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A Rhetorical and Linguistic Analysis of President El-Sisi's first Inaugural Address

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Abstract- The present study attempts an analysis of the first inaugural address of President Abdel Fatah El-Sisi. It aims at exploring the persuasive strategies used by President El-Sisi in his address. It also attempts to investigate the use of linguistic strategies in this type of Arabic political discourse. The study applies Aristotle's model for investigating persuasion. It also draws on work from Atkinson's (1984) linguistic strategies and Charteris-Black's (2014) persuasion theory. Results of the study showed that El-Sisi's first inaugural address was successful due to the use of certain rhetorical and linguistic strategies. The analysis indicated that the address has four effectively employed parts, namely, the prologue, the narrative, the proof, and the epilogue. Results also showed that the use of the artistic proofs in the address as a whole is similar to that identified by Aristotle. However, the analysis demonstrated the use of two novel usages that are successfully manipulated in the address.

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I. Introduction

The study of language and politics is of great interest to researchers in various disciplines. It has been the concern of investigation under sociolinguistics, sociology of language, political science, anthropology, economic development, and applied linguistics (O'barr and O'barr, 1976). Within applied linguistics, researchers conducted studies from different perspectivesin order to examine and reveal different aspects of political language (Gruber, 2013). These perspectives include pragmatics, rhetoric, speech acts, syntax, lexicon, local semantics, expression structure, and critical discourse analysis (van Dijk, 1997). Yet, scholars noticed that studies conducted from a CDA perspective are the most common. They also observed that political discourse has been studied more frequently in certain contexts than in others (van Dijk, 1997; Finlayson and Martin, 2008). For example, USA political discourse studies are more common than that of UK. Similarly, Arabic political discourse studies are few compared to English ones. Moreover, Arabic inaugural address has not received much academic attention.

Therefore, the present study is concerned with investigating an aspect of discourse that has not received adequate attention within Arabic political discourse, namely inaugural address. It examines the persuasive strategies of the first inaugural address of President El-Sisi from a rhetorical and linguistic approach rather than from a CDA approach. It also attempts to examine the use of linguistic strategies employed in the address.

II. Literature Review

a) The relationship between language and politics

The idea of the relationship between language and politics is not new. It can be traced back to Aristotle who, according to Joseph (2006, p. 1), was the first to claim that "man is by nature a political animal". Aristotle believes that it is the function of human speech to identify what is useful, harmful, just, or unjust. He also asserts that politics is an "action in pursuit of the highest good, based upon decisions, which arise out of deliberation" (Aristotle (1094) as cited in Fairclough and Fairclough, 2012, p. 19).

Recently, scholars of the origins of language have acknowledged Aristotle's view saying that language evolves for political reasons and that it has a political concern. This acknowledgement has led to an interest in the social aspect of language. Thus, language is seen as a form of social practice (Fairclough, 2001). It is affected and shaped by various elements such as the type of linguistic practices, the beliefs of speakers and writers, the personality of listeners and readers, and the politics of identity (Joseph, 2006). In this sense, it is closely related to politics, which involves alternative choices aiming at the exercise and distribution of power through language. It is through politics that politicians seek to reconcile "differences through discussion and persuasion" (Hague, Harrop,& Breslin, 1998, p.3). Therefore, discourse analysis has focused on analyzing everyday political practices in order to reach a better understanding of them and of their relations with social, political context and its detailed properties (van Dijk, 1997).

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b) Political discourse

Political discourse is a form of political action (van Dijk, 1997). It refers to texts of professional politicians or political institutions that are mainly about political topics. Moreover, the jargon or vocabulary of political discourse is clearly different from other types of discourse. It is also seen as a form of practical argumentation in which politics involves choices made as a response to circumstances and goals (Fairclough and Fairclough, 2012).

Political discourse has been the focus of investigation from various theoretical approaches. Yet, the most common of which are those of CDA.van Dijk (1997) defines political discourse analysis as the analysis of political discourse from a critical perspective. Most influential political analysts are Chilton (2004), Wodak (2009), and Fairclough and Fair clough (2012).

Chilton (2004) views political discourse as involving the promotion of representations. He discusses the relationship between cooperation and conflict in politics. He considers politics as a struggle for power and a cooperation to resolve clashes of interest. So, for him, "political speakers have to guard against the operation of their audiences 'cheater detectors' and have to provide guarantees for the truth of their sayings" (p.23).

Likewise, Wodak (2009) sees politics as imposing representations that serve power. For her, politics is "intrinsically linked with shaping, thinking and doing" (p. 1). Wodak's approach is known as the discourse historical approach (DHA). It is concerned mainly with explaining how power relationships are constituted by the use of language that has political implications.

A third and quite different approach is that of Fairclough and Fairclough (2012) which draws on Aristotle and contemporary political theory. This approach holds that political theory is descriptive and normative and that political discourse is a form of practical argumentation. In this form of practical argumentation, politics' main concern is to arrive" cooperatively, and through some form of (collective) argumentation (deliberation), at decisions on actions for matters of common concern" (P. 34). It seeks to act in response to public disagreement and conflict. It involves choices made as a response to circumstances and goals. Therefore, political actors are seen as constantly evaluating political actions against normative standards.

c) Political speech

Political speech is a genre of political discourse that is concerned with making decisions and establishing shared values (Charteris-Black, 2014). It has a"formal lexis and monolog form and it is usually carefully crafted by professional speechwriters "(Matić", 2012, p.55). Professional politicians have different opinions and beliefs. Yet, they all have the"ability to speak effectively in public and to captivate their audiences and this ability inspires crowds and mobilizes mass opinion' (Atkinson, 1984, p. 1). Therefore, various aspects of political speech have been investigated from various perspectives. The following section provides studies on political speech. These studies include Pu (2007), Horváth (2009), Wang (2010), Adamec (2011), Ebunoluwa (2011), Escudero (2011), Baseer and Alvi (2012), Williams, Young and Launer (2012), and Jarraya (2013).

d) Previous Studies on political speech

Pu (2007) analyzed the speech of President Bush at Tsinghua University from a pragmatic approach. He used the theory of political discourse analysis to provide an interpretation of the speech. Results of the analysis indicated that Bush used linguistic and rhetorical strategies skilfully to construct Americanism and ideology of China's future. They also showed that Bush's rhetorical strategies are closely related to his political goals. Moreover, his speech allowed his audiences to convey and interpret the communicative content of what he said and of what he implied. Finally, results showed that the speech constructs the power relation between the U.S.A. and China.

