

## Failing to Prevail: A Discourse Analysis of Attitude in Mubarak's Speeches During the Arab Spring

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### Abstract

This paper examines the attitude in President Hosni Mubarak's speeches during the Arab Spring Uprising in 2011. The appraisal concept discussed by Martin and White which is based on Halliday's Systematic Functional Linguistics (SFL) is adopted as a framework for analysis. According to the appraisal framework, tenor (interpersonal metafunction) is divided into subsections including Attitude. To be more specific, Attitude in the appraisal concept is divided into three domains: *affect*, *judgment* and *appreciation*. Mubarak's three speeches in 2011 were analysed in terms of the linguistic devices used to reflect these domains, such as pronouns, intensification, reiteration, lexical selection and metaphor. The distribution of the use of each domain and frequencies are examined using charts and diagrams. Results proved the significant impact of the speeches on the demonstrations. Mubarak's attitude changed throughout his speeches. His first speech was unrealistic, whereas the second speech was less emotive and more assertive. His third speech was full of subliminal authoritative messages and lack of sympathy.

### Keywords

Political discourse, discourse analysis, attitude, appraisal framework, tenor, Systematic Functional Linguistics (SFL)

### Introduction

Wilson posited that the study of political discourse has been around as long as politics itself. The Greeks emphasised the significance of rhetoric as a tool to deliver social and political objectives, whereas modern rhetoric studies integrate elements such as social theory, political science and historical construction. Political discourse is linked to Critical Discourse Analysis or Critical Linguistics. van Dijk defined Critical Discourse Analysis as the investigation of how "social power abuse, dominance and inequality are enacted, reproduced and resisted in a text and talk in the social and political context" ("Critical Discourse Analysis" 352).

The year 2011 witnessed many historical events, starting with the Arab Spring Uprising, which began in Tunisia and spread to other countries, including

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Egypt. Although Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak was well-known for his eloquent style in political discourse, and despite numerous attempts to subdue the protests, he failed to convince the protesters that his offers of reform were sincere. He tried hard to win the masses over to his promises of reform, but to no avail. Despite his attempts to use arguments for unity, patriotism and change, Mubarak's positions were regarded as deceptive and lacking credibility.

According to Halliday's Systematic Functional Linguistics model, hereafter as SFL, language is examined as a social phenomenon, whereby some linguistic choices are influenced by social and cultural context (Halliday et al. 25). Thus, speakers generate their utterances to convey the intended meaning through the generalised metafunctions that link language to the world. Maalej claims that although the power of language in creating political change cannot be measured numerically, yet the impact of language use is reflected in how people reacted (694).

This paper examines the attitude shift in Mubarak's speeches during the Arab Spring Uprising in 2011. His speeches were delivered on the 28<sup>th</sup> of January, the 1<sup>st</sup> of February and the 10<sup>th</sup> of February. Attitude is analysed using the appraisal concept adopted from Martin and White, and based on the SFL framework. Domains such as *affect*, *judgment* and *appreciation* are analysed linguistically to depict changes in Mubarak's portrayals of himself (attitude) during the Uprising.

## Literature Review

The study of discourse analysis has been shaped by influential work undertaken in English, German, Spanish and French. Bell and Garrett stated that critical discourse analysis is best viewed as "a shared perspective encompassing a range of approaches rather than as just one school" (7). Moreover, van Dijk claimed that there is no specific direction of research in critical discourse analysis (*Ideology*); hence, it does not have a unitary theoretical framework. However, Halliday's SFL influenced many discourse analysts, including van Dijk (*Ideology*), Fairclough and Wodak (*Discourse and Social Change*) and others.

Interest in discourse and language originated with critical linguistics in the 1970s and was seen as a reaction to the formal paradigm of the 1960s. According to van Dijk, discourse analysts rejected the notion of "value-free" science, especially when it comes to language, because language is inherently part of and influenced by social structure and is produced in social interaction ("Critical Discourse Analysis" 352). Fairclough and Wodak summarised the main characteristics of critical discourse analysis (CDA) as a form of social action – historical, interpretive and explanatory – that addresses social problems and ideology, in which society, culture and textual relationships are mediated. CDA bridges the gap between the so-called micro-level of social order (i.e., language, communication) and the macro-level (i.e., power, inequality, etc.).

