LANGUAGE, POWER AND THE "ARAB SPRING": THREE CASE STUDIES.

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Statement of Originality

I certify that the work contained in this thesis entitled "Language, power and the "Arab Spring": three case studies" has not been previously submitted for a degree or diploma at any other higher education institution other than Macquarie University. To the best of my knowledge and belief, the thesis contains no material previously published or written by another person except where due references are made.

Sydney, August 2017

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Abstract

In both Eastern and Western traditions, political discourse and its relations to power and ideology have been studied. The focus of this thesis is the political discourse of three Middle East dictators, Bashar al-Assad (Syria), Zine al Abidine Ben Ali (Tunisia), and Muammar Gaddafi (Libya) during the time known as "the Arab Spring". Though this period has been given scholarly attention, there are few studies of the Arab Spring from the point of view of the recruitment of political discourse by Arab dictators as a mechanism to attempt to defend their legitimacy. Two speeches from each leader have been analyzed. These speeches were given at times of popular uprisings in each country, which threatened the legitimacy of these leaders' hold on power. Under the pressure of popular dissent, how did these leaders respond? While all three recruited the considerable coercive power at their disposal, at the same time, all three sought the power of discourse to construct and defend their legacies, to project their accounts of the external interference in domestic affairs, and to recruit shared identities (based on nationalism, and pan-Arabism). The use of coercive power, even in essentially non-democratic societies, still requires ideological legitimation. Drawing on a combination of systemic, functional linguistics, and rhetorical studies, the research investigates the strategies or instruments these leaders used, the positions they were talking from, their strive for legitimacy, their choice of rhetorical devices and the similarities and differences between them in terms of structure and use of language in general were asked. These forms of language, and their significance in relation to attempts by these dictators to take control of the meanings associated with the political situation of the time, are also considered in their sociological context, drawing particularly on the work of Weber, Hisham Sharabi, Halim Barakat and others.

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Chapter one – Introduction and Methodology

1-Introduction

On the 18 of December 2010, a Tunisian street hawker, from a very modest social background, named Mohammed Bouazizi, self-immolated in public. The motivating reason was that the Tunisian police confiscated his food cart and physically assaulted him when he tried to get it back. At that time, this modest regular man did not know that by his excruciating death, he would give birth to a series of protests that could be described as the most changing revolutions in late modern Middle Eastern history. After Bouazizi burnt himself to death, the streets of Tunisia were flooded with people pressuring the regime of president Ben Ali to step down and put an end to his long period of ruling, which had lasted almost 30 years. The fever of revolution spread quickly into Egypt, Libya, Yemen and Syria. And the term "Arab Spring" returned to popular discourse after having been used in the past to refer to different events, especially in reference to a short-lived flowering of Middle Eastern democracy movements back in 2005[1] (Keating, 2011).

During the Arab Spring, many speeches were delivered by the presidents and the leaders of the affected countries. Their purpose was to attempt to quell the uprisings, which threatened their power. Many studies have tackled the notion of the Arab Spring, and from various points of view. There have been studies concerned with Arab spring from a legal point of view such as the study done by Panara and Wilson (2013). In their book,

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[1] The word "Spring" has been used before throughout history in relation to revolutions such as Prague Spring in 1968, Beijing Spring in 1978 and 1979, the second Beijing Spring in 1989 and the Spring of Nations in 1848. For further discussion refer to Rapport (2010), Sullivan (2016) and Williams (1997).

they presented the notion of Arab Spring to the world by discussing critical issues from different angles within the international law domain, such as the right to democracy, the recognition of newly installed governments, human rights and international troops involvement for humanitarian purposes. Further studies of the Arab Spring have focused on issues such as democracy, security, gender, colonialism, international relations, communication and media.

However, studies tackling the issue from a linguistic angle have been very few. The speeches delivered by the heads of state in the Arab Spring countries have been neglected by both studies in the West and also Arabic studies that have discussed the uprisings in the Middle East. Almost all the studies of speeches delivered by the presidents in the countries that are of interest to this study have considered speech extracts in contexts unrelated to linguistics. One of the studies that gave a partial linguistic account to some of the speeches delivered during the Arab Spring was Laremont (2013). In this book, some extracts of the political speeches delivered by Muammar Gaddafi and his son Saif al- Islam were discussed. The role of Gaddafi's speeches and the policies behind them in the fall of Gaddafi and his regime were considered. However, this book does not look at the speeches in a concentrated linguistic way and does not consider countries outside North Africa as a domain of discussion. In another study of the few studies on the political speeches of Arab Spring, Maalej (2012) discussed three speeches of Ben Ali, the former Tunisian president. The author dealt with person deixis in the last three speeches of Bin Ali, and discussed how the ousted president formed different deictic categories to maintain political status and to blame others for the distressing events in the country. Furthermore, it discusses how, in the last speech of the three discussed in the article, Ben Ali tried to reproduce social power abuse and inequality by way of making political concessions. What distinguishes this study from the other studies discussed is that it discusses directly a linguistic feature of some of the speeches delivered in the early time of the events of the Arab Spring and maintains that the language of the speeches could deliver an understanding of how those presidents reacted to the events of the Arab

Spring. Another important thing about this study is that it was conducted by an Arab scholar and it could be regarded one of the very few studies in the Arab world that has considered the role of political discourse in the maintenance of political power.

My study takes on the gap present in dealing with the topic of analyzing the speeches delivered during Arab Spring. In my study, three sets of speeches delivered by Gaddafi of Libya, Ben Ali of Tunisia and Assad of Syria are chosen to be analyzed and discussed. This study adopts the approach of Systemic Functional Linguistics, as well as using some other disciplines to connect language to the context. To give a full account to the analysis, this study is going to be divided into six chapters. The structure of this thesis is inspired from the schools, either linguistic or sociological, followed in the analysis of the discourse of this thesis. A central notion to the theory of SFL is the notion of stratification, which means that language is analyzed in terms of four strata: context, semantics, lexicogrammar and phonology-graphology (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004) – see Figure 1. This thesis examines the speeches with respect to all strata, with the exception of phonology-graphology.
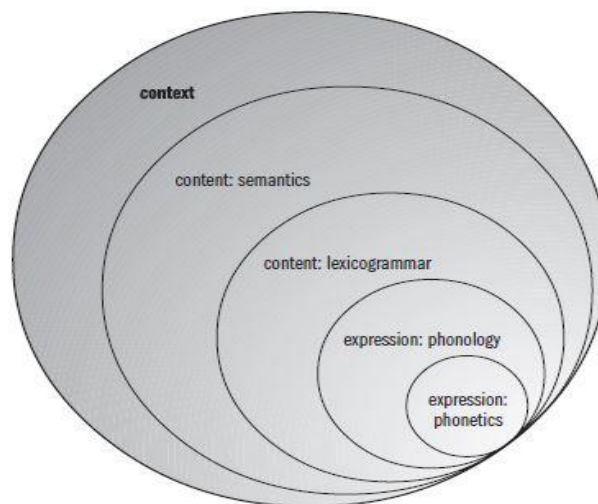
Figure 1- Stratification from Halliday and Matthiessen (2004)

The first chapter is going to be concerned with introducing the reader to the topic, to the study and its significance. The first chapter will also be concerned with discussing and

presenting the main questions of the research and why they were raised in the way they are proposed. Aims of the research and what it could contribute to knowledge will also be included in the first chapter alongside an introduction to the speakers whose speeches are going to be analyzed in this study. This introductory chapter will also include a section on the methodology followed in this research in preparing the data and conducting the research itself.

The second chapter will discuss the literature background of the research and place the proposed research in context with what has been discussed so far in relation to the topic and define the gap this research is covering and discussing. The literature review is going to be divided into different subheadings. Under the first subheading we will discuss the characteristics of Arabic political and discursive studies and give examples of some of the first studies that were published in the Arab world in terms of political discourse analysis. Under the second subheading, we will present and discuss some of the terms that are going to appear frequently in this research such as ideology, the concept of power and rhetoric. The last subheading in the literature review will be about the concepts of register and context. The discussion of register and context will be lengthy and detailed, because this research will be built on this concept and the chapter on this concept will pave the way for the discussion on all of the other chapters.

The third chapter will discuss the register description of the three sets of speeches in this study. The speeches will be analyzed using the three variables of register in Halliday's general linguistic theory, which are field, tenor and mode. Register analysis defines the context, including what is happening, the nature of the interactant relations, and the nature of the communication as discussed by Halliday (1978), Halliday and Hasan (1991), Halliday and Matthiessen (2006) and Martin (1992). By defining the context, the relationship between the sides of communication and the mode of communication discussed in the subsequent chapters will have more depth and more details and will form the basis on which we build certain judgments about the context of the speeches, and the political work that they do.

The fourth chapter will discuss the rhetorical organization of the speeches. The structure and topics of the speeches, rhetorical devices and appeals to speakers used to convince their audience of their power and legitimacy will be highlighted and discussed in relation to the context. Experiential meanings will be discussed in chapter five. The chapter will start with some quantitative data of the processes used in the speeches. Following that, the leading entities or participants in the speeches will be discussed in relation to process types. The last chapter will be a conclusion to the research, a summary of the findings and what new additions we might have added to this field of knowledge. It should be noted here that there is no other study discussing such data, using similar investigation tools and strategies or raising such questions except for this study. We hope that this study opens the way for other studies in the field of political discourse analysis, especially the analysis of Arabic political discourse.

2-Questions of the Research

In order for this study to tackle the right set of questions, it is important to know first what political discourse analysis is concerned with. Political discourse is studied under many different disciplines, which ask different questions that are influenced by the way those different disciplines work. Moreover, the findings and the answers provided, when studying political discourse from the point of view of different disciplines, are usually affected by the norms and limitations of these disciplines. If political discourse is studied with a methodology derived from gender studies, then the answers and the findings will reflect the discipline of gender studies, and so on.

 It is suggested that political discourse is studied for different purposes under different disciplines. As Feldman and de Landtsheer (1998) argue, those disciplines include, but are not restricted to, Political Communication, Political Psychology and Propaganda, Political Vocabulary, Historical Semantics, Political Lexicology, Official Languages, Sociolinguistics,

Discourse Analysis and Rhetorical Studies. However, what brings all those fields together is the study of political language, which is the main concern of the studies in those fields and the concern of the study to hand. This study is concerned precisely with the last two disciplines. As mentioned in the introduction, this study is going to analyze three sets of speeches delivered by three different presidents in the Arab world during the Arab Spring. This is going to be tackled in accordance principally with three disciplines. With respect to linguistics, the main paradigm is Systemic Functional Linguistics, which is a way to look at language systematically, and will discussed later in more depth. The other two approaches include the field of rhetoric, which is one of the oldest fields to study oratory and political discourse for different purposes, and the field of sociology.

The questions that are going to be asked in this study must be asked in a way that could be answered by those three disciplines, so that some conclusions can be derived from the questions asked. The questions which have directed this study are as follows:

- What rhetorical strategies did the three leaders use in order to address their people and why?
- What position did these political leaders take in relation to the people?
- In what ways did these political leaders define themselves and others?
- What are the similarities and differences, if present, between the three leaders in the use of language and the use of rhetorical devices?
- What are the similarities and differences that could be detected in the structure of the three sets of speeches?

These five questions are the main questions under which this study is going to conducted. They vary between questions that are eligible to be tackled by Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) and some others are more eligible to be taken on by the norms and principles of the fields of rhetoric, sociology or even an interdisciplinary method as we will discuss under the section on methodology.

3-Background to the Research

This study could be categorized under critical discourse analysis studies, since its main concern is to study language in relation to the pursuit and maintenance of power. The discourses under investigation are three sets of Arabic speeches delivered by three presidents, whose countries were in the midst of the wave of the Arab Spring. Each set of speeches contains two speeches by each president. The first set of speeches are from Ben Ali of Tunisia. His first speech was given on the 28th of December 2010 and the second one, which was given just days before he fled to Saudi Arabia, was on the 10th January 2011. President Ben Ali fled to Saudi Arabia on 14th January 2011. A mere four days separates the second speech selected for study, and Ben Ali's departure from Tunisia.

Of all the case studies in this thesis, Ben Ali was not only the first President to leave power after unrest had started in his country, but the one most quickly pressured to step down. Ben Ali was the second President of Tunisia, holding power from 1987 to 2011. President Ben Ali came from a small city near Sousse in east -central Tunisia, a city famous as a Phoenician settlement originally with the name Hadrumetum. The port and the commercial center was used by Hannibal as a base during the second Punic war (Fields & Dennis, 2011). Ben Ali attended the French military academy of Saint-Cyr and the Chalons-sur-Marne artillery school. He was also trained as an engineer in the United States (Reich, 1990). He served as a military attaché to the Tunisian embassy in Morocco in 1974 and three years later he was appointed head of national security and gained a reputation as a hard-liner in suppressing riots in 1978 and 1984 (Reich, 1990). He also played an active role as the Interior Minister, and was central in suppressing the fundamentalist organization the Islamic Tendency Movement (Esposito & Voll, 2001). On November 7th, 1987, Ben Ali deposed President Habib Bourguiba, who ruled Tunisia since independence from France, in a peaceful coup and became the second president of Tunisia since independence in 1965.

The second set of speeches chosen for this study was delivered by President Assad of Syria. The first speech was given on the 10th of January 2012, exactly a year after Ben Ali had left power in Tunisia and the second one, called the oath speech, was delivered on the 16th July, 2014. Assad is the last remaining president in power of the presidents analysed in this study. Assad was born in the 11th of September 1965 in Damascus Syria (Carter, Dunston, & Thomas, 2008). He was raised and studied in Syria all his educational life until he graduated from Medical school as an ophthalmologist in 1988 (Carter et al., 2008). Soon afther graduation, he started working as an army doctor in Syria's biggest military hospital, "Tishrin" (Liberation), on the outskirts of Damascus (Lesch, 2005). Four years later, he went to the United Kingdom to begin postgraduate training in ophthalmology at the Western Eye Hospital in London, UK. However, Bashar did not continue long in the programe. He went back to Syria summoned by his father, after the faviorite son of the father, Basil died in a car accident in 1994 (Carter et al., 2008). Soon after the death of Basil, Hafez Assad made the decision to make Bashar Assad the new "Crown Prince" (Carter et al., 2008). Bashir Assad was recalled to the Syrian Army, was promoted from lieutenant to captain and in 1999 he was promoted to Colonel (Ziadeh, 2012). To establish his credentials in the military, Bashar Assad entered the military academy at Homs, north of Damascus in 1994 (Carter et al., 2008). Over the next six and half years, until his death in 2000, Hafez went about systematically preparing Bashar for taking over power. Preparations for a smooth transition were made on three levels. First, support was built up for Bashar in the military and security apparatus. To establish a power base for Bashar in the military, old divisional commanders were pushed into retirement, and new, young, Alawite officers with loyalties to him took their place. Second, Bashar's image was established with the public. Bashar was engaged in public affairs. He was granted wide powers and became a political adviser to President Hafez al-Assad, head of the bureau to receive complaints and appeals of citizens, and led a campaign against corruption. As a result of his campaign against corruption, Bashar was able to remove his potential rivals for president. Lastly, Bashar was familiarized with the

mechanisms of running the country (Carter et al., 2008). In 1998, Bashar took charge of Syria's Lebanon file, which had been handled by Vice President Abdul Halim Khaddam, one of the few Sunni officials in the Assad regime, who had until then been a potential contender for president, since the 1970s. By taking charge of Syrian affairs in Lebanon, Bashar was able to push Khaddam aside and establish his own power base in Lebanon. In that same year after minor consultation with Lebanese politicians, Bashar installed Emile Lahoud, a loyal ally of his, as the President of Lebanon and pushed former Lebanese Prime Minister Rafic Hariri aside, by not placing his political weight behind his nomination as prime minister (Blanford, 2006). Al-Assad was elected president by an unopposed ballot on 10 July 2000. The Constitution was amended to reduce the minimum age of a candidate running for president from 40 to 34, so that Bashar could run for president. Assad was promoted to Marshal the same year he became president of Syria (Ziser, 2007).

The unrest in Syria began on the 26th Febuary 2011, when police forces arrested 15 youngsters, who graffitied anti-regime slogans on the walls of the buildings in the city of Daraa. In 15th of March 2011, protests started in different places in different cities and from that day on the Syrian regime has responded with with coercive force (CBS, 2011). Peaceful protests turned into a fierce civil war. Some critics such as Kamrava (2014) and monitors of the Syrian crisis describe the sequence of events as follows. Peaceful protests and army defections began hand-in-hand in 2011 until July 2011. The defections began when security forces opened fire on peaceful protesters with legitimate grievances, including on one occasion, in the presence of international media. The second stage was when seven defecting Syrian officers formed the Free Syrian Army (FSA), composed of defected Syrian Armed Forces officers and soldiers, aiming to bring the Assad regime down with united opposition forces (Kamrava, 2014). The third stage, which is the stage that has somehow continued up until the present, was when clashes between the FSA

and security forces[2] in Homs escalated as the siege continued. After six days of bombardment, the Syrian Army stormed the city on 8 November 2011, leading to fierce street fighting in several neighborhoods. Resistance in Homs was significantly greater than that seen in other towns and cities, and some in the opposition have referred to the city as the *"Capital of the Revolution"*. From that stage on many advancements and drawbacks happened with the Syrian revolution and there seems to be no result or end of this revolution in the near future.

The third and last set of speeches was given by Muammar Muhammad Abu Minyar al-Gaddafi of Libya. The first speech was given on the 22nd of February 2011 and the second one was delivered on the 1st of July 2011 more than four month after the first speech. He is the only President who was killed during the events at the hands of the rebels after an air strike targeted his convoy on the 20th of October 2011 during the Battle of Sirte (Korobko, 2014). In the political arena, Gaddafi was known by the name "Colonel Gaddafi" even among ordinary people of different classes and backgrounds internationally and locally, and also as the ''Brother Leader'' (Crawford, 2012). Gaddafi was born in a tent of the Gaddadfa tribe, in a rural area outside the town of Sirte in the deserts of western Libya (Oakes, 2011). His family came from a small, relatively un-influential tribal group called the Gadhadhfa, who were Arabized Berber in heritage. His father, Mohammad Abdul Salam bin Hamed bin Mohammad, was known as Abu Meniar. Abu Meniar earned a meager subsistence as a goat and camel herder. Nomadic Bedouins, they were illiterate and kept no birth records. As such, Gaddafi's date of birth is not known with certainty, and sources have set it as 1942 or in the spring of 1943. His parents' only surviving son,

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[2] Security forces include the Syrian Army, Hezbollah the Lebanese militia and Iraqi, Afghani and Iranian fighters, who belong to and fight under different internationally formed militias in Syria. Also, there are unconfirmed numbers of regular Russian soldiers and Iranian soldiers. It is reported that by the mid of 2014 there had been 65 different militias and regular international forces fighting the Syrian people and backing up Assad in Syria (Phillips, 2016). For further discussion refer to Phillips (2016) and Malet and Anderson (2017).

he had three older sisters. Gaddafi's upbringing in Bedouin culture influenced his personal tastes for the rest of his life. He repeatedly expressed a preference for the desert over the city and retreated to the desert to meditate (Kawczynski, 2011). From childhood, Gaddafi was aware of the involvement of the Europeans in Libya; his nation was occupied by Italy. According to Gaddafi himself, his paternal grandfather Abdessalam Bouminyar was killed by the Italian Army during the Italian invasion of 1911 a point he mentions in the first speech examined in this study. However, there is no independent confirmation of this claim. At the end of WWII in 1945, Libya was occupied by British and French forces. Although Britain and France were intent on dividing the nation between their empires, the General Assembly of the United Nations declared the country independent. In 1951, the UN created the United Kingdom of Libya, a federal state under the leadership of a pro-western monarch, Idris of Libya or Sayyid Idris al-Sanusi (John, 2015).

Gaddafi's earliest education was of a religious nature, imparted by a local Islamic teacher. Subsequently moving to nearby Sirte to attend elementary school, he progressed through six grades in four years. Education in Libya was not free, but his father thought it would greatly benefit his son despite the financial strain (Blundy & Lycett, 1987). Gaddafi briefly studied History at the University of Libya in Benghazi, before dropping out to join the military. Despite his police record, in 1963 he began training at the Royal Military Academy, Benghazi, alongside several like-minded friends from Misrata. The armed forces offered the only opportunity for upward social mobility for underprivileged Libyans, and Gaddafi recognized it as a potential instrument of political change (Harris, 1986). Graduating in August 1965, Gaddafi became a communications officer in the army's signal corps and studied later for some time in Britain courses in English language and military signal courses in different colleges (Eggenberger, 1995). With a group of loyal cadres, in 1964 Gaddafi founded the Central Committee of the Free Officers Movement, a revolutionary group named after Nasser's Egyptian predecessor. Led by Gaddafi, they met clandestinely and were organized into a clandestine cell system, offering their salaries into a single fund. Gaddafi travelled around Libya gathering intelligence and

developing connections with sympathizers, but the government's intelligence services ignored him, considering him little threat (Kawczynski, 2011). In mid-1969, Idris travelled abroad. Gaddafi's Free Officers recognized this as their chance to overthrow the monarchy, initiating what they called "Operation Jerusalem" (Kawczynski, 2011). On the first of September 1969, they occupied airports, police depots, radio stations and government offices in Tripoli and Benghazi. Gaddafi took control of the Berka barracks in Benghazi, while others did their appointed roles in the coup (Kawczynski, 2011). Having removed the monarchical government, Gaddafi proclaimed the foundation of the Libyan Arab Republic. Addressing the populace by radio, he proclaimed an end to the *"reactionary and corrupt" regime, "the stench of which has sickened and horrified us all"* (Pargeter, 2012, p. 96) Gaddafi led Libya for 42 years, a time full of incidents and controversial events until the eruption of what is referred to as the revolution of 17th February, which led to his death and the end of his ruling over Libya (Huddy, Sears, & Levy, 2013).

This concise introduction to the speakers in the study will prove important when we take on the analysis. When we want to understand the context, make a judgment on it and appreciate it, we need to know where these presidents came from, the events that shaped them and the circumstances which affect their language use. For example we will see in the two speeches of Gaddafi how deeply military life affected Gaddafi and his discourse and also affected the way he defined himself. The investigation of the background of the speakers is not an invention of this study: it is one of the methodologies that must be followed in discourse analysis studies to investigate language and make judgement on the context as suggested by Paltridge (2012).

What we are studying in this thesis is language in use in a social context, thus we need a theory that appreciates the role of context in language in use, and which can be used as a foundation to the analysis. There is no better theory than Systemic Functional Linguistics (hereafter SFL) to accommodate and describe language in use. SFL has the analytical terms and the capacity to describe any language situation with great delicacy. However,

it should be noted that all the tools of linguistic description are developed to accommodate general social situations and there might be some shortcomings with the theory of SFL when trying to analyze specialized contexts such as political contexts as we will see in the body of the thesis. To carry out the preparation of the data and the linguistic, rhetorical and the contextual analysis of the speeches in this study the work of (Halliday, 1978), Halliday (1992), Halliday and Hasan (1991), Halliday and Matthiessen (2006), Halliday and Matthiessen (2004), Lukin, Moore, Herke, Wegener, and Wu (2011), Martin (1984), Martin (1992), Martin and Rose (2003), Martin and White (2005) and Eggins (2004) will be used beside other works. Because SFL has some limitations, it is only going to be used as a key to the analysis and as the way to reach further analysis and connection with the context and the language. Other theories from the field of sociology and other fields will be used to reach further analysis and connection with the context and the language such as the work of Weber (1958), Weber (2014), Weber, Owen, Strong, and Livingstone (2004), Weber, Roth, and Wittich (1978), Sharabi (1975), Sharabi (1992), Van Dijk (1998), Van Dijk (2006) and Barakat (1998) . We only mentioned some of the works and some of the theories that are going to be used in the analysis and no matter how many resources we use and no matter how delicate we get in the analysis there always will be something beyond what we have discovered and reached. In other words, this thesis will derive some conclusions, but leave open many issues and potential questions to further research.

4-Aims of the Research, Significance and Contribution to Knowledge

There are many pivotal reasons that make studying and analyzing political discourse of significance and importance. It is suggested that the purpose of political discourse varies between projecting a government's narrative, increasing citizen's participation in the political process, and other purposes (Johnson & Johnson, 2014). Political figures and

leaders use language in its different forms to clarify an issue or issues to the citizen and to project their perspective on some set of events. They use language to direct citizens into certain judgements over an issue or issues (Johnson & Johnson, 2014). They use language politically to increase citizens' participation in the political process and to socialize more with the public in order to gain political advantage and more positive standing. In their quest to achieve their goals from the different purposes of using language politically they use language in a certain, sometimes manipulative, way to convince others of their aim or aims (Johnson & Johnson, 2014). Understanding and studying the use of language involved in the cycle of communication between political figures and the people or political figures and other political figures can be very revealing about the character of those leaders, the way the think about their people, how they deal with "reality" and how they encourage people to make judgements over things.

This study is going to be one of the first studies to take the norms and traditions of Systemic Functional Linguistics and norms and traditions of other different fields to analyze and define language use and tactics followed by three presidents of three countries in the Arab world in response to the uprisings against them and their regimes. There has been no study of speeches of those three presidents during the Arab Spring providing analysis of their use of language, and employing Systemic Functional Linguistics and other fields such as sociology as the theoretical framework. There have been studies about some of the speeches of those three presidents and leaders and other presidents and leaders of Arab world delivered on different occasions. However, there has been no study of a sample of three presidents and leaders which analyzed their language use and raised the questions we are raising here.

Analyzing political discourse from the early stages of Arab Spring could give an indication of how these three presidents look at the matter of revolution or uprising. Analyzing discourse or speeches delivered by those presidents can tell us many things about the character of the individuals, who ruled over the pivotal countries of the Arab world for more than 40 years. The analysis could tell and reveal some of tactics those three

presidents used to manipulate their people into a certain agenda and goals pre-set by those leaders and presidents. That is why questions in the previous section about the rhetorical devices, strategies and appeals, which could be seen as manipulation tactics, were asked . The analysis will also give an indication of how those leaders think of each other and how they think of other presidents and leaders of Arab world.

By providing analysis of the corpus chosen and discussed in the introduction, a contribution to knowledge will be achieved from three ways. First, it will contribute to knowledge by providing an analysis of three sets of speeches delivered by three presidents in one study using a unique interdisciplinary methodology. Most political discourse analysis studies only choose one or at most two presidents to be analyzed in terms of their speeches or language use, whereas this study focusses on three presidents and combines analysis of lexicogrammar, semantics and context. In examining the context, this study draws on references from politics, society, rhetoric, grammar and social norms as stated and recorded in academic literature. The second way in which a unique contribution will be made is that this thesis examines speeches delivered by three presidents in a very critical time of their political life and that will lead readers and researchers into more understanding of the motives of those presidents for their actions. The third way this study will fill a research gap is in dealing with and analyzing the speeches of the presidents of Arab Spring from a linguistic point of view. Most of the studies available in regard to Arab Spring, as suggested before, tackle the issue of Arab Spring from different angles and different points of views except for the point of view of the presidents, who were vital part of the events. This study is going to present their point of view and their identification and explanation of the reality around them, by looking at how they construed the events and reacted to them in their speeches.

All in all, it should be noted that there is a certain complexity in this study. The speeches which form the data were given in very complex political times. The research is aiming to be as comprehensive as possible within the limits of a PhD study. In particular, the reconciliation of SFL approaches with rhetorical and sociological perspectives is an

innovation of the study, and as such should be considered preliminary in its conclusions. It is hoped that the study will pave the way, in particular, for future research into the connections between Systemic Functional Linguistics and sociological accounts of power and legitimacy.

5.1-Methodology of the Research

As could be seen from the questions of this research, language and context, whether situational or cultural, are being investigated and linked. In other words, language in use must be understood and fully appreciated through the context of situation and context of culture. So, in order to achieve this goal two things are needed. The first thing is a theory to study language and prepare it for investigation. Secondly, a theory that is suitable to take language and apply it and connect it to the context of culture and context of situation or a social theory through which language can be understood. It is argued in this research that the best linguistic theory that can provide the terminology for understanding language within its social context is SFL theory. Halliday argues that language is a social semiotic system, which means that if we need to study language then language must be studied as it is signified by people and their practices within a certain and specific social and cultural circumstance (Halliday, 1978). As per SFL, language or the structure of language of any social situation could be described and represented through a conceptual framework for representing the social context as a semiotic environment in which people exchange meaning. This conceptual framework includes the variables of register (Halliday, 1978). In this research those variables, which are field, tenor and mode will serve as the foundation of the research. These variables will set and pave the way to the discussion in all of the thesis. However, there are still limitations on what these variables can provide in terms of deeply understanding the social factors and the relationship between the head of states and the other players of the discourse. A

sociological theory is needed to strengthen the discussion and provide further terminology to link language and situation. The main theorist whose work is going to be used in this research is Max Weber, one of the "fathers" of the discipline of sociology. Weber suggests that there are three bases of legitimacy (Weber et al., 1978). These three bases are the traditional bases, the charismatic base and the rational-legal base (Weber et al., 1978). The appeal to each one of them needs language of certain characteristics. Those three bases of legitimacy could be seen first by analyzing the three variables of register, especially field and tenor. The more heads of state resort to a certain base, the more is known about the way events transpire in their societies and their relationship with the society they live in and try to control. It also could also reveal how they define themselves and define others.

A key concept in this research is that of "neopatriarchy". Sharabi (1992) illuminates this phenomenon in the Arab world where modernity (democracy, states of institutions and equal rights) meets patriarchy (the form of traditional society, where the authority is in the hands of the father). The concept of neopatriarchy describes the conditions of patriarchy in Arab society that have not been displaced or comprehensively modernized. Instead, they have only been reinforced and sustained in distorted, somewhat modernized forms. The neopatriarchal state, regardless of modern institution building and legislation reflective of modern ideas, "*is in many ways no more than a modernized version of the traditional patriarchal sultanate*" (Sharabi, 1992, p. 7). When a head of state sees himself as a father, certain strategies will be followed by him to keep control of the people and to show his feelings as well. These strategies will help to understand further the bases of legitimacy directly in relation to Arab societies.

The above account is a general description or an outline to the methodology that is going to be followed to take on the questions of this research and achieve its aims. I turn now to describe the methodology in more details and describe the steps that are going to be taken in collecting, preparing and analyzing the data. I will discuss the data first in terms of the process of collection and preparation and then I move to describe the methodology

of each chapter as each chapter is distinct in the way it approaches the data. For example, chapter five approaches the data in terms of transitivity, so we need to describe the methodology that will be followed in analyzing the data in terms of transitivity and the same applies for chapter three and four, which are the body chapters in which questions will be taken on.

5.2-Data Collection, Preparation and Analysis.

The speeches in this study are six speeches delivered by three presidents as mentioned previously. Two speeches of each president were selected. In each of the three case studies, the first speech delivered by each president in response to the uprising against him was selected for analysis. For Ben Ali and Gaddafi, the last speech they delivered before meeting their respective ends (fleeing the country in the case of Ben Ali, and being murdered in the case of Gaddafi) was also selected for analysis. As mentioned, Assad remains in power at the time of writing. In addition to Assad's first speech in response to the unrest, his re-election speech, delivered after his election for a second term of government until 2021 (Lesch & Haas, 2016) was selected for analysis. By choosing two speeches which are distinct in their timing in relation to the careers of these three presidents, there is the opportunity to examine and observe any shift in the language use as well as to consider the reasons behind this shift.

At the time of preparing the data of this study we could not find fully transcribed versions of the speeches chosen for this study. This in itself is an important observation, and a profound contrast with how speeches are transmitted and disseminated in Western countries. A study of speeches of a leader of any major Western country would never require transcription work – the transcripts of speeches are made publicly available.

Speeches by President Trump, for instance, are available on the Whitehouse website[3], while all speeches and announcements by the UK Prime Minister are available at the Prime Ministerial website[4]. In the case of Ben Ali, Gaddafi, and Assad, no such transcripts were available.

Only some parts of the speeches were found on different websites and news resources. It was of importance to transcribe the data fully so that proper analysis could be conducted. Drawing on fully recorded videos the data was manually transcribed. This consisted in total of 04:39:37 of video recordings. After the transcription process was finalized, the raw transcribed data for the contextual and grammatical analysis was prepared. The following steps were followed to prepare the data for analysis: -

1) We used diacritical marks on each word of the whole data to guide pronunciation and avoid any ambiguity in the pronunciation and in the inflectional case of any word. As there are no automatic way that supports the process of adding diacritical marks to the raw transcribed speeches, this was manually done for each word of the 33856 words.

2) Since this study is written in English, an English translation of the Arabic texts was mandatory. As in the case of the Arabic texts full translations of the speeches were not available and even the available translated parts of the speeches in different news websites and different resources were not translated accurately enough to be used for the purposes of grammatical and a contextual analysis. All of the six speeches in this study were translated from Arabic into English with three aspects in mind: -

   a) The processes and the participants must not be lost in the translation as they need to be analyzed in each clause for the purpose of this research. To keep the participants and the processes intact in each clause is a challenging translation

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[3] (https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefing-room/speeches-and-remarks).
[4] (https://www.gov.uk/government/organisations/prime-ministers-office-10-downing-street).

job. However, it would have been more challenging still if this study included the other metafunctions in the analysis such as textual metafunction.

b) The rhetorical aspects needed to be left intact. All of the rhetorical devices and the rhetorical strategies had to be recognized and appreciated.

c) The translation must not add something to the original or either dilute or elevated the language used by the speakers, who delivered the speeches, which might have negative consequences on the analysis and its validity.

3) All of the speeches were divided or segmented into paragraphs depending on topics and other factors utilizing the work of Steel (2009) and Van Donzel (2009). The term "stage" will be used for each move speakers make in their texts between topics and to mark introduction and conclusion. The work of Martin (1992). The term "stage" refers to the chunk of text that can represent a purpose or a topic such as the greeting stage or the comment stage, which might have one topic or more than one topic

4) Except for the two speeches of Ben Ali and the second speech of Gaddafi, the speeches were very long, and so extracts were taken from them, attending to coherence and cohesion in the process. Extracts were taken depending on the purpose each paragraph serve in the speech. If a set of paragraphs serves one purpose or one topic, then only one paragraph will be taken. The quantitative date in chapter five is a reflection of these extracts from the speeches.

These are the steps that were followed to prepare the six speeches for analysis and the final data that was analyzed of the 33856 words was 10660 words. The analysis of the data was done first by dividing all texts into clauses following Halliday and Matthiessen (2004). Each clause in each text was given a unique number so that it could be followed and traced back to the original from wherever it was quoted in the discussion. Figure 2 below gives an example of how a unique number was assigned to each clause.

| AS-1-60 | المَنْصِبُ لَيْسَ لَهُ قِيمَةٌ | The position has no value |

Figure 2-Clause Representation[5]

The first column in figure 2 lists the unique identification number for the clause. The first letter in each case is the initial of the speaker's name – "A" for Assad - and the (S) stands for speech. The number in the middle between the letters and the first number on the right stands for the number of the speech. So, this clause comes from the first speech of Assad. The number on the right stands for the clause number, so the above clause in figure 2 is clause number 60 from the first speech of Assad.

After the six speeches were broken down into clauses, processes were picked out of the clause and analyzed in terms of their type. The nature of the participants of these process types were also analyzed, utilizing the work of Halliday and Matthiessen (2006) especially the concept of "thing type".

With regards to chapters three to five of this study, it is important to clarify the methodologies employed. Chapter 3 focusses on the analysis of the register in context, following the work of Halliday and Hasan (1991) and Martin (1992). The works of Halliday and Hasan (1991) or Martin (1992) are not the only theoretical framework that a researcher can use to analyze register. There are some other theories and works that discuss and analyze register, but they are not within the framework of SFL as we will discuss in the literature review chapter. In the analysis of register in this study we will follow both Halliday and Hasan (1991) or Martin (1992). The three sets of speeches will be analyzed in terms of the three variables of field, tenor and mode and this analysis will be cross referenced many times in the other chapters as register analysis, as suggested before, defines the context as a whole and paves the way for further analysis. The analysis

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[5] [5] The examples presented in all of the thesis are selected from the texts based on their relevance to the contextual, grammatical or rhetorical elements under discussion. Each text might have other examples that can be used, but due to the space available in the body of the thesis we only use a few examples for each element to give evidence for claims about contextual features, or rhetorical or grammatical patterns.

of the three sets of speeches in the third will start with the variable of field and then the other two variables will follow after that. In addition to the three terms of field, tenor and mode, other terms will also be presented in the third chapter and those terms include, but are not restricted to, power, appeal, legitimacy and other terms. These latter terms belong to sociology. It is part of the aim of this thesis to try to bring concepts from linguistics into closer dialogue with the concepts used in sociology. The analysis will start with the two speeches of Ben Ali, followed by the speeches of Assad, and then end with the two speeches of Gaddafi.

A more concentrated analysis of power, appeal, and legitimacy will be provided in chapter 4, the focus of which is rhetorical organization. The analysis in the fourth chapter will be done through breaking down the six texts into topics, appeals and rhetorical devices. Each stage in each text will be discussed in terms of what topics it presents to the audience, what appeals are used, what purpose these rhetorical devices serve and the rhetorical devices used to give a deeper effect to the arguments of the three leaders in order to affect the audience. The fourth chapter will depend on register discussion in chapter three and build on it. The fourth chapter will utilize the work of Weber (1958), Weber (2014), Weber et al. (2004), Furze, Savy, Brym, and Lie (2011), Malesevic (2010) and others. The analysis and the discussion in the fourth chapter will be done as follows: -

1- Each text will be divided into paragraphs or stages following Steel (2009) and Van Donzel (2009).
2- Each stage will be marked in terms of boundaries using the numbering system. described in the discussion of clause representation.
3- Each text will be read and all topics will be highlighted.
4- Each stage of each text will be approached and analyzed in terms of what appeals are used, what rhetorical devices could be found and what purpose they serve.
5- In every step, an attempt will be made to connect language and language use to the context and to what actually was happening on the ground on the time of speeches' delivery and the relation of language to the nature of the society.

The fifth chapter and the last discussion chapter before the conclusion will focus on transitivity. The analysis will start first with the Material process type in the six speeches. Discussion of the process types will focus on comparing quantitative data between all of the speeches. The discussion will then move on to highlight the key participants in these speeches. Before analyzing the quantitative data, it should be noted that the statistics provided cover only excerpts of the first and second speeches of Assad and the first speech of Gaddafi. The other speeches, which are the second speech of Gaddafi and the two speeches of Ben Ali are covered fully. The work of Halliday and Hasan (1991) and Halliday and Matthiessen (2004) will be the backbone to the analysis and discussion in this chapter. In the fifth chapter, there is a presentation of quantitative data of process type and participants. The numbers and percentages were reached using simple mathematical steps. In regard to processes and participants, I will analyze the processes and assign each process a type following Halliday and Matthiessen (2004). The same applies to participants. I collect all Sensers, Actors, Behaviors, Carriers and then follow the following mathematical steps to reach percentages with the consideration that we have for example 485 material processes of the total number of processes of 1684: -

1- Find the whole value (e.g. 1684) and the number that you want to turn into a percentage (e.g. 485).
2- Turn the two numbers into a fraction (e.g. 485/1684).
3- Convert the fraction into a decimal (e.g. 485÷1684= 0.288)
4- Multiply the decimal by 100 to get the percent (e.g. 0.288 x 100 = 28.8%)[6]

Each chapter in this study might seem distinct and follows a methodology that is different from the other analysis chapters. However, all of the chapters are interrelated. In each chapter, cross-referencing will be found as the discussion on each chapter depends on the definition of context and the definition of some terms presented in all of the chapters.

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[6] All percentages will be rounded up or down to the nearest percentage point. For example, 28.8% will be rounded up to 29%.

Chapter Two – Literature Review

1-Introduction

The overall goals of this chapter are first to identify some characteristics of Arabic political studies in general and especially the characteristics of those that analyze speeches delivered by Arab leaders. Identifying some characteristics of Arabic political studies will help in locating this current study within the already available literature and also shed some light on the anticipated contribution of the current study. The second goal of this chapter is to identify and present some terms, theories and concepts that are used in this study. The theory of SFL will be discussed. Terms such as Ideology, politics, CDA, power, neopatriarchy and concepts of register and context will be presented and identified. Identifying and discussing these theories, terms and concepts will determine the direction this study is taking and the field to which it belongs.

2-Characteristics of Arabic political and discursive studies

Under this heading, writings and studies that discuss and focus on politics in general or discourse of political nature in particular will be discussed for the patterns these studies have in common. The word "writings" is used here to describe the literature that was written in the early Islamic era for political purposes. This literature (i.e., the literature that was written in the early Islamic era for political purposes) has been called "writings" here because they do not take the form of, or the methodology of, political discourse analysis studies, nor do they analyze the production of language made by political figures at that time. They constitute political advice and opinions, but are not grounded in linguistic, rhetorical or social analysis (Alalam, 2006). After the discussion of these writings

and the presentation of possible patterns, a move will be made to the recent era, the era of post-colonialization until our current time. Some studies from the era of post-colonization and from our current era will be discussed for their shared patterns and characteristics.

Arabs in general have used language for the purpose of politics and to communicate for the purpose of politics. Hundreds of political speeches, which were delivered in pivotal moments of the Arabic history, were preserved and reached us into this modern era. These political speeches show that political oratory has been one of the most important communication methods in the Arab world and has contributed to the making of the political reality in the Arab world (Abdulateef, 2015). However, what is important here in this discussion is not the speeches themselves, but the academic and literary reaction to those speeches. Further, what is of importance is the common characteristics between those academic or literary studies which studied those speeches.

As just claimed, Arabs have known political oratory for a long time. However, the same does not apply to studying speeches delivered from different social and linguistic angles. The literature shows that Arabs used to appreciate well-delivered speeches, especially the ones that are displayed crafted rhetoric and eloquence. Literature shows also and speaks highly of some Arabs, who were defined by their rhetoric and eloquence. However, at that time there was no scholarship of their speeches and their effects on the political or social life. Arab scholars appreciated and commented on speeches or oratory through books and writings about the life and stories of Arabs and their famous historical days and through rhetorical philosophical literary books such as البَيَانُ والتَّبِيينُ *Eloquence and Elucidation* by الجَاحِظُ *-al-Jāḥiẓ* (776-868 AD). The speeches of that era, the era of early Islam, Caliphs and Sultans, have received contextual and social attention decades or even centuries after they had been delivered. They have even been examined in terms of their effect on the social and political life and in terms of linguistics and rhetoric in recent times. To give one example, we can mention a study with the title, "Farooq's Oratory Speeches: A Stylistic Study" by Almurri (2012). This study concerns the speeches of Omar Bin-

Alkhatab, the second caliph of Islam (579-644 AD). The researcher examines the style of the second Caliph of Islam and briefly discusses the style of the Caliph when addressing different topics and issues such as religion, society, politics and the military.

However, Arab communities were not strangers to the genre of political writing. Arab scholars actually wrote books entirely devoted to political purposes. These kinds of writings are referred to in the literature as الأداب السلطانية – *Sultanic Literature*. The Arabic word سلطاني - *Sultanic* - is an adjective of the noun سلطان – *Sultan*, which means the king, the caliph, the Khan, the leader, the prince or a Muslim sovereign in general (Merriam-Webster, 2005). The word سلطان - *Sultan* - also means "authority and dominance". These two meanings of the same word could have been meant and intended when the term الأداب السلطانية – *Sultanic Literature* was coined, as can be seen from the definition of the term or the literature that is described by this term.

It is suggested that the term *"the Sultanic Literatures"* refers to the writings and the literature that appeared after the end of Caliphate period and the start of the kingship period around 661 AD (Hawting, 2002). The aim of that literature was in general derived from Persian literature and used to manage aspects of ruling in the Islamic state (Alalam, 2006). What characterizes these writings is that they are based on the principle of advice to the rulers on how to run and deal with their kingship. They contain considerable advice on morals and etiquette that a ruler should follow in regard to himself, as well as in regard to his servants and his attitude toward his enemies (Alalam, 2006). It is suggested that those writings depended in the formation of their point of view on what constitutes moral politics in three systems, which are the Persian, the Greek and the political Islamic law. These writings tried to compose one compound from the three referential systems, avoiding any possible inconsistency or discrepancy, producing a unique blend that cannot be totally deemed to be a copy of any one of the systems just mentioned (Alalam, 2006). So, these political writings are Sultanic as they are aimed at strengthening the authority of the ruler and they are Sultanic, because they are aimed and meant for rulers to read and benefit from.

Even though there is a great debate among scholars on the boundaries and definition of the term *"the Sultanic Literatures"*, for the sake of discussion and clarity some general aspects of the term will be given and then a definition will be reached. It is suggested that the term *"the Sultanic Literatures"* refers to the writings and the literature that appeared after the end of Caliphate period and the start of the kingship period around 661 AD (Hawting, 2002). The aim of that literature was in general derived from the Persian literature and used to manage and run aspects of ruling as well as life in general in the Islamic state (Alalam, 2006). Before going into describing those writings and showing their political character and effect on the political life of their time, it should be noted here that up until our current era this kind of literature (i.e., Sultanic literature) has not received suitable attention in terms of analysis or research, which raises many questions about the relationship between politicians and the public in the Arab-Islamic world even back in those early days. The suggested reasons behind such negligence pertain to the link between those writings and the nature of the ruling of that era, which was strict and authoritarian (Alalam, 2006). Another explanation of such aversion is the claim that such writings or literature do not express the real Islamic spirit (Alalam, 2006). It is agreed among most scholars that *"the Sultanic Literature"* provide a practical view of what politics should look like, and by practical they meant how politics should be executed and practiced (Arkon, 1990). From a comprehensive look at those writings, it could be concluded that by giving advice to the head of state, those writings aimed to empower the authority of the state and tenacity of the kingship. The just mentioned opinion on those writings is not haphazard: it is manifested in the definitions of those writings that were given by some great scholars studying this field. All the definitions were in one way or another implying the following when defining *"the Sultanic Literature"*: Sultanic Literature constitutes political advice delivered to the head of state or the crown prince in order for him to be a successful ruler, and definitions along these line can be found in the discussion of these writings in Abbas (1977), Alkadi (1981), Badawi (1954) and Assayed (1984). The same scholars also assert that these writings are governed by the

practical orientation to politics, and that those writings were an essential part of the mindset that writers and other groups of the state tried to build for the sake of empowering the country and head of state. One of the interesting claims about those writings is that they were written using the third person point of view (Alalam, 2006). Is this characteristic of using third person in general still present in Arabic political speeches? We will leave this question for further research in the future. Moreover, it is suggested that those writings were to a far extent similar in the way they enact stages of discussion or advancement of discussion, starting from the title of the book, letter or covenant till the conclusion (Alalam, 2006). The previous claim suggests that those writings formed a genre, which all writers followed when writing about this domain or register of literature or a contextual configuration that all of them respected. Mostly in all those writings the production starts with a blazing, usually rhymed, title to express what in the book or literary production reflects the body of the book, letter or covenant (Almuradi, 1981). Examples of some titles will be given below.

Example 1

| Title | الشهب اللامعة في السياسة النافعة |
| Translation | The illustrious meteors in gainful politics. |

Example 2

| Title | المنهج المسلوك في سياسة الملوك |
| Translation | The followed path in kings' politics |

A very interesting point before moving on is the relationship between the head of state and writers of such literature. Some of the books were written by direct order from the head of state and others, the majority, were not. If the book appeared as a response to the order of the head of state then the reasons might be attributed to what the head of state wanted to do with the book as was the case with Malik-Shah (1072 – 1092), who ordered writers to write about their opinion on his ruling and his running of the country to fix any flaw that might affect the country's superiority. The Sultan chose a book written by نظام الملك *Nizam al-Mulk* under the title "*The Biographies of Kings*", which suggests that the book met with the approval of the Sultan. Even then the history did not mention what

the effect of that book was on the ruling of the sultan or what happened after receiving the book from the author.

The above review of a genre of political writing does not include any reference or quote to illustrate that those writings discussed speeches or critically analyzed political discourse delivered in their era. Yet, they are relevant to an aspect of this current study, which is the register variable of Tenor, that is, the relationship between the ruler or the head of state, regardless of the name the political system bestows upon him/her, and the other classes or at least the class of writers and authors. As discussed above these writings were made by the order of some head of states and some were made without an order. This fact raises the question of how objective these writings are. Do these writings actually diagnose real political social issues and give the head of state advice or a solution for them or only stand at the point of giving general advice regarding different topics? Do the writers of these writings actually see themselves as equal to the head of state and depart from that point in giving advice and opinion? According to literature the answer is no. it is argued that these writings are built on an ideology and that ideology looks at the society in terms of three different classes (Jabiri, Arkon, & Abinadeir, 2008). These three classes are the head of state as a class, the high-middle class, which include authors, writers and merchants in it and the last class is the commoners (Jabiri et al., 2008). The relationship between these three classes is characterized by the total agreement and support to the first class or the head of state (Jabiri et al., 2008). Taking into consideration this obvious ideology from these writings, it could be assumed that the objectivity of these writings will be compromised and only contain what pleases the head of state or what does not aggravate him or her. It is made clear by researchers that what is absent from this literature is the nature of the society and the politics as they were constituted and experienced at that time (Jabiri et al., 2008). It could be seen so far that Arabs see their head of states as a separate and a different class to the other classes, and that other classes have certain obligations when dealing with this high class. Of interest to this study is whether the extreme hierarchical distinction between the head of state and the people

of this earlier era remains part of Arabic politics in our current era. It also could be seen from the discussion that Arabs were not interested in documenting their political analysis of speeches in books and writings of discourse analysis or speech analysis. They preferred to do this in books that discussed rhetoric, society and religion.

Moving into a more recent era, the era of post-colonization and the era of kingdoms and republics, it has been suggested that the Arabic political speech of this era has been oriented toward prosperity and independence (Qarawi, 1989). The political speech of the postcolonial era, it is claimed, did not attempt to look at the situation in hand or the political problems that were there in the era after independence. Instead, it construed a different reality, in a vague and indirect way, rather than focusing on fixing current problems (Qarawi, 1989). The political speech of that era could be described as a Greek oriented. The Greek view of politics revolved around the duties and the responsibilities that free individuals can enjoy and practice as a part of a political community that cannot be separated from each other (Meier, 1990). Without going deep into theorizing and describing the postcolonial era, some studies which cover the start of this era up until the current days will be presented and discussed to draw conclusions or assert claims about the characteristics of that period reaching into our current days.

One of the first Arabic studies to provide an analysis of political speeches was a study by Marzūq (1966). In this study, published in Arabic as a book under the title, *Political Oratory in Egypt from the British Occupation to the Declaration of Protectorate*, the writer examines political oratory in Egypt between 1882 and 1914. In this study, the author examines the circumstances that affected and were the reasons behind the appearance of political oratory at that time. Moreover, he considers some of the public speeches given by some who are considered pioneers in the field of political oratory, such as *Mustafa Kamel – مصطفى كامل, Mohammed Fareed – محمد فريد* and *Abdullah Anadeem –* عبدالله النديم.

The approaches that the author followed in discussing his data varied between a historical discussion and analysis and by historical discussion it is meant the social and political circumstances that were behind the speeches given, and the role that those speeches played at the service of political independence and freedom and the motivation of the Egyptian people. The second approach was a linguistically oriented approach. In his linguistic approach to his data, the author studied what he called the "oratorical style", a term that referred to the particular characteristics that distinguished the political speeches of one orator from another. He also drew connections between the contexts in which those speeches were given and the language that were used, the structure of the speeches, techniques of persuasion and for generating emotion, and the suitableness of all of that to the audience or the targeted participants and whether they were natives, young people or people of different social classes.

It could be argued by reading that study that the author did not follow a certain shaped theoretical methodology or approach to his study, neither did he discuss the methodology specifically. He adopted different traditional rhetorical methods from the traditional studies of Arabic and Aristotelian rhetoric. His method for the analysis of political speeches could be described in order of steps as follows. The first step was to identify the context of the speech under discussion and why it has been delivered and the reaction of public or audience to it, a method which was taken from the ideas of Aristotle and the traditional Arabic work on rhetoric and the disciplines that come under it. The second step was to connect the structure and kind of language used in the speech and the nature of audience and the context. The third step was the specification and discussion of the "oratorical style" of the speech giver and discussion about the effect of the speech on the audience in terms of motivation. This study took great interest in the social and political language in use and used tools, regardless of how well presented they are, specified for the purposes of studying language (communication) within a certain society and during certain events (context), to extract and identify effective "oratorical styles" that could

work if used again under similar circumstances by others. This method can be called a linguistic rhetorical method into analyzing political speeches.

Two interesting things about this study were that it recognized the role of context and its effect on the political language use of that time. A great sum of that study was deeply and amply concentrated on the situation, environment and context of political speeches. The study also concentrated on the circumstances that helped in the appearance, development and sometimes the decline of political oratory. The study took into account the great sum of discussion devoted to the domains of context and environment before turning to a discussion of the orators and what the author called the "oratorical style". This study adopts an orientation made explicit in Halliday's approach, which is the importance of the text-in-context relations, and the centrality of such relations to the study and analysis of political oratory.

There have also been many other Arabic studies which followed this study and discussed different topics and used methodologies and approaches to answer the questions they raised such as the study of Nasr (1981). This study was published in 1981 by *Marleen Nasr* مارلين نصر – جمال. Nasr studied the concept of nationalism from *Jamal Abdunassir's* – عبدالناصر point of view and approached her data by using the analysis of the semantic fields, an approach based on identifying the main topic or idea in the texts under study and then identifying the other ideas or topics presented in the texts as either close to the main topic or idea or in contradiction with it (Nasr, 1981). What distinguishes this study is that it was one of the first studies to investigate the basic and significant conceptions that an Arab leader had toward certain ideas or topics. This approach opens up the possibility of analyzing the motivations of a certain Arab leader to act or say certain things in a certain context.

Another example is a study published in 1990 by Mohammed (1990). The aim of this study was to answer two questions: what are the characteristics of Sadat's ideology, and what is the role of his political speech in forming and presenting that ideology? To approach

those questions, the author made use of Marxist literature and the ideological view of that literature in order to criticize and analyze ideology. He used tools such as looking at the text or texts with the social and material conditions that generated those texts in consideration. By following such approaches, the author was able to provide very interesting conclusions, such as how effective Sadat was in expressing his ideology. He claimed that Sadat was so effective that the majority of Egyptians strived to defend his ideology even though some of those ideologies were going against their own interests (Mohammed, 1990). The common feature between the three studies just discussed is that they were conducted and published after the passing away of all the political figures they studied. For example, the study conducted by Nasr (1981) about the speeches of *Jamal Abdunassir's* – جمال عبدالناصر was conducted and published in 1980, ten years after his death in 1970. The study done of the speeches of Sadat was conducted and published in 1990, nine years after his assassination in 1981. This is also a feature of a modern study which will be discussed below. All of the above listed studies were conducted in Egypt by Egyptians scholars. However, it should not be understood that there are no other studies that were conducted elsewhere in the Arab world at that time. There are other studies but they were not as famous or as early as these studies.

A study of speeches delivered during the war on Iraq was conducted as PhD research by Balfaqeeh (2008). The corpora for the research were the speeches given by four figures, who were in one way or another involved in that war: President George Bush, Prime Minister Tony Blair, President Saddam Hussein and the then leader of Al-Qaida, Osama Bin Ladin. The study was conducted in 2007 after Saddam Hussain had been removed from power and was a fugitive wanted by The United States. The data of the study covered many speeches given by those four figures during the war. For example, the data contained eight speeches delivered by President Bush, seven by PM Blair, nine by President Hussein and six by Bin Ladin. The corpora were divided into Arabic and English corpora. The author did not use translations of the speeches of President Hussein and Bin Ladin as one of the aims of the researcher was to compare the rhetorical tools used in the

English corpora and the Arabic corpora, along with other aims such as the concept of power and ideology as represented and as perceived by the speeches delivered by those four political figures. The methodology that the researcher used to approach his questions was to a far extent inspired by the framework and devices of discourse analysis following Fairclough and Van Dijk. Among the devices used to answer the questions of the research were patterns of argument and structure, discursive strategies identification, local and global meaning and formal structure. Those terms are presented here as concepts and it does not mean that they will be used in this research. The data of the researcher were divided and analyzed per speaker discussing the devices just mentioned. The research did not target the speeches line by line or element by element as the study was qualitative not quantitative. In order to present an argument, the author took excerpts from all the speeches and made an argument about how certain devices were used by the political figure in the speeches under investigation. The researcher put the reader very close to the data under investigation by discussing and giving a background to the context of the speeches and the actors involved in those speeches. This study is the first study discussed which uses different speeches of different figures as data to be analyzed. However, it is also distinctive because it draws on political speeches in two languages The researcher was able to reach some conclusions to the questions she raised using the methodology she put together for this purpose. One of the most interesting similarities that the researcher found between the four political figures by studying their speeches is that all four of them focused their speeches on the future and the expectations they have in regard to it. They tried to magnify the potential threat that the enemy would bring about if not faced now rigorously. All of the political figures studied used this technique. For example President Bush and Prime Minister Blair talked about the putative weapons of mass destruction of President Hussein, and Bin Ladin and President Hussein talked about the Crusades and the Islamic historical battles to construe the potential threat posed by the US and UK (Balfaqeeh, 2008). The conclusion that the researcher was able to derive from her data implies that there is no specific technique

that western politicians use under certain circumstances and the same applies to Arab politicians. All persuasion techniques play on humans needs and what is estimated to motivate or de-motivate them, or to manipulate what they are capable of believing or disbelieving in at certain times.

All the studies presented so far have been done and conducted at different times for different purposes and, as mentioned in chapter one, the studies around the notion of the "Arab Spring" and the speeches delivered then were very few with no studies at all using SFL as a framework of analysis and discussion. To expand on what has been discussed so far, a study, which has dealt with the speeches delivered during the Arab Spring, will be discussed below.

This study was published in 2012 by Maalej (2012). The data of this study was the last three speeches given by the ousted President of Tunisia President Ben Ali. The first speech discussed by Maalej also forms part of the corpus for this study. One of the main aims of Maalej's paper was, to study the last three speeches with special reference to the person deixis used and the ideological uses of person deixis in political speeches. To achieve this aim, the researcher followed a multidisciplinary methodology by combining the approaches of CDA and of cognitive-pragmatics. By using such methods, the researcher was able to reach some conclusions. A dramatic shift of pronouns and pronoun configurations was observed. The researcher argues these shifts were motivated by parallel events in the economic, political and social context. For example, in Ben Ali's last speech or as the researcher called it the "ultimate speech", a shift in the relationship between Ben Ali and the addressees of his speeches were noted. It is not clear how the researcher measured them, but the pronouns *"I"* and *"you"* in this speech outnumbered the same pronouns in the other two speeches. This suggests according to the researcher that there is a quantitative shift in the relationship between the ousted President and the addressees. Maalej also argues that in the first two speeches delivered by Ben Ali, there was no thinking of the people of Tunisia as true participants except for a very few *"I"* occurrences. However, in the last speech, the people of Tunisia were addressed with

"you" which has the influence of carrying the addressees closer to the deictic center in this speech than the other two delivered speeches (Maalej, 2012). What is interesting about this study is that it is one of the very few studies using speeches of the "Arab Spring" as a source of data. However, there is a similarity between this study and the other studies presented so far. This study is interesting because it took a grammatical aspect of language and was able to derive patterns and conclusions out of it and explain them in light of the Tunisian context, indicating that context can be investigated through grammar or grammatical choices. At the same time, from the various studies just presented it is clear that there are many different disciplines, methods and approaches that are adopted for critically analyzing discourse. To analyze and answer certain questions that researchers might have regarding certain texts, they must formulate approaches and methods suitable for this analysis to get the best possible answers to their questions. This is an important characteristic of discourse analysis: there is no one fixed method or approach of analysis that could be applied on all texts of different types for the research to be categorized under critical discourse analysis studies. It is all about the needs of the researcher and aims and goals of the investigation.

By looking at the studies of political discourse above and the Arabic political literature written for Caliphs and head of states, some conclusions can be reached. In the early Islamic era, there was a close relationship between politics and religion. In almost all of the political writings or in all books of *"Sultanic Literature"*, verses of the Quran and sayings of the prophet are quoted to give advice to heads of state (Alalam, 2006). Arabs were not alone in using religion to give advice to their heads of state; Persians, who Arabs quoted and used in their political heritage in their writings, did the same (Alalam, 2006). Further, what is common between all these early writings is that they did not discuss or analyze any speeches of those heads of state; they merely gave advice. This might be due to the upbringing children receive in the family in their early years of life, where they get taught not to argue with the ones who are older than them or to get in a conflict with bodies of authority (Sharabi, 1975). Moreover, it is argued that the political speeches of

Arab rulers are looked at as a one-way speech that has the purpose of emphasizing facts and truths only. This makes these speeches unchallengeable and vanquishes any possibility of public criticism or questioning (Sharabi, 1992).

All of the studies mentioned above discuss speeches of figures who were dead or had left power in general prior to the time of those studies. Very few studies in Arabic have been done on speeches of Arab political figures while they were in power. This could be explained by three factors. The first factor is that it is only in recent years that academic attention has been given to critical discourse analysis of political speeches in the Arabic context (Mazid, 2015). The second reason is the iron fist of the security apparatus in these countries, where all media and communication means are controlled. For example, in Egypt there is the 2915 presidential decree. This decree dictates that researchers should satisfy certain conditions before they can conduct research in social sciences (Yakoot, 2017). Further, there is the Egyptian Universities Law, which was issued in 1979. This law gives presidents of universities unprecedented and unjustified control on the students' academic and political activities (Yakoot, 2017). The third factor relates to the Arabic culture, where criticism is not always welcomed because it correlates with the idea of deconstructing not constructing in general (Mazid, 2015). The word "criticism" in Arabic is always linked to harsh words and backlash (Mazid, 2014). There also could be other factors and reasons for the lack of critical discourse analysis of political speeches , which may be cultural and societal. More research is needed to determine these reasons and factors. One last thing we can see from these studies is that there is no study that brings together a methodology like this current research to answer questions related to language, society and the use of language. There have been some studies that brought together some of the tools used in this research, but not all. A more systematic and independent literature review is needed to determine the place of this study among other studies.

3-Ideology, Power and Rhetoric

The three terms listed above could be seen as the most important terms in this research alongside the term context. Context is important to the study of language, but the study of context is not complete without ideology, power and rhetoric, especially when what is studied is political communication. So, what do those terms mean and why are they important to context in general and to this study in particular? The term ideology is one of the most important concepts in social sciences, even though it was declared dead in the second half of the 20th century (Malešević & MacKenze, 2002). This term is difficult to describe theoretically and hard to make visible methodologically (Lukin, 2016). In this review, the term's etymology and history will not be discussed. However, what is going to be discussed and presented is its uses, some of its boundaries, its relation to society and the meaning of ideological analysis.

Ideology refers in general to the set of ideas and beliefs held by a person, a group of people or a society and could be described as conscious and unconscious set of ideas (Van Dijk, 1998). The same definition applies to the term "world view", which also means the collection of beliefs about life and the universe held by a person, a group or a society (Falcon & University, 2008). "World view" could be also described as a set of assumptions held consciously or unconsciously in faith about the basic make up of this universe and how it works (Falcon & University, 2008). From those two insights into two terms, it could be assumed that this term is fuzzy and hard to identify directly and to find clear cut boundaries to it. The difficulty comes from the fact that whenever an attempt is made to identify the terms only very general descriptions are presented as ideology is *" the most elusive concept in the whole of social science"* as per McLellan (1986). It could be argued depending on these two insights, world view and ideology, that critically analyzing discourse based on one or two definitions of ideology could be too vague, and could overlap with other ideas and concepts such as culture and tradition(s). Some specificity

and framing is needed when dealing with this term in discourse analysis and/or other supporting tools such as grammar and other sociological tools.

To make "ideology" more confusing, it is suggested that the term has been used in different ways, for example as internal ideas that are logically structured within a set. It has been used as a meaning with a purpose of persuasion and as a set of ideas which play a role in social interaction (Minar, 1961). However, within almost all the studies that used ideology as a departing point there has been a consensus that ideology and its uses, no matter what the exact definition is, has specific characteristics and those characteristics are that ideology must have power over cognition. Ideology controls the person, group or society; it guides the evaluation and action of people (Mullins, 1972). Those characteristics of ideology led to the idea that ideology in a society could be dominated by some groups in the society other than other groups. Further, groups of the majority might accept the hegemonic ideology of the dominant group as their own (Van Dijk, 1998). This is evidently seen in political discourse when a head of state speaks on behalf of the people and projects the impression that what he/ she says is what the majority think and say (Mazid, 2015). This is why in some definitions of ideology, the focus has been on ideology as a set of ideas that help to legitimize political power, i.e., the power of political dominant groups in society (Eagleton, 1991). Ideology in this research will not appear or be analyzed directly as ideology, but will appear and will be analyzed in terms of concepts such as hegemony and dominance strategies. This idea of the dominant ideology in a society being that of the dominant class finds its roots in Marxist theory (Lukács & Lukács, 1971). The same is right when it comes to patriarchal societies the dominant ideology is the ideology of the dominant father or controller (Sharabi, 1992). The mentioning of patriarchal societies here leads to the next point of discussion which is the main sociological theory that is going to be used in this research as a base or departing point of discussion sociologically.

Arabic societies are patriarchal societies like all other modern societies (Sharabi, 1975, 1992). The dominance of males or the roles males play in society will not be discussed

here, as it is not the goal of this research, but the idea of hegemony in general will be drawn out of this theory and used in the analysis of the three sets of speeches in this study. The term neopatriarchy in reference to Arabic societies means that the Arabic societies have developed into modern institutional governmental societies, but from within they are still saturated with old norms and traditions of the pre-modernism era i.e., the patriarchy era (Sharabi, 1992). Sharabi argues that in such societies, one controlling figure dominates; the people look up to him (the male pronoun alone is used deliberately in this case) and wait for his commands and blessing. When Arabs got in contact with the Western systems of government in the last hundred years, it was like a shock to Arabs and to their traditional system (Sharabi, 1992). That contact created and pushed Arabs into adopting a new system similar to the one in the west, without, however, totally eradicating the traditional one. This process has created a distorted system that brings together the old and the new, the traditional and the modern, the institutional and the familial (Sharabi, 1992). Before moving on it should be noted here that this discussion of the patriarchal theory will help in understanding and explaining political, ideological, cultural and rhetorical language choices head of states make in their speeches and the anticipated effect of them.

Arab societies are hierarchic, which means that control is practiced in a vertical way. Starting from the family there is one person in it, usually the father, who dictates the behavior of his/her dependents, even the way they interact with each other and with the wider community outside the family (Barakat, 1998; Sharabi, 1992). The same applies to all institutions of the patriarchal society from the bottom of the pyramid to the top of it until we reach the head of the state, king, president or colonel; they are all dealt with using the same mentality i.e. the mentality of the father who has the power and others must obey listen and agree (Sharabi, 1975, 1992). Ideology is relevant here. An individual's up-bringing, using certain ideas and ideals (ideology), plays a significant role in deciding the place of the individual in the hierarchy of the society. It also leads to understanding social motifs, conscious and unconscious, of the individual. It is argued that

in any patriarchic society the individual is not born to be himself, the individual is born to satisfy the need of the father having a baby to continue his linage and to help him obediently (Sharabi, 1975). The father[7] finds it his role to try and make the family connected and tight as much as he can and the only way to do this is to let every individual in the family believe that he or she is here for the sake of the family and its prosperity (Sharabi, 1975). The family in its formation and the distribution of power in it explains simply the bigger and the wider picture, which is the society. The political apparatus and its organizations play the role of the glue that keeps the individuals under the control of the father and let them sacrifice everything for the good of others (Sharabi, 1975). (Sharabi, 1975, 1992) also asserts that the ideology of the ruling class or the bourgeoisie is the dominant ideology in the society and the other classes are dominated by it. Within such patriarchal societies, the father follows certain methods or tools to keep the individual under control. This could happen consciously or unconsciously. One of those methods or tools depends on reminding others of favors. The father in such systems strives to keep individuals dependent on him socially and financially to keep his authority. Whenever individuals try to break free of this control, the father comes out and reminds them of how much care he has been giving them and the sacrifices he offered for their good (Sharabi, 1999). This method triggers the sympathy of the audience so that they back down and wait for more favors (Sharabi, 1999). This kind of up-bringing in any patriarchal society also employs methods of abashment, enforcing retreat and admonition and all of that to keep the family tight and roles preserved and to maintain a strongly classified society that looks up to one person as a father and waits for his command.

The different patriarchal methods of socialization that were just described could be called ideology, because, drawing on the definition of ideology presented above, they have the

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[7] The term "father" in the Neo-Patriarchic theory means the controller in general. It does not necessary mean the father as in a biological father of a family. It might refer to a manager, Colonel, president King, Father in a church or any societal role, through which control is being put on people to push them to do things against their will or due to fear or simply due to tradition.

characteristic of power over cognition, they are employed to keep the power in one hand and they provide guidance toward action. Sometimes, within any patriarchal societies if the individual tries to challenge those methods or ideology, the father would just remind the individual that those are the norms and traditions and they must be observed. This response usually overrides and overpowers any cognition that the individual might have. He/she would fear what others might say about him/her and about his/her rebellion as discussed by (Sharabi, 1999).

For the ideology of a society to be established and maintained, the practicing of power by certain individuals is needed either consciously or unconsciously. Usually the clash between the younger generation in the society, liberals or rebels and the conservatives or the old-school system advocates becomes evident around this issue. It is suggested that people of different political views are not only different in their views of the world but also in their unconscious reaction to events around them (Haidt, 2012). In order to support different political positions, people tend to use power of different sorts. Further, people accumulate power and use it to transform individuals interests into activities, which influence other people (Zaleznik, 2017). In summary, ideology could be conscious and unconscious. Different people need power to enforce their ideology and turn points of clash into points of agreement. This is one of the starting points of this research. Ideology is going to be highlighted and uncovered through the language of the heads of state. Then, the enforcement, the attempt to change behavior through discourse will also be examined and categorized with respect to the different bases of power and legitimacy.

So, what is power? What are the different bases of power? And what do they mean when employed in a certain context or situation? What is the difference between exercising power and the term power itself? Power is defined by the German sociologist Max Weber as the ability of an individual or group to realize his or her will in social action, even if that is against the will of other individuals or groups (Weber et al., 1978). Power in general covers the ability to command resources in a particular domain. The ability to control material resources in order to control production and monopolize it and dictate

consumption is called economic power (Weber et al., 1978). Further, other kinds of powers could be categorized under societal power (Weber et al., 1978). So, now power in general is identified. The question is, when power is in action, what is it called? Weber suggests that when the exercise of power constitutes authority and when once an individual or party has authority it has domination, which means the exercise of authority (Weber et al., 1978). Weber et al. (1978) suggest that there are three bases of legitimacy or bases under which domination could be described. Those three bases of legitimacy are the charismatic, the traditional and the rational-legal base. Different sociological sources agree to a far extent on this categorization. However, some other sources argue for five bases of power. Clearly there is overlap in these conceptions of the bases of power or legitimacy, and the five categories can be easily considered sub-headings to the three categories that Weber suggested, judging from their definition. Those five bases of power are coercive, reward[8], legitimate, referent and expert power (Wren, 2013).

Weber et al. (1978) suggest that the charismatic base is grounded on the character of the leader. It appears especially in times of crisis (Weber, 2014). Weber refers to some characteristics of the leader such as inspiration, coercion, leadership and communication (Weber, 2014). The relevant category from Wren is the referent base. Referent base is defined as the power of an actor over a group or individuals, based on a high level of identification with admiration (Wren, 2013). The other base that can go under this category is the expert base of power, which is identified as the power of knowledge or when the leader is trying to empress others with his knowledge in certain areas (Wren, 2013).

The second base of legitimacy as per Weber is the traditional base. The traditional base is founded on legitimacy or the belief in legitimacy (Weber, 2014). Traditional legitimacy is construed as naturally inherited or based on a metaphysical quality in the state of affair

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[8] For further discussion of these five bases refer to the work of Allen, Porter, and Angle (2016) and Fairholm (2009).

that makes it challenge-proof by reason (Weber, 2014). Weber suggests that this base of power functions in societies that are strongly classified or in which power is inherited (Weber, 2014). The base of power that can go under this base of legitimacy is the coercive bases of power. Coercive base of power is identified as using threat or force indirectly to gain consent of others (Wren, 2013). This force could be physical, social, emotional or economical (Wren, 2013). The only way to keep the traditional base of legitimacy in control is to gain consent of people. That is why the other base of power that can go under traditional is reward. Reward base of power is identified as the ability of someone to offer or deny object, social spiritual or emotional rewards to others in order to get their consent or push them to do something (Wren, 2013).

