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Intertextuality in Kurdish Political Discourse: Power, Identity, and Legitimacy in Masoud Barzani's 2024 Election Rhetoric

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Abstract

This study explores the use of intertextuality in the rhetoric of Masoud Barzani during the 2024 elections. The research focus centers on how Barzani employed intertextuality in his electoral campaign speech delivered on Wednesday, September 25, 2024, to construct and reinforce his power, identity, and legitimacy as a Kurdish leader. The primary objective of this Paper is to examine how these intertextual references shape Barzani's communicative style and contribute to the construction of his political image within Kurdish politics. The data for this study are drawn from Barzani's campaign speech, broadcast on the Gulan Media and K24 platforms. Methodologically, the analysis adopts Fairclough's (1992) three-dimensional framework, which examines the text at three levels: textual, discursive, and socio-cultural. At each level, different forms of intertextuality - including direct quotations, allusions, pastiches, and genre borrowing - are analyzed to uncover how Barzani's language reflects the broader political and cultural context of the Kurdish people. The findings reveal that Barzani's discourse effectively employs intertextuality as a rhetorical strategy to assert power, reinforce legitimacy, and construct a strong sense of Kurdish identity. This analysis offers valuable insights for further studies on Kurdish political discourse and leadership communication.

Keywords:

Masoud Barzani;
Discourse Analysis;
Intertextuality; Rhetoric of
.Elections



About the Journal

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1. Introduction

Political discourse enables leaders to exhibit power, construct identity, and assert authority. In the case of Masoud Barzani, a prominent figure in Kurdish politics, such discourse plays a particularly significant role during election periods. The election of 2024 was crucial for Kurdish politics as Barzani used very complex rhetorical strategies to be able to win the voters over, like intertextuality. The study, therefore, looks at the importance of intertextuality in Barzani's speeches during the 2024 electoral campaign in reflecting power relations, identity formation, and political legitimacy. It applies Fairclough's critical discourse analysis as a means to understand the strategic use of language applied during political talks and the reliance on intertextual references to shape public perception and political power.

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) digs into how language shapes and reflects power, identity, and legitimacy in society. CDA examines how talk and texts can either support or challenge social unfairness, aiming to build social fairness (van Dijk, 2008). The key ideas in CDA include: 1) Power: Dominant groups, like politicians and media, use language to mold public views and keep control. This is often seen through selective framing or convincing words defining what's "acceptable" or "normal" (van Dijk, 2008). 2) Identity: Language is vital in creating and displaying social identities, such as gender, nationality, or job roles. The way people talk shows how they want others to see them (Wodak & Meyer, 2009). 3) Legitimacy: Language helps make authority or institutions seem rightful and justifiable. For example, legal papers use special wording to show laws as fair, even if they favor certain groups (van Dijk, 2008). Additionally, 4) Intertextuality: This idea focuses on how texts refer to or are influenced by other texts.

In CDA, intertextuality is crucial because it helps reveal how meanings are formed through the connections among texts (Fairclough, 1992; van Dijk, 2008). Intertextuality, as Fairclough (1992) defines it, is the weaving of many texts, whether openly or implicitly, which makes it possible to mix historical discourse with situations in the present. In political intertextuality, reference is made to past, legal, and cultural stories that help the speakers enhance credibility, strengthen, and tap into a collective memory (Fairclough, 1992).

There are five ways of referencing in intertextuality, which are: 1) Direct Quotation: The simplest form of intertextuality, where one text quotes another. Quoted content is usually marked with quotation marks or citations, adding trustworthiness by linking to known sources and letting the writer engage with existing ideas (Fairclough, 1992). 2) Paraphrasing: Paraphrasing means rewriting or shortening the ideas of a text using new words. Unlike quoting, this method doesn't copy the original text exactly but keeps the same idea. By paraphrasing, I can include others' thoughts in my writing while maintaining my own style. This method also shows I understand the original content (Fairclough, 1992). 3) Allusion: It is making a subtle or indirect reference to another text without a direct mention. It relies on the reader's knowledge of the referenced work to get the connection. Allusions make the text richer by drawing on the cultural or historical importance of the referenced material. They add layers of meaning for those who recognize the reference (Wodak & Meyer, 2009). 4) Pastiche: It involves copying the style or tone of another text or genre. It can be a tribute or a critique of the original work. Writing a pastiche means I use the features of a certain genre or style, often to highlight its traits or comment on its impact (van Dijk, 2008). Finally, 5) Genre Borrowing: It is using specific conventions, styles, or themes from a certain genre to create meaning or evoke specific reactions (Fairclough, 1992).