Fairclough's theory, which was influenced by SFL, has been central to CDA for decades (*Language and Power*). Fairclough, in his earlier work in the 80s, called his approach to language and discourse "Critical Language Study" (*Language and Power* 4). He described the objective of this approach as "a contribution to the general raising of consciousness of exploitative social relations, through focusing upon language" (*Language and Power* 3). Chuliaraki and Fairclough posited that CDA "brings social science and linguistics... together within a single theoretical and analytical framework, setting up a dialogue between them" (*Discourse in Late Modernity* 6). They further claimed that "CDA of a communicative interaction sets out to show that the semiotic and linguistic features of the interaction are systematically connected with what is going on socially, and what is going on socially is indeed going on partly or wholly semiotically or linguistically" (qtd. in Sheyholslami 15).

Political discourse has been influenced by "postmodern" approaches to discourse. It overlaps with various studies of general discourse and rhetoric, but most importantly focuses on framing or conceptualising structures and beliefs in analyses related to the political text. Farrelly presented a brief outline of how CDA contributes to political studies by analysing the order of discourse to show how different practices are networked together discursively, providing a method for examining how political practices are structured. He gave a short illustrative example of how a CDA approach to textual analysis can be used to analyse specific political texts by examining a press release in which the UK government announced in its recent Empowerment White Paper called "Communities in Control."

The CDA framework has been utilised many times in analysing political figures. Slatcher et al. examined the various linguistic styles of US presidential and vice-presidential candidates. The transcripts of 271 interviews, press conferences and campaign debates of John Kerry, John Edwards, George W. Bush and Dick Cheney were analysed. The findings of this study revealed a significant link between the linguistic styles used and cognitive complexity, femininity, depression, ageing, presidentiality and honesty. Hence, the linguistic style used can draw a psychological picture of the political candidates and the personalised linguistic strategies they used to impact the results of presidential elections.

Duran examined the acceptance speeches delivered by President George W. Bush and Senator John Kerry at the 2004 Republican and Democratic National Conventions. CDA showed that while Bush positioned himself as an action-oriented candidate, who had healed the world and would continue to do so, Kerry painted himself as the interpreter of the current situation and assigned attributes to various participants. Bush portrayed himself as a more active participant, while Kerry regarded himself as an analyst who cherished his values and would be guided by them.

Different aspects of Barack Obama's speeches have also been analysed in critical discourse analysis. Horvath examined the persuasive strategies of Obama's public speaking and the reflected ideologies in his inaugural address. He used Fairclough's *assumptions* in CDA, claiming that "ideologies reside in texts," "it is not possible to 'read off' ideologies from texts" and "texts are open to diverse interpretations" (45). The results revealed that the key ideological components of Obama's speeches can be summarised as follows: pragmatism, liberalism, inclusiveness, acceptance of religious and ethnic diversity, and unity. The use of inclusive pronouns in his speeches, such as "we," reflects his call for unity (55). Moreover, Wang examined a sample of Obama's speeches (victory speech and inauguration speech), using CDA and Halliday's SFL model. Results revealed that Obama succeeded in shortening the distance between the audience and himself by using simple language with clear and simple structure; he used simple tenses, such as the present and future, to refer to his plans (261). The use of modality and transitivity reinforced people's confidence in him.

In her book *Democracy in Contemporary Egyptian Political Discourse*, Dunne posited that her interest in Egyptian political discourse and the way it presents democracy derives from the ambiguity of the discourse used. She proposed a new way to read Arabic political discourse, using the seminal theories of Scollon, Bakhtin, Billig and others. Mubarak's speeches were viewed as the result of complex social interactions among individuals and communities of practice inside and outside the government. She showed how discourse could accomplish social interactional aims. The book demonstrated that looking at the ways individuals and groups use public discourse to perform critical social and political functions yields entirely new perspectives on the significance of the discourse.