Horváth (2009) studied the political speech of President Obama from a CDA perspective to investigate the persuasive strategies and the hidden ideology of his political speech. Results of the study demonstrated that Obama's speech has some ideological components that draw on the concepts of "pragmatism, liberalism, inclusiveness, acceptance of religious and ethnic diversity and unity" (p.55). They also showed that his employment of certain prominent words in his speech is an evidence of his "inclusive perception of the American society". Moreover, his choice of Biblical references was interpreted as a means used to strengthen the notion of unity.

Similarly, Wang (2010) conducted a study in which he analyzed the political discourse of Obama's public speech. The study applied a CDA approach that draws on systemic functional analysis. Results of the study showed that Obama's language is simple and colloquial. He used simple words and short sentences to decrease the distance between him and his audience. He used first personal pronouns and religious belief successfully to eliminate the distance between him and his audience. His speech is also characterized by the frequent use of "material processes". Moreover, results showed that Obama's choice of modals indicated his concern for making the audience follow and understand his political speech.

Adamec (2011) studied persuasion in Obama's political discourse. He compared Obama's political speeches delivered to domestic audiences with those delivered to foreign audiences. Results of the study showed that persuasive strategies are not different in the

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speeches according to audiences. Rather, results demonstrated that entailment was the main device of persuasion used by Obama to persuade various audiences.

Ebunoluwa (2011), on the other hand, examined the use of ideology and persuasive strategies in Obama's inaugural address. The study used the analytical tools of CDA based on Fairclough's approach. Results of the study showed that Obama's use of language is systematic and that his vocabulary is selective. Results also showed that the use of "inclusive we" in Obama's speech is recurrent. Moreover, his speech is characterized by the ideological use of "pragmatism, liberalism, inclusiveness, acceptance of religious and ethnic diversity, and unity"(p. 46).

Escudero (2011) applied the theory of critical metaphor analysis to examine the use of metaphor as a persuasive strategy in Obama's inaugural address. Results of the study reflected Obama's careful linguistic choices in his speech. These linguistic choices include a range of metaphors such as "captivating metaphor", "evaluative metaphor", and "personification". Each of these metaphors is related to specific meanings. Moreover, results indicated that Obama prefers positive metaphors to negative ones. Therefore, Escudero concluded that Obama's speech is persuasive due to his rich use of captivating metaphors that directly engage the emotions of his audience.

Baseer and Alvi (2012) examined the use of rhetorical devices in one of Obama's popular speeches that was delivered in 2008. The study used the transitivity analysis and Aristotle's model of Ethos, Pathos, and Logos. The analysis showed that Obama's success in his speech is due to his effective use of rhetorical devices and linguistic "spin". He used the elements of Ethos and Pathos effectively through his speech. Moreover, he employed material processes and mental processes frequently to influence people and congregate them around him.

Williams, Young and Launer (2012) analyzed the third inaugural address of Vladimir Putin delivered on May 2012 aiming at explaining how it works rhetorically. Results of the analysis showed that Putin relied on the definition of democracy, which he advocated in his first two terms. Moreover, he tied democracy to unity and prosperity. Results also demonstrated that Putin's rhetoric worked to "de-rhetoricize the situation" (p. 1750).

As for Arabic political discourse, Jarraya (2013) investigated persuasion in Arabic political discourse as exemplified in the last speech of the Tunisian president Ben Ali. She examined the use of speech acts, the use of Aristotle's three appeals, the strategic use of deictic pronouns, and the use of Gricean maxims. Results of the study indicated that Ben Ali used multiple speech acts in the same utterance. They also showed that his strategic use of deictic pronouns and agency with certain illocutionary force helps him construct the self-image and the image of the others. His speech is also characterized by the use of ethos, which is an important strategy for persuasion in political speech.

The examination of these studies shows that most of them applied a critical discourse analysis approach. Their aim was to discover hidden strategies, ideologies, and relations of power. Studies dealing with persuasion, on the other hand, are few. Similarly, the use of rhetorical strategies by politicians still need further investigation in order to understand the language which they carefully select to influence the audience and to achieve political means. In addition, studies conducted on presidential inaugural address are not common in English discourse. As for Arabic political discourse, these studies are rare. Therefore, the present study will be conducted on Arabic inaugural address that does not receive much academic concern.

III. The Present Study

The present qualitative study investigates the first inaugural address of President El-Sisi. It adopts a rhetorical and linguistic approach that aims at revealing the persuasive strategies employed in the address. It also attempts to shed light on the use of linguistic strategies in this type of political discourse.

a) The data

The data selected for analysis is the first inaugural address of President Abdel Fatah El-Sisi delivered on June 8, 2014 at the ceremony marking his inauguration at Qasr el-Qubba Palace. The choice of this address as a sample text for analysis is due to two reasons. First, it represents the first inaugural address of President-Elect Abdel Fattah El-Sisi after the success of the two Egyptian revolutions on January 25 and June 30. Second, it is quite successful as reported in the media by critics and politicians.

The address is accessed from the following web site: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_te-whSyDuE. Then, it was transcribed into the written form and translated into English. Finally, the English translation was checked with that of the State Information Service in the following web site: http://www.sis.gov.eg/En/Templates/Articles/tmpArticles.aspx?ArtID=78371#.U8I2drG3m2k

b) Framework of analysis

The present study adopts an eclectic framework based on three approaches to the study of persuasion in political discourse. These approaches are Aristotle's three-stage model (Freese, 1926; Roberts, 2008)., Atkinson's (1984) linguistic strategies, and Charteris-Black's (2014) persuasion theory. These three approaches are selected for a number of reasons. First, they are all concerned with analyzing political speech. Second, they all view political speech as "a coherent stream of spoken language that is usually prepared for

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delivery by a speaker to an audience for a purpose on a political occasion" (Charteris-Black, 2014, p. xiii). Third, their analytical focuses aim at explaining persuasive strategies. Finally, they provide a theoretical framework that meets the purpose of the present study since it comprises rhetorical analysis with linguistic one. The following sub section provides the theoretical framework of the study.

i. *Aristotle's three-stage model*

Aristotle's model for the analysis of persuasion comprises three artistic proofs that can be realized linguistically. These three proofs are Ethos, Logos, and Pathos, which correspond respectively to character, reason, and emotion (Freese, 1926; Roberts, 2008). The first proof for Aristotle is employed in order to establish a relationship between the speaker and his/her audience. In this sense, the appeal is based on the character of the speaker, his/her goodwill, virtue, practical wisdom, "credibility" and/or trust. This appeal can take one of the following two forms: a) displaying modesty by rejecting the eulogies with which the speaker has been introduced or, b) assuming a set of shared values with the audience by arguing a case because "it is right".