The third base is the rational-legal. Weber's rational-legal legitimacy is derived from the recognition of certain rules and the belief in those rules, their legitimacy and their process of their making and enforcement. Political systems that are legitimized through this base do not get stripped of legitimacy or get removed from power easily by force, as they are deeply rooted in the societies they come from and these political systems actually represent and get brought to power by the people. That is contrary to the systems that come to power in other ways (Buttigieg, 1995). In Wren's terms, rational-legal power is the legitimate power; it is defined as the power that comes out of elections and selection by social norms (Wren, 2013). In some sources, those five bases just presented are referred to as a taxonomy of social power (Wren, 2013), which supports Weber's suggestion that all kinds of power could be categorized under societal power.

Every base of power is a mechanism to dominate someone or some groups or a society. Power and domination could be thought of as two faces to one coin. By looking at the different bases of power or legitimacy it could be assumed that there must be ways to articulate and communicate those bases to the targeted audience or subjects, so that they serve their purpose. According to Sharabi (1975), there are two means of control or domination and they are either physical or symbolic. In this research, the focus is on language as a source of political power. In other words, this research is interested the

question of how language is recruited to political power, and especially in political contexts where power is extremely unequal, as in Tunisia, Syria and Libya at the time of the "Arab Spring".

At this point the last term presented in the title of this section comes into play and that term is "rhetoric". Rhetoric is the way in which power and authority are articulated by means of language. The term rhetoric is chosen here instead of language for a purpose. Before going on to explaining this purpose a question will be asked. What is the difference between language and rhetoric? Language could cover any form of communication either linguistically uttered or bodily gestures or body language. Rhetoric is more specific than language as rhetoric is language that is used for persuasion (Aristotle, 2016). In other words, it is the art of uttering language to serve certain purposes. This purpose could be to a far extent political, as politics was the cradle for the establishment of rhetoric as a discipline (Aristotle, 2016). Usually in any political piece the speaker tries to convince the audience of an argument or to do or not do something within a limited period of time and a limited number of words, which truly supports the claim that rhetoric is a combination of the science of logic and the ethical branch of politics (Aristotle, 2016). The way Aristotle looked at rhetoric and politics affected his formulation of his modes of persuasion, which are devices used to classify the appeals that speakers uses to appeal to their audience (Aristotle, 2016). Aristotle clearly suggests that there are only three modes that can be used to convince an audience or to appeal to them and those three modes are called pathos, ethos and logos (Aristotle, 2016). The first mode is a mode that appeals to the authority of how credible the presenter is, also to the common history the participants in the communion have with morals and values included as well (Aristotle, 2016). The second mode is the pathos mode. This mode appeals to the emotions of the people. Claims appealing to fairness, or attempting to invoke the sympathy of the people could go under this appeal (Aristotle, 2016). The last mode is the appeal to people's logic or reason, what Aristotle calls logos (Aristotle, 2016). This mode depends heavily on the

presentation of facts, numbers and figures to support the thesis or the claim of the speaker (Aristotle, 2016).

It could be seen from the presentation of these three modes that each one of them could be linked to a base of legitimacy, either the five bases or the three bases of legitimacy proposed by Weber et al. (1978). It could be assumed from this - the correlation between legitimacy bases and rhetoric - that the purpose of persuasion is to control someone, a group or a society, however, in ways of ethical political science only as per Aristotle (2016).

When it comes to discourse analysis in this research, these three modes - Ethos, Pathos and Logos - could serve as headings under which the different rhetorical devices, depending on the purpose of them, can go. For example, simile can go under the pathos mode as in when the speaker or the political figure draws a bright picture to the future of the country with him in to stimulate peoples' emotions and sympathy toward him or to stimulate their patriotism with national patriotic imaginative pictures as in the case of Assad (e.g. AS-2-45). These three modes of persuasion could be used in analyzing language as they are as in Higgins and Walker (2012). However, they remain raw appeals and they will not be admired and fully seen in any text unless they are highlighted and achieved through different rhetorical devices. In other words, looking at those modes of persuasion in light of rhetorical devices will lead into further understanding and more specific comprehension of claims and appeals in any text.

AS-2-45	وَوَقَفْتُمْ كَالرُّمْحِ فِي وَجْهِ الْغَدْرِ.
	and stood up like a spear in the face of treachery.

In this research the three terms of ideology, rhetoric and power will appear regularly in each chapter. They are not haphazardly brought together. Each one of those terms needs the other one and each one of them is important to the other one in terms of realization and understanding. In order for us to understand what powers and appeals are in play in any text we need rhetoric and ideology. It is argued that ideology cannot survive outside

of its historical and cultural context and in order for ideology to survive and prevail it needs argumentation and or rhetoric to help in ideology's persuasive task (Weiler, 1993). The texts we have in hand in this research will be looked at with these three terms in mind so that an explanation to the context could be supported, linked to the societal context and valued.

4-The concept of Register and Context

In this research, the concept of register as formulated by the theory of SFL will be used in the analysis of the three sets of speeches. The notion will be defined and discussed in terms of what it offers, in particular with respect to the specialized language it uses for the analysis. The concept of register is not limited to or constructed by the theory of SFL. Register aims to study the properties of the events in any given language. The term was first introduced by Reid, who suggested that the linguistic behavior of any individual might vary in accordance to social situation. Language users speak or write differently on different social occasions (Reid, 1956). Register is regarded as a restriction of the total meaning potential of language, in that those meanings at risk in a given social situation signify the slice of meaning controlled within the register (Lemke, 1985). That means texts could be to a certain extent alike if they shared the same constellation of meaning. With texts that share the same social context, the probabilities are going to be high that the same selections of the linguistic system will be made by speakers and writers of the same community.

This term register is also a key concept in many other theories of linguistics. For instance, the term register is used by Biber (1994) to refer to the language varieties that are linked to different situations with different purposes. He suggests that studying register must be done through a multidimensional analytical framework (Biber, 1994). This multidimensional framework aims to describe different registers in terms of their level of

generality in relation to their features and in terms of their particular values for their relevant situational boundaries (Biber, 1994). The level of generality means the number of situational parameters expressed in relation to the text type (Biber, 1994). The notion of register is not always found in different theories under the same name or term. The term style is used to categorize types of language use (Crystal & Davy, 2016). The conclusion that the term "style" in the theory proposed by Crystal and Davy (2016) is the same as register is built upon the hypothesis that any speaker of any language can produce and identify specific linguistic features which are suitable to any situation and which define it.

In regard to how SFL sees register, or how Halliday and Hasan in particular see register[9], register is considered a semantic concept or a configuration of meanings (Halliday & Hasan, 1991). This configuration of meanings is typically associated with a particular situational configuration of field, tenor and mode (Halliday & Hasan, 1991). So, register refers to texts in context, but what does text mean and what is exactly the relationship between text and the context? Halliday proposes the text is simply language that is functional. Functional means the job that a text does in a context (Halliday & Hasan, 1991). So, the relationship between the text and the context is a relationship of purpose; purpose gives meaning to the language and language gives meaning to the purpose. Halliday defines text as *"any instance of living language that is playing some part in a context of situation"* (Halliday & Hasan, 1991, p. 10). Text always occurs in two contexts, which are the context of situation and the context of culture. These two context are not distinct or different from each other, rather they occur within each other (Hasan, 2009). Context of culture is the sum of all cultural meanings and assumptions that people share in a community. It is the broader background that we can use to interpret text (Halliday & Hasan, 1991). The more specific context within the context of culture is the context of situation, in which speakers and writers use language for a specific purpose. The mix of

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[9] There are two principles models within SFL of the notion of register, the one proposed by Halliday and the one proposed by Martin (1992) under the name of "connotative semiotic".

these two contexts gives a text its purpose and also shows how a text is similar or different from other texts and further the situational and culture differences between texts depending on their origin. In summary a text, either spoken or written cannot be studied out of its context and context is important for the realization of the text as described in figure 1 below. Halliday summarizes this relation as follows: *"the 'context of situation...is encapsulated in the text, not in a kind of piecemeal fashion, nor at the other extreme in any mechanical way, but through a systematic relationship between the social environment on the one hand, and the functional organization of language on the other"* (Halliday & Hasan, 1991, p. 11).
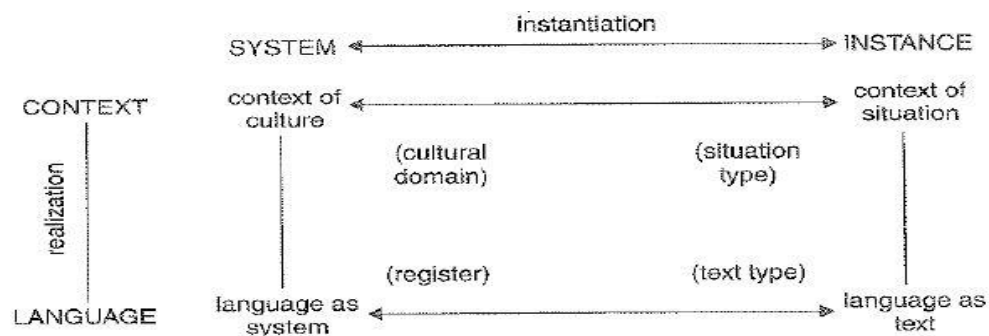

Figure 3- The Relationship between Language and Context from Hasan (2009)

It could be seen that Halliday and the other scholars look at the notion or concept of register from almost the same perspective, even if there is no agreement on the name of the notion itself. Register or style, as Crystal and Davy (2016) call it, serves the same purpose regardless of the name it is called and that is identifying the variety of language used in a certain situation to serve a certain purpose. However, Halliday gives the concept a sharper definition, and relates it to a specific theory of context as a semiotic construct. One issue is still remaining here before moving to the next point of discussion which is related to the method of analysis, and how to make register analysis as objective as possible and what objectivity means when trying to represent findings of register analysis. In this research and to be as objective as possible some other disciplines, other than linguistics will be utilized to be as close as possible to objectiveness and to give the results

and discussion as much validity as possible. These disciplines, which are going to be utilized include political science, the field of sociology and rhetoric. This mixed method gives more credibility to results and discussions no matter what text is being studied, no matter what context or what language. More of that discussion will come in the chapter on methodology in this study.

In register analysis, there are three variables to be analyzed. These variables reflect the three basic functions of any language. As previously mentioned before, these variables are field, tenor and mode (Halliday & Hasan, 1991). Writers and speakers make certain choices in regard to those three variables to serve certain purposes of producing language or to serve a certain context of situation. To analyze these choices and in light of context, we need specialized language that will help in the analysis and will help in achieving objectivity. SFL provides specialized language to carry on language analysis and to describe lexical and grammatical choices (Butt, Fahey, Feez, Spinks, & Yallop, 2000). SFL's approach to analyzing register is not an exception. The three variables of register, which are field, tenor and mode can be analyzed as follows. First of all, the variable of field is concerned with *"what is happening, to the nature of the social action that is taking place: what is it that the participants are engaged in, in which the language figures as some essential component"* (Halliday & Hasan, 1991, p. 12). To describe the nature of field in the speeches of this case study, the work of Hasan (2009) and Halliday and Hasan (1991) will be utilized. Hasan (2009) proposed a system network as a means to model variation or options in field. This system revolves around defining and discussing context in relation to three vectors, namely Verbal Action, Sphere of Action and Performance of Action. Under each one of these three systems, there are further, more delicate systems, as can be seen from Figure 4 below. Verbal action refers to whether the language of the text accompany action or not. The language of the text could be described as ancillary if it accompanies action and if not, it could be described as constitutive. The sphere of action

has two main options: [specialized][10] and [quotidian] (Hasan, 2009). The entry [specialized] refers to actions that need commitment and prolonged training to be achieved and they tend to be institutionalized whereas [quotidian] refers to activities that are general and do not need specialized training such as making a bed and buying a ticket (Hasan, 2009). There are two options under [specialized], which are [official] and [private]. [Official] refers to actions that are ritualized, such as police interrogation and court proceedings. [Private] refers to more relaxed actions such as daily news and TV interviews (Hasan, 2009, p. 184). The third system in Hasan's network is the Performance of Action. This system refers to whether the execution of the action and the achievement of its goals require constant work or can be completed in one spatio-temporally located interaction (Hasan, 2009). This third field system has got two primary options, which are [bounded] (e.g. getting a child a snack) and [continuing] (e.g. buying a house or a car) (Hasan, 2009).
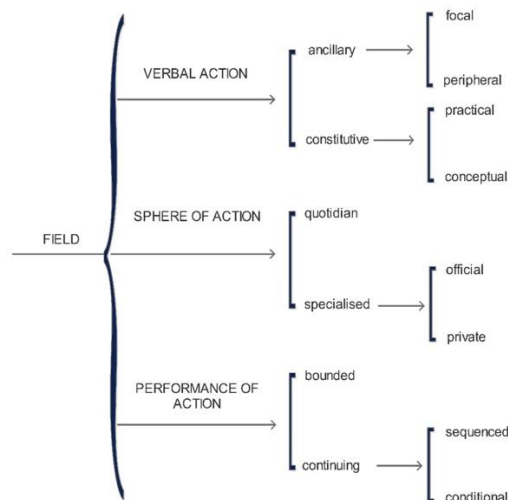

Figure 4- Primary System of field Hasan (2009)

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[10] I will adopt the standard SFL notation for indicated options in a system network. These are indicated by the use of square brackets around the selection, as in e.g. [constitutive: conceptual].

The second variable of register is the variable of tenor, which is concerned with relationships between parties of the interaction or language production (Martin, 1992). To uncover and identify the type of relationship between the participants of the communication, continuum of power, contact and affective involvement are available under tenor to discover and identify types of relationships.

Power can be defined as the role the interactants play in the situation in terms of equality or in terms of how equal the interactants are in the situation, judging from the language (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004). In the different systems that are available for analyzing tenor, this continuum is referred to differently. It is referred to as Social Hierarchy by Hasan (2004) and by Butt (2004). The term (The continuum of power) is used by Martin (1992). Power is also referred to as Status (Martin, 1992). In all systems, especially Martin's, the key principle is reciprocity of choice. Martin (1992, p. 527) suggests "*Equal status among interlocutors is realized by them taking up the same kind of choices (e.g. tutoyer) whereas unequal status is realized by them taking up different ones (e.g. tu/vous)*". However, when analyzing language, we must bear in mind that different choices can be complementary in a relation, without implying a hierarchy such as when friends sarcastically call each other with titles such as "prince" or "master" or when a sales person calls a customer "Sir" or "Madam". To judge a relationship as hierarchic, we must have viable instantiated resources to show controlling social hierarchy such as office role, social categorization or any other legally defined relationship. Hasan argues that "*If the dyad is HIERARCHIC, one agent will have a greater degree of control over the other*" (Halliday & Hasan, 1991, p. 57). She also suggests that a person in a subordinate role in a hierarchic dyad is "not necessarily submissive" (Halliday & Hasan, 1991, p. 57).

Contact is concerned with the degree of involvement among interlocutors (Martin, 1992). To elaborate more we could say that the continuum of Contact refers to the position of the interactants in the situation and whether or not it brings the interactants into frequent or occasional contact (Martin, 1992). From the definition of the continuum it could be assumed that with the context under discussion in this study it is going to be

challenging to use this continuum to account for the contact or how involved that contact is because primarily the continuum was developed to account for regular or occasional social activities, which usually happen face to face or simply by means other than a political speech. In the context we have at hand, the speakers seek to obscure the power difference by various appeals to "the people" in which they construct some forms of shared identity and shared experience. All such features are meant to construe proximity between the president and the people. Aware that the ongoing use of coercive force is potentially "delegitimizing" for their claim to the presidency in each of these countries (also discussed in relation to field), these presidents seek to make "contact" with "the people". As will be discussed in relation to mode, the addressee for these texts is "virtual". They are not knowable to the speaker in a direct sense. But since power requires legitimacy, these speeches are oriented to creating a sense of shared beliefs and goals. Various linguistic features demonstrate how these presidents seek to create a sense of closer contact. To enquire into the "social distance" as Halliday and Hasan (1991, p. 57) put it, we need to investigate and look at the language for what type of previous relationship there is between the participants of the text or the context. Further, we need to highlight how involved or uninvolved they are. Involvement can be judged based on the cross classification of two dimensions as shown in Figure 5 below. The first dimension is oriented toward whether the social activity is related to family, work or recreation. The other dimension is related to whether the involvement is regular or occasional (Martin, 1992).

	FAMILY	WORK	RECREATION
REGULAR	immediate (father/child)	co-worker (lecturer/tutor)	friend (fixture partners)
OCCASIONAL	relatives (aunt/niece)	contact (writer/editor)	acqaintance (fixture opponents)

Figure 5- Dimensions of Contact as per Martin (1992)

As with the other parameters of context, there are varying accounts of the dimensions of mode within the SFL framework. It is suggested that under this variable two simultaneous continua describe two different types of distance related to the relation between language and situation (Halliday & Hasan, 1991). As introduced previously, the first type is related to process sharing. Processes sharing describes the distinction between situations where the interactants share the processes of making the text and contexts in which the addressee comes to the text after the text has been finished (Halliday & Hasan, 1991). It is suggested that this could decide whether there is immediate feedback and or visual contact between the addressee and the audience or not and that at the same time could have certain consequences for the analysis and how judgement is made on the text and the way distance is understood. The second continuum stands for whether the role of language is constitutive or ancillary. Language of an interaction could be described as ancillary, when language accompanies action during the interaction, like paying a game of cards or instructing a recipe on a cooking TV show (Halliday & Hasan, 1991). By joining those two dimensions a contrast between a written and a spoken text or situation of language could be reached (Eggins, 2004).

The processes and terms used in analyzing register has just been presented and defined above. The reason why it has been discussed and presented in such a detailed manner is to show how delicate the analysis can go and how much specialized language SFL can provide to aid in the analysis and interpretation. The terms discussed above are the main terms that is going to be used in the analysis of register of the three sets of speeches in this study. However, other terms from different systems that utilized and improved the work of Halliday and Hasan (1991), Halliday and Matthiessen (2004) will also be used in the discussion. To give examples of such systems we should mention these studies of Butt (2004), Butt, Lukin, and Matthiessen (2004), Bowcher (2014), Eggins (2004) and Wegener (2011). In general, these studies share the same object of study, but they make use of different terms or more specific terms to discuss and analyze register. There has been also attempts to join register analysis systems that discuss the variables of register under

one system as in the study by Bowcher (2014). The only differences are the terms used and the arrangement of choices within description systems. To explain this further two figures will be presented below and discussed.
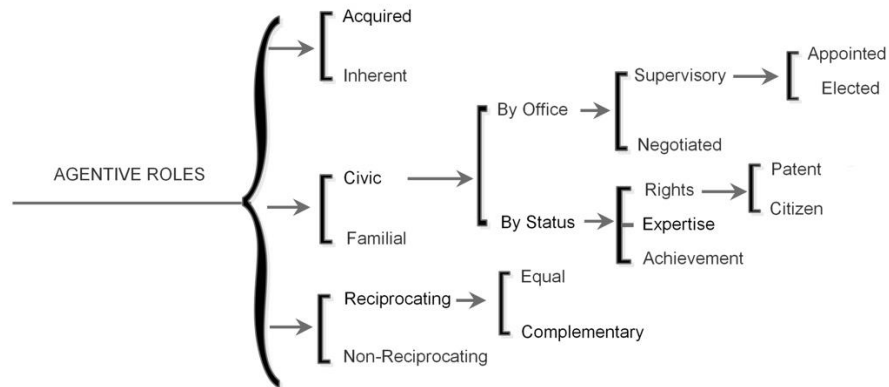

*Figure 6- System focused on Agentive Role from Butt (2004).*
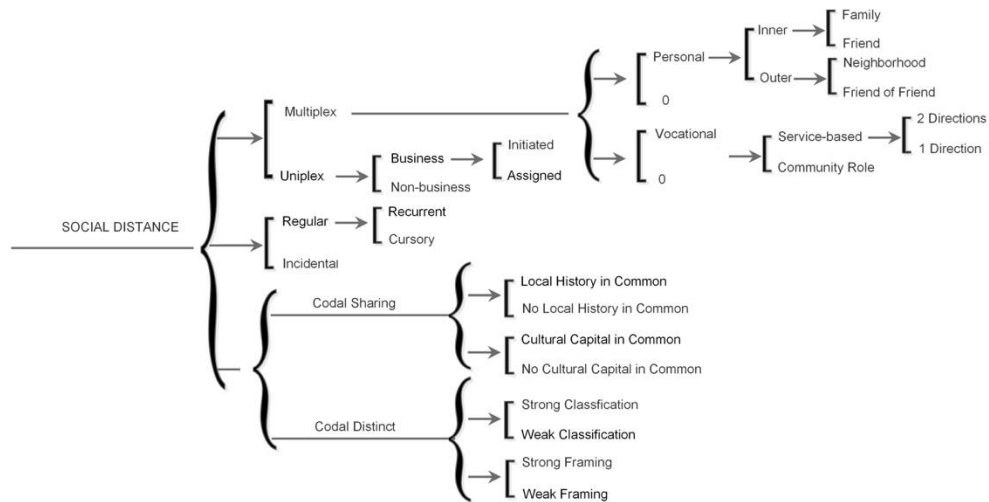
Figure 7- System focused on social distance from Butt (2004).

The two figures above are systems within the variable of tenor, according to Butt (2004). The purpose of figure 6 is to discuss Tenor from the perspective of Agentive role. Many other sub-choices are available to analyze and discuss Tenor as could be seen in figure 6. Social distance could be either Multiplex or Uniplex. It could be regular or incidental and it could involve history for close relationships, or not. It could be seen that in these two figures the sub-variable of contact as suggested by Eggins (2004) and Martin and Rose (2003) is being discussed. However, the system presented by Eggins (2004) and Martin and Rose (2003) does not give formal, coined and clear terms to take the discussion further. It provides only characteristics of the language that should go under each sub-heading. The two figures that could be seen above give the analyst terms to use to categorize language under. However, in this study the system presented by Martin and Rose (2003) and further discussed by Eggins (2004) is the system that is going to be heavily depended on as it clearly separates roles and makes it clear what language should be described under what sub-heading. To explain this further, discussing register depending on the system presented in the study by Butt (2004) could pose an issue with some grey areas in some registers. For example, in the two speeches of Assad context shows that Assad role is acquired, but the reality is it was inherited from his father as is discussed in chapters four and five. In the same two speeches of Assad, the roles could be described as "civic" in nature, however, Assad also follows techniques that are "familial" in nature to serve certain purposes peculiar to the situation he was in at the time of speech delivery, as discussed in chapter three. All in all, it is suggested here that studying context systems that are open in nature and not high in delicacy could extract more from the studied texts and could give more flexibility to the analyst to discuss and relate ideas.

In this chapter, we have presented some characteristics of studies that discussed Arabic political discourse. Some of the terms that are going to be used in this research we also presented and discussed. Finally, we discussed and presented the notion of register and discussed context. In the coming chapter three we will start the analysis and putting the terms and concepts we presented in this chapter into action.

Chapter Three-Register Description.

1-Introduction

The focus of this chapter is the concept of register. To start the empirical chapters in this study with a chapter on register is of a great significance. This registerial analysis will allow us to appreciate and fully understand the techniques the presidents use in their speeches and will support claims about the anticipated impact of these techniques depending on the context as described by register. The study of the characteristics of specific language interactions is a central feature of what is identified as "register studies". As stated in chapter two, the concept of register is not a sole invention of SFL or Halliday. Rather the term was borrowed from Reid (1956), who argues that the behavior of any individual is not uniform, i.e., it is open to change. An individual will, depending on the social situation, speak, write and use a variety of different registers (Reid, 1956). Register has been studied and been a pivotal concept in many theories that study language and its relation to social context. Examples of such theories were given in the chapter on literature review, including the work of Biber (1994) and Crystal and Davy (2016). In this research, what is of significance is the way SFL sees register and how SFL defines it. SFL defines register as follows: register is seen as language variation in accordance to use or more elaborately *"a variety of language, corresponding to a variety of situation", with situation interpreted by means of a conceptual framework using the terms "field", "tenor" and "mode"* (Halliday & Hasan, 1991, p. 38).

This study, as mentioned in the first chapter, will employ different fields of knowledge to answer the questions under consideration. In other words, the method in this study is interdisciplinary. Linguistics cannot answer the questions raised in this study alone, neither can other fields alone. We need linguistics because we have texts, which realize a context of situation, which is itself an instance of the culture to which the interactants

belong. A text has both its local context and its wider cultural context. For this reason, we need other fields of knowledge, such as sociology, to connect language to the cultural context and to analyze, value and understand how power is distributed and contested within a particular culture and society. It is argued that in order to explain why individuals say anything we must resort to the context which puts pressure on the individuals' choice of meaning (Hasan, 2009). Further, Hasan suggests that *"to explain why these patterns of wordings appear rather than any other, one must appeal to the meanings which, being relevant to the context, activated those wordings: semantics is thus an interface between context and linguistic form"* (Hasan, 2009, p. 170). Register, to a far extent, gives us the conceptual tool to achieve this mix, the mix of language and social and cultural context. Register gives us the basis for categorizing language as it appears in a context and paves the way for further analysis and discussion of language in relation to context. Looking at register as a means to more in-depth analysis is not a mere opinion or a claim. It is argued that register is not only central to the Hallidayan model of language, but that it holds the dimensions of SFL together (Lukin et al., 2011). This is the reason why the discussion of register was chosen to be the first analysis chapter in this study.

As stated in chapter two, the analysis of register is done under the three variables of field, tenor and mode, which are also referred to as the abstract components of the context of situation (Halliday & Hasan, 1991). Field refers to the total event in which text is functioning. Further it includes the purpose of the communication, the goal of the communication and what subject matter is being communicated (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004). Tenor refers to the types of social relations between the participants in the texts, for example, how participants are seen in terms of status and what role they play in the situation (Halliday & Hasan, 1991). The last variable is the variable of mode, which refers to the role language is playing in the communication. It includes the symbolic organization of the text (sometimes referred to as "medium") and whether it is written or spoken or, in other words, the channel (Halliday & Hasan, 1991). The reason why these terms are mentioned here again is to remind the reader of key terms that are going to appear in

this chapter repeatedly and also to state a claim. These three terms of field, tenor and mode might seem straight forward and the discussion of them could be satisfied easily. However, the contrary is the case. The superficial look at these three terms by many researchers led to a production of extremely general analysis that hindered any possibility of further connection or discussion of context using these three variables (see e.g. Hasan 1995, 2009, 2014). It is not proposed here that this research will fix this problem or will go deep into the analysis, but will try to connect language to context as much as possible in a way that builds up and paves the way for more discussion, which will be presented in later chapters. The analysis of the three sets of speeches in this chapter will start with the variable of field and then the other two variables will follow after that. In addition to the three terms of field, tenor and mode, other terms will also be presented in this chapters and those terms are, but not restricted to, power, appeal, legitimacy and other terms. These latter terms belong to sociology. It is part of the aim of this thesis to try to bring concepts from linguistics into closer dialogue with the concepts used in sociology. The analysis will start with the two speeches of Ben Ali, followed by the speeches of Assad, and then end with the two speeches of Gaddafi.

2-The Variable of Field

The variable of field is concerned with *"what is happening, to the nature of the social action that is taking place: what is it that the participants are engaged in, in which the language figures as some essential component"* (Halliday & Hasan, 1991, p. 12). To describe the nature of field in the speeches of this case study, the work of Hasan (2009) and Halliday and Hasan (1991) will be utilized. As mentioned in chapter 2, Hasan (2009)

proposed a system network as a means to model variation or options in field[11]. This system revolves around defining and discussing field in relation to three vectors, namely Verbal Action, Sphere of Action and Performance of Action. Under each one of these three systems, there are further, more delicate systems, as can be seen from Figure 8 below.
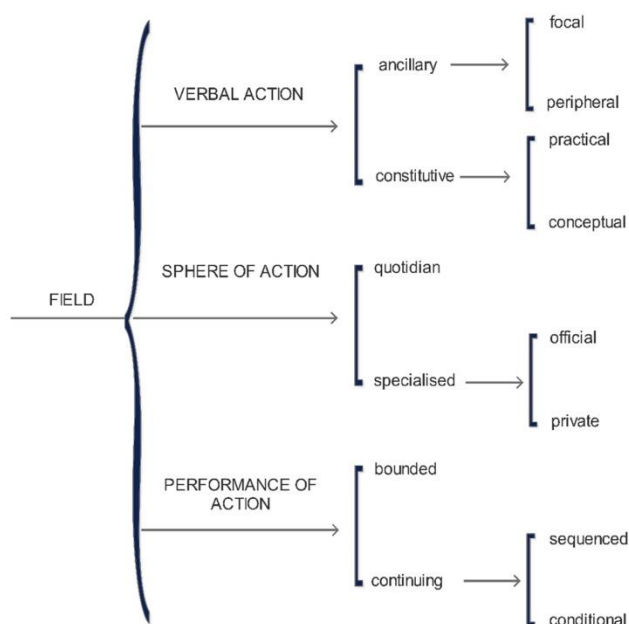

Figure 8- Primary System of field Hasan (2009).

To see these principles in action, I turn now to the speeches of Tunisian president Ben Ali. To begin the analysis of field, let us consider the system of Verbal Action. This system captures a key distinction between contexts is which verbal action is the entire activity or is "constitutive"[12] compared with contexts in which language forms only a part of the

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[11] See Hasan (2009) for her arguments for why system networks are suitable for the representation of the contextual parameters in SFL. See Bowcher (2010) for a broader discussion of the use of the representational technology in the study of context in SFL.

[12] The terms "constitutive" and "ancillary" have typically been associated with mode in SFL (e.g. Halliday 1985). See Hasan 1999 for her discussion of why Verbal Action should be a primary system in the parameter of field.

contextual behavior (Hasan, 1999). In the first speech of Ben Ali the Verbal Action is [constitutive: conceptual]. A text with the contextual feature [constitutive: conceptual] is one in which the language does not ask for action and does not accompany action. In other words, the language of the text is not oriented to practical activity (Butler, 2003). Ben Ali's first speech is wholly conceptual. Political speeches, as Cicero suggested, are oriented to persuasion through language (Cicero, 1949). Ben Ali's speech adopts various rhetorical means directed to protecting his position as head of state and to defending his interests and those of his supporters by construing his power and position as legitimate. Legal political language is used by Ben Ali to put sanctions on people's behavior and to produce in his listeners a favorable reaction towards him and toward his supporters. Almost all of his political defensive arguments in the first speech are made around blaming either social problems or foreign intervention for what has been happening in Tunisia. Ben Ali blames the media and "some parties, who do not want benefaction to their country" (e.g BA-1-8). Further, he blames some social issues such as unemployment, the psychological problems of the unemployed, as well as the exaggeration of individual cases and minor events as could be seen from BA-1-38, BA-1-39 and BA-1-40. Ben Ali in the first speech aims also at shaking the position of the protesters by saying that their demands are being addressed and they do not need to worsen the situation further through what he considers to be their exaggerated actions.

BA-1-8	فإنّ [[ما اتّخَذَتْكُمْ]] مِنْ أبعادٍ مُبالغٍ فيها بِسَبَبِ الاسْتِغْلالِ السِّياسِيّ لِبَعْضِ الأطْرافِ [[الذين لا يُريدُونَ الخَيْرَ لِبِلادِهِمْ]][[وَيَلْجَؤُونَ إلى بَعْضِ الفَضائِيّاتِ الأجْنَبيَّةِ]] [[التي تَبُثّ الأكاذيبِ والمُغالَطاتِ دُونَ تَحَرٍّ]] [[بَلْ باعْتِمادِ التَّهْويلِ والتَّحْريضِ والتَّجَنِّي الإعْلامِيّ الجَدافِيّ لِتُونِسَ]] تَدْعونا إلى تَوْضيحِ بَعْضِ المَسائِلِ
	However, the exaggerated dimensions [[that they took]], as a result of political exploitation by some parties [[who do not want benefaction to their country]] and [[who resort to some foreign TV channels]] that broadcast lies and deception without investigation],[[but uses alarmism, incitement, and false accusatory information inimical to Tunisia]], call us to clarify a few issues

BA-1-38 BA-1-39 BA-1-40	وَلا يُمْكِنُ بِأيّ حالٍ مِنَ الأحْوالِ <<رَغْمَ تَفَهُّمِنا>> أنْ نَقْبَلَ رَكُوبَ حالاتٍ فَرْدِيَّةٍ، أوْ أيّ حَدَثٍ أوْ وَضْعٍ طارِئٍ لِتَحْقيقِ مَآرِبَ سِياسِيّةٍ عَلى حِسابِ مَصالِحِ المجموعةِ الوَطَنيَّةِ ومَكاسِبِها وإنْجازاتِها وفي مُقَدِّمَتِها الوِئامُ والأمْنُ والاسْتِقْرارُ
	We will by no means<< although we understand >>, accept the exploitation of single individual cases, any event, or an emergent situation, so that politicized goals are attained at the expense of the national community's interests, acquisitions, and accomplishments, especially cohesion, security, and stability

Ben Ali tries to channel peoples' reaction toward him by means of telling them that he is aware of what triggered this unrest and claims he has been doing everything, professionally and legally, in his power to get the country back on track. The thrust of Ben Ali's appeal is, in Weber's terms, an appeal to legitimacy based on legal-rational arguments, which will be discussed further in chapter four. Ben Ali in this speech tries to impress on Tunisians that what governs the relationship between him and the people is the law and nothing else. The discussion of the relationship between the head of state and the people will be presented under discussion of the variable of tenor (see below).

The second speech of Ben Ali could also be described as [constitutive: conceptual], which means that the language of the second text similarly does not ask for action and does not accompany action. This speech is also similar to the first one in that Ben Ali also attempts in this speech to protect his controlling position as head of state and to defend his interests and the interests of his supporters, though with a stronger interest in defending himself against accusations. Ben Ali attempts to generate a favorable reaction toward himself by highlighting his services to the country and by shaming those responsible into stopping the riots. Ben Ali also continues to defend the existing structure and distribution of power of the regime, that is, to keep power within a closed circle. Ben Ali does all of this through appealing to the emotion of the people and their logic. Similarly to his first speech, Ben Ali continues blaming others. He blames protesters, unknown groups and even himself (e.g. BA-2-104). Use of power or threatening a further use of excessive power is always an open option for Ben Ali the two speeches. However, he intimates his willingness to resort to the use of violence (the "Repressive State Apparatus" in Althusser (2001) terms) indirectly as in BA-1-47. In terms of Verbal Action there is no significant differences between the two speeches. The two speeches tackled the same topics and enjoyed the same purpose, however, with different methods of persuasion.

BA-2-104	وَغَلَّطُونِيْ أَحْيَاناً بِحَجْبِ الْحَقَائِق
	And sometimes, they misled me with concealing facts

BA-1-47	وَسَيُطَبَّقُ الْقَانُونُ عَلَى هَؤُلَاءِ بِكُلِّ حَزْمٍ بِكُلِّ حَزْمٍ
	And the law will be enforced on these with great firmness, with great firmness

The second system available in Hasan's network for describing the context in terms of field is the system of Sphere of Action. Sphere of Action has two main options: [specialized] and [quotidian] (Hasan, 2009). The entry [specialized] refers to actions that need commitment and prolonged training to be achieved and they tend to be institutionalized whereas [quotidian] refers to activities that are general and do not need specialized training such as making a bed and buying a ticket (Hasan, 2009). There are two options under [specialized], which are [official] and [private]. The Sphere of Action in the first and second speeches of Ben Ali could be described as [specialized: official]. The action of giving a political speech to a nation is the preserve of very few. The speech giver must occupy a defined office, which gives this action its [specialized] and [official] quality. Though political speeches are not as ritualized as many other specialized practices – in other words, their structure can be loose and varied – they can only be given in an official capacity.

The third system in Hasan's network is the Performance of Action. This system refers to whether the execution of the action and the achievement of its goals require constant work or can be completed in one spatio-temporally located interaction (Hasan, 2009). This third field system has got two primary options, which are [bounded] (e.g. getting a child a snack) and [continuing] (e.g. buying a house or a car) (Hasan, 2009). Politics in general and the strive for legitimacy is a continuous action, it can never be [bounded]. It is argued that Legitimation is the procedure or the process by which parties strive to create legitimacy for a rule or ruler (Hurd, 2017). Political figures constantly work to legitimize their power, and challengers work to delegitimize it (Hurd, 2017). A president or a head of state cannot be elected or come to power, give one speech and have achieved

the requisite legitimacy to continue in power for the course of his or her term. Heads of state must regularly defend their actions and convince the people of their legitimacy and rights to their office. The language in the two speeches of Ben Ali gives evidence that politics or the strive for legitimacy is a continuous complex action, not a bounded action, as could be seen from examples BA-2-77 and BA-2-78. In these two examples Ben Ali shows that he has been working constantly to show that he is worthy of the position that he is in and to prove his legitimacy and power. He indirectly implies that the unrest stopped the progress of his work and stopped the progress of the important measures that the government was undertaking to fix the situation.

| BA-2-77 | وَلَازِم نُعْطِي لِأَنْفُسِنا جَمِيعاً الفُرْصَة وَالوَقْتَ بِاشّ تَتَجَسَّمْ كُلّ الإجْراءاتِ الهامَّةِ [[الَّتِي أتَّخَذْناها]] |
| BA-2-78 | And we all have to give ourselves the chance and the time required, so that all the important measures, [[that we took]], get materialized |

Turning now to the speeches of Syrian president Assad, the verbal action of the two speeches, like that of the speeches of Ben Ali is [constitutive: conceptual]. The total number of words in the first speech of Assad is 14014 words and the numbers of words that comprise the selected excerpts is 2565 words in total as stated in the discussion of methodology of this research in chapter one section 5.1. The second one is 7616 long and the analyzed extract is 2799 words. These excerpts represent the whole text in terms of topics, structure, different grammatical relations and rhetorical use and organization. From here, the term "text" or "speech", will refer to the selected excerpts, unless otherwise specified.

Verbal action in the two speeches of Assad is [constitutive: conceptual]. Assad's two speeches are wholly conceptual. The purpose of the verbal action in the two speeches of Assad and any other political communication could be put out simply as persuading people through language. Like Ben Ali, Assad in the two speeches is aiming at protecting his position as head of state and defending his interests and those of his supporters by construing his power and position as legitimate. In the case of Ben Ali, his supporters to a

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far extent are local, such as the army[13] and official figures. In the case of Assad, his power base is international, as can be seen in the interventions in the conflict by Russia and China[14] (Schoen & Kaylan, 2015). Though the allegiance or use of foreign aid has been condemned and refused in Syria, Assad did not see a problem in stating that he has been receiving military and political aid from foreigners (e.g. Hezbollah of Lebanon) in order for him to stay in power as could be seen in examples AS-2-281, AS-2-282 and AS-2-283.

AS-2-281 AS-2-282	وَلا نَنْسَى الأوفِياءَ مِنْ أَبْناءِ المُقاوِمَةِ اللُّبْنانِيَّةِ الأبْطالَ الَّذِينَ وَقَفُوا جَنْباً إلَى جَنَبٍ مَعَ أبْطالِ جَيْشِنا وَقَدَّمُوا الشُّهَداءَ دِفاعاً عَنْ مِحْوَرِ المُقاوِمَةِ.
AS-2-283	And we do not forget the faithful courageous sons of the Lebanese resistance, who stood side by side with the heroes of our army and they offered up martyrs defending the axis of the resistance.

Assad like Ben Ali, particularly in his first speech, tries to channel peoples' reaction toward him by means of projecting his own construals of what is happening and the nature of the enemy of Syria. Like Ben Ali, Assad makes use of legal-rational language. He identifies legal terms and political procedures, and raises topics he thinks of interest to the people at this stage such as fighting terrorism, elections, and media and corruption control. The thrust of Assad's appeal is, in Weber's terms, an appeal to legitimacy based on legal-rational and charismatic arguments, which will be discussed further in chapters four and five.

The second system available in Hasan's network for describing the context in terms of field is the system of Sphere of Action. Sphere of Action has two main options: [specialized] and [quotidian] (Hasan, 2009). The Sphere of Action in the first and second speeches of Assad could be described as [specialized: official]. The action of giving a political speech to a nation is mainly the right of the president or the head of state, a

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[13] When the military institution reached the conclusion that their interests will be better served with Ben Ali out of power they did not hesitate to force him out of his post (for further discussion see Brooks (2013)).

[14] Russia cast its veto seven times to protect the Syrian government from United Nations Security Council action. China falls one veto behind Russia as it cast its veto in support of the Syrian regime six times

situation that characterizes most of the countries in the world not only the Arab world. The speech giver must occupy an official office, it is the office of presidency in this case, which gives this action its [specialized] and [official] quality.

The third system in Hasan's network is the Performance of Action. As stated in the discussion of the Performance of Action in Ben Ali's speeches a president or a head of state cannot be elected or come to power and take his authority or power for granted for the remaining duration of his presidency after the inauguration speech for example. The language in the two speeches of Assad give evidence that politics or the strive for legitimacy is a continuous complex action not a bounded action as could be seen from examples AS-1-1, AS-1-2 and AS-1-3. As could be seen from these three examples, Assad is giving the indication that he always or at least regularly comes out and talks politics to the people and hears back from them. Even for a dictator like Assad it is not a one-time action but a continuous action that needs to be performed regularly, so that legitimacy can be preserved and reinforced.

AS-1-1 AS-1-2 AS-1-3	أعلَمُ أنَّني غِبتُ فَترَةً طويلَةً عَن الإعلامِ لكنَّني أشتَقتُ لِمِثلِ هذِهِ اللِّقاءاتِ
	I know that I stayed away from the media for a long time. However, I missed such meetings.

I turn now to the two speeches of Gaddafi. The first speech was given on the 22nd of February 2011 and the second one was delivered on the 1st of July 2011, more than four months after the first speech. Gaddafi is the only President killed as consequence of his country's upheaval. Gaddafi's first speech is 9266 words long and the analyzed extract of the speech is 2336 words long. The speech was delivered from one of Gaddafi's houses in the capital of Libya Tripoli. The speech comprises 863 words, making it the shortest speech in this study. The speech, delivered in front of audience, was aired on different TV channels. Gaddafi delivered the speech from the top of a building looking over the Green Square.

The nature of the verbal action in the two sets of speeches discussed so far is [constitutive: conceptual]. The last set of speeches by Gaddafi are no different. In his two speeches Gaddafi attempts to protect his controlling position as head of state and to defend his interests and the interests of his supporters. He tries to channel and alter peoples' reaction toward him by highlighting his services to the country in an attempt to shame them into stopping the uprising. Gaddafi stresses that those who are responsible for the crisis the country is experiencing are the people of Libya, Arabs, media channels and some terrorist groups such as Al-Qaida. Gaddafi attempts to convey to the people that without him, the country will spiral into civil war and will return back to the dark ages, a reference to the period of the nation's history prior to the revolution he led. He threatens the people through giving examples from the history of protesting situations that ended through the use of force. Gaddafi orders the people to enjoy the fruits of the revolution. He appeals to them to free their minds of worries, as tomorrow is paved with happiness only as he indicates in his second speech. The thrust of Assad's appeal is, in Weber's terms, an appeal to legitimacy through personal charisma, which will be discussed further in chapters four and five. Examples are given below to show some of the entities that Gaddafi blamed for the uprising in Libya. The two speeches of Gaddafi are not different from the other two sets of speeches in terms of the second and third systems of Sphere of Action and Performance of Action.

GA-1-36	شوّهوا صوّرتكم في إذاعات عربيّة شقيقة للأسف
	They distorted your image, unfortunately in some Arab media stations

GA-1-299	هذه المحطّات العربيّة أكبر عدّو
	Those Arab TV channels are the biggest enemy

It could be concluded here that the three sets of speeches in this study are similar to each other in accordance with the system proposed in Hasan (2009). All of the three sets enjoy a verbal action that is [constitutive: conceptual], a sphere of action that is [specialized: official] and a performance of action that is [continuing].

Before moving on to discussing the second register variable of tenor a question will be presented and raised here. As stated in the first chapter, these three heads of state controlled their countries as undisputed kings. They stayed in power ruling their countries for more than a hundred years combined. They had the security forces under their control and they could have ordered security forces to go out and quash the uprisings and protests without making these public appeals to their people via broadcast media. The question is why did they do so? Why did they feel they needed to justify themselves to their people through the use of language?

It is proposed here that the 'Repressive State Apparatus' cannot protect the interest of the leaders and their supporters alone. Despite having more power than most national leaders, material action cannot confer legitimacy. This is precisely because of the nature of language and meaning: action is always open to various construals. As such, these leaders had to step up and try to control how meaning was being attributed to these events and to their responses. That is why we see political discourse at work, and why it must be wholly constitutive, and a 'conceptual' not 'practical' act. The speeches are aimed at creating and reinforcing meanings that favor the current distribution of power. It is suggested that in order for us to study politics and understand politics one must understand the interplay between the material power and the language of narrating the world in coherent and persuasive stories (Chouliaraki, 2007). Some scholars (e.g. Malesevic (2010)) have argued that the ideological defense of violence is even more significant and powerful in the modern era than in previous periods.

We might have different plausible construals for why the presidents used language, yet the use of language does not override the fact that they have been using power against their own people. They explained themselves through language, but at the same time they have made the choice to see where the use of power not language will lead them. As of now the world knows how it ended for Gaddafi and Ben Ali and we are waiting to see how it will turn out for Assad and what are the consequences of his choice as *"'whoever makes a pact with the use of force, for whatever ends (and every politician does*

so), is at the mercy of its particular consequences' (Weber et al., 2004, p. 89). Further discussion on why head of states used language not coercive power alone will come in chapters four and five.

3-The Variable of Tenor

Tenor refers to *"who is taking part, to the nature of the participants, their status and roles: what kinds of role relationships obtain among the participants, including permanent and temporary relations of one kind or another, both the types of speech role that they are taking on in the dialogue and the whole cluster of socially significant relations in which they are involved"* (Halliday 1985: 12). Another definition suggests that tenor is "*the negotiation of social relationship among participants*" (Martin, 1992, p. 523). The relationship between the interactants as represented in the language of the situation could be identified with different roles depending on what roles are available in the society such as father / son, teacher / student and customer / salesperson. (Eggins, 2004). The dimensions of tenor include not only the relationship between the interactants, but also their degree of "social distance" (Hasan 1985), that is, whether there is a shared history between them or not (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004). However, since social roles have a cultural context, it seems obvious to suggest that role relationships are sensitive to cultural environment. For example, to take the relationship between student and teacher in western cultures, it is very common for students, especially at higher education level, to address their teacher by his/her first name or "Mr.-Mrs. + Last name", and that would be a common or unmarked indication of how language is used when analyzing tenor in language situations that include a student and his/her teacher. In other words, in this context in western societies vocative use is reciprocal. However, in eastern cultures, especially Asia and parts of Africa, vocative use is non-reciprocal between a student and his teacher. It is very unusual to find a student call his/her teacher by his/her first name. I am not suggesting here that the continuum of power does not exist or is totally equal between a student and his teacher in western culture, but what is suggested here is that the distance between a student and his teacher in an eastern culture is higher

and more formal. When discussing the tenor of the speeches in this study, such differences will be noted and discussed in relation to the culture they belong to. Two tenor variables will be considered: Power and Contact. Such cultural variation will be discussed particularly in relation to Power. There is a third variable suggested by Martin (1992) which is Affective Involvement, however, it will not be discussed. These three terms or variables are put forward by Martin (1992) to discuss the registerial variable of tenor. Within SFL there are other proposals regarding the dimensions of tenor, but Martin's system will be drawn in for this study. It should be noted here that these two terms of Contact and Power has never been used before to analyze a political context or political speeches. As such, it is possible that these terms might have some limitations when applied to the context of this research. However, even though this analysis might be limited and preliminary, it is still a step toward further studies and further development of the theoretical tools and the terminology, which is still a problem especially with analyzing tenor (Martin, 1992).

3.1-The Continuum of Power (Status)

Power can be defined as the role the interactants play in the situation in terms of equality or in terms of how equal the interactants are in the situation, judging from the language (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004). In the different systems that are available for analyzing tenor, this continuum is referred to differently. It is referred to as Social Hierarchy by Hasan (2004) and by Butt (2004). The term above (The continuum of power) is used by Martin (1992). Power is also referred to as Status (Martin, 1992). In all systems, especially Martin's, the key principle is reciprocity of choice. Martin (1992, p. 527) suggests "*Equal status among interlocutors is realized by them taking up the same kind of choices (e.g. tutoyer) whereas unequal status is realized by them taking up different ones (e.g. tu/vous)*". However, when analyzing language, we must bear in mind that different

choices can be complementary in a relation, without implying a hierarchy such as when friends sarcastically call each other with titles such as "prince" or "master" or when a sales person calls a customer "Sir" or "Madam". To judge a relationship as hierarchic, we must have viable instantiated resources to show controlling social hierarchy such as office role, social categorization or any other legally defined relationship. Hasan argues that "*If the dyad is HIERARCHIC, one agent will have a greater degree of control over the other*" (Halliday & Hasan, 1991, p. 57). She also suggests that a person in a subordinate role in a hierarchic dyad is "not necessarily submissive" (Halliday & Hasan, 1991, p. 57). But the context of the political structures of these case studies, and the heightened specific context of these times of unrest, make very visible the degree of inequality in the relation of president to "the people". The use of coercive force by the state is aimed to reasserting the profound hierarchical difference in power between the speakers of these texts, and their addressees. The choices speakers make also under the variable of field could indicate the choices under tenor and tenor could change when field changes, as shown and discussed by Butt (2004) and Wegener (2011). This means when field of a text is analyzed as "a president speaking to citizens" then aspects of tenor are already visible. The analysis below will focus on how each head of state defined himself and the people to whom the speeches are delivered. Further, analysis will focus also on how far or close the speakers and the addressees are from each other and what purposes are served when the relationship is deemed close or far. In all the three sets of the speeches in this study, the relationship between the people and the head of state is unequal: there is a hierarchic distribution of power in all of them. This conclusion is reached depending on the use of language in all the speeches as could be seen from the following examples and the brief discussion about them.

BA-1-2	أَيُّهَا الْمَواطِنُونَ. أَيَّتُهَا الْمُواطِنَاتُ.
BA-1-3	Male citizens. Female citizens.

BA-2-2	أَيُّهَا الشَّعْبُ التُّونِسِيُّ
	People of Tunisia

BA-2-3	نُكَلِّمُكُمُ الْيَوْمَ
	I talk to you today

AS-1-307	فَبِكَ أَيُّهَا الشَّعْبُ الأَبِيُّ نَصْمُدُ
	With you the dignified Syrian nation we stand

AS-1-10	وَأُحَيِّيكُمْ تَحِيَّةَ الْوَطَن
	And I salute you the salutation of the home country

AS-2-81	أَيُّهَا السَّيِّدَاتُ والسَّادَةُ
	Ladies and gentlemen

GA-1-1	مَسَاءُ الْخَيْرِ الْيَوْمُ أَيُّهَا الشَّبَابُ فِي السَّاحَةِ الْخَضْرَاء
	Good evening today those youths in the Green square

GA-1-4 GA-1-5	أُحَيِّيكُمْ وَأَنْتُمْ تُقَدِّمُونَ لِلْعَالَمِ الصُّورَةَ الْحَقِيقِيَّةَ لِلشَّعْبِ اللِّيبِيِّ
	I salute you while you put the true picture forward to the world of Libya and the Libyan nation

GA-1-61	أَنَا أَرْفَعُ مِنَ الْمَنَاصِبِ، [[الَّتِي يَتَقَلَّدُها الرُّؤَسَاءُ، وَالأَيُّهَاتُ]]
	I am above all the positions [[that presidents and lords take]]

There is no one form or forms of language that could be evidence of inequality or of a hierarchical distribution of power and that is because of the complexity of the context of situation and the different ideologies involved. However, language that defines the participants in the situation and language that shows the status and boundaries of categories of the participants is what is usually sought to judge the power in the context. All the three heads of states followed linguistic techniques to show power and place the addressees within a certain distance from them.

Ben Ali Assad and Gaddafi defined first their audience and their relation to them as could be seen from examples BA-1-2, BA-1-3, BA-2-2, AS-1-307 and GA-1-1. To set boundaries and indicate their status, Ben Ali, in examples BA-1-2 and BA-1-3 detached himself from the category of citizens in this instance and assumed to himself a different position, which is higher than the normal citizens as we will see later. So, in the beginning of the speeches it could be assumed that Ben Ali wanted to show or to tell his audience that he is in control and he is still the strong person that they have known for more than 20 years as a president, and for many years before that as the interior minister. Before proceeding with the analysis, a question will be asked here. What does it mean to be a president in the Arab world or at least in the countries targeted in this study? Does the term hold the same authority and responsibilities that the term has in a western context in general or are they different? The answer to this question will be presented more fully in chapter four, but in summary, the term does not mean the same in eastern or Arabic contexts or at least the three countries studied in this research[15]. In these countries, the president has absolute authority, even in relation to all the judicial and executive apparatuses of these three countries as well as in the other Arab countries. Now, regardless of all the disadvantages of such systems, there have been calls in post-Arab spring countries to return to such systems on the pretext of the chaos and lack of security (BBC, 2012).

As suggested previously, Ben Ali in his first speech detached himself from the category of citizens and assumed to himself a different position, which is higher than the normal citizens. However, in his second speech Ben Ali moved in another direction as could be seen in example BA-2-2. Ben Ali did not completely detach himself from the class of citizens. He tried to establish a sense of proximity. Ben Ali stated that his speech was for the Tunisian people. However, in calling the people Tunisian instead of "citizens", he actually was not putting himself in a very high position relative to the people or detaching himself from that group, but appointing himself within close proximity of citizens,

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[15] For further discussion on the term president and what it means see for example Owen (2014), Elhadj (2006) and Seurat (2012).

although in a higher leading position within that group. Ben Ali's hierarchic position could be described in the first speech as legally defined and in the second more toward traditional, yet unequal in both. The detachment in the first speech and the closeness in the second is very revealing about what bases of legitimacy were being appealed to in order to achieve the goal and preserve control on the people. In the first speech with example BA-1-2 and BA-1-3, Ben Ali opened his speech by appealing to the legal relation base of legitimacy, where authority is derived from respect of law (Furze et al., 2011). In the second, he appealed to the traditional authority where power is inherited through family or clan ties (Furze et al., 2011). As suggested before, Ben Ali in the second speech tried to establish a sense of proximity to appear sympathetic, however, he maintained his high position, that is why the appeal to legitimacy is described as traditional.

There is no difference between Assad and Ben Ali in how they want their citizens to look at them in terms of power. Assad and Ben Ali used a technique that Gaddafi did not use, which is the use of the first-person plural subjective case or the royal *"we"* to refer to oneself. The royal *"we"*, or majestic plural, is the use of a plural pronoun to refer to a single person holding a high office (Aarts, Chalker, & Weiner, 2014). In example BA-1-5, Ben Ali uses the first-person plural subjective case. In this example, the entity that is referred to here is more likely to be Ben Ali himself. To justify this claim it should be noted first that this clause is number 5 in the first speech and before it came 4 clauses with different logical relations and different process types. However, in all of the previous clauses to number 4 there was no entity or thing that could be referred to in the first person plural subjective case *"we"* except Ben Ali, so that is why he is the noun or "human thing type" (in accordance to Halliday and Matthiessen (2006)) meant to fill the place of the pronoun *"we"* if it was to be removed. It is claimed that this grammatical use of the first-person plural subjective case *"we"* instead of the first-person singular or at least the proper noun refers to what is called in grammar the exclusive *"we"*. In English grammar, the notion of "clusivity" revolves around whether the addressee is included in the address or communication or not. Simply it is the means to say "I but not the others " (Wieczorek,

2014). Those two labels, Inclusive and Exclusive, are two convenient ways to distinguish the two kinds of first person dual / plurals, which are found in different languages in different parts of the world (Fehri, 2012). However, the Arabic use is what of concern here. In Arabic as well as other language the notion of inclusivity and exclusivity is present. And one of the uses of the exclusive *"we"* as suggested is to show or express respect, honor or glorification (Alrazi, 1925). Depending on this it could be safely assumed that Ben Ali here saw himself in a higher position from the other citizens or showed that he assumed more power to himself than the addressees of his speech. To further support the claim made about example BA-1-5 reference will be made to the grammatical discussion delivered by Maalej (2012) to example BA-1-8. Maalej (2012) discussed some speeches of Ben Ali in terms of deixis or in other terms what entities refer to what pronouns and how close and far those entities are to the deictic center. Maalej (2012) states that *"The OPT[16] shifted again back to 'royal-WE' when he said: This compels us to clarify a few issues and emphasize realities"*. Simply Maalej (2012) suggests that the "us" in example BA-1-8 refers to Ben Ali alone and no one else. The circumstances under which these two pronouns are used are similar so what applies for example BA-1-5 goes also for example BA-1-8[17].

BA-1-5	وَلَئِنْ كَانَ مُنْطَلَقُ هَذِهِ الأَحْدَاثِ حَالَةً اجْتِمَاعِيَّةً [[نَفَهَّمُ ظُرُوفَها وَعَوَامِلَها النَّفْسِيَّةَ]]
	Even though the starting point of these events was a social situation [[whose conditions and psychological factors we understand]]

BA-1-8	فَإِنَّ [[مَا اتَّخَذَتْهُ]] مِنْ أَبْعَادٍ مُبَالَغٍ فِيها بِسَبَبِ الاسْتِغْلَالِ السِّيَاسِيِّ لِبَعْضِ الأَطْرَافِ [[الذِينَ لَا يُرِيدُونَ الخَيْرَ لِبِلَادِهِمْ]][[وَيَلْجَؤُونَ إِلَى بَعْضِ القَنَوَاتِ الأَجْنَبِيَّةِ]] [[الَّتِي تَبُثُّ الأَكَاذِيبَ والمُغَالَطَاتِ دُونَ تَحَرٍّ]] [[بَلْ يَاعْتِمَادِ التَّهْوِيلِ والتَّحْرِيضِ والتَّجَنِّي الإِعْلَامِيِّ الجِدَائِيِّ لِتُونِسَ]] يَدْعُونَا إِلَى تَوْضِيحِ بَعْضِ المَسَائِلِ
	However, the exaggerated dimensions [[that they took]], as a result of political exploitation by some parties [[who do not want benefaction to their country]] and [[who resort to some foreign TV channels]] that broadcast lies and deception without investigation],[[but uses alarmism, incitement, and false accusatory information inimical to Tunisia]], call us to clarify a few issues

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[16] OPT is the short for "ousted president of Tunisia" in accordance to Maalej (2012).

Similarly, to Ben Ali in his second speech, Assad did not detach himself from the category of the people in this instance (see clause AS-1-307). However, he assumed to himself a different position, which is higher than the people, from whom, he claims, he derives his power. To support further that Assad assumed a higher position to himself than the people, Assad, like Ben Ali, used the exclusive *"We"* or the royal *"We"* to refer to himself as in example AS-1-307. It is suggested that the first-person plural subjective case *"we"* refers to Assad himself depending on the context and position of occurring of this clause. In the surrounding clauses to this clause, there is no entity that could be included in this "we" except Assad himself as could be seen from the extent of clause complexes from AS-1-301 to the last clause in the text number AS-1-309. It is less likely that الشَّعْبُ الأَبِيُّ - *The dignified nation* in example AS-1-307, which is in the circumstantial part of the clause - is included in the first-person plural subjective case *"we"*, since it lies, as suggested, in the circumstantial part of the clause. It might seem from a first look that the circumstance in this clause is of accompaniment subtype, because of the presence of the preposition بِكَ — *with you*, however, in this example it does not mean, "Alongside", but rather it means "using" as in "using them as means to achieve goals not as participants in achieving goals". Assad could have used the preposition مَعَكَ – *with you* (altogether), to unambiguously include the nation in the first-person plural subjective case "we" and clear any possibility of treating it as a royal *"we"*.

AS-2-1	أَيُّهَا السُّورِيُّونَ الشُّرَفَاءُ
	Honorable Syrians

In the second speech Assad called audiences using titles not names, which is a very formal way of addressing someone or a group of people. Further he clearly stated their class and status within the situation, which is the class of people, as could be seen in AS-2-1, AS-2-81, AS-2-109 and AS-2-110 and in the last example he referred to himself in a reported clause as the "President". This suggests that Assad wants people to build the relationship based on the legal definition of the term "President". A question will arise here: does

Assad use the legal, charismatic or expert appeals as the basis of legitimacy to use the terms of Weber (2014), because he defines himself legally in the two speeches most of the time? As I discuss in chapters four and five, Assad was the president of the three who made least use of traditional or familial ways of appealing to the people. Definition of the three bases of legitimacy and further discussion of their meaning will be presented in chapters four and five. Assad in the first speech established hierarchy in a non-negotiable way. However, in the second he opted for legal appeals as just discussed. Ben Ali and Assad defined their hierarchic social status within the society either legally or in a non-negotiable way.

I turn now to consider the case of Libyan president, Gaddafi. From the very beginning of the first speech, Gaddafi addressed the audience in a formal way, attributing them to certain classes distinct from his position (see GA-1-1, GA-1-4 and GA-1-5). In these examples, Gaddafi stated his audience and the class they belong to. As could be seen from the examples, his audience belongs to the class of the people and another sub-class, in terms of lexical relations, to the class of the people which is the class of young people. Meanwhile, in examples GA-1-44 and example GA-1-61, Gaddafi describes himself as "above all the positions that presidents and lords take", and as "a leader of a revolution".

GA-1-1	مَساءُ الخَيْرِ اليَوْمَ أَيُّها الشَّبابُ فِي السّاحَةِ الخَضْراءِ أُحَيِّيكُمْ وَأَنْتُمْ تُقَدِّمُونَ لِلعالَمِ الصُّورَةَ الحَقِيقِيَّةَ لِلشَّعْبِ اللِّيبِيّ
GA-1-4	Good evening today those youths in the Green square. I salute you while you put the true picture forward to the world of Libya and the Libyan nation.
GA-1-5	

| GA-1-61 | أنا أَرْفَعُ مِنَ المَناصِبِ, [[الَّتِي يَتَقَلَّدُها الرُّؤَساءُ, وَالأَبْهاتُ]] |
| | I am above all the positions [[that presidents and lords take]] |

| GA-1-44 | هُوَ قائِدُ ثَوْرَه |
| | he is a leader of a revolution |

However, Gaddafi is different from the other two heads of state in defining his power and distance from the people. Gaddafi in the two speeches tries to minimize the impact of

distance between him and the people and tries to show that his power and distance are only advisory, that is, not either legally defined or restricted by rules of a certain official role (see examples GA-1-39, GA-1-40 and GA-1-41). However, is this the real case or just a façade? This question will be left for further research. Minimization of the impact of distance between him and the people goes in correlation with the bases of legitimacy he appealed to mostly in his two speeches, which is the charismatic base of legitimacy as will be discussed in chapter five.

GA-1-39	مُعَمَّر القَذَّافِيّ ماعنده مَنْصِب
	Muammar Gaddafi has no post

GA-1-40	حَتَّى يَزْعَلْ
	so, that he gets angry

GA-1-41	وَيَسْتَقِيل مِنْهُ
	and (HE) resigns from

The same applies to the second speech in terms of inequality and unequal distribution of power. However, when looking at the text and the linguistic resources that it put forward, it could be seen that Gaddafi followed some techniques to minimize the distance in power and take himself down to the people, regardless of the physical distance that he was addressing them from, which was manifested in some of the words and expressions he uttered in his speech. Gaddafi did not detach himself from the category of the people and showed that people have power and shared responsibility of things with him (e.g. GA-2-1, GA-2-2, GA-2-3, GA-2-10 and GA-2-11).

GA-2-1	رُدُّوا عَلَيهِمْ
	Reply to them

GA-2-2	رُدُّوا عَلَى الْعُمَلاءِ
	Reply to the infiltrators

GA-2-3	رُدُّوا عَلَى الْكَذَّابِينَ
	Reply to the liars

GA-2-10	أَنَا إِذَا كَانَ شَعْبِي مَايْحِبّنِي مَاسْتَحقّش الْحَيَاةَ
GA-2-11	If my nation does not love me I do not deserve life

In those just listed examples, Gaddafi shared power with others or gave some of his powers to others so that they act in his name. However, those very examples could also show that even Gaddafi did not detach himself from the class of the people and gave them some powers to act and do actions on his behalf. The imperative type of those clauses might suggest that they would not have done this or would have been able to do this without his permission. This judgement was reached purely from the linguistic face of the clause as from a rhetorical point of view the judgement might be different. Also, it could be seen from examples GA-2-9, GA-2-16 and lastly example GA-2-17 that Gaddafi brought his nation or people very close to him or closer to the deictic centre by using place deixis or the space deixis through using proximal demonstratives *"This"*, *"These"* and other demonstratives in his text as could be seen from the just listed examples.

Even when Gaddafi shared power, he did not want people to think that they are close to the degree of power sharing as equals. Gaddafi also used rhetorical devices to express that he holds a higher position than others and more power. In the case of the first speech Gaddafi in more than one instance referred to himself in the third person singular, or, in other words, used "Illeism", which suggests that even though he sees himself a part of the people, that he is in a high position within that society and is not equal to them (see GA-2-13 and GA-2-48). So, to describe the power in this speech depending on the

discussion above it would be most likely to be described as moderately unequal. The closeness technique of Gaddafi brings the discussion to another technique used by heads of state as discussed below.

GA-2-9	أَهُوَ الشَّعْبُ اللِّيبِيُّ
	This is the nation of Libya

GA-2-16	أَهُوَ شَعْبِي
	This is my nation

GA-2-17	أَهُوَ الشُّعُوبُ
	These are the nations

GA-2-13	مُعَمَّر القَذَّافِيّ مَا يِسْتَحِقِّشْ الْحَيَاةَ حَتَّى يَوْمٌ وَأَحِدٌ
	Muammar Gaddafi does not deserve life not even for one single day

GA-2-48	مَعَ أَنَّ مُعَمَّر القَذَّافِيّ لَيْسَ بِرَئِيسٍ ، وَلَا مَلِكٍ ، وَلَا رَئِيسِ حُكُومَةٍ
	Even though Muammar Gaddafi is not a president, not a king, not a prime minister

Another technique that the three heads of state use to show closeness regardless of the hierarchic distribution of power is the forming of the dyad of *"I"* and *"you"*. As claimed previously, the first speech of Ben Ali was formal (President/Citizen) with a hierarchical distribution of power to a far extent. The first speech of Ben Ali does not attempt to create this dyadic relation. However, it is used in the second speech, in which the distribution of power is hierarchic but as President (father)/ Citizen (son). The dyad of *"I"* and *"You"* has an effect of bringing the addressees closer to the self of the speaker or closer to the deictic center (Ritzer & Ryan, 2010). Ben Ali kept the distance between himself and the audience, however, his appeal to the traditional base of legitimacy and the use of words of empathy, indirect soft blame and the showing of disbelief in the non-recognition from the part of the people for the effort he has put into the country gives an indication that Ben Ali attempts to minimize the impact of that distance. The individual in the Arab world is kept under control in his family through this way. Usually the father keeps his offspring's obedience by pushing them toward feeling bashful and guilty about their actions or about

something they did which their father did not like (Sharabi, 1975)[18]. This strategy usually goes hand in hand with letting the individual feel that s/he is inferior because s/he went outside the determined track of the father. This strategy is usually referred to as the strategy of abashment (Sharabi, 1975).

The role Ben Ali is trying to define and wants the people to perceive cannot be totally defined as "President talking to citizens" as the informal sentiment expression from the part of Ben Ali is present in his second speech. Ben Ali showed himself as a diligent carer or a father in the second speech, who is harmed because of what his sons and daughters did to him. That is why the relationship is defined as (President (father)/ Citizen) (son). Further discussion on this point will be presented in chapters four and five.

BA-2-3	نُكَلِّمُكُمُ الْيَوْمَ
	I talk to you today

BA-2-4	وَنُكَلِّمُكُمُ الْكُلَّ فِي تُونِسَ وَخَارِجَ تُونِسَ
	and I talk to you all inside and outside Tunisia

BA-2-5	نُكَلِّمُكُمُ بِلغة كُلِّ التُّونِسِيِّينَ وَالتُّونِسِيَّاتِ
	I talk to you in the language of Tunisians

Further, this dyad of *"I"* and *"You"* occurred in this second speech more than three times in the speech for example in clauses number BA-2-4, BA-2-5. Those examples among others, suggest a desire and a wish for solidarity and surroundings of the people or the community or the nation.

It is worth noting here before moving on with the discussion that this closeness or formality in the speeches can be further discussed in relation to the different bases of legitimacy, power and different appeals following Weber (2014). It is assumed in this research that the closer the head of state is seen in his speeches to the people the more

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[18] For further discussion of the family and the strategies of bringing up children within Arab families see Sharabi (1975) especially pages 35-39.

emotional appeals and appeals to the status and familial bases of legitimacy are employed in the communication to preserve power and control of the people. This shift might reveal something about the nature of power within the studied context. If such a shift is found, it could be suggested that those presidents, who have absolute power in their countries feel that their power and legitimacy have been compromised and that they need to make use of emotional and familial appeals to try to hold on to power.

Assad also formed a dyad of *"I"* and *"You"* in this first speech, which has the effect of bringing the addressees closer to the self of the speaker or closer to the deictic center (see examples AS-1-8, AS-1-10 and AS-1-14). Gaddafi also makes use of this strategy (see examples GA-1-3 and GA-1-46).

GA-1-3	أُحَيِّيكُم شَبابَ الفاتِحِ, شَبابَ القَوْمِيَّةِ, شَبابَ الفاطِمِيَّةِ, شَبابَ التَّحَدِّي, جيلَ التَّحَدِّي, جيلَ الغَضِبِ
	I salute you youth of victory, youth of nationalism, youth of "Fatimiya", youth of challenge, generation of challenge, generation of anger

GA-1-46	هَذِهِ بِلادِي بِلاد أُجْدادِي وَأُجْدادِكُم
	This is my country, the country of my grandfathers and your grandfathers

AS-1-8	أُحَيِّيكُم تَحِيَّةَ العُرُوبَة
	I salute you the salutation of Arabism

AS-1-10	وَأُحَيِّيكُم تَحِيَّةَ الوَطَن
	And I salute you the salutation of the home country

AS-1-14	أَتَحَدَّثُ إِلَيْكُم اليَوْمَ بَعْدَ مُضِيِّ عَشْرَةِ أَشْهُرٍ عَلَى إِنْدِلاعِ الأَحْداثِ المُؤْسِفَةِ[[الَّتِي أَصابَتِ الوَطَن]][[وَفَرَضَتْ ظُرُوفاً مُسْتَجِدَّةً عَلَى السَّاحَةِ السُّورِيَّةِ]]
	Today, I talk you ten months after the outbreak of the unfortunate events [[which befell the country]] and [[imposed new circumstances on the Syrian arena]]

In all those examples, similar to the other two sets of speeches, Gaddafi formed a dyad of *"I"* and *"You"*, which as suggested in the discussion of the second speech of Ben Ali has

the effect of bringing people closer to the deictic center, thus bringing Gaddafi closer to the other classes he mentioned in his speech.

The third and the last technique is used by Assad and Gaddafi only. This technique was referred to above in the discussion of one of Gaddafi speeches as the technique of Illeism. This device suggests that the individual looks at himself as one who has a higher position than the others. This technique is associated with egocentrics and oddball characters, who attempt to puff themselves up, create distance or illustrate their egoism and this stylistic device is "Illeism" (Barford, 2015). Illeism or the stylistic device of Illeism means simply to refer to oneself in third person as explained in Merriam-Webster (2005) dictionary. Gaddafi uses this technique in both of his speeches. Assad uses it only once.

| GA-1-39 | مُعَمَّر القَذَّافِيّ ماعنده مَنْصِب |
| | Muammar Gaddafi has no post |

| GA-1-40 | حَتَّى يَزْعَلْ |
| | so, that he gets angry |

| GA-1-41 | وَيَسْتَقِيل مِنْهُ |
| | and (HE) resigns from |

| AS-2-109 | فَاعْتَبَرُوا إِنَّ الرَّئِيس السُّورِيّ يَهْدُدُ لمُجَرَّد التَّهْدِيد |
| AS-2-110 | They considered that the Syrian President is threatening for the sake of threatening only |

3.2-The Continuum of Contact

Contact is concerned with the degree of involvement among interlocutors (Martin, 1992). To elaborate more we could say that the continuum of Contact refers to the position of the interactants in the situation and whether or not it brings the interactants into frequent or occasional contact (Martin, 1992). From the definition of the continuum it could be assumed that with the context under discussion in this study it is going to be

challenging to use this continuum to account for the contact or how involved that contact is because primarily the continuum was developed to account for regular or occasional social activities, which usually happen face to face or simply by means other than a political speech. In the context we have at hand the speakers seek to obscure the power difference by various appeals to "the people" in which they construct some forms of shared identity and shared experience. All such features are meant to construe proximity between the president and the people. Aware that the ongoing use of coercive force is potentially "delegitimizing" for their claim to the presidency in each of these countries (also discussed in relation to field), these presidents seek to make "contact" with "the people". As will be discussed in relation to mode, the addressee for these texts is "virtual". They are not knowable to the speaker in a direct sense. But since power requires legitimacy, these speeches are oriented to creating a sense of shared beliefs and goals. Various linguistic features demonstrate how these presidents seek to create a sense of closer contact. To enquire into the social distance as Halliday and Hasan (1991, p. 57) puts it, we need to investigate and look in the language for what type of previous relationship there is between the participants of the text or the context. Further, we need to highlight how involved or uninvolved they are. Involvement can be judged based on the cross classification of two dimensions as shown in table below. The first dimension is oriented toward whether the social activity is related to family, work or recreation. The other dimension is related to whether the involvement is regular or occasional (Martin, 1992).