Mubarak's speeches during the Arab Spring Uprising provoked a very different impression. Lahlali examined the themes and structures of the last three speeches by President Hosni Mubarak of Egypt and President Zain El Abedeen Bin Ali of Tunisia before they were forced out of office. The paper compared and contrasted the substance and structure of the speeches and the strategies used to address the public. An analysis of the cultural and social context was utilised, along with a linguistic analysis of the lexicon. Results revealed that one of the significant differences in their speeches is the use of dialect as a medium of communication with the public. While all of Mubarak's speeches were delivered in modern standard Arabic, Ben Ali, in his final speech switched, between Modern Standard Arabic and Tunisian dialect. Another aspect quite prevalent in Ben Ali's speeches was the repetition of the same phrases and words, while Mubarak seemed to repeat themes rather than phrases or single words. This aspect was observed by Al-Majali, who concluded that repetition in the presidential speeches was to threaten civilian protestors. Al-Majali examined seven speeches by the three presidents ousted during the Arab Spring, Zain Al-Abedeen Ben Ali, Hosni Mubarak and Muammer Al-Gaddafi, using Halliday and

Hassan's framework of cohesion. Results revealed that all three used linguistic features different from the ones they usually did. One of these features is the use of repetition, hyponyms and synonyms to serve purposes such as political ideologies and to threaten the protesters peculiar to the current study.

Maalej also used CDA to examine the cognitive-pragmatic dramatic shift in the use of deixis in three speeches delivered by the ousted president Zain Al-Abedeen Ben Ali during the Arab Spring. The shift in pronouns, from using *we-you* to *we-they*, marked a shift in attitude as well. He found that it marked the shift from an oppressive and threatening tone in his first speech, to an accusatory tone in his second speech, and then to a desperate sympathy-seeking tone in his last speech.

There has also been much research on image representation through language. Anagondahalli examined the image repair strategies used by Hosni Mubarak during the Arab Spring, using Benoit's Image Repair Discourse Theory. The research aimed to investigate how Mubarak responded and represented himself in his first speeches during the Arab Spring. Out of the five stages of image repair, Mubarak used four: *denial*, *evasion of responsibility*, *reduction of offensiveness* and *corrective action*. The *mortification* strategy was never used by Mubarak, who tried to deflect the anger toward "unnamed others" instead of himself (Anagondahalli 242).

Adimi used three words to describe Mubarak's speeches: *paternalism*, *selfishness* and *falsity* ("Analysing Hosni Mubarak's Speech"). He analysed Mubarak's speeches and posited that the latter depicted himself as a father figure in an attempt to make the protesters sympathise with him. However, Mubarak used the first-person pronoun (I) many times, signifying his egocentric tendencies. He also blamed others, lied to his people regarding his foreign policies and used conspiracy theories to support his delusions. All of these were inferred by analysing Mubarak's linguistic style and his use of pronouns and certain vocabulary in the speeches.

Based on the review of previous research, attitudes of a speaker in political discourse can be depicted and traced using the appropriate linguistic devices. Mubarak's three speeches during the Arab Spring are used to depict instances of Attitude. To the best of the researcher's knowledge, there has been no study tackling Attitude in the speeches of a national leader on the eve of being ousted from office during a historically defining event such as the Arab Spring.

## Methodology

The appraisal concept (i.e., the concept of evaluation) discussed by Martin and White was adopted as framework for the analysis of the study. SFL has three metafunctions: *ideational*, *interpersonal* and *textual*. The interpersonal function of the discourse is one of Halliday's SFL metafunctions, and it focuses on social role and relations. The interpersonal relationship between the speaker and the

addressee consists of *negation*, *appraisal* and *involvement*. According to Martin and White, appraisal is one of the three discursive semantic resources construing interpersonal meaning. Appraisal is further realised in *attitude*, *engagement* and *graduation* in speech. Attitude is concerned with our feelings, including emotional reactions, the judgment of behaviour and evaluation of things. It is further divided into *affect*, *judgment* and *appreciation*. This is illustrated in figure 1.

