

Discourse Analysis on Prime Minister of Lebanon Sa'ad Al-Hariri's Resignation Speech

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Abstract

This study is established on Sa'ad Al-Hariri's resignation speech as Prime Minister of Lebanon on 04 November 2017. In his speech, there are utterly meaningful utterances and redactions to be studied in terms of semantics and pragmatics. This study aims to analyse how the semantic form and pragmatic speech of acts contained in Sa'ad Al-Hariri's speech. This study uses the approach of Critical Discourse Analysis model of Norman Fairclough, 1995 and Theory of Speech Acts of Searle, 1979. The data contained in this research is sourced from mass media of Al-Jazeera online newspaper, literature readings, articles, and some documents from mass media. The method used in writing this article is qualitative method with descriptive approach. From the results of data analysis, there are several propositions which show that in Sa'ad Al-Hariri's speech, although he resigned, the editorial is quite declarative at the same time. Additionally, in his speech he revealed the reasons for his resignation and also appealed to the Lebanese people to support him. This research is expected to be a reference for other researchers whose interest in the field of discourse analysis and speech acts or from other relevant disciplines.

Keywords: critical discourse analysis, acts of speech, Sa'ad Al-Hariri, Lebanon.

Introduction

The study was motivated by Sa'ad Al-Hariri's resignation speech as Lebanese Prime Minister on Saturday, November 4, 2017 which was broadcasted on Riyadh TV and was unexpected. It received various public opinions, especially from senior Lebanese politicians because it happened just one week after Sa'ad Al-Hariri's return from Saudi Arabia. In a 7 minute 44 seconds speech taken from Al Arabiya Youtube channel, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6hVzV6PD9gc>, it is found that there are 27 propositions. However, of the 27 propositions contained in Sa'ad Al-Hariri's speech seemed to appreciate, honour and glorify Lebanese society. At the same time, he accused the existence of foreign powers causing the split of Lebanese stability. One of the propositions contained in Sa'ad al Hariri's speech is that he asks the Lebanese people to attend and support Lebanese Prime Minister Sa'ad Al-Hariri. Its presence is expected to assess who is fighting for Lebanon and who is destroying it. The statement is shown by one of Sa'ad al-Hariri's interesting propositions in which he asked the Lebanese community to support him but then he resigned and in his speech. He blatantly blames Hizbullah and Iran for interfering in the affairs of the Arab state. It

can certainly lead to a political crisis and heighten tensions between Saudi Arabia and Iran.

The speech delivered by Sa'ad al Hariri broadcasted in Saudi Arabia instantly shocked the political world in Lebanon. In terms of linguistics, the speech is very interesting to examine in its attachment to the relationship of Arabic semantic and pragmatic structures using Critical Analysis Discourse (CDA) model of Norman Fairclough, 1995 and Acts of Speech of Searle, 1979 as the dissection. Thus, the authors formulate the research questions as below:

1. What is the semantic concept in Sa'ad Al-Hariri's resignation speech as Lebanon's Prime Minister looking through Fairclough's Critical Analysis Discourse (CDA)?
2. How acts of speech are reflected in Sa'ad Al-Hariri's resignation speech as Lebanon's Prime Minister?

Literature Review

Critical Analysis Discourse of Norman Fairclough (1995)

The theory used in this stage of analysis uses three dimensions of the Discourse of Critical Discourse (CDA) model of Norman Fairclough. CDA is a new method in research in the field of social and cultural sciences (Haryatmoko, 2017, p. 1). There are five important characteristics in critical discourse analysis that are action, context, historic, power, and ideology (Eriyanto, 2001, p. 285-286).

As Fairclough has described, discourse is understood as an action which is then associated as a form of interaction. To be able to interact and connect with others, one must speak, write, and use language. There are two consequences of how a discourse should be viewed, that discourse is seen as something that has a purpose, and discourse is something that is consciously and controlled expression. The second characteristic is the context. Discourse analysis describes text and context simultaneously in a communication process. This shows the discourse of being in a particular social situation. The context used in critical discourse is only influential and relevant to the production of discourse, such as gender, age, education, social class, ethnicity, religion, and certain social settings such as place, time, position of speaker and listener or physical environment (Badara, 2012, p. 29 – 30).

