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«Sciences du Langage»**

**Critical Discourse Analysis of the Islamic State in Iraq and Sham's  
speeches: Fairclough's model.**

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## **DEDICATION**

I dedicate this modest work to my parents, to my big family, and to the soul of my Grandfather. Also I dedicate it to my dear friends Touha, Amel, Houda, Djamila and Bariza.

## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS**

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## **Abstract**

This study works on the analysis of videos' discourse, concerning Islamic State in Iraq and Sham discourses "ISIS", particularly, "the first appearance of El-Baghdadi, the leader of ISIS, in Mosul's mosque to media and execution's video of the Egyptian Copts. In fact, research takes a stab at explaining the way ISIS used language in transmitting political views to people for the sake of affecting their opinions. This study aims to discover the discursive strategies used in media discourse in order to shape the social and political reality, and how does this organization transmit its ideologies and beliefs through language? This research is based on the analysis of the two videos from the Web, relying on Fairclough's model of analysis, which helps us to analyze these videos from the Critical Discourse Analysis perspective. Through the use of a critical approach in this work, we could notice that the relationship between media discourse and power is complex to some extent. This implies that ISIS uses particular discursive strategies concerning political views in order to fit particular purposes.

**Keywords:** media discourse, Islamic State in Iraq and Sham's discourse, Critical Discourse Analysis, Fairclough's model of analysis.

## **List of Abbreviations**

DA: Discourse Analysis.

CDA: Critical Discourse Analysis.

ISIS: Islamic State in Iraq and Sham.

CL: Critical Linguistics.

MR: Member's Resource.

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## General Introduction

Nowadays, social media is a famous route for people to get worldwide information. Therefore, language is regarded as the main tool for delivering such information. This latter plays a crucial role in shaping the consciousness of individuals and manipulating public opinions. Since media as a field consists of many genres ( audio-visual, written press); we limit this discussion by shedding light on the audio-visual media, more particularly, media discourse is regarded as a research field that several discourse studies have been focused on, such as Fowler, R. 1991. Livingstone, 1990. Van Dijk, 1988. In fact, these studies have been conducted for the sake of exploring the reasons behind the use of particular linguistic choices.

This study relates to Sociolinguistics field, more particularly, Critical Discourse Analyses (CDA), with the examination of the linguistic structure of the spoken texts (discourse) in their context (social, cultural, politics...). Therefore, this work concerns the analyses of the Islamic State in Iraq and sham's (ISIS) discourses and unveiled the hidden ideologies behind the language used by the Islamic State in Iraq and Sham's leaders in their speeches. Thus, this work carries out in an attempt to analyze two different videos that are selected from the Web from the perspective of CDA relying on Fairclough's three-dimensional frameworks (1989) of analyses.

This research seeks to answer the following questions: How do ISIS's leaders use language to transmit their ideologies? And what are the linguistic choices used to convince people and attract their attention? These two questions are actually followed by two hypotheses; it may be that ISIS's leaders want to hide their beliefs behind the political discourses and widely disseminated it indirectly, and tried to legitimate their use of violence.

This work is aiming to investigate the ideological reasons behind ISIS's discourses. Therefore we aim to explore how these videos determine the aggressive reality and explore the hidden ideologies through the use of particular linguistic choices.

Therefore, this work partitions into three chapters; the first chapter refers to the literature review of our study. The second chapter provides the methodology that has guided the process of this study. While the third chapter concerns with the video's analyses including the interpretation

## General Introduction

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and the explanation of the findings, as well as, a brief account of the obstacles that we have come to face in the process of conducting this research.

# **Chapter One: Theoretical Framework**

## 1.1 Introduction

In spite of the fact that Critical Discourse Analyses of political discourse is one of the issues that had pulled in the consideration of numerous researchers such as Juling Wang (2010), and Urszula Okulska and Piote Cap (2010). This chapter will be committed to theoretical framework about CDA and ISIS, the theoretical information will be contextualized with respect to the predominance of the issue; the chapter deals with the main concepts concerning the topic of this work. We then introduce the notion of CDA by giving a brief definition; in addition to that, some basic concepts relate to the field concerning the relationship between discourses, ideology and power are included too. Moreover, we take a particular interest in relationship between media (as discourse) and ideology, we deal with the concept of legitimating and its relation to discourse and society, and then we speak about an overview of ISIS.

## 1.2. Definition of CDA

The beginning of the study of discourse and its relation to social events did not take place in isolation, but it came as a result of several reasons. In 1970s, scholar started considering about the extent of the language related to social events. Thus, traditional linguistics came to be interactional linguistics, then, critical linguistics. This latter was confirmed by Michael Halliday (1975, 1978) theory of Systematic Functional Linguistics that considers language as a meaning-making process. Discourse analysis focuses on the wide and common use of language within and between particular groups of people. In the other sorts of textual analysis, researchers may see texts in isolation, examine the art of persuasion evident in the texts, discuss their aspects, but only discourse analysis looks at them and takes into consideration their social and cultural context.

The development in theories about the study of language in social context rises of a new type of discourse analytical research “Critical Discourse Analyses” that treats language as a sort of social hone among numerous used for “Representation and Signification” (Van Dijk, 1983). In spite of the fact that Critical Discourse Analyses “CDA” is based on Critical Linguistics “CL” (Rogers, 2004). In broad sense, CDA is an academic discipline that is based on two significant terms, “Critical” and “Discourse”; this implies that language is used to be critically analyses within its context in order to unveil the hidden ideologies that are embedded in it. This means that CDA attempts to explore how and why a particular sentence or even word is used in a particular

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context and not another. CDA's goal is to study the relationship between discursive practices and society by using organized method. In other word, CDA goes beyond the opaque aspects of discourse by making them more visible and comprehensive. Therefore, studying CDA means to know how language can affect power distribution in Society, in addition to how language (discourse) is ideologically formed to make social change.

### 1.2.1. Discourse as Social Practice

In recent years, discourse issues have become the focus of many scholars' attention .In fact, the concept of "discourse" within "CDA" approach seems to be different than study it with another discipline .This is what led scholar's think about the importance of discourse as the basic element in CDA which helps scholar's to deal with social problems. Fairclough (1995) considers the concept of discourse as "social practice", thus, discourse analysis uses to investigate some social problems. This implies that, discourse is not regarded only as a communicative tool but, in fact, it becomes a social practice that contains some ideological dimensions. By "social practice", Fairclough indicated two significant terms, "Society" and "practice" which means discourse itself .Therefore, it is quite important to know how discourse would be a practice. E. Laclau and C. Mouffe (1985) introduce the term "articulation " to illustrate the relationship between "Discourse" and "practice" in the following words :

*We will call articulation any practice establishing a relation among such that their identity is modified as a result of the articulatory practice. The structured total resulting from the articulatory practice we call discourse. The differential positions, insofar as they appear articulated within a discourse, we will call moments .By contrast, we will call elements any difference that is not discursively articulated. (1985:105)*

According to the quotation mentioned above, the term "Articulation" is so important in such context, since it may regard as a kind of linkage between "Discourse" and "Practice". To put it briefly, articulation is practice itself. That is to say that, the articulatory practice might be

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regarded as the signifier that portrays by the discourse structure. Thus, discourse that is viewed as “practice” of “Discourse Practice” and “socio-cultured practice” might be described as “articulatory practice”, to illustrate this idea, the following schema provides to give more explanation:

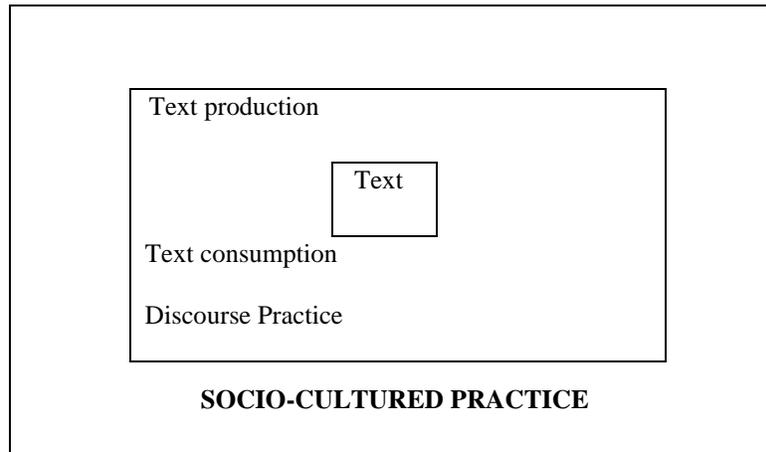


Figure01: Framework for critical discourse analysis of a communicative event.

