

People's Democratic Republic of Algeria
Ministry of Higher Education and Scientific Research
Ibn Khaldoun University of Tiaret
Faculty of Letters and Languages
Department of English



**A Critical Discourse Analysis of Abdelmadjid
Tebboune's Inauguration Speech of December
19th, 2019**

**Dissertation Submitted in a Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements for
Master's Degree in Linguistics**

Submitted by:

Mr Mohamed KOUIDER

Mr Mokhtar SRIBA

Supervised by:

Mr Mohamed Amine DEKKICHE

BOARD OF EXAMINERS

- **Chairperson:** Dr Khaled BELARBI
- **Examiner:** Mr Noureddine CHEBLI
- **Supervisor:** Mr Mohamed Amine DEKKICHE

Academic year: 2019/2020

DECLARATION

We hereby declare that the substance of this Master dissertation is entirely the result of our investigation and that due reference or acknowledgement is made, whenever necessary, to the work of other researchers.

Dedication

“Whenever you find yourself discouraged, remind yourself that while succumbing to laziness feels good at first, ultimately it will only worsen your situation and make you even less ready to face challenges embrace discipline stay active and you will find both fulfilment and meaning in life.”

This work would not take in life without the will and the inspiration that Allah granted me

I dedicate this work.

First To my Mother

Who stood by me and sacrificed everything so I can live a comfortable life.

To my father

I ask Allah to grant him health. He always pushed me, disciplined me, protected me, and taught me to choose the right path even it is the less traveled.

To my dear sister

She stood by me and helped me all my life.

I am forever grateful to my friends

Who never made me feel abandoned, Namely; Mohammed. Khalil. Amine. Kassimo. Aziz. Khaled. Abdrazak. Liela, M. Soria B. Ilhem, S. Klthom. Zineb. Meriem.

I appreciate every good thing you gave me even if it is just a nice word.

To my uncle Mohamed KHATHIR

Who helped me a lot I appreciate every thing.

THANK YOU.

Mokhtar.

Dedication

“To get something you never had you have to do something you never did”

First of all, thanks go to Allah for enlightening my way to complete this work

I would respectively dedicate this work to my dear parents

Who spent hard days and nights only for seeing me study and succeed in such occasion

and gave me enough support full of love, hope, help, and care.

To my brothers and sisters who have never stopped motivating me.

To Dr Khadidja BELKHEIR for her support.

To all teachers of English from middle school to university

who guided me to the person “I am” today.

To my friends for their support

To a specific classmate Leila MEDJAHED.

To all of you

Thank you very much.

Mohammed

Acknowledgements

We would like to express our enormous gratitude to our supervisor Dr. Mohamed Amine DEKKICHE for his hard and genuine support and selfless time spent in giving us enough guidance, motivation, and patient that if without him our research will not touch the surface.

We cannot express enough appreciation to the board of examiners for their constructive criticism and supportive guidance that will improve our work, namely our committee; Chairperson Dr. Khaled BELARBI. Examiner Mr. Nouredine CHEBLI. Supervisor Mr. Mohamed Amine DEKKICHE.

We would also like to thank Dr. Ali BERRABAH and again Dr. Khaled BELARBI for providing us with the necessary, valid, and effective sources of information concerning the backbone of our research.

We will not forget Dr. Ammar BENABED who gave us an opportunity to learn and benefit from his wide knowledge, high ethics, and experience.

In addition, we thank our dear teachers, Dr. Belaid Louiza and Dr. Hadj MAHI for their immense moral support and for presenting us with great ideas that contributed in building our research.

Lastly, deep thanks go to the rest of the teachers in the department of English and our classmates for their unlimited encouragement.

Abstract

On December 19, 2019, Algeria's president Abdelmadjid Tebboune delivered his first presidential speech in an inauguration ceremony at the Congress Palace of Algiers, which ensued a semi radical change that had reshaped the country's political atmosphere. Hence, the present study will be oriented to give a critical discourse analysis (CDA) to Tebboune's speech based on Norman Fairclough's 1989 and 1995 model of CDA. The purpose of this study is set to reveal elements of discursive power and ideologies enclosed in Tebboune's speech through investigating his different linguistic choices, rhetorical and stylistic strategies, intertextuality, as well any socio-cultural or historical condition that regulated and molded the content and the structure of his speech. Furthermore, we will point out his political stands and intention towards both the 2019 pre-election events and Algeria's protest known as El hirak. Going through our data analysis process, we found that Tebboune had a preference for legal actions in contrast to the act of revolution which indicates a populism kind of ideology. He also expressed self-forced appeasement towards the protest which he deliberately understated at the beginning as a first step to create a free-critic environment for his forthcoming presidential term. There were also unconscious or perhaps coded intertexture parody, in many points shared between Tebboune's speech and his predecessor Abdelaziz Bouteflika's speech of April 15th, 2011. Additionally, The general picture that Tebboune wanted to show is a desire to make change through developing two key factors which are economy and law. Although our study is rather new in terms of data, its significance will be shown in our unique readjustment of Fairclough's model. And of equally important, it will provide new insight into the relation of discourse and power all in the context of Algeria's recent political situation, which in itself represents a social phenomenon that CDA studies are typically concerned with.

Key words: Abdelmadjid Tebboune's speech. Critical Discourse Analysis, CDA. Fairclough's 1985, 1995 model. Intertextuality. Power. Ideology. Context of Algeria.

Table of Contents

Declaration.....	I
Dedication.....	II
Acknowledgement.....	IV
Abstract	V
Table of Contents.....	VI
List of Abbreviations.....	X
List of Tables.....	X
General Introduction	1
Research Problem and Purpose.....	3
Research Questions.....	3
Corpus of The Study.....	4
Significant of The Study.....	4
Organization of The Study.....	4
Chapter One: Contextualization of The Study, and a Brief Review of Similar Works	
1. Introduction.....	7
2. Section One: Contextualization of The Study.....	7
2.1. Background of Our Study.....	7
2.2. Algeria’s Electoral System.....	10
2.3. Election Results of December 12 th , 2019.....	10
2.4. Who is Abdelmadjid Tebboune?.....	11
3. Section Two: Literature Review.....	12
4. Conclusion.....	14
Chapter Two: Theoretical Background	
1. Introduction.....	16

2. Discourse.....	16
3. Discourse Analysis DA.....	17
3.1. Discourse Analysis' Three Main Categories:.....	18
3.1.1. Anything Beyond The Sentence.....	18
3.1.2. language Use.....	19
3.1.3. Social Practice.....	20
3.2. Elements of DA.....	20
3.2.1. Context.....	21
3.2.1.1 The linguistic Context	21
3.2.1.2. The Situational Context.....	22
3.2.2. Collocation.....	23
3.2.3. Cohesion and Coherence.....	23
3.3. Aspects of DA.....	24
3.3.1. Text and Textuality.....	24
3.3.2. Background Knowledge.....	25
3.3.2.1. Schema Theory.....	25
3.3.2.2. Framing Theory.....	26
3.4. The Social Role of DA.....	26
4. Critical Discourse Analysis	27
4.1. Political Discourse in CDA Studies.....	28
4.2. Concepts of CDA	28
4.2.1. Critique in CDA.....	29
4.2.2. Ideology.....	30
4.2.3. Power.....	30

4.3. CDA Main Traits.....	31
4.3.1. CDA general Framework.....	31
4.3.2. Aims of CDA	32
5. The Most Prominent Figure in CDA and His Method of Analysis.....	33
5.1. Fairclough’s 1989,1995 Model of CDA	33
5.2. Fairclough’s Three inter-related Dimensions	35
6. Rhetoric and Speech Persuasive Strategies.....	36
6.1. The Relation between Politics and Rhetoric.....	37
6.2. The Three Appealing Modes of Rhetoric.....	38
6.3. Rhetoric Devices.....	38
6.3.1. Deliberate Rhetoric.....	38
6.3.2. Repetition	39
6.3.3. Imagery and Language Figures.....	39
6.3.4. Syntactic Manipulation and Lexical Choice.....	39
7. Conclusion.....	41

Chapter Three: Data Analysis

1. Introduction.....	43
2. The Corpus at Hand.....	43
2.1. Text Translation Process.....	43
2.2. The Linguistic Context of Abdelmadjid Tebboune’s Speech	44
2.3. The general Framework of The speech.....	44
2.2. Data Analysis Procedures.....	46
3. Section Two: Data Analysis and Discussion.....	47
3.1. Text Analysis.....	47

3.1.2. Language	48
3.1.2. Vocabularies.....	49
3.1.2.1. El hirak Movement and The Election of 2019.....	49
3.1.2.2. Algeria’s Economy:	51
3.1.2.3. Tebboune’s Candidacy Commitments:.....	51
3.1.3. Pronouns.....	52
3.2. Discursive Practice.....	53
3.2.1. Obligatory Intertextuality	54
3.2.1.1. Metaphors	54
3.2.1.2. Personification	54
3.2.1.3. Repetition.....	54
3.2.2. Optional Intertextuality	55
3.2.3. Accidental Intertextuality	56
3.2.4. Interpretation of The Text.....	58
3.3. Social Explanation.....	58
3.3.1. The El hirak Movement and The 12 December 2019 Election.....	58
3.3.2. Algeria’s November Revolution (1954-1962).....	59
3.3.3. Algeria’s Economy:.....	60
3.3.4. Explanation of The Text Production.....	60
4. Conclusion.....	61
5. limitations of The Study.....	61
6. Recommendations for Further Research.....	62
General Conclusion.....	63

Bibliography.....	68
Appendix.....	73
Abstract in Arabic	81
Abstract in French.....	82

List of Acronyms

- ✧ DA Discourse Analysis
- ✧ CDA Critical Discourse Analysis
- ✧ BK Background knowledge
- ✧ ANIE Autorité Nationale Indépendante des Elections
The Independent National Electoral Authority
- ✧ HIISE Haute Instance Indépendante de Surveillance des Elections
The High Independent Authority of election

List of Tables

Table 01: Results of December 12 th ,2019 presidential Elections.....	11
Table 02: Fairclough’s 1989,1995 Model of CDA.....	36
Table 03: The most frequent words in Tebboune’s speech.....	47
Table 04: Lexical density and diversity in both the original Arabic text and our translate English version of Tebboune’s speech.	47
Table 05: The most significant and stress themes in Tebboune’s speech.....	48
Table 06: The most frequent pronouns in Tebboune’s speech.....	52
Table 07: Intertexture similarities between Tebboune’s December 19 th ,2019 speech and Boutflika’s April 15 th ,2011 speech:.....	56

General Introduction

The greatest power a politician will ever have is the ability to convince people using only words. Similarly, Patrick Rothfuss (2007) said “Words are pale shadows of forgotten names. As names have power, words have power. Words can light fires in the minds of men. Words can wring tears from the hardest hearts.” (p, 190). Thus, words which are written or said in a well-articulated manner will most certainly inspire, unite, and could even alter people believes. In our modern time, the power of words is strongly attached to the world of politics a charged tense atmosphere were few individuals who are strong in character, influencing figures, and skilful public speakers gather around to make or vote for decisions that can affect or significantly impact many lives. In sort of speaking, politicians’ words really matter, but their true power is portrayed through their use of language, the way they discursively assert their interests, sell their or others ideologies, and most importantly to create a sense of change. In that, they are able to recontextualize meaning and manipulate the linguistic elements of a text or a discourse to convey one's ideology to the intended audience. (Van Dijk, 1995)

However, like George Orwell (1946) said “But if thought corrupts language, language can also corrupt thought” (p, 7). That is to say, a political discourse as it can project aspects of power, ideology, and change it surely can express or lead to social inequalities. Henceforth, the realm of political language studies or political discourse analysis is indeed the focus of most scholars and linguists (Van Dijk, 1998) who often incorporate the application of critical discourse analysis CDA, which is described by many according to the filed most renown linguist Van Teun Dijk as a social movement of politically committed discourse analysts were it takes a clear position and thus works to understand, expose, and ultimately challenge social inequalities (Van Dijk, 1985, P. 11).

As such, we decided to immerse ourselves as future linguists in the vast field of critical discourse analysis taking in mind that “the vast bulk of studies of political discourse is about the text and talk of professional politicians or political institutions” (Van Dijk,1998, p. 12) Thus, we choose to critically analyse December 19th,2019 inauguration speech of Algeria’s newly president Abdlemadjid Tebboune, since the north African country recently (2019) went through a semi-radical change in its political atmosphere, that has placed it in the main headlines of every world news channel, paper, and journal. The main attraction was the massive protest that Algerians form in February 22nd, 2019 which continued for straight nine months. The protest was

nicknamed by Algerians as El hirak movement which has rallied in weekly bases against their governing elites. So our purpose behind this paper will not be solely situated in giving insights on a rather new research study in terms of data but also to provide a significant work of critical discourse analysis using Norman Fairclough 1989, 1995 model of CDA, as we trust that analyzing Tebboune's discourse will help us and others to exactly know and reveal any ideologies, power or change along with his covert intention within the boundaries of his discourse and Algeria's recent political events.

Statement of The Problem

Algeria in February 22nd was literally shook by a protest gathered in millions for straight nine months demanding for a radical change to the country's political system, the protest referred to by Algerians as 'El hirak' or in English 'The movement'. El hirak started by rallying against Algeria's long term president Abdelaziz Bouteflika for attempting to run for a fifth term and other political figures who openly supported his attempt, the massive impact of the protest eventually led to his resignation and arresting some of his regime members, but the protest did not stop there, they also rallied against the December 12th, 2019 election, specifically they targeted the new electoral committee known as ANIE (The Independent National Electoral Authority) for presenting five election candidates which among them was Abdelmajdid Tebboune because all of them had held government positions under Bouteflika. However, during the election, a large group estimated by 39.9 percent of Algeria's population supported and successfully assigned Tebboune as a new president despite the weekly sustained protest in part of El hirak. all of this is considered as a social phenomenon, and if associated with a discourse of the elite, it will present us an ideal opportunity to study politicians' language and the relation that discourse has with socio-political dominance.

Research Questions

Knowing that Tebboune will have to pass his term in a negatively charged environment since many Algerians still regard him as a part of the old corrupted elites.

1. What kind of position and attitude Tebboune had concerning both the pre-election events and El hirak protest?
2. What kind of ideology(s), policies that Tebboune asserted and supported in his speech?

3. Is there any signs of discursive dominance or social inequalities expressed in the speech?
4. What is Tebboune underline Language or covert message?

All of these questions will be confined to his December 19th, 2019 inauguration speech. Henceforth, this political discourse analysis through the Fairclough model will allow us. First, to demystify Tebboune's character in forms of intention, attitude, and position. Second, analyzing his language in terms of ideology, policy, and power relations, and thirdly expose any signs of discursive dominance or social inequalities.

The Corpus of The Study

As a corpus, we have selected Abdlemadjid Tebboune's very first presidential speech that was aired in live television by many private and public channels on December 19th, 2019. However, we must state that there is no existing transcript of the speech only a video recording the event that can be found on YouTube or other social media platforms. Our choice of Tebboune's inauguration speech is built on the belief that this data is the closest and most relevant to the context of our study, because later on the reader will discover that CDA is oriented to tackle social issues to uncover any effect of dominance by certain individuals or institutions that enact or assert some kind of discursive power.

The Significance of The Study

The significance of this study will be shown. First in terms of giving new insight into how power is exercised through language. Also, the relationship of discourse and socio-political dominance like the role of different linguistic and non-linguistic elements of a text in projecting power aspects and implementing political agendas. Second It can also add knowledge by determining the different ideologies and inequalities of power used by influencing people. Furthermore, our application and adjustment to Fairclough's 1989, 1995 Model of CDA is unique and original. Lastly, highlighting a new social phenomenon within the Algerian context.

Organization of The Study Paper

The present study is divided into three chapters, which are preceded by a general introduction and followed with a general conclusion. All three chapters complete each other in terms of content and cohesion. Our first chapter is all about the source and the situational context

of our data in addition to a brief literary review of other similar works. Then, the second chapter will consist of the theoretical background of discourse analysis in general, and critical discourse analysis in particular. It will also give a detailed explanation of our analysis method. Afterwards, chapter three will represent the application part where we put our method into use. Although the paper's main core denotes a kind of analytical research, the reader will be able to spot some informative element. Since our methodology is based on Norman Fairclough's 1989,1995 model of CDA, it will showcase a mixture of a quantitative and qualitative representation to the analysis and its findings. Finally, we will close our research paper with a general conclusion that sums up our entire work and briefly discusses our findings. Basically, our entire study is derived from 'Ruth Wodak' (2001) (as cited by Wei Wang, 2006, p. 69) approach into discourse analysis who noted that; First, setting and context should be recorded correctly, since discourse can only be described, understood, and interpreted in its specific context. Second, the content of an utterance must be confronted with historical factors or facts. Third, texts must be described as precisely as possible in respect to all linguistic levels. Categories of the analysis at the linguistic level highly rely upon the research question(s).

**Chapter One: Contextualization of the Study and a Brief
Review of Similar Works**

1. Introduction

This chapter is concerned with providing the reader the necessary background of our research or the circumstances that made up the data. In addition, we added a part that deals with the common rhetorical devices that politicians usually engage to persuade their audiences, and last we, in effort to convey and shed the light to other similar research works, mention three CDA papers which were of a great help to our study. Henceforth, this chapter will be divided into two sections: the context of our study and a review to three similar critical discourse analysis research papers.

2. Section One: The Contextualization of the Study

In this section we will tackle the context of our analysis, Algeria, then we will deal with the conditions of 2019 elections in Algeria, the background that explains various events which shaped the content of the winner's speech, Mr Abdelmadjid Tebboune. The latter will also be discussed briefly in a biography. Thus, we will give the reader enough details to understand our political speech analysis.

