A Tale of Two Revolutions: A Discourse Historical Analysis (DHA) of Selected Political Speeches during the Arab Spring of the Egyptian and Lebanese Revolutions

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Abstract

Historians alone do not write history as the main contributor is the politician who reconstitutes political events via discourse. Discourse per se can be regarded as an argumentation scheme where the politician attempts to convince the masses of a standpoint or urge them to make a certain decision. The political discourse released during the Egyptian and the Lebanese Revolutions form arguments which demonstrate the role of politicians in writing history. The Discourse Historical Analysis (DHA) model by Reisigl and Wodak (2001) facilitates the investigation of selected speeches for the former Egyptian President, Mubarak, and the former Lebanese Prime Minister, Hariri, to examine the discursive strategies used by these politicians. The study also explores their fallacious arguments and the shared discursive patterns in writing the history of these two major events. The study concludes that Egyptian and Lebanese politicians rely on the fallacies of ad misericordiam, ad baculum, and ad verecundiam to construct the US/THEM dichotomy.

Keywords: Discourse Historical Analysis (DHA), revolution, discursive strategies, fallacies, & US/THEM
1.0 Introduction

Politics is a quest for power in which politicians address their nations during crisis to change how they think and act. Political discourse emerges when power or resistance is involved in a linguistic or non-linguistic activity (Chilton & Schaffner, 1997). Beard (2000) adds that political discourse can be spoken or written. The protest waves of the Arab Spring which started in Tunisia in 2010 and expanded to the rest of the Arab world are crisis times for Arab politicians. The speeches released by the former Egyptian President, Hosni Mubarak, and the former Lebanese Prime Minister, Saad Hariri, during the Egyptian and Lebanese Revolutions entail arguments which blame their nations for the negative consequences of the situation. The persuasion scheme of their speeches brings Argumentation Theory to Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) which make them worth exploration to uncover the construction of the positive self- and negative other-presentation. The analysis also highlights the shared discursive patterns between the Egyptian and the Lebanese politicians.

1.1 Research Questions

To reach the aforementioned objectives, the current study attempts to answer the following questions:

1. How are the people, events, and actions of these two Revolutions linguistically named in the selected speeches?
2. What characteristics, qualities, and features are attributed to the social actors of the speeches?
3. What are the topoi used by the politicians in the analyzed speeches?
4. To what extent do these topoi entail fallacies to construct a positive/negative image of the represented social actors?

The study employs the Discourse-Historical Analysis (DHA) model for Reisigl and Wodak (2001) to highlight the discursive strategies used in writing the history of these two revolutions. The nomination, predication, and argumentation strategies alone are examined to reveal the construction of the in-group and out-group.

2.0 Theoretical Framework

Language is a product of different spoken and written interactions which contributes to the development and formation of social practices. This notion is revealed in the tenets of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) which highlights the role of discourse in social life. CDA has three main approaches: Fairclough’s Critical Language Study, van Dijk’s Socio-Cognitive approach, and Wodak’s Discourse-Historical Analysis (DHA). Critical Language Study is based on Critical Social Theory which gives priority to the social aspect of context, and the Socio-Cognitive approach stresses the socio-cognitive aspect of the discourse. Finally, Discourse-Historical Analysis views discourse from a historical context. Since the study employs DHA to analyze the selected speeches, the following section reviews its main tenants.

2.1 Discourse-Historical Analysis (DHA)

DHA is an interdisciplinary approach which stresses the historical perspective in interpreting a discourse. It goes beyond the linguistic dimension of discourse to encompass the historical, political, sociological, and/or psychological dimensions (Reisigl & Wodak, 2001). Wodak (2001) adds that DHA examines historical and political texts and topics by integrating the knowledge about the historical sources and the background of the social and political fields where discursive events are embedded.
In their analysis of discourses on racial, national, and ethnic issues, Reisigl and Wodak (2001) introduced five questions to define the strategies of self- and other-presentation. A strategy is the adopted plan of practices to reach a specific social, political, psychological, or linguistic aim. These questions resulted in five discursive strategies which construct the US/THEM dichotomy and the positive self- and negative other-presentation. The first is the referential or nomination strategies which construct social actors as in-groups and out-groups. Linguistically, they are realized through membership categorization devices and tropes. The predication strategies assign positive or negative attributes to social actors and is achieved through stereotypical evaluative attributions and positive/negative predicates. It is important to note that some referential strategies might have negative or positive connotations which make them fall under predication strategies.

The third strategy is argumentation which argues for or against a certain belief, concept, ideology, or action to justify the positive and negative attributes ascribed to the social actors. Wodak (2001) refers to the old, rhetorical notion of topos which is an argument based on shared opinions and stereotypes. Besides, perspective focuses on the degree of involvement of the speaker or the writer in the discourse and his/her stand (Wodak, 2001). It can be realized via reporting, describing, narrating, or quoting. Finally, the intensification and mitigation strategies modify the epistemic status of a proposition to reveal whether an argument is intensified or mitigated. The present paper focuses on the nomination, predication, and argumentation strategies to identify the fallacious arguments used by the Egyptian and Lebanese politicians in accounting for the Revolutions occurring in their countries.

3.0 Methodology

DHA studies the intertextual and interdiscursive relationships between texts and their extralinguistic and sociopolitical factors while considering the historical context. Reisigl and Wodak (2009) set a three-dimensional model to analyze discourse. It starts with the content which, according to Reisigl and Wodak (2001), entails the historical and political topics discussed in the discourse. The second level shows the discursive strategies, and the third clarifies the linguistic devices used to achieve the aim of discourse.