“Communicative events” is the framework that Fairclough (1995) has proposed recognized how the three dimensions (text, discourse practice, social-cultural practice) are related to each other (more details will be on the next chapter).

### 1.2.2. Power in Discourse

According to Foucault (1972); Miller (1982); Wrong (1997), power and discourse are quite related, that is to say, discourse in one way or another has a crucial role in distributing power, .i.e. power can be enhance and elevate to the top as it can be also destroy and expose through and by language (discourse). Foucault (1978) asserted “*discourse can transmit, produce, and reinforce power, but at same time discourse can undermine and expose power, rendering it unstable and possible to thwart*” (as cited in Pitsoe & Ocketsi, 2013, P.24). Similarly, Bourdieu (1991) noticed that language is a center of the struggle of and the authority. Then, every use of language produces of changing society, it relates to power.

Although, Critical Discourse Analyses views language as a powerful means to get a certain goals. Foucault’s (1980) understanding of power goes to the extent power should be related to

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knowledge. These two terms “knowledge and power” are ones who significantly contribute in changing the world’s view. Therefore, discourse produces knowledge and this latter is power; that so to say that power is not only negative and absolute, but in fact it is a struggle, and this is what exactly happening in politics.

### 1.3. Discourse, Media and Ideology

After dealing with relationship between discourse and power, it is now pertinent to tackle how ideology is linked to discursive practices. In fact, the study of the relationship between discourse analyses and ideology receives a great interest from many former researchers, since ideologies produce, express, perpetuate through discourse. Hence, scholars within CDA’s field view that any use of language –linguistic structure- either conscious or unconscious significantly relates to ideology.

Van Dijk was one of the most figures who tackle such issue with a new theoretical framework which is differently than the traditional one. He (1998) provided a definition of ideology “*it is the basic of the social representation of a group, its function in term of social relation between groups, and its reproduction as enacted by discourse*”

Van Dijk viewed that ideologies are some kind of ideas, i.e. “beliefs system” –as it has been defined- but this definition implies that ideologies, in turn, does not include the ideologies practices or societal (e.g. churches or political parties); in other words defining ideologies as “belief system” implies that everything people think or believe may be called ideology.

Thus, the theory of ideology needs a cognitive component to make a distinction between the notion of “belief and belief system” and the concept of ideologies. This latter view by Van Dijk (1998) as “world views” that constitute “social cognition”: “*schematically organized complexes of representations and attitudes with regard to certain aspects of social world, e.g. the schema (...) whites have about blacks*” (Van Dijk, 1993 b: 258).

Van Dijk’s definition shows that ideology, in one way or another is the basic belief that underlies the shared social representation of specific type of social groups. Thus, these representations are in turn, the platform that the discourse is based on. This implies that,

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ideologies perpetuated by group members who want to explain, motivate or legitimize their actions through or by ideological discourses.

It is obvious from that is said above that ideologies and discourse are mutually interrelated. Therefore, it is very important to highlight the extent that social media is ideologically linked to society, since media in turn, is regarded as one kind of discourse (either talk or text). In other words, many scholars in recent studies such as Fairclough, 1995; Van Leeuwen and Wodak, 1999 highlight the importance of media in incorporation certain idea and belief in society, in addition to how new practice introduce and accept with the help of media.

Since, our study concerns with the analysis of video's discourse; thus, it is pertinent to shed light on the role of oral media in the way they use language ideologically to transform the information to people. In this study, we are interesting in exploring the hidden ideologies in the discourses of The Islamic State in Iraq and Sham.

Social media is so important in daily life. Whatever the news concerning politics, economy, and so on publish and receive by people in the way social media portray and draw them. Therefore, this fact made many researchers turned their attention to the different linguistic and stylistic techniques that are used by people to obscure facts.

Media is an effective tool that plays a crucial role in changing and manipulating people's view to this world. This implies that the language used is not neutral rather than it is influenced by mediators. Roger Fowler (1991) in this context claimed that any kind of news is written or said about the world articulates from a particular ideological position: "Language is not a clear window but a refracting, structuring medium." (P10), this implies that the media discourse is not randomly used, but it has to do with some ideologies which shape the world.

### **1.4. Legitimation**

Many social scientists highlight the concept of "legitimation or legitimation", such as Van Leeuwen, 2007; N, Fairclough, 2010; Van Dijk, 2001 because of its significant impact on the individual and society as a whole; this implies that, social sciences deal with legitimation as a process in which some ideologies, act, and so on, being authorized, accepted and it may affect the principles and even values of particular society.

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After discussing the extent of the ideology role in changing, manipulating society, establishing and distributing power relationships through and by the help of discourse; it is now pertinent to tackle the relationship between discourse and legitimacy as an issue in which language and discourse play an important role in making things seem acceptable and legitimate.

Since the concept of legitimization is too complex and debated, Araujo and Martuccelli (2012) provided a definition for the notion of legitimacy in these words:

*Legitimacy is an outcome of the interplay between normative ideals and society. As long as experiences are –due to structural reasons- differentially distributed in society, the belief in legitimacy is not a matter of isolated individuals, no methodological individuals that share a common position when facing structural constraints and systemic logic. (p70).*

Depending on the definition mentioned above, legitimacy is not a reason that constructs social life, belief, customs, etc; rather it is the result of the basic principles and its application in society –social practice-.

On the other hand, Max Weber (1946) claimed that legitimation is linked to authority; this implies that legitimacy, in turn, means the obedience and the acceptance of a system of rules. He also claimed that “*every system of authority attempts to establish and cultivate the belief in its legitimacy*”; what he means here by the term “authority”, usually, political systems. In fact, Weber’s perception toward legitimacy has been criticized because of his blending and non-recognition between belief and legitimacy. In this vein Beethan (1991) asserted that “*a given power relationship is not legitimate because people believe in its legitimacy, but because it can be justified in terms of their beliefs*”. To put it in simple words, Beethan’s definition implies that nothing is legitimate without being justified by the shared beliefs. Moreover, legitimacy and beliefs should be corresponded to each other, because any legitimacy does not take its basis from the shared beliefs, it will turn legitimacy deficit.

### 1.5 Islamic State in Iraq and Sham's Definition

On the other section of the study, the emergence of Islamic State in Iraq and Sham returned to 2004, when the American Army colonized Iraq. Ahmed Fadil el-Kalailah or Abu Mosab el-Zarqawi joined to Al-Qaida Organization, when he carried out a several suicide attacks in Baghdad. Although, he broke away from Al-Qaida because of the sedition that ignited between Sunnis and Shiites in Iraq; he set himself up as a Caliph of Muslims. In 7/6/2006, the American Army bombed his headquarters. George Bush, the American President, issued an order to eliminate El-Zarqawi's followers in Iraq; between 2007 and 2008 the US forces, led by David Patreos, raided El-Zarqawi's followers, but some of them fled. In 2009, the new president of US, Barak Obama, decided to withdrawal his army from Iraq before the end of 2011, so the followers of El-Zarqawi returned, and started to rebuild the Islamic State; they set a new leader "Ibrahim Awad el-Badri" or "Abu Baker el-Baghdadi".

El-Baghdadi was looking for a chaotic state to rebuild his state by keeping El-Zarqawi's strategies. Syria was the chosen; after the outbreak of the civil disobedience in the country, El-Baghdadi carried out many bombings in Damascus. Zarqawi's followers could not only remain, but they spread by colonizing many cities in Syria, and develop their army and weapons. The civil war in Syria paved the way to him and gave him the control of the platform; he has an army consists of thousands and thousands of fighters coming from everywhere, 5000 fighter from Western Europe, 6000 from Tunisia, and nearly 5000 from the former Soviet Union. El-Baghdadi eventually achieved what El-Zarqawi promised, a state, he called it "The Islamic State in Iraq and Sham" or "ISIS", and he made al-Raqqa its capital; he declared a final separation from Al-Qaida; he planned to increase his fortunes by extending his dominance into Iraq. Nouri El-Maliky, the president of Iraq, was from the Shiites, he has violated the Sunnis' rights. In early 2014, al-Baghdadi's forces began their campaign against Iraq, taking over Fallujah, Ramadi, and finally Iraq's second largest city "Mosul". On July, 2014, el-Baghdadi ascended to the pulpit of the Grand Mosque in Mosul to deliver his speech, and officially appointed himself as Caliph of all the Muslims, and he established a global Caliphate; he controlled a vast region which included 8 million citizens, and big sources of funding.