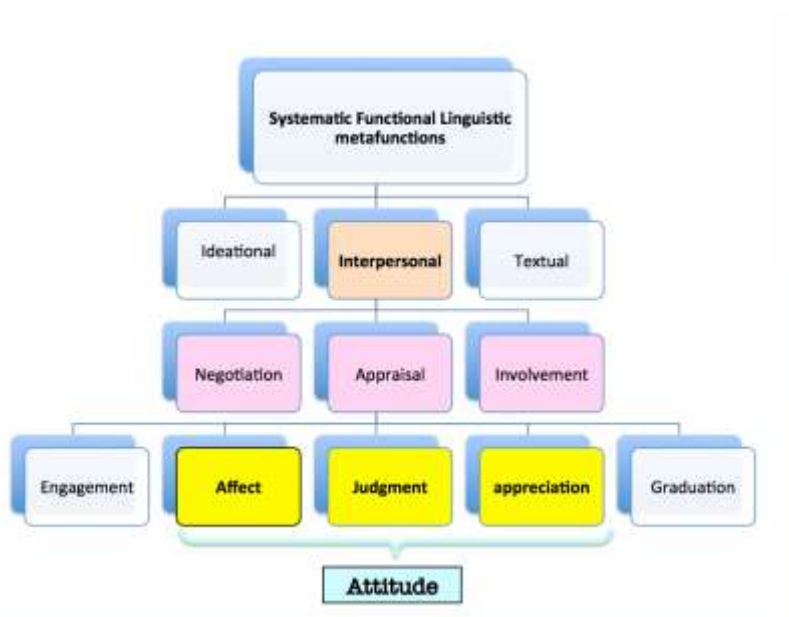


Figure 1. *Attitude* in Halliday's SFL

This research examined how Attitude is reflected in Mubarak's three speeches during the Arab Spring Uprising. Each speech was transcribed and analysed in terms of the linguistic devices used to reflect these domains in the original language, which is Arabic; however, examples are translated into English to support the analysis in this paper. Units of analysis included pronouns, intensification, reiteration, lexical selection and even metaphor. The distribution of the use of each domain and frequencies are presented using charts and diagrams.

### Results and Discussion

Using the framework devised by Martin and White, the concept of Appraisal is discussed by examining the Attitude domains in Mubarak's speeches. As mentioned, Attitude is divided into three types of feelings: *affect*, *judgment* and *appreciation*. Each domain is examined in all three speeches and every sentence in each speech is analysed for traces of Attitude.

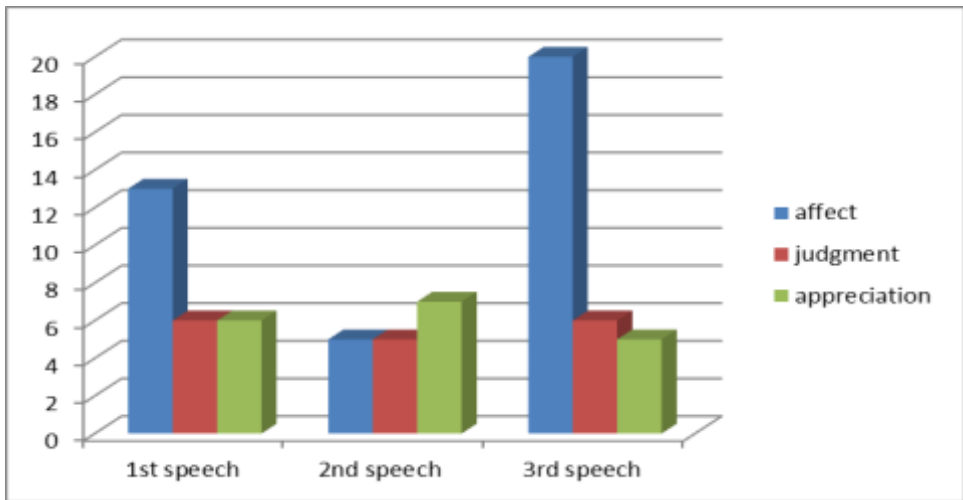


Figure 2. Distribution of Attitude domains in the three speeches

In his first speech, delivered on January 28, 2011, Mubarak tried to appear balanced, but his efforts were unrealistic and did not stop the protesters. He used an equal amount of first-person singular and plural pronouns (i.e., 35 for each). On the other hand, Mubarak almost succeeded in his second speech (delivered on February 1) in calming down the angry protesters, by describing his previous history and appealing to the citizens' sympathies, which accounts for the increased amount of first-person singular pronouns used. He used less affective terms and focused on the actions he planned to take, such as serving out the rest of his term while working to ensure a peaceful transfer of power within a stable leadership.

Following that second speech, Egyptians were divided; some were sceptical, while others were confused. A pro-Mubarak protester rode on a camel into Cairo's Tahrir Square and fought with other protesters (i.e., the Camel Battle). After that, people waited for the next speech, in which many expected him to resign, but they were shocked and disappointed. His last speech, delivered on February 10 provoked rage on Egypt's streets when he said he would hand over power to his deputy. His speech was full of emotion, evident by the tendency to use more affect expressions, that the Egyptian protesters were not seeking. They wanted actions – they wanted Mubarak to leave office and call for elections for a new government – not emotions. His speech was perceived as pompous and provocative. That was exemplified by his excessive use of first-person singular pronouns.

