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## RESEARCH ARTICLE

# POWER DISCOURSE PRODUCED BY HOSNI MUBARAK OF EGYPT DURING ARAB SPRING

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### ABSTRACT

This paper aims to investigate the political speeches by President Hosni Mubarak and aims at demonstrating how a direct analysis of linguistic features in the texts can contribute to the comprehension of power relations and ideological processes in *discourse*. To bring to light that discourse has been abused to control people's minds, beliefs and actions in the interest of dominant groups and against the interest or will of others, the analysis concentrates on such linguistic means as nominalization, the use of pronouns, and diverse lexical choices. These means have been chosen as primary tools for the analysis due to the fact that they are closely related to the three functions that language is said to perform, namely ideational, interpersonal, and textual (Halliday, 1975:17, as cited in Malmkjaer, 1991:161). The approach defined as *critical linguistics* is concerned with the analysis of how ideologies mediated through discourse are embodied in linguistic expressions. The analysis of the political speeches of the president has demonstrated that the meanings which people convey by writer or speaker actually do not correspond to what they claim to be saying.

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### INTRODUCTION

There are many ways in which linguistic discourses can express relation of power. As competent speakers, people are sensitive to variations in accent, intonation and vocabulary; most of these features locate language users at different positions in social hierarchy.

People are conscious that a proper use of language helps them to speak with different degrees of authority; therefore, their words can be loaded with different degrees of weight. Accordingly, the language can be used as an instrument of coercion and constraint. Briefly, language is an integral part of social life and it is regarded as a part of an individual's social life that consists of daily communications of linguistic expressions which are tacitly adjusted to relations of power.

However, seldom do people differentiate the direct connection between a linguistic choice and a certain ideology; the meaning conveyed by linguistic expressions is taken by them for granted, as natural and unequivocal. Fairclough, (1991:1) said:

*"The acknowledgement of power as an implicit and pervasive phenomenon in all communicative situations is a crucial issue for a competent speaker. It has to be*

*mentioned, however, that 'these studies have generally set out to describe prevailing sociolinguistic conventions in terms of how they distribute power unequally'".*

#### Aim and Scope of the Study

This study is traced back to the acknowledgement that there is a direct connection between a linguistic choice and a certain ideology maintained by relations of power, and the power as phenomenon as manifested in a variety of linguistic structures is not yet explored.

Accordingly, this study aims to discover that discourse has been abused to control people's minds, beliefs and actions in the interest of dominant groups and against the interest or will of others.

Political speeches are analyzed as a particularly important genre of the power that affects the social construction of reality. As Bourdieu (1994:26) stated:

*"the political field is ... the site par excellence in which agents seek to form and transform their visions of the world and thereby the world itself: it is the site par excellence in which words are actions and the symbolic character of power is at stake. Through the production of slogans, programs and commentaries of various kinds,*

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*agents in the political field are continuously engaged in a labor of representation by which they seek to construct and impose a particular vision of the social world, while at the same time seeking to mobilize the support of those upon whom their power ultimately depends".*

This study aims to analyze the textual mode of political speeches that in mind from two perspectives: firstly, an ideological aspect they carry and secondly, as an endeavor employed to address and confirm hearers' interests, concerns, and point of view by relations of power. This study, therefore, aims to specify the system of linguistic forms which are set into the service of the expression of power and which shape a system of particular values and beliefs.

Hopefully, this study will also provide some insight and practical help in decoding political speeches, in evaluating linguistic aspects of the ideas conveyed, and the way the more powerful employ language in order to impose their ideas on the less powerful members of society.

## LITERATURE REVIEW

Linguistic theorizing includes a number of diverse approaches. Some approaches to language study view language as a fundamental resource in building up human experience. From this point of view, [Kress](#) (1990:3) said:

*"An individual user of language is seen 'as social agent to be instrumentally and casually involved in the process of language change, in the shaping of language via the constant processes of dialogue".*

One basic direction in a linguistic analysis is to explore each given meaning in terms of how and why writers/speakers go about expressing it. [Halliday](#) (1970:141) gave the following functionalist explanation of a linguistic structure relating it to a social structure:

*"The nature of language is closely related to the functions it has to serve. The particular form taken by the grammatical system of language is closely related to the social and personal needs that language is required to serve".*