2.1. Background of Our Study

With an area of 2,381,741 square kilometres, Algeria, a northwest African country, is the largest country in the African continent and the tenth largest in the world. Although, it covers a vast area, yet its size had alluded it with a low but greatly diverse population which is estimated by just above 44 million people. Algeria's diversity is highly reflected on its language varieties. For starters, Algeria has two official languages which are Arabic and Berber, but with a statue of informality almost 98 percent of the population speak the Algerian dialect as their native language, the Algerian dialect is a mixture of Arabic, Berber, French, Spanish and Turkish and speaking about Algeria's other native languages there is Berber which only became official in February 2016. It is the native language of the Amazigh communities who have their own unique customs and tradition and mostly inhabit the northern part of the country. Furthermore, if one thing is special about Algeria's history is without a doubt Algeria War of Independence from 1954 to 1962 against France colonialism or as it labelled by its people as Algeria's November glorified revolution. Since 1830, Algeria was under the French control for about 132 years where France did not only exploit its wealth but sought to eradicate Algeria's entire identity and origins and by then French was typically Algeria's official language. Subsequently, even after the independence of 1962 and

Algeria's many attempts to restore and Arabize its culture, the former colonial language till now holds a big and a strong influence in Algeria politics, economy and many other important fields, since it is mostly used by the elites and government officials in formal settings. This multilingual aspect according to The World Factbook (2018) noted by Zofifia Sawicka greatly hinders the possibility of constructing a unified national identity (Sawicka. Z, 2019, p.79)

Additionally, based on the constitution, Algeria is a multiparty republic headed by a president appointed for a five-years term. And from 1999 until 2019 Algeria knew only one president who was Abdalaziz Boutflika. However, in 2019 Boutflika was forcefully resigned at the hand of Algerians themselves and Abdelmadjid Tebboune was later in the same year appointed as his successor. However, the circumstances of Bouteflika resignation and 2019 elections were no little then a total chaos some even refer to it as a late overdo Arab Spring. Zofifia Sawicka in here 2019 notes that certain historical factors had the most effect in unleashing Algerian rage against the government such as, the civil war or the dark decade that lasted till 2002 which had "About 200,000 people were killed, mass rapes were committed and mass executions of civilians were carried out (including women and children), and about 15,000 people were abducted." (Sawicka, Z, 2019, p.79) Along with Bouteflika poor decisions like giving immunity for parties and government armed groups who were involved in the civil war all under the law of The National Reconciliation (2006), and also of equally importance failing a mission to develop an economy that does not entirely depends on oil and gas export, especially when their prices are not stable, thus impacting in a negative way the living situations of Algerians. Chiefly, these years of kept rage finally got out in February 22nd, 2019 where, people every Friday morning for straight nine months gathered in massive numbers and literally shook the country. Even though the protest was a leaderless movements labeled by Algerians as El Hirak it was remarkably peaceful and organized but what really ignite the very start of the protests was Abdalaziz Bouteflika message which he sent to the people, in it announcing his candidacy for a fifth term with the support of his regime and some other political figures as well making April 18th, 2019 the first date of elections, his message stunned the public since the 82 years old was clearly incompetent to lead a country due to his poor health, and according to the Washington news site that Algerians where more surprised with the "unexpressed reasons for regime figures to insist on calling upon Bouteflika to run again for office despite his illness. (Washington, 2019) as such "Many Algerians believed that this offer is only a facade behind which there stood a political, military and business elites that wanted to

maintain power.” (Porter, 2019) as cited by (Sawicka Z, 2019, p.81) In addition, Bouteflika was already given the green light to win the election because the country stability is more favoured to the administration and the army rather than going through a possible risky political change (Sawicka. Z, 2019, p.81). Although the movement was peaceful, it managed to place the country at hold, where various government plans, business, even critical institutions stop like lawyers and doctors, and in fears of further complexity and to avoid a destructive situation, the army under the leadership of the General Gaïd Salah (Chief of Staff Vice/Defense Minister) changed sides with the movements and this combined alliant finally made Abdelaziz Bouteflika to step down and hand his resignation on April the 2nd. However, the movements wanted to sweep away of all remnants of a ruling elite members not just Bouteflika which has long dominated the country's politics, they were labelled as The Gang where many Algerians believes that this gang for the past 20 years had done nothing but drain the wealth of Algeria and cripple it developments to illustrate

In addition, ubiquitous corruption and clientelism created a sense of injustice among those who did not benefit from the wealth of the country. The series of austerity measurese are taken after the oil price shock of 2014, accompanied by price inflation of basic goods, have worsened the social situation of the middle and working class. (Makek and Fiorentino, 2019) as cited by (Sawicka Z, 2019, p.82)

As a consequence, some of the old regime and other suspectedly corrupted figures were arrested waiting for the trial, this quick turn of events led to a serious of actions made by the remaining government officials where their first respond was to reschedule the April 18th elections to December 12th, 2019. The latter election was organized by ANIE instead of the previous common HIISE (Haute Instance Indépendante de Surveillance des Elections) The postponed elections resulted with a win by majority of votes in favour of Abdlemadjid Tebboune against four other candidates namely Ali Benfflis, Abdelaziz Belaid Abdelkader Bengrina, Azzedine Mihoubi. However, this election did not have a smooth sail. In that, the moment ANIE declared the five names they were met by a massive protest, because all five candidates had held previously various government positions under Bouteflika. Nevertheless, the Army and ANIE despite the continuance of the movements and the low turnout of the election accepted the election stating that Algeria has a critical void in its political system and it is in need for this election at least to gain some of the country stability back.

2.2. Algeria's Electoral System

Algeria is a democratic country, and like many other democratic countries power is 'given to the people' and people decide who leads them through a process known as the election where the president is selected through anonymous votes from the sovereign people. The Algerian constitution states that the president is appointed for a five-years term and the conditions of candidacy are accessible for anyone as long he/she possesses the Algerian nationality and age above 18. In addition, the campaign is fully funded by the governments, but based on Algeria's election history, a strong candidate is usually supported by a group of political parties as in the case of Bouteflika his most effecting parties were The National Salvation Front (FLN) and The Assembly of the National Democratic (RND) who helped maintain and exploit his entire presidential term (1999 to 2019) as well pushed him for a fifth. The elections have two rounds if all candidates got less than 50 percent of the total votes in the first round, then the election moves to the second round according to law number 07-97 issued on March 6, 1997 cited by (Brahimi. M, 1988, pp. 3-4) Additionally, in order to win the election in Algeria the candidates need the majority of votes which surpasses fifty percent at one round as noted by (Brahimi. M, 1988, pp. 3-4) in law No. 89-13 of August 7, 1989, Article 106. Also in Article 89 of elections.

2.3. Election Results of December 12th, 2019

The 2019 election was originally set for April 18th, but due to constant protest and the resignation of the previous long time president Abdelazize Bouteflika, the elections were delayed to be held later on December 12th in the same year. Moreover, the postponed election was organized by ANIE, which according to Algeria's media and government officials ANIE is a new electoral authority specified to organize a fair and transparent election that fulfils the demands of protest movement, El Hirak. Furthermore, ANIE claims that it has received around 142 applications, and on November 2nd it announced only five legit candidates who fully met with the regulations and the conditions made by the authorities, the candidates where Ali Benflflis, Abdelaziz Belaid, Abdelkader Bengrina, Azzedine Mihoubi, and Abdlemadjid Tebboune. Shortly after the announcements of ANIE, the candidates encountered a harsh and a massive protest responding against the elections. For instance, one of the primary reasons is the position of the five candidates as a "part of the political establishment", where the main aim of the 2019 Algerian movement to

deprive them from power (“Algeria presidential election:Five candidates announced”2019). Also Thomson Reuters, a journalist of Al Jazeera, said that the candidates are "men on the ballot [who] all have close links with the establishment, and though some of them pushed for reforms, many still see them as part of an entrenched, unchanging elite." (Thomson R, 2019). However, other groups had induced and supported the election which made it continue regardless of the protest and after three months of campaign by the candidates to appeal to the populations by holding several speech events and one last debate the day before election, as to show their programs if elected. Consequently, ANIE, on December 13th, announced the final results which were strongly in favour of Abdlemadjid Tebboune, since he obtained 58.13 percent approximately 4.945,116 votes in the first round (no need for a second round), yet the total participation of the election was of 39,9 percent which is the lowest turnout in the history of Algeria. The results are best shown in the following table.

The Candidate	Political Party	Votes	Percentage
Abdlemadjid Tebboune	Independent	4,947,523	58.13%
Abdelkader Bengrina	El Binaa	1,477,836	17.37%
Ali Benflflis	Talaie El Houriyate	896,831	10.55%
Azzedine Mihoubi	Democratic National Rally	619,225	7.28%
Abdelaziz Belaid	El Moustakbal Front	568,000	6.67%
Number of accepted non-blank votes		8,509,415	100%

Table 01: Results of the 2019 presidential elections. Source <http://www.aps.dz/ar/> accessed on June 20th, 2020.

2.4. Who is Abdelmadjid Tebboune?

Abdelmadjid Tebboune is a well-known Algerian figure, a politician who currently serves as Algeria’s president. he was born in November 11th, 1946 in Mécheria, northwest of Algeria, and he is a college graduated with a degree in finance and economics from the National School of Administration of Algiers in 1965. Moreover, one of his high accomplishments beside having the Grand Master of the National Order of Merit (an award that represents all manner of services to the country which was giving to him when assuming the office). He is also known to have contributed in the construction of the highest mosque in the world The Djamaa El Djazair in Algiers

when he was a Housing and Urban Planning minister in September 2017. The mosque was built as a symbol to Algeria Islamic identity (Thomson Reuters, 2019).

When searching about the 74 years old president, we noticed that he had a rich political experience which could be taken as a proper cause to his election. Whereas his political career can be described as both diverse and dynamic because he, over the last four decades, had held many high positions in the government. To begin with, his career started in 1969 as a local administrative instructor then as fully administrator in 1972 for the state of Bechar. Later on, from 1975 to 1991 he served as a secretary-general for four states (Djelfa, Adrar, Batna, M'Sila), and afterwards as a regional governor for three states (Tiaret, Adrar, Tizi Ouzou). Furthermore, Tebboune's career ultimate signature is no other than his different minister occupations where he had four posts under the administration of the former longtime President Abdelaziz Bouteflika and one post under Chadli Benjedid 1992. To state them all, he initially began as a minister of Local Societies from 1991 to 1992, then a minister of Communication and Culture in 1999, a minister in Local Communities from 2000 to 2001, and a year later a minister of Housing and Urbanization. Shortly after, Tebboune left office in 2002 only to return a decade later to reclaim the same previous minister post from 2013 to 2017. Finally, in May 2017, he became Bouteflika's prime minister. However, Tebboune's prime ministry was the shortest in Algeria's history; it lasted only three months before Bouteflika dismissed him. Accordingly, with The national UAE journal site one of the reasons of Tebboune outcast was for "criticising members of the country's elite who cosied up to politicians to receive public contracts."("Who is Abdelmadjid Tebboune, Algeria's new president?",2019,para. 6). The second reason outlined by Al Jazeera news site was that Tebboune PM post ended "reportedly due to his alleged attempt to present himself as a successor to Bouteflika during a meeting with his French counterpart, Edouard Philippe."("Who is Algeria's new president?", 2019, para. 4). Regardless of that, on December 12th, 2019, Abdelmadjid Tebboune assumed the presidential seat from both the former resigned Abdelaziz Bouteflika and the acting President Abdelkader Bensalah.

3. Section Two: A Review of Previous Related Studies

Since critical discourse analysis is widely known field and it is growing rather fast in the academic world, we dedicated this last section to shed some light on three related works that were of a great help to our study. That is to say, they lead us towards a better understanding to the various aspects of speech analysis and how CDA method is employed to tackle different subjects.

Halima Salma in 2014 presented a paper which is a political discourse analysis of Abdelaziz Bouteflik May 8th, 2012 presidential speech. On her analysis, she employed Van Dijk method of transitivity and modality and she played much attention to the aspects of ideology and power relation expressed through Bouteflika speech. Furthermore, in her textual analysis she came to notice that Bouteflika uses simple and short sentences, as well speak in a colloquial language (The Algerian dialect) instead of the common formal language of Algeria (MSA) the modern standard Arabic which expands and appeals further to many Algerians. She also found that he repeatedly uses the first personal pronoun (I) as to insert his self-capabilities and high sense of responsibility towards his people which boosted his trustworthiness, and of equally important Bouteflika throughout his speech had employed the simple present tense because the speech is symmetrically sequent to an important date yet horrifying in the history of Algeria (The French massacre in May, 8th, 1945); Thus, Bouteflik used a deliberative way of speech. That is to say, he illustrated things from the past. In addition, he gives a negative or positive variation to assure an emotional impact.

On December 2016, Wafaa Sahib Mehdi presented a paper to her college, Baghdad University of Languages where she researched a critical discourse analysis of two poems that belong to Imam Hasan. For her analysis, she employed Fairclough's 1989, 1995 model of CDA as a base. Chiefly, what was unique about her work was her way in adopting the analysis to the data structure. For instance, she shifted focus to the use of language figures and intertextuality that suits the nature of poetry in general. She also showed her analysis to social aspect of hegemony. Besides, a textual analysis of poetry is not easy at all; in fact, what is even harder is to translate it properly and that what she exactly cantered her research on. Subsequently, she inserted some of her views on the meanings intended by Imam Hasan, such as discussing the miss conception of the word "الرافدين" EL Rafidin which many believe that it is a name of a place located in Iraq yet she stated that it means the two Tributaries", which are (Imam Ali and Fatima). In other words, EL Rafidin refers to the two individuals who were raised by the prophet Muhammad peace be upon him and her evidence for that is the word *خالق* khlaik which refers to Imam Ali character and the word *كرائم* Kraim that refers to Fatima.

Terki Turkia in 2019 presented a paper for her master degree in the University of Mostaganem in Algeria, her research was a critical discourse analysis of Recep Tayyap Erdogan's May 3rd, 2011 speech about the country of Libya. In the context of her work, she talked about

Erdogan's life and education as well as his political career. In addition, within her analysis she employed Fairclough's 1989,1995 model of CDA with a big emphasis to Aristotle rhetoric three appealing modes (Logos, Pathos and Ethos). When she analyzed Erdogan's speech within her textual analysis, she focused on three main linguistics features which are vocabulary, grammar and cohesion. Each element had its own study vocabulary were studied in terms of word frequency and meaning, grammar in terms of identifying certain features like conjunction, pronouns, modal verbs and sentence structure. Lastly, she analyzed the cohesive devices and text structure. Moreover, she found that Erdogan's speech was very constructive which proves in her view that Recep Tayyip Erdogan is a very skilful orator, and in regards to his speech she thinks that it is mostly concerned with aspect of identity and belonging as well the use of a relatively humane way in addressing and stressing Libya situation to the world.

4. Conclusion:

We so far talked about the source of our data, such as who is Abdelmadjid Tebboune in matters of career and education as well what are the 2019 events that shaped his speech and overall the context of our study. At last, we briefly highlighted the strength points, the analysis process and findings of three CDA research papers that greatly influenced our work.

Chapter Two: Theoretical Background

1. Introduction

In this chapter we are going to give an overview of every important aspect in relation to our analysis of a political speech. The chapter will consist of three sections. The first section will focus on discourse and discourse analysis as well its main elements and social role. The second section will discuss the notion of critical discourse analysis or as commonly abbreviated CDA along with its history, core concepts, and its main traits. The last section will include a small biography of the linguist Norman Fairclough with a highlight to his contribution and theories in concern to CDA studies, and most importantly we will discuss and explain Fairclough's 1989 and 1995 model of CDA, the model that we will base on our research analysis and methodology. This chapter is dedicated to provide the reader with an adequate understanding to the theoretical background of the application of our analysis. Overall, it is arranged from a broader perspective to more narrowed ending as so the reader can grasp the different meanings and concepts that we will use in our analysis of Abdelmajid Tebboun's first presidential speech in 2019.

2. Discourse

The notion of Discourse has various definitions, yet none is accurate because according to (Jeprgensen & Philips, 2000) "the concept has become vague, either meaning almost nothing, or being used with more precise, but rather different, meanings in different contexts," (p.01). Nonetheless, the term discourse is a reflection of the use of text and talk in communication. Additionally, discourses as a whole are often regulated by context and other historical factors as stated by Michel Foucault who regards the "concept of discourses as semantic constructions of specific aspects of reality that serve the interests of particular historical and/or social contexts" as cited in Van Dijk (2008) book preface 'Discourse and Practice'. Moreover, the over from of discourse "is structured according to different patterns that people's utterances follow when they take part in different domains of social life"(Jeprgensen & Philips. 2002. P. 01). That is to say, there are many types of discourse specified accordingly with different fields of intellectual inquiry and of social practice, such as legal discourse, medical discourse, and political discourse.

The notion of discourse was later extended by Norman Fairclough (1993) and Rom Harre (1995) to include other "semiotic practice in other semiotic modalities" (p, 19) as cited by (Janet Beavin Bavelas, Christine Kenwood, Bruce Philips, 2004, p.104). In this sense, discourse

encompasses not only words but other kinds of meaningful communication such as visual images and nonverbal movements, as an example there are gestures, sign language (Baveles, J et al, 2002 , p,104). Thus, it has managed to “integrates a whole palette of meanings” (Titscher et al, 2000, p.42). Moreover, discourse is regarded by Fairclough as a way of constructing objects, social reality, and even our own projection of our self-nature it is the “ways of representing aspects of the world, the process, relations and structure of the material world, of thoughts feelings, beliefs and so forth and the social world” (Rukya H, 2015, p. 121). Therefore, discourse plays a major role in shaping the world we live in.

3. Discourse Analysis

Discourse analysis, just like discourse, has no definite meaning. Thus, it still ambiguous because of its widespread usage and fast developing nature among several different disciplines with diverse aims as emphasized by Deborah Sue Schiffrin who asserted that “given this disciplinary diversity, it is no surprise that the terms “discourse” and “discourse analysis” have different meanings to scholars in different fields.” (Schiffrin et al. 2015, p. 1)

Looking back to DA history and origins, we found that it is assorted from various backgrounds, namely branches of philosophy, sociology, linguistics, and literary theory. In addition, DA is continuing to cover other aspects such as anthropology, education, communication, and psychology (Wood and Kroger, 2000, p. 18). As such, it is recognized as being both old and new. Besides, according to the famous Dutch scholar Teun Adrianus van Dijk much of DA attributes in language analysis are most likely to be originated from two ancient disciplines, we have Aristotle classical rhetoric “one major historical source is undoubtedly classical rhetoric, the art of good speaking (van Dijk ,1985 p. 01), and the grammarians approach to formative rules of correct language “the grammatical”, the historical antecedent of linguistics” (van Dijk, 1985, P.1). To clarify more, on the one hand, grammar laid the bases for text analysis which focuses on the structural units of discourse, and on the other hand there is rhetoric which is DA most significant aspect since it paid much interest towards constructing manifold means of spoken language analysis “classical rhetoric from work of Aristotle to the present day has always been concerned with (persuasive) properties of discourse and the sophistication of its analysis of rhetorical operation.” (van Dijk, 2016, p .26). It has also managed to “anticipate contemporary stylistics and structural analyses of discourse” (van Dijk, 1985, p. 01). Consequently, discourse

analysis asserted and seized its place as an academic discipline parallel to the decline of rhetoric from being the primary discipline of humanities mainly because it was replaced on account of the emergence of structural analysis within the twentieth century (van Dijk 1985 p. 02). Since then discourse analysis has grown in size and instead of having one unitary technique it became a cluster of methods that examines common interests of various disciplines. To sum up discourse analysis can be considered as a new cross-discipline and a fast growing field that is commonly known for studying natural language occurring text and talk in unstructured meaningful communication.

3.1. Discourse Analysis' Three Main Categories

In effort to give a proper insight of what is meant by discourse analysis, we added this part so the reader can easily grasp the different meanings associated with this concept which will be helpful in understanding the upcoming methodology and the analysis process. The term as far as we have seen it is best put by Schiffrin Deborah, Deborah Tannen, and Heidi E. Hamilton (2015) who stated in their *Handbook of Discourse Analysis* that all the scholars' different views of the verities of meaning and purposes of DA fall into three main categories: anything that goes beyond the sentence, language use, and a broader range of social practice that includes non-linguistic and non-specific instances of language.” (Schiffrin et al ,2015, p. 1). We will place every category in the form of a headline and give each one a brief explanation.

3.1.1. Anything Beyond the Sentence

Scheffrin et al define DA as “the study of language use above and beyond the sentence” (2015, p. 170). Therefore, discourse is not confined to a single sentence structure, the internal structure of a sentence: subject, verb, object, or complement in contrast to the traditional linguistic view of a sentence being the highest unit in language analysis. Actually, discourse is rather seen as a larger textual unite which confines elements of coherence or as described in David Cristal's *Dictionary of Linguistics and Phonetics* as a continuous stretch of language bigger than a sentence and often includes a coherent unit. (1987)

Although the word textual or text is commonly used as reference to the written form of a language, the Australian David Nunan (1993, p. 6) pointed out that the two terms text and discourse are at times used interchangeably and in many instances treated differently. Moreover,

he constructed the term text to denote both written and spoken communication while DA as the tool that interprets that text in the context of which it occurs (1993, p. 6). In a way, he perceives discourse as a body of text meant to communicate a specific type of information or data. However, the analysis of discourse is not majored in relation to its super-sentential nature, group of sentences, but rather by the text coherent aspects. As a result, not any kind of textual unit is taken to be as a discourse for the reason that “discourse is a complete meaningful unit conveying a complete message”. (Nunan,1993, p.6) In other words, this trend or perception about DA is largely linguistic; consequently, the work of DA is directed for decoding or uncovering the different structural elements not just the ones who make sentences string together but other properties that help them to form, organize, and convey a meaningful chunk of language as illustrated by Schiffrin who said that “there are structured relationships among the parts that result in something.” (Schiffrin, 2006, p.171) Such properties can be of coherence, rhetorical force, pronoun usage and conjunctions.

