public”. The detached pronoun *We/ نحن* [nahnu] is mostly used to express the Council collectively in relation to expressing collective knowledge, obligation or needs. Similarly, plural detached pronouns are attached to verbs of cognition and perception which are mostly used to express collective opinions or views ‘[nḡrf]نعرف - *we know* / [nra]نرى - *we see*’ mostly referring to an exclusive group. This collective pronoun is used to express shared responsibility of the members of the Council towards the public in relation to the Council’s actions using words like ‘[najid]وجد - *we found* / [talabna]طالبنا - *we demanded*/ [ndrs]ندرس – *we study*/ [nfḡl]نفعل - *we do*’. They are also used to express obligation as in combination with the modal verb as in ‘[nhtaj]نحتاج - *we need*/ [ḡlyna]علينا - *we must or have to*’, It is attached to the pronominal suffix نا /-na/ and/ن-/n-. Modal verb [yjb]يجب-*must* can be used in combination with words containing plural pronouns in order to refer to the collective responsibility as in with ‘[yjb ndrsha]يجب ندرسها - *we must study it*/ [yjb ntâbḡ]يجب نتابع - *we must follow up*/ [yjb nkhs]يجب نخصص - *we must dedicate*’. This corresponds to Coltman-Patel (2018) and Vertommen (2013) who found that there is a rhetorical connection between modality and pronouns. Coltman-Patel (2018) found that plural pronoun *we* collocated with modal verbs in Obama’s speeches, as high-level modal verbs have a profound effect on a politician’s identity to show commitment and reinforce the power of their perception. Vertommen (2013) found that in government party talk; the exclusive meaning of the personal pronoun “we/wij” remarkably often occurs with material process verbs modified by the deontic modal verb “moeten” [‘must’]. This reveals that it is a way for government party politicians to stress the necessity of their actions. This can be connected to the SSC as members use modals in combination with pronouns to stress their roles and the necessity for an action towards the

presented agendas. They are meant to inform the audience of the government's or Council's future priorities.

SSC members strategically employ personal pronouns for different goals as singular pronouns to reflect on themselves and their opinion, while plural pronouns can be employed to refer to the Council, a particular group or the whole nation to serve their discussion. They are usually used to express the collective goals which all participants should share as in expressing unity, creating harmony and invoking a sense of responsibility. Both plural and singular pronouns can be used by members to exclude or include themselves with others.

8.2 Qualitative insights into the use of pronouns in the SSC

The quantitative findings reveal limited differences in pronoun use between male and female members. In this section, case studies will be analysed to explore how members employ the personal pronouns to fulfil their discursive goals. It aims to look first at the use of first-person pronouns, and the analysis is based on the taxonomy built in the previous chapter. The main goal of this section is to discuss how members use the Arabic first person pronouns that correspond to the English singular pronouns/ possessive adjectives 'I, me, my' and plural pronouns/adjectives 'we, us, our' as a rhetorical device. Members choose to situate themselves in certain positions to become more persuasive. When comparing the forms of *we* to *I* the reference needs to be to that identified by Dam (2015: 35) who found that the meaning structure of *we* has more referential presupposition than *I* which has a clear reference 'the speaker'. This corresponds with Goddard (1995, p. 107) who said that *I* does not imply that the addressee has to do some work to figure out who is meant; it is a pure index. *We* invites the addressee to think of who else other than *I* is being included. Therefore, the analysis of this chapter will begin with singular first-person pronoun forms as it has a clear reference to the self, and they were used more than the plural forms. Then it will move to a more detailed analysis of the first-person plural pronouns "we, our, us" exploring the inclusiveness and exclusiveness and the type of identity speakers tend to orient to through the use of pronouns. It is hard to separate singular from plural pronouns in the analysis, but they will be examined in relation to address, inclusion and exclusion even though they overlap at some points. Also, through the use of these pronouns, members situate themselves in different identities, therefore looking at the use of pronouns in relation to identity can reveal how gender differences are presented through the

choice of pronouns and also how they can be used as a rhetorical tool in presenting the multiple roles of the members.

8.2.1 First person singular pronoun

The analysis of the first-person singular pronouns' is directed towards the view members intend to reflect through such a choice. Speakers express their opinions and positions towards the recommendations presented by their colleagues or the specialised committees. *I* is central to the representation of the self by the politician, it can reflect positively by appealing to both ethos and pathos. This section will examine the use of first-person singular pronouns in regard to the taxonomy developed in [Figure 5](#).

8.2.1.1 Personal opinion

This category is developed to show how members express their personal opinion towards the recommendation either by agreement or disagreement or reflect on their personal opinion through the use of cognition verbs as *I think*.

8.2.1.1.1 Agreement and disagreement

Since the SSC is a consultative assembly, members' main role is to cast their votes and give input about the recommendations presented. Members express their personal opinion by the votes they cast during the debates. Singular pronouns are also used to express authority as in expressing agreement and disagreement towards the agendas presented. Pronouns expressing agreement were introduced in the analytical frame section (4.1). All these forms have various strengths which can go from 'I strongly support' to just saying 'I'm for', the same applies to disagreement. Members usually position their opinion at the beginning or the end of their discussion, sometimes even twice for emphasis.

This example is taken from a discussion about the lack of financial support given to talented people in the country. The speaker shows her strong support for the recommendation, then explains why she supports it.

(35)

د.فاطمة القرني: أنا مؤيدة وبقوة لهذه التوصية، و تمنيت أن يكون الشرح التفصيلي الذي ذكره د.عبدالعزیز موجود في مسوغات التوصية في الملف الذي بين ايدينا لأنها أكثر تفصيل وأكثر يعني توطئة لـ لإقناع من من سيحتمار بين الاختيارين، نعم هناك احتياج لإجراء نظامي لكن هنا في المجلس سمعت من بعض الزملاء بداية تـ تعييننا أو

اختيارنا للعضوية ان هناك قدمت مقترحات كثيرة لتفريغ المبدعين، ودول مجاورة لنا تفرغ شعرائها وورساميها و
و إلى آخره حتى في الفنون الانسانية المختلفة فما بالك بجانب علمي تقني ضروري لـ لحراك الاقتصادي بشكل
عام، لا نتوقع من وزارة الخدمة المدنية أن تدافع عن علماء أو عن مبتكرين اذا كان هي متورطة حتى في توظيف
الحدود الأدنى فما بالك أن تتلقف يعني تكاليف أعلى أنا انتظر من فعلا الـ الجامعات أن تحنفي بـ بمبديها و
مبتكريها و أن تسهم حتى على المستوى المادي ... وأنا مؤيدة لذلك وبقوة، شكرا.

1 *Dr. Fatima Al-Qarni (F): I strongly support this proposal and I hoped that the*
2 *detailed explanation which Dr. Abdul'Aziz stated is provided in the proposal rationale*
3 *in the file we have in our hands because it is more detailed and more, that is, helping*
4 *to convince those who will be puzzled over the two options. Yes, there is a need for a*
5 *legislating action but here in the Council I heard from some of the colleagues in the*
6 *beginning of our assignment or selection (AP) for the Council that there [was]*
7 *presented [to the Council] many proposals to give leave to the talented [to focus on*
8 *their talents]. Neighboring countries give leave to their poets and painters and so on*
9 *and so forth even in the varied fields of the Arts so what do you reckon [when it comes]*
10 *to a scientific and technical aspect that is necessary to the economic mobility in*
11 *general. We don't expect from the Ministry of Civil Service to fight for scientists and*
12 *innovators. If it is troubled by just employing the minimum numbers what do you*
13 *reckon [if] it took upon itself, that is, higher responsibilities? I am really expecting*
14 *from universities to celebrate their talented people and innovators and to contribute*
15 *even on the financial level ... and I strongly support that. Thank you.*

This discussion is coming from a subject point of view as the speaker starts her discussion by giving her opinion “ [’anaa m’yadah w bequwa] وأنا مؤيدة وبقوة - *I strongly support*” then explains why she supports this recommendation. She criticises the Council for not making any past actions in lines 5-8 she engages herself. In addition, line 5 “[sm;tu] سمعت - *I heard*” shows that she is responding to the contribution of others and is therefore, a reactive Council member rather than simply one who produces pre-prepared remarks. In line 6, *our* refers to her female colleagues because they were recently appointed to the Council. She disassociates herself and her female colleagues from this process; this happened before their appointment. In line 8 she compares Saudi Arabia to other neighbouring countries as they have done something about this matter and ‘we’ have not. This way implied indirectly to encourage the Council to follow the path of these countries. Then she moves to the national current situation to direct where this

support should come from, all these elements invite her fellow member to agree with her argument. We can see the strength of her support through using the word ‘strongly’ in “*I strongly support*” and using it at the beginning and end of her discussion. In this example the speaker has repeated her position ‘vote’ twice in the discussion, for the purpose of persuasion and emphasis. She also supported her discussion by referring to previous actions and comparison to neighbouring countries to give a solid argument.

Other forms with less strength may appear in simply saying “‘[’anaa ma’a] - *I’m for*”. This depends on the speakers’ position and how they feel about the report and can be realised in the content of the discussion that follows their opinion as we will see in the example below. The speaker is in favour of financial and administrative support but has some concerns. The speaker seems hesitant about his full support to the recommendation that requests financial and administrative support to governmental institutions:

(36)

أ.محمد الرحيلي: أنا مع دعم المؤسسة ماليا و إداريا لتقوم بأداء عملها على أحسن وجه، ولكن لي ملاحظة أن لا نتوسع في المطالبة في المطالبة بدعم الجهاز الجهات بالاستقلال سواء كان ماليا أو إداريا، و أنا لا أخصص هذه المؤسسة و لكن بشكل عام، فالاستقلال المالي والإداري سلاح ذو حدين... كما أنني على يقين أن بعض الجهات التي تشتكي من قلة الدعم المالي لو سألت أحد الجهات الرقابية لوجدت أن الموارد المالية والبشرية تغطي الاحتياجات وزيادة ولكن سوء الإدارة أدى إلى ذلك، شكرا معالي الرئيس.

1 *Mr. Mohammed Al-Ruhaili (M): I am for supporting the organization financially and*
2 *administratively to do its work in the best way. However, I have a remark that [we*
3 *should] refrain from excessively demanding that bodies become independent whether*
4 *financially or administratively. I don’t mean only this organization [with this remark]*
5 *but in general, because financial and administrative independence is a double-edged*
6 *sword; [2 lines removed explaining why] I am also positive that some of these*
7 *bodies that complain of the lack of financial support -if you asked one of the supervising*
8 *authorities, you will find that the financial and human resources cover all needs and*
9 *more, but mismanagement lead to that. Thank you, your Excellency, Mr. Speaker.*

In this contribution the speaker is expressing his personal view using the first-person singular pronouns throughout the argument. He started by stating the side he supports by simply saying [‘anaa ma’a] أنا مع - *I’m for*. He states that he has some reservations towards giving financial and administrative support in lines 2-6. He used figurative elements to support his argument like the idiom in line 6 to show that this agenda has advantages and disadvantages. Then he reflects on his knowledge in line 8 that he is positive that some institutions do not need that support. There is a contradiction here, as in the beginning he was with the support then in the end he is questioning it. This explains his choice of such a support phrase “*I am for*” which carries less strength than in example (35), as he seems to be unsure about his decision. He also did not repeat his initial positive support for the recommendation in contrast to the previous example. All these elements reflect on his vote, it seems nuanced.

Disagreement can be expressed in various forms; they depend on the speaker and the strength of his objection. Disagreement using personal pronouns is expressed less than agreement in the Council. In the excerpt below, the speaker is disagreeing with the retirement rules and discusses how it will affect those who have already retired; that they will be excluded from the presented recommendation.

(37)

أ.محمد الرحيلي: التوصية الثانية تأخذ نسبة من الموظف. طيب وما مصير الأشخاص الذين تقاعدوا؟ هل نتركهم نقول نولي ما اخذنا من رواتبكم؟ لا نأخذ من لا نعطيكم بدل غلاء معيشة ليش؟ نولي بشر. لا أدري صراحة عن هذه اللجنة وكيف صحة اللجنة؟ وكيف أنا كان ودي نسقت مع اللجنة المالية. وكثير من زملائي الآن أعتقد بعضهم كان في اللجنة وبعضهم طلع يعرف ان هذه دراسة مستقصيه الى الساعة 4 نجلس في كل جلسة. فتاتي لجنة ننزل عن الدراسة هذه ثم نصوت عليها بهذا التصويت. أنا من لا يصوت عليها في هذا المجلس و يأجل حتى تنتهي تعتقد من اللجنة المالية دراسة نظامها. وبعد ذلك يكون لكل حادث حديث وشكرا معالي الرئيس.

1 *Mr. Mohammad AlRuhaili (M): The second recommendation takes a percentage of*
2 *the employee ok and what is the fate of the people who retired, do we leave them to*
3 *say what we haven't taken from their salaries, Then we don't give benefits for the rise*
4 *of the cost of living, aren't they humans? I honestly do not know about this committee*
5 *and the credibility of this Committee and how I was hoping it coordinated with the*
6 *Committee of finance and many of my colleagues now I think some of them were in*
7 *the Committee and some of them have left, know that this study was conducted until 4*

8 *pm. We sit in each session of the Committee and dedicate time for this study and then*
9 *we vote with this vote. I am not voting for this in this session and will postpone my*
10 *vote until the final decision from the Finance Committee to study its system and then*
11 *“for every incident there will be a discussion¹²” Thank you, your Excellency the*
12 *president.*

When the speaker wants to express his disagreement, he starts by indicating the reasons why he is not in agreement with this proposal. He gives comments that show his disapproval like “aren’t they humans/ليس ذولي بشر” which we can also note that this is a rhetorical question that elicits criticism as the way they are treated is inhumane. He also uses the negative form “not/لا ” many times in lines 2,3,4,9, this contributes to the member’s position throughout his discussion. It leads the hearer to his point of view indirectly, that he has something negative to say. He also shows his exasperation about the situation by questioning the committee and the accuracy of the information they have provided in lines 4-6. For more support in line 6 he moves to refer to his colleagues and that he thinks they have spent a lot of time working on this study, to show his knowledge of the situation and prove that this is not the right solution. The speaker ends the discussion with a firm expression of his disagreement by saying “[’anaa mn la ySwt ḥlyha] أنا من لا يصوت عليها / I’m not voting for this/”. He detached himself from the previous plural pronoun *we* in *we vote*, to show his individual opinion and place himself outside the shared responsibility. He reveals his position by refusing to vote as this agreement needs more accurate studies before being approved. He says he will postpone his decision for further investigation. Then he backs it up with the cultural idiom in line 11, meaning when an action is done, we will discuss this matter further. To show his dissatisfaction with the report. From the beginning of the discussion the speaker leads to his position which is disagreement as he used negative assertions leading to his vote.