Functionalism in linguistics arises from the concerns of [Mathesius](#) (1929) and other linguists who shared his ideas and who became known as the Prague School of linguists. [Lyons](#) (1981:224) said, "Their belief was that 'the phonological, grammatical and semantic structures of a language are determined by the functions they have to perform in the societies in which they operate". More recently, functionalism has come to be associated with [Halliday](#) (1985) and his followers, [Kress](#) (1990) among them. [Halliday](#) (1975:17) claimed:

*"Language as a social and interactive phenomenon performs three functions, namely, ideational, interpersonal, and textual. The ideational function is interpreted as 'a means of reflecting on things', whereas the interpersonal function is 'a means of acting on*

*things'. The textual function enables the other two functions to operate because this function 'represents the language user's text-forming potential".*

[Fowler](#) (1991:69) commented on the textual functions as follows:

*"A third function ... is in turn instrumental to these two [ideational and interpersonal] ... it is concerned with the creation of text. ... It is through this function that language makes links with itself and with the situation; and discourse becomes possible, because the speaker or writer can produce a text and the listener or reader can recognize one".*

With respect to critical linguistic analysis [Fowler](#) (1991:70) stated, "as far as the three functions are concerned, they provide a useful prediction 'of what types of linguistic construction will be particularly revealing for critical linguistics". He maintained, "the ideational and interpersonal functions are especially valuable for our purpose, since critical linguistics is particularly concerned with the ordering of experience and with the mediation of social relationships and values". As [Halliday](#) (1985:22) said:

*"The main reason for studying the system is to throw light on discourse – on what people say and write and listen to and read. Both system and text have to be in focus of attention. ... And perhaps most important of all, only by starting from the system can we see the text in its aspect as a process..."*

## Forms of Power Manifestation

Power is exercised and enacted in discourse. [Fairclough](#) (1991:46) believed, "power in discourse is to do with powerful participants controlling and constraining the contributions of non-powerful participants". Each discourse, maintaining its ideology, dictates the conditions of what kind of text to produce, what meanings to highlight, and what perspectives to impose. Accordingly, he said there are three types of constraints which derive from the conventions of the discourse type and within which the writer/speaker is positioned when producing texts. Constraints operate on:

*Contents*, i.e. on what is said or done;  
*Relations*, i.e. on social relations that people express in discourse;  
*Subjects*, or the 'subject positions' people can occupy.

Hence, power is manifested if one is capable to constrain content, that is, to favor certain interpretations and 'wordings' of events, while excluding others. The type of power exercised here is the power to disguise power: the favored interpretations and wordings are those of the power-holders in a society.

Another form of power is related to constraints operating in social relations; it determines to what extent power will be overtly expressed. Interestingly, the power-holders have been recently forced into the less direct ways of exercising and reproducing their power. [Fairclough](#) (1991:71) said, "More

recently, however, there has been a shift towards a system based upon solidarity rather than power".

Thus according to Fairclough (1991:193) claimed an established relationship of solidarity should be treated with caution:

*"Versions of the solidarity/authority mix are now conventional for political leaders, but their effects in terms especially of solidarity upon the actual social relationship between politicians and the rest of the population cannot be taken for granted. The solidarity of the politicians is with constructed and fictional 'public'; they do neither claim solidarity with all the diverse sections of the actual 'public', nor one imagines would such a claim be reciprocated! There is a spurious and imaginary quality about this 'solidarity'".*

Finally, power is associated with the construction of a subject position, the presupposition of an ideal reader who will make the 'right' inference from what has been said and, consequently, will accept the attributes that the powerful want them to be attached.

### Display of Power in Language

Halliday (1975:17) as cited in Malmkjaer (1991:161) stated:

*"The ways in which particular values and beliefs are shaped through the ideology by those who hold the power or to what extent relations of power are overtly expressed, and how the constructing of an ideal reader is achieved are related to the three functions that language is said to perform, namely, ideational, interpersonal, and textual. The ideational, interpersonal, and textual functions serve to reflect on content, relations and subject positioning, respectively".*

Table 1 below gives a visual summary of the points discussed (adapted from Fairclough, 1991:112).

**Table 1** Language functions: ideational, interpersonal and textual

Dimensions of power exertion	Language functions	Structural effects
Contents	Ideational	Knowledge/beliefs
Relations	Interpersonal	Social relations
Subjects	Textual	Social identities

The table illustrates how language in its three functions – ideational, interpersonal and textual – exerts power through content, relations and subjects.