In CDA, intertextuality is a key as it shows how texts are connected and use shared cultural, historical, or ideological resources (Fairclough, 1992; van Dijk, 2008). For example, a political speech that quotes historical figures or mentions national myths can strengthen a shared identity or justify certain actions (van Dijk, 2008). By looking at intertextual references, one can find out:

- How power structures are supported or disputed through language (Fairclough, 1992);
- How ideas spread across different texts (van Dijk, 2008); and
- How social identities and norms are shaped through words (Wodak & Meyer, 2009).

On the one hand, Rhetorical analysis in CDA focuses on how texts persuade or influence audiences to achieve ideological or power-related goals (Fairclough, 2001). It examines rhetorical tools like metaphors, framing, and persuasive language to show how discourse shapes perceptions and maintains power structures. Through rhetorical analysis, CDA shows that language is used not just to communicate but also to persuade, manipulate, and reinforce power (Fairclough, 2001). For example:

- Political speeches might use euphemisms or exaggerations to influence public opinion (van Dijk, 2008).
- Creating "us vs. them" divisions in discourse can marginalize or demonize certain groups (van Dijk, 2008).

On the other hand, Genre analysis in CDA looks at how different types of discourse (genres) work in specific social contexts and how they reflect and reinforce social roles, relationships, and power structures (van Dijk, 2008). Different genres like news articles, political speeches, or academic papers are shaped by social practices and also shape those practices. Key points include:

- News genres often reflect the political and economic interests of media owners or governments (van Dijk, 2008).
- Political speeches use rhetorical genres like slogans or emotional appeals to establish authority or promote unity (Fairclough, 2001).
- Academic genres may prefer certain viewpoints (like male, Western, or elite perspectives) over others (van Dijk, 2008).

This approach enables a comprehensive analysis of how communication influences society. Examining genres within the framework of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) helps reveal how particular styles of communication sustain social structures and ideologies. Such an exploration exposes the underlying power dynamics embedded in the production, distribution, and consumption of these genres (van Dijk, 2008).

2. Literature Review

This section reviews four recent studies that relate to the analysis of political discourse, power, identity, and political legitimacy. These studies provide a theoretical lens for the present research, which focuses on examining Masoud Barzani's 2024 election messaging.

The first study, "Language and Power: Discursive Strategies in Political Discourse in English-Speaking Nations," by Alijonov Yorkin Chori Ugli in (2024), focuses attention on the discursive strategies the political leaders in those countries apply. It especially concentrates on the exploitation of rhetorical tools by figures in modern political life to assert influence and control over public opinion. The play of power within political dialogue is induced by language, posits Chori Ugli, whereby leaders structure their messages, identities, and ideological bases to reassert their power. To help interpret the rhetoric of figures such as Barzani in terms of identity construction and legitimation within discourse, this keen analysis provides a very useful background.

A work carried out by Jonathan Miller (2023), "Discourse, Identity, and Political Power: The Role of Rhetoric in Political Elections," is a very careful analysis of how political language crystallizes identities and power relationships in the exercise of politics. It scrutinizes election speeches from diverse contexts as an instrument through which leaders use words to express their ability and assert their political power. Such an analysis would therefore be quite applicable to further Barzani's rhetoric in 2024 since he focuses on regional unity and historical acknowledgement, which are key elements of his political persona and campaign strategy.

