
TOWARDS A CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS AND MULTIMODAL ANALYSIS OF MUBARAK'S AND ALGADDAFI'S SPEECHES

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ABSTRACT: *This article is dedicated to the analyse the most salient linguistic and extra-linguistic features of Algaddafi's and Mubarak's speeches during the Arab Spring. It will start with an overview of the Arab Spring events to provide a context within which the speeches were delivered. Followed by the suggested analytical framework to analyse the data, which combines Fairclough's CDA theory to analyse the linguistic aspects of the texts such as the use of pronouns, vocabulary and repetition. This is subsequently followed by Kress's multimodality approach, which draws on the importance of analysing the extra-linguistic features of the speeches because meaning can be established through other modes, like the image and body language. Lastly, this article emphasises the significance role linguists and speakers play to influence the audience by combining linguistic and extra-linguistic tools to persuade them with their goals.*

KEYWORDS: Multimodality, Arab Spring, CDA, ideology, body language, political speeches

THE JOURNEY OF THE ARAB SPRING

Over the past few years, the Arab world has witnessed remarkable changes: in 2010, which affected the region and sent shockwaves across the world. For days, men, women, and even children took to the streets to revolt against the regime's decades of injustice and to demand political reform. The Arab Spring reached its peak by the end of 2010. It was then followed by a sequence of events, starting in Tunisia with an incident concerning the suicide of a young man Tarek Bouazizi, which caused public outrage against the government. Demonstrations started shortly after Bouaziz's death in late December 2010, as Tunisian men and women of all ages began to sweep into the streets in solidarity with him and to protest against the regime's corruption. On 14 January, Ben Ali fled the country to Saudi Arabia, marking this day as the day of an unprecedented event in the Arab world, when the will of the people toppled a dictator (Al-Saleh, 2015: 20).

The success of the Tunisian revolution triggered region-wide protests throughout the region, starting with Egypt, Libya, Yemen, Syria, and other countries, where people shared the same array of motives, to topple the regime. A wave of demonstrations erupted on 25 January 2011 in Egypt and thousands of Egyptians men and women camped in Tahrir Square demanding reform. From 25 January and until 11 February, Hosni Mubarak attempted to contain the situation by addressing the people in three different speeches, which were only seen by Egyptians as redundant and self-reflected. Mubarak finally resigned on 11 February. Similarly, the violent oppression, the years of

corruption, international isolation and poverty made Libya ripe for a revolution. The demonstrations erupted on 17 February 2011 in Benghazi, which was labelled as the Day of Rage. Although the regime in Libya was gradually collapsing due to the defection of several soldiers and important government personnel, the Libyan revolution lasted for about 9 months, in which Muammar Gaddafi delivered many speeches (Khatib & Lust, 2014). It is due to the deteriorating situation in Libya and the violent clashes between protesters and the regime, the UN authorized military intervention on 17 March 2011 (Campbell, 2013). Gaddafi was hiding in Tripoli and was only caught and later killed on 20 October 2011 (Al-Saleh, 2015:114).

Several protests started in February in Yemen in front of Sanaa University and elsewhere, reaching thousands of Yemenis, all demanding Saleh's resignation. It was, only on 3 June 2011 that Saleh was attacked at his presidential palace, forcing him to leave for Saudi Arabia to seek medical help. Unfortunately, it was different in Syria, where peaceful demonstrations that started on 18 March 2011 turned into a vicious war that continues to this day.

THE DATA

The data used in this study is divided into two speeches: the first speech is by Muammar Gaddafi on 22 February 2011, and was aired live on Libyan State television at around 5:53 in the evening. The speech lasted for about an hour and 15 minutes. The second speech is by Hosni Mubarak on Thursday 10 February 2011, which was aired live on Egyptian State television at 10:45 in the evening for 18 minutes. Gaddafi's and Mubarak's speeches share similar characteristics and initially had a similar goal, which was to address the nation during the uprising, to cease violence, and to stop the revolution. Most importantly though, both presidents intended to remain in power and control the nation. The speeches thus played a significant role during the Arab Spring. They represent the presidents' last attempts to convince the public to stop the uprising before they were overthrown. Irrespective of the fact that the speeches were perceived as redundant by a large part of the public, they had negative and positive impacts on the people, and were discussed in the news globally.

THE INTERDISCIPLINARY THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The study adopts an interdisciplinary approach to analyse Gaddafi's and Mubarak's speeches, and their linguistic and extra-linguistic features. It will draw on Norman Fairclough's CDA approach (1992) and Gunther Kress' Multimodality Theory.