	FAMILY	WORK	RECREATION
REGULAR	immediate (father/child)	co-worker (lecturer/tutor)	friend (fixture partners)
OCCASIONAL	relatives (aunt/niece)	contact (writer/editor)	acqaintance (fixture opponents)

Figure 9- Dimensions of Contact as per Martin (1992)

Uninvolved contact could be broken down into two dimensions as well, which are phatic communication and one-off contact. Phatic communication is the communication that

happens between the individual and the shopkeeper for example and the one-off is with strangers (Martin, 1992). As we can see these terms and the organization of the dimensions could pose a problem for the context under study in this research. However, we will attempt to make the best use of these dimensions and terms in favor of the political context in hand.

In this first speech by Ben Ali it, the contact can be described as occasional. Before going into a deeper discussion we can simply say the contact is occasional because the interactants not only do not but cannot know each other, because the addressee is "virtual" or "imaginary" to use the terms of Hasan (1999). In all of the three sets of speeches in this study the contact is occasional. However, the speeches differ in the frequency of contact in each speech. In some of the speeches, the heads of state use a one-off contact to get in contact with the addresses and in some others there is more than one instance of contact.

Contact reveals itself through many linguistic choices. Discussion of contact here will be done through analyzing the vocative case, which is one of the ways to measure frequency of contact. In Arabic, contact or drawing some ones' attention is done through using the vocative case. The vocative in Arabic is represented and indicated using the particle يـا *yā* and it comes before a noun, a proper noun or adjective. When this particle is translated into English, it usually gets omitted. However, when it is translated, it is translated into *O* as in the biblical verse "O ye of little faith" (Matthew 8:26). However, that does not extend to the modern use of English, in which there is no formal morphological vocative case, but a word or phrase in a shape of a name or a title is used to express the vocative case (Ace & Subbotin, 2014). In the two speeches of Ben Ali there is a one-off contact as could be seen from BA-1-2 and BA-1-3 and BA-2-2. Ben Ali called his audience "citizens" and "Tunisian people" because they are unknown to him or strangers as Martin (1992) states in his discussion. These terms suggest no shared history between the head of state and his audience. Shared history means we can find in the language diminutive forms of

names or and terms of endearment. All we can find is to a far extent formal names that suggest distant and occasional contact.

BA-1-2	أَيُّهَا الْمَواطِنُونَ
	Male citizens

BA-1-3	أَيَّتُهَا الْمُوَاطِنَاتُ
	Female citizens

BA-2-2	أَيُّهَا الشَّعَبُ التُّونِسِيُّ
	People of Tunisia

However, Ben Ali used other forms of language and other linguistic strategies to show shared history and to evoke proximity. One of these techniques is the formation the dyad of *"I"* and *"you"* as discussed under section 3.1. Ben Ali attempts in examples BA-2-3, BA-2-4 and BA-2-5 to evoke that he is making contact with the audience one to one and that he is so close that he is speaking in a language that is close to their liking and in a language that they all share.

BA-2-3	نُكَلِّمُكُمْ الْيَوْمَ
	I talk to you today

BA-2-4	وَنُكَلِّمُكُمْ الْكُلَّ فِي تُونِسٍ وَخَارِجَ تُونِسٍ
	and I talk to you all inside and outside Tunisia

BA-2-5	نُكَلِّمُكُمْ بلغة كُلِّ التُّونِسِيِّينَ وَالتُّونِسِيَّاتِ
	I talk to you in the language of Tunisians

Ben Ali also attempts to open a channel of contact between himself and the people through indicating that there is a shared concern between him and the people toward certain events and a mutual shared cooperation is needed to eradicate these concerns (see examples BA-2-39 and BA-2-40). These are also other examples in the two speeches of Ben Ali where he attempts to establish a shared history and a sense of proximity, however, the examples just presented are enough to account for the point.

BA-2-39 BA-2-40	أَوْلَاذُنَا الْيَوْمَ فِي الذَّار ومُوشْ فِي الْمَذْرَسَةِ
	Our children today are at home and they are not in the school

As for the two speeches of Assad, Assad is distinct from Ben Ali in terms of the position of the elements of contact in his second speech. The first speech has a one-off contact similar to Ben Ali's first and second speech as could be seen in AS-1-307. The second speech is different to the first one in terms of the position and frequency of contact elements (see AS-2-1, AS-2-2 and AS-2-81). However, Assad in the way he addresses people is different from Ben Ali. Even though it is obvious that he does not know them by name or personally, he expresses his personal knowing of their shared positive traits and characteristics. Assad is similar to Ben Ali in opening a channel of contact between him and the people through indicating that there is a shared concern between him and the people toward certain events and a mutual shared cooperation is needed to eradicate these concerns (see AS-1-292, AS-1-293 and AS-1-294).

AS-1-307	فَبِكَ أَيُّهَا الشَعْبُ الأَبِيُّ نَصْمُدُ
	With you the dignified Syrian nation we stand

AS-2-1	أَيُّهَا السُورِيُّونَ الشُرَفَاءُ
	Honorable Syrians

AS-2-2	أَيُّهَا الشَعْبُ الحُرُّ الثَائِرُ
	Free Syrian Revolutionaries

AS-2-81	أَيُّهَا السَيِّدَاتُ والسَادَةُ
	Ladies and gentlemen

AS-1-292 AS-1-293 AS-1-294	فَكُلُّ مَعِيشتِنَا الآنَ مُرْتَبِطَةٌ بِمَوْضُوع ضَبْطِ الحَالَةِ الأَمْنِيَّةِ. لِذَلِكَ نَعُودُ لِهَذَا المَوْضُوع لِكَّى نَتَعَاوَنَ جَمِيعاً مِنْ أَجْلِ حَسْمِه
	Our livelihood is connected to the topic of security. For this we go back to this topic, so that we all cooperate for the purpose of ending it

Gaddafi is no different from the other two heads of state. His contact with the audience is infrequent, or in other words occasional. However, in the second speech he does not

use any vocatives to make contact with the addressees, which somehow leaves the category of the addressees unspecified, unlike the other heads of state, who specify their addressees with vocatives. It could be assumed, depending on the discussion so far, that the social distance between the heads of state is occasional, incidental and left to chance. It is impossible for the contact to be frequent if a text or texts are characterized or described with these three options. Further contact could be described as impersonal and distant.

Similar to the other presidents, Gaddafi used other techniques to open a channel of contact between him and the people. Some of these techniques are similar to the other two presidents like the forming of the dyad of "I" and "You" and drawing on shared history (see examples GA-1-2, GA-1-3 GA-1-46 and GA-1-273) to give a sense of directness, shared history and proximity. Some of the techniques are different, such as asking rhetorical questions as if directly addressing the audience (see examples GA-1-173 and GA-1-298).

GA-1-273	نَحْنُ يا إخْواننا نَعرفُ بَعْضَنا
	Brothers, we all know each other

GA-1-173	تُحْتَلكُم ؟
	Do you want America to occupy you?

GA-1-298	أتصدقونَ؟
	Do you believe that?!!

Even though the three presidents use techniques to show shared history and closeness and establish an imaginary virtual relationship with the audience, the contact would still be judged as occasional as there are no terms that directly show shared history between head of states and their audience. Shared history means we can find in the language diminutive forms of names and terms of endearment and other direct forms. All we can find is formal names that suggest distant and occasional contact. Before moving on to the discussion on the variable of Mode a point in regard to the analysis system used in

analyzing tenor needs to be highlighted. It could be noticed that, in the discussion of power and contact, some examples make evidence for properties of both of the dimensions, which suggests that analyzing a political context could blur the boundaries between the dimensions of the system due to the fact that it was not developed in the first place to accommodate properties of political discourse of the type under discussion in this study. Further research is needed to develop a system that can accommodate such discourse.

4-The variable of Mode

The third and last variable that is going to be discussed regarding the three sets of speeches is the context variable of mode. It refers to the role of language or the role language is playing in the interaction (Halliday & Hasan, 1991). As with the other parameters of context, there are varying accounts of the dimensions of mode within the SFL framework. It is suggested that under this variable two simultaneous continua describe two different types of distance related to the relation between language and situation (Halliday & Hasan, 1991). As introduced previously, the first type is related to process sharing. Processes sharing describes the distinction between situations where the interactants share the processes of making the text and contexts in which the addressee comes to the text after the text has been finished (Halliday & Hasan, 1991). It is suggested that this could decide and account for whether there is immediate feedback and or visual contact between the addressee and the audience or not and that at the same time could have certain consequences for the analysis and how judgement is made about the text and the way distance is understood. The second continuum stands for whether the role of language is constitutive or ancillary[19]. The language of an interaction could be

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[19] The location of the choice "constitutive" and "ancillary", as mentioned in the discussion of field, has been attributed by SFL scholars either to mode (Halliday) or to field (Hasan). I will

described as ancillary, when language accompanies action during the interaction, like paying a game of cards or instructing a recipe on a cooking TV show (Halliday & Hasan, 1991). By joining those two dimensions, a contrast between a written and a spoken text or situation of language could be reached (Eggins, 2004). The discussion will depend on the work of Martin (1992), Eggins (2004) and Butt (2004). The figure 10 listed below summarizes the subheadings under which the discussion will take place.
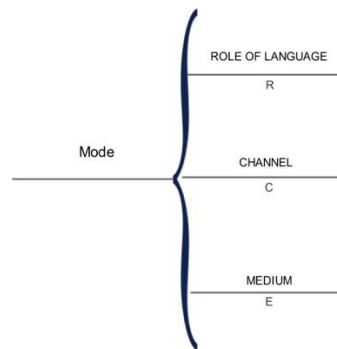
Figure 10- The Major Systems of the Mode Network from Butt (2004)

4.1-Mode- Role of Language

The Role of Language system proposed in Butt (2004) refers to the dominance of language in the context and its main concern is how important language is to the situation or activity or communication (Butt, 2004). In all the three sets of speeches in this study, the language is not supporting the activity of anything in the situation so language could be described as constitutive. In other words, it is not ancillary. Language of an interaction could be described as ancillary, when language accompanies action during the interaction

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follow Butt (2004) who suggests the choice is relevant in both parameters, though with distinctive associations in each parameter.

(Halliday & Hasan, 1991), like paying a game of cards or instructing a recipe on a cooking TV show.

4.2-Mode- Channel

The channel system encodes aspects of the signal including the signal's characteristics, the temporal horizon and streaming aspects (Wegener, 2011). The first speech delivered by Ben Ali was delivered on front of TV cameras. So, the channel could be described as +one-way visual and +one-way aural. This combination of features suggests + delayed feedback as a feature of this context. The audience could see Ben Ali delivering the speech, but he could not see them. They could hear his voice but he could not hear theirs. In turn, that means it was impossible for the addressees to send feedback or for the speaker to receive feedback and that could be described as suggested as +delayed feedback (Martin, 1992). The same exact discussion could be applied on the second speech as well.

The two speeches of Assad are unique and different to the first set that was discussed so far in this study. In the case of Assad, both speeches were given in the presence of a co-located audience. Thus, the channel could be described as involving visual contact and immediate feedback. However, in such situations it is less likely for the audience to use the right of giving feedback since this was an official formal speech and in such situations interruptions are less likely to happen on the part of the audience. In the case of the audience, who watched the speech on TV, the situation is similar to the other two speeches discussed so far in this study: +one-way visual and +one-way aural with + delayed feedback.

Gaddafi has a mix of both previous sets. The first speech of Gaddafi is similar to the first and second speeches of Ben Ali, even though there were some individuals in front of Gaddafi, and their voices can be heard around the area of the speech delivery during the

speech. But, in a sign of the power of the speaker, they were most likely to be bodyguards or individuals who are responsible for the broadcast and filming. The main audience were the people watching TV from their houses and the groups of people watching the speech from big screens in the Green Square[20] as could be seen from the circumstantial elements of example GA-1-1 and example GA-1-7. So, the channel in this speech would be described as one-way visual and one-way aural and that suggests a positive delayed feedback similar to the situation of Ben Ali.

| GA-1-1 | مَساءُ الخَيْرِ النَّوْمُ أَيُّها الشَّبابُ فِي السَّاحَةِ الخَضْراءِ |
| | Good evening today those youths in the Green square |

| GA-1-7 | أنْتُمْ مِنَ السَّاحَةِ الخَضْراءِ، تُقَدِّمُونَ الحَقِيقَةَ [[الَّتِي تُحاوِلُ أَجْهِزَةُ الخِيانَةِ والعَمالَةِ و النَذالَةِ والرَّجْعِيَّةِ والجُبْنِ أَنْ تُخَفِّيَها]] |
| | You are, in the Green square, put forward the truth [[that agencies of betrayal, disloyalty, nastiness, narrow-mindedness and cowardice are trying to hide]] |

The situation of Gaddafi's second speech is similar to the first one. Even though there were what seems to be hundreds of people in front of Gaddafi, their chanting and cheering could be heard around the area of the speech delivery, while he was giving his speech. Thus, the speech combined a co-located audience with one reached only via broadcast technology. It also could be assumed that Gaddafi could not hear specifically what they were saying, yet he in one instance interpreted their screaming in a positive way or as a positive feedback on what he was saying as could be seen from example GA-2-18.

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[20] The Green Square is also known as the Martyrs' Square. It is a downtown landmark at the bay in the city of Tripoli, Libya. It was known as the Independence Square in the monarchy era, and as the Piazza Italia when Libya was under the control of colonial Italy. For further information on the Square and its symbolic importance to the Libyan revolution see Khatib and Lust (2014) and Harmon (2014).

GA-2-18	أَهُوَ صَوْتُ الشُّعُوبِ
	This is the voice of the people

GA-2-62	وَعَلَيْكُمْ عَلَيْكُمْ أَنْ تُغَنُّوا
	And you have to, you have to sing

However, even though Gaddafi dealt in one instance with the shouting that he was hearing as positive feedback from the audience, the channel could not be described as +immediate feedback as it is almost impossible to understand a word of what was being said. Thus, it only can be described as +delayed feedback and +visual contact +one-way aural. Also in the case of the audience who were watching the speech on TV the same applies; the feedback could only be described as +delayed feedback, which means that Gaddafi could not have received feedback until after the delivery of his speech. However, the channel is different to the people in the Green Square in that it was +visual contact +one-way aural.

4.3-Mode-Medium

Medium is related to channel yet, it is distinct from it (Wegener, 2011). Medium is related to channel in that it considers the organization of the signal (Wegener, 2011). Further, medium considers the attributes of the language within the text such as whether the text is spoken or written, the nature of the organization of the text and the techniques of staging or phasing.

Spoken texts, in the sense of the medium, are usually interactive with two or more participants and face-to-face (Eggins, 2004). The first text of Ben Ali was delivered in front of a camera, in a room with Ben Ali only facing the camera alone. That means there is no process sharing in the text and the only present participant in the text is the deliverer with

no participants sharing with him the process of making or unfolding the text. The just mentioned characteristics are typical characteristics of a written speech or language situation as per Halliday and Hasan (1991). Furthermore, the speech was delivered addressing a specific situation and a specific occasion as could be seen from clause number BA-1-4 and BA-1-8.

BA-1-4	لقد دَابعْتُ بِاَلْشِيغَالٍ مَا [[شَهِدَتْهُ "سيدى بوزيد" مِنْ أَحْدَاثٍ خِلاَلَ الأيَّامِ الـــمُنْقَضِيَةِ]]
	I followed with concern the events [[that the city of Sidi Bouzid witnessed of events in the last few days]]

BA-1-8	فَإِنَّ [[ما اتَّخَذَتْهُ]] مِنْ أَبْعَادٍ مُبَالِغ فِيهَا بِسَبَبِ الاسْتِغْلَالِ السِّيَاسِيِّ لِبَعْضِ الأطْرَافِ [[الذِينَ لاَ يُرِيدُونَ الخَيْرَ لِبَلَدِهِمْ]][[وَيَلْجَؤُونَ إِلَى بَعْضِ الفَّفْزَاتِ الأَجْنَبِيَّةِ]] [[الَتِي تَبُثُّ الأَكَاذِيبَ وَالمُغَالَطَاتِ دُونَ تَحَرٍّ]] [[بَلْ بِاعْتِمَادِ التَّهْوِيلِ وَالتَّحْرِيضِ وَالتَّجَنِّي الإِعْلَامِيِّ البِدَائِيِّ لِتُونِسَ]] يَدْعُونَا إِلَى تَوْضِيحِ بَعْضِ المَسَائِلِ
	However, the exaggerated dimensions [[that they took]], as a result of political exploitation by some parties [[who do not want benefaction to their country]] and [[who resort to some foreign TV channels]] that broadcast lies and deception without investigation],[[but uses alarmism, incitement, and false accusatory information inimical to Tunisia]], call us to clarify a few issues

These two examples suggest that this speech was written to address and clarify some serious issues from the point of view of the deliverer and these characteristics belong to written, formal and special situations (Eggins, 2004). The just presented discussion described the situation of language in terms whether it was written or not. Now, the language itself will be the object of the analysis and be decided whether it was prepared and written or whether it was spontaneous and organized in the moment of situation. As could be seen from the first text by Ben Ali, the text is monologic - he is the only speaker in the text. There is no turn-taking or interaction between the interactants of the texts. This feature is one of the characteristics of a written language or text (Eggins, 2004). To give examples to support the view that the text is monologic, some examples will be given. The first example has been used before which is clause BA-1-4. In the first example number BA-1-4, the clause affirms that the text is going to be a reflection and affirms also that this text is going to b about certain topics. The second example (BA-1-8) suggests somehow the structure of the text and suggests its scope and trajectory, which also in turn suggests that this reflection is going to be on those topics and going to be clarified

by one person. Those two characteristics and examples support the claim that the text is written and its context is independent. Another evidence to support that this text is written is its synoptic structure or rhetorical staging, standard grammar and its lexical density[21]. The text is very short (879 words), which makes it the second shortest speech of the six speeches in this study after the second one by Gaddafi. However, the text is lexically dense compared to the other longer texts. The text has the average of 28 words per clause, the nearest text to it in the average number of words per clause is the second speech of Assad of 7616 words by 21 words per clause. By running a lexical density analysis on the text, it could be seen that 46% of the words in the text of 879 are content words, which suggest that the text could be described as lexically dense and thus of written Medium. Also, the analysis suggests that the text is comprised mostly of complete clauses and packed with information.

The text is clearly organized and well directed through the use of ordinal staging as could be seen in examples (see BA-1-10, BA-1-21, BA-1-37, BA-1-48 and BA-1-54).

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[21] It should be acknowledged here that the lexical density analysis in this study was done on the translation of the texts due to the lack of an established method for conducting lexical density analysis in Arabic.

BA-1-10	أَوَّلاً إِنَّنَا نُقَدِّرُ الشُّعُورَ [[الذي يَنْتَابُ أَيَّ عَاطِلٍ عَنِ العَمَلِ]]
	First, we respect the feeling, [[that any unemployed person feels]]

BA-1-21	ثَانِيًا إِنَّ البِطَالَةَ شُغْلٌ شَاغِلٌ لِسَائِرِ بُلْدَانِ العَالَمِ المَتَقَدِّمَةِ مِنْهَا والنَّامِيَةِ
	Second, unemployment is a major concern of developed and developing countries around the world

BA-1-37	ثَالِثَا: لَقَدْ دَأَبْنَا مُنْذُ هَذَا التَّغْيِيرِ عَلَى تَكْرِيسِ الحِوَارِ مَبْدَأً وَأُسْلُوبًا لِلتَّعَامُلِ بَيْنَ سَائِرِ الأَطْرَافِ الوَطَنِيَّةِ والاجْتِمَاعِيَّةِ حَوْلَ القَضَايَا والمُسْتَجِدَّاتِ [[التي تُطْرَحُ أَمَامَنَا]]
	- Third, we have continued since "the change" to establish dialogue as a principle and style of communication Between all national and social sides around the issues and new events [[that face us.]]

BA-1-48	رَابِعا: إِنَّنَا نُجَدِّدُ التَّأْكِيدَ عَلَى احْتِرَامِ حُرِّيَّةِ الرَّأْيِ والتَّعْبِيرِ والحِرْصِ عَلَى تَرْسِيخِهَا فِي التَّشْرِيعِ والمُمَارَسَةِ
	Fourth, we reassert our emphasis on respect of freedom of opinion and expression, and our eagerness to adopt it in legislation and practice

BA-1-54	خَامِسَا: إِنَّنَا نُقَدِّرُ صُعُوبَةَ وَضْعِ البِطَالَةِ وَتَأْثِيرَهَا النَّفْسِيَّ عَلَى صَاحِبِهَا
	Fifth, we do comprehend the uneasy situation of unemployment and its psychological effect on the unemployed

Those five examples above show how the text was staged and they suggest that the text might have been drafted back and forth to end up with this concentrated dense final draft that was delivered. The judgment that Ben Ali's speech enjoys a highly written medium was reached merely from the structure and the language as suggested. Some other researchers followed much harder ways to reach such a conclusion with their data. In one of the studies, the researcher presented copies of originals of some of the speeches that Ben Ali delivered in different occasions and they clearly show that Ben Ali prepared his speeches to be read and that he made different changes to the original before coming out to deliver the speech (Boussofara-Omar, 2005).

The aspects that could be covered in analyzing the variables of field, tenor and mode are various. However, what has been covered here so far is sufficient to account for the description of register of the first speech by Ben Ali and now a movement will be made to the second speech.

Even though the second speech of Ben Ali is suggested to be spoken and not written it was not interactive due to the nature of political speeches in general, where it is unlikely for anybody to interrupt the president while delivering a speech, especially on TV. The text is context-dependent. It was delivered and aired in reaction to certain special events. The staging of the text is not as clear as the first speech. The movement from one stage to another is determined by changes in sub-topics and process types which will be discussed later in chapter five. The text contained a range of spontaneity phenomena such as hesitations, incomplete clauses and repetitions. Hesitations could not be illustrated here as this is out of the scope of this study, however, examples of repetitions are examples BA-2-64 and example BA-2-65.

BA-2-64	وَأَطْلُبُ مِن اللَّجْنَةِ المُسْتَقِلَّة أُكَرِّرُ اللَّجْنَةِ المُسْتَقِلَّة [[الَّتِي سَتُحَقِّقُ فِى الأَحْدَاثِ وَالتَّجَاوُزَاتِ وَالوَفِيَّاتِ المَأْسُوف عَلَيْهَا]]
BA-2-65	I ask the independent commission, I repeat, the independent commission, [[which will investigate the incidents and the abuses and the regrettable deaths]]

In these two examples, there has been a repetition of the first clause with adding a term that is only used with spoken texts, which is أُكَرِّرُ - *I repeat*. These kinds of characteristics only occur in spoken situations where the text is spontaneous and un-drafted and un-polished. It should be noted here that it is the right of any speech giver to repeat whatever part he or she wants during delivery and this might be the case here. However, Ben Ali could have done so without the insertion of the أُكَرِّرُ - *I repeat*, which is surely a spoken text element. Other examples (e.g. BA-2-67, BA-2-68) display two characteristics of spoken texts. The first characteristic is the characteristic of incomplete clauses.

BA-2-67	وَنِسِتِنى
	And we expect

BA-2-68	وَنِسِتِنى مِن كُلِّ تُونِسِيٍّ [[اللَّيْ يُسَابِدُنَا]] وَاللَّيْ مَا يُسَابِدنَاش]]
	and we expect every Tunisian, [[those who support us and ||those who do not support us]]

Example BA-2-67 could be analyzed as a clause. However, it is incomplete and needs further constituents to constitute a full clause. Moreover, both examples together could be described as repetition as well. It should be noted here that these two examples

cannot be described as the speaker trying to add emphasis on this point as from listening to the speech, the speaker did not apply intonation that indicates an added emphasis or importance to this instance. Another example that could be described as incomplete is example BA-2-79.

| BA-2-79 | وَزِيَادَةً عَلَى هَٰذَا كَلَّفْتُ الْحُكُومَةَ |
| | In addition to that I tasked the government |

In this example the clause is grammatically fully constituted, however, the meaning it serves is ambiguous. The spontaneous and intuitive question might get asked here is "With what?". In this material clause what is needed is manner, frequency or any suitable circumstantial elements so that the clause can be fully interpreted.

Regarding lexical density, the second speech of Ben Ali is 1218 words in length. The high number of words compared to the first speech did not mean high number of words per clause. The average number of words per clause was 17 words per clause. By running a lexical density analysis on the text, it could be revealed that this text of 1218 words has content words average of 37% and this result means that this text is low on density and that in turn suggests that this text is more likely to be spoken in medium than written. Furthermore, the staging of the second speech lacks the precise organization of the first speech. Determining the elements of the text, including where they should occur and in which position is not easy when compared to the first speech. This further suggests that this text is spoken and not written in medium.

Regarding the first speech of Assad, the text was not spontaneous, not casual and was delivered in a formal occasion or in response to a special event. All those characteristics of the written medium apply to this case. Further, in terms of lexis, the text is full of high end prestigious lexis as in examples AS-1-9, example AS-1-13 and example AS-1-22.

AS-1-9	الَّتِي سَتَبْقَى عُنْوَاناً لِأُنْتِمَائِنا وَمَلاذاً لَنا فِي المُلِمَّاتِ
	which will remain a symbol of our identity and our haven in difficult times

AS-1-13	لِتَبْقَى سُورِيَّة قَلْعَة حَصِينَةً فِي مُواجِهَة جَمِيعِ أَشْكال الأَخْتِراق
	so that Syria remains invincible fortress in the face of all forms of penetration

AS-1-22	وَبِتَّا أَكْثَر قُدْرَةً عَلَى تَفْكِيكِ البِيئَةِ الأَفْتِراضِيَّةِ[[الَّتِي أَوْجَدُوها لِدَفْعِ السُورِيِّينَ نَحْوَ الوَهْمِ وَمِنْ ثَمَّ السُقُوطِ]]
	and we have become more capable of [[deconstructing the virtual environment]] [[which they have created to push Syrians towards illusion and then fall]]

These are some of many examples in the text which used high-end, sophisticated words to convey the desired meanings of the text. This further supports the claim that this text is of a written Medium and that it underwent polishing and a rewriting process, as it is less likely for such sophisticated structures to be delivered on the time of the speech or spontaneously.

When it comes to lexical density, the first speech of Assad is comprised of 2565 words. The average number of words per clause complex is 20 words. It is the third densest speech of all the speeches in this study. In terms of the content to functional words ratio, by running a lexical density analysis on the first speech by Assad it could be seen that the text has content words average of 30%, which is very low rate for a written text when compared to other written texts that were analyzed so far in this study, in particular the first speech of Ben Ali. However, all the other characteristics of the text go toward confirming that the text is written, starting from the fact the text is monologic and not ending up with the fact the text used some high-end words and expressions that are typically found in a written text. In terms of the organization of the text it could be seen from the first speech of Assad that it is organized in terms of ideas. Assad in his first speech would state an idea and depart from it to form a discussion on that idea and this is the way he moved from one paragraph into another. This technique could be seen in examples AS-1-8, AS-1-14, AS-1-17 and finally example AS-1-102. This is just to name some of the clauses that Assad used to mark a beginning of a new idea or a paragraph.

AS-1-8	أُحَيِّيكُمْ تَحِيَّةَ العُرُوبَةِ
	I salute you the salutation of Arabism

AS-1-14	أَتَحَدَّثُ إِلَيْكُم اليَوْمَ بَعْدَ عَشرةِ أَشْهُرٍ عَلَى إِنْدِلاعِ الأَحْدَاثِ المُؤْسِفَةِ[[الَّتِي أَصَابَتِ الوَطَنَ]][[وَفَرَضَتْ ظُرُوفاً مُسْتَجِدَّةً عَلَى السَّاحَةِ السُّورِيَّةِ]]
	Today, I talk you ten months after the outbreak of the unfortunate events [[which befell the country]] and [[imposed new circumstances on the Syrian arena]]

AS-1-17	إِنَّ التَّآمُرَ الخارِجِيَّ لَمْ يَعُدْ خافِياً عَلَى أَحَدٍ
	External conspiring is no longer a secret

AS-1-102	البَعْضُ تَحْتَ ضَغْطِ الأَزْمَةِ يَتَحَدَّثُ عَنْ أَيِّ حَلٍّ
	Some under the pressure of the catastrophe talks about any solution

In all those examples Assad presented ideas and then in the clauses that followed each one of those clauses he elaborated, extended and or enhanced different ideas and sub-ideas until he reached the coda or the end of his speech.

The second speech of Assad is not different to the first one. The text is not spontaneous, not casual and was delivered in a formal occasion or in response to a special event. All those characteristics apply to a text of a written medium. Further in terms of lexis the text is full of high-end prestigious lexis as in examples AS-2-10, example AS-2-20 and finally example number AS-2-48. In all of those examples, very high-end formal lexis were used to give a very rhetorically high-end formal image of the situation. This further suggests that the text is written and that it has undergone a process of polishing and editing so that the speaker could convey such a careful depiction of events in his speech. To conclude this section of the discussion, it could be suggested that the second text of Assad is formal since it has formal lexis, no slang and no colloquial lexis.

AS-2-10	فَكُنتُمُ الأَحْرَارَ فِي زَمَنِ التَّبَعِيَّةِ
	So, you have been the free ones in the age of subservience

AS-2-20	فَوَقَفتُم فِي وَجهِ إِعصَارِ فِتنَتِهِم
	so, you stopped in the face of their sedition

AS-2-48	بَلْ كانَت مَعرَكَةً كامِلَةَ الأَبعَادِ
	but, it was a multi-dimensional battle

AS-2-12	رايَنُوا عَلَيكُم بِالدِيمُقراطِيَّةِ
	They patronized you with their calls for democracy

AS-2-48	لَم تَكُن تِلكَ الأَنتِخاباتُ مُجَرَّدَ عَمَلِيَّةٍ سِياسِيَّةٍ إِجرائِيَّةٍ كَما هُوَ الحالُ فِي أَيِّ مَكانٍ فِي العالَمِ
	These elections were not just a political procedure as it is the situation in any other parts of the world

AS-2-82	أَيُّها السَيِّداتُ والسادَةُ
	Ladies and gentlemen

AS-2-203	نَعَم أَيُّها السادَةُ
	Yes, ladies and gentlemen

Regarding Gaddafi's speeches, the first text of Gaddafi is spontaneous. It is full of false starts, hesitations and incomplete clauses (see e.g. GA-1-32). In this example, there has been an ellipsis of parts of the structure of the supposedly second question or interrogative clause. This feature or this kind of ellipsis does not usually occur in a polished text or a text that was prepared to be read.

GA-1-32	يَقُولُونَ لَكَ لَيبِيريّاً ؟ لُبنان؟
	They would say Liberia? Lebanon?

Another example to support the claim that the text is of a spoken Medium is example GA-1-35. This example includes what is called a "filler" (e.g. the use of "ah"). Such fillers are typically found in spoken texts rather than written, prepared speeches. Even though this element could be thought of as a "filler", it actually means something here when used in Arabic spoken texts. It carries the meaning "yes". It is a way to convey agreement with something that has just been said or directed at someone. This part of the clause could

have been easily translated from the source text into English as "yes" instead of "ah", however it could have been mistaken, when reading the transcribed text, with the formal written "yes" and that might suggest wrongly that the text is written not spoken.

GA-1-35	يَقُولُونَ لَكُم آه لِيبيا القَذَّافِيْ لِيبيا الثَّوْرَه
	they say to you ah Libya, Gaddafi, Libya, the revolution

In regard to lexical density the first speech of Gaddafi is comprised of 2336 words. The average number of words per clause complex is 13.8 words, which means that the text is low in density. In terms of content to functional or grammatical words ratio, by running a lexical density analysis on the first speech by Gaddafi it could be seen that the text has a content word average of 30%. This average might seem very low. However, we must take into consideration that this text a spoken text that did not undergone polishing or drafting and was spontaneously delivered.

In regard to the staging and organization of the first text, Gaddafi used a technique similar to the technique Assad used in his first speech. In the beginning of any paragraph in the text, Gaddafi would present an idea, or from his point of view a fact, in the form of a declarative statement as an instance of what he wanted to say and then elaborate, extend and enhance on that idea (see GA-1-7, GA-1-39, GA-1-48, GA-1-58 and GA-1-65).

GA-1-7	أَنْتُمْ مِنَ السَّاحَةِ الخَضْرَاء، تُقدِمُونَ الحَقيقَةَ [[الَّتِي تُحَاولُ أَجْهِزَةُ الخِيانَةِ وَالعَمَالَةِ و النَّذالَةِ وَالرَّجِّبِيَّةِ وَالجُبْنُ أَنْ تُغَطِّيها]]
	You are, in the Green square, put forward the truth [[that agencies of betrayal, disloyalty, nastiness, narrow-mindedness and cowardice are trying to hide]]

GA-1-39	مُعَمَّر القَذَّافِيّ مَاعنده مَنْصِب
	Muammar Gaddafi has no post

GA-1-48	نَحْنُ أَجْدَرُ بِليبِيا مِنْ وَلَفَ الجُرذان وَأُولَفَ المَأْجورَيْن
	We are more worthy of Libya than those rats and those agents

GA-1 58	تَحَدَّينا أَمْريكا في هَذا المَكان, بِجَبَرُّوتها وَقُوتها
	We all challenged America in this place with all its strength and tyranny

GA-1-65	الآنَ مَجْمُوعَةٌ قَليلَةٌ مِنَ الشَّبَّانِ [[المُعْطاةُ لَهُمُ الحُبُوبُ]] يُغِيرُونَ عَلَى مَراكِزِ الشُّرطَةِ هُنا وَهُناكَ مثلَ الفِئْران
	Now a small group of the young people [[who were given hallucinogenic pills]] raided police stations here and there like rats

All of the just listed examples among some others played the role of the idea that gave Gaddafi an entrance to what he wanted to say in his speech. However, this technique is not as clear, in terms of boundaries, as the techniques that other used in their speeches, for example like Ben Ali in his first speech, where clear cut boundaries could be found between the different stages of the speech.

The first text generally was delivered in the Libyan local dialect, although Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) was used in some instances of the text when seriousness was desired to be expressed as could be seen in examples GA-1-183 and example GA-1-184 and in examples GA-1-179 and GA-1-180.

GA-1-183 GA-1-184	يُعاقَبُ بالإِعْدامِ كُلُّ مِنْ زَوَّدَ حُكُومَةً أَجْنَبِيَّةً, أَو أَحَدَ عُمَّالِها, أَو أَيْ شَخْصٍ آخَرَ [[يَعْمَلُ لَمَصْلِحَتِها]] عَلَى أَيِّ وَجْهِ مِنَ الوُجُوهِ, وَبِأَيِّ وَسِيلَةٍ ما [[يَتَعَلَّقُ بالدِّفاعِ عَنِ البِلادِ, أَوْأَيِّ سِرٍّ مُمَاثِلٍ لَهُ]]
	He will be punished with death - everybody turned in a secret [[that is defense related]] to a foreign state, an agent of it or anybody [[that works for it]] in any way or form, or any similarly important to it

GA-1-179	عَنْ جَرائِمِهِمْ فِي قانُونِ العُقُوباتِ اللِّيبِيِّ [[الصادِرُ مُنْذُ قِبَلِ الثَّوْرَة]] تَقُولُ رَفْعُ اللِّيبِيِّينَ السِّلاحَ ضِدَّ الدَّوْلَةِ عُقُوبَتُهُ الإِعْدام
GA-1-180	The Penal Code [[which has been made effective before my revolution]] says about those crimes in the case of Libyans holding arms again the state the punishment is death

These are only some examples to show that when Gaddafi wanted to show his seriousness and to show his authority he used MSA instead of the local Libyan dialect. The choice of dialect by a speaker such as a president has sociological implications, and choice of dialect must be considered in in the analysis. Gaddafi mostly used the Libyan local dialect, a factor which leads to an analysis of the text as informal. The text is full of attitudinal lexis, slang, colloquial lexis and swearing (see examples GA-1-18, GA-1-37, GA-1-48 -, GA-1-51, GA-1-56, GA-1-160 - and GA-1-162).

| GA-1-18 | تُريدُ الدروشَة |
| | it wants goofiness |

| GA-1-37 | يَخْدَمونَ الشَّيْطانَ |
| | They serve Satan |

| GA-1-48 | نَحْنُ أَجْدَرُ بِلِيبيا مِنْ تِلْكَ الجُرَدان وَأولَئِكَ المَأْجورَيْنَ |
| | We are more worthy of Libya than those rats and those agents |

| GA-1-51 | لَعْنَةُ اللهِ عَلَيْهِمْ |
| | May the curse of God be on them |

| GA-1-56 | وَلَكِنْ هَؤُلاء لَيْسَ عِنْدَهُمْ قَبائِل |
| | However, those don't have tribes |

| GA-1-162 | وَحاكِمُها الآنَ وَأَجِدُّ عامِلٌ لِحْيَّةً |
| | and its ruler is someone with a beard |

| GA-1-160 | لأَنَّ فيهِ جِرْذانْ |
| | because there are rats in it |

As could be seen from examples GA-1-37 and GA-1-162, Gaddafi tried to affect the judgement or attitude of people toward the revolution or the people who joined the revolution, especially because by the time of the speech many of the high ranking officers of the Libyan army were joining the rebels. Further, he attempted to change people's opinions by creating fear about organizations such as Al-Qaida, and by referring to people "with a beard". This is one of many examples in which Gaddafi used attitudinal terms to affect people's judgement. Gaddafi referred to the rebels as ''rats" (e.g. examples GA-1-

106

48 and GA-1-160). This is a highly colloquial usage, which Gaddafi employed to attribute characteristics to his enemies of being unclean and secretive. In GA-1-56, this could be described as slang, as this kind of language is only used in an informal way and only between people under great anger. By suggesting the rebels do not belong to tribes, and to say that such people are a result of a non-consensual illegal relationship, Gaddafi resorted to very offensive insults for people of tribal communities or countries in which the tribal connection is very strong and respected. All the examples and features of the text just discussed suggest that the text is informal and was delivered in an informal way, even though the setting is formal. The second speech of Gaddafi is similar to the first speech in every aspect. In regard to the staging and organization of the second text, Gaddafi used two techniques. In the first technique, Gaddafi used an imperative clause in a form of desired action that expresses Gaddafi's opinion about the situation to enter into the first topic he wants to talk to his audience about as could be seen from examples GA-2-1 GA-2-2 and finally example GA-2-19. The second technique is similar to the technique used in his first speech.

GA-2-1 GA-2-2	رُدُّوا عَلَيهِم. رُدُّوا عَلَى الْعُمَلَاءِ.
	Reply to them. Reply to the infiltrators.

GA-2-19	إسْتَعِدو
	Prepare

Gaddafi in the beginning of such paragraphs would present an idea or a fact in a form of a declarative statement or a conditional clause as an entrance to what he wanted to say and then elaborate, extend and enhance on that idea as could be seen in examples GA-2-32, GA-2-54 and GA-2-68.

GA-2-32	أَنَا فِي وَسَطِ الْجَمَاهِيرِ فِي طَرَابُلُسَ فِي السَّاحَةِ الْخَضْرَاءِ
	I am in the middle of the masses in Tripoli in the Green Square

GA-2-32	هَذَا الشَّعْبُ [[الَّذِي رَكَّعَ إِيطَالِيَّا|| وَقَبَّلْتَ يَدَ أَبْنِ " عُمَرَ الْمُخْتَارَ [[
GA-2-54	This is the nation [[that made Italy kneel || and made it to kiss the hand of the son of Omar Almukhtar]]

GA-2-68	هَذِو الرُّوحُ الْمَعْنَوِيَّةُ الْعَالِيَةُ هِيَ أَقْوَى مِنْ أَبْوَاقِ الْعَرَبِ
	This high morale is stronger than the high voices of Arabs

The text was generally delivered in the Libyan local dialect, although MSA and standard grammar and pronunciation were used in some instances of the text (e.g. examples GA-2-1, GA-2-32). However, the use of the local Libyan dialect is overpowering in this text (see e.g. examples GA-2-29, GA-2-30, GA-2-41 and GA-2-13). The text is also full of attitudinal lexis colloquial lexis and slang (e.g. examples GA-2-2, GA-2-3, GA-2-4). From the just listed examples and discussion it could be seen that the text is informal and was delivered in an informal mode similar to his first speech that was delivered in his house almost four months prior to this speech. This second speech was his last speech prior to his death. All in all, the two speeches of Gaddafi enjoy a spoken Medium judging from the attributes presented and discussed above.

GA-2-13	مُعَمَّر الْقَذَّافِيّ مَايِسْتَوجِبْش الْحَيَاةَ حَتَّى يَوْمٌ وَآحِدٌ
	Muammar Gaddafi does not deserve life not even for one single day

GA-2-29	خَلُّهُمْ يِنْكَسِفُو. خَلُّهُمْ يَخْسَوْا.
GA-2-30	Let them feel shy. Let them feel little.

GA-2-41	تُصْبِحُ جَمْراً
	It will become burning coal

GA-2-3	رُدُّوا عَلَى الْكَذَّابِينَ. رُدُّوا عَلَى وَكَالَاتِ وَإِذَاعَاتِ الْكِذْبِ
GA-2-4	Reply to the liars. Reply to the agencies and stations of lies.

5-Conclusion

The three sets of speeches were discussed in terms of the three variables of register in this chapter. Register is a key concept in this study, which it is considered in this chapter, ahead of the discussion of rhetorical organization and experiential patterns. Register analysis is actually an identification of the context, of the topic, who the parties are to the communication and the nature of the communication (Halliday & Hasan, 1991). Register analysis sets and paves the way for any further analysis. The three sets of speeches were discussed first in terms of the variable of field. It could be seen that the three presidents in their three sets of speeches attempt to achieve certain aims and goals similar to each other. The three of them try in their speeches through a Verbal Action that is [constitutive: conceptual], a Sphere of action that is [specialized: official] and a Performance of Action that is [continuing] to protect their positions as head of states and to defend their interests and those of their supporters by construing their power and position as legitimate. They also try to channel peoples' reaction toward them using different rhetorical strategies and appeals, which will be discussed further with details in chapters four and five.

The three sets of speeches received analysis of the variable of tenor after the analysis of field. The variable of tenor was discussed in terms of the continuum of power and the continuum of contact. In all of the three sets of speeches, the power is analyzed as unequal: there is a hierarchic distribution of power in all of them. This conclusion is reached depending on the use of language and the nature of the interactant relation in all the speeches as could be seen from the examples listed under the discussion of power for each president and the brief discussion about them. In regard to the continuum of contact the three presidents showed occasional contact with audience in their speeches. However, they attempted to establish some proximity and shared history between them and the audience through different linguistic means as discussed above.

The final variable that received discussion was the variable of mode. As proposed by Butt (2004) mode can be analyzed under three headings, which are role of language, channel and medium. In all the three sets of speeches in this study, the language is not supporting the activity of anything in the situation so language could be described as constitutive. Language in all the three sets of speeches is not accompanying action or activity or supporting it. In regard to channel the three presidents are similar in some aspects and different in some others. However, they are all similar in the aspect that all of them could not receive immediate feedback on their speeches. In regard to medium it is shown above that the first speech by Ben Ali, the two by Assad enjoy a high written medium, whereas the second speech by Ben Ali and the two speeches of Gaddafi enjoy a high spoken medium.

It should be noted here that the judgement in terms of mode on the three sets of speeches was reached depending on the linguistic features found in the speeches. The analysis could have been different if the videos and/ or the body language of the presidents were taken into consideration. However, it is less likely that a different analysis could be reached as the linguistic features are evidence for the interpretation presented. In the coming chapters the discussion will be taken into another level, a level that is deep and more concentrated. This chapter will be cross referenced regularly in the coming chapters as it provides the basis for the analysis.

Chapter Four- Rhetorical Organization

1-Introduction

This chapter will discuss the six speeches in terms of their rhetorical organization. It is going to mainly answer the question of what rhetorical strategies, devices and appeals do the three leaders use in order to address their people and why? Each set of speeches in this study will be discussed separately. First an introduction will be given on the nature of the discussion, including the items, concepts and ideas which will be used in this chapter. In this chapter, "rhetorical organization" refers to the way that the different sets of the speeches in this study are structured, organized and staged. The social and political contexts of these speeches were, as I have discussed previously, very complex. A close examination of the rhetorical organization of these speeches helps us to see how these presidents responded to these complex contexts. Indeed, it reveals something of their theories about of the situations they were confronting, and how they recruited the resources of language in an attempt to create conditions more favorable to maintaining the political status quo. The discussion will be divided into three main sections: each section will focus on one of the three case studies in this thesis. Each set of the speeches will be discussed in a logogenetic pattern in terms of appeals, rhetorical devices and the structure of the message. The stages and structure of the speeches in this study will be discussed in terms of the topics raised in the speeches and their importance to the speakers and the audience. Once stages have been identified in each speech, the discussion will target each stage or a group of stages that have similar features with a discussion in terms of appeals and rhetorical devices. Discussion of appeals will utilize mainly the work of Weber (2014), Weber, Owen, Strong, and Livingstone (2004) and (Weber et al., 1978). The work of Sharabi (1975), Barakat (1998) and Sharabi (1992) will also be utilized to explain and discuss language in context. Rhetorical devices and their relation to the goal of the speeches and their relation to the society will be discussed as

well. Since the field of rhetoric and the study of rhetorical devices is a huge topic, my analysis will only identify a selection of rhetorical devices. In each case, I will give evidence for my claims about the nature of the rhetorical device recruited, and discuss the purpose they serve in the context as well as considering their frequency within the speech. The work of Aristotle (2016), Jasinski (2012), McGuigan, Moliken, and Grudzina (2011), Peltonen (2012) and Weiler (1993) will be used in the discussion.

Before going into the analysis and the discussion of the three sets of speeches, some terms must be presented and defined. The first term is "appeal". The term "appeal" means the way speakers approach the people linguistically in order for him/ her to change how people perceive him/her and to channel their reaction into his or her favor. As discussed before, these appeals are built on the three bases of legitimacy identified by Weber et al. (2004) and the five bases of power by Raven (1964). Different heads of state, depending on the goal they are pursuing in the context, would appeal to a particular base of legitimacy. By these appeals, they defend and justify their actions.

The second term that is going to be discussed here is the term "rhetorical device". The term "rhetorical device" refers to the language that is used to make a desired effect on the hearers or audience. This desired effect could be for the purpose of informing or persuading people of something (Dupriez & Halsall, 1991). The difference between rhetorical devices and any other act of speech is that there is a consensus to a far extent between scholars on the boundary of the rhetorical device, its formation, its name and what role it plays in the context. Scholars agree for example on the meaning of Amplification, what the term refers to and what purpose it serves in the context. The same applies to terms such as Anaphora, Hyperbole, Metaphor and many other devices.

The third and last term that is going to be discussed is the term "structure". This term is going to be a heading under which the contents of the speeches are going to be discussed. We mean by content the topics raised in the speeches, how heads of state organized their message and the architecture of the speech in general in terms of how tight or loose the

structure is. As Hasan notes, registers vary *"in the extent to which the global structure of their message forms appears to have a definite shape"* (Hasan 1985: 54). When reference is made to a text having a "tight" structure, this is to claim that the text is clearly and explicitly organized and is free of spoken text features and digressions. A text with a loose structure will have a less visible principle of organization and is likely to contain digressions and other features of spoken discourse.

There are other terms that will appear in the discussion in this chapter, but the three terms discussed above are the central terms adopted in the analysis. Now, I move to discussing the first set of speeches by Ben Ali. The discussion will discuss the appeals Ben Ali uses, rhetorical devices and the structure of the speeches . The discussion of the three sets of speeches will follow the same structure. As will be seen the discussion is done and delivered text by text or speech by speech. The researcher opted for this method as there are some peculiar aspects in each speech that will be lost and will not receive the due attention if the discussion was built around appeals, devices and strategies. At the end of the chapter a summary table shows in a concentrated way where the three speakers were similar and where they were different in terms of appeals, rhetorical devices and strategies.

2-Ben Ali's Two Speeches

The main aim of all of the presidents in their speeches in this study in general is to protect their positions as heads of state and to defend their interests and those of their supporters by construing their power and position as legitimate. The three presidents adopt various rhetorical means to achieve this main aim and also to channel peoples' reaction toward them and to create a favorable reaction to them and their supporters.

The two speeches of Ben Ali differ in the way they are structured and staged. The first speech of Ben Ali is clearly and tightly structured. Hearers of the first speech can easily distinguish and recognize the trajectory of the speech just by listening to it. Further, listeners know exactly where each stage begins and ends in the first speech as will be discussed below. Ben Ali ordinally stages his first speech, giving each stage an ordinal number, except for the introductory stage and the conclusion stage. The topics he tackles in the first speech are unemployment, dialogue between the different political parties, respect for different opinions and the government's strategies for curbing unemployment. By contrast, in the second speech, the boundaries between stages and topics are not as clear as they are in the first speech. Ben Ali does not use any kind of numbering to stage or move from one stage into another. The structure of the second speech is rather loose compared to the first speech. The topics around which the second speech is structured are Ben Ali's understanding of the events, an appeal to stop violence and reasons for why the violence should stop, the steps Ben Ali is taking to resolve some issues in order to stop the riots and his willingness to step away from the presidency.

Ben Ali opens up his first speech with an introduction in which he states the source of his power and greets the audience (e.g. BA-1-1- BA-1-3). It has been suggested that greetings are not considered essential as they do not affect the completeness of the text or its belonging to a certain genre and a similar claim has been made regarding the element of conclusion (Halliday & Hasan, 1991). Steel (2009) in her discussion of the division of speeches suggest that it is not the duty of the speaker or the orator to greet his audience. Steel (2009), quoting Aristotle, lists the tasks that an orator needs to address and arrange his speech: invention, arrangement, style, delivery, and memory (Steel, 2009). The trajectory and structure of the ideal speech does not list "greeting" as a task of the orator when giving a speech. But in both of his speeches, Ben Ali begins with a greeting (e.g. BA-2-1- BA-2-2), and even at this point, these linguistic choices are interpretable.

BA-1-1 BA-1-3	بِسْمِ اللهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ. أَيُّهَا الْمُوَاطِنُونَ. أَيَّتُهَا الْمُوَاطِنَاتُ.
	In the name of God, the Most Gracious, the Most Merciful. Male citizens. Female citizens.

BA-2-1 BA-2-2	بِسْمِ اللهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ. أَيُّهَا الشَّعْبُ التُّونِسِيُّ.
	In the name of God, the Most Gracious, the Most Merciful. People of Tunisia

When looking at the opening of the speech from a rhetorical perspective, it could be suggested that the opening and greetings that Ben Ali uses are typical openings and greetings that all Arab presidents and politicians use. In the greeting stage, no special rhetorical devices are used. However, it should be noted here that, from an ideological point of view, Ben Ali's use of بسملة "*In the name of God* "at the beginning of his speech does not mean that this person is religious or follows the teachings of Islam closely. Rather, it is more of a conventional move to start a speech or even any action in the Muslim and Arab world.

Even though the opening stage in the two speeches of Ben Ali is typical and lacks elements that might attract a deep discussion structurally or rhetorically, yet from the opening, the dynamics of power and politics can be seen at work. Weber argues that power is the ability of controlling others even against their will (Weber, 2009). When all of the people or at least most of them accept power in a society then power becomes authority and authority is legitimate institutionalized power (Furze, Savy, Brym, & Lie, 2011). Further, authority becomes legitimate when people think or agree that it is valid and justified. Power is institutionalized when the traditions and social organization govern its use. The term "use" means here how power should be applied, how it is achieved and how much authority is attached to each figure or organization (Furze et al., 2011). The just mentioned suggestions about power and some other terms suggest further many directions and concepts. Those suggestions indicate that power could be forceful and could be controlled either positively or negatively by powerful organizations and people whose authority and legitimacy depends on the society and how it agrees or adheres to

such divisions and hierarchizations. Furthermore, Weber argues that power gets manifested through three different bases. The first is traditional authority, where power is inherited through family or clan ties (Furze et al., 2011). The second base is legal relations where authority is derived from respect of law. Finally, the third base is the authority that is based on charisma. Charismatic power base revolves around the individual person's charisma, that is, their capacity to generate in others an attraction and admiration that enables them to purvey influence. Language that gives evidence of this base is typically language in which the speaker attributes extraordinary characteristics to himself. This kind of charismatic appeal is usually used by speakers during revelations and in times of ruling out new systems in place of existing ones (Furze et al., 2011). Further, when appealing to this base, speakers use language that expresses their good societal manners and high family up-bringing (Hindess, 1996). Ben Ali in his opening to his two speeches appeals to the base of traditional authority, which is built upon the positional authority of a person. As suggested in the chapter on register description, in the first speech Ben Ali detached himself from the class of citizens in this instance and assumed to himself a position higher than the normal citizens. So, in the beginning of the speeches, Ben Ali sought to project to his audience that he is in control and remains the strong person they have known for more than 20 years as president as well as many years before that as an interior minister. Even from the opening of his speech, Ben Ali started to exercise power over other people and to state the sources of that power, in order to influence them to obey and consent to what he wants. The opening of the second speech is no different; the only change that could be seen here from the relationship from the first speech to the second one is that the speaker invokes shared attributes between himself and the virtual audience to create a sense of proximity.

The use of power is inevitable when it comes to political speeches and when the term "power" is mentioned the other terms that were listed earlier must come into play. In other words, if a person uses power it means that he will try to convince people of his authority and also legitimize that power and authority. This process will be tracked in the

arrangement and staging of the speeches of this study in this chapter as stated before in chapter one and two.

After greeting the people of Tunisia Ben Ali proceeds to the next stage of his two speeches which is the stage of stating the purpose of his talk and also legitimatizing his power and authority. The extent of each stage depends on the function the stage serves. Sometimes boundaries between stages are not so clear cut (Steel, 2009), but a shift in function and lexis would serve the purpose of staging better than any other strategy in identifying movement of the text and trajectory of the stage. In the first speech of Ben Ali, the second stage extends from clause BA-1-3 to clause BA-1-10; this stage could be described as the stage of "identification". This stage is referred to as the identification and it also could be referred to as the stage of "invention" and "arrangement" to use the terms of Aristotle (2016). The term "invention" or " Inventio" refers to the discovery of the argument or the first step in an attempt to propose ideas and "arrangement", in other words the arranging of ideas to achieve maximum impact (Aristotle, 2016). Even though these two stages are usually seen as pre-speech stages or preparatory stages, we can say that the stage of identification we defined above is a result of these two stages. We can see the result of Ben Ali bringing into his discourse the topics that he is going to talk about and the arrangement of his speech when he says he needs to clarify some issues and assert facts that cannot be ignored (see e.g. BA-1-8).

In the introductory part of the two speeches, Ben Ali shows concern and empathy. The second speech is even more pronounced in this regard, due to less formality and the evoked sense of proximity, as could be seen from the discussion on register in a previous chapter. In the first speech, Ben Ali urges the people to listen to reason and consider *"the facts"* of Tunisia's socio-economic situation, rather than resorting to continued street violence. Referring to "the exaggerated dimension these events took", he suggests that the recent events had been manipulated by individuals unfavorably disposed towards Tunisia (see. e.g. in BA-1-8).

BA-1-8	فَإِنَّ [[مَا اتَّخَذْتُهُ]] مِنْ أَبْعَادٍ مُبَالَغٍ فِيهَا بِسَبَبِ الاسْتِغْلَالِ السِّيَاسِيِّ لِبَعْضِ الأَطْرَافِ [[الَّذِينَ لَا يُرِيدُونَ الخَيْرَ لِبِلَادِهِمْ]] [[وَيَلْجَؤُونَ إِلَى بَعْضِ التَّلْفَزَاتِ الأَجْنَبِيَّةِ]] [[الَّتِي تَبُثُّ الأَكَاذِيبَ والمُغَالَطَاتِ دُونَ تَحَرٍّ]] [[بَلْ بِاعْتِمَادِ التَّهْوِيلِ والتَّحْرِيضِ والتَّجَنِّي الإِعْلَامِيِّ الجِدَائِيِّ لِتُونِسَ]] يَدْعُونَا إِلَى تَوْضِيحِ بَعْضِ المَسَائِلِ
	However, the exaggerated dimensions [[that they took]] , as a result of political exploitation by some parties [[who do not want benefaction to their country]] and [[who resorted to some foreign TV channels]] that broadcast lies and deception without investigation,[[but uses alarmism, incitement, and false accusatory information inimical to Tunisia]], call us to clarifying a few issues

Ben Ali in this instance of his speech tries to achieve two purposes. The first is alienating the protesters and raising suspicions in the audience's minds about them. Secondly, Ben Ali attempts to make a rhetorical link between people's fear of a new colonization and foreign control. He commands them, indirectly and politely, to resort to reason in order for him to gain their cooperation. Ben Ali's method of commanding and controlling others goes in parallel with the discussion and analysis in the previous chapter on register, that the first speech is highly inclined toward the formality extreme of the formality continuum. It is suggested that such characteristics, i.e. indirect order and bolstering authority, are found more when people of "person-oriented families" deal with each other[22]. In other words, when decisions are being made and the person with authority wants to compel others to accept such authority, he or she would usually, in person-oriented families, follow strategies of indirect command and suggestion in order to desensitize and lead someone toward the desired point or decision (Bernstein, 2003; Halliday & Hasan, 1991). Further, in order for Ben Ali to depict himself as the one who holds the attribute of knowing the secrets and being the expert, appealing to the charismatic legitimacy, he uses the strategy of "blame fallacy" (Dowding, 1996). When people fail into doing or executing an action, powerless people tend to think and act as if

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[22]A question might be asked here: Can we generalize from families to nation states, especially in the case of Arab states? Barakat (1998) argues that political regimes draw their legitimacy from the family because they see themselves as fathers and the people as the dependents or the children. Thus, these regimes appeal to values that are originally practiced within families such as obedience, respect, loyalty and generosity. Further, the political upbringing of the individual in the Arabic society happens in the beginning within the family, which means that they pass on political stands and political values to their offspring similar to the way they pass on assets and religious beliefs (Barakat, 1998).

there is someone trying to hold them back or sabotage their work and when something does not turn out as intended these powerless people tend to find someone to cast blame on for their failure. This could be seen especially when there is a disaster, whether natural or human (Dowding, 1996). This is precisely the strategy Ben Ali adopted in order to project himself as a hero who holds the answers to the disaster his country is in and to drive people to cooperate.

In the introductory stage of the second speech, Ben Ali is direct and clear in accepting that there is a problem and it needs to be addressed. Ben Ali also accepts that the reasons that he presented in his previous speeches were biased and did not give the people what they wanted and that there should be change. So, Ben Ali in the second speech actually implicitly accepts that he needs to respond anew to stop protests and riots (see e.g. BA-2-10, BA-2-11 and BA-2-12). Further, from a rhetorical point of view, Ben Ali attempts to appeal to the emotional side of the people through a passionate delivery, and a recognition of the various social groups with grievances in Tunisia. It is suggested that Pathos is most effective when the author or speaker demonstrates agreement with an underlying value of the reader or listener (Gulledge, 2004). By the end of the introductory stage it is proposed that Ben Ali can no longer take his position for granted. He needs to let people accept his source of power. Further, he needs to convince them that he has a legitimate authority before he can proceed into maintaining his power by different means and strategies. We will see how he does this in the coming discussion. The appeals just discussed are all from the introductory stage of Ben Ali's two speeches. The discussion is not exhaustive, but it is enough to make points judgements and claims.

BA-2-10 BA-2-11	فَهِمْتُ الْجَمِيعَ الْبَطَّالَ وَالْمُحْتَاجَ وَالسِّيَاسِيَّ وَ [[الَّذِي طَالَبَ مَزِيدٌ مَنَ الْحَرِيَّاتَ]]. فَهِمْتُكُمْ وَفَهِمْتُ الْكُلَّ
BA-2-12	I understood everyone the unemployed, the needy, the politician, and those [[who demand more freedoms]]. I understood you and I understood you all.

Ben Ali's first speech displays a clear and overt argument structure. The numbered conjunctive Adjuncts (First, Secondly, Thirdly, etc.) makes this structure very visible. In all

the five stages of the speech. Ben Ali presents quantitative data about Tunisia relating to various socio-economic indices. Ben Ali's first response to the unrest, it can be argued, was explicit rational argument based on "facts" about the state of Tunisia's society and economy. Through such a strategy, Ben Ali projects himself as knowledgeable and firm and a man of reason appealing to the charismatic[23] base of power, the legal base of power and "logos" mode of persuasion, which means to confront the audience with reason and logic (Neel, 2013). The message Ben Ali attempts to convey is also full of hidden messages as will be discussed in the coming lines. It is suggested that, when appealing to the charismatic base of legitimacy, an individual usually mentions his heroic, expert or patriotic traits in order to build loyalty of people toward a certain event or topic (Furze et al., 2011). Ben Ali refers to himself in more than one instance by means of royal or exclusive "we", as discussed in the chapter on register, as one who has the characteristics of being patient, hardworking and committed to political diversity, but not to the extent of changing the ruling class. He further depicts himself as one who is pacifist with those who oppose him or give opinions different from his (e.g. BA-1-10, BA-1-16 and BA-1-22), in addition to the characteristics of open mind and pluralist thinking (e.g. BA-1-48). Also, he shows himself as one who has an analytical mind, that employs knowledge in the decision-making processes (e.g. BA-1-26, BA-1-30).

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[23] Refer to the discussion of royal *"we"* in chapter three for further discussion. Ben Ali uses the royal "we" to show his abilities and to show that he is behind all the achievements in the country. The use of royal "we" is sufficiently individualistic to be considered "charismatic".

BA-1-10	أَوَّلاً إِنَّنَا نُقَدِّرُ الشُّعُورَ [[الذي يُنْتَابُ أيُّ عَاطِلٍ عَنِ العَمَلِ]]
	First, we respect the feeling,[[that any unemployed person feels]]

BA-1-16	وَنَحْنُ لاَ نَدَّخِرُ جُهْدًا
	And we do not spare efforts

BA-1-22	ونحنُ في تونسَ نبذُلُ كُلَّ الجُهود
	And we in Tunisia exert all efforts

BA-1-48	رابعا: إِنَّنَا نُجَدِّدُ التَّأْكِيدَ عَلَى احْتِرَامِ حُرِّيَّةِ الرَّأْي والتَّعْبِيرِ والحِرْص عَلَى تَرْسِيخِهَا في التَّشْرِيعِ والمُمَارَسَةِ
	Fourth, we reassert our emphasis on respect of freedom of opinion and expression, and our eagerness to adopt it in legislation and practice

BA-1-26	وإذ حَقَّقْنَا نَتَائِجَ مَرْمُوقَةً في مَجَالِ التَّعْلِيمِ كَمِّيًّا وَنَوْعِيًّا
	Since, we have achieved remarkable qualitative and quantitative educational results

BA-1-30	والذي فَاقَ العَامَ الماضِيَ مَثَلاً ثَمَانِينَ أَلْفَ مُتَخَرِّج
	whose number exceeded, last year for instance, 80,000 graduates

Appeal to legal power leaves people no choices or leaves them with very limited space to act. Appeal to legal base of power could be seen from examples BA-1-47 and example BA-1-50. Ben Ali conveys and indicates in those examples mentioned above that he can and has the power to order legal actions and that he has authority over those bodies of law. Commanding institutions or the ability to command institutions, law institutions for example is a clear demonstration of power in general (Hindess, 1996). Further, power, in the political sense, is aggregated and combined to show greater power, control and consent (Hindess, 1996). Within those five stages in the first speech of Ben Ali conjoins the power of others, either officials or citizens outside the official apparatus, with his

powers to show greater power and, in turn, legitimacy. Further, Ben Ali shows "others" as an evil minority that do not want good to Tunisia (e.g. BA-1-19, BA-1-25 and example BA-1-55 among other examples in the first text of Ben Ali).

BA-1-47	وَسَيُطَبَّقُ الْقَانُونُ عَلَى هَؤُلَاءِ بِكُلِّ حَزْمٍ بِكُلِّ حَزْمٍ
	And the law will be enforced on these with great firmness, with great firmness

BA-1-50	إِذَا مَا تَمَّ فِي إِطَارِ الْالْتِزَامِ بِالْقَانُونِ وَبِقَوَاعِدِ الْحِوَارِ وَأَخْلَاقِيَّاتِهِ
	if it happened within the framework of law, the rules and morals of dialogue

BA-1-19	وَكَانَ آخِرُهَا [[مَا أَقْرَرْنَاهُ فِي الْمَجْلِسِ الْوَزَارِيِّ لِيَوْمِ 15 ديسمبر الْجَارِي]] [[وَمَا أُعْلِنَ عَنْهُ مِنْ بَرَامِجَ إِضَافِيَّةٍ]] [[سَتَفُوقُ الْاِعْتِمَادَاتُ الْمُخَصَّصَةُ لَهَا سِتَّةَ آلَافٍ وَخُمْسَمَائَةِ مِلْيُونِ دِينَارٍ]]
	And the last of those programs was[[what we decided on 15 December, 2010, in a Council of Ministers]] [[as well as supplementary programs that have been announced]] [[its value will exceed TD6,500 Million]]

BA-1-25	وَسَتَبْذُلُ الدَّوْلَةُ جُهُودًا إِضَافِيَّةً فِي هَذَا الْمَجَالِ خِلَالَ الْمُدَّةِ الْقَادِمَةِ
	And the State will spend extra efforts in this regard during the period to come

BA-1-55	وَلِذَلِكَ فَإِنَّنَا نَدْعُو الْإِدَارَةَ
	For this, we call on the administration

As argued before, the first speech of Ben Ali is very high in formality and low in contact as could be seen from the discussion on the chapter of register. This allows the use of Valorization to be very obvious and apparent in the text. Valorization[24] is similar to the concept of appraisal, which refers to the status of making a description of states, events and actors by choosing between notions with positive or negative connotations (Martin & White, 2005). Valorization can be seen in different stages of the text (e.g. BA-1-14, BA-1-40, BA-1-56 and BA-1-64). In all of those examples, terms that describe actors and individuals negatively were replaced with more positive terms that might evoke positive feeling in the individuals listening to it. The term الْحُلُولِ الْيَائِسَةِ "desperate solutions" could have been replaced by Ben Ali with "immolating" in reference to Mohamed Bouazizi's

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[24] Valorization is a term first coined by Merton (1968)

case, or it could be replaced by "protest". The term سِيَاسِيَّةٍ مَآرِبَ– "politicized goals" could be replaced negatively by "toppling of the government" or "civil dispute" or at the worst-case scenario "a coup". The term الصَّعْبَةِ الحَالَاتِ– "difficult cases" and the term الوَضْعِيَّاتِ– "the cases" in examples BA-1-56 and example BA-1-64 might negatively get replaced with "poor people" or "mentally ill people". Again Ben Ali attempts to opt for the positive terms as feeling positive is what urges people to cooperate (Dowding, 1996).

BA-1-14	مِمَّا يُودِي بِهِ إِلَى الْحُلُولِ الْبَائِسَةِ
	which will leads him to desperate solutions

BA-1-40	لِتَحْقِيقِ مَآرِبَ سِيَاسِيَّةٍ عَلَى حِسَابِ مَصَالِحِ المجموعَةِ الوَطَنِيَّةِ وَمَكَاسِبِهَا وَإِنْجَازَاتِهَا وَفِي مُقَدِّمَتِهَا الوِئَامُ وَالأَمْنُ وَالاسْتِقْرَارُ
	so that politicized goals are attained at the expense of the national community's interests, acquisitions, and accomplishments, especially cohesion, security, and stability

BA-1-56	عِنْدَ تَعَاطِيهَا مَعَ الْحَالَاتِ الصَّعْبَةِ
	when they deal with difficult cases

BA-1-64	وَلِلسَّعْيِ إِلَى الاسْتِجَابَةِ إِلَى أَكْثَرِ الحَالَاتِ احْتِيَاجًا [[أَو الَّتِي طَالَ انْتِظَارُهَا لِلْحُصُولِ عَلَى شُغْلٍ]]
	and to endeavor to respond to the neediest cases or those [[who have been waiting for a job for very long]]

The ordinal numbering of the five obligatory elements in the text could be understood and looked at as defense and a way of silencing someone attacking from an ideological point of view. Further, it shows firmness from the part of the speaker and this is the implicit way to convey firmness of feeling and meaning. It is suggested that when individuals within a certain society know the traditions and norms of the society then the message is usually conveyed implicitly (Clegg & Haugaard, 2009).

In addition to the rhetorical devices and strategies Ben Ali uses in his first speech within the five stages under discussion he uses the device or strategy of Amplification, as e.g. in example BA-1-47, which is listed above. It is claimed that the device of Amplification involves repeating a word or expression in order to emphasize what might otherwise be

passed over (Martin & White, 2005). In other words, amplification allows the speaker to call attention to, emphasize, and expand a word or idea to make sure the reader realizes its importance or centrality in the discussion (Jasinski, 2012). Depending on the context of the text, the device of amplification serves another purpose in addition to adding emphasis or drawing attention and that purpose is threatening. The action of threatening happens indirectly due to the reasons mentioned before in regard to the text and discussion of register variables of the text. As suggested before, when individuals of a certain society know the traditions and norms of the society then the message is usually conveyed implicitly (Clegg & Haugaard, 2009). The place of Ben Ali in the society and the source from which he derives his legitimacy gives him the right to threaten indirectly knowing that people would understand his appeal or strategy and that he means by the word "firmness" the use of power and more aggression. However, what is the relationship between people knowing the traditions and this implicit indirect threat that Ben Ali opts for? The answer lies within the very specific context and characteristics of the Arab society. It is suggested that the manner in which a child is raised will affect his relationship with others and the way he understand the world around him (Sharabi, 1975). Children within Arab families either receive an excessive protection from their families or excessive bodily punishment to the degree that they become unable to take any action on their own. They end up needing the help of others until very late age in their lives. This upbringing further affects individuals' abilities in making decisions and also makes them lack confidence and the capacity to defend their rights when difficulties face them (Sharabi, 1975). Mentioning law and law enforcement in Arab world invokes a sense of the potential of action by the very powerful in society. Gathering all those effects of the up-bringing of the Arab individual is a very resonant device for encouraging people within the protests to rethink their demands and actions.

In regard to the second speech, the stages that came after the introductory stage are the stages of appeal. The first appeal stage extends from clause number BA-2-13 to clause number BA-2-21. To begin with, to identify the coming stages as appeals supports the

suggestion in the chapter on register that the second speech of Ben Ali is inclined toward the less formal extreme of the continuum, and less power, with less power meaning here an attempt to appear aligned to the people. Even though appeals of certain kinds usually demonstrate high level of control (Bernstein, 2003), Ben Ali's appeals of control give a sense of control less in formality or more people-oriented than what was shown in the first speech. Even though Ben Ali's appeals are less in formality, they are still restricted and do not give the sense of choice to the people or in other words they *"reduce[] the role discretion accorded to the regulated"* as per Bernstein (2003, p. 121). Further, the appeals depend on the position of Ben Ali as a president or as a regulator to use the term of Bernstein (2003). Ben Ali uses his position to achieve control and maintain his political power in the first appeal stage, which extends from clause number BA-2-13 to clause number BA-2-21. As could be seen from clause BA-2-13, Ben Ali uses in this example a positional appeal, where he refers to the behavior of the regulated "the people". Ben Ali is suggesting that the events that are happening in Tunisia now are not part of the norm of the Tunisian citizen. The same discussion applies to clauses number BA-2-15 and BA-2-16. Then Ben Ali moves on to what is "normal" in his eyes and what should happen to solve the problem of unrest and stop tension (e.g. BA-2-17 until BA-2-21). To give a rhetorical effect Ben Ali uses the rhetorical device of "Distinctio" in clauses number BA-2-17, BA-2-18 and BA-2-19. The device of Distinctio is the technique of referring to a particular meaning or to the various meanings of a word, in order to remove or prevent ambiguity (McKenzie, 2015). In examples BA-2-17, BA-2-18, BA-2-19 Ben Ali refers to the meaning of "stop" and how events should "stop". Ben Ali is giving his view on how he sees and judges events, again, as proposed by his mental models[25] as discussed in regard to ideology by Van Dijk (2002). In another instance, specifically in clauses BA-2-20 and BA-2-

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[25] Mental model is an explanation of someone's thought process about specific events and how they work in the real world. It is a representation of the personal episodic memory of individuals, so it can be identified with individuals' experience (Van Dijk, 2006).

