Discourse Analysis of the Political Speeches of the Ousted Arab Presidents during the Arab Spring Revolution uing Halliday and Hasan's Framework of Cohesion

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Abstract

This study is designed to explore the salient linguistic features of the political speeches of the ousted Arab presidents during the Arab Spring Revolution. The sample of the study is composed of seven political speeches delivered by the ousted Arab presidents during the period from December 2010 to December 2012. Three speeches were delivered by the Tunisian president, Zain Al-Abedeen Bin Ali; three speeches by the Egyptian president, Hosni Mubarak; and one speech by the Libyan president, Muammer Al-Gaddafi. The selected speeches are taken from the Internet. To achieve the main goal of this study, the analysis of the obtained data is conducted using the Halliday and Hasan's (1976) framework of cohesion. The results of this study revealed that the political speeches which were delivered during the Arab Spring Revolution have their distinctive features which are different from those features of the usual speeches of these presidents during the normal circumstances. Most of the lexical features such as repetition, synonymy, and hyponymy are widely used in the speeches of the ousted presidents to achieve different political ideologies and strategies such as the ideology of threatening the civilian protesters.

Keywords: Discourse Analysis, Political Speeches, Arab Spring Revolution.

1. Introduction

This study investigates the political speeches of the ousted Arab presidents as a result of the uprisings during the Arab spring revolution. Many researchers have investigated political speeches from different perspectives and during crucial points of time, but this study investigates the political speeches of those presidents during the most critical and discriminating period of modern time. Troike (1982) points out that the appropriate language choice may depend on the topic, participants (age, sex, and status), setting, and the social distance between participants.

The analysis of discourse is the analysis of language in use. Language is used to perform many communicative functions. According to Bennett (1976), communication is a matter of a speaker seeking either to inform a hearer of something or to enjoin some action upon him. Language serves two major functions; transactional function and interactional function. Transactional function means the use of language to transmit factual or propositional information. This function has enabled human beings to develop different cultures, laws, literatures, etc. Interactional language is used to establish and maintain social relationships and common grounds.

Discourse is defined by Seidel (1985:44) as "a terrain, a dynamic linguistic and, above all, semantic space in which social meanings are produced or challenged". Spoken discourse is regarded as a form of text, since an analysis of discourse, most of the time, is an analysis of fragment pieces of information. Dressler (1981: 7) regarded discourse as one genre of text that forms a fairly complete unit and is usually restricted to successive utterances of a single speaker trying to convey a message. He defines text as the communicative occurrence that meets seven standards of textuality which are cohesion, coherence, intentionality, acceptability, informativity, situationality, and intertexuality. Spoken Discourse, including political discourse, is usually delivered by an affective speaker. Affective speakers have the advantage of voice quality affects as well as facial expressions and postural or gestural system.

Spoken discourse is more demanding on the speakers, since it is spontaneous, speakers should process, control the outcomes, monitor what they have just said, and plan their next utterances. In addition, Speakers need to observe their interlocutors, modify their speech in an acceptable way and monitor listener's reaction minute by minute. Brown and Yule (1983:17) provide the following features that characterize spoken discourse.

- 1. The syntax of spoken language is less structured than that of written language; it sometimes contains incomplete sentences or phrases and little subordination.
- 2. There is a little use of pre-modified adjectives.
- 3. It is quite common to find what is called topic-comment structure.
- 4. There is a little use of passive construction.
- 5. The speaker may rely on the immediate environment.
- 6. The speaker may replace or refine expressions.
- 7. The speaker uses a good deal of generalized vocabularies such as: a lot of, do, stuff, things, and like.
- 8. The speaker repeats the same syntactic structure several times.
- 9. The speaker may produce a large number of prefabricated fillers such as: I think, you know, I'm sure, and of course.

10. Spoken language may contain features such as hesitation, slips, and repetitions.

Political language has an abstract conceptual term that is concerned with the most moral rather than philosopher senses, thus political language carries information in order to communicate with the recipient, and it deals with people's affairs and issues whether they are simple or complex such as war and peace issues. Moreover, political language has a number of functions which are reflected in the speech itself. Political language disguises, transforms and deepens a particular phenomenon, and it is mainly used to convince receivers with the speaker's point of view by using techniques such as explanation and analysis. Seidel (1985) points out that a political speech may constitute a genre, a domain, or a field. Moreover, it is an incredible achievement at a particular time and at a particular place, and it has three major elements; the addressor (the speaker who produces the speech), the addressee (the hearer who is the recipient of the speech), and the political speech itself.

Arab spring revolution can be described as a series of demonstrations, protests and uprisings that occurred in some countries in the Arab world. These uprisings occurred firstly in Tunisia on Friday, 17th December 2010 when a twenty six-year old, Mohammad Bo Azizi, who was fruits and vegetables seller in Sidi Bozaid town, sets himself on fire in front of the government buildings as a result of series of factors and motivations including: dictatorship and absolute monarchy, unemployment and extreme poverty, political and economic corruption, and human rights violation. Mohammad Bo Azizi's self–immolation led to civil disobedience in Sidi Bozaid, then this incident led to a huge mobilization of the whole population in Tunisia against the Tunisian political system. Tunisian revolution has generated a new regime when the president Zain El-Abedeen Bin Ali fled the country and that marked the end of his regime which lasted for over twenty four years.

As a usual practice in most of the Arab countries, the president usually delivers a speech during any slightest crisis in his country to address the nation in order to ensure the people that nothing is serious taking place. However, the speeches of the ousted presidents during the Arab Spring Revolution followed different style.

Political discourse in this study is analyzed from a linguistic point of view, and it is an exercise on the linguistic features of language, and on how language is used to arrive at the intended goal of the speaker. The study of language provides too much to the domain of politics because political speeches are the adequate arena for the study of language.

2. Statement of the problem

This study investigates the political speeches of the ousted Arab presidents during the Arab Spring revolution. This study is the first of its kind, since it is an attempt to investigate the linguistic features of the ousted Arab presidents' speeches during the Arab spring revolution. Many political speeches have been investigated by various researchers from different perspectives. Most of those studies have focused on Jamal Abed Al-Nassir's (a well-known Egyptian president) speeches during the years between 1960-1970 mainly before the 1967 war, while others have focused on Saddam Hussein's speeches between the years 1980-2003. Abed Al-Nassir and Hussein's speeches occurred in normal circumstances when the Arab leaders have had an absolute power and when the people were good listeners. Moreover, Abed Al-Nassir and Hussein's speeches focused on the external enemy. However, this study investigates the speeches of the three ousted Arab presidents during only one year of political turmoil. During this period a new perception of usual concepts are created such as people, language, and authority. This study tries to explore the features of the language used by these presidents during the period of people's uprising against their governments.