The second of the artistic proofs is the appeal to logos or reason. According to Aristotle, this appeal is obligatory in speech and it is central to the rhetorical "canon of invention" because each speech represents a set of ideas based on arguments. These ideas form a proposition that can be judged according to everyday experience. For Aristotle, there are two means of arguing: syllogism and enthymeme. Syllogism is the most persuasive means of arguing. It is a type of an argument with a structure consisting of a major premise, a minor premise, and a conclusion. The major premise and the minor premise, according to Aristotle, need to be true in order for the audience to accept the conclusion as true. Enthymeme, on the other hand, refers to an incomplete syllogism in which part of the argument is left unstated leaving the audience to implicitly infer the missing premise. This structure has a rhetorical advantage since the audience believe that they reach the conclusion on their own. Enthymeme also includes structures in which the logical argument is strengthened by supporting one of the premises with reason and/or analogy.

The third proof for Aristotle is the appeal to pathos or emotions, which he characterized by pleasure and by pain. Emotions are cognitive because they lead people to make evaluations that influence opinions and judgments.

In order to make the speech persuasive and in order to influence the audience, the speaker, according to Aristotle, selects the artistic proof that suits the different parts of speech and/or arrangement. These parts are the prologue, the narrative, the proof, the refutation, and the epilogue.Each of these parts has its own function. Thus, one proof may appear to be more persuasive than others in a specific part of the speech. For example, the prologue or the introduction is marked by an appeal to ethos since the speaker's purpose is to establish a relationship with the audience and to arouse interest while the proof is marked by an appeal to logos since it represents the core argument.

The present study will adopt this model by examining the different parts of El-Sisi's inaugural address and by analyzing the persuasive means selected in each part.

ii. *Atkinson's linguistic strategies*

For Atkinson (1984), "the technical skills necessary for composing and delivering a spellbinding speech" (p. 1) is a craft that only few politicians can master. Moreover, every good speech has methods that underly its effective performance. Consequently, people can notice that some speakers inspire their audience while others do not. Therefore, in a model directly related to the analytical methods of conversational analysis, Atkinson (1984) shifts from meaning to formal properties of political speech. He describes the structure of persuasive discourse as a set of techniques. He states that there are specific linguistic strategies that enable the speaker to speak effectively in public and to inspire his/her audience. These strategies can elicit positive audience response exemplified in interruptive applause. These strategies are three-element listing, repetition, contrastive pairs, religious citation technique, the use of specific grammatical structures, and the skillful use of the first personal plural pronoun "we". These linguistic strategies will be investigated in the data selected to show how they function in the speech.

iii. *The theory of persuasion*

For Charteris-Black (2014), it is central to persuasion that the audience judge the speaker as right. Therefore, he provides five means that the speaker can use in order to get the audience to believe that s/he is right. These means are a) having the right intentions by establishing integrity, b) thinking right by expressing political arguments, c) sounding right by heightening emotional impact, d) telling the right story through mental representation, myths, frames, and schemata, and f) sounding right through appearance, hair, dress and gesture. These means need not to appear all in the speech. Yet, the speaker will always rely on more than one of them. The present study will focus on only the first four means in order to find out how they are used in the address, their linguistic realizations, and their persuasive effect. The fifth means, is also considered an important contribution to the overall success and impact of the speech. However, it is outside the scope of the present study, which is concerned mainly with linguistic strategies.

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IV. Analysis of the Data and Discussion of the Results

a) General observations

The examination of the data shows that although the topics of the address are variant, they all focus on related issues centering on Egypt. These issues discuss the current situation in Egypt with reference to problems facing the country. They also handle the president's policy in dealing with these problems and his plans for developing different sectors in the society. These sectors include tourism, health sector, economic sector, education, and agriculture. The topics also include El-Sisi's views about Egyptian-Arabic relations, Egyptian-African relations and Egyptian-international relations. Moreover, they present his call for renewing the religious discourse and rectifying and revising concepts. The most common tenses in the address are the present and the future. Examples from the data for the present tense are ?innani: ?uɛahidukum wa ?uɛa:hid ?aʃʃaɛb ?al-maSryya/ "I promise you and the Egyptian people", ?uxa:Ŧibukum ?alyawm "I address you today", and wa ?adɛu:hu fyi: kul Sala:h ?an ywafqanyi: "I pray to Him in every prayer to guide me". This common use of the present tense reflects the highly interpersonal function of spoken discourse and conveys known facts as noticed by Thornbury and Slade (2006) and Charteris-Black (2014). Future tense, on the other hand, is exemplified in the use of /sawafa/ "will", which is employed with reference to what El-Sisi intends to do or what he wants people to do. Examples of such usage are sawafa naɛtamidu ?alHaqyi:qata wa ?al-muSa:raHata "We will depend on frankness", and sawafa nagnyi: maɛan thima:r juhdana: wa taɛa:wunana: "We will reap together the fruits of our work and co-operation". There are also instances of the use of past tense, which is related to past events and/or narratives. Illustrative examples are ?aqsamtu ?an ?uHa:fiDH ɛala: ?an-niDHa:m ?ad-dusto:ryya "I was sworn in to maintain the republican system", and ?ara:qu: dima:?a ?al-?abriy:a:?a "shed the blood of innocent people".

The language of the address, in general, is formal. It conforms to Modern Standard Arabic, which is the medium of contemporary literary dialect. Yet, there are instances of informal language throughout the address. The use of informal language is at the beginning of the address when El-Sisi asked the audience to stand in commemoration of the Egyptian martyrs and in the proof in response to audiences' comments. The words in the address are simple. This use of simple words can be interpreted as a means used by El-Sisi to get the audience to understand him easily and to shorten the distance between him and them. This finding is similar to that of Wang (2010) in relation to Obama's use of simple words in his speech. The sentences in the address vary in relation to length. There are short and long ones. The following examples illustrate these various types of sentences found in the address:

i. *Simple short sentence*

?innani: lam ?assɛa: yawmn wara:?a manSib sya:syyi: "I have never been seeking a political post."

ii. *Long elaborated sentence*

?al waŦanu ?allaDHi: taɛarraD litahdyi:din Haqyi:qyyi:n kan sayuŦal wiHdat ʃaɛbah wa sala:mat ?arDah wa la:kin thawratana: ?aʃ-ʃaɛabiyya fyi: thala:thyi:n yunyu: ?istɛa:dat thwart xamsa wa ɛiʃryi:n yana:yir wa Sawabat ?al-masa:r litazu:da ɛan ?al-waŦan wa taSu:na wiHdatahu bifaÐlin min ?allah

