

Discursive Strategies in Ben Ali's Speech: A Critical Discourse Study

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Abstract:

The present study investigates the realization of discursive strategies in Ben Ali's speech in the context of the collapse of power in which he depends on the power of words rather than the power of arms. It adheres to the theoretical model of Critical Discourse Studies (Henceforth CDS), specifically Wodak's Discourse Historical Approach (Henceforth DHA). The data will be divided into text segments to be analyzed, interpreted and then explained.

The study addresses the question that: what are the discursive strategies used in the selected speech? The results the study came up with indicated that the most common discursive strategies employed by the speaker are the referential, predicational ones to promote himself, and intensification strategy, as a result to the ideological gap resulted from the difference between the speaker and the addressees.

Keywords: discursive strategies, critical discourse studies, social actors, Topoi

Received: 19/04/2022

Accepted: 10/05/2022

الاستراتيجيات الخطابية في خطاب بن علي: دراسة خطابية نقدية

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المخلص:-

تبحث هذه الدراسة في الاستراتيجيات الخطابية في خطاب الرئيس التونسي الاسبغ زين العابدين بن علي في سياق انهيار السلطة ذلك الوضع الذي اعتمد المتكلم فيه على قوة الخطاب بدلا من قوة السلاح. تلتزم هذه الدراسة بالنموذج النظري للدراسات الناقدة للخطاب ، وتحديدأ منهج ووداك في التحليل التاريخي للخطاب الذي يحلل اللغة في سياقها . سيتم تقسيم البيانات إلى مقاطع نصية لتحليلها وتفسيرها ثم شرحها.

تجيب الدراسة السؤال التالي: ما هي الاستراتيجيات الخطابية الشائعة المستخدمة في الخطاب المختار؟ و خلصت النتائج التي توصلت إليها الدراسة إلى أن أكثر الاستراتيجيات التي استخدمها المتحدث هي الاستراتيجيات المرجعية والتنبؤية للترويج لنفسه واستراتيجية التاكيد بسبب الفجوة الأيديولوجية الناتجة عن الاختلاف بين المتحدث والمخاطب.

الكلمات المفتاحية: الاستراتيجيات الخطابية ، الدراسات الناقدة للخطاب ، الفاعل الاجتماعي, المواضيع الحجاجية

تاريخ القبول: ٢٠٢٢/٠٢/٠٨

تاريخ الاستلام: ٢٠٢١/١١/٢٣

1. Introduction

Politicians usually manipulate language to promote themselves, to name, or to refer to other people positively as in-groups or negatively as out-groups. They mostly use language as a persuasive device to change people's attitudes about different issues: wars, elections, crises and so on, or to exercise power, domination or as a hegemonic project. The success of Politicians most often relies on their ability to convince their audiences with their argumentations (Ghailan and Jassim, 2020:1). So, Political discourse is a fruitful area to show how language is used to influence people. In this respect, Political discourse is the field of discourse analysis that focuses on discourse in a political form, such as hearings debates and speeches. Therefore, CDS is an approach that is appropriate to describe political discourse as it discusses the relationship of dominance, control, power and ideology. It is a field, which studies and analyzes spoken and written texts in order to disclose the discursive sources of power, inequality, dominance and bias. Further, it analyzes the way these discursive sources reproduced and maintained within particular historical and socio-political contexts. CDS has several approaches that utilized as theoretical frameworks to analyze political discourse. The current study aims to identify the most common linguistic features in the selected speech.

2. Literature Review

2.1. CDS

CDS is an interdisciplinary approach that draws on linguistic theory and social theory, in the sense that it combines the latter to textual analysis (Flowerdew, 2013: 178-179). Thus, society is studied through discourse that is understood and contextualized through analyzing its historical, socio-political and cultural bases (Wodak and Meyer, 2016). It is noteworthy that CDS was developed from Critical linguistics (CL), initialized in 1970s (Fowler, et al. 2019), which focused on ideology and power in language practice (Flowerdew, 2013: 178; Flowerdew and Richardson, 2018:1). initially, CDS was referred to as Critical discourse analysis (CDA) which was started by van Dijk and other scholars in 1991(Flowerdew, 2013: 178). Some of CDA scholars changed the CDA into a broader field of research named as CDS. Van Dijk (2009) justifies this change stating that CDA has expanded to a large extent to include

philosophical, theoretical, methodological, and practical changes, and it has not been limited to only applied analysis.