3.1.2. Language Use

Discourse analysis is not merely concerned with language as just in the linguistic perspective but rather the conditions of its use for the reason that DA is essentially interested in “who uses language, how, why and when” (van Dijk,1997, p. 3). For instance, there are individual and group institutions. As Larry Trask (1999) clarified that discourse is not confined to one speaker or writer, but it can embrace the oral or the written exchanges produced by two or more people as well the settings, the place and time, and most importantly the social context that governs the choices of words or utterances within a particular conversation or any other kind of social practice. Moreover, as a rule, DA put much attention on actual language use taken from real life situations not invented examples all in order to speculate the different “regularities which utterances show when situated in contexts. Thus it is obvious that the aspects of the world in which an utterance is used can also contribute to the meaningfulness of discourse.” (Van Els et al. (1984) as cited by Thouria Drid, 2010, p. 23). To be more explicit, “Discourse analysis is the systematic study of Naturally occurring (not hypothetical) communication in the broadest sense, at the level of meaning (rather than as physical acts or features.)” (Beavin et al , 2002, P. 102)

3.1.3. Social Practice

Scheffrin claims that discourse analysis can represent a broader range of social practice that involves both non-linguistic and non-specific instances of language use. To clarify, Michel Foucault (1969) describes discourse as an entity of sequences, of signs, in that they are a range of statements that form the base on which meaning is constructed. Consequently, nor our thought, words, utterances (speech events) that we formulate do come out of a vacuum or take place in isolation from one another (Hymes, 1974), also (Mannheim and Tedlock (1995) as cited by (Schiffrin et al, 2015, p.42) mentioned that “any and all present discourse is already replete with echoes, allusions, paraphrases, and outright quotations of prior discourse.” From here we deduce that it is our previous knowledge that helps us understand the various types of discourses and gives us the ability to connect and construct them under different social contexts as well; for example, what allows a journalist to understand a doctor is the little shard or mediated information that both parties know about each other. Henceforth, discourse delivered in one setting unavoidably interfaces with discourse produced in other settings (Schiffrin ,2015). To elucidate more, DA can take on a broader scoop of investigation where it does not focus on the analyses of one particular occurrence of language use. Foucault for instance, regards that just as a sample of whole from the larger system that may include, “all forms of meaningful semiotic human activity” (Blommaert, 2005, p. 3) which are usually limited by a particular historical junction it is the thing that controls what is thinkable and sayable. Moreover, DA is necessarily the analysis of language use. As such, it cannot be restricted to the description of linguistic forms but rather all kinds of social practice as an example, in a conversational analysis beside language there is visual appearance, gestures which are all different forms of discourse that should be taken in consideration.

3.2. Elements of Discourse Analysis

Discourse analysis possess certain application and key concepts where it bases it analysis, so we have written this part so the reader can be more familiar with the content of discourse analysis.

3.2.1. Context

In effort to give a general understanding of the larger system of language usage, context plays a significant role in DA since it is basically the phenomenon which lays out the environment, settings, and circumstances that in turn shapes and determines the meaning of a discourse or any kind of occurrence. Although, the word context is somehow a flexible notion, in the sense that many scholars or linguists often entangle it with their own different definitions to back up their own claims and arguments, it was generally defined by George Yule who said that “context is the physical environment in which a word is used.” (Yule, 2000, p.128) It was also explained by Henry Widdowson who refers to it as “those aspects of the circumstance of actual language use which are taken as relevant to meaning.” (H.G. Widdowson, 2000, p.126). Furthermore, the term context can be used in a broad and narrow sense. In the narrow sense, it refers to (knowledge of) factors outside the text under consideration. In the broad sense, it refers to (knowledge of) these factors and to (knowledge of) other parts of the text under consideration, sometimes referred to as co-text. (Guy Cook, 1999, p. 24)

Guy Cook’s insight about the description indicates that context has two specific trends or types. In order to be clear, we have deduced that those two types are the linguistic context with a narrow perspective. The second is the situational context with a broader perspective.

3.2.1.1. The Linguistic Context

This type of context alludes to discourse textual unit; in other words, it is the relationships that words, phrases, and sentences share. Thus, here the analysis is on the linguistic properties “that surround the utterances under scrutiny to arrive at an adequate interpretation of meaning on the basis of intra-textual relations that bind them.” (Drid, T, 2010, P. 22) As an example, the word bachelor means many things until we put it in this form of a textual environmental context in the sentence: He is a bachelor waiting for the right women. Without the linguistic context, we cannot understand the previous sentence. In addition, a linguistic context often includes three aspects.

3.2.1.1.1. The Deictic Context

It represents the participant's awareness of their surroundings, by the use of deictic elements of language. Sentences usually contain "deictic place and temporal adverbs, demonstrative adjectives, articles, deictic verbs." (Journal of Verbal Learning, 1974, p. 321-327). In which the latter makes the form and the general atmosphere of a context, those elements express the conditions of a context in terms of space and time; for instance, the use of indicators (now, then, there, over here...). Also the role of participation such as the use of pronouns as in (I, him, they...)

3.2.1.1.2. Co-text Context

This type means that in every textual unit, the first text, the part which belong to the first sentence determines the flow and shapes the rest of the text. That is to say, the initial text is the gateway of interpreting the second text in terms of the process of production and its constrains, an example case can be deducted in Adjacency pairs. Lishao song a researcher in this field said that

Levis introduces this co-ordinate to take account of the aforementioned sentences. It is the case that any sentence other than the first in a fragment of discourse, will have the whole of its interpretation forcibly constrained by the preceding text, not just those phrases which obviously and specifically refer to the preceding text. The interpretations of the words which occur in discourse are constrained by, following Halliday, their co-text. (Song, L, 2010, P. 876-879)

3.2.1.2. The Situational Context

John Rupert Firth (2005) named this type of context as 'the situational context' and Nunan (1993) termed it as 'the referential context'. This context goes beyond the linguistic boundaries, In other words, the situational context addresses the social situation as in what determines the linguistic choices that are made by language users and how to justify them. Robins (1972) stresses as paraphrased by Thouria Drid (2010):

By setting up contexts of situation, the observer or analyst undertakes to state the relationship of utterances to the situations or environments in which they are said or could be said. In a context of situation the utterance or the successive sentences in it are brought into multiple relations with the relevant components of the environment. (p.25)

3.2.2. Collocation

According to the Cambridge Dictionary website, collocation represents the situation on which different words or phrases are put together in a way if they are spoken, they will sound correct to a native language person but may not be expected from a meaning perspective (Cambridge Dictionary, 2020). For instance, the phrase 'A hard forest' the word 'hard' is the collocation of forest but it is the synonym of 'strong' if it happen to put 'strong forest' it will sound odd. Moreover, Collocations work as a reflection towards the syntagmatic relation that each group of words shares, for instance, the adjective of the word 'bark' is associated to the word 'dog', the verb 'bite' is associated to the word 'teeth'. 'dark' to 'night' and many other similar cases.

3.2.3. Coherence and Cohesion

The two concepts are very distinguished from each other. However, both strive to achieve a complete meaning, and since discourse carries a complete message, discourse analysis takes in consideration what makes the grammatical and semantic properties of a text hang together to form a discourse. The following is a brief discussion about the concepts of cohesion and coherence.

3.2.3.1. Coherence

Coherence is widely known to be the quality of being logic and consistent. It is the ideas that are embedded within the sentences, and naturally those ideas are linked by common logic as well compatible knowledge. In sort of speak, all ideas that a discourse encloses should be connected and lead to one end without contradiction to avoid miss interpretation. Crystal David. (1985, p. 53) defined it as “the main principle of organization which is assumed to account for the underlying functional connectedness of a piece of spoken or written language.” Furthermore, one noticeable distinct aspect of coherence is that two or more sentences do not necessitate to be grammatically connected so one can make sense out of them. It rather depends on the participants and their interpretation of each sentence as emphasized by Van Dijk (1977, p. 96), who said that coherence refers to “a semantic property of discourse, based on the interpretation of each individual sentence relative to the interpretation of other sentences.” For an example, these three sentences: “The door is ringing. I am in the bath. Okay, I will answer it myself” are not connected,

yet they convey a complete meaning (A asks B to answer the door but B was busy so A answered it himself.)

3.2.3.2. Cohesion

It generally describes the situation in which things string together to form a unified whole in reference to discourse. It is a unity of a 'text' because as noted by Afnan Bahazi "in linguistics, any spoken or written discourse that forms a unified whole is referred to as a text. A text is not a grammatical unit, but rather a semantic unit of language."(2016, p. 112). To clarify, cohesion connects and holds different segments of text to establish a semantic structure, the function of a text is realized through lexico-grammatical unit and its connectedness within a discourse. For instance, in the sentence 'Amy went to the party. She sat with Sara', the interpretation of the item (She) depends on the lexical item (Amy). Therefore, the text is considered cohesive because we cannot understand the meaning of she unless Amy exists in the text.

3.3. Aspects of Discourse Analysis

Here we will mention two important aspects that an analyst must take in mind when going through any kind of discourse analysis, the textuality and the background knowledge effect.

3.3.1. Text and Textuality

Discourse in the eyes of many linguists is merely a textual unit that represents an act of communication and work to convey a message. "In linguistics, any spoken or written discourse that forms a unified whole is referred to as a text. A text is not a grammatical unit, but rather a semantic unit of language." (Bahazi,A, 2016, p. 112). That is to say, a conversation or speech or any other kind of spoken discourse is constituted and studied in terms of its written text (Fairclough, 1995), and due to discourse broad terminology, text has also been expanded to include the visual parts of discourse: like images, road signs, and clothing. Additionally, text is regarded by many as a product, not a process. In a way, the main purpose of the text is communicative, and it is continuously produced, received, and interpreted in a discursive manner by various social actors and agents. (Rhingy, K. 2010) Moreover, a text is only comprehensible when it is confined to a specific socio-cultural context, the situation on which a text occurs in or

arise from. This particular situation is described as the textuality, a concept which was defined by Kevon Rhingy as a reference “to the attributes that distinguish the text as an object of enquiry. Texts are produced and understood in terms of the broader socio-cultural context in which they arise.” (Rhingy, K, 2010, p. 1) journal.

3.3.2. Background Knowledge BK

We earlier mentioned in our definition of DA that an individual statements, arguments or simply said ideas do not come out of nothing. They are most of the time derived from past experiences in life. To put it differently, what helps us in building and understanding a discourse is our mentally stored ‘knowledge’; correspondingly, we use the information that we previously obtained to try and comprehend new ones. In a way, “readers activate previously acquired knowledge that is stored in long term memory and combine it with information explicitly mentioned in the text” (Gernsbacher,1997). Accordingly, background knowledge is a key element in discourse analysis, especially within the process of comprehending a text Nunan (1993, p. 69) said that “there is more to comprehending discourse than knowing the words.” Although understanding a text is taken lately, yet it portrays a high complex skill that employs different features such as recognition, lexical access, memory storage and retrieval, integration, and updating. (Ramos, F. n, d. p 01); almost all of them where acquired through past knowledge.

The Importance of BK is seen for instance in ‘metaphoric understanding and it can lead to errors in understanding, since readers are usually exposed to incoherent and often inconsistent set of statements, and without the activation of the reader’s own background knowledge, understanding a text of any kind will be nearly impossible. In addition, scholars come up with various theories in regards to BK, we will just mention two outstanding theories which are;

3.3.2.1. Schema Theory

The theory was the result of the psychologist Bartlett’s endeavour in 1932 to understand how BK actually contribute in the process of comprehension. His theory states that all knowledge is organized into units or schemata within our memory where each one carries a specific information about a particular subject and all are connected and ready to be used because “schemata represent knowledge about concepts, objects and the relationships they have with other objects, situations, events, sequences of events, actions, and sequences of actions”(the

schema theory, n.d, p.2). As an example, the schemata of the word ‘desert’ will include common information as in hot weather, uninhabited land, sand, and camels.

3.3.2.2. Framing Theory

This theory was first established in 1974 by the Canadian-born sociologist named Erving Goffman upon writing his famous work *An Essay on The Organization of Experience*, this is a known BK theory which suggests that we view ourselves or present ourselves to others based on a cognitively structured frame of thought, ideas and beliefs which are already organized to be directed to a specific context that we currently experiencing. It also suggests that how something is presented to the audience (like news programmes or television shows that showcase a specific side or perspective of a story) a frame structure that can influence the choices people make, (make you see things from a different perspective.) as an example, If a politician can effectively frame his policy in terms of argument and content, his audiences are going to have a better understanding of it significant and may even accept it.

3.4. The Social Role of Discourse Analysis DA

It is a natural thing to question the need of discourse analysis and the value that its presence in the field of knowledge since DA usually address cases such as women's and men's speech differences or how judges and lawyers speak to the defendant in court, the style of talk a policeman makes when giving a speeding ticket, Van Dijk (1985), and even interpreting journals and media talk and several other communicative events, all of which can be portrayed as trivial because the data may be seen as overwhelming and can even result with answers which are assumed as socially uninteresting, yet discourse analysis in all when being attached to aspects of socio-politics, culture, and history it has actually managed to provide a very important insights of language use. To recapitulate, in van Dijk's words “it provides insight into the forms and mechanisms of human communication and verbal interaction. Clearly, such insight is necessary for relevant applications” (1985, p. 4) That is to say, van Dijk claims that discourse studies over the past years has significantly acquainted us with the necessary rules, moves, and the strategies of everyday talk. Furthermore, DA application has also contributed in various fields of enquiry; for instance, in literature where it managed to classify the structures and the conversational occasioning. Moreover, DA had a strong emphasis in grasping some of the constraints and the

diverse features of social context, such as in gender, power, ethnicity, roles, or institutional settings. (van Dijk, 1985, p. 4)

4. Critical Discourse Analysis

Critical discourse analysis, or CDA, is a type of discourse analysis that presents itself as another interdisciplinary approach for studying discourse. What distinguishes it from DA is that CDA goal is set for uncovering, understanding, and ultimately to resist all forms of social inequality as in instances of sexism, discrimination, racism and other more which are manifested by various discursive events. Therefore, according to van Dijk (2015), CDA studies the way social power or dominance and how they are reproduced, enacted and resisted through text and talk within the social and the political context. (cited in Schffrin et al, 2015, p 466)

The origins of CDA can be traced back to critical linguistic or CL where it was developed by a number of linguists and literary theorists at the university of East Anglia in 1970, to name few Theo van Leeuwen, Gunther Kress, Teun van Dijk, and Norman Fairclough. Henceforth, CDA can be labeled by CL; also, other scholars had previously used CDS as in critical discourse studies instead. Nonetheless, the discipline most prominent figure is Norman Fairclough who regards CDA as an analytical tool which:

aims to systematically explore often opaque relationships of causality and determination between (a) discursive practices, events, and texts, and (b) wider social and cultural structures, relations and process; to investigate how such practices, events, and texts arise out of and are ideologically shape the relations of power and struggles over power; and to explore how the opacity of these relationships between discourse and society itself a factor securing power and hegemony. (Fairclough,1993, P. 93)

Putting it differently, Fairclough sees language as a social practice (Fairclough and Wodak Ruth, 1997) as cited by (Wodak & Michael Meyer, 2008, p. 5), and considers ‘the context of language use’ to be crucial. In addition, Fairclough also claims that social practice and linguistic practice constitute each other to depict social power and hegemony as well to disclose the ideology that they arise from or the ideology (s) that they may shape.

To sum up critical discourse analysis CDA is a multidisciplinary field concerned with the study of discourse often in the form of text and talk in order to determine the different ideologies and the power disequilibrium that discourse enacts, basically how societal power relations are established and reinforced through language use.

4.1. Political Discourse in CDA Studies

First of all, if we go back to the meaning of discourse, we will recon that it is a way of expressing something or oneself using words and political discourse is all about that and more. In particular, what made it so intriguing to CDA studies is its unique users who use the language and their social role in that those who are called politicians, people who are integrated in political matters such as policy advisors, elections candidates, and civil servants. They possess the ability to use language in a very expressing and assertive way that depict power and knowledge. In sort of speak, politicians must be skillful speakers who can talk about anything in a convincing way, for the reason that political discourse general aim is to fulfill different functions based on different political activities. Nevertheless, politicians are more likely to use language in an abusive, manipulative, and even imprecise way to promote their or others' ideologies which can result in social inequality and domination which CDA desperately fight against by exposing them through language analysis. Thus, "the study of political institutions has become a major new focus of CDA." (Krzyz Anowski and Oberhuber, 2007) as cited by (Wodak, 2008, p. 13)

The study of political discourse demonstrated its importance upon the Second World War where it was triggered in part by the investigation of National Socialist (NS) language or as commonly known Nazis language of Germany, (Wodak, 2008, p. 17) following the work of the linguist Utz Maas. "In his analysis of language practices during the National Socialist regime between 1932 and 1938, he showed how the discursive practices of society in Germany were impacted by the NS discourse characterized by social–revolutionist undertones." (Wodak, 2008, p. 17). To clarify, by then normal German citizens faced a hard time to express themselves or things in general without having to cherish the tradition of an unworthy Romanticism. In short, according to van Dijk critical discourse analyst role in society is "socio-politically 'situated', whether we like it or not. Reflection the on role of scholars in society and the polity thus becomes inherent part of the discourse analytical enterprise." (Schifrin et al, 2015)

4.2. Core Concepts of CDA

Critical discourse analysis is an approach that works to enclose all the linguistic, theoretical and social elements in its study. Henceforth, CDA Contains discourse analysis elements as its own (sub-branch of DA), and has introduced others of as in critique, ideology, and

power which are described by van Dijk as the macro-level of CDA and the language focus or DA studies as the micro-level “language use, discourse, verbal interaction and communication belong to the micro-level of the social order. Power, dominance and inequality between social groups are typically terms that belong to a macro-level of analysis.” (Schffrin et al, 2015, pp. 468-469) As such, we will give a brief definition of CDA three major concepts which are “critical”, ideology, power.

4.3. Critical or Critique Aspect of CDA?

The term critical entails the state of being objective in making judgement as well the use of valid arguments to support an approve or a disapprove; subsequently, what made CDA a critical approach is the way it works. CDA does not take text for granted instead; it employs a deeper examination to assess the claims, argument and their legitimate, then works to classify and demystify both the linguistic and non-linguistics regularities that may result in social inequality. Besides, some scholars believe that the critique in CDA donates the discipline diversity. However, other linguists and scholars in particular the likes of Michel Billig (2003) who had criticized CDA by saying “do scholars who employ CDA write in the same way mainly by using nominalizations extensively, like the many texts which they criticize” (Billig, 2008) as cited by (Wodak, 2008, p. 4). To clarify, Billig believes that the moment on which CDA become an academic discipline it also became less critical if it is written and used by academic student it will defeat it initial purpose of being superficial in revealing the equivocal. Likewise, if CDA is oriented to one specific group it will contradict its state of diversity as illustrated by Wodak (2008).