LANGUAGE AND POWER

Fairclough developed a critical approach to analyse texts by drawing on Foucault's framework, which links text analysis to sociology, philosophy, and ideology. Fairclough introduced the term 'critical discourse analysis' to the study of discourse, and identified it as the study of the relationship between language, power and social relations (1995:97). CDA explores the predominant connection between language and power in different aspects, whether within or behind discourse and is a tool that helps to uncover hidden aspects in discourses, such as the relationship between language, power, and ideology (Fairclough 1995). Fairclough suggested a three-dimensional model for CDA, in which he differentiates between three inter-related processes of analysis. The incorporation of Fairclough's three procedures of analysis aims to highlight the

linguistic choices of each president to understand the extent to which it influenced the audience. Figure 1 demonstrates the three inseparable elements of analysis (Fairclough, 1992, 73):

1. Text: analysis of linguistic features of the text, the combination of clauses, grammar, and vocabulary organised in one document.
2. Discourse practice: analysing the way the text is produced, distributed, interpreted, and appropriated.
3. Social practice: to examine the context (situational, institutional, or societal level).

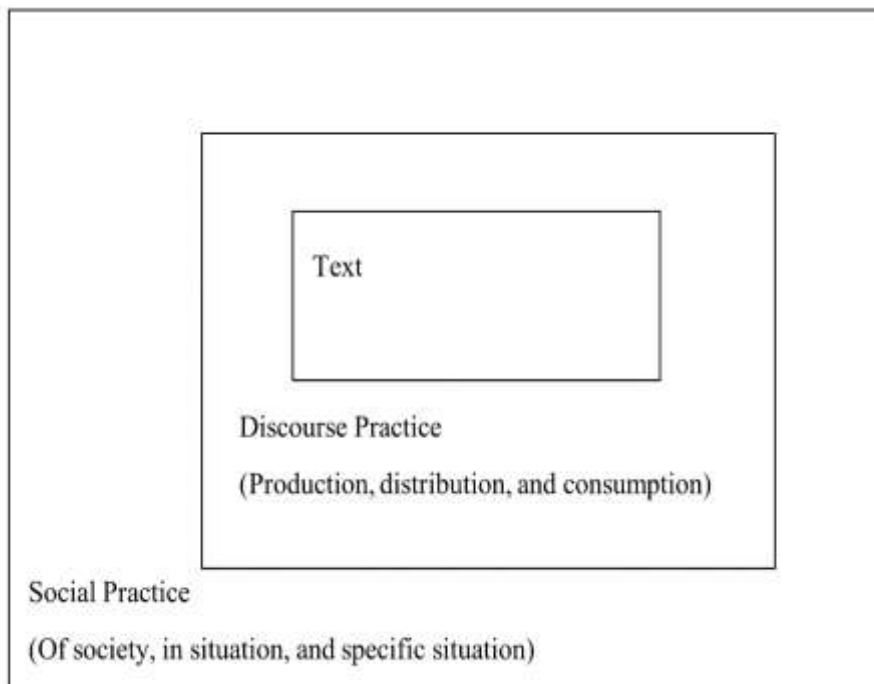


Figure 1 - Fairclough's Three-Dimensional Model

MULTIMODALITY: A SOCIAL SEMIOTIC APPROACH TO MEANING

In the world of contemporary media, it is rather impossible to understand meaning and its transformation without understanding multimodality. Wodak (2006:5) claims that CDA is concerned with studying the way ideology and power influence the communication process, whereas social semiotics is concerned with the impact of using other modes to implement one's power or ideology within a speech. In this regard, Kress and Hodge remark that it is significant to analyse the social implications of writings accompanied by images in 'print' media, and the embedded power and ideology perceived from implementing these modes (1979, 1988).

Kress proposes a framework of multimodality and its relation to meaning, communication and media, in which he asserts that the significance of multimodality lies in the different disciplines it relates to, and the connections it can make. Social semiotic theory thus helps to explain how meaning and communication can exist in various types of resources, across different social

occasions, and in all cultures (2010:2). Kress (2010) states, it is surely important to incorporate a combination of writing, signs or images in certain types of communication, which is why multimodality is the key to illustrate what modes are used in any type of communication in an effort to produce meaning. He defines modes as:

Modes are resources that transfer meaning such as speech, writing, images... etc. ... and are socially shaped and culturally given semiotic resource for making meaning... Image, writing, layout, music, gesture, speech, moving image, soundtrack and 3D objects are examples of modes used in representation and communication (Kress, 2010:79).

This approach to multimodality is to investigate how various modes were used during the communication process to influence the audience. This was clearly evident in 2011 during the Arab Spring, when blogs and YouTube channels were an effective tool to demonstrate resistance, in addition to the way in which social media was used to highlight the uprisings by using blogs and Facebook pages as a tool of mass mobilisation and broadcasting news.