Schneider and Eitelmann (2020), in their study "Political Discourse and Identity in the Age of Populism: Trump's Election Rhetoric and the US Presidency", aim to explore how political speeches construct identity through populist discourse. It throws valuable light on the language that Trump used, the deviation it brought with established norms of rather more conventional political communication, and thus shows how populist leaders can switch around notions of power and

legitimacy. In this way, it offers meaningful insight into how political figures may use language to build their personae and authority, bearing directly on Barzani's approach as he underlines the issue of Kurdishness and self-rule within Iraq (Schneider & Eitelmann, 2020). Their findings form a concrete measure of the leveraging effect that discourse has in molding popular perceptions of who is in charge and why.

In the research of Dr. Azad Hassan (2018), "A Descriptive Analysis of Kurdish Political Discourse with Reference to Referendum Discourse," published in the Zanco Journal of Humanity Sciences, the author investigates the linguistic aspects of the discourse taking place during the Kurdish independence referendum in 2017. This paper reveals how Kurdish political figures used references to cultural and historical narratives in their discourse in support of the referendum. It was found that, in political speeches, the appeal to Kurdish identity and the narrative of historical struggle played crucial roles in the endorsement of the referendum. This study contributes to an understanding of how language may act in building national unity and political credibility within the Kurdish framework.

Collectively, these studies demonstrate how political language is strategically used to construct power, shape collective and individual identities, and legitimize authority, providing a theoretical foundation for analyzing the ways in which Masoud Barzani's 2024 election discourse seeks to establish his leadership, reinforce his Kurdish identity, and appeal to his electorate.

3. Methodology and Data Collection

The discourse analysis framework developed by Fairclough (1992) served as a framework for the study's methodology and data collection in the abstract. Norman Fairclough's Three-Dimensional Model is a key framework in CDA, analyzing discourse through three interconnected dimensions (Fairclough, 1992):

- Text: Focuses on the linguistic features of a text, such as vocabulary, grammar, and rhetorical strategies, and how they reflect social meanings.
- Discursive Practice: Examines how texts are produced, distributed, and interpreted within social practices. Discourse is not created in isolation but is shaped by institutions and social contexts.
- Social Practice: Explores the broader social and cultural context, including power relations and ideologies. This dimension looks at how discourse both reflects and contributes to social structures and inequalities.

Masoud Barzani's 2024 election speeches will be examined using a qualitative research methodology, with an emphasis on intertextuality. To classify several types of intertextual references, including direct quotations, allusions, pastiche, and genre borrowing, the study gathers data from Barzani's political discourse. To explore how Barzani's speech creates identity, expresses authority, and validates his political viewpoint, the research combines textual, discursive, and sociocultural analytical stages. This technique uses textual, discursive, and socio-cultural analysis stages to investigate how Barzani's speech develops identity, expresses power, and legitimizes his political standpoint.

4. Results and Discussion

A critical discourse analysis of Masoud Barzani's political speech is carried out, with reference to Norman Fairclough's (1992) framework. This provides a comprehensive view of the relationship that exists among discourse, ideologies, and power relations. Fairclough's framework is structured in three levels as follows:

4.1 Textual Level

The discourse of Barzani's intertextuality at play is analyzed, on different levels, because intertextuality operates on a variety of planes. At this level of textuality, attention is drawn

specifically to the use of certain words or phrases. This is where to scrutinize the linguistic features of the text, direct citations, and allusions made to specific terms, phrases, or historical contexts.

Direct Quotation

It is a linguistic unit where Barzani quotes a historical personality or speech, which is analyzed at this level. This could look at how these quotations are structured within his statements or how they shape his overall narrative. For instance:

1. Reference to Mustafa Barzani: In a speech, Masoud Barzani directly quoted his father, Mustafa Barzani, who famously said, "It is better to die on your feet than to live on your knees," highlighting Kurdish resistance. This direct reference reinforces Barzani's connection to his father's legacy (Gulan Media, 2024). Barzani's discourse shows how he leverages language to strengthen his leadership. Illustrating this is his constant reference to the endurance of the Kurds against all odds; Barzani links himself with his father, Mustafa Barzani, and the greater fight for Kurdish independence. Barzani has made use of references to such events as the 2017 Kurdish independence referendum to continue positioning himself as a highly nationalist figure concerning the cause of Kurdish self-determination.
2. Citation of International Law: Barzani quoted Article 1 of the UN Charter regarding the right to self-determination, directly invoking international legitimacy to Kurdish claims: "develop friendly relations ... equal rights and self-determination of peoples, ...strengthen universal peace", (Gulan Media, 2024).