The first characteristic according Fairclough is the historical aspect. One way to understand a text is to place it in a particular historical context in which it is created. Another characteristic that becomes an aspect of consideration in critical discourse analysis is power. Any discourse that arises in the form of text, conversation, or anything is not regarded as natural, normal, and neutral but a form of power struggle. This implies that critical discourse analysis does not confine itself to textual details or discourse structures, but also connects to certain social, political, economic, and cultural forces and conditions. Power in relation to discourse, it is important to look at what is called a control. The form of control in the discourse is contained in various forms, can be a control over the context and control over the structure of the discourse (Badara, 2012, p. 31-32).

The fifth characteristic is ideology. Ideology is a central concept within the critical discourse analysis. This is because text, conversation, and others are forms of ideological practice and reflection of a particular ideology. Classical ideology theory says that ideology is built by dominant groups with a view to reproducing and legitimizing their dominance. Discourse is one of the media to persuade and communicate to the audience the production of power and their dominance so that they seem legitimate and true (Badara, 2012, p. 33).

Fairclough focuses the discourse on language. According to him, a text is traditionally understood to be a piece of written language - a whole 'work' such as a poem or a

relatively discrete part of a work such as a chapter. A rather broader conception has become common in discourse analysis, where a text may be spoken or spoken discourse constitute a text (Fairclough, 1995, p. 4). His opinion suggests that text is part of the language.

According to Van Dijk in (Haryatmoko, 2017, p. 22), Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) analyses how a discourse produces social dominance, encourages the abuse of a group's power over other groups and how a group is dominated through the discourse against abuse of power. Therefore, this analysis requires an approach from other fields of multidisciplinary science because of the diversity of aspects of the object of observation. Fairclough divides discourse analysis into three dimensions, namely text (microstructure), discourse practice (mesostructure), and social practice (macrostructure).

The first dimension, the text, is all that refers to speech, writing, graphics, and its combinations or all that is related to linguistics, for example by looking at vocabulary, semantics, syntax, metaphorical structures, rhetoric and sentence, as well as coherence and cohesiveness, how the inter unit constitutes an understanding. According to Fairclough, the second dimension of discourse practice is a dimension related to the process of production and consumption of text; for example, work patterns, work charts, and routines when generating news. The third is social practice. This dimension relates to the context outside the text; such as the context of the situation or the context of the media in relation to a particular society or political culture (Badara, 2012, p. 26). Social practices describe the social activity part in practical terms, such as politicians, where special social codes are used. A discourse is always intertwined with its various levels, whether in a direct situation, within a broader institution or organization, and at the community level.

Searle's Acts of Speech (1997)

In practice, Searle divides acts of speech into three kinds, namely locutionary act, illocutionary act, and perlocutionary act. Locutionary acts is an act of speech with words, phrases, and sentences. This sentence is called 'the act of saying something'. There are two components in the locution, namely the verbal act and the prepositional act. The second action is illocution acts with a particular purpose and function or can be said as 'the act of doing something'. While the third acts are perlocution in which acts give effect to the speaking partner. This act is called 'the act of affecting someone' (Rahardi, 2005, p. 35 - 36). The theory of speech acts is one part of the scientific discipline of semantic-pragmatic theory. Semantics is a science that serves to interpret the intent or message to be conveyed by the speakers either orally or in writing that cannot be separated from the meaning element. In semantics, meaning is classified into several kinds, one of which is the lexical meaning which includes synonymy, antonymy, metonymy, and collocation. While pragmatics is the study of meaning in relation to speech situations which includes elements such as speakers and speech partners, context, purpose, speech, time, and place (Leech, 2015, p. 8).

Searle (1979: 12-18) divides the act of speech of illocution into five forms of speech which each has a communicative function, among them are assertive, directive, expressive, commissive, and declarative. Assertiveness is a form of speech that binds its speakers to the truth of the proposition expressed, for example stating, suggesting, boasting, complaining, and claiming. While directive act of speech is a form of speech which is meant to make any influence to partners to make an action, such as ordering, commanding, pleading, demanding, inviting, advising, and recommending. The third is expressive, the form of speech that serves to express or show the psychological attitude of speakers to the situation, such as thanking, congratulating, apologizing, blaming, praising, and giving condolences. Lastly, a form of speech that serves to declare a promise or offer, such as pledge, swear, and offer something is commonly

called commissive speech acts. Commissive speech act by Yule (1996, p. 94) is defined as an illocutionary act of speech understood by the speaker to bind himself to future actions. The declaration is a form of speech that connects the content of speech to reality, for example surrender, firing, baptizing, naming, appointing, excommunicating, and punishing (Rahardi, 2005, p. 36).