This nation has come under a real threat that would have harmed the unity of its people and its territorial integrity but our popular revolution on June 30 has restored January 25 revolution and rectified its course in a bid to protect the homeland and maintain its unity with Allah's grace.

b) The rhetoric of the address

The analysis of the address shows that it has four parts, namely, the prologue, the narrative, the proof, and the epilogue. Each of these parts is employed effectively with its own function and technique/s. First, the address starts with the prologue or the introduction in which the president seeks to attract the attention of the audience and to arouse interest. In order to achieve this function, El-Sisi resorts to two types of appeals, namely, pathos and ethos. Appeals to pathos are at the very beginning of the address when he asks the audience to stand in commemoration of the Egyptian martyrs. This demanding is accompanied by certain linguistic choices such as Hida:d/, /?umm/, /zawgah/, /?ibnn/, /?ibnna/,/damm/, and /faqadat/. "mourning, mother, wife, son, daughter, blood, and, lost", which meet this end and help him evoke emotions. Then, he draws on appeals to ethos by directing thanks to the Egyptian people and extending the thanks to the interim President Adly Mansour. He also shows that his concern will be to continue the steps of the road map, which is the main interest of the Egyptian people. In this way, he establishes empathy by showing that he is one of the citizens and that his concern is primarily with the interest of the people. In this way, he establishes his moral character or ethos, which creates trust between him and the audience and which leads to the next part of the address. The following extract from the opening of the address illustrates this appeal to ethos:

?al-?ixwatu wal-?axawa:t ?abna:?a ?aʃ-ʃaɛaba ?al-maSryya ?al-ɛaDHyi:m ?ismaHu: lyi fyi: ?il-bida:ya ?inni: ?ataqadam bi?asma ?a:ya:t ?at-taqdi:r wa-l ɛirfa:n lis-sayid ?al-mustaʃa:r ɛadli: manSu:r ɛala ma: qadamahu min ɛamal waŦanyi: ɛaDHyi:m falaqad ?angaztum ya: siya:dat ?al-mustaʃa:r ?al-?istiHqa:qyyi:n ?al-?wal wa ?ath-thanyi: min xa:riŦit-?il mustaqbal mustaqbal ʃaɛb

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miSr ɛala ?al-wagaha ?al-?akmal wa ?innanyi: bidawryi: ?uɛa:hidukum wa ?uɛa:hid ?aʃ-ʃaɛba ?al-miSryya bi?annani: sa?asharu ɛala ?iHtira:m ?as-sulŦata ?at-tanfi:dhiyata bika:fat nuSu:S dustu:rina ha:dha kama: ?uɛa:hidukum ?ayÐan ɛala: ?inga:zi ?istiHqa:qana: ?ath-tha:lith bimaʃyi:?at ?allah wifqan lil-gadwal ?az-zamanyyi: lixa:riŦati ?al-mustaqbal

Brothers and sisters, the sons of the great Egyptian "people" Allow me to extend all thanks and appreciation to the honorable counselor Adly Mansour for his great national action. Mr. Counselor, you have accomplished to the full the first two steps of the road map for the Egyptian people's future. For my part, I promise you and the Egyptian people that I will be keen on respecting the executive authority according to all articles mentioned in our constitution. I also promise you to achieve the third step of the road map in line with the set timetable.

The second part of the address is the narrative in which El-Sisi sets the frame for his main argument and provides the springboard for what he will say. This narrative is directed mainly towards the events that has happened. Therefore, in this part, El-Sisi narrates events that has happened before the address. The following extract illustrates this point.

?al-?ixwatu ?al-mwa:Ŧinu:n ?uxaŦibukum ?al-yawm baɛd ?an ?adaytu ?al-yamyi:na ?ad-dustu:ryya ra?yi:ssan ligumhu:ryati miSr ?al-ɛarabya ?aqsamtu ?an ?uHa:fiDH ɛala: ?an-niDHa:m ?ad-dustu:ryyi: ?alladhi: ?assasat lahu thawrat yulyu: ?al-magyi:datu ?iHqa:qan li-lHaq wa ?irsa:?an lil-ɛada:lati … ?aqsamtu ?ayÐan ?an ?arɛa maSa:liH ?aʃ-ʃaɛb riɛa:yatn ka:milatn kul ?aʃ-ʃaɛab

Dear citizens

I address you today after taking the constitutional oath as president of the Arab Republic of "Egypt". I was sworn in to maintain the republican system that was established by the glorious July revolution to preserve justice and equality and to protect the dignity of the Egyptian citizen … I was also sworn in to take care to the fullthe interests of the people, all people.

In this narrative, El-Sisi provides the frame for his argument by talking about "the constitution, justice, equality, dignity, freedom, and hard work ". In fact, a close examination of this part shows that it contains all the topics, which will be the focus of the argument in the following part. The appeal here is to ethos based on moral character and values that are evident in the narrative above.

Following the narrative, El-Sisi presents his main argument through the third part of the address, which is the proof. The arrangement of the proof is quite successful and the ideas covered lead smoothly from one to the other. For instance, the beginning of the proof foregrounds the following points of the address and prepares the audience to accept the coming argument. Moreover, it gets the audience to expect difficulties and problems facing the country, to be ready to share responsibility, and not to expect immediate solutions. The following extract demonstrates this point:

?inna ?al-ɛaqda ?al-?igtima:ɛyya bayna ?ad-dawlati mumathalatan fyi: ra?i:siha wa mu?asasa:tiha wa bayna ?aʃ-ʃaɛab la: yumkinu ?an yastaqyi:m min Ŧarafin wa:Hid wa ?innma: yataɛayanu ?an yakun ?iltiza:mn bayna ?aŦ-Ŧarafayin f?ana lam ?astagib liraghbatikum ?allatyi: Ŧa:labtumu:nyi: l?i-ttaraSuH limanSib r?a?yyi:s ?al-gumhu:ryati likay ?uqadim wuɛu:dan barraqa thumm tufa:ga?u:n biwa:qiɛ muxa:lif sawafa naɛtamid ?al-Haqyi:qata wal-muSa:raHata manhagan liŦaŦbyi:q ɛaqdana: ?al-?igtimaɛyyi: sanataqa:sam ?al-?iŦila:ɛ ɛala: Haqyiqat ?al-?awÐa:ɛ wa sanataʃa:rk fi ?al-guhd wa ?al-ɛaraq

The social contract between the State, represented in its president and institutions, and the people could not stand properly relying on one party alone. Rather, it should be undertaken through commitment by the two parties. I have not responded to your calls for me to be nominated president to give brilliant promises that never conform to reality. We will depend on frankness and honesty as a method of applying our social contract. We will also share getting knowledge of the truth and we will also share efforts and hard work.