Another form of disagreement appears in the example below as the speaker expresses his disagreement towards the recommendations concerning hiring community college graduates.

(38)

اللواء الطيار عبدالله السعدون: بلا شك أن خريجي كليات المجتمع بحاجة الى توظيف ولكن هذه يجب أن توجه
لوزارة الخدمة المدنية وإلى وزارة العمل، هؤلاء بحاجة إلى تأهيل أولاً إعادة تأهيل ثم توظيف، ولا أعتقد أن وزارة

¹² Cultural idiom

التعليم هي الما- هي التي تستطيع بهذا الجانب خاصة في مجال سلك التعليم، في الدول المتقدمة نجد أن حتى معلمي ال رياض الأطفال تجد أن معه ما لا يقل عن ماجستير سنتين بعد هذا، وأيضا يخضعون لدراسات لمقابلات واختبارات كثيرة نفسية وغيرها، لأنها ليست وظيفة فقط وإنما هي رسالة، أيضا فيما يخص الدراسات تفعيل مكاتب الخريجين في الجامعات، لا أعتقد أنها الجامعات ولكن قد تكون جهة مركزية، ولذلك أنا لست مع التوصيتين الثامنة والتاسعة وشكرا.

1 *Maj. Gen. Piolet Abdullah Al-Saadoun (M): [There is] no doubt that the graduates from*
2 *community colleges need employment, but this [issue] must be directed to the Ministry*
3 *of Civil Service and Ministry of Labour¹³. Those [graduates] need rehabilitation first;*
4 *rehabilitation and then employment, and I don't think that the Ministry of Education is*
5 *the one- is what can [take care] of this aspect; especially in the field of Education. In*
6 *advanced countries, we find that even the teachers of kindergarten; you find that he has*
7 *no less than a master's degree of two years after this. They go through stud- interviews*
8 *and tests, psychological and otherwise, because it is not an occupation only but a*
9 *mission. Also, with regards to [the] ninth [proposal to] activate [the role] of graduate*
10 *offices at universities. I don't think it's universities [that should undertake this mission]*
11 *but it could be a central authority, Therefore, I don't endorse the eighth and ninth*
12 *proposals. Thank you.*

He starts by showing his doubts about the recommendation in lines 4 and 10 by saying [la 'aetqd] لا أعتقد /I do not think using this form of negation indicate that he has some negative views about the recommendation. The speaker starts by indicating why he is against the recommendations, then expresses his vote at the end. Unlike the agreement which appears at the beginning then is supported through the discussion. This backs the assumption that when members express something positive, they show their support from the start, while negative views are expressed at the end of their statement.

In my data female members did not express their disagreement directly like male members. Indeed example 6 was the only case where strong disagreement appeared in my data. It is more common to express agreement strongly rather than disagreement which appeared less in my data. Members also support their opinion with different rhetorical devices since they want to

¹³ Ministry of Labor and Social Development

persuade their fellow members to agree with them by employing other elements like idioms, metaphors, and rhetorical questions.

8.2.1.1.2 Cognitive verbs

Cognitive verbs can be used in combination with pronouns to reveal a speaker's opinion and point of view. They can be considered a persuasive tool as they enable speakers to present their opinion to the public more precisely and directly. This helps get the attention of the audience in that the speaker is talking from a personal perspective.

In the example below the word [ʔara] ارى / *I see* was used to convey a cognitive means rather than its literal meaning. The speaker in the example below is using it to represent her point of view towards the urgency of conducting a study to prevent the misuse of medical herbs.

(39)

د. زينب أبو طالب : معالي الرئيس أنا مع ملائمة هذا المقترح للدراسة ليس هذا فحسب بل أرى ضرورة الإسراع في دراسته لأن ما تشهده الساحة الطبية من ازدهار تجارة الأعشاب و الاستخفاف بالمرضى و استغلال حاجاتهم العلاجية يدعوا للعجب كما ان مستخدمي هذه الاعشاب ليس كما نظن أو يظن البعض هم الطبقة الغير متعلمة بل أن بعض هؤلاء المرضى يحملون شهادات علمية عالية. معالي الرئيس من وجهة نظري أرى ان وزارة الصحة لم تقم بالمطلوب في تفعيل دور المركز الوطني للطب البديل الذي أنشئ لتوعية المجتمع و تنظيم سوق التداوي بالأعشاب و هنا تكمن اهمية دراسة هذا المقترح.

1 *Dr. Zeinab Abu Talib (F): Your excellency the President, I support the suitability of this*
2 *proposal to study not only this, but I see the need to accelerate the study because the*
3 *medical scene is facing a growth in the trade of herbs with disregard for patients and*
4 *exploiting their therapeutic needs, which causes us to wonder! The users of these herbs*
5 *are not as we think or some people think from the uneducated class, but some of these*
6 *patients have high degrees. Your excellency the President, from my point of view I see*
7 *that the Ministry of Health has not been required to activate the role of the National*
8 *Centre for Alternative Medicine, which was established to raise the awareness of the*
9 *community and regulate the herbal medicine market and here lies the importance*
10 *of studying this proposal.*

In the example above the speaker used *I see* as a cognitive verb to direct the attention towards her personal opinion. In line 1 she uses the cognitive verbs to express the danger

of the misuse of alternative medicine and its negative effect on society, which requires the government to involve itself in solving this issue. In line 6 she boosts her point of view by adding ['ara] أرى *I see* by giving a solution to the problem and directing it towards the ministry of Health who haven't activated the role of the National Alternative Medicine Centre.

There is a stronger form of ['ara] أرى *I see* when it is connected the strong detached pronoun ['anaa] أنا / *I*. An example of this is in the excerpt below where the speaker expresses his position towards the retiree expressing an issue regarding the public, which needs a solution. He is reflecting on his social commitment towards the society he is representing

(40)

د فهد بن جمعة: أنا أرى ان المتقاعدين يستحقون اكثر من كذا . يستحقون حياة كريمة ورواتب تقاعدية
تساعدهم على الحياة الكريمة وعوائلهمولذا أنا أرى انه الافضل انه يكون هناك دعم حقيقي في مرة من
المرات كنت في احدى المحلات في امريكا وجاء عسكري متقاعد قال كم تعطوني خصم قال نعطيك 20% .
اذن نحتاج ان يعطى المتقاعد خصم خاص في المحلات التجارية ان يعطى تامين طبي ان يكون هناك دعم
بتماشى مع الحياة المعيشية اليومية وشكرا

1 *Dr. Fahad Ben Juma (M): I see that the retirees deserve more than that. They deserve*
2 *a decent life and retirement salaries that help them and their families have a decent*
3 *life [5 lines removed] ... So, I see that it is better that there is real support. Once I was*
4 *in a store in America and in came a retired military who asked to be given a discount*
5 *and the shopkeeper said we'll give you 20 %. So, we need to give the pensioner a*
6 *special discount in the commercial districts to be given medical insurance that there*
7 *is support in line with daily life and thank you.*

In this example the speaker used ['ara] أرى *I see* to express his personal opinion about the 'retirees'. Both uses in lines 1 and 3 they were combined with the strong detached pronouns to give his view more strength. Dr.Fahad also reflects on a personal story through the cognitive verb to support his point of view. He combined reflexive positioning and cognitive verbs to boost his personal view. He also used the epistemic modal [nhtaj] نحتاج / *we need* to move to a collective agreement in order to support his story, as in *we* 'the Council' need to do something to solve this problem. This reflect positively on his ethos as it shows his social commitment in improving the situation of retirees. It also shows that he is being a good

politician by reflecting on their needs and wanting to improve their lives, as “*They deserve a decent life*”.

In this example the speaker used [ʔara] *أرى* / *I see* to express his personal opinion about the ‘retirees’. Both uses in lines 1 and 3 they were combined with the strong detached pronouns to give his view more strength. Dr. Fahad also reflects on a personal story through the cognitive verb to support his point of view. He combined reflexive positioning and cognitive verbs to boost his personal view. He also used the epistemic modal [nhtaj] *نحتاج* / *we need* to move to a collective agreement in order to support his story, as in *we* ‘the Council’ need to do something to solve this problem. This reflect positively on his ethos as it shows his social commitment in improving the situation of retirees. It also shows that he is being a good politician by reflecting on their needs and wanting to improve their lives, as “*They deserve a decent life*”.

The other cognitive verbs [ʔatmna] *أتمنى* / *I hope* is usually used to refer to the committee. It is used to soften the potential criticism of the agendas presented and demanding answers from the committee. It can be considered soft as it is combined with the weak implied pronoun rather than the strong detached pronoun in the argument. In the example below, it was used to demand answers from the committee regarding the information presented in their report as they appear insufficient.

(41)

د. أمل الشامان: اود ان اشكر الهيئة على البيانات و المعلومات الموجودة في التقرير فهي بالفعل بيانات ثرية و
أتمنى ان تستفيد من هذه المعلومات الجهات ذات العلاقة مثل التعليم و الشؤون الاجتماعية و غيرها لعمل برامج
قد تحد من زيادة الاعداد في بعض القضايا بالتقرير ورد في التقرير ان عدد البلاغات الواردة الى
الهيئة.....ارجوا ان اجد اجابة من اللجنة اما بالنسبة للمباني فلي عندها وقفة سريعة بالنسبة للصور
الموجودة بالتقرير مقارنة بالتقرير السابق يظهر لنا ان المنجز من فرع الهيئة في منطقة الحدود الشمالية في
التقرير السابق هو 80% في حين ان نسبة الانجاز في التقرير الحالي بلغت 75% اذا كانت هذه النسبة نسبة
من الانجاز السنوي المفترض و اذا كانت هذه النسبة هي نسبة انجاز كامل للمشروع فهذا غير مقبول كيف
للمشروع ان تتناقص نسبة إنجازهِ ايضا اتمنى ان اجد اجابة من اللجنة.

- 1 Dr. Amal Al-Shaman (F): I would like to thank the Commission for the data and
- 2 information contained in the report. It is indeed rich data. I hope that this information
- 3 will benefit the relevant authorities such as education, social affairs and others to work
- 4 on programs that may limit the increase in the number of issues in the report.... I hope

5 to find an answer from the Committee. As for the buildings, I have a quick comment
6 about the images in the report compared to the previous report. It shows us that the
7 branch of the Commission in the Northern border area has been completed 80% in the
8 previous report, while the proportions of achievement in the current report is 75% if
9 this percentage of the estimated annual achievement and if this percentage is the
10 percentage of complete completion of the project, it is unacceptable. How did the
11 project decrease its percentage completion? I also I hope to find an answer from the
12 Committee.

She starts by praising the commission for their report and uses [ʔatmna]أتمنى/I hope to reveal her wish that this report should be considered by other authorities. Then she turns against the report and criticise the committee for not providing a recommendation to reduce the number of issues presented and asks them to provide an answer in line 4. Then she follows up with another comment to show the deficiency and the lack of accuracy in the report by revealing a contradictory statement about the completion of the building project, and questions how that is possible? She also demands an answer from the committee in line 12 about this issue. Using *I hope* to present her comments has less epistemic effect than ‘*I demand*’ or ‘*I need*’. Even though the content of her comments is strong her demands seems softer, maybe this is a way to create a balance between the implicit accusation in her claims and the language used as she revealed a major undeniable flaw in the report.

[ʔatmna]أتمنى /I hope is also used as a booster to demand support of either agreement or disagreement. This verb is usually used at the end of the statement to close the speaker’s argument like in example 43 and in the following example where the speaker invites his fellow members to reject the recommendation.

(42)

19:50: د. نواف الفغم: ...و بشدة أنصح معالي الرئيس أن تعاد هذه الاتفاقية لنهر من حرج اذا رأيتم الى اللجنة و اؤكد على وجوب دراسة اللجنة الأمنية لهذه الاتفاقية نظر للأحداث الراهنة معالي الرئيس أتمنى عدم الموافقة على هذه الاتفاقية شكرا معالي الرئيس.

1 *Dr. Nawaf Al-Faghm (M):... I strongly recommend, your Excellency the President,*
2 *that this agreement is returned to the Committee to avoid -a river of –*
3 *embarrassment¹⁴ and to confirm that the Security Committee should consider*
4 *studying this agreement in accordance with the present events. Your Excellency the*
5 *President, I hope that this agreement is not approved, thank you.*

This can also be seen as a strategic move on the part of the speaker, actively encouraging other members to clearly reflect on how they will use their votes.

Again, it was used strategically by a female speaker to ask members to support a recommendation.

(43)

د. فردوس الصالح: ..فأتمنى من الجميع الموافقة على هذه التوصية لتشجيع البحث العلمي و توجيه
الفكر الى الاستفادة من المنتج و شكرًا.

1 *Dr. Fardous Al-Saleh (F): ... I hope everyone agrees with this recommendation*
2 *to encourage scientific research and guide our vision towards benefiting from*
3 *this product and thank you.*

In both of the examples above the speakers have used the cognitive verb [أتمنى/atmna] / *I hope* to boost their views and seek support. They are employed to direct the audience to the speaker's personal view and invite them to agree or disagree with the presented recommendation. This is used at the end of the discussion to direct the audience towards their personal view. In example (42) it was used by the speaker to invite his follow members and the president to agree with his recommendation and 'not vote' for this recommendation and reject it because it needs further study by the committee. In example (43), the female speaker invites all the Council by encouraging 'everyone' to support and agree with the recommendation mentioning its benefits.

¹⁴ Metaphor to refer to a 'endless-continuous' flood of embarrassment.

