

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA CLASSIFICATION, DESCRIPTION, ANALYSIS AND RESULTS

The researcher has used the critical linguistic approach and Fairclough's method of constrains through using nominalization, pronominalization and lexicalization in terms of analyzing extracts which are taken from the speeches of President Ben Ali and his counterpart Hosni Mubarak to investigate the two following hypotheses:

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

Lexical items have been used effectively to emphasize and de-emphasize political attitudes, manipulate public opinion, manufacture consent or legitimate political power.

4.1 Nominalization as Part of the Ideational Function

Violent incidents, sometimes bloody, which have killed civilians and caused injuries to several officers of the security forces, have been perpetrated by hooded gangs who have attacked during the night, to public institutions and even assaulted citizens at home, in a terrorist act that cannot be tolerated.

It is clear that the language has been abused to cope with the hidden ideology of Ben Ali as it is stated above that he attributed these actions to

unknown, when he said, “these incidents committed by hooded gangs”; because he did not want to be blamed to what has happened. Accordingly, we can say he has used his authority implicitly by accusing others.

Incidents [were] committed at the instigation of parties who have not hesitated to engage our children among the students and unemployed youth. These parties, who incite violence and going out into the street, spreading hollow slogans of despair and fabricating, from scratch, misleading and erroneous information, have dishonestly exploited an incident that we all regret and a state of understandable despondency occurring in SidiBouزيد for two weeks.

We have found Ben Ali still keeps using his authority in directing actions that have been committed to others so as to save his own agenda, when he said, “incidents were committed at the instigation of parties” and he keeps zigzagging by attributing actions to unknown by saying parties. He insists not to identify who did these actions. We have found Ben Ali keeps begging sympathy of Tunisians by saying our children, students and unemployed youth.

Justice has taken its course to clarify the conditions and the ins and outs of these incidents, to determine those responsible.

Ben Ali keeps using his authority and playing with words when he attributed human quality to non-human by saying “justice has taken its course”. He did not want to mention the agent or who practices the justice, because he would like to be at the save side.

These incidents are the work of a small group of hostile elements who are offended by the success of Tunisia and who are filled with resentment and grievance, because of the progress and development achieved by the country, as evidenced by the reports of institutions and international and UN organizations known for their objectivity and impartiality.

Ben Ali keeps using his authority implicitly when he said, "these incidents are the work of a small group of hostile elements", because it seems clearly he does not identify who does these incidents; he satisfies himself by saying small group of hostile elements, he minimize the effect of event by small group and he insists not to identify when he said, "hostile elements" who or what are those elements. He continues to generalizes when he said, "the progress and development achieved by the country" He does not identify the type of progress and development and who are those who achieved these progress and development.

Ben Ali keeps using his authority, when he said, "these incidents are the work of small group of hostile elements". He keeps attributing actions to unknown without identifying who did these; when he said, "Small group of hostile elements".

These ill-intentioned elements have used the issue of unemployment, exploiting an isolated act of desperation, as happens in all societies and in many situations.

Ben Ali keeps using his authority covertly when he accuses others by ill-intention when he said, "these ill-intentioned elements". He keeps not to identify the agent.

Hostile elements in the pay of foreigners, who have sold their souls to extremism and terrorism, manipulated from outside the country by parties who do not wish well to a country determined to persevere and work.

Ben Ali keeps practicing his authority implicitly, when he described the situation by attributing it to unknown people who are supported by unknown countries; when he said, "hostile elements in the pay of foreigners". Therefore, he would like to convince the Tunisians, there are some countries behind these incidents.

Everyone knows how much effort we put into employment, the sector that we have always ranked among our top priorities. Some people know the great concern with which that we surround the graduates.

Ben Ali indirectly, keeps imposing his authority upon Tunisians, when he said, "everyone" and "Some people". He generalizes his speech without identifying who are those.

All these policies and all these programs are commensurate with the policies adopted in different countries, which all suffer from unemployment, a phenomenon not specific to Tunisia and Tunisia is not the most affected by the matter. It remains only to those who seek to mislead to exploit these desperate cases, to serve the purposes of the parties to resort to hateful and hostile satellite channels.

He still keeps using his authority and he continues to mislead Tunisians, when he uses to generalize and to attach anything to the unknown without identifying who makes these and what he makes; when he said, "all these

policies and all these programs ... the policies ... different countries ... all ... those who ... these desperate cases ... the purposes of the parties ...hateful and hostile satellite channels”.

To those who are deliberately harm the interests of the country, abuse the credulity of our youth and that of our daughters and sons in schools and colleges or incite unrest and agitation, we say, quite clearly, that the law will have the last word. Yes, the law will have the last word.