An ideational function is a trace of and a cue to the way in which the text producer's experience of the natural or social world is represented. This function has to do with contents, on the one hand, and knowledge and beliefs, on the other. An interpersonal function is a trace of and a cue to the social relationships which are enacted via the text in the discourse. An interpersonal function has to do with relations and social relationships. And, finally, a textual function is a trace of and a cue to the producer's evaluation of the bit of the reality it relates to. A textual function has to do with subjects and social identities.

There are various linguistic means that fit into the actual manifestation of the three functions. However, within the limitations of this paper, the analysis is restricted only to those means which have deserved special attention by critical linguists. The linguistic tools explored in this work are nominalization, pronominalization, and strategies influencing lexical choices.

## METHODOLOGY OF THE STUDY

### Sample of the Study

The researcher will use Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) Approaches namely, Critical Linguistic Approach. It will be adopted to investigate:

Discourse has been abused to control people's minds, beliefs and actions in the interest of dominant groups and against the interests or will of others.

The extracts are exclusively drawn from the political speeches of President Hosni Mubarak. For more verification this site can be checked (The Guardian, on line source).

These speeches prompted the oppressed masses to resist and later overthrow the Arab regimes will be regarded as political discourses. The analysis of the political discourses will be centered on nominalization, pronominalization and lexicalization to investigate the above mentioned hypothesis.

These will be used as tools of analysis which are aimed to highlight the abuse of power by the above mentioned power holder, namely Hosni Mubarak.

A brief account about the Critical Linguistic Approach is made for the sake of definition. The approach is defined as critical linguistics which is concerned with the analysis of how ideologies mediated through discourse are embodied in linguistic expressions. The Critical Linguistic Approach was used in response to such problems as a fixed, invisible ideology permeating language. Fowler (1991:67) stated:

*"It is the main concern of critical linguists to study the minute details of linguistic structure in the light of the social and historical situation of the text, to display to consciousness the patterns of belief and value which are encoded in the language ..."*

The Critical Linguistic Approach is developed by Kress & Hodge (1979) with the appearance of the book *Languages Ideology* which is used successfully by Van Dijk (1987) and Fairclough (1991). This study is focusing on the discourse as a social phenomenon; as Kress (1990:1) stated, "all social interactions involve displays of power". Any discourse, therefore, has to be studied in the context of ideologies and relations of power and inequality".

### Nominalization as Part of the Ideational Function

When searching for ideological meanings, critical linguists become particularly concerned with the strategy of

transformation as a syntactic variation. One specific transformation that is particularly worth looking at in the critical analysis is *nominal*. Nominal, according to Longman (1999:232: 318) said, "Are noun phrases, which 'normally play key roles as clause elements ... [and] specify who and what the text is about". Moreover, he said, "New nouns can be formed by derivation and compounding. Derived nouns are formed through the addition of derivational affixes, such as prefixes and suffixes. Compound nouns, on the other hand, are formed from two words combined to form a single noun. Via zero derivation, or conversion, adjectives and verbs may be converted to nouns".

However, compared with a full clause, a derived nominal leaves much of information unexpressed. Such clauses, instead of reporting concrete actions in time, are transformed by the speaker into abstract entities or concepts out of time, and mystify all those processes and their participants. As Longman (1999:325) stated:

*"Derived abstract nouns are essential in academic discussions, where frequent reference is made to abstract concepts and where actions and processes are often referred to in general terms rather than in relation to a specific place and time. For such reference, it is convenient to use nominalizations, where the content of a clause (stripped of tense specification and other deictic elements) is compressed into a noun phrase".*

Fowler (1991:80) said, "Nominalization is, thus, an important linguistic tool which has extensive structural consequences and offers substantial ideological opportunities. Hence, nominalization is a form of power relations that constrains content".

#### **Pronominalization as Part of the *Interpersonal* Function**

In English, the expression of overt power through the *you* distinction had already disappeared. As Kress (1990:60) said:

*"This particular development in terms of going away from the overt power indications may be due to 'the increasing democratization of English society, that is, a society in which power difference and superiority could no longer be openly asserted".*

Nonetheless, pronouns do continue to function in the way in which the choice between them is tied up with the relationships of power or solidarity. The following subsections focus on the power relations which are being implicitly claimed through the use of pronouns.