Allusion

When Barzani indirectly refers to past events or figures, allusion is to be looked at as a device within his language. The analysis would focus on how these allusions construct meaning within the specific word choices and phrases he uses.

1. Alluding to the 2017 Independence Referendum: Without directly referencing it, Barzani might talk about "our right to express our political will" to evoke the controversial referendum, tapping into Kurdish collective memory (Gulan Media, 2024).
2. The Heroic and courage of the Kurds in Halabja: He could refer to "the sacrifices made by our people" as an allusion to the Halabja chemical attack, drawing on powerful historical pain (Gulan Media, 2024)
3. Kurdish Language and Culture: Referring to "our language, our customs" evokes the broader struggle for Kurdish cultural recognition within Iraq and neighboring countries (Gulan Media, 2024).
4. International Conflicts: A reference to "struggles in other regions of the world" alludes to Palestine or Catalonia, without directly naming them, creating parallels between those and the Kurdish struggle (Gulan Media, 2024; and Kurdistan24, 2024).

4.2 Discursive Practice

This sub-section analyzes how texts are produced and interpreted, considering the interdiscursivity between different discourses or genres. At the discursive level, it concerns why and how various discourses or genres are borrowed and combined.

Pastiche

If Barzani draws on discourses from both nationalist and international rhetoric, this creates a blending of genres and voices. The analysis would explore how this merging of discourses allows him to craft a narrative that appeals to different audiences (both local and global).

1. Global Human Rights Rhetoric: By incorporating phrases like "the right to live with dignity," Barzani draws from international human rights discourse, mimicking language used by figures like Nelson Mandela or Martin Luther King Jr. to universalize the Kurdish cause (Gulan Media, 2024; and Kurdistan24, 2024).

2. Religious and Secular Leadership: Barzani's speeches often mix Islamic references to "God's Will" with secular nationalist appeals for democracy, blending religious and secular discourses for broader appeal (Gulan Media, 2024).
3. Nationalist and Globalist Language: He may use nationalist language, "the rightful land of the Kurds," while simultaneously appealing to globalist ideals of democracy and peace, thus blending two often conflicting discourses. (Gulan Media, 2024).

Genre Borrowing

In an election speech, Barzani blends political, ceremonial, and personal narrative genres. This borrowing of genres or interdiscursivity can be analyzed at the discursive level, where the combination of these forms helps shape the expectations of the audience.

1. Political and Historical Narratives: While giving an election speech, Barzani may shift into recounting historical events, turning his address into a mini-history lesson that legitimizes his leadership by connecting past and present

We all know that after World War II, the new division carried out in the region, I do not think that it favored any nation - neither the Kurds, nor the Arabs, nor the Turks, nor the Persians - but it was a reality that was imposed. Yet, here the Kurds faced severe oppression, and the Kurdish nation was denied recognition for 100 years.

We all know that after World War II, the re-division of the region was done. I don't think any nation likes it, neither Kurds, nor Arabs, nor Turks, nor Persians. The Kurds suffered great oppression, the Kurdish nation was denied for 100 years, and the Kurds resisted for 100 years, not denying their existence. The Kurds have been struggling for 100 years, and attempts to deny their existence have failed, just as the Kurds have not been able to change this reality. This tells us that we must come together to consider a peaceful and fraternal solution, respecting one another (Gulan Media, 2024).

2. Persuasive Speech and Ceremonial: In one part of the speech, he offers formal acknowledgments or tributes, a ceremonial function, and then switches to a more persuasive mode when he presents his political platform for the future.

The Kurdistan Region is the product of the blood of martyrs, the blood of Anfal victims, the blood of heroic Peshmergas, the sacrifices made by our people, and the struggle of the Kurdish people (Kurdistan24, 2024).