Michael Billig (2003) has clearly pointed to the fact that CDA has become an established academic discipline with the same rituals and institutional practices as all other academic disciplines. The question whether this might mean that CDA has become or might become or if the use of acronyms such as CDA might serve the same purposes as in other traditional, non-critical disciplines; namely to exclude outsiders and to mystify the functions and intentions of the research. (Wodak, 2008, p. 4)

4.4. Ideology in CDA

Ideology is generally defined as a coherent and relatively a stable body of beliefs or values that belongs to an individual or a group like liberalism, democracy, or authoritarianism. Ideologies possess the ability to unite a group of people regardless of their diverse backgrounds and interests and make them think alike as in how Van Dijk sees it as “foundational beliefs that underlay the shared social representations of specific kinds of social groups.” (Van Dijk, 2006, pp. 120-121). Moreover, those groups may use ideologies to justify their social dominance and inequality on another group a such as a speaker’s authority and influence on audience. Thus, it causes and manifest social power relations. In this aspect CDA focuses on the function of ideologies to ascertain it effect accordingly with Fairclough definition:

Ideologies are representations of aspects of the world which contribute to establishing and maintaining relations of power, domination and exploitation. They may be enacted in ways of interaction (and therefore in genres) and inculcated in ways of being identities (and therefore styles). Analysis of is an important aspect of ideological analysis and critique (Fairclough, 2003: 218) as cited by (Wodak, 2008, p. 9)

To be more explicit CDA is not concern with all kinds of ideologies but the kinds that are not spoken directly especially those which are enacted in metaphors and analogies, as explained by Wodak (2008, p. 8)

It is, however, not that type of ideology on the surface of culture that interests CDA; it is rather the more hidden and latent type of everyday beliefs which often appear disguised as conceptual metaphors and analogies attracting attention: life is a journey, social organizations are plants, love is war, and so on. (Lakoff, 1987; Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, 1999)

4.5. Power in CDA

Power is a central notion in any critical analysis, as CDA studies are often concerned with the language use of those in power, and the notion of power signifies control in the sense it gives its holder enough leverage over other individual or a group. That is to say, one individual or a social group are able to influence and may even control the acts and minds of members of other groups through discourse; likewise, the “ability of its holders to exact compliance or obedience of other individuals to their will.” (The New Fontana Dictionary of Modern Thoughts, 1999, p. 678) Moreover, people who assert such discursive power usually have some privilege or a power base

such as force, money, status, fame, knowledge, information and culture and other more. In addition, power can be direct, like in making orders or commands, and indirect specially in our modern time. “Power is central for understanding the dynamics and specifics of control (of action) in modern societies, but power remains mostly invisible, Linguistic manifestations are under investigation in CDA.” (Fairclough, 1989/1991; Wodak, 1989) as cited by (Wodak, 2008, p. 10) As such, language is a mediation that displays power. Henceforth, it is only natural to assume that language can control and be also controlled as illustrated by Ruth Wodak (2008, p. 10) “an important perspective in CDA related to the notion of is that it is very rare that a text is the work of any one person. In texts, discursive differences are negotiated; they are governed by differences in power that is in part encoded in and determined by discourse and by genre”. In short, CDA basically looks at language use of those in power to provide an insight of how it is manifested in society and its relation in expressing, constituting and legitimizing social inequalities.

4.6. CDA Main Traits

Critical discourse analysis is the pot in which an analyst is able to mix in both the theoretical and the empirical studies of discourse, so too insert it into a concern for a political and social awareness. Despite the fact that CDA covers a broad range of study, it can be characterized by certain criteria and serve some common purposes like any other approach or discipline. Although, there is no easy way to introduce its general traits, aims and principles, we tried to limit them into two separate titles. Firstly, we worked to give a clear idea of the common principles or some of the framework rules that may be shared among CDA different types. Secondly, in another title we discuss CDA’s goals.

4.6.1. CDA General Framework

Critical discourse analysis is a relatively new and still undeveloped domain of study, and its usually a multi-discipline which it has no specific direction or any exact unitary application. In other words, there are several types of CDA that in turn enclose and deploy multiple approaches. However, what is common or noticeable about CDA is that the latter “does not primarily aim to contribute to a specific discipline, paradigm, scholar discourse theory. It is primarily interested and motivated by pressing social issues.” (Van Dijk. 1993, p.252). That is to say, CDA is a

problem or issue oriented not a paradigm. Thus, it can employ any theoretical or methodological approaches soul base on their relevance to a specific social or political problem to illustrate “theories, descriptions, methods and empirical work are chosen or elaborated as a function of their relevance for the realization of such a sociopolitical goal.” (Van Dijk, 1993, p.252). In addition, CDA is an approach that combines both the linguistic and non-linguistic properties of discourse as well as all different levels such as grammar, syntax, phonology, semantics, style, rhetoric structure schematic organization and others more. (Van Dijk. 1995, p.18) Subsequently, CDA does not only focus on discourse structure as in language text and talk, but it pays interest to other significant semiotic events and forms of communication for instance; images, music and nonverbal signs or gestures. Consequently, it tries to explain them in terms of properties of social interaction and especially social structure. Inter alia, van Dijk (1995, p.18) states that CDA is just a part of a whole, a marginalized study to a bigger spectrum of critical studies. In way, it works to cover all aspects of science and humanities.

4.6.2. The Aims of CDA

Critical discourse analysis recognizes that language is the essence that reflect a community way of life, it history, culture and most importantly it social values. Similarly, it can also reflect prejudice, discrimination and many other forms of social inequalities or injustices accordingly with Van Dijk (1993) statements:

the criteria that are characteristic of work in CDA. Instead. we shall simply, and perhaps naively, summarize such criteria by saying that in our opinion CDA should deal primarily with the discourse dimensions of power abuse and the injustice and inequality that result from it. Let us spell out some implications of such a lofty overall aim ... It is primarily interested and motivated by pressing social issues. (p. 252)

In a way, he believes that CDA primary aim is set to give an insight towards the relation of power, dominance, inequality and how they are (re)produced or resisted through discourse because CDA is centered “on the role of discourse in the (re)production and challenge of dominance.” (van Dijk, 1993, p.249) and van Dijk (1993) defines dominance as “the exercise of social power by elites, institutions or groups, that results in social inequality, including political, cultural, class, ethnic, racial and gender inequality.” (p.250) So of equal importance, CDA focuses not only on the role of language but also its users and their underline ideologies, in particular those who use language and ideology to maintain or justify their social dominance on account of another individual or a

group. That is to say, CDA works to uncover or demystify the discursive means of whom in power elite and the ideologies they spread or resist, as well the speech or text strategies they use to control the minds and the believes of their audiences. (van Dijk, 1995, p. 18)

In short CDA looks at powerful people and their discursive role in enacting or resisting social inequality. According to van Dijk, CDA analysts hope for, if occasionally illusory, change through critical understanding. Their perspective, if possible, is that of those who suffer most from dominance and inequality. Their critical targets are the power elites that enact, sustain, legitimate, condone or ignore social inequality and injustice. (van Dijk, 1993, p. 252).

5. The Most Prominent Figure in CDA and His Method of Analysis

In this segment, we will give a brief biography of CDA's most known figure Norman Fairclough while outlining his major works and contribution to the development of CDA and providing a brief summary of his 1989 and 1995 CDA model, the model and the method that we will adopt into our speech analysis in the third chapter.

5.1. Norman Fairclough's 1989,1995 Model for CDA

Norman Fairclough was born in 1941 in Lancaster, United Kingdom. He is an ex-Professor of linguistics, where he used to teach Language in Social Life at Lancaster University. He is considered to be the most eminent co-founder of CDA since his written works are mostly dedicated to and has significantly contributed to the development of CDA as an approach as well as an uprising academic field. Subsequently, he has published seven books so far including *New Labour, New Language? Critical Discourse Analysis and Language and Power*. Moreover, Fairclough's perspective of CDA is uniquely distinct by his renowned dialectical-relational approach, DRA, which in turn entails his semiosis aspect of discourse. In other words, Fairclough believes that language is a form of social structure. As it became socially produced, it can very well control or shape our knowledge, identity or social relations which basically create our social reality. Thus, according to Fairclough, there are three aspects of discourse. Firstly, discourse has a social structure. Secondly, it is produced in a social event. And lastly, it is exercised through social practice. Those aspects are linked in a dialectic matter, which according to Fairclough (2012, pp. 230-231) "Relation between elements are dialectical in the sense of being different but not 'discrete', i.e., not fully separate.". In short, there is a relation between language and society

which is dialectical where language is influenced by society, and society is shaped by language. Henceforth, CDA studies is interested in how social practices are discursively shaped as well as its effect, especially the relation that is shared by society, power and discourse.

Critical discourse studies regard any act of language as of social practice. The latter represents features such as the social context, the cultural, the historical conditions and others that may influence people's use of language. Similarly, Fairclough assumes that any case of language use is a communicative event; for that reason, he was the first to develop a model for critical discourse analysis, CDA in 1989 and revised it in 1995. This model is oriented to the analysis of discourse where it works to unravel relations of power, ideology and social practice. This model can be difficult to understand. Nevertheless, it genially suits our aims behind this research which is to see how change can be made through language use.

Fairclough thought that the best way to analyse a discourse is to divide it into three different but still connected segments, or as he referred to them as discourse dimensions. Those dimensions are discussed by him in

the approach I have adopted is based upon a three-dimensional conception of discourse, and correspondingly a three-dimensional method of discourse analysis. Discourse, and any specific instance of discursive practice, is seen as simultaneously (i) a language text, spoken or written, (ii) discourse practice (text production and text interpretation), (iii) sociocultural practice. (Fairclough, 2010, p.132)

To be more explicit, Fairclough's laid a great emphasis on textual unit or discourse structure as the first dimension which represents the main data or the object of analysis, and he referred to it as the semiosis aspect of discourse “ which has the further advantage of suggesting that discourse analysis is concerned with various semiotic of which language is only one (others are visual images and body language)” (Fairclough, 2010, p. 230) Afterword, we have discourse practice or the text (re)production process that fit the social context it occurs in, and what is responsible in determining the type of discourse. At last, he claims semiosis alone will not be enough to conduct an analysis or fully explain the relation of discourse. As a result, Fairclough has linked discourse structure and practice to other social elements such as historical, cultural events or the third dimension which is the sociocultural practice.

Moreover, this method of discourse works on three different stages. First, the analysis includes linguistic description of the language in its text form. Second, the interpretation of the

relationship between the productive and interpretative discursive processes and the text. Third, the explanation of the relationship between the discursive processes and the social processes. (Fairclough, 2010, p. 132)

5.2. Fairclough's Three Inter-related Dimensions Analysis

For starters, we have the text which can be written, visual or both. It represents the object of analysis; accordingly, this dimension requires a text analysis at the level of word. Text analysis is a method of collecting data out of the text structure; in addition, based on Fairclough's perspective, this dimension will focus on vocabulary, grammar, cohesion and text structure. (Fairclough, 1989, p. 136).

Then we have the discursive practice. This dimension outlines the process by means of which the object (text) is produced and received by human subject. Is it produced by speaking/ designing / writing? and is it received by listening / viewing / reading? (Hilary Janks, 1997, para 2). Consequently, this dimension requires an analysis at the level of text, it will involve investigation about the meaning and coherence of the text, as well the role of intertextuality where Fairclough (1992, p. 76) defines it as the characteristics on which a text can carry or contain another chunk from another texts. In other words, it is "the property that texts have of being full of snatches of other texts" (ibid, p. 84) Thus, we can mold this in the concept of intertextuality which has two types. First the text can be manifest as in quotes, metaphors that belong to another person or common knowledge. The second type is a constitutive or novel meaning that the text is created by the author or the speaker himself.

Finally, the third dimension, social practice, is the analysis of the social and the historical conditions which govern the process of discursive practice. Basically, it revolves around the question why is this way?, and it genially looks at the different ideologies and the discursive power that text enacts or arise from.

Fairclough's method is a flexible one. That is to say, the analyst does not really need to fellow certain steps in his analysis of a discourse where he can easily move forwards and backwards between the different dimensions, keeping in mind that they should stay connected. To clarify, the three dimensions have an interdependent relationship with each other, so if we

want to examine one dimension, we must be mindful enough of the other two in order not to break that inter-related logical connection.

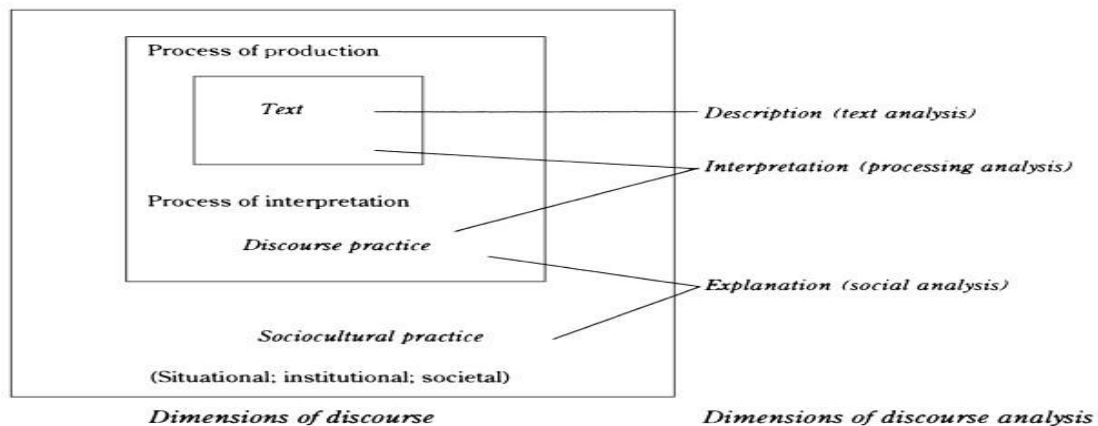


Table 02: Fairclough's 1989,1995 Model of CDA as taken from Norman Fairclough's book
The Critical Study of Language (2010, p.133)

6. Rhetoric and Speech Persuasive Strategies

We before gave a general definition of a political discourse and its relation with the critical discourse analysis CDA, here we will try to be more specific and talk about the possible speech strategies used by politicians in order to convince or persuade their audiences. We will start with a general definition of rhetoric then mention few of its devices along with other speech strategies like the syntactic and lexical manipulation which we will include and discuss in our speech analysis.

We recon above that politicians often talk in a very manipulative, misleading, and imprecise manner this to a normal person perception will be typically portrayed as politicians' nature or character. However, politicians actually work on and they deliberately engage different language strategies within their speech, strategies which can be described from a traditional point of view as merely features or attributes derived from political discourse broadest label which is the classical rhetoric (van Dijk, 1998, p. 34) Because rhetoric refers to the oratory art that was used in the past to train speakers and writers, they can be more resourceful and persuasive when they address people in gatherings. Moreover, Aristotle who first coined the term he linked it to "the faculty of observing in any given case the available means of persuasion" (Aristotle, n.d., p.9). Hence, Aristotle gave it unlimited scope and refer it as a mean of communication that can

be used by anyone and in every situation. To elaborate more, Aristotle liberated rhetoric as a more technical way of speaking that allows the speakers or orators to build strong arguments, good evidence and a coherent judgment so to inform, convince or even control their audiences in any given situation. Although, rhetoric dates back to Ancient Greece, its effect and some of its basic rules are still used and much is still unchanged. Nevertheless, if we spoke about changes, we will say that some linguists and scholars have extended the sphere of modern rhetoric to include communication and discourse studies as illustrated from Political Rhetoric (2013):

Some linguists have recently begun to advocate closer dialogue between students of rhetoric and researchers concerned with the fine details of discourse and stylistics (Foxlee, 2012), and scholars in communication studies have begun to consider the application of field methods to the in situ study of the rhetoric of protest movements (Middleton, Senda-Cook, and Endres, 2011) (Susan Condor, Cristian Tileaga and Michel Billing, 2013, p. 263)

The preserving of classical rhetoric was for several reasons among them. It was highly valued as heuristics by the ancient Greece, and also due to its central role in Western education where it was used till the 19th century to train people who needed to be successful speakers and effective debaters all in order to stand in gatherings and be heard. For instance; people like orators, lawyers, counsellors, historians, statesmen, and poets.(Conley, T, 1991)

6.1. The Relation between Politics and Rhetoric

Even though Aristotle wanted a broader and unsubtle aspect to rhetoric, different linguists and scholars still delimit rhetoric as a realm for political practices. Similarly noted by Ann M Gill and Karen Whedbee (1997) that “the essential activities of rhetoric are located on a political stage.” (p. 157). This is possibly due to the fact that it was primarily created and valued by ancient Greece as a mean to persuade political assemblies. Moreover, rhetoric can be described as what is negative in politics accordingly to Van Dijk statement that “common sense notions of political discourse as typically verbose, hyperbolic, dishonest and immoral are sometimes simply summarized with the negative label of ‘rhetoric!’” (Van Dijk, 1997, p. 34) That it is to say, that rhetoric sole purpose was not just to find the truth about things but to weigh any given option which convinces the audiences even if it is immoral or false. As an emphasis, Plato, another rhetorical theorist, argued that the purpose of rhetoric “is merely a form of flattery and functions similarly to cookery, which masks the undesirability of unhealthy food by making it taste good.” (Craig & Muller, 2007, p. 103) as cited by (Owino, R & Britto R, 2018. P, 33) Besides, there are

other connections that link politics and rhetoric together, the most obvious one is no other than democracy. In our modern time, the world greatly values democratic beliefs, ideologies and standards which on its behalf require a skilful spokesman who often had to engage in public discussion and debates, and because modern leaders are obliged to rule their sovereign citizens by means of constant persuasion rhetoric is absolutely central (Kane and Patapan, 2010, p. 372)

6.2. The Three Appealing Modes of Rhetoric

In effort to make rhetoric more applicable to various fields Aristotle established three proofs that attract and appeal to audiences, he believes that rhetoric is an instruments that depends on the speakers understanding to the attitudes and behaviour of listeners and their ability to adapt and choose the right proof according to the situation. The three modes as labelled by Aristotle are logos, ethos, and pathos. Aristotle thought that the first most effective proof is logos or the speaker's own character, integrity, experience and knowledge that allow him or her to project their trustworthiness. Thus, the speaker's character plays a fundamental role in attracting audience's attention; for instance, if the context of the speech is medicine we are more likely to favour and listen to doctors more than anyone else. In addition, we trust people whom we think are kind based on their behaviour. The second is "ethos" or the speaker's ability in making logical statements and using factual knowledge. In a way, most people, regardless of the speaker's characters, focus on the speech itself where sound evidence, logical claims and overall a coherent structure are employed. Thirdly we have "pathos" or the use of emotional speech. That is to say, the speaker works to influence the audience feelings since most people are sentimental towards subjective reasons for instance giving support to ideas and certain moral causes. To conclude by illustrating from Aristotle's book I of Rhetoric (Translated by W. Rhys Roberts)

There are, then, these three means of effecting persuasion. The man who is to be in command of them must, it is clear, be able (1) to reason logically, (2) to understand human character and goodness in their various forms, and (3) to understand the emotions-that is, to name them and describe them, to know their causes and the way in which they are excited. (Aristotle, Robert. W,1954, p.9)

6.3. Rhetoric Devices

6.3.1. Deliberate Rhetoric

Deliberate speech is the closet genre to politics, and this particular type of rhetoric advocates change by making proclamations about the future. In other words, using this device

involves speaking in the future tense where the speakers build arguments through mentioning examples from the past and using them in predicting possible future outcomes. Here the speakers try to insert their help by pointing out that a given policy or action will be either harmful or beneficial in the future.

6.3.2. Repetition

Repetition is the act on which the speaker repeats the same sounds, words, phrases and sentences or even ideas in order to attract the listener attention and in spite of repetition's negative stigma, assumed as pointless, redundant and boring, it is actually a strong strategic device that in a way gives the speaker a natural rhythm and more importantly it works to emphasize ideas to be more memorable and recognizable by the listener. Similarly, repetition is usually employed by politicians as to solidify the importance of their messages as van Dijk asserts: "the major strategies to draw attention to preferred meanings and to enhance construction of such meanings in mental models and their memorization in ongoing persuasion attempts or later recall." (Van Dijk, 1998, p.35) Additionally, repetition can provoke the listener emotionally and operates at three different levels. Firstly, the level of sounds as in alliterations and rhymes; secondly, at the level of sentences as in parallelisms or anaphora, which is the repetition of clauses and phrases; and lastly, at the level of meaning or semantic as in Antithesis which is the repetition of ideas.