3.1 DHA Model

The discursive macro-strategies are constructive strategies which entail the overall aim(s) of the discourse topic. The current study focuses on three local discursive strategies: referential or nomination, predication, and argumentation, and their linguistic realization:

![Figure (1): The analytical DHA model. Adapted from Reisigl and Wodak (2001), and Wodak et al. (2009).](image)
The referential/nomination strategies label persons, objects, phenomena, events, processes, and actions to construct the social actors of the discourse who are described using the predication strategies; the latter is concerned with the positive, negative, and neutral characteristics, qualities, and features attributed to the social actors. Finally, the argumentation strategies result from the predication strategies as they justify the attributes ascribed to the social actors.

The nomination/referential strategies are linguistically realized through tropes, lexical choices, and membership categorization devices. Wodak et al. (2009) state that tropes are discursive strategies used to create sameness between people; they include synecdoche, metonymy, and metaphor. Synecdoche is the act of naming within the same field of meaning; it occurs when the name of a referent is replaced by the name of another referent. Metonymy is a name used to refer to an entity. Finally, metaphors are implied comparisons between two unrelated entities which share a certain trait.

The lexical choices are recurrent in the nouns and verbs used to name the social actors of a certain discourse. Nouns, according to Wodak et al. (2009), can be concrete or abstract. Verbs are what constitute processes and actions which can be mental, verbal, and material. Finally, membership categorization devices classify the social actors involved in the discourse as in-group and out-group members to facilitate the creation of the US/THEM dichotomy. Wodak et al. (2009) highlight the use of anthroponyms which are names used to call people, events, phenomena, and objects such as personal references, quantifiers, and generic terms. They also add proper names, diegetic expressions, spatial references, and temporal references.

Social actors gain their linguistic predication which labels social actors either positively or negatively. Wodak et al. (2009) emphasize attribution which is a quality or feature ascribed to the social actors as a linguistic realization. It includes adjectives, appositions, prepositional phrases, relative clauses, and stereotypes which embody negative and positive traits. Another linguistic tool is comparison which can be seen in the use of similes, comparatives, and superlatives. Lastly, allusions are indirect references to a certain event, person, or place through which the writer/speaker rely on the reader’s background knowledge and familiarity with the topic (Wodak et al., 2009).

The positive self- and negative other-presentation established by the predication strategies requires justification. In this respect, Reisigl and Wodak (2001), Wodak (2006), and Wodak et al. (2009) introduce the notion of topoi where parts of an argument entail explicit or implicit premises. Topoi are connected through “the content related warrants or conclusion rules which connect the argument or arguments with the conclusion, the claim” (Reisigl & Wodak, 2001, p. 74-5). The following figure illustrates the most common types of topoi employed in the study:

![Figure (2): Most common topoi. Adapted from Reisigl and Wodak (2001), Wodak (2006), and Wodak (2009).](image-url)
Topoi are reasonable arguments, yet they become fallacious when they are not logical. The table below introduces the fallacies adopted in this study from Reisigl and Wodak (2001):

![Figure (3): Most Common fallacies. Adapted from Wodak and Reisigl (2001).]

It is concluded from Figures (2) and (3) that a claim supported by a logical argument is a topos becomes fallacious when it is illogical.

### 3.2 Data and Procedures

The data analyzed in this study are selected speeches for the former Egyptian president, Hosni Mubarak, and the former Lebanese Prime Minister, Saad Hariri, after the wave of protests known as the “Arab Spring”. The study examines two speeches for each politician to explore the shared discursive practices employed to account for these notable events. The study analyzes Mubarak’s speeches, released in 2011 on January 28th and February 10th. It also analyzes Hariri’s speeches, released on October 18th and October 28th, 2019. Even though Hariri’s speeches occurred eight years after those of Mubarak’s, the political situation is still the same as the speeches occurred within the Arab Spring framework. The speeches were delivered in Arabic, and the researcher transcribed them in their original language. The analysis begins with the political context to provide historical background on the circumstances of each speech, followed by the analysis of the three discursive strategies: nomination, predication, and argumentation.

### 4.0 Analysis

The European revolutions of the nineteenth century were known as “People Spring”, and any movement or protest calling for democracy is described as “Spring”. Hence, the protest waves occurring in the Arab world since 2010 are known as the “Arab Spring”. The latter started in December 2010, in Tunisia, when the Tunisian street vendor, Muhammad Bouazizi, set himself on fire after the seizure of his vegetables. This action led to a wave of protests, known as the Jasmine Revolution. Its impact spread to numerous Arab countries such as Egypt, Libya, Bahrain, Syria, Yemen, and Lebanon. Some of these protests ended in toppling the ruling regime.

#### 4.1 Analysis of Mubarak’s Speeches

In Egypt, the protests started on the 25th of January 2011 in Tahrir Square and lasted for 18 days. It called for “Bread, freedom, social justice”. Hosni Mubarak dismissed his government and appointed a new cabinet and a vice president as a response to the protests. The escalation of the protests drove Mubarak to relinquish his powers to his Vice President, Omar Suleiman. Finally, Mubarak stepped down and transferred the power to the Egyptian Armed
Forces. During this political crisis, Mubarak addressed the nation thrice: January 28th, February 1st, and February 10th. The analysis focuses on Mubarak’s first and last speeches to trace his account of what the media called “Lotus Revolution”.

4.1.1 Analysis of Mubarak’s Speech on January 28th

The first time Mubarak addressed the nation on the Egyptian television was three days after the beginning of the protests on Friday, January 28th, 2011 -known as “Friday of Anger”. Mubarak stressed the protestors’ right to express their opinion while respecting law and order. He also renewed his commitment to defend the stability and security of Egypt and announced the dismissal of the government and the formation of a new one. It is important to note that Mubarak uses the vocative "أيها الأخوة المواطنين" to move from one topic to another.