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The organization of the Islamic State is one of the most advanced jihadist movements on the structural level of organization and administrative effectiveness; it is a system based on a sovereign state and consists of 08 institutions:

1. Caliph: the caliph, who must have features such as science of Sharia, Korichi, and the safety of senses, has the right to be obeyed after being chosen by the Shura Council and the people of Solution and Contract; also he has a wide power in the appointment and removal of the heads of councils often taking the opinion of the Shura Council. In addition, he controls all the strategic issues, as well as the authority to appoint the leaders/princes of the states Iraq and Syria. Abu Bakker el-Baghdadi is the third Caliph after el-Zarqawi and Abu Omar el-Baghdadi.
2. Shura Council: it is chaired by Abu Arkan el-Amiri, its role is to make meetings to discuss emerging issues, it makes important decisions and formulates public policies, often, it consists of 09 to 11 members chosen by al-Baghdadi with the approval of princes and governors, it has also a role in providing opinion and advice to al-Baghdadi in matters that did not contain a clear text in Koran and Sunnah; also it monitors the commitment of the rest of Councils by Sharia rules; in addition, it nominates a Caliph if the present Caliph dies or he becomes unable to guide the state.
3. Shariah Commission: one of the most important joints of the Islamic State. Abu Mohammed el-Ali is its president; it publishes books, letters, speeches of el-Baghdadi, commentary on the films, songs, and information materials of the organization.
4. Media Body: ISIS is one of the most jihadist organizations which is interested in internet in order to publish its jihadist salafist ideology; electronic jihad has become one of the main organization pillars, Al-Furqan is the oldest and most important media organization. In addition, it has a number of magazines in Arabic and English language such as Dabek and el-Shamkha, it has also produced local radio stations like el-Bayen in Mosul. After its control of Mosul, it published a series of stimulating tapes which are concerned with head-cutting operations; the first tape published was entitled "Letter to US", it shows a fighter cutting the head of US hostage named "James Foley", also el-Baghdadi's speech on July 5, 2014.

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5. Bait al-Mal: ISIS is the preacher of the richest on the history of Jihadist movement, supervised by el-Baghdadi on the management of Bait al-Mal; Mouafak Moustafa Karmush assumed the main responsibility.
6. The Military Council: it consists of the leader of segments; each segment consists of three (3) battalions which consists a member of Saraya, and each one contains 50 to 60 fighters. The council is divided into: staff, intrusion forces, martyrs, logistical support force, scipers. The Military Council undertakes all strategies functions and missions, battle management, equipping of invaders, management of armament, and military booty.
7. Security Council: the security and intelligence function, headed by Abu Ali al-Anbari, the security affairs, council of the organization, and everything related to the Caliph Searing the establishment of al-Baghdadi, and the follow up decision taken by el-Baghdadi and the seriousness of the governors in the implementation.
8. Administrative division: The organization divides its regions into administrative units called "Wilayat". The states are responsible for a group of princes; there are 16 states.

### **1.5. Conclusion**

This chapter had provided a theoretical framework for this study, it has giving account of the most basic concepts, which give a preliminary view that will serve the purpose of this study. Undoubtedly, nowadays people receive too much information, on a daily basis, concerning everything that occurs around them; sometime not all the information transmits to them by media accurate or even correct. ISIS, for instance, uses language differently to manipulate views to achieve different aims.

# **Chapter Two: Methodology of the Study**

### 2.1. Introduction

This current chapter provides the research methodology used in this study. Since our concerns is to analyze a video in arrange to reveal what is covered up and to go beyond the literal meaning. We follow Fairclough three dimensions model of analysis which it presented in his book “*Language and Power*” 1989. Then, we will contextualize the issue of this study by going through a few subtle elements related to the issue itself.

### 2.2. Data for the Study

#### 2.2.1. Presentation of the Videos

The corpus of the study has been selected from the web; we chose two different videos of (ISIS).

- A. The first video is the first appearance of al-Baghdadi, the leader of ISIS, in Iraqi city ‘Mosul’ in the 6 June 2014 in Arabic.
- B. The second video is a video of the execution of 21 Egyptian Copts in Libya in 15 February 2015 in English.

In fact, these videos have one point in commune which is the use of power through language, how ISIS transmits its ideologies by using language? In other words, ISIS used the language in a manipulative manner and as a tool to pass on its views.

### 2.3. Contextualizing the study

The analysis of political discourses is not a new field, researchers tried to deal with this concept. ISIS, as an example, uses language to transmit their views; in another words, how do ISIS hide their ideologies through its use of particular linguistic choices?

Therefore, it is a great interest to try to know the real reasons behind these discourses by investigating the missing points that not have been pit in open; mentioned yet, in another words, the hidden ideologies behind these speeches.

### 2.4. Methodology and Data Analysis

#### 2.4.1. Fairclough Model of Analysis

Fairclough's model of the analysis incorporates 3 main elements: the text, the discursive practice, and the socio-cultural practice. Furthermore, this model points to analyze: 1- The text is both spoken and written. 2- The production and the interpretation of texts. 3- The context. To put this point within the simplest terms, the analysis of the text comprises the study of the language structure relates to the discursive occasion, the analysis discursive practice that in turn takes into account three vital elements: the production, the consumption, and reproduction of the text. In the end, it is still an analysis of socio-cultural practice that spotlights the events happening in a particular socio-cultural context.

Besides what is said over, Fairclough's model of analyzing discourse is, in fact, based on three primary stages counting *description*, *interpretation*, and *explanation*. This, in other words, the description is the stage that is concerned with the formal properties of the text. Interpretation deals with the relationship between text and interaction whereas explanation concerns the relationship between interaction and social context. These three dimensions are regarded as the basis that critical discourse analysis procedure in depended on. So, Fairclough bargained with these techniques to investigate or to examine the relationship between the text and its social context.

##### 2.4.1.1. Description

In the descriptive stage, Fairclough based on the description of the linguistic features of the text, in other words, he centers on the reality that the form of the text, linguistic characteristics and even non linguistic textual features (visual), can contribute to the reader's understanding of power relations and ideologies that are perpetuated within the discourse.

Furthermore, analyzing a text takes into consideration the language choices; this implies that to describe a text, we ought to take into account every single linguistic feature at the level of vocabulary, grammar, and even metaphor and some particular expressions. In fact, Fairclough has claimed that the world is shaped by the way the language is used. This means that the social identities, social relations, and systems of knowledge and beliefs are, in one way or another,

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develops and sustains by the depending on the use of language. Accordingly, in analyzing a text, it is quite important to highlight what is there in the text and the discourse type(s) that the text is drawing upon.

Hence, Fairclough takes into consideration those readers who do not have an extensive background in language study. He proposes ten essential questions that can be inquired of a text. Literally, they are not the only possible questions that may be inquired, but Fairclough has proposed them for CDA beginners. Before embarking on the discussion, we should bring to light two key-words which are viral in the descriptive analysis of any text, *the formal features*, and *their value*, viz vocabulary, grammar and textual structure, and their meaning.

These questions concern with the formal features of a text, e.i. they propose depending on three fundamental groups ( vocabulary, grammar, and textual structure); then each group, in turns, comprises of three types of value: experiential, relational, and expressive. Fairclough makes a refinement between these three sorts of value that formal features may have. First, the experiential value of the formal features deals with the content, knowledge, and belief. Second, the relational value is the trace of and cue to the social relationships which are enacted via the text in the discourse. Relational value is to do with the relationship between the producer of the discourse, the reader or the receiver and the subject of the text itself. Lastly, the expressive value deals with the producer's evaluation of the social identities through the subject that the producer writes about. In fact, this value appears subjective since the one who analyzes the text can put any individual view that expresses his or her vision. This implies the text analysis could not be complete there is always something unmentioned or unanalyzed. In addition to what already mentioned, Fairclough's list of the question seems as an assistant element that facilitates the analysis of a particular text.