21, Ben Ali uses another rhetorical device, Anaphora[26], which refers to an emotional appeal by the repetition of the same word or words at the beginning of successive phrases, clauses, or sentences (McKenzie, 2015). Ben Ali in the listed example repeats the words "Hand in Hand" in both of the clauses (BA-2-20, BA-2-21) to evoke collectiveness and sharing emotionally. Ben Ali is strengthen here the ties between him and the people and attempts to create a path to the future that include him in it .He ended this stage by this device.

BA-2-20 BA-2-21	الْيَدُ فِي الْيَدِ مَنْ أَجْلِ بِلَادِنَا، الْيَدُ فِي الْيَدِ مَنْ أَجْلِ أَمَانِ كُلّ أَوْلَادِنَا
	Hand in hand, for our country's sake, Hand in hand for the sake of all our children's security

BA-2-17 BA-2-18	وَلَا بِدَّ أَنْ يَتَوَقَّفَ التَّيَّارُ. يَتَوَقَّفُ بِتَكَاتُفِ جُهُودِ الْجَمِيعِ أَحْزَاب سِيَاسِية ، منظمات وطنية، مجتمع مدني ، متقفين ومواطنين،
BA-2-19	And This tension must stop. It stops, when efforts of everyone, political parties, national organizations, civil society, intellectuals and citizens, are brought together.

BA-2-13	لَكِنَّ الاحدَاثَ [[اللِي جَارِيَّة الْيَوْمَ فِي بِلَادِنَا]] مَا هِيشْ مَتَاعْنَا
	However, the events [[that are currently taking place in our country]] are not part of us

BA-2-15 BA-2-16	الْعُنْفُ موش مَتَاعْنَا، وَلَا هُوَ مَنْ سُلوكِنَا
	Violence is not part of us, nor it is a part of our conduct

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[26] It should be noted that the term Anaphora is used here to refer to the rhetorical device not as it is used in linguistics to mean anaphoric reference to where cohesion exists between a reference item and some lexical item/s that have come before it (von Heusinger & Egli, 2012)

BA-1-47	وَسَيُطَبَّقُ الْقَانُونُ عَلَى هَؤُلَاءِ بِكُلِّ حَزْمٍ بِكُلِّ حَزْمٍ
	And the law will be enforced on these with great firmness, with great firmness

BA-1-50	إِذَا مَا تَمَّ فِي إِطَارِ الْالْتِزَامِ بِالْقَانُونِ وَبِقَوَاعِدِ الْحِوَارِ وَأَخْلَاقِيَّاتِهِ
	if it happened within the framework of law, the rules and morals of dialogue

BA-1-19	وَكَانَ آخِرُهَا [[مَا أَقْرَرْنَاهُ فِي الْمَجْلِسِ الْوِزَارِيِّ لِيَوْمِ 15 دِيسَمْبِر الْجَارِي]] [[وَمَا أُعْلِنَ عَنْهُ مِنْ بَرَامِجَ إِضَافِيَّةٍ]] [[سَتَفُوقُ الاعْتِمَادَاتُ الْمُخَصَّصَةُ لَهَا سِتَّةَ آلَافٍ وَخَمْسَمِائَةِ مَلْيُونِ دِينَارٍ]]
	And the last of those programs was[[what we decided on 15 December, 2010, in a Council of Ministers]] [[as well as supplementary programs that have been announced]] [[its value will exceed TD6,500 Million]]

BA-1-25	وَسَتَبْذُلُ الدَّوْلَةُ جُهُودًا إِضَافِيَّةً فِي هَذَا الْمَجَالِ خِلَالَ الْمُدَّةِ الْقَادِمَةِ
	And the State will spend extra efforts in this regard during the period to come

BA-1-55	وَلِذَلِكَ فَإِنَّنَا نَدْعُو الْإِدَارَةَ
	For this, we call on the administration

Regarding the successive appeal stage, which extends from clause number BA-2-22 to clause number BA-2-38, it could be seen that in this stage Ben Ali asks to maintain power by means of traditional sources (see e.g. clauses number BA-2-25, BA-2-26 and BA-2-27). Traditional sources means when a group or an individual claims the right to rule because he or they victoriously fought in the past, developed common resources or established a kingdom (Weber et al., 1978). This appeal could be described as an appeal to irrational sources[27] as it is unusual politically for a president in a republic, where power, legally and constitutionally, is claimed through the people and their elective power, to claim power through emotions, the way of speech delivery, expressing good manner or simply aesthetic appearance (see for example the discussion of legitimacy by Daloz (2007)).

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[27] For further discussion of the term "irrational" refer to (Weber, 1958).

BA-2-25	لِأَنِّي مَضَيْتُ أَكْثَر مِنْ 50 سَنَّةً مِنْ عُمُرِي فِي خِدْمَةِ تُونُسَ فِي مُخْتَلِفِ الْمَوَاقِع مِنَ الْجَيْشِ الْوَطَنِّي اِلَى الْمَسْؤُولِيَاتِ
BA-2-26	الْمُخْتَلَفَةِ و23 سَنَّةً عَلَى رَأْسِ الدَّوْلَةِ. كُلُّ يَوْم مِنْ حَيَاتِي كَانَ وَمَازَالَ لِخِدْمةِ الْبِلَادِ. وَقَدَّمَتُ التَّضْحِيَاتِ.
BA-2-27	For I have spent more than fifty years of my life in the service of Tunisia, in different positions: from the National Army to various other responsibilities, and twenty-three years as head of state. Every day of my life was and still to be in the service of the country. And I have offered sacrifices.

However, the irrational[28] claim for power could be justified if looked at from a different point of view. Again, the explanation of such behavior could be found in the way any Arabic society is built and structured. Ben Ali followed this method of appeal to maintain his legitimacy and power by showing his disappointment and to come before the people as the one who was betrayed. As could be seen from the examples above, Ben Ali listed favors he presented to the people and the country the years of his life he has been in service among other things that *"ached his heart"*. Barakat (1998) has argued that Arabic society is a hierarchized society that is controlled through traditional religious concepts. Thus within this society, the values of sympathy and charity are more perpetuated than values of equality and justice (Barakat, 1998). So, when a person gives something depending on these values, the receiver must express his appreciation and gratitude to the giver and must take the side of the giver and support him along the way, otherwise he could be considered a traitor and a one who bites the hand offers nothing but security and good. From this description it could be understood why Ben Ali appeals to emotional side and to irrational sources. This controlling through values of sympathy and charity has been changing in the Arabic society as suggested, however, the change is slow and it will remain there as long as the Arabic society is hierarchized and defined by class (Barakat, 1998).

The third appeal stage extends from clause number BA-2-39 until clause number BA-2-53. In this stage Ben Ali appeals to the fear of people of losing what they have precious in their lives, such as their children and their future. Further, he appeals to the traditional base of power to drive people to cooperate. In examples BA-2-41, BA-2-42 and BA-2-43,

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[28] As discussed before irrational means refer to non-democratic means or means that are nonintellectual.

Ben Ali uses a positional appeal ideologically stimulating people to cooperate by referring to what has been happening in the country as *"wrongdoing"*, a *"disgrace"* and an offence, implicitly telling people to stop this as it is not appropriate for them to continue with protesting. Ben Ali suggests that people have more to lose than to gain in this power struggle. It is claimed that when what is desired by the participant that wants to impose power a certain course of action rather than another, he or she must be aware that they have goods or interest in hand, which need to be protected, and these interests are best protected with taking a certain course of action (Dowding, 1996). Ben Ali put people exactly in this position as discussed and could be seen from the examples mentioned.

BA-2-41 BA-2-42	وَهَذَا حَرَامٌ وَعَيْبٌ، لِأَنَّا أَصْبَحْنَا خَائِفِينَ عَلَيْهِمْ مَنْ عُنْفِ مَجْمُوعَاتِ سَطْوٍ وَنَهْبٍ وَاعْتِدَاءٍ عَلَى الاشْخَاص. هَذَا إِجْرَام.
BA-2-43	This is a wrongdoing and a disgrace, because we have become fearful for them from the violence of groups of assaulters, muggers, burglars and people attackers. This is a wrongdoing.

Further, Ben Ali uses the rhetorical device of Amplification, which is defined above in accordance to Martin and White (2005) to emphasize his sadness and as suggested before his feeling of betrayal (e.g. BA-2-50 and BA-2-51). He closes this stage with a direct order or imperative mode of control making his authority the most visible at this point (e.g. BA-2-52 and BA-2-53). It is suggested that using imperative mode of social control reduces the role discretion accorded to the regulated. It allows the individual only the external possibilities of rebellion, withdrawal or acceptance. The imperative mode is realized through a restricted code (Bernstein, 2003).

BA-2-52 BA-2-53	فَكَفَى عُنْفًا. فَكَفَى عُنْفًا.
	Stop the violence. Stop the violence.

The fourth appeal stage extends from clause number BA-2-54 until clause number BA-2-128. In this stage and in order to solve the collective action problem which is represented in the form of protests in this context, Ben Ali attempts to persuade people to feel positive

and attempts to convince them that he can still do good for them[29]. Further, he directly expresses his willingness to leave his position, unlike the first speech, where he does not give any indication that he would leave power or even share it directly with someone or some parties. It appears that by the time of giving his second speech, Ben Ali is conceding that his hold on power has become tenuous. However, it should be noted that in both speeches there is a strong tendency to keep the shape of the society as it is, which means to keep the ruling official institutions intact, and to keep other categories of the society segregated from having any share in the political stage (e.g. BA-1-25, BA-1-51 and BA-1-59 in the first speech and BA-2-79, BA-2-123 and BA-2-128 in the second

| BA-1-25 | وَسَنَبْذُلُ الدَّوْلَةُ جُهُودًا إِضَافِيَّةً فِى هَذَا المَجَالِ خِلَالَ المُدَّةِ القَادِمَةِ |
| | And the State will spend extra efforts in this regard during the period to come |

| BA-1-51 | إِنَّ الدَّوْلَةَ سَاهِرَةٌ عَلَى إِيجَادِ الخُلُولِ |
| | The state is keen on providing solutions |

| BA-1-59 | وَيَتَعَيَّنُ عَلَى كُلِّ السُّلَطِ الجِهَوِيَّةِ وَالمَحَلِّيَّةِ |
| | And every local and regional authority is obliged |

| BA-2-79 | وَزِيَادَةً عَلَى هَذَا كَلَّفْتُ الحُكُومَةَ |
| | In addition to that I tasked the government |

| BA-2-123 | فَلْتَبقَ إِرَادَةُ شَعْبِها بَيْنَ آيدِيهِ وَبَيْنَ الآيَادِي الآمِينَةِ[[الِّتِي سَيَخْتَارُهَا]] |
| | Let the will of her people remain in their hands and in the faithful hands [[that they will choose]] |

| BA-2-128 | وَتَقْتَرِحُ اللَّجْنَةُ التَّصَوُّرَاتِ المَرْحَلِيَّةَ اللَّازِمَةَ حَتَّى إِنْتِخَابَاتِ سَنَةِ 2014 بِمَا فِي ذَلِكَ إِمْكَانِيَّةُ فَصْلِ الإِنْتِخَابَاتِ التَّشْرِيعِيَّةِ عَنْ الإِنْتِخَابَاتِ الرِئَاسِيَّةِ |
| | And the commission will recommend the necessary provisional ideas until the 2014 elections, in addition to the possibility of separating legislative elections and presidential elections. |

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[29]Ben Ali actually put some of the things that he promised in the second speech right into action after he gave the speech, for example removing censorship over some internet sites (Wagner, 2011).

In this fourth stage, Ben Ali appeals to the people with a list of propositions, which differ in importance, that is to say those propositions were not ordinally numbered in terms of importance as in the first speech. It is as if he talks about them as soon as they come to his mind, which is a characteristic of spoken speeches in general as argued in the chapter on register. Ben Ali attempts to move people to cooperate through letting them feel positive and convincing them that both he and they have the same preferences or the same view of the situation, in regard to the sanctions he lifted, the laws he revised and in regard to himself as a long-standing president. Depending on this discussion it could be assumed that Ben Ali conflated and used two concepts of power here. The first concept is "the power to" and the second concept is "the power over" (Dowding, 1996). The concept of "power to" refers to the ability of doing something (Dowding, 1996). Ben Ali demonstrates that through legitimizing strategies and the ability to provide and change (e.g. BA-2-57, BA-2-80, BA-2-81 and BA-2-86). The "power over" concept refers to the ability of A to influence B to do x and it is suggested that this concept specifically involves close social relations (Dowding, 1996). This is what Ben Ali opts for in this speech as suggested in the chapter on register and the discussion in this chapter. Ben Ali tried to influence people to cooperate by means establishing dyads and different appeals.

| BA-2-57 | يُزِيّ مَن اللّجوء للكَرطُوشِ الْحَيّ |
| | do not use live ammunition |

| BA-2-80 BA-2-81 | اتّصَلتُ بالسَّيّد الوَزِير الأوّل, باش نَقومُ بِتَخفِيض فِي أشعار المَوادّ وَالمَرافِق الأساسِيَّة |
| | I contacted the prime minister, so that we carry out reductions in the prices of basic commodities and food stuffs, sugar, milk, bread, etc. |

| BA-2-86 | وَقَرّرتُ |
| | And I decided |

The conclusion stage of the first speech has very formal traditional elements (see BA-1-67). However, in the second speech, Ben Ali uses condensation symbols to make sure that he leaves people aware of what they are going to lose if they persist with protesting.

Condensation symbols refer to a name, word, phrase, or maxim which stirs vivid impressions involving the listener's most basic values. Those symbols ready the listener for action (Jasinski, 2012). The words that were used to stir vivid impressions involving the listener's most basic values and readies the listener for action are found within the conclusion stage in clauses BA-2-129, BA-2-136, BA-2-137, BA-2-138 and BA-2-139. It is suggested that condensation symbols that appeal to basic values are much more useful than those that appeal to moderately held values (Graber, 1976). Ben Ali connected Tunisia to what is just, what is fair and what represents life itself. By comparing both of the speeches it could be seen that Ben Ali shows a high ability of change in accordance with the changes that faced him, regardless of the result of this change. The question that might be asked at this point is why Ben Ali, the other presidents are not exceptions, finds it of importance to justify the use of coercive power, trying to legitimize himself and appeal to the different bases of power such as legal, reward and positional rather than just sending the army or law forces and wipe out the rebels in a country that is run as a private fiefdom by the president and his next of kin? An answer to this question was provided in chapter three under section 2. It is stated in that answer that these presidents came out in front of TV and talked to avoid different construals for their actions and to tell audience how they want to be perceived. After the discussion of Gaddafi's speeches, we will provide some of these different construals that might be understood from the actions of the three presidents using their language in the three sets of speeches they delivered.

BA-1-67	والسَّلامُ عَلَيْكُمْ وَرَحْمَةُ اللَّهِ وَبَرَكَاتُهُ
	Peace and God's mercy and blessing be upon you

BA-2-129	تُونِسُ لَنا جَمِيعاً
	Tunisia is for us all

BA-2-136	والدُّخُولِ بها في مَرْحَلةٍ جَدِيدَةٍ [[تُؤَهِّلُها أكْثَرَ لمُسْتَقْبَلٍ أفْضَلَ]]. عَاشَتْ تُونِسُ. عَاشَ شَعْبُها. عَاشَتِ الجُمْهُورِيَّة.
BA-2-137	
BA-2-138	and to usher it into a new era [[that would better enable her to have a brighter future]]. Long live
BA-2-139	Tunisia. Long live its people. long live the republic>

3-Assad's Two Speeches

As could be seen from the previous chapter on register description of the two speeches of Assad, the main purpose of the first speech and second speeches of Assad are no different to Ben Ali. However, Assad is clearer about his supporters and their nature than Ben Ali as discussed in chapter three. The topics around which the first speech is structured are the conspiracy that is facing Syria and the involvement of media stations in it, the reasons behind the conspiracy against Syria, the position of the Arab countries in regard to the conspiracy, constitutional, political and laws reform, Arabism and finally the definition of the "real rebel". These are the main topics that Assad is addressing in his first speech. The second speech shares the same topics with the first speech in addition to two other topics: elections and the future of Syria after the events. In the two speeches there are also minor topics other than the ones we mentioned, however, they are not main topics and they do not occupy a great space of Assad's two speeches.

The structure of the two speeches of Assad is tight. Assad moves from one stage into another in a clear way. He finishes a point and then moves into another point following certain techniques, which were discussed in chapter three. However, the structure of the two speeches of Assad is as not tight as the structure of the first speech of Ben Ali. The two speeches of Assad include some digressions. A digression is the temporary department the speaker makes from the text in order to elaborate more on a certain point or even to talk about a totally different topic (Perry, 2009). For example, after clause

AS-1-22, Assad stops reading his written speech, and begins to talk about media outlets and also about his interview with an American channel. It is not totally clear whether this digression is made to talk about the virtual environment or to define the conspiracy, which he talks about in clause AS-1-17, or just to mention how deep and serious the external conspiracy is. Further, in clause AS-1-29 Assad talks about *"one of the* attempts" directly after his talk about the media. Assad does not prepare his audience or give them any prior knowledge of what he means by *"One of the attempts"* or how many attempts there are so to consider this attempt in example AS-1-29 *"one of the attempts"* or what the link is between the talk on media and *"one of the attempts"*. These digressions are systematic in the two speeches of Assad and can be found in all stages of his two speeches.

AS-1-27	وَهُنَاكَ العَشَرَاتُ مِنْ مَواقِعِ الإِنْتِرْنِت،وَالعَشَرَاتُ مِنَ الصُحُفِ وَالوَسائِلِ الإِعْلامِيِّهِ المُخْتَلِفَهِ، يَعْنِي[[نَحْنُ نَتَحَدَّثُ عَن المِئاتِ مِنْ وَسائِلِ الإِعْلامِ]]
AS-1-28	And there are tens of internet websites, and tens of newspapers and different media channels, meaning, [[that we talk about hundreds of media stations]]

AS-1-29	إِنَّ إِحْدَى المُحاوَلاتِ[[الَّتِي تَعْرِفُونَها]]هِيَ [[ما قامُوا بِه مَعِي شَخْصِيّاً بِمُقابَلَتِي مَعَ القَناهِ الأَمِيرْكِيَّهِ]]
	One of the attempts [[which you are aware of]] is what they did with me personally in my interview with the American news channel

Digressions could be spontaneous as in the case of speeches with high spoken medium and could be intended for a rhetorical purpose. Digressions target emotions of the audience. If the audience is hostile for example and the speaker wants to defend his position, digressions might assist (Perry, 2009). If the speaker thinks his/her audience are being numbed during the talk, digressions might help to direct their emotions to favor the speaker (Perry, 2009). It is not clear in the case of Assad why he uses digressions. However, it is more likely that he feels in a defensive position, as it took him some time to come out and talk to the people. Even though there are digressions in Assad's two speeches, they still have a tight structure and a clear trajectory that can be followed and understood. I will move now to the discussion of each stage of the two speeches of Assad.

The greeting stage in the first speech extends from clause number AS-1-1 until clause number AS-1-16. However, the elements of the greeting stage were not represented traditionally or following the norms of the greetings in Arabic society. The usual greeting in political Arabic speeches is usually the *Basmala* - "*In the name of God* ", which comes at the beginning of the speech. After the greeting a move to the other stages or the other elements of the first stage is made. Assad starts in the first clause with justifying his absence from public view for a long time. He gives reasons for his absence as could be seen from clauses number AS-1-1 until clause number AS-1-7. Then he moves on to the salutations and the traditional way of commencing a speech. Assad's untraditional presentation of the greeting stage is not as haphazard as it might seem. This could be explained as a manipulative strategy that Assad uses to absorb anger of the audience. Assad attempts to defuse any anger at his absence from public view. It is suggested that speakers follow certain ways to control their targets and one of those ways is rationalization, which refers to a justification made by the speaker for inappropriate behavior. These justifications exploit vulnerabilities that may exist in the targeted audience of the manipulation (Simon, 2010). Assad states his source of legitimacy, which is, as suggested in the chapter on register, in being higher than the class of the normal citizens, and this is the vulnerability he exploits in his audience to escape any anticipated blame or accusations. He subsequently moved on to the traditional greeting, which was full of emotions and condensation symbols, (see AS-1-8, AS-1-10 and AS-1-12).

AS-1-8	أُحَيِّيكُمْ تَحِيَّةَ الْعُرُوبَةِ
	I salute you the salutation of Arabism

AS-1-10	وَأُحَيِّيكُمْ تَحِيَّةَ الْوَطَن
	And I salute you the salutation of the home country

AS-1-12	وَأُحْيِي صُمُودَكُمْ
	And I salute your steadfastness

In the case of the second speech the stage of greeting is totally untraditional, full of nationalism- triggering emotions and condensation symbols. The stage of greeting in the second speech extends from clause number AS-2-1 until clause number AS-2-7. Assad from the very beginning of this speech attempts to give the impression that he is victorious and attempts to look as if he has just overthrown a big conspiracy that was targeting him and his fellow Syrians. Assad also states implicitly his source of legitimacy in this stage, which is the people and their decision for him to be a leader and a president (see examples AS-2-5, AS-2-6 and AS-2-7). As suggested, if individuals know the traditions and norms of the society then the message is usually conveyed implicitly (Clegg & Haugaard, 2009). Assad is implicitly referring to the elections and implies that he is talking here and now in front of the people by the power and choice of the people.

AS-2-5	نَعَم الشَّعْبُ أَرَادَ، الشَّعْبُ قَرَّرَ، الشَّعْبُ نَفَّذَ
AS-2-6	Yes, The People wanted. The People decided. The People took action
AS-2-7	

The second until the eighth stages in the first speech could be identified as the comment stages[30]. In these stages, Assad starts either with a statement or what could be considered as a fact as in example AS-1-17 (stage 2) or a question as in clause number AS-1-85 in the fourth stage, which he answers in the same stage. In regard to the second speech, it is to a far extent similar to the first speech in starting stages with a commentary statement. However, what is different in this speech is that Assad starts his stages also with making contact with his proposed audience as could be seen in the start of stages (e.g. clause AS-2-215 or clause AS-2-268). As suggested before Assad states the source of his power or the position from which he is talking to his audience and in the stages that follow the first stage he attempts to practice power and maintain it using different political social, rhetorical and ideological means as will be discussed below.

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[30]The term stage refers to the chunk of text that can represent a purpose or a topic such as the greeting stage or the comment stage, which might have one topic or more than one topic. The term was presented in the discussion of data preparation under section 5.2.

AS-1-17	إِنَّ التَّآمُرَ الخارجِيَّ لَمْ يَعُدْ خافِياً عَلى أَحَد
	External conspiring is no longer a secret

AS-1-85	لِماذا بَدَؤُوا المُبادَرَةَ العَرَبِيَّة؟
	Why did they initiate the Arab initiative?

AS-2-215	أَيُّها الأُخْوَةُ وَالأَخَواتُ
	Brothers and sisters

AS-2-268	أَيَّتُها السَّيِّداتُ أَيُّها السَّادَةُ
	Ladies and gentlemen

In the first speech Assad starts his comment stages by attempting to comment on what is happening in Syria, appealing to the expert or charismatic base of power as could be seen from example AS-1-17 in the first comment stage, which is the second stage in the structure of the whole speech. The appeal to the charismatic base of power does not stop at the beginning of the stage. Assad heavily depends on that base of power in this stage as a whole to convey that he is a firm, steady, brave person, who does not run from standing up to his enemies and the enemies of the country, who try to target the country and target him personally (e.g. AS-1-41, AS-1-42, AS-1-54, AS-1-55 and example AS-1-56).

AS-1-41	أَرادُوا أَنْ يَصِلُوا إِلى رَأْس الهَرَم فِي الدَّوْلَة
AS-1-42	they wanted (that) they get to the top of the pyramid of the state

AS-1-54	نَقُولُ لَهُمْ خَبِّئْتُمْ لَسْتُ أَنا مَن يَتَخَلَّى عَنْ مَسْؤُولِيَّاتِه
AS-1-55	We say to them go away, not me who abandons his duties
AS-1-56	

Further as could be seen from example AS-1-17, Assad gives high importance to the outside or external conspiracy, which he elaborates almost over his entire speech in different ways and with different associations as will be discussed later. By utilizing the charismatic base of power, Assad attempts to make people feel positive about him and feel that he is here caring for their interests. He asserts that he does this because he is a responsible individual not because he is a president, which is a post he is uninterested in

(see AS-1-58 and AS-1-59). It is suggested that one of the ways to control people and drive them to cooperate is to let them feel positive about a person or event (Dowding, 1996).

AS-1-58	أنا لا أسعى إلى مَنصِبٍ وَلا أهرُبُ مِنْ مَسْؤوليَّةٍ
AS-1-59	I do not pursue a position and I do not run from a responsibility

The other comment stages are not an exception to this analysis. Throughout his speech Assad depends on the expert or the charismatic base of legitimacy to control people. By using technical political terms Assad tries to appear an expert in his field, i.e. as well-educated and rational person (e.g. AS-1-41, AS-1-42, AS-1-125, AS-1-129 and AS-1-130).

AS-1-125	إنَّ القَوانِينَ وَالإجْراءاتِ المَوْجُودةَ حالِيَّاً تُعْطِينا كامِلَ الصَلاحِيَّةِ لِكَي نَقُومَ بِعَمَلِيَّةِ ضَبْطِ الأمْن
AS-1-126	The present laws and measures give us full authority, so that we carry out security controlling

AS-1-129	وَفِيما يَخُصُّ الأحْزابَ فَقَدْ صَدَرَ قانُونُ الأحْزابِ وَتَقَدَّمَتْ أحْزابٌ
AS-1-130	In regard to the parties, the parties' law has been issued and parties have come forward

It is suggested that resort to laws and policies is, in general, a way of maintaining power by the head of state or the regime (Sharp & Raqib, 2010). However, this kind of appeal to laws and polices is also seen as a kind of coercion (Weber, 2014). It seems from the speech of Assad that he is well aware of this strategy. Assad in his first speech combines the use of laws and policies to make people obey and cooperate and threats of violence also to make people cooperate and obey, which suggests that Assad sees both extremes as faces to one coin in the process of maintaining power. Coercion to him is done through violence as well as through laws and policies. Assad legitimizes the use of power or coercion through laws to force cooperation of people (e.g. AS-1-125 and AS-1-129). Assad implies that he has the right and will use violence as could be seen from examples AS-1-125 and AS-1-126. The regime of Assad and the regime of his father before him built a state of intelligence and police agencies to control Syria and the Syrian people. Some reports say that there is one intelligence officer for every 153 citizen of the 22 million citizens in Syria

(Ziadeh, 2012). The tactics of authority and control of this regime and also some other Arab authoritarian regime include disregard for human rights and the all-too-frequent usage of discrimination, torture and even extrajudicial killing (Ziadeh, 2012). In such a state, the words ضَبْطُ الأَمْنِ – "*security controlling*" means and evokes exactly the drastic actions suggested above. In the four years since the start of the unrest until the end of 2015, half of Syrian population of 22 million had been killed, internally displaced or has fled the country. There are nearly 4 million Syrian refugees in five host countries (AMNESTY, 2016)

Assad within all those comment stages also uses many rhetorical devices to make his arguments more effective and deeper in meaning. In the first comment stage (see examples AS-1-19, AS-1-21), the device of metaphor is used. In example AS-1-19 Assad accuses Arabs, some Syrians and the international community of being hypocrites as they say to him that they are with him and that they are anxious about him and his country, but the opposite is right by referring to them as تُجارُ الحُرِّيَّةِ وَالدِيمُقراطِيَّةِ – "*the dealers of freedom and democracy*". In example AS-1-21, Assad uses metaphor to depict and describe the moment of enlightenment, when he and his people discovered the betrayal, conspiracy and plot of others even though it was very hard to do so as could be seen in example AS-1-22 البيئَةِ الأَفْتِراضِيَّةِ – "*the virtual environment*", referring to something that is hidden and cannot be perceived easily. This device is significant in that t helps support Assad's appeal for the base of charismatic legitimacy and also contributes to the formality feature of the speech as the use of technical terms of certain field can happen only under certain formal circumstances (Eggins, 2004).

AS-1-19	فَالدُّمُوعُ[[الّتى ذَرُفها]]عَلى ضَحايانا تُجارُ الحُرِّيَّةِ والدِيمُقراطِيَّةِ لَمْ تَعُدْ قادِرَةً عَلى إِخْفاء الدَوْرِ[[الّذى لَعِبُوهُ فى سَفْكِ دِمائِها]]
	The tears [[that were shed by the dealers of freedom and democracy for our own victims]] are no longer capable of [[concealing the role they played in the bloodshed]]

AS-1-21 AS-1-22	أمَّا الآنَ فَقَد إِنْقَشَعَ الضَبابُ وَبِتْنا أَكْثَرَ قُدْرَةٍ عَلى تَفْكيكِ البِيئَةِ الأَفْتِراضِيَّةِ[[الَّتى أَوْجَدُوها لَدَفْعِ السُورِيِّينَ نَحْوَ الوَهْمِ وَمِنْ ثُمَّ السُقُوطِ]]
	However, now the fog has cleared and we have become more capable of [[deconstructing the virtual environment]] [[which they have created to push Syrians towards illusion and then fall]]

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Another rhetorical device that is used by Assad throughout his speech was the device of hypophora. Hypophora refers to raising one or more questions and then proceeding to answer them, usually at some length. A common usage is to ask the question at the beginning of a paragraph and then use that paragraph to answer it (McGuigan et al., 2011). Assad uses this device in the beginning of the third comment stage as could be seen from example AS-1-85. Assad then proceeds in almost all of the rest of the stage to answer this question and elaborate on it. The same device is used in other instances to appeal rationally to the people or the anticipated audience of Assad's speech (e.g. AS-1-197 and AS-1-198 and other examples). This device is significant in that it gives the speaker the entrance he needs to tackle a topic or a serious of topics.

AS-1-197	هَلْ يُمْكِنُ لِلثَائِرِ أَنْ يَسْرِقَ سَيّارَةً أَوْ بَيْتًا أَوْ مُنْشَأَةً؟ وَهَلْ يُمْكِنُ لِلثَائِرِ أَنْ يَكُونَ لِصًّا؟
AS-1-198	Can a rebel steal a car, a house or an establishment? Can a rebel be a thief?

The main or specific aim of using hypophora here is to perpetuate the *"external conspiracy"*, which Assad clearly refers to in his first comment stage. Assad gathers all of the elements and events, which are different and separate under one plot and calls it *"external conspiracy"* to create a "pivot" allowing people to reach conclusions rationally, as was suggested by Fenster (1999). To elaborate more we will quote Fenster (1999, p. 108) who argues that:

"the classical conspiracy narrative attempts to unify seemingly disparate, globally significant elements and events within a singular plot, doing so through the traditional logic of conventional popular narratives.… The classical conspiracy narrative… is composed of certain structural and formal characteristics that individualize conspiracy theories, contained in texts that are both fiction and putatively nonfiction, articulated in similar ways… the conspiracy narrative is instead best recognized as putting forth a particular narrative logic that organizes disparate events within a mechanistic, tragic framework". Fenster (1999, p. 108) continues by arguing, *"The conspiracy narrative is*

commonly organized around a narrative "pivot" – a moment of "convergence" when opposing forces come into clear focus".

Assad's goal of creating "pivots" is to provide a moment of convergence allowing the audience to see the "real world". Assad is enlightening people that what they see as revolution is only a business in which they are the merchandise and the rebels are only thieves. This appeal or mechanism is used by all of the presidents whose speeches are being discussed in this study, however, it is most apparent in the speeches of Assad and Gaddafi as will be seen.

In the case of the second speech it is very similar to the first speech, in terms of legitimizing strategies and power use. The structure of the second speech is also similar to the first one. Assad started each stage of the ten comment stages by either a commentary statement or a contact with his proposed audiences as could be seen from example AS-2-47. Assad starts his comment stages by commenting on what is happening in Syria, appealing to the legal-rational base of legitimacy as could be seen from examples AS-2-12, AS-2-47, when Assad refers to the legal democratic process that took place in Syria and around the world. Assad makes it his priority to describe the process of election with condensation symbols his Syrian audience are vulnerable to in order to gain their cooperation and obedience as in AS-2-52 and AS-2-53. Assad connects the election process with symbols such as السِيادَةِ وَالشَرْعِيَّةِ وَالقَرار الوَطَنِيّ – " *sovereignty, legitimacy, national decision-making"* and الأَسْياد – *"masters"*, كَرامَتِهِ – *"dignity"*. The reason why such symbols hold a very significant status in the Arab personality is the price most Arab countries paid to get independence after the age of colonization and also because of the fear of a new colonization. Assad is well aware of this ideological cultural aspect as could be seen from example AS-2-13. In this example Assad implicitly indicated that Syrians (Arabs) took their revenge not in offensive barbaric way, but they took it in بِأَرْقَى صُوَرِها – *"the best possible manner"* like الأَسْياد – *"masters"*.

AS-2-47	لَمْ تَكُنْ تِلْكَ الأَنْتِخَابَاتُ مُجَرَّدَ عَمَلِيَّةٍ سِيَاسِيَّةٍ إِجْرَائِيَّةٍ
	These elections were not just a political procedure

AS-2-12	رَايَنُوا عَلَيْكُمْ بِالدِّيمُقْرَاطِيَّةِ فَمَارَسْتُمُوها بِأَرْقَى صُوَرِها
AS-2-13	They patronized you with their calls for democracy, so you practiced it in the best possible manner

AS-2-52	كَانَتِ الأَنْتِخَابَاتُ مَعْرَكَتَنا لِلدِّفَاع عَن السِّيَادَةِ وَالشَّرْعِيَّةِ وَالقَرَارِ الوَطَنِيِّ وَكَرَامَةِ الشَّعْبِ
AS-2-53	The elections were a battle, so that we defend our sovereignty, legitimacy, national decision-making and the dignity of our people

Assad within all those comment stages also uses many rhetorical devices to make his arguments more effective and deeper in meaning. Assad uses the device of simile as could be seen from examples AS-2-44 and example AS-2-45. In those two examples Assad refers to the Syrians as the ones who تَحَدَّيْتُمُ الإِعْصَارَ بِصُدُورٍ عَارِيَةٍ– *"You challenged the storm with bear chests"*. In this clause Assad compared Syrians with Greek gods, who are so powerful and strong and would bend the power of nature with their bare chest. In the second example Assad compares Syrians to the long firm strong spear that would penetrate any enemies and hit him in the most fatal point.

AS-2-12	رَايَنُوا عَلَيْكُمْ بِالدِّيمُقْرَاطِيَّةِ فَمَارَسْتُمُوها بِأَرْقَى صُوَرِها
AS-2-13	They patronized you with their calls for democracy, so you practiced it in the best possible manner

Another device Assad uses is the device of the rule of three or Triad as per Maier (2010). This device refers to the principle that suggests that things that come in threes are funnier, more satisfying, or more effective than other numbers of things (Maier, 2010). The reader or audience of this form of text is also thereby more likely to remember the information. This is because having three entities combines both brevity and rhythm with having the smallest amount of information to create a pattern. It makes the author or speaker appear knowledgeable while being both simple and catchy (Maier, 2010). It is further suggested that this device is a powerful way of emphasizing a persuasive point and increasing power of the message (Maier, 2010). The use of this device could be seen in more than one instance of the speech (e.g. examples AS-2-5, AS-2-6 and AS-2-7). In

examples AS-2-5, AS-2-6 and AS-2-7 Assad refers to the process of elections and is attempting to convey that it is merely the will of the الشَعْبُ – *"the people"* that controlled the whole process and the people أُرادَ – *"wanted"*, قَرَّرَ – *"decided"*, نَفَّذَ – *"took action"*. The use of this device is also could be seen in examples AS-2-16. In this example Assad emphasized more that the choice, the act and the source of his legitimacy is the people's and they are the ones who have chosen their دُسْتُوركُم – *"constitution"*, وَبَرْلَمانكُم – *"parliament"* and وَرَئِيسكُم – *"president"*.

AS-2-5	نَعَم الشَعْبُ أُرادَ الشَعْبُ قَرَّرَ الشَعْبُ نَفَّذَ
AS-2-6	
AS-2-7	Yes, The People wanted. The People decided. The People took action

	فَآخْتَرْتُم دُسْتُوركُم وَبَرْلَمانكُم وَرَئِيسكُم
AS-2-16	
	You chose your constitution your parliament and your president

Among all this positivity in the second speech of Assad's, he does not forget to follow a strategy from his first speech, although he uses distinct linguistic resources. In the first speech Assad uses mainly the device of hypophora to appeal charismatically and rationally to the people or the anticipated audience convincing them to worry about the "external conspiracy" and to not let anybody pass things over their heads. However, in the second speech Assad uses reporting techniques to create a "pivot" allowing people to reach conclusions rationally. Assad refers his audience back to what people did previously and his reaction to what they did to make a judgement on the future and the current situation as could be seen from examples AS-2-90, AS-2-91 to name some examples that show how Assad is totally convinced with his view of events and tries to personalize people's experience in accordance to his mental model (Van Dijk, 2002).

AS-2-90	كانَت الرُؤْيَة واضِحَة تَماماً لَنا مُنذُ الأيّام الأُوْلى لِلعُدْوان. جِدها كَثِيرُون رَفَضُوا كَلِمَة مُخَطِّط وَعُدْوان
AS-2-91	The vision was clear to us since the first days of the aggression. At that time, many refused the words "plot" and "aggression"

Assad in his first and second speech as well uses valorization[31] to promote positivity in the mind of people to gain their acceptance and cooperation by making certain positive references to his allies, who are fighting Syrian people in support of Assad (e.g. AS-1-286 in the first speech). Assad refers to Russia and China with the term "East" but did not refer to them explicitly in order to avoid counter claims and counter arguments on this point. In the second speech Assad refers explicitly to those allies, as if he no more cares about being polite or willing to conceal his allegiance to the outer foreign countries or hired mercenaries (e.g AS-2-281), where he clearly refers to the men of the Lebanese resistance or as Hezbollah, which is a Lebanese armed party that was involved in many deadly bloody attacks in the Arab region and the world (CTG, 2016).

AS-2-281 AS-2-282	وَلَا نَنْسَى الْأَوْفِيَاءَ مِنْ أَبْنَاء الْمُقَاوَمَةِ اللُّبْنَانِيَّةِ الْأَبْطَالَ الَّذِينَ وَقَفُوا جَنْبًا إِلَى جَنْبٍ مَعَ أَبْطَالِ جَيْشِنَا وَقَدَّمُوا الشُّهَدَاءَ دِفَاعاً عَنْ مِحْوَرِ الْمُقَاوَمَةِ.
AS-2-283	And we do not forget the faithful courageous sons of the Lebanese resistance, who stood side by side with the heroes of our army and they offered up martyrs defending the axis of the resistance.

After the comment stages in both of the speeches, Assad concluded his two speeches. His conclusion stage in both speeches is full of implicit messages and condensation symbols. In the first speech the conclusion stage extends from clause number AS-1-296 until clause number AS-1-309. In example AS-1-300 Assad uses the term سُورِيَّةَ – "Syria" as well as in the second speech (e.g. AS-2-291) to elevate patriotic emotions and feeling in the people and to persuade them to reconstrue the things and events he speaks about in his speech. He closes his speech with a traditional salutation as could be seen in example AS-1-309. In the conclusion stage of the first speech as well Assad also attempts to leave people with a positive image of himself (see e.g. clauses AS-1-297 and AS-1-298).

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[31] For further discussion of appraisal or valorization refer to Martin and White (2005) and White (2006).

AS-1-299	وَعِنْدَما لا نَسْتَجِيبُ لِلتَحَدِّى, لا نَسْتَحِقُّ أِسْمَ سُوريَّةَ
AS-1-300	And when we do not rise to the challenge, we do not deserve the name of Syria

AS-2-291	سَتَبْقَى سُوريَّةٌ شامِخَةً قَويَّةً صامِدَةً عُصِيَّةً عَلَى الغُرَباءِ
	Syria will remain high, strong, perseverant and deterrent to the foreigners

AS-1-309	والسَلامُ عَلَيكُم
	Peace be upon you

AS-1-297	وَأَنا <<كَما عَهِدتُمونى دائماً>>وَأَحَدٌ مِنكُم
AS-1-298	I << as you always have known me >>am one of you

Assad in these two examples attempts to get closer to the people and implicitly disregards his position as a president or a part of the government. It is suggested that when people feel that a government is going in contrary to the trust they invested in it they usually remove this government and bring another government in its place; that is to say that people are the ones who give legitimacy and the ones who remove it (Hindess, 1996). Assad by referring to himself as one of the people - as one of "you" as he expressed in example AS-1-297 - attempts to distance himself from the government that the people do not want or consider illegitimate. If they decided to go on rebelling then this government should be blamed and he will still be one of the people, who controls them and leads them through challenges. Assad also makes the same reference in the conclusion of the second speech, which extends from clause number AS-2-284 until clause number AS-2-293, as could be seen from example AS-2-289. Further, this reference, in addition to it as a strategy of escaping blame, could be seen as an appeal to the traditional base of legitimacy. Assad in both of his two speeches does not indicate either explicitly or implicitly that the face of the society or the ruling regime will be changed. Assad also does not seek to make any concessions that he should or he might have to leave power[32]. This

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[32] Until the submission of this thesis in 2017 Assad was still in power and controlling at least 30% of the country. The other 70% was controlled by the free Syrian Army, ISIL, different rebels' groups and the Kurdish People's Protection Units (Asrar, 2017).

kind of thinking finds its roots as suggested before in the way Arabic society is structured[33]. Assad in the second speech as well attempts to leave people with thinking positively by using condensation symbols (e.g. AS-2-287 المَرْحَلَةُ الجَدِيدَة - *"the new era"*) utilizing people's eagerness for peace and an end to the war. He concludes his second speech as could be seen from example AS-2-293 with a traditional salutation. Assad deals with his conclusion stages as a summary of what he talked about in the beginning or in the whole of the two speeches and that explains why his conclusion stages are structurally longer than the conclusion stages of Ben Ali for example. By comparing both of the speeches of Assad it could be seen that Assad remains constant and on one level of addressing the matter of the revolution. His outlook and mental model does not change much from the first speech to the second one.

AS-2-289	وَأَنَا سَأَبْقَى الشَّخْصَ [[الَّذِى يَنْتَمِى إِلَيْكُمْ]]
	And I will remain the person [[who belongs to you]]

AS-2-287	المَرْحَلَةُ الجَدِيدَةُ بَدَأَتْ
	The new era has started

AS-2-293	وَالسَّلامُ عَلَيْكُمُ ورحمةُ اللهِ وبركاتُهُ
	Pease and blessings of Allah be upon you

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[33] See also Sharabi (1975) and Barakat (1998)

4-Gaddafi's Two Speeches

The main purpose of the two speeches of Gaddafi are no different to Ben Ali's and Assad's. However, what is different is the structure of Gaddafi's two speeches. Indeed, Gaddafi's speeches appear to lack any structure. He does not follow clear staging of the text and moves from one topic to another in a random way without giving special importance to any topic or trajectory. Both speeches of Gaddafi start with the stages of greeting. In the case of the first speech, the greeting stage extends from clause number GA-1-1 until clause number GA-1-6. Gaddafi starts with a very traditional element to his greeting stage, however, taking into consideration the Arabic culture and the way Arabs in general and in Libya in particular greet each other in the beginning of any conversation or any speech, this start element is unusual. As suggested in the discussion of Ben Ali speeches, the traditional start to any speech is represented in the first clause of Ben Ali's and that is when the speech is of a high written mode. However, when the speech is of a highly spoken mode, the traditional greeting that is culturally and ideologically acceptable in the Arab world is السلامُ عَليكُم - *Peace be upon you*, typically followed by wishing someone a good time. Gaddafi starts from his greeting stage to use condensation symbols to elevate the emotions of the people listening to him (e.g. clause GA-1-3).

GA-1-3	أُحَيِّكُم شَبابَ الفاتِح شَبابَ القَوْمِيَّة شَبابَ الفاطِميَّة شَبابَ التَّحَدّى, جِيلُ التَّحَدّى, جِيلُ الغَضِبِ
	I salute you youth of victory, youth of nationalism, youth of "Fatimiya", youth of challenge, generation of challenge, generation of anger

Gaddafi uses symbols like شَبابَ الفاتِح - *youth of victory*, شَبابَ القَوْمِيَّةِ - *youth of nationalism* and other terms referring to the revolution he led in the sixties and called it ثَورةُ الفَانِح - *al-Fateh Revolution*. Gaddafi addresses his speech directly to the youths who were raised under the shadow and blessing of this revolution and under of the Arab national movement Gaddafi pushed for all his life before he had quit and started to aim for a unity with Africa, trying to push for "The United States of Africa" (Falola & Essien, 2013).

The opening stage of the second speech of Gaddafi, which extends from clause number GA-2-1 until clause number GA-2-8, is different from all of the other presidents. Gaddafi moves on directly to the aim of his speech, skipping any salutation elements or gestures. This strategy is similar to the manipulative strategy Assad follows in the opening stage of his first speech, which suggests that Gaddafi in this speech attempts to manipulate people to avoid any negative reaction suggesting blame from the part of the people he is addressing. Assad in his first speech after applying this manipulative strategy[34] to avoid blame goes back to saluting people, whereas Gaddafi does not and that makes Gaddafi's opening stage different from all of the other presidents.

In the case of the two speeches, staging cannot be followed logically to a far extent and the task of assigning boundaries to the stages gets harder in the case of the second speech as Gaddafi does not follow clear staging of the text and moves from one topic to another in a random way without giving special importance to any topic or trajectory. However, an attempt will be made to follow the topics Gaddafi raises and these topics will be used to set boundaries and identify structure. The first speech is structured around main topics such as the partiality of the media, Gaddafi and his position, the revolution, external conspiracy, public committees, the oil of Libya, the intervention of terrorist groups in Libya, laws regarding public mutiny and counter-terrorism laws, cases of rebelling from different countries and how they were faced and other topics. In the case of the second speech Gaddafi raises topics such as deceptive media stations, the fruits of the revolution that Gaddafi led, his role and position in the Libyan scene, merits of the Libyan people and the future of Libya.

The first speech contains eleven comment stages and one final conclusion stage. There are no resources within those stages to suggest that there is certain importance to one stage over another, as in the case of the speeches of Ben Ali. As suggested from the discussion on register, this speech is of a spoken mode, which suggests that Gaddafi

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[34] See section 2 of this chapter for further discussion of this manipulative strategy.

speaks of those topics as soon as they come to his mind or he sees them in the notes that are in front of him at the time of the speech delivery. The same applies to the second speech. Gaddafi improvises that speech and the topics that it includes, the moment he stepped forward looking over the people in the Green Square.

In his eleven comment stages, Gaddafi follows many strategies in order to express his source of power, to legitimize it, exercise it and maintain it, all in order to control people and gain their loyalty and cooperation. Gaddafi appeals to the charismatic base of legitimacy heavily in the first and the second speech as could be seen in all of the comment stages to achieve control and maintain legitimacy. However, he uses other strategies as well such as the strategy of "Abashment". In the first comment stage of the first speech of Gaddafi (see clause number GA-1-7 to GA-1-38), Gaddafi uses the strategy of "Abashment" (Latif, 2015). In order to claim legitimacy and exercise and maintain power, speakers or leaders tend to glorify past events in which they were centrally involved, and draw a very black picture of a future that does not include them (Latif, 2015). In the process of "Abashment", speakers tend to use the language of others, list the demands of protesters as if they were their own accomplishment in order to embarrass them, take away their legitimacy and enforce retreat in them (Latif, 2015; Sharabi, 1975). Examples of such a strategy could be seen in clause number GA-1-12 until clause number GA-1-35. Further, in terms of the distribution of power, Gaddafi also kept the use of power in all of its forms under his control and as a monopoly as will be discussed later.

GA-1-12	أُنْظُرُوا إِلَى لِيبِيا, لَا تُرِيدُ العِزَّ, لَا تُرِيدُ المُجدَّ, لَا تُرِيدُ التَحْرِيرَ, لَا تُرِيدُ الثَّوْرَةَ
GA-1-13	
GA-1-14	look at Libya, it does not want nobility, it does not want glory, it does not want liberalism, it does not want revolution
GA-1-15	
GA-1-16	

Gaddafi appeals to the charismatic base of power throughout the first speech in order to gain people's cooperation and obedience. Traditional charismatic traits and some

untraditional charismatic traits are appealed to in pursuit of legitimacy (Clegg & Haugaard, 2009). To give some examples of traditional charismatic traits that Gaddafi appeals to, clauses number GA-1-44 and clause GA-1-62 could be listed. In those examples among some others Gaddafi appeals to his personal traits of good manners, sacrifice, patriotism, and dedication.

| GA-1-44 | هُوَ قَائِد ثُوْرَه |
| | he is a leader of a revolution |

| GA-1-62 | أَنَا مُقَاتِلٌ, مُجَاهِدٌ, مُنَاضِلٌ, ثَائِرٌ مِنَ الخَيْمَةِ وِمِنَ البَادِيَة |
| | I am a fighter, a struggler and a striver form the tent, form the desert |

In clause numbers GA-1-39, GA-1-64 and GA-1-139, Gaddafi appeals to some untraditional charismatic traits, to claim legitimacy and claim the right to control people, such as not having a position or a normal stated position like any other political figure. Also, Gaddafi appeals to untraditional charismatic traits by stating and mentioning his ancestors and other national ancestors. He mentions what those ancestors did and their sacrifices to the country. Further, Gaddafi appeals to some untraditional charismatic traits by claiming that he is right and he is the glory and that is why he should be followed (see GA-1-139). The appeal to the past and the appeal by the names of the ancestors could be understood and explained by looking at examples GA-1-273 and GA-1-196. In tribal societies, especially though not exclusively in the past, , it is very common for a tribe to brag and tell the stories of its heroes either by means of poetry or by means of an epic story in order to gain more status among the other tribes or even to gain more weight against an enemy. Gaddafi is fully aware of the composition of the Libyan society and knows the tribal traditions very well. Gaddafi explicitly mentions the heroism of his forefathers and his tribe by stating that no one will rule if he leaves or that, in the event that he did leave, the country would enter into a dark eternal tunnel (e.g. GA-1-196). As

suggested previously, when individuals of a certain society know the traditions then the message is conveyed implicitly (Clegg & Haugaard, 2009).

| GA-1-39 | مَعْمَر الْقَذَّافِيّ ماعنده مَنْصِب |
| | Muammar Gaddafi has no post |

| GA-1-64 | أنا جَدِّيّ عَبْدالسَّلام أبومنيار [[أوَّلُ شهيدٍ سَقَطَ فَوْقَ الْخُمْسِ, في أوَّل مَعْرَكَةٍ عام 1911]] |
| | My grandfather is Abdulsalam Abo Menyar [[who was the first martyr on Alkhums land in the first battle in 1911]] |

| GA-1-139 | لأنَّ مَعْمَر الْقَذَّافِيّ هُوَ الْمَجْدُ |
| | because Muammar Gaddafi is the glory |

| GA-1-196 | نَحْنُ قَبَائِل كُلّها مُسَلَّحة وَلَيْسَتْ هُناك قَبِيلَة تَحْكُمها قَبِيلَة لا أحَد يَسْتَطِيع أنْ يَحْكُمنا, لا مِنْ دَرْنَة وَلا مِنْ هُونُولُولُو |
| | we are all armed tribes and no tribe controls over another tribe and no one can rule us, neither from "Darnah" nor from Honolulu |

| GA-1-273 | نَحْنُ يا إخْواننا نَعْرِفُ بَعْضَنا |
| | Brothers, we all know each other |

Gaddafi further follows another strategy that Assad also adopts in his two speeches, the strategy of distancing himself from the government or the state group and claiming for himself a position either with the people or independent from the people. After claiming a separate position, they cast blame on others for the presence of troubles and catastrophe to convince people that they are the best to attend to their interests and that they have power and dedication to remove the *"they"* who has been causing trouble for the state and for the people (see GA-1-87, GA-1-123, GA-1-102, GA-1-103, GA-1-104 and GA-1-105).

GA-1-87	نَحْنُ تَرَكنا السُّلْطَةَ لِلشَعْبِ اللِّيبِيِّ مِن عام 77, أَنَا وَالضُّبَّاطُ الأَحْرَارُ
	We left the power to the Libyan people since 1977 me and the free officers

GA-1-102	أَنْتُم الَّذِينَ صَنَعْكُمُ اللِّجانَ الشَّعْبِيَّة الْعامَّة. أَنْتُم مَسْؤُولُونَ عَنها
GA-1-103	You elected the public committees. You are responsible for them

GA-1-123	قَبِيلَةٌ صِغارٌ أَعْطُوهُمْ دَبّاباتٌ
	They gave youngsters tanks.

GA-1-104	هَلْ أَنْتُم سُذَّجٌ إِلى هَذِه الدَرَجَةِ حَتَّى يَضْحَكُوا عَلَيْكُمْ؟
GA-1-105	Are you that naïve, so that they fool you?

However, in the process of refusing to take blame and of detaching himself from the state apparatus, Gaddafi gives mixed and confused signals to his audience (e.g. GA-1-87, GA-1-123, GA-1-101, GA-1-102, GA-1-103, GA-1-104 and GA-1-105). Gaddafi in the middle of his outburst did not differentiate between the people he wants to remediate the current situation, who are "brave", "youths of nationalism" and between the people, who he claims are controlling the country and who are naïve and unable to trust "the public committees". He insults them all and blames them all in the course of his speech. Depending on the fact that people know the context or the local traditions, Gaddafi also directly insults the people or the *"they"* implicitly and explicitly as in GA-1-103, GA-1-54, GA-1-55, GA-1-56 and GA-1-104 this strategy will be further discussed in the chapter of ideational metafunction analysis.

GA-1-54	تَرَكُوا الْعار لِقَبائِلِهِمْ, إِذا كانَتْ جِنْدَهُم قَبائِل, وَلِكِنْ هَؤُلاء لَيْسَ جِنْدَهُمْ قَبائِلُ
GA-1-55	They left disgrace to their tribes, if they have tribes. However, those don't have tribes
GA-1-56	

Gaddafi further uses highly charged forms of negative appraisal in an attempt to diminish support for the rebels and to prevent soldiers defecting from his army. It could be seen from examples GA-1-48, GA-1-133, GA-1-142, GA-1-16, GA-1-162 and GA-1-163 that Gaddafi refers to the people in opposition to him as "germs" and "rats". Such insults

evoke the negative feeling of loathing and uncleanness in the mind of the listeners towards the rebels.

GA-1-54	تَرَكُوا الْعار لِقَبائِلِهِم, إِذاْ كانَتْ جِنْدَهُم قَبائِل, وَلِكِنْ هُؤُلاء لَيْسَ جِنْدَهُم قَبائِل
GA-1-55	They left disgrace to their tribes, if they have tribes. However, those don't have tribes
GA-1-56	

GA-1-48	نَحْنُ أَجْدَرُ بِلِيبِيا مِنْ تِلْكَ الْجُرَذان وَأُولَئِكَ الْمَأْجُورِيْن
	We are worthier of Libya than those rats and those agents

GA-1-133	إِشْبِكُوا الْجُرَذانَ
	Catch the rats

GA-1-141	لَو إِنِّى رَئِيسٌ لَكُنْتُ رَمَيتُ الأَسْتِقالَةَ عَلَى وَجُوِّ هَذِو الْجَراثِيم
GA-1-142	if I am a president, I would have thrown the resignation at the faces of those germs

GA-1-161	لأَنَّ فِيهِ جِرْذانُ
	because there are rats in it

GA-1-162	دَرَنَه أَصْبَحتْ خَراباً وَحاكِمُها الآنَ وَأَجِدّ عامِلَ لِحْيَّةً
GA-1-163	"Darnah" has become ruins and its ruler is someone with a beard

He also attempts through the use of appraisal to convey that such people are elusive and deceptive and that they live in the most inhabitable dark places. He refers to them in other instances as people "with a beard". In this context, this wording evokes reference to extremists, and implies the rebels have links to Al-Qaida and that they will take Libya down with them. Gaddafi also construes the rebels as backward, and argues they would take the country back to pre-modern ages if they were in control of Libya (see e.g. GA-1-154, GA-1-155 and GA-1-156). This negative appraisal is not only meant to create negative attitude toward bearded people, but to create a generalization under which all rebels can be categorized if Gaddafi's observations or some of them were noticed on any of the rebels. It is suggested that *"Generalizations are made from one or two observations,*

fallacies made in argumentation, unreliable sources are used, if at all, and so on[35]" (Van Dijk, 1998, p. 60).

GA-1-154 GA-1-155 GA-1-156	وَهَذِهِ الجُرذَانُ يُمَكِّنُ أَنْ تَصِلَ إِلَى البِتْرُولِ وَتَشِبِفْت البِتْرُولَ وَتَعُودُوا إِلَى الظَّلَامِ, إِلَى عام 52 And Those rats can reach to the oil fields and they can bomb them and you will go back to the dark ages, to the year 1952.

Gaddafi also attempts to legitimize himself and his actions through the justification and threat of the use of coercive power in front of the Libyan people and the international community. He references examples from around the world in which coercive power was used to put an end to unrest in the political arena in those countries and to which no one objected. Rather, Gaddafi claims that support to these regimes' use of force was extended by the locals and the international community. At that time, Gaddafi was already taking coercive action against his people and military operations were taking place all over Libya. But, as noted before, Gaddafi needs to justify or legitimate the use of coercive power. He chooses the legal base of power as a mechanism to defend his use of force, referring to laws and the constitution to give his use of coercive action the cover of legitimacy (see GA-1-204 until GA-1-218).

GA-1-204 GA-1-205 GA-1-206 GA-1-207 GA-1-208 GA-1-216 GA-1-218	يُلتَسِن رَئِيسُ رُوسِيَا <<عِنْدَما إِعْتَصَمَ مَجْلِسُ الدُّوما>>قال لَهُم أَطْلِعُوا. قالُوا لَهُ: لا نَحْنُ مُحْتَجِّينَ........... أَحْضَرَ الدَّبَّاباتِ ...... وَذَاكَ مَبْنَى مَجْلِسِ النُّوَّابِ وَالأَعْضاءُ مَوْجُودِينَ بِداخِلِهِ Yeltsin the president of Russia <<when the Duma council went on strike>>he said to them: come out. They said to him: no, we are protesting............ He brought tanks..... and he bombarded the council with the members inside of it.

The question of why these presidents, whose positions concentrate power in their hands, find it necessary to justify the use of coercive power. One reason was discussed in chapter three. But at least two more can be outlined: 1- the high cost of launching an aggression, and 2- the ambiguity of the organization of the opposing non-state actors. It is claimed that long term efficient use of power normally rests on a high degree of legitimacy (Clegg & Haugaard, 2009). History shows that it is possible to maintain control over large

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[35] For further discussion refer to the section on Attitude structures on the same resource.

communities or societies by means of threat and terror. Further, the cost of surveillance of large groups is formidable, and constitutes important impediments to the power holder. Consequently, autocratic rulers tend to strengthen their regime by legitimizing strategies (Clegg & Haugaard, 2009). We mean by legitimizing strategies the use of appeals to different legitimizing and power bases. Gaddafi appealed to different bases of power and other legitimizing strategies in parallel with military options since the first day of the uprising until his death after almost ten months of fierce fighting between the rebels and the forces of Gaddafi. Fighting took place with all kinds of heavy weapons and arms supported by an endless supply of oil cash which Gaddafi had accumulated over the years. On the other hand, the coercive option in the case of Ben Ali depended on a weaker economy, compared to that of Libya. Thus, Ben Ali did not last more than a month – exactly 3 weeks and 6 days – before he was forced to leave the country after the chief of the army Rachid Ammar announced that he was on in the side of the protesters and that he would protect the revolution (Aljazeera, 2011). The main reason the army defected from the regime of Ben Ali was the expected cost of suppressing the revolution forcefully (Brooks, 2013). The defection of the army might also explain the shift in language between the first and second speeches of Ben Ali. Ben Ali in his first speech was inclined toward the high formality extreme of the formality continuum. However, in his second speech he speaks with a language that is closer to the people. Both appeals to the positional base of power and the reward base of power conveying a sense of betrayal and a sense of ingratitude to others. It is suggested that apart from direct military interventions in a form of coups, the military performs an important political role in terms of supporting and intervening to protect the authoritarian regimes and in the absence of such support it is almost impossible for the authoritarian regimes to maintain their power (Kassem, 2004). This point applies also to Assad. However, Assad is still a receiver of a full international and local coercive military support as he himself mentioned in his speech. Otherwise, he might have met the same fate as the two other presidents a long time ago. Further, the structure of the army in Syria is different to the structure of the army in Libya

and Tunisia. It is suggested that in the period of Assad the father and the son after him, the senior positions in the army were reserved to the trusted Alawi kinsmen and that in turn insured the support to the legitimacy and the flow of state patronage (Kassem, 2004).

The second point is the ambiguity of the organization of the opposing non-state actors. The outburst of the unrest in Libya, Tunisia and Syria was led by the everyday people not parties or organizations as per Honwana (2013). Heads of state in those countries did not know how to react or how to convince their people or their army of who exactly should they go on fighting or standing against. This confusion is very obvious and apparent in the speeches of Gaddafi as could be seen in examples GA-1-233, GA-1-234, GA-1-235, GA-1-236 and GA-1-237, and in particular, example GA-1-306 مَنْ أَنْتُمْ؟ - *Who are you?* This confusion could also be seen a demeaning strategy toward the rebels as discussed in chapter five under section 2.

GA-1-234 GA-1-235 GA-1-236 GA-1-237 GA-1-238	الدائن عايشة في جحيم. فلا هُوَ جَيْشٌ, تُحارِبهُ بالدَّبّابات والطائرات, وإلاَّ لَكُنا اسْتَخْدَمْنا الطائرات والدَّبّابات والمِدْفَعِيَّة, وَلا هُوَ داسُ جَبْهَة مِنَ الجَبْهات أَبَداً
	It is not an army, which you fight with artillery and planes, otherwise we could have used planes, tanks and artillery and they are not even aggressors from any side of the borders

The confusion about the identity of the ones whom the presidents are facing also could be seen in the speeches of Assad and Ben Ali through the call for the protestors or the rebels to form organizations or parties, which will make it very easy for the regime to attack, dissolve and satanize them. This claim could be supported further by what history has recorded and what Assad and Gaddafi argued in their speeches. Gaddafi blamed the age of King Idris of Libya and his regime for all the calamities Libya has been facing. Gaddafi built his defense of himself and his regime for more than forty years on an organization which was clearly defined and organized. Assad in his speech referred many times to a clear enemy that his father made an example of in the past, mainly the Muslim Brother Hood of Syria and during the massacre of Hama in 1982, and he clearly stated that when this organization revolted, the "resolution started and the resolution was fast"

as could be seen in examples AS-1-251 until AS-1-258. It is suggested that in January 1979, the Shah of Iran was forced to exile and the regime fell, regardless of the support of the United States, not through the Iranian political organizations, but through the masses and the normal citizens, even though days before the falling of the regime, the US ambassador reported that the regime will not fall taking into consideration the mismatch between the opposition political parties and the well-fortified regime (Kassem, 2004). Both the regime of Iran and the US ambassador were looking at an anticipated movement from the political opposition organizations and judged situation depending on that. However, the hit came from normal, unorganized masses. In summary, the reason why these three presidents either lost their positions or has been struggling to hold on to power is because they are not facing explicitly defined groups. They have been or had faced people of their nation, who want freedom and a better life. It should be noted here that this confusion is so apparent in the first speeches of the three presidents as could be seen from the examples above as rebels after that started to join organizations and form Coalitions.

AS-1-250	وَلَو عُدْنا لِلسَّبْعِينيّاتِ وَالثَّمانِينيّاتِ عِنْدَما قامَ إِخْوانُ الشَّياطين, [[الَّذينَ تَغَطَّوا بِالإسْلامِ]]بِأَعْمالِهِمُ الإرْهابيّة فِيْ سُورِيَّةً .... بَدَأَ الحَسْمُ وَكَأَنَّ الحَسْمُ سَريعاً
AS-1-258	If we went back to the seventies and eighties, when the brothers of the devil [[who covered themselves with Islam]] committed their terroristic acts.............. The resolution started and the resolution was fast

Gaddafi's second speech consists of six comment stages. In the second speech Gaddafi appeals to the positional and emotional base of power, mostly, as could be seen from examples GA-2-10, GA-2-12 and GA-2-14. Gaddafi alongside the use of positional power, uses condensation symbols to inflame the audience's passions and emotions in his favor and against the unknown danger that might take control of the country. Gaddafi also constructs a bleak future that the country might get dragged into if the tribes especially and the country in general do not support his leadership and his vision for the future of Libya. As could be seen from examples GA-2-22, GA-2-24, GA-2-26, GA-2-33 and GA-2-52, Gaddafi uses symbols such as النَّهْر الصِناعِيّ العَظيم - *the Great Man-made River,* الكَرامَةِ و عَن *Jihad -* مَعارِكِ الجِهادِ *the independence, the pride and the glory* and الأِسْتِقْلالِ عَنِ العِزَّةِ وَعَنِ المَجْدِ *battles.* Gaddafi attempts to remind people of the great achievements in his era as a

leader. He reminds them as well of the price they paid and their grandfathers paid during the battles against the colonizing Italians and mentioned the name of one of the greatest leaders of those battles, whom Libyans and Arabs respect and honor till this day, as could be seen in example GA-2-55 عَمَر المُخْتَار - *Omar Almukhtar*. Similar to the first speech, Gaddafi threatens chaos in Libya by reminding people of the black destiny that the county might get dragged into if the tribes especially and the country in general did not agree on his leadership and his vision for the future of Libya (see GA-2-40 and GA-2-41). Gaddafi might seem to be exaggerating when saying that "*all storages will be open and all Libyan people will get armed*" (e.g. example GA-2-39). However, he was not exaggerating. The rebels as well as Gaddafi's forces used anti-aircraft machine guns against each other in battle grounds rather than anti-personnel weapons (Potgieter, 2012; Taylor, 2011). It seems that Gaddafi could have easily armed all Libyan people as he threatened backed up by stored stockpiles of arms and weapons (Feinstein, 2011).

GA-2-37	وَ <<جُنْد الرُّومِ>>سَتُفْتَحُ المَخَازِنُ لِيَتَسَلَّحَ كُلُّ الشَّعْبِ اللِّيبِيُّ ، كُلُّ القَبَائِلِ اللِّيبِيَّة
GA-2-38	And <<when it is necessary>>all storages are going to get opened, so that the all Libyan people get armed, all the Libyan tribes
GA-2-39	

GA-2-40	تُصْبِحُ لِيبيا دَاراً حَمْراءُ. تُصْبِحُ جَمْراً
GA-2-41	Libya will become a vicious fire. It will become burning coal.

In both of the speeches, Gaddafi uses some rhetorical devices to give deeper effects to his arguments and more weight. In the first speech Gaddafi uses the devices of Hypophora and Erotesis. The device of Hypophora was introduced in the discussion of the two speeches of Assad. The device of Erotesis differs to the device of Hypophora – both of the devices are a subcategory to the device of a rhetorical question - in the aspect that the user of this device does not answer the question that he raises and the answer is usually implied or left to the reader or hearer to reach and conclude (Peltonen, 2012). The use of the device of Erotesis could be seen in examples GA-1-297 and GA-1-202. As suggested,

the aim of this device was to let the people or the hearers or the readers reach their own conclusions about the questions raised.

| GA-1-202 | | أتريدونها أنْ تكونَ هكذا؟ |
| | Do you want it to be that way? | |

| GA-1-297 | | أنا أمضي إلى فنزويلا؟!! أتصدقونَ؟!! |
| GA-1-298 | I flea to Venezuela?!! Do you believe that?!! | |

Taking into consideration the context of those speeches and the environment in which they are delivered it could be assumed that Gaddafi aims at two things: to give people a false and an untrue sense of choice or choices from which they can choose and do whatever they like while bolstering his authority and his control over them as per Bernstein (2003) (see GA-1-247, GA-1-248 and GA-1-249).

GA-1-247		أنتُمْ لَمْ تعُدْ عندَكُمْ ثقةً في اللجان الشعبيّة؟ خَلاص خُذُوا البترُولَ في يَدِكُمْ وتصرَّفُوا فيه كُلّ وأجِدٍ يأخُذْ حِصِّهِ
GA-1-248	You do not have trust in the public committees anymore? Ok, take the oil in your hands and you manage it.	
GA-1-249		

By this strategy Gaddafi bolsters his authority and attempts to divert people away from their main purpose which is to remove him away as head of state. The other aim of Gaddafi is to perpetuate the idea that without him the country will be dragged to the dark hole of civil war and the of the era of colonization will be back on the hands of the Americans, who will destroy Libya the same way they destroyed Iraq and Afghanistan (see e.g. GA-1-171, GA-1-172 and GA-1-173).

GA-1-171		هَلْ أنتُمْ تُريدونَ أنْ تأتيَ أمريكا إليكُمْ ؟ تَشتغلكُمْ ؟ تَعُملُ لَكُمْ مِثلَ أفغانِستان، ومِثلَ الصّومال، ومِثلَ الباكِستان، مِثلَ العِراق؟!
GA-1-172	Do you want that America come to you? Do you want America to occupy you? and do to you like Afghanistan, like Somalia, like Pakistan and like Iraq?	
GA-1-173		

In regard to rhetorical devices in the second speech, Gaddafi uses some rhetorical devices in pursuit of a deeper effective rhetorical effect. Gaddafi uses the rhetorical device of the rule of three or Triad. This device was introduced under the discussion of the two speeches of Assad. This device crosses paths with the appeal to the charismatic base of power as it makes the author or speaker appear knowledgeable. This device is used by

Gaddafi almost in all of the stages in his second speech as could be seen in the first comment stage in clauses GA-2-16, GA-2-17 and GA-2-18, GA-2-29, GA-2-30 and GA-2-31 and many other examples throughout the second text.

GA-2-16	أَهُوَ شَعْبِي. أَهُوَ الشُّعُوبُ. أَهُوَ صَوْتُ الشُّعُوبِ
GA-2-17	This is my nation. These are the nations. This is the voice of the people
GA-2-18	

GA-2-29	خَلِّهُم يَنْكَمِشُوا. خَلِّهُم يَخْسَوا. خَلِّهُم يَخْجَلوا
GA-2-30	Let them feel shy. Let them feel little. Let them feel embarrassed
GA-2-31	

Gaddafi concludes his first and second speech in a way that could be described as revolutionary and dramatic as could be seen from clauses number GA-1-307 until clause number GA-1-312. Gaddafi acted as if he was making a call to arms to an army in the Middle Ages. He also uses the rule of three[36] to give the dramatic rhetorical effect as seen from repeating the word سَاعَةُ – *"hour"* three times. In the case of the second speech Gaddafi concludes his speech with elements that he repeated three times throughout his speech (e.g. examples GA-2-62 until GA-2-67, GA-2-109 until GA-2-111 and GA-2-115 until GA-2-119). Gaddafi repeats his call to his people to remain calm and live the life of victory in all possible ways as there is nothing to worry about. Gaddafi, alongside some of his close men, was killed almost five months after this speech at the hands of the rebels after a NATO airstrike on his convoy.

5-Conclusion

This chapter is built around a set of questions that revolve around the rhetorical strategies appeals and rhetorical devices the three speakers employ in their speeches. All of the three presidents in their six speeches use different appeals and different rhetorical strategies to communicate with their audience. The three presidents appeal to the

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[36] The significance of this device and the role it plays in the discussion was discussed and presented under the discussion of the two speeches of Assad page 141.

positional and charismatic base of legitimacy more than any other bases in their speeches and that tells a lot about the nature of the society and the context in which those speeches were delivered. The apparent appeal to positional and charismatic bases tells us that these societies are highly vulnerable toward the positional authority and heroic traits and that they are easily moved by the ideas of position and heroic attributes. However, generally speaking it should be noted here that these three bases of legitimacy do not hold theoretical significance over each other. In other words, they are not classified by Weber in terms of their significance in a certain society. They are only significant or hold more value than each other when they appear more in a certain context. Each president uses certain valorizations his audience are vulnerable for to gain their cooperation and loyalty. Each president uses a rhetorical device preferred to him or a device that could be described as preferred to that president. For example, Gaddafi uses the device of Triad more than any other president and Assad uses the device of hypophora, which also helps him in achieving coherence. Ben Ali uses the device of Anaphora different to all of the other presidents also to achieve a certain rhetorical goal and serve a certain power and control. Be Ali uses the device of Anaphora once emotionally appealing to the people as illustrated in the examples. This is what made it unique and stand out above all of the other devices Ben Ali uses and the other president use. The three presidents also follow different techniques to stage their speeches as could be seen from the discussion above. The three sets of speeches are discussed above using different theories and different fields of knowledge, which shows how complex analyzing the context could be. The analysis presented above is a preliminary analysis that could be developed further in future studies. Before moving on to the next chapter a summary table that briefly shows the similarities and differences between the three speakers in terms of the use of rhetorical strategies appeals and rhetorical devices will be given below.