6.3.3. Imagery and Language Figures

Language or speech figures refer to the use of, metaphor, simile and personification where their effectiveness are best manifested on providing the speakers with the necessary tools that help them to paint a word picture for their audiences, to highlight a possible comparison between different ideas and objects, or simply to appeal to their audience's emotions. Overall, it is a stylistic technique that portrays the speaker to be more sophisticated.

6.3.4. Syntactic Manipulation and Lexical Choices

Among many speech strategies used by politicians which are less obvious but defiantly subtle is the manipulation of the syntactic style (Van Dijk, 1998, p.33) The latter is often manifested on the use of several linguistic elements such as personal pronouns, word order and

choice, active and passive constructions and many others that help shape the underlying meaning of a sentence's structure. Subsequently, these elements are not entirely locked to give a direct clarification to the speaker words but also carries hidden intended messages.

First of all, there are personal pronouns which are typically substitutions of words and names, but politicians usually use them to express their stand or their socio-political position towards an idea or a certain political activity. Chiefly, the speaker's use of the singular (**I**) is to specify a sense of responsibility or self-confidence while the use of plural (**We**) or the possessive (**Our**) are implied to create aspects of alliance, solidarity or unity between the speaker and his intended group. Additionally, (**We**) can also justify the speaker's statue in responsibility or lack of it. In short, the use of (**I**), (**We**), (**Our**), with (**They**), (**Them**) are expected as inclusive and exclusive techniques. That is to say, to include people or to exclude them.

Another strong technique which is related to both syntax and lexicon is word choice and order. Edelman (1977) Herman (1992) stated it importance saying that "what is true for global and local meanings is obviously true for the meanings of words, and hence at the level of lexical choice and variation. Indeed, most studies of 'political language' focus on the special words being used in politics." (Edelman 1977, 1985; Herman 1992) as van Dijk, 1998, p.33)

Thus, a political discourse analysis essentially focuses on the speaker use of words since words relatively tell a lot about the character of person such as their thoughts, ideology or position. In addition, there are two known techniques related to word choice. First there is "eumphesism" which is the act of replacing words that are assumed offensive, vulgar or inappropriate expressions, with ones that are considered less offensive; for instance, overweight instead of fat. Second, we have connotation where the speaker carefully chooses words that can affect people emotions for instance "Whereas WE are democratic, THEY are not, and whereas Our soldiers, or those who share our cause, are freedom fighters, those of the Others are obviously terrorists" (Chomsky 1985, 1987; van Dijk 1995a, as cited by van Dijk, 1998, p.28) Hence, soldiers are identified as terrorists for one group and freedom fighters for another. Furthermore, placing words in different order helps to mitigate or emphasize a sentence's meaning, like in passive and active constructions or anaphora. To clarify more, if the speaker wants to focus on the subject of the sentence to stress the responsibility of the agent, subject, the active voice is usually employed and vice versa to less stress the responsibility of the agent to

mitigate its effect will often engage the use of passive voice, as an example the police killed demonstrators compared to demonstrators killed by Police. (van Dijk, 1998, p.34) Anastrophe, another device used by politicians, is the unnatural order of words in the sentence which is an intentional way of speaking to attract the listeners' attention to certain concepts within the sentence itself. An example would be like "she looked at the sky dark and menacing. (Normally: She looked at the dark and menacing sky.)" (Rhetoric Terms – AP English, n. d, p.1)

7. Conclusion

So far we had discussed and explain the relevant aspect of discourse and discourse analysis, along with its core elements and social role. Then, we addressed our research application which is critical discourse analysis in that we gave it a definition and talked about the relationship of discourse with concepts of change, power, ideology, and politics within CDA. We also dealt with an exemplary framework, overall goals, and most importantly we presented the method that we will use in our analysis of Abdelmajid Tebboun speech, which is Fairclough's 1989,1995 model of CDA. Finally, we defined rhetoric and mentioned few different strategies that are often used by politicians to persuade people.

Chapter Three: Data Analysis

1. Introduction:

This chapter represents the application part of our research study which is a critical analysis of Abdelmadjid Tebboune's December 19th, 2019 inauguration speech with the use of Fairclough's 1989,1995 model of CDA as the instrument of analysis. Consequently, this chapter will be divided into three sections. First, we will present our methodology which includes a representation of the data (both the linguistic context and the speech framework) with an outline of our analysis procedures. The second section will be dedicated to the analysis of the data in which the speech itself will be put into three different analytical stages that are concordant to Fairclough's three interrelated dimensions, the stages are; Text analysis (a description of the speech), discursive practice (an interpretation of the text) and lastly a social analysis that explains the choices of the speech content in a broader cultural and historical spectrum. The last section will be a conclusion where we discuss the findings and their relation to our research problem.

2. Section One: The Corpus at Hand

2.1. Text Translation Process

We must state as researchers we did not find the original transcript of Abdelmadjid Tebboune's speech, just a video that records the entire event, as such, we had to transmit the speech into a text by ourselves. However, we decided that it will be better if we translated the speech text into English since Arabic will be extremely difficult to fully implement in the Fairclough model because the latter is primarily designed to deal with English texts. Although, The model can adapt to other languages, a textual analysis of Arabic will take a lot of effort and time due to the language's high lexical diversity, repetitive synonyms, and complex grammar. Furthermore, in our translation process we used various tools like websites, dictionaries, Google, and Bing services, and to avoid meaning-related problems or errors we incorporated our background as Arabic native speakers and five years of English proficiency, and we further consulted few experts in translation and our supervisor. Moreover, we have precisely transmitted all meanings in a rather literal way, and we organize the speech into paragraphs that are divided according to each subject address in the speech. The aim of translation will not be just for text analysis but to genuinely target a wider range of readers into our study.

2.2. The Linguistic Context of The Speech

On December 19th, 2019. Algeria's new President Abdelmadjid Tebboune delivers his first presidential speech at the Congress Palace in western Algiers (the capital city of Algeria) as an inauguration ceremony for becoming the eighth president of Algeria. The ceremony involved the attendance of high ranking state officials, representatives of diplomatic mission-s, political leaders and civil society representatives, and several local and international news channels and press that covered the event. Furthermore, the general content of Tebboune's speech besides giving sworn and pledge to serve Algeria's interests, was his conclusion of certain important subjects involving the previous as well the current socio-political and economical situation of the country. Henceforth, this speech may carry a lot of hidden messages that readers could have the interest to discover in our modest study. Moreover, the text or the speech lasted for about 43 minutes and can be found through this following link: <https://youtu.be/nOI5BP3MTYA>.

The speech was long in duration and rich in content. Although the speech has no existing written form, the speech can be divided into four textual chunks or segments. Therefore, for the purpose of making the reader more brief and aware of the main subjects addressed by Tebboune's speech for reasons like later recall or extra validation, we have decided to place a summary that outlines the main segments of the speech or typically its general framework.

2.3. The General Framework of The Speech

In The beginning Tebboune started his speech by a short Islamic greeting and prayer about the prophet Mohammad peace be upon him, which is a very common opening to Arabic speeches with Islamic influence. Like this instance: “بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ وَالصَّلَاةِ وَالسَّلَامِ عَلَى أَشْرَفِ “ المرسلين سيدنا ونبينا وإمامنا محمد صلى الله عليه و سلم “In the Name of God, the Most Gracious, the Most Merciful, and may peace and blessings be upon the most honorable messenger, our Master, Prophet and our Imam Muhammad, may God bless him and grant him peace” (Tebboune, 2019, p. 74)

2.3.1. The First Segment

Tebboune in the first paragraph sought to express his gratitude to the present audience which consisted entirely of government officials and the very elites, he also thanked the people

for their contribution in the election. Then gave thanks to Abdelkader Bensalah the acting president whom temporary served as a replacement of the former resigned Abdelaziz Bouteflika, Tebboune also gave thanks to ANIE (The Independent National Electoral Authority) with its head managers, the army under the leadership of the general Ahmad Gaid Salah, and the rest of the regional security forces as shown in this few examples from the speech:

I am addressing you who made history once again and sealed the future of Algeria with your right decision on December 12, 2019 to fulfill the call of national duty ... I also take this opportunity to give my thanks to Mr Abdelkader Bensalah for his sincere dedication since he wanted to bear with great honor the responsibility of the presidency of a state despite this delicate circumstance in the history of our nation. (Tebboune, 2019, p. 74)

2.3.2. The Second Segment

This segment is a direct message to Algerians to think ahead and be cautious and more careful so they quickly escape this political situation (2019) to focus on many important things. In short within this segment, Tebboune talked and called for Algerians to be united and work together despite the many variations that had risen to the surface by the protest movement as illustrated from the speech: “Oh the great people, Oh citizens, sons and descendants of Mujahideen and the Free patriots. Today we all have to close this page of disagreements, dispersion and division, for it is by God the agents of demolition and destruction” (Tebboune, 2019, p. 75)

2.3.3. The Third Segment

This segment consists of Tebboune’s restatements of his candidacy commitment which he earlier promised to do among them was to alter and change the Algerian constitution, fight corruption and restore public money, In addition, he promises to rule make new election regulations and conditions that work against as he refers to the one-man or an individual kind of bureaucracy, example; “Today, as President of the Republic, I must remind you of these most important commitments Chief among them is amending the constitution, which is the cornerstone of building the new republic” (Tebboune, 2019, p. 76)

2.3.4. The Fourth Segments

This segment took a big proportion from the entire speech where it was dedicated by Tebboune to tackle the various social health, education, and economical problems that hinder the

development of the country. In that, he laid great emphasis to this part by stating a number of problems which he promised he or the government will solve through some strategic plans, among these problems somewhere largely linked to the protest (El hirak) as possible causes that may triggered the movements from the very start, examples from the text;

The state launches an action plan for young people with the aim of enabling them to create emerging economic institutions to achieve success. We value the national production, and we only import what we really lack in order to prevent the waste of hard currency and increase national production ...The state will ensure that all citizens have access to quality health care by increasing the financial share for the health sector, establishing new university hospitals, and solving obstacles that faces medical emergency.” (Tebboune, 2019, p. 76)

2.3.5. The Fifth Segment

Here Tebboune talks about Algeria’s foreign policy where he reasserts Algeria’s position and stands regarding the relationship with certain countries. He also gives ways on how Algeria will improve its economical exchanges while stressing the country desire to help near border and far countries which are currently facing a crisis of poverty, civil war, and colonialism. As illustrated from the speech; “Algeria will be keen to build friendly relations and cooperation with all countries of the world, with the exception of those that do not have diplomatic relations for objective reasons.” (Tebboune, A, 2019 p. 78)

Tebboune ends his speech with a moral request from his side where he asks Algerian to remove the title (الفخامة) that in English the concept is close to excellency or grandeur when referring to the president and replace it with only sir or Mr: “I ask you, and through you and those whom under your authority, to withdraw the title of excellency, so to describe the President of the Republic by only sir or Mr. Glory and eternity to our righteous martyrs. Long live Algeria. Peace, mercy and blessings of God Almighty be upon you.” (Tebboune, A, 2019 p. 80)

2.4. Data Analysis Procedures

We involved a very intensive and repetitive process of listening, reading, and listing words as well as linking different ideas out and off the speech limits. However, the absence of any exiting written version of Tebboune’s speech was a difficult challenge to overcome but since “Text analysis is an essential part of discourse analysis, but discourse analysis is not merely the linguistic analysis of texts.”(Fiarclough. N ,2003, p.3) we compensate by writing the speech text

on ourselves and arrange it into paragraphs and segments by our perspicacity. Besides, we must restate that we had to translate the text from Arabic to English so we can easily implement it into Fairclough three dimensions,. Moreover, our research has a descriptive aspect that employs mixed methods and encompasses both qualitative and quantitative representations of the data and its findings. In other words, we have adopted Fairclough method and made few readjustments so it suits the context and the nature of our corpus.

3. Section Two: Data Analysis and Discussion

3.1. Text Analysis

We will describe the text at three different levels based on our above method (Chapter two) First the language used by Tebboune in terms of repeated patterns, cohesion, vocabularies, and meaning. Second Vocabulary in terms of frequency, lexical choices, word order, and the main stress themes. lastly, Tebboune personal, and possessive pronoun use.

Word	Frequency	Word order	Frequency
Will	46	State will	12
Algeria	24	The state will	11
New	10	Algeria will	7
Economic / Low.	10	New republic	6
Support	8	The new republic	5

Table 03: The most frequent words in Tebboune’s speech

Text versions	Arabic	English
Word Count	2648	3542
Lexical Density percentage	100 %	47 %
Lexical Diversity percentage	62 %	31%

Table 04: Lexical density and diversity in both the original Arabic text and our translated English version of Tebboune’s speech.

Arabic is shown in the table that it has high lexical density and diversity, this can be linked to the fact that Arabic is the richest language in terms of vocabulary and unlike English several Arabic words can explain one meaning. We used this site: <https://monkeylearn.com/text-analysis/>

3.1.1. Language

Tebboune from the very start to the end spoke in formal Arabic MSA (modern standard Arabic) the choice of language can be attributed to the presence of high elites and journalists from all over the world. In addition, he used relatively complex but still clear sentences in his speech mostly ((VSO) subject, verb, and object) the most typical and most common arrangement of Arabic sentences, and despite the high lexical density of the text in terms of diversity and content the text involved several repetitive patterns of verbs and adjective, a couple of vocabularies were excessively repeated for instance the use of the modal verb “Will” and the adjectives “new” and the various semantic collocation of the word “achieve, work , support” especially within clauses such as “the state will...”. “Algeria will...” and name phrases like “the new republic of Algeria, new Algeria, new public policy...” this indicates the effect of parallelism which indicates a re-occurrence of syntactical and lexical similarities which exist across or inside sentences or even inside clauses and phrases. Furthermore, this particular words (will and new), work as speech markers that signify the overpowering use of the future tense, Tebboune employed those markers to talk about possible future actions that Algeria will do or be part off as well to construct an object or a futuristic picture about Algeria to his audiences, for instance, “ how a new policy will do this and that, or our strong progressive economy will ... ” as if it already exists. For example: “The Algerian diplomacy for the new republic will put into consideration the interest of Algeria first and the interest of our community wherever and wherever it is.” (Tebboune, 2019, p. 78)

Themes	Their lexical Choices
<p>The El hirak & The election</p>	<p>“... <u>history once again</u> ...<u>the future of Algeria</u> ... <u>right decision</u>...<u>national duty</u>...<u>the path of constitutional and popular legitimacy</u> ...<u>no one challenged</u>. <u>This great success</u>... <u>the blessed public movement</u> initiated...<u>national leap</u>” (Tebboune, 2019, p. 74)</p> <p>“the success of the electoral process. <u>A free and transparent democracy</u></p> <p>“<u>free and fair election</u>.”</p> <p>“ <u>the opportunity to choose freely with command</u>”</p>

	<p>“this <u>delicate circumstance</u>”</p> <p>“formed <u>a safe bridge to ...better desired tomorrow.</u>”</p> <p>“the public movement...<u>achieve its legitimate demands. which has been achieved</u>” ” (Tebboune, 2019, p. 74)</p> <p>“obsticals is to quickly overcome <u>the current political situation</u>” ” (Tebboune, 2019, p. 75)</p>
Tebboune’s candidacy commitment	<p>“these <u>most important commitments... amending the constitution...cornerstone of building the new republic.</u>” ” (Tebboune, 2019, p. 76)</p> <p>“I commit to <u>moralizing political life</u> and <u>rehabilitating elected institutions</u> through <u>the new election...criminalizing the interference of corrupt money</u> in political work and <u>buying votes and debts</u>”</p> <p>” (Tebboune, 2019, p. 76)</p>
Algeria’s Economy	<p>“...<u>strong, diversified...scattered wealth, generating jobs, creating social welfare, strengthening our food security ...fortifying the nation from the deadly dependency on the outside and on fuel.</u>” (Tebboune, 2019, p. 76)</p> <p>“...<u>strengthened and the diversification of economic fields</u> such as the mountain, desert and coastal economy” (Tebboune, 2019, p. 76)</p> <p>... <u>broad horizons...benefit the women who stay at home and cancel taxes on them...modernize agriculture...access to exports tourism as an economic factor generating wealth and generating jobs...several mechanisms to support the status of tourist agencies,</u>” (Tebboune, 2019, p. 76)</p>

Table 05: The most significant and stress themes in Tebboune’s speech

3.1.2. Vocabularies

Many renowned world news institutions the likes of BBC, Euronews, Washington and Al Jazeera, mostly talked and specifically point out at three themes adressed by Tebboune. which were the main attraction of his speech. Therefore, our analysis of Tebboune’s lexical choices and word order will be placed accordingly to these three themes. First El hirak (the public movement) in relation to December 12th, 2019 election. Second is Algeria’s economy, and lastly Tebboune’s candidacy commitments. In a way we will orient this part of the analysis to expose and explain Tebboune’s attitude and position.

3.1.2.1. El hirak Movement and The Election of 2019

In the first segment of the text, Tebboune started acknowledging ANIE and the Algerian army along with their governing elite who contributed in the election then the people who voted.

Thus, we have noticed that on one hand, Tebboune describes the election using words like “Transparent... Free...Fair...The right decision”(shown on the table above) they were probably used to validate the election results in terms of integrity and legitimacy, and on the other hand he fully avoids to directly describe El hirak except two times using words like “blessed public movement.... big national leap” in the sentence: “This great success is the fruit of the blessed public movement initiated by our honorable people when they sensed with their intuition and conscience that there is no way but to take a national leap to stop the collapse of the state and its institutions.” (Tebboune, 2019, p. 74)

However, he clearly failed to express which part of El hirak he is talking about because many have obtained from participating in the election (first chapter). Furthermore, in two different statements within the appreciation part, he links the election as demand for El hirak, directly in the extraction: “This great success is the fruit of the blessed public movement” Indirectly in the second extraction “And accompanying the public movement in order to achieve its legitimate demands, which has been achieved,”. These two statements are controversial because they contradict with the fact that December 12th elections had the lowest turnout in the history of Algeria where only 39.9 percent actually voted, also words like “made history once again...the path of constitutional legitimacy...no one challenged” in the sentence “I am addressing you who made history once again and sealed the future of Algeria with your right decision on December 12, 2019, to fulfill the call of national duty and return Algeria to the path of constitutional and popular legitimacy that no one challenged.”(Tebboune, 2019, p. 74), it does not really reflect the actual event. Additionally, in both the first and the second segments Tebboune deliberately downplayed and avoid talking about the pre-election events chiefly El hirak using words like “the delicate circumstances...the current situation...” in sentences like ‘give my thanks to Mr. Abdelkader Bensalah for his sincere dedication since he wanted to bear with great honor the responsibility of the presidency of a state despite this delicate circumstance in the history of our nation.’ And “To quickly move past the current political situation to involve into the country's core issues” (Tebboune, 2019, p. 75)

In short, we can conclude this theme analysis by saying that Tebboune’s lexical choices and word order portrayed a positive attitude towards the election and unspoken negative attitude towards El hirak, the reason why Tebboune don’t directly express his disapproval to the

movement is due to what Zine Labidine Ghebouli said to Aljazeera “although Tebboune was undeniably a "product of the Algerian system", he would, nevertheless, have to make significant concessions to appease the leaderless movement, known as the RI hirak.” cited from (“Who is Algeria's new president?”, 2019, para. 8) to emphasize Tebboun said. “I renew my commitment to extend my hand to achieve its completion”(2019, p. 74) meaning the demands of El hirak.