3. Research Objectives

This Study has the following objectives:

- 1. This research investigates the language used in the speeches of the ousted Arab presidents during the Arab Spring Revolution and the major characteristics of words, structure, and grammar.
- 2. This study will concern with the distinctive linguistic features of such speeches as well as the context (conditions and circumstances) that led the presidents to provide such speeches.

4. Research Questions

1. What is the language used in the speeches of the ousted Arab Presidents during the Arab Spring Revolution and what are the major characteristics of words, structure, and grammar?.

2. What are the distinctive linguistic features of such speeches as well as the context that led the presidents to provide such speeches?

5. Review of related literature

Pu (2007) provides a pragmatic interpretation of President George W. Bush's speech that was delivered at Tsinghua University in 2002. Pu highlights the two main themes in the speech: the construction of Americanism

and the indirect critique of Chinese current societal situation with direct instruction of what should be changed. In the first theme, the construction of Americanism, Pu claims that Bush uses powerful rhetorical devices to draw a clear and idealized picture of Americanism and of the American values. Pu noticed that Bush uses parallel structure in two forms: a persuasive strategy to convince the audience that all bad images of Americans delivered by the mass media are not true, and a constructive strategy to preach American values of equality and liberty. In the second theme, President Bush indirectly criticizes the Chinese political and social system in terms of faith, liberty, and justice. In this respect, Pu suggests that Bush's speech implies two major criticisms: firstly, Bush criticizes the way the Chinese government deals with the dissidents. Secondly, he criticizes the religious and worship liberty in china.

Duran (2008) conducted a contrastive study of the acceptance speeches, speeches which are written to provide expressions of gratitude, gratefulness, and honor for some form of award, delivered by President George W. Bush and Senator John Kerry to the Republic and Democratic National Conventions before the 2004 Presidential Election in the United States of America. Duran classifies his contrastive work into three parts: the introductions of both speeches, one segment designed in terms of counter-addressee, and quantitative analysis of the participants and processes. Duran points out that the former President and the Republican nominee, George W. Bush, introduces his speech by giving a short summary of the events that took place in the past four years in the form of positive experiences. Moreover, Bush designs his political discourse in terms of his counter-addressee, the democratic candidate, and he portrays himself as the candidate of actions that concerns the United States of America, the Middle East, and the whole World. On the other hand, Duran points out that the Senator and the democratic candidate, John Kerry, introduces his speech by telling anecdote of what American novelist wrote about home, addresses his opponents by presenting the negative aspects in the last four years when Bush was president, and considers himself the interpreter of the current situation based on his ethical values.

Dlugan (2009) investigates Martin Luther King's speech "I have a dream", who was the most popular leader of non-violent movement that strived for racial equality in the United States of America. Dlugan suggests four reasons which make king's speech "I have a dream" one of the most memorable speeches of all time: the first reason is the connection between Martin Luther king's speech and its historical context, the African-American civil right movement in the 1950s and 60s. According to Dlugan, this connection clearly appears through the techniques of repetition used in king's speech such as using anaphora and repeating the key theme words. The second reason is how Martin Luther King was able to evoke the historic and the literary references explicitly by using direct quotation or implicitly by using the technique of allusion in order to demonstrate the credibility and morality of the argument. The third reason is how King enriches his speech with specific geographic examples to support his arguments and to dramatize actions in the mind of the audience which is suitable to the place and the time. The last reason is the use of metaphor which associates the concepts of "I have a dream" speech with images and emotions of the audience. Moreover, Dlugan claims that King employs a constructing metaphor to draw a distinction between freedom and slavery which are symbolized by day and night, island and ocean, and summer and autumn.

Bird (2011) investigates the rhetorical style in President Clinton's speeches which were delivered during harsh moments of domestic tragedy. Bird claims that most rhetoricians have used generic criticism to analyze Clinton's mastery of apology, but they have ignored his mastery of rhetoric outside the scandal as a great American communicator and user of the language. Bird provides two tragic events: the Bombing of Federal building in Oklahoma City in 1995 and the Columbine High School Shooting in 1999 that prepared the stage for the leader of the nation, President Clinton, to deliver two domestic crisis speeches in which he defines the incidents and tries to comfort those who lost their loved ones. According to Bird, President Clinton balances between the two sub-genres of rhetoric: domestic crisis rhetoric and national eulogy rhetoric. Bird claims that Clinton's rhetoric reflects three functions: define reality, display eloquence, and shape community. Based on Bird's analysis, defining and constructing reality is the fundamental function of Clinton's rhetoric. In this respect, Bird states (2011:48) that:

" Defining and constructing reality is a fundamental function of epideictic rhetoric; when an upsetting or confusion event has occurred, audiences will often turn to Public figures for a definition and construction of a reality that will help make sense of what has happened. Creating a common definition and understanding of the event enables a rhetor to use the tragedy for a future agenda or to restore the nation after destruction. The rhetorical tactics Clinton uses to generate a communal definition of the event is to hail a national audience and then define the event by what it means for the entire nation".

Bird also points out that the second function of Clinton's rhetoric is to display presidential eloquence by delivering a speech which will be memorable by his audience, and this can be achieved through the use of two rhetorical tactics: the use of religious connotation, the use of repetition and the use of metaphorical style. Consequently, Bird discusses the five rhetorical tactics utilized by President Clinton's speeches to gather people of the nation in moments of tragedy and they are: portraying those who were killed or injured in the terrorist attacks as victims of the target attacks, creating a common enemy, sharing past tragic events in America, giving advice on how to rebuild America, and using the narrative style.

Aveomoni (2012) investigates the Nigerian military coup speeches of the three military political rulers; General Thomas Aguiyi Ironsi, General Yakubu Gowon, and General Murtala Muhammad. Ayeomoni focuses on two main topics in his study: lexical devices which are used to extract and classify the lexical items used in the coup speeches. Aveomoni divided these lexical devices into five classes: repetition, synonymy, antonym, hyponymy, and collocation. The second topic of the study is the contextual functions of these lexical devices in order to discover the relationship between lexemes and political ideologies in the military coup political discourse. In the second topic, which is concerned with how lexical devices are employed in the coup speeches, Ayeomoni suggests that the two lexical devices: repetition and synonym are the most frequently used in the coup speeches of the three military leaders. Ayeomoni claims that programs and rules in the military administration are rooted in coercion and forcefulness, and this can be achieved by using instruments of emphasis and reiteration. He also suggests that hyponymy is rarely used in coup speeches because hyponymy deals with specific, while political leaders' speeches concentrate on general selected issues. Equally, leaders of military governments do not admire the use of the device of antonyms, since it may lead to confusion and inhibition of information. However, they apply the milito-political collocation such as "Interim military government". Based on these findings, Ayeomoni states that the language used in the coup speeches, especially the lexical items, carries the same power and strength of weapons which are used in the coup processes or in the revolution.