CDS is not only interested in the analysis of linguistic unit per se but also in the analysis, understanding and explanation of social and complicated phenomena that require interdisciplinary approach (Wodak, 2015b:2). However, CDS is still interested in its original issues of language, ideology, and power. Furthermore, the focus of CDS is essentially on the nature of discursive and linguistic social power relations and how they function in and through discourse in contemporaneous societies (Wodak and Fairclough, 1997: 272).

CDS aims at advancing people's understanding of the way discourse is formed in societal practices, societal structures and societal change as well as denaturalizing "the role discourses play in the (re)production of noninclusive and nonegalitarian structures and challenges the social conditions in which they are embedded" (Wodak, 2015a:1). CDS is primarily concerned with the analysis of the hidden, opaque and noticeable structures of power, domination, discriminating, and control exhibited in language i.e. CDS aims at investigating critically the expression, constitution and legitimization of social injustice in discourse (Wodak and Meyer, 2015:14). Further, CDS deals with real instances of language in-use not invented examples (Van Dijk, 1993: 252). It focuses on studying large units such as speeches by studying the action and interaction through analyzing discourse (Urger, Wodak and KhosraviNik, 2016) aiming to uncover the underlying characteristics of language- in-use and to demystify "their claims to authority" in order to reveal unjust power relationships in discourse (Flowerdew and Richardson, 2018:1). The CDS practitioners take the part of the oppressed and attempt to show the linguistic devices manipulated by the privilege holders to stabilize or even to intensify injustice in society (Meyer, 2001).

2.2 Discursive Strategies

Discursive strategies are intentional plans of discursive practices and tactics employed in discourses to achieve particular societal, political, psychological or linguistic goals (Reisigl and Wodak, 2001a, 2009). They are systematized methods of language use that exist at various degrees of linguistic complexity and organization (Wodak and Reisigl, 2001:386; Wodak, 2015a:12). Further, discursive strategies are underpinned to justify and legitimate exclusion, inclusion, construction

of identities of specific social actors (Wodak, 2013:49) as well as particular ideologies and claims(Engel and Wodak, 2013:78).

Reisigl and Wodak (2001a; 2008a:55) have suggested five strategies that DHA focuses on in order to analyze any discourse. They are: Nomination/ Referential, Predication, Argumentation, Perspectivation and Intensification /mitigation (See Table 1) which are used in the positive Self- and negative Other-representation. Wodak, (2001: 72; 2005:13) presents the discursive strategies by asking several methodological questions, as the following:

1. How does the writer/speaker name and refer to actions, happenings, operations, people, and things linguistically. (**Referential or nomination strategy**)
2. How does the writer/speaker characterize and qualify actions, happenings, practices, people, and things? (**Predicational strategy**)
3. What argumentative devices are utilized by the speaker or writer in his/her text to justify or question claims? (**Argumentation strategy**)
4. According to what viewpoints does the speaker or writer express his positions in detachment and involvement in actions through the use of nominations, arguments and attributions? (**Perspectivization strategy**)
5. Are the related utterances explicit? How are they intensified or mitigated? (**Intensification /mitigation strategy**)

2.2.1 Referential or nomination strategy

Referential or nomination strategy is the way the speaker refers to or name social actors in order to make inclusion or exclusion. This is achieved through several devices: membership categorization devices (two-set classes whose names would be things like sex, age, race, religion, perhaps occupation (Sacks,1989:89), deictics, anthroponyms, tropes (metaphors, metonymies, and synecdoches), and verbs and nouns used to denote processes and actions (Wodak, 2008a:54; Wodak 2013:49; Wodak and Richardson, 2013:78). A speaker / writer refers to himself and his allies positively whereas s/he refers to the other social actors (his/her enemies and foes) negatively by using the nomination strategies

2.2.2 Predicational strategy

Predicational strategy is the way the social actors are described. They are usually realized as predicates, adjectives, appositions, adverbials, relative clauses, collocations, metaphors, similes, and other rhetorical tropes (including: hyperboles, metonymies euphemisms and litotes), presuppositions, evocations, allusions, implicatures, infinitive clauses, conjunctive clauses, participial clauses, predicative nouns, pronouns, explicit or implicit comparisons, and others that are employed to assign specific attributes or characteristics of social actors (Baker and Ellece, 2011:101; Wodak, 2008b:54; Wodak, 2015b: 9).