The nomination strategies of this speech classify the social actors into in-group and out-group as illustrated in the following table:

Table 1
Social Actors of Mubarak’s 1st Speech

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>In-group Social Actor</th>
<th>Linguistic Realization</th>
<th>Out-group Social Actor</th>
<th>Linguistic Realization</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| Mubarak               | Concrete nouns: تعليمي
                    | Personal reference: كحكم بين السلطات، رئيس الجمهورية
                        | Metonymy: كمصري شامل
                        | The adverb An يتحمل مسؤولية هذا الوطن
                        | Protests | Metonymy: ظرف أعمال شعب، تظاهرات، مظاهرات، وقفة احتجاجية
                        |            |            |
| Egyptian Authorities  | Concrete nouns: قوات الشرطة، الحكومة، السلطات، ضحايا
                    | Abstract noun: الشرعية، الدستور، القانون
                        | Metonymy: دولة مصر، مصري، مصريين، شعب، أتباع، الوطن
                        | The Nation | Metonymy: دولة مصر، مصري، مصريين، شعب، أتباع، الوطن
                        |            |            |

The in-group social actors collaborate to resolve the crisis, and they are President Mubarak and the Egyptian authorities, namely, the police, cabinet, and the impersonal authorities of law and constitution. Mubarak stresses his authorial power by referring to his capacity as "كرئيس للجمهورية وحكم بين السلطات". When Mubarak refers to his nationality "كمصرى شارك الأقدار أن يتحمل مسؤولية هذا الوطن", he assimilates his authorial power with the Egyptians.

Moreover, there are direct and indirect references to the protestors and the protests as members of the out-group which bring the nomination and predication strategies together. The direct references are evident in the concrete nouns "تظاهرات" and "وقائع احتجاجية" used for the protests. Metonymies are employed to abstain from the direct mentioning of the protests and the protestors. It can be seen in "أحداث اليوم"، "أنفثت"، "آراء المواطنين"، "المرحلة الراهنة"، "الآلاف القليلة الماضية" in an attempt to present a neutral attribute for this out-group.

This is further supported by the lexical realization of the social actors as indicated in the table below:
Table 2

Lexical Realization in Mubarak’s First Speech.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lexical Realization</th>
<th>In-group Social Actors</th>
<th>Out-group Social Actors</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Material Verbs</td>
<td>أعلمنا أن نعيش في عالم معقد ومليء بالمخاطر</td>
<td>لنتحول هذه التظاهرات لأعمال شغب تهدد النظام العام وتعيق الحياة اليومية للمواطنين</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>أدعوك بمشاعر من أمل ومحبة</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>بادرت إلى حمايتهم في بدايتهم</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>أستلم كل الأسف</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>أعي هذا</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mental Verbs</td>
<td>ما نادت به وما دعت إليه</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>دعوت الحكومة لتنفيذ هذه التعليمات</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>إنني أهيب بشبابنا و بكل مصري و مصرية</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verbal Verbs</td>
<td>أعلمنا أن نعيش في عالم معقد ومليء بالمخاطر</td>
<td>لنتحول هذه التظاهرات لأعمال شغب تهدد النظام العام وتعيق الحياة اليومية للمواطنين</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ما نادت به وما دعت إليه</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>دعوت الحكومة لتنفيذ هذه التعليمات</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>إنني أهيب بشبابنا و بكل مصري و مصرية</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The social actor of the in-group verbs is Mubarak, and all the material verbs highlight his role in protecting the country and the protestors. His sorrow for the lives lost is revealed through the mental verb "أعى هذا" which legitimates the protestors’ demands. These verbal references "威尼斯人" which correlates the protests with chaos and anarchism.

The previous nomination strategies involve predication strategies which ascribe negative attributes to the out-group members. In the following examples "الفوضى وتهيیئمات العامة وخصوصاً وإشعال الحرائق وإطلاق النار" and "العنف وتدمر والتدمير والتزوير" correlates the protests with chaos and anarchism. The contrast between "الفوضى" and "الحوار الوطني" associates chaos with protests and ensures that the positive attributes of self-control and peace are associated with the in-group to blame the protestors for the status quo.

The speech’s argumentation scheme also stresses Mubarak’s authority:

This extract relies on a blend of the topoi of authority and advantage where Mubarak’s capacity imposes certain measures to contain the situation. His authority empowers him to declare that the protests are no longer peaceful, thus legitimating any violent action taken by the in-group.

Besides, the protests and the protestors as out-group social actors are depicted in the extract via the presupposition "لا يمكن أحد مساوئها على حاضر الوطن ومستقبله" which suggests that the future of the protests is unpredictable. Nevertheless, the allusions to the Tunisian
Mubarak assures his continuous support of the poor via several political, economic, and social reform measures to improve their standard of living. Economy is Mubarak’s major concern as indicated by the superlative form “الاقتصاد أكبر وأخطر من أن يترك للإقتصاديين وحدهم.” However, the ad verecundiam fallacy gives him as a president the authority to impose his will over the economists.

4.1.2 Analysis of Mubarak’s Speech on February 10th

The last speech occurred on February 10th before Mubarak’s step down. Mubarak expressed his sorrow for the current situation and the deaths. He called the young protestors for a dialog to reach a compromise. He also referred to the formation of a constitutional committee to make the necessary constitutional changes demanded by the protestors. He pledged that he would protect Egypt against any internal or external threat till the last day of his life.