6. Methods and Procedures

6.1 Population and Sample of the study

The population of the study consists of all the political speeches of ousted Arab presidents which were delivered during the Arab Spring Revolutions. The sample of this study is composed of seven speeches which were delivered by the ousted Arab presidents during the period from December 2010 to December 2011. Three speeches were delivered by the Tunisian president, Zain El Abedeen Ben Ali. The first speech was delivered on the 28th of December 2010, the second was on the 10th of January 2011, and the third was on the 13th of January 2011. The Egyptian president, Hosni Mubarak, also delivered three speeches during the Egyptian Revolution which began on the 25th of January and has continued for 18 days. The late Egyptian president, Hosni Mubarak, delivered his first speech on the 28th of January 2011, the second on the first of February 2011, and the third one on the 10th of February 2011. The last speech was delivered by the Libyan president, Muammer Al-Gaddafi, on the 22nd of February 2011. The other political speeches of the Libyan president, Muammer Al-Gaddafi, and the Yemeni president, Ali Abdullah Saleh during the Arab Spring Revolution were excluded because they are unavailable through the media. The selected speeches were downloaded from the Internet and they vary in their length and in the number of sentences. Some speeches were about fifteen minutes long such as Mubarak and Zain Al-abedeen's speeches, whereas other speeches such as Al-Gaddafi's were more than one hour long. The speeches of ousted Arab president were selected, since most of them probably do not follow the usual type of speech during the time of peace, and thus they uncover a distinguished form of language used during the Arab Spring Revolution that covers the protests, riots, strikes, demonstration, and marches against the social, economic, and political corruption in the Arab World.

6.2 Procedures

The procedures of analyzing the collected data are as follows: first, all the selected speeches of the ousted Arab presidents were collected and downloaded from the internet. Second, the collected data was transcribed from its oral mode into written form. Third, the Arabic texts were transliterated using English language symbols. Finally, all the collected speeches were analyzed in light of the theories and models mentioned above.

7. Findings and discussions

7.1 Introduction

The present chapter provides a systematic investigation of the salient linguistic features of the political speeches of the ousted Arab presidents during the Arab Spring Revolution. The adopted framework, Halliday and Hasan's (1976) framework of cohesion, will enable us to explore the linguistic features that create a distinguished form of political discourse during the Arab Spring Revolution and to answer the study questions.

7.2 Lexical cohesion

Halliday and Hasan (1976) use the term lexical cohesion to refer to the various types of semantic relationships created by a writer's choice of lexical items and grammatical structure to produce the sense of a text. They define lexical cohesion as a network of semantic relationships that link together sentences or paragraphs, units of discourse that are structurally independent of each other. In this respect, Halliday and Hasan (1976:288) point out that: "In lexical cohesion...EVERY lexical item MAY enter into a cohesive relation, but by itself, it carries no indication whether it is functioning cohesively or not" (emphasis in the original). According to their

framework of cohesion, lexical cohesion can be divided into two categories: reiteration involving repetition, synonymy, and hyponymy. The second category of lexical cohesion is collocation.

7.3 Repetition

Al-Jubouri (1984) who investigates the function of repetition in Arabic argumentative discourse observes that repetition in Arabic may fall under any one of the three levels: "the morphological level, the word level, and the junk level" (page:100). Regarding repetition at the morphological level, he claims that repetitive forms are either formed on the same morphological patterns, or on the same morphological root which create two different types of morphological repetition: pattern repetition and root repetition. Johnstone (1991) claims that verbal and nominal roots in Arabic language are ordered sets of three consonants (f-G-I), and each root has a general meaning that dominate the meaning of all forms in which it is realized. She states that morphological repetition of roots, in general, is created by the multiple use of the same root within a single clause. The following is an example.

Example No. (1):

wa ?aqūlu min jadīdin ?annī lan ?atahāwan fī ?ay qarārātin taħfaZu likulli miSrī wa miSriyya **?mnahum** wa ?**amānahum** wa sawfa ?udāfiSu San miSr wa ?istiqrārahā wa **?amān** ſaSbahā fatilka hiya almas?ūliyya wa ?al?amānah allatī ?qsamtu yamīnan ?amāma allāh wa alwaTan bilmuhāfaZti Salayhā. (Hosni Mubarak: 28/1/2011) و أقول من جديد أني لن أتهاون في أي قرارات تحفظ لكل مصري و مصرية أمنهم و أمانهم و سوف أدافع عن و مصر و استقرارها و أمان شعبها فتلك هي المسؤولية و الأمانة التي أقسمت يمينا أمام الله و الوطن بالمحافظة على مصر و استقرارها و أمان شعبها فتلك هي المسؤولية و الأمانة التي أقسمت يمينا أمام الله و الوطن بالمحافظة و الرمان (2011/1/28)

Translation:

I say once again that I will not be lenient in taking any decision that safeguards to every Egyptians (man and woman) their security and safety, and I will defend Egypt and its stability and the safety of its people. This is the responsibility and honesty that I swear in front of God and the nation to keep and maintain.

In the above extract, root repetition is created by the re-occurrence of the tri-lateral root (? m n), which means safety, three times in the nouns: **'?mnahum**, **?amānahum**, and **?amān'**. Based on Arabic rules of nominalization, Shamaileh (2011) suggests that root repetition can be realized through the use of the verb with a corresponding noun of place. The following extract is an example on root repetition. **Example No. (2):**

?atamassaku biðāti alqadir bilhifāZi Salā ?amni miSr wa ?istiqrārahā wa biSadami al?injirāfi bihā wa bifaSabihā **limunzalaqātin** xaTīratin tuhaddid anniZām alSām wa assalām al?ijtimāSīy...wa Salaynā ?an nuhaðira bimā yuhīTu min ?amθilatin Sadīdatin **?inzalaqat** biffu?ūbi ?ilā alfawdā wa al?intikās. (Hosni Mubarak: 25/12/2011)

أتمسك بذات القدر بالحفاظ على أمن مصر و استقرار ها و بعدم الانجر اف بها و بشعبها **لمنزلقات** خطيرة تهدد النظام العام و السلام الاجتماعي...و علينا أن نحاذر بما يحيط من أمثلة عديدة ا**نزلقت** بالشعوب إلى الفوضى و الانتكاس. (حسني مبارك: 28/ 2011/1)

Translation:

I am committed to maintain the security and the stability of Egypt and not to jeopardize the nation and its people to dangerous slope which may threaten the public security and social stability... we must be alert of the several examples around us which slipped the people into chaos and retrogradation.