He keeps attaching anything to unknown and let the agent absent or agent less, when he said, “those who” and “the law” he left it vague without identifying the doer of an action such as, harm, abuse and law practice. He keeps using his authority, when he said, “our youth”, “our daughters and sons” in terms of begging their sympathy.

This effort will also reduce by the end of 2012 (Yes, before the end of 2012. I commit myself), all university graduates whose duration of unemployment has exceeded two years. The total capacity of job creation during this period and will reach to 300,000 new jobs.

He keeps using his authority and attributing human quality to non-human, when he said, “this effort”. He does not mention the agent or who is going to reduce.

We call again the administrators at the regional and local levels to improve the channels of contacts with people, to listen to their concerns, to meet the conditions of management of problems and

overcome obstacles that may arise, and in cooperation with various organizations and associations concerned network.

He keeps generalizing to save his own interests, when he said, “the administrators ... channels of contacts with people ... conditions of management of problem ...obstacles ...organizations and association”. He does not identify who or what; it seems clearly in who is going to improve, to listen, to meet and overcome. It is left opaque.

In addition to future efforts to promote employment, we hereby hold harmless, over a period of ten years, any new job-generating project, launched in areas of internal development and whose ratios over 10 pc of income tax and employers' contributions to social security coverage.

He keeps using agentless and attributing human quality to non-human, when he said, “future efforts to promote employment”.

These incidents will never break down our determination nor undermine our achievements. Rather, they should encourage all parties to draw the necessary lessons and never detract from the imperative to continue our work with determination and enthusiasm because the dignity and invulnerability of Tunisia are burdens which are invested all Tunisian men and women.

He keeps using his authority explicitly when he said. “our determination” and “our achievements”. He keeps using absent agent, when he described the situation by saying, “these incidents”. He keeps using generalization,

when he said, “necessary lessons” without identifying the types and to whom these lessons.

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

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

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

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

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

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

I also demand the judicial and supervisory authorities to take immediately the necessary measures to continue pursuing outlaws and to investigate those who caused the security disarray and those who undertook acts of theft, looting and setting fires and terrorizing citizens.

He is still using his authority explicitly as well as accusing others as law breakers and he would like to punish them; these seem clearly in his speech and his selection of words, when he said, “I demand the judicial and supervisory authorities ... necessary measures ...pursing outlaws ...the security disarrayActs of theft, looting, setting fires and terrorizing citizens”. He attributes these actions to unknown, when he said, “those who”.

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

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

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

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

The homeland is undergoing critical events and difficult tests, which have started with honest young people and citizens.

He keeps attributing human quality to non-human without identifying the agent of action as well as he continues to generalize when he said, “the homeland is undergoing critical events and difficult tests ...young people and citizens”.

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

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

These demonstrations moved from a civilized expression of practicing freedom of speech to sad confrontations which were organized by political groups who wanted to throw fire on the oil and to threaten the stability, and provoke, and create looting and destruction and fires, and to block roads, and to attack national possessions and public and private possessions, and attacks on some diplomatic missions on Egypt.

He keeps using his authority implicitly and he keeps attributing human quality to non-human, when he said, “these demonstrational moved ...”. He is still keeping to generalize without identifying the doer of an action and these seem clearly in his speech and his selection of words, when he said, “political groups who wanted to throw ... to threaten ... create ... to block ... to attack ... attacks”.

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

He keeps using his authority implicitly and he attributes human quality to non-human when he said, “the events impose on us all”. He does not identify who does these actions. He keeps generalizing when he said,

“People ... leadership”. He would like to save his own agenda by doing so.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

He still keeps using his authority explicitly when he said, “I will pursue the transfer of power”. He would like to convince all Egyptian spectrum that he is their save guard to meet all their needs. These seem clearly in his speech and his selection of words when he said, “people’s demands, their hopes for political, economic and social progress, provision of employment opportunities, fighting poverty and achieving social justice”.

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

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

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

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

Egypt will come out of these difficult circumstances stronger than it used to be before, more confident, more united, and more stable. Our people will become much more aware of its own self-interests and more careful not to sacrifice its destiny and its stability.

He keeps using his authority implicitly and he attributes human quality to non-human and he generalizes without identifying who are those or agentless. These seem clearly in his speech and his selection of words when he said, “Egypt will come out ...”

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

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

I'm telling you here before anything else, that the blood of the victims will not go unpunished. And at the same time, as I said here, that I will follow all those perpetrators who have afflicted those crimes with full sense of decisiveness.

He still keeps using his authority explicitly when he said, “I'm telling you ...” He keeps generalizing without identifying who are those when he said, “the blood of victims will not go unpunished”, “all those perpetrators ... those crimes”. He would like to save his own hidden agenda.