The social actors of the speech construct the in-group and the out-group as shown in the table below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Social Actor</th>
<th>Linguistic Realization</th>
<th>Out-group Social Actor</th>
<th>Linguistic Realization</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mubarak</td>
<td>Personal reference: Protest</td>
<td>الأزمة الراهنة، الأوقات المصيبة، الأزمة، أوقاتًا صعبة، اللحظة الراهنة</td>
<td>Metonymy: الأداء شباب مصر و相关新闻</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Protestors</td>
<td>Metonymy: الأداء شباب مصر و相关新闻</td>
<td>جيل مصري جديد، شبابنا، هؤلاء الضحايا الأبرياء، شباب بلادنا</td>
<td>Spatial reference: التحرير وعلى انسحاف أرضاها</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The sole in-group social actor is Mubarak who directly refers to himself by his name “حسنى مبارك” and position “كرئيس للجمهورية”. These nomination strategies are significant because they defy the protests’ demand of stepping him down. In contrast to himself, Mubarak uses several metonymies outlined in Table (6) to refer to the protests and protestors. The reference “شباب مصر بميدان التحرير” associates the protestors with their spatial location where the protest first started.

The construction of the social actors gets clearer upon examining their verbal realization:

Table 4
**Lexical Realization of Mubarak’s 2nd Speech**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lexical Realization</th>
<th>In-group Social Actors</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Material Verbs</strong></td>
<td>أصدرت تعليماتي أوجه يوم بطلب تعديل ست مواد دستورية</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Mental Verbs</strong></td>
<td>وانتي عازم كل العلم أعتز بميزة</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Verbal Verbs</strong></td>
<td>أتوجه إليك جميعا بدءا من القلب، حديث الأب لأبنائه وبناته</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Though the out-group is the reason behind this speech, the in-group social actor is heavily represented. The verbal lexical choice of “أوجه” is only used when Mubarak addresses the protestors (out-group) which, in fact, stresses his being. The verbs “أصدرت تعلماتي”, “أوجه”, “أعتز” are used to address the nation whether the protestors and their families, or the entire population.

The material verbs accentuate Mubarak’s capacity, especially, after the protestors announced the delegitimization of his authority. “أصدرت تعليماتي” emphasizes his power and control over the situation, especially, after the Battle of the Camel which resulted in the death and injury of many protestors. The material verb “تقدمت” discusses his compliance to the protestors’ demands. The mental verbs “أعتز”, “أنتي عازم كل العلم”, “رأيت”, “أعتدلت” emphasize his pledge to support the protestors and their demands.

Furthermore, the speech includes several predication strategies which describe the social actors. Mubarak uses a mild tone in addressing the protestors through the family metaphor “حديث الأب لأبنائه وبناته” in which Mubarak is the father and the protestors are his sons and daughters. The mental verb “أعتز” supports the family image where the father is proud of his offspring who are Egypt’s new generation. Their voice is heard in “”حديث الأب لأبنائه وبناته”” where the verbal process correlates with their protest which seeks “الأفضل” presuppose that the father (Mubarak) is more knowledgeable and experienced than his children (protestors) with regards to Mubarak’s view of the events.

In contrast to the intimacy suggested by the previous image, Mubarak uses the second-person plural pronoun “إن دماء شهدانكم وجرحانكم لن تضيع هداها” to introduce the protestors as the out-group. This out-group includes the families of protestors:
وأقول لعائلات هؤلاء الضحايا الآبراء: إنني تألمت كل الألم من أجلهم مثلما تألمتم، وأوجع قلبي كما أوجع قلوبكم.

The simile “مثلما تألمتم” puts his agony and theirs on equal footing, but “هؤلاء” and the dichotomy “قلبي - قلوبكم” reflect the psychological distance between their agony and his. Besides, “أحداث” is a metonymy referring to the Battle of the Camel which occurred on February 2nd, 2012 when two men on horses dispersed the protestors; it ended in 11 deaths and 600 injuries.

After the Battle, protestors grew angrier and held Mubarak and his supporters accountable for it. Many of them called Mubarak to step down and declared that his political regime lost its legitimacy. These conditions bring the topoi of advantage, authority, and burdening together:

فأعلن بعبارات لا تحتمل الجدل أو التأويل عدم ترشحي للانتخابات الرئاسية المقبلة، مكتفاً بما قدمته من عطاء للوطن لأكثر من 60 عاما في سنوات الحرب والسلام. أعلنت تمسكًا بذلك، وأعلنت تمسكاً مماثلاً ومدفوعاً بالقدر بالمضي في الجهود المعتمدة في حملة الدستور وحول الشعب حتى يتم تسليط السلكة والمسؤولية على برلمائه الناخبون في شهر سبتمبر المقبل، في انتخابات حرة وご紹介ية توفر لها ضمانات الحرية والنزاهة. ذلك هو القسم الذي أقسمته أمام الله والوطن، وسوف أحافظ عليه حتى نبلغ مصر وشعبها بر الأمان، لطوّر رؤية محددة للخروج من الأزمة الراهنة، وتحقيق ما نتمناه كشعب الوطن في الضرورة الاختيارية.

Mubarak is determined to use his current authorial powers as a President in “بمسؤوليتي” and “ البلوغي” to direct the demands of the protestors. Each time “طرحت” is used, a condition to resolve the situation is revealed. This authorial power entails the topos of advantage and authority where Mubarak -the Egyptian President- has the task of saving the nation.