3. Legalistic and Inspirational Rhetoric: while discussing Kurdish independence, Barzani could mix the technical legal language of international agreements with inspirational appeals for unity and pride, borrowing from both legal and motivational genres.

The Peshmerga only protects Kurdistan and the dignity of the Kurdish nation. The Peshmerga does not assault anyone." "I hope that, and efforts must be made, [so that] after October 20, [there will be] one region, one parliament, one government, and one Peshmerga force (Kurdistan24, 2024).

4.3 Socio-cultural Practice

At the socio-cultural level, it's about what the broader social, cultural, and political implications of those intertextual references are. Allusion and pastiche can also play a role here when they connect the text to broader socio-political realities:

Allusion in Socio-cultural Context

Barzani alludes to past Kurdish struggles, so as to serve as a way to reinforce Kurdish collective identity. In this sense, the allusion is not only as just a linguistic device but also a tool for linking the current Kurdish political goals to historical and ideological Kurdish struggles.

1. Iran-Iraq War: Barzani could allude to the broader regional instability caused by the Iran-Iraq war, framing Kurdish political struggles as a consequence of wider geopolitical chaos

Ladies and gentlemen, I want to be a little frank about the Kurdish nation. We all know that after World War I, the re-division of the region, I do not believe that any nation likes, not Arabs, Kurds, Turks, or Persians. It was a reality and it was imposed, but here the Kurds suffered great betrayal and oppression. The existence of the Kurdish nation was denied for 100 years, and the Kurds resisted for 100 years. (Gulan Media, 2024).

2. Failures of the Iraqi Government: Stating the years of unfulfilled promises puts into focus how Baghdad has let down the Kurds, whereby they have broken an agreement with the Kurdish people, thus making the Kurds appear as passive victims of neglect.

No one has done us any good for the Kurdistan Region. The region is the product of the blood of martyrs, Anfal victims, heroic Peshmergas, and the suffering of the Kurdish people and the sacrifices made by our people. It is very important for us as Kurds, wherever we are, that we must not allow terrorism or resort to terrorism. This is suicide for our nation. He will, before he betrays any other party. (Gulan Media, 2024).

3. Global Autonomy Movements: Alluding to the Scottish referendum or Catalan independence could place the Kurdish cause within a broader global context of regional self-determination movements.

We want the people to live happy and prosperous lives. I ask you to remain patient, avoid violence and harsh language, and protect your party from any internal conflicts. We in the Kurdistan Region firmly believe that all problems can be solved through dialogue and understanding. It is impossible to solve any problem by force. Fortunately, there are good relations between the Kurdistan Regional Government and the federal government, and there is cooperation to solve all the problems. We hope that this understanding will develop and move forward. There is no problem that cannot be solved. (Gulan Media, 2024).

4. Ethnic Identity in a Multiethnic State: Barzani's reference to Kurdish culture, language, and history within Iraq implicitly criticizes the Iraqi state's failure to embrace its ethnic diversity, framing the Kurdish cause as part of a global struggle for ethnic minorities' rights. Besides, they serve to underline his credibility as a representative of the Kurdish population.

The Kurdish people have proven that their will cannot be broken; we have our language, our customs, and the rightful land of the Kurds. Every nation and region has its own customs and traditions, some of which have to do with religion. It is impossible for them to impose what is right on others in Kurdistan and Iraq.

The Kurdistan Region is the product of the blood of martyrs, the blood of Anfal victims, the blood of heroic Peshmergas, the sacrifices made by our people, and the struggle of the Kurdish people.

We want people to live happy and prosperous lives. I ask you to remain patient, avoid violence and harsh language, and protect your party from any internal conflicts (Gulan Media, 2024).

Pastiche in Socio-Cultural Context

Barzani discourse is analyzed as it draws on the themes of nationalism and human rights to use them because that reflects much wider socio-political currents: local leaders seeking some degree of respectability on a world scale.