THE MULTIMODAL ANALYSIS

According to Kress (2010), multimodality examines the way communication is produced using a variety of modes, in addition to the integration of more than one mode to enhance the message the speaker wishes to convey. Speakers usually employ communicative functions such as intonation, the choice of certain terminology, body language, images and interactive computing resources. In order for politicians to reach their goals and persuade the audience, they need to master rhetorical devices and integrate other features in their speeches that would ultimately serve their purpose. This section will examine two important aspects of Algaddafi's and Mubarak's speeches from a multimodal perspective and they are: the image and the body language.

THE IMAGE

It is beyond doubt that Algaddafi was always described as a bizarre character and his actions were always controversial. Nonetheless, Algaddafi's choices of his attire, choices of words or even the place in which he is delivering his speeches, were all deliberately selected to deliver a message. During his speech, Algaddafi was wearing a long brown robe with a matching shawl, and a matching colour turban on his head, as seen in Figure 2. He ostentatiously presented his patriotic side by wearing this Libyan traditional attire to convey his true Libyan and tribal identity. His brown coloured robe and shawl was to emphasis his love of the desert, since he always described himself as 'son of the desert'.



Figure 2- An image of Algaddafi during his speech on 22nd February 2011

In regards to the place in which Algaddafi delivered his speech, he choose a popular landmark in Libya called The House of Resistance. This was Algaddafi's presidential palace, and was bombed by the United States Air Forces in 1986. Thus, Algaddafi's choice of this landmark was mainly to send a message of resistance and defiance. In retrospect, it is undoubtedly clear that Algaddafi's choices were intentionally taken to emphasis his defiance and resistance, hatred for western aggression, and utter love and respect for Libya and Libyan tribes.

Unlike Agladdfai, Mubarak was dressed in an official black suit with a black tie, standing in the presidential office in Cairo, as shown in Figure 3. It can be argued that Mubarak's choices of presenting his three speeches in the same place and with a similar image, simply to ensure the public of his intention of completing his presidential period, and perhaps emphasis his image as the president. To Abdelhamed (2011), Mubarak similar appearances was the reason behind the public's frustration, and the reason why his speeches were complete failures and redundant.



Figure 3 - Hosni Mubarak delivering his last speech on 10th February 2011.

BODY LANGUAGE

It is highly important to draw the attention to the presidents' body language as a mode of communication. For instance, Algaddafi's exaggerated body language and fiery attitude was an effective communication tool that reflected his views, his state of mind and the current circumstances he was enduring. He was slamming the podium repeatedly, leaping forward at each time he raised his voice to emphasise a point, and most importantly, using his fist, waving it up in the air or slamming it hard on the podium. In addition, there were other apparent body gestures such as finger pointing, which is considered very rude and a sign of threatening in the Arab region. Algaddafi's started pointing his finger when he sounded fiery as well as when he was demanding that Libyans go out on the streets to clean Libya.

As for Mubarak's body language during his speech, he was standing still the entire time, nevertheless, his hand gestures and facial expressions were undoubtedly different in his last speech. He appeared exceedingly nervous, inattentive and was not as directly looking at the camera as he used to, but mainly focused on reading the speech from a paper in front of him. During the first minute, Muabarak scratched his nose, which unlike what the public may think of it as a completely spontaneous gesture; experts such as Raghda El-Saeed (2011) believes it was a sign of insincerity and incredibility. Throughout the speech, Mubarak constantly used his index fingers, which is a highly offensive gesture and can be seen as a threatening sign. El-Saeed (2011) suggests that Mubarak's body language intended to threaten Egyptians. This is especially true when Mubarak pointed his index finger, followed by his three fingers to condemn any foreign intervention in Egypt's affair.

LINGUISTIC ANALYSIS WITHIN CDA

The analysis will adopt Fairclough's three-dimensional model to analyse the speeches within different stages and they are first, text analysis, which includes analysing the grammar, vocabulary and cohesion. Second, discourse practice that highlights the coherence of the text. Lastly, social practice, which examines the way ideology was reflected upon the speech.

TEXT ANALYSIS

1. Grammar – Pronouns

During their speeches, both presidents employed the singular pronoun, plural pronoun and third person into their speeches to emphasis a particular message they wish to convey. Comstock and Scharrer state, using the third person aims to aims to create an impact on the audience by reflecting the speaker's ego defensiveness, demonstrating greatness as well as glory in one's name and history (2005:37). For instance, during their speeches, Algaddafi used the third person about 18 times to exhibit his pride in being Mummar Algaddafi, his status and importance and to praise himself. Consider the following example.