Mubarak also alludes to his service during the 1973 War in the Egyptian armed forces “لقد كنت شاباً مثل شباب مصر الآن، عندما تعلمت شرف العسكرية المصرية والولاء للوطن والتضحية من أجل أبنائنا عمرنا دفاعاً عن أرضنا وسبيادنا، شهدت حررينا بجهودنا وانضمامنا، وعشت أيامنا من شجاعة وصمود.. أسعد أيام حياتي يوم رفعت علم مصر فوق سيناء، واجهت الموت مرات عديدة طلوعياً، وفي أدبي أبابا وغير ذلك كثير، لاحظت صعوبتي لمضاعفة فكتوراً وأملاً، حافظت على السلام، عملت من أجل أمن مصر واستقرارها، اجتهدت من أجل نهضتها، لم أسع يوماً لسلامتها أو شعبيتها، رفعت صورتها في مصر بثقة، وفازت يوماً بعد يوم.. وأنا في رحاب النعمة الكاسحة من أنابيب الشعب يعونون من هو جندي مبارك، ويجب في نفس ما ألقاها اليوم في بعض بني وطني.

It establishes an analogy between his youth and the protestors’ to highlight the positive self- and negative other-presentation. As an in-group member, Mubarak sacrificed his life to serve his country in times of war and peace whereas the protestors are dragging the country he saved towards unknown consequences of riot and anarchism.

The analogy continues when he mentions that he does not allow any external force to dictate him what to do “لم أخضع يوماً لضغوط أجنبية أو إملاطات” unlike the protestors who allow others to direct their will:

وأقول لكم إنني كرئيس للجمهورية لا أجد حرجاً أو ضغطاً أبداً في الاستماع لشباب بلادي واجتهادهم معه، لكن الحرج كل الحرج، والشعب كل الشعب، وما لم ولن أقبل أبداً. إن استمع لإملاطات أجنبية نأتي من الخارج، أياً كان مصدرها أو أياً كانت نتائجه أو مبادراتها.
The previous excerpt includes a straw man fallacy in which Mubarak defames the protestors’ cause and demands by alluding that the protestors’ demands are not originally theirs as they are imposed by external wills which target at destabilizing Egypt. This fallacy urges the masses to suppress the protestors and helps his to gain their cheers. In addition, Mubarak uses the ad misericordiam fallacy to win people’s support in the reference to the dangers he faced during his service in the armed forces and tenure as a President in “واجهت الموت مرات طيارة وفي أديس أبابا”; nevertheless, he is asked now to step down. The same fallacy is used in “ويحز في نفسي ما ألقاه اليوم من بعض بني وطني” which portrays the Egyptian protestors as ungrateful to his sacrifices.

4.2 Analysis of Hariri’s Speeches

Lebanon suffered from several economic issues which deteriorated in the wake of the new tax measures imposed on October 17th, 2019. It led tens of thousands of citizens to protest peacefully in many cities across the country against the government on October 18th. The Lebanese protestors called for social and economic reforms, and the government announced a few reforms; however, the protests continued and lasted for thirteen days. The Lebanese Prime Minister, Saad Hariri, addressed the nation to avoid the escalation of the situation. He held a press conference on October 21st and made two speeches on October 18th and October 29th. It is important to note that Hariri’s speeches were delivered in colloquial Lebanese accent and dialect. This section is devoted to the analysis of Hariri’s two speeches to identify his account of the Lebanese Revolution.

4.2.1 Analysis of Hariri’s Speech on October 18th

After the beginning of the protests in Lebanon, the cabinet scheduled a meeting on Friday, October 18th, 2019 which was cancelled for security issues. Hence, Hariri made his first televised speech to the nation from the Grand Serail, the headquarters of the Prime Minister on the second day of the protest. The twelve-minute-speech discussed the reasons behind the protests and the legitimation of people’s anger. It also stressed that lack of cooperation between the different parties of the government hindered the path of reform Hariri proposed. The speech concluded by giving the government 72 hours to cooperate with him and suggest corrective measures.

The social actors defined in the speech construct two groups: the in-group and the out-group. The table below reveals that the in-group includes the Hariris and his allies whereas the rest of the parties involved in the protest form the out-group as demonstrated in the table below:

Table 5
Social Actors of Hariri’s 1st Speech.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>In-group Social Actor</th>
<th>Social Linguistic Realization</th>
<th>Out-group Social Actor</th>
<th>Linguistic Realization</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The Hariris</td>
<td>Personal reference: أتن، سعد الحريري، رفيق الحريري</td>
<td>The Nation</td>
<td>Generic name: البلد، لبنان، الشعوب، الشيوع والسياسية</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Metonymy: الرئيس الشهيد</td>
<td></td>
<td>Synecdoche: أنت، لبنان، شعب</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allies</td>
<td>Direct reference: ممتاز</td>
<td>Protest</td>
<td>Metonymy: القضية، الشعب والسياسة، الغضب، الأحزاب</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Metonymy: أشغالنا، صناعنا</td>
<td></td>
<td>وجه تحقيق الفجر البصري</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>بالمجتمع الدولي</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Protestors</td>
<td>Metonymy: مجموعات نزول عالمية، الشيوع والسياسة</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cabinet</td>
<td>Metonymy: الشركاء المواطن، أشغالنا، شركاءنا بالوطن، حكومة وحدة وطنية</td>
<td></td>
<td>Synecdoche: لجنة وزارية، تسع وزراء، لجان وحدة وطنية، لجان</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The main social actor of the in-group is the descendants of the Hariri family, Saad Hariri and his late father Rafik Hariri, whose names are mentioned in the speech. The speaker, besides, refers to himself using the personal pronoun “أنا”. The second social actor in this in-group is Saad Hariri’s allies. All through the speech, there are indirect references to this ally as “أصدقائنا” before the direct reference of “مؤتمر سيدر”. CEDRE is a conference held in Paris in support of Lebanon’s development and reform. The participating countries approved to give Lebanon a fund worth 11 billion dollars to implement economic reform measures. As the conference hosted some Arab countries, “أصدقائنا” is used to name them whereas “أصدقائنا بالمجتمع الدولي” refers to the international countries.