2.2.3 Perspectivization strategy

Perspectivization strategy shows the speaker's position of point of view and involvement and detachment of events in his discourse; by using narration or quotation (e.g. direct, indirect or free indirect speech), deictics description, discourse markers (*right, anyway*), particles, repetition and metaphors (Wodak, 2009:42; Wodak, 2013:49). The speaker/writer uses involvement strategies to express his attitudes and feelings about social actors as well as the emotional and cognitive engagement of his audience in his discourse. On the other hand, the detachment is employed to distance with social actors via using:

hypotactic syntax such as relative and complement clauses, or sequences of prepositional phrases, or the abstractive passive voice, nominalizations and metonymisations instead of 'vivid' metaphors, or distancing personal, local and temporal deictics and forms of address and salutation, or of indirect speech, and so on. (Reisigl and Wodak 2001a:82)

2.2.4 Argumentation strategy (Topoi)

Argumentation strategy is the use of Topoi in order to show the way arguments used to justify the inclusion and exclusion of social actors and the (de)legitimization of certain actions. (Wodak, 2013:48). Topoi are the content-related conclusion rule or warrant connecting the arguments with the conclusion or the main claim (Decrut, 1980, as cited in Jassim, 2019:38). They are employed to justify the social actor's position whether s/he was included or excluded (Wodak, 2001:27). The understanding of argumentation and topoi depend on the context in which they are used (Yousef, 2021:45). The following Topoi are adopted from Wodak (2001:74-77).

A. Topos of definition or topos of name-interpretation : if an action, a thing or a person (group of persons) is named/designated

(as) X, the action, thing or person (group of persons) carries or should carry the qualities/ traits/attributes contained in the (literal) meaning of X.

B. Topos of urgency: Decisions or actions need to be considered/ weighed/ made very quickly because of an external, important and unchangeable event beyond one's own reach and responsibility.

C. Topos of danger or topos of threat: if a political action or decision bears specific dangerous, threatening consequences, one should not perform or do it.

D. Topos of responsibility: because a state or a group of persons is responsible for the emergence of specific problems, it or they should act in order to find solutions to these problems.

E. Topos of numbers: if the numbers prove a specific topos, a specific action should be performed or not be carried out.

Topos of authority: If one refers to somebody/something in a position of authority, then the action is legitimate.

2.2.5 Intensification or mitigation strategy.

Intensification strategy is used to intensify illocutions to focus on certain issues by using gradable verbs, modal verbs, repetition, hyperboles and augmentatives(Wodak, 2013:49). **Mitigation strategy** is used to mitigate some propositions to avoid risk of criticism (Fraser, 1980:342). Mitigation is realized when the speaker uses questions instead of assertions (Abboud, 2005), the use of verb of saying or verbs of feelings or where he uses implicit instead of explicit references(Wodak and Reisigl, 2001).

3 Research Methodology

A qualitative method was followed in this study which aims to draw conclusion by analyzing data according to CDS theories concerning Discourse Strategies in Arabic political discourse. The qualitative method involves observing, analyzing and overviewing data aiming to collect facts about the problem under study in order to help both researchers and readers better understand the human experience and behaviour as well as the meaning assigned by people to specific occurrences. The qualitative method in CDS looks for vocabularies, tropes, argumentative devices, modality, transitivity and many other linguistic devices (Mautner, 2008: 44) by interpreting these devices in their context (Abbas, 2021:45).So, this study analyzes the selected speech to describe how such devices in the Discursive Strategies

proposed by Wodak and Reisigl,(2001) are used by the speaker in the collapse of power context.

3.1 Data Selection

The selection of data depends on the topic of the problem under study (Reisigl, 2016:99).The data of this study represents the speech given by an Arab leader in the context of collapse of power. The speech is in the Tunisian Diglossia. The data were selected according to the context and the socio-political background of the speaker, as a controversial person who has ruled his country for a long time and has shaped his own ideology and form of power as an attempt to shape and reshape the ideologies of his receivers.

3.2 Data Collection

For DHA, there is no particular technique for gathering data; it focuses on gathering the indicators for specific ideas. But this does not mean that data gathering phase is totally excluded but data added whenever new questions have always arisen (Wodak and Meyer, 2009:28). The Data of this study were collected according to the following steps:

1. data were searched on line as transcript and video to make sure of its authenticity.
2. downloading the text to be read carefully and to be prepared for analysis.
3. selecting text that is produced by the given speaker in relation to the context belongs to the wanted orator and the context.
4. reading the text to determine the linguistic devices that are related to the advocated theoretical moves.