#### ***First person singular and plural pronouns***

Usually, however, it is left to the addressee to infer the exact meaning of *we*. By choosing the plural pronoun *we* rather than *I*, a single author avoids drawing attention to himself/herself, and the writing becomes somewhat more impersonal. On the other hand, when *we* is used to include the reader, it has a rather different effect and the writing becomes more personal. Longman (1999: 329: 30) stated:

*" the first person singular pronoun (I) is usually unambiguous in referring to the speaker/writer, [but] the meaning of the first person plural pronoun is often vague: we usually refers to the speaker/writer and the addressee (inclusive we), or to the speaker/writer and some other person or persons associated with him/her (exclusive we)".*

#### **Lexicalization as Part of the *Textual* Function**

Ideologically, there are many different schemes embodying different meanings in different discourses, and they are coded in vocabulary. The selection of vocabulary is playing crucial role in the decision of what meanings and attributes are attached to people and which subject positions are set up.

## **RESULTS AND DISCUSSION**

The researcher will use the critical linguistic approach through using nominalization, pronominalization and lexicalization in terms of analyzing extracts which are taken from the political speeches of President Hosni Mubarak to investigate the following hypothesis:

Discourse has been abused to control people's minds, beliefs and actions in the interest of dominant groups and against the interest or will of others.

#### **Nominalization as Part of the *Ideational* Function**

*"I talk to you during critical times that are testing Egypt and its people which could sweep them into the unknown. The country is passing through difficult times and tough experiences which began with noble youths and citizens who practice their rights to peaceful demonstrations and protests, expressing their concerns and aspirations but they were quickly exploited by those who sought to spread chaos and violence, confrontation and to violate the constitutional legitimacy and to attack it.*

Hosni Mubarak practices his authority explicitly when he said "I". He would like to save his own agenda, when he described the situation by critical, difficult and tough. He said that everything began smooth from noble and peaceful demonstrations and protests that Egyptians expressed their rights and aspirations; but unfortunately, he said that the peaceful demonstrations and protests were exploited by others to violate the constitutional legitimacy so as to convince Egyptians to make use of their mind not to keep on demonstrations and protests. This seems clear in his selections of words.

*Those protests were transformed from a noble and civilized phenomenon of practicing freedom of expression to unfortunate clashes, mobilized and controlled by political forces that wanted to escalate and worsen the situation. They targeted the nation's security and stability through acts of provocation theft and looting and setting fires and blocking roads and attacking vital installations*

*and public and private properties and storming some diplomatic missions.*

He keeps using his authority by attributing human quality to non-human, when he said, “those protests” without identifying the agent or who did so. He keeps using the same style, when he said, “political forces” without identifying them. It seems clearly it is opaque.

*The events of the last few days require us all as a people and as a leadership to choose between chaos and stability and to set in front of us new circumstances and a new Egyptian reality which our people and armed forces must work with wisely and in the interest of Egypt and its citizens.*

He still keeps using his authority by asking the people to choose whether chaos or stability as well as attributing human quality to non-human when he said, “the events of the last few days require us all as a people and as a leadership to choose between chaos and stability”.

*Dear citizens, Egypt will emerge from these current circumstances stronger, more confident and unified and stable. And our people will emerge with more awareness of how to achieve reconciliation and be more determined not to undermine its future and destiny.*

He uses his authority implicitly and he attributes human quality to non-human. It seems clearly when he said, “Egypt will emerge ...” He keeps to generalize without identifying who are those. When he said, “our people will emerge”.

*Fellow citizens, I speak to you in very difficult times - Egypt and its people were tested and we were thrown into the unknown.*

He keeps using his authority explicitly and he attributes things to unknown and he does not identify who test them, these seem clearly when he said, “I speak to you” , “Egypt and its people were tested”.

*They have the right for peaceful demonstrations to express their worries, but they were exploited very quickly by those who wanted to manipulate the situation to create chaos and destroy the constitution.*

He keeps playing with words when he said that they have their own right of freedom of expression and he said to them that you are exploited by instigators and traitors. He said so, because he would like to persuade them to give up demonstrations.

*The events of the last few days impose on us all, as people and as a leadership, choosing between chaos and stability and brings in front of us new circumstances and a different Egyptian reality, which our people and our army must deal with in the most wise ways in order to protect Egypt's interests and its children.*

He keeps using his authority implicitly and he attributes human quality to non-human when he said, “the events impose

on us all”. He does not identify who does these actions. He keeps generalizing when he said, “People ... leadership”. He would like to save his own agenda by doing so.