The out-group includes the nation, protesters, protestors, and cabinet. Lebanon is named using several generic names: “لبنان”, “البنانيين”, “البلد”, “شيعا” and the specific name “لبنان”. Hariri’s speech uses various metonymic expressions to name the protests and the protestors. With regards to the protests, the predication strategies cannot be separated from the nomination as the interrelation between them reflects Hariri’s view of the situation. Some of the metonymies referring to the protests are somehow negative such as “ظروف” which is described as “عصيب ما عصبة سابقة في تاريخنا”. Hariri also refers to the protests as “الغضب” which is implemented in the heart of the Lebanese, “إنزاع في قلوبنا”, to demonstrate that there is another power directing the protests other than the Lebanese. He, finally, describes the protests as “وجع حقيقي انفجر إمبرح” where “انفجر” denotes the eruption of anger and destruction.

The last social actor in the speech is the cabinet. Hariri is the Prime Minister of a coalition government representing the various religious and political sects in Lebanon. The speech names the government as “حكومة”，“الشراكة بالوطن”，“اشقائنا للشراكة بالوطن”，“شركائنا بالوطن”, “عشر وزراء”, “لجنة وحدة وطنية”, “لجنة برلمانية” - portrait it as uncooperative. Hariri clarifies this by mentioning that each and every proposal he submitted to the government was discussed in several emerging committees which hindered the implementation of reforms; this delay resulted in the anger of the Lebanese.

The lexical items used in this speech contribute to the construction of the in-group and the out-group as they clarify Hariri’s perspective of the social actors. The following table introduces the most significant lexical items employed in the speech:

Table 6
Lexical Realization in Hariri’s 1st Speech.
With regards to the lexical choices, the speech focuses on the representation of the in-group rather than the out-group in order to blame the rest of the social actors. The only social actor underscored in the out-group is the protestors whose feelings are not represented or stressed unless in metonymies. The material verbs "نزلوا" and "ليصطدموا" include the protestors. Performing these actions, clashes would take place between the protestors, and the army and security forces. As for the verbal representation of the protestors, it is only found at the very end of the speech - "تسألوا" - where they wonder about the grace period Hariri considers.

The in-group lexical realization of Hariri as a social actor tends to be verbal whenever he refers to his political partners in the government. He gives force to his actions by the verbal choices. The use of this type of verbs becomes very significant when Hariri mentions what happened between him and the government after the CEDRE - "قلت"، "قلتله"، "قلت تأثيرين"، "كلمة"، "دورة"، "نمو للأعمال"، "أقدمت"، "أعمال عاطفية"، "أنا شخصياً" highlight his active role in achieving the economic reform to avoid people’s rage.

Hariri depicts himself as a proactive leader and a state man as evident in the material verbs outlined in the previous table. The material verbs "عم حاول أعالج"، "داير"، "دور"، "أقدم"، in addition to the nominal structure "أنا شخصياً" highlight his active role in achieving the economic reform to avoid people’s rage. "وأخذت" refers to his travel to Paris for CEDRE where he sought fund for Lebanon. His keenness on involving the government and seeking its approval on his achievement is expressed by the material verb "رجعت". These material verbs stress his strenuous efforts in improving the economic conditions of the country.

With regards to the mental verbs, Hariri expresses in the nominal structure "أنا حاسس فيهم ومعترف فيه" his understanding of the people’s disappointment due to the poor performance of the government. This is further ascertained by "ناطرين" which underscores the government’s indifference. The interrelation between these three types of lexical items juxtaposes Hariri’s proactive approach in handling the crisis to the government’s lax attitude.

The references to the protests constitute the predication strategies of the speech. In the beginning, Hariri stresses that he has always been honest in discussing any situation before the nation. In the clause "رغم كل شيء كنا وبعدنا حنبقى عيلة واحدة اسمها لبنان" Hariri stresses that the protests will not tear the nation apart. "عيلة واحدة" establishes some sort of intimacy between Hariri and the people as they are family members. This closeness changes when the metaphors describing the protest denote anger and violence. In the following examples "هالوجع إنفجر إمبارح فى الشارع"، "كيف الغضب إنزرع بقلوبهم يوم بعد يوم"، "وجع حقيقى إنفجر إمبارح"، "عم يعبروا عن الغضب بالشارع اليوم" و "عمر يعبروا عن الغضب بالشارع اليوم"، Hariri repeats "إنفجر" and "غضب" to instill fear and emphasize the uncontrollability of the protests.

Moreover, metaphors portray the out-group, especially, the cabinet. The following metaphor is taken from football: "لكن الكل قاعد مرتاح على وقته وهمه كيف يسجل نقاط بملعب الآخرين". "كلن" stands for the uncooperative members of the government who do not support Hariri’s reform path. They are not performing their duties towards the nation, yet they are concerned with highlighting other people’s mistakes. In the second metaphor, Hariri reveals his sacrifice to the nation "أقرت أقلب الطاولة على حالى حتى ما تقلب على البلد" refers to the game of politics which Hariri is willing to lose to protect his country from any potential threat. These metaphors are supported by the repetition of the temporal references "إمبارح" which refers to the beginning of the protest and "اليوم" which stands for October 18th to contrast his willingness to protect his nation with the indifference of the government.