### **A. Vocabulary**

Concerning vocabulary group, Fairclough suggests some questions with the salience of the three types of the value (experiential, relational and expressive value) within the word. The first question is: **what experiential value do words have?** This infers that the experiential value alludes refer to the text producer's experience with the natural and social world that incorporates

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his/her knowledge, beliefs, and the way that their ideologies are perpetuated within the language. To know more about this value, Fairclough sets the following sub-questions:

1. What classification schemes are drawn upon? ; In fact, this question is interested if words or ideas are classified signaling more/less valuable ideas/persons/things.
2. Are there words that are ideologically contested? ; This ideological contestation happens when the author uses more words or phrases that refer to the social actor's classification. It may also occur when the actors keep amplifying or changing the way a word or phrase is used.
3. Is there any rewording or over wording in the text? ; This refers to the way words manipulate for the interpretation of reality, which may indicate that it is a focus of ideological struggle.
4. What's ideologically significant meaning relation (synonymy, hyponymy, antonym) is there between words? i.e. synonymy uses when the word replaces another word by keeping the same meaning, hyponymy occurs when the meaning of a specific word is contained with the meaning of a diverse word, and finally, antonym happens when the meaning of one word is found to be contradictory with the meaning of another word.

While the second question is: **what relation values do words have?** The relational value according to Fairclough deals with "relations and social relationships", the aim of this question is to investigate how individuals/groups perceive social relationships between themselves and others (Fairclough 2001b, p 93). Therefore, Fairclough provides the following sub-questions that can be asked to understand such relationships:

1. Are there euphemistic in the text? This question indicates that some words and expressions in the text are sometimes replaced by others, not for the sake of making an aesthetic language, but in order to hide a particular ideology for relational reasons.
2. Are there markedly formal or informal words? This question shows that formality, in turns, has to do with relation value, this implies, that the use of formality in texts reflects the formality of social relation that, in one way or another, demand for instance the use of expressions of politeness and respect for the social actor's status and position.

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Thirdly, the question that requires regarding the expressive value is: **what expressive values do words have?** The reply to such a question appears that the language choice of the text producer that deals with the classification of the social actors, in fact, reflects the ideological background that the author himself/herself is based on, and wanted to sustain perpetuate them through the subject they write about. As well as the use of metaphor that has also put in the picture, thus, Fairclough inquires about the extent of metaphor's used in the text because of its importance in presenting the social issues, individual/group and event in a dominant or non-dominant way, depending on the ideological position of the speaker.

### **B. Grammar**

In the second place, Fairclough highlights grammar rank in controlling language in order to hide some ideologies that the text producers' themselves want to perpetuate through. For this reason, he provides some grammatical question, moreover, what experiential do grammar features have? This means that the world that fit some specific ideologies. This may have many choices; the following sub-questions deal with this issue.

1. What types of process and participant predominate? this means that the authors should be precise in their grammatical features choices of textual presentation of individual \ group ,event, or any other relationships ,this one way or another , can help them to decide a particular ideological significance .Actually , this question is going to be explained more in the below sub-questions that will give more illustration concerning such issue.
2. Is agency unclear? This means that the agency is in some cases darkened in the text, not mentioned for ideological reasons.
3. Are processes what they seem? This question is actually related to the previous one .i.e. When the agent is missing to be mentioned in the text, the meaning may take another turn in fact all processes are use are ideological significant.

Moreover, nominalization, active/passive sentences and positive/negative, sentences are also elements that Fairclough does not forget to mention their significant rank in the text analysis. Nominalization, according to Fairclough, is a process converts into a noun, its function in the text is to not mention the tense - the time of the process, the event, and the agent or/and the patient

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(124). The use of nominalization is frequently deals with making the process unclear and gloomy, whereas the use of active sentences as well as passive sentences has to do with making things either clear or not. Subsequently, passive sentences almost use to hide or to refuse the agent and therefore, the causality, but in some cases, the use of nominalization aims to avoid a needless repetition in language. Finally, the use of positive/negative sentences in the text helps the researcher to make a distinction between what is true and what is not in reality; this can be explore through the inter-textuality and the inter-textuality context of the text.

Then Fairclough asks about the salience of relational values in grammatical features by raising such question as what relational values do grammatically have? In fact, there is an assortment of grammatical features of the text which have relation values, but Fairclough has taken into consideration three types: sentence mode, modality, and pronoun use, Firstly, Fairclough has specified three major modes: declarative, grammatical question, and imperative. In the declarative mode, the subject position of the speaker/writer gives information. The grammatical question asks reader/receiver for information and the imperative mode is actually asking for something of the reader. Actually, in these three modes, the subject's position is quietly different, for instance, asking or providing a piece of information, this generally indicates the power positions, but Fairclough expresses that the use of these modes is very complicated in that “(a) there is not a one-to-one relationship between modes and the positioning of subjects, and (b) there is a much richer set of subject position” than those he has identified. In the second place, the modality puts in light because of its importance in grammar for both relational and expressive values. Additionally, the modality has to do with the writer/ speaker’s authority, and it contains two dimensions, one is called relational modality, which concerns the authority of the writer/ speaker in terms of social participants relational of others. While the other is expressive modality, this implies in another word, the modality that expresses by modal auxiliary verbs such as “may, might, must, should, can, cannot”, this type of modality concerns with the writer/speaker’s authority that connected to the truth or probability of the representation of reality. And, finally, the use of pronouns, we and you, is quite significant in maintaining the relationship between power and solidarity.

What is more, is to know what expressive values do grammatical features have? Fairclough, in this vein, indicates the significant of expressive value in grammatical feature in the

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“authenticity claim, or claims to knowledge, which are evidence in modality forms” (p107), this in other word, implies that the expressive values in grammatical features put within the window where they can decipher the ideologies are presented within the expressive modality dimensions.

Hence, Fairclough confines the expressive value, in one point, is expressive modality, he states “*there is some overlap between the modal auxiliaries which mark relational modality and those which mark expressive modality*” (p107). Besides, another question that has been put within the picture is sentences likes which are so important in analyzing texts. This includes on one hand, the connection between sentences in the text that makes this latter appears cohesive. Whereas, on the other hand, it has to do with the relationship between the texts itself and the context. This in turns does not take into consideration only connectors but moreover complex sentences that contain coordination/ subordination...

In a wide sense, grammatical feature analysis regularly deals with, how grammar contributes efficiently to disturbing power between participants? (In terms of subject/object), this in other words means that the participant who situates within the subject position (i.e. the one who does the activity) is really more powerful than the participant who positions within the object position (the one who is the object of the action...).

### **C. Textual Structure**

The textual structures are another relevant dimension that Fairclough takes into consideration in analyzing texts. In fact, the analysis of textual structure bases on the most general features of the text (its structures and layout) on one hand, and the context that these textual structures use in the other hand. This in other word infers that, the focus of the analysis always alternates between what is “there” in the text, and the talk type(s) drawn upon, as a result, the experiential, social, and expressive value of these formal features reveal. Therefore, the value of textual features only becomes real, and socially operative if they insert in social interaction, where texts create and interpret against a background of common-sense assumption which gives textual features their values.