Each speech was analysed in terms of its attitudinal domains: *affect*, *judgment* and *appreciation* and they are explained in more detail in the following sections.

**Affect**

According to Martin and White, *affect* is concerned with registering positive and negative feelings, emotions and reaction to a behaviour, text or process. This can be exemplified in mental processes, behavioural processes and modal adjuncts, and can be either positive or negative. A sample of instances of *affect* from Mubarak's speech is listed in table 1.

Table 1  
*Affect* in Mubarak's Speeches

Speech	Instances of Affect
1 <sup>st</sup> speech	<i>My fellow brothers</i> <i>I am deeply saddened by</i> <i>I am not talking to you as the president</i> <i>Our respect</i> <i>I won't allow this</i>
2 <sup>nd</sup> speech	<i>My fellow citizens</i> <i>I was not looking for fame or power</i> <i>I have spent enough time serving...</i> <i>I honestly declare,</i> <i>I am very keen on</i>
3 <sup>rd</sup> speech	<i>Sons and youth of Egypt</i> <i>from a father to his sons and daughters</i> <i>I will not let go of</i> <i>I was in pain over</i> <i>I am disappointed because....</i>

In Mubarak's first speech, *affect* is exhibited as a quality ("I am deeply saddened by"). He demonstrated his deep sorrow for what had happened during the riot. Moreover, it is demonstrated as a process to "encourage" others, "respect" the country and "align" ideas. Mubarak expressed his support, respect and neutrality here, using verbs or attributive processes. He tried to reach the public by indicating that he was talking to them as an Egyptian citizen, not as the president. He communicated his sorrow and sadness over what happened, balancing the use of the first-person singular pronoun (I) and the first-person plural pronoun (we). He used expressions indicative of behavioural processes to stress his intentions for reform such as "encourage," "won't allow" and "won't tolerate."

In his second speech, Mubarak communicated fewer instances of emotion than his first speech. He was more rational and objective as he talked about more reforms, such as forming a new government and changing some articles of the constitution. The only *affect* conveyed in this speech was his assertion of not running in the new election. He said that he was "honestly" not going to do that.



The assertion here and the use of “honestly” may be interpreted as a move by a desperate man to prove his integrity one last time. His feelings were not directly conveyed when he defended himself and stated that he was not looking for fame or power: “I have not sought power.” He also stated that he had spent “enough” time serving Egypt, indicating his negative feelings toward the current events in Egypt.

In his last speech, Mubarak used an authoritative fatherly tone to address the protesters. He started by saying “from a father to his sons and daughters.” He exaggerated his fatherly feelings in “out of the heart,” “I was in pain,” “my heart really felt for” and “I cherish you.” He stressed his accomplishments and victories as an army member and a pilot. He then pushed his tone to another level when he started expressing his disappointment in “I am disappointed by the fact that.” He also overused the first-person pronoun (I) as opposed to the more inclusive first-person plural pronoun. The percentage of the use of the first person plural pronoun constitutes only 1.7% of his speech as contrasted with 5% for the first-person singular pronoun.

Reference to the father image is a traditional way to maintain authority over people because the father image is highly cherished and respected in the Arab culture. It may also be seen as a way to belittle the protesters by considering their behaviour as childish acts that needed to be forgiven by their father. The provocative aspect of Mubarak’s speech is his isolation of himself from the victims and demonstrative lack of sympathy for them, exemplified by his reference to them as “your martyrs,” not “our martyrs.” This is consistent with his tendencies to overuse the first person singular pronoun as mentioned earlier. This distant way of referring to the victims of the riots in Tahrir Square was negatively perceived by the masses who consequently chanted “Leave! Leave!” and marched immediately to the presidential palace after his speech.