It is worth mentioning that Hariri’s speech tackles various interrelated topics: infiltration with foreigners and non-patriotic entities, threats to the national security and the
economy, and increase in unemployment rate. Certain topoi are used to persuade the Lebanese of the validity of his arguments. The topos of numbers is used in the beginning of the speech:

It informs the citizens about the budget deficit and how Hariri solved this issue. Hariri uses the topos of burdening as well to show his concern about the economic reform:

Furthermore, the topos of history is employed when Hariri compares the status quo to the conditions during his father’s tenure:

The previous topoi include the straw man fallacies “ما ضل في مماطلة، ما ضل في فركوشة مان حطت بوجهى” and “وصلت أخيراً على خط النهاية إجى مين يقول ما بيمشي” which depict the government members as irresponsible; they do not cooperate with him to resolve the situation. Hence, he blames them for the eruption of the protests because they hurled his reform path.

Hariri ends his speech with topoi of threat and advantage for the government members in case they remain uncooperative:

Hariri instills fear in his opponents (the social actor of the out-group) to resolve the situation they caused. These topoi include an either-or fallacy when Hariri offers two options only for them: Either they take action, or it would be Hariri’s call. The negative representation of the protests promotes the ad baculum fallacy recurrent in the following examples: “ويمكن ينقال إنى فى “النجر”، وأنا إذا أمى تهدى بسبيسيا خليها تخبز بلبنان”,”محط خارجى لتخريب الوضع”. Hence, the Lebanese will blame the protestors for the deterioration of Lebanon’s economy and sympathize with Hariri who is Lebanon’s hero and savior.

4.2.2 Analysis of Hariri’s Speech on October 29th

Hariri announced suggested reform measures on October 21st to appease the protests; nonetheless, the government did not cooperate on implementing them. As Hariri’s negotiations with his political partners failed, he decided to resign. In a brief speech that lasted for two minutes and ten seconds, televised from his palace on Tuesday October 29th, Hariri addressed
the nation. In the speech, Hariri stated that his negotiations with the cabinet reached a deadlock; thus, he would head to the presidential palace in Baabda to submit the resignation to the Lebanese president. He also called the citizens to control their rage and protect the peace and security of Lebanon and urged his political partners to protect their nation.

The speech, via nomination strategies, divides the social actors into an in-group and an out-group as clarified in the table below:

Table 7
Social Actors of Hariri’s Last Speech.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>In-group Social Actor</th>
<th>Linguistic Realization</th>
<th>Out-group Social Actor</th>
<th>Linguistic Realization</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hariri</td>
<td>Personal reference: أنا</td>
<td>متونيمية: الأزمة، بالحلقة التاريخية</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>الحكومة</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Protest</td>
<td>متونيمية: كثير من اللبنانيين</td>
<td>بالحلقة السياسية</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ينزولوا على الساحات</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Protestors</td>
<td>متونيمية: الشعب اللبناني</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>كلاً من اللبنانيين، كل اللبنانيين</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Nation</td>
<td>عامق: الشراكة بالحياة السياسية</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cabinet</td>
<td>متونيمية: الشراكة بالحياة السياسية</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Hariri alone represents the in-group as indicated by the personal pronoun “أنا” and the synecdoche “الحكومة” - a generic name referring to himself. The metonymy “الشركاء بالحياة السياسية” represents the rest of the cabinet as the out-group; this metonymic expression is ironic as the negotiation with “الشركاء” failed and ended in resignation. Therefore, the synecdoche and the metonyms suggest that there are two conflicting groups within the cabinet.

The speech acts as a message for the Lebanese people as indicated by the nomination strategies. The generic names “كل اللبنانيين” “الشعب اللبناني” and the second-person plural pronoun “بخفيكم” refer to the Lebanese people whereas any direct reference to the protests or the protestors is absent. Metonyms are also used to refer to these social actors. The protests are described as “اوزمة” and “بهالحظة التاريخية”. “كتير من اللبنانيين ينزولوا على الساحات” is used for the protests and the protestors; the usage of the quantifier “كتير” justifies as to why Hariri resigns to the will of the protestors.

Despite its brevity, the verbs are worth exploration as they contribute to the construction of the in-group and out-group:

Table 8
Lexical Realization of Hariri’s Last Speech.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lexical Realization</th>
<th>In-group Social Actors</th>
<th>Out-group Social Actors</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Material Verbs</td>
<td></td>
<td>نزلوا عالساحات</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>كيف نحن لبنان ونمنع وصول أي حريق</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>إذا طالع على قصر ببدا</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>تقدم استقلاة</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>استقلاة بحثًا بتصريف</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verbal Verbs</td>
<td>وكلاً من الشراكة بالحياة السياسية يقول</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>وأنا كامن بقول ما في جدا أكبر من لبنان</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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As shown in Table (8), the speech heavily relies on material verbs which focus on the actions of the in-group and out-group. The main social actor of the in-group is Hariri who refers to himself by the first-person singular pronouns attached to the verbs "وصلت" and "بحبطها" which reveal his frustration. The material verb "تعمل" prepares for the action "تصدمة" to underscore how massive the decision is. Referring to the submission of the resignation, Hariri employs two different structures: "أنا طالع" and "تقديم". The nominal sentence "أنا طالع" stresses the physical effort of moving from his palace to Baabda while the infinitive "تقديم" indicates to the resignation.

The out-group includes the protestors and the Lebanese politicians. The first material verb "نزلوا" refers to the protestors; the referent of the third-person plural pronoun attached to the verb is the protestors, shown by "كتير من اللبنانيين". In the second material verb, Hariri tackles the responsibilities of the Lebanese politicians; nonetheless, the first-person plural pronoun "نحمى" and "نمنع" involves Hariri in them despite the resignation. In contrast to the material verbs, there are not many verbal choices. Hariri uses "بقول" twice in the speech. The first instance is when he dictates the responsibilities of the Lebanese government. When he expresses that the motherland is the most precious thing in life, "بقول" is used again to make his statement more forceful.