Research Method

The methodology employed in this article is a qualitative method with descriptive approach. The database is library research. Research is done by following the rules of qualitative study which is a method that aims to describe systematically, factually and accurately about the data, properties and the relationship of phenomena in study with a limited time period and in a certain unit of time (Sugiono, 2011, p. 34). The source of data used in this study is an oral source downloaded by the author from Al Arabiya Youtube page, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6hVzV6PD9gc>, and written data source in the form of speech transcript Sa'ad Al-Hariri obtained from online media Al Jazeera Encyclopaedia. Nevertheless, the text of the transcript of Sa'ad Al-Hariri's resignation speech as Prime Minister of Lebanon is widely uploaded in several other online media but has different goals and concepts in its news headings. Because of the situation of political conflict that occurred in the Middle East, the author decided to take the source of transcript of Sa'ad al Hariri's resignation speech as Lebanese Prime Minister from Al Jazeera Encyclopaedia online. The source of data is used by the author to help the process in listening.

After all data collected, we found 27 propositions containing semantic and pragmatic meanings based on Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA model of Norman Fairclough, 1995, and Searle, 1979). In the third stage, identifying propositions related to research contains only elements of the Critical Discourse Analysis of Norman Fairclough, 1995. Then classified into CDA analysis data, the authors divide into text, discourse practice, and social practice and speech acts analysis grouped into five types of illocutionary acts: assertiveness, directive, expressive, commissive, and declarative. The next step is to analyse from the data that has been classified. From the analysis, it is concluded that the speech there is a proposition in addition to speech which states the reason for his resignation as Prime Minister of Lebanon, at the same time there is a sufficient declarative redaction conveyed by the speaker that is Sa'ad Al-Hariri to the speaking partner that is the people of Lebanon.

Results and Discussion

Critical Analysis Discourse in Resignation Speech of Sa'ad Al-Hariri

As published in several online mass media, one reason that led to Sa'ad Al-Hariri's resignation speech delivered on Riyadh TV was that he felt his life was threatened. He also explained various political situations including foreign intervention interfering in domestic affairs. Based on the results of the text analysis of Sa'ad Al-Hariri's resignation speech as Lebanese Prime Minister published in Al Jazeera online in the document and event column, which was updated on November 5, 2017, at 12:59 pm on the website address <http://www.aljazeera.net/encyclopedia/events/2017/11/5/النص-الكامل-لخطاب-استقالة-سعدالحريري>, the author has found 27 propositions containing semantic-pragmatic elements. These propositions are classified into three dimensions of Fairclough's CDA, i.e. text analysis, discourse practice analysis, and social practice analysis. However, of the 27 propositions are mostly similar, so the author will only analyse 3 propositions.

Identification of Microstructure Dimension (Text)

Proposition 1

أفرزتها التدخلات الخارجية في شؤونها الداخلية

/afrazatihaa al-tadkhulaat al-khaarijyah fii syu'uunihaa al-daakhiliyah/

"Despite of foreign intervention of domestic affairs."

Examining the pattern of the sentence, proposition 1 is verbal sentence (*jumlah fi'liyah*). A verbal sentence is a sentence which begins with a verb (*fi'il*). In Arabic, *fi'il* is divided into *fi'il madhi and mudhari* '. In Proposition 1, the verb (*fi'il*) is at the beginning of a sentence, i.e. /afraza/ أفرز which means release. The arrangement in *jumlah fi'liyah* consists of *fi'il, fa'il, and maf'ul biih*. *Fa'il* serves as the actor and *maf'ul biih* as objects. In Proposition 1, the use of the conjunction word /fii/ في which is one of the harf jar is found. The utterance of proposition 1 belongs to a transitive sentence, i.e. a sentence that requires an object. The object of proposition 1 is /al-khaarijyah/ الخارجية "foreign party".

Proposition 2

فإني أعلن استقالتي من رئاسة الحكومة اللبنانية

/fa'innii u'lun istiqaalatii min ri'aasatu al-hukuumah al-Lubnaaniyah/

"I declare my resignation from the government of Lebanon."

The pattern of the sentence used in proposition 2 begins with the word of noun (*isim*), then the sentence is included in the nominal sentence (*jumlah ismiyah*). A nominal sentence is a sentence that begins with a noun (*isim*). In Proposition 2, the *isim* is /fa'inni/ فإني "I". The structure contained in a nominal sentence consists of *mubtada* and *khobar*. The use of the word conjunction /min/ من "of" is also found in proposition 2 which shows its function as a connector. The utterance of proposition 2 belongs to a transitive sentence because it requires an object to show its meaning in the word /istiqaalatii/ استقالتي "my resignation".