In the above extract, root repetition is achieved via the occurrence of the noun of place 'munzalāq', which is characterized in Arabic by a prefix ma (m) in the same clause with the verb 'inzalaqat' from which it is derived. Since no vowels are associated with a root in its abstract form, roots are unpronounceable; a root can be pronounced by attaching it to one of the morphological patterns. Morphological patterns consist of one or more vowels pronounced between, before, or after the root consonants. Some patterns require the gemination, i.e. a morphological process in Arabic language which involves stretching a sound rather than articulating it twice, or the addition of other consonant. Dickins (2002) describes pattern repetition as repeating the same metrical foot. The following is an example:

Example No. (3):

?aSdartu **ta\$līmātī** bisur\$ati al?intihā?i min **attaħaqīqāti** ħawla ?aħdāθ al?isbū\$i almādī wa ?iħālat nata?ijihi \$alā alfawri ?ilā annā?ibi al\$ām liyattaxið biʃa?nihā mā yalzam min ?ijrā?ātin qānūniyyatin rādi\$atin wa qad talaqqaytu bil?amsi attaqrīra al?awwalla **lilta\$dīlāti** addistūruyyati ðāt al?awlawiyya . (Hosni Mubarak: 10/2/2011) أصدرت **تعليماتي** بسرعة الانتهاء من ا**لتحقيقات** حول أحداث الأسبوع الماضي و إحالة نتائجه على الفور إلى النائب العام ليتخذ بشأنها ما يلزم من إجراءات قانونية رادعة و قد تلقيت بالأمس التقرير الأول **للتعديلات** الدستورية ذات الأولوية. (حسنى مبارك: 2/10 /2011)

Translation:

I issue my orders to expedite the investigation concerning last week riots and to send the results of investigations to the attorney general in order for him to take the necessary measures and decisive legal actions. Yesterday, I received the first report on constitutional amendments that have the first priority.

The general metrical foot in Arabic (tafsīlāt) of the words 'tafsīmāt' which means instructions, 'taĥqīqāt' which means investigations, and 'taĥqīlāt' which means amendments illustrate the repetition of the morphological patterns which involve the consonants (t), the vowel (a), and the plural pattern ($\bar{a}t$) between, before, and after the tri-lateral root consonants: 'S I m, $\hbar q$ q, and S d I'.

Shunnaq (1993) points out that "gender, number, definiteness, and nisba suffix are patterns of morphological repetition forced by the system of Arabic" (page: 98). Gender and number are compulsory categories in Arabic language system. Number plays an extremely important role in Arabic grammar where it has three classifications: singular, dual, and plural. Gender and number agreement in verbs, adjectives, pronouns, and demonstratives are controlled by nouns. This creates different forms of morphological repetition patterns. Morphological repetition that could be created by number and gender in Arabic language system can be achieved mainly by adjective agreement where the adjectives agree in gender and number with the nouns they modify. The following two examples illustrate the point.

Example No. (4):

Wa Sindahum ?aSdā? fī majlisi annuwābi, lībiyyīn murtasiyīn. (Muammer Al-Gaddafi: 22/2/2011)

و عندهم أعضاء في مجلس النواب ليبيين مرتشيين. (معمر القذافي: 2/2/ / 2011)

Translation:

They have members of the Parliament among them what can be called venal Libyans.

Example No. (5):

Laqad Tarahtu ru?yatan muhadadatan lilxurūji min al?azmati arrāhinati wa litahqīqi mā dasā ?ilayhi aſſabābu wa almuwāTinūn. (Hosni Mubarak: 10/2/2011)

م مدين المرابعية أم ة dasā ?ilayhi a∬abābu wa almuwāTınūn. (Hosni Muoaiak. مدين المواطنون. (مديني مبارك: يقد طرحت رؤية محدده للخروج من ا**لأزمة الراهنة** و لتحقيق ما دعا إليه الشباب و المواطنون. (حسني مبارك: 2/10/ 2/10)

Translation:

I offered a restricted vision to get out of the current crisis in order to accomplish what young people and citizens have called for.

The masculine-plural morpheme (īn) in example (4) is repeated two times as a result of the numbergender agreement between the masculine-plural modified noun 'lībiyīn' and the masculine-plural modifier (adjective) 'murtafiyin'. Moreover, Morphological parallelism in example (5) occurs through the use of the overt feminine indicator (i) in the feminine singular noun 'al?zmah', and the feminine singular adjective 'arrāhinah'.

Furthermore, Shunnag introduces the repetition of the Arabic definite article al (the) as a separate form of pattern repetition. It is far more used in Arabic discourse than in English to serve two functions: particularization and generalization. This concept is clear in the following example. Example No. (6):

> ?in almiSriyīn jamīSan fī xandaqin waħidin al?ān wa Salaynā ?an nuwāSilu alħiwāra alwaTanī allaðī bada?āh birūhi alfarīqi wa laysa alfuragā? wa basīdan san alxilāfi wa altanāhuri kay natajāwaz bimiSr ?azmatahā alrāhina wa lunusīda li?iqtiSādina alqiqati fihi wa limuwaTinina al?iTmi?nan wa al?aman wa lijarisi almiSri hayatahu alyawmiyya alTabīfiyya. (Hosni Mubarak: 10/2/2011)

إن ا**لمصريين** جميعا في خندق واحد الآن و علينا أن نواصل الحوار الوطني الذي بدأناه بروح ا**لفريق** و ليس ا**لفرقاء** و بعيدا عن الخلاف و التناحر كي نتجاوز بمصر أزمتها ا**لراهنة** و لنعيد لاقتصادنا الثقة فيه و لمواطنينا ا**لاطمننان** و الأمان و للشارع ا**لمصري** حياته اليومية الطبيعية. (حسني مبارك: 2010/2012

Translation:

All the Egyptians are in one ditch now. We must continue our national dialogue that we have started in the spirit of one team, but not in the spirit of different parties away from frightening and clashes so as to take Egypt out of its current crisis and to regain trust to our economy and security and tranquility to our people, and to regain to the Egyptian street its normal daily activities.