Reiteration refers to the repetition of words or phrases to achieve coherence or other rhetorical purposes, such as stressing the importance of the message. It is sometimes used to signal discourse structure and division. This can be achieved by foregrounding or re-introducing important topic words into the discourse. In his first speech, Mubarak said “I support and always supported the citizen’s freedom of expression” to stress the extent of his support for the citizens. Also, he stated that “I was sad and deeply saddened” as a way to deliver how strong his feelings were at that time. In addition, he used “my fellow brothers” as a discourse marker to mark the division of his speech. By contrast, Mubarak used “I am telling you” as a discourse marker in his last speech, to mark the structure of his speech. This may be perceived as an authoritative device, because of his use of the imperative form of the verb in Arabic. In addition, there were some further instances of this in his last speech, such as “keen, very keen,” “embarrassed, full of embarrassment,” “ashamed very ashamed,” “first thing first” and “an hour by hour.” Reiteration is used more in the last speech, which is predictable for a

speaker who has been given another chance to convince the millions of protestors. He had to repeat words to emphasise their significance. According to Al-Majali, repetition in the presidential speeches was observed to threaten the civilian protestors.

### ***Judgment***

According to Martin and White, Judgment is defined as the evaluation of character or attitudes toward behaviour. These attitudes can be positive or negative. A sample of instances of Judgment is listed in table 2 below.

Table 2  
Judgment in the Three Speeches

<b>Speech</b>	<b>Instances of Judgment</b>
<b>1<sup>st</sup> speech</b>	<i>Peaceful demonstration</i> <i>Riot</i> <i>Infiltrate</i> <i>Spread fear and apprehension</i> <i>Trading with its ideas</i>
<b>2<sup>nd</sup> speech</b>	<i>Testing Egypt</i> <i>Pouring oil on the fire</i> <i>Jumping over... pounced</i> <i>Civilised and sophisticated</i> <i>Unfortunate confrontations</i>
<b>3<sup>rd</sup> speech</b>	<i>Honest demands and your honest movement</i> <i>Embarrassment would only lie in the fact – and I would never permit</i> <i>Tragic sad events</i> <i>It pains our hearts and hurt the consciousness of</i> <i>Situations that might harm those</i>

In his first speech, Mubarak referred to the protestors as rioters who wanted to use the current events to publicise their agenda, as in “trade with its ideas, riots.” He asserted that these riots were being allowed because of his policy of freedom of expression. This riot was an “infiltration,” according to Mubarak, and was intended to spread chaos. He also stressed that the public was reasonable and would not vainly waste resources on these demonstrations. He also described these riots and their negative impact on the masses in terms of the spread of fear and apprehension.

In his second speech, Mubarak maintained the tone of denying the legitimacy of these movements by emphasising how this freedom of expression movement had shifted from being a civilised and sophisticated movement to a series of unfortunate confrontations. He confirmed that this riot was nothing

but a test for Egypt and its national solidarity. In other words, he believed that this riot aimed to pour fuel on the fire to overthrow the constitution and attack it. This result supports Anagondahalli's analysis, which claims that Mubarak was using the denial strategy to blame the "unnamed others."

In his third speech, Mubarak heightened his judgmental tone. He still defended the honesty of the protesters' demands but admitted that these were tragic and sad events that pained his heart and the conscience of the nation. He evaluated this movement and passed a positive judgment that it was "honest." Nevertheless, he stated that they were permitting foreign forces to interfere with local matters and this is a negative evaluation of the situation based on social sanction (i.e., veracity and propriety of the situation) (Martin and White 52). Mubarak proclaimed that he did not feel any embarrassment in listening to the youth of his nation. This last comment also provoked the people, because it presupposes his erroneous Judgment that he was doing them a favour by listening to them and not being embarrassed about it. In fact, as the president, he should have been listening to them. He also had a subliminally threatening tone in his speech when he said, "this situation might turn out to harm those who started it."

One linguistic device used to reflect Mubarak's evaluation of the event is metaphor. Al-Sowaidi, et al defined metaphor as a rhetorical device used to understand a concept by associating it with a similar, more tangible one. Mubarak used metaphors to express his strong feelings or resentment of the current situation through his first and second speeches. In his first speech, he described Egypt as a nation that "does not waste its gains by throwing its gain in the wind." He referred to the protestors as people who wanted to "trade with their ideas," thus comparing those allegedly calling for freedom with people who are willing to sell their beliefs for some personal gain. In his second speech, Mubarak stated that those who wanted to ruin these peaceful demonstrations ("jumped into," "pounce on the constitution") indicated their barbarian tendencies to spread chaos. Mubarak contradicted himself because he believed in the honesty of the protesters in his third speech yet questioned the integrity of the riot by insinuating the interference of foreign forces "selling its agenda." Generally, metaphor was used in his speeches to express Mubarak's negative views towards the protestors.