In this section it is argued that [*'aetqd*] *أعتقد* / *I think* is used as a tool to assert a member's opinion and positioning with a proposition to establish an appropriate level of commitment to a proposition. It will compare *I think* used for tentative or deliberative function as explained in the analytical frame. This also explains the same function when paired with negation like example (38). In the data speakers express their opinion often using [*'aetqd*] *أعتقد* / *I think*, as it appears in men discourse more than women in my data with 18.97 (67 times) for men and 10.32 (10 times) for women. When 'I think' is combined with the detached pronoun as in “[ana 'aetqd] *أنا أعتقد* / *I personally think*” for more emphasis. However, when it is used alone it is combined with the hidden personal pronoun as in ‘أعتقد’ embedded in the sound / ' - / which corresponds to a less emphatic, *I think*. This phrase will appear in most of the examples in this chapter, but its two different functions deliberative or tentative will be highlighted to explain the variety of this phrase.

The deliberative function has more force than the tentative function. An example of the deliberative function used to express a positive view in the speaker talking about the importance of supporting inventions:

(44)

د. عبدالعزيز العطيشان: الـ المقترح حقيقة هو يشارك هالجنة لجنة الموهوبين هذه، لأنه في العالم الغربي في أوروبا واليابان وكوريا وحتى ماليزيا حقيقة تقدمت بالاختراعات وجود مؤسسة أو جمعية تعدي تعني بـ حقيقة دعم الـ المخترعين أعتقد انها جيدة ويجب أنه برضه تكون فيها مشاركة أو نوع من التنسيق مع جمعية الملك عبدالعزيز ورجاله للموهوبين، وأنا أعتقد أنه أي استثمار في هذا الشأن أعتقد أنه خير للبلد والبلاد والعباد.

- 1 Dr. Abdulaziz Al-Otaishan (M): The proposal is actually joining with this
- 2 committee; the committee for the gifted because in the west in Europe and in Japan
- 3 and Korea and even in Malaysia, they really advanced [because of] inventions. [4
- 4 lines were removed]. The presence of an establishment or a society that
- 5 undertakes, that is, the support of inventors, I think is a good [idea]. Also, there
- 6 must be a joining or a kind of collaboration with King Abdul'Aziz and his
- 7 companions for Giftedness. I personally think that any investment in this matter I
- 8 think is good for the land and the country and the worshipers¹⁵.

¹⁵ People

We can see that in order for the speaker to give his opinion he first started stating facts and comparing the country to other countries. He is moving from collective identity to reflecting his personal view as he uses public knowledge to support his personal view. Then in the end, he gives his opinion using [*'aetqd*] *أعتقد* / *I think* in combination with the modal *must* to express the solution to this problem again. He offered his opinion at the end of the discussion after revealing all the facts and that it will be good for everyone to follow his suggestion. He repeated [*'aetqd*] *أعتقد* / *I think* three times to express his belief in a deliberative function to boost his personal view; expressing a positive view towards the recommendation. It also shows male members' tendency to repeat themselves for a rhetorical reason. Female speakers, by contrast, used such expression with less repetition as in examples (55) and (59).

[*'aetqd*] *أعتقد* / *I think* for tentative function is the least positive function of *I think* and appears less than the deliberative function, it was only used by male speakers in the council. The example below shows how *I think* can be used for a tentative function to express uncertainty about the time when this recommendation was approved.

(45)

د.حاتم المرزوقي:..... من يتابع مجلس الشورى طالب في أعتقد هذه الدورة او الدورة الماضية بإيجاد الشرطة البلدية التوصية قدمت وأقرها المجلس..

- 1 Dr. Hatim Al-Marzouqi(M): He who is following the Shura Council it has
- 2 requested I think in this round or the last round has requested the establishment of
- 3 the municipal police, the recommendation was submitted and approved by the
- 4 Council.

In this example [*'aetqd*] *أعتقد* / *I think* was used to express the speaker's uncertainty of when the recommendation was issued. But it also reflects his certainty that a recommendation was issued regarding this matter, he is just not sure about the time. It is interesting to note that, despite Lakoff's (2012) suggestion that women are more tentative, we do not find evidence of this with the use of *I think*. We might suggest that the more marginal position of female members means that such tentativeness would underline the persuasiveness of their arguments and so tends to be avoided.

8.2.1.2 Positioning the self

Positioning the self will be explored through Davies and Harré (1990) reflexive and interactive positioning. This section will discuss how members position themselves to present different stances of singular first-person pronouns [ʔanaa] أنا / I. In order to express their position strongly members use the strong detached pronoun [ʔanaa] أنا / I to show where they stand as they employ it differently to place themselves in different positions, for a rhetorical reason. Speakers adopt 'reflexive positioning'; by linking the matters discussed to something they have personally experienced. By giving descriptions or narratives about oneself, recounting actions that the politician has performed in relation to his/her job as a politician this would reflect positively on their ethos, in revealing their knowledge and responsibility towards the issues being discussed. Members would also use the personal pronoun to put themselves in other people's shoes 'interactive positioning', in order to appear to reflect the views of others. It helps in adding a different perspective about the recommendation being discussed. These uses will be analysed in relation to identity and what kind of appeal the speaker is trying to evoke from his audience.

8.2.1.2.1 Reflexive positioning

Reflexive positioning has many functions as it allows members to express their personal experiences or reflecting on their (social) situation. Such positioning enables the audience to view the member outside or inside role in the Council as they choose to emphasise through their pronominal choices. In doing so, their ethos is highlighted as reflect on the matters of the Council through the mirror of their personal lives and experiences. Positioning themselves in this way will contribute to them coming across as relatable and responsible, to describe him/herself in a way close to the public and show personal involvement.

In this example the speaker is reflecting on a past experience with the Public Investment Fund to show his knowledge about the recommendation in order to support his view.

(46)

د. عبدالعزيز العطيشان: أنا عندي تجربة سابقة مع الصندوق، يمكن قبل أكثر من سنتين اقترحنا على الصندوق شركة اتحاد شركات المقاولات السعودية على أنه يكون هناك شراكة ما بين الصندوق والشركة، كان ال شركة عندها خطة سموها 2020 يعني خلال أو في نهاية عام 2020 يكون تكون الشركة وظفت 20 ألف سعودي و سعودية ال حسب التخصصات، وكان فيه هناك ال مشروع أو خطة المسار الوظيفي يسمى -fu

future career plans، وشرحت للمسؤولين أنا شخصيا كنت موجود وشرحت أنا للمسؤولين وطلبنا حقيقة التجب أن يكون فيه تجربة مرة تجربة وحدة أو ثنتين أو ثلاث مع القطاع الخاص، وأعتقد أنه هذا معروف يقول إسأل مجرب و لا تسأل طبيب..... أنا أعتقد هذي مهمة جدا .

1 Dr.Abdulaziz Al-Otaishan (M): I personally had a previous experience with the
2 Fund¹⁶. Maybe more than two years ago, we proposed to the Fund [and] the Saudi
3 Consolidated Contracting Company to establish a partnership between the Fund
4 and the Company. The company had a plan which they called 2020; meaning that
5 during or at the end of 2020 the company would have hired 20,000 Saudi men and
6 women according to their specialties, and there was a project or a career plan called
7 future career plans. I explained to the officials – I personally was there and I myself
8 explained to the officials – and we asked actually that there be an experiment, one
9 experiment or two or three with the private sector. I think this is well known; they
10 say ask an experienced person and don't ask a doctor¹⁷...I personally think this is
11 very important.

Dr. Abdulziz is reflecting on a personal previous experience with a company that offered a suggestion to the Fund. The speaker keeps shifting from different positions in his argument using both singular and collective pronouns. But his main goal is trying to support the proposal by reflecting on his previous experience to show that he was engaged with the company mentioned in the recommendation. He is positioning his personal experience to show personal engagement with the matter being discussed. He starts by talking about his experience to prove his knowledge about the project in lines 7 and 8 “[’anaa shkhsyan knt mwjwd w sharaht ’anaa] أنا شخصيا كنت موجود وشرحت أنا أنا I, personally was there, and I myself explained”. Then he draws on common knowledge in ‘well known’ line 9, to be more persuasive. In saying that he personally asked them to apply this project and supports the necessity of adopting this suggestion by refraining to the cultural idiom in line 9, an Arabic common saying about experience, to support testing such programs and see its results in accomplishing the Fund goals. He concludes the discussion moving to his personal opinion [’ana ’aetqd] أنا أعتقد I think deliberative function’ using both pronouns (DP) and (IP) to reflect his personal opinion and belief that after all that he has said it is important to introduce such project, it also shows a sense of authority that his opinion matters.

¹⁶ Referring to the Human Resources Development Fund

¹⁷ A common Arabic saying meaning experience is more important than education ‘doctor’

The speaker has employed the singular pronoun *I* to emphasise on his personal opinion and reflect on his personal experience. He uses different rhetorical tools to support his argument in combination with reflexive positioning.

A female member also reflected on a personal experience to criticise a recommendation and express her past experience as a resident and currently a Professor of ophthalmology.

(47)

د. سلوى الهزاع: ... فرديك بيلودي إلى آخره مايكل واقتنر، وكانوا المدراء الأطباء مؤهلين بدون دخول هذه الاتفاقية جون هوبكينز، فأتسأل ماذا قدمت هذه الاتفاقية من مدراء الأطباء، المفروض لما نكون في المحافل الطبية ويذكر من المدير الطبي لمستشفى شامخ وهو عصب ال جميع ما أقول المستشفيات جميع العيادات العيون الي متواجدة في المستشفيات، مفروض لما يذكر اسم المدير الطبي الجميع يقف يقف له، فهذه كانت فعلا، ونرجع إلى مدير الأبحاث، نعم مدير الأبحاث هو جنسي الأمريكية (correction) من الجنسية أمريكي من أصل هندي وليس اعتراض ذاء، نعم عنده البورد الأمريكي، لكن للأسف الشديد هذا ال مدير الأبحاث اشتغل سابقا أيام أنا كنت مقيمة اشتغل ككادر في مستشفى التخصصي للعيون، وعندما سرد لنا الخطة رجعتي سنين وسنين للخلف، وهذا ما كان اصلا قائم به، فكما ذكرت ام الأبحاث وكما ذكر الدكتور ناصر الموسى هو نواة المستشفى، فلا تستقيم مستشفى من الناحية الإكلينيكية إلا من القسم الأبحاث و أنا أعتقد أنه مقتصر جدا.

1 *Dr. Salwa Al-Hazza (F): ... Frederick Belloudi to Michael Wagner. The doctor*
2 *directors were qualified without [having] to enter this Johns Hopkins Agreement. So,*
3 *I wonder what this agreement offered [to us in term of] doctor directors. It should be*
4 *that when we are in medical events and [the name of] the director for a prestigious*
5 *hospital which is at the core of all the - I won't say hospitals [only, but also] all the*
6 *clinics of ophthalmology present in hospitals. It should be that when the name of the*
7 *medical director is mentioned everyone stands for him¹⁸. This was really [an important*
8 *point]¹⁹. We [now] go back to the director of research. Yes, the director of research is*
9 *of an American Nationality and originally Indian. This is not a protest [to his*
10 *nationality or origin]. Yes, he has the American Board [certification], however; very*
11 *regrettably, this research director has previously worked - in the days when I was(AP)*

¹⁸ Metaphorical; as a sign of respect and admiration for their qualifications

¹⁹ Here the speaker did not complete the sentence and it seems it was just used to emphasize the importance of the point just mentioned.

12 *a resident [in the hospital]- he worked as a member of staff in the Eye Specialist*
13 *Hospital²⁰ and when he told us his plan, he took me²¹ years and years back. This was*
14 *what was already carried out before. So, as I mentioned, and as Dr. Nasser Almosa*
15 *has mentioned, research is the core of a hospital. No hospital would be clinically fit*
16 *unless [it has] a research department and I personally think this is restricted to the*
17 *bare minimum.*

Dr. Salwa talks about the situation of King Khalid Eye Hospital based on her personal experience by emphasizing the role of the research director and criticising their agreement with John Hopkins. She mentions the names of the doctors to display her personal knowledge about their names which leads to knowledge about their contribution also. She uses *we* in the 4th line to refer to a new category which is '*we medical doctors*'. By talking about such an agenda, she is reflecting on her personal experience as a practising MD and ophthalmologist.

She criticises the director of research that he is applying very old methods which foregrounds that their agreement with John Hopkins hospital has not changed anything from the time she was a resident which means it is useless. She also hints on the fact that the nationality of the doctor does not add value to their role. Then she reflects on her experience as a resident in lines 13-15 which was a long time ago, to show how old the director of research and that he is still using the same methods he did when she was a resident. This is a way to criticise the hospital and show it needs to bring in a new director. Through reflexive positioning she was able to draw on her personal experience, as she situates her identity as a practising MD to support her arguments and show that her criticism is coming from experience. In the end of the discussion after giving all her justifications, she expresses her disagreement indirectly by stating what she 'thinks' using the deliberative function in line 16 using both pronouns (DP) and (IP) to strengthen her argument and prove that she believes there is great deficiency in the field of research. This type of positioning comes from the speaker's experience and belief as she has personally engaged in this situation, it allows her to draw on her situational 'professional' identity.

Another female speaker reflects on her personal experience as a rhetorical tool. This corresponds to Amaireh's (2013) finding that females use story telling as a rhetorical tool to

²⁰KingKhalid Eye Specialist Hospital

²¹ Used instead of us

appeal to the audience's emotions. In the excerpt below the speaker is reflecting on a personal experience that she had with Saudi airlines' financially sponsored employees in Boston.

(48)

د.حياة سندي: فهذي بالنسبة لي تعتبر كارثة معالي الرئيس النقطة الأخرى التي أود طرحها هي أن من المشاكل أو المشكل التي تعاني منها الخطوط هي عدم تفعيل وتجديد القيادات من الشباب الواعد المؤهل، والخطوط تمتلك هؤلاء وتتبعث إلى الخارج ولكن بعد العودة لا يستفاد منهم بالطريقة الأمثل، أنا أعرف منهم شخصيا مبتعثين كانوا في كلية بابسون في بوسطن و درسوا في MIT وعندما رجعوا وضعوا في أدنى مرتبة إدارية ولا يستفاد من قدراتهم، فلا بد من وجود برنامج أو تفعيل إدارة تطوير القيادات الشابة وإعطائهم الفرص لتتواكب مع التطور لأن معظم القيادات الحالية للأسف غير مرنة.