*My brothers and sisters, citizens, I have initiated the formation of a new government with new priorities and initiatives which will respond to our young people's demands and their anxieties. And in dialogue with all political forces, we have discussed all the issues that have been raised regarding democratic and political reforms and constitutional changes -- which will be required in order to fulfill these legitimate demands and the restoration of stability and security.*

He keeps using his authority explicitly and he would like Egyptians to be sympathized with him when he said, “my brothers and sisters, citizens”. He would like to convince them that he makes use of his power to serve their needs, interests and the welfare of their children when he said, “respond to our young people's demands and their anxieties”.

*But there are political forces that have rejected this invitation for dialogue, holding on to their private agendas, and without concern for Egypt's situation, and with their rejection for my invitation to dialogue -- which still stands.*

He still keeps using his authority implicitly and he continues to generalize without identifying his point of view about who are those people when he said, “political forces”; he accuses them as instigators that have their own hidden agenda so as to be depicted as hostile elements. Therefore, his own agenda will be saved by assassinating their characters.

*The constitutional articles 67 and 77 should be changed to allow very specific periods for presidency, and in order for the parliament to be able to discuss these constitutional changes and the legislative changes which -- of the laws linked to the constitution, and in order to guarantee that all political powers will contribute to these discussions, I ask of the parliament to commit to speed up the elections.*

He still keeps using his authority implicitly and he attributes human quality to unknown without identifying the agent of action and it seems clearly in his speech construction when he said, “the constitution of articles 67 and 77” should be changed”; who is going to change these articles as well as he keeps generalizing without identifying the intended people when he said, “all political powers”.

*I will pursue the transfer of power in a way that will fulfill the people's demands and that this new government will fulfill the people's demands and their hopes for political, economic and social progress, and for the provision of employment opportunities and fighting poverty and achieving social justice.*

He still keeps using his authority explicitly when he said, “I will pursue the transfer of power”. He would like to convince all Egyptian spectrum that he is their save guard to meet all their needs. These seem clearly in his speech and his selection

of words when he said, "people's demands, their hopes for political, economic and social progress, provision of employment opportunities, fighting poverty and achieving social justice".

*I also want to ask censorship authorities and legislative authorities to carry out immediately every measure to pursue those who are corrupt and those who have been responsible for what has happened of all the destructive acts and looting and fires that have taken place in Egypt. This is my promise for the people during the next few months that remain of my current leadership. I ask of God that he will help me to do my job in a way that will be satisfactory to God and to my homeland and its people.*

He still keeps using his authority explicitly when he said, "I also want to ask censorship authorities and legislative authorities". He keeps to generalize without identifying who are those when he said, "those who" and he accuses them as perpetrators of all crimes when he said, "those who have been responsible for ... destructive acts ... looting and fires ...". He would like to tell Egyptians that he has ability to punish them and to all them to take care and to be aware and must stay at their homes.

*The homeland will remain, and people will disappear, and Egypt will always remain, and its flag will always be high. And it is our duty to achieve this with dignity and honor, generation after generation.*

He keeps using his authority implicitly and he attributes human quality to non-human and he continues to generalize and this seems clearly when he said, "people ...Egypt". He would like to save his own agenda when he does not identify exactly who is going to remain or disappear.

*Those who had committed those crimes are going to be punished severely. And families of those victims, that I really felt the pain, I felt that I was in your boots, and my heart really felt for what really happened.*

He keeps using his authority explicit or implicit and he continues to generalize without identifying who are those offenders and who punish them when he said, "those who had committed those crimes ... families of those victims".

*We are moving day after day on the path of a peaceful transfer of power from now until next September. This nation has already agreed that a committee will be held to study the different constitutional elements and all the requirements that would make those constitutional elements. Also an investigative committee will be held to take care of the follow-up of what I had promised the people.*

He still keeps using his authority implicitly and he continues to generalize without identifying who is the agent when he said, "these nation ", " committee requirements He keeps generalizing without identifying who is the agent when he said, "instigative committee will be held ", and "people". He would like to save his own agenda.