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

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

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

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

Those constitutional amendments in the first place will facilitate the procedures for the presidency, and would put a certain term for the presidency, and would also ensure that the judiciary would supervise the upcoming presidential election. The judiciary is also going to deal with the issue of the legitimacy of the members of parliament. And the suggestion to abolish Article 179 was maybe a way to achieve a

sense of balance between protecting the nation from the dangers of terrorism and at the same time respecting legitimacy and civil freedom of the citizens in a way that is going to open the door further to abolishing the emergency law until when the situation permits in the country.

He keeps using his authority implicitly and he keeps attributing human quality to non-human without identifying the agent as well as generalizing when he said," those constitutional amendments will facilitate the procedure... would put a certain term ... would ensure ... would supervise ... ". He would like to convince them as their advisor.

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

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

4.2 Pronominalization as Part of the Interpersonal Function

President Ben Ali and his counterpart Hosni Mubarak have been used a number of inclusive we.

In these examples, we refers to Ben Ali and Hosni Mubarak as well as their people.

Just as **we express** our regret for the deaths and damage generated by these incidents, just as **we reiterate** our sympathy to the address of the families of the deceased, may God have mercy on their souls, and the injured, **we share** their pain and sadness, **we give** them our sympathy and **we reaffirm** our feelings of affection to all of our sons and daughters, without exception or distinction.

A country that has for a resource the intelligence of its sons and daughters, over which **we have always taken** a gamble and **we continue** to do so, since **we prefer** to face the challenges and difficulties, strong in that of an educated and cultured people rather than to enjoy an illusory peace with a illiterate people.

We are, as we have already said, proud of their growing number and **we will work** to meet the challenge it imposes on us, since our educational choices figure among the constants of our political and civilizational project, that the compulsory and free nature of education is one of the inviolable principles, despite the social and economic costs they entail, and that the spreading of academic institutions across the country, without exception, is a reality that **we use**, irreversibly, to consolidate in each phase.

We are living together painful days and the most painful thing is the fear that affected the huge majority of Egyptians and caused concern and

anxiety over what tomorrow could bring them and their families and the future of their country.

Negative repercussions on our economy day after day would lead to a situation where **we find** those youth who had called for change, they would really be endangered out of the movement. This critical juncture is not at all co-relevant to me personally, it's not co-relevant to Hosni Mubarak, but now Egypt is a top priority. Its present, its future, the future of the coming generations, all of the Egyptian people now are all in one boat, in one corner, and **we have to continue** the national dialogue that **we have already started** with the spirit of a team and away from any sense of animosity and any sense of differences. So that **we would overcome** this critical juncture, and so that **we would regain** confidence in our economy and **we would retain** security and stability on the Egyptian street.

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

We are going to prove this with a sense of determination of the Egyptian people, and with the sense of unity and solidarity of its people and by putting Egypt's pride and dignity above all, and preserving our identity, which is the main essence of our presence for more than 7,000 years of civilization.

We need to continue this sense of dialogue, so that **we would go** further from the main guidelines into a roadmap that is quite crystal clear and that has a timetable to achieve those issues.

All of the examples which are mentioned above in terms of inclusive we justify that the domination of this device. The use of inclusive we has its own function in terms of exemplifying Ben Ali and Hosni Mubarak as well as their people in sharing these views. This seems clearly when Ben Ali states

"Just as we express our regret for the deaths and damage generated by these incidents, just as we reiterate our sympathy to the address of the families of the deceased, may God have mercy on their souls, and the injured, we share their pain and sadness, we give them our sympathy and we reaffirm our feelings of affection to all of our sons and daughters, without exception or distinction"

Furthermore, Hosni Mubarak claims

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

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

Relatedly, inclusive we indicates that both of them speak on behave of themselves and their citizens; therefore, they are using their authority implicitly to speak on behave of others. This seems obviously, when Ben Ali states

"We express our regret, we reiterate our sympathy, we share their pain and sadness, we give them our sympathy and we reaffirm our feelings of affection to all of our sons and daughters..."

As well as Hosni Mubarak claims

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

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

I will say with all honesty -- and without looking at this particular situation -- that **I was not intent** on standing for the next elections, because **I have spent** enough time in serving Egypt, and **I am** now careful to conclude my work for Egypt by presenting Egypt to the next government in a constitutional way which will protect Egypt.

I have lived in this country. **I have fought** for it. **I have defended** its sovereignty and interest, and **I will die** on its land, and history will judge me and others.

I'm telling you here before anything else, that the blood of the victims will not go unpunished. And at the same time, as **I said** here, that **I will follow** all those perpetrators who have afflicted those crimes with full sense of decisiveness.