1 *Dr.Hayat Sindi (F):..... In my opinion this is considered a tragedy.....Your*
2 *Excellency, Mr Speaker, the other point I want to present is that one of the problems*
3 *or issues which the Airlines suffers from is the inactivation and nonrenewal of*
4 *leadership among qualified and promising youths. The Airlines do have them and*
5 *[also] commissions some [to study] abroad. However, after those commissioned are*
6 *back, they are not utilised in the best way. I personally (IP)know some who were*
7 *sent to study abroad in Babson College in Boston and they studied at MIT*
8 *'Massachusetts Institute of Technology' and when they returned, they were placed*
9 *in the lowest administrative position and their skills are not utilised. Therefore, there*
10 *must be a program or an activation of the directory of Youth Leaders giving them*
11 *the chance to keep up with development because most of the current management*
12 *are unfortunately not flexible.*

In this argument Dr. Hayat reflects on a personal experience to explain why the airlines are tragic as she described it in line 1. The whole argument is made to suggest solutions for the problem of Saudi airlines. Before that she lists the benefits of creating a vision for Saudi Airlines so it will improve its performance. Then she emphasises the importance of having young leadership as this might be one of the reasons why the airlines is losing, that they have not adopted such a method. Then she supports this argument by reflecting on her personal engagement taking a reflexive position and using both forms of the pronouns ['anaa 'ħrf] (AP) and (DP) of the pronoun 'I' in line 6, to emphasize her personal knowledge and experience. She tells a story of Saudi Arabian Airlines' sponsored students that were sent

to study in MIT Boston in lines 4-9 and their experience and studies were not taken advantage of, as they were not placed in leadership positions. This experience was mentioned to support her view that a youthful leadership is needed to develop the performance of the Airlines and they are not applying that, even though they have the graduates who they sponsored. She concludes the argument by stating there ‘must’ be a program (in line 9), using this modal verb to highlight the necessity for an action to correct the mistakes of the airlines. Sharing her personal knowledge of the situation of the airlines reflects on her ethos that she has personal knowledge and experience about the actions of the airlines and sharing them to strengthen her argument.

Reflexive positioning can be used to highlight a person’s main position for emphasis. Male members tend to reflect on their position as members of the Council. They have used this way exclusively to distinguish themselves in their discourse. As in this example the speaker criticizes the report of the committee for not being sufficient by reflecting on his role in the Council.

(49)

د. منصور الكريديس: ... واقع الحال يقول أن دراسة اللجنة لهذا التقرير لا ترتقي إطلاقاً مع ما تقوم به هذه الوزارة من جهود، التقرير كما نكر الزملاء جاء مقتضب جداً وسطحي وفي ثلاث صفحات فقط، وأنا كعضو مجلس الشورى وبقية الزملاء كيف أحكم على أد- أداء وزارة في ثلاث صفحات، لا يمكن أن ندرس تقرير - معالي الرئيس - بهذه الصورة وبهذا السطحية والتوصيات أيضاً لم تنعكس، التوصيات لما تقرأها بتمعن لم أجد في التوصيات ما يبرر هذه التوصيات من تقرير اللجنة ودراساتها ...

1 *Dr.Mansour Al-Kuraidis (M): ... the reality of the situation says that the committee’s*
2 *study of the report²² does not rise at all to the level of the efforts of this ministry²³. The*
3 *report, as my colleagues have said, is very brief and shallow and was in three pages*
4 *only. I, as a member of the Shura Council, and the rest of the colleagues, how can we*
5 *judge the performance of a ministry [based on] three pages. We cannot, Your*
6 *Excellency, Mr. Speaker, study a report in this way and in this shallowness. Also, the*
7 *proposals do not reflect; when you read the proposals closely, I don’t find in them*
8 *what justifies these proposals in the report of the committee or in its study...*

²² The Ministry of Foreign Affairs

²³ The Ministry of Foreign Affairs

The speaker is trying to explain the deficiency of the report submitted by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. He distinguishes himself from the rest of the Shura members as a way to reflect on his ethos as in [ʔana kʔdw majls alshura] /I as a member of the Shura Council/”, to express for me personally this is not acceptable. This is a form of invocation to show where the speaker stands in the Council as it reflects on his credibility and how he values his position in the Council. It also reflects on the responsibility he feels as member of the SSC. This means that it cannot always be expected that the other members of the Council agree with the speaker’s opinions when the pronoun *I* is used (Bramley 2001:27). Then he shifts to a collective identity in line 5 including his colleagues that might share his feeling that this report is not sufficient for a proper review because it is superficial and as a member you should decide based on a detailed and more adequate report. This feature only appeared in male’s discourse as members associated themselves directly by referencing their ‘position’ as associates in the Council.

Male speakers have used reflexive positioning to express a personal experience related to the matter under discussion and to seek agreement from the Council, when they reflect their association with the agenda presented. This has a specific effect; it reflects on their ethos and is proof of their engagement with the matters being discussed as in the example below. The speaker has used storytelling to tell a personal story and compares it to the lost plane, this practice was used to criticise the aviation traffic control system.

(50)

د. طارق فدعق: ... معالي الرئيس أنا أعتبر نفسي من هذه اللجنة لجنة النقل والاتصالات، وأعتز كثيرا بذلك، و موافق على هذه الاتفاقية، بس عندي أتمنى أنه يكون فيه إضافة لهذه الاتفاقية وإضافة مهمة برأيي الشخصي بناء على الاحداث الأخيرة، يعني اتفاقية كما هي الآن اتفاقية جيدة جدا لكن لاحظ ايش اللي حصل في ال 52 يوم الاخيرة ال في تاريخ الطيران المدني؟ في طياره ضائعة طائرة بأكملها ضائعة، أنا اتذكر قبل سنة ضيعت شنة ضاعت لي شنة في رحلة اطييران وكنت زعلان جدا وقلت لهم كيف تضيع شنة في عصر التقنية على طائرة، اليوم في طائرة بأكملها ضائعة بكل ما فيها ومن ركابها و كذا، فمعناه في نقص كبير جدا في نظام المراقبة الجوية على مستوى العالم، يعني الآن ال ال التعليق الذي جاءنا الآن الى الآن من يتابع أخبار الطائرة اللي هو الجهاز المستجيب وبالتالي اختفت الطائرة من transponder الماليزية رحلة رقم 337 انه طفوا ال ، معناه انه في عندي جهاز واحد single point failure على الرادار، معناها انه هذه نقطة فشل واحدة يتحكم في مصير طائرة بأكملها ومصير ايجاد الطائرة هذي على المستوى العالمي، الآن اللي حصل انه في ال

52 يوم الماضية هذي أكبر عملية بحث في تاريخ الطيران المدني جارية الى يومنا هذا و لسه ما حصلوا
الطائرة و أنا أعتقد ان هذا غير مقبول بالتالي أعتقد فيه ضرورة لإضافة للمادة السادسة ...

1 Dr. Tariq Fadaq (M): ...Thank you Your Excellency, Mr. Speaker. I consider
2 myself a part of this committee; the Committee on Transportation and
3 Communications²⁴ and I am proud of that and I approve of this agreement²⁵ but I
4 wish there be an addition to this agreement. A very important addition that is, in
5 my personal opinion, considering the latest events. The agreement as it is now is
6 a very good agreement but consider what happened in the last 52 days in the
7 history of civil aviation. There is a missing airplane; an entire airplane missing.
8 I remember a year ago I lost a bag, a bag of mine was lost in a flight and I was
9 very upset, and I told them how could a bag in the age of technology be lost on an
10 airplane? Today, an entire airplane is missing and all the things inside it, its
11 passengers and so on. This means that there is a huge deficiency in the air traffic
12 control system all over the world. Now, the explanation we got now; until now,
13 for those who follow the news of the Malaysian flight number 337²⁶, is that the
14 transponder, which is a response device, was turned off and so the airplane
15 disappeared from the RADAR. This means that this is a single point failure, which
16 means I have one device controlling the fate of an entire airplane and the fate of
17 finding this airplane on the international level. Now, what is going on is that in
18 the previous 52 days this is the biggest search operation in the history of civil
19 aviation and is still going on until this day and they have not found the plane yet.
20 I personally think this is not acceptable. Therefore, I think there is a need to make
21 an addition to the sixth term²⁷

The speaker is referring to his role as a member in the committee in line 1. He refers to the committee to reflect on his personal opinion and experience about the agenda presented. The speaker in this discussion is supporting the recommendation and adding something new to it, in accordance with the present circumstances of the missing plane. The whole conversation will be carried from his personal perspective as he repeatedly used the

²⁴ Full name of the committee is “Committee on Transportation, Communications and Information Technology”

²⁵ An air transport agreement between the government of Saudi Arabia and the government of the United States of America

²⁶ The correct number of the flight is 370

²⁷ Of the Agreement discussed

singular person pronoun 12 times. They were employed to emphasise his point of view as he repeated them to show the direction of his discussion that it's completely personal. Contrasting his personal experience of losing a bag when flying, the member is able to make his incredulity at there being a missing plane. He positioned his opinion using *I think* twice with the deliberative function at line 18 it was combined with two pronouns to show the strength of his belief. In line 19 by the end of the discussion he returns to express his belief and what he thinks through using the deliberative function of *I think* combined with the modal 'need' to express the necessity of the situation.

Reflexive positioning has been used by members to reflect on a personal experience (41/42/43), to situate themselves in the Council (45/11) and to share a personal story (43, 46) for rhetorical reasons. Male and female speakers have used reflexive positioning similarly to reflect on their personal involvement with the matters discussed this reflects well on their ethos as it shows their personal engagement and feelings about the issues under discussion when linked to their personal lives.

8.2.1.2.2 *Interactive positioning*

Interactive positioning enables the speaker to create a relationship with the audience and reflect on their position. It expresses the multiplicity of the self in which what one person says positions another (Davies and Harré 1990; 48-49). Claiming to be on the other side of the argument makes the speaker sound persuasive as he is able to deliver a comprehensive view about the agenda by positioning him/herself in the position of others and talking from their standpoint.

In the example below the speaker positions herself in the position of a patient coming from as position she is familiar with as a practicing MD.

(51)

دخوله الكريع : ... فأنا كمریضة لا أحتاج دائما أنه الطبيب المعالج يكون لديه تخصص نادر، أنا
أحتاج طبيب العناية المركزة // الكفوء وأحتاج إلى طبيب الباطنة والقلب الكفوء [..] نحن نعلم ان
منطقة الشرق الاوسط بما فيها المملكة منطقة غير جذابه للكفاءات الاوربية لأوضاع اجتماعية الجميع
يعرفها و لكن اصبحنا نستقطب الاطباء من جنسيات عربية الذين يحملون جوازات اجنبية فوجد
السعودي نفسه في حاله نفسية سيئة

1 *Dr. Khawla Al-Kuraya (F): ... I, as a patient, don't always require that the*
 2 *treating physician has a rare speciality. I (IP) need the competent intensive care*
 3 *physician and I need the competent physician of internal medicine and*
 4 *cardiology..[5 lines follow issues with recruiting doctors in the Kingdom] we*
 5 *(IP) know that the Middle East region, including Saudi is unattractive for*
 6 *European qualified doctors for social reasons as everyone knows, but we are*
 7 *now (IP) attracting doctors from Arab nationalities who are holding foreign*
 8 *passports and we found that Saudis are affected badly...*

In this example Dr.Khawla supports her argument through positioning herself in the position of patients, this comes from her experience as a doctor who knows what patients' need in lines 1-3. She used the modal 'احتاج / need' in stating what a patient needs and whatever they are doing is wrong, they need doctors from different fields and the health law is not giving them justice. So, she switches between being a patient to how practitioners feel, giving a comprehensive view about the whole situation from her situated identity as a doctor. This rhetorical tool is considered as prolepsis – concede one thing from the point of view of the patient – to come back more strongly with the counterargument about the doctors the system needs. She used the rhetorical form of '[nahnu n;lm] نحن نعلم / we know/' using two pronouns (DP) and (IP) to draw on a matter that is obvious to the public and should not be ignored. Using interactive positioning enabled her to give a comprehensive view of the health situation in the Kingdom from a patient's and a physician's perspective, which raises the audience's awareness of the issue under discussion and appeal to their emotions 'pathos'.

This technique was also applied by a male speaker as in the example below. The speaker puts himself in the position of employers. This helps give a comprehensive view as he encourages looking at things from all angles and not take sides.

(52)

اللواء طيار/ حمد الحسون: ...لدي ملاحظة على المادة 64 نذكروا في آخر الفقرة بانه لا يجوز لصاحب العمل تضمين الشهادة لما قد يسوء لسمعة العامل أو يقرر من فرصة العمل امامه أنا أعتقد انه هذه يجب الحقيقة ان توضع ويوضع من ضمن اللي هو الشهادة تقرير عن نفس العامل هذا يجب بأن يحدد نظاما أما يكون مقبول او جيد أو جيد جدا او ما يساوي هذا لأن هذا مطلوب الحقيقة مطلوب للاداء هو يريد الوظيفة في عمل آخر أنا يجب أني صاحب العمل ان أعرف عن ماضي هذا الرجل حقيقة يعني فلماذا

نحن دائما مع العامل؟ أنا صاحب مؤسسة أنا أريد أن أعرف عن ماضي هذا الرجل فأنا أعتقد ان المادة ال 64 انه يجب الحقيقة او 64 يجب الحقيقة ان يوضع نق.. أو يوضع تقييم للرجل.

1 Major General pilot / Hamad Al-Hassoun (M): I have a comment on Article
2 64. They mentioned at the end of the paragraph that the employer can not include
3 an evaluation which might ruin the reputation of the worker or reduce his
4 opportunity to find a job. I personally think this must be included to be honest
5 from within the evaluation there is a report about the same worker this must be
6 determined by a system either by evaluating him as acceptable or good or very
7 good or something equally evaluative because this is truly needed it is required if
8 he wants another job I must, [as] the business owner, know (IP) the past of this
9 man²⁸. Really. Why are we always [standing] with the worker? I am an
10 establishment owner and I want (IP) to know (IP) about the past of this man. So,
11 I personally think that [with regard to] the article number sixty-four [there] really
12 must be an evaluation for the man.