3.1.2.2. Algeria’s Economy

In regards to this theme, Tebboune used words like “investment... achieve success,...diversity,... revive, strengthening, creating jobs ...” which exist in the fourth segment, most can be explained as positive reactions to upcoming strategic goals employed by Tebboune on which he intends to improve Algeria’s economy with. Also, Tebboune linked those positive choices to further sink in the minds of Algerians the slogan “New Algeria, new republic” using strong expressions like “making Algeria immune, create jobs, secure our food supply... ” an example from the text

The state launches an action plan for young people with the aim of enabling them to create emerging economic institutions to achieve success. We value the national production, and we only import what we really lack in order to prevent the waste of hard currency and increase national production. (Tebboune, 2019, p. 75)

What kind of action plan? Here Tebboune more likely assumed that the people of the Algerians are already familiar with the causes behind a failing economy and want to hear solutions instead.

3.1.2.3. Tebboune’s Candidacy Commitments

Tebboune in the third segment of his speech he worked to renewed his pledge to implement his campaign slogan "new Algeria" which consisted of a promise to revise or amend the constitution so it corresponds to the aspirations of the movement. Furthermore, at the start of this segment, he used the word “sacrifice” in the sentence “Today we are going to make great sacrifices to build the new republic based on the commitments that you transparently and sovereignty voted on December 12th, 2019.” (Tebboune, 2019, p. 76)

We can not really know what Tebboune meant or what kind of sacrifices are going to happen but he follows it up with this statement “ based on the commitments that you transparently voted...” this indicates that those sacrifices will not be laid entirely on Tebboune or the government. In other words, it is a clue to some sort of compromises that the government or the people are

willing to do. Afterward, he used words like “...the cornerstone of building the new republic...that fulfills the people's demands expressed in the movement...that renews the...reduces the powers...protects individual and collective freedoms, human rights, media freedom...” in describing his plan to revise the constitution, these words are a positive reaction on which Tebboune used to stigmatize his plan as an idealistic one, especially when he links it to the concept of “new Algeria” and “El hirak demands” all in attempt to advocate a sense of change.

Tebboune also in this regard used several “law” collocations like "regulation, constitution, the election" which indicates his preference to authorities in general.

pronouns	Frequency Number
“I”	21
“my”	4
“We”	26
“Our”	28
“You”	15

Table 06: The most frequent pronouns in Tebboune’s speech

3.1.3. Pronouns

Based on the results shown earlier in the table the use of personal ‘We’ and possessive Our is the most noticeable, they are typically used to create a shared sense of solidarity and unity that Tebboune wanted, which clearly avails as a response to the pre-election events that raised a lot of political disagreement, disharmony, and inconstancy of social relations among Algerians. Tebboune also used **We** more than once to express that change can only happen through a team effort by reason of establishing a sort of group cohesion. An example from the text;

Today, **WE** are all obligated wherever **WE** are and wherever **WE** find, and whatever **OUR** cultural and political varies, **WE** have no choice but to hold hands in order to realize the dream of our parents and grandparents and the dream of **OUR** youth in the present generations of Algeria (Tebboune, 2019, p. 75)

The second most used pronoun is the personal **I**, which was largely congregated in the first segment of the speech and scatter in the third and fourth segments, Tebboune, used **I** mostly in giving thanks and gratitude and three times in restating his candidacy promises and others for expressing moral code or stepping. Thus, the pronoun **I** was to reflect Tebboune self-responsibility towards his personal commitments and to approach Algerians especially the El hirak to illustrate from the text: "Today, as President of the Republic, I must remind you of these most important commitments on top of which is amending the constitution, which is the cornerstone for building the new republic," (2019, p. 76) "I put a hand in your hand to contribute to the achievement of comprehensive national development," (2019, p. 76)

However the variation between '**I & Me**' verses '**We & Our**' is wide, and subjectively speaking Tebboune avoids the use of '**I**' when he mentions solutions other than his candidacy promises, he instead employs "Algeria will...or The state will..." which both can be taken as substitutions of '**We**' this makes his responsibility statue unclear and they are purposely used to foreground or reduce it.

At last the pronoun '**You**' was put as an exclusive tool in the first segment. That is to say, Tebboune exclusively thanked people who voted so the idea that the rest are responsible for sustaining the chaotic political situation is not off-limits; for instance, he said: "I am addressing you who made history once again and sealed the future of Algeria with your right decision on December 12, 2019 to fulfill the call of national duty and return Algeria to the path of constitutional and popular legitimacy that no one challenged" (Tebboune, 2019, p. 74)

3.2. Discursive Practice

Discursive practice can be best understood through an analysis of a literary device known as intertextuality, the latter represents the act of inserting other text from different sources to form an interrelationship that generates related understanding in separate works (Hallo, William, W. 2010). Furthermore, intertextuality can exist in various forms of speech strategies such as quotations, metaphors, repetition or merely referring to other sources of text, and it has several types, we will mention just the important ones, which are obligatory, optional, and accidental intertextuality. Moreover, investigating aspects of intertextuality will show us the real depth of the text. Therefore, we will start by extracting figures of language and the rhetorical devices that

are situated in Tebboune's speech . which will be arranged according to the three intertextual types above, and lastly a brief interpretation that confine all that we have found.

3.2.1. Obligatory Intertextuality

This type depends on the reading or understanding of a prior written works in order to achieve a full comprehension of new ones (Jacobmeyer, 1998). it indicates that readers are obliged to be fully aware of the context or simply other related texts so to comprehend a specific one, this type usually gives deep meanings and important to the pretexts.

3.2.1.1. Metaphors

According to Merriam Webster dictionary, metaphor is “a figure of speech in which a word or phrase literally denoting one kind of object or idea is used in place of another to suggest a likeness or analogy between them”.(Metaphor, 2020, para.01). However, Tebboune speech is vacuous in terms of metaphoric use we can only spot one in the first segments of his speech: “This success is one fruit of many that came from the blessed and the patriot public El hirak” (Tebboune, A, 2019, p. 74) This metaphor symbolizes the idea that the election is the result or the purpose of El hirak movement which has finally been through December 12th, 2019 elections. One has to be aware or search about El hirak movement and find on themselves the truth and the actual events of El hirak manifestation in order to validate this claim by Tebboune.

3.2.1.2. Personification

Tebboune also used a figure of speech known as Personification that involves giving human characteristics to an unanimated object here Tebboune personified two abstract things, (The new Algeria and the November revolution). “The state will listen to the deep and legitimate aspirations of our people towards a radical change in the pattern of government” (Tebboune, 2019. p.75) Words like “...spirits...listen...resilient” are human being attributes given to both the revolution and to new Algeria.

3.2.1.3. Repetition

Tebboune most recognizable repetition was at the level of sentences as well semantics which is expressed in the following extractions:

Oh the great people of Algeria, oh the citizens, oh the sons and the grandsons of al mujahedeen and the free patriots ... Realizing the dream of parents and grandparents and the dream of our youth in the present and the generations of Algeria and the future to build a new strong republic that is preparing a stable and prosperous side, guided by the manifesto of the glorious November revolution ... Oh, you who accustomed Algeria to setting the most amazing examples of sacrifice when it comes to the fate of the nation and the future of the nation (Tebboune, A, 2019. p.74-80)

The first phrase is repeated four times and situated in the start of each new paragraph were Tebboune use to open a new subject, it includes a description that showcase the current Algerian generation as the descendants of the people who fought for Algeria's independence war, the second and third text repeats the same meaning. Here having a piece of knowledge about Algeria's history is obligatory to any reader to understand the significance of the November revolution for Algerians.

3.2.2. Optional Intertextuality: Islamic Quotations

Unlike the obligatory type, this has a less fundamental effect on the centrality of the prior tests, It is a potential, however not mandatory, an intertextual relationship that whenever perceived, the association will marginally move to the comprehension of the text (Fitzsimmons. 2013). In other words, this type indicates that it is not nesseray to read or be brief of other text resources that are used in the present text so to understand the references and the meanings expressed within. Consequently, this type usually gives proper respect to the 'original' writers. Thus, the focus of the text reference will be on the impact that it makes not nesseray the meaning that it carries. Tebboune speech contained various optional intertexture figures. We manage to extract the following Quranic references.

For example, he said “and God Almighty has commanded us to put aside differences and conflict so that we do not fail” (Tebboune, 2019, p. 75) This was addressed to the people of Algeria by Tebboune so to emphasize a need for unity due to social and political chaos that arose during the protest.

This second quotation, “يا أيها الذين آمنوا إن جانكم فاسق بنيا فتبينوا أن تصيبوا قوما بجهالة فتصبحوا على ما فعلتم نادمين” “Oh you who have believed, if there comes to you a disobedient one with information investigate, lest you harm people out of ignorance and become regretful of what you have done” (Tebboune, 2019, p. 77) is a Quranic verse. Intended to Algeria's digital and social media, he asked that journalist or reporters to be more cautious and obtain more work ethics by verifying

their news before publishing anything, Tabboune commented about media in general because it played a major role in shaping 2019 events for instance “The first significant demonstration took place in Algiers on February 22nd and was organized via social media.” (Sawicka Z, 2019, p. 81)

The third Islamic reference, “As the poet said "The teacher almost became a messenger", (Tebboune, 2019, p. 78) is a part of Ahmad Chaouki’s poem and it is a common saying to appreciate the value and effort of teachers, Tebboune used it as an emotive touch when talking about improving Algeria’s education sector.

3.2.3. Accidental Intertextuality

This type is accomplished when readers regularly associate a text with another text, cultural practice, or personal experience, without there being any tangible stay point within the original text (Fitzsimmon, 2013). Moreover, The writer does not expect making an intertextual reference and it is totally upon the reader’s prior information that these connections are made (Wöhrle, 2012). To be more explicit, pretexts insertion can be either unconscious or intentional and the connection is not explicit except through experience or knowledge that the reader or the listener have, thus it requires the act of investigating and searching about other similar prior-texts that resemble the present one, We accidentally fell on close textual similarities between Tebboune’s December 19th, 2019 speech and Abdelaziz Bouteflika’s April 15th, 2011 speech when he was running for the 2011 election. The speech can be found via this link: <https://www.radioalgerie.dz/news/ar/article/20190210/162051.html>

Boutflika’s Speech 2011	Tebboune’s Speech 2019
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● initiate a <u>serious process concerned with the economic establishment</u>, whether public or private, as the distinct source for creating wealth <u>and providing jobs in order to ensure its growth and modernization</u>.(Bouteflika, A, 2011, para. 20) ● Therefore, <u>the government must draw up a national investment program aimed at economic institutions in all sectors of activity, in a consultative framework with all economic and social dealers</u>.(Boutflika. A. 2011. para21) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ <u>In the field of economics, we will strive to build a strong, diversified national economy</u>, scattered wealth, <u>generating jobs</u>, creating social welfare, strengthening our food security and fortifying the nation from the deadly dependency on the outside and on fuel(Tebboune, 2019, p. 76) ◆ I send a sincere and reassuring message emanating from the heart of the heart to honest national businessmen and private and public economic institutions. <u>To invest strongly in all sectors and in</u>

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● <u>Based on the constitution, I will use the right that entitles me to amend it</u>, and I ask Parliament to reformulate the legislative body on which the rules for democratic practice are based and what citizens are authorized to freely exercise their choice. Being aware of the responsibility incumbent upon me, and out of my gratitude to your support, and taking into account to preserve the balance of powers, <u>I will work on introducing legislative and constitutional amendments in order to strengthen representative democracy in our country</u> (Boutflika, 2011, para. 34). ● <u>There will be a deep review of the election law</u>. This review must respond to the aspiration of our citizens to exercise their electoral right in the most democratic and transparent conditions to choose their representatives in the elected councils.(Boutflika, 2011, para. 35) 	<p><u>all the rents of the nation</u>. (Tebboune, 2019, p. 76)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ As President of the Republic, I must remind you of these most important commitments. Chief among them <u>is amending the constitution, which is the cornerstone</u> of building the new republic (Tebboune, 2019, p. 76) ◆ I commit to moralizing political <u>life and rehabilitating elected institutions through the new election law</u> that clearly defines the conditions for running for positions and criminalizing the interference of corrupt money in political work(Tebboune, 2019, p. 76)
---	---

Table 07: Intertexture similarities between Tebboune’s December 19th ,2019 speech and Boutflika’s April 15th ,2011 speech:

As it shown in the table above Bouteflika and Tebboune presented their speech eight years apart, but what is odd is that both speeches almost match each other, for instance, there are similar addressed subjects, an identical arrangement of the content, and the same political goals where the only difference is on the style and delivery. We could not mention all the existed similarities we just illustrated three of them, in that, both the new and old presidents share paradoxical commitments. First, in amending the constitution. Second, modifying the election process, and third establishing strategic plans intended to improve the economy. Moreover, We did not find any literary term that describes this kind of imitation on the side of Tebboune non-other than the act of plagiarism, which itself can signal a red flag when we think about the reason that triggered the protest in the first place. Consequently, we deduce that Tebboune here failed to distinguish himself from his predecessor, and he either wants to keep circling the same old agenda or making it as a challenge. That is to say, we can assume that he could have an intention

to finish what Bouteflika failed to realize. Nonetheless, if we put aside the style of writing, the idea that both speeches are the work of one author will not be an exaggeration.

3.2.3. Interpretation of The text

Based on the above intertexture analysis which is generally put to give us a clear picture of the text production process, we have deduced two different depths to Tebboune's speech. The First depth, that the speech is projected to the audience as unifying and idealistic, since he employed a lot of emotive repetition, Islamic references which the later is built on the fact that Algeria's population are majority Muslims, a broader perspective will be a confirmation to Algeria's Islamic standards and identity, Furthermore, he mentioned Algeria's past revolution that all Algerians value. Additionally, draws a perfect image of how Algeria will become under his term this can be portrayed as a type of deliberative strategy. That is to say, he intentionally used the past to set a margin or path that Algerians have to follow where he is a part of. The second depth shows that Tebboune discourse was not sophisticated in terms of language style just few comparisons, examples, and neat expressions which made his speech rather unappealing more like informative. Besides, as shown in the accidental intertextuality type, Tebboune candidacy commitments are almost the same with Bouteflika's, as such if the audience notice and we can not say they did not, there will be no change factor that Algerians desperately wanted, this can be a coded message to the elite that there is no change, all of this give attributes that the speech is plain, direct, and nearly administrative the proof is the lack of style and originality and a poor imitation of his predecessor.

3.3. Social Explanation

The context of Tebboune's speech in a very obvious manner is constrained and regulated to the aftermath of the pre-election 2019 events (contextualization). Therefore, we have placed a socio-cultural and historical analysis on three significant factors that clearly contain the aspects of hegemony and ideologies that Tebboune intentionally or not expressed in his speech.

3.3.1. The El hirak Movement and December 12th, 2019 Election

The El hirak or the Algerian protest movement who rallied against Bouteflika and Largely questioned the legitimacy of December 12th election and of equally importance raises the

question of whether Tebboune has fully disconnected himself from the old system. As such, we can notice in our previous two stages of analysis that Tebboune avoided talking or directly expressing his position in regards to the movements. he did this in sort of speak to win over his critics but indirectly he stressed certain points which are related to the movement, for instance, Tebboune constantly legitimizes his election, saying it was free and transparent and even proclaim that is was a sort of demand that El hirak wanted. In addition, he urges the protest to act on legal grounds, and he definitely downplayed the 2019 political situation with a relatively unifying speech, which can be linked to, as we earlier mention in the background of our study that governing elite among it the national army believe that a continuation of this movement could trigger more tensions and violence among Algerians and threaten the country's stability, for that reason that the election according to governing elite was a nesseray move, even if the election results are already decided . Similarly noted by Brahim Mansour in his website article "The country's neighbors and the International Community fear that any deteriorating situation in Algeria would increase regional instability leading to the rise of the threat of terrorism and increase the migration crisis."(Mansour B, 2019, Para. 10). In other words, Algeria's territorial security situation is stable but the country's large borders are a ticking time bomb as militant movement escalate in neighboring nations, particularly Libya and the coast. Also, the increasing number of refugees heading toward Algeria on their way to Europe presents an unprecedented problem for the government. This is shown directly when Tebboune thanked the acting resident in the following extraction.

I also take this opportunity to give my thanks to Mr Abdelkader Bensalah for his sincere dedication since he wanted to bear with great honor the responsibility of the presidency of a state despite this delicate circumstance in the history of our nation. The country at a time dominated by extremely sensitive conditions and thanks to his rich and witnessed experience, which was the key to success in consecrating the elements of harmonious work and strengthening coordination between the Presidency of the Republic and the Supreme Command of the People's National Army, which formed a safe bridge to our country to cross for a better desired tomorrow. (Tebboune, 2019, p. 74)

3.3.2. Algeria's November Revolution (1954-1962)

A major historical factor in Algeria is its colonial and long war for independence against France that lasted seven years (1954-1962). Although, it seems that Tebboune merely mentions the revolution as an emotive gesture. However, it can very well be used as a reminder of how horrifying and bloody the revolution was. The lost of many patriots has deeply impacted the

building of a young state that then was just a fragile Republic, especially when Algeria shortly after obtaining independence it entered a phase of civil war, Where, people at that period had to rely on the government and the army to protect them and fight terrorists. Consequently, Tebboune intention was to further shorten or mend the gap between the government and its citizens based on a historically valued memory.

3.3.3. Algeria's Economy

The last factor which took a big chunk of his speech is Algeria's economy which according to (Mansour, B, 2019) that “the key of understanding Algeria politics is to look at its economy noted that there is a belief that oil revenues hinders Democracy and leads to enhance the control of Pouvoir by authoritarian regimes through patronage and populist redistribution of public funds”(para, 10). That is to say, petroleum it is the sole income for Algeria and it's not fairly distributed and its plumbing and unstable prices can lead if it has not yet Algeria to an economic crisis, which is categorized among the primary reasons that ignited the protest. Thus, Tebboune designated this part of his speech to provide possible solutions and establish policies that could help to diversify and encourage national and foreign investments so Algeria can develop new industries that does not depend on hydrocarbons like agriculture and tourism.

3.3.4 Explanation of the Text Production

We must remind the reader that the analysis in the explanative part is about the historical, social, and cultural contexts. and since we are dealing with a new study which can be considered as a kind of discursive social practice that incorporate individual and institutional dominated groups like (Abdelmajdid Tebboune, Abdelaziz Boutflika, El hirak, The government, ANIE, The army...etc.) which were the spotlight of many world news channels and journalist. Consequently, our social analysis revealed that Tebboune at first used a populism ideology which “In its most democratic form, Populism seeks to defend the interests and maximize the power of ordinary citizens, through reform rather than, revolution ” (Munro, A. 2013), his speech also highlights the known ideology of Conservatism it means according to Britannica Encyclopedia to resist to transform societies or politics (Richard Dagger. n,d). In other words, it denote the act of favor to and promoting the traditional practices and social institutions that have evolved gradually which are manifestations of continuity and stability. Although, Tebboune gave promises of a new

Algeria he clearly wants to keep some cornerstone of the state which he did not specify but refer to through mentioning Algeria history. Also, indicated in his parodical goals with Bouteflika. Lastly in terms of hegemony Tebboune had much appreciation towards the high government elites than the public themselves this led to a patriarchal authoritative input in his speech.

4. Conclusion

To sum up, we identified most of Tebboune's persuasive strategies, his reasons behind downplaying and foregrounding the pre-election events, and we also expose his discursive ideologies and dominance. Lastly, Tebboune overt message was making change through improving two-sectors, the law, and the economy. The covert message is keeping the country's stability and continuity to avoid any Arab Spring that drowned other countries in chaos as the likes of Libya, Iraq, and Syria. Moreover, we believe that we have managed to give a subjective answer to our research problem.