أما اليوم عندما تقول ليبيا، يقولك: آه ليبيا! القذافي! ليبيا الثورة.

However, today when you say Libya, they say “oh yeah, Libya, Algaddafi, Libya the revolution”.

It is the way Algaddafi demonstrated that he was the creator of the Libyan country, and that he was the one who introduced Libya to the world. By doing so, Algaddafi wanted to gain the people’s gratitude for all his good deeds, which would eventually lead to his support.

In regards to Mubarak, he only used the third person twice throughout his speech. Saying,

إن اللحظة الراهنة ليست متعلقة بشخصي، ليست متعلقة بحسنى مبارك، وإنما بات الأمر متعلقاً بمصر في حاضرها ومستقبل أبنائها.

This current moment has nothing to do with me personally, it has nothing to do with Hosni Mubarak; however, it is related to Egypt in both its present time and the future of its sons and daughters.

The example illustrates the way in which Mubarak referred to himself in the third person to emphasise his importance and his position as the president of the country. It may also demonstrate his pride in himself and remind the protesters of his role as the president. According to Ronningstam, using the third person to refer to one’s self is a common practice when a person wishes to exaggerate how great they are (2005:32).

Similarly, using the pronoun *I* is an effective tool to praise oneself, and demonstrate their achievements in political speeches. Surely, both presidents employed this strategy by constantly using the pronoun *I* to refer to their achievements. Algaddafi used the pronoun *I* about 105 times during his speech, to reflect on his achievement and to revolve the speech around him, as seen in the following example:

أنا أرفع من المناصب التي يتقلدها الرؤساء والأبهاء، أنا مقاتل، مجاهد، مناضل، ثائر، من الخيمة، من البادية

I am higher than the positions that presidents and poms take, I am a fighter, struggler, warrior, and revolutionist, from the tent, from the desert.

In this example, the ‘I’ was followed by several active participles, which are usually used as an adjective or a descriptive term in Arabic. The English equivalent of it would usually be a noun ending in /-er/ or /-or/, for example *fighter* (Ryding, 2005: 103). Algaddafi described himself using his favourite active participles that have always been associated with his name: مقاتل، مجاهد، مناضل، ثائر، من الخيمة /*the fighter, struggler, warrior, revolutionary, from the desert*.

Mubarak on the other hand used the pronoun ‘I’ in an integrated form within the verb, for 84 times. Emad Abdul latif (2012:295) claims that Mubarak’s speech primarily centred around himself and his achievements. He used a clever strategy, which is to covertly use the pronoun ‘I’ in a different form, which is quite common in Arabic, simply to avoid the accusation of self-righteousness and boastfulness (Abdul latif, 2012). Instead, he used the ‘agent pronoun’, which is the equivalence to *I* in English, as seen in the following example:

طرحت رؤية محددة للخروج من الأزمة الراهنة

I have proposed a specific vision to get out of this current crisis

Quite the contrary to the pronoun *I*, both presidents used the pronoun *we* in an attempt to appeal to the public, and include themselves with them. According Cap and Okulska, “the use of the personal pronoun “we” includes the audience ...can be used for cohesive purposes, providing a sense of unity not only at the purely textual level but also pragmatically” (2013:306). To Algaddafi, using the pronoun *we* could have mean to share his revolutionary attitude with the Libyan people to remind them of Libya’s history and how they supported him against the corrupt regime. This can be seen in the following example as it clearly illustrates how he highlighted his role as the Libyan saviour, to which he saved Libya before and he is willing to do everything he can to save it again from the rebels. By repeating his achievements, he was trying to gain sympathy and support from the people who supported him earlier and those who knew his role in developing Libya. In essence, he was cleverly reaching out to both older and uneducated people, deceiving them into believing that this uprising was merely an action of corrupted young men.

نحن قاومنا جيروت أمريكا، جيروت بريطانيا، الدول النووية، حلف الأطلسي قاومنا جيروته، لم نستسلم، وكنا نحن صامدون هنا

We have challenged the great nuclear countries in the world, and we won and they bowed their heads here.

Likewise, Mubarak used the pronoun *we* to include himself with Egyptian whenever he demanded an action, whether to cease the protests or help Egypt, this is illustrated in the following example.