Similarities	Differences	Function
The strategy of legitimation and fortification	All the three presidents use this strategy to strengthen their position and back up their attempt to hold on to power	This is a general strategy the presidents start with to depart to the other strategies. They find it of importance to state and strengthen their position and make sure that people value it.
The strategy of blame shifting and alienating the protesters is used by all presidents	They differ in how direct they are in blaming the protesters, alienating and humilating them. As discussed, Gaddafi is the most direct and Ben Ali was the least direct in blame shifting and alienating the protesters .	The aim of this strategy is to disturb the flow of the uprising and create a mistrust between the protesters themselves and the general audiences.
The strategy of threatening people with an external interference in their countries if protesting continues.	The three presidents differ in terms of how direct they are. Assad and Gaddafi mention names, countries and entities, whereas Ben Ali avoids accusing certain bodies and figures.	The people of the Arab world have suffered a lot during the era of colonialization and any mention of a possible return of that era will for sure aggravate and provoke people.
The strategy of showing proximity.	Presidents differ in how distant they are from the people or the audience. Ben Ali and Gaddafi are very close to the people, whereas Assad keeps his distance from the people.	The aim of this stratygy is to show understanding, humbleness and closeness to peoples' desires and needs.

The three presidents appeal to the charismatic base of legitimacy.	The three presidents appeal to the charismatic base more than any other base. However, they differ in how much they employ this base in their speeches.	The three presidents appeal to the positional and charismatic base of legitimacy more than any other base. The apparent appeal to positional and charismatic bases tells us that these societies are highly vulnerable toward positional authority and heroic traits.
The use of condensation symbols	They differ in the frequency of using condensation symbols	The aim of the use of condensation symbols is to Stir peoples' emotions and appeal to what is un-negotiable to the people
The three presidents appeal to the legal base of legitimacy.	The three presidents differ in how much they employ this base in their arguments. Surprisingly Gaddafi employs this base as well regardless of the informal nature of his two speeches.	This base is used to reflect the authority of the state and to threat and justify the use of coercive power as discussed under the three sets of speeches.
The three presidents appeal to the traditional base of legitimacy.	They differ in how much they employ this base in their arguments.	Arab societies are devout followers of traditions and when reminded of them they might budge or rethink the position they are taking as discussed using the work of (Barakat, 1998) and

		(Sharabi, 1992). No discussion was provided in this research on the success of this strategy. However there are literature that suggest that this strategy succedded in splitting the protesters especially in Libya and Egypt.
The use of different rhetorical devices for different purposes	They use different rhetorical devices in different proportions. As discussed above each president uses a favorite device to him. For example, Gaddafi uses the device of Triad more than any other president and Assad uses the device of Hypophora, which also helps him in achieving coherence. Ben Ali uses the device of Anaphora different to all of the other presidents also to achieve a certain rhetorical goal and serve a certain power and control.	Rhetorical devices are significant in that they persuade the listener to consider a topic or topics from the perspective of the speaker. When rhetorical devices are used they might provoke the emotions of the listener and make him or her display emotions desired by the speaker. It should be noted here that it is impossible to for provide an explanation why the three presidents differ in the use of rhetorical devices or prefer a device over another as this will need a different methodology

		of research and would require the scope of the current research to be widened.
The use of royal "we"	Presidents differ in how much they employ this strategy.	The three presidents use this strategy to get people in and out of certain groups and to highlight their selfless contribution in the progression of their countries.

Table 1- Similarities and Differences in terms of Rhetorical Strategies Appeals and Rhetorical devices.

As it could be seen from table 1 the three presidents are similar more than different in the strategies they follow in their power quest. They apply the same strategies to affect the emotions and the opinion of their people. However, they differ in how much they employ these devices, strategies and appeals. As suggested before in this chapter it is out of the scope of this study to investigate why each president uses a certain device, appeal or strategy more than another. To carry on such an investigation a different method is needed. In the coming chapter, the speeches will be analyzed in terms of transitivity and linked further to the contexts of the discourse.

Chapter Five-Ideational Metafunction Analysis

1-Introduction

In this chapter, what is referred to in SFL as the ideational metafunction will be used to analyze the speeches chosen as the data in this study[37]. In this chapter more than one question comes into play. However, the main investigation will be about how the three presidents define and construe themselves and how key parties in the context are construed via choices in the transtivity system. The consequences of these linguistics choices for the anticipated reception of each party by the target audience is also discussed. The ideational metafunction refers to the options in a language for construing reality (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004). This strand of meaning involves two components: the experiential meaning and the logical meaning (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004). In this chapter only one component of the ideational metafunction will be discussed and that is the component of experiential meaning. Upon analyzing the three sets of speeches in this study it has been found that the three presidents have used all types of processes. All of them have used more material processes than any other type in their speeches except for Gaddafi in his second speech, who has used more relational processes than material ones. All three presidents have not found that it is of high importance to report on behaviors or existence of things and that can be seen in the percentage of behavioral and existential processes in the speeches, which is quite low.

In terms of the main participants in the speeches, they are construed differently and are referred to differently in the speeches. All three presidents were similar in coming up with an ambiguous participant, who cannot be identified clearly, though the frequency of this

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[37] As discussed in chapter two only extracts of some speeches were analyzed. Please refer to chapter two page 20 for further information.

participant varied across the speakers. These are some of the findings and more will be listed under the section of conclusion later.

2-Transitivity Analysis
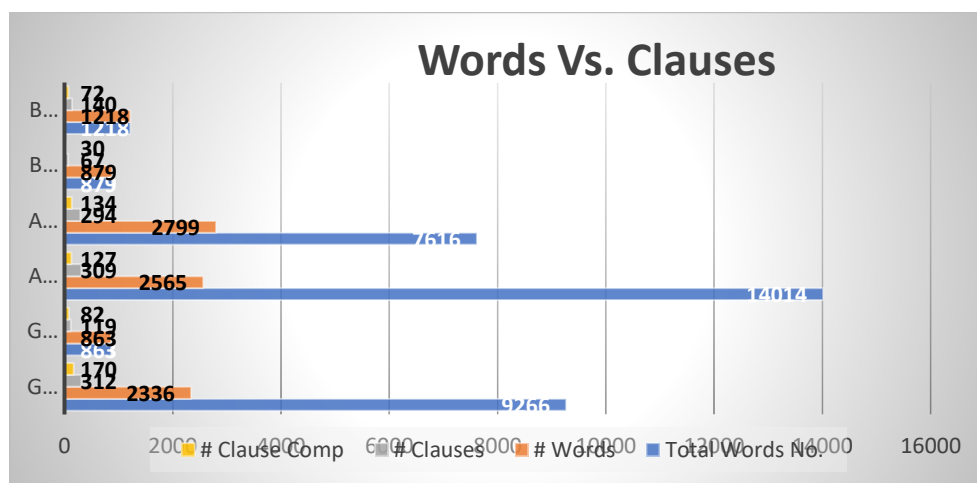
Figure 11- Proportion of Speech Analyzed (in Number of Clause Complexes, Clauses and Words) vs. the Actual Length of Speech (in words)

The analysis will start first with the material process type in the six speeches. Discussion of process types will focus on comparing quantitative data between all of the speeches. The discussion will then move on to highlight the key participants in these speeches. Before analyzing the quantitative data, it should be noted that the findings are based on the analysis of the full speeches of Ben Ali, the entire second speech by Gaddafi, but only excerpts from the speeches of Assad and the first speech of Gaddafi. Figure 11 shows the proportion of each speech analyzed. Before moving on more and more into the analysis it should be noted here that the study of SFL when it comes to Arabic is still in its early stages. The first description of Arabic in terms of SFL was done fairly recently by Bardi (2008) and the theory of SFL started to gain attention and get used in analyzing discourse a few years ago. There are many differences between English and Arabic when it comes to process types. However, they are not going to be discussed here as it is out of the scope of this study and also because of the non availability of sufficient material to provide clear cut similarities and differences when it comes to process types.

2.1-Process Types
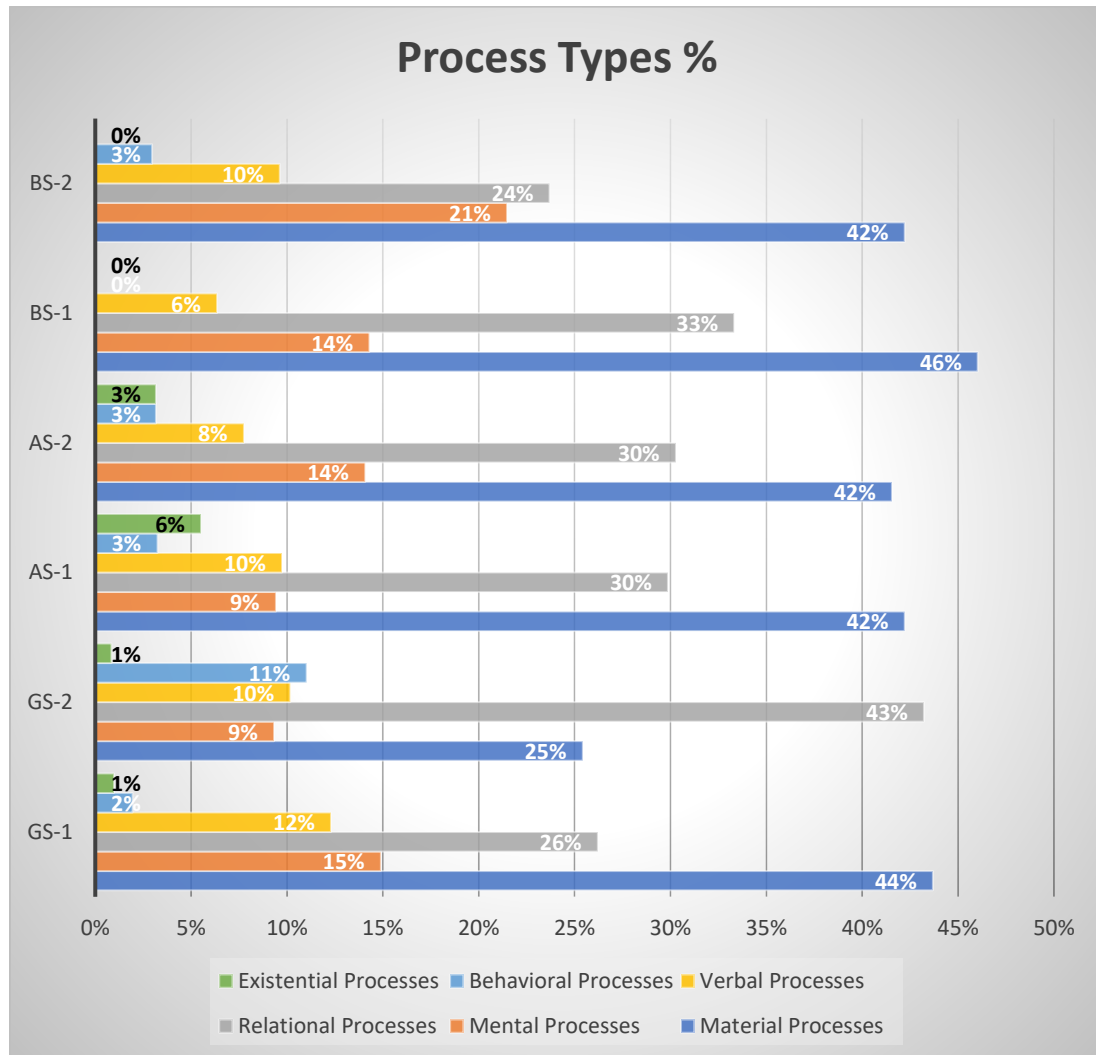
Figure 12- Process Type Distribution across all Six Speeches

I will move now to discussing process types in the three sets of speeches in this study. The first type that is going to be discussed is the material type. The second type will be the relational type. Mental processes will follow the relational, and then the verbal. This section then concludes with the discussion of the other process types. In this discussion,

quantitative data will be presented about each process type and a comparison will be made with respect to frequency and distribution of process types across all of the sets.

2.1.1-Material Processes

Figure 12 above sets out the process type distribution for all six speeches in the corpus. The figure indicates that, with one exception, material processes are the dominant selection in all speeches. In the first speech of Ben Ali, material processes are 46% of all processes. In the second speech of Ben Ali, material processes constitute 42% of the total number of processes. The first speech of Assad falls within the same range with material processes constituting 42% of the total number of processes. The second speech of Assad shows a similar figure, with material processes constituting 42% of the total number of processes in the second speech. When it comes to the two speeches of Gaddafi, material processes constitute 44% of the total number of processes in the first speech and only 25% in the second speech, which suggests that another process type is more dominant. Based on the quantitative illustration just listed, it seems that the three presidents favor the construal of happenings and doings in their speeches, except for Gaddafi in his second speech. Further, the high percentage of material processes in the six speeches suggests that all three presidents are more concerned with concrete tangible actions, to use the definition of Halliday and Matthiessen (2004) of material processes. But material processes can also construe abstract action, and political discourse is a likely context for the expression of abstract forms of action.

2.1.2-Relational Processes

Relational processes constitute 33% of the total number of processes in the first speech of Ben Ali and 24% in the second. In the two speeches of Assad, 30% of the processes in the first speech are relational, which is similar to the second speech in which 30% of the processes are relational. In the two speeches of Gaddafi 26% of the total number of

processes are of the relational type, a figure which increases notably in the second speech to reach 43% with an increase of 17% from the first speech. On average, relational processes constitute 31% of the processes in all of the speeches, which makes them the second most favorable type to the speakers in those speeches. Relational processes are concerned with identifying and characterizing things, things which could refer to humans or things of various kinds (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004). Interest in identifying and giving attributes to things were secondary compared to actions and happenings, with the exception of Gaddafi in his second speech, as illustrated by Figure 12 above.

2.1.3-Mental Processes

Mental processes are concerned with knowing, understanding, thinking and feeling (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004). Mental processes in Ben Ali's first two speeches constitute 14% of the total number of processes and 21% in the second. The numbers drop when it comes to the two speeches of Assad. In the first speech of Assad, mental processes constitute only 9% of the total number of processes and 14% in the second. The numbers in Gaddafi's speeches are closer in percentage to the other two sets of speeches by Ben Ali and Assad. In the first speech of Gaddafi, 15% of processes are mental, while in the second they represent 9% of the total. It is clear that the use of mental processes is not a priority for the three speakers as, on average, mental processes constitute only 14% of the total number of processes across all speeches.

2.1.4-Verbal processes

Through verbal processes, meanings are reported or said (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004). In the two speeches of Ben Ali, verbal processes constitute 6% of the total number in the first and 10% in the second. In the two speeches of Assad, verbal processes constitute 10% of the total number of processes in the first speech and 8% in the second. Gaddafi is more interested in reporting and saying as in the first speech he delivered, 12% of the

processes are verbal and 10% in the second. Verbal processes make almost 10% of the total number of processes across all speeches and that made them one of the less used processes in all of the six speeches in this study.

2.1.5-Other Process Types

Under this heading the remaining process types will be quantitatively presented as they constitute only a small fraction of the processes used across all speeches. In the two speeches of Ben Ali existential and behavioral processes constitute 3% of the total number of processes. Both behavioral and existential types constitute only 3% of the total number of processes in Assad's two speeches. In regard to the two speeches of Gaddafi, the behavioral and existential types constitute only 15% of the total. These processes will not be discussed at all in relation to the two speeches of Ben Ali and the other two presidents.

Quantitative data could tell a great deal about these three sets of speeches in terms of trajectory, staging, rhetorical organization and the various register variables. But besides the quantitative data, this thesis is concerned with the link between language and context or, in other words, the construal of language in relation to the context. To go beyond the quantitative data and the typical questions that it might answer, two key questions will be considered as listed below. The investigation into the transitivity system will unquestionably attract more questions in regard to society and the general context. However, the following two questions will dominate the discussion in this chapter.

1. Who are the main participants and how are they represented?
2. What processes are connected to what participants?

3-The Leading Entities in the Speeches

The term "entities" in the context of this analysis refers to the participants: The Actors, Sensers, Carriers and Sayers. Upon analysis of the six speeches in this study, certain main groups of participants were identified in all of the speeches. There are other identifiable groups, however, these are not going to be referred to or discussed as they are not as apparent as the other groups in the six speeches. Each group will be discussed and presented below under a separate heading in relation to each process type. Each entity will be followed in all of the texts in relation to all processes in whatever form it appears. For example, Ben Ali will be followed as an Actor, Senser and Sayer throughout his two speeches whether he appears as "*I*" (Ben Ali alone), "*We*" and "*Us*" (Ben Ali and his government). Each one of the forms construing Ben Ali serves a purpose as we will see in the discussion below and in the other chapters as well. It should be noted before moving on to the analysis that there is no study that has attempted to provide an analysis of Arab Spring speeches delivered by three presidents using such methods except for this study. This study is not going to solve all the problems in relation to the method used and the context in which the method is used. There will undoubtedly be blurred areas[38], misconceptions and disagreed upon analysis. The context of culture and that of situation are complex notions which are not easily accessible as shown by Halliday and Hasan (1991), Malešević and MacKenze (2002) and Malesevic (2010). While the complexity of context in these studies were perceived through studying simple everyday interactions between people, the complexity of the context in this study is certainly higher as there are many local, external, ideological, cultural and other factors which come into play and need to be accounted for. The complexity does not stop at the context and the factors that play roles in it, but it extends to the tools used for the analysis. Almost all of the tools developed so far to analyze this type of discourse and context are actually built to analyze

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[38] See also page 89 for how boundries can be blurred between different continua.

simple everyday discourse not complex political discourse. I will move now to the discussion of the first entity in the texts, which is the entity of the speakers or the deliverers of the speeches or as they are called within rhetorical studies "the orators".

3.1-The Orators

Presidents as Participants

PRESIDENTS AS SAYERS	BS 82%, AS 50%, GS 26%
PRESIDENTS AS SENSORS	BS 74%, AS 54%, GS 16%
PRESIDENTS AS ACTORS	BS 38%, AS 19%, GS 15%

Legend: BS, AS, GS
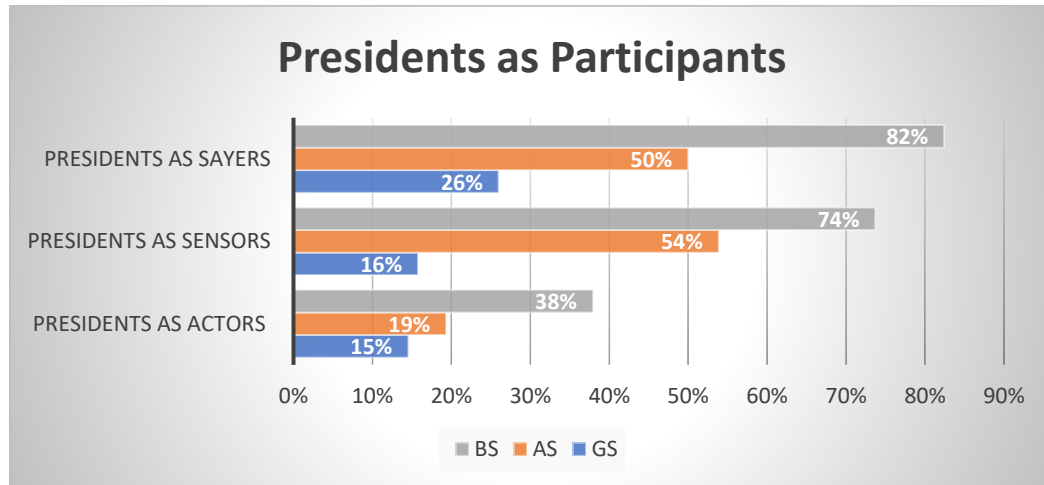
Figure 13-Presidents as Participants in the Six Speeches[39]

Under this heading, the manner in which the orators construe the way they perceive themselves will be discussed in relation to the context. President Ben Ali will be discussed first in terms of how he appears in the speeches then the other presidents after him. To begin, in his first speech Ben Ali does not represent himself individually as an Actor in any of the material clauses. He does not use his own name or a pronoun that directly refers to him. Instead in 38% of the material clauses he refers to himself by using the pronoun *"we"* including himself in a more generalized category as could be seen from examples BA-1-16 and BA-1-17 below: -

BA-1-16	وَنَحْنُ لَا نَّدَّخِرُ جُهْدًا, لِتَفَادِي مِثْلَ هَذِهِ الْحَالَاتِ بِالمُعَالَجَةِ الْخُصُوصِيَّةِ الـمُلَائِمَةِ
BA-1-17	And we do not spare efforts, so that we avoid these cases through suitable specific treatment

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[39] For further discussion on how we calculated these proportions refer to section 5.2 of chapter one. To give an example here, the figure of 82% for Ben Ali as the Sayer means that of all the verbal process in his two speeches, the Sayer was himself in 82% of cases.

| BA-1-37 | ثالثا: لَقَدْ دَأَبْنَا مُنْذُ التَّغْيِير عَلَى تَكْرِيس الحِوَار مَبْدَأً وَأُسْلُوبًا لِلتَّخَاطُب بَيْنَ سَائِر الأَطْرَاف الوَطَنِيَّة والاجْتِمَاعِيَّة حَوْلَ القَضَايَا والمُسْتَجِدَّاتِ [[التي تُطْرَحُ أَمَامَنَا]] |
| | Third, we have continued since "the change" to establish dialogue as a principle and style of communication Between all national and social sides around the issues and new events [[that face us.]] |

Ben Ali attempts to do two things by following this strategy in referring to himself. As shown in chapter three and chapter four, Ben Ali attempts to address the nation formally as a president having the responsibility of running the country. Ben Ali combines the efforts of all represented by the government to give a sense of greater power, control and consent (Hindess, 1996). In other words, Ben Ali uses the first-person plural pronoun *"we"*, to say that everybody concerned with the economy, politics and national matters is with him and is consensually engaged with him in reform and economical effort. By extension, *"you"*- both the protesters and the public - should allow him to continue what he has started. In addition, Ben Ali adopts this strategy in order to avoid being blamed by the protesters with regards to the government commitments and laws which were promised but not put into effect. He further blames the protesters for delaying the reforms and the efforts he has been executing. The strategy of blame-casting and avoiding responsibility takes many forms and the use of pronouns is one of those forms. It is suggested that if a boss, manager or any person, who hold a high position in a company or division says *"we"* in regards to a particular challenge, this generalization through *"we"* may indicate that he or she deflects responsibility and places blame elsewhere (Christensen, 2011; Tietze, Cohen, & Musson, 2003). In the second speech, Ben Ali is more direct in referring to himself. He not only includes himself under the general category of "Government", but he also directly refers to himself in material clauses which indicates, as discussed in chapter three, an inclination toward taking responsibility and offering direct solutions. Ben Ali refers to himself directly in 9% of the material clauses as illustrated by the three examples below. Ben Ali is not consistent in the way of taking responsibility as in example BA-2-109 below. In the case of this clause and other similar clauses, the verb or the verbal group does not show a set time frame, in the present or the future which could further contribute to the inclination toward the effort of avoiding expected blame as to when those promises are going to be executed. As just mentioned,

Ben Ali presents himself as an Actor using certain strategies and methods which serve certain purposes in terms of the way he wants to portray himself.

BA-2-27	وَقَدَّمْتُ التَّضْحِيَاتِ
	And I have offered sacrifices

BA-2-54	وعَطَيْتُ التَّعْلِيمَاتِ كَذَلِكَ لِوَزِيرِ الدَّاخِلِيَّةِ
	And I have also given instructions to the interior minister

BA-2-109	وَسَأَعْمَلُ عَلَى صَوْنِ الدُّسْتُورِ دُسْتُورِ البِلَادِ وَاحْتِرَامِهِ
	and I will work on the preservation and respect of the country's constitution

Assad on the other hand refers to himself in both speeches by means of the first person singular pronoun *"I"*, the inclusive *"We"*, and by using the third person singular pronoun *"he"*. Those choices of Assad constitute 19% of the total number of Actors in both speeches. In the second speech Assad follows just one strategy to refer to himself. Looking into the different ways in which Assad refers to himself suggests that he is juggling many different positions depending on how close or far he wants to be from the people and how he wants to appear in terms of actions and the execution of these actions. In example AS-1-5 Assad directly refers to himself as someone who has always been following and analyzing daily matters, appealing to what Weber et al. (1978) call the charismatic base of legitimacy. By doing so, he aims to portray himself as being diligent. The same applies to example AS-1-58 where he appeals to the charismatic base of legitimacy and associates himself with the characteristic of asceticism.

AS-1-5	لِكَنِّي كُنتُ دائِماً أَقُومُ بِمُتَابَعَةِ الأُمُورِ اليَوْمِيَّةِ
	But I have always been following up daily matters

AS-1-58	أَنَا لَا أَسْعَى إِلَى مَنْصِبٍ
	I do not pursue a position

However, when trying to avoid rumors, misunderstanding or negative characteristics, he refers to himself using the third person singular pronoun *"he"* and usually in a reported clause as could be seen from the following examples AS-1-53 and AS-2-124. For such a purpose, that is to avoid rumors, misunderstanding or negative characteristics, he uses other ways of referring to himself other than the direct reference with the pronoun "I" or the third person singular pronoun *"he"* as in example AS-1-44. Even though the nature of the reported clause suggests that Assad does not say those words himself and that he is just reporting the words of others, he could have easily used the pronoun *"I"* to refer to himself in the reported clause but he chooses to speak about himself as if he was talking about a different "person" to avoid rumors, misunderstanding or negative characteristics. This phenomenon is referred to in psychology as 'Illeism', and is defined as the act of referring to oneself in the third person instead of the more intuitive first person (Metzger, 2013). Illeism was used for different purposes within different literature, such as the early literature of Julius Caesar, to suggest impartiality (Metzger, 2013). Impartiality includes justifications of the author's actions. It is suggested that by using Illeism to import objectivity, personal bias is presented dishonestly as objectivity (Metzger, 2013). There is another psychological use to this phenomenon and that is the application of it by someone to illustrate the feeling of being outside one's body and looking at things happening. This psychological disconnect with the body results from disagreement either from trauma or from psychotic episodes of actions that cannot be reconciled with the person's own or self-image (Metzger, 2013, p. 317). Assad uses this strategy to stand apart from the body or the self-image that might do the things that he does not want people to believe that he might do. Assad plays a scenario about how he will answer the people if they think or accused him of a doing a negative selfish action such as migrating (e.g. AS-1-53) by using this out-of-body feeling represented by the use of the third person to refer to one's self. Further, Assad attempts to avoid rumors, misunderstanding or negative characteristics by creating an out of body self and also to reach a personal reconciliation, which he could not reach using his own image or the first-person

reference, with the undesired characteristics or those proposed actions. In summary, Assad in both of his speeches and as far as material processes are concerned, attempts to connect himself to actions of virtues and high morals and disconnect himself from the actions that could be understood wrongly or cast him in a poor light.

AS-1-53	وَمَرَّةً هاجَرَ
	and once, he migrated

AS-2-124	بِأَنَّهُ لَمْ يَتْرُكْ شَعْرَةً
	that he did not leave a turn back

AS-1-44	إِنَّ هَذا الشَخْصَ يَعِيْشُ فِي قَوْقَعَةٍ
	that this person lives in a cocoon

Let us now consider the case of Gaddafi. In his first and second speeches Gaddafi refers to himself by means of the first person singular pronoun *"I"*, the inclusive *"we"* and finally the third person singular pronoun *"he"* (e.g. GA-1-41, GA-1-144, GA-2-42 and GA-1-88). Those choices constitute 15% of the total numbers of Actors in both speeches. Each one of these choices is significant and plays a role in the meaning Gaddafi wants to convey to the people as we will see in the discussion of the coming examples. In example GA-1-41 from the first speech, Gaddafi explains why he should not or cannot resign from his position as a president. The use of the third person singular pronoun "*he*" in this example enforces the hypothetical nature of what Gaddafi is talking about. In other words by using the third person singular pronoun *"he"*, which is a pronoun used when speaking about someone away from the deictic center *"I"* (Ritzer & Ryan, 2010), Gaddafi hypothesizes a situation and within that hypothetical world he creates an answer to the question of why he would not resign. Furthermore, this use of the third person singular pronoun *"he"* suggests that Gaddafi does not (at this time, at least) see himself leaving power or surrendering or taking an action toward surrendering or leaving power. Examples GA-1-144 and GA-2-42 are totally different to example GA-1-41. In examples GA-1-144 and GA-2-42 Gaddafi takes full responsibility for his actions and is extremely clear on what he did and what he intends to do. In other words, he brings those actions of fighting and not

giving up closer to him, saying that those actions are real and those actions are taking and have been taking place in his world. In example GA-1-88, Gaddafi refers to the free officers' actions after the revolution and that they did not take any position in running the country. In example GA-1-88 Gaddafi tries to show that whatever is happening in the country is not because of his actions or the actions of the free officers as they do not have any authority over the country and that they are still on the path of revolution and that is their main path of action. Through the use of material processes Gaddafi attempts to keep others near him, close to his ideas and actions. He combines the efforts of others to show that "*all*" are supporting him (see GA-1-41, GA-1-144, GA-1-88, GA-2-42 and GA-1-42).

GA-1-41		وَيَسْتَقِيل مِنْه
	and (HE) resigns from it	

GA-1-42		كَمَا فِعْل الرُّؤساء
	as the presidents did	

GA-1-144		أَنَا سَأُقَاتِل إِلَى آخِر قَطْرَةٍ مِنْ دَمِيَ وَمَعْيَ الشَّعْبُ اللِّيبِيُّ
	I will fight till the last blood drop, with the Libyan people at my side	

GA-1-88		وَأَمْسَكْنَا السِّلاحَ فَقَطْ
	and we picked guns only	

GA-2-42		أَنَا أَتَيْتُ لَكُمْ هُنَّا
	I came to you here	

To summarize the discussion above, the three presidents try to appear as if they are without guilt or flaws, with the exception of Ben Ali in his second speech. The attempt to appear free of guilt and flaws could be interpreted as unwillingness to leave power or implement serious change – in that they are cannot be held responsible for the problems that generated their respective country's unrest. Those three presidents follow strategies that cast blame upon others, but not on them. The three presidents have tried to juggle different identities depending on how far or close they want to be from certain actions

and what they want to be associated with in general. In some cases, they have construed the role of Actor by means of the first person singular and plural, third person singular and in some other cases without the use of pronouns (e.g. Gaddafi when he refers to himself as *Muammer Gaddafi - مُعَمَّر القَذافِي*).

I turn now to consider how these presidents construe themselves as Sensers. The case of Ben Ali's speeches is quite striking in this regard. In his first speech, he appears alone as Senser (see BA-1-4) and includes under the general category of *"we"* the remaining 89% of the Mental clauses. In the second speech Ben Ali appears as Senser in 52% of the mental clauses including the general category of *"We"* 14% of the times. The drastic difference between the first speech and the second speech in terms of who appears as Senser in the Mental clauses supports the claim that in the second speech Ben Ali tried to appeal to the emotions of the people, showing a willingness to move from his previous formal position and appeal to the positional base of power as discussed chapters five and three In examples BA-2-85, Ben Ali got closer to the people by saying that he understands them and what they actually want. In addition, he uses a first-person pronoun that refers directly to himself to get closer to the people and to create a bond or dyad of *"I"* and *"you"* and no one in between. Example BA-2-48 shows Ben Ali as Senser included under the category of "*We*". However, Ben Ali does not explain to the audience, to whom he is emotionally appealing, the aspect of how he wants them to cooperate, whether he wants them to go back home and forget about protesting or the kind of cooperation he expects from them.

BA-1-4	لقد تابَعْتُ بِاِنْشِغالٍ ما [[شَهِدَتْهُ "سيدى بوزيد" مِنْ أَحْداثٍ خِلالَ الأَيّامِ الــمُنْقَضِيَةٍ]]
	I followed with concern the events [[that the city of Sidi Bouzid witnessed in the last few days]]

BA-2-85	أَنّا فَهِمْتُكُمْ
	I fully understand you

BA-2-48	وَنُعَوِّلُ عَلَى تَعَاوُنِ الجَمِيعِ
	and we rely on everyone's cooperation

In regard to Assad, in the first speech he appears as Senser in 42% of the mental clauses either alone or included in the 'we' category)[40] (e.g. examples AS-1-1 and AS-1-222). In regard to the second speech, Assad is Senser 13% of the times only. He did not appear alone as a Senser, but hidden behind the "we" category yet again as in example AS-2-275 below. The way this participant role is construed suggests that his personal feelings and desires are irrelevant to what he was doing or the way he was acting toward the people around him. Assad delivers his opinions and what he thinks through the use of the category of "Government" in an aggregative strategy, which is discussed in the chapter on rhetorical organization. This strategy gives emotions, desires and thoughts some potency and construes any other opposite thoughts, feeling or desires by others as an outer foreign perception. In summary, Assad says that *"we"* feel this way and the *"others"* *"the outsiders"*, feel otherwise.

AS-1-1	أَعْلَمُ
	I know

AS-1-144	وَلَكِنْ نَسْتَطِيعُ أَنْ نَسْتَقْرِئ
	However, we can infer

AS-2-275	إِلَّا أَنَّنَا لَمْ وَلَنْ نَنْسَى الرِّقَّةَ الحَبِيبَةَ
	however, we will not forget the beloved "Alriqqa"

By looking at the number of times Assad is construed as Senser, we can see that he is not interested in showing himself as one who is passionate about something around him. He tries to appear, even through the use of mental emotive processes and clauses, as a person of logic and knowledge and deserving of his place as a president. Assad in the first speech is Senser, construed either through referring to himself using a pronoun or as 'the president', in 7 clauses. In 57% of those clauses the type of the mental process is cognitive and the other three are 14% perceptive, 14% desiderative and only 14% emotive, as

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[40] For further information about the different categories that are available refer the work of Halliday and Matthiessen (2006).

illustrated under AS-1-158 below. Assad does not want to show that he is fearful inside or that he can be moved emotionally under stress, unlike Ben Ali for example, who openly makes his emotions visible in his second speech. Furthermore, the fact that he does not use many mental processes of the emotive type also contributes to the formality of the speech. It shows how formal the two speeches are, and how distant Assad is from his audience as discussed also in chapter three on register.

| AS-1-158 | وَأَنَا أُحِبُّ |
| | and I always like |

In regard to the clauses that use mental processes, Gaddafi is a Senser in both speeches 16% of the times. In some of the mental clauses he is the only Senser (see GA-1-287) and in some other mental clauses he is included with a group of Sensers (e.g. GA-1-287, GA-1-242, GA-1-287 and GA-1-242). In GA-1-287 Gaddafi expresses his knowledge about some families in the tribe of "Azuntan". Even though Libya is a state of institutions, the tribal customs and traditions remain the real controlling force in the country (Khosrokhavar, 2016). In the tribal culture when the leader or the father nominates some names or in this case families, he actually puts them in a higher rank or in a higher position than the others in the same group. Other families or individuals start to look at the favored family or families as if they were in a higher position, because they have been honored and their attributes have been mentioned by the father or the leader. In the tribal custom, those who are mentioned will be obliged to act in a way that does not offend the leader. Gaddafi relies on this fact or tradition to neutralize the power of those tribes and leading families. He is aware that an appeal to the legal-relation base of legitimacy would not work in this instance. To understand why Gaddafi follows a traditional appeal rather than a legal or institutional appeal we will make a claim here. It is reported that those who moved from the rural areas of the different Arab countries are the ones who lead those countries now after independence. They brought with them into the cities the customs and traditions of the tribes they came from as per Barakat (1998). However, Gaddafi, by expressing his awareness of those people, is not trying to put those

people he mentions in a higher position than others just for the sake of social appeal or to neutralize them. The Zintan or Azuntan Brigades, who were formed by the Azuntan tribe played a major role in the Libyan revolution and helped greatly in the overthrow of Gaddafi and put an end his ruling over Libya (BBC, 2016). It is more likely that Gaddafi by referring to the tribe of Azuntan is trying to destroy the unity of the rebels at that time and make them suspicious about one another, so that the aim changes from trying to overthrow him to a civil war (see GA-1-198 - GA-1-200 and GA-1-202).

GA-1-242	نُرِيدُ الْقَانُونَ
	We want the law

GA-1-287	أنَا أَعْرَفُ الزِنتَانَ أَوْلَادُ أَبُواللِيل,الْهَوْل, أَوْلَاد عِيسَى, بِنْ زويِد, بِلقاسِم,لُو الْحاجُّ مُحَمَّدُ الصَّغِيرُ الْعايِب
	I know "Azuntan" and the sons of "Abo Alaeil", "Alhoal", sons of "Issa"," Ben Zoayed" and "Bulqassim"

GA-1-198 - GA-1-200	نَحْنُ مُسَلَّحُونَ وَنَسْتَطِيعُ أَنْ نَتَمَرَّد مَثْل الصُومالِ وَتُصْبِحُ لِيبِيا تَطْبُخُ
	We are armed and we can rebel like Somalia then Libya will burn

GA-1-202	هَذا يَقُودُ إِلَى الْحَرْبِ الأَهْلِيَّةِ
	This leads to a civil war

The three presidents do not differ greatly in using mental processes for the purpose of emotionally appealing to the people and other purposes such as appearing unfearful and as individuals of knowledge. However, they differ in how often they appear as Sensers in mental clauses. As could be seen from figure 13, Ben Ali is the major Senser in mental clause in both of his speeches regardless of the formality level in his first speech. Assad also appears as a major Senser in both of the speeches he delivered, even though his two speeches are formal in terms of register description. Gaddafi does not appear as Senser in either of his speeches as much as the other two presidents, even though his two speeches are informal. The issue of formality is raised here, because in the two speeches of Ben Ali mental processes are used, especially in the second speech, to appeal

emotionally to the people, which suggests less formality. However, that is not the case with Assad. In his speeches, Assad uses mental processes mostly to appeal to the charismatic base of power and to look more knowledgeable and confident, which does not contradict with his speeches being of formal type. In the case of Gaddafi, he is not the major Senser in both of his speeches. He uses mental processes to look knowledgeable and above all to comment on people's behavior and anticipated reactions to certain actions. To summarize the discussion above, all presidents' use mental processes to look charismatic and knowledgeable, but not all of them use mental processes to appeal to positional base of power or to emotions equally. Each one of the presidents has a certain dominant purpose he uses mental processes for. Ben Ali uses mental processes to appeal to emotions, Assad to knowledge and expert bases of legitimacy and Gaddafi to comment on people's behavior and anticipated reactions to certain actions.

The last process type that is going to be discussed is the verbal type[41]. Ben Ali appears as Sayer in 75% of the verbal clauses in his first speech by means of the royal or exclusive *"we"* as discussed in chapter three (e.g. BA-1-48 below). In the second speech, the manner in which Ben Ali appears in verbal clauses is totally different from the first speech. He appears as Sayer in 85% of the verbal clauses mostly using the first person singular pronoun *"I* in referring to himself as could be seen from BA-255 and BA-2-82. In the first speech, Ben Ali opts for a more formal way of speaking and delivering his speech, he keeps a great distance between himself and the audience he is talking to through using an exclusive *"we"*. However, due to of the conditions surrounding the second speech, Ben Ali has to be more direct and closer to the people, so he uses a strategy that allows him to appear closer and more direct. Ben Ali diminishes the social distance through the use of the first person singular pronoun *"I"* more often as just discussed, especially in reference to verbal clauses. The discussion will move now to Assad and his use of verbal processes.

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[41] Relational processes will be discussed under subheading 3.5

Example 1

BA-1-48	رابعا: إِنَّنَا نُجَدِّدُ التَّأْكِيدَ عَلَى احْتِرَامِ حُرِّيَّةِ الرَّأْيِ والتَّعْبِيرِ والْحِرْص عَلَى تَرْسِيخِهَا فِي التَّشْرِيعِ والمُمَارَسَةِ
	Fourth, we reassert our emphasis on respect of freedom of opinion and expression, and our eagerness to adopt it in legislation and practice

Example 2

BA-2-55	وَكَرَّرْتُ
	and I repeated

Example 3

BA-2-82	أمّا المَطَالِبُ السِياسِيَّةُ فَلِأَنَّكُمْ
	As for political demands, I told you

Assad appears as Sayer in the first speech alone 33% of the times. In the second speech, he is Sayer alone 27% of the times. In the first and the second speeches Assad is included with the category of "Government" in 19% of the verbal clauses. Assad and "Government" constitute small amount of Sayers in both speeches compared to the big number of verbal processes, which means that there are other Sayers who said things or claims have been made on their behalf more than Assad and the formal official apparatus in the country. The nature of those *"other"* Sayers will be discussed and presented under the discussion of *"they"* in section 2.1.4. Two examples showing Assad alone as a Sayer or included with "Government" are listed below under examples AS-1-271 and AS-2-246. Since Assad is the deliverer of the two speeches, it could not be concluded whether people, who are included with him in the saying process agree with what he reports on their behalf or not. If the people included agree to what Assad reports on their behalf, then example AS-2-246 could be thought of as a strategy of aggregation or combining powers that Assad uses in different places to convey team consent and agreement and to show greater power as suggested by Hindess (1996). We discussed so far Ben Ali and Assad and the discussion will move now to Gaddafi.

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AS-1-271	وَأَقُولُ لِلجِيلِ, [[الَّذِي لا يَذْكُرُ تِلْكَ المَرْحَلَةَ]] [[وَالَّذِي لَمْ يَكُنْ قَدْ وُلِدَ رُبَّما]]
	And I say to the generation [[who do not remember that era]] and [[who might not have been born back then]]

AS-2-246	فَإِذَا لا يُمْكِنُ أَنْ نَقُولَ لأَهالي هؤُلاء وَلأهالي العَسْكَرِيِّينَ وَلأهالي المَخْطُوفِينَ وَللجائِعِينَ اليَوْم
	So, we cannot say to the families of those lost, the soldiers, the families of the kidnapped and the hungry

Gaddafi appears as Sayer in both speeches alone and included with others such as the category of "Government" 26% of the times (e.g.GA-1-92, GA-1-191, GA-2-46). In the first two examples (GA-1-92 and GA-1-191), Gaddafi appears alone as Sayer in clause GA-1-92. In example GA-2-46, he combines efforts of his supporters telling *"others"* that he has the support of all and he is not alone in this crisis. Gaddafi appears in example GA-1-191 threatening that he might use force if all other solutions fail to restore security in Libya or to suppress the fierce fighting, which was, at that time of the revolution, spreading out of control in Libya.

GA-1-92	وَإِنَّا أَقُولُ لَكُمْ
	and I say to you

GA-1-191	الرَّصاصُ مازالَ لَمْ آمُرْ بِه
	I still have not ordered shooting

GA-2-46	<<لِكَّي نَرُدَ عَلَيْهِمْ>>
	<<so that we respond to them>>

The three presidents follow different strategies in order to reach their goals as Sayers. However, all three of them are similar in following the strategy of aggregation or combining of efforts to make their arguments look as though they have a large support.

3.2-The Official Apparatus (Government, Department and Institution)

The second entity that is going to be discussed in relation to the different process types is the entity of different official bodies such as the government in general, the different official departments and institutions. These bodies and institutions also appear as Actors, Sayers and Sensers in the speeches.

The category "institution" constitutes 31% of the participants in the first and the second speech of Ben Ali 31%; Ben Ali includes himself in this category by using first person plural pronoun *"we"* (e.g. BA-1-16 and BA-1-22). The high number in both speeches of the category of "Institution" reinforces and supports the suggestion that the ruling officials and Ben Ali and his supporters attempt to keep the shape of the ruling regime as it is without giving any chance to others to run the country.

| BA-1-16 | وَنَحْنُ لاَ نَدَّخِرُ جُهْدًا |
| | And we do not spare efforts |

| BA-1-22 | ونحنُ في تونسَ نبذُلُ كُلَّ الجُهود |
| | And we in Tunisia exert all efforts |

As suggested before, the decision in a patriarchal society, or the families within this type of 'system', is made by the oldest or the father of the family and the others are only followers and have to accept those decisions without objections, so the father[42] occupies a controlling position in the hearts and life matters of the followers (Sharabi, 1975, 1992). What happens on the governmental stage is a more concentrated picture of how the family in the society works, which also can explain the desperate efforts to keep a person

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[42] As mentioned before in previous chapter the term father means the benefactor or the controller. We use the term "father" as it is the term used within sociology to refer to the controller in the patriarchic societies. The controller might appear with different names like the elder brother the father or simply the head of state. For further discussion refer to (Sharabi, 1975, 1992).

as the head of a republic. It can also explain efforts to change the constitution just to keep a leader in power, because he is seen as a father who deserves respect and obedience. Any thinking that goes in opposition to this view is thought of as betrayal and mutiny from social groups who do not have a significant or respected presence (Sharabi, 1975, 1992). That could explain, among other things, why Ben Ali and the government were the most frequent categories that appeared in the position of Agent in both of the speeches.

In the two speeches of Assad the category of institution represented by *"Government"*, *"Presidency"* or *"The state"* in material clauses appears as Agent in effective clauses and Medium in middle clauses in both speeches 16% of the times, either directly or by means of the first person plural pronoun *"we"* (in which Assad includes himself). Assad attempts in both of the speeches to differentiate between those three institutions (e.g. AS-1-92, As-1-144, AS-1-177 and AS-1-178). Assad suggests that these institutions have a separate juridical personality that is respected and maintained in accordance to law and ethics of any respected democracy. However, is that what the real case is or is that only a façade used to cover up the ruling of a one and only dictator? The answer to this question might take us out of the focus of this study so it will be left for further research.

AS-1-92	عِنْدَما قُمْنا بِالإِصْلاح
	When we carried out reforms

AS-1-144	وَقَد إِنْتَهَتِ الْحُكُومَةُ مِنْ دِراستِه
	and the government have finished studying it

AS-1-177	أَنَّ الدَّوْلَةَ كَالأُمِّ الَّتي تَفْتَحُ المَجالَ دائِماً لِأَبْنائِها
AS-1-178	The state is like a mother, who always clears the way for her sons

In regard to the two speeches of Gaddafi, the category of "Government" is never mentioned directly in his two speeches and that is due to Gaddafi's concentration of the concept of state in himself. Libya has a society that is controlled by tribal conventions,

which give more prominence to the people depending on their status in society and their closeness to the head of the state regardless of their official identity within the official apparatus. Those very tribal conventions also make the head of the state a father and the lone controller of everything. In other words, the president is the government and the official face of the state. This may explain why the second more obvious participant in the two speeches of Gaddafi is not the Government, who is blamed for things in the case of Ben Ali, but "the people" who are blamed for things that went wrong in the country as if they were a government. Ben Ali and Assad could find an exit for themselves by blaming the government and the other foreign parties. Gaddafi also blamed foreign parties, but instead of blaming the government he blames the people or at least groups of them, because he claims he has surrendered power to the people and he is only a leader of a revolution with no positional or executive power[43]. The two examples GA-1-102 and GA-1-103 below show how Gaddafi blames the Libyans for political issues instead of the official apparatus of the government.

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[43] If Gaddafi really did not have any positional or executive power in Libya, why has the country gone into chaos after his death? Why the country has been experiencing a political vacuum? The reason why I am raising such questions is that during discussions of this matter with some of the colleagues, they refused my analysis as they believe deeply that Gaddafi did not have any power in Libya and the Libyans "agreed" that Gaddafi represents Libya as a leader. However, no one could come up with a robust proof to support their claims. The amount of evidence we have that Gaddafi had been controlling Libya as a president is staggering and none of them raises the issue that Gaddafi was a leader without positional or executive power. The only source of those who claim that Gaddafi had no power is Libya is the propaganda Gaddafi employed to market the idea that who control Libya are the Libyans through "People's Authority" not him. For further information see BBC (1998), Obeidi and Obeidi (2013) and Vandewalle (2016).
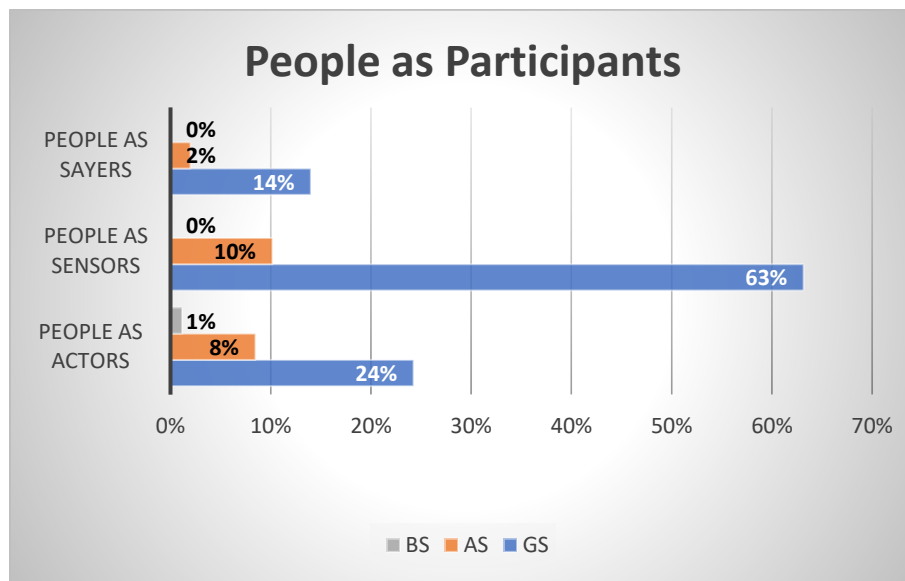
Figure 14-People as Participants

Under this heading, people out of the official apparatus will be discussed in relation to process type. The same process that was followed earlier in Sections 3.1 and 3.2 about the orators and the official apparatus will be followed in this section. In the two speeches of Ben Ali "the people" do not appear as Actors, Sayers and Sensers as many times as the other categories or participants. In fact, they appear as Actor only 1% of the time. They do not appear as Sayer or Senser at all. The numbers clearly show that this category is not a major one and that there are other participants which are more important. In the two speeches of Assad the category of "the people" appears as Actor in both speeches 8% of the times 10% as Senser and 2% as Sayer.

The percentages of "the people" as participants in the two speeches of Ben Ali and Assad show that they are not major participants. Examples BA-2-46 and AS-1-259 from the two

speeches of Assad and Ben Ali will give an idea about these participants.

BA-2-46	وَالمُواطِنينَ ،كُلَّ المُواطِنينَ ، لا بُدَّ أن يَقِفوا أمَامَهُمُ
	and the citizens, all citizens, must stand up to them

AS-1-259	عِنْدَما وَقَفَ الشَعْبُ مَعَ الدَوْلَةِ في ذَلِكَ الوَقْتِ
	when the nation stood up with the state at that time

Regarding Gaddafi's two speeches, "the people" or "the Libyan people" as participants appear as Actors in both speeches in material clauses 24% of the times as illustrated by examples GA-1-100, GA-1-101, GA-1-129 and GA-1-240 below. In the first two examples (GA-1-100 and GA-1-101), Gaddafi blames the people for some of the actions they do. He claims these actions have led the country to the situation in which it is in now. Gaddafi blames the people (e.g. example GA-1-101) by reminding them that he is not the one who elected the Public Committees, even though he was the one who, in 1973, established this political body and asked people, by issuing a law, to vote for them, giving people reasons such as protecting the revolution and its gains (Leonard, 2005). In the last two examples Gaddafi continues to ask people to be the actors and act toward certain situations. In examples GA-1-100 and GA-1-101, Gaddafi formulates his interaction in ways that offer "the people" no room for objection as they cannot come forward, taking into consideration the social relation between the two entities, and say he is a liar due to the difference in power and the hierarchical difference. For instance, no individual either citizen or state official can come forward and interrogate Gaddafi about who allows him to keep the money of oil with the state. By evaluating his position, Gaddafi knows that he can make claims on behalf of the people without fear of contradiction.

GA-1-100	دَعْ فُلُوسَ البِتْرُولِ عِنْدَ الدَوْلَةِ, عِنْدَ اللِجانِ التَشْعِيِّةِ
	you keep the oil money with the state with the public committees

GA-1-101	أَنْتُمُ الَّذِينَ صَنَعْدَتُمُ اللِجانَ التَشْعِيَّةَ العامَّةَ
	You elected the public committees

GA-1-129	أَخْرَجُوا مِنْ بَيُّونَكُمُ
	Go out to the streets

GA-1-240	أَنَّ الشَعْبَ اللِبِبِيَّ يَعْمَلُ دُسْتُورٌ
	that Libyan people write a constitution

"The people" come as Senser in both speeches 63% of the times as seen in some of the illustrated examples below. In example GA-1-13 Gaddafi accuses Libyans of not wanting the dignity that the revolution, which he had led, brought them. He continues the same strategy he followed with material clauses, which is accusing people of all the negative aspects of what has been happening in Libya. In example GA-1-109 and GA-1-176 he attempts to show that people have free will and they can actually decide what they want for themselves and they will not be pressured to do or accept something against their will. However, Gaddafi's democratic moment does not continue for long as he returns to accusing people of being naïve (e.g. GA-1-297). The discussion about material and mental clauses so far show how Gaddafi actually thinks of the actions of the people and their mental cognitive abilities, in a manner that is negative and demeaning.

GA-1-13	لا تُريدُ البِرَّ
	it does not want nobility

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GA-1-109	أنَّ العبيداتِ فِيِّ القُبَّةِ لايريدونَ الأنْضِمامَ إلَى دَرْنَه
	that "Obaidiat" in "ALquba" do not want the merging with "Darnah"

GA-1-176	إذاً كَانَ لا يُعْجِّبكُمْ
	if you do not like this

GA-1-297	أتَصدقونَ؟!
	Do you believe that?!

In terms of verbal processes, "the people" or "the Libyan people" were Sayers in both Gaddafi's speeches 14% of the times as illustrated in some of the examples below. In GA-1-34 Gaddafi speaks about his services to (the people). In GA-1-99 he reminds his people of their consent about keeping the money for the state to run. Whether people said those things or not or whether others said those things or not Gaddafi takes those reports as reasons to defend his position and defend his actions toward (the Libyan people). In other words, Gaddafi legitimizes his actions and authority through those reported clauses.

GA-1-34 GA-1-35	أمّا اليَوْمَ عِنْدَما تَقُولُ لِيبيا يَقُولُونَ لكُمْ آه لِيبيا القَدّافيٍّ لِيبيا الثَوْرَة
	However, today when you say Libya, they say to you ah Libya, Qaddafi, Libya, revolution

GA-1-99	أنْتُمْ قُلْتُمْ لا
	You said no

The last process type that is going to be discussed in regard to this participant is the behavioral type. "The people" or "the Libyan people" are Behavers in both speeches 52% of the times (see GA-1-190 and GA-22-62). Under example GA-1-190, Gaddafi orders his guards, who start to shoot bullets from their machine guns, to stop shooting as he wants to be heard by "the people". It is more likely that this part of the speech is not planned. The rattling of bullets gives Gaddafi the pretext to implicitly threaten the people as discussed in chapter three. The last example (GA-22-62) shows certain behavior Gaddafi

wants from "the people", implying that the events are on their way to end in favor of Gaddafi and the pro-regime forces.

| GA-1-190 | كَيّ تُسَمِّعَ النَّاسُ الْكَلَامَ [[الَّذِي سَأَقُولُهُ عَمَلٌ آخَرُ غَيْرُ هَذَا الرَّصَاصِ]] |
| | so that people can hear the talk [[which I am going to say]], something other than those bullets |

| GA-2-62 | وَعَلَيْكُمْ عَلَيْكُمْ أَنْ تُغَنُّوا |
| | And you have to, you have to sing |

As could be seen from the discussion and from figure 14 above, the category of "people" is a main participant in the two speeches of Gaddafi. The reason could be attributed to the nature of society, how the Libyan society is structured and what forces control it. Furthermore, Gaddafi throughout his two speeches attempts to assert that everything is in the hand of the people, they are the controllers of the country, and this contributed to making the category of people one of the main participants in the two speeches.

3.4-The Participant "They"
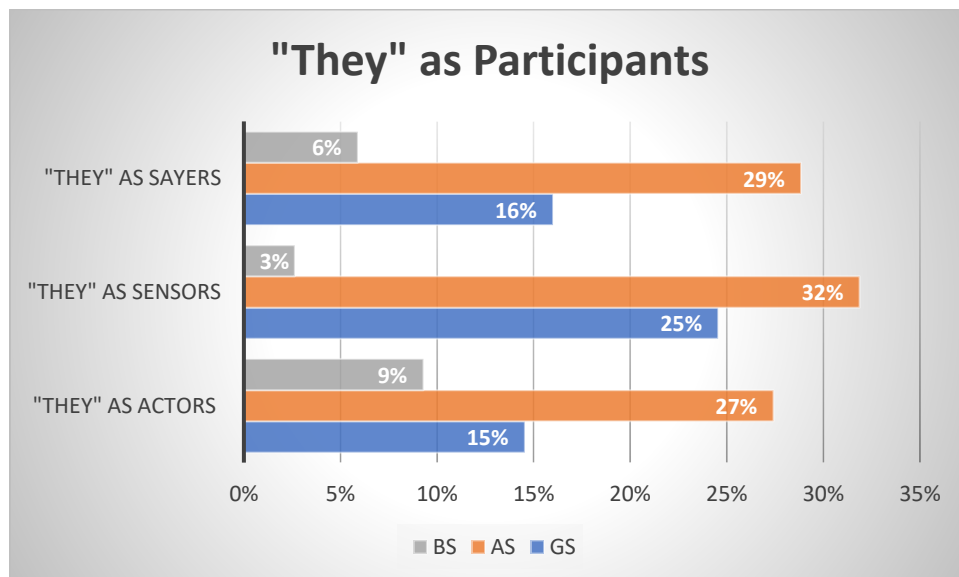
Figure 15- "They" Appearance as Particiapnts in all of the Speeches

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The participant that is going to be discussed in this section is a general category which I denote as *"they"*. This participant is the vaguest category in all the speeches analyzed in this thesis. To a far extent the category could not be traced anaphorically, cataphorically or even exophorically to any specific entity in the texts. For instance, even when Assad refers to what represents *"they"* in a previous clause, he usually does not use the proper noun or simply the noun that refers to the entity in the subsequent clauses but uses pronouns, which always leaves a chance of error when trying to refer the pronoun to the noun or vice versa. This participant comes in different nominal forms. It comes as *"they"*, *"some"* *"others"* and other forms as going to be illustrated and discussed. First, the discussion will concentrate on the *"they"* participant with material processes and then the other processes types.

In the two speeches of Ben Ali *"they"* does not appear as much as it does in the other speeches by the other two presidents. The participant *"they"* appears as an Actor in both speeches 9% of the times. The participant *"they"* appears as Sensor in both speeches of Ben Ali 3% of the times and only 6% of the times as Sayer. In example BA-2-104, the participant *"they"* has been leading Ben Ali astray, hiding or keeping information from him. Such a strategy opens the door to speculation and also allows the head of state to take unlimited measures just by pointing at his enemies without having to specifically indicate to whom he is referring, as will be discussed later in this section.

BA-2-104	وَغَلَطُونِي أَحْيَاناً بِحَجْبِ الحَقَائِقِ
	And sometimes, they misled me with concealing facts

In regard to material processes in Assad's speeches, *"they"* is Actor in 30% of the material clauses in the first speech. As seen from examples AS-1-24, AS-1-68 and AS-1-175 below, from the first speech of Assad, the forms in which the participant *"they"* comes are different and they could not be followed either anaphorically, cataphorically or even

exophorically. At times, the referent is not retrievable. In example AS-1-24, *"them"* refers to the channels that attack Syria, first mentioned right in the preceding clause (AS-1-23)[44], which could be seen below. In example AS-1-68, Assad refers to the *"they"*, who opt for antisocial actions for different purposes. The participants referred to by this *"they"* cannot be traced either anaphorically, cataphorically or even exophorically. Assad never makes clear the identity of those who work from inside Syria to weaken the country and push it to the state of a desired revolution (see also e.g. AS-1-66). In example AS-1-175, the *"you"* could be traced anaphorically and cataphorically, however, with no full certainty. Is the *"you"* in example AS-1-175 referring to people who wish to push the country to the state of chaos without knowing, or to those who fought because they were misled? It could be both or they could belong to a third party that was not referred to in the text (see AS-1-170- AS-1-171).

AS-1-23	الآنَ هُنَاكَ أَكْثَرُ مِنْ سِتِّينَ مَحَطَّةً تِلِفِزيُونِيَّةً فِي العَالمِ[[مُكَرَّسَةً لِلعَمَلِ ضِدَّ سُورِيَّةَ]]
	Now there are over 60 TV stations [[which are devoted to work against Syria]]

AS-1-24	البَعْضُ مِنهَا يَعْمَلُ ضِدَّ الداخِلِ السُورِيِّ
	some of them work against Syria from the inside

AS-1-66	لَقَدْ بَحَثُوا فِي البِدايَةِ عَنِ الثَّوْرَةِ المَنْشُودَةِ
	They have looked in the beginning for the wanted revolution

AS-1-68	وَ<< >>إِنْتَقَلُوا إِلَى أَعْمَالِ التَخْرِيبِ وَالقَتْلِ تَحْتَ عَناوِينَ وَأَغْطِيَةٍ مُخْتَلِفَةٍ
	And << >> they moved to acts of vandalism and killing under different pretexts and covers

AS-1-170- AS-1-171	فَهُنَاكَ أَشْخاصٌ[[وَقَعُوا فِي الخَطَأِ]] وَهُنَاكَ أَشْخاصٌ[[غُرِّرَ بِهِمُ]]
	There are persons [[who fell in the hole of mistake]] and there are persons [[who were misguided]]

AS-1-175	وَلا يُمْكِنُ أَنْ تَعُودُوا إِلَى الخَلْفِ
	and you cannot go back

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[44] Clause number AS-1-23 is an existential clause. It is listed there to show how *"they"* could be followed.

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The same applies to the second speech of Assad. In the second speech of Assad when it comes to material clauses "*they*" came as Actor in 25% of the times with different forms similar to the first speech. In the first speech, the participant "*they*" came in forms of "*them*", "*they*" and "*you*" (as shown in the examples above). In the second speech, the case is similar (e.g. AS-2-25 and AS-2-31 below). In example AS-2-25, Assad directed his speech at a group of people, who never surrendered and kept on fighting (see e.g. example AS-2-26). The nature of those people, their characteristics, name and the nature of their fighting is never stated by Assad. It is possible that he was directing his speech to his supporters, however, he talked about them as if they were equal in numbers or higher to the ones that are not supporting him by juxtaposing actions or intentions of both groups to contrast their actions. The same could also be seen from examples AS-2-12 and AS-2-13. Assad clearly distinguishes and defines two contrasting groups, who are in conflict in his country; however, he does not name them, talk about their nature or their numbers in the society. They are still intangible or unseen so far. They are still "*they*".

AS-2-25	وَلَا اسْتَسْلَمْتُمْ
	and you never surrendered

AS-2-26	بَلْ صَمَدْتُمْ
	but, you Withstood

AS-2-12	زَايَدُوا عَلَيْكُمْ بِالدِيمُقراطِيّة فَمارَسْتُمُوها بِأَرْقَى صُوَرِها
AS-2-13	They patronized you with their calls for democracy, so you practiced it in the best possible manner

In regard to mental processes, the participant "*they*" is Senser in 32% of the clauses in both speeches. Some examples are given below. The four mental clauses below are from the two speeches of Assad. In example AS-2-33, Assad refers to an aim of a group of people or an institution "هُمْ – *they*". From the context of this example, this group cannot be traced back to any particular entity in the text. However, "هُمْ - *they*" could be the plotters in general who, patronized the nation with their calls for democracy (see AS-2-

12). In example AS-1-181, Assad reports on the thinking of " البَعْضُ *some*", who could not be traced back from the text. In this example Assad does not clarify who those *"some"* are and to what camp or party they belong. Do they belong to his supporters or do they belong to the *"others"*, who tried to bring Syria down? The same applies to clause AS-2-91. However, the use of the pronoun " كَثِيرُونَ*many"* made this clause vaguer as it could extend to people and groups outside Syria, who are uncountable in numbers and could cover people or groups with different loyalties to different groups. The discussion on clause AS-2-90 applies to clause AS-2-110 and the only question that could be asked is who are the ones who made the consideration. This question will remain with no answer as Assad does not clarify who *"they"* are and to what group they belong. Are they only loyal critics? Are they enemies of the Syrian people and the Syrian president?

AS-2-33	أَرَادُوهَا ثَوْرَةً
	They wanted it a revolution

AS-2-91	حِينَهَا كَثِيرُونَ رَفَضُوا كَلِمَةَ مُخَطِّطٍ وَعُدْوان وَلَم يَقْتَنِعُوا إِلَّا مُتَأَخِّرِينَ بَعْدَ فَوَاتِ الأَوان
	At that <u>time</u> many refused the words "plot" and "aggression" and they have not been convinced, but very late, very late

AS-1-181	وَالبَعْضُ كَانَ يُعْتَقَد
	Some thought

AS-2-110	فَاعْتَبَرُوا
	They considered

In terms of verbal processes, the participant *"they"* appears as Sayer in both speeches 29% of the times. Some examples of those instances are illustrated below. In example AS-1-43, Assad reports a saying on behalf of *"they"*. Assad never specifies in all of his speech the nature of those who say to the citizens that the president *"lives in a cocoon"* (e.g. AS-

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1-44). The same applies to the vague pronoun *"he"* in example AS-1-103. The *"he"* in clause AS-1-103 is blamed for being impatient and lacking political experience, while Assad and his regime are looking into more permanent gainful solutions that the *"he"* is not patient enough to wait for due to *"the pressure of the catastrophe"* (e.g. AS-1-103).

AS-1-43	إِلَكَّي يَقُولُوا لِلْمُواطِنِيْنَ
in order to say to the citizens	

AS-1-103	وَيُطالِب بِأَيّ حَلّ
and he demands for any solution	

AS-2-22	صَرَخُوا
They preached	

AS-2-123	فَقامَ البَعْضُ بِالتَعْلِيقِ
so some had commented	

As suggested before in the discussion about material clauses, Assad clearly distinguishes and defines two groups, who are in conflict in his country; however, he never names them or clarifies their nature and their position in the society. They are still intangible or unseen. They are still *"they"*. The participant *"they"* appear in different clauses in this discussion as *"you"*, *"they"*, *"he"*, *"others"* and *"some"* (see AS-2-123). The question that might get asked here is why Assad, Ben Ali and Gaddafi came up with this mostly vague intangible category of agents or participants to report on their actions, sayings and behavior? An attempt to answer this question will be made below.

It is reported by Lundgren-Jörum (2012) that the Syrian regime in all of its speeches attempts to portray and express that it is protecting Syria against *"armed terrorists"*, who are spread all over the country, whereas the rebels always express and emphasize that they are trying to break free from the control of a single family, who has controlled Syria for decades (Lundgren-Jörum, 2012). The rebels in general point exactly to a certain

enemy and put forward to the world what their problem is. Assad is not so specific and clear in specifying his enemies. The closest Assad goes to being specific is when he refers to his enemies as *"armed terrorists"*, which further adds vagueness to the enemies of Assad. It could be assumed that this vagueness is anticipated, intentional, not haphazard. Moreover, it is not confined to the two speeches under study here, but it is a general case and an agreed upon strategy by Assad and his regime. This case of intentional vagueness and the reason behind it will be discussed after the discussion of *"they"* the participant.

Before moving on to the last set of speeches in this chapter one question will be asked here: why does Assad come up with a vague category of participants whom he credits with actions and sayings, without taking on the task of clearly naming them and delineating their boundaries? The attempted answer to this question will be divided into two parts as there are two proposed reasons behind this intentional vagueness. The first is to find a group that could take the blame for any catastrophe that has been taking place in the country during the crisis or, as the rebels call it, *"the revolution"* (Lundgren-Jörum, 2012). The vague nature of the "they" category gives Assad advantage in putting every inadequacy on the shoulders of this group or those participants and their undefined nature and positional boundaries limit people's questioning on whether or not *"they"* deserve to be blamed for the things Assad claims that they have been doing or saying.

The second reason is related to the first. Malešević, (2010) suggests that people are not genetically ready to kill or to launch aggression on anybody without a reason and even when aggression was launched, those to whom the fighting falls will try to avoid harming or killing each other. To justify aggression and to push people to kill each other, a compelling reason is needed to suppress any anticipated objection either from within the country launching the aggression, or from the international community. The international law and how war or aggression is looked at is not of concern to this study. What is of concern at this point is what happens at the time of aggression or unrest and the role of language in it or in justifying it. Assad came with this vague group of participants to serve

the purpose he wanted and to direct aggression toward his opposition without objection from the people or from the army or soldiers under his command. Assad is not alone in using this strategy. Some other political figures used this strategy to launch aggression against others and they got their countries into wars using this linguistic strategy. The person that used this strategy before Assad was President Bush, during and after what he called the "War on Terror". The term has been used to argue that there is a global military, political, legal, and conceptual struggle against some organizations designated as "terrorist" and regimes accused of supporting them (Reviews, 2016). Bush named his enemy at that time (al-Qaida), but, depending on what purpose he wanted to serve, he moved in his speeches to different enemies, sometimes clear and sometimes unclear. He for instance said in an excerpt of one of his speeches delivered after 9/11 on 17th of March 2003:

We are now acting because the risk of inaction would be far greater. In one year, or five years, the power of Iraq to inflict harm on all free nations would be multiplied many times over. With these capabilities, Saddam Hussein and his terrorist allies could choose the moment of deadly conflict when they are strongest. We choose to meet that threat now, where it arises, before it can appear suddenly in our skies and cities.

(Bush, 2003,para. 21)

Bush appealed to the fear of people that Saddam Hussein could appear from nowhere and inflict harm on the American people (Lim, 2012). By following this strategy Bush convinced the American people to go to war against Iraq as he convinced them before to go to war with Afghanistan and later to move to any other country, of Bush's choice to keep the war going because of the *"terrorist allies"* who could also harm the US and the American citizens. Bush did not clarify the boundaries or nature of those allies of Hussein. Further, the category of "free nations" could also lose some of its members depending on the situation and the interests of Bush and his administration. Countries and

organizations could be moved around because of a "vague" reason as described by Lim (2012). The reason for war was vague, because the enemy is vague with no boundaries or definition in most cases. Assad follows the same strategy as Bush. He controlled the choice of who *"they"* are, who should be fought at what time and who are good and should not be fought. Assad can point at any group or individuals and say those are the *"they"* he means and clarify their nature and boundaries in accordance to his situation and needs and the security forces will attack without regret or feeling of shame.

The participant *"they"* also appeared in the two speeches of Gaddafi. The plural generic pronoun *"they"* is used in a similar way to the case of Assad to refer to participants of shadowy and unknown nature. Second, the sense the reader or listener gets when faced with participants under this category is that they are far and located somewhere away from the deictic center of the speaker or the listener. The exact location is in most cases not clearly specified and the pronoun *"they"* serves this sense better than any other pronoun.

In regard to the clauses that use different process types, the participant *"they"* is Agent in effective clauses and Medium in middle ones in many instances in both speeches of Gaddafi as illustrated in some of the examples below. The participant *"they"* constitutes 15% of the total number of Actors in both speeches, 25% of the total number of Sensers in mental clauses in both speeches, and 16% of Sayers in both speeches. In examples GA-1-82 and GA-1-84, Gaddafi refers to an uncertain location of a group of individuals, whose action is to give people or youngsters pills to affect their ability to perceive things and events. However, Gaddafi does not clarify the exact location of those people or the excessiveness of the phenomenon of pill-taking by the youngsters. Almost in every reference of Gaddafi to the rebels he attempts to undermine them. In these two examples Gaddafi first refers to them as youngsters, as addicts, who do not control their actions and who can be easily dragged into wrongdoing. In examples GA-1-11, GA-1-12 and GA-1-33, Gaddafi attempts to provoke people into believing in him, in the revolution he led by reporting on behalf of the unknown entities enticing and undermining statements

about Libya. Gaddafi does not mention who those Sayers are who want people to behave in a certain way and who are the ones who were ignorant of Libya until his revolution came and introduced Libya to the world (e.g. GA-1-33). As suggested before in the discussion of the Participant *"they"* under the two speeches of Assad, the purpose of such a strategy is to push people to fight and cast blame on the rebels. It is worth mentioning here there could be disagreement in the way people perceive the limitation or the true identity of some entities. The decision to put any entity under the category of *"they"* comes out, in addition to other consideration, from the inability to fully recognize the limitation or boundaries of the entity under discussion or investigation.