5. Limitations of The Study

We should first hint at the complexity that CDA and Fairclough's model has. In other words, it was difficult to understand since we did not have any prior knowledge about the field, as such, we had to learn it from scratch which took a big proportion from our restricted timeline, it would have been a great asset to us and the university if it was already included in the curriculum. Additionally, Fairclough's model presented us a challenge where one can criticize it by saying, it does not have a fixed method and it changes from one cultural context to another, this pushed us to be more creative, and innovate our own way of application, we also had another of equally significant obstacle which is the absence of any existing original or full written version to "Abdelmadjid Tebboune's 19th.2019 speech", which hindered our ability to thoroughly analyze the text. Therefore, we had to transcribe the speech in ourselves. Then, translated it into English to target a wider audience of readers. The last issue about our research paper was the lack of valid resources. Although, the speech was highly talked about, we had put an enormous effort and time spent just searching about solid information and well-formulated articles to quote or take ideas from. Moreover, we also encountered some personal held backs, such as the lack of communication we experience as partners due to the current situation. Consequently, we at times

had to work separately and there was a lot of disagreement and counteracted ideas that we had to overcome.

6. Recommendations for Further Research

To begin with, the current study is quite confined to the written part of Tebboune speech since we reckon that discourse can take any form of social practice whether spoken, written, or visual. Henceforth, by combining Tebboune's body language, phonology, and the way he delivers speech can benefit our research by adding more analytical views or correcting any possible errors. Furthermore, during our analysis, we came across an existing speech similarities between Tebboune and Abdelaziz Bouteflika where we just briefly point it out, but on its own, it can serve as a comparison study, also the former can take a much broader perspective if it involves a large corpus of all Algeria's presidential speeches arranged to specific categories. Moreover, we at the start wanted to add the role of media in politics, but due to our restricted timeline, we failed to cover it. Hence, a study of Algeria's media effect in implementing political policies or ideologies can further enlarge our research. Subsequently, this can lead to other ideas that should be explored such as 'Noam Chomsky media control theory' a famous sociolinguist who is known for his theoretical contributions in grasping the relation between politics and media, Lastly, our research essential objective was to give an insight into discursive power and its effects on society. Consequently, another potential study that we have a future interest in can be expressed in the following question; Does language shape the way we think?

General Conclusion

“Speech is a social practice and all social practices entail meaning and meaning shapes and influence what we do...” (Hall, *The West and The Rest*, 1992, p. 291) In other words, speech can be a powerful tool of change when delivered by the right people. Whereas, the most significant thing in the speech is the message that the speaker wants to convey. Consequently, words often wield power within speech but not necessarily in a spoken obvious matter, for instance, politicians who are undoubtedly the elite of our modern time their power of words is at certain times exercised through their deliberately misdirected, euphemistic, and manipulative language that is solely built to convince or persuade others. However, this kind of language can create a misbalance in power where inevitably a certain social group will be under the dominance of another and quite possibly lead to social issues. One way to assess the discursive power employed in a speech by the likes of politicians is through the application of Critical Discourse Analysis, CDA, which is a study that is concerned with decoding politician ideas and underline messages by putting much focus upon the textual unit of discourse. Chiefly, its linguistic and stylistic elements, and the context that it occurs in so to reveal or increase people's awareness of any signs of ideology, power, or hegemony.

In light of our present study, we have managed to critically analyze Abdelmadjid Tebboune's inauguration speech that took place on December 19th, 2019, at the Algerian Congress Palace. To begin with, we sought out mentioning the circumstances that preceded his speech. To be specific, we described the situational context and background that shapes and governs the content of the speech. Similarly, narrating the pre-election events, highlighting the role of certain individuals and institutional groups like El hirak protest, the army, ANIE the electoral committee, the previous president Abdelaziz Bouteflika. Additionally, we wrote a biography about the data main source which is about the Algerian politician 'Abdelmadjid Tebboune'. In that, we talked about his life, political career, and accomplishments. Hence, chapter one is analogous to answer questions such as where the data come from, How it came into existence, and what contributed to its making?. Then in chapter two we thoroughly and precisely identify and talked about the essential notions that are related and included in our political speech analysis, for example, the definition of discourse, discourse analysis DA, and CDA, and the latter relation to politics, and the purpose that it serves, and most importantly we mentioned and discussed the method of our data analysis which is Fairclough's 1989, 1995 model of CDA. That is to say, we set apart the model main stages and explained each one in

detail. Besides, we pointed out other rhetorical devices and persuasive strategies that can be used by politicians, like figures of speech, repetition techniques, intertextuality, and many more that we have incorporated within our analysis process. Later on, by the start of chapter three, we worked to give the linguistic context of the speech by illustrating the place, time, duration, and audience. Moreover, Fairclough's model despite not having any sort of fixed steps to follow and generally difficult to understand, it surely has compensated by being both practical and flexible. In that, it provided us with multiple points of analytic entry, where it does not matter which kind of analysis one begins with as long as in the end they are all included and are shown to be mutually intelligible.

Subsequently, by putting much attention on the signs that make up the text, the specific linguistics selections, and their juxtapositioning, sequencing, and layout. (Hilary, J. 1997), the model we chose has enabled us to see that Tebboune tried to improve his statue using positive lexical choices by repeating words like "Achieve, New, will, support" that is situated to project a futuristic image accordingly with his candidacy slogan "New Algeria", this also can be seen in his speech content that is based on rather emotive, unifying, and idealistic frame through his use of Islamic references and mentioning the glorifying revolution that Algerians find in both trust and proud. However, we so far come to know that even if Tebboune's character can be slightly unappealing and his integrity is highly questioned yet his lack of Ethos did not stop him from successfully employing certain persuasive techniques that implemented a positive self-representation. for instance, Tebboune's rhetoric was centered on pathos proof which can be seen in his use of emotive language, repetition, and overall a deliberative style. Also, he occasionally employed some moral stepping as "I will personally do this and this for the sake of good" which presented him an opportunity to self-brand his credibility. However, by looking at Tebboune's syntactic choices his responsibility statue is unclear or even diminished to a certain point, this can be deduced from the careful and well-oriented use of the personal pronoun "I", and in opposition, the excessive use of "we" and "the state will" or "Algeria will" which were not only employed to project a sense of solidarity but also to reduce his accountability if those commitments never take place. His political position to the pre-election event can be derived from the obvious avoidance of mentioning Bouteflika in any possible way, and in concern to El hirak this to him was a bittersweet choice because Tebboune clearly expresses a negative attitude and disprove this movement but at the same time he makes enough effort to please it

and avoid any offensive description to it, all to create a free criticism environment for his presidential term. However, he made few dull attempts to propagate the idea on which El hirak endorsed and demanded the election that he won. this act in itself can be categorized as a social inequality towards the protest, because we at the start of our study, we said that El hirak had rallied against the December 12th, 2019 election.

Furthermore, the Fairclough model has assisted in removing the hidden layers which the test had, revealing in the process the close similarities that are shared between Tebboune and Bouteflika, for instance, by looking at their lexical choices and identical goals both political figures are "sticklers for the rules" and favor law or legal actions. To be more explicit, we found that Tebboune's speech shared remarkably close similarities with Abdelaziz Bouteflika's April 15th, 2011 speech, not everyone can notice this, that is why we categorized it as accidental intertextuality, but this can tell a lot about Tebboune's true intentions. That is to say, Tebboune holding on to his predecessor policy and ideology does not express any aspect of change that Algerians desperately want, we further explained this in stage three of our social analysis to the text by discussing the socio-cultural and historical circumstances that justify Tebboune various linguistics choices and by adding the fact that El hirak can pose a threat to the stability of the country which Bouteflika contributed in its building for the past 20 years, which can come from neighboring countries like Libya who currently suffer from civil war or south boarding countries like Mali, Niger...etc, which raises the crises of immigration through Algerian lands that can exploit or target the massive gathering that El hirak forms. However, if we look at the fact that Tebboune had held several positions under Bouteflika and eventually made it as a president with the lowest election turnout ever, can indicate an effect of social dominance where the elites are resisting and want to stay put in their powerful positions in apposition to El hirak who wanted them out for reasons, like the poor and hard living situation and the barely holding economy of the country which they failed to improve. All of this clearly indicates two overpowering ideologies asserted by Tebboune, one is the desire to keep the old political system as it is, a conservative ideology, and the second is to make change through the power of law, as a populism ideology despite the El hirak clear disapproval. Moreover, Tebboune's avoidance and denial of El hirak true demands were to either validate a desire of keeping peace and stability which a radical change of Algeria's political system can easily erect or to further secure and justify the hidden or the remaining governing elite who wish to stay in power, the

latter presents unfair state to the fact that Algeria is a democratic republic ruling country.

At the end of this dissertation, we can say that the speech as a whole was to show a desire for what is assumed as the greater good towards Algeria. Also, Tebboune's message despite his unspoken preferences to the authorities and holding on to certain Institutions and policies that El hirak may renounce or disagree with, it was making change through two key factors which are economy and law. Furthermore, This speech on itself represents a social practice that voices all kinds of covert and overt discursive dominance by the elite which emphasize that the core of our study is not necessarily situated on what is written but the circumstance that pushed the text into a depth that transmits an underline message, which CDA studies crave to expose. Finally, we are confident that we have successfully answered our research questions and presented a limited but neat critical discourse analysis paper, that will hopefully, shed enough spotlights on the context and the political language used in Algeria, in addition, our original way of applying the Fairclough's model will open up a wealth of opportunities to researchers who are interested in studying discourse relation in constructing power, ideologies, and the effect it makes on society.

Bibliogrphay

1. Books

- **Aristotle**. Roberts, W. (1954). Aristotle rhetoric Modern Library New.
- **Brown, G., & Yule, G.**(1983). Discourse analysis. Cambridge University Press.
- **Bulcaen** (Eds.), Political linguistics (pp. 11-52). Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- **Carter, R.**, (1993). Introducing applied linguistics. Penguin English.
- **Conley, T.** (1991). Rhetoric in the European Tradition. University of Chicago.
- **Fairclough, N.** (1995). Critical discourse analysis: The critical study of language. London: Longman.
- **Fairclough, N.** (2010). Critical Discourse Analysis. The Critical Study of Language. (2ed). London & New York. Routledge.
- **Fairclough, N.** (1992). Discourse and social change. Cambridge: Polity Press
- **Fairclough, N.** (1992) Discourse and social change. London: Polity Press
- **Foucault, M.** (1969). L'Archéologie du savoir. Paris. Éditions Gallimard.
- **Fairclough, N.** (2000). New labour, new language? London: Routledge.
- **Fairclough, N.** (2003). Analyzing Discourse. New York. Routledge ISBN0-203-69707-3
- **Gernsbacher, M. A.** (1997). Two decades of structure building. Discourse Processes, 23,265-304.
- **Goffman, Erving.** 1974. Frame Analysis: An Essay on the Organization of Experience. New York, NY et al.: Harper & Row. Retrieved from <https://is.muni.cz/el/1423/podzim2013/SOC571E/um/E.Goffman-FrameAnalysis.pdf>
- **Hall, S.** 1992. The West and The Rest: Discourse and Power. <https://doi.org/10.1215/9781478002710-009>
- **Hamilton, H.E.** (ed), The handbook of discourse analysis. Oxford: Blackwell, pp. 352-371.
- **Haybron, D. M.** (2008). Philosophy and the science of subjective well-being. In M. Eid & R. J. Larsen (Eds.), The science of subjective well-being (pp. 17-43). New York, NY: Guilford Press.
- **Kinapp, M & Dary, J.** (2002). Handbook of International Communication. (3ed). Newbury Park. sage publication.
- **Nunan, D.** (1993). Introducing discourse analysis. Penguin Books.
- **Schiffrin, D & Tannen, D & Hamilton, H.** (2015). Handbook of Discourse Analysis. 1(1ed). Wiley Blackwell.
- **Titscher, S.;** Meyer, M. Wodak, R. & Vetter, E. (2000) Methods of text and discourse analysis. London: Sage.
- **Van Els, T.** et al. (1984). Applied linguistics and the learning and teaching of foreigners
- **Van Dijk, T. A.** (2003) 'Critical discourse analysis', in Schiffrin, D., Tannen, D., Van Dijk (1985). Discourse Analysis as a New Cross-Discipline vol 1.
- **Van Dijk, T.** (2008). Discourse & Practice. New Tool for Critical Discourse Analysis. Oxford University Press.
- **Van Dijk.** (2008). Discourse and context: a sociocognitive approach. Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press. (xii, 267)
- **Van Dijk, T.** (1985). Handbook of Discourse Analysis, Discourse Analysis in Society Vol. 4. Academie Press London.
- **Wöhrle, J.** (2012). So many cross-references! Methodological reflections on the problem of intertextual relationships and their significance for redaction critical analysis.

- **Wood, L. A., & Kroger, R. O. (2000).** Doing discourse analysis: Methods for studying action in talk and text. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- **Widdowson, H.G. (1973).** An applied linguistic approach to discourse analysis.
- **Yule, G. (1985).** The Study of language: An introduction. Cambridge University Press

2. Articles

- **Bukhari, Nasir, H. (2013).** Critical Discourse Analysis and educational research.V3(1). Pp 09-17 University Press.
- **Chikhi, L. (2019)"Algerian** protesters attack 'garbage' presidential campaign". Thomson Reuters. U.S. Retrieved from <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-algeria-election-campaign/algerian-protesters-attack-garbage-presidential-campaign-idUSKBN1XR0HS>
- **Drid, T. (2010).** DISCOURSE ANALYSIS: KEY CONCEPTS AND PERSPECTIVES. https://www.researchgate.net/journal/282184078_DISCOURSEANALYSIS_KEY_CONCEPTS_AND_PERSPECTIVES
- **Fitzsimmons, J. (2013).** Romantic and contemporary poetry: readings. Retrieved from CQUniversity e-courses, LITR19049 - Romantic and Contemporary Poetry, <http://moodle.cqu.edu.au>
- **Griffig, T. (2006).** Intertextualität in linguistischen Fachaufsätzen des Englischen und Deutschen (Intertextuality in English and German Linguistic Research Articles). Frankfurt a.M. et al.: Lang,.
- **Hallo, William W. (2010)** The World's Oldest Literature: Studies in Sumerian Belles-Lettres p.608
- Hilary Janks (1997) Critical Discourse Analysis as a Research Tool, Discourse: Studies in the Cultural Politics of Education, 18:3, 329-342, DOI: 10.1080/0159630970180302
- **Jacobmeyer, H. (1998).** Ever After: A study in intertextuality. Carl Hanser Verlag, München. Retrieved from http://webdoc.sub.gwdg.de/edoc/ia/eese/artic98/jacobm/88_98.html
- **Jeffrey T. Reed. (1996).** Discourse Analysis as a New Testament Hermeneutic: A Retrospective and Prospective Appraisal," Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society 39/2, 224.
- **Kane, J, & Patapan , H. (2010).** 5 e artless art: Leadership and the limits of democratic rhetoric. Australian Journal of Political Science, 45. pp, 371–389
- **Mansour, B. (2019).** “Who rules Algeria right now? An analysis on the current state of state [power] and how it is changing after the ousting of President Bouteflika”. Retrieved from <https://www.iris-france.org/140130-who-rules-algeria-right-now-an-analysis-on-the-current-state-of-state-power-and-how-it-is-changing-after-the-ousting-of-president-bouteflika/>
- **Owino, R, & Britto, R. (2018).** Exploration of rhetorical and critical tradition and its variations based on selected theorists within the tradition. IOSR Journal Of Humanities And Social Science. 23(11). 32-42 Retrieved from <https://pdfs.semanticscholar.org/ecc1/681cbd72e555dfaed35c8f5d6e9b4178c909.pdf>
- **Ramos, F. (n,d).**School of Psychology, Faculty of Health Sciences. Retrieved from <https://vdocuments.mx/document/in-press-pragmatics-cognition-in-press-pragmatics-cognition-3-abstract.html>

- **Reuters,T. (2019)**. CBC. Retrieved from <https://www.cbc.ca/news/world/algeria-election-1.5395077>
- Sawicka, Z. (2019). New Media New Algerian Arab Spring?.*Torun International Studies*. 1(12), pp. 75–88. Retrieved from DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.12775/TIS.2019.005>
- Song L. (2010). The Role of Context in Discourse Analysis, *Journal of Language Teaching and Research*, ACADEMY PUBLISHER.Finland.Vol. 1, No. 6, pp. 876-879. doi:10.4304/jltr.1.6.876-879
- **Van Dijk, T. (1995)**. *Aims of Critical Discourse Analysis*. VOL 1, pp. 17-27
- **Van Dijk, T. (1993)**. *Discourse & Society* London. Newbury Park and New Delhi. Sage publication. . 4(2), 249- 283. Retrieved from <https://academic.oup.com/qje/article-abstract/112/4/1163/1911726>
- **Van Dijk, T. (1993)** principles of critical discourse analysis, *Discourse and Society* vol 4(2) 249 283
- **Van Dijk, T. A. (1998)**. What is political discourse analysis? In J. Blommaert & C.
- **Wang, W. 2006**. Chapter 4:Critical discourse analysis, intertextuality and the present study.Faculty of Education and Social Work The University of Sydney<https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/41230582.pdf>
- **Wodak, Ruth & Meyer, Michael. (2008)**. *Critical Discourse Analysis: History, Agenda, Theory, and Methodology 1. Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis*
- **Wodak, R. (2001)**. What CDA is about - a summary of its history, important concepts and its developments.

3. Dictionaries and Encyclopedias

- **Cambridge international dictionary of English. (1995)**. Cambridge: Cambridge
- **Crystal, D. (1987)**, *A Dictionary of Linguistics and Phonetics*. Oxford: Blackwell.Metaphor (n, d).
- **Merriam-Webster’s Collegiate Dictionary** retrieved from <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/metaphor>
- **Minogue K. (n, d)** "Conservatism". in *Britannica* Retrieved from <https://www.britannica.com/topic/conservatism/General-characteristics>
- **Munro, A. (2013)**. “Poplusim”. Retrieved from <http://www.britannica.com/topic/populism>
- **Rhiney, K. (2010)**. Text/textuality. In B. Warf (Ed.), *Encyclopedia of geography*. (pp. 2809-2813). Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications, Inc <http://dx.doi.org/10.4135/9781412939591.n1129>

4. Websites and Online Government Publications

- **Algeria presidential election. (2019)**. Al Jazeera. Retrieved from <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2019/11/algeria-presidential-election-candidates-announced-191103064535822.html>
- **Algeria Press service (n, d)** Retrieved from <http://www.aps.dz/ar/>

- BRAHIMI, M, (1988). Les filiations de la constitution Algérienne de 1976 in R.A.S.J.E.P., Vol. XXVI, n° 03-4
- خطاب عبد العزيز بوتفليقة 15 افريل 2011
<http://www.radioalgerie.dz/news/ar/article/20190210/162051.html>
- (2019). عودة على خطاب عبد المجيد تبون بعد تنصيبه رئيسا للجزائر. [video file]. Retrieved from. <https://youtu.be/nOI5BP3MTYA>
- **Schema theory**. (n, d). Retrieved from <https://www.csus.edu> › teapartyPDF
- “**Who is Abdelmadjid Tebboune**, Algeria’s new president?”. (2019). The national news site Retrieved from: <https://www.thenational.ae/world/mena/who-is-abdelmadjid-tebboune-algeria-s-new-president-1.951256>
- “**Who is Algeria's new president?**”, (2019). AlJazeera. Retrieved from <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2019/12/abdelmadjid-tebboune-algeria-president-191213161923647.html>

Appendix: Abdelmadjid Tebboun's First Inauguration Speech
Translated to English

In the Name of God, the Most Gracious, the Most Merciful, and may peace and blessings be upon the most honorable messengers, our Master, Prophet, and our Imam, Muhammad, may God bless him and grant him peace.