ستعيش هذه الروح فينا ما دامت مصر ودام شعبها، ستعيش في كل واحد من فلاحينا وعمالنا ومتقينا، ستبقى في قلوب شيوخنا وشبابنا وأطفالنا، مسلميهم وأقباطهم

This spirit will live with us as long as Egypt and its people exist, this spirit will live with us as long as Egypt exist and its people exists. It shall live in all our farmers, workers, and our intellectuals. It will last in the hearts of our elderlies, and youth and children, Muslims and Copts

Mubarak addressed everyone, and then specified it to farmers, workers, educated people, elderlies, youth, children, Muslims and Copts. It was rather significant for Mubarak to involve everyone in the responsibility of protecting Egypt, and this is seen as his appeal to the protesters to stop the uprising and save Egypt. Thus, Mubarak aimed to send the message of shared responsibility and that he was asking for the people’s support, which can be explained as engaging himself with the public.

Vocabulary

It is quite astonishing to see the number of times Algaddafi used the noun الثورة / *revolution* during his speech. He used it for about 33 times throughout the speech. He was creating linguistic neologism in Arabic by substituting the word revolution as a root to many other words. It was always associated with Algaddafi’s name due to his rebellious reputation and his revolutionary

history. In Libya, the frequent co-occurrence of the word *revolution* with Gaddafi's name is quite common, as he continuously called himself the 'revolution leader'. Being fond of the word, Gaddafi used it during his speech numerous times to associate it as an adjective to anything he wished. He started his speech by saluting the youth with the "*morning of the revolution*", asking them to rebel and follow him, as he is the "*the revolution leader*" and they are the "*people of revolution*" just like their ancestors, as shown in Figure 4. Moreover, in his attempts to associate the world's knowledge of Libya with the great revolution, he sought the support of the big tribes that originally helped him during the first revolution in Libya back in 1969. He further described himself as a pure revolution leader and not a country president, reminding Libyans of the revolution history and his achievements that liberated Libya from the dictator kingdom regime. Gaddafi wanted to gain the support of both important tribes - nationalists who were against foreign intervention, and uneducated people who approved of his revolution and his modest attitude.

The morning of the revolution for tomorrow.	صباح الثورة الغد
Libya the revolution	ليبيا الثورة
A revolution leader	قائد الثورة
You who are with Gaddafi the revolutionist	يا ابي مع معمر القذافي الثورة

Figure 4 – Using the word revolution

During the years of his presidency, Gaddafi established a reputation for his long, improvised and often fairly casual speeches, as he joked, criticized, and most importantly showed his willingness to use profanity whenever he sought necessary. One can notice that the degree of profanity used in Gaddafi's speech intended to insult and downgrade the protesters. This is because Gaddafi use of foul language had several messages. First, his great condemnation of and furious attitude towards the rebels. Second, he intended to demonstrate his capability of doing or saying whatever he wished to. Third, his narcissistic attitude sought the urge to demonstrate his bravery by cursing the rebels and both Arab and Western countries whom he thought of as conspirators. Consider the following example:

لعنة الله عليهم تركوا العار لأولادهم إذا عندهم أولاد، تركوا العار لعائلاتهم إذا عندهم عائلات، تركوا العار لقبائلهم إذا كان عندهم قبائل

May god curse them, they have ashamed their children if they have any, they have ashamed their families, if they have any and ashamed their tribes, if they have any.

As the above example shows, not only did Gaddafi curse the rebels, but he also shamed them. He attempted to emphasize how they were paid to betray their countries, tribes and families, and how he felt furious with them. It is important to realize how the word العار /*shame* has a bad significance in the Arab region, particularly in Libya due to the tribal nature of the country. Hence,

an individual's action might bring shame to the whole tribe and they will be disgraced for life for it. Therefore, Algaddafi's usage of the word was meant to get the attention of the tribe's leaders to stop their sons from taking any actions that might bring shame to the tribe. Regardless, in order for him not to lose his good relations with some of the tribes whose sons had been demonstrating, Algaddafi claimed that he was quite sure that these actions could only come from people with no families and no tribes. This is clearly evident in the way he later added to his statement "if they have any", and repeated it further whenever he questioned whether they had families or tribes. This might also refer to the fact that those youths were not well brought up, and have no morals, due to the usage of the phrase 'if they have any families', which has a common connotation in the Arab region of how one is not well behaved since they have no family to raise them. The reason why this example is important is because it helps illustrate how Algaddafi intended to smartly doubt the protesters origins by cursing them, claiming that they were poorly mannered and that they had brought shame to their family and tribes.

As for Mubarak, he used the Modern Standard Arabic; hence, his speech was linguistically organised, and consistent. There was an unusual use of metonymy by the way Mubarak revolved almost all the topics he discussed around himself, his accomplishments and history. It was in the way Mubarak referred to himself as the hero of the nation, by reminding the public of the important role he played in maintaining peace and protecting Egypt. At other times, when portraying Egypt as a family, he insisted on conveying himself as the father of the family. One can argue that the whole speech can be regarded as a metonymy to Mubarak's life and the vital role he played in Egypt development and security.