GA-1-82	لَكِنَّ هُناكَ مَجْمُوعَةٌ قَلِيلَةٌ مَرِيضَةٌ
	However, there is a sick group

GA-1-84	تُعْطِي الحُبُوبَ, وَأَحْياناً حَتَّى النُّقُودَ لِهَؤُلاء التُّبَّان الصِغار اليافِعِيْنَ
	they give pills, and sometimes even money, to these young teenagers

GA-1-11	يَقُولُونَ لَهُمْ
	They say to them

GA-1-12	أُنْظُرُوا إِلَى لِيبِيا
	look at Libya

GA-1-33	لا يَعْرِفُونَ لِيبِيا
	They do not know Libya

Gaddafi and Assad relied heavily on this participant to serve certain purposes, already discussed. Ben Ali also relied on this method, but not as much as the other two presidents. The participants that are discussed in relation to each speech are the main participants. There are other participants, but they are very few in numbers and do not contribute much in the trajectory of the speeches.

3.5-Identified and Attributed Entities

Under this heading the entities that the presidents in this study tried to identify or give attributes to will be discussed and presented, with chart 6 summarizing and supporting the discussion.
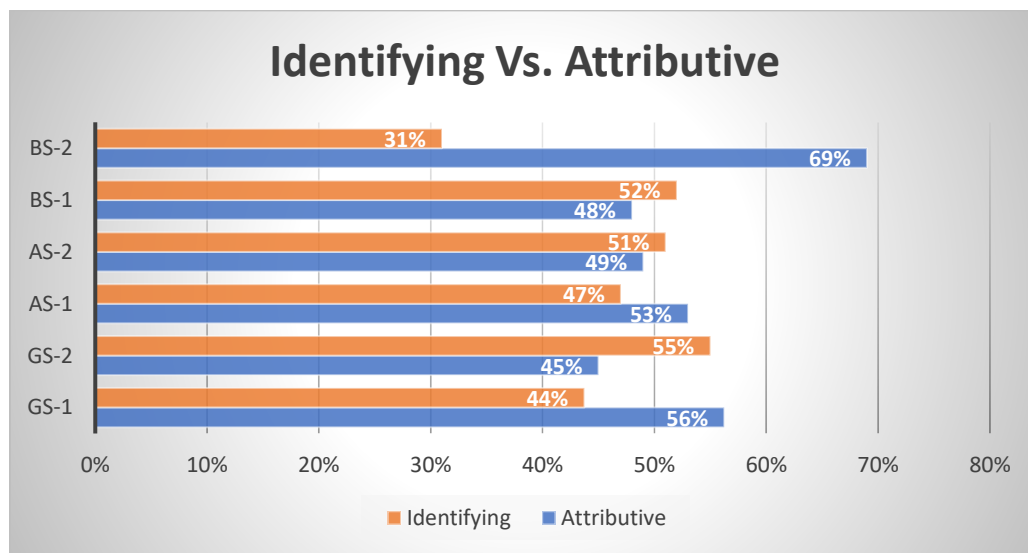
Figure 16-Identified and Attributed Entities in the Three Sets of Speeches.

In the first speech of Ben Ali, slightly less attention is given to using relational attributive processes in relational clauses. Forty-eight percent of the relational processes in the speech are attributive processes. The second speech, contrary to the first speech, has more attributive relational processes with 69% of the relational processes being of the attributive type. Attributive relational processes are concerned with ascribing an Attribute to a Carrier. Normally, Attributes are nominal groups, they are also typically indefinite and therefore cannot be either a pronoun or a proper noun (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004). Those Attributes could be thought of as objective or subjective depending on the context and the way the speaker sees those entities or Carriers.

Whether those Attributes are positive or negative, their main aim is to affect the opinion of the audience through the classification or evaluation of an entity.

Identifying relational processes are used more than the other type in the first speech of Ben Ali and far less in the second. Identifying relational processes make 52% of the relational processes in the first speech and only 31% in the second. Identifying relational processes are concerned with giving an identity (Value) to an entity (Token) and they are reversible, which means the (Token) and the (Value) can be switched around (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004). However, this is not the case in Arabic, which means that (Values) and (Tokens) are irreversible (Bardi, 2008). In English identifying relational processes can be identified following the strategy of reversing (Value) and (Token). However, in Arabic there are other strategies to recognize identifying relational processes[45].

Ben Ali attempts in the first speech, through using relational processes of both types, to gain acceptance, consent and attention of the audience through, among other things, assigning Attributes and defining, via identifying processes, people's demands. By assigning attributes to people's demands and identifying these demands, he shows understanding and knowledge of the situation and these demands. Furthermore, Ben Ali enables the audience to feel positive about him and about his regime, by showing that he shares with the people the same view of the situation and feels into "others" feelings, to use the words of Brann (2008) (e.g. BA-1-12 and BA-1-13[46]). Using the power of discourse to let people feel positive is a strategy to gain loyalty and the consent of people (Dowding, 1996). Further, from a psychological point of view, the sharing of feelings and perspectives, and the acknowledgement of them helps individuals to unpack and process their feelings and in turns help them look positively at different situations (Tartakovsky, 2016). Two examples of the attributive relational clauses are listed below to give an idea

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[45] For further discussion refer to the work of Bardi (2008) section 3.3.7.2.1.
[46] Even though it is not a relational clause, example number BA-1-10 is listed, so that the "*his*" pronoun does not look opaque to the reader.

about the Attributes and the way Ben Ali tries to show knowledge and understanding of people's demands.

BA-1-10 BA-1-12	أوّلاً إنّنا نُقَدِّرُ الشّعُور [[الذي يُنْتَابُ أيَّ عاطلٍ عَن العَمَل]] .... وَتَكُونُ ظُرُوفُه الاجْتِماعِيَّة صَعْبَة
	First, we respect the feeling [[that any unemployed person feels]] .... and his social conditions are difficult.

BA-1-13	وبِنْيَتُه النَّفْسِيَّة هَشَّة
	and his psychological build is fragile

Apart from showing knowledge of the people's demands and situation, Ben Ali also tries to depict and identify the people making these demands as psychologically fragile and as prone to engage in dangerous or drastic action to draw attention to their situation (e.g. BA-1-14). Through attributive relational clauses (e.g. BA-1-12 and BA-1-13 above), Ben Ali evokes in the minds of the audience that those people have some psychological issues (Attributes) and urges people to think of those protesters as desperate, who might be dangerous and might do anything irresponsible as in clause BA-1-14.

BA-1-14	مِمَّا يُودِي بِه إلى الخُلُول اليَائِسَة
	which will leads him to desperate solutions

Ben Ali represents his regime and himself as the sacrificers of time and effort, who have been keeping people with psychological problems away from society (e.g. BA-1-51). As could be seen from the examples above and below, Ben Ali appealed to the expert base of power[47] (Clegg & Haugaard, 2009) through diagnosing the problem of the people and offering remedy.

BA-1-51	إنَّ الدَّوْلَة سَاهِرَةٌ عَلى إيجاد الخُلُول
	The state is keen on providing solutions

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[47] A full account and discussion on the different bases of power are given in the chapter on literature review.

Ben Ali also wants to make sure that people know about the things he has been doing to the country and what might have triggered the events through identifying them (e.g. BA-1-5 and BA-1-29). Ben Ali identified the reason behind the events as a "social situation", a reference to Bouazizi[48].

BA-1-5	وَلَئِنْ كَانَ مُنْطَلَقُ هَذِهِ الأَحْدَاثِ حَالَةً اجْتِمَاعِيَّةً [[نَتَفَهَّمُ ظُرُوفَهَا وَعَوَامِلَهَا النَّفْسِيَّةَ]]
	Even though the starting point of these events was a social situation [[whose conditions and psychological factors we understand]]

BA-1-29	وَمِنْ أَبْرَزِ تِلْكَ النَّتَائِجِ التَّطَوُّرُ الكَبِيرُ لِعَدَدِ خِرِّيجِي مُؤَسَّسَاتِ التَّعْلِيمِ العَالِي المُنْتَشِرَةِ فِي كُلِّ أَنْحَاءِ البِلَادِ دُونَ اسْتِثْنَاءٍ
	And one of the most prominent results is the huge development of the number university graduates in higher education shared among institutions in all over the country without exceptions

In the second speech Ben Ali uses mostly attributive relational processes to gain acceptance, consent and attention of the audience. Sixty nine percent of Ben Ali's relational processes are of the attributive type and only 31% are of the identifying type. Similar to the first speech Ben Ali employs attributive type to show the achievement of his regime and appeal to the reasoning of the people; however, in the second speech he also employs attributive relational clauses to express his emotions and his inner feelings to the people about what was happening at that time in Tunisia (e.g. in BA-2-51 and BA-2-14). In the first example (BA-2-51), Ben Ali describes the extent of his sadness through ascribing Attributes to his sadness, with the aim of making people embarrassed at continuing what they are doing during the revolution. As mentioned before in chapter 2 section 2.1, Ben Ali sees himself as a protector of the nation, as the one who gave to the people and the country years of his life. According to Barakat, Arab society is a hierarchized society that is controlled by traditional religious concepts. Thus, within this society, the values of sympathy and charity are more perpetuated than values of equality and justice (Barakat, 1998). So, when a person gives something, the receiver must express his appreciation and gratitude to the giver and must take the side of the giver and support him along the way, otherwise he could be considered a traitor. From this description, we

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[48] See chapter one section 1.

can understand why Ben Ali appeals to the emotional side. This traditional concept has been changing in the Arabic society as suggested, however, the change is slow and it will remain there as long as the Arabic society is hierarchized and defined by class (Barakat, 1998). In BA-2-14, Ben Ali describes the events in the country as foreign to the local culture and something that a well-raised Tunisian will not do. In example BA-2-14, Ben Ali makes a connection between being a good, civilized, tolerant Tunisian and refraining from vandalizing the country. In other words, true Tunisians should cease protesting.

BA-2-51	اسفى كَبِيرٌ و كَبِيرٌ جِدًّا، وَعَمِيقٌ جِدًّا، وَعَمِيقٌ جِدًّا
	My sadness is very great , very deep and Very profound

BA-2-14	وَالتَّخْرِيبَ مَا هُوشْ مَنْ عَادَاتِ التُّونِسِيْ، التُّونِسِيُّ الْمُتَحَضِّرُ، التُّونِسِيُّ الْمُتَسَامِحُ
	and vandalism is not part of the customs of Tunisians, civilized Tunisians, tolerant Tunisians

In example BA-2-14, Ben Ali refers to the events of the Jasmine revolution – the particular name given to the uprisings in Tunisia - as vandalism indirectly. However, he does not stop at being indirect. Ben Ali, through using identifying relational clauses, also directly identifies the events as offences and criminal acts as could be seen from examples BA-2-43, BA-2-44 and BA-2-45 below. However, Ben Ali did not give clear reasons why those events are not legal protesting and why they are wrongdoings and offenses.

BA-2-43	هَذا إِجْرَام. مُوشْ اْحْتِجَاجْ وَهَذَا حَرَامٌ
BA-2-44	
BA-2-45	This is a wrongdoing. It is not protesting and this is an offense.

In regard to the two speeches of Assad, more attention in the first speech is given to using relational attributive clauses with 53% of relational clauses being of the attributive type. In the first speech, the entities negatively described are the position (as head of state), Arabs in general, the rebels, the west, and the future of the country in regard to security. Assad associates negative Attributes to the role of head of state to show that this position

as head of state is the last thing he is after and that the role is only a responsibility and a tool not a way of getting honor or respect (e.g. AS-1-60 and AS-1-61).

AS-1-60	الْمَنْصِبُ لَيْسَ لَهُ قِيمَةٌ، هُوَ مُجَرَّدُ أَدَاةٍ
AS-1-61	The position has no value. It is only a tool

In regard to the entity of Arabs in general, Assad associates all negative Attributes to them. He accuses them of making every possible effort to destroy him and his country in collaboration with *"others"*. He stresses that they do not do this only out of treason, but also because they do not have full control of their own decisions (e.g. AS-1-77 and AS-1-78 below). Assad deliberately conflates Arabs with the foreigners and gives both of them negative Attributes to show that to him they belong to the same group and people should think so and not wait for help, either from Arabs or from the others. The country and the nation might be better off asking the help of the foreigners, but not the Arabs, who are *"more inimical than the foreign part"*. The West gets also its share of Assad's negative relational attributive clauses (e.g. AS-1-289). Assad is clear about his Arab enemies and about those who are not. He casts negative attributes on the ones he considers to be his enemies.

AS-1-77	مَعَ كُلِّ أَسَفٍ أَصْبَحَ هَذَا الخَارِجُ مَزِيجاً مِنَ الأَجْنَبِيِّ وَالعَرَبِيِّ
	With all regret this outside became a mix of the foreign and the Arabic

AS-1-78	وَأَحْياناً وَفِيْ كَثِيرٍ مِنَ الحالاتِ يَكُونُ هَذَا الجُزْءُ العَرَبِيُّ أَكْثَرُ عِداءً وَسُوءاً مِنَ الجُزْءِ الأَجْنَبِيِّ
	and in many cases this Arabic part is worse and more inimical than the foreign part

AS-1-289	ما زالَ اسْتِعْمارِيّاً بِشَكْلٍ أَو بِآخَرَ
	it is still colonial a way or another

Assad associates positive Attributes to other entities as well, to let the Syrian people feel good about him, about the work he is doing and about the situation around them as a

whole (e.g. AS-1-50 and AS-1-22). In AS-1-50 Assad describes the attempts to sabotage his image in the eyes of the people as continuous. He tries to convey to the people that he has been facing those attempts with a firm hand and that they will never get to him, because he is a capable president, who is backed by the support of the people and that he is someone who does not run from confrontation as in the material clauses that came after example AS-1-50. Assad also refers to his high capabilities in uncovering the plot, even though it is an abstract virtual one (e.g. AS-1-22).

AS-1-50	إِنَّ المُحَاوَلَاتِ مُسْتَمِرَّةٌ
	Tries are continuous

AS-1-22	وَبِتْنَا أَكْثَرَ قُدْرَةً عَلَى تَفْكِيكِ البِيئَةِ الأَفْتِرَاضِيَّةِ[[الَّتِي أَوْجَدُوهَا لَدَفْعِ السُورِيِّينَ نَحْوَ الَّوَهْمِ وَمِنْ ثُمَّ السُّقُوطِ]]
	and we have become more capable of [[deconstructing the virtual environment]] [[which they have created to push Syrians towards illusion and then fall]]

In terms of relational processes of the identifying type, which constitute 47% of relational processes in the first speech, Assad identifies some entities as in the following examples AS-1-28, AS-1-29. Even though the use of relational processes of identifying type is not as frequent in the speeches as the attributive type, it still has a significant presence in the two speeches and plays a role in showing how Assad identifies and makes sense of the events and entities around him.

AS-1-28	يَعْنِي[[نَحْنُ نَتَحَدَّثُ عَنِ المِئَاتِ مِنْ وَسَائِلِ الإِعْلَامِ]]
	meaning, [[that we talk about hundreds of media stations]]

AS-1-29	إِنَّ إِحْدَى المُحَاوَلَاتِ[[الَّتِي تُعَرِّفُونَهَا]]هِيَ [[مَا قَامُوا بِهِ مَعِيَ شَخْصِيًّا بِمُقَابَلَتِي مَعَ القَنَاةِ الأَمِيرْكِيَّةِ]]
	One of the attempts [[which you are aware of]] is [[what they did with me personally in my interview with the American news channel]]

AS-1-61	هُوَ مُجَرَّدُ أَدَاةٍ
	it is only a tool

In the first example above, Assad attempts to exaggerate the number of the media channels attacking Syria by saying there are hundreds of them. By not giving numbers and names of those channels, Assad builds fear in the hearts of people against anything they hear or see. He indirectly urges them to take information from him or his officials. Further, he keeps the right to himself in deciding what channel or media goes with those hundreds and what channels do not. In AS-1-29, even though Assad is aware that his audience knows about the attempt he is about to identify, he goes on and identifies it anyway. By looking into AS-1-29 from the point of view of charismatic base of power much could be explained about why Assad identifies what is already known to the audience. Assad identifies the attempts as one of many, which suggests that there are other attempts to sabotage his image in front of the nation and his supporters. Assad might have thought that the people would not know what attempt he was referring to, since there are many, he goes on and specifies what attempt it is. Assad is implying that even though he has experienced a lot of media bias he is still standing and he will stop any attack with his talent and with personal power that others do not have (e.g AS-1-37- AS-1-38).

AS-1-37- AS-1-38	فَإِذاً كانُوا قادِرِيْنَ عَلَى إِقْناعِي بِالكِذْبَةِ ما هُو الوَضْعُ بِالنِسْبَةِ لِلآخَرِيْنَ؟
	If they were capable of convincing me of the lie, what is the situation for the others?

In the second speech of Assad, the attributive type constitutes 49% of the total number of relational processes. Relational processes of the identifying type constitute 51%. The entities that Assad gives positive Attributes to are, for example, the people of Syria, the elections, himself, the plot, the challenges, Iran and the state.

AS-2-72	بِأَنَّنِي أَكْثَرُ تَفاؤُلاً
	that I am more optimistic

AS-2-255	وَعِنْدَما قَرَّرَتِ الحُكومَةَ الإيرانِيَّةَ أَنْ تَتَحَوَّلَ لِتُصْبِحَ بَعْدَ الثَّوْرَةِ مَعَ القَضِيَّةِ الفِلَسْطِينِيَّةِ داعِمَةً لِلشَّعْبِ الفِلَسْطِينِيِّ
AS-2-256	
AS-2-257	so that it become after the revolution with the Palestinian case, a supporter to the Palestinian people

AS-2-285	التَّحَدِّياتُ كَبيرَةٌ
	The challenges are great

AS-2-286	لَكِنَّ إرادَتَنا قَوِيَّةٌ
	but, our will is strong

In AS-2-72, Assad describes himself as optimistic about Syria's future generally, even though at the time of the speech the situation was going from bad to worse and Iran, Hezbollah and other militias were operating and killing the Syrian people all over Syria (Sullivan, 2014). In example AS-2-257, he positively describes Iranians as the supporters to the Palestinian people after he has attacked the Arabs and their actions toward him and toward Syria. Iran's intervention in support of Assad against his people started from the first day of the revolution. They supported him with weapons, fighters and money (Townsend, 2015). In AS-2-285 Assad describes positively the challenges as being great, however, the feeling that is supposed to come out of this description is not joy or satisfaction, but fear of what is coming. Assad understands that, and he assures his people that even though this is the case, they will work together to overcome this hurdle with the strong will of dedicated people (e.g. AS-2-286). As could be assumed by now, Assad categorizes Arabs and the West under the negative category of his descriptions (see AS-2-116).

AS-2-116	فَهَلْ سَنَكونُ مِثْلَهُمْ في فَهْمِنا المُتَأَخِّرِ لِلأَشْياءِ وَالأَحْداثِ؟
	Are we also going to be like them late in our understanding of the events and issues?

Relational identifying processes are also used in the second speech to identify entities, as in examples AS-2-68, AS-2-109 and AS-2-121. Assad in the analyzed extracts tries to look knowledgeable and intellectually sharp. This can be seen from the way he defines things and from his way of urging people to look beyond the usual understanding of the events

and the usual definitions. Among the three presidents, Assad uses the highest number of identifying relational processes which constitute 69% of the number of relational processes in his two speeches. Again, this high number of identifying relational processes construes Assad's attempts to appear as a man of knowledge and a reader of what is behind the events. Further, Assad appeals to the expert and charismatic bases of power more than any other bases as suggested in chapter four in the end of section four. In example AS-2-68, Assad defines elections not politically, but from his point of view and what elections represent for him. He practices what he asks people to do and that is looking at things with a different mentality. In AS-2-109, Assad defines a relation of cause and effect between two things, between an imaginary line and what might happen if someone who has bad intentions crosses that line. Assad is insinuating that Syria is not Iraq and his enemies will not be able to destroy Syria like they destroyed Iraq as there will be disastrous consequences to any attempt to destroy Syria. In example AS-2-121, Assad summarizes all that was happening and put the label of *"plot"* on it. He appears as if he was the one, who looked at the whole picture and collected the pieces of the puzzle into one unified picture and presented it to the people.

AS-2-68	هِيَ [[دِفَاعٌ عَنْ وَحْدَةِ الوَطَنِ وَسِيادَتِهِ وَكَرامَتِهِ]]
	They are [[defending the unity of the state, its sovereignty and dignity]]

AS-2-109	إنَّ المَساسَ بِهذا الخَطِّ سَيُؤَدّي لِزَلازِلَ
	that touching this line will cause earthquakes

AS-2-121	أنَّ ما [[كَانَ يَجْري]] هُوَ مُخَطَّطٌ ضِدَّ الوَطَنِ؟
	..that [[what have been going on]] is a plot against the country?

We will move now to discuss how Gaddafi ascribes attributes and identifies entities. In the first speech 56% of relational processes are of the attributive type. Attributive relational processes constitute 45% of the relational processes in the second speech. In both speeches, Gaddafi assigns positive Attributes to different entities such as himself,

youngsters, the spirit of the people and Libyan people in general (e.g. GA-1-61, GA-1-75, GA-1-186 and GA-2-68 below). In GA-1-61, Gaddafi describes himself not as a president, not even someone who wanted to be identified as a president as in GA-1-39, but as a leader to the country or inspirer. From his point of view and based on the attribute that he ascribed to himself, he does not understand why he should resign and leave power as he does not have any official position to resign from (e.g. GA-1-43. In GA-1-75 and GA-1-186). Gaddafi admits that the youngsters, whom he thinks are causing trouble in Libya are not the ones who should be blamed and that they are on the safe side when it comes to any proposed punishment. However, this positive description hides a negative aspect. Gaddafi is implying that the rebels are just a group of foolish people, who do not have experience or a group of kids who are just playing. In summary, he implicitly describes the way he looks at them and at what they have been doing. In the last example (GA-2-68), Gaddafi is most likely addressing the people in the Green Square in Tripoli. As discussed in chapter 3 on register, it was impossible to hear what people were exactly saying when Gaddafi delivered his speech as they were actually hailing and screaming, yet Gaddafi took this as an act of nationalism and enthusiasm from that part of the people toward him and described it as *"stronger than the trumpets of the Arabs"* referring to the media station and their lies.

GA-1-39	مُعَمَّر القَذَافِيّ ماعنده مَنْصِب
	Muammar Gaddafi has no post

GA-1-61	أَنَا أَرْفَعُ مِنَ المَناصِبِ, [[الَّتي يَتَقَلَّدها الرُّؤَساءُ, وَالأَبْهاتُ]]
	I am above all the positions [[that presidents and lords take]]

GA-1-43	مُعَمَّر القَذَافِيّ لَيْسَ رَئِيسا
	Muammar Gaddafi is not a president

GA-1-75	لَكِنَّ هؤُلاء الشّبّانِ, لَيْسَ لَهُمْ ذَنَبٌ أَبَدًا
	However, those youths are not guilty

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GA-2-68	هَذِهِ الرُّوحُ الْمَعْنَوِيَّةَ الْعَالِيَةَ هِيَ أَقْوَى مِنْ أَبْوَاقِ الْعَرَبِ
	This high morale is stronger than the trumpets of Arabs

Gaddafi also gives some other entities negative Attributes such as the people of Libya, Arabs, bearded people and other entities (e.g. GA-1-56, GA-1-103, GA-1-161 and GA-1-298 below). In example GA-1-56, Gaddafi describes the rebels as ones who do not have tribes. This is a very offensive insult, especially for someone from these tribes. Arab tribes are very careful when it comes to their ancestors. They derive tribal status and dignity from the record of their ancestors and how far back they could trace them to prove high status and lawfulness of their lineage. In tribal conventions, the one or the group that cannot prove knowledge of their ancestors or the group that cannot provide record of their lineage has a very low status and no one would seek to have dealings with them, because they either do not know their fathers or they are a result of an unconventional relationship in the eyes of the tribes. By accusing the protesters and the rebels of not having tribes, Gaddafi was implicitly saying that those people, who are protesting or rebelling against him, are nothing but inferior humans, who are worth nothing but disgrace and humiliation.

The same negative attributes could also be seen differently and an alternative explanation could be provided for them and that shows how rich and how deep discourse analysis can get. In example GA-1-56, Gaddafi could be insinuating that those people are acting with dishonesty, without honor and they do not follow the tribes code of conduct, which dictates and promotes honesty, solidarity, honorability and adherence to good virtues. Further, Gaddafi is suggesting that these people could not be from tribes as they are paid by foreign intelligence, which is an action that a true tribal person will not think of doing, because it is a disgrace.

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GA-1-49	مَنْ هُمْ هَؤُلَاءِ الْمَأْجُورِينَ؟ الْمَدْفُوعُ لَهُمُ الثَّمَنَ مِنَ الْمُخَابَرَاتِ الْأَجْنَبِيَّةِ؟...... تَرَكُوا الْعَارَ لِقَبَائِلِهِمْ إِذَا كَانَتْ عِنْدَهُمْ
GA-1-50	قَبَائِلُ وَلَكِنْ هَؤُلَاءِ لَيْسَ عِنْدَهُمْ قَبَائِلُ
GA-1-54	Who are those agents, who are paid by foreign intelligence?...... They left disgrace to their tribes,
GA-1-55	if they have tribes. However, those don't have tribes
GA-1-56	

Gaddafi continues the insults. Via the strategy of a rhetorical question, he describes the people as being naïve (e.g. GA-1-103). Gaddafi is actually stating that people are naïve. He formulates it as if it never occurred to him that they are naïve. In some cultures and in certain contexts describing someone as being naïve might not be perceived as an insult depending on the context and depending on how the receiver of the description sees it. However, when it comes to the Arab culture, this word could be thought of as an insult as it implies that the receiver of this description is a person who is childish and lacks experience.

In GA-1-161, Gaddafi declares that the city of *"Darnah"* has become ruins because of the actions of those who are naïve and things will get worse. In GA-1-298, Gaddafi describes the Arab media channels as being the biggest enemy. Gaddafi is not alone in the way he perceives the media as illustrated in the discussion of all the other speeches. Back in the 1990s before the age of satellite channels, media was not a big issue to politicians in the Arab world as they could be easily controlled through censorship. The issue of censorship in the Arab world is a big and rampant one. Until a very recent time there was no clear code of conduct in most Arab countries on what should or should not be broadcast on TV or published in newspaper. Censorship depended on the whim of the officials: if they considered something to be dangerous they would ban it from TV or media (Tabba', 2003). There were instances in which some programs and articles were banned, but returned to TV and newspapers weeks or years later without an apparent reason. It was all about the mood of the censorship authority (Tabba', 2003). However, after the emergence of cable TV and satellite channels in the Arab world, heads of state have become unable to control what their people see. The only thing they can do is to accuse the media outlets of being wrong, liars and enemies of the state.

GA-1-56	وَلَكِنْ هَؤُلَاءِ لَيْسَ عِنْدَهُمْ قَبَائِلُ
	However, those don't have tribes

GA-1-103	هَلْ أَنْتُمْ سُذَّجٌ إِلَى هَذِهِ الدَّرَجَةِ
	Are you that naïve?

GA-1-161	دَرْنَةُ أَصْبَحَتْ خَرَابًا
	"Darnah" became ruins

GA-1-298	هَذِهِ الْمَحَطَّاتُ الْعَرَبِيَّةُ أَكْبَرُ عَدُوٍّ
	Those TV channels are the biggest enemy

Gaddafi finds it also important to define some entities within his two speeches. In his first speech, identifying relational processes constitute 44% of the total number of relational processes. The percentage increases in the second speech to 55% of the total number of relational processes. Some of the entities that Gaddafi tried to identify in both speeches are himself, as mentioned above in GA-1-39, the punishment that awaits those who rebel, *"they"* and some other entities (e.g. GA-1-45, GA-1-49, GA-1-138 and GA-1-180 below). These examples cover a wide range of participants and topics; however, they share one thing in common, and that is all of them are configured as relational clauses of identifying type. In GA-1-45 for instance, Gaddafi tries to define the revolution he led and its slogans which he used to rule the country before he got killed. As suggested, the revolution dominates a great deal of the topics Gaddafi talked about over the years of his ruling over Libya. Almost all of his actions toward the Libyan people and toward the world in general were motivated by the revolution he led and by the ideas the revolution represented. In GA-1-49 Gaddafi is asking about the identity of those who were going against him and proposes some of their qualities under example GA-1-50. In GA-1-49 and GA-1-50, Gaddafi is not asking questions about the identity of those people per se, but he is just making a rhetorical effect as discussed in chapter five Section 4, because in clause GA-1-50 he describes them as the ones who have outer foreign ties. These two examples here will lead also to a question about the real identity, nature and boundaries of those *"they"*

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and whether or not Gaddafi really knows them. The ambiguity of the non-state actors against the dictators in this study is very obvious in case of Gaddafi through his attempts to comprehend them and comprehend their actions as illustrated by examples such as GA-1-306 below.

| GA-1-306 | مَنْ أَنْتُمْ؟ |
| | Who are you? |

The question in example GA-1-306 could also be seen as a demeaning strategy. The confusion about the identity, actions and behavior of the ones whom the presidents are facing also appears in the speeches of Assad and Ben Ali through a call for the protestors or the rebels to form organizations or parties, which will make it very easy for the state to target them and attack them. In example GA-1-138, Gaddafi defines himself and the way he wants people to look at him. He is implying that if people want glory, then they have to stick with him and what he dictates otherwise Libya will end and the Libyan people will go back to the age of darkness as in example GA-1-155. In example GA-1-180 Gaddafi defines the punishment that awaits those who fight against the country as death. He then states that the punishment is death in case of Libyans only, which suggests that Gaddafi knew that it is a revolution of the Libyan people and no one else, contrary to what he tries to convince people that *"al-Qaida"* and some other foreign extremists are involved. Otherwise people would have asked what the punishment for the non-Libyans is, who destroyed the country as per Gaddafi.

GA-1-45	وَالثَّوْرَة تَعْنِّي التَّضْحِيَة دَائِماً وَأَبَدَأ حَتَّى نِهَايَة العُمْر
	and the revolution means sacrifice for ever until the end of life

GA-1-49	مِن هُمْ هُؤُلَاء المَأْجُورَيْن؟
	Who are those agents?

GA-1-50	المَدْفُوعُ لَهُمْ الثَّمَنَ مِنَ المُخَابَرَاتِ الأَجْنَبِيَّة
	who are paid by foreign intelligence

GA-1-138	لِأَنَّ مُعَمَّر القَذَّافِيّ هُوَ المَجْدُ
	because Moummar Qaddafi is the glory

GA-1-155	وَتَعُودُوا إِلَى الظَّلَامِ، إِلَى عام 52
	and you will go back to the dark ages, to the year 1952

GA-1-180	رَفْعُ اللِّيبِيِّيْنَ السِّلاح ضِدَّ الدَوْلَة عُقُوبَتَة الإِعْدَامُ
	In the case of Libyans holding arms again the state the punishment is death

4-Conclusion

As discussed earlier, the three presidents have used all types of processes disproportionately. All of them have used more material processes than any other type in their speeches except for Gaddafi in his second speech, who has used more relational processes than material ones. All three presidents have not found that it is of high importance to report on behaviors or existence of things and that can be seen in the percentage of behavioral and existential processes in the speeches, which is quite low.

In terms of the main participants in the speeches, they are construed differently and are referred to differently in the speeches. All three presidents were similar in coming up with an ambiguous participant, who cannot be identified clearly, though the frequency of this participant varied across the speakers. This ambiguous participant is used by the three presidents as a scarecrow and a villain, who would hide information, act violently and destroy the political and social stability of the country. The reason why the three

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presidents came up with such an ambiguous category is discussed above in Section 2.1.4. One of the most striking differences between the three presidents is manifested in the two speeches of Gaddafi who does not refer to the category of Government in his two speeches, as if there is no government in the normal sense, unlike the two other presidents. As suggested above in Section 2.1.2 Gaddafi sees Libya as a revolutionary country run by people through *"public committees"* not by officials or elected governments. According to him, all forms of governments different from the one he applies are nothing but dictatorships and any other theory of ruling and governance is a continuous problem that has been facing humanity (Qaddafi, 2005).

The coming chapter will be last chapter. In the last chapter, we will present a summary of the research, conclusions, observations, implications and questions for future research.

Chapter Six-Conclusion and Summary.

1-Introduction

In this chapter, I will summarize the research set out in this dissertation. Further, I will present and discuss the main findings of the research, and relate them to the aims and the questions of the research. The reader will also be reminded of the questions, aims, limitations and methodology of the research. The implications of this research, including its methodological implications, will also be discussed. It has been made clear in more than one place in this research that the interdisciplinary methodology followed in answering the questions – specifically, the linking of linguistic analysis based on Halliday's systemic functional linguistic with the use of Weberian sociology - has never been used before with such data. Weber's work opens up an interesting potential for collaboration between Halliday's ideas and sociological accounts of power because of his interest in the role of forms of legitimacy in the striving for, and maintenance, of power. In addition, the thesis sought to examine the data from many points of view, including the nature of the register and context, the structure of the texts and rhetorical devices, and the patterns in the experiential function. Any one of these points of view could have been the basis for a thesis on its own, but a methodological decision was taken to attempt to bring in evidence from each of these distinct scales of analysis.

At the end of this chapter we will consider questions for future research and suggest some ways of extending the scope of the research presented in the thesis. I will start this chapter with a summary of the questions, aims and methodology of the research and then move on to the other elements of conclusion, findings, implications and suggestions for future work.

2-Summary of the research.

This study has focused on how discourse is used as a mechanism to attempt to maintain power. In other words, we are interested in the relations of language to power. The question of how discourse is used as a mechanism to attempt to maintain power is what makes this study of significance and importance as there is a scarcity in the studies that ask such questions, and in particular in relation to Arabic political discourse. The scarcity of studies is more obvious and more pressing when we consider the relations of language to power during what is known as the Arab Spring. The data of the research was six speeches delivered by Ben Ali of Tunisia, Assad of Syria and Gaddafi of Libya. Two speeches were chosen for each president as discussed in chapter one. As I noted in chapter 1, despite the significance of these speeches, no full Arabic transcripts were publically available. Where Western leaders maintain archives of speeches and press releases, the case studies in this thesis revealed even at this early stage a starkly different political context. The initial steps in this research, therefore, involved transcribing these speeches from online video recordings. Following transcription, the data were translated and then analysis was undertaken. In order for examples to be able to be selected and indicated, a unique identity was given to each clause in the speeches.

The first chapter introduced the topic of the study, the significance and questions of the research. It was suggested in the first chapter that the questions are general and that further questions would be asked in the body of the thesis and attempted answers to them were also provided in the body of the thesis. The main questions of the research were: -

- What rhetorical strategies did the three leaders use in order to address their people and why?
- What position did these political leaders take in relation to the people?
- In what ways did these political leaders define themselves and others?

- What are the similarities and differences, if present, between the three leaders in the use of language and the use of rhetorical devices?
- What are the similarities and differences that could be detected in the structure of the three sets of speeches?

The literature review compiled and discussed some of the studies that put this study in context. I discussed also some of theories that were to be used in the analysis. Further, key terms that were to be used in the research such as power, ideology, appeal and legitimacy, were introduced and discussed. Chapter 3 was the first analysis chapter, and there the three sets of speeches were presented in terms of register and its three variables of field, tenor and mode, following the work of Halliday and Hasan (1991) and Martin (1992). The fourth chapter focused on the rhetorical organization of the three sets of speeches. The discussion in this chapter revolved around the topics of the three sets of speeches, appeals used by the three presidents to maintain power and the rhetorical devices they used to give a deeper effect to their arguments. The focus of chapter 5 was to view the speeches from the perspective of Halliday's experiential function. The various process types, their distributions, and their general contributions to the speeches was discussed, and the key differences between all of the speeches was noted. The discussion then moved on to highlight the key participants in these speeches. The findings and the discussion in this fifth chapter were based on the full speeches of Ben Ali, the entire second speech by Gaddafi, but only excerpts of the speeches of Assad and for the first speech of Gaddafi. Now I will move to a more specific section and will present our attempt in answering the initial main questions raised in the first chapter.

3-Conclusion to the Research.

The attempted answers to the questions will be presented under this section. The first questions that are going to be discussed pertain to the position political leaders take in relation to the people, and the ways in which leaders defined themselves and others. The answer to this question was discussed in chapter 3 through register analysis of the three sets of speeches. Naturally, the variable of tenor was of particular concern, since the whole study was focused on a context with maximally unequal power relations between the head of state and citizens. The three countries chosen in this study provide examples where political power is highly concentrated in the office of president, and so a key aspect of this study is to see the place of language in mediating a highly unequal power relation. As has been asked numerous times, since these leaders have enormous coercive power at their disposal, why is it they still need to defend their actions to the people of their countries? The answer can be found in Weber's dictum: *"Whoever makes a pact with the use of force, for whatever ends … is at the mercy of its particular consequences"* (Weber et al., 2004, p. 89). At the point at which these speeches were made, all leaders had resorted to the deployment of their military forces against their own people.

These three leaders speak from the office of president. But all sought indirect means to assert their authority through these speeches. They were generally indirect in stating their position as head of states and as controllers. Ben Ali, Assad and Gaddafi defined first their audience and what they are to them. There is no difference between Assad, Gaddafi and Ben Ali in terms of how they wanted their citizens to see them in terms of power and position in the hierarchy. The three presidents showed the power of their office by using various techniques and strategies. Assad and Ben Ali used a technique that Gaddafi did not use, which is the use of the first-person plural subjective case or the royal *"we"* to refer to oneself. The royal *"we"*, or majestic plural is the use of a plural pronoun to refer

to a single person holding a high office (Aarts et al., 2014). Assad used similar techniques to refer to himself and to show the unequal power between himself and the Syrian people. How about Gaddafi? Gaddafi is different from the other two heads of state in defining his power and distance from the people. Gaddafi in the two speeches tried to minimize the impact of distance between himself and the people, and tried to show that his power and distance are only advisory, not either legally defined or restricted by rules of a certain official role. He attempted to portray the political balance in Libya as one in which the people shared in the balance of power.

Certain forms of appeal further helped these three presidents to show and imply hierarchic distribution of power and control. All three presidents appealed in the different stages of their speeches to the legal base of legitimacy, which Weber argues is the most common form of legitimacy:

Today the most common form of legitimacy is the belief in legality, the compliance with enactments which are formally correct and which have been made in the accustomed manner (Weber et al. 1978: 37)

Further, the three presidents defined themselves, audience and other entities through the use of relational processes of the identifying and the attributive types. Even though the three presidents identified and gave attributes to the various groups opposing them, they elected, for rhetorical reasons, not to precisely and specifically name them. This vagueness could be described as a deliberate confusion with the aim of Satanizing individuals or groups at will.

I will move now to discuss the question of rhetorical devices and their use. The term "rhetorical device" refers to the language that is used to make a desired effect on the hearers or audience. This desired effect could be for the purpose of informing someone or some people or to persuade people of something (Dupriez & Halsall, 1991). We assume that the three presidents used rhetorical devices to pursue their political agendas, that is,

to persuade people that they remain the best leaders to run their countries both now and in the future. In general, the analysis of rhetorical devices in the three sets of speeches did not render or highlight a striking difference between the three presidents. It could be argued that the reason why these three presidents are similar in many of their rhetorical choices is that they were under a cloud of illegitimacy in association with their use of coercive power (as discussed in chapter 3). This kind of political pressure appears to be reflected in the similar ways the presidents have of defending their presidential positions. For example, the first thing each wanted to convey, using the three bases of legitimacy, was that they were disinterested with respect to the position of president. They conveyed in all of their speeches that they occupied the position of head of state not for personal reason or gain, but because it was best for their countries, and the people wanted them to do so. In addition, all the three presidents tried to project an image of themselves as leaders who have sacrificed precious things for the sake of the country. Further, they constructed a picture of themselves as leaders facing a deep conspiracy attempting to defame and undermine them. These are only three aspects I discussed to show that these three presidents are similar more than different and that raises many questions some of which will be listed later in this chapter under the coming section on implications, observations and future questions.

However, we can see that each president used a rhetorical device preferred to him or a device that could be described as preferred to that president. For example, Gaddafi used the device of Triad more than any other president and Assad used the device of Hypophora, which also assisted him in achieving coherence. Ben Ali used the device of Anaphora in a manner distinct to all of the other presidents, also to achieve a certain rhetorical goal and serve a certain power and control. However, they were all similar in using certain rhetorical strategies. Also, all of the three presidents attempted to make a rhetorical link between people's fear of a new colonization and between the unknown in order to convince people to resort to reason and to end the riots.

The speeches also varied greatly in terms of the text structure, a finding which has implications for the register description of political speeches. The two speeches of Ben Ali are different in the way they are structured and staged. The first speech of Ben Ali is clearly and tightly structured. Hearers of the first speech can easily distinguish and recognize the trajectory of the speech just by listening to it. Further, listeners know exactly where each stage begins and ends. Ben Ali ordinally stages his first speech, giving each stage an ordinal number, except for the introductory stage and the conclusion stage. The structure of the two speeches of Assad is very tight, as Assad moves from one stage into another in a clear way. He finishes a point before then moving into another point following certain techniques, which were discussed in chapter three. However, the structure of the two speeches of Assad is as not tight as the structure of the first speech of Ben Ali. The two speeches of Assad contain digressions in them (as discussed in chapter 4). The most different of the three presidents in structuring his speeches is Gaddafi. Indeed, Gaddafi's speeches appear to lack any structure. He does not follow clear staging of the text and moves from one topic to another in a random way without giving special importance to any particular topic or the need to craft a trajectory. The study of text structure in speeches of this kind has a history of more than 2000 years as per Steel (2009). How is it that texts of a similar register can vary so much in structure? This thesis has not attempted to answer this question, though perhaps it pertains to the fact that, in Hasan's terms, with respect to the field system "performance of action", this kind of context is [continuing]. In any case, this structural variability points to the need to continue to develop closer relations between linguistics and sociology, in particular, to show the role of language in the pursuit and maintenance of political power.

4-Implications, Observations and Future Questions.

I will discuss under this section the implications of applying the methodology we followed in this research and some of the observations in general about the research. In addition, I want to raise some questions for future research. One of the main concerns of this research was to find and compile a methodology that reconciles the linguistically construed context with an account, largely from sociology, of the political context in which these speeches were given. Within the field of discourse analysis, there are many typical methodologies of investigation that can be used (Fairclough & Fairclough, 2013). While the study of power has been of interest to various scholars in Critical Discourse Analysis, the particular combination of approaches and methods adopted in this thesis have not elsewhere been used. While CDA frequently borrows some elements of Halliday's grammatical description, in particular some aspects of transitivity, the analysis conducted here was located within the whole framework of Halliday's linguistic paradigm. For this reason, the texts were analyzed first of all with respect to register and context, drawing in particular on Halliday and Hasan (1991). Register and context analysis remains underdeveloped in Systemic Functional Theory, and has rarely been applied to the study of political discourse – and never in the context of Arabic political discourse. This provided difficulties, as mentioned earlier, in analyzing the stages of the speeches in this research, for example, in rendering stages as obligatory, optional or iterative in political discourse. The existing tools in general do not fully accommodate political discourse and further research needs to be done to build methods that can fully appreciate the political context and its specificities. In addition, this analysis was combined with findings based on rhetorical devices and experiential patterns. These linguistic forms were then, as far as possible, linked to sociological categories, such as power, and appeals to forms of legitimacy. There is no prior work attempting this kind of reconciliation of linguistic and

sociological categories. More work is needed to explore how such categories can be brought together in the analysis of power through language.

After applying the methodology we started to get results, and interpretations of data started to take a shape. I have observed that due to the extensive coverage the events of Arab Spring received from the media and due to the minute by minute coverage of the events through social media, more and more people, everyday people not even academics or politicians, were receiving and forming opinions about what lies behind the events and what each president meant with what he said. This produced considerable opinion and commentary on these issues. But in this study, we have strived for explicit, evidence-based interpretations based on a clear method. Objectivity is a big issue when it comes to discourse analysis or political discourse analysis. Objectivity has been discussed in a large body of research and proven problematic when it comes to discourse analysis as who decides what is objective? Research suggest that all analysis is ideologically loaded, including analyses which are apparently objective:

"all meaning is fluid and all discourses are contingent; it is objectivity that masks contingency and, in so doing, hides the alternative possibilities that otherwise could have presented themselves. Objectivity can therefore be said to be ideological" (Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002, p. 37).

Ideology is changeable as per Gillespie (2013). What is perceived now in a certain way by certain people will be perceived differently in the future by the same people. The interpretations and the contextual analysis we presented in this research, in some parts of it, will not escape this ideological trap. That is why all due care was given to substantiate all the claims and avoid any unjustified or unsupported claims in order to minimize the anticipated ideological judgement of readers from different backgrounds. Even though, all due care was given in the analysis, discussion and presentation there are angles that were not covered for various reasons and they will be left for future research. These angles, or at least some of them, will be presented below in form of questions. As

suggested these questions were not covered for various reasons. These reasons vary between reasons related to the scope of the study, the methodology, limitations of the study and finally reasons related to the limit of time and word length. The questions are as follows: -

1- How is political power translated into discourse, and how does discourse contribute to the dynamics of power relations, particularly where that power is highly unequal?
2- Why does text structure vary so significantly in the act of political persuasion?
3- How was the opinion of everyday people shaped by the speeches delivered by the three presidents about the events of Arab Spring?
4- What factors contribute to the appearance of rhetorical devices in some texts more than others?
5- How does persuasive power work in the contexts where coercive force is explicitly being deployed?

It should be stressed that these are just some of the questions this research raises: there are many others. The presence of such questions gives an indication of how rich the analysis of discourse is and, at the same time, how intricate. The pursuit of even partial answers to such questions will require a specialized methodology and tools both from linguistics and sociology, ideally by scholars keen to work across both these two disciplines.

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Appendix 1-Ben Ali's Two Speeches

1-Speech one

Arabic Text		English Translation
BA-1-1	بِسْم اللهِ الرَحْمَن الرَحِيم	In the name of God, the Most Gracious, the Most Merciful
BA-1-2	أَيُهَا الُمَواطِنُونَ	Male citizens
BA-1-3	أَيَتُهَا المُوَاطِنَاتُ	Female citizens
BA-1-4	لقد تابعْتُ بِانْشِغَالٍ مَا [[شَهِدَتْهُ "سيدى بوزيد" مِنْ أَحْدَاثٍ خِلاَّلَ الأَيَّام الــمُنْقَضِيَةٍ]]	I followed with concern the events [[that the city of Sidi Bouzid witnessed in the last few days]]
BA-1-5	وَلَئِنْ كَانَ مُنْطَلَقُ هَذِه الأَحْدَاثِ حَالَةَ اجْتِمَاعِيَّةً [[نَتَفَهَم ظُرُوفَهَا وَعَوَامِلَها النَّفْسِيَّةَ]]	Even though the starting point of these events was a social situation [[whose conditions and psychological factors we understand]]
BA-1-6	كما نَأَسَفُ	We also regret
BA-1-7	لِمَا خَلَّفَتْهُ تِلْكَ الأَحْدَاثُ مِنْ أَضْرَارٍ فَإِنَّ [[مَا اتَّخَذَتْهُ]] مِنْ أبعَادٍ مُبَالَغٍ فِيهَا بِسَبَب الاسْتِغْلاَّلِ السِّياسِيّ لِبَعْضِ الأَطْرَافِ [[الذِينَ لاَ يُرِيدُونَ الخَيْرَ لِبِلاَدِهِمْ]][[وَيَلْجَئُونَ إِلَى بَعْضِ التَّلْفَزَاتِ الأَجْنَبِيَّةِ]] [[التي تَبُثُّ الأَكَاذِيبَ والمُغَالَطَاتِ دُونَ تَحَرٍّ]] [[بَلْ بِاعْتِمَادِ التَّهْوِيلِ والتَّحْرِيضِ والتَّجَنِّي الإعْلاَمِيّ العِدَائِيّ لِتُونسَ]] يَدْعُونَا إِلَى تَوْضِيح بَعْضِ المسَائِلِ	for what those events left of damages However, the exaggerated dimensions [[that they took]], as a result of political exploitation by some parties [[who do not want benefaction to their country]] and [[who resort to some foreign TV channels]] that broadcast lies and deception without investigation], [[but uses alarmism, incitement, and false accusatory information inimical to Tunisia]], call us to clarifying a few issues
BA-1-8	وَتَأْكِيدِ حَقَائِقَ [[لاَ يَنْبَغِي التَّغَافُلُ عَنْهَا]]	and we emphasize realities [[that should not be overlooked]]
BA-1-9	أَوَّلاً إِنَّنَا نُقَدِّرُ الشُّعُورَ [[الذِي يَنْتَابُ أيَّ عَاطِلٍ عَن العَمَلِ]]	First, we respect the feeling, [[that any unemployed person feels]]
BA-1-10	وخُصُوصًا عِنْدَمَا يَطُولُ بَحْثُهُ عَن الشُّغْلِ	especially when his looking for a job lasts for a while
BA-1-11	وَتَكُونُ ظُرُوفُهُ الاجْتِمَاعِيَّةُ صَعْبَةً	and his social conditions are difficult
BA-1-12	وبِنْيَتُهُ النَّفْسِيَّةُ هَشَّةً	and his psychological build is fragile
BA-1-13	مِمَّا يُودِي بِهِ إِلَى الخُلُولِ البَائِسَةِ	which will lead him to desperate solutions
BA-1-14	لِيَلْفِتَ النَّظَرَ إِلَى وَضْعِيَّتِهِ	so that he draws attention to his condition
BA-1-15	وَنَحْنُ لاَ نَدَّخِرُ جُهْدًا	
BA-1-16		

	Arabic	English
BA-1-17	لِتَفَادِي مِثْلَ هَذِهِ الْحَالَاتِ بِالمعَالجَةِ الخُصُوصِيَّةِ الـمُلَائَمَة	And we do not spare efforts so that we avoid these cases through suitable specific treatment
BA-1-18	مواصلينَ سياسَاتِنا وَبَرامِجَنا مِنْ أَجْلِ التَّشْغِيلِ وَرِعايَةِ ضعافِ الْحالِ وَالْإحَاطَةِ بِالأُسَرِ الـمُعْوِزَةِ وَتَفْعِيلِ التَّنْمِيَةِ الْجِهَوِيَّةِ عَبرَ بَرامِجَ إسْتِثْمارِيَّةٍ مُتَوَالِيَةٍ [[شَمِلَتْ كُلَّ مَنَاطِقِ الْبِلادِ]]	while we pursue our policies and programs for employment, families and poor welfare, and regional development activation through investment programs [[that involved all the country's regions]]
BA-1-19	وكَانَ آخِرُهَا [[مَا أَقْرَرْنَاهُ في المجلِسِ الوزَارِيِّ لِيَوْم 15 ديسمبر الجاري]] [[وَمَا أُعْلِنَ عَنْهُ مِنْ بَرَامِجَ إضَافِيَّةٍ]] [[سَتَفُوقُ الاعْتِمَادَاتُ المخَصَّصَةُ لَها سِتَّةَ آلَافٍ وخَمْسَمَائَةِ مِلْيُونَ دِينَارٍ]]	And the last of those programs was [[what we decided on 15 December 2010, in a Council of Ministers]] [[as well as supplementary programs that have been announced]] [[its value will exceed TD6,500 Million]]
BA-1-20	في إطَارِ حِرْصِنَا الدَّائِمِ عَلَى تَأْمِينِ كُلِّ مُقَوِّمَاتِ التَّنْمِيَةِ المتَوازِنَةِ والمتَكَافِئَةِ بينَ الجِهاتِ، والتَّوْزِيعِ العَادِلِ لِثِمَارِهَا بينَ الفِئَاتِ	because we are constantly keen to guaranteeing all the requirements of balanced and equal growth between regions and division of its fruits equally among different categories
BA-1-21	ثَانِيًا إنَّ البطَالَةَ شُغْلٌ شَاغِلٌ لِسَائِرِ بُلْدَانِ العَالَمِ المتَقَدِّمَةِ مِنْها والنَّامِيَةِ	Second, unemployment is a major concern of developed and developing countries around the world
BA-1-22	ونحنُ في تونسَ نبذُلُ كُلَّ الجُهودِ	And we in Tunisia exert all efforts
BA-1-23	لِلْحَدِّ مِنْها	so that it could be curbed
BA-1-24	وَمُعَالجَةِ آثَارِهَا وتَبِعَاتِهَا خُصُوصًا بِالنِّسْبَةِ إلَى العَائِلاتِ [[التي لاَ مَوْرِدَ لَهَا]]	and so we treat its effects and its repercussions, especially among the families, [[who do not have income]],
BA-1-25	وسَتَبْذُلُ الدَّوْلَةُ جُهُودًا إضَافِيَّةً في هَذَا المجَالِ خِلاَلَ المدَّةِ القَادِمَةِ	And the State will spend extra efforts in this regard during the period to come
BA-1-26	وإذ حَقَّقْنَا نَتَائِجَ مَرْمُوقَةً في مَجَالِ التَّعْلِيمِ كَمِّيًا وَنَوْعِيًّا	Since, we have achieved remarkable qualitative and quantitative educational results
BA-1-27	هي مَحَلُّ تَقْدِيرٍ وتَثْمِينٍ مِنْ قِبَلِ الهَيْئَاتِ الدَّوْلِيَّةِ والأُمَمِيَّةِ المخْتَصَّةِ	those results are appreciated and valued by specialized international and UN bodies
BA-1-28	فَإنَّ ذَلِكَ يُجَسِّمُ خِيَارًا جَوْهَرِيًّا ثَابِتًا في سِيَاسَتِنَا [[مِنْ أَجْلِ بِنَاءِ شَعْبٍ مُثَقَّفٍ]]	this materializes the fundamental and the constant choice in our policy, [[to produce an educated people]]
BA-1-29	ومِنْ أَبْرَزِ تِلْكَ النَّتَائِجِ التَّطَوُّرُ الكَبِيرُ لِعَدَدِ خِرّيجِي مُؤَسَّسَاتِ التَّعْلِيمِ العَالِي المنْتَشِرَةِ في كُلِّ أنْحَاءِ البِلادِ دُونَ اسْتِثْنَاءٍ	And one of the most prominent results is the development of the number university graduates in higher education shared among institutions in all over the country without exceptions
BA-1-30	والذِي فَاقَ العَامَ الماضِيَ مَثَلاً ثَمَانِينَ ألْفَ مُتَخَرِّج	whose number exceeded, last year for instance, 80,000 graduates
BA-1-31	وَهو [[عَدَدٌ نَعْتَزُّ بِهِ]]	
BA-1-32	ونَتَقَبَّلُ التَّحَدِّيَاتِ [[التي يَطْرَحُها عَلَيْنَا]]	

	لِتَشْغِيلِ هَذِهِ النِّسْبَةِ الْمُرْتَفِعَةِ مِنْ حَامِلِي الشَّهَادَاتِ ضِمْنَ طَالِبِي الشُّغْلِ	and it is a number, [[that we are proud of]]
BA-1-33		and we accept the challenges, [[that it poses]]
BA-1-34	وذَلِكَ عِبْرَ مُخْتَلِفِ آلِيَاتِ التَّشْغِيلِ وَبَرَامِجِهِ	to employ this high rate of graduates among those applying for jobs
	وَرَغْمَ الصُّعُوبَاتِ [[التي يَطْرَحُهَا هَذَا النَّوْعُ الـمُسْتَجِدُّ مِنَ البِطَالَةِ]]	and that will be through various employment mechanisms and programs
BA-1-35	فإِنَّهُ يَبْقَى مَصْدَرًا لِلتَّفَاؤُلِ بالمسْتَقْبَلِ	In spite of the difficulties, [[that this kind of unemployment poses]] it remains a source of optimism for the future
BA-1-36	هو تَفَاؤُلُ شَعْبٍ مُتَعَلِّمٍ [[يُثَابِرُ مِنْ أَجْلِ الرُّقِيِّ وَمَزِيدِ التَّقَدُّمِ]]	It is an optimism of the educated population, [[who perseveres on the path of well-being and more progress]]
	ثالثا: لَقَدْ دَأَبْنَا مُنْذُ التَّغْيِيرِ عَلَى تَكْرِيسِ الحِوَارِ مَبْدَأً وَأَسْلُوبًا لِلتَّعَامُلِ بَيْنَ سَائِرِ الأَطْرَافِ الوَطَنِيَّةِ والاجْتِمَاعِيَّةِ حَوْلَ القَضَايَا	Third, we have continued since "the change" to establish dialogue as a principle and style of communication Between all national and social sides around the issues and new events [[that face us.]]
BA-1-37	والمسْتَجِدَّاتِ [[التي تُطْرَحُ أَمَامَنَا]]	
	وَلاَ يُمْكِنُ بِأَيِّ حَالٍ مِنَ الأَحْوَالِ ‹‹ ›› أَنْ نَقْبَلَ رُكُوبَ حَالاَتٍ فَرْدِيَّةٍ،	We will by no means‹‹ ››, accept the exploitation of single individual cases, any event, or an emergent situation
BA-1-38	أَوْ أَيِّ حَدَثٍ أَوْ وَضْعٍ طَارِئٍ	
BA-1-39	‹‹رَغْمَ تَفَهُّمِنَا››	‹‹although we understand››
	لِتَحْقِيقِ مَآرِبَ سِيَاسِيَّةٍ عَلَى حِسَابِ مَصَالِحِ المجمُوعَةِ الوَطَنِيَّةِ وَمَكَاسِبِهَا وَإِنْجَازَاتِهَا وَفِي مُقَدِّمَتِهَا الوِئَامُ والأَمْنُ والاسْتِقْرَارُ	so that politicized goals are attained at the expense of the national community's interests, acquisitions, and accomplishments, especially cohesion, security, and stability
BA-1-40	كَمَا أَنَّ لُجوءَ أَقَلِّيَةٍ مِنَ المتَطَرِّفِينَ والمحَرَّضِينَ المَأْجُورِينَ ضِدَّ مَصَالِحِ بِلاَدِهِمْ إِلَى العُنْفِ والشَّغَبِ فِي الشَّارِعِ وَسِيلَةً لِلتَّعْبِيرِ أَمْرٌ	Also, the resort of minority of extremists and hired instigators against the interests of their country to violence and rioting in the street as a means of expression is unacceptable in a nation of rights
BA-1-41	مَرْفُوضٌ فِي دَوْلَةِ القَانُونِ	
BA-1-42	مَهْمَا كَانَتْ أَشْكَالُهُ	whatever their forms are
BA-1-43	وهو مَظْهَرٌ سَلْبِيٌّ وغَيْرُ حَضَارِيٍّ يُعْطِي صُورَةً مُشَوَّهَةً عَنْ بِلاَدِنَا [[تُعُوقُ إِقْبَالَ المسْتَثْمِرِينَ والسُّوَّاحِ]]	And It is a negative, uncivilized way that gives a distorted image of our country, [[which impedes investors and tourists' turnout]]
BA-1-44		
BA-1-45	بِما يَنْعَكِسُ على إِحْدَاثَاتِ الشُّغْلِ [[التي نَحْنُ فِي حَاجَةٍ إِلَيْهَا]]	which will reflect on employment vacancies, [[that we need]]
BA-1-46	للحَدِّ مِنَ البِطَالَةِ	so that unemployment is curbed
BA-1-47	وسَيُطَبَّقُ القَانُونُ عَلَى هَؤُلاَءِ بِكُلِّ حَزْمٍ بِكُلِّ حَزْمٍ	And the law will be enforced on these with great firmness, with great firmness
	رابعا: إِنَّنَا نُجَدِّدُ التَّأْكِيدَ عَلَى احْتِرَامِ حُرِّيَّةِ الرَّأْي والتَّعْبِيرِ والحِرْصِ عَلَى تَرْسِيخِهَا فِي التَّشْرِيعِ والممَارَسَةِ	
BA-1-48		
BA-1-49	ونَحْتَرِمُ أَيَّ مَوْقِفٍ	

BA-1-50	إِذَا مَا تَمَّ فِي إِطَارِ الالْتِزَامِ بِالقَانُونِ وَبِقَوَاعِدِ الحِوارِ وأَخْلاَقِيَّاتِهِ	Fourth, we reassert our emphasis on respect of freedom of opinion and expression, and our eagerness to adopt it in legislation and practice
BA-1-51	إِنَّ الدَّوْلَةَ سَاهِرَةٌ عَلَى إِيجَادِ الحُلُولِ لِتَلْبِيَةِ طَلَبَاتِ الشُّغْلِ [[الَتِي	and we respect any position
BA-1-52	سَيَتَوَاصَلُ تَزَايُدُهَا خِلاَلَ السَّنَوَاتِ القَلِيلَةِ القَادِمَةِ]]	if it happened within the framework of law, the rules and morals of dialogue
BA-1-53	كَمَا تَعْمَلُ بِالتَّوَازِي مَعَ ذَلِكَ عَلَى مُوَاصَلَةِ تَحْسِينِ الأُجُورِ وَدَخْلِ الأُسَرِ ومُسْتَوَى العَيْشِ بِصُورَةٍ عَامَةٍ لِكُلِّ التُّونِسِيِّينَ والتُّونِسِيَّاتِ	The state is keen on providing solutions to meet the employment applications, [[which will increase in the next few years]]
BA-1-54	خامسا: إِنَّنَا نُقَدِّرُ صُعُوبَةَ وَضْعِ البِطَالَةِ وَتَأْثِيرَهَا النَّفْسِيَّ عَلَى صَاحِبِهَا	In parallel to this, it continues improving salaries, families' incomes, and the standards of living in general for all Tunisians
BA-1-55	وَلِذَلِكَ فَإِنَّنَا نَدْعُو الإِدَارَةَ	Fifth, we do comprehend the uneasy situation of unemployment and its psychological effect on the unemployed
BA-1-56	عِنْدَ تَعَاطِيهَا مَعَ الحَالاَتِ الصَّعْبَةِ	For this, we call on the administration
BA-1-57	إِلَى تَفَادِي أَيِّ تَقْصِيرٍ فِي التَّوَاصُلِ مَعَهَا	when they deal with difficult cases
BA-1-58	وَإِلَى إِحْكَامِ مُتَابَعَتِهَا	to avoid any failure in communication with them
BA-1-59	وَيَتَعَيَّنُ عَلَى كُلِّ السُّلَطِ الجِهَوِيَّةِ والمحَلِّيَّةِ	and firmly contain them
BA-1-60	أَنْ تَتَحَمَّلَ مَسْؤُولِيَّاتِهَا فِي الإِنْصَاتِ إِلَى المواطِنِ	And every local and regional authority is obliged
BA-1-61	وَالَى تَضَافُرِ جُهُودِ الْجَمِيعِ	to shoulder the responsibility of listening to the citizen
BA-1-62	لِلتَّعَرُّفِ عَلَى الْوَضْعِيَاتِ [[الَّتِي تَسْتَوْجِبُ عِنَايَةً خَاصَّةً]]	and the efforts of all must be coordinated
BA-1-63	لِإِيجَادِ الحُلُولِ لَهَا	to get acquainted with the cases [[that require special care]]
BA-1-64	وَلِلسَّعْي إِلَى الاسْتِجَابَةِ إِلَى أَكْثَر الحالاَتِ احْتِيَاجًا [[أَوِ التِي طَالَ انْتِظَارُهَا لِلْحُصُولِ عَلَى شُغْلٍ]]	to find solutions to them
BA-1-65	وإنَّا مُتَمَسِّكُونَ دَوْمًا بِالبُعْدِ الاجْتِمَاعِيِّ لِسِيَاسَتِنَا التَّنْمَوِيَّةِ	and to endeavor to respond to the neediest cases or those [[who have been waiting for a job for very long]]
BA-1-66	حَتَّى لاَ تُحْرَمَ جِهَةٌ أَوْ فِئَةٌ مِنْ حَظِّهَا فِي التَّشْغِيلِ والاسْتِثْمَارِ	And we are always committed to the social dimension of our developmental policy
BA-1-67	والسَّلاَمُ عَلَيْكُمْ وَرَحْمَةُ اللهِ وَبَرَكَاتُهُ	so that no region or social category is deprived from the opportunity of employment and investment
		Peace and God's mercy and blessing be upon you

2-Speech two

Arabic Text	English Translation
BA-2-1 بِسْمِ اللهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ	In the name of Allah the most Gracious the most Merciful
BA-2-2 أَيُّهَا الشَّعَبُ التُّونِسِيُّ	People of Tunisia
BA-2-3 نُكَلِّمُكُمُ الْيَوْمَ	I talk to you today
وَنُكَلِّمَكُمُ الْكَلَّ فِي تُونِسٍ	and I talk to you all inside and outside Tunisia
BA-2-4 وَخَارِجَ تُونِسَ	I talk to you in the language of Tunisians
نُكَلِّمَكُمْ بِلِغَةِ كَلِّ التُّونِسِيِّينَ	
BA-2-5 وَالتُّونِسِيَّاتِ	I am talking to you now
BA-2-6 نُكَلِّمَكُمْ	because the situation dictates deep change
لِأَنَّ الْوَضْعَ يَفْرِضُ تَغْيِيرٍ	Yes, deep and comprehensive change
BA-2-7 عَمِيقً نَعَمْ, تَغْيِيرٌ عَمِيقْ وَشَامِلْ	And I have understood you
BA-2-8 وَأَنَا فَهِمْتُكُمْ	Yes, I have understood you
BA-2-9 نَعَمْ انا فَهِمْتُكُمْ	I understood everyone the unemployed, the needy, the politician, and those [[who demand more freedoms]]
فَهِمْتُ الْجَمِيعَ الْبَطَّالَ وَالْمُحْتَاجَ وَالسِّيِاسِيَّ وَ [[اللِّي طَالِبُ مَزِيدً	
BA-2-10 مَنِ الْحَرِيَّاتِ]]	
BA-2-11 فَهِمْتُكُمْ	I have understood you
BA-2-12 وفَهِمْتُ الْكُلَّ	and I have understood you all
لَكِنَّ الاحدَاثَ [[اللِّي جَارِيَّةٌ الْيَوْمَ فِي بِلَادِنَا]] مَا هِيشْ مَتَاعْنَا	However, the events [[that are currently taking place in our country]] are not part of us
BA-2-13 وَالتَّخْرِيبَ مَا هَوشْ مَنْ عَادَاتِ التّونِسِيِّ, التّونِسِيُّ الْمُتَحَضِّرُ، التّونِسِيُّ الْمُتَسَامِحُ	and vandalism is not part of the customs of Tunisians, civilized Tunisians, tolerant Tunisians
BA-2-14	
BA-2-15 الْعُنْفُ موش مَتَاعْنَا	Violence is not part of us
BA-2-16 وَلَا هُوَ مَنْ سُلُوكِنَا	nor it is a part of our conduct
BA-2-17 وَلَا بِدَ أَنْ يَتَوَقَّفَ النَّيَّارُ	And This tension must stop
BA-2-18 يَتَوَقَّفُ	It stops
بِتَكَاتُفِ جُهُودِ الْجَمِيعِ أحزاب سياسية ، منظمات وَطنية، مجتمع مدني ، متقفين ومواطنين،	when efforts of everyone, political parties, national organizations, civil society,
BA-2-19	
BA-2-20 الْيَدُ فِي الْيَدِ مَنْ أَجْلِ بِلَادِنَا	
الْيَدُ فِي الْيَدِ مَنْ أَجْلِ أَمَانِ كُلِّ أَوْلَادِنَا	
BA-2-21	

	Arabic	English
	سَيَكُونُ التَّغْيِيرُ [[اللِّي أَعْلَنُ عَلَيْهِ الْيَوْمَ]] اسْتِجَابَةً لِمَطَالِبِكُمْ [[اللِّي تَفَاعَلْتُ مَعَاهَا]]	intellectuals and citizens, are brought together.
BA-2-22		Hand in hand, for our country's sake
BA-2-23	وَتَأَلَّمْتُ لِمَا [[حَدَثَ شَدِيدَ الْأَلَمِ]]	Hand in hand for the sake of all our children's security
BA-2-24	حُزْنِي وَأَلَمَيْ كَبِيرَان	The change [[that I am announcing now]] is in response to your demands, [[to which we have reacted]]
	لِأَنِّي مَضَيْتُ أَكْثَرَ مِنْ 50 سَنَةً مِنْ عُمْرِي فِي خِدْمَةِ تُونُسَ فِي مُخْتَلِفِ الْمَوَاقِع مَن الْجَيْشِ الْوَطَنِيِّ الى الْمَسْؤُولِيَاتِ الْمُخْتَلِفَةِ و23 سَنَةً عَلَى رَأْسِ الدَّوْلَةِ	And I was tormented by that [[which happened]] acutely
BA-2-25		My sadness and pain are great
BA-2-26	كُلُّ يَوْمٍ مَنْ حَيَّاتِي كَانَ وَمَازَالَ لِخدمةِ الْبِلادِ	for I have spent more than fifty years of my life in the service of Tunisia, in different
BA-2-27	وَقَدَمْتُ التَّضْحِيَاتِ	positions: from the National Army to various other responsibilities, and twenty-
BA-2-28	وَمَا نْحِبِشْ نُعَدِّدُهَا	three years as head of state
BA-2-29	كُلُّكُمْ تَعْرِفُوهَا	Every day of my life was and still to be in the service of the country
BA-2-30	وَلَمْ أَقْبَلْ يَوْمًا	And I have offered sacrifices
BA-2-31	وَمَا نقبلشْ	and I do not like recounting them
BA-2-32	باشْ تَسِيلَ قَطْرَةَ دَمٍ وَاحِدَةٍ مَنْ دِماءِ التّونِسِيِّين	you all know them
BA-2-33	تَأَلَّمْنَا	And I have never accepted
BA-2-34	لِسُقُوطِ ضَحَايَا	and will never accept
BA-2-35	وَتَضَرُّرِ أَشْخَاصٍ	for one single drop of Tunisian blood to be shed
BA-2-36	وَأَنَا نَرْفِضُ	We felt pain
BA-2-37	أَنْ يَسْقَطَ الْمَزِيدُ	that victims fell
BA-2-38	بِسَبَبِ تَوَاصُلِ الْعُنْفِ وَالنَّهْبِ	and that people suffered damage
BA-2-39	أَوْلَادْنَا الْيَوْمَ فِي الدَّار	I refuse
BA-2-40	ومُوشْ فِي الْمَدْرَسَةِ	that more people fall
BA-2-41	وَهَذَا حَرامٌ وَعَيْبٌ	as violence and looting continue further
BA-2-42	لِأَنَّا أَصْبَحْنَا خَائِفِينَ عَلَيْهِمْ مَنْ عُنْفِ مَجْمُوعَاتٍ سَطْوٍ وَنَهْبٍ وَاعْتِداءٍ عَلَى الاشْخَاصِ	Our children today are at home
BA-2-43	هَذَا إجْرام	and they are not in the school
BA-2-44	مُوشْ اِحْتِجَاجْ	This is a wrongdoing and a disgrace
BA-2-45	وَهَذَا حَرامٌ	because we have become fearful for them
BA-2-46	وَالمُواطِنِينَ ،كُلُّ المُواطِنِينَ ، لا بُدَّ أن يَقِفُوا أَمَامَهُمْ	from the violence of groups of assaulters, muggers, burglars and people attackers
BA-2-47	وَإِحّنَا أَعْطِينَا التَّعْلِيماتِ	This is a wrongdoing