After setting the principle for the social contract, El-Sisi moves successfully to the topics of the argument, which he combines in one introductory paragraph. This paragraph was followed by a detailed discussion of each topic. A close examination of the following extract illustrates this point:

?abna:?a miSr ?al-kira:m ?inna thawratayyina ?al-magyi:datayyin fyi: ?al-xa:mis wal-ɛiʃriyi:n min yana:yir wa ?ath-thala:thyi:n min yunyu: qadd mahadata ?aŦ-Ŧaryi:q libida:yat ɛaSrin gadi:d fyi: ta:ryi:x ?ad-dawla ?al-maSriyya ɛaSr yukaris lil-quwati wa layisa lil-ɛuduwa:n wa la:kin Siya:natan li-ssala:m wa layyis lil-qamiɛ wa la:kin difa:ɛan ɛan dawlat ?al-qa:nu:n wal-Haqq wal-ɛadl wa yu?asis lil qaÐa:? ɛala: ?al-?irha:b wa baththth ?al-?amnna fyyi: rubu:ɛ ?al-bila:d wa la:kin maɛa Siya:nat ?al-Huqu:q wal-Huriya:t yadɛum ?iqtiSa:dan ɛimla:qan wa maʃru:ɛa:tin waŦaniyatan Ðaxmatan lid-dawlati wa lil-qiŦa:ɛ ?alxa:S wa ?ithtithma:ra:t muba:ʃira wa la:kin maɛa ?al-Hifa:DH ɛala Huqu:q ?al-fuqara:? wa maHdu:di: ?ad-daxl … wa tanmiyat ?al-mana:Ŧiq ?al-muhamaʃati yaSu:nu manDHumatana: ?al-qiyamiyati wa ?al-?axla:qiyati yuɛazizuha: wa yaHmyi:ha wa la:kin yakful lil-funu:n wa ?al-?a:da:b Huryat ?al-fikkr wa ?al-?ibda:ɛ y?umin wa yuraHib bil-?infita:H wa la:kin yuHa:fiDH ɛala ?al-hawiyati ?al-maSryyati wa Ŧaba:?iɛana ?ath-thaqa:fyyati

The honorable sons of "Egypt" Two glorious revolutions on January 25 and June 30 have paved the

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way for a beginning of a new performance in the history of the Egyptian State that seeks establishing power not oppression and protecting peace not aggression. It defends the State of law, justice and right and seeks uprooting terrorism and spreading instead security in all parts of the country at a time when it protects the rights and freedoms. This new performance in the history of the Egyptian State supports a giant economy and national projects by the State and the private sector along with direct investments at a time when it protects the rights of the poor and low-income brackets and develops the marginalized areas while maintaining and enhancing the system of values and moralities. It also guarantees freedom of thought and creativity for arts and literature and believes in and welcomes openness while maintaining the Egyptian identity and our cultural values.

The examination of the extract also shows that the topics of the argument are presented according to a specific order. This order reflects El-Sisi's good understanding of the needs and priorities of the Egyptian people. It includes security, economy, agriculture, health, education, social welfare, and morals. To introduce these topics, El-Sisi first gives sufficient illustration for their importance. Then, he demonstrates the role of both the state and the people in dealing with them. This technique agrees with the principle of shared responsibility that he states before.

The main appeals in the proof are appeals to reason. This finding is in line with Aristotle's observation that the best means to achieve the rhetorical purpose of the proof are appeals to reason. Appeals to reason come in the form of syllogism. For example, in one of the appeals to reason based on a syllogism, El-Sisi states the major premise, which is frankness and shared responsibility between the State and the people. Then, he provides the minor premise, which is shared efforts and hard work. Finally, he gives the conclusion, which is /sawafa nagnyi: mɛan thima:r guhdana: wa taɛa:wunana: ?istiqra:ran siya:syyan wa ?istitiba:ban ?amnyyan wa numu:wan ?iqtiSa:dyyan tharyyan wa mutanawiɛan wa ɛada:latan ?igtima:ɛyyatan wa Huqu:qan wa Huryyat makfu:latan lil-gamyi:ɛ/.

We will reap together the fruits of our cooperation embodied in political stability, security and diversified economic growth along with social justice and guaranteed rights and freedoms for all.

Similarly, in the following extract, the rational appeal comes in the form of reason where there is a major premise, a minor premise, and a conclusion.

?inna taHqi:qa ?at-tanmiyata ?aʃ-ʃa:milata fyi: muxtalaf Suwariha: wa ʃatta mana:Hyi:ha yataŦalabu byi:?atan ?amnyyatan muwa:tyyatan tuŦam?in r?as ?al-ma:l wa tagdhibu ?as-siya:Hata wa ?il-?istithma:r wa tu?aminn lil-maʃru:ɛa:t ?aS-Sina:ɛyyati mana:xaha: ?al-muna:sib wa min thamma fa?inna daHra ?al-?irha:b wa taHqyi:q ?al-?amnna yuɛaddu ɛala: r?as ?awlawya:t marHalatuna: ?al-muqbilata wa lidha fa?innana sanaɛamal ɛala: taŦwyi:r giha:z ?aʃ-ʃurŦati wa muÐa:ɛafati qudra:tihi ɛala: taHqyi:q ?al-?amnna wa ?iqra:r ?an-niDHa:m wa ?iɛa:dat ?al-?amnna wa ?al-?iŦmi?ina:n ?an-nafsiyyi lil-muwa:Ŧin ?al-miSryyi

Achieving comprehensive development in all its forms and various aspects requires a propitious security context that would gain the confidence of capital, attract tourism and investments, and guarantee a favorable atmosphere for industrial projects. Consequently, uprooting terrorism and establishing security is one of the main priorities in the coming phase. Therefore, we will work to upgrade the police apparatus and enhance its potentials for establishing security, law and order and for restoring security and providing peace of mind for the Egyptian citizen.

In addition to appeals to reason, the analysis shows that there are also appeals to ethos and pathos in the proof. For example, the following two extracts illustrate an appeal to ethos based on the character of El-Sisi as "a man from the Armed Forces" and as a man who never seeks a political post.