His Excellency the President of the State, Abdelkader Bensalah , Speaker of the National Assembly, the Speaker of the National People's Assembly, the President of the Constitutional Council, the Prime Minister, the Lieutenant-General, Deputy Minister of National Defense, Chief of Staff of the People's Army, Your Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen

Oh proud Algerian people, fellow citizens, sons and grandsons of the Mujahideen and the Free Patriots, I am pleased to address you today in my capacity as President of the People's Democratic Republic of Algeria. I am addressing you who made history once again and sealed the future of Algeria with your right decision on December 12, 2019 to fulfill the call of national duty and return Algeria to the path of constitutional and popular legitimacy that no one challenged. This great success is the fruit of the blessed public movement initiated by our honorable people when they sensed with their intuition and conscience that there is no way but to take a national leap to stop the collapse of the state and its institutions. I must here offer my warmest congratulations and sincere thanks to all male and female citizens for their effective contribution to the success of the electoral process. A free and transparent democracy and the confidence they placed in me.

I should also note the tremendous efforts made by the Independent Election Authority headed by Mr. Mohamed Sharafi for being able, in a very short period, to win the bet and organize free and fair election. On which it gave the Algerian people the opportunity to choose freely with command, and served our dear country I also take this opportunity to give my thanks to Mr Abdelkader Bensalah for his sincere dedication since he wanted to bear with great honor the responsibility of the presidency of a state despite this delicate circumstance in the history of our nation. The country at a time dominated by extremely sensitive conditions and thanks to his rich and witnessed experience, which was the key to success in consecrating the elements of harmonious work and strengthening coordination between the Presidency of the Republic and the Supreme Command of the People's National Army, which formed a safe bridge to our country to cross for a better desired tomorrow.

And without a doubt. We must raise our salutations and appreciation to the brave National People's Army, the National Liberation Army, headed by the Deputy Minister of National Defense, the Chief of Staff, the sincere patriotic fighter, Lieutenant-General Ahmed Gaïd Salah, for the great role in protecting national sovereignty and the country's stability and security and standing as an impregnable block in the face of foreign intervention attempts and plots targeting And accompanying the public movement in order to achieve its legitimate demands. which has been achieved, and what remains of it. I renew my commitment to extend my hand to achieve its completion within the framework of national consensus and the law of the republic. Thanks are attached without speculation to all security wires from the police and gendarmes for being the watchful eye for the nation's security and stability.

Oh the great people, fellow citizens, sons and grandsons of the Mujahideen and the Free patriots. Today we all have to close this page of disagreements, dispersion and division, for it is by God the agents of demolition and destruction, and God Almighty has commanded us to put aside differences and conflict so that we do not fail .We are all Algerians, and none of us is better than the last except to the extent that we offer sincere work to our dear Algeria, such as those majestic and mighty sacrifices of self-denial that our ancestors and our fathers made in liberating the country from public revolutions to the national movement and up to the devastating and sacred November revolution. Today, WE are all obligated wherever WE are and wherever WE find, and however OUR cultural and political varies, WE have no choice but to hold hands in order to realize the dream of our parents and grandparents and the dream of OUR youth in the present generations of Algeria and the future to build a strong new republic that prepares a stable and prosperous based on the glorious November revolution, which whenever we deviate from it, we are affected by factors of Discrimination, dispersion, weakness and dishonor,

And as I have said repeatedly during the campaign , our political work derives its spirit from the glorious first November revolution, which is the source of our inspiration and determination, but also the constant reference for all the policies that we pursue and that aspire to build a new and impregnable Algeria that will be realized with the will of the people, a state of institutions, in which right and law prevail, and in which the competencies of young people assume positions of leadership and responsibility to achieve the specific program that aspires on the road to a comprehensive renaissance. The deep and legitimate aspirations of our people towards a fundamental change in the pattern of governance and empowerment for a new era based on respect for democratic principles, the rule of law, social justice and human rights.

The country's current situation is demanding us more than ever to improve our governance, to address the weaknesses in our country, and to create the necessary conditions so to revive an economic growth, ensure the advancement of our country, and restore it to its place among the nations from which he would never be separated, and the intention to challenge these obstacles is to quickly overcome the current political situation To delve into the core issues of the country by pursuing a comprehensive strategy based on a clear political vision aimed at restoring the people's confidence in their country and rallying around it in order to ensure its stability and future. This strategy also aims to restore the state's integrity by continuing to systematically combat corruption, the policy of impunity and the practices of indiscriminate distribution of petroleum irrigation. This step is imposed, on the one hand, to launch a socio-cultural policy in order to create a favorable environment for our youth to flourish, and on the other hand, to revive economic development through large grassroots projects and divisions, and to encourage productive investment and diversify industrial fabric by promoting small and medium enterprises and diversifying economic activity that creates wealth and jobs. This strategy is supported by a foreign policy that is adapted to the strategic and economic interests of our country and is appropriate to the circumstantial requirements and the geopolitical context. This view would embody the commitments that I made to myself before you, and whose implementation will be based on a methodology based on dialogue and consultation.

Oh proud and great Algerian people, fellow citizens, sons and the grandsons of the Mujahideen and the Free Patriots,

You who have familiarized Algeria through setting the most wonderful examples of sacrifice when it comes to the fate of the homeland and the future of the nation. Today we are about to make enormous sacrifices in order to build the new republic based on the commitments that you have transparently voted on December 12, 2019, and it is on me Today, as President of the Republic, I must remind you of these most important commitments. Chief among them is amending the constitution, which is the cornerstone of building the new republic . Where I renew my pledge during the first months, if not the first weeks in order to achieve the demands of the people expressed in the movement(El hirak), a constitution that renews the presidential term only once and reduces the powers of the President of the Republic a constitution that protects Algeria from falling into individual rule, achieves true separation of powers and creates a balance between them, a constitution that defines the immunity of persons and does not grant the corrupt any immunity from prosecution, a constitution that protects individual and collective freedoms, human rights, freedom of information and the right to demonstrat, Also I commit to moralizing political life and rehabilitating elected institutions through the new election law that clearly defines the conditions for running for positions and criminalizing the interference of corrupt money in political work and buying votes and debts, so that young people, especially college graduats, can get a chance to run and win where their election campaign will be funded by the state to protect them from falling into the hands of corrupted money.

In the field of economics, we will strive to build a strong, diversified national economy, scattered wealth, generating jobs, creating social welfare, strengthening our food security and fortifying the nation from the deadly dependency on the outside and on fuel, and in this context I send a sincere and reassuring message emanating from the heart of the heart to honest national businessmen and private and public economic institutions. To invest strongly in all sectors and in all the rents of the nation, and they will find from the state all the support and all the necessary privileges. I put a hand in your hand to contribute to the achievement of comprehensive national development, and the state will adopt a strict method in the flow of public money, and I will never allow it to be tampered with.The state launches an action plan for young people with the aim of enabling them to create emerging economic institutions to achieve success. We value national production and we only import what is really lacking in order to prevent the waste of hard currency and increase national production, as well as the economic role of local groups will be strengthened and the diversification of economic fields such as the mountain, desert and coastal economy We will open broad horizons for home economics that benefit the women who stay at home and cancel taxes on them, and it is also certain to put an urgent plan to modernize agriculture to ensure food security in the first stage and access to exports in the second phase, and we do not forget tourism as an economic factor generating wealth and generating jobs from Through several mechanisms to support the status of tourist agencies, classify tourist areas in Algeria, create airplanes at competitive prices, and ease the procedures for obtaining a tourist visa.

Oh the great, proud Algerian people Especially emerging, small and medium enterprises, and the state will reduce taxes on every public or private enterprise that creates jobs, and clear mechanisms will be put in place for this purpose.

In the field of energy, the state will encourage alternative and renewable energies and work to export them, as well as strengthening our energy presence in Europe, Asia and elsewhere, and we will revive major projects to export renewable energy. And in the cultural sector, the state will work to develop the cinema industry as well as grant tax privileges to develop cultural, cinematic and intellectual production while paying attention to the artist's social status

As for the media, I call on the national media to be at the level of the nation's aspirations, enlightenment, mobilization, and control thanks to the promotion of professionalism and professionalism, far from misleading and tendentious propaganda, distortion, defamation and slander against anyone. There are limits to it except the law, morals and public morals, and making sure of the sources of information, verifying the Almighty's saying, "Oh you who have believed, if there comes to you a disobedient one with information, investigate, lest you harm people out of ignorance and become regretful of what you have done" We will work very hard to solve the problem of public advertising once and for all and make it a means to support freedom of information and creativity, support electronic newspapers and encourage media institutions.

In the social field, it will receive the necessary care, but will give great priority to improving the standard of living for the Algerian citizen, the middle class, especially the fragile class, will find the state on its side in order to provide it with a decent living that preserves its dignity by implementing all the obligations that I have committed to in my electoral program, where the state will work to finally eliminate the housing crisis. I will not accept any Algerian to live in a hut or a tin house, to preserve their and their children dignity. and the state will work with full force to raise the purchasing ability of all citizens, especially the middle and vulnerable classes, with the abolition of taxes on low-income earners.

In the health field, an integrated prevention plan will be developed through free and early diagnosis for men and women, especially age-related diseases, and free early diagnosis For men and women, especially age-related diseases, free early diagnosis of all diseases is carried out through the university, school and training centers, by encouraging all citizens to diagnose all diseases early, and The state will ensure that all citizens have access to quality health care by increasing the financial share for the health sector, establishing new university hospitals, and solving obstacles that faces medical emergency. Likewise, investment in the production of medicines and the development of the local pharmaceutical industry will be encouraged, and those affiliated with the health sector will receive the necessary care from the state, financially and morally, by reviewing the civil service system and granting important privileges to doctors and medical wire in the hills and the south.

Oh citizens, citizens, sons and grandsons of the Mujahideen and the Free patriots ,

The education that has become troublesome for the family and the state together, we are working, with the help of God, to develop a final solution to the problem of the weight of the wallet with reviewing and easing the school program, especially in the primary school so that the child is allowed to live their childhood, and the state will support restaurants School in all parts of the homeland, especially the remote, rural and desert areas, with the support of school transportation as well as the affirmative interest in the teacher financially and socially, as the poet said "The teacher almost became a messenger", as well as the higher education that we are betting on to play a pioneering role in building the new republic. The problem is in the university. Not as a classic or LMD system it is necessary to develop programs to raise the level of graduates and to support the university in the world of work in order to be a locomotive in a strong economic building, whether in the traditional economy or the knowledge economy, as well as the state will work to review the university scholarship with the evaluation of the scholarship with respect to the exact sciences. We also have to value the profession of the professor and researcher financially and socially. Total freedom is given to the university family in the independence of universities, creating poles of excellence and easing the burden of bureaucracy that kills creativity and innovation, and it is necessary for sport to receive attention from school to elite sport. Professional teams will be supported in a land sector to establish stadiums and create financial capabilities, and the state will work to encourage elite sport Such as athletics and support their youth financially with good preparation I must also renew once again with serious work on resolving all pending disputes. I hope that this will be within a short period of time for the various groups of society, such as the disabled, the erased, those who have been recruited, the retired, the integration networks, the people with special needs and others. The Algerian must feel his Algerian nationality and dignity.

In the field of defense and security, the state will continue to enhance the professionalism and combat readiness of the People's National Army, and it will also work to raise the morale of the army personnel stationed on the borders, in the hills and in the mountains in order to stabilize Algeria with the necessary incentives, as well as the security and gendarme wires as it is the watchful eye for the security of individuals, property and society.

The Algerian diplomacy for the new republic will put into consideration the interest of Algeria first and the interest of our community wherever and wherever it is. Members of the diplomatic corps will be evaluated periodically based on the results achieved in this field, and the state will establish legal bodies at the level of embassies and consulates to immediately defend every insulted Algerian abroad. Provided that members of the community are abide by the laws of the host country And I repeat a commitment that the state should assume the mechanisms to expedite the transfer of the bodies of the dead Algerians abroad, as a sympathy to our sons abroad to ease their grief. Algeria will be keen to build friendly relations and cooperation with all countries of the world, with the exception of those that do not have diplomatic relations for objective reasons. Algeria will continue to distance itself from interfering in the internal affairs of countries, and it strongly rejects attempts to interfere in its internal affairs, whatever those attempts are.

Algeria extends its hand to all countries to contribute to fighting global terrorism, transnational and organized crime, drugs and all global social ills with the aim of effectively contributing to the achievement of global peace and security.

Building the edifice of the Arab Maghreb that our fathers and grandfathers dreamed of will remain on the list of concerns of the Algerian state. The Algerian state is striving to preserve good neighborliness and improve fraternal relations and cooperation with all countries of the Maghreb, and it never meets our brothers. What offends them or upsets them, and I must clearly state that the issue of Western Sahara is a matter of decolonization and it is an issue in the hands of the United Nations and the African Union, and it should remain far from disturbing fraternal relations with brothers.

Algeria will exert more efforts in order to achieve stability in brotherly Libya and preserve its popular and territorial integrity, and this is one of our duties, priorities, and with this appropriate. Algeria is the first and most important concern in the stability of Libya who is dearest to those who love and hate those who love and hate. Algeria will never accept its exclusion from the proposed solutions to the Libyan file, and Algeria continues to extend its hand to all For all Arab countries without exception to strengthen brotherhood and cooperation relations, close ranks, reject division and disagreements, and overcome the tribulations and misfortunes that they have witnessed in the last months under various names.

We are looking forward to seeing our brothers in Syria, Iraq and Yemen overcome their ordeal, and we are ready to contribute towards facilitating the means to achieve this with sincerity, sincerity and good faith. Likewise, Algeria will not spare any effort in order to reform the Arab League as the umbrella umbrella for the Arabs and expressing their unity and their destiny.

This speech that I address to you today is not complete except by standing at the Palestinian issue to announce that it is one of the tenets of the foreign policy of the Algerian state, and it will go astray, as we have been since eternity. Until you curtail their legitimate right to build an independent Palestinian state with Al-Quds Al-Sharif as its capital, and to realize the right of return I take this opportunity to call on the international community to shoulder its historical responsibilities towards the Palestinian people, who are facing a brutal colonial power, by implementing all the United Nations resolutions related to the framework of international legitimacy.

Oh proud and great Algerian people, fellow citizens, sons and grandsons of the Mujahideen and the Free Patriots Algeria will make more efforts to contribute to the stability of the Sahel region, enhance development in it, and achieve more and more cooperation relations. Algerian diplomacy will make more efforts to implement the peace and reconciliation pacts. In the sister republic of Mali, which was signed in Algiers, Algeria will remain an open door, and a hand is extended to them to help them overcome their differences.

I have assumed the great responsibility in order to work together to realize the dream of building the new republic within the framework of the manifesto of the glorious and eternal

November revolution, and I invite you all to be my cause. The precious Algeria of law, justice and morals is an Algeria, as I said and repeated, and no one is wronged.

I ask you, and through you and those whom under your authority, to withdraw the title of “grandeur” so to describe the President of the Republic by only sir or Mr.

Glory and eternity to our righteous martyrs. Long live Algeria. Peace, mercy and blessings of God Almighty be upon you.

Abstract in Arabic (الملخص باللغة العربية)

في 19 ديسمبر 2019، القى الرئيس الجزائري الجديد -عبد المجيد تبون- أول خطاب رئاسي له خلال حفل الافتتاح في قصر المؤتمر بالجزائر العاصمة، والذي أعقب تغييراً شبه جذري أعاد تشكيل الأجواء السياسية في البلاد. لهذا، فإن الدراسة الحالية موجهة لتقديم تحليل خطاب نقدي، CDA، لخطاب تبون على أساس نموذج نورمان فيركلوف 1989 و 1995. الغرض من هذه الدراسة هو الكشف عن عناصر القوة الخطابية والأيدولوجيات المضمنة في خطاب تبون من خلال التحقيق في خياراته اللغوية المختلفة، الاستراتيجيات الخطابية والأسلوبية، التناس، وكذلك أي حالة اجتماعية، ثقافية، أو تاريخية نظمت وشكلت محتوى حديثه. علاوة على ذلك، سوف نشير إلى مواقفه السياسية وعزمه تجاه كل من أحداث ما قبل انتخابات 2019 واحتجاج الجزائر المعروف باسم الحراك. من خلال عملية تحليل البيانات لدينا، وجدنا أن تبون كان يفضل الإجراءات القانونية على عكس فعل الثورة الذي يشير إلى نوع من الأيدولوجية الشعبوية. كما أعرب عن استرضائه بالقوة تجاه الاحتجاج الذي قلل من شأنه عمدًا في البداية كخطوة أولى لخلق بيئة حرة للنقد خلال فترة رئاسته المقبلة. كانت هناك أيضًا محاكاة ساخرة غير واعية أو ربما تداخلية مشفرة، في العديد من النقاط المشتركة بين خطاب تبون وخطاب سلفه عبد العزيز بوتفليقة في 15 أبريل 2011. بالإضافة إلى ذلك، فإن الصورة العامة التي أراد تبون إظهارها هي الرغبة في إحداث تغيير من خلال تطوير عاملين رئيسيين وهما الاقتصاد والقانون. على الرغم من أن دراستنا جديدة نوعًا ما من حيث البيانات، إلا أن أهميتها ستظهر في تعديلنا الفريد لنموذج فيركلوف. وبنفس القدر من الأهمية، سنوفر نظرة ثاقبة جديدة للعلاقة بين الخطاب والسلطة في سياق الوضع السياسي الأخير للجزائر، والذي يمثل بحد ذاته ظاهرة اجتماعية تهتم بها دراسات CDA عادةً.

الكلمات المفتاحية: خطاب عبد المجيد تبون، تحليل الخطاب النقدي CDA، نموذج نورمان فيركلوف 1985-1995، التناس، قوة، إيدولوجيا، سياق الجزائر.

Abstract in French (Résumé)

Le 19 décembre 2019. Le président algérien Abdelmadjid Tebboune a prononcé son premier discours présidentiel lors d'une cérémonie d'inauguration au Palais des Congrès d'Alger, qui a suivi un changement semi-radical qui avait remodelé l'atmosphère politique du pays. Par conséquent, la présente étude sera orientée pour donner une analyse critique du discours (CDA) au discours de Tebboune basée sur le modèle de CDA 1989 et 1995 de Norman Fairclough. Le but de cette étude est de révéler des éléments de pouvoir discursif et d'idéologies inclus dans le discours de Tebboune en enquêtant sur ses différents choix linguistiques, stratégies rhétoriques et stylistiques, l'intertextualité, ainsi que toute condition socioculturelle ou historique qui a régulé et modelé le contenu et la structure de son discours. En outre, nous soulignerons ses positions politiques et son intention à la fois envers les événements préélectoraux de 2019 et la manifestation algérienne connue sous le nom d'El hirak. En parcourant notre processus d'analyse des données, nous avons constaté que Tebboune avait une préférence pour les actions en justice par opposition à l'acte de révolution qui indique une idéologie de type populisme. Il a également exprimé son apaisement auto-forcé à l'égard de la protestation qu'il a délibérément sous-estimée au début comme une première étape pour créer un environnement de critique libre pour son prochain mandat présidentiel. Il y avait aussi des parodies intertextuelles inconscientes ou peut-être codées, sur de nombreux points partagés entre le discours de Tebboune et celui de son prédécesseur Abdelaziz Bouteflika du 15 avril 2011. De plus, le tableau général que Tebboune voulait montrer est une volonté de changer en développant deux facteurs clés. qui sont économie et droit. Bien que notre étude soit plutôt nouvelle en termes de données, son importance sera montrée dans notre réajustement unique du modèle de Fairclough. Et, tout aussi important, il fournira un nouvel aperçu de la relation entre le discours et le pouvoir, le tout dans le contexte de la situation politique récente de l'Algérie, qui représente en soi un phénomène social dont les études du CDA sont généralement concernées.

Mots Clés: Discours d'Abdelmadjid Tebboune. Analyse critique du discours, CDA. Modèle de 1985, 1995 de Fairclough. Intertextualité. Puissance. Idéologie. Contexte de l'Algérie.