### 2.4.1.2. Interpretation

The second stage relates to the past one. Whereas, the description stage concerns itself with the formal characteristics, in the interpretation stage centers on the process of production and reception; i.e. the text’s producer and the reader as well. Fairclough provides a schema that illustrates the interpretation process as follows:

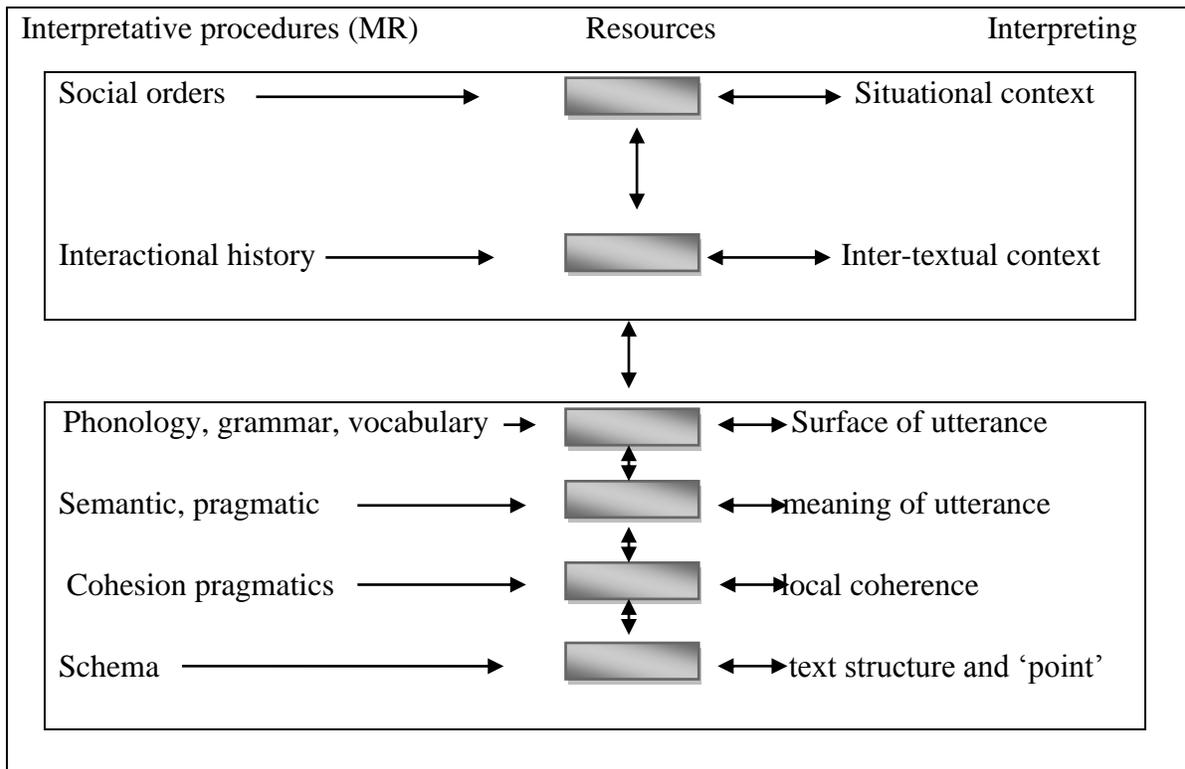


Figure 01: Interpretation (Fairclough, 1989, P142).

Figure (1) suggests an interpretation of the relationship between the text/discourse and the social processes of the interaction. In fact, he sets six spaces of interpretation “situational setting, inter-textual context” concern with the interpretation of the context, while the other, “surface utterance, meaning of utterance, nearby coherence, and text structure, and point are the four levels of interpretation of the text as well context, taking into consideration “situational context” that deals with a specific situation type of the context that the text/discourse uses in, i.e. how participants interpret the situational determination which discourse types are drawn upon. Then, the “inter-textual context” means the common assumption that texts or discourses share; these assumptions, in turn, determine what can be taken as given in the sense of part of common experience, what can be alluded to, disagreed with and so on.

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Moreover, Fairclough states that interpretation generate through a combination of what is in the text and what is in the interpreter, within the sense of the members' resources (MR) which the latter brings to interpretation. In fact, Fairclough refers to (MR) as interpretation procedures, since (MR) are frequently called background knowledge, that the text/ discourse is based on doing so.

In brief, the stage of interpretation works for making the discourse/text more explicit than it was before being analyzed. In other words, interpretation deals with the correction of some delusions of autonomy that it may appear in the discourse content. This correction draws a clear picture of the relation of power, domination, and ideologies that the assumptions may include.

### 2.4.1.3. Explanation

In addition to what's discussed so far concerning the description and the interpretation stage, it is relevant to highlight the explanation stage which is the third one. This level of analysis includes the analyst in re-describing the linguistic choices made by participants in terms of a particular theoretical orientation towards issues of ideology and power relation (Chouliaraki and Fairclough 1999).

To dig deeper in the explanation stage, Fairclough has illustrated the idea as follows:

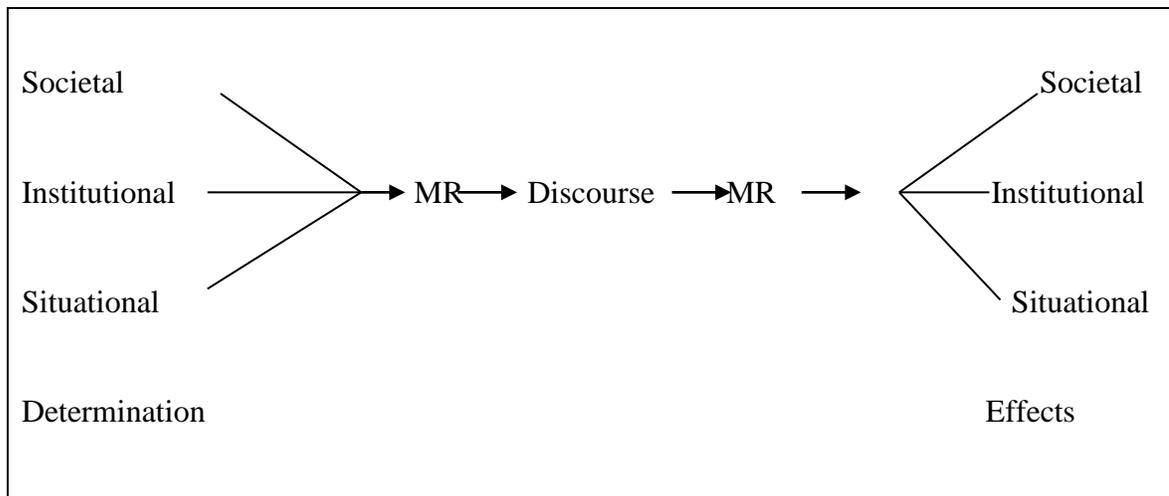


Figure 02: Explanation (Fig.6.4, Fairclough, 1989)

Figure (2)) indicates that one particular discourse may be seen in various distinct ways, depending on different levels (societal, institutional, and situational practice). Fairclough claims

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that “it is not necessary or even normally looking at different features of discourse at these different perspectives, as if we changing the filters on a camera lens” (Fairclough, 1989, p.164).

In brief, according to Fairclough, explanation analysis takes into account three main concepts that the analysts themselves should be aware of. First, we have social determinants, i.e. examine what power relations at the situation, institutional and societal levels help in shaping this discourse. Second, it needs to explore the ideological characters that the text includes. Lastly, the effects which mean that the analyst should determine how the discourse is positioned in relation to struggles at the situational, institutional and societal levels, and examine its contribution in maintaining the existing power relations, or transforming them.

### **2.4.2. Observation of the Problem**

In any type of research, the research should be motivated by certain factors. In this study, we were highly motivated by a set of observations that we have come to make sense we are part of this society.

### **2.5. Translation issue**

Since this study is based on the analysis of some Arabic videos. It has become necessary for us to make the issue of translation into consideration. In a broad sense, in translating the text, the first problem that we have encountered, then how can we keep the meaning of the original texts with the respect of the context that it is used in? Therefore, in this study, I translated the texts relying on our grasp of the issue. It was a translation for our own with no assistance from the professional.

### **2.6. Conclusion**

As conclusion, this chapter dealt with the methodology employed in this study. Specifically, the chapter has maintained Fairclough’s three models of CDA. Besides, this chapter has highlighted the observation and the context of the problem, besides describing the videos that would be the raw material of the study. Then, the following chapter will be devoted to the analysis of the videos and discuss the findings through the interpretation and explanation stages.

# **Chapter Three: Analyses of the Videos**

### 3.1. Introduction

This chapter analyses study a set of selected videos on ISIS speeches. First, this part describes most formal features the text has included. This is followed by interpretation and explanation stage, in which we should focus more on the relationship between the text and the receiver on one hand, and determine the text producer's position from the issue of transmitting power and ideologies through language on the other hand.