*Dear citizens, the priority right now is regaining the sense of confidence in Egyptians and a sense of trust in our economy, our reputation. Change and transfer that we have already started and that is not going to bring us any sort of step backwards. Egypt is passing through a critical juncture. We should not ever permit that this is going to continue because this affects negatively our economy.*

He keeps using his authority implicitly and he keeps generalizing without identifying when he said, " Egypt is passing through a critical juncture". He would like to convince Egyptians that they are in danger and they should take care of themselves; whereas he would like to save his own agenda.

### **Pronominalization as Part of the Interpersonal Function**

President Hosni Mubarak has been used a number of inclusive we.

In these examples, we refers to Hosni Mubarak as well as his people.

1. We are living together painful days and the most painful thing is the fear that affected the huge majority of Egyptians and caused concern and anxiety over what tomorrow could bring them and their families and the future of their country.
2. Negative repercussions on our economy day after day would lead to a situation where we find those youth who had called for change, they would really be endangered out of the movement. This critical juncture is not at all co-relevant to me personally, it's not co-relevant to Hosni Mubarak, but now Egypt is a top priority. Its present, its future, the future of the coming generations, all of the Egyptian people now are all in one boat, in one corner, and we have to continue the national dialogue that we have already started with the spirit of a team and away from any sense of animosity and any sense of differences. So that we would overcome this critical juncture, and so that we would regain confidence in our economy and we would retain security and stability on the Egyptian street.
3. We are going to prove that we the Egyptians, our sense of awareness, of the demands of its people through a national dialogue, through the wise dialogue, we're going to prove that we are not followers to anybody, we're not going to take instructions from anybody, and no one is going to take decisions on our behalf, except only the rhythm of the street and the demands of the people.
4. We are going to prove this with a sense of determination of the Egyptian people, and with the sense of unity and solidarity of its people and by putting Egypt's pride and dignity above all, and preserving our identity, which is the main essence of our presence for more than 7,000 years of civilization.
5. We need to continue this sense of dialogue, so that we would go further from the main guidelines into a roadmap that is quite crystal clear and that has atimetable to achieve those issues.

All of the examples which are mentioned above in terms of inclusive we justify that the domination of this device. The use

of inclusive we has its own function in terms of representation of Hosni Mubarak as well as his people in sharing these views. This seems clearly when Hosni Mubarak said:

*"We are going to prove that we the Egyptians, our sense of awareness, of the demands of its people through a national dialogue, through the wise dialogue, we're going to prove that we are not followers to anybody, we're not going to take instructions from anybody, and no one is going to take decisions on our behalf, except only the rhythm of the street and the demands of the people"*

According to what is mentioned above, this is considered to be as a new style of expressing someone's beliefs and values. Therefore, the use of inclusive we is intended to persuade the people that they are two pieces of one coin in wear and tear.

Relatedly, inclusive we indicates that he speaks on behalf of himself and his citizens; therefore, he is using his authority implicitly to speak on behalf of others. This seems obviously, when Hosni Mubarak said:

*"We find those youth, we have to continue the national dialogue, we have already started with the spirit of a team, we would overcome this critical juncture, and so that we would regain confidence and we would retain security and stability on the Egyptian street"*

No doubt, the obvious control of the events or states of affairs by the speaker is existed by the use of pronoun ' I ' such as the following examples.

1. *I will say with all honesty -- and without looking at this particular situation -- that I was not intent on standing for the next elections, because I have spent enough time in serving Egypt, and I am now careful to conclude my work for Egypt by presenting Egypt to the next government in a constitutional way which will protect Egypt.*
2. *I have lived in this country. I have fought for it. I have defended its sovereignty and interest, and I will die on its land, and history will judge me and others.*
3. *I'm telling you here before anything else, that the blood of the victims will not go unpunished. And at the same time, as I said here, that I will follow all those perpetrators who have afflicted those crimes with full sense of decisiveness.*
4. *I tell you that I'm actually opting to satisfy your demands and I am fully determined to fulfill my promise with a full sense of perseverance and honesty and out of a sense of keenness of carrying out the demands without taking any steps backwards. This sense of abiding comes from a sense of convincing from your honest demands and your honest movement, and that those demands are legitimate demands.*
5. *Mistakes can happen in any political system and in any country, but at the same time, the most important is to recognize them and trying to put things on the right track as quick as possible, and to punish those who commit crimes. And I tell you here, as a head of state, I do not find any embarrassment at all in listening to the*