I tell you that **I'm actually opting** to satisfy your demands and **I am fully determined** to fulfill my promise with a full sense of perseverance

and honesty and out of a sense of keenness of carrying out the demands without taking any steps backwards. This sense of abiding comes from a sense of convincing from your honest demands and your honest movement, and that those demands are legitimate demands.

Mistakes can happen in any political system and in any country, but at the same time, the most important is to recognize them and trying to put things on the right track as quick as possible, and to punish those who commit crimes. And **I** tell you here, as a head of state, **I do not find** any embarrassment at all in listening to the youth of my country, and to satisfying their demands. But the embarrassment would only lie in the fact -- and **I** would never permit -- is that **I would listen** to any sort of intervention that would come from outside, from the outside world, whatever the source is, whatever the intention behind them are.

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

It is clearly stated that ' I' refers to the exertion of power which is used to control people in terms of being obedient.

Ben Ali and Hosni Mubarak have used their extreme power when they gave direct instruction to their security apparatus to control the protesters; when Ben Ali said, "Justice has taken its course to clarify the conditions and the ins and outs of these incidents, to determine those responsible" as well as Hosni Mubarak claims

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

4.3 Lexicalization as Part of the Textual Function

Hostile elements in the pay of foreigners, who have sold their souls to extremism and terrorism, manipulated from outside the country by parties who do not wish well to a country determined to persevere and work.

Ben Ali keeps practicing his authority implicitly, when he described the situation by attributing it to unknown people who are supported by unknown countries; when he said, "hostile elements in the pay of foreigners". Therefore, he would like to convince the Tunisians, there are some countries behind these incidents. He accuses those unknown people by achieving the agenda of the instigators such as, extremists and terrorists.

Our education policy, like our policies related to family, women, youth and children, as well as efforts by the state to ensure the care of the poor, preserve purchasing power and to subsidize the prices of commodities which cost the state budget, more than 1,700 million dinars a year (I say 1,700 million dinars), make us proud.

Ben Ali keeps using his authority, when he said; "our education policies" and "our policies" as well as he made a comparison between education and society in terms of priority. Education balance always has top priority equalizes ministry of defense balance in fund. He would like to

say or persuade Tunisians that he exerted great efforts to meet their needs and this seems clearly in begging their sympathy when he said, “family, women, youth and children”.

We will spare no effort to further boost it further, despite the smallness of our financial and natural resources.

He has continued to practice his authority, when he said, “our financial and natural resources”. He keeps begging sympathy, when he described the financial and natural resources as small and do not satisfy the needs of Tunisians; when he said, “smallness”. He would like to say that he exerts great effort to satisfy their needs and therefore, he should be awarded.

Our agenda for the coming stage and twelfth Development Plan and the specific program for the development of inland areas, and bordering the Sahara, decided prior to these events, in addition to all the additional programs established, aimed at solving the problem of unemployment continues to reinforce our efforts to achieve equitable and balanced development between the categories and regions, ensuring employment and income sources, to give priority to children from needy families and to stop in favor of graduates the appropriate programs.

He still keeps continuing to use his authority explicitly, when he said, “our agenda” and “our efforts”. He keeps playing with words that hollow; when he said, “twelfth development plan and the specific program ... all the additional programs ... the appropriate program”. Without identifying these programs or his futurological agenda and he

can solve these problems in terms of unemployment, development and income sources.

Ask the people's representatives, members of the House of Councilors and the central bodies of political parties to increase their presence in their regions and to intensify their periodic contacts with citizens to listen, to deal with cases which they would be seized and refer to the relevant authorities that it be remedied and that their solutions are made.

He keeps using his authority and it seems clearly in the word “ask”. He has continued to generalize to save his own agenda, when he said, “people’s representatives, members ... the central bodies of political parties ... cases ... relevant authorities ... their solutions”. He keeps generalizing without identifying who is those people's representatives, members, central bodies, authorities and what are these regions. He does not clarify these solutions.

We urge parents and all citizens to protect their children from these agitators and these criminals to take better care of themselves and aware of the risks to be instrumented and operated by such extremist groups.

He still keeps using his authority and generalizing. It seems clearly, when he said, “these agitators and these criminals ...such extremist groups”. He does not want to identify who are those in name. He considers himself as their advisor to take care of themselves and their children from those non-identified people.

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

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

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

He keeps using his power explicitly by directing his speech directly to the people; when he said, “I direct my speech today directly to the people”. He addresses them all as a president of Egypt, when he said, “Muslims and Christians, old and young, peasants and workers ...” He would like to say that he is responsible from them and all of them are equal in front of him. He addresses them in name so as to make sure his message is delivered.