3.3 Procedures for data analysis

The data will be divided into text segments to be analyzed, interpreted and then explained. The data are described according to Wodak's DHA where the researcher examines the discursive strategies and context-dependent linguistic realizations. Five discursive ones are adopted to reveal how they are manipulated in the selected speech. The data are examined so as to define the linguistic devices that could be coded according to Wodak and Reisigl's (2001) five discursive strategies. These devices are investigated on the basis of the realization of each of the discursive strategies.

4. Data Analysis and Discussion

4.1 Context of the speech

Zine El Abidine Ben Ali is the second president of Tunisia after its dependence from France in 1956. He came to power after a peaceful (Medical) coup on Habib Boureguiba in 1987 (Britannica Encyclopedia, 20 Jan, 2021) when doctors announced that President Boureguiba was unable to rule due to dementia (BBC News, Sept. 2019). Ben Ali was born on the third of September 1936 in Hammam Sousse, and graduated from the High School of Multipurpose in Saint-Cyr and the Artillery School in Chalons-sur-Marne and the Higher School for Research and Security in France (Britannica Encyclopedia, 20 Jan, 2021). He headed Military Intelligence from 1964-1974, and then a Head of National Security between 1977-1980. He served as Tunisia's ambassador in Poland in 1980. Boureguiba appointed him as the Prime Minister in 1987, a month before disposing Boureguiba (BBC News, Sept. 2019). Social injustice, corruption, freedom restriction and oppressing different segments of the Tunisian people such as Islamists, social activists and the opposition were the most prominent features of Ben Ali's regime. The police was an instrument of suppression and preservation of Ben Ali's power (Hibou 2006 cited in Boubakri, 2015). The living conditions were bad, especially for the graduate youth, so the situation heralded the outbreak of a revolution. The revolution started when an unemployed poor college graduate young named as Bou'azizi who set himself to fire in protest against his being jobless, his maltreatment by police, nepotism and corruption (Boubakri, 2015). The uprising caught fire and was broadcasted on Al-Jazeera and internet. The government cut the internet service that made the protesters send the videos and photos of uprising to the satellite channels. The police tried to put out the uprising and clashes between the police and protesters took place at the town of Tahala. The police used live ammunition and killed five protesters and wounded others. Lots of protesters were killed by snipers in other places. Ben Ali supported what the police had done stating that they stopped a small terrorist group from destroying public properties. Day by day, the uprising intensified and the situation became out of hand. In order to save the situation, Ben Ali declared that he would provide fifty thousand new jobs for the unemployed protesters and to do reforms. On the other hand, his forces continued using force against the protesters (Perkins, 2014). In order to prevent the youth from protesting in the streets, the schools and universities were closed (BBC News, Jan. 2011). However the protesters kept on pouring to the streets of the capital and other cities.

The army refused to open fire on the protesters while the army commanders advised Ben Ali not to cling to power and accept his people's demands. On 12 Jan 2011, Ben Ali expelled the minister of interior and released many prisoners as well as offering thousands jobs (BBC News , Jan.2011). On 13 Jan. 2011, he addressed the people for the third time since the crisis declaring that he would do constitutional amendments, give more freedom to journalism and punish those who killed the protesters so as to persuade the protesters to go back home but they were increasing in number. Ben Ali suddenly fled from Tunisia to his last exile 'Saudi Arabia' on 14, Jan.2011, (Owen, 2014).

4.2 Discursive Strategies in Ben Ali's Speech.

The analysis examines Ben Ali's using some personal pronouns so as to exercise power, share responsibility and do commitments. He shows his promises and commitments to satisfy the demands of the protesters. The first person pronoun *انا* *I* takes most of the space in Ben Ali's speech. It is used (46) times, (37) times of which are implicit while 9 are explicit. Whereas its variants (*ني*) *me* is used (8) times and (*ي*) *my* used 12 times. (*نحن*) *We* is used 16 times, 13 of which as implicit and 3 times as explicit whereas its variants *نا* *our* (after nouns) is used 12 times and *نا* *us* (after verbs and prepositions) is used 7 times. Table (1) shows the in-group personal pronouns used in Ben Ali's speech (BAS).