The definite article al (the) in the above example is used more than ten times to prefix common nouns such as 'almiSriyīn', 'alħiwār', 'alfarīq', 'alxilāf', and 'al?iTmi?nān', and to prefix adjectives such as 'almiSrī', 'alyawmiyyah', and 'alwaTTani'. Pattern repetition also involves the repetition of the Nisba morphemes which are represented by the two suffixes (\bar{i} and iyya). This form of repetition is clearly used in the following extract. **Example No. (7):**

hādā majidin lā tufarriT fīhi lībyā wa lā yufarriTu fīhi a∬a\$iba **allībī** wa lā al?ummata **al\$arabiyya** wa lā al?umata **al?islāmiyya** wa lā ?frīqyā wa lā ?mrīkā **allātiniyya**. (Muammer Al-Gaddafi: 22/2/2011)

هذا مجد لا تفرط فيه ليبيا و لا يفرط فيه الشعب الليبي و لا الأمة العربية و لا الأمة الإسلامية و لا أفريقيا و لا أمريكا اللاتينية. (معمر القذافي:2/2/2011)

Translation:

This is the ultimate glory which cannot be abandoned by the republic of Libya, the Libyan people, the Arab nations, the Islamic nations, and the people of Africa and Latin America.

In the above example, the two Nisba morphemes (ī and iyya) suffixed the noun **'allībī'** and the adjectives **'alʕarabiyya'**, **'alʔislāmiyya'**, and **'allātīniyya'**. The repetition of the two Nisba suffixes (ī and iyya) is familiar in Arabic political texts where the Arab leaders in their speeches try to portray a positive picture about their ego. They try to depict a positive image of themselves; they are very close to their people and loyal to their country and respect their nation, culture, and religion.

It is clear from the above examples that phonological parallelism is embedded within morphological parallelism. Abed-Roaf (2001) suggests that phonological parallelism is created by the repetition of the same sound either at the word final position which is called rhyme or assonance (sadjas) in Arabic or at the word initial position that is known as alliteration (al jinas) in Arabic. In example (6), alliteration which indicates the re-occurrence of the same sound at the beginning of words is created by the repetition of the definite article **al** (the) at the beginning of the words **'almiSriyīn**, **alħiwar**, **alwaTanī**, **alfuraqā**, **alʔmān**,...', whereas assonance, in example (5), which introduces the repetition of the same final sound is manifested via the use of the final feminine indicator (\$) in the nouns 'ruʔyah, alʔazmah, arrāhinah'.

Word level repetition is classified by Al-Jubouri as the use of what he calls "word strings". He observes that word repetition in Arabic language is not merely an ornamental device, but it has a crucial rhetorical function. Al-Khafaji (2005) shared the same point of view when he states that repetition "can have didactic, playful, emotional, artistic, ritualistic, textual, and rhetorical functions" (page: 6). Consequently, Word strings in the political speeches of the Ousted Arab Presidents are ideologically employed to reinforce and achieve different political strategies. The following extract from the Libyan President's speech illustrates this point. **Example No. (8):**

?iGtiSābu qiyādatan Şaskariyyatan ?w attamasuku bihā bidūni ħaq yuŞāqabu bil?iSdāmi kul man fa?ala ðālika, ?īstiSmālu alquwwata did sulTāti addawlati Suqūbatahu al?iSdām, ?afSālu attaxrībi wa annahibi wa attaqtīli yuŞāqabu bil?iSdām..., alħarabu al?ahliyyatu, yuSāqabu bil?iSdāmi kul man yartakibu fiSilan Gayatahu ?i@āratu ħarbin ?ahliyyatan fi albilād. (Muammer Al-Gaddafi: 22/2-2011) isima-le قيادة عسكرية أو النمسك بها بدون حق يعاقب بالإعدام كل من فعل ذلك استعمال القوة ضد سلطات الدولة عقوبته الإعدام أفعال التخريب و النهب و التقتيل يعاقب بالإعدام..., الحرب الأهلية, يعاقب بالإعدام كل من يرتكب فعل غايته إثارة حرب أهلية في البلاد. (معمر القذافي:22/2/21/12)

Translation:

Usurping any military leadership and seizing it without any right will receive death penalty. The use of force against the authorities of the state will receive death penalty punishment. The acts of sabotage, vandalism, and killing will receive death penalty punishment.... People who agitate civil war in the country will receive death penalty punishment.

The noun '**?isdām**' which means execution is repeated more than fifteen times in Gaddafi's speech and four times in the above extract by repeating the two passive structures '**Suqubatahu al?isdām** and **yusāqab bil?isdām**' to reinforce the speaker's strategies and ideologies of threat and warning. Gaddafi threatens the Libyan protesters and demonstrators who demand democracy, economic reforms, and social justice that they will be treated as criminals, agents, and terrorists who deserve the punishment of execution. Moreover, the purpose of using word strings is to legitimize Gaddafi's aggressive and violent nature in suppressing the peaceful Libyan protesters.

Chunk repetition is defined by Al-Jobouri as parallelism or paraphrase construction. He divides parallelism which involves resemblance in grammatical structures and word order into two types: complete parallelism and incomplete parallelism. Al-Jobouri's classification can be illustrated in the following two examples.

Example No. (9):

?inZurū lilībyā, lā turīdu alsizza, lā turīdu almajida, lā turīdu attahrīra, lā turīdu

(2011/1/10)

a00awrata. (Muammer Al-Gaddafi:22/2/2011)

انظروا لليبيا, **لا تريد العز, لا تريد المجد, لا تريد التحرير, لا تريد الثورة**. (معمر القذافي: 22/2011)

Translation:

look at Libya, it doesn't want dignity, it doesn't want glory, it doesn't want liberation, and it doesn't want revolution.

Example No. (10):

nuwaSilu al?iSGā?a ?ilā majāGili aljāmīsi wa nassā ?ilā musālajati alwađisyāti aljamāsiyyati wa alfardiyyati. (Zain Al-Abedeen Bin Ali: 10/1/2011) نواصل الإصغاء إلى مشاغل الجميع و نسعى إلى معالجة الوضعيات الجماعية و الفردية. (زين العابدين بن علي:

Translation:

We continue listening to the concerns of all the people and we try to find solution to collective and individual problems.

Complete parallelism which refers to the total correspondence between parallel structures is clear in example (9). The four parallel structures: 'lā turīd alſiz, lā tirīd almajid, lā turīd attaħrīr, and lā turīd aθθawrah' in example (9) above share the same word order and grammatical structure which include the negative particle lā (no), the present verb 'turīd' and the abstract nouns 'alʕiz', 'almajid', 'attaħrīr', and 'aθθawrah' that function as the object of the transitive structure (particle + verb + noun). Partial correspondence between parallel structures in example (10) is what Al-Jobouri calls incomplete parallelism. It is introduced by the two present verbs 'nasʕā' that means try and 'nuwāSil' that means continue. The other constituents in the two clauses vary in their syntactic constructions. This variation is clearly manifested through the use of the transitive structure in the first clause (i.e. verb (nuwāSil) + noun (al?iSGā?) + preposition phrase (?ilā maĵāGil aljamīʕ)) and intransitive structure in the second clause (i.e. verb (nasʕā) + preposition phrase (?ilā muʕālajat alwadʕiyāt aljamaʕiya)).