Mubarak used the expression *الشارع المصري* / *Egyptian street*, as an expression to refer to the daily life of normal Egyptians. As illustrated in the example below, the use of metonymy here is to indicate the disturbance that occurred in Egypt during the uprising when people refused to go to work and yet resided in Tahrir Square.

وللشارع المصري حياته اليومية الطبيعية

The normal daily life to Egyptians streets

This eventually distributed the daily routine of ministries, police stations and tourism in the country. Mubarak knows that the majority of Egyptians realize the importance of having their life back to be able to provide for their families. Thus, he sought to implement the idea of stopping the demonstration and cooperating with the government with having their normal lives back.

Fayood (in Mahdi 2009: 217-221) state that using metonymy/ *الكناية* as a figure of speech in Arabic serves many functions, one of which is for emphasis purposes. Another example of metonymy, which aimed to affirm important messages and goes to the same point of self-appraise, is the phrase below:

أفنيت عمري دفاعاً عن أرضه وسيادته

I have spent all my life protecting its land and its sovereignty

This example illustrates how Mubarak employed an emotional tool to evoke the public emotion, their gratitude and sympathy. He wanted to highlight the honourable role he played in protecting Egypt, both as a soldier and a president. In a way, Mubarak was manipulating the public to persuade them to support him and show their gratitude as he had dedicated his whole life to Egypt and its wellbeing. The use of the Arabic word *افينيت* / wasted or finished is an exaggeration form that aims to convey the absolute devotion to a particular cause that one does not mind dying for this cause.

Cohesion – Repetition

Although repetition might reflect the speaker's intention of strongly emphasising a point, and to have people fixated on it, it can also be a sign of the speaker's competence to impose a particular idea over the addresses. The substantive speech Algaddafi made was highly criticized by many political analysts due to Algaddafi's repetition of his favourite primary themes, such as foreign conspiracies, the Islamist uprising and revolution. To understand how repetition has had an enormous impact on the way people perceived the speech, consider the following example:

شبر شبر، بيت بيت، دار دار، زنقه زنقه، فرد فرد

Span by span, house by house, room by room, alley by alley, person by person

Algaddafi's usage of these terminologies in a certain repetitive manner and a particular order aimed to threaten the protesters and hunt them everywhere. He started by stating that he would start his search in each *span* in Libya, and then gradually enhanced the search to include each *house*, and each *room* in the house, each *alley* in Libya and finally each *person*. This was Algaddafi's attempt to threaten the protesters that they will be captured. In addition, Algaddafi's usage of the same word in a repetitive pattern intended to enforce his threats and his obligation to perform it. It is evidently clear that the repetition in this case aimed to emphasis Algaddafi's threats as well as to make it stick in Libyans' minds.

Looking at Mubarak's speech, one can notice a sequence of repetition when Mubarak addressed specific topic during his speech. For example of Mubarak's usage of repetition during his speech is when he wanted to evoke the Egyptian spirit among the public and their dignity and pride of Egypt's status in the world. Before ending his speech, he saluted Egyptians and demanded that they stick together and support him to keep Egypt safe and glorified. He said:

سنثبت نحن المصريين قدرتنا على تحقيق مطالب الشعب بالحوار المتحضر والواعي، سنثبت أننا لسنا أتباعاً لأحد، ولا نأخذ تعليمات من أحد، وأن أحداً لا يصنع لنا قراراتنا سوى نبض الشارع ومطالب أبناء الوطن. سنثبت ذلك بروح وعزم المصريين، وبوحدة وتماسك هذا الشعب، وبتمسكنا بعزة مصر وكرامتها وهويتها الفريدة والخالدة

We the Egyptian will prove our ability to achieve people's commands through a civilized dialogue. We will prove that we are not followers to anyone, and we do not take orders from anyone, and that no one can make decisions for us, but the plus of the street and the commands of the youth of the nation. We will prove this with Egyptian spirit and determination, with the unity and stability of the people, and with our adherence to the pride and dignity of Egypt and its unique and eternal identity

This strategy targeted all Egyptians by encouraging them to maintain the famous Egyptian spirit and determination. He first started by applauding and accentuating their ability to engage in a national civilized dialogue that would help to end the crisis by finding the proper solutions. He continued by affirming that Egyptians indeed need to stress that they were not followers to anyone nor did they take instructions from anyone. The significance of this statement lies in Mubarak's original message that he wishes to deliver, which is Egyptians' free will. By praising them and highlighting these important features of Egyptians, he hoped to gain their support and their refusal to listen to any foreign dedications. In addition, Mubarak targeted the defiant political parties in Egypt that refused any intervention, and by claiming that the revolution was their hidden agenda, he hoped that they would eventually support him to end it. Mubarak's persistence on highlighting the greatness of the Egyptian people and their unique identity and pride was his way of persuading the public of his support, which would eventually help protect Egypt and its identity.