Table (1) In-group personal pronouns in BAS

Pron.	Freq.	Per.
انا=Exp.I	9	9%
انا =Imp. I	37	37%
ني =Me	3	3%
ي =My	6	6%
نقوم=Imp. We	13	13%
نحن =Exp. We	3	3%
نا = us	7	7%
نا = our	12	12%
كم =Imp. Subj. You	1	1%
كم=Your	9	9%
Total	100	100%

Because the speech is headed to the Tunisian people, the speaker starts addressing them using the nationyms *تونسي* *Tunisian* 9 times, *تونس* *Tunis* is referred to as toponym 8 times or as metonym 6 times and anaphora 8 times. Table (2) shows the referential strategies used in BAS.

Moreover, Ben Ali uses names, adjectives and metaphors to refer and to describe himself and his audience classifying them as in-groups explicitly. However, he refers to some people implicitly identifying them as Others to mitigate his stance of criticism against the protesters. The speaker uses the first person singular pronoun to express not only commitments and promises but also to express self-defense, self-promotion, responsibility and power. However, most of the *Is* used by the speaker are to commit and promise to satisfy the demands of the protesters.

Starting with commitments, Ben Ali uses the first person pronoun singular to make promises and commitments to achieve what the protesters claim him to do. The first commitment is to accept the demands of the protesters saying that the situation requires a change intensifying the idea of deep change needed to satisfy the protesters. In L5, he repeats (*انا فهمتكم I understand you*) twice and 5 times in the whole speech to intensify the idea of responding to their demands, then he refers to sorts of people (*البطال و المحتاج و السياسي واللي يطالب بمزيد مالحرّيات*) *the jobless, the needy, and the politician claiming more freedom*).

He uses the collective (*انا we*) and the implicit collective in (*نريد we want*) as well as the word (*فعلي actual*) to intensify his promises and trustworthiness to allow all the national parties to participate in the coming elections in 2014 according to a national dialogue. This is the part of what he describes as (*تغيير عميق و شامل a deep and comprehensive change* L4) which means that change includes all parts of political system including the presidency. Ben Ali's underlying ideology is to convince the audience to allow him to stay in power till 2014 which is repeated twice. Moreover, he refers to (*الاطراف الوطنية national parties*) to exclude those who are protesting in the street described as looters.

Table (2), Referential Strategies in BAS

strategy	In-group	Fr eq.	Out-group	Freq.
Collectivization -deictics -	نحن\نا\ انا we/ us/ our الشعب	35 3		

collectives	التونسي شعبيها Tunisian people بلادنا ابلاد country احزاب سياسية parties منظمات وطنية national organizations مجتمع مدني Civil society متفقين intellectuals مواطنيين citizens	6 1 1 1 1 3		
Politicization -political professiony ms - organisation alisation	الوزير الأول prime minister وزير الداخلية minister of interior المسؤولين officials حزب party	1 1 1 1		
Spatialization -toponyms	Tunis تونس	8		
De-spatialization -de- toponymic anthropony ms	Tuالتوانسه\التونسي nisian	9		
Social problematisa				

tion	الضحايا victims	1		
-	الوفيات deaths	1		
Victimisation	-	-	العصابات gangs	1
-			المنحرفين delinquents	1
Victimonyms			مجموعات سطو ونهب groups of looters	
-				
Criminalization				
-				
Crimonyms				
Econymisation	المحتاج needy	1		
-econyms	البطل unemployed	1		

In L41, Ben Ali states "سأعمل على صون الدستور, دستور البلاد" *"I will work on preserving the constitution, the country constitution"*, he uses near-feature particle (س will) and the nominal (صون *preserving*) as well as repeating the word (دستور *constitution*) twice in order to intensify his commitment.

Moreover, in L30, Ben Ali states "كلفت الحكومة.. اتصلت بالوزير الاول باش" *"I instructed the Government ... I called the Prime Minister to decrease the commodity prices and basic services"*. He uses the topos of authority to place the Prime minister in the position of authority to legitimize his action. So he uses the past verbs (كلفت \ اتصلت *I called/ instructed*) to show that he has started to do what he has pledged to reduce the prices of commodities and basic materials; milk, sugar, and bread. He aims to establish his authority by using first implicit person pronoun singular.