Some types of repetition at the three levels introduced by Al-Jobouri has no function and it is not motivated. It is what Enkvist (1978) called pseudo repetition. Moreover, there is a contradiction between these speeches and the previous ones, since the ousted Arab presidents in these speeches introduce new concepts such as '**?amin**, salāmah, and **?iStiqrār'** which were not part of their ideologies during their regimes for the last thirty or forty years in offices before these last speeches.

Synonymy

Synonymy is another sub-category of reiteration in Halliday and Hasan's framework of cohesion. It is described by Abed-Raof (2001) as "words which signify the same meanings are synonyms. Synonymy does not mean identical meaning between two words but the two words can be used in different contexts giving a similar meaning" (page: 50). In this respect, Koch (1983) examines synonymy in terms of what she calls "lexical couplets". She states that lexical couplet is a structure of the form A × B which meets the following criteria:

1. is a coordinating conjunction, usually additive (and), but occasionally disjunctive (or).

2. A and B are synonyms or near-synonyms.

3. The structure AxB has a single referent; it is used to refer to a single object, action, or state, rather than to two temporally or logically discrete objects, actions, or states. (page: 51-52).

Koch claims that Arabic lexical couplets are classified into a number of groups including: modifiedmodifier couplets, implicational couplets, hendiadic couplets, synonym couplets, and freezes based on the semantic relationship between the first and the second lexical items. The following is an example of the first class of Arabic lexical couplets, modified-modifier couplet.

Example No. (11):

wa mā lan wa lam ?aqbalahu ?abadan ?an ?astamisa li?imlā?ātin ?ajnabiyyatin ta?tī min alxāriji ?ayyan kāna maSdaruhā wa ?ayyan kānat ðarā?isuhā ?aw mubarrirātuhā. (Hosni Mubarak: 10/2/2011)

Translation:

I will never accept to listen to foreign dictations that come from outside whatever its pretext or its justification.

In the above example, the lexical couplet 'ðarā?iSuhā ?aw mubarrirātuhā' represents the modifiedmodifier couplet where the second lexical item 'mubarrirātuhā' which means justifications modifies the first item 'ðarā?iSuhā' by restricting and specifying its meaning. Consequently, implicational couplet consists of couplets in which an implicational relationship exists between the first and the second lexical items. This relation can go in either direction: the first term can lead to the second, or the second term leads to the first. The following is an illustration.

Example No. (12):

Alxawfu allaði ?intāba al?aGlabiyyata alkāsiħata min almiSriyīn wa ma sāwarahum min ?inzisājin wa qalaqin wa hawājisin ħawla mā saya?tī bihi alGad. (Hosni Mubarak: 1/2/2011)

الخوف الذي انتاب الأغلبية الكاسحة من المصريين و ما ساور هم من انز عاج و قلق و هواجس حول ما سيأتي به الغد. (حسني مبارك: 1\2011)

Translation:

The fear that haunted the vast majority of the Egyptians and what annoyed them and created their anxiety and apprehension is what the future will hold for them.

A relationship of implication, in the above extract, occurs in the lexical couplet 'qalaq wa hawājis' where the first term 'qalaq' which indicates annoyance leads to the following item 'hawājis' which means anxiety. The third group in Koch's classification of Arabic lexical couplets, hendiadic couplet, consists of two terms that share some meaning aspect or element. The following is an example of hendiadic couplet.

Example No. (13):

?ana wa Sabidu alfattāħ nuhājimu fī ?iðāSiti banGāzī kay nuSlina minhā attaħrīra muſ nuSlina minhā al?ān annaksa wa alSawda lilwarā?i wa **alxiziyya wa alSār**. (Muammer Al-Gaddafi: 22\2\2011)

أنا و عبدالفتاح نهاجم في إذاعة بنغازي كي نعلن منها التحرير مش نعلن منها الآن النكسة و العودة للوراء و ا**لخزي** و العار. (معمر القذافي: 22\2/2011)

Translation:

Abdull Fattah and I attack from the broadcast of Banghazi to announce the liberation

not to announce from it the defeat and retreating backward to degradation and disgrace.

In the above example, the shared meaningful aspect of the two neighboring words in the lexical couplet **'alxiziy wa alfār'** which can be translated as (degradation and disgrace) is the sense of shame and humiliation. The notion of synonymy is mainly introduced in the category of synonym couplet which involves a pair of synonymous terms. Lyons (1981) classifies synonymy, based on the degree of similarity, into two types: absolute synonymy and near synonymy. Both forms of synonymy can be seen in the following two extracts. **Example No. (14):**

?ajhiza Sarabiyya lil?asafi jaqīqah **taGdurakum wa taxūnakum** .(Muammer Al-Gaddafi: 22/2/2011)

أجهزة عربية للأسف شقيقة تغدركم و تخونكم . (معمر القذافي: 22\2/2011)

Translation:

I am sorry to say that some brothern Arab political systems have deceived and betrayed you.

Near synonymy refers to words that are more or less similar, but not identical in meaning. This is exhibited in the words **'taGdururakum wa taxūnakum'**. The two coordinated verbs **'taGdurakum'** and **'taxūnakum'** in the synonymous couplet (taGdurakum wa taxūnakum) share the meaning of treachery; however, they do not have the exact meaning, whereas absolute synonymy which is employed in the example below presents the strongest form of semantic equivalence.

Example No. (15):

allaðī yurīdu **alfizza wa alkarāmata** wa almajida, ?uxrujū min biyūtakum. (Muammer Al-Gaddafi: 22\2\2011)

الذي يريد العزة و الكرامة و المجد, أخرجوا من بيوتكم. (معمر القذافي: 22\2\2011)

Translation:

Those who want honor, dignity, and glory must get out of their homes.

In this example, the two terms 'alsizah' and 'alkarāmah' in the lexical couplet (alsizzah wa alkarāmah) have the same meaning and function as absolute synonymy. The final semantic couplet is what Koch called "freezes". Freezes refer to words that have religious and ritual connotations. The following is a good example. **Example No. (16):**

hamalatu alqur?āni fī lībyā wa ?a?immatu almasājidi allī yiSrifū assunnata wa yiSrifū al?uSūla wa yiSrifū assalafiyyata alħaqīqiyyata. (Muammer Al-Gaddafi: 22\2\2011)

حملة القرآن في ليبيا و **أنمة المساجد** النظاف اللي يعرفوا ا**لسنة** و يعرفوا الأصول و يعرفوا السلفية الحقيقية. (معمر القذافي:22\2\2011)

Translation:

The holy Quran custodians in Libya, and the honest Mosque Imams (leaders) who know the true faith well and know the real fundamentalism.