*youth of my country, and to satisfying their demands. But the embarrassment would only lie in the fact -- and I would never permit -- is that I would listen to any sort of intervention that would come from outside, from the outside world, whatever the source is, whatever the intention behind them are.*

6. *Once again, I say that I have lived for the sake of this country. I have shouldered the responsibility with honesty, and Egypt is going to live above all until I deliver and transfer the responsibility. Egypt will continue to be in my heart until I die and Egypt's people will always be living with pride, with dignity, to the end.*

It is clearly stated that ' I ' refers to the exertion of power which is used to control people in terms of being obedient. President Hosni Mubarak has used his extreme power when he gave direct instruction to his security apparatus to control the protesters; when Hosni Mubarak said:

*"I have given my directives that the investigations will be carried out very quickly concerning the issues that happened last week and that the results would be set up with the prosecutor general's office to take the necessary measures regarding this issue"*

#### **Lexicalization as Part of the Textual Function**

*Dear brothers and citizens, I took the initiative of forming a new government with new priorities and duties that respond to the demand of our youth and their mission. I entrusted the vice president with the task of holding dialogue with all the political forces and factions about all the issues that have been raised concerning political and democratic reform and the constitutional and legislative amendments required to realize these legitimate demands and to restore law and order but there are some political forces who have refused this call to dialogue, sticking to their particular agendas without concern for the current delicate circumstances of Egypt and its people.*

He still keeps begging their sympathy when he said, "dear brothers and citizens". He keeps using his authority explicitly by deciding to form a new government with non-identified priorities and duties when he said, "I took the initiative of forming a new government" He keeps to generalize without identifying the demand of the youth and what their mission" He does not stop generalizing, because he speaks about political democratic reforms but he does not identify these reforms. He keeps speaking about amendments in terms of constitution and legislation, but he accuses others as instigators without identifying them when he said, " political forces" he considers those are responsible from what is going on in Egypt and its people without identifying.

*In light of this refusal to the call for dialogue and this is a call which remains standing, I direct my speech today directly to the people, its Muslims and Christians, old and young, peasants and workers, and all Egyptian men and women in the countryside and city over the whole country.*

He keeps using his power explicitly by directing his speech directly to the people; when he said, "I direct my speech today

directly to the people". He addresses them all as a president of Egypt, when he said, "Muslims and Christians, old and young, peasants and workers ...". He would like to say that he is responsible from them and all of them are equal in front of him. He addresses them in name so as to make sure his message is delivered.

*My primary responsibility now is security and independence of the nation to ensure a peaceful transfer of power in circumstances that protect Egypt and the Egyptians and allow handing over responsibility to whoever the people choose in the coming presidential election.*

He keeps using his authority, when he said, "my primary responsibility now is security and independence of the nation to ensure a peaceful transfer of power". He would like to be given the green light to act on behalf of Egyptians in taking decision of power transferring and portrays himself as their save guard when he said, " peaceful transfer of power ... protect Egypt and Egyptians ... handing over responsibility "

*I will work in the remaining months of my term to take the steps to ensure a peaceful transfer of power.*

He keeps using his authority and he determines to remain in power, because he would like to persuade Egyptians that he is the only one who can transfer power peacefully; these seems clearly when he said, "I will work in the remaining months of my term ... to ensure a peaceful transfer of power".

*I will entrust the new government to perform in ways that will achieve the legitimate rights of the people and that its performance should express the people and their aspirations of political, social and economic reform and to allow job opportunities and combating poverty, realizing social justice.*

He is continuing to use his authority explicitly and he would like to persuade the people that he ensures the new government will meet their needs and their aspirations whatever it is. These seems clearly in his speech and selection of his words, such as: I will entrust ..., perform, right, their aspirations, political, social, economic reform job opportunities, poverty and ...justice.

*I charge the police apparatus to carry out its duty in serving the people, protecting the citizens with integrity and honor with complete respect for their rights, freedom and dignity.*

He keeps using his authority explicitly and he would like to tell us that he is responsible from the protection and the welfare of Egyptians; these seems clearly in his speech and his selections of words when he said, "I charge the police apparatus to carry out its duty in serving the people, protecting ...their rights, freedom and dignity".