### 3.2. Data Analyses

#### 3.2.1. Description stage

##### A. Video One

As a starting point we are going to tackle the *experiential value* of the formal features used in this video that consists the knowledge and the beliefs which reflect the experiences of the text producer or the who said it. This can be done by considering rewording and some words and expressions that are ideologically contested. The following examples mention that:

1. "وأمرنا الله تعالى أن نقاتل أعدائه ونجاهد في سبيله"

“Allah Almighty ordered us to fight His enemies and strive for Him”

2. "كُتِبَ عَلَيْكُمُ الْقِتَالُ وَهُوَ كُرْهٌ لَّكُمْ"

“Jihad (holy fighting an Allah's cause) is ordained for you (Muslims) though you dislike it”

3. "وَقَاتِلُوهُمْ حَتَّى لَا تَكُونَ فِتْنَةٌ وَيَكُونَ الدِّينَ كُلَّهُ لِلَّهِ"

“And fight them until there is no *Fitnah* (disbelief and polytheism, i.e. worshipping others besides Allah) and the religion (Worship) will all be for Allah”

4. "كتاب يهدي وسيف ينصر"

“Book guides and sword victory”

5. "ولا يكون ذلك إلا بئس و سلطان"

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“And this can only be with valor and power”

6. "وإني لا أعدكم كما يعد الملوك و الحكام أتباعهم و رعيتهم من رفاهية وأمن"

“And I don’t promise you as the king and the leaders do with their followers and their parish for luxury and security”

7. "جاهدوا في سبيل الله وحرصوا المؤمنين"

“Strive for Allah and instigate the believers”

These expressions reflect the violence and barbarism of this organization. This rewording indicates that the speaker used violent sentences and quoted from Qur’an only the verses which urging Jihad; he used “Intimidation Policy”. In fact that it shows his aggressive ideologies.

Additionally, the speaker imitated the companions of the Prophet and the quote from the sermon of Abu Baker El-Sedik after becoming Caliph:

8. "فَوَلَّيْتُ عَلَيْكُمْ وَلَسْتُ بِخَيْرِكُمْ وَلَا أَفْضَلُ مِنْكُمْ فَإِنْ رَأَيْتُمُونِي عَلَى بَاطِلٍ فَانصَحُونِي وَسَدِّدُونَنِي أَطِيعُونِي مَا أَطَعْتُ اللَّهَ وَرَسُولَهُ فَإِذَا عَصَيْتُ اللَّهَ وَرَسُولَهُ فَلَا طَاعَةَ لِي عَلَيْكُمْ"

I presided over you, I’m neither good nor better than you, obey me if I obey Allah, and do not if I disobey Him.

Thus, the power of religion cannot be denied in penetrating people's ideas and beliefs, but the problem lies in using this power to pass the political agenda. The use of this quotation in this video shows that the speaker knows that people influence by religious speeches; he wants to control them starting from this point.

9. "وَلَا تَهِنُوا وَلَا تَحْزَنُوا وَأَنْتُمْ الْأَعْلَوْنَ إِنْ كُنْتُمْ مُؤْمِنِينَ"

“So do not become weak (against your enemy), nor be sad, and you will be superior (in victory) if you are indeed (true) believers.”

10. "إِنْ يَنْصُرْكُمُ اللَّهُ فَلَا غَالِبَ لَكُمْ"

“If Allah helps you, none can overcome you.”

11. "وَكَانَ حَقًّا عَلَيْنَا نَصْرُ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ"

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"It was incumbent upon Us to help them."

12. "ولو علمتم ما في الجهاد من الأجر والكرامة والرفعة والعزة في الدنيا والآخرة لا قعد ولا تخلف منكم أحد."

"If you know what is in Jihad of the reward, dignity, high and pride in *Dounia* and *Akhira*, no one will be late."

In these expressions, the speakers changes his method, he uses seduction policy; he argues his speech by using verses from the holy Qur'an such as the examples 9, 10, and 11. He also tried to convince them by the importance of Jihad such as in the example 12.

Further, repetition is also appears in this video. The word "Jihad" repeats several times in order to attract the audience attention and convince them that this organization "ISIS" has the right to control the Islamic world, and it has no relation with terrorism. Moreover, metaphor also appears in that speech, for instance:

13. "فهو (الجهاد) التجارة التي دل الله عليها."

"It is (jihad) trade which is indicated by Allah"

The use of metaphor here indicates that the religion is regarded as goods that can be selling and buying to achieve certain purpose.

*The relational value* of the text is actually concerned with making social relationships seems explicit to the reader, this value appears through the use of social status, then, we attempt to explore it in the following examples:

14. "فَوَلَّيْتُ عَلَيْكُمْ"

"I presided over you"

15. "إعلان الخلافة وتنصيب إمام"

"Declaration of Caliphate and the inauguration of Imam"

The use of formality in these sentences indicates the social function. Actually, the term "Imam" and "presidency" may be done for the sake of respect on one hand, and it refers also to the control and dominance. The speaker uses this term, for political and social reasons, in order to preserve the formality of the discourse.

### B. Video Two

As it has been mentioned in the previous chapter, this video is about the execution of 21 Egyptian Copts in Libya in 15 February 2015. Thus, as a starting point, the title of that video "A Letter Signed with Blood to the Cross Nation"; the syntax of the title saturates with connotations

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of ideological discourse on the fate of the Copts “execution” and the existential conflict with the “Cross Nation”.

The ISIS’s discourse, which attempts to produce a special understanding of "religion" and "prophetic mission", makes the Islam aligns with the sword i.e. it is only by the sword, the Caliphate will be establish. Thus, the knife becomes the organization's reference that links the mercy of the Mohammedan message with the sword. It is an arbitrary comparison and misunderstanding the Qur'anic text and the Sunnah, while Allah says in the holy Qur’an “*There is no compulsion in religion*”, “*So remind them (O Muhammad Peace Be Upon Him) you are only one who reminds (22) you are not a dictator over them*”.

The execution has great importance in the intellectual system of the organization; it confirms the conflict between the “we” and the “them”, and the existential conflict between the two parties so it becomes a part from the religion. Besides, in the video of the execution, each element has a role and sends a message, for example, the orange dress of the victims bears the symbolism of the U.S’s use of this color in Guantanamo and in retaliation for Jihadist detainees in American prisons. In addition, video montage plays a big role in such videos; the director controls the audiovisual effects to show ISIS’s fighters as "stronger fighters", and adopts a specific body language.

Moreover, the use of English language means that the message of that video is global, it sends to the U.S. and the other countries because English is the world’s language. The speaker speaks fluently, and also the video has a high-level of translation. Thus, this discourse attempts to convince the receiver of the actions and behaviors of the organization and the legitimacy of fighting.

### **3.2.2. Interpretation Stage**

As it has been mentioned in chapter two, the interpretation stage of Fairclough’s model of analyses actually deals with two central dimensions, which are the situational context and the inter-textual context. Thus situational context has to do with answering questions concerning time and place, for instance why these videos are published in this period? What are the factors that prompted the production of these videos? What are the consequences of it? While the inter-textual context deals with the common assumption that the videos share.

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The two videos that were analyzed in the description stage were published in 2014, and 2015; since in this period, the Islamic State in Iraq and Sham was at the top of its power. Although, these videos were not the first publications of ISIS, but this time, it has created a backlash in several levels.

### 3.2.2.1. Process of Production (video one)

The most common types of discourse used by ISIS are political, religious, and social types. In the first video, ISIS uses religious type bases on the religious and ideological arguments that use the Qur'an and Sunnah as a reference to gain legitimate authority for their beliefs towards obtains more support, attracts more soldiers, and justifies the use of violence. For instance, ISIS used “Jihad” which becomes a duty for every Muslim; it repeated several times as we see in the descriptive stage.

This video addresses not only to the Mosul’s people or the Iraqis but it sent to all the Muslims. The following statement will clarify the idea:

16. "هذا واجب على المسلمين"

“It is a duty for the Muslims.”

The sentence mentioned above reflects the globalization of the message. In addition, it is an order addressed to all the Muslims, which reflects the speaker’s powerful discourse.

In brief, this video actually characterizes by the religious discourse, this implies that, since the religion is sensitive point for Muslims, thus, the speaker wants to attract people by using some religious terms and Qur’anic versus for the sake of touch their feelings.

### 3.2.2.2. Process on Interpretation (video one)

Fairclough explains of interpretation by referring to the Member’s Resource (MR), which indicates the interpretive process that the listener bases on the interpretation of the text. Fairclough states that “the formal features in the text are cue which activate elements of the interpreter’s MR” (Fairclough, 1998: P.141). So, we focus on the interpretation process to show how the listener grasps the meaning of this text.

In this video, the listener uses his/her background knowledge about this speech, in the interpretation process of this video. What has been used in the speech, about the use violence against people, may effect on the listener’s MR. This, can makes the listener focuses more the negative points of this speech and refuse it.