He started by referring to the Article, then positioned his opinion firmly using both weak and strong pronouns with *I think* in lines 4 and 10. The speaker believes that the employer has the right to know about the history of the person he is hiring. He wants to reveal the other side of the request in saying we should look at matters comprehensively from both sides ‘the employer and the employee’. Then he criticizes the direction of the Council by the question in line 9. Then he placed himself in the position of the employer in lines 9-10 to reflect on their view and their needs as they seem to be neglected and the focus directed towards the employee. This form of interactive positioning reveals the different roles members place themselves in, to provide their consultation from different perspectives. It reflects on the speaker’s credibility as he looks at matters comprehensively and asks the Council to follow and consider his opinion. The modal ‘*must/يجب*’ was repeated 4 times in his argument to show the necessity of the situation and the need to have a background about the worker. It was also combined with *I think* to reflect his belief and authority that an evaluation must be created.

Singular pronouns have been shown statistically to be used more than plural pronouns in the SSC discourse. The Council members have employed them in various ways either to

²⁸ Referring to workers

express their personal opinion or to position themselves. When it comes to gender, statistically there are gender differences as men use first person pronouns more than women. The analysis also revealed there are some differences in the way they use these pronouns in their discourse. In regard to giving their opinion, different forms were used to express agreement and disagreement. The data have shown that members express their agreement directly rather than disagreement. It also revealed that females didn't express their disagreement directly 'verbally' like men in examples (37,38) this feature didn't appear in the females' discourse. *I think* has shown deliberative and tentative function, but the deliberative is used more in the Council as it gives the argument more strength. In regard to gender men used *I think* forms more than women, but women have exclusively used the deliberative function of, *I think*. In regard to positioning both men and women have used interactive and reflexive positioning in their discourse. The only difference is that women did not use the singular pronouns *I* 'reflexive positioning' like men, when they reflected their position as part of the Council or committee. We can see in examples (50/49).

The first-person singular pronouns were used by members in the Council to reflect on their personal views, opinions and positioning themselves in the position of other. All these used reflect positively on their argument and reinforces their ethos, as it displays their individual involvement. The number of these pronouns are high in the Council as there are no political parties in the Council, so every member is responsible for supporting their views.

8.2.2 First person plural pronouns in the SSC

Inclusiveness and exclusiveness can be used differently though the interchange of pronouns either plural or singular as they are used strategically by members of the Council. The previous section examined the use of first-person singular pronouns and how members can switch from one form to the other depending on their argument. Plural pronouns are used less than singular pronouns in the Council, however they have particular significance and effects on the audience. They are used for strategic reasons by the speaker creating sub-groups that includes or excludes others, forming a sense of engagement. The analysis of this section is based on the taxonomy developed for of plural pronouns analysis in [Figure 6](#).

8.2.2.1 Exclusive “we”

This section will examine the uses of exclusive ‘political’ we in forming a particular audience identified by Formato (2014, p.241) as a ‘discursive group’: “politicians’ affiliation with these groups suggests, an interesting insight on ‘discursive group’ constructions, which takes into consideration men’s and women’s positions not only inside but also outside the chamber”. These political groups in the SSC can be specific like a committee or general as the whole government. This discursive group can also refer to a gender group as Formato (2014) identified the possible purposive ‘inclusion’ and ‘exclusion’ of some others, i.e. in the search for visibility as women or as a political group. Females are newcomers to the SSC it will be interesting to see how they identify their group membership and if they follow male norms. In this section, the sub-sections of the exclusive *we*, are presented from male and female members constructing ‘discursive groups’. In each example presented below, I discuss the meanings embedded in the ‘discursive groups’ and who they might include and exclude within specific groups.

We the committee is the smallest exclusive group in the SSC discourse. It is the least common inclusive form in the debates. Members usually give comments to the committees to do things by referring to it in the 3rd person as in examples 18, 29, 32, 37, 49 and 55. They rarely associate with the committee. The inclusive form of *we the committee* is usually used by the committee chairmen in representing their agenda to the Council. However, in some cases members associate with the committee for persuasive means as in the example below the speaker is trying to discuss the efforts of his committee ‘The Committee of Housing’.

د.سلطان السلطان: موضوع المعلومات الجيومكانية حتى الآن لا يوجد برنامج وطني في المملكة للمعلومات الجيومكانية كقواعد بيانات، وهذا الذي سعينا إليه في اللجنة الإسكان قبل سنتين لوضع وتوحيد المعلومات يكون يوجد برنامج وطني، الدفاع المدني يذهب، الـ جميع القطاعات الإحصائية المتخذة القرار يكون فيه وحدة موحدة لنظم المعلومات المكانية وهي المهمة جدا، فـ هذا السبب في موضوع التوصية الأولى والثالثة، سبق و تقدمنا بهذا الموضوع ورفض في اللجنة لتوحيد هذه المعلومات ونحن بصدد إصدار نظام لتوحيد المعلومات الجيومكانية، فالإحصاءات العامة الآن تذهب و على بعض التقنيات لكنها غير مرتبطة بقواعد معلومات في الأرض يعني غير مرتبطة بقواعد بيانات ثابتة، فهذه النقطة الأساسية في الموضوع أنه أغلب الدول تحولت لـ بسمونه الجيوستاتستيك وهو النظام المعلومات الجيومكاني بينما لازال نحن نقوم بالمعلومات التـ ا جمع المعلومات التقليدية.

- 1 26:32: Dr. Sultan Alsultan (M): [With regard to] the topic of geospatial
 2 information, until now there is no national system in the Kingdom for geospatial
 3 information in the form of data bases. This is what we strived for in the Committee
 4 of Housing²⁹ two years ago; to set up and unify the information to [make available]
 5 a national system. [So that] all decision-making statistical sectors, there be [for
 6 them] a unified unit for spatial information systems which is very important. This is
 7 the reason [behind] the content of the first and the third proposals. We have
 8 previously presented this subject and it was rejected by the committee; to unify this
 9 information. We are now about to issue a system to unify geospatial information
 10 because now General Statistics³⁰ [depend] on some technologies but they are not
 11 connected to a data base on land, that is, not linked to a stationary data base. This
 12 is a principal point in the subject – that in most countries they turned to [the use of]
 13 they call it geostatistics which is a system for geospatial information – while we still
 14 (IP)collect conventional information.

The speaker here used two forms of exclusive *we*; the first to refer to his committee in lines 3,7 and in the end by lines 8 and 13 he moves to a general group referring to the government. *We* the committee is referring to the Housing Committee, the speaker here is indicate his position as a member of the committee to show his involvement. Then he refers to the work of the committee that they are in the process of announcing a new system. He is speaking on behalf

²⁹ Committee of Hajj, Housing and Services

³⁰ General Authority for Statistics

of the committee to persuade members to support the committee's recommendation. In this way he tends to represent his input as a member of this committee which reflects on his ethos as he is personally involved and part of this committee. Then he moves to include the whole government in lines 8 and 13 to be more inclusive, this was used to criticise their traditional approach of the government in collecting information. It also draws attention to the fact that they are responsible for collecting such information, therefore they should follow the committee's suggestion henceforth, the international track.

We the Council, plural pronouns are also used to exert different identities as members choose the groups they want to be identified with. The case of 'we + the Council' is used to establish solidarity and reflect a sense of obligation within the Council. The strong detached plural pronoun [nahnu] نحن/ *we* is mostly used by the members in the Council to refer to 'the Council' as in example (49), as a way to show their collective responsibility, and therefore reach a collective agreement. However, in the data there was a direct use of the Council in relation to the pronoun *we* (*we 'strong detached pronoun' + the Council*). This form is used exclusively by male members to identify themselves with the Council directly. Membership to the Council can be expressed through the exclusive *we*. When members refer to the Council, they usually combine it with the deontic modal 'must-should' to express the collective responsibility of the members as in (54/55). *We the Council* expresses a sense of collective identity and responsibility of the Council roles and duties. This is the most common form of *We* either to refer to the Council directly *we + the Council* or indirectly with just *we*. The following example reveals how a male member uses the exclusive pronoun to view his position in the Council through drawing criticism of the way it operates.

(54)

د. ناصر الشهراني: ... نحن في مجلس الشورى لا يجب أن ننظر إلى مسائل من زاوية واحدة وإنما يجب وهذا واجبا أن ننظر بشمولية، أود أن أختصر معالي الرئيس فأقول عندما نقول لا عندما نقول لا لتوصية اللجنة فنحن نقول لا لتحقيق أهداف نظام تبادل المنافع الذي نص عليه وهو مرونة الانتقال بين القطاع العام والخاص، عندما نقول لا لتوصية اللجنة فنحن نقول نعم نعم لكل سعودي يريد الانتقال من القطاع الخاص والعكس عندما نقول لا لتوصية اللجنة فنحن نقول نعم لنظرة شمولية واختصاص أصيل لمجلس الشورى في أن ينظر للمواضيع بتوازن لا أن نراها من زاوية واحدة، شكرا معالي الرئيس.

1 *Dr. Nasser Al-Shahrani (M): ...We at the Shura Council should not (AP)view things*
2 *from one angle. What we must do and is our duty is to (AP)view things holistically. I*
3 *want to summarize Your Excellency, Mr. Speaker so I say that when we say no, when*
4 *we say no to the proposal of the committee, we are [actually] saying no to achieving*
5 *the objectives of the benefits exchange system which was stated, which is the flexibility*
6 *of moving between the public and private sectors. When we say no to the committee's*
7 *proposal we are (IP)saying yes to every Saudi who wants to move from the private*
8 *sector and vice versa. When we say no to the committee's proposal we are saying yes*
9 *to a holistic view and an original specialty of the Shura Council to view matters with*
10 *balance and not for us to view them from one angle. Thank you, Your Excellency, Mr.*
11 *Speaker.*

He uses the pronoun *we* to position himself within the Council then talk about the collective roles and duties of the Council that they should be following. The plural pronoun is used as a way to reflect on the civic responsibility placed upon the members. He reinforces his point talking about the Council's duties towards society and that looking at things from one angle does not reflect properly on the Council. Implicit in this is criticism for committee members who have bought their proposal whom he would suggest have looked at things from only one perspective. When members use *we the Council* they connect it to deontic modality in saying what are the duties and obligations of the Council, what they *يجب / should* or *يجب لا / shouldn't* do in lines 1 and 2. It is used as a way to influence voting intentions. He also referred to the results and the consequences of their collective decision if *we* say yes or no how it will affect the public matter, so this matter is sensitive and needs a comprehensive view. This way he is showing the positive side of saying 'no' by countering each time, when we say 'no', we say 'yes' – an effective piece of rhetoric. *We* here hold them accountable for the results of their decision, it is used to reflect on the sense of unity and responsibility at the same time. All these tools were used to reinforce the persuasive power of his argument and guide the audience to follow his opinion and say no. This reflects positively on the speaker's ethos as he displays knowledge about the role of the Council and how it should operate.

Whilst, '*we 'strong detached pronoun' + the Council*', is used by male members, it does not feature in the discourse of female members. They did not associate themselves with the Council directly like their male counterparts. Instead they do so indirectly, using the weak attached pronouns as in excerpt (35/ 51). Interestingly, the only instance where a female

member referred to the Council was to detach from it, in order to criticise other members as it appears below:

(55)

د. أمل الشامان: ... وقد أشار بعض أعضاء المجلس عند مناقشة تقرير الصندوق العام الماضي أفضلية ربط وحدة المراجعة الداخلية برئيس مجلس الإدارة، وقد اكتفت اللجنة في هذا التقرير هذا العام بالطلب من مندوبي الصندوق الانتباه لذلك، أعتقد أنه من الأهمية الخروج بتوصية بدل من التتويه، تعزز ربط وحدة المراجعة الداخلية برئيس مجلس الإدارة لضمان زيادة استقلاليتها وتحقيقاً لمبدأ الحوكمة الذي يفترض أن يكون مرتبطاً بالإدارة العليا في الصندوق وهو في هذه الحالة رئيس مجلس الإدارة، خاصة وأن هناك توصية وضعها المجلس عند مراجعة تقرير الصندوق العام الماضي بهذا الشأن.

1 *Dr. Amal Al-Shaman (F): ... Also, some of the members of the Council have pointed out*
2 *during the discussion of the Fund's report³¹ of last year the preference of linking the*
3 *Internal Audit Unit to the Chair of the Board of Directors. The Committee also have*
4 *merely asked the deputies of the Fund in the report of this year to pay attention to this.*
5 *I think that it is of importance to come up with a proposal instead of [only] alerting.*
6 *Emphasize the linking of the Internal Audit Unit to the Chair of the Board of Directors*
7 *to ensure increasing its independence and to achieve the principle of governance which*
8 *assumes that it is linked to the higher management in the Fund who in this case is the*
9 *Chair of the Board of Directors, especially [since] there is a proposal put forward by*
10 *the Council upon reviewing the Fund's report of last year regarding this matter.*

In this discussion through the use of 'some of the members' the speaker is distancing herself from the Council. Doing so enables her to directly criticise other members' previous decision on the basis that they proposed a recommendation in the form of a suggestion rather than a formal recommendation, and this recommendation was not discussed in the committee's report. They have not given an official recommendation and she insists on the importance of issuing a recommendation in line 5; emphasising the need for a recommendation 'an action'. She also emphasises the importance of creating such a link and refers to a previous Council report that was related to this matter and was not applied, to support her view. This reflects on her ethos as she is showing her knowledge about the Council's previous decision, which reflects that she has done an investigation about this recommendation.

³¹ Referring to the Human Resources Development Fund

We the government, this form is not directly used by the members in the Council. They are usually referred to in the third person as ‘the government’. An instance where this appeared it was indirectly in example (53), the speaker was criticizing the government for following the old methods in collecting their data. In example (57) the speaker refers to the government as “*our wise leadership/ قيادتنا الرشيدة*” to compliment the leadership then criticize the Council for not applying their recommendations. It is not surprising that this form is absent in the SSC, as members understand that their role is consultative rather than executive as would be the case if they used the term ‘we the government’.

We gender, this category is exclusively used to refer to women. It is also used by women exclusively. Female members construct themselves within two discursive groups in the Council as ‘female politicians’ which includes women inside the Council, or ‘women in general’ which includes women outside the Council. They construct the group based on their gender role within the parliament. This reflects on their gender identity, as speakers may shift between different identities discourse, gender and professional.