I have never, ever been seeking power and the people know the difficult circumstances that I shouldered my responsibility and what I offered this country in war and peace, just as I am a man from the armed forces and it is not in my nature to betray the trust or give up my responsibilities and duties.

He is still holding authority and he does not want to give up, because he thinks it is his responsibility and duty. He thinks it is given to him as a charge that he cannot betray it.

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

He keeps using his authority, when he said, “my primary responsibility now is security and independence of the nation to ensure a peaceful transfer of power”. He would like to be given the green light to act on behaving of Egyptians in taking decision of power transferring and

portrays himself as their savior when he said, " peaceful transfer of power ... protect Egypt and Egyptians ... handing over responsibility ".

I am now absolutely determined to finish my work for the nation in a way that ensures handing over its safe-keeping and banner ... preserving its legitimacy and respecting the constitution.

He still keeps using his authority explicitly, when he said, "I am now absolutely determined to finish my work". He would like to depict what he is going to do, it is his own decision. It seems clearly in his selection of words, such as: determined, finish and my work.

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

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

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

He is continuing to use his authority explicitly and he would like to persuade the people that he ensures the new government will meet their

needs and their aspirations whatever it is. These seems clearly in his speech and selection of his words, such as: I will entrust ..., perform, right, their aspirations, political, social, economic reform job opportunities, poverty and ...justice.

According to my constitutional powers, I call on parliament in both its houses to discuss amending article 76 and 77 of the constitution concerning the conditions on running for presidency of the republic and it sets specific a period for the presidential term. In order for the current parliament in both houses to be able to discuss these constitutional amendments and the legislative amendments linked to it for laws that complement the constitution and to ensure the participation of all the political forces in these discussions, I demand parliament to adhere to the word of the judiciary and its verdicts concerning the latest cases which have been legally challenged.

It seems clearly, he keeps using his authority and he would like to persuade Egyptians that he is still the president of Egypt; this seems clear in his speech and his selections of words, when he said, “according to my constitutional powers, I call on parliament ... to discuss a mending article 76 and 77 of the constitution”, “I demand parliament ...”.

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

He keeps using his authority explicitly and he would like to tell us that he is responsible from the protection and the welfare of Egyptians; these seems clearly in his speech and his selections of words when he said, “I

charge the police apparatus to carry out its duty in serving the people, protecting ...their rights, freedom and dignity”.

I will directly speak to my people, from its peasants, workers, Muslims, and cooks, its old people and its young people, and to all Egyptian men and women in the countryside and in the cities across the land, and in all the districts. I never wanted power or prestige, and people know the difficult circumstances in which I shouldered the responsibility and what I have given to the homeland during war and during the peace.

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

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

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

their hopes for political, economic and social progress, provision of employment opportunities, fighting poverty and achieving social justice”.

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

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

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

He still keeps using his authority explicitly when he said, “I also want to ask censorship authorities and legislative authorities”. He keeps to generalize without identifying who are those when he said, “those who” and he accuses them as perpetrators of all crimes when he said, “those who have been responsible for ... destructive acts ... looting and fires ...”

He would like to tell Egyptians that he has ability to punish them and to tell them to take care and to be aware and must stay at their homes.

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

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

Dear citizens, my sons, the youths of Egypt, today I am directing my speech to the youth of Egypt, those who are in there in Tahrir Square and the vast areas of the country .

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

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

this change for a better future.

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

4.4 Conclusion

It seems clearly after the analysis of the extracts which are taken from the speeches of Ben Ali and Hosni Mubarak that the discourse has been abused in many different ways, such as: subject position in of terms the agent or the doer of an action; it is found that action is attributed to unknown. For instance, when Ben Ali states

"Hostile elements in the pay of foreigners, who have sold their souls to extremism and terrorism, manipulated from outside the country by parties who do not wish well to a country determined to persevere and work ";and sometimes, human quality is attributed to non-human as well as generalization is made in terms of non-identifying who or what , for example, when Hosni Mubarak claimed " Justice has taken its course to clarify the conditions and the ins and outs of these incidents, to determine those responsible".

The analysis of the political speeches of the two presidents have demonstrated that the meanings which people convey by writer or speaker actually do not correspond to what they claim to be saying. As well as the values, ideas and beliefs they communicate, there is new

meanings which on the surface are implicit to readers or listeners but are fully controlled by efficient writers or speakers. As Fowler (1990:147) states

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

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

This study aims to investigate some of linguistic signals in terms of power exertion which appear in many different ways. Accordingly, we have found politicians abuse the discourse to control people's minds, beliefs and actions to save their own agenda. It seems clear in the use of words which are carefully selected to meet their destinations in terms of controlling people's minds, beliefs and actions. There is another strategy which is exemplified in the selection of forms of sentences that seems clearly in the form of passivitization that has great effect in shaping the hidden ideology by attributing anything to unknown or generalization without identifying who or what.