BA-2-48	وَنُعَوِّلُ عَلَى تَعَاوُنِ الجَمِيع	It is not protesting
	حَتَّى نُفَرِّقَ بَيْنَ هٰذِهِ العِصاباتِ وَالمَجْمُوعاتِ مِن المُنْحَرِفَيْنَ [[الَّذِينَ يَسْتَغِلُّونَ الظَّرْفَ]] وَبَيْنَ الْأَحْتِجاجاتِ السِلْمِيَّةِ	and this is an offense
		and the citizens, all citizens, must stand up to them
	المَشْرُوعَةِ [[الَّتِي لا نَرَى مانِعاً	And we gave instructions
BA-2-49	فِيها]]	and we rely on everyone's cooperation
BA-2-50	وَأَسَفِي كَبِيرٌ	so that we distinguish between these
	اسفِي كَبِيرٌ و كَبِيرٌ جِداً،	gangs and groups of deviants [[who are taking advantage of the circumstances]],
BA-2-51	وَعَمِيقٌ جِداً، وَعَمِيقٌ جِداً	and between peaceful, legitimate protests
BA-2-52	فَكَفَى عُنْفاً	[[which we do not object]]
BA-2-53	كَفَى عُنْفاً	
	وعطيتُ التَّعْلِيمَاتِ كَذَلِكَ لِوَزِيرِ	And my sadness is very great
BA-2-54	الدَّاخِلِيَّة	My sadness is very great, very deep and
BA-2-55	وَكَرَّرْتُ	Very profound
BA-2-56	وَالْيَوْمَ نُؤَكِّد	Stop the violence
	يُزَيَّ مَنِ اللُّجُوءِ للكَرطُوش	Stop the violence
BA-2-57	الْحَيّ	And I have also given instructions to the interior minister
BA-2-58	الكَرطُوشُ موش مَقْبُولٌ	
BA-2-59	مَا عندوش مُبَرَّرٌ	and I repeated
	الَأحدّ >> حَدِّ يُحَاوِلُ يُفُكُّ	and today I confirm
BA-2-60	سِلاَحَكَ	do not use live ammunition
BA-2-61	>> لَا قَـدَّرَ اللهُ >>	Live ammunition is not acceptable
BA-2-62	وَيَهْجِمُ عَلَيْكَ بِالنَّار وَغَيْرَهَا	It is not justified
BA-2-63	وَيَجْبِرُكَ عَلَى الدّفاع عَنِ النَّفْس	unless << >> someone tries to take your weapon
BA-2-64	وَأَطْلُبُ مِن اللَّجْنَةِ المُسْتَقِلَّةِ أَكَرِّر اللَّجْنَةِ المُسْتَقِلَّةِ [[الَّتِي سَتُحَقِّقُ فِي الْأَحْدَاثِ وَالتَّجَاوُزَاتِ وَالوَفِيَاتِ	<<God prevent this>>
	المَأْسُوفِ عَلَيْها]]	and he attacks you with a firearm, or the like
BA-2-65	تَحْدِيدَ مَسْؤُلِيَاتِ كُلِّ الأَطْرافِ ، كُلِّ الأَطْرافِ بِدُونِ اِسْتِثْناءٍ ، بِكُلِّ إِنْصَافٍ وَنَزَاهَةٍ	and he forces you to defend yourself
BA-2-66	وَمَوْضُوعِيَّةٍ	And I ask the independent commission
BA-2-67	وَنِسْتِنى	I repeat, the independent commission, [[which will investigate the incidents and the abuses and the regrettable deaths]]
	وَنِسْتِنى مِن كُلِّ تُونِسِيّ [[اللِّيّ يُساندُنَا]][[وَاللِّيّ ما	
BA-2-68	يُسَاندنَاش]]	to delineate the responsibilities of all sides, without exception, in all fairness, integrity
BA-2-69	باشَ يَدَعِّم الجُهُودَ ، جُهُودَ التَهْدِئَة	and objectivity
	وَالتَخَلِّي عَنِ العُنْفِ وَالتَخْرِيبِ	And we expect
BA-2-70	وَالإِفْسَادِ	

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BA-2-71	فَالإِصْلاحُ لَآزِمُو الهُدُوءُ وَالأَحْداثُ [[اللِّيّ شُفناها]]	and we expect every Tunisian, [[those who support us]] and [[those who do not support us]]
BA-2-72	كَانَتْ فِيَّ مُنْطَلَقِها اِحْتِجَاجْ عَلَى أَوْضاع اِجْتِماعِيَّةٍ	to support the efforts, efforts to restore calm
BA-2-73	كُنَّا عَمِلنَا جُهُوداً كَبِيرَةً	and to abandon violence, vandalism, and depravation
BA-2-74	لِمُعَالَجِتِهَا	
BA-2-75	وَلِكِنْ مازَالَ أَمَامَنَا مَجُهوداً كَبِيراً	Reform requires serenity
BA-2-76	لَتَدَارُكِ (نحن) النَقائِصِ	And the incidents [[that we have witnessed]] were at the outset protests against social conditions
BA-2-77	وَلازِم نُعْطِي لِأَنْفُسِنا جَمِيعاً الفُرْصَةَ وَالوَقْتَ	which we had made great efforts
BA-2-78	بَاشّ تَتَجَسَّمَ كُلُّ الإِجْراءاتِ الهامَةِ [[الَّتِي اِتَّخَذنَاها]]	so that we deal with them
BA-2-79	وَزِيادَةً عَلَى هُذا كَلَّفتُ الحُكُومَةَ	However, we still require greater efforts
BA-2-80	أَتَّصَلَتُ بِالسَيِّدِ الوَزِير الأَوَّل	so that we avoid shortcomings
BA-2-81	بَاشّ نَقُومُ بِتَخْفِيضٍ فِيَّ أَسْعارِ المَوادِّ وَالمَرافِقِ الأَسَاسِيَّةِ	And we all have to give ourselves the chance and the time required
BA-2-82	أَمَّا المَطَالِبُ السِياسِيَّةُ قُلتِلْكُمْ	so that all the important measures, [[that we took]], get materialized
BA-2-83	أَنَا فَهِمْتُكُمْ	In addition to that I tasked the government
BA-2-84	أَي نَعَمْ قُلتِلْكُمْ	I contacted the prime minister
BA-2-85	أَنَا فَهِمْتُكُمْ	so that we carry out reductions in the prices of basic commodities and foodstuffs, sugar, milk, bread, etc.
BA-2-86	وَقَرَّرْتُ الحُرِّيَّةَ الكَامِلَةَ لِلإِعْلاَمِ بِكُلِّ وَسَائِلُو	
BA-2-87		As for political demands, I told you
BA-2-88	وَعَدَم غَلْقِ مَوَاقِعِ الإِنتَرنَاتِ وَرَفْضِ أَي شَكْلٍ مِن أَشْكالِ الرَقابَةِ عَلِيْها	I have understood you
BA-2-89	مَعَ الحِرْصِ عَلَى اِحْتِرَام أَخْلاقِيّاتِنا وَمَبَادِئ المِهْنَةِ الإِعْلامِيَّةِ	Yes, I told you
BA-2-90	أَمَّاً بِالنِسْبَةِ لِلجْنَّةِ [[اللِّيّ أَعْلَنتُ عَلِيْها مُنذُ يَوْمَيْنِ لِلنَظَرِ فِيَّ ظَوَاهِرِ الفَسادِ وَالرِشْوَةِ وَأَخْطَاءِ المَسْؤُولِيْنَ]] وبَاش تَكُونَ هُذِه اللَجْنَةُ مُسْتَقِلَّةً	I have understood you
		And I decided
		to fully free the media in all its forms
		and not to shut down Internet sites
BA-2-91		and to reject any form of censorship on them
BA-2-92	نَعَمْ بَاشّ تَكُونَ مُسْتَقِلَّةً وَسَنَحْرِصُ عَلَى نَزاهَتِها	while we closely respect our morals and the principles of the journalistic profession
BA-2-93	وَإِنْصَافِها	
	وَالمَجَالُ مَفْتُوحٌ مِنَ اليَوْمِ لِحُرِيَّةِ التَعْبِير السِياسِيّ بِما فِيَّ ذَلِكَ التَظَاهُرُ السِلْمِيُّ ، التَظَاهُرُ	As for it the commission [[that I announced two days ago for looking into corruption,
BA-2-94		

	السِلْمِيُّ المُؤَطَّرُ وَالمُنَظَّمُ ، التَّظَاهُرُ الحَضَارِيُّ فَلَا بَأْسَ حِزْبٌ أَو مُنَظَّمَةٌ [[يُرِيدُ تَنْظِيمَ تَظَاهُرَةٍ سِلْمِيَّةٍ]]	bribery, and the mistakes of officials]] it will be independent
BA-2-95	يَتَفَضَّلْ	Yes, it will be independent
BA-2-96	لَكِنْ يُعْلِمْ بِيها	and we will ensure its fairness and integrity
BA-2-97	وَيُحَدِّدُ وَقْتَها وَمَكَانَها	And the field is open, from this day onward, for freedom of political expression
BA-2-98	وَ يُؤَطِّرَها	and also peaceful demonstrations, organized and orderly peaceful
BA-2-99	وَيَتَعَاوَنُ مَعَ الأَطْرَافِ المَسْؤُولَةِ	demonstrations, civilized demonstrations
BA-2-100	لِلْمُحَافَظَةِ عَلَى طَابَعِها السِلْمِيّ	A party or an organization [[who wants to organize a peaceful demonstration]] go
BA-2-101	نُحِبّ نُأَكِدَ	ahead
BA-2-102	أَنَّ العَدِيدَ مِنَّ الأُمُور لَمْ تَجْر كَمَا حَبِّيْتُها تَكُونَ وَخُصُوصاً فِيَّ مَجَالِي الدِيمُقْرَاطِيَّةِ	but they should pre-announce it
BA-2-103	وَالحُرِّيَاتِ	and they set its time and place
BA-2-104	وَغَلْطُونِيْ أَحْيَاناً بِحَجْبِ الحَقَائِق	and organize it
BA-2-105	وَسَيُحَاسَبُونَ	and cooperate with the responsible parties
BA-2-106	نَعَمْ سَيُحَاسَبُونَ	to preserve its peaceful character
BA-2-107	وَلِذَا أُجَدِّدُ لَكُمْ ، وَبِكُلِّ وُضُوح رَانِي بَاشّ نَعْمَلُ عَلَى دَعْمِ الدِيمُقْرَاطِيَّة وَتَفْعِيلِ التَعَدُّدِيَّةِ، نَعَمْ عَلَى دَعْمِ الدِيمُقْرَاطِيَّةِ	I would like to assure you
BA-2-108	وَتَفْعِيلِ التَعَدُّدِيَّةِ	that many things did not happen
BA-2-109	وَسَأَعْمَلُ عَلَى صَوْنِ الدُسْتُور دُسْتُورِ البِلَادِ وَاحْتِرَامِهِ	the way I had liked them to especially in the areas of democracy and freedoms
BA-2-110	وَ<< >> نُحِبُ نُكَرِّرُ هُنَا	And sometimes, they misled me with concealing facts
BA-2-111	<<وَخِلافاً لِما اِدَّعاهُ البَعْضُ >>	and they will be held accountable
BA-2-112	أَنِّي تَعَهَّدتُ يَوْمَ السَابِع مِنَ نُوفِمْبِر	Yes, they will be held accountable
BA-2-113	بِأَنَّ لا رِئاسَةَ مَدَى الحَياةِ لا رِئاسَةَ مَدَى الحَياةِ	Therefore, I reiterate to you, in all clarity
BA-2-114	وَلِذَلِكَ فَإِنِّي أُجَدِّدُ شُكْرِي [[لِكُلِّ مِن نَاشَدَنِي لِلتَرَشُّح لِسَنَةِ 2014]]	I will work on promoting democracy and putting pluralism into effect. Yes, on promoting democracy and putting pluralism into effect
BA-2-115	وَلَكِنِّي أَرْفُضُ المِسَاسَ بِشَرْطِ السِّنّ	and I will work on the preservation and respect of the country's constitution
BA-2-116	لِلتَرَشُّح لِرِئاسَةِ الجُمْهُورِيَّةِ	And << >> I'd like to restate here
BA-2-117	أَنَّا نُرِيدُ بُلُوغَ سَنَةَ 2014 فِيَّ إطار وِفاقٍ مَدَنِيٍّ فِعْلِيٍّ وَجَوٍّ مِنَ الحِوارِ الوَطَنِيّ وَبِمُشَارَكَةِ	<< and in contrast to what some have claimed>>
		that I have pledged, on November 7
		that there would be no presidency for life. No presidency for life

Code	Arabic	English
	الأَطْرَافِ الوَطَنِيَّةِ في المَسْؤُولِيَّاتِ	Therefore, I renew thanks to all [[who have urged me to re-nominate myself in 2014]]
BA-2-118	تُونِسُ بِلادُنا الكُلُّ	but I refuse violating the age condition
BA-2-119	بِلادُ كُلِّ التَّوانِسَه	to run for the presidency of the republic
BA-2-120	تُونِس نُحِبُّوها	We want to reach the year 2014 in a framework of genuine civil consensus, and an atmosphere of national dialogue, with the participation of all national parties in assuming responsibilities
BA-2-121	وكُلُّ شَعْبِها يُحِبُّها	
BA-2-122	ويَلْزَمْ نَصُونُها	
BA-2-123	فَلْتَبْقَ إِرادَةُ شَعْبِها بَينَ أَيديهِ وبَينَ الأَيادِي الأَمينةِ]] التي سَيَخْتارُها[[	Tunisia is the country of all of us
	لِتُواصِلَ المَسيرَةُ [[المَسيرَةُ التي اِنْطَلَقَتْ مُنْذُ الأِسْتِقْلالِ]] [[وَاَلَّتي واصَلْناها مُنْذُ سَنَةِ	It is the country of all Tunisians
BA-2-124	[[1987	We love Tunisia
BA-2-125	وَلِهَذا سَنُكَوِّنُ لَجْنَةً وَطَنِيَّةً	and all of her people love her
BA-2-126	تَتَرَأَّسُها شَخْصِيَّةٌ وَطَنِيَّةٌ مُسْتَقِلَّةٌ [[لَها المِصْداقِيَّةُ لَدَى كُلِّ الأَطْرافِ السِياسِيَّةِ والأِجْتِماعِيَّةِ]]	We must protect her
	لِلنَظَرِ فِيَّ مُراجعةِ المَجَلَّةِ الأِنْتِخابِيَّةِ وَمَجَلَّةِ الصَحافَةِ	Let the will of her people remain in their hands and in the faithful hands [[that they will choose]]
BA-2-127	وَقانُونِ الجَمْعِيَّاتِ إِلَى غَيْرِ ذَلَكَ وَتَقْتَرِحُ اللَّجْنَةُ التَصَوُّراتُ المَرْحَلِيَّةُ اللازِمَةُ حَتَّى اِنْتِخاباتِ سَنَةِ 2014 بِما فِيَّ ذَلَكَ إِمْكانِيَّةَ فَصْلِ الأِنْتِخاباتِ التَشْرِيعِيَّةِ عَنِ الأِنْتِخاباتِ	to continue the journey [[that began since independence]] and [[that we have continued since 1987]]
BA-2-128	الرئاسِيَّةِ	And to that end, we will set up a national commission
BA-2-129	تُونِسُ لَنا جَمِيعاً	which an independent national personality [[that has credibility among all the social and political parties]] will head
BA-2-130	فَلْنُحافِظْ عَلَيْها جَمِيعاً	in order to review the electoral code, the press code, and the law of associations, etc.
BA-2-131	وَمُسْتَقْبَلُها بَيْنَ أَيْدِينا	
BA-2-132	فَلْنُؤَمِّنْها جَمِيعاً	And the commission will recommend the necessary provisional ideas until the 2014 elections, in addition to the possibility of separating legislative elections and presidential elections
BA-2-133	وَكُلُّ واحِدٍ مِنّا مَسْؤُولٌ مِنْ مَوقِعِهِ	
BA-2-134	عَلَى إِعادَةِ أَمْنِها وَأِسْتِقْرارِها	Tunisia is for us all
BA-2-135	وَتَرْمِيمِ جِراحِها	so, let us all preserve it
BA-2-136	والدُخُولِ بِها في مَرْحَلَةٍ جَديدَةٍ [[تُؤَهِّلُها أَكْثَرَ لَمُسْتَقْبِلٍ أَفْضَلَ]]	Its future is in our hands
BA-2-137	عَاشَتْ تُونِسُ	so, Let us all safeguard it
BA-2-138	عَاشَ شَعْبُها	And each one of us is responsible, from their position

		to restore its security, her stability
BA-2-139	عَاشَتِ الجُمْهُورِيَّةُ	and to heal its wounds
BA-2-140	وَالسَلامُ عَلَيكُمْ وَرَحْمَةُ اللهِ وَبَرَكَاتُهُ	and to usher it into a new era [[that would better enable her to have a brighter future]]
		Long live Tunisia
		long live its people
		long live the republic
		Pease, mercy and blessings of Allah be upon you

Appendix 2-Assad's Two Speeches

1-Speech one

Arabic Text	English Translation
أَعْلَمُ AS-1-1	I know
أَنَّني غِبتُ فَتْرَةَ طَويلَةً عَنِ الإعْلامِ AS-1-2	that I stayed away from the media for a long time
لٰكِنَّني اِشْتَقْتُ لِمِثْلِ هٰذِهِ اللِقاءاتِ AS-1-3	However, I missed such meetings
لِلتَواصُل المَباشِر مَعَ المُواطِنِيْنَ AS-1-4	so I directly connect with the citizens
لٰكِنِّي كُنتُ دائِماً أَقُومُ بِمُتابِعَةُ الأُمُورِ اليَوْمِيَّة AS-1-5	But I have always been following up daily matters
وَتَجْمِيع المُعْطَياتِ AS-1-6	and ^I HAVE BEEN collecting information
كَي يَكُونَ كَلامِي مَبْنِياً عَلَى ما يَقُولُهُ الشارعُ AS-1-7	so that my speech is built on what the street says
أُحَيِيكُمْ تَحِيَّةَ العُرُوبَةِ AS-1-8	I salute you the salutation of Arabism
الَّتي سَتَبْقَى عُنْواناً لِأُنْتِمائِنا وَمَلاذاً لَنا في المُلِمَّاتِ AS-1-9	which will remain a symbol of our identity and our haven in difficult times
وَأُحَيِيكُمْ تَحِيَّةَ الوَطَنِ AS-1-10	And I salute you the salutation of the home country
الَّذي سَيَبْقَى مَصْدَرَ فَخْرِنا وَاعْتِزازِنا AS-1-11	which will remain the source of our pride and dignity
وَأُحَيِي صَمُودكُمْ AS-1-12	And I salute your steadfastness
لِتَبْقَى سُوريَّةُ قَلْعَةً حَصِينَةً في مُواجِهَةِ جَمِيع أَشْكالِ الأِخْتِراق AS-1-13	so that Syria remains invincible fortress in the face of all forms of penetration
أَتَحَدَّثُ إِلَيْكُمُ اليَوْمَ بَعْدَ مُضِيِّ عَشْرَةِ أَشْهَرٍ عَلَى اِنْدِلاع الأَحْداثِ المُؤْسِفَةِ[[الَّتي أَصابَتِ الوَطَنَ]][[وَفُرضتْ ظُرُوفاً مُسْتَجِدَّةً عَلَى الساحَةِ السُوريَّةِ]] AS-1-14	Today, I talk you ten months after the outbreak of the unfortunate events [[which befell the country]] and [[imposed new circumstances on the Syrian arena]]
أَدَمتْ قَلْبِي AS-1-15	They ached my heart
كَمَا أَدَمتْ قَلْبَ كُلِّ سُوَرِي AS-1-16	as they ached your hearts
إِنَّ التَآمُرَ الخارِجِيَّ لَمْ يَعُدْ خافِياً عَلَى أَحَدٍ AS-1-17	External conspiring is no longer a secret
إِلّا عَلَى مَنْ لا يُرِيدُ أَنْ يَرَى AS-1-18	except for those who do not want to see
فَالدُمُوغ[[الَّتي ذَرَفها]]عَلَى ضَحايانا تُجارُ الحُريَّةِ وَالدِيمُقراطِيَّة لَمْ تَعُدْ قادِرَةً عَلَى إِخْفاء الدَوْر[[الَّذي لَعِبُوهُ في سَفْكِ دِمائِها]] AS-1-19	The tears [[that were shed by the dealers of freedom and democracy for our own victims]] are no longer capable of [[concealing the role they played in the bloodshed]]
لِلمُتاجَرَةِ بِها AS-1-20	so that they exploit them
أَمّا الآنَ فَقَدِ اِنْقَشَعَ الضَبابُ AS-1-21	However, now the fog has cleared

	Arabic	English
AS-1-22	وَبِتّنا أَكْثَرَ قُدْرَةٍ عَلَى تَفْكِيكِ البِيئَةِ الأَفْتِراضِيَّةِ[[الّتِي أَوْجَدُوها لَدَفعِ السُوريِّيْنَ نَحوَ أَلوَهُمِ وَمِنْ ثَمَّ السُقُوطِ]]	and we have become more capable of [[deconstructing the virtual environment]] [[which they have created to push Syrians towards illusion and then fall]]
AS-1-23	الآنَ هُناكَ أَكْثَرُ مِنْ سِتّيْنَ مَحَطّةً تِلفِزيُونيَّةً في العالمِ[[مُكَرَّسَةً لِلعَمَلِ ضِدَّ سُوريَّةَ]]	Now there are over 60 TV stations [[which are devoted to work against Syria]]
AS-1-24	البَعْضُ مِنها يَعْمَلُ ضِدَّ الداخِلِ السُوريِّ	some of them work against Syria from the inside
AS-1-25	وَالبَعْضُ مِنها يَعْمَلُ	some others work
AS-1-26	لِتَشْويهِ صُورَةِ سُوريَّةَ في الخارِجِ	In order to distort the image of Syria abroad
AS-1-27	وَهُناكَ العَشَراتُ مِنْ مَواقِعِ الإنْتِرْنِتِ,وَالعَشَراتُ مِنْ الصُحُفِ وَالوَسائِلِ الإعْلاميَّةِ المُخْتَلِفَةِ	And there are tens of internet websites, and tens of newspapers and different media channels
AS-1-28	يَعْني[[نَحْنُ نَتَحَدَّثُ عَن المِئاتِ مِنْ وَسائِلِ الإعْلامِ]]	meaning, [[that we talk about hundreds of media stations]]
AS-1-29	إنَّ إحْدَى المُحاوَلاتِ[[الّتِي تُعَرِّفُونَها]]هِيَ [[ما قامُوا بِهِ مَعِيَ شَخْصِيّاً بِمُقابَلَتَيْ مَعَ القَناةِ الأَميرْكِيَّةِ]]	One of the attempts [[which you are aware of]] is what they did with me personally in my interview with the American news channel
AS-1-30	وَأَنَا لا أُشاهِدُ نَفْسِي عَلَى التِلْفازِ نِهائِيّاً	I never watch myself on TV
AS-1-31	مُنْذُ أَنْ أَصْبَحتُ رَئيساً	ever since I become a president
AS-1-32	وَفِيَ هَذِهِ المَرَّةِ شاهَدتُ نَفْسِيَ	At that time, I watched myself
AS-1-33	وَعَنْدَمَا شاهَدتُ نَفْسِيَ	When I watched myself
AS-1-34	كِدتُ أَصْدُقُ	I almost believed
AS-1-35	ما أَقُولهُ	what I was saying
AS-1-36	أَنَا قُلتُ الكَلامَ!	Did I say that ?!
AS-1-37	فَإذاً كانُوا قادِرَيْنَ عَلَى إقْناعِي بالكِذْبَةِ	If they were capable of convincing me of the lie
AS-1-38	ما هُوَ الوَضْعُ بالنِسْبَةِ لِلآخَرَيْنَ؟	what is the situation for the others?
AS-1-39	طَبَعاً هُمْ يَهْدِفُونَ إلَى شَيْءٍ وَحَيِّدٍ	Of course, they aim at one thing
AS-1-40	عِنْدَماً فَشِلُوا في خَلْقِ حالَةِ انْهِيارٍ عَلَى مُسْتَوَى سُوريَّةَ,عَلَى المُسْتَوَى الشَعْبِيِّ أو المؤسساتي	When they failed in causing a state of collapse on the popular and institutional levels in Syria
AS-1-41	أَرادُوا	they wanted
AS-1-42	أَنْ يَصِلُوا إلَى رَأْسِ الهَرَمِ في الدَوْلَةِ	that they get to the top of the pyramid of the state
AS-1-43	لِكَي يَقُولُوا لِلمُواطِنِيْنَ	in order to say to the citizens
AS-1-44	إنَّ هَذا الشَخْصَ يَعَيْشُ في قَوْقَعَةٍ	that this person lives in a cocoon
AS-1-45	لا يَعرفُ ما[[الّذي يَحصُلُ]]	he does not know the things [[that happen]]
AS-1-46	وَلِيَقُولُوا لِلمُواطِنِيْنَ وَخاصَةٍ المَوْجُودِيْنَ فِيَّ الدَوْلَةِ	and to say to the citizens especially the ones in the country
AS-1-47	إذاً كَانَ رَأْسُ الهَرَمِ يَتَهَرَّبُ مِنَ المَسْؤُوليَّةِ	if the top figure in the pyramid is evading responsibility
AS-1-48	وَيَشْعُرُ بالأنْهِيارِ	and he feels the collapse
AS-1-49	فَمَنَ الطَبيعِيِّ أَنَّ يَفْرَطَ العُقَدِ	then normally the string will fall apart
AS-1-50	إنَّ المُحاوَلاتِ مُسْتَمِرَّةٌ	

AS-1-51	لا تَنْتَهي	Tries are continuous
AS-1-52	مَرَّةً الرَئيسُ سَأفَرَ	they do not stop
AS-1-53	وَمَرَّةً هاجَرَ	Once, the president traveled
AS-1-54	نَقُولُ لَهُمُ	and once, he migrated
AS-1-55	خَسِئتُمُ	We say to them
AS-1-56	لَسْتُ أنَا مَن يَتَخَلَّى عَن مَسْؤُوليّاتِه	go away
AS-1-57	وَأنَا قُلْتُ فِيَّ عامِ2000	not me who abandons his duties
AS-1-58	أنَا لا أسْعَى إلَى مَنْصِبٍ	I said in the year 2000
AS-1-59	وَلا أهْرُبُ مِنْ مَسْؤُوليّةٍ	I do not pursue a position
AS-1-60	المَنْصِبُ لَيْسَ لَهُ قيمَةٌ	and I do not run from a responsibility
AS-1-61	هُو مُجَرَّدُ أداةٍ	The position has no value
AS-1-62	وَمَنْ يَسَعَ إلَى مَنْصِبٍ	it is only a tool
AS-1-63	لا يَحْتَرِم	And whoever pursue a position
AS-1-64	صَبَرَنا	would not be respected
AS-1-65	وَصابَرْنا في مَعْرَكَةٍ غَيْر مَسْبُوقَةٍ فِيَّ تاريخ سُوريَّة الحَديثِ	We waited and we continuously waited in one of its kind battle in the history of modern Syria
AS-1-66	لَقَدْ بَحَثُوا في البِدايَةِ عَنِ الثَّوْرَةِ المَنْشُودَةِ	They have looked in the beginning for the wanted revolution
AS-1-67	فَكانَتْ ثَوْرَتُكُمُ ضِدَّهُمُ وَضِدَّ مُخَرِّبَيْهِمُ وَأدَواتِهِمُ	but your revolution was against them and against their vandals and their tools
AS-1-68	وَ>> <<اِنْتَقَلُوا إلَى أعْمالِ التَخْريبِ وَالقَتْل تَحْتَ عَناوينَ وَأغْطِيَةٍ مُخْتَلِفَةٍ	And << >> they moved to acts of vandalism and killing under different pretexts and covers
AS-1-69	>> <<عِنْدَماً فَقَدُوا الأمَلَ بِتَحْقيقِ أهْدافهُمُ	<<when they lost hope in achieving their goals>>
AS-1-70	وَحاوَلُوا عَزْلَ المُدُن	and they tried to isolate the cities
AS-1-71	وَتَقْطيعَ أوْصالِ الوَطَن	and to rip the country apart
AS-1-72	وَ>> <<لَمْ يَجِدُوا مَوْطِئَ قَدَم لَثَوْرَتِهَمُ المَأمُولَةَ	and<< >> they could not find a place for their desired revolution
AS-1-73	>> <<بَعْدَ تَجْريبِ كُلّ الطُرُق وَالوَسائِل المُمْكِنَةِ في عالَم اليَوْمِ،مَع كُلّ الدَعْم الإعْلاميّ وَالسِياسيّ الإقْليميّ وَالدَوْليّ>>	<<after trying every available way and mean in today's world, alongside the regional and international political and informational support>>
AS-1-74	هُنّا أتَى دَوْرُ الخارج	There came the turn of the outside
AS-1-75	وَعِنْدَماً نَقُولُ الخارجَ عادَةً	When we usually say the outside
AS-1-76	يَخْطُرُ بِبالِنا الخارجُ الأجْنَبِيُّ	It comes to our mind the foreign outside
AS-1-77	مَع كُلّ أسَفٍ أصْبَحَ هذا الخارجُ مَزيجاً مِنَ الأجْنَبِيّ وَالعَرَبي	With all regret, this outside became a mix of the foreign and the Arabic
AS-1-78	وَأحْياناً وَفِيّ كَثيرٍ مِنَ الحالاتَ يَكُونُ هذا الجُزْءُ العَرَبِيُّ أكْثَرُ عِداءً وَسُوءاً مِنَ الجُزْءِ الأجْنَبِيّ	and in many cases, this Arabic part is worse and more inimical than the foreign part
AS-1-79	أنَّ بَعْضَ المَسْؤُولِيْنَ العَرَب مَعَنا في القَلْب وَضِدّنا فِيَّ السِياسَةِ	
AS-1-80	وَ>> <<يَقُولُ	

	Arabic	English
AS-1-81	<<عِنْدَماً نَسْأَلُ لِماذا؟>>	Some Arab officials are with us by heart and against us in politics
AS-1-82	أَنَا مَعَكُم	and << >>He says
AS-1-83	وَلِكِنَ هُناكَ ضغُوطٌ خارجِيَّةٌ	<<when we ask why>>
AS-1-84	يَعْني[[هُوَ إعْلانٌ شَبَهُ رَسْمي بِفِقْدان السِيادَة]]	I am with you
AS-1-85	لِماذا بَدَؤُوا المُبادَرَةَ العَرَبِيَّةَ؟	but there are international pressures
AS-1-86	نَفْسُ الدُوَلُ[[الَّتي تَدَّعي الحِرْصَ عَلَى الشَعْبِ السُوريِّ]]كانَتْ في البِدايَةِ تَنْصَحنا بِمَوْضُوعِ الإصْلاح	meaning, [[it is a semi-official announcement of losing sovereignty]]
AS-1-87	طَبَعا هِيَ لا يُوجَدُ لَدَيْهَا أَدْنى مَعْرِفَةٍ بِالدِيمُقراطِيَّة	Why did they initiate the Arab initiative?
AS-1-88	وَلِكِنْ كانُوا يَعْتَقِدُونَ	The same countries [[that claim concern for the Syrian people]] have advised us with reforms
AS-1-89	بِأَنَّنا لَنْ نَسيرَ بِاتِّجاهِ الإصْلاح	Of course, they do not have any knowledge about democracy
AS-1-90	وَسَيَكُونُ هُناكَ عُنْوانٌ لِهَذِهِ الدُوَلِ	However, they thought
AS-1-91	لِكَي تَسْتَخْدِمهُ دُوَلِياً	that we will not go the way of reform
AS-1-92	عِنْدَما قُمَّنا بِالإصْلاح	and there will be a pretext for those countries
AS-1-93	كَأَنَ هذا الشَيْءُ مُرْبِكاً بِالنِسْبَةِ لَهُمُ	so that they use it internationally
AS-1-94	فَانْتَقَلُوا إلَى مَوْضُوعِ الجامِعَةِ العَرَبِيَّةِ أو المُبادَرَةِ العَرَبِيَّةِ	When we carried out reforms
AS-1-95	وَ<< >>فَنَحْنُ نُقُولُ	that was confusing for them
AS-1-96	<<إذا كانَتْ بَعْضُ الدُوَل تَسْعَى لَتَعْليق عُرُوبِتِنا فِيَّ الجامِعَةِ>>	so they moved to the tool of the Arab League or the Arabic initiative
AS-1-97	إنَّهُمْ يُعَلِّقُونَ عُرُوبَةَ الجامِعَةَ	And << >>We say
AS-1-98	أَنَّ العُرُوبَةَ هِيَ اِنْتِماءٌ لا عُضْوِيَّةٌ	<<if some countries are working for suspending our Arabism in the League>>
AS-1-99	العُرُوبَةُ هِيَ هُوِيَّةٌ[[يَمْنَحها التاريخُ]]	they are suspending the Arabism of the League
AS-1-100	إنَّ العُرُوبَةَ لَمْ تُبْنَ مِنْ قِبَلِ العَرَبِ	Arabism is an identity not a membership
AS-1-101	العُرُوبَةُ بُنَيتْ مِنْ كُلِّ مِنْ سَاهَمَ في بَنّائِها مِنَ الأصُولِ غَيْر العَرَبِيَّةِ[[الَّتي تُشَكِّلُ هذا المُجْتَمَعَ الغَنِيَّ]] [[الَّذي نُعِيشُ فِيهِ]]	Arabism is an identity [[that is given by history]]
AS-1-102	البَعْض تَحْتِ ضَغْط الأزْمَة يَتَحَدَّث عَنَّ أَي حَلّ	Arabism was not built by Arabs
AS-1-103	وَيُطالِب بِأَيّ حَلّ	Arabism was built by everyone [[who participated in building it from non-Arab ethnicities]] [[that make this rich society]] [[that we live in]]
AS-1-104	وَلَن نَقُوم بِأَيّ حَلّ[[قَد يُؤَدِّي بِالبَلَد إلَى الهاوِيَة]] [[أَو قَد يُؤَدِّي إلَى تَعْمِيق الأزْمَة]]	Some under the pressure of the catastrophe talk about any solution
AS-1-105	نَحْنُ اليَوْم نَتَعامَل مَعَ جانِبَيْن فِيَّ الإصْلاح الداخِلِيّ	and he demands for any solution
AS-1-106	الأُول هُوَ الإصْلاح السِياسِيّ	and we will not carry out any solution [[that might go with the country downhill]] [[or that might lead to a deeper catastrophe]]
AS-1-107	وَالجانِب الآخر هُوَ مُكافَحَة الإرْهاب	We are dealing with two aspects of internal reform today
AS-1-108	ما هِيَ العَلاقَة بَيْنَ العَمَلِيَّة الإصْلاحِيَّة وَالمُخَطِّط الخارجيّ؟	The first aspect is political reform
AS-1-109	وَإذا قَمَّنا اليَوْم بِالإصْلاح	

	Arabic	English
AS-1-110	هَلَّ سَتَتَوَقَّف المُخَطَّطات الخارِجِيَّة تُجاهَ سُوريَّة	and the second aspect is fighting terrorism
AS-1-111	لا أَحُد مِن هؤُلاءِ يَهُتَمّ لا بِعَدَد الضَحايا وَلا بِالإِصْلاحات وَلا ما[[سَيَأْتِي]]وَلا ما[[ثَمَّ إنْجازة]]	What is the relationship between the reform process and the outside plot?
AS-1-112	النُّقْطَة الثانِيَة تَتَجَسَّد فِيَّ طَبِيعَة العَلاقَة بَيَّنَ الإِصْلاح وَالإِرْهاب	If we introduce the reforms today
AS-1-113	فَإذاً قَمَنا بِالإِصْلاح	Will the outside plots against Syria stop?
AS-1-114	هَلَّ سَيَتَوَقَّف الإِرْهابِيّ؟	None of those cares about neither the number of the victims nor about reforms neither about [[what will come ahead]] [[nor what will be achieved]]
AS-1-115	الإِصْلاح لا يَعْني الإِرْهابِيّ	The second point represents the relationship between reform and terrorism
AS-1-116	وَلا يَهمهُ	If we carry out the reforms
AS-1-117	وَالإِصْلاح بِالنِسْبَة لَنا هُو السِياق الطَبِيعِيّ	will terrorists stop?
AS-1-118	لِذلِكَ أَعْلَنا عَنهُ عَلَى مَراحِل فِيَّ العام2000	Reform means nothing to the terrorist
AS-1-119	وَفِيّ العام2005تَحَدْثُنا عَنَّ الإِصْلاح السِياسِيّ	and it does not concern him
AS-1-120	فِيّ ذَلِكَ الوَقْت لَمَ تُكِنْ هُناكَ ضغوطات عَلَى سُوريَّة فِيَّ هذا الإطار	For us, reform is the natural context
AS-1-121	وَلكِنْ لا نَبْني الإِصْلاحَ عَلَى الأَزْمَةِ	for this we announced a phased reform in the year 2000
AS-1-122	<< >>سَنُعْطي المُبَرَّرَ لِلْقَوَى الخارِجِيَّةِ	and in 2005 we talked about the political reform
AS-1-123	<<إذاً بَنَيناهُ>>	At that time, there was no pressure on Syria in regard to that
AS-1-124	لِكَي تَتَدَخَّلَ فِي أَزْمتِنا تَحْتَ عُنْوانِ الإِصْلاح	However, we do not build reform on the crisis
AS-1-125	إنَّ القَوانِينَ وَالإجْراءاتِ المَوْجُودَةَ حالِيّاً تُعْطِينا كامِلَ الصَلاحِيَّة	<< >>we will give the pretext to the foreign powers
AS-1-126	لِكَي نَقُومَ بِعَمَلِيَّةِ ضَنُبْطِ الأَمْنِ	<<if we build it>>
AS-1-127	لَكِنْ أُؤَكِّدُ	so that they intervene under the title of reform
AS-1-128	عَلَى أنَّهُ لا يُوجَدُ أَيُ أَمَرٍ فِي أَي مُسْتَوَى مِنْ مُسْتَوَياتِ الدَوْلَةِ بِإطْلاقِ النارِ عَلَى أيِ مُواطِن	The present laws and measures give us full authority
AS-1-129	وَفِيما يَخُصُ الأَحْزابَ فَقَدْ صَدَرَ قانُونُ الأَحْزابِ	so that we carry out the process of security controlling
AS-1-130	وَتَقَدَمَتْ أَحْزابٌ	However, I stress
AS-1-131	وَأَعْطِيَ التَرْخِيصُ لأَوَّل حِزْبٍ مُنْذُ أَسابِيعَ قَلِيلَةٍ	that there is no order at any level in the state of shooting any citizen
AS-1-132	أَمَاً بِالنِسْبَةِ لِلإدارَةِ المَحَلِّيَّةِ فَقَدْ صَدَرَ القانُونُ	In regard to the parties, the parties' law has been issued
AS-1-133	وَحَصَلَتِ الأَنْتِخاباتُ فِي ظُرُوفٍ صَعْبَةٍ جِدّاً	and parties have come forward
AS-1-134	وَمَنَ الطَبِيعِيّ أَلا تُعْطي النَتائِجَ المُتَوَقَّعَةَ بِسَبَبِ الظُرُوفِ الأُمْنِيَّةِ	and the first license were given to the first party a few weeks ago
AS-1-135	بِالنِسْبَةِ لِقانُون الإعْلام فَقَدْ أَنْتَهَتِ الحُكُومَةُ الأُسْبُوعَ الماضِي مِنْ إعْدادِ تَعْلِيماتِهِ التَنْفِيذِيَّةِ	In regard to the local administration the law has been issued
AS-1-136	وَهُناكَ طَلَباتٌ جاهِزَةٌ لَمَحَطّاتٍ تِلِفِزْيُونِيَّةٍ وَصَحافَةٍ وَغَيْرِها	and the election happened under very hard circumstances

ID	Arabic	English
AS-1-137	أَمَّا قانُونُ الأَنْتِخاباتِ فَقَدْ صَدَرَ	and logically they will not give the desired outcomes because of security issues
AS-1-138	وَالهَدَفُ مِنْهُ تَأطِيرُ كُلِّ هَذِهِ الأَفْكارِ[[الَّتِي نَسْمَعها عَلَى الساحَةِ السِياسِيَّةِ]]	In regard to media law, the government finished last week preparing its executive instructions
AS-1-139	وَمَن لَدِيهِ فَكَرَةٌ	and there are ready applications for TV stations, Newspapers and others
AS-1-140	فَلْيَذْهَبْ إِلَى صُنْدُوق الأَنْتِخابِ	In regard to the law of elections it has been issued
AS-1-141	إِنَّ القانُونَ ألْمُهِمَّ هُوَ قانُونُ مُكافَحَةِ الفَسادِ	and its purpose is to codify the ideas [[that we hear on the political arena]]
AS-1-142	وَإِنَا طَلَبْتُ مِنَ الحُكُومَةِ	And whoever has an idea
AS-1-143	أَنْ تُدَرِّسَهُ بِشَكْلٍ وَأَسْع	he goes to the ballot box
AS-1-144	وَقَدِ أَنْتَهَتِ الحُكُومَةُ مِنْ دِراستِهِ	The important law is the anti-corruption law
AS-1-145	وَأَرْسَلَ إِلَى رِئاسَةِ الجُمْهُورِيَّةِ	I have asked the government
AS-1-146	وَأُعِيدَ مُؤَخَّراً إِلَى الحُكُومَةِ	to study it comprehensively
AS-1-147	أَمَّا المِحْوَرُ الآخَرُ في الإِصْلاح فَهُوَ الدُسْتُورُ	and the government have finished studying it
AS-1-148	وَقُدْ صَدَرَ المَرْسُومُ[[الَّذِي شُكِّلَتْ بِمُوجِبِهِ لَجْنَةٌ تَقُومُ بِإِعْدادِ الدُسْتُورِ]]	and it had been sent back to the Presidency
AS-1-149	وَأُعْطِيتْ مُهْلَةً زَمَنِيَّةً،أَرْبَعَةَ أَشْهَرٍ	and it was returned to the government recently
AS-1-150	وَأَعْتَقَدُ	The other pillar in reform is the Constitution
AS-1-151	أَنَّ اللَّجْنَةَ أَصْبَحتْ في المَراحِل الأَخِيرَة	and the decree [[that provides for establishing a committee [[to draft the constitution]] has been issued
AS-1-152	وَهَذا الدُسْتُورُ سَيَرْكُزُ عَلَى نُقْطَة أساسِيَّةٍ جَوْهَرِيَّةٍ[[هِيَ التَعَدُّدِيَّةُ الحِزْبِيَّةُ وَالسِياسِيَّةُ]]	and it was given a time frame, four months
AS-1-153	وَقُدْ كانُوا يَتَحَدَّثُونَ عَنِ المادَّةِ الثامِنَةِ فَقَطَ	I think
AS-1-154	وَقُلْنا	that the committee is in its final stages
AS-1-155	أَنَّهُ يِجبُ أَنْ نُعَدِّلَ كُلَّ الدُسْتُور	And This constitution will focus on a crucial fundamental point [[which is party diversity and political diversity]]
AS-1-156	لِأَنَّ هُناكَ تَرابُطاً بَيْنَ المَوادِّ	and they were talking about the eights article only
AS-1-157	أَمَّا بِالنِسْبَةِ لِلأَشْياءِ[[الَّتِي يُمَكِّنُ أَنْ نَقُومَ بِها كَمُبادَراتٍ]]فَقَدْ سَمِعنا كَثِيراً عَنْ حُكُومَةِ وَحدَةٍ وَطَنِيَّةٍ	and we said
AS-1-158	وَأَنَا أُحبُّ	that we should amend the whole of the constitution
AS-1-159	أَنْ أُدَقِّقَ دائماً في المُصْطَلَحاتِ	because there is an interdependence between all the articles
AS-1-160	فَحُكُومَةُ وَحدَةٍ وَطَنِيَّةٍ نَسْمَعُ بِها في دُوَلٍ فِيها أَنْقِسامٌ كامِلٌ،عَلَى المُسْتَوَى الوَطَنِيّ بَيْنَ أَطْرافٍ,وَحَرْبٌ أَهْلِيَّةٌ,	In regard to the thing [[that we can carry out as initiatives]] we heard a lot about National Unity Government
AS-1-161	وَ هُنَاكَ أَمَراءُ طَوائِفٍ,وَأَمَراءُ قَوْمِياتٍ,وَأَمَراءُ حَرْبٍ	and I always like
AS-1-162	أَجْتَمَعُوا عَلَى الطاوِلَةِ بِشَكْلٍ مُباشِرٍ أو مِنْ خِلال مُمَثِّلِينَ	that I focus on terminology
AS-1-163	وَشَكَّلُوا حُكومَةَ وَحدَةٍ وَطَنِيَّةٍ	A national Unity Government, we hear about it in countries with complete division on the
AS-1-164	وَنَحنُ لا يُوجَدُ لَدِينا أَنْقِسامٌ وَطَنَيّ	national level between parties,
AS-1-165	لَدِينا مَشاكِلُ	

ID	Arabic	English
AS-1-166	وَأَلَمهُمْ[[أَنَّنا نَرْحُبُ بِمُشارَكَةِ كُلِّ الْقُوى السِياسِيَّة]]	and there are civil war, warlords, leaders of ethnicities and sects
AS-1-167	وَفِي الْواقِع قُمْنا بِبَدْءِ الْحِوار مُؤَخَّرا	they directly gathered at the table or through representatives to form a government of national unity
AS-1-168	فَكانَتِ الْجَوانِبُ إِيجابِيَّةً	and they formed a national united government
AS-1-169	إِنَّ الدَوْلَةَ الْقَوِيَةَ هِيَ[[الَّتِي تَعَرَّفُ مَتَى وَكَيْفَ تُسامِحُ]] [[وَكَيْفَ تُعَيِّدُ أَبْناءها إِلَى طَرِيق الصَوابِ]]	We do not have a national division
AS-1-170	فَهُناكَ أَشْخاصٌ[[وَقَّعُوا فِي الْخَطَأ]]	We have problems
AS-1-171	وَهُناك أَشْخاصٌ[[غُرِّرَ بِهِمْ]]	and the important thing is [[we welcome the participation of all political powers]]
AS-1-172	و<< >>قِيْلَ لَهُمُ	Actually, we have initiated dialogue recently
AS-1-173	<<بَعْدَ أَنْ بَدَؤُوا فِي الْخَطَأ>>	the results were positive
AS-1-174	الدَوْلَةُ سَتَنْتَقِمُ مِنكُمْ	The strong state is the one [[that knows when and how to forgive II and how to put its son back in the right path]]
AS-1-175	وَلا يُمْكِنُ أَنْ تُعَوِّدُوا إِلَى الْخِلْفِ	There are persons [[who fell in the hole of mistake]]
AS-1-176	فَتابَعُوا فِي هذا الطَرِيق	and there are persons [[who were misguided]]
AS-1-177	أَنْ الدَوْلَةَ كَالأُمِّ	and >> <<they were told
AS-1-178	الَّتِي تَفْتَحُ المَجالَ دائِماً لِأَبْنائِها	>>after they have started with the mistake<<
AS-1-179	لِكَيْ يُكَوَّنُوا فِي كُلِّ يَوْم أَفْضَلَ	the state will take revenge on you
AS-1-180	لِذلِكَ فِي هذا الْإِطار كُنا نُصْدَرُ مِنْ وَقَتٍ لِآخِرَ العَفْوَ تِلوَ الآخِر	and you cannot go back
AS-1-181	وَالبَعْضُ كَآنَ يُعْنَقَد	so they continued on this way
AS-1-182	بِأَنَّ إِصْدار العَفْو يُؤَدِّي لِمَزِيدٍ مِنَ الخَلَلِ الأَمَنِي	The state is like a mother
AS-1-183	وَلِكِنَّ الحَقِيقَةَ أَنَّ أَغْلَبِ الحالاتِ كانَتْ مُعاكِسَةً	who always clears the way for her sons
AS-1-184	فَفِي مُعْظَمَ الحالاتِ كانَتِ النَتائِجُ إِيجابِيَّةً	so that they become better every day
AS-1-185	لكِنَّ البَعْضَ أَصَرَّ عَلَى غَيِّهِ	Because of that we used to issue one Amnesty after another
AS-1-186	وَهُؤُلاء وَرَدَّتْ فِيهِمُ الآيَةُ الكَرِيمَةُ	Some thought
AS-1-187	فِيَّ غَيِّهُم يَعْمَهُونَ	that issuing Amnesty might lead up to more security breaching
AS-1-188	يَعْنِي[[مَنْ يُصابُ بِالعَمَى البَصَرِيِّ]] [[يَعُوضهُ الله بِالأحاسِيس الأُخْرى]]	However, in reality most of the cases were the opposite
AS-1-189	ولكِنَّ مِنْ يُصَبْ بِالعَمَى العَقْلِيِّ	In most of the cases the results were positive
AS-1-190	لا أَمَلَّ مِنْهُ	However, some insisted on the wrong
AS-1-191	البَعْضُ مِن هُؤُلاء يُعْنَقَدُ فِعْلاً	The noble verse said about those
AS-1-192	بِأَنَّهُ ثائِرٌ	in their temptation, they wander
AS-1-193	فَنُعَأَلُوا	meaning, [[whoever has eye blindness]] [[God compensates him with other senses]]
AS-1-194	نَرَى	However, who has a mental blindness
AS-1-195	ماذا فِعْلَ هُؤُلاء	
AS-1-196	وَما هِيَ مُواصَفاتُهُمْ؟	

AS-1-197	هَلْ يُمَكِّنُ لِثائِرٍ أَنْ يَسْرِقَ سَيَارَةً أَو بَيْتاً أَو مُنْشَأَةً؟	he is hopeless
AS-1-198	وَهَلْ يُمْكِنُ لِلثائِر أَنْ يَكُونَ لِصّاً؟	Some of those really think
AS-1-199	بِالنِّسْبَةِ لَنا صُورَةُ الثائِر هِيَ صُورَةٌ ناصِعَةٌ وَمِثالِيَّةٌ وَغَيْرُ مُلَطَّخَةٍ	that they are rebels
AS-1-200	فلا يُمْكِنُ لِلثائِر أَنْ يكونَ لِصّاً	Let us come
AS-1-201	وَقَدْ قامُوا بِعَمَلِيّاتِ اِغْتِيالٍ, غَدَرٍ لِشَخْصِياتٍ مُخْتَلِفَةٍ بَرِينَةٍ في الدَوْلَةِ وَخارِجَ الدَوْلَةِ	so, to see what did they do? and what are their qualities
AS-1-202	هُمُ مَنَعُوا المَدارِسَ مِنَ القِيام بِمَهامّها وَواجِباتِها عَلَى مُسْتَوَى المُجْتَمَع	Can a rebel steal a car, a house or an establishment?
AS-1-203	فَهَلْ مِنَ المُمْكِنِ أَنْ يَكُونَ هُناك ثائِرٌ ضِدَّ العِلْمِ؟	and can a rebel be a thief?
AS-1-204	في بَعْضِ المَناطِق اِنْخَفَضَ التَدْريسُ إِلَى النَصَفِ	To us, the image of the rebel is bright, idealistic and unstained
AS-1-205	يَعْني[[أَصْبَحنا نُخَّرِجُ نِصْفَ مُتَعَلِّم نِصْفَ جاهِلٍ]]	The rebel cannot be a thief
AS-1-206	تَحْديداً في المَدارِس فيَّ بَعْضِ المَناطِق[[الَّتي اِنْخَفَضَ فِيها التَدْريس خُمْسَيْنَ بِالمِئَةَ]]كانَتْ نِسْبَةُ الدَوام85بِالمِئَة	and they have carried out assassination, betray, betrayal operations They prevented the schools from attending their duties and responsibilities to the society
AS-1-207	وَهُمْ يُخاطِرُونَ بِحَيّاتِهِمُ	so, can there be a rebel against knowledge
AS-1-208	وَحَتَّى نِهايَةَ عام2011كَأَنَ عَدَدُ الشُّهَداء مِنَ الأَساتِذَة وَالمُعَلِّمِينَ في الكادِر التَّرْبَوِيَ قَدْ قارَبَ الثَّلاثِينَ شَهيداً	In some areas teaching declined to half meaning, [[we ended up sending out a half educated half illiterate person]]
AS-1-209	فَهَلْ مِنَ المُمْكِنِ أَنْ تَكُونَ هُناك ثَوْرَةٌ ضِدَّ العِلْمِ؟	Exactly, in some of the schools in some areas [[which teaching dropped 50% in]] the attendance rate was 85%
AS-1-210	أَو ثائِرٌ يَسْتَخْدِمُ أَلْفاظاً وَشِعاراتٍ تفتيتِيةٌ في المُجْتَمَع؟	and they risk their lives
AS-1-211	هَلَّ مِنَ المُمْكِنِ أَنْ يَكُونَ الثائِرُ ضِدَّ المَواطِنِ	Until the end of 2011 the number of martyred teachers and educators in the schools almost had reached 30
AS-1-212	يَقْطَعُ عَنهُ أَلْغاز	so, can there be a revolution against knowledge?
AS-1-213	الَّذي يَحْتاجُهُ يَوْمِياً في أُمُور الطَبْخ وَالطَّعام	or a rebel that uses divisional words and slogans?
AS-1-214	وَيَقْطَعُ عَنهُ الدَواء	Can a rebel be against the citizen?
AS-1-215	لِكَيْ يَمُوتَ مِنَ المَرَض؟	He cuts gas supply on him
AS-1-216	إِنَّ هْذِهِ لَيسْتْ ثَوْرَةً	that he needs for matters of cooking and eating?
AS-1-217	فَهَلَّ مِن المُمْكِنِ أَنْ يَعْمَلَ الثائِرُ لِمِصْلَحَةِ العَدُوِّ؟	and keep medicines from him
AS-1-218	وَهَلْ مِنَ المُمْكِنِ أَنْ يَكُونَ مِنْ دُونَ شَرَفٍ وَلا أَخْلاقٍ وَلا دَيْنٍ؟	so that he dies out of sickness?
AS-1-219	إِنَّ السُؤالَ الأَساسِيَّ[[الَّذي طُرَحَ مَعِيَ بِشَكْلٍ مُكَثَّفٍ]]يَبْقَى [[مَتَى وَكَيْفَ تَنْتَهِي الأَزْمَةُ؟]]	Now things have become clear
AS-1-220	وَطَبْعاً هذا سُؤالٌ صَعْبٌ	Can the rebel possibly work in favor of the enemy?
AS-1-221	وَلا نَسْتَطيعُ أَنْ نُعْطِيَ جَواباً مِنْ دُونِ مُعْطِياتٍ	

AS-1-222	وَلِكِنْ نَسْتَطِيعُ أَنْ نَسْتَقْرِى	and Can the rebel possibly be without honor, morals and religion?
AS-1-223	فَالمُؤَامَرَةُ تَنْتَهِي	The main question [[that I was asked repeatedly]] remains [[when and how the crisis ends?]]
AS-1-224	عَنْدَما يُقَرِّرُ الشَّعْبُ السُورِيُّ	
AS-1-225	أَنْ يَتَحَوَّلَ إِلَى شِعْبٍ خانع	and of course, this is a very difficult question
AS-1-226	وَعِنْدَماً نَخْضَعُ	and we cannot give an answer without information
AS-1-227	وَنَتَنازَلُ عَنْ كُلِّ تُراثِنا تُراثُ حَرْبٍ1973,حَرْبُ تِشْرِينَ التَّحْرِيرِيَّةِ	However, we can infer
AS-1-228	وَعِنْدَما نَتَنازَلُ عَنْ مَواقِفِنا القَوْمِيَّةِ	The crisis ends
AS-1-229	وَعِنْدَما نُقْدِمُ مَجَاناً التَنازُلاتِ كُلِّيَا أَو جُزْئِيَاً فِي عَمَلِيَّةِ السَلامِ	when the Syrian people decides
AS-1-230	إِنَّ الشَعْبَ السُورِيَّ لَنْ يُخَضِّعَ لِعِدَةِ أَسْبابٍ أَوَّلاً,لِلمَبادِئ الَّتِي تُرْبَى عَلَيْها المَواطِنُ السُورِيُّ	that they turn into a submissive nation
AS-1-231		and when we submit
AS-1-232	وَثانِياً,لأَنَّ النَماذِجَ[[الَّتِي قُدِمَتْ لَنا مِنْ مَسْؤُولِيْنَ خاضِعِيْنَ,أَو سِياساتٍ خاضِعَةٍ,أَو مِنْ دُوَلٍ خاضِعَةٍ]],لا تُبَشِّرُ بِالخَيْرِ	and we give up all our heritage, the heritage of 19973 war, October liberating war
AS-1-233	إِنَّ النُقْطَةَ الثانِيَةَ مُرْتَبِطَةٌ بِالأُوْلَى	and when we give up our national stands
AS-1-234	مَتَى نَتَوَقَّفُ؟	and when we offer free partial or full concessions in the peace process
AS-1-235	وَمَتَى نَتْنَتَهِي؟	The Syrian people will not submit for a number of reasons
AS-1-236	عِنْدَما يَتَوَقَّفُ تَهْرِيبُ السِلاحِ,الَّذِي يَأْتِي مِنَ الخارِج وَالأَمْوالُ	first, because of the principles that the Syrian citizen was raised by
AS-1-237	وَهَذِهِ النُقْطَةُ مُرْتَبِطَةٌ بِالأُوْلَى	second, because the models [[which were presented to us of submissive officials, submissive polices or submissive states]] do not promise any good
AS-1-238	وَ<< >>سَنَصِلُ إِلَى النُقْطَةِ الثانِيَةِ	
AS-1-239	<<عِنْدَما نَخْضَع>>	The second point is related to the first point
AS-1-240	وَ لَكِنْ ما[[أَعَرِّفهُ تَماماً]] [هُوَ] [[أَنَّ المُؤَامَرَةَ تَنْتَهِي‖عِنْدَماً نَنْتَصِرُ عَلَيْها]]	When does it stop?
AS-1-241	وَكُنا نَقُولُ لأَصْحابِ النِيَّةِ الطَيِّبَةِ فِي البِدايَةِ	and when does it end?
AS-1-242	إِنَّ هُناكَ مُؤَامَرَةً خارِجِيَّةً	When [[smuggling weapons and money ‖which come from outside]] stop
AS-1-243	وَيَقُولُونَ	and this point is related to the first one
AS-1-244	هَذا نَوْعٌ مِنْ إِلْقاء المَسْؤُولِيَّةِ عَلَى الآخِرِيْنَ	and << >> we get to the second point
AS-1-245	فَنَقُولُ لَهُمُ	<<when we submit>>
AS-1-246	هُناكَ سِلاحٌ	However, [[what I completely know]] [is] [[that the plot ends ‖ when we triumph over it]]
AS-1-247	وَيَقُولُونَ	We used to say to the people of goodwill
AS-1-248	هَذِه فَبَرَكاتٌ إِعْلامِيَّةٌ مِنْ قِبَل الدَوْلَةِ	that there is a foreign plot
AS-1-249	وَالآنَ أَصْبَحَتِ الأُمُورُ واضِحَةً	and they say
AS-1-250	وَلَو عُدْنا لِلسَبْعِينِياتِ وَالثَّمانِينِياتِ	this is a kind of blaming others
AS-1-251	عِنْدَما قامَ إِخْوانُ الشَياطِينِ, [[الَّذِينَ تَغَطَّوْا بِالإِسْلام]]‖بِأَعْمالِهِمُ الإِرْهابِيَّةِ فِيَّ سُورِيَّةَ	then we say to them

AS-1-252	فِيَّ البِدايَةِ كَأنَ هُناك الكَثِيرُ مِنَ السُورِيِّينَ[[غُرِرَ بِهِمْ]]	there are weapons
AS-1-253	وَكانُوا يَعْتَقِدُونَ	and they say
AS-1-254	بِأَنَّهُم فِعْلاً يُدافِعُونَ عَن الإسْلامِ	those are media fabrications by the state
AS-1-255	فَلَمْ يَأْخُذُوا أيَّ مَوْقِفٍ	Now things have become clear
AS-1-256	حَتَّى ظَهَرتِ الأُمُورُ	If we went back to the seventies and eighties when the brothers of the devil [[who covered themselves with Islam]] committed their terroristic acts
AS-1-257	بَدَأَ الحَسْمُ	
AS-1-258	وَكَأنَّ الحَسْمَ سَرِيعاً	At the beginning, there were many Syrian [[who were misled]]
AS-1-259	عِنْدَما وَقَفَ الشَعْبُ مَعَ الدَوْلَةِ فِي ذَلِكَ الوَقْتِ	
AS-1-260	وَطَبْعاً اَسْتَغْرَقتِ هَذِهِ الأُمُورُ وَالأَغْتِيالُ وَالقَتْلُ سِتَّ سَنَواتٍ	and they had thought
AS-1-261	وَنحْنُ لا نُرِيدُ	that they really defended Islam
AS-1-262	أنْ نَنْتَظِرَ كُلَّ ذَلِكَ الوَقْتِ	so, they did not take any stand
AS-1-263	فَالأُمُورُ واضِحَةٌ بِالنِسْبَةِ لَنا جَمِيعاً	until things emerged
AS-1-264	إذاً وَقَّفَنا الآنَ	The resolution started
AS-1-265	وَاَحْتَضَنَّا الأَمْنَ وَالأَجْهِزَةَ المُخْتَلِفَةَ المُخْتَصَّةَ,	and the resolution was fast
AS-1-266	فَأنا أعْتَقَدُ أنَّ النَتائِجَ سَتَكُونُ حاسِمَةً وَسَرِيعَةً	when the nation stood up with the state at that time
AS-1-267	إنَّ المَعارِكَ الوَطَنِيَّةَ لَها ساحاتُها ورِجالاتُها	Of course, those things, assassinations and killing took six years
AS-1-268	وَلا مَكانَ فِيها لِلأَيْدِي المرتعشةٍ وَالقُلُوبِ المذعورةِ	and we do not want
AS-1-269	وأمّا حَصّارُهُم فَلنْ يُرْهِبَ شَعْبَنا	that we wait that long
AS-1-270	فَنَحْنُ مِنْ أطْعَمَ دُوَلاً عَرَبِيَّةً عِدَةً فِي سَنُواتٍ عِجافٍ	as things are clear to us
AS-1-271	وَأقُولُ لِلجِيلِ, [[الَّذِي لا يَذْكُرُ تِلْكَ المَرْحَلَةَ]] [[وَالَّذِي لَمْ يَكُنْ قَدْ وُلِدَ رُبَّما]]	If we stand up now and we contain our army and the different specialized authorities
AS-1-272	لا تَسْمَحْ لِلخُوَّفِ أنْ يَدْخُلَ إلَى قَلْبِكَ	I think the results will be decisive and fast
AS-1-273	و<< >>فَسَيُحاصَرُونَ مَعَها مِنْطَقَةً كامِلَةً	The patriotic battles have got their fields and men
AS-1-274	<<إذا أرادُوا	and there is no place in them for the shaking hands and scared hearts
AS-1-275	أنْ يُحاصِرُوا سُورِيَّةً>>	and their siege will not scare us
AS-1-276	فَلَدِينا نِقاطُ قُوَّةٍ	as we fed many Arabic countries in dark years
AS-1-277	نَسْتَطِيعُ أنْ نُواجِهَ فِيها	And I say to the generation [[who do not remember that era]] and [[who might not have been born back then]]
AS-1-278	بِالنِسْبَةِ لِلعَلاقَةِ مَعَ الغَرْبِ,فَالغَرْبُ يَقُولُ مُجْتَمِعاً دُوَلِيّاً	
AS-1-279	وَكُلُّ العالَمِ بِالنِسْبَةِ لَهُمْ عِبارَةٌ عَن ساحاتٍ,وَفِيها عَبِيدٌ[[يَقُومُونَ بِخِدْمَةِ مَصالِحِهِمْ]]	do not allow fear to enter your heart
AS-1-280	إنَّ الغَرْبَ مُهِمٌّ بِالنِسْبَةِ لَنا	and << >> Then they will besiege a whole area with it
AS-1-281	وَلا نَسْتَطِيعُ أنْ نُنْكِرَ هَذِهِ الحَقِيقَةَ	<<If they want

ID	Arabic	English
AS-1-282	وَلَكِنَّهُ لَيْسَ الأُوكْسِجِينَ	to besiege Syria>>
AS-1-283	الَّذِي نَتَنَفَّسُ مِنْ خِلالَه	We have strength point
AS-1-284	نَسْتَطِيعُ أَنْ نَسْبَحَ لِوَحَدَنا وَمَعَ أَصْدِقائنا,وَمَعَ أَشِقائنا	which we can challenge with
AS-1-285	وَلِذَلِكَ قَرَّرنا في عامِ2005	In regard to the relation with the West, the West says International community
AS-1-286	أَنْ نُتَوَجِه شَرقاً	and the whole word for them is fields with servants [[who attend their interests]]
AS-1-287	فَفِي ذَلِكَ الوَقْتِ كُنَّا نَعْرفُ	The West is important to us
AS-1-288	بِأَنَّ الغَرْبَ لَنْ يَتَغَيَّر	and we can not deny this reality
AS-1-289	ما زالَ اسْتِعْماريّاً بِشَكْلٍ أَو بِآخَرَ	However, it is not the oxygen
AS-1-290	فِيَّ هَذِهِ المَرْحَلَةِ,تَبْقَى نُقْطَةٌ أَساسِيَّةٌ وَهِيَ أَنَّ كُلَّ هَذِهِ الإنْجازاتِ مَرْبُوطَةٌ بِمَوْضُوع الأَمْن	that through which we breathe
AS-1-291	فَكُلُّ مَعيشتِنا الآنَ مُرْتَبِطَةٌ بِمَوْضُوع ضُبْطِ الحالَةِ الأُمْنِيَّةِ	We can swim alone and with our friends and brothers
AS-1-292	لِذَلِكَ نَعُودُ لِهَذا المَوْضُوع	For this we decided in 2005
AS-1-293	لَكَّي نَتَعاوَنَ جَميعاً مِنْ أَجلِّ حَسْمِهِ	that we head east
AS-1-294	كَيّ لا نَخُونِ الأمانَةَ كَدَوْلِةٍ	At that time, we knew
AS-1-295	وَأَقُولُ لَكُمُ	that the West will not change
AS-1-296	وَأَنَا«‹ »‹وَأَحُدٌ مِنكُمُ	it is still colonial a way or another
AS-1-297	»كَمَا عَهِدتُموني دائِماً‹	At this stage, one point remains
AS-1-298	وَعِنْدَما لا نَسْتَجِيبُ لِلتَحَدِّي	which is all our achievements are connected to the topic of security
AS-1-299	لا نَسْتَحِقُّ أَسِمَ سُوريَّةَ	Our livelihood is connected to the topic of security
AS-1-300	إنَّ ثِقَتي في ذَلِكَ تَنْطَلِقُ مِنكُمُ,وَمَنْ رِجالِ قُوّاتِنا المُسَلَّحَةِ [[الَّذِينَ يُعَبِرُونَ عَنْ وُجْدَانِ الشَعْبِ]]	For this we go back to this topic
AS-1-301	وَيُقَدِّمُونَ التَضْحِياتِ	so that we all cooperate for the purpose of ending it
AS-1-302	كَيّ يَنْعَم بِالأمانِ	so that we do not betray the trust as a state
AS-1-303	وَالمَجْدُ لِلشَعْبِ الأَبِي[[الَّذي يَرْفُضُ الأَنْكِسارَ في عَصْرِ الأَنْهِيار]]	I say to you
AS-1-304	وَيَقُولُ لِأَعْدائِهِ	I << >> am one of you
AS-1-305	هَيْهاتَ مِنّا الهَزيمَةَ	<< as you always have known me >>
AS-1-306	فَبِكَ أَيُّها الشَعْبُ الأَبِيُ نَصْمُدُ	And when we do not rise to the challenge
AS-1-307	وَبِكَ نَنْتَصِرُ	we do not deserve the name of Syria
AS-1-308	والسَلامُ عَليكُمُ	My trust in that start out from you and from the men of our armed forces [[who express the heart of the people]]
AS-1-309		and they offer sacrifices
		so that the nation enjoys security
		and the glory be to the dignified nation [[who refuses submission in the age of collapse]]

	English Translation
	And It says to its enemy
	The defeat is far from us
	With you the dignified Syrian nation we stand
	and with you we prevail
	Peace be upon you

2-Speech two

Arabic Text		English Translation
AS-2-1	أيُها السُوريُّونَ الشُّرَفاءُ	Honorable Syrians
AS-2-2	أيُّها الشَّعْبُ الحُرُّ الثائِرُ	Free Syrian Revolutionaries
AS-2-3	ثَلاثُ سَنَواتٍ وَأرْبَعَةُ أشْهُرٍ,عِنْدَما قالَ البَعْضُ نيِابَةً عَنكُمْ	Three years and four months since some declared, on your behalf
AS-2-4	الشَّعْبُ يُريِدُ	the People want
AS-2-5	نَعَمْ الشَّعْبُ أرادَ	Yes, The People wanted
AS-2-6	الشَّعْبُ قَرَّرَ	The People decided
AS-2-7	الشَّعْبُ نَفَّذَ	The People took action
AS-2-8	سَنَواتٌ مَضَتْ	Years have passed by
AS-2-9	مُنْذُ صَرَخَ البَعْضُ لِلحُريَّةَ	since some called for freedom
AS-2-10	فَكُنْتُمُ الأحْرارَ في زَمَنِ التَّبَعِيَّةِ	so, you have been the free ones in the age of subservience
AS-2-11	وَكُنتُم الأسْياد فيَّ زَمنَ الأجِّراءِ	and you have been the masters in the age of slaves
AS-2-12	زايَدُوا عَلَيكُمْ بِالديِمُقراطِيَّةِ	They patronized you with their calls for democracy
AS-2-13	فَمارَسْتُمُوها بِأرْقَى صُوَرِها	so you practiced it in the best possible manner
AS-2-14	وَرَفَضْتُمْ	And ou refused
AS-2-15	أنْ يُشاركَكُمْ غَريِبٌ إدارَةَ الوَطَنِ	that a foreigner share with you running the country
AS-2-16	فَإِخْتَرْتُمُ دُسْتُوركُم وَبَرْلَمانكُم وَرَئيِسكُمْ	You chose your constitution your parliament and your president
AS-2-17	فَكانَ الخِيارُ خِياركُمْ	The choice was yours
AS-2-18	قالُوا	They said
AS-2-19	إنَّ الشَّعْبَ السُوريَّ وَاحِدٌ	That the Syrian people are united
AS-2-20	فَوَقَفْتُمُ في وَجْهِ إعْصارٍ فَتَنَتهِمُ	
AS-2-21	وَكُنْتُمُ بِحَقٍّ شَعْباً وَاحِداً بِقَلْبٍ وَاحِدٍ	

Code	Arabic	English
AS-2-22	صَرَخُوا	so you stopped in the face of their sedition
AS-2-23	بِأَنَّهُمْ لَنْ يَرْكَعُوا إلّا لله	and you were truly one nation with one heart
AS-2-24	فَما رَكَّعتُمْ لِسادتِهُمْ	They preached
AS-2-25	وَلا اِسْتَسْلَمتُمْ	that they bow only before Allah
AS-2-26	بَلْ صَمَدتُمْ	so you never bowed before their masters
AS-2-27	وَتَمَسَّكتُمْ بِوَطَنِكُمْ	and you never surrendered
AS-2-28	سَنَواتٌ مَرَّتْ	but, you Withstood
AS-2-29	كَانَ لَهُمُ القَوْلُ	and you have held on to your country
AS-2-30	وَكَانَ لَكُمُ الفِعْلُ	Years have passed by
AS-2-31	غَرِقُوا فِي اَلوَهْمِ	They had the talk
AS-2-32	فَصَنَعتُمُ الواقِعَ	and you have had the action
AS-2-33	أَرَادُوها ثَوْرَةً	They sank in their illusions
AS-2-34	فَكُنتُمْ أَنْتُمُ الثُّوَّارَ الحَقيقِيّيْنَ	so you made the reality
AS-2-35	شَعْبٌ غَيَّرَ صُمُودَهُ كُلَّ المُعْطَياتِ	They wanted it a revolution
AS-2-36	فَتَغَيَّرَتْ مَعَها الظُرُوفُ وَالوَقائِعُ	but, you were the real revolutionaries
AS-2-37	وَاَنْكَشَفتِ الوُجوهُ القَبِيحَةُ عَلَى حَقيقَتِها	A nation, its steadfastness changed all facts
AS-2-38	بَعدَ أَنْ سَقَطَ عَنْها قِناعُ الحُرِّيَّةِ وَالثَوْرَة	so all circumstances and incidents were changed along with them
AS-2-39	لَمَ يَتْرُكُوا وَسِيلَةً قَذِرَةً	And many ugly faces were unveiled to their true faces
AS-2-40	إلّا وَاِسْتَخْدَمُوها	after the mask of freedom and revolution has fallen of them
AS-2-41	وَفَشِلُوا	They left no filthy mean
AS-2-42	فَشِلُوا بِإِقْناعِكُمْ	but they used it
AS-2-43	أَنَّهُمُ الحَريصُونَ عَلَى مُصالِح الشَّعْبِ وَحُقُوقِهِ	And they failed
AS-2-44	تَحَدَّيْتُمُ الإِعْصَارَ بِصُدُورٍ عارِيَةٍ	They failed in convincing you
AS-2-45	وَوَقَفتُمْ كَالرُمْح فِي وَجْهِ الغَدْرِ	that they are guardians on the interests and rights of the nation
AS-2-46	فَسَمِعَ الكَوْنُ صَوْتَكُمْ	You challenged the storm with bear chests
AS-2-47	لَمْ تَكُنْ تِلْكَ الأِنْتِخَاباتُ مُجَرَّدَ عَمَلِيَّةٍ سياسِيَّةٍ إجْرائِيَّةٍ	and stood up like a spear in the face of treachery
AS-2-48	كَمَا هُوَ الحَالُ فِي أَيِّ مَكانٍ فِي العالَمِ	so, the whole of the universe heard your voice
AS-2-49	بَلْ كانَتْ مَعْرَكَةً كامِلَةَ الأَبْعادِ	These elections were not just a political procedure
AS-2-50	فَبِالنِسْبَةِ لأَعْداء الوَطَنِ كانَتِ السَبيلَ[[الَّذي اَنْتَظَرُوهُ]]لِنَزْع شَعبِيَّةِ الدَوْلَةِ	as it is the situation in any other parts of the world
AS-2-51	لِيَخْلِقُوا بَعْدَها مُبَرِّراتِ التَدَخُّل الخَارجِيّ بِذَرائِعَ مُخْتَلِفَة	world