1) laqad taɛaraftum ?ila ragul min riga:l ?al-quwa:t ?al-musalaHati … maSnaɛu ?ar-riga:l wa ramzu ?al-?iltiza:m wa ?al-?inÐiba:t qalɛatu ?al-waŦaniyyatu ɛala marr ?al-ɛuSu:r
   You have come to know a man from the Armed Forces …: the factory of men, the symbol of discipline and commitment, and the edifice of Egyptian patriotism throughout ages.
2) ?innanyi: lamm ?assɛa yawman wara?a manSibin siya:syyin falaqad bada?atu Haya:tyi: ?al-mahanyyati fyi: mu?asasati ?al-quwa:ti ?al-musalaHati taɛalamtu fyi:ha: maɛna ?al-waŦan wa qyi:matahu wa taHamul ?al-mas?u:lyyati kama taɛalamtu ?ayÐan ?anna Haya:tana: wa ?arwa:Hana: hya fida:?un lil-waŦan
   I have never been seeking a political post. I have started my career in the Armed Forces institution where I have learned the meaning of a nation and its value. I have shouldered responsibility and learned also the meaning that our lives are for this nation.

The following example, on the other hand, shows an appeal to pathos. This appeal is accompanied by certain linguistic expressions that are directly related to emotions. These expressions are "suffered", "heal the wounds", "alleviating his pains", and "the fears".

La:kinnyi: ?uʃhidu ?allaha taɛa:la ?annanyi: lann ?addaxira guhdn litaxfiyi:fi muɛa:na:tihi ma ?istaŦaɛt falann ?uɛa:riÐa muqtaraHn fyi: Sa:liHihi wa sawafa ?abda?u bi?itixa:dhi ma: yumkinu min ?igra:?a:t lil-b?ad?i fyi: taHsyi:n ?awÐa:ɛihi wa lann ?atawa:na yawmn ɛan ?an ?uÐamid gira:H miSryyi: ?aw ?an

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?usa:hima fyi: taxfyi:f ?a:la:mihi ?aw tabdiyi:d xawfihi ɛala: ?aHadin min ?abna:?ihi

I will never hesitate one day to heal the wounds of any Egyptian or contribute to alleviating his pains or dispelling the fears of any Egyptian on his sons.

The last part of the address is the epilogue in which El-Sisi summarizes key points in his main argument. In the epilogue, he refers back to a section from the prologue talking about martyrs. However, he refers to all the martyrs of Egypt in a skillful way as shown in the following example:

?uwagihu taHyyata ?igla:l wa ?ikba:r li?arwa:H kul ʃuhada:?ana ʃuhada:?a thawratayyina wa ʃuhada:?a quwa:tana ?al-musalaHati wa giha:z ?aʃ-ʃurƬatiI salute the souls of our martyrs: the martyrs of our two revolutions and the martyrs of the Armed Forces and the police.

Then, he refers to the proof part, which includes the need for being unified, the need for sharing responsibility, and the need for hard work. The following extract illustrates this reference from the epilogue:

> waHidu ?al-kalimat wa ?aS-Saff wa la: tafaraqu: wa kafa: biwaƬanina ma: yanu:?u bihi min muʃkila:tin wa ?aɛba:? ?in lamm nantabihu ?ilayiha: wa nuɛa:liguha: sariyi:ɛan qad yaHduthu ma: la: yuHamadu ɛuqba:h
>
> You should unify our ranks and word and should not be divided and it is enough for our country shouldering problems that if we could not address and handle immediately, heavy consequences will take place.
>
> There are also references to the main topics of the argument such as right, justice, freedom, and equality. The following extract illustrates this point:
>
> ?aqu:lu lakum ?aɛyi:nu:ni: biquwatin nabnyi: waƬanana ?alladhi: naHlumu bihi nastaDHilu fyi:hi biDHila:l ?al-Haqq wa ?al-ɛadl wa ?al-ɛayyiʃ ?al-karyi:m wa natanasamu fyi:hi riya:H ?al-Huriyyati wa ?al-?ilitiza:m wa nalmasu fyi:hi ?al-musawata wa taka:fu? ?al-furaS wugu:dn Haqyi:qyan wa dustu:r Hayatin wa ?iɛlamu: dawmn ?ann safyi:nat ?al-waƬan wa:Hidatn fa?in nagat nagawna gamyi:ɛan
>
> I tell you all help me strongly to build our nation of which we dream, in which we live protected by the umbrella of right, justice and decent life and where we can breathe the winds of freedom and commitment and feel equality and fair opportunities as a reality and as a life style. Be sure that the ship of the nation is one if it is rescued then we are all rescued.

The main appeal in the epilogue is the appeal to pathos. This emotional appeal is manifested linguistically in the words /ʃuhada:?/ "martyrs", /taÐHiya:t/ "sacrifices", /muɛa:nat/ "suffering", /?al-?alam ?an-nafsyyi/ "psychological pain", /?arwa:H/ "souls", /Hubb/ "love", and /qulu:b/ "hearts".

Generally, the analysis of the rhetoric of the address shows that the use of the artistic proofs in the address as a whole is similar to that identified by Aristotle as the best means that suits the rhetorical purpose, i., e, ethos are used in the prologue, logos are used in the proof, and pathos are used in the epilogue. Yet, the analysis indicates the existence of two novel usages in the address under examination. The first one is the use of appeals to pathos in addition to ethos in the prologue. The second one is the use of appeals to pathos and ethos in addition to reason in the proof. The first usage is very effective since appeals to emotions are powerful. It may be interpreted as an attempt from El-Sisi to arouse audiences' emotions and to influence them at the opening of the address. It may also be interpreted as suitable for the Egyptians who are known to be emotional. As for the second usage, it is also successful since "appeals to reason alone fail to be effective" (Al-Mizori, 2011). This finding is in line with Al-Mizori who observed that skilled speakers such as Obama used this technique to motivate and persuade the emotional side of people (Basir and Alvi, 2012).

c) Persuasion

The analysis of the data shows that El-Sisi employs specific means of persuasion in the different parts of the address. These means of persuasion are the same as those identified by Charteris-Black (2014) as essential to judge the speaker as right. They are: a) having the right intentions, b) thinking right, c) sounding right, and d) telling the right story. First, when El-Sisi begins the prologue by giving promises to the interim President and to the Egyptian people, he appears as having the right intentions. At the same time, he succeeds in establishing his moral character and in gaining the respect of the audience. Second, in the narrative, he refers to the presidential oath in which he prioritizes the interests of the public over his own interests. He says ?aqsamtu ?an ?uHa:fiDH ɛala: ?an-niDHa:m ?ad-dustu:ryyi: "I was sworn in to maintain the republican system", wa ?an ?aHtarima ?ad-dustu:r wa ?al-qa:nu:n "to respect the constitution and the law", ?aqsamtu ?ayÐan ?an ?arɛa: maSa:liH ?aʃ-ʃaɛb riɛa:yatan ka:mila kul ?aʃ-ʃaɛab "I was also sworn in to take care to the full the interests of the people- all people", wa ?an ?uHa:fiDH ɛala: ?istiqla:l ?al-waƬan wa wiHdat wa sala:mat ?ara:Ðyi:h, and to "maintain the independence of the homeland and its unity and territorial integrity". Consequently, he appears as sincere and he demonstrates right intensions that can persuade the audience. Moreover, throughout the address, he emphasizes his personal commitment to the objective of putting the benefit of the country above any other benefit and he emphasizes the personal effort that he will exert for the good of the country.