In the above example, words like 'Mosque, Quraan, Sunnah' in the frozen couplet (hamalatu alqur?āni

wa ?a?immatu almasājidi) reflect some of the Islamic origins and indicates the religious use of certain synonymous words in restricted senses. Most of the synonymous terms and lexical couplets used in the political speeches of the ousted Arab presidents during the Arab Spring Revolutions reflect the sense of peace and liberty and the meaning of growth and safety. This introduces a contradictory picture of the reality of their homelands, and of their applied ideologies during their presidential regime.

4.2.1.3 Hyponymy

Cruse (2002) defines hyponymy, a sub-group of lexical cohesion, as the relationship of meaning inclusion, where the meaning of one item is included in that of another. Hyponymic relationship mainly involves a superordinate term which refers to a word with more inclusive or general meaning, and hyponyms are words with more specific or narrower meaning. This relationship is depicted by the common formula "an A is a kind of B". The following is an example.

Example No. (17):

?iSTā?u dafiSin jadīdin **lil?iSlāmi** aljahawī bitaxSīSi masāħatin yawmiyyatin **bittalfazah** wa **al?iðāSāti alwaTaniyyati** likulli wilāyāti aljumhūriyyati wa **alSSaħāfah**. (Zain Al-Abedeen Bin Ali: 10\1\2011)

إعطاء دفع جديد للإعلام الجهوي بتخصيص مساحة يومية بالتلفزة و الإذاعات الوطنية لكل ولايات الجمهورية و الصحافة. (زين العابدين بن علي: 10\1\2011)

Translation:

Giving a new motivation to the regional media by allocating a space daily in television and in National Radio Broadcasts for every state of the Republic and Journalism.

In the above example, hyponymic relationship is achieved through the use of the words 'attalfazah', 'al?iðāʿsāt alwaTaniyya', and 'aSSaħāfah' that present different kinds of the superordinate term (?islām). The meaning of these hyponyms: television, radio, and journalism are contained in the superordinate term media. In addition, Murphy (2003) points out that hyponymous relationship is slightly different from the meronymical one which describes part (meronymy) - whole (holonymy) relationship. This distinction between the two hierarchical relationships, hyponymy and meronymy, is illustrated in the following examples.

Example No. (18)

Kallaftu alħukūmata wa ?ittaSaltu bissayyidi alwazīri al?awwali nablli∫ naqūmu bitaxfīdi fī ?asSāri almawādi wa almarāfiqi al?asāsiyyati, assukkar, alħalīb, alxubiz, ?ilā Gayiri ðālik. (Zain Al-Abedeen Bin Ali: 13\1\2011).

كلفت الحكومة و اتصلت بالسيد الوزير الأول نبلش نقوم بتخفيض في أسعار **المواد و المرافق الأساسّية ٍ السكر** ِ **الحليب الخبز** إلى غير ذلك (زين العابدين بن علي: 13\1\2011)

Translation:

I have entrusted the government and called the first ministers to start decreasing the prices of commodities and basic facilities; sugar, milk, bread, etc.

Example No. (19):

?atawajjahu biħadīθi alyawma mubāſaratan li?abnā?i a∬aSibi bifallāħihi wa Summālihi, muslimīhi wa ?aqbāTihi, ſiyūxihi wa ſabābih. (Hosni Mubarak: 1\2\2011)

أتوجه بحديث اليوم مباشرة **لأبناء الشعب بفلاحيه** و عماله مسلميه و أقباطه شيوخه و شبابه. (حسني مبارك: 1\2\111)

Translation:

I direct my speech today towards the people of the nation, its farmers and labourers,

Muslims and Christians, young and old.

The three hyponyms mentioned in example (18) above: sugar, milk, and bread are just included in the meaning of the superordinate terms 'almawādi wa almarāfiqi al?asāsiyya' which indicate the essential substances of life, whereas meronyms in example (19): peasant, labourers, Muslims, Christians, young generations and old people are components of the whole Egyptian nation. Kinds and parts are intensively mentioned in the speeches of the ousted Arab presidents to state their comprehensive knowledge of their homes and people, which, in fact, contradicts their political ideologies and strategies during the past years of their reign.

Collocation

Fakhouri (1995) defines collocation (Al MuSāħaba Al LafZiyya) as " a lexicological term used by linguists to refer to the habitual co-occurrence of individual lexical item" (page:8). In addition, Abed-Raof (2001) describes the main lexical item in collocation as a "nodal item" and what collocates with this item as "collocational range". The following is an example.

Example No. (20):

?inna ?iqtināsī bābitun lā yatazaszasu bimuwāSalati al?iSlāhi assiyāsī wa al?iqtiSādī

wa al?ijtimāsī min ?ajili mujtamasīn miSriyyin hurin dīmuqrāTi. (Hosni Mubarak: 28×12011)

إن اقتناعي ثابت لا يتزعزع بمواصلة ا**لإصلاح السياسي و الاقتصادي و الاجتماعي** من أجل مجتمع مصري حر ديمقراطي. حسني مبارك: 28/1/2011)

Translation:

My conviction in the continuation of social, economic, and political reforms is firm and will not be shaked for the sake of a democratic, free Egyptian society.

Collocation, in the above example, occurs in 'al?iSlāħ assiyāsī wa al?iqtiSādī wa al?ijtimāſī', where the terms 'assiyāsī', 'al?iqtiSādī', and 'al?ijtimāſī' are habitually attached to the lexical item 'al?iSlāħ' to introduce one particular referent. Words in this collocation go side by side, and whenever one is mentioned the other comes to mind directly. Moreover, the items 'assiyāsī, al?iqtiSādī, and al?ijtimāſī' can be considered as the collocational range of the nodal item 'al?iSlāħ' which presents the essential meaningful item in the above mentioned collocation. Collocational restrictions in Arabic and English have been addressed by many researchers who have stated that collocation is not simply a matter of association of ideas. One of them is Nofal (2012), who claims that "although collocation is very largely determined by meaning, it is sometimes idiosyncratic and cannot be easily predicted in terms of the meaning of the associated words" (page:77). In addition, Robins (1964), even though now dated, still valid, classified collocation semantically into two types: situational collocation and referential collocation. These two types are evident in the following examples. Example No. (21):

?antum fi **assāhati alxadrā?i** tuqaddimūn alhaqīqata allatī tuhāwilu ?ajhizata alxiyāna wa alsamāla wa annaošāla wa arrajsiyya wa aljubina, tuhāwilu ?an tuGaTīhā. (Muammer Al-Gaddafi: 22/2/2011)

أنتم في ا**لساحة الخضراء** تقدمون الحقيقة التي تحاول أجهزة الخيانة و العمالة و النذالة و الرجعية و الجبن, تحاول أن تغطيها. (معمر القذافي: 22\2\2011)

Translation:

You people in the Greenyard present the truth that the systems of treachery, agency, cowardness, and backwardness try to hide.