In L35, Ben Ali pledges to give more freedom for demonstrating "التظاهر السلمي المؤطر... الحضاري" *"the framed peaceful civilized demonstration"* repeated twice. But provided that "يعلم بها و يحدد وقتها و" *"to inform it and its place and time and to cooperate with the officials to keep it peaceful"*, he repeats (سلمية *peaceful*) 5 times and uses the implicit third

person singular pronoun (هو) during citing the conditions of demonstration to refer to (حزب او منظمة) a party or an organization) not common people. Here, he presupposes that the current demonstrations, which is out of the hand of and against the government in addition to the violence and casualties that occur during it as he describes in L15-18, are unlawful. Further, he implicitly rests the violence on the protesters accusing them of being saboteurs because their demonstrations, described in (17-19) as (اعتداء\ حرام\ عيب\ اجرام) *violence, looting, group of bandits and assault, shame, criminal act*), are not identical to the kind of protest he describes in (35-38).

Furthermore, Ben Ali uses the first person singular to express his sympathy and solidarity with the victims that have fallen in the current events stating that "تألّمت لما حدث شديد الالم" *"I felt deep pain"*. This phrase intensifies his great annoyance in order to touch the feelings of people, then he moves to praise himself and his achievements in the past and present, he states that "حزني و المي كبيران" *"I felt great sadness and pain"* (11-14). He expresses his sadness for people's protesting against him then tries to remind them with his history and achievements in serving the country and his sacrifices for it. He aims to show himself as a victim wronged by the people who he sacrifices for them "و قدّمت التضحيات و ما" *"I have made countless sacrifices and I do not want to count them"* he presupposes that all people know these achievements.

The other personal pronoun used by Ben Ali is (نحن *we*) and its variants (نا *us*, *نا our* and *نا ours*). He uses (نحن *we*) as a collective to include himself with the audience as solidarity, unity of opinion and shared responsibility.

In L6-7, Ben Ali uses collective pronoun as in : "فهمتكم و فهمت الكل، لكن الأحداث التي جارية اليوم في بلادنا ماهياش متاعنا و التخريب موش من عادات" *"I have understood you. I have understood each one of you. But the events taking place in our country are not a part of us"*, he mentions (عنف *violence*) 6 times and (التخريب *destruction*) twice, to intensify the criminality of the protesters implicitly as well as using the topos of threat to show how dangerous those people are. Further, he uses the exclamer (لكن *but*) (which combines two different stances the second one negate the first to achieve what so called in Arabic (*Al-istidrak*) (Qassim and Ghaleb, 2020:113), and the negative particles (ماهياش\ موش) *not*) to refer to his underlying ideology, as such, the sentence after the exclamer refers to the real stance of the speaker

whereas the negative particles and the collective pronoun (ماهاياش منااعنا) *are not ours*) used for suppression and exclusion. So, he makes detachment with the protesters covertly.

Ben Ali expresses his viewpoint in refusing the violence taking place in the streets saying it is not part of the Tunisian society, he aims to show that these people violated the norms of Tunisian people, so he gets them out of their identity and humanity as well (van Dijk, 1995).

In L8, Ben Ali refers to the collectives (احزاب سياسية, منظمات وطنية,) *Political parties, national organizations, civil society, intellectuals and citizens*) to have the responsibility to stop what he calls (التيار) *the stream*). Metaphorically, he uses the word (التيار) "stream" to refer to protesters in order to dehumanize them and present them as unrecognizable mass causing an undesirable catastrophic situation to detach from them. Since those protesters cause chaos, looting, destruction, degradation of property and violence as he states in L6, 8, 15, 16, 17, 19 and 26. So, he calls to work together (اليد في اليد) *hand in hand* L9) repeating this phrase twice and the collectives (الكل اجمع) to intensify the idea of sharing responsibility. Then, he uses the collective (اولادنا) *for our children's safety*) for solidarity. Further, he repeats the same collective in L16 "اولادنا اليوم في الدار... لانا اصبحنا خايفين" *Our children are confined at home today we became afraid for their safety*" these collectives refer only to the audience, in other words, to people's sons not his, showing empathy and solidarity with them but implicitly he aims to evoke their emotions by exploiting their fears for the safety and future of their children using the topos of danger and threat.