Proposition 3

لا سلطان عليه إلا لشعبه العظيم

/laa sulthaana 'alaihi ilaa lisyabihi al-'adziim/

"There is no authority unless great people within."

In proposition 3, the utterance is included in the category of nominal sentence (*jumlah ismiyah*). It is marked by the meaningful use of word /laa/ لا. In the sentence, the use of the word conjunction /ilaa/ إلا which contains the meaning of exception. From these meanings, it can be seen a relationship of cause and effect. The sentence in proposition 3 also belongs to the intransitive sentence because it does not require an object.

Identification of Mesostructure Dimension (Discourse Practice)

Based on the dimensions of the discourse on the three propositions, what Sa'ad Al-Hariri uttered is full of questions. In any sense, every sentence he spoke is not pure in such a way, but he attempted to send codes the Lebanese with praise and flattery filled with critical judgment as it is exemplified below:

أفرزتها التدخلات الخارجية في شؤونها الداخلية

/afrazatihaa al-tadkhulaat al-khaarijyah fii syu'uuniihaa al-daakhiliyah/

"Despite of foreign intervention of domestic affairs."

At the beginning of his speech, he had asserted there is no linkage or intervention from any party. Whereas there was clearly the involvement of others who made the reason for his resignation as Prime Minister of Lebanon. This explains that what Sa'ad Al-Hariri said at the beginning was as an attempt to calm the country that intervened. Another sign is indicated by every simple word of praise to the Lebanese people.

Looking at the expression and utterance in stating his resignation as the Prime Minister of Lebanon is shown in Proposition 2.

فاني أعلن استقالتي من رئاسة الحكومة اللبنانية
/fa'innii u'lun istiqaalatii min ri'aasatu al-hukuumah al-Lubnaaniyah/
 "I declare my resignation from the government of Lebanon."

There is an implication of disaffection on what he decided and said. As usual, in Sa'ad Al-Hariri's resignation speech, there are small connotation phrases tucked in to open the assessment and understanding of the Lebanese people indirectly, he shouted the word "please" deep in his heart. It is like a puzzle which is stated in Proposition 3 below:

لا سلطان عليه إلا لشعبه العظيم
/laa sulthaana 'alaihi ilaa lisyabihi al-'adziim/
 "There is no authority unless great people within."

From the utterance, there are two possibilities: firstly, the great men are shown to express the authority of the rulers so that he was asked to resign. While the second possibility, the word */al-'adziim/* العظيم which has 'great' in meaning was intended for the people of Lebanon. Because any relation to Lebanon in his speech, Sa'ad Al-Hariri always put the word */al-'adziim/* العظيم. In a sense, Sa'ad al-Hariri tried to make the great Lebanese people, clever and observant in understanding what Sa'ad Al-Hariri meant at the time.

Identification of Macrostructure Dimension (Social Practice)

The dimension of the social aspect is one of the dimensions that analyse discourse based on social contexts outside which can influence a discourse to develop. In the practice of analysing this macro-structural dimension, there are three things to look at: economic, political, and cultural aspects. For stage level in this social practice analysis, including the situational level in which there is production and context of the situation at that time. The second level is the institutional level that includes the influence of institutions both internally and externally. Third, the social level itself that covers all aspects of macro, such as economic system, political system, and cultural system in society.

Apart from the written source of Sa'ad Al-Hariri's resignation speech contained in Al-Jazeera Encyclopaedia uploaded in November 5, 2017, there are other sources of news both at home and abroad that describe the current situation in the Middle East at that time. Especially in the political field, Arab countries are in a political situation that is quite gripping. The intervention of massive ruling states was undertaken to suppress a powerless state, which had no authority. Until the emergence of detention on Sa'ad Al-Hariri in Saudi Arabia was popping up in various media crew that came to be known by French President Emmanuel Macron. He then on a visit to Riyadh requested for the release of Sa'ad Al-Hariri to Riyadh's highest officials.

If earlier, Sa'ad al-Hariri's economic situation is quite slumped after his father's, Rafik Hariri, death, so he applied for loans to various countries. However, it seemed hopeless that Sa'ad Al-Hariri applied for a loan to the country of Qatar and he managed to get a soft loan for life. The action apparently led to the boycotting of the country of Qatar, including Al-Jazeera's website by Saudi Arabia and the UAE. Then Saudi Arabia asked Sa'ad Al-Hariri to pay his debts and offered to help pay his debts to Qatar. Middle East countries are countries which have a quite high political crisis and their culture is in power. Just as it is in the proposition 3 utterance phrase delivered in Sa'ad Al-Hariri's speech as the following:

لا سلطان عليه إلا لشعبه العظيم
/laa sulthaana 'alaihi ilaa lisyabihi al-'adziim/
 "There is no authority unless great people within."