Example No. (22):

bādartu ?ila ħimāyatahum fī bidāyatihā ?iħtirāman liħaqqihum fī **attaZāhuri assilmī**. (Hosni Mubarak: 28\1\2011) (2011\\1\28 بادرت إلى حمايتهم في بدايتها احتراما لحقهم في ا**لتظاهر السلمي**. (حسني مبارك: 82\1\1\2

Translation:

I took the initiative to protect them at the beginning of the demonstrations, respecting their rights for peaceful demonstration.

Situational collocation in example (21) occurs in the two related lexical items 'assaħa alxadrā?', where the meaning of the collocational range 'alxadrā?', which denotes the green colour, is not used to refer to the literal meaning of the lexical items but to the metaphorical connotation. In such combination, the word 'alxadrā?' has a figurative sense which is not found outside this limited context. In example (22), referential collocation is reflected in the collocational pair 'attaZāhur assilmī' which means peaceful protest. The meanings of the nodal term 'attaZāhur' and its range 'assilmī' refer to the actual action practiced during the Arab Spring revolutions. Moreover, Al-Qasimi (1979), who investigated collocation from a syntactical aspect, argues that collocation in Arabic occurs in various types of syntactic configuration and they may have these collocation patterns: noun-adjective collocation, verb-preposition collocation, particle-preposition collocation, and nouns of genitive construct. These types of collocation are clearly used in the following extract. Example No. (23):

daswat **nuwwābu aʃʃasibi** wa ?asdā?u majlisi buʃāhīn wa alhayākilu almarkaziyyati fi **al?aħzābi assiyāsiyyati** ?ila takθīfi ħudūrahum lijihātihum wa ?ittiSālātihum addawriyyati bilmuwāTinīn **lil?iSGā?i ?ilayyum** wa al?iħāTati bilħalāti allatī tu\$rađu salayhum. (Zain al-Abedeen Bin Ali: 10\1\2011)

دعوه **نواب الشعب** و أعضاء مجلس بوشاهين و الهياكل المركزية في الأحراب السياسية إلى تكثيف حضور هم لجهاتهم و اتصالاتهم الدورية بالمواطنين للإصغاء إليهم و الإحاطة بالحالات التي تعرض عليهم. (زين العابدين بن علي: 10/1/101)

Translation:

I called upon representatives of the people (parliament members), Bo-shaheen council members and central configuration in political parties to concentrate their presence in their areas and to have periodic contacts with the citizens and to listen to them so as to become aware of the cases that are exposed to them.

The above extract reflects four types of collocation 'al?aħzāb assiyāsiyya' 'nuwwāb aʃʃaʕib', 'al?iSGā? ?ilayhum', and 'tuʕrað ʕalayhum' respectively. The noun 'al?aħzāb' which presents the dominant word in the collocational pair 'al?aħzāb assiyāsiyya' usually collocates with the adjective in its feminine form 'assiyāsiyya'. Moreover, the second incident 'nuwwāb aʃʃaʕib' introduces a very distinguished form of collocation in Arabic language which is called by Arabic grammarians "noun of possessive or genitive construction". Possessive construction (al?idāfa) involves two associated nouns, the first noun (almudāf) has neither article nor nunation (tanwīn) such as 'nuwwāb'. The second noun (mudāf ?ilayhi) has a genitive case ending (i) such as 'aʃʃaʕibi'. In addition, the collocational pairs 'al?iSGā? ?ilayyhum' and 'tuʕrað ʕalayhum' consists of particle 'al?iSGā?' and the present passive verb 'tuʕrað' followed by a grammatical unit, typically prepositions 'ʕala' and 'ʔila'.

In conclusion a complete analysis of the salient linguistic features was conducted on the speeches of the ousted Arab presidents. The first lexical feature is repetition which was divided into three types. The second type of lexical relation is synonymy which is divided into two types: complete-synonymy and near-synonymy or lexical couplets based on Koch's (1983) framework. The final category of lexical relation is collocation.

Conclusion

This study has investigated the salient linguistic features and has highlighted some pragmatic features of the political speeches of the ousted Arab presidents during the Arab Spring Revolution. Following the Discourse Analysis approach, the analysis of these speeches is conducted using Halliday and Hasan's (1976) lexical cohesion framework.

In the case of lexical cohesion, the four categories: repetition, synonymy, hyponymy, and collocation were investigated. It is clear that repetition, based on Al-Jubouri's (1984) investigation, was observed at the three levels: morphological level, word level, and junk level. The study has revealed that the two forms of repetition: word strings and parallel structures are deliberately employed in these speeches to reinforce and achieve different political strategies and ideologies such as the strategy of threatening the civil protesters. These strategies are peculiar to these speeches. On the other hand, the study shows that some types of repetition used in these speeches especially the two types of morphological repetition; pattern and root repetition are pseudo repetition, since they have no function and they are not motivated. The reason for this could be that redundancy in Arabic, in which some rhetorical features such as morphological repetition are automatically used without the choice of the language producer. The second type of lexical cohesion, synonymy, has been introduced in terms of what Koch (1983) calls "lexical couplets". Five lexical couplets are respectively explored in this study and they are: modified-modifier couplets, implicational couplets, hendiadic couplets, synonym couplets, and freezes. The study has demonstrated that most of the synonymous terms and lexical couplets used in these speeches reflect the sense of peace and liberty and the meaning of growth and safety. These senses portray a positive picture of the presidents' ego that introduces a contradictory image of the reality of their homelands. The final lexical type, collocation, is explored in this study and was divided semantically into two types: situational collocation and referential collocation, and syntactically it was classified into four forms: noun-adjective collocation, verb-preposition collocation, particle-preposition collocation, and noun of genitive construct. It is evident in this investigation that collocation is idiosyncratic and cannot be predicted easily in terms of the meaning of the associated words.

Recommendations

The aim of this study is to investigate the salient linguistic features of the political speeches of the ousted Arab presidents, Hosni Mubarak, Muammer Al-Gaddafi, and Zain Al-Abedeen Bin Ali, during the Arab Spring Revolution. This investigation has mainly explored only the lexical category of cohesion including: repetition, synonymy, hyponymy, and collocation, whereas the second category of cohesion, grammatical cohesion, involving: references, ellipsis, conjunctions, and substitution were not explored. Therefore, those linguistic features might be potential areas of investigation in the future. It is also recommended that other researchers could have a study on the effect of translation on the status of these linguistic devices in discourse.

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