One of the distancing device that has been used successfully, the use of inclusive we in which the speaker speaks on behave of himself/herself as well as the addressees, It is clearly stated that ' I' refers to the exertion of power which is used to control people in terms of being

obedient. Therefore, they are regarded as means of practicing power and achieving hidden ideology.

Briefly, language has been viewed through the ideational, interpersonal and a textual function which seems in human interaction is the best indication of how power is exercised through content, interpersonal relationships and subject positions. Therefore, language is used to transmit particular ideas, beliefs and values of the ideological world; it specifies relations between the participants of a social interaction, and shapes particular subject positions that people enact. A crucial point that emerges from the discussion is that language use, discourse, is not just a matter of performing tasks, it is also a matter of expressing and constituting and reproducing social identities and social relations, including relations of power. As Kress (1990:37) states

"The linguistic forms produced by a writer or speaker exert pressure on individuals in that they 'describe and prescribe a range of actions, modes of thinking and being, for an individual, compatible with the demands of a discourse'".

However, power relations are not easy to discern. It is only by developing ourselves as critical readers/listeners that we can acquire an awareness of the weight that linguistic expressions obtain from certain ideologies. Fairclough (1991:237) states, "The critical approach applied to the interpretation of any utterance requires using language effectively, for effects such as conveying meaning". This study aims to raise people's consciousness about the tacitly adjusted manifestations of power in their daily communication.

4.5 Top Down and Bottom Up Approaches

The researcher has used the top down and bottom up approaches and Fairclough's method of constrains to investigate the following hypothesis:

"Media discourse highlight power struggle between the dictatorial governments and oppressed masses and in the service of the powerful elite and state".

Whereas the researcher is going to investigate the action and the reaction of the two groups which are exemplified in 'causative group' which refers to as top down in the investigation of the 'cause' as well as 'effective group' which refers to as bottom up in the investigation of the 'effect'. The researcher will depend on his analysis to the extracts which have been taken from Tunisian and Egyptian revolution so as to identify to what extent powerful group can control less- powerful group in terms of access to the power.

CAIRO—President Hosni Mubarak's 30-year grip on power hung in the balance as protesters massed around Egypt and overpowered the police, prompting the army to deploy on the streets of the nation for the first time in 25 years.

Why protesters massed around Egypt and overpowered the police? If we take this question in consideration, we will find those protesters are objected to the president Hosni Mubarak, because he hung in this power for 30 years. He stirs up their anger when he prompts the army to deploy on the streets.

The protesters returned to Cairo's central Tahrir Square Saturday, chanting slogans against Mr. Mubarak after Egyptian television broadcast a speech in which the president signaled he would stay but dismiss his government.

If we ask a question, why the protesters returned to Cairo's central Tahrir and chant slogans against Mr. Mubarak? If we take this question, we will find Mr. Mubarak disdain them in his Egyptian television broadcast a speech, when he said, "he would stay but dismiss his government".

His words came as protesters continued to trade control over swaths of downtown Cairo with the army. Many remained on the streets. Protesters set alight the monolithic Mugamma building on Tahrir Square, the office that issues birth certificates visas and other permits, and which has become a symbol of Egypt's labyrinthine bureaucracy. The boom of tear-gas canisters being fired, a near-constant throughout the day, could still be heard across the city. Cars smouldered.

Some of the most serious violence Friday was in Suez, where protesters seized weapons stored in a police station and asked the policemen inside to leave the building before they burned it down, according to the Associated Press. They also set ablaze about 20 police trucks parked nearby. Demonstrators exchanged fire with policemen, trying to stop them from storming another police station, and one protester was killed in the gun battle.

Why protesters seized weapons stored in a police station ...they burned it down ...they also set ablaze about 20 police trucks parked nearby? If we

take this long question for granted, we will find for each action is a reaction which is exemplified in the boom of tear-gas canisters being fired by policemen.

As the day began, protesters convened as planned at mosques around the city for Friday noon prayers. At Cairo's eminent Al Azhar Mosque, regular noon prayers were cut short by an hour. Security officials said they were instructed not to allow anyone to loiter outside the mosque following prayers.

"We will use force to disperse the people," said one plainclothes officer.

As worshippers filed out of the service under heavy security, a chant of "Allahu Akbar," or "God is great," rose from the exiting crowd. Once the mass of about 500 left the mosque, the chant changed to, "The people want the regime to go," and "Punish those people," a reference to the government.