Acts of Speech Analysis on Sa'ad Al-Hariri's Speech

Based on the results of the text analysis of Lebanese Prime Minister Sa'ad Al-Hariri's resignation speech, 27 propositions are found. Based on these data, the authors only take 5 propositions that fall into the classification list of Searle's speech acts theory, 1979. The classification is divided into five types, namely assertive, directive, commissive, expressive, and declarative acts.

Assertive Act

فإني أعلن استقالتي من رئاسة الحكومة اللبنانية

/fa'innii u'lun istiqaalatii min ri'aasatu al-hukuumah al-Lubnaaniyah/

"I declare my resignation from the government of Lebanon."

Based on the analysis of Searle's speech acts theory, 1979 in the text of Sa'ad Al-Hariri's resignation speech, the authors consider the above proposition as an assertive illocutionary form of implication to give a statement. His resignation statement was spoken clearly. This argument can be proved by the use of the word / u'lun / أعلن which means to declare.

Directive Act

تحملونه من مثل وقيم وتاريخ مشرق

/tahmaluunahu min mutsul wa qiyyam wa taarikh musyraq/

"Take with it examples, values and brilliant history."

The proposition above is directive illocutionary act. It is marked with the word /tahmaluunahu/ تحملونه which means 'take' as an imperative verb. From the sentence, it is expected of the speaking partner to act as what it is command by the speaker who is here Sa'ad Al-Hariri.

Commissive Act

لقد عاهدتكم عندما قبلت بتحمل المسؤولية أن أسعى لوحدة اللبنانيين وإنهاء الانقسام السياسي واستعادة سيادته

/laqad 'aahadtakum 'indamaa qabiltu bitahammil al-mas'uuliyah 'an 'as'aa liwahdah al-Lubnaaniyyin wa inhaa' al-inqisaamu al-siyaasii wa isti'aadatu siyaadatiha/

"I have promised you when I received the responsibility to seek for unity of Lebanese people and end political division and restore (Lebanon's) sovereignty."

The above proposition can be categorized into commissive illocutionary action. In the utterance delivered by the above speaker, there is an implication of agreement of meaning. As in Searle's theory, 1979, commissive illocution is a speech act that will have an impact in the future. It is shown by the speaker with the word /laqad 'aahadtakum/ لقد عاهدتكم which means I have promised you. In the hope of unity among the Lebanese and an end to political division and restore Lebanon's sovereignty when he was given that responsibility.

Expressive Act

أبناء الشعب اللبناني العظيم

/abna' al-sya'bi al-Lubnaanii al-'adziim/

"The great Lebanese people."

There is an indication of an expressive illocution act. It is shown from the utterance of the speaker who illustrate the Lebanese with a praise of the word /al-'adziim/ العظيم 'great'. Looking at the context critical situation faced by Lebanon, yet they remain strong as a reflection of the optimistic speaker. Hariri believed that great people can judge who is right and who is wrong.

Declarative Act

مع يقيني بأن إرادة اللبنانيين أقوى

/ma'a yaqiinii bi'anna iraadati al-Lubnaaniyiina aqwaaw/

"With my certainty, the desire of Lebanese people is stronger."

Based on the text analysis, the authors believe that the proposition is categorised as declarative illocutionary act implying the image of Lebanon in making any decision, either good or bad. It is shown from the utterance from the speaker in the proposition above.

Conclusion

From the analysis of this study, it can be concluded that in his resignation speech, Sa'ad Al-Hariri often reminded Lebanese society to avoid any regional conflicts that occurred. The statement indirectly refers to Iran's allied armed militia, Hezbollah, which is involved in a number of regional conflicts such as in Yemen and Syria that have infuriated Saudi Arabia. In his speech, Sa'ad Al-Hariri's simple and recurrent phrases are often made contradictory to his reasons for resigning as Lebanese Prime Minister. This led to the opinion of Lebanese politicians who suspected interference and even insistence from Saudi Arabia. This opinion is supported by the results of the discourse analysis of the three propositions which show that at the same time, in addition to revealing the insufficient reasons for his resignation, he also called for a full support from the Lebanese people to analyse the current political situation. That is, there are illocutions used in Sa'ad Al-Hariri's resignation speech as Prime Minister of Lebanon.

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