1. **Kurdish and Iraqi Identities:** Barzani often combines the concept of Kurdish nationalism with international human rights discourses in ways that articulate a fusion between local identity issues and broader notions of justice. "Every nation and region has its own customs and traditions, some of which have to do with religion. It is impossible for them to impose what is right on others in Kurdistan and Iraq" (Gulan Media, 2024).
2. **Rights of Indigenous Peoples:** Through referencing indigenous movements in the Americas, Barzani describes the Kurds as an indigenous population in search of recognition, merging tribal identity rhetoric with Kurdish nationalism (Gulan Media, 2024).
3. **Leadership of Secular and Faith-Based:** Within his speeches, Barzani combines appeals toward secular nationalism for the cause of democracy with Islamic reasons for justice, finding a bond in both offerings for primarily religious and secular audiences while situating his attitudes alongside worldwide drives for political justice, "the PKK believes in peace, democracy, and coexistence. We want the people to be happy and to live a happy life. We want the people of Kurdistan to be happy", (Gulan Media, 2024).

5. Conclusion

The paper concludes that Masoud Barzani's electoral campaign speeches in 2024 strategically use intertextuality to shape political authority, a strong Kurdish identity, and legitimize his political role. By reference to major past events, such as the Kurdish referendum, through cultural codes, and placing himself in the line of global liberation movements, Barzani manages to underscore his ties with Kurdish nationalism. Such intertextual strategies enable him to relate to the electorate through their collective memories of fighting, thus making his role appear both culturally authentic and recognized at the global level.

The discourse analysis reveals how, through storytelling, Barzani casts his voice as the legitimate bearer of Kurdish aspirations, merging his narrative with broader themes of Kurdish resistance and global justice. These intertextual strategies not only cement his position in local leadership but also situate him within a global perspective, reinforcing his portrayal as a champion of Kurdish rights and regional peace.

Thus, Barzani's rhetorical strategies in the context of leadership can be juxtaposed with those of other regional leaders to demonstrate how intertextuality shapes broader Kurdish political discourse, particularly within a rapidly evolving digital environment where public beliefs and narratives can be reshaped quickly.

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Appendix

On Wednesday, September 25, 2024 Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP) President Masoud Barzani officially launched the KDP's campaign for the upcoming Kurdistan Region Parliamentary election.