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In brief, the process of production of the text can determine the power of the discourse that affect the relationship between the listener and the text itself.

### **3.2.2.3. Process of Production (video two)**

This video is an execution of the Egyptian Copts. The video reflects the aggressive behaviors of ISIS's fighters. The analyses of the discourse reveal that there is a conflict of existence between the "we" and "them", the ISIS's members and their enemies.

First of all, this video addresses to the U.S. and to the western world since the speaker used the pronoun "*Them*" which aims to separate themselves from the western world; this may be used to attract the audience's attention.

Second, an analytical study of this video shows that the structure and components of discourse develops through dichotomies that create difference between two different parties: believers/mujahedeen and crusaders/apostates.

### **3.2.2.4. Process on Interpretation (video two)**

In this video, the speaker uses some words and expressions which indicate the aggressive nature of this organization. This specific use of language is ideologically structured to manipulate the people's mind. This implies that, the speaker seeks to affect the listener's MR, in order to give a particular focus on the violent reality of ISIS.

Through the process of interpretation, the listener will highlight only what the speaker had said about the execution of the Copts.

Furthermore, it is clear that the interaction between the listener and the text is, hugely, determined by the process of production of the text. Moreover, the power in/over discourse appears in which the speaker uses specific linguistic features. These features, in fact, indicate the violent nature of this organization.

### **3.2.3 Explanation Stage**

The explanation stage seeks to determine the relationship between interaction (referred to the interpretation stage) and the socio-political context that videos are published in. in fact, the production of the text is socially and politically shaped. In this stage, we attempt to investigate

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the undiscovered information of power, ideology, and language used; and explains them within their socio-political context.

Further, social media, in general, used to transmit ideas and beliefs. ISIS, in turns, used YouTube and Telegram to deliver its ideology, and power through the language used. So, social media links between ISIS and its supporters and even its enemies.

From what we have been in the previous stages, we can recognize that the two selected videos are directed by certain ideologies to provide a particular point of view concerning ISIS's discourses which servers the ISIS's leader in manipulating most of people's minds.

The analyses of the two videos reflect the ISIS's ideologies. The language used in the first (appendix A) reflects the use of the religious discourse in order to get the attention's people and legitimate the use of violence; thus, it serves the needs of ISIS and its supporters, for example, on the lexical choices level, the speaker uses strong words that express the ISIS's power and authorities. On the other hand, the second video (appendix B) highlights the existential conflict between the "we" or the believers/fighters and the "them" or the disbelievers/crusaders. The speaker, here, focuses in the aggressive words and expressions which indicates the violent reality of this organization. Besides, ISIS's leader abuses of the Qur'anic verses and Sunnah to achieve their goals.

Meanwhile, the interpretation stage, we were enabled to distinguish the MR that the discourse draws upon in the two videos. The first video highlights the power of religious discourses to manipulate people; one time, the speaker used a seduction policy by adoption of Qur'an and Sunnah, and another time, he used the intimidation policy by the use of aggressive expressions. Further, in the second video, the focus is on the intimidation and the warning expressions which refer to the MR that the discourse draws upon in this video.

In short, these videos enable us to recognize the violent reality of ISIS, and its terroristic view, also the manipulating by the Qur'anic verses and Sunnah to control people's minds.

### **3.4. Limitation and Recommendation of the Study**

Throughout this study, our research has been faced a set of limitations. First, we may not go deeply in the analyses of the source materials since the study does not examine all the linguistic features. Some analytical devices are not included, which may affect the accuracy of the result. Second we were confused and spend much time in selecting the videos; we should choose the ones which fit the objective of this study. Third, we could not find the original videos because it is deleted. Lastly, there are some difficulties concerning the translation issue, thus, we may not convey the exact meaning of the original texts.

Since, this study concentrates only on the analysis based on Fairclough's approach of CDA as a theoretical framework. We suggest here in order to obtain an accurate result, the study should take into consideration, the cognition of the readers' comprehension of new discourses.

### **3.5. Conclusion**

To conclude, this chapter is devoted to Fairclough's three dimensional modes of CDA as an analytical tool for the videos. This analysis relays on the three main dimensions of discourse, the text, interaction, and context. Moreover, the text analysis based on the discursive strategies that the text's producer has used to transmit the ISIS's views and beliefs through the language they used. Then, the interpretation stage of the analysis helps us to determine the relationship between the text and the listener. Lastly, in the explanation stage, we examine the texts in their socio-political context.

## General Conclusion

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### General Conclusion

This study explored the discursive strategies used in the ISIS's discourses concerning the use of language to transmit its ideologies. In other words, how ISIS used language to transmit its ideologies to people for the sake of manipulating their minds? This work also examined the interaction between the discourse and the recipients, taking into consideration the impact of socio-political context on the discourse production.

This research is conducted within Fairclough's approach of CDA (1989) to analyze the two selected videos at the three stages: description, interpretation, and explanation. Fairclough's model of analysis made us able to put the texts and the discursive practice in the socio-political context. Thus, it found that these linguistic choices are not randomly made by the text's producers or speakers but are intentionally used under the influence of ideology.

These distinctions in linguistic features between the two videos are ideologically oriented. The study also indicates that the media discourses are socially constructed and produced under the values and ideologies. These latter are reinforced and maintained by/through the language and discourse.

According to the result of the study, the discourse of ISIS is not just a speech, but also a means of transmitting ideas and ideologies; so the chosen words in each speech have a background.

Through the language used in the video (1), we could notice that the text's producer used religion arguments by Qur'an and Sunnah legitimating its use of violence because ISIS's leaders know that religion is a sensitive point for people likewise, the use of the repetition and metaphor that were done for the sake of attracting people. Further, in the second video, the speaker used a particular language that reflected his aggressive ideology. All these features associated with the text are used in order to recognize the discourse to fit some particular purposes and influence the listeners.

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# Appendices

## The Discourse of the First Video

إن الحمد لله نحمده و نستعينه ونستغفره؛ ونعوذ بالله من شرور ومن سيئات أعمالنا؛ من يهده الله فلا مضل له؛ ومن يضل فلا هادي له؛ وأشهد أن لا إله الله وحده لا شريك له وأشهد أن محمدا عبده ورسوله؛ صل الله تعالى عليه وعلى آله وأصحابه وسلم تسليما كثيرا؛ "يا الذين آمنوا اتقوا الله حق تقاته ولا تموتن إلا و انتم مسلمون"؛ "يا أيها الذين آمنوا اتقوا الله وقولوا قولا سديدا يصلح لكم أعمالكم ويغفر لكم ذنوبكم ومن يطع الله ورسوله فقد فاز فوزا عظيما" أما بعد:

إن أصدق الحديث كتاب الله؛ وأحسن الهدي هدي محمد صل الله عليه وسلم؛ وشر الأمور محدثاتها وكل محدثة بدعة وكل بدعة ضلالة وكل ضلالة في النار؛ "يا أيها الذين آمنوا كتب عليكم الصيام كما كتب على الذين من قبلكم لعلكم تتقون" أيما معدودات؛ وقال تعالى "شهر رمضان الذي أنزل فيه القرآن هدى للناس وبينات من الهدى والفرقان فمن شهد منكم الشهر فليصمه" أيها المسلمون؛ إن بلوغ رمضان نعمة عظيمة وفضل كبير من الله تعالى؛ شهر أوله رحمة؛ وأوسطه مغفرة؛ وآخره عتق من النيران؛ شهر من صامه إيمانا واحتسابا غفر له ما تقدم من ذنبه؛ ومن قامه إيمانا واحتسابا غفر له ما تقدم من ذنبه؛ عن أبي هريرة رضي الله عنه قال: "قال رسول الله صل الله عليه وسلم من صام رمضان إيمانا واحتسابا غفر له ما تقدم من ذنبه ومن قام إيمانا واحتسابا غفر له ما تقدم من ذنبه" شهر إذا دخل فتح أبواب الجنة وغلق أبواب النار وصدفت الشياطين؛ شهر فيه ليلة خير من ألف شهر من حرمها فقد حرم الخير كله "ليلة القدر خير من ألف شهر تنزل الملائكة والروح فيها بإذن ربهم من كل أمر سلام هي حتى مطلع الفجر" شهر لله فيه عتقاء؛ عتقاء من النار وذلك كل ليلة؛ شهر يقام فيه سوق الجهاد؛ فكان صل الله عليه وسلم يعقد فيه الألوية ويجيش الجيوش لمقاتلة أعداء الله لمجاهدة المشركين فاغتنموا هذا الشهر الكريم يا عباد الله في طاعة الله؛ ففيه تضاعف الأجور وفي ذلك فليتناقس المتنافسون؛ أيها المسلمون إن الله تبارك وتعالى خلقنا لنوحده ونعبده ونقيم دينه؛ قال تعالى "وما خلقت الجن والإنس إلا ليعبدون" وأمرنا تبارك وتعالى أن نقاتل أعدائه ونجاهد في سبيله لتحقيق ذلك وإقامة الدين قال تعالى "كتب عليكم القتال وهو كره لكم" وقال تعالى "وقاتلوهم حتى لا تكون فتنة ويكون الدين كله لله"