DISCOURSE PRACTICE

Coherence

The overall structure of a political speech should play an important role in demonstrating the speaker's organization abilities, as it further helps the speaker to gradually lure the audience into believing in the aims and goals. Many media such as *New York Times* and *The Guardian* described Algaddafi's long speech as incoherent. This might be due to the fact that Algaddafi's repetition of some parts of his speech and his constant encouragement and chanting throughout the speech, not to mention his fierce attitude each time he mentioned the protesters and their actions. Throughout the speech, Algaddafi was harping on the same topics, but had sudden pauses several times to ask, "من أنتم؟" / "Who are you?" which is interesting in a way since it might reflect his utter shock of the current events. Figure 5 below illustrates how Algaddafi used this phrase whenever he was questioning the people who were destroying Libya, or demonstrating against him. Moreover, he had used this phrase to emphasise his surprise as well as outrage at this anonymous group of people who were destroying Libya. Regardless of the fact that he blamed several parties for the uprising, such as foreign western countries, Islamist groups, and traitorous Arab media, his constant asking of the same question was meant to demonstrate his doubts of who those people were as well as of the reason behind their actions. This perhaps was another way of having Libyans rethink the revolution and whether it was indeed a foreign intervention that would eventually ruin Libya.

Is that it, you people of Benghazi? <u>Who are you?</u>	هذه آخرتها يا أهل بنغازي! من أنتم؟
You may regret this in a day when remorse will be useless. Whoever lives in a glasshouse should not stone people, <u>who are you?</u>	قد تتدمون يوم لا ينفع الندم، الذي بيته من الزجاج لا يرمم الناس بالحجارة. من أنتم؟

Figure 5 – Coherence in Algaddafi's speech

Quite the opposite, Mubarak's speech was well written and coherent. While some people suggest that the speech aimed to influence the people and had linguistic capability of influencing the public, others argue that it turned out to be a self-centred and aggressive (Abdul Latif, 2012). Nonetheless, the speech was regarded as coherent, well written by many politics, unlike Algaddafi's speech, which was perceived as a rambling speech.

SOCIAL PRACTICE

deology

Fairclough's last stage of analysis is social practice, and it aims to examine the social and cultural factors of discourse, namely the role ideology plays in the presidents' speech. Ideology can be easily expressed by using particular terminology to later reflect it upon the speech. To embark on this matter first, it is rather important to note that ideology and specifically the religious ideology plays an important role in the Arab region. This has always been seen as the easiest tool that politicians frequently use to effect the audience.

Algaddafi ideologies were clearly reflected on his speech, whether by his word choice or the topic he addressed. The significance of this certain terminology lies in the way it relates not only to Libyans, but also to Arabs. This point is reflected in the examples below:

أنا جدي عبد السلام بومنيار، ... لا يمكن أن أترك رفاة جدي الطاهرة في المرقب. أنا سأموت معه شهيد في النهاية

My grandfather Abdul Salam Abu Meniar... I will not leave the pure remains of my grandfather in Murqub. I will die with him as martyr at the end.

The word شهيد / *martyr* has great significance to all Muslims and to Arabs in particular. The implication of the word goes beyond its religious connotation, which is the honorific act of dying for a good cause, such as fighting for one's country or religion, and going straight to heaven. It may also indicate the patriotic attitude and willingness to die for one's country. Having used that word, Algaddafi wanted to address all nationalists and religious Libyans proving his patriotism and faith in god, that if he died he would be considered a martyr, which is an honour. He further used the term مجاهدون / *Jihadi - fighters*, which similarly has a religious connotation to resemble soldiers who are devoted to fight and willing to die for god, as demonstrated below:

وهاهو جدي- عمي الشيخ الساعدي في مقبرة منيدر. لا أترك هذه الرفات الطاهرة، هؤلاء المجاهدون

Here is the remains of my father in Hani, a fighter, one of the heroes in Ghardabiya and Tala, and here is my grandfather, my uncle Sheikh Al-Saadi in Munaydar cemetery. I do not leave those pure remains. Those are the fighters

This particular word is mentioned several times in the Quran to refer to Muslims who are willing to risk their lives, engage in battles and die for their beliefs. It may also indicate the fierce attitude

of fighting until death for one's dignity and country; the term is extensively used in the Arab region and has a positive connotation to refer to people with high spirits and strong will. Using this term in accordance with the word **شهيد** / *martyr* is a declaration of AlGaddafi's ideological beliefs, which considers himself a true *fighter* who will die fighting for his country and god shall accept him, along with his ancestors and descendants, as a martyr.