- "I ask, in this election, for you to be very calm, away from violence, away from using harsh language". "[T]he will of the Peshmerga has been stronger." "The Peshmerga is never a threat because the Peshmerga is a compliant force, an organized force,"
- "The Peshmerga only protects Kurdistan and the dignity of the Kurdish nation. The Peshmerga does not assault anyone." "I hope that, and efforts must be made, [so that] after October 20, [there will be] one region, one parliament, one government, and one Peshmerga force."
- "Go to the ballot boxes, and remember to not yield." "The Kurdistan Region is the product of the blood of martyrs, the blood of Anfal victims, the blood of heroic Peshmergas, the sacrifices made by our people and the struggle of the Kurdish people."
- "The Kurdish people have proven that their will cannot be broken," we have our language, our custome, and the rightful land of the Kurds". "With the courage of the KDP, we will prepare ourselves for October 20 and achieve a great victory. Believe in yourselves, and with high hopes and strong confidence, we will succeed, God willing." "I thank the Kurdish citizens for their resistance and support," (Kurdistan24, 2024)
- "We want people to live happy and prosperous lives. I ask you to remain patient, avoid violence and harsh language, and protect your party from any internal conflicts." President Barzani said: "On this day, the campaign for the sixth session of parliamentary elections began and I wish success to the candidates. Relying on God and the courage of the loyal Kurdistan and the hadith of the late Barzani, every Kurd is loyal to the PKK. With the courage of the PKK we will prepare ourselves for October and achieve great victory Believe in victory and don't think about failure. Each of you must prepare yourself to win and we will win. Thank God. President Barzani said: "No one has done us any good for the Kurdistan Region. The region is the product of the blood of martyrs, Anfal victims, heroic Peshmergas and the suffering of the Kurdish people and the sacrifices made by our people". President Barzani said: "our right to express our political will". President Barzani said: I would like to thank the Kurdish citizens for their resistance and support against the foreign conspiracies and the health of some insiders who wanted to destroy the Kurdistan Region, tolerated and had Ayub's patience, restrained themselves and protected the region And I congratulate them.
- President Barzani said: It is better to die on your feet than to live on your knees
- "The PKK believes in peace, democracy and coexistence. We want the people to be happy and to live a happy life. We want the people of Kurdistan to be happy." "I ask you to be very independent in this election, away from violence, from using harsh language, not to be drawn into a side-by-side war, to protect your weight and your party. If an answer is needed, it must be in a madrass manner. If an answer is needed, remember that he who has a long tongue has a short hand.
- "Make promises to the people that can be fulfilled, and don't be loud, but behave loudly," he said.
- Regarding the relations between Erbil and Baghdad, President Barzani said that Erbil and Baghdad have a good understanding with each other and the Kurdistan Regional Government is on the line with the Iraqi government to resolve the issues.
- "A few days ago we heard some chauvinists saying that weapons should not be given to the Peshmerga. They criticized that several artillery pieces had been handed over to the Peshmerga. My answer to them is; The Peshmerga force is a tree watered with the blood of the martyrs and the tears of the mothers of the martyrs.
- He pointed out that the name of the Peshmerga and its duty is very sacred. The Peshmerga was not created by anyone's decision and will not be destroyed by anyone's decision. But the threat to Iraq and the region is the chauvinist thinking that still exists.
- President Barzani said that after October 20, the whole world is watching us to see what the next parliament will be like. He stressed that the next parliament must be a parliament that restores balance and sanctity to the parliament.
- President Barzani hoped that after October 20, there would be one region, one parliament, one government, one Peshmerga force and an end to all illegal activities.
- At the end of his speech, President Barzani said that those who have complaints and criticisms should postpone them until after the elections (Gulan Media, 2024, <https://www.gulanmedia.com/so/story/329033/>)
- "It is very important for us as Kurds, wherever we are, that we must not allow terrorism or resort to terrorism. This is suicide for our nation He will, before he betrays any other party." the struggles in other regions of the world
- "Every nation and region has its own customs and traditions, some of which have to do with religion. It is impossible for them to impose what is right on others in Kurdistan and Iraq," Barzani said And the Middle East is a religious people, whether Muslims, Christians or other religions We are not ready to give up our religion and customs in order to please someone else."
- We in the Kurdistan Region firmly believe that all problems can be solved through dialogue and understanding. It is impossible to solve any problem by force. Fortunately, there are good relations between the Kurdistan Regional Government and the federal government, and there is cooperation to solve all the problems. We hope that this understanding will develop and move forward There is no problem that cannot be solved.

- Ladies and gentlemen, I want to be a little frank about the Kurdish nation. We all know that after World War I, the re-division of the region, I do not believe that any nation likes, not Arabs, Kurds, Turks or Persians It was a reality and it was imposed, but here the Kurds suffered great betrayal and oppression. The existence of the Kurdish nation was denied for 100 years, and the Kurds resisted for 100 years. Neither the existence of the Kurds was denied nor the Kurds were able to change this reality. What does this tell us? He says we must sit down and think about a peaceful, brotherly solution, mutual respect and acceptance. This is the right way to solve this problem.
- It is not natural to say that if a solution is found in one part of the country, it should be a photocopy of all other regions. Each region has its own characteristics and the situation in Iraqi Kurdistan is different from other parts. Wherever, whatever solution to the peace process, we will support and be with it to the best of our ability.
- It is very important for us as Kurds, wherever we are, we must not allow terrorism or resort to terrorism. This is a test for our nation He will do great things in Kurdistan before he betrays or opposes another party.
- We must extend a hand of peace to all of them. We must call for brotherhood, we must call for a peaceful solution.
- There is another point that is very important to me. Every nation and region has its own traditions, some of which are related to religion. Here in Kurdistan, throughout Iraq, in the Middle East, there are religious people, whether Muslims, Christians or other religions. Each other's poets must be respected and in no way are we willing to give up our religion and traditions in order to please someone else, ""To develop friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples, and to take other appropriate measures to strengthen universal peace". We all have the right to live with dignity
- Peace be upon you, (<https://www.gulanmedia.com/so/story/331991/>)