When analysing the use of pronouns among genders, an interesting finding appeared in females’ discourse as female speakers have shown their tendency to emphasise their gender identity. Gender is viewed by Adams (2015) as a transportable identity (explained in section 7.1.4) in political debates. Females in the Council show their tendency to shift roles as they reveal different in-group and out-group identification. Since they are considered as newcomers to the Council, they see their main role as representatives of female society ‘Saudi women’ which appears in example (56). This conforms to Zimmerman’s transportable identities as female members tend to indicate their gender identity in some political discussions for rhetorical reasons. This may be explained in regard to Ridgeway (1997)’s view that when gender-based accounts are offered, it becomes a way for females to express their own rights in a collective sense which leads to significant consequences on their discourse.

In the SSC female members reveal their gender identity, they refer to themselves collectively as female members exclude men from their discussions as in the examples below.

In this example a female speaker seeks support for her female colleague’s recommendation, by praising it and states that in applying this recommendation they are fulfilling the society expectation of their new role in the Council.

(56)

د. دلال الحربي: إن هذا المقترح أتى من متخصصة وهي الزميلة د. منى آل مشيط التي تلمست النقص من واقع تجربتها العملية و العلمية وسلكت الطريق العلمي لتقديم الحل بتقديم هذا المقترح ثانياً // أجد أن في تقديم هذا المقترح هو // فيه رد على السؤال الذي يطرح علينا كعضوات في مجلس الشورى ويكرر هذا الطرح دائماً من سيدات المجتمع ماذا قدمتن لـ المرأة؟ في تقديم هذا المقترح هذا رد عملي على أن عضوات الشورى يقدمن – غير يعني توصياتهم ومقترحاتهم الخاصة بكل المواضيع - هن أيضاً يولين جانب المرأة اهتمامهن.

1 *Dr. Dalal Al-Harbi (F): This proposal came from a specialist who is [our] colleague*
2 *Dr. Mona Almushait who felt the deficiency based on her practical and scientific*
3 *experience. She followed the scientific methodology to offer a solution through*
4 *presenting this proposal. Secondly, I find that presenting this proposal [provides] a*
5 *response for the question we are asked as [female] members of the Shura Council.*
6 *And this question is repeated constantly by women in [our] society; what have you*
7 *done for women? In presenting this proposal [there is] an actual response that the*
8 *[female] members of the Shura Council give – other than their proposals and*
9 *recommendations related to all matters- they also give women's issues their*
10 *attention.*

From the beginning of the discussion the speaker directs her discussion towards females by showing support to her female colleague then excluding female members as a group. This discussion started with a supportive comment about this proposal that it came from a specialised member and how it is based on a scientific study and experience. Note how this could also be viewed as an implicit criticism of the proposals brought before the SSC as not being based on sound principles. In contrast, proposals brought by a female member are well researched. Then she uses a question that is addressed to them (female members) in lines 5 and 6 as a way to reveal an interesting verbalisation of their awareness of their responsibility and show the commitment they feel towards Saudi women. “We” in line 5 is used to include female members as newcomers and also to give them their own identity, the same form appeared in example (35). This reflects on their ethos as they realise their responsibility and role in the Council and are trying to fulfil the society’s expectation. It is employed as a rhetorical tool to be more persuasive to the whole Council that they are here to speak up for the Saudi women, and this proposal is an indication of that.

Females employ different forms of their identities that are related to their transportable identity like being a mother or a daughter or a wife. They can use gendered family identity as in appearing as a mother by referring to graduates as “our sons and daughters” in the example below:

(57)

د. منى ال مشيط: ... مفاضلات جدارة تحرم خريجات كليات المجتمع من التعيين مفاضلات التوظيف لحملة البكالوريوس من الجنسين ولخريجي الدبلوم من الرجال، إلى متى ستترك القوانين الغير سليمة تعيق تنفيذ توجيهات قيادتنا الرشيدة وتضعف طموح أبنائنا وبناتنا، على وزارة التعليم سرعة التحرك لإنهاء أزمة بناتنا ورفع الظلم عنهم وتوفير فرص عمل تليق بهم فهن حاصلات على ثلث- دراسة مدة 3 أو 4 سنوات سابقه و سابقا كان يعين خريجات معاهد المعلمات وكليات المتوسطة و كان لهم تصنيف كمعلمات، أريد هذه التوصية النوعية وأطالب الجهات المعنية بالعمل العاجل والجاد بتصنيف الوظائف لكليات المجتمع، واستحداث وظائف وتوليد وظائف لهن جديدة مع التدريب والتأهيل، كما أريد توصية سعادة الدكتور لبنى وسعادة الدكتورة فردوس الخاصة بمعلومات عن مخرجات التعليم...

1 Dr. Mona Al-Mushait (F): ... the nominations system of Jadara³² deprives female
2 graduates of community colleges of employment. [I refer to] the nominations for
3 bachelor degree holders of both sexes and for the male graduates of diploma
4 programs. Until when should [such] unsound laws be left obstructing the execution
5 of the directives of our wise leadership and weakening the ambitions of our sons and
6 our daughters? The Ministry of Education must move quickly to end the predicament
7 of our daughters and to remove the injustice towards them and to provide work
8 opportunities that suit them, for they have studied for three or four years. And
9 previously, the female graduates of Teacher institutes and programs of higher
10 education diplomas used to be employed and were classified as teachers [as well].
11 I support this qualitative proposal and I demand [that] involved parties work quickly
12 and seriously to classify jobs for community college [graduates] and to establish
13 and create new jobs for them along with training and qualifying. I also support the
14 proposal of her Excellency Dr. Lubna and her Excellency Dr. Furdoos regarding
15 information about education outputs ...

³² Jadara is a governmental employment system under the supervision of the Saudi Ministry of Civil Services

She starts the appeal by expressing the situation of female graduates as a way to transmit their feelings and express her knowledge of how they feel. This special reference may show their call for gender equality as females have not had their demands met yet. She describes the suffering of the laws for employing fresh graduates as “الغير سليمة / *unsound law*” using strong words to describe their results like “تحرم / *deprive*”, “تعيق / *obstructing*”, “الظلم / *injustice*” and “تضعف طموح / *weakening the ambitions*” of these graduates. She uses the inclusive pronoun to refer to the future generation instead of using a gender inclusive form like “[abna'na] *أبنائنا / our children*” she used gender specific references by including both genders separately as in “[bnatuna] *بناتنا / our daughters*” and “[abna'na] *أبنائنا / our sons*” to refer to the fresh graduates, this transcends the gender identity of a mother as she tends to both gender individually. This was used to reveal how she feels towards these graduates and as a concerned mother and also includes the public as participants in her discussion through the inclusive /-na/ *لنا / our*. Then she expresses the urgency for an action through the use of the modal “على / *must*” in line 6 to point out that the ministry must specifically do something to fix this, it has an authoritative function. Then she indexes the gender of the graduates back to “[bnatuna] *بناتنا / our daughters*” again to include the gender she is representing. This shows her awareness to her role in the Council to express female views, since Saudi’s cultural norms segregates men from women, therefore the views of women can only be expressed through their female Council representatives.

A further example of women referring to other female members through the use of pronoun ‘we’ as a way to build in group solidarity.

(58)

د. دلال الحربي : أنا مخولة نيابة عن زميلاتي بتوضيح أمل من معاليكم قبوله وأيضا المجلس الموقر... نحن مقدمات التوصية نرى أحقيتهم بهذه التوصية ونؤمن بها ونحن متمسكين بها، لكن حتى اليوم وصلتنا أخبار بانه وزارة التعليم بصدد حل مشكلتهم وانها جادة في حل هذه المشكلة ولذلك استأذن معاليكم و المجلس الموقر بتأجيل هذه التوصية إلى التقرير القادم لوزارة التعليم وسوف نتابع نحن من جانبنا هذه الأخبار حتى نتأكد من صحتها...

- 1 Dr.Dalal Al-Harbi (F): I am commissioned by my colleagues (female) to make a
- 2 clarification that I hope Your Excellency, and the respected Council will accept. ...
- 3 ... We, the presenters of the proposal, we see their right to [the application] of this
- 4 proposal and we believe in it and we are holding fast to it. However, up to this day

5 *we received news that the Ministry of Education is undertaking to solve their*
6 *problem and that it is serious about solving this problem. Therefore, I ask your*
7 *Excellency's permission and the respected Council to postpone the [discussion of*
8 *the] proposal until [we have] the forthcoming report of the Ministry of Education*
9 *and we will follow up (DP) on our part on this news to ascertain their accuracy...*

In this excerpt the female speaker is referring to a particular female group in the Council and is speaking on their behalf by the use of my (attached pronoun) line 1, the strong detached pronoun we line 3-8 and the attached pronouns (AP) in lines 4,5,8,9. Through her discussion she is trying to convince the Council to accept the proposal that she worked on with her colleagues. This form was distinctly used by female members in talking about a collective identity for the Council members that were engaged in a proposal, to reflect a sense of unity and solidarity. Moreover, by bringing such a petition on behalf of other members, the speaker adds weight to her request and make it more difficult for the Council to reject.

The exclusive *we* was used by members to create discourse groups, including themselves with these groups reflect a sense of solidarity that strengthened their argument and delivered their point accordingly. Both male and female speakers used them to serve their different goals. Men used them to refer to their role and belonging to the Council directly i.e. 'w+ the Council', while women didn't do so. However, women created their own gender group where they felt comfortable 'we +gender' used specifically to discuss their gender issues.

8.2.2.2 Inclusive we

'We the nation', is what is meant by the inclusive form of *we* in the Council when members refer to their nation or Saudis in general. This is a powerful form to raise awareness of national identity, as the speaker includes him/herself with the nation. It creates a bond and a relationship between the speaker and the audience, as it shows them as a united front. It is very common among the members in the Council as it appeals to the audience in showing their concern as part of this country and their position in serving it. It can be employed in different ways as in expressing concern, for the purpose of comparison or to express public knowledge. Members also use 'we' the nation, inclusive of the whole country they are part of, in interaction with their personal experience or background. It reflects positive political identity as it shows equality and assimilation to the whole nation and reflects the speaker's ethos. In this example the speaker is talking from her experience as a doctor and expresses a social problem by including herself with the nation to raise awareness of the need to control the use of herbal medicines.

(59)

دخولة الكريع: أنا أعتقد أنه وجود مثل هذا المشروع وسن قوانين لإنتاج وتوزيع وتخزين الـ الأعشاب ومشتقاتها أمر في أمس الضرورة لدينا في مجتمعنا // في دول الخليج وخاصة في المملكة العربية السعودية، نحن نعاني من نسب عالية من الفشل الكلوي، أيضا احنا من الشعوب الشابة التي تعتبر الاقبال على الوسائل الاتصال الاجتماعي ص د ب ب تقبل عليه بصورة كبيرة، ولعله // مكان // خصب لنشر الدعايات الكاذبة التي // لا نستطيع التحقق منها، // ال ال أنا أعتقد أنه مع سن هذه القوانين يجب العمل بـ بصورة جدية على رفع الوعي لدى المواطن لأنه هو خط الدفاع الأول عن نفسه، فليس كل مش // دواء عشبي مفيد نستطيع أن نأخذه دون مراقبة.

1 Dr. Khawla Al-Kuraya (F): I personally think that the existence of such a project
2 and the establishment of laws for the production, distribution, and storage of herbs
3 and their derivatives is a matter of the highest importance for us in our society in
4 the gulf countries and especially in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia We (IP) suffer
5 from high percentages of kidney failure. Also, we are a youthful society which uses
6 social media extensively, which³³ might be a rich place for spreading false
7 advertisements which we cannot verify. I personally think that, along with the
8 establishment of these laws, work must seriously be carried out to raise the
9 awareness of the citizen because he is the first line of defense for himself...
10 Therefore, we cannot take (IP) any beneficial herbal medicine without supervision.

11

The speaker is talking about a dangerous medical issue: the unsubscribed use of herbal medicines. She has used many persuasive tools in her discussion including pronouns (singular / plural), modals and metaphors, as a way to make her discourse clear and effective. She starts from a personal point of view opinion with “*I think*” deliberative function, this assumption came from her experience as a practicing MD, which reflects positively on her ethos ‘credibility’. This also emphasizes her situated identity as a Doctor to the Council. She keeps moving from different roles first as a doctor then to a member of society. She includes herself as a member of the society in “[mjtmꞤna] مجتمعا / *our society*” line 3, to warn Saudi society and then includes the entire Gulf region, to show how this issue may spread and is of great danger to the whole nation. She is expressing her concern in saying “[nahnu nꞤany] نحن نعاني /

³³ Social media platforms

we (IP) suffer” using the detached ‘strong’ pronoun including herself in the suffering, adding more emphasis on this point to show her involvement and concern about the issue. She moves back to her personal opinion in line 6 to express the need for an action that involves decision making through the use of *must* that reinforces the power of the discourse. Then she distances herself by drawing attention to raising the awareness among citizens and adds a metaphor in line 9 to support her argument. This reinforces the persuasive power of her discussion as she reflects her role as a doctor and relates to society by expressing her knowledge and concern about the society that she considers herself part of. Note that she ends with *we* when issuing a prohibition. This might suggest solidarity with her fellow Saudis as well.

We the nation can be used for the purpose of comparison with other countries, this form is used for criticism as in why do we not follow their track. This feature was highlighted by Bramley (2001), Van Dijk (2002) and Vertommen (2013) as the ‘us and them’ dichotomy used for comparison and contrast between the pronouns *us* and *them*. However, in the Council the form of *us* and *them* form was used differently, it was used to compare the positive features of *them* and encourage *us* to be like ‘them’. This is quite in contrast to much research in the West on this dichotomy, where *they* are framed negatively while *we* are framed positively (Bramley, 2001; Van Dijk, 2002; Vertommen, 2013). This feature appeared in both genders’ discourse, in male’s discourse as in example 44, but it is more often in females’ discourse as in the examples below.

(60)

د. حياة سندي: سؤالي ما الذي يمنع أن تكون الخطوط السعودية في مصاف أفضل خمس شركات عالمية
لماذا لا نطمح ونسعى لذلك كدول الخليج الأخرى المجاورة؟... واحنا في أمس الحاجة إلى زيادة حمل
الركاب و هذا بالنسبة لي تعتبر كارثة.