On the other hand, Mubarak created an atmosphere of a threatening nature, reflecting his beliefs of a foreign conspiracy, and that the country is now divided into 'we' the good people, and 'they' the bad people. According to Abdu Latif, by using the plural pronoun **نحن** / *we*, Mubarak was creating one untied identity of him and Egyptians, fighting against 'them' who can refer to chaos, foreign intervention, or protesters (2012: 298). Using these particular pronouns serve as an ideological device as Pennycook (1994:175) emphasises that the use of the pronoun 'we' constructs a social relation as it always resembles solidarity, by defining people as grouped together against 'they'.

The example below highlight Mubarak's use of the pronoun 'we' to include him and Egyptians as one side, and then referring to the enemy by using the pronoun *they*, which aimed to highlight the conspiracy that was taking place to destroy Egypt.

ستقف على أقدامها من جديد بصدق وإخلاص أبناؤها كل أبناؤها، وسترد كيد الكائدين وشماتة الشامتين

Will stand on its feet once again with the honesty and loyalty of its sons and daughters all of them, it will deflect the spitefulness upon those who are spiteful, and deflect the gloat upon those who gloats.

By categorizing the nation as a *we*, Mubarak was implying to the existence of a coming danger, that he did not clearly name its source. He was urging Egyptians to stand together, to protect Egypt from the danger surrounding it. This was noticed when Mubarak included Egyptians with him and his actions or intentions of doing something. Wilson argues that pronouns are employed to create good effects, and indicate politicians' intention and reveal their ideology. Mubarak used this strategy by constantly praising and demonstrating pride in the unique identity of all Egyptians, and he encouraged the youth to help him together to protect Egypt to defeat "those" who were gloating over its crisis. Esmail argues, however; that Mubarak stated clearly who is he including by using *we* and the people he meant by using *them*. She further claims that he intended to distinguish the peaceful demonstrators from the rebels, by suggesting that they are following foreign dictations that intends to ruin the country (2013:14-15). Certainly, this is among the common ideologies in the Arab region, which is the fear of a foreign intervention. Mubarak's ideological background and strong resistance to any foreign interference in the country's affairs was reflected on his speech. Mubarak adamantly refused to obey foreign interventions, and considered it shameful. Consider the following example:

لم أخضع يوما لضغوط أجنبية أو إملاءات

I have never been subjected to the foreign pressures and dictations

Mubarak's defiant statement aimed to maintain his patriotic attitude towards the country and shed the light on the betrayal of some protesters who are willing to seek help from different countries mainly the United States of America. Undoubtedly, this was Mubarak's respond to Barack Obama's speech on February 1, 2011, where he stressed that the United States of America would

not hesitate to support or protect the freedom of protesters in Egypt. To this, Mubarak implicitly demonstrated his utter disapproval of Obama's speech. Moreover, he elaborated on the reasons behind the intervention, and his refusal is based on any type of intervention regardless of its good intention or whatever the justification was. Having said that, one can notice how Mubarak's ideology and his beliefs that the West has merely one interest in the country, which is occupying it or destroying its importance, were reflected on his speech.

CONCLUSION

After thoroughly examining analysis both speeches, it is worth underlying the significant of integrating CDA linguistic theory and a multimodal theory. First, the analysis highlighted that the dissemination of meaning is not restricted by a particular mode or resource, but rather spread by various modes such as the image we present, the sounds we make, and our body language. Thus, Kress's semiotic multimodal framework offers a descriptive means to account for the multiple and innovative ways in which semiotic resources are deployed within different modes of communication. Multimodality helps us to understand the extra-linguistic features each speaker used to influence the audience, or simply to convey a particular message. This is clearly evident in Algaddafi's attire that sends a message of belonging to Libya, or Mubarak's threatening body language.

As for CDA, Fairclough's model emphasised the power of language since it sheds light on the way linguists or speakers can use different linguistic features to their advantage to shape the public's opinions. It is worth noting that both presidents used similar linguistic features and they are first, the usage of the pronoun I to praise their achievements, or the pronoun we to involve themselves with the protesters. Second, using a repetitive pattern to emphasis important ideas that they wish the public to understand, for instance Algaddafi's threats of hunting the protesters or condemning them, and Muabarak's repetitive appeal to all the people in Egypt. Lastly, harping on their ideology of the conspiracy theory, and protecting the country from any intervention. One can argue that both speeches are particularly similar in their appeal, and the way these tools were employed to change the public's attitude towards the uprising, not just by language but by other modes too.

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