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In addition, El-Sisi follows a technique in which he accompanies his argument with relevant evidences that support it. This technique creates and evokes concern from the audience. It also shows the speaker as "thinking right". For example, El-Sisi states that Egypt passed through hard times before June 30 and he simultaneously provides the evidence that supports this statement. This evidence comes in the form of references to "severe polarization, manipulation of religion, deterioration of economic conditions, big state budget deficit, spread of unemployment, severe shortage in the State resources of hard currency, stagnant tourism, and a sapped foreign reserve and dearth in energy resources". He also appears as thinking right when he states his argument in a clear and systematic way and when he presents the topics in a particular order. In this way, he reflects his systematic military background and his knowledge of the needs and priorities of the people.

Moreover, the analysis shows that El-Sisi appears as sounding right when he evokes emotional response from the audience. He clearly heightens emotions of interest and concern in more than one way. First, he uses rhetorical questions to strengthen and affirm his position and argument. Second, he uses parallel structures, which, according to Sheveleva (2012), help make the address more "understandable, accessible and easy to interpret" (p. 60). For example, in the following extract, El-Sisi asks a set of rhetorical questions that justify his call for renewing the religious discourse:

> ?ayyna ?inɛika:s ?al-ɛiba:da:t fyi: muɛa:mala:tina: fyi: Haya:tina: ?al-yawmyyati ?al-ɛamalu ɛiba:datum … hal ha:dhhi hiya miSru ?al-latyi: narghabuha hal hadhihi hiya miSru ?al-latyi: qumna: bithawratayyini min ?agli mustaqbal ʃaɛbiha:
>
> Then where is the impact of our religious rituals on our daily treatments? Work is some sort of worship. … Is this Egypt, which we would like to see? Is this Egypt, which we launched two revolutions for the future of its people?

Likewise, in the following example, he introduces the topic of freedom by asking a rhetorical question and answering it. In this way, he arouses interest and involves the audience in his argument. The following extract illustrates this usage.

> wa fiy: siya:q taSwyi:b ?al-mafa:hyi:m ?awadu ?an ?ataŦaraq ?ila: mafhu:m ?al-Huriyati ma: hiya: ?al-Huriyah ?inna ?al-Huriyah qaryi:nat ?al-?iltiza:m wa taDHllu makfu:latan lil-gamyi:ɛi wa la:kinnaha: tatawaqafu ɛinnd Hudu:d Huriyya:t ?al-?a:xariyi:n
>
> Within the framework of rectifying concepts, I would like to touch on the concept of freedom. What is freedom? Freedom is associated with commitment and it remains guaranteed for everybody but stops at the limits of the freedoms of others.

This finding agrees with that of Reyes (2011) who notices that questions imply connections with the audience and that ancient orators used this strategy to involve the public into the speech.

The analysis also shows that persuasion is also achieved through "telling the right story". This means of persuasion appears when El-Sisi provides a set of frames that meet the expectation of the audience about the world. By referring to the situation of Egypt under the previous regime, El-Sisi creates a contrast that helps him heighten the emotional impact. Moreover, he provides an evidence that all the Egyptians can notice and see. In this sense, he appears as the person who tells the right story that the audience accept and believe.

d) Linguistic strategies

The analysis of the address shows that there is a skillful employment of various linguistic strategies. These linguistic strategies, which contributed to the success of the address, are three-element listing, repetition, contrastive pairs, religious citation technique, specific grammatical structures, and the first personal plural pronoun. The following lines will explain each of these strategies as used in the data.

First, the address includes various examples for the use of three-element listing, particularly in the proof part. This usage, according to Mazraani,(1997) strengthens the argument and helps move the audience emotionally by the repetition and symmetry of the phrase structure. It is an effective strategy used by political leaders such as Thatcher as observed by Atkinson and Nasser as observed by Mazraani. The following extract illustrates the use of this strategy in the data analyzed. In this extract, the Armed Forces are referred to in the form of three-part list, which are: (1) maSnaɛu ?ar-riga:l "the factory of men", (2) ramzu ?al-?iltiza:m wa ?al-?inÐiba:t "the symbol of discipline and commitment", and (3) qalɛatu ?al-waŦaniyyatu ɛala: marr ?al-ɛuSu:r "the edifice of Egyptian patriotism throughout ages". Similarly, in the following example, El Sisi provides a list of three parts that support the need for upgrading the police apparatus. This list includes (1) taHqyi:q ?al-?ammn "achieving security", (2) ?iqra:r ?an-niDHam " maintaining discipline and order", and (3) ?iɛa:dat ?al-?ammn wa ?al-?iŦmi?na:n ?an-nafsyyi "restoring security and peace of mind".

Another elaborate type of listing is found in the data where there is an opposition between the parts in the list. The following example illustrates this type of listing in which power and peace are opposed by oppression and aggression.

> ɛaSrun yukarisu lil-quwati wa layyis lil-ɛudwa:n wa la:kin Siya:natn lis-sala:m wa layyis lil-qamɛ

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An age that seeks establishing power not oppression, seeks protecting peace not aggression…

This finding is similar to that of Mazraani (1997) in relation to Nasser who used this elaborate type of listing in his political speech.