أيها الناس إن دين الله تبارك وتعالى لا يقام ولا تتحقق هذه الغاية التي من أجلها خلقنا الله إلا بتحكيم شرع الله والتحاكم إليه وإقامة الحدود؛ ولا يكون ذلك إلا ببأس وسلطان؛ قال الله تعالى "لقد أرسلنا رسلنا بالبينات وأنزلنا معهم الكتاب والميزان ليقوم الناس بالقسط وأنزلنا الحديد فيه بأس شديد ومنافع للناس وليعلم الله من ينصره ورسله بالغيب إن الله قوي عزيز" فهذا قوام الدين؛ كتاب يهدي وسيف ينصر؛ وإن إخوانكم المجاهدين قد من الله تبارك وتعالى عليهم بنصر وفتح؛ ومكن لهم بعد سنين طويلة من الجهاد والصبر ومجادة أعداء الله ووقفهم ومكنهم لتحقيق غايتهم فسارعوا إلى إعلان الخلافة وتنصيب إمام وهذا واجب على المسلمين؛ وواجب قد ضيع لقرون وغاب عن واقع الأرض فجعله كثير من المسلمين والذين يأتون أن يأتوا المسلمون وتغييبه وعليهم أن يسعوا دائما لإقامته وهام أقاموه والله الحمد والمنة.

ولقد ابتليت بهذا الأمر العظيم؛ لقد ابتليت بهذه الأمانة؛ أمانة ثقيلة؛ فوليت عليكم ولست بخيركم ولا أفضل منكم؛ فإن رأيتموني على حق فأعينوني؛ وكن رأيتموني على باطل؛ فانصروني وسددوني؛ وأطيعوني ما أطعت الله فيكم؛ فإن عصيته فلا طاعة لي عليكم. إنني لا أعدكم كما يعد الملوك والحكام أتباعهم ووعيتهم من رفاهية ووداعة وأمن ورخاء؛ وإنما أعدكم بما وعد الله تبارك وتعالى عباده المؤمنين "وعد الله الذين آمنوا وعملوا الصالحات ليستخلفهم في الأرض كما استخلف الذين من قبلهم وليمكن

لهم دينهم الذي ارتضى لهم وليبدلهم من بعد خوفهم أمنا يعبدونني لا يشركون بي شيئا ومن كفر بعد ذلك فأولئك هم الفاسقون" وقال تعالى "ولا تهنوا ولا تحزنوا وأنتم الأعلون إن كنتم مؤمنين" وقال تعالى "وكان حقا علينا نصر المؤمنين" وقال تعالى "والله العزة ولسوله وللمؤمنين ولكن المنافقين لا يعلمون" هذا ما وعد الله فإن أردتم موعود الله فاتقوا الله وأطيعوه؛ اتقوا الله العظيم في كل أمر وعلى كل حال وألزموا الحق وتمسكوا ب فيما أحببتهم وفيما كرهتم؛ وغن أردتم موعود الله فجاهدوا في سبيل الله وحرصوا المؤمنين واصبروا على تلك المشقة؛ ولو علمتم ما في الجهاد من الأجر والكرامة والرفعة والعزة في الدنيا والآخرة لا قعد ولا تخلف منكم أحد عن الجهاد فهو التجارة التي دل الله عليها وأنجى بها من الخزي وألحق بها الكرامة في الدارين "تؤمنون بالله ورسوله وتجاهدون في سبيل الله بأموالكم وأنفسكم ذلكم خير لكم إن كنتم تعلمون يغفر لكم ذنوبكم ويدخلكم جنات تجري من تحتها الأنهار ومساكن طيبة في جنات عدن ذلك الفوز العظيم وأخرى تحبونها نصر من الله وفتح قريب وبشر المؤمنين" أقول قولي هذا وأستغفر الله لي ولكم؛ فادعوا الله وأنتم موقنون بالإجابة.

الحمد لله حق حمده؛ والصلاة والسلام على من آل نبي بعده وعلى آله وأصحابه وحزبه وجنده ومن تبعهم بإحسان إلى يوم الدين؛ لا إله إلا الله وحده لا شريك له صدق وعده ونصر جنده وهزم الأحزاب وحده؛ لا إله إلا الله وحده لا شريك له مخلصين له الدين لو كره الكافرون؛ عباد الله أقيموا دينكم واتقوا الله حق تقاته يعزكم في الدنيا والآخرة؛ إذا أردتم الأمن فاتقوا الله؛ وإن أردتم الرزق فاتقوا الله؛ وإن أردتم حياة كريمة فاتقوا الله وجاهدوا في سبيل الله. نسأل الله العظيم رب العرش العظيم أن يجمع كلمتكم وأن يصلح ذات بينكم وأن يهديكم لخير ما يحبه ويرضاه.

اللهم أعز الإسلام والمسلمين؛ وأذل الشرك والمشركين؛ وانصر عبادك المجاهدين الموحدين في مشارق الأرض ومغاربها. اللهم ثبت أقدامهم؛ واربط على قلوبهم وكن لهم عون ونصير. اللهم سدد رميتهم وسدد رأيهم اللهم هبى لهم من أمرهم رشدا واجعل معونتك الحسنى لهم مددا؛ اللهم يا مقلب القلوب ثبت قلوبنا على دينك اللهم يا مصرف القلوب صرف قلوبنا على طاعتك؛ اللهم طهر قلوبنا من النفاق وأعمالنا من الرياء وألسنتنا من الكذب وأعيننا من الخيانة اللهم إنا نسألك إيمانا صادقا وقلبا خاشعا وعملا متقبلا اللهم إنا نسألك العفو والعافية والمعافة الدائمة في الدين والدنيا. اللهم اجعل جمعنا هذا جمعا مرحوما وتفرقتنا من بعده تفرقا مباركا معصوما ولا تجعل فينا ولا معنا شقيا ولا محروما وآخر دعوانا أن الحمد لله رب العالمين وصل الله وسلم وبارك على نبينا محمد وأقم الصلاة.

<https://www.aljazeera.net/news/arabic/2014/7/5/%D8%A3%D8%A8%D9%88->

[%D8%A8%D9%83%D8%B1-](#)

[%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%A8%D8%BA%D8%AF%D8%A7%D8%AF%D9%8A-](#)

[%D9%8A%D8%AE%D8%B7%D8%A8-](#)

[%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%AC%D9%85%D8%B9%D8%A9-](#)

[%D8%A8%D8%A7%D9%84%D9%85%D9%88%D8%B5%D9%84-](#)

[%D9%88%D9%8A%D8%B7%D9%84%D8%A8-](#)

[%D8%B7%D8%A7%D8%B9%D8%AA%D9%87](#)

## The Discourse of the Second Video

You have seen us on hills of Sham, and today we are on the South of Rome, o, the land of Islam, Libya. Therefore, we will fight you all together. We will conquer Rome by Allah promises.

<https://www.alarabiya.net/ar/arab-and-world/egypt/2015/02/15/%D8%AF%D8%A7%D8%B9%D8%B4-%D9%84%D9%8A%D8%A8%D9%8A%D8%A7-%D9%8A%D8%A8%D8%AB-%D9%81%D9%8A%D8%AF%D9%8A%D9%88-%D8%B0%D8%A8%D8%AD-%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%A3%D9%82%D8%A8%D8%A7%D8%B7-%D8%A7%D9%84%D9%85%D8%B5%D8%B1%D9%8A%D9%8A%D9%86.html#>