Why worshipers repeatedly chant "Allah Akbar" or "God is great" and even changing their speech when they said, "The people want the regime to go", and "punish those people" a reference to the government. After performing their prayer at Cairo's eminent Al Azhar Mosque? If we answer this question; we will find that is happened as a result of orders which are given to security officials when they said," they were instructed not to allow anyone to loiter outside the mosque following prayers".

The images of the masses demanding the departure of Hosni Mubarak utterly dominated the media. Unified in cause, the

protestors demanded Housni Mubarak to step down from his position as president. They yell: “This man has to go!”

Mubarak said this week “If I leave now, there will be chaos in the streets.” There already has been chaos in the streets orchestrated by Mubarak and his Minister of Interior: what can be more chaotic than uniformed policemen shooting unarmed protestors?

Why the protesters demanded Hosni Mubarak to step down from his position as president? If we want to answer this question, we will find that there is a philosophy behind this; because he turns his deaf ear to them, when he said, “if I leave now, there will be chaos in the street”. In turn, they have asked him, “What can be more chaotic than uniformed policemen shooting unarmed protestors”.

President Hosni Mubarak still refuses to step down, regardless of the growing calls for his resignation. Protesters continue to defy the military-imposed curfew across Egypt and thousands remain gathered in Cairo’s Tahrir Square. Hundreds of others have marched through Alexandria. Opposition groups continue to call for a “million man march” and a general strike to commemorate one week since the protest movement began.

If we ask a question, why protesters continue to defy the military imposed curfew across Egypt and thousands remain gathered in Cairo’s Tahrir Square? If we want to answer this question, we will find that comes as the result of Hosni Mubarak’s refusal insisting to step down from the presidential chair.

Mubarak announces in a televised address that he will not run for re-election, but refused to step down from office. ElBaradei, now labeled as the opposition figure, returned to Cairo to take part in the protests criticizing Mubarak's unwillingness to step down immediately. After his speech, clashes broke out between pro-Mubarak and anti-government protesters in Alexandria.

Why after Mubarak's speech, clashes broke out between pro-Mubarak and anti-government protesters in Alexandria? If we want to answer this question repeatedly, we will find that takes place as the result of Mubarak's unwillingness to step down immediately.

For much of Wednesday there were violent clashes around Tahrir Square. Nearly 1,500 people were injured and at least three deaths were reported by the Reuters news agency. Reports claim that the military allowed thousands of pro-Mubarak supporters, armed with sticks and knives, to enter the square.

Why the military allowed thousands of pro-Mubarak supporters, armed with sticks and knives, to enter the square? If anyone ever wants to answer this question, briefly, he can say, "They want the protesters to be punished".

Unrest and discontent within the military against Mubarak began to form months before the uprising, when it became obvious Mubarak intended to have his son, Gamal, take his place.

If we ask a question, why unrest and discontent within the military against Mubarak began to form months before the uprising? If we want

to answer this question, we will find that there is essential reason for them to feel unhappy, because they have discovered that Hosni Mubarak planned to replace his son Gamal, to succeed him. They have put in their mind, Gamal Mubarak was not a military man and they have justified their views by saying that this will be hereditarily rule.

Dozens of people have died in recent weeks as unrest has swept the country and security forces have cracked down on demonstrations over unemployment, food price rises and corruption.

Why dozens of people have died in recent weeks? If we want to answer this question, we will find this can be attributed to the security forces that cracked down on the demonstrations over unemployment, non-improvement of standard of living and corruption.

A desperate act on December 17 by a young unemployed man triggered a much wider series of protests and clashes with the police. Mohamed Bouazizi set fire to himself when officials prevented him from selling vegetables on the streets of Sidi Bouzid. This act of defiance and desperation set off protests about jobs in the town, based on an agriculture-based economy in one of the poorest regions of Tunisia. The unrest continued and police responded by opening fire on demonstrators, further exacerbating the already angry community of protesting citizens.

Why Mohammed Bouazizi set fire to himself? If we want to answer this question, first we should understand that no one can be forgiven if he disdains his brother; what is happened to Bouaziz is that officials prevent him from selling vegetables on the streets of Sidi Bouzid. Almighty God

the sustainer of all punishes them by stirring up the people against the government.

On December 20, Tunisian Development Minister Mohammed Al Nouri Al Juwayni travelled to SidiBouزيد to announce a \$10 million employment program. Despite this announcement, unrest continued. Then, on December 22, 22-year-old HoucineFalhi committed suicide by electrocution in a demonstration over unemployment in Tunisia. As the protests escalate throughout the country, an 18-year-old protestor, Mohamed Ammari, is killed by the police during demonstrations in MenzelBouzaïene.