- 1 *Dr. Hayat Sindi(F): My question is what prevents the Saudi Airlines from being*
- 2 *among the best five international [airway] companies? Why don't we aspire and*
- 3 *(IP)strive to [achieve] that like other neighbouring Gulf countries? [6 lines*
- 4 *removed about other international airlines].. We are in dire need for increasing*
- 5 *the passenger capacity [of airplanes] and this to me is considered a disaster.*

In this example Dr. Hayat is trying to move the audience by motivating them through questions in lines 1-3. They were addressed to elicit criticism; she is hinting that neighbouring countries

have good airlines why don't we too. She is referring to Saudi in the plural pronoun *we* "the nation" in the case of Saudi Airlines, since it's a national company. It was used to emphasize the issue of the airlines that it is affecting the whole country. In line 4 she raises the urgency of finding a solution using the plural pronouns in the Najdi dialect [əḥna] احنا identified as SNA³⁴ (Saudi Najdi Arabic) it is derived from the detached 'independent' pronoun *We/ نحن /nahnu/*, having the same final sound (Abboud 1979, AlOthman 2012, Lewis 2013, AlTamimi 2015). This pronoun was strategically employed for a rhetorical reason to appeal to the audience's emotions, as she steps to their language level and the common dialect of the region to connect with her audience through their everyday rather than formal dialect. She used the inclusive 'we' in combination with the colloquial pronoun form which heightens her emotional appeal, henceforth her discussion.

This form of comparison is used similarly in discussing the tourism situation as indicated below.

(61)

د.أمل الشامان: ... هل سألت الهيئة نفسها لماذا لا يكون لدينا ارقام قياسية من السياح بين المدن داخل المملكة؟
و ما الفرق بيننا و بين هذه الدول المجاورة ؟ كيف استطاعت تحويل السياحة الموسمية في هذه الدول الى سياحة
مستدامة على مدار الرأي العام بالرغم من تمتعها بنفس الاجواء المناخية والجغرافية؟

1 *Dr. Amal Al-Shaman (F):...Did the Commission ask it itself why don't we*
2 *have high records of tourists between cities within the Kingdom? And what*
3 *is the difference between us and these neighbouring countries? How has it*
4 *been able to transform the seasonal tourism in these countries into*
5 *sustainable tourism throughout the public opinion, despite enjoying the*
6 *same climate and geography?*

This example starts with Dr. Amal talking about the potential of tourism in the Kingdom, she was being objective and distancing herself. She expresses her frustration towards the tourism plans of the country by mentioning the criticism Saudis receive from the media. She highlights that this matter became a matter of ridicule, and she makes it personal when

³⁴ SNA is one of the major SA varieties spoken in Saudi Arabia. Of 9,977,000 total registered speakers, approximately 8,000,000 reside in Saudi Arabia (Lewis 2013). Najdi is commonly used in the spoken media, and is thus a common dialect throughout the country. It is regarded by its speakers as a prestigious dialect because it has preserved most of the SA features (Ingham, 1994).

she includes herself as part of this nation in the question, she addresses next. She criticises the commission and asks them a question using the inclusive *we* to get her involved in the process which is affecting us. She compares Saudi to other “neighbouring countries” using an *us* and *them* dichotomy to show we share the same geographical and climate features. This comparison is strategic as it proves that the commission has no excuse for their delay in dealing with the situation. Other countries share the same climate and geography and they still attract tourists, there is no excuse for this deficiency in the tourism plans.

Another form of *us* and *them* can be combined with the inclusive *we*: the form ‘*we all know*’. This is a rhetorical form as, in drawing on common knowledge, an assertion is made that we all share a common understanding. In this example the speaker draws on public knowledge as a way to highlight the role of inventors in the society and show the importance for supporting them.

(62)

د.ناصر الموسى:.... ثانياً كلنا يعرف الدور العظيم الدور الريادي الدور القيادي الذي يضطلع به المبتكرون والمخترعون والباحثون في رقي الشعوب وتقدمها، وكلنا أيضا يعرف أن الدول التي اهتمت بهذه الفئات هي الدول التي تقدمت وتطورت، وكذلك كلنا يعرف أيضا المعاناة الشديدة التي يواجهها المبتكرون والمخترعون والباحثون في بلادنا في موضوع تسويق ا يعني ا ابراءاتهم واختراعاتهم و تحويلها إلى منتجات يمكن الاستفادة منها.

1 Dr. Nasser Almousa (M): ... Secondly, we all know the great role, the pioneering
2 role, the leading role which innovators, inventors, and researchers undertake in
3 [helping] advance nations and their development. We all know too that countries
4 that cared for those groups are the countries that developed and advanced. Also, we
5 all know the extreme suffering that innovators, inventors, and researchers face in
6 our country in the matter of marketing their patents and their inventions and in
7 turning them into products that can be useful.

The speaker is showing his support towards the recommendation and highlights some elements to his audience through the use of [klna y;rf] كلنا يعرف/*we all know* throughout the argument. It was used to reflect collective knowledge first by emphasising the role of such innovators and then addressing the issues they face in our country. This is a rhetorical form, as in this matter known to everyone and not knowing this may display your lack of knowledge. As he emphasises

these matters to prove everyone's knowledge of their suffering as it is a significant matter that everyone needs to acknowledge and help solve. He also indirectly points to *us* and *them* dichotomy in lines 3,4, as in we should do like them and support our innovators to develop and advance. In that way he is encouraging other members to support the recommendation as it is a matter of public knowledge that needs a solution.

The inclusive *we* is used by members to talk about public matters and a way to include the public in their discussion. In the SSC the members are picked to represent the public and, therefore, they are expected to discuss their issues as if they were their own. This heightens the rhetorical aspect of their discussion and highlights their ethos as they appear as responsible committed members.

8.3 Final remarks

Many of the studies about parliamentary discourse and pronouns introduced in the previous chapter focused on plural pronouns since members are representing the people and would usually seek to express the views of others. Our results have shown a different case as singular pronouns are used more than the plural pronouns and are equally important in this political domain.

Plural pronouns may be used less since the Council does not have any political parties and so this type of collective identity is not referred to through pronoun use. Members speak to represent their personal views as their individual perspectives are legitimised by virtue of the fact that they were chosen from different fields to share their knowledge and expertise. Singular pronouns serve the speakers in expressing their authority through voting, expressing a personal opinion or even positioning themselves in take different stances. It affects member's discourse positively by reflecting their ethos and appealing to pathos, as we have seen in the examples adduced. In terms of the quantitative findings, reveals that there are significant gender differences in the use of pronouns. Aside from singular pronouns being used significantly more than plural pronouns for both genders, little of note was found when exploring gender differences in pronouns.

But once again, the value of the qualitative analysis was shown when we explore the differing ways particular pronouns were used in context. It revealed for instance, that females still do not feel comfortable positioning themselves as in 'we' the Council directly, but they feel

comfortable referring to their gender group in the Council. This maybe because they feel the pressure as they were brought to the Council to represent females, since the Saudi society is a segregated society and female voices can only be heard through their female representatives. Turning now to the specific research questions established in (section 7.2.1) what we can say about them in light of the analysis presented in this chapter.

To answer RQ 3.1 relating to whether member have preference in pronominal use for positioning purposes, I have shown a preference amongst members for singular pronouns. When it comes to forms of such pronouns, the strong detached pronouns were not preferable and were used mainly when speakers wish to be emphatic. Interestingly singular pronouns play a significant role in member's discourse as they are used more than plural pronouns in the Council. We saw the multiplicity of functions which pronouns were used for in context, with members often taking the opportunity to assert their membership of groups (either as Council members, Saudis or in some professional role). This had the potential to strengthen the argument presented by the speaker. The preference for singular pronouns stemmed from, I believe, opinions (using *I think*) and their voting intentions.

Pronominal choices have revealed an interesting insight into the language and gender in the SSC, which answers RQ 3.2, gender difference does exist in member's pronominal choices. According to the statistical findings in section 8.1 male speakers generally use pronouns more than females which conforms to Yu's (2013) study. Singular pronouns were used the most by both genders, as they were used to project their votes and reflect their opinion. In this matter it was found that male speakers use pronouns to express their agreement (36/37) and disagreement directly (38) (56), while female speakers held back from expressing their disagreement directly. They might criticise the agendas and show negative reaction, but they do not cast their negative votes explicitly. This might be due to their recent position in the Council as they may not feel comfortable giving a negative vote directly.

I think has proven to be an effective tool in members' discourse and it was used by male speakers (55/56) more than females (55), having both deliberative and tentative functions. This shows that male speakers like to emphasise and repeat themselves to reflect their beliefs through their discussion. We also saw that female speakers prefer the deliberative function rather than the tentative function which was absent from their discourse. This is possibly surprising given the avoidance of direct disagreement, but it equally seems to correspond to the assertiveness shown

by female members in the previous chapter on questioning. There is a strong connection between modality and 'I think' which can be seen in examples (48/54) as it gives a sense of authority. In matters of positioning the self, there was no gender difference, males and females both employed reflexive and interactive positioning similarly. The only form that was used by men and not women in reflexive positioning is that they reflected on their position in the Council or committee using the strong detached pronoun *I*. Females do not emphasise their position in the Council or committees as male speakers do. This may be due to their new position in the Council, where they do not yet feel comfortable affiliating themselves with committees or the Council in general. This corresponds to the plural pronoun 'we (detached strong pronoun) + the Council' which was not employed by females discourse in our data, they used attached and implied pronouns to refer to the Council indirectly see example (35/47).

The main gender difference found in this category is that male members refer to the Council directly using the detached plural pronoun *we* as in example (54), while female speakers have used it to refer to their female colleagues in example (35/55) to distinguish their gender in-group. This corresponds to Formato's (2014) finding that men use the subject plural pronouns more than women. Female speakers building their own discursive group in referring to their female colleagues and Saudi women in general. Such a thing is common in political discourse as female members refer to their transportable identity (Adams, 2015; Formato, 2014).

Once again, this chapter has demonstrated that quantitative findings do not necessarily tell the full story. Female members do utilise pronouns for the same rhetorical purpose as male speakers (i.e. positioning themselves and others in pursuit of building persuasive arguments). However, we have seen examples of female members-who are newcomers- presenting a distinctive style when it comes to some uses, for instance around the function of *I think*. The extent to which this is to do with their status as newcomers or as female members is a complicated matter and one which I shall return to in the next and final chapter.

Chapter 9 Conclusion

Introduction

In this chapter I seek to summarize the main findings of this study and how they contribute to answering the overarching research questions of the thesis. I will then go on to outline what I believe is this study's contribution to the field as well as its limitations and provide some avenues for further research. In this study, I have sought to offer a description of the macro discursive practices of the SSC, then explore the use of specific micro linguistic tools, namely questions and pronouns, which are used as rhetorical devices. I have argued that these linguistic tools can be used as persuasive and argumentative devices, as members seek their audience's support to either accept or reject the recommendations presented. In the analysis chapters I have provided numerous examples which attest the effect of those micro linguistic tools on the macro structure of members' debates. The findings revealed that females have thus far adopted a rather different discursive style from their male counterparts.

9.1 The overall picture: doing gender in the SSC

This thesis was initially motivated by a desire to study Saudi females' first political representation, with a focus on language and gender in the SSC. I approached the data analysis using grounded theory, with an understanding that there might be a gender difference in the use of language. An introduction to the contextual background of the Council was presented in chapter 1 to show the situation of women within Saudi society and the main roles of the SSC. In chapter 4 a detailed linguistic investigation was carried out to examine the discursive norms and practices of the SSC. Chapters 1 and 4 established the overall picture of the Council which instigated the investigation of the micro elements discussed in the following chapters. Combining the macro and micro-structure using a pragma-rhetorical approach directed the focus to questions and pronouns inspired from the literature about parliamentary discourse reviewed in chapters 5 and 7.

Since gender is the key underpinning of this study, the situation of men and women in the Saudi society has to be underlined. Saudi women are newcomers to the Council and their presence is expected to be limited by their social status, which had no previous presence in

the official political domain. However, from the findings of this thesis we can see that through their role in the Council, they have become proactive citizens who choose when and how to use their voices, especially speaking for Saudi women. From this the aim of the thesis is to investigate if and how male and female Council members construct gender, either their own or as a member of a wider social group inside the chamber of the SSC. I should stress that my study was not concerned with the linguistic state of affairs of the all-male Shura Council sessions before the addition of female members, but rather it was directed towards looking at gender through the construction of different groups of speakers in this specific Community of Practice, with women in the disadvantaged position as newcomers.

In revisiting the findings for the two linguistic phenomena under investigation, I now discuss how they fit into the debate about the language used in institutional public spaces by men and women (see 2.2). In analysing women in institutions, Walsh (2001) dedicates part of her discussion to new linguistic practices introduced by women in traditional male institutions while Shaw (2000, 2006) convincingly argues that, through participation in terms of using and perceiving linguistic and interactional norms, “men and women belong to the same community of practice but on different terms according to gender” (2000, p. 416). We found this to be the case for the SSC with similarities and differences in the use of questions and pronouns by female Councillors. I suggested that female members within the community of practice are trying to achieve two different goals: (a) the legitimisation of their position in the Council and (b) discussing matters concerning women’s issues, as they speak for women. The linguistic discursive practices that tend to emerge in the language used by female Councillors – i.e. asking more questions and leaning towards gender-inclusive pronouns gives rise to the construction of a sub-CofP of female Councillors. Female members’ peripheral position in the Council as a CofP in fact still situates them between their private and public roles, in part because of their linguistic choices but also because of the pressure they feel trying to *convince* society that they can and will be able to present their gender publicly for the first time.

In order to discuss the findings of the Council discourse, the overarching research questions addressed in Chapter 1 will be answered. *To what extent do male and female members differ in their use of rhetorical proofs during Council debates?* The results discussed in chapters 6 and 8 point to the idea that men and women use their language in fairly subtly different ways

to serve their different goals and agendas. Both male and female members used questions and pronouns differently in the Council to support their argument and make it persuasive.

In the case of questions women asked more interrogative and rhetorical questions than men in their debates. Asking questions may reflect positively on female member's ethos since it exhibits a sense of responsibility towards their role in the Council, through questioning the recommendations presented. The other distinctive feature of gender and questions is that female questions focused on women's rights in the country and critique of the topics of the role of the Council and the government. This also reflect positively on their argument and makes it persuasive, especially that they are questioning the position of Saudi women whom they are representing in the Council. Females justified their choice of questions in their debates by accompanying them with other rhetorical devices like metaphors and modality. Another distinctive feature of female's questions is that they follow their interrogative questions with a demand for an answer, as they state the urgency for an answer after asking their questions. This has a strong effect on their questions, as it reflects the commitment member's feel towards educating themselves and the Council about the matters being discussed. This may justify why men asked fewer questions than women, it can be linked to their prior experience in the Council meaning they are more aware of the Council's procedures and may as well have more knowledge about the agendas discussed, hence ask fewer questions. However, given the contrast of the questions, I think a fairer judgement is that male members are more complacent about the running of business through the SSC and so are less challenging of the procedures and processes.