*I will directly speak to my people, from its peasants, workers, Muslims, and cooks, its old people and its young people, and to all Egyptian men and women in the*

*countryside and in the cities across the land, and in all the districts. I never wanted power or prestige, and people know the difficult circumstances in which I shouldered the responsibility and what I have given to the homeland during war and during the peace.*

He keeps using authority explicitly when he said, "I will directly speak to my people". He would like to save his own interests when he calls for all Egyptian spectrums to inform them that he is a patriotic man, he is loyal to his country that he does his duty and he does not want power. It seems clearly he wants to convince them he is a dignified and noble person when he said, "I never wanted power or prestige".

*I want to ask the police to carry out their role in protecting the citizens honestly and to respect their rights and freedoms and their dignity.*

He keeps using his authority explicitly when he said, "I want to ask the police". He would like to persuade Egyptians that he uses his power for the sake of their welfare and their dignity not to disdain them. These seem clearly in his speech and his selection of words. When he said, "protecting the citizens honestly and to respect their rights, freedoms and dignity".

*I also want to ask censorship authorities and legislative authorities to carry out immediately every measure to pursue those who are corrupt and those who have been responsible for what has happened of all the destructive acts and looting and fires that have taken place in Egypt. This is my promise for the people during the next few months that remain of my current leadership. I ask of God that he will help me to do my job in a way that will be satisfactory to God and to my homeland and its people.*

He still keeps using his authority explicitly when he said, "I also want to a skcensorship authorities and legislative authorities". He keeps to generalize without identifying who are those when he said, "those who" and he accuses them as perpetrators of all crimes when he said, "those who have been responsible for ... destructive acts ... looting and fires ..." He would like to tell Egyptians that he has ability to punish them and to tell them to take care and to be aware and must stay at their homes.

*CAIRO — President Hosni Mubarak told the Egyptian people on Thursday that he would delegate authority to Vice President Omar Suleiman but that he would not resign, enraging hundreds of thousands gathered to hail his departure and setting in motion a volatile new stage in the three-week uprising.*

He still keeps using his authority explicitly when he said, "I tell the Egyptian people on Thursday I will delegate authority ...." He is still in power when he refuses to resign and this has helped to enrage all people in Egypt not to be satisfied from him. These seem clearly in his speech when he said, "I will not resign".

*Dear citizens, my sons, the youths of Egypt, today I am directing my speech to the youth of Egypt, those who are*



*in there in Tahrir Square and the vast areas of the country.*

He still keeps using his authority explicitly when he said, "I am directing my speech ..." He still keeps begging Egyptians' sympathy when he said, "dear citizens, my sons, the youth of Egypt". He depicts himself as if he is their father and he asks their obedience.

*I'm addressing you today out of a true and an honest heart from a father to his sons and daughters, and I'm telling you that I really cherish you as a symbol for a new generation for Egypt who are calling for change for the better, and are adamant to achieve this change for a better future.*

He keeps begging their sympathy and he keeps using his authority explicitly when he said, "I'm addressing you today ..." "I'm telling you". He considers himself as if he is their father and he agrees with them in their agenda of change so as to convince them they are right in their views. Accordingly, he is contradicted to himself when he addressed them, because he said his claim in non-festival situation. Is he means what he said exactly? When he said, "my sons and daughters" or he would like them to be sympathized with him.

It seems clearly after the analysis of the extracts which are taken from the political speeches of President Hosni Mubarak that the discourse has been abused in many different ways, such as: subject position in terms the agent or the doer of an action; it is found that action is attributed to unknown. For instance, sometimes, human quality is attributed to non-human as well as generalization is made in terms of non-identifying who or what, for example, when Hosni Mubarak claimed, "Justice has taken its course to clarify the conditions and the ins and outs of these incidents, to determine those responsible".

## CONCLUSION

The analysis of the political speeches of the president has demonstrated that the meanings which people convey by writer or speaker actually do not correspond to what they claim to be saying. As well as the values, ideas and beliefs he communicates, there is new meanings which on the surface are implicit to readers or listeners but are fully controlled by efficient writers or speakers. As Fowler (1990:147) said:

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*"These meanings are 'social meanings which reflect the organization of a society ... its relationship with its environment' and, particularly, demonstrate their complete demand of allegiance to a particular society or an institution".*

The meaning should be illustrated as it was intended, and this requires not only the knowledge of grammar but also the knowledge of the world. Accordingly, it is an essential for intended audience to understand the context in which a sentence is said. This kind of knowledge is needed for the interpretation of the real meaning that the writer or speaker sets out to convey.

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