If we ask a question, why hundreds of protesters rallied in front of the Tunisian labor union headquarters? If we want to answer this question, we will find that this is took place as the result of 22-year-old HoucineFalhiwho committed suicide by electrocution in a demonstration over unemployment in Tunisia as well as 18-year-old protestor, Mohammed Ammari who is killed by the police during demonstration in MenzedBouzaïene.

On December 28, Zine El Abidine Ben Ali ran a national TV broadcast saying that the protests are not acceptable and will have a negative effect on the economy, adding that law will be applied to punish protestors. Despite his efforts, protests continued into January with increasing violence.

Why protests continued into January with increasing violence? If we answer this question, we will find that is happened as the result of Ben

Ali's who ran a national TV broadcast saying that the protests are not acceptable and added that the law will punish protestors.

In early January, the Tunisian Bar Association announced a strike in protest over police attacks against its members and it is reported that 95 per cent of Tunisia's lawyers are on strike to stop police brutality.

Why the Tunisian Bar Association announced a strike? If we answer this question, we will find that this strike is made to protest against the police brutality in terms of attacking its members.

Ben Ali announced that he would not seek re-election in 2014 and promised new legislative elections in six months. He also announced a state of emergency, firing Tunisia's government.

Why thousands of protestors demand Ben Ali's resignation? If we answer this question, we will find that he does not redeem his promise, announced a state of emergency and fired his government.

4.6 Conclusion.

The political elites do not adjust their political discourses which lead to actions processes of individual actors who are regarded as part and parcel from group actions and social reaction processes. These are exemplified in unequal power relation between dictatorial governments which refer to as causative groups and oppressed masses which refer to as effective groups in the investigation of cause and effect.

Causative groups have more or less power and they are able to control the acts and minds of members of other groups. This ability presupposes a power base of privileged access to scarce social resources, such as force, money, status, fame, knowledge, information, "culture," or indeed various forms of public discourse and communication of the vast literature on power as stated by (Lukes 1986; Wrong 1979).

The coercive power of the military and of violent men will rather be based on force; the causative groups will have power because of their money, whereas the more or less persuasive power of effective groups may be based on knowledge, information, or authority. Power is seldom absolute; causative groups may more or less control other groups and only control them in specific situations or social domains. Moreover, effective groups may more or less resist, accept, condone, comply with, or legitimate such power, and even find it "natural."

The power of dominant groups may be integrated in laws, rules, norms, habits, and even a quite general consensus, and thus take the form of what Gramsci called "hegemony" (Gramsci 1971). Power is not always exercised in obviously abusive acts of causative group members, but may be enacted in the myriad of taken-for-granted actions of everyday life, as is typically the case in the many forms of everyday such as racism as stated by (Essed 1991). Similarly, not all members of a powerful group are always more powerful than all members of effective groups: power is only defined here for groups as a whole.

In the enactment or exercise of group power is control not only over content, but over the structures of text and talk which seem clearly in giving orders by ruling class. Relating text and context, thus, we already

saw that members of powerful groups may decide on the possible discourse genres or speech acts of an occasion. Wodak (1984a, 1986) states that a teacher or judge may require a direct answer from a student or suspect, respectively, and not a personal story or an argument. More critically, Linell and Jonsson (1991) claims that we may examine how powerful speakers may abuse their power in such situations, e.g. when police officers use force to get a confession from a suspect or Van Zoonen (1994) states that when male editors exclude women from writing economic news.

Irene (1974) stated that conversation may only be used by speakers of a specific social group, rank, age, or gender. Although most discourse control is contextual or global, even local details of meaning, form, or style may be controlled, e.g. Martin Rojo (1994) states that the details of an answer in class or court, or choice of lexical items or jargon in courtrooms, classrooms or newsrooms.

In many situations, Houston and Kramarae (1991) states that volume may be controlled and speakers ordered to "keep their voice down" or to "keep quiet," women may be "silenced" in many ways and in some cultures Albert (1972) states that one needs to "mumble" as a form of respect.

Verbal aggression has been made from both sides and this seems obviously in their selection of words, terms, slogans and expressions. Williams (1995) states that the public use of specific words may be banned as subversive in a dictatorship, and discursive challenges to culturally dominant groups (e.g. white, western males) by their multicultural opponents may be ridiculed in the media as "politically correct". And finally, action and interaction dimensions of discourse may

be controlled by prescribing or proscribing specific speech acts, and by selectively distributing or interrupting turns as stated by (Diamond 1996).

Briefly, virtually all levels and structures of context, text, and talk can in principle be more or less controlled by powerful speakers, and such power may be abused at the expense of other participants. It should, however, be stressed that talk and text do not always and directly enact or embody the overall power relations between groups: it is always the context that may interfere with, reinforce, or otherwise transform such relationships.