Moreover, the orator uses first person plural pronoun is employed to show himself as a representative for the government excluding the audience. For instance "وحننا عطينا التعليمات" *we gave instructions* L18), "نقوم بتخفيض في أسعار" *we decrease the prices*" L30) and "سنكون لجنة" *we will set up a national committee*" L48) to refer to his responsibility and authority whereas "و نعول على تعاون الجميع" *we rely on the cooperation of all*" L18), "و نستنتى من كل تونسي إلى يساندنا" *I expect all Tunisians who support us*" L25) used to ask for people's support but the use of plural here is to reduce the use of first person singular.

Further, he also uses the first person plural to express his sympathy "تألما لسقوط ضحايا... و انا نرفض ان يسقط المزيد" *we were saddened for the victims ...and I refuse to see more victims*" L15) here, he uses

plural instead of first person singular to express himself as a representative for his government, and to intensify his empathy then he uses first person singular (انا نرفض *I refuse*) to intensify his own point of view.

On the other hand, Ben Ali refers to the out-groups considering the demon-stration as criminality "مجموعات سطو ونهب واعتداء ... هذا إجرام" *"groups of bandits from looting and attacks ... this is a criminal act not a protest"* L17) and "و نعول على تعاون الجميع حتى نفرق بين هذه العصابات و المجموعات من المنحرفين الذين يستغلون الظرف و بين الاحتجاجات السلمية" *"and we rely on the cooperation of all, so that we can distinguish between the small delinquent gangs who are making use of the circumstances... stop violence, stop violence"*, so Ben Ali uses negative expressions to refer to protesters. In L17, he directly defines the current protest as (اجرام *criminality*) then he mitigated his illocution when using (حتى نفرق بين *to differentiate between*) classifying the protesters into (الاحتجاجات السلمية *those who exploit conditions*) and (الاحتجاجات السلمية *peaceful protests*) but he ends this line repeating (فكفى عنفاً كفى *so stop violence*) negating that there are peaceful protests. Therefore, he asks people to stop the group of bandits and looters. He repeats the same call in L26 "و التخلي عن العنف و التخريب و الإفساد، فالإصلاح لازم الهدوء" *"reject violence, acts of destruction, and degradation of property since reform requires calm"* and again he refers to the protest negatively "الأحداث... منطلقها إحتجاج على أوضاع إجتماعية كنا عملنا جهود كبيرة لمعالجتها... ولازم نعطي أنفسنا جميعا الفرصة و الوقت" *"events ... triggered by the protest against a social situation, on which we have made huge efforts...we must give ourselves the chance and time"* so he describes the protest as (الأحداث *events*) he means *looting and destruction* which start as protest against social conditions he already does his best to solve them as he claims. He uses past verbs (كنا *we were*) and (عملنا *we worked*) to intensify his past efforts to solve the social conditions but he is not given chance and time. He implicitly accuses the protesters for protesting for no reason and they do not give him time and chance.

So, Ben Ali's allusion and metonyms are all referred to and described the protesters explicitly and implicitly as others and out-groups in order to justify the use of excessive violence against them and empty the demonstrations of their patriotic content in order to turn the people against them or at least to stop supporting them.

5. Conclusion

The speaker employs five discursive strategies: referential or nominational, predicational, perspectivation, argumentation (Topoi) and intensification/ mitigation. They are manipulated by the speakers to legitimize his actions and to delegitimize the actions of the others and to convince his audiences on certain cases.

Ben Ali chooses the implicit references for out-groups. He uses the first person singular pronouns where used more than the other pronouns as a means of self-defense, a strategic device for exercising relying on explicit performative verbs(Jarraya, 2013 as cited in Ali and Obeid,2015:6). In addition, the first person plural is also employed but to a lesser extent to exercise his power, showing solidarity and representation to his government while facing uprisings in his country.

Via the *perspectivation strategy* Ben Ali focuses on the use of adjectives and names to express his attitudes in addition to using repetition, direct and indirect speech. By means of argumentation *strategy* the speaker employs arguments to justify the negative attributes of his foes. He manipulates adjectives, metaphors, and simile in his arguments so as to show the danger of the Others and their accountability for the ongoing events.

Through the strategy of *intensification/mitigation*, the speaker uses repetition, particles of emphasis, to intensify or mitigate certain illocutions. The intensification strategy is employed though the whole speech because the ideological gap between the speaker and the addressees needed the intensifying devices such as repetition and the shift from plural pronouns to singular ones to emphasize his point of view. Whereas mitigation strategy is mostly employed by the implicit use of language and the shift from singular pronouns to plural ones.

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