The predication strategies used in the speech bring the three social actors together: Hariri, the Lebanese citizens, and the political partners. In the beginning of his speech, he uses the metaphors "وصلت لطريق مسدود" and "صدمة كبيرة" where the former stands for the uncooperative government, and the latter refers to the resignation. The adjectives "مسدود" and "كبيرة" reveal the cause-effect relationship between the two metaphors as the deadlock resulted in the resignation. In the conclusion of his speech, the superlative form "ما فى حدا أكبر من بلده" gives supremacy to the nation over any authority which is further reinforced by "بتصرف فخامة الرئيس وكل اللبنانيين بتصرف فخامة الرئيس وكل اللبنانيين.

The whole speech is dominated by the topoi of burdening and advantage which urged Hariri to resign:

As per his capacity as the Prime Minister, Hariri found himself responsible for resolving the situation. Therefore, he imposed on himself the duty of responding to the will of people:

This topos portrays him as the savior; it also includes the ad verecundiam fallacy "الرئيس العماد ميشيل عون وللشعب اللبناني" which gives the impression that the Lebanese people have the same authority as the president though this is untrue. Following Hariri’s announcement, the citizens cheered in the streets, yet the Lebanese President negotiated with Hariri to remain in power that he broke the constitutional laws and did not assign a new cabinet.

Besides, the ad mesericordiam fallacy is seen in his claim that his resignation will protect the country "التزاماً بضروروة تأمين شبكة أمان تحمي البلد بهاللحظة التاريخية". It expands on his image as a savior for the country and triggers people’s empathy with his situation and sacrifice. In line with his image as a savior, he is the scapegoat of the out-group represented in the protestors and the political partners, especially, that he relinquished his powers to preserve his country’s security and stability.
The topoi of burdening and advantage control the second part of the speech which is directed to the political partners:

As noted earlier, the first-person plural pronoun "نحمى" , "ونمنع" , "مسؤليتنا " , "نتيجة " , "تناقض " , "نتائج " , "المناصب بتروح وتيجى " involves Hariri in the political sphere despite his resignation. Not only does he assign himself a duty in protecting the country, but he also dictates the active politicians their duties. The whole topos is based on the ad mesericordiam fallacy where Hariri is the savior and scapegoat even after resigning as a Prime Minister.

The topos of advantage which focuses on the advantage for all in "المناصب بتروح وتيجى " gives prominence to the state over any position. It underscores Hariri’s sacrifice for the stability of the nation. Besides, the topos of comparison "ما في حدا أكبر من بلده " where the superlative form compares him to the nation to contribute to the savior and scapegoat image. Finally, the repetition of "الله يحمى لبنان " instills fear as it shows that Lebanon is under the threat of protests which is further illustrated by his call to the Lebanese "ندائى لكل اللبنانيين إنهم يقدموا مصلحة لبنان وسلامة لبنان وحماية السلم الأهلى ونع التدهور الاقتصادى على أي شى أخر " in which he indirectly blames the protestors for any potential harm which might occur. All these examples portray an image of the savior Hariri who is the scapegoat for protestors’ demands and the stability of Lebanon.

5.0 Conclusion

This paper examined selected speeches for the former Egyptian president, Mubarak, and the former Lebanese Prime Minister, Hariri during the Egyptian and Lebanese protests. Three DHA discursive strategies - nomination, predication, and argumentation- were analyzed to reveal how the social actors are categorized into in-group and out-group. It is noted in the analysis that the nomination and predication strategies are intertwined in the creation of the US/ THEM dichotomy. The nomination strategies identify and classify the social actors into an in-group where US refers to the politicians and their supporters and an out-group where THEM refers to the protestors and the protests. This is linguistically established by tropes (metonymies and metaphors), membership categorization devices (personal references and generic names), and lexical categories (verb types).

The predication strategies categorize the presentation of the social actors via positive and negative attributes. Across the studied speeches, Mubarak and Hariri assign positive traits for themselves and the social actors of their in-group because they are aligned with them. Nonetheless, the negative attributes of chaos, riot, violence, and anarchism are ascribed to the out-group. In addition, the allusions to previous similar events establish an analogy between the current situation and previous ones to emphasize the positive self- and negative other-presentation.

The analysis also reveals an overlap between some of the topoi and fallacies used by Mubarak and Hariri. They used the topoi of history, advantage, burdening, and authority. The topos of history reminds the citizens of their leaders’ legacy and sacrifice for the sake of the nation. Across the four speeches, this topos entails the ad misericordiam fallacy in which Mubarak and Hariri blame their nations for the chaos stirred by the protestors and their disappointment to win the nation’s support and end the protests.

The topos of advantage and burdening reveal that the political leaders toiled to protect their people and their interests against any threat emerging from the protests and the enemies
of the state. The image of the savior and scapegoat springs in the speeches from the topos of burdening which leads to the topos of advantage in which the politician makes decisions for the advantage of all the citizens. These topoi include the fallacies of ad baculum and ad misericordiam which instill fear and guilt in the masses’ hearts and ad verecundiam where impersonal and personal authorities are revealed even though these politicians’ failure caused the protests.

The integration of these three discursive strategies promote the interrelation between historical events and political field in which the discursive event is embedded. The US/THEM dichotomy reveals the speaker’s (US) prejudice against the addressees (THEM). The discourse of politicians shows the US as saviors of their countries seeking the stability of nation via their ruling. They, as social actors, have power, establish the system, and protect the citizens’ right for protest while preserving the law. THEM are the out-group who are inexperienced and naïve. Finally, the speeches’ account of these events reconstructs the protests on the global and local arenas where US dominates THEM.

References