Second, the data analyzed reveal the repetition of form and content in the address. The repetition of form is exemplified in the use of morphologically and syntactically parallel structures. The repetition of content, on the other hand, is manifested in the use of paraphrases and/or the use of lexically related words. Repetition, according to Atkinson (1984), highlights the points discussed and helps their comprehension by providing greater textual redundancy. Moreover, it convinces the listeners of the speaker's intention and real message. The following example illustrates this strategy through the lexical repetition of the word taSa:luH "reconciliation" and also through the use of the two lexically related words ?at-taSa:luH wa ?at-tasa:muH " reconciliation and tolerance"

?ataŦalaɛu ?ila ɛaSrin gadyi:d yaqu:mu ɛala: ?at-taSa:luH wa ?at-tasa:muH min ?agl ?al-waŦann taSa:luH maɛa ?al-ma:Ðyi: wa tasa:muH maɛa man ?ixtalafu: min ?agl ?al-waŦann wa layyis ɛalayyihi taSa:luH ma: bayyinna ?abn?a:?i waŦanina:

I am looking forward to a new era that is based on reconciliation and tolerance for the sake of the homeland; reconciliation with the past and reconciliation with those who differ for the homeland and not over the homeland; reconciliation among all sons of the homeland …

In another example, El-Sisi repeats the whole clause by using syntactically parallel structures in saying:

?aqu:luha: waÐiHatn galyyatn la: taha:wun wa la: muha:danah maɛa man yalga?u ?ila ?al-ɛunf la taha:wun wa la: muha:danah maɛa man yuryi:du:n taɛŦyi:l masyi:ratana: naHwa ?al-mustaqbal ?al-ladhyi: nuryi:duhu li?abna:?ina: la taha:wun wa la: muha:danah maɛa man yuryi:dun dawlatun bila: hayyibah

I say it loud and clear. No leniency or reconciliation will be with those who resorted to violence. No leniency or reconciliation will be with those who want to block our march towards the future that we seek for our sons. No leniency or reconciliation will be with those who seek a State without prestige.

Third, the address has employed the linguistic strategy of using contrastive devices. In this technique, one argument or approach is contrasted with another in a way that the speaker's favored position is seen superior. The following example illustrates the use of this technique, which is highly effective as remarked by Hutchby and Wooffitt (1998).

?innanyi: lastu min duɛa:t ?igtira:r ?al-ma:Ðyi: bihadaf ?at-tawaquf ɛinnd laHaDHa:t Saɛbah maÐat wa lann taɛu:d ?in ʃa:?a ?allah wa la:kinnanyi: min ?al mu?minyi:n biÐaru:rat ?al-?iɛtiba:r min taga:ribihi lil-Haylu:lati du:na tikra:r ?as-sayyi? minha:

I am not an advocate of ruminating the past with a view that aims at arresting certain hard moments that will never return, but I believe in the necessity of drawing lessons from the past to prevent a recurrence of bad experiences.

Fourth, the address has a number of citations that El-Sisi used in order to support his opinion and plans. The citations include both religious and non-religious ones. The religious ones are in the form of Qur'an, Hadith, and a quotation by the religious scholar and liberal reformer Imam Muhammad Abdu. The non-religious ones, on the other hand, come in the form of a verse of poetry for the prince of poets Ahmed Shawqy. The following extract illustrates the citing of Qur'an at the epilogue: As Allah Al Mighty said in His Holy Qura'n:

"Enter Egypt, if Allah wills in security"

قال الله تعالى: " ادخلوا مصر ان شاء الله ءامنين"

This usage of Qur'an can be interpreted as a means used to strengthen the notion of unity. The examination of the address also shows that Allah is mentioned not only at the beginning and at the ending of the address but also all through the address. This finding is similar to that of Lowenstein (2013) in relation to political leaders in the United States who tend to ground their speeches in mentions of God and who tend to end their political speeches by asking God to bless the people in attendance and the country as a whole.

The poetry verse, on the other hand, comes in the proof part together with the saying of Imam Muhammad Abdu about morals as in the following extract:

?innama: ?al-?umamu ?al-?axlaqu ma: baqyyat fa?in hummu dhahabat ?axla:quhum dhahabu:

Nations are based on morality If morals are undermined, everything is lost

The address also includes a skillful use of the first personal plural pronoun "we", which, according to Atkinson (1984), conveys positive evaluations of hopes, activities and achievements. This technique is used by politicians to persuade the audience that both themselves and their ideas are as the same as the peoples (Zheng, 2000). In this sense the use of naHnnu "we" is intended as inclusive. The following example from the data shows the use of the inclusive "we" to refer to El-Sisi, the government, and the Egyptians.

sawafa naɛtamidu ?al-Haqyi:qata wa ?al-muSa:raHata manhagn litaŦbyi:qi ɛaqdana: ?al-

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ʔigtimaːɛyyi: sanataqaːsam ʔal-ʔiŦilaːɛa ɛalaː Haqyiːqat ʔal-ʔawÐaːɛ wa sanataʃaːrk fyi: ʔal-guhd wa ʔal-ɛaraq

We will depend on frankness and honesty as a method of applying our social contract. We will also share getting knowledge of the truth and we will also share efforts and hard work.

This use of inclusive we is similar to that remarked by Wang (2010) and Ebunoluwa (2011) as recurrent in Obama's speech. It is intended mainly to eliminate the distance between the speaker and his audience.

V. Conclusion

The present study investigates the first inaugural address of President El-Sisi delivered on June 8, 2014 at the ceremony marking his inauguration. The study adopts a rhetorical and linguistic analysis based on Aristotle's three-stage model, Atkinson's (1984) linguistic strategies, and Charteris-Black's (2014) persuasion theory. Results of the study show that the address includes country related topics. The tenses in the address are a) the present that denotes current situation and problems facing the country, b) the future that shows El-Sisi's view of the future with his sincere hope to get over the problems and to achieve better life, and c) the past that is related to past events and/or narratives. The language of the address is formal. Yet, there are instances of informal language throughout the address. The words in the address are simple while the sentences vary in relation to length. The rhetorical analysis of the address shows that it has four parts that are employed effectively with their own functions and techniques. These four parts are the prologue, the narrative, the proof, and the epilogue. Moreover, the use of the artistic proofs in the address as a whole is found to be similar to that identified by Aristotle as the best means that suits the rhetorical purpose. Yet, the analysis indicated the existence of two novel usages that are successfully manipulated. The first one is the use of appeals to pathos in addition to ethos in the prologue while the second one is the use of appeals to pathos and ethos in addition to reason in the proof. Results also show that El-Sisi employs specific means of persuasion in the different parts of the address. These means of persuasion are the same as those identified by Charteris-Black (2014) as essential to judge the speaker as right. They are: a) having the right intentions, b) thinking right, c) sounding right, and d) telling the right story. Finally, the analysis demonstrates a skillful employment of various linguistic strategies. These linguistic strategies are the use of three-element listing, repetition, contrastive pairs, religious citation technique, specific grammatical structures, and the first personal plural pronoun.

a) Suggestions for future research

The present study investigated one of the Arabic Presidential speeches. Similar studies can be conducted on political speeches in other Arabic countries. There may be also comparative studies between two or more political speeches by different Arabic leaders. Studies may also be conducted on El-Sisi's political speeches to get a full picture of the rhetorical and linguistic strategies that characterize his speech. Studies can also be conducted in which Arabic inaugural address is contrasted with English one to find out similarities and differences in this type of political speech.

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