### ***Appreciation***

According to Martin and White, Appreciation involves the evaluation of semiotic and natural processes, according to the way they are valued or not in a given field. In other words, Appreciation is a way to construct the value of things. As with the previous domains of Attitude, Appreciation can be positive or negative. A sample of instances of Appreciation expressed by Mubarak is listed in table 3.

Table 3  
Appreciation in Mubarak's Three Speeches

Speech	Instances of Appreciation
1 <sup>st</sup> speech	<i>Critical time</i> <i>An honest and serious stand</i> <i>Dangerous slide that threatens</i> <i>Legitimate aspirations</i> <i>Deeply rooted and civilised nation</i>
2 <sup>nd</sup> speech	<i>Difficult times</i> <i>Cruel tests/ situation</i> <i>honourable citizens</i> <i>Peaceful demonstration</i> <i>More aware, more keen nation</i>
3 <sup>rd</sup> speech	<i>The blood of your martyrs</i> <i>Legitimate and fair demands</i> <i>We... national dialogue</i> <i>Difficult times</i> <i>Difficult crossroad</i>

In his first speech, Mubarak described the current situation as a “critical situation” that needed “an honest and serious stand.” He posited that this demonstration was a way to express “the legitimate aspirations of a deeply rooted and civilised nation.” Nevertheless, he asserted that this riot can potentially slide to a dangerous situation that would threaten the general security and peace.

In his second speech, Appreciation was realised as Mubarak's reaction and how he valued these events. Thus, he claimed that these “peaceful demonstrations” are now “difficult events” and “cruel tests,” leading to “painful days.” Still, he asserted that “honourable citizens” will be “more aware” after this stage.

In his last speech, Mubarak promised to punish and pursue those who had caused the riot and killed the protesters. This promise contradicted what was mentioned earlier when he was unsympathetic in his references to them as “your martyrs” and not “our martyrs.” He stressed that the protesters' demands were legitimate and fair, which also contradicted other parts of his speech because he later insinuated that this riot had been provoked by foreign agendas. In another instance, he described something as fair and then immediately started doubting its fairness. He proclaimed that the time was difficult and that they had arrived at a crossroads. His overall assessment of the situation was unrealistic and contradictory, as he believed that the protesters were the same people who had created the chaos and killed people.

## Conclusion

This article aimed to explore the change of Attitude reflected in Mubarak's last presidential speeches during the Arab Spring in 2011 utilising the CDA approach. Martin and White's Appraisal framework was used to depict instances of Attitude in Mubarak's speeches.

Mubarak's three speeches can be considered as one of the most significant demonstrations of political discourse, because of their impact on the Uprising. People waited in hope for his departure during his last speech, but millions of protesters gathered in Tahrir Square, rioting against him instead and calling for his departure after his last provocative speech. Results of this study showed a significant change in Attitude in the three speeches in terms of *affect*, *judgment* and *appreciation*, evident in the impact the speeches had on the rioters.

Protesters waited for Mubarak's third speech, expecting him to resign; they were disappointed. His speech was full of subliminally authoritative messages and devoid of sympathy. Anagondahalli justified Mubarak's depiction of himself as a father figure as a strategy employed to humanise himself and avoid the dictator image. He clarified that protestors rejected this sentiment because it meant "accepting their powerlessness and reverting to the status quo" (243). Mubarak positioned himself as a father figure but was perceived as "authoritative" and consequently, was not well accepted by the young protestors (243).

The speeches prove the power of words over people. Words can move people, start demonstrations and even overthrow a ruler. Mubarak could have been more sympathetic and more realistic in his speeches. His egocentricity is apparent in the gradual increase of his use of the first-person singular pronoun. Instead of extolling his previous accomplishments, which were perceived negatively, he could have been more understanding, more aware and more appreciative of the protesters' demands. This was reflected linguistically by the increasing shift in the affective tone in his three speeches. The first speech provoked the protesters because he was questioning the seriousness of the demonstration. On the other hand, Mubarak's second speech was different and managed to soothe some of the protesters. It was less emotive and more assertive because he talked about actions of reform and showed more understanding of the current events. This finding was supported by Anagondahalli, who claimed that Mubarak's first speech had a shortlist of "corrective actions," which were very general, whereas, in his second speech, the list was shorter but precise. It was the list of someone who listened attentively to the demands of the protestors which he failed to maintain in his third speech (242).

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