In the case of pronouns both singular and plural first-person pronouns, the findings presented a significant gender difference. Men used pronouns more than women especially first-person singular pronouns. This may be connected to men being in the Council longer and therefore feeling more comfortable expressing their personal opinion. This reflects positively on their ethos as it displays their confidence and personal knowledge. Women have a more limited use of first-person pronouns and I argued that this may project their discomfort towards associating with the Council as discussed in chapter 8. This may also explain why one of their key pronoun uses is create a gender-exclusive grouping, which in turn expresses their collective views as female members of the Council. This exclusive gender + *we* pronouns reflect positively on female's ethos as they show a strong united front of females in a male dominated Council.

Questions and pronouns are employed strategically by members to express their position in the Council and make their argument persuasive, but each gender has a different approach and motivation for their linguistic choices.

To what extent do females conform to the male norms of the Council? It is important to stress that this study defines male norms as the ones displayed in its dataset and did not look at past practices before females joined the Council. In identifying the norms, it is of importance to restate that the findings of this study suggest that both genders belong to the same community of practice in that they all maintain the Council rules and that there are instances of language use which suggest that, for example, similar uses of forms of address and turn-taking. However, on a micro level there are some gender differences conforming to Shaw's (2000) finding that in parliamentary discourse both genders are members of the same community, but on different terms.

Each gender has explicit practices with different participation goals that are reflected in their linguistic choices. For example, females came to the Council to express their gender voices, as they were absent from the Council. Their existence as newcomers to the Council has affected their linguistic choices: the analysis in chapters 6 and 8 revealed that there are gender differences in the use of questions and pronouns as persuasive devices. This may lead to the notion that they are trying to develop their own norms.

In asking more questions than men, it might be argued that females are shunning male norms and instead reverting to a female stereotype. Whilst the former may be true, the latter does not seem to hold. Female members are not asking questions out of politeness or tentativeness, instead they are asking to hold the SSC and its committee chairs to account. Questions were addressed by women to get an answer and women directly request an answer to the question at the end of their statement. This norm or feature does not appear in male members' discourse.

Clear gender-exclusive practices appeared in the use of pronouns. One recognisable male norm that appeared in male speakers' discourse is the use of the plural pronoun we 'detached pronoun'+ the Council. It was exclusive to male speakers, which supports the hypothesis that females do not feel confident associating themselves with the Council directly (or simply, do not wish to- given their strong criticism of its practices found elsewhere). Such a hypothesis

also potentially explains the female speakers' introduction of the exclusive form of the plural pronoun *we*; *we+* all females and *we+* female Council members. Viewing women as a separate group in their discourse, can be explained as a way to express their solidarity as a gender group in the Council. These linguistic choices reveal that gender differences are observed and realised in the Council and speakers apply them in their discourse to serve their gender needs.

Taken together, this points to the idea that female speakers have been able to create their own norms, separate from their male counterparts. Females have established new norms of asking more questions, accompanying the questions with a request for an answer and using gender-exclusive pronouns. It will be interesting to monitor developments in the Council to see whether these are *female* norms or simply the norms of newcomers to the Council seeking to make a mark on the SSC's business and perception amongst the public. This leads us to the next overarching research question.

To what extent do female members present themselves as newcomers in the Saudi Shura Council? From a broad perspective, females as newcomers to the Council have followed the Council debate rules and maintained their role as Councillor. They were expected to be at a disadvantage since they are newcomers in the Council, however they were able to prove themselves and stake out their territory as powerful speakers. The micro-linguistic practices revealed some distinctive features of their discourse as a result of their recent addition to the Council. From the findings discussed in chapters 6 and 8 women were able to express their position and speak their minds in the Council.

Female speakers have brought a new flavour to the Council by asking more questions and creating their own gender exclusive pronouns. The use of questions was described by Cameron et al.'s (1989), Coates (2004), Harris (2009) and Balogun (2011) as a characteristic of powerful speakers. This can be recognised as women wanting to be viewed as powerful speakers who are trying to prove their position in the Council. They asked more questions in the Council than men. Arguably, this may not be related to them developing new norms but rather to their position as newcomers wanting to know more about the Council and its operation. Further studies need to be made on future sessions to identify if this is a gender norm or a matter linked to newcomers. In relation to pronouns they have developed their own exclusive pronominal group referring to their gender, this can be viewed as their way of

observing their position in the Council as a distinctive group, therefore having their own distinctive needs.

There is a developing awareness of the position of Saudi women which may put female members in a more challenging position as they feel the need to do more to prove themselves as active members of society. Female Councillors identify their role in the Council through their discourse, as they speak on behalf of the other half of society 'women'. This is not a new phenomenon, women speaking up for women, it goes in line with the international community of female politicians who consistently demand equal gender rights. From the results of this study we can say that Saudi Councillors as newcomers were able to speak their minds and bridge the communication gap which exists between the unheard voices of Saudi women and the SSC.

9.2 Contributions of the thesis

This thesis contributes to different research fields like language and gender studies in institutional discourse, especially in the Middle East, as well as presenting new methodologies for the investigation of questions and pronouns in Arabic. The methods adopted in this study were tailored to fit the dataset, the analytical frames and approaches applied can be considered a contribution to the study of language and gender in political discourse. Primarily, it contributes to the field of language and gender in an attempt to analyse the workings of a particular CofP in a society in which public gendered practice is a very recent development (see Chapters 1 & 2). Further, it contributes to the study of Arabic political language use, from a pragma-rhetoric perspective in order to show that spoken discourse can be used to construct personal and group (political and gender) identities. While there is, as reviewed in Chapter 2, an interesting and extensive literature on sexism in language, this has been underexplored in Arabic.

This study contributes to studies on Saudi women in the political domain. To my knowledge, there are no studies in the field of language and gender in Saudi public field; this is the first one, and this thesis aims to contribute to the growth of this field. More specifically, I hope to contribute to the blossoming research in language, gender and the workplace, more specifically related to public space and institutional bodies (in other countries see Wodak

1997, 2003, 2011; Walsh, 2001; Shaw, 2000, 2006; Ilie 2009, 2010, 2011a, 2013; Formato 2014).

The findings for each of the linguistic phenomena considered for this project (the parliamentary discursive norms, questions and pronouns) combined to allow me to coherently discuss gender as a social construct and the active, ongoing construction of Saudi women's identity within the SSC. This research will also help expand the field of language and gender to consider linguistic studies of Middle Eastern political institution discourse, bringing together Arabic linguistics, gender, persuasion and argumentation in a grouped political context. Moreover, the detailed observations of discourse practices in the SSC will provide others interested in parliamentary discourse analysis with an insight into the norms and practices of this aspect of the Saudi political system which will hopefully encourage further work on this setting.

In addition, the study introduces methodologies for the analysis of questions and pronouns in Arabic. They were adopted from different fields to investigate the Council's discourse (see chapter 5 for *questions* and chapter 7 for *pronouns*). I have offered a critique of previous studies, mainly on the English language, and have sought to adopt these approaches to account for the characteristics of the Arabic language, taking into consideration grammatical differences in approximating Arabic question forms to English (for *question* forms), and introducing a new categorisation of Arabic pronouns to English speakers; detached, attached, implied or hidden pronouns (for *pronoun* forms).

9.3 Limitations of the thesis

Since this is the first study that conducts linguistic analysis of the language of the SSC, it has some limitations. There were no existing studies about women and parliamentary language in Arabic on which to base any hypotheses. This reflected the recent and limited participation of females. Parliamentary and institutional discourse more widely has not been studied in the Arab region either, which directed the search for literature to underpin the thesis to Western rather than Arabic studies. These gaps were identified and taken account of in the analysis.

Before starting this thesis, the data collection challenge was identified as the data for member's debates is not available in written form, unlike the Hansard Record for the UK

House of Commons (though see Shaw 2018 for issues relating to the use of Hansard). Therefore, the only source for data was the recorded video sessions available in the Shura Website. All the sessions for the 6th round of 4 years appeared to be available online. But once I started to scan through all the sessions, I found some links did not work which limited the number of the sessions examined. The process of examining the videos was time-consuming and I had to watch almost 70 sessions for each year over the period of 4 years, to select the sessions suitable for the purpose of this thesis. I selected the sessions with most female participants and since some sessions did not have any female participants, this selection had to have some comparable data to fulfil the main motivation of this thesis which is looking at female participation in the political domain. Sixteen sessions were transcribed, and the selections were translated to provide examples for non-Arabic readers. All these factors limited the number of sessions analysed in this thesis as more could have been analysed if they were all available in a written format.

The data analysis process also suffered some limitations. In relation to gender the data collected for male and female discourse were not equal in number, therefore they had to be normalised for the purpose of comparison. Members' participation can also be limited to topics that might be stereotypically viewed as masculine or feminine (women for instance participate in matters concerning women). This raises questions of whether there gender differences when it comes to the topics they choose to participate in.

There were also challenges in analysing the micro linguistic elements, questions and pronouns, as they were motivated from previous studies on gender and political discourse. However, the questions and pronouns systems in Arabic and in the Council differ from the ones discussed in the literature. Questions in the Council do not receive an immediate answer like other parliaments, so I had to find a way to interpret them on their own. This led to examining the questions elicitation, and the speaker's rhetorical intentions for posing them. Another difficulty with pronouns was in dealing with Arabic pronouns. Arabic is a null-subject language and I had to find a way to explain the Arabic pronoun system which has attached, detached and implied pronouns and explain how they can be identified within my data. I had to find a way to compare both linguistic phenomena while staying faithful to what they were suggesting and provide sufficient and relevant examples that make my analysis valid and defensible.

9.4 Further research

Further research should seek to address the above limitations. More generally, research on Saudi women's political representation and the language used in the SSC and its (possible) intersection with gender would benefit from a larger corpus of the Council debates which includes different topics. Similarly, research could be conducted by investigating the construction of/by female politicians in different genres (e.g. newspaper articles). This would triangulate the research to see whether female members are presented as powerful or powerless contributors.

The findings of this thesis were limited to the linguistic practices and overlooked the broader context which could be achieved by interviewing the speakers. Therefore, I believe that contacting the female and male Council members whose contributions form part of my project to share the results and ask questions about their views on the findings could be another interesting follow-up. This ethnographic approach appears in the work of Shaw (2002) and Bird (2005).

More generally, it would be interesting to conduct field-work with female MPs in the SSC to see if the 'sub-group' constructed through language extends to other practices negotiated (exclusively) among females in what could be described as a sub-CofP as suggested by Formato (2014).

In relation to the study of pronouns in the Council a more detailed investigation could be conducted in comparing the use of other *pronoun* forms, like "us vs you" in contrast to "us vs them", where "us vs them" – indicates a possible sharper clear-cut division of the groups involved than the latter – "us versus you". They were highlighted in the excerpts presented but could be explored in more detail.

Domains like cultural idioms and metaphors, as well as other domains, could be explored in this set of data and in other parliamentary debates. This could confirm, develop or challenge the findings and enable the discussion of similar or different constructions of scenarios by male and female politicians.

The research can be expanded to discuss other findings of this thesis, looking at past and future sessions. In regard to the topic of women speaking for women it will be interesting to see if women's issues were discussed in past sessions, or if this topic is recent in the Council. Further research could compare the findings of this study to the following 2nd round of female Councillors to see if they still present as newcomers. It would be interesting to continue the investigation of the use of questions and pronouns in the debates.

9.5 Final words

This thesis originated from a desire to provide studies about Saudi women's political participation. Although their representation is very recent, their discursive practices reveal that they are seeking to establish their ground in a male-dominated field. The linguistic analysis provides interesting insights into their position and status in such a gendered workplace. I hope that this thesis has provided an empirically-based understanding of the first political public position of Saudi females from the day they joined in 2013 in their first round in the SSC. From the start of this thesis till the present time Saudi women are gradually gaining more rights in society. Saudi women have now received the right to drive a car, and some changes in the guardianship rules of the country have been implemented. This may well be as a result of the effect of the equality demands raised by women in the Council in accordance with international equality movements. These changes are a positive step towards gaining equal rights with men in the region and raises the prospect that women in the SSC were able to support their fellow Saudi women in gaining the rights they have been asking for, but there is still a long way to go. However, given that all of these issues were discussed by women in the SSC, these changes being implemented are due in no small part to the work of female members on the SSC.

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Appendix A

Year 1	Minutes	Words	Year 2	Minutes	Words	Year 3	Minutes	Words	Year 4	Minutes	Words
session 3	55	6258	session 5	50	6165	session 57	44	5088	session 4	46	5595
session 34	45	5603	session 35	48	3531	session 64	40	4773	session 17	47	5730
session 67	50	3215	session 40	44	5245	session 68	39	4340	session 40	57	7132
session 70	53	5950	session 55	47	3964				session 45	51	3507
			session 70	30	3589						
Total	203	21026		189	18905		123	14201		201	21964

Appendix B

Kingdom of Saudi Arabia The Shura Council		
(150)		(١٥٠)
Date: 8/10/2018		
<p>To whom it may concern We would like to grant the researcher: Mashael Altamami The full rights of using the images of the Shura Council for research purposes and publications . As it may appear in her Phd thesis, books, chapters and journal articles.</p>		
<p>Dr.mohammed A.Almuhan</p>		
<p> Spokesman of Shura Council</p>		
<p>تلفون: ٩٦٦ ١١ ٤٨٢١٦٦٦ - مجلس الشورى: ٨٠٠٦ - الهدا وحدة رقم (٣) الرياض ١٢٩١١ - ٤٠٢١ المملكة العربية السعودية Tel. : +966 11 4821666 - P.O. Box:8006 - Al Hada - Unit No.:3 Riyadh 12911 - 4021- Kingdom of Saudi Arabia E-Mail: webmaster@shura.gov.sa</p>		
	الرقم	_____
	التاريخ	_____
	المرفقات	_____