AS-2-52	كانَتِ الأنْتِخاباتُ مَعْرَكَتَنا	but, it was a multi-dimensional battle
AS-2-53	لِلدِفاع عَن السِيادَة وَالشَرْعِيَّة وَالقَرارِ الوَطَنِيّ وَكَرامَة الشَعْبِ	For the enemies of our homeland, these elections were the instruments [[they had been waiting for]] to delegitimize the state
AS-2-54	وَكانَتِ المُشارَكَةُ الكَبيرَةُ اِسْتِفْتاءً لِصالِح السِيادَة ضِدَّ الإرْهاب بِكُل أشْكالِهِ	so that they create a justification for foreign intervention under several pretexts
AS-2-55	لَقَدْ أسْقَطْتُم بِأصْواتكُمُ الإرْهابِيّيْنَ	The elections were a battle
AS-2-56	وَأسْقَطْتُم مَعَهُمُ العُمَلاءَ مِنْ السُورِيّيْنَ[[الَّذِينَ شَكَّلُوا لَهُمْ غِطاءً سِياسِيّاً]]	so that we defend our sovereignty, legitimacy, national decision-making and the dignity of our people
AS-2-57	فَقَدْ أتَتْهُمُ الصَفْعَةُ مِنْ السُورِيِّيْنَ في الخارِج مُغْتَرِبِينَ وَلاجِئينَ	and the huge turnout was a referendum in favor of sovereignty against all forms of terrorism
AS-2-58	الَّذِينَ قالُوا كَلِمَتَهُمُ	You have brought down the terrorists with your votes
AS-2-59	وَفاجَؤُوا العالَمَ	and you brought down the Syrian agents [[who gave them political cover]]
AS-2-60	خَرَجُوا إلَى الأسْتِحْقاقِ أفْواجاً	The slap has come to them from the Syrian refugees and expatriates
AS-2-61	لَقَدْ هالَهُمُ	who said their word
AS-2-62	أنْ يَحْمِلُ مُواطِنٌ سُوَرِيٌّ جَوازَ سَفَرِهِ	and they surprised the world
AS-2-63	وَيَخْتارَ مُرَشَحَهُ	They went to the elections in crowds
AS-2-64	وَيَضَعَ وَرقَتَهُ في الصُنْدُوق	It scared them
AS-2-65	لَقَدْ ذَعِرَتْهُمُ هٰذِهِ الخُطْواتُ البَسِيطَةُ	that a Syrian citizen carries his passport
AS-2-66	لِأنَّهُمُ فَهِمُوا	and he chooses his candidate
AS-2-67	أنَّها أكْثَرُ مِنْ مُجَرَّدِ اِنْتِخاباتٍ	and he puts his slip in the ballot box
AS-2-68	هِيَ [[دِفاعٌ عَنْ وَحْدَةِ الوَطَن وَسِيادَتِهِ وَكَرامَتِهِ]]	Those simple steps have scared them
AS-2-69	وَهٰذا ما جَعَلَهُمْ يَمْنَعُونَ التَصْوِيتَ في دُوَلِهِم وَدُوَلٍ عَرَبِيَّةٍ[[تابِعَةٍ لَهُمْ]]	because they understood
AS-2-70	هٰذا هُوَ نِفاقُ الغَرْبِ	that they are more than elections
AS-2-71	وَأؤَكِّدُ	They are [[defending the unity of the state, its sovereignty and dignity]]
AS-2-72	بِأنَّنِي أكْثَرُ تَفاؤُلاً	and that what made them prevent electing in their countries and in Arabic countries [[that are subservient to them]]
AS-2-73	بِأنَّ الظُرُوفَ سَتَعُودُ إلَى الوَضع[[الَّذِي يَرْجِعُ فِيهِ كُلُّ أبْناء الوَطَن المُخْلِصِينَ الشُرَفاءُ إلَيْهِ]]	This is the hypocrisy of the West
AS-2-74	أفْشَلْتُمُ الخُصُومَ	And I stress
AS-2-75	وَأنْتُمْ سَطْحِيَتَهُمُ وَجَهَلَهُمُ وَسَنَغْرَقُ لِسَنَواتٍ مَراكِزُ التَحْلِيل وَالدِراساتِ لِدِيهِمُ بِالبَحْثِ عَنْ أجْوبَةٍ شافِيَةٍ لِكُلّ ما حَصَلَ	that I am more optimistic
AS-2-76		

AS-2-77	وَلَن يَصِلوا إِلَى جَوابٍ	that the circumstances will go back to the situation [[which all honorable faithful sons of the country come back to it]]
AS-2-78	لِأَنَّهُمُ اِعْتَادُوا عَلَى الإمَعاتِ	
AS-2-79	لَمْ يَعْرِفُوا	You failed the enemies
AS-2-80	أو يَفْهَمُوا	and you proved their superficiality and ignorance
AS-2-81	أو يَتَعَامَلُوا مَعَ السادةِ وَمَعَ الوَطَنِيِّينَ الشُّرَفاء	and they will go deep, the research and analysis centers, in looking for answers for what happened
AS-2-82	أَيُّها السَيِّداتُ والسادةُ	
AS-2-83	إنَّ الحَرْبَ [[الَّتِي تُخَاضُ ضِدَّ الشَّعْبِ السُوريِّ]] حَرْبٌ قَذِرَةٌ	And they will never reach an answer
AS-2-84	وَبِالرُغْمِ مِنْ كُلِّ الظُّلْمِ والآلامِ [[الَّتِي أصابَتْ كُلَّ بَيْتٍ في سُوريَّةَ]] لَمْ يُقَرِّرْ هذا الشَّعْبُ الاِسْتِسْلامَ أو الخُنُوعَ	because they are used to the dummies
AS-2-85	لَمْ يَسْتَهْدِفُوا الثَّغَراتِ والسَلْبِيّاتِ لَدينا	They did not know
AS-2-86	لَقَدِ اسْتَهْدَفُوا في الحَقيقَةِ الحالَةَ الوَطَنِيَّةَ السياديَّةَ وَمَعَ كُلِّ أَسَفٍ بِأيادٍ سُوريَّةٍ [[باعَتْ وَطَنَها]]	or they did not understand
AS-2-87	وَلَمْ تَبِعْ شَرَفَها	or they did not deal with the masters and with the honorable patriots
AS-2-88	لِأَنَّها لا تَمْتَلِكُ شَرَفاً في الأَساس	Ladies and gentlemen
AS-2-89	كانَتِ الرُؤْيَةُ واضِحَةً تَماماً لَنا مُنْذُ الأَيّامِ الأُوَلى للعُدْوانِ	The war [[that is being fought against the nation of Syria]] is dirty
AS-2-90	حينها كَثيرونَ رَفَضُوا كَلِمَةَ مُخَطِّطٍ وَعُدْوانٍ	and regardless of all the pains [[that have hit each house in Syria]] this nation has not decided on surrendering or submitting
AS-2-91	وَلَم يَقْتَنِعُوا إلّا مُتَأخِّرِينَ بَعْدَ فَواتِ الأوانِ	They didn't target our weaknesses and loopholes
AS-2-92	أَنَّ [[ما يَجْري في البِلادِ]] لَيْسَ مَطالِبُ مُحِقَّةٌ لِشَعْبٍ مُضْطَهَدٍ	They have targeted in fact the national sovereign status with all regret, with Syrian hands [[that sold their country]]
AS-2-93	بَلْ هُوَ مُخَطَّطٌ كَبيرٌ لِلمِنْطَقَةِ بِرُمَّتِها	and they did not sell their honor
AS-2-94	لَنْ يَقِفَ عِنْدَ حُدُودِنا	because they do not have one basically
AS-2-95	صُورَةٌ بَدَأَتْ مَلامِحُها بِالتكَشُّف مُنْذُ غَزْوِ العِراقِ	The vision was clear to us since the first days of the aggression
AS-2-96	لَمْ يَكُنّ مَوْقِفُنا حينها مَوْقِفاً مَبْنِيّا عَلَى حُبِّ المُواجَهَةِ والعَنْتَرَيّاتْ	At that time, many refused the words "plot" and "aggression"
AS-2-97	وَكَمَا تَعْلَمُونَ	and they have not been convinced, but very late, very late
AS-2-98	السِياسَةُ السُوريَّةُ لَمَ تَتَّصِفْ في يَوْمٍ مِنَ الأيّامِ بِحُبِّ العَنْتَرَيّاتِ	that [[what have been going on in the country]] is not real demands for oppressed people
AS-2-99	لا نُحِبُّ العَنْتَرَيّاتِ وَلا البَندريّاتِ	but, it is a big plan for the whole region
AS-2-100	العَنْتَرَيّاتُ إمّا أَنْ نَذْهَبَ بِاِتِّجاه مُواجَهَةِ العالَمِ مِنْ دُونِ مُبَرِّرٍ وَبِتَهَوُّرٍ	it will not stop at our borders

Line	Arabic	English
AS-2-101	أمّاً البندرياتُ فَهِيَ أنْ يَتَحَوَّلَ الإنْسانُ إلَى مُنْبَطِحٍ بِشَكْلٍ مُطْلَقٍ وَكُلِّي	A picture started to clear since the invasion of Iraq
AS-2-102	أو أنْ يَتَحَوَّلَ إلَى عَميلٍ	Our position at that time was not built upon the love of confrontation or having an adversarial position
AS-2-103	وَلَو لَمْ يَكُنْ هُناكَ مَنْ يَبْحَثُ عَنْ عُمَلاءٍ	
AS-2-104	إذاً نَحْنُ لا نَهْوَى العَنْتَرِيّاتِ	And as you know
AS-2-105	وَلا نَهْوَى البندرياتِ	the Syrian politics has never been characterized on any day with the love of having an adversarial position
AS-2-106	كَانَ لِدينا قَلَقٌ حَقيقَيٌّ مِنْ وَضْعٍ خَطِرٍ	
AS-2-107	حينها تَحَدَّثْتُ عَنْ خَطِّ الزَّلازلِ[[الَّذي يَمُرُّ فِيَّ سُوريَّةَ]]	We do not love having an adversarial position nor irrational desire for confrontation
AS-2-108	وَقَلْتُ	Irrational desire for confrontation is to go in the direction of confronting the world without a pretext and with foolishness
AS-2-109	إنَّ المِساسَ بِهذا الخَطِّ سَيُؤَدّي لَزَلازلَ	
AS-2-110	فَآعْتَبَرُوا	However, having an adversarial position is to fully turn into a submissive person
AS-2-111	إنَّ الرَئيسَ السُوريَّ يَهْدُدُ لِمُجَرَّدِ التَّهْديد	or he turns into an agent
AS-2-112	وَسَيَتِقَهُمُ الكَثيرُونَ مِنهُمُ مُتَأَخِّرينَ وَرُبَّما بَعْدَ فَواتِ الأوان	and even if there were no one looking for agents
AS-2-113	أنَّ المَعْرَكَةَ[[الَّتي يُخُوضُها الشَّعْبُ السُوريُّ دَفَاعاً عَنْ وَطَنِه]] تَتَجاوَزُ سَاحَاتُها حُدُودَ الوَطَن إلَى الدِّفَاع عَنْ كَثيرٍ مِنَ الشُّعُوبِ الأُخرى [[الَّتي سَتَتَعَرَّضُ عاجَلاً أمْ آجِلاً لِنَفس الإرْهاب نَتيجَة قُصُورِ الرُؤْيَة لَدَى سِياسِيِّيْهِمْ]]	So, we do not love irrational desire for confrontation
AS-2-114	وَهُنَا نَتَساءَلُ	and we like having an adversarial position
AS-2-115	إذاً كَانَ الغَرْبُ وَحُلَفاؤهُ لا يَتَعَلَّمُونَ الدُّرُوسَ المستفادة مِن التَّجرِبَةِ الخاطِئَة إلّا مُتَأَخِّرينَ	We had a real worry from a dangerous situation
AS-2-116	فَهَلْ سَنَكُونُ مِثْلَهُمُ فِي فَهْمِنا المُتَأَخِّر لِلأَشْياء وَالأَحْداث؟	At that time I talked about the line of earthquakes [[which passes across Syria]]
AS-2-117	هَلْ كَانَ عَلِيْنا أنْ نَنْتَظِرَ ثَلاثَ سَنَواتٍ	And I said
AS-2-118	وَنَدْفَعَ ثُمَنَ قُصُور نَظَر البَعْض	that touching this line will cause earthquakes
AS-2-119	وَنُضَحِي بِدماء أَبْنائِنا وَأرْواحِنا وَأَقْتِصادِنا وَأَمَنِنا وَسُمْعَتِنا	They considered
AS-2-120	كَيّ نَكْتَشِفَ	that the Syrian President is threatening for the sake of threatening only
AS-2-121	أنَّ ما [[كَأَنَ يَجْري]] هُوَ مُخَطَّطٌ ضِدَّ الوَطَن؟	and many will understand very late and maybe very late
AS-2-122	في بدايَة الأزْمَة تَكَلَّمتُ عَنْ إخُوان الشَّياطِين	that the battle [[that is been fought by the Syrian people in defense of their homeland]] goes beyond the borders of the country into defending many other nations [[which sooner or later, they will suffer from the same terrorism, as a result of the shortsightedness of their leaders]]
AS-2-123	فَقامَ البَعْضُ بِالتَّعْليق	

AS-2-124	بِأَنَّهُ لِمَ يَتْرُكْ شَعْرَةً	And here we ask
AS-2-125	لِماذا يَقُولُ عَنهُمُ شَياطِينَ	If the West and their allies do not learn, until too late, from the mistakes of their past experiences
AS-2-126	وَهَمْ حِزْبٌ؟	
AS-2-127	يُجَبُّ أَنْ يَقُولَ عَنهُمُ الرَئِيسُ إِخْوانٌ مُسْلِمِيْنَ	Are we also going to be like them late in our understanding of the events and issues?
AS-2-128	فَنَحْنُ نَعْتَذِرُ مِنْ هُؤُلاء	Did we have to wait three years
AS-2-129	يِجبُ أَنْ نُسَمِيهُمُ الشَياطِينَ	and pay for the shortsightedness of some
AS-2-130	لِأَنَّ القَتْلَ وَالإِرْهابَ وَالفَسادَ وَالفِتْنَةَ وَكُلُّ المُوبِقاتِ هِيَ مِنْ وَساوِسِ الشَيْطانِ	and sacrifice the blood of our sons, our souls, our economy, our security and our reputation
AS-2-131	قَرَّرنا السِيرَ فِي مَسارَيْن مُتَوازِيَيْن ضَرْبُ الإِرْهابِ مِن دُونِ هَوادَةٍ وَالقِيامَ بِمُصالَحاتٍ مَحَلِّيَّةٍ	so that we discover
AS-2-132	وَكَنا مُنْذُ البِدايَةِ عَلَى قَناعَةٍ تامَّةٍ	that [[what have been going on]] is a plot against the country?
AS-2-133	أَنَّ الحُلُولَ الناجِحةَ هِيَ حُلُولٌ سُورِيَّةٌ بَحْتَةٌ	In the beginning of the crisis I talked about the Brothers of the devil
AS-2-134	وَكُلُّ [[مَنْ عادَ إلَى الطَريقِ الصَحِيحِ]] أُكْتُشَفَ بِنَفَسِهِ	so some had commented
AS-2-135	أَنَّ الدَوْلَةَ كَالأُمِّ الحَنُونِ	that he did not leave a turn back
AS-2-136	وَكَثِيرُونَ هَم مَنْ أَلْقُوا السِلاحَ	why does he say devils about them?
AS-2-137	وَعادُوا	and they are a party
AS-2-138	وَقاتَلُوا مَعَ الجَيْش	the President has to say Muslim brothers about them?
AS-2-139	وَأُكَرِرُ دَعْوتِي لِمَن[[غُرِّرَ بِهِمُ]]	We apologize from those
AS-2-140	أَنْ يُلْقُوا السِلاح	We have to call them the devils
AS-2-141	لِأَنَّنا لَنْ نَتَوَقَّفَ عَنْ مُحارَبَةِ الإِرْهابِ	because killing, terrorism, corruption, commotion and all bad deeds are whispers of the devil
AS-2-142	حَتَّى نُعَيِّدَ الأَمانَ إِلَى كُلِّ بُقْعَةٍ فِيَّ سُورِيَّةَ	We decided to go in two parallel paths, hitting terrorism fiercely and offering local reconciliations
AS-2-143	وَأَمّا [[مَنْ يَنْتَظِرُ اِنْتِهاءَ الحَرْبِ مِنَ الخارِجِ]] فَهُو واهِمٌ	And we were totally convinced from the very beginning
AS-2-144	فَالحَلُّ السِياسِيُّ "«» «»",يُبْنَى عَلَى المُصالَحاتِ الداخِلِيَّةِ	that the successful solutions are merely Syrian solutions
AS-2-145	«كَما يُسَمَّى اَصْطِلاحاً»	And everyone [[who went back on the right path]] discovered by himself
AS-2-146	وَإِنْ كانَتِ الدَوْلَةُ قَدْ مَدَتْ يَدها لِلحِوارِ مَعَ الجَمِيعِ مُنْذُ بِدايَةِ الأَزْمَةِ فَاليَوْمَ وَبَعْدَ هذا الأَخْتِبارِ الوَطَنِيِّ القاسِي وَالغالِيِّ الثَمَنِ فَإِنَّ هذا الحِوارَ لا يَشْمَلُ القُوَى [الَّتِي أُثْبَتَتْ عَدِمَ وَطَنِيَّتِها]	that the country is like the kind mother
AS-2-147	لَقَدْ أَثْبَتَتِ الأَزْمَةُ حَقِيقَةَ العَيْش المُشْتَرَكِ بَيْنَ السُورِيَّيْنَ	And many have turned in their weapons
AS-2-148		and they returned back

Code	Arabic	English
	فَالحَرْبُ الأَهْلِيَّةُ لَها شَكْلُها مِنْ خُطُوطِ فَصْلٍ جُغْرافِيَّةٍ واضِحَةٍ بَيْنَ الطَّوائِفِ والأعراقِ أَو غَيْرِها مِنَ المَجْمُوعاتِ	
AS-2-149	وَفَنَّدَتِ الطَّرْحَ الخَبِيثَ حَوْلَ الحَرْبِ الأَهْلِيَّةِ	and they fought with the army
AS-2-150	المُتناحِرَةِ	And I reiterate my call for those [[who have been misled]]
AS-2-151	فَهَلْ هذا ما نَراهُ فِيَّ سُورِيَّةَ؟	that they turn in the weapons
AS-2-152	هُذا عِبارَةٌ عَنْ وَهَم	because we will not stop fighting terrorism
AS-2-153	هذا ما أرادُوا	until we regain safety to each to each spot in Syria
AS-2-154	إقْناعَنا بِه	And as for the one [[who awaits the end of the war from the outside]] he is mistaken
AS-2-155	الواقِعُ هُوَ العَكْسُ	The political solution << >>is built upon the local reconciliations
AS-2-156	فَلَقَد تُجاوَزنا حَتَّى فَكَرَةَ العَيْش المُشْتَرَكِ[[الَّتِي كانَتْ سائِدَةً قَبْلَ الأَحْداثِ]]إلَى بِدايَةِ الاِنْدِماجِ الكامِلِ بَيْنَ السُورِيَّيْنَ	<<as it is called conventionality >>
AS-2-157	وَإذا كانَ هُناكَ اليَوْمُ شَبَّهُ إجْماعٍ بَيْنَ السُورِيَّيْنَ [[أَنَّ السَبَبَ الأَساسِيَّ لِانْغِماس البَعْضِ فِي تَدْمِيرِالوَطَنِ هُوَ الجَهْلُ]]	And if the country has extended its arm by dialogue with everybody since the beginning of the crisis
AS-2-158	فَإنَّ الأساسَ الأَخْطَرُ[[الَّذِي بَنِيَثَ عَلَيهِ الأَزْمَةُ]]هُوَ اِنْعِدامُ الأَخْلاق	today after this hard and expensive national test the dialogue will not include the powers [[that proved its non-patriotism]]
AS-2-159	وَهُوَ العائِقُ الأَكْبَرُ لِتُطَوِّر المُجْتَمِعاتِ	The crisis has proven the reality of co-existence among Syrians
AS-2-160	قَدْ تُؤَدِّي الأَخْلاقُ الحَمِيدَةُ وَالرَفِيعَةُ لِحُسْنِ تَطْبِيقِ القَوانِين	and it confuted the evil-minded allegations about the civil war
AS-2-161	لَكِنْ لا يُمَكِّنُ للقوانِينَ أَنْ تَزْرَعَ بُذُورَالاخلاقِ	The civil war has got its shape of clear demographic contact lines between sects, ethnic groups and other fighting groups
AS-2-162	دُونَ أَخْلاقٍ لَن يَكُونَ هُناكَ شُعُورٌ وَطَنِيٌّ فِي وِجداننا	Is that what we see in Syria?
AS-2-163	وَنَتَحَوَّلُ إلَى أَشْخاصٍ أنانِيِّيْنَ[[يَعْمَلُ كُلُّ وَأحِدٍ فِيهِم عَلَى خِدْمَةِ نَفْسِهِ عَلَى حِسابِ الآخَرِيْنَ]]	This is but an illusion
AS-2-164	وَهُذا ما رَأيناهُ بِشَكْلٍ وَاسِعٍ فِي هُذِهِ الأَزْمَةِ	This is what they wanted
AS-2-165	فَكَثِيرُونَ لَمْ يَحْمِلُوا السِلاحَ	that they convince us with
AS-2-166	لَكِنَّهُمْ لَعِبُوا بِقُوتِ الناسِ	The reality is the opposite
AS-2-167	وَسَرَّقُوا	We have surpassed the concepts of common or shared living, [[which prevailed before the events]] to a stage of full integration and social cohesion among Syrians
AS-2-168	وَنَهَبُوا	If there were a semi-agreement among Syrians [[that the main reason of going behind destroying the country is ignorance]]
AS-2-169	وَكانُوا كَالإرْهابِيِّيْنَ فِي خُطُورتِهِمُ	then the more dangerous reason [[that the crisis was built upon]]is absence of morals
AS-2-170	بِمَعْنَى نُرِيدٌ	
AS-2-171	إن نُطَوِّرَ	

AS-2-172	وَلا نَنْجَحْ	and it is the biggest hurdle in building societies
AS-2-173	وَنُريدُ	High morals might lead to a better execution of legislations
AS-2-174	أَنْ نُكافِحَ الفَسادَ	however, legislations cannot plant seeds of morals
AS-2-175	وَلا نَنْجَحْ	
AS-2-176	عِندَما تَغيبُ الأَخْلاقُ	Without morals there would be no patriotic feeling in our hearts
AS-2-177	اِنْطِلاقاً مِمَّا سَبَقَ يُمَكِّنُنا الحَديثُ عَن الفَسادِ عَلَى اِعْتِبار [[أَنَّ المَوْضوعَيْن مُتَرابِطَين]]	and we turn into selfish human beings[[everyone of them works for himself agains the others]]
AS-2-178	فَالفَسادُ المالِيُّ وَالإداريُّ أساسهُ الفَسادُ الأَخْلاقِيُّ	and this is what we saw a lot of in this crisis
AS-2-179	وَالاثْنان يُنْتِجان الفَسادَ الأَخْطَرَ [[وَهُو الفَسادُ الوَطَنِيُّ]]	Many did not carry weapons
AS-2-180	إنَّ مُكافَحَة الفَسادِ بِحاجَةٍ لِلسَيْرِ عَلَى أُكْثَرَ مِنْ مِحْوَرٍ بِشَكْلٍ مُتَزامِن	however, they played with the living of the people
AS-2-181	الضَرْبُ بِيَدٍ مِنْ حَديدٍ عَلَى كُلِّ فاسِدٍ[[تَثْبُتُ إدانتهُ]]	and they stole
AS-2-182	فَإذاً كانَ الحِسابِ يَأتي في قِمَّةِ هَرَمِ مُكافَحَةِ الفَسادِ	and they looted
AS-2-183	فَهذا لا يَعْني [[أَنَّهُ وَحْدَهُ كافٍ]]	and they were like terrorists in their seriousness
AS-2-184	وَفي وَسَطِ هذا الهَرَم يَأتي دَوْرُ الإصْلاح الإداريِّ في مُؤَسَّساتِ الدَوْلَةِ	So, we want
AS-2-185	وَطَبْعاً لا نَنْسَى في مَثَلِ هذِهِ الحالَةِ الدَوْرَ الُمُهِمَّ لِلإعْلام	that we develop
	لَكِنَّ الدَوْرَ الأَهَمَّ وَالأَكْثَرَ دَيْمومَةً[[وَالَّذي يُشَكِّلُ قاعِدَةَ الهَرَم وَأَساسَ مُكافَحَةِ الفَسادِ]]هُوَ دَوْرُ المُجْتَمَع	but, we do not succeed
AS-2-186	وَالأُسْرَةِ تَحْديدا	and we want
AS-2-187	لِنُنْتِجْ مُجْتَمَعاً غَيْرَ فاسِد	that we fight corruption
AS-2-188	عَلَيْنا جَميعاً آباءً وَأُمَّهاتٍ أَنْ نُرَبِّيَ أَبْناءنا تَرْبِيَّةً صالِحَةً	and we do not succeed
	فَلْتَكُنْ مُكافَحَةُ الفَساد هِيَ أُولَوِيَّتنا في المَرْحَلَةِ القادِمَةِ في مُؤَسَّساتِ الدَوْلَة وَالمُجْتَمَع كَكُلٍّ	when morals disappear
AS-2-189		Building on the above, we can talk about corruption, with the consideration that[[the two subjects are connected]]
AS-2-190	أَيُّها السَيِّداتُ وَالسادَةُ	Financial and administrative corruption is based upon moral corruption
	لَقَد حاوَلتِ الدُوَل[[الَّتي تَقِفُ خَلْف الإرْهابِ في سُوريَّة]]تَدْميرَ مُخْتَلَفِ أُسُس الحَياة فيها,	and both of them bring up the most danger corruption, [[which is the national corruption]]
AS-2-191	كانَتْ عَمَلِياتُ تَدْمير البُنَى التَحْتِيَّةِ[[الَّتي بَنَيتْ عَبَرَ عُقُودٍ مِنْ جَهدٍ وَمالٍ وَعَرقٍ وَدَمِ أَجْيالٍ مِنَ السوريِّيْنَ]]تَسيرُ بِشَكْلٍ مَنْهَجِي	Fighting corruption needs to go on more than one path at the same time
AS-2-192		to hit with a firm hand, every corrupted person [[who was proven guilty]]
		If the judgment lies at the top of the fighting corruption pyramid

	Arabic	English
	وَقَدْ أَضافَ هٰذا الجانِبُ إِلَى التَّحَدِّياتِ وَالهُمُومِ الكَثيرَةِ اليَوْمَ هاجِساً آخَرَ [[هُوَ الهاجِسُ المُتَعَلِّقُ بِأَرْزاق الناس]]	that does not mean [[it is enough]]
AS-2-193	كُلُكُمْ يَعْرِفُ الهَجَماتِ الإرْهابِيَّةَ[[الَّتي تَحصُلُ بِشَكْلٍ مُسْتَمِرٍ عَلَى حُقُولِ النَفْطِ]]	and in the middle of the pyramid exists the role of the administrative amendments in the state's departments
AS-2-194	وَهِيَ أَحَدُ أَهَمِ المَوارِدِ المالِيَّةِ لِخَزِينَةِ الدَوْلَةِ	and of course, in this case we do not forget the role of the Media
AS-2-195	وَأَيْضاً الهُجُومُ عَلَى خُطُوطِ الْغاز [[الَّتي تَقُومُ بِشَكْلٍ أَساسِي بِتَغْذِيَة مَحَطَّاتِ تَوْلِيدِ الكَهْرَباءِ,]] ما أَدَّى بِالمُحَصِّلَةِ إِلَى أَنْ تَنْخَفِضَ نِسْبَةُ تَغْذِيَة الكَهْرَباءِ في كُلِّ المَناطِقِ السُورِيَّةِ إِلَى بِضْع ساعاتٍ في اليَوْمِ	However, the most important and sustainable role, [[which constitutes the base of the corruption-fighting pyramid,]] is the role of society and the family in particular
AS-2-196	أَمّا السِياحَةُ[[الَّتي كانَتْ مُزْدَهِرَةً في سُورِيَّةَ II وَكانَتْ مَوْرِدا مالِيّاً مُهِمّاً لِلدَوْلَةِ وَلِلمُواطِنِينَ سَواء الخارِجِيَّةَ أو الداخِلِيَّةَ]]فَنَسْتَطيعُ أَنْ نَقُولَ	In order for us to produce an uncorrupt society we all need to, as mothers and fathers, raise our children with a good upbringing
AS-2-197	إِنَّ نَسَبِتها الآنَ تُساوي الصِفْرَ تَقْرِيباً	Let fighting corruption be our priority in the next period
AS-2-198	كَمَا أَنَّها أَظْهَرِث الكَثيرَ مِنَ الأَشْخاصِ[[الَّذِينَ لا يَمْتَلِكُونَ ضَمِيراً]]	Ladies and gentlemen
AS-2-199	فَيَتَهَرَّبُونَ الآنَ مِن دَفْعِ الفَواتِير وَتَسْدِيدِ الضَرائِبِ وَغَيْرِها	They tried the states [[that stand behind terrorism in Syria]] destroying all life essential in it
AS-2-200	وَبِما أَنَّ الضَرَرَ الأَكْبَرَ [[الَّذِي أَصابَ الأَقْتِصادَ]] هُوَ في تَدْمِير البُنَى المادِيَّةِ الحَيَوِيَّةِ [[لِلنُمُوّ الأَقْتِصادِ وَاسْتِمْرارِه]]	The operations of destroying infrastructure [[which was built through out decades of the money. Sweat, blood and efforts of generations Syrians]] was going on systemically
AS-2-201	فَإِنَّ تَعافِيهُ يُجَبُ أَنْ يَنْطَلِقَ مِنْ نَفْس النُقْطَةِ	And this worrying fact has added to the many challenges and worries another worrying fact [[which is the worry related to the income of the people]]
AS-2-202	نَعَمْ أَيُّها السادَةُ	All of you know the terroristic attacks [[that happen regularly on oil fields]]
AS-2-203	إِنَّ إعادَةَ الإعْمار هُوَ عُنْوانُ أَقْتِصادِ المَرْحَلَةِ المُقْبِلَةِ	and they are one of the most important incomes to the treasury of the state
AS-2-204	وَ << >>لا يُفْهَمُ مِنْ كَلامِنا الأَنْتِظارُ حَتَّى أَنْتِهاءُ الأَحْداثِ	also the attacks on the gas pipelines [[which basically carry out fueling electricity generation plants]] which resulted in a shortage of electricity service in all Syrian areas to a few hours a day
AS-2-205	>>عِنْدَماً نَقُولُ	
AS-2-206	إِنَّ إعادَةَ الإعْمار هُوَ أَقْتِصادُ المَرْحَلَةِ المُقْبِلَةِ>>	
AS-2-207	عَلَيْنا أَنْ نَبْدَأَ مِنَ اليَوْمِ	
AS-2-208	وَقَدْ بَدَأَتِ الدَوْلَةُ بِالفِعْل بِإِصْدارِ التَشْريعاتِ وَالقَوانين[[الَّتي تُشَجِّعُ وَتُسَهِّلُ البَدْءَ في الأَسْتِثْمار فِيِّ هٰذا المَجالِ]]	In regard to the tourism[[which was flourishing in Syria II and was an important income to the state]]we can say
AS-2-209		that its percentage now is zero

	Arabic	English
AS-2-210	فَلِنَبْدَأ جَمِيعاً يَداً بِيَدٍ إعادةَ إعْمارِ سُورِيَّةَ	and it also showed up many people [[who do not have conscience]]
AS-2-211	لِنَكُونَ جَدِيرَيْنَ بها	and they evade bill payments and tax payments and other things
AS-2-212	وَلِنُثْبِتَ >> <<	And since the greatest damage [[that hit the economy]] was in the destruction of the infrastructure [[that is vital to the maintenance of the economy and its progression]]
AS-2-213	>>كَمَا فَعَلْنا خِلالَ سَنَواتٍ ثَلاثَ<<	
AS-2-214	أَنَّ إرادَةَ السُورِيِّينَ أَقْوَى بِأَضْعافٍ مِنْ عَمَلِ الإرْهابِيِّينَ وَالعُمَلاءِ	its healing must depart from the same point
AS-2-215	أَيُّها الأُخْوَةُ وَالأَخَواتُ	Yes, ladies and gentlemen
AS-2-216	في هْذا اليَوْمِ نَنْطَلِقُ جَمِيعاً إلى مَرْحَلَةٍ جَدِيدَةٍ	The rebuilding is the title of the next stage's economy
AS-2-217	أهَمَّ ما يُمَيِّزها هُوَ [[الإجْماعُ عَلَى حِمايَةِ الوَطَنِ وَإعادَةِ بِنائِهِ أَخْلاقِيّاً وَنَفْسِيّاً وَمَعْنَوِيّاً وَمادِّيّاً]]	and << >>it is not understood from our speech the waiting until the end of the events
AS-2-218	أهَمَّ ما يُمَيِّزها هُوَ الا[[الإجْماعُ عَلَى القَضاءِ عَلَى الإرْهابِ]]	<<when we say
AS-2-219	وَإنَّنا إذْ نَنْظُرُ اليَوْمَ إلى المُسْتَقْبَلِ	that rebuilding is the economy of the next stage>>
AS-2-220	فَإنَّنا بِحاجَةٍ إلى مُعالِجَةِ الثَغَراتِ الوَطَنِيَّةِ الكَبِيرَةِ	We have to start as of today
AS-2-221	وَهْذا يَحْتاجُ إلى تَضافُرِ جُهُودِنا وَتَكاثُفِنا جَمِيعاً في المَرْحَلَةِ المُقْبِلَةِ	And the state has started issuing the laws and legislations [[that support and ease the start of investment in that regard]]
AS-2-222	وَأَنَّنا سَنَسْتَمِرُّ بِضَرْبِ الإرْهابِ وَإجْراءِ المُصالِحاتِ فِيَّ كُلِّ المَناطِقِ	let us all start to rebuild Syria hand in hand
AS-2-223	كَيّ لا يَبْقَى سُوَرِيٌّ وَأَحِدٌ في مَراكِزِ الإيواءِ أو في مُخَيَّماتِ اللاجِئِينَ	so that we be worthy of it
AS-2-224	وَسَنُعَزِّزُ العَمَلُ المؤسساتِيَّ عَبْرَ تَكافُؤِ الفُرَصِ وَإلْغاءِ المحسوبياتِ	and so that we prove<< >>
AS-2-225	وَقَدْ يَتَساءَلُ البَعْضُ	<<as we have done through out three years>>
AS-2-226	كَيْفَ لَنا أَنْ نَقُومَ بِذَلِكَ	that the will power of the Syrians is by folds stronger than the work of terrorists and agents
AS-2-227	أَنْ لَمْ يَسْتَجِبِ المَسْؤُولُونَ لِمُبادَراتِنا؟	Brothers and sisters
AS-2-228	وَهُوَ تَساؤُلٌ صَحِيحٌ	In this day we move on to a new era
AS-2-229	لَكِنْ لا يُمَكِّنُ تَعْمِيمُ حالَةٍ عَلَى الكُلِّ	The thing that signifies it is [[the agreement on protecting the country, rebuilding it moraly, Psychologicallyوالسpiritually and financially]]
AS-2-230	وَدائماً هُناكَ مَنْ يَسْمَعُ	The thing that signifies it is[[the agreement on defeating terrorism]]
AS-2-231	وَهُناكَ مَنْ يَهْتَمُّ	And as we look today to the future
AS-2-232	وَلِكِنْ عَلَيْنا أَلا نَكَلَّ	we need to fix the big national loopholes
AS-2-233	وَلا نَسْتَسْلِمْ	and that needs bringing our efforts together
AS-2-234	وَأَنْ نَبْقَى نُحاوِلُ وَبِشَتَّى الطُرُقِ	and standing together in the coming stage

AS-2-235	إِلَى أَنْ يُسْمَعَ صَوْتُنا	and we will continue hitting terrorism and offering reconciliations in all areas
AS-2-236	لَكِنَّ الحُرُوبَ تَفْرِضُ وَقائِعها عَلَى الأَرْض	so that no Syrians is left in sheltering centers and refugees camps
AS-2-237	وَلا بُدَّ مِنْ تَحْديدِ الأَوْلويّاتِ	and we will support institutional performance through opportunities' equality and revoking of favoritism
AS-2-238	فَهُناكَ جَيْشٌ بَطَلٌ	
AS-2-239	يُدافِعُ عَنِ البِلادِ	
AS-2-240	وَيُقْدِمُ الشُّهَداءَ	And some might ask
AS-2-241	وَهُناكَ ضَحايا أَبْرِياءُ يُسْقِطُونَ يَوْمِيّاً بِسَبَبِ الإِرْهابِ فِي أَماكِنَ مُخْتَلِفَة	how can we carry out that?
AS-2-242	لا يُمَكِّنُ أَنْ تَكُونَ هُناكَ أَوْلويّاتٌ تَتَقَدَّمُ عَلَى التَعامُلِ مَعَ هٰذِه القَضايا فِي المَرْحَلَةِ الراهِنَةِ	If officials did not respond to our initiatives ?
AS-2-243		And it is a spot on wonderment
		however, we cannot overgeneralize that on all
AS-2-244	وَعِنْدَما نَتَحَدَّثُ عَن مَفْقُودَيْنَ لا بُدَّ أَنْ تَكُونَ أَوْلويّاتنا هي	There is always who listen
AS-2-245	[[أَنْ نَبْحَثَ عَن هٰؤُلاءِ]]	and there is who cares
	فَإذاً لا يُمَكِنُ أَنْ نَقُولَ لِأَهالي هٰؤُلاءِ وَلِأَهالي العَسْكَرِيِّنَ وَلِأَهالي المَخْطُوفِينَ وَلِلجائِعِيْنَ اليَوْم	however, we have to not to despair
AS-2-246		and we do not surrender
	أَنَّ هُناكَ مَنْ أَصابَهُ المَلَلُ أَو الحَماسُ	and we keep trying in all ways
AS-2-247	وَسَنَضَعُ رَغَباتِه أَوْلويّاتٍ أَمامَ أَوْلويّاتكُمْ	until our voice is heard
AS-2-248		However, all wars impose its realities on the ground
	إِنَّ صُمُودكُمْ هُوَ [[الَّذي أَعْلَنَ رَسْمِيّاً وَفاةَ ما سُمِّيَ زَوْراً وَبَهَتاناً الرَبيعَ العَرَبِيَّ]]	and priorities have to be set
AS-2-249		There is a heroic army
AS-2-250	فَلُو كَانَ هٰذا الرَبيعُ حَقيقِيّاً لَأَنْطَلَقَ بِدايَةً مِنْ دُوَل التَخَلّفِ العَرَبِيِّ	who defends the country
AS-2-251		and who offers up martyrs
AS-2-252	لِنَتَحَدَّثْ عَن الوَقائِع	and there are innocent victims
AS-2-253	وَنَبْتَعِدَ عَن الكَلامِ النَظَريِّ	who fall everyday because of terrorism in different areas
	أَلَمْ تَكُنْ هٰذِه الدُوَلُ هِيَ الدُوَل الداعِمَةُ لِإيرانَ في عَهْدِ الشاه وَعِنْدَماً قَرَّرَتِ الحُكُومَةُ الإيرانِيَّةُ	There could not be priorities go before dealing with those issues at the current time
AS-2-254		
AS-2-255		And when we talk about lost people
AS-2-256	أَنْ تَتَحَوَّلَ لِتُصْبِحَ بَعْدَ الثَّوْرَةِ مَعَ القَضِيَّة الفِلَسْطِينِيَّةِ داعِمَةً لِلشَعْبِ الفِلَسْطينِيِّ	our priorities must be we look for those
AS-2-257		So, we cannot say to the families of those lost, the soldiers, the families of the kidnapped and the hungry
	أَلَمْ تَقُمْ هٰذِه الدُوَلُ هِيَ بِالأَنْقِلابِ عَلَى إيرانَ	
AS-2-258	أَلَمْ تَقُمْ هٰذِه الدُوَلُ بِدَعْمِ جَرائِمَ الإِخْوان المُسْلِمِيْنَ وَإِخْوان الشَّياطِين في سُورِيَّةَ فِيَّ	that there is someone who got board or enthusiastic
AS-2-259		and that we will put his desires over yours

النَّصَف الثاني مِنَ السَبْعينيّات حَتَّى الثَّمانينيّاتِ ضِدّ سُوريَّة؟ وَ<< >> قالَتْ هذِه الدُوَلُ عَلَى لِسانِ مِن يُدْعَى سُعُودٌ AS-2-260	Your perseverance is [[what announced the death of what was falsely and wrongly called Arab Spring]]
<<عِنْدَما اِعْتَدَّتْ إِسْرائيلُ عَلَى لِبنانَ في تَمُوز عامَ2006>> AS-2-261	If this Spring was real
إِنَّ هَؤُلاء المُقاومَيْن طائِشُونَ وَمُتَهَوِّرُونَ AS-2-262	It would have started from the countries of Arab backwardness
وَضَغَطتِ عَلَى الغَرْبِ وَإِسْرائيلَ مِنْ أَجْلِ عَدِمَ القَبُول بِوَقْفِ إِطْلاقِ النارِ قَبْلَ القَضاءِ عَلَى المُقاومَةِ اللُّبْنانيَّةِ AS-2-263	Let us talk about facts
	and let us stay away from theories
وَلأَنَّ هذِه الدُوَلُ التابِعَةَ نَجَحتْ فِيَّ مَهامِّها AS-2-264	Were not those countries the supporters of Iran in the era of Shah ?
كُلِّفَتْ بِمَهَمَّةِ تَمُويل الفَوْضَى تَحْتَ عُنْوانِ الرَبيع العَرَبيِّ AS-2-265	And when the Iranian government decided to change
وَأَعْطِيتْ قيادَةَ جامِعَةِ الدُوَل العَرَبيَّةِ AS-2-266	so that It become after the revolution with the Palestinian case, a supporter to the Palestinian people
بَعْدَ أَنْ تَنازَلتِ الدُوَلُ العَرَبيَّةُ الأُخْرى عَنْ دَوَّرها AS-2-267	Did not those countries turn against Iran ?
أَيَّتُها السَيِّداتُ أَيُّها السادَةُ AS-2-268	Did not those countries support the crimes of Muslim brothers and Brothers of the devil in Syria in the mid of seventies until eighties against Syria ?
إِنَّ شَعباً مِثْلَكُم [[قاوَمَ ll وَبِقِيَ في بَلَدٍ [[تَعَرَضَ لِعُدْوانٍ]] هُوَ شَعْبٌ جَديرٌ بِالتَقْديرِ وَالأِحترامِ AS-2-269	
هُوَ شَعْبٌ[[أعادَ لِلثَوْرَةِ مَعناها الصَحيحِ]] AS-2-270	And << >>those countries said on the tongue of who called Saud
وَأَثْبَتَ AS-2-271	<<when Israel attacked Lebanon in 2006>>
أَنَّ السُوريّيْنَ يَعيشُونَ بِشَرَفٍ AS-2-272	that those rebels are adventurous and impulsive
وَيَسْتَشهِدُونَ بِشَرَفٍ AS-2-273	and they pressured Israel and the West for not accepting the cease-fire before destroying the Lebanese resistance
وَمَعَ أَنَّنا حَقَّقْنا إِنْجازاتٍ كَبيرَةً جِدّاً في الفَتْرَةِ الماضِيَةِ في حَرْبِنا عَلَى الإرْهابِ AS-2-274	
إِلّا أَنَّنا لَمْ وَلَنْ نَنْسَى الرِقَّةَ الحَبيبَةَ AS-2-275	And because those submissive countries succeeded in their assignments
الَّتي سَنُخَلِّصُها مِنَ الإرْهابيّيْنَ بِإِذْنِ اللهِ AS-2-276	they were assigned the mission of financing the chaos under the title of Arab Spring
وَأَمّا حَلَبُ الصامِدَةُ وَأَهْلُها الأَبْطالُ فَلَنْ يَهْدَأَ بالُنا AS-2-277	and they were given the leadership of the Arab League
حَتَّى نَعُودَ آمِنَةً مُطْمَئِنَّةً AS-2-278	after all the other Arab countries given up their role
فَكَيْفَ لِجَسَدٍ أَنْ يَنْسَى عَيْنَهُ أَو قَلْبَهُ أَو كَبَدَهُ AS-2-279	Ladies and gentlemen
فَتَحِيَّةً لِلجَيْش العَرَبيِّ السُوريِّ وَلِكُلِّ الشَبابِ وَالشابّاتِ[[الَّذينَ حَمَلُوا السِلاحَ دِفاعاً عَنْ كَرامَةِ بِلادِهِم وَعِزَّتِها وَشَرَفِها]] AS-2-280	
وَلا نَنْسَى الأَوْفياءَ مِنْ أَبْناءِ المُقاوَمَةِ اللُّبْنانيَّةِ الأَبْطالَ AS-2-281	
الَّذينَ وَقَفُوا جَنْباً إِلَى جَنَبٍ مَعَ أَبْطالِ جَيْشِنا AS-2-282	

AS-2-283	وَقَدَّمُوا الشُّهَداءَ دَفَاعاً عَنْ مِحْوَرِ المُقاوَمَةِ	A nation like you [[who fought II and remained in a country [[that faced aggression]] is a deserving nation of appreciation and respect
AS-2-284	أيُّها السُوريُّونَ الشُرَفاءُ	It is a nation [[that returned the right meaning to the revolution]]
AS-2-285	التَحَدِّياتُ كَبيرةٌ	And they proved
AS-2-286	لَكِنَّ إرادتَنا قَويَّةٌ	that Syrians live with honor
AS-2-287	المَرْحَلَةُ الجَديدَةُ بَدَأَتْ	and that they pass away with honor
AS-2-288	وَنَحنُ مُسْتَعِدُّونَ لَها	And even though we have achieved a lot of achievements lately in our war on terrorism
AS-2-289	وَأَنَا سَأَبْقَى الشَخْصَ[[الَّذِي يَنْتَمِي إلَيكُمْ]]	however, we will not forget the beloved "Alriqqa
AS-2-290	يَعِيشُ بينَكُمُ	which we will take off the terrorists with God's will
AS-2-291	سَنَبْقَى سُوريَّةُ شامِخَةً قَويَّةً صامِدَةً عُصَيَّةً عَلَى الغُرَباءِ	In regard to perseverant Aleppo and its brave people, we will not calm down
AS-2-292	وَسَنَبْقَى نَحْنُ السُوريَّيْنَ حِصْناً مَنيعاً لَها وَلِكَرَامَتِها	until it becomes safe and sound
AS-2-293	وَالسَلامُ عَلَيكُمْ ورحمةُ اللهِ وبركاتُهُ	How a body can forget its eye, heart or liver
		So, salute the Syrian army and to all male and female [[who carried guns in defend of thier country's dignity, its glory and honor]]
		And we do not forget the faithful courageous sons of the Lebanese resistance
		who stood side by side with the heroes of our army
		and they offered up martyrs defending the axis of the resistance
		Honorable Syrians
		The challenges are great
		but, our will is strong
		The new era has started
		and we are ready for it
		And I will remain the person [[who belongs to you]]
		he lives among you
		Syria will remain high, strong, perseverant and deterrent to the foreigners

	and we Syrians will remain as a fortress to it and to its dignity
	Pease and blessings of Allah be upon you

Appendix 3-Gaddafi's Two Speeches

1-Speech one

Arabic Text	English Translation
GA-1-1 مَساءُ الخَيْرِ اليَوْمُ أَيُّها الشَبابُ فِي الساحَةِ الخَضْراء	Good evening today those youths in the Green square
GA-1-2 أُحْيِيكُمْ أَيُّها الشُجعانُ	I salute you brave people
GA-1-3 أُحْيِيكُمْ شَبابَ الفاتِحِ, شَبابَ القَوَمِيَّةِ, شَبابَ الفاطِمِيَّةِ, شَبابَ التَحَدّي, جِيلَ التَحَدّي, جِيلَ الغَضِبِ	I salute you youth of victory, youth of nationalism, youth of "Fatimiya", youth of challenge, generation of challenge, generation of anger
GA-1-4 أُحْيِيكُمْ	I salute you
GA-1-5 وَأَنْتَمْ تُقْدِمُونَ لِلعالَمِ الصُورَةَ الحَقِيقِيَّةَ لِلشَعْبِ اللِيبِيّ	while you put the true picture forward to the world of Libya and the Libyan nation
GA-1-6 المُلْتَفّ حَوْلَ الثَوْرَةِ عَلَى بَكْرَةِ أَبِيهِ	who surrounds the revolution
GA-1-7 أَنْتُم مِنَ الساحَةِ الخَضْراءِ، تُقْدِمُونَ الحَقِيقَةَ [[الَّتِي تُحاوِلُ أَجْهِزَةُ الخِيانَةِ وَالعَمالَةِ و النَذالَةِ وَالرَجِيَّةِ وَالجُبْنِ أَنْ تُغَطّيها]]	You are, in the Green square, Put forward the truth [[that agencies of betrayal, disloyalty, nastiness, narrow-mindedness and cowardice are trying to hide]]
GA-1-8 وَتَشْوِه صَوَّرَتكُمْ أَمامَ العالَمِ	and they spoil your reputation before the world
GA-1-9 أَجْهِزَةٌ عَرَبِيَّةٌ لِلأَسَفِ شَقِيقَةٌ،	Unfortunately, some Arab media and some Arab organizations sell you out
GA-1-10 تَغْدُركُمْ	and they betray you
GA-1-11 وَتَخُونكُمْ	They say to them
GA-1-12 يَقُولُونَ لَهُمْ	look at Libya
GA-1-13 أُنْظُرُوا إِلَى لِيبِيا	it does not want nobility
GA-1-14 لا تُريدُ العِزَّ	it does not want glory
GA-1-15 لا تُريدُ المُجِدَّ	it does not want liberalism
GA-1-16 لا تُريدُ التَحْرِيرَ	it does not want revolution
GA-1-17 لا تُريدُ الثَوْرَةَ	Look at Libya
GA-1-18 أُنْظُرُوا إِلَى لِيبِيا	it wants goofiness
GA-1-19 تُريدُ الدروشةَ	it wants people with long beards
GA-1-20 تُريدُ اللَحْيَ	it wants people with turbans
GA-1-21 تُريدُ العمايمَ أُنْظُرُوا إِلَى لِيبِيا	Look at Libya

GA-1-22	تُرِيدُ الأَسْتِعْمارَ	it wants colonialism
GA-1-23	تُرِيدُ الإنتكاسةَ	it wants deterioration
GA-1-24	تُرِيدُ الحَضِيضَ	it wants the bottom
GA-1-25	بَيْنَما أَنْتُمْ هَنَا فِي الساحَةِ الخَضْراءِ تَقُولُونَ	However, now you, people in the Green Square, are saying
GA-1-26	لِيبِيا تُرِيدُ المَجْدَ	Libya wants dignity
GA-1-27	تُرِيدُ القِمَّةَ قِمَّةَ العالَمِ	It wants the top of the world
GA-1-28	لِيبِيا تَقُودُ القاراتِ آسِيا, وَإِفْرِيقِيَا, وَأَمْرِيكا اللاتِينِيَّةَ, وَحَتَّى أُورُوبَا	Libya leads all continents of Asia, Africa, Latin America and even Europe
GA-1-29	أَصْبَحَ اللِيبِيُّ الآنَ يُشارُ لَهُ بِالبَنانِ, فِي جَمِيع أَنْحاءِ العالَمِ	The Libyan is being pointed to by the fingers in all over the world
GA-1-30	بَعْدَ أَنْ كَانَ اللِيبِيُّ بِالأَمَسِّ لَيسثْ لَهُ هُوِيَّةٌ	after Libyans have had no identity, Yesterday
GA-1-31	فَعِنْدَما تَقُولُ لِيبِيٌّ	When you have said Libyan
GA-1-32	يَقُولُونَ لَكَ لَيْبِيرِيّاً ؟ لِبَنان؟	they would say Liberia? Lebanon?
GA-1-33	لا يُعْرِفُونَ لِيبِيا	They do not know Libya
GA-1-34	أَمَّا اليَوْمَ عِنْدَما تَقُولُ لِيبِيا	However, today when you say Libya
GA-1-35	يَقُولُونَ لَكُمْ آه لِيبِيا القَذَّافِيّ لِيبِيا الثَّوْرَة	they say to you ah Libya, Qaddafi, Libya, revolution
GA-1-36	شَوهُوا صَوَّرَتكُمْ فِي إذاعاتٍ عَرَبِيَّةٍ شَقِيقَةٍ لِلأَسَفِ	They distorted your image, unfortunately in some Arab media stations
GA-1-37	يَخْدمُونَ الشَيْطانَ	They serve Satan
GA-1-38	وَنَحنُ نُرِيدُ أَنْ نَرُدَ الآنَ بِالفِعْلِ, فَوْق الأَرْض فِي المِيدان	And we want now to reply with actions on the ground in the field
GA-1-39	مُعَمَّر القَذَّافِيّ ماعنده مَنْصِب	Muammar Qaddafi has no post
GA-1-40	حَتَّى يَزْعَلْ	so that he gets angry
GA-1-41	وَيَسْتَقِيل مِنْه	and (HE) resigns from it
GA-1-42	كَمَا فِعْل الرُؤَساء	as the presidents did
GA-1-43	مُعَمَّر القَذَّافِيّ لَيْسَ رَئِيسا	Muammar Gaddafi is not a president
GA-1-44	هُو قائِد ثَوْرَة	he is a leader of a revolution
GA-1-45	وَالثَّوْرَة تَعَنِّي التَضْحِيَة دائِماً وَأَبَداً حَتَّى نِهايَةَ العُمْر	and the revolution means sacrifice for ever until the end of life
GA-1-46	هٰذِهِ بِلادِي بِلاد أَجْدادِي وَأَجْدادكُم	This is my country, the country of my grandfathers and your grandfathers
GA-1-47	غَرَسناها بِيَدنا	We planted it with our hands
GA-1-48	نَحْنُ أَجَدَرُ بِلِيبِيا مِنْ تِلْكَ الجُرَذان وَأُولَئِكَ المَأْجُورَيْنَ	We are worthier of Libya than those rats and those agents
GA-1-49	مِن هُم هٰؤُلاءِ المَأْجُورَيْنَ؟	Who are those agents?
GA-1-50	المَدْفُوعُ لَهُمُ الثُمْنَ مِنَ المُخابَراتِ الأَجْنَبِيَّةِ	who are paid by foreign intelligence

GA-1-51	لَعْنَةُ اللهِ عَلَيهِمُ	May the curse of God be on them
GA-1-52	تَرَّكُوا العارَ لِأَوْلادِهِمُ	They left disgrace to their children
GA-1-53	إذا عِنْدَهُمْ أَوْلادْ	if they have children
GA-1-54	تَرَّكُوا العار لَقَبائِلهِمُ	They left disgrace to their tribes
GA-1-55	إذاً كانَتْ عِنْدَهُم قَبائِل	if they have tribes
GA-1-56	وَلِكِنْ هُوْلاء لَيْسَ عِنْدَهُمْ قَبائِلُ	However, those don't have tribes
GA-1-57	فَالقَبائِلُ اللِيبِيَّةُ, قَبائِلُ شَريفَةٌ وَمُجاهِدَةٌ وَمُكافَحَةٌ	because Libyan tribes are honorable, struggling and striving tribes
GA-1-58	تَحَدِّينا أَمْريكا في هٰذا المَكانِ, بِجَبَرُوتها وَقُوتها	We all challenged America in this place with all its strength and tyranny
GA-1-59	إيطاليَا قَبَّلَتْ يَد أبِن الشَهِيدِ شَيْخِ الشُّهَداءِ عَمَرَ المُخْتارُ	Italy kissed the hand of the son of the martyr, Omer Almukhtar, the martyr of the martyrs
GA-1-60	إيطاليَا الإمْبِراطورِيَّةَ في ذَلِكَ الوَقْتِ, تَحَطَّمتْ فَوْقَ الأَرْضِ اللِيبِيَّةِ بِجَحافِلها	Italy, the empire of that time, was crushed on the Libyan land with its armies
GA-1-61	أَنَا أَرَفَعُ مِنَ المَناصِبِ, [[الَّتِي يَتَقَلَّدها الرُؤَساءُ, وَالأَبَّهاتُ]]	I am above all the positions [[that presidents and lords take]]
GA-1-62	أَنَا مُقاتِلٌ, مُجاهِدٌ, مُناضِلٌ, ثائِرٌ مِنَ الخَيْمَةِ,مِنَ الباديَةِ	I am a fighter, a struggler and a striver form the tent, form the desert
GA-1-63	أَنَا دافِعٌ ثُمْنَ بَقائي هَنَّا	I have paid the price of staying here
GA-1-64	أَنَا جَدِّيْ عَبْدالسَلام أبومنيار [[أَوَّلُ شَهِيدٍ سَقَطَ فَوْقَ الخُمْسِ, في أَوَّلِ مَعْرَكَةٍ عام 1911]]	My grandfather is Abdussalam Abo Menyar [[who was the first martyr on Alkhums land in the first battle in 1911]]
GA-1-65	الآنَ مَجْمُوعَة قَلِيلَة مِنَ الشُّبَّانِ [[المُعْطاَةُ لَهُمُ الحُبُوبُ]] يُغَيِّرُونَ عَلَى مَراكِزِ الشُرْطَةِ هَنَا وَهُناكَ مَثَّلَ الفِئْران	Now a small group of the young people [[who were given hallucinogenic pills]] raided police stations here and there like rats
GA-1-66	يُهاجِمُونَ ثُكْنَةً آمِنَةً غافِلَةً	They raid unaware safe barracks
GA-1-67	لِأَنَّنا نَحْنُ لَسَنا في حالَةِ حَرْبٍ	because We are not in a state of war
GA-1-68	حَتَّى نُشَدِّدَ الحِراسَةَ عَلَى مَخازِننا وَعَلَى مُعَسْكَراتنا	so that we strengthen security around our storages and camps
GA-1-69	نَحْنُ بَيَّنَ أَهْلنا وَفِيَّ آمان وَسَلَام	We are amongst our people and in safety and peace
GA-1-70	وَلِيبِياً تَنْعُم بِالسَلام	and Libya enjoys peace
GA-1-71	اِسْتَغَلُّوا هٰذا السَلَام وَهٰذا الآمان وَهٰذِه النِعْمَة الَّتِي فِيها لِيبِيا	They exploited the safety and security that Libya in
GA-1-72	وَأَغارُوا عَلَى بَعْض المُعَسْكَرات وَبَعْض المَراكِز	and they raided some barracks and stations
GA-1-73	وَحَرَّقُوا المِلَفَات [[الَّتِي فِيها جَرائِمهُم]]	and they burned the files [[which their crimes are in]]
GA-1-74	وَهاجَمُوا المَحاكِمَ, [[الَّتِي فِيها مِلَفَاتهُمْ]] وَمَراكِزُ الشُرْطَةِ, [[الَّتِي فِيها التَحْقِيقُ مَعَهُمُ عَلَى جَرائِمهُمْ]]	

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GA-1-75	لَكِنَّ هَؤُلاءِ الشُبَّانِ, لَيْسَ لَهُمْ ذَنَبٌ أَبَداً	They also attacked the courthouses [[that have their files]] and police stations [[where they were interrogated]]
GA-1-76	فَهُمْ صِغارُ ألَّسنِ 16 سَنَة ، 17 ، 18	However, those youths are not guilty
GA-1-77	أَحْياناً يُقَلِّدُونَ ما [[يُجْري فِيَّ تَوْنَسَ]] وَما [[يُجْري فِيَّ مِصرَّ]]	because they are young 16, 17 and 18
GA-1-78	وَهَذا شَيْءٌ عادِيٌّ	They sometimes emulate the things [[that happen in Tunisia]] and the things [[that happen in Egypt]]
GA-1-79	قالُوا	and that is normal
GA-1-80	حَصَلُوا عَلَى سِـــلاح	They said
GA-1-81	لِماذا حتَّـــى نَحْنُ ما نحـــصل سِلاح!	They have found weapons
GA-1-82	لَكِنَّ هُناكَ مَجْمُوعَةٌ قَلِيلَةٌ مَريضةٌ	why do not we get weapons too?!
GA-1-83	مندسةٌ فِيَّ المُدُنِ	However, there is a sick group
GA-1-84	تُعْطِي الحُبُوبَ, وَأَحْياناً حَتَّى النُقُودَ لِهَؤُلاءِ الشُبَّانِ الصِغارِ اليافِعَيْنَ,	that is hidden in the cities they give pills, and sometimes even money, to these young teenagers
GA-1-85	وَتَزُجُّ بِهُمْ في هَذِهِ المَعارِكِ الجانِبِيَّةِ	and they push them towards side battles
GA-1-86	[[الَّذِينَ قُتِلُوا]] هُمْ مِنَ الشُرْطَةِ وَالجُنُودِ وَمَنْ هَؤُلاءِ الشُبَّانِ وَليسَ مِنَ [هَؤُلاءِ] [[الَّذِينَ يُحَرِّكُونَهُمْ || الَّذِينَ هُمْ قاعِدِينَ فِيَّ بَيُوتِهُمْ || أو قاعِدِينْ فِيَّ الخارِج || يَتَمَتَّعُونَ بِالآمانِ وَبِالراحَةِ وَالمُتْعَةِ هُمْ وَأَوْلادِهُمْ ||وَيُحَرِّكُونَ أَوْلادكُمْ || وَيُعْطُوهُمُ الحُبُوبِ]]	Those [[who were Killed]] are members of the police, armed forces and those youngsters and not the ones [[who move them]] [[who are sitting in their houses || or who are sitiing outside || who enjoy peace and comfort with their families and children ||and they puppet your children || and they give them pills]]
GA-1-87	نَحْنُ تَرْكنا السُلْطَةَ لِلشَعْبِ اللِيبِيِّ مِن عام 77, أنَا وَالضُبّاطَ الأَحْرارَ	We have handed the power to the Libyan people since 1977, me and the free officers
GA-1-88	وَلَمْ يَعُدْ لَنا أَيُ مَنْصِبٍ وَلا أَيُ صَلاحِيَّةٍ	and We don't have any authority or position
GA-1-89	وَأَمْسَكَنا السِلاحَ فَقَطَ	and we picked guns only
GA-1-90	كانَتْ مَعَنا بَنادِقنا فَقَطَ	We had only our rifles
GA-1-91	تَرْكنا لَكُمُ كُلَّ شَيْءٍ, حَتَّى فَلُوسَ البِتْرُولِ	We left you everything, even the oil money
GA-1-92	عَيِيَتُ	I was fed up
GA-1-93	وَإنَّا أَقُولُ لَكُمُ	and I say to you
GA-1-94	خوذوها بِيَدكُمُ	you take it in your hands
GA-1-95	كُلَّ شَهْرٍ خوذوا فَلُوسَ البِتْرُولِ	Every month, you take the money of oil
GA-1-96	وَتَصَرَّفُوا فِيها	and you spend it
GA-1-97	فَلاَ يَضْحَكُونَ عَلَيكُمُ الآنَ	Do not let them fool you now
GA-1-98	وَيَقُولُونَ لَكُمُ	and they say to you

GA-1-99	أَيْنَ فَلُوسَ البِتْرُولِ؟	where is the money of oil?
GA-1-100	أَنْتُم قُلْتُم لا	You said no
GA-1-101	دَعْ فَلُوسَ البِتْرُولِ عِنْدَ الدَوْلَةِ, عِنْدَ اللِجانِ الشَعْبِيَّةِ	you keep the oil money with the state with the public committees
GA-1-102	أَنْتُمُ الَّذِينَ صَعَّدْتُمُ اللِجانَ الشَعْبِيَّةَ العامَّةَ	You elected the public committees
GA-1-103	أَنْتُم مَسْؤُولِيْنَ عَنها	You are responsible for them
GA-1-104	هَلَّ أَنْتُم سُذَّجٌ إِلَى هٰذِهِ الدَرَجَةِ	Are you that naïve?
GA-1-105	حَتَّى يُضْحَكُوا عَلَيكُم!؟	so that they fool you
GA-1-106	أَنَا أُسانِدُ السُلْطَةَ الشَعْبِيَّةَ	I support the public authority
GA-1-107	وَأَدْعُو الشَعْبَ اللِيبِيَّ	and I call upon the Libyan people
GA-1-108	إِلَى تَشْكِيلِ الشَعْبِيّاتِ الجَدِيدَةِ وَالبَلَدِيّاتِ الجَدِيدَةَ غَدا	to form new municipalities and public committees tomorrow
GA-1-109	أَنَا أَعَرْفُ	I know
GA-1-110	أَنَّ العِبيداتِ فِيَّ القَبَّةِ لايريدونَ الأَنضِمامَ إِلَى دَرَنِه	that "Obaidiat" in "ALquba" do not want the merging with "Darnah"
GA-1-111	يُريدُونَ شَعْبِيَّةً لَوَحَدِهُم	They want a committee of their own
GA-1-112	وَإِنَا إِلَى جانِبِ إِرادَةِ الشَعْبِ	and I am on the side of the will of the people
GA-1-113	فَلْتَكُنْ شَعْبِيَّةً للعبيداتِ, وشَعْبِيَّةً لِلقَبَّةِ	Let it be a committee for the "Obaidans" and another one for "Alquba"
GA-1-114	وَمَنْ غَدٍ يُمَكِّنُ أَنْ يُعْلَنُوا الشَعْبِيَّةَ	And from tomorrow they can announce the formation of their committee
GA-1-115	وَيُطَهِّرُوها	and they can clean it
GA-1-116	وَيُقَيِّمُونَ فِيها كُلَّ شَيئ بِأَنْفُسِهُم	and they can hold anything they want in it
GA-1-117	وَأَنَا مُتَوَقِّعٌ	And I expect
GA-1-118	أَنَّ الشَعْبِيّاتِ [[الَّتِي عَدَدُها الآنَ 23شَعْبِيَّة]] سَتَصِلُ مُمْكِنٌ إِلَى «30» شَعْبِيَّةً أَو أَكْثَر	that the public committees, [[which its number is twenty-three now]], will probably reach thirty and more
GA-1-119	هٰذا هُو الشَيْءُ الصَحِيحُ	This is the right thing
GA-1-120	هٰذا [هُو] [[الَّذِي يَخْدُمُ الإِنْسانَ]]	This is the thing [[that serve the individual]]
GA-1-121	يَخْدُمُ حَياتِنا وَتاريخنا	It serves our life and heritage
GA-1-122	وَلا يُخْشِمنا أَمامَ العالَمِ	and it does not embarrass us in front of the world
GA-1-123	عَويلهُ صِغارٌ أَعْطُوهُم دَبَاباتٌ	They gave youngsters tanks
GA-1-124	يَجُوبُونَ بِها شَوارعَ بَنْغازِيَ	they drive them around Benghazi
GA-1-125	بَعْدَ أَنْ دَوَّخُوهُم	after they have drugged them
GA-1-126	وَعَزَلُوهُم عَنْ أَهْلِهُم	and they secluded them from their families
GA-1-127	مِنَ الغَدِ, تَبْدَأ العائِلاتُ فِيَّ جَمَعِ أَوْلادها	
GA-1-128	وَالَّذِي يُريدُ المُجِدّ	

	Arabic	English
	يَتَذَكَّرُ جَلاءَ الطَّليانِ, وَجَلاءَ المريكانِ وَجَلاءَ الإنْجليزِ, وَالنَّهْرَ الصِناعِيَّ العَظيمَ, وَالسَلَطَةَ الشَعْبِيَّةَ	Families start to collect their children from tomorrow
GA-1-129	وَعَوْدَةَ النَّفْطْ	And whoever wants glory
GA-1-130	أَخْرَجُوا مِنْ بُيُوتكُمْ	he remembers the eviction of Italians, Americans, the Englishmen, the great man-made river, the public authority and the control of oil
GA-1-131	أَخْرَجُوا إلَى الشَوارع	
GA-1-132	أَمِّنُوا الشَوارعَ	Go out of your houses
GA-1-133	إمْسِكُوا الجُرذانَ	Go out to the streets
GA-1-134	نَحْنُ لَمْ نَسْتَخْدِمِ القُوَّةَ بَعْدُ	Secure the streets
GA-1-135	وَالقُوَّةُ تَساعَدُ الشَعْبَ اللِيبِيَّ	Catch the rats
GA-1-136	إذاً وَصلَتِ الأُمُورُ إلَى حَدِّ اِسْتِخدامِ القُوَّةِ	We have not used power yet
	سَنَسْتَخْدِمها وَفْقاً لِلقانُونِ الدُوَلِيِّ وَوُفْقاً لِلدُسْتُورِ اللِيبِيِّ والقَوانِينِ اللِيبِيَّةِ	and power Supports the Libyan people
GA-1-137		If things have gotten to the point of using power
	مِن الغَدِ أَو مِنَ اللَيْلَةِ, تُخْرجُونَ كُلُّ المُدُنِ اللِيبِيَّةِ وَالقَرَى اللِيبِيَّةِ وَالواحاتِ اللِيبِيَّةِ [الَّتي هِيَ تُحبُّ مُعَمَّر القَذّافِيّ]	we will use it in accordance with international law, the Libyan constitution and Libyan regulations
GA-1-138		From tomorrow, or form today, you go out, all Libyan cities, Libyan villages and Libyan oases [that love Moummar Qaddafi]
GA-1-139	لِأَنَّ مُعَمَّر القَذّافِيّ هُوَ المَجْدُ	
GA-1-140	أَنَا لَو عِنْدِي مَنْصِبٌ	because Moummar Qaddafi is the glory
GA-1-141	لَو إنِّي رَئِيسٌ	If I have a position
GA-1-142	لَكُنْتُ رَمَيتُ الاِسْتِقالَةَ عَلَى وَجْهِ هٰذِهِ الجَراثِيمِ	if I am a president
GA-1-143	لَكِنَّ أَنَا لَيْسَ عِنْدِي مَنْصِبٌ	I would have thrown the resignation at the faces of those germs
GA-1-144	أَنَا عِنْدِي بُنْدُقِيّ	However, I do not have a position
GA-1-145	أَنَا سَأُقاتِلُ إلَى آخِرِ قَطْرَةٍ مِنْ دَمِيَ وَمَعْيَ الشَعْبُ اللِيبِيُّ	I have my rifle
GA-1-146	مِن الغَدِ ، يَفْرض الأَمْن بِالشُرْطَة وَبِالجَيْش	I will fight till the last blood drop, with the Libyan people at my side
GA-1-147	مِن الغَدِ تَفْتَح الحَواجِز	From tomorrow, security will be enforced by police and army
GA-1-148	شيلوها أَنْتُم مِن مَدَنِنكُمْ	From tomorrow, any barricades should be lifted
GA-1-149	أهكذا تُريدُونَ	You lift them from your cities
GA-1-150	إن تُصْبِح بَنْغازِيّ دَمار	Is that what you want
GA-1-151	سَتُقْطَع عَلَيْها الكَهْرَباء	that Benghazi become a wreck?
GA-1-152	وَتُقْطَعُ عَلَيْها المِياه	Electricity will be cut off on Benghazi
GA-1-153	إذ مِن الَّذي سَيَأْتِي لَكُمُ بِالكَهْرَباءِ وَالماءِ؟	and water supply will be disturbed
GA-1-154	وَهٰذِه الجُرَذانُ يُمَكِّنُ أَنْ تَصِلَ إلَى البِتْرُولِ	

GA-1-155	وَتَنْسِفُ البِتْرُولَ	because who will manage the supply of water and power
GA-1-156	وَتَعُودُوا إِلَى الظُّلَامِ إِلَى عام 52	And Those rats can reach to the oil fields
GA-1-157	الطائراتُ خَلاص تَوَقَّفَتْ	and they can bomb them
GA-1-158	مِن الطائِرَةُ الّتِي مازالَتْ سَتَنْزَلُ فِي مَطارِ بَنِينَةَ ؟!	and you will go back to the dark ages, to the year 1952
GA-1-159	وَالسُفُنُ قالَتْ لا يُمَكِّنُ أنْ نرسوا فِي مِيناء بَنْغازِيّ	All planes have stopped
GA-1-160		What plane is going to land in "Baninah" airport?!
GA-1-161	لِأَنَّ فِيهِ جِرْذانَّ	And ships' companies said
GA-1-162	دَرَنهُ أَصْبَحتْ خَراباً	they cannot dock in Benghazi port
GA-1-163	وَحاكِمُها الآنَ وَأَحِدٌ عامِلَ لِحَيَّةً	because there are rats in it
GA-1-164	وَيَقُولُ لِلنِساءِ	"Darnah" has become ruins
GA-1-165	لا تَخْرُجْنَ اِعْتِباراً مِنَ اليَوْم	and its ruler is someone with a beard
GA-1-166	وَقالَ لَهُمُ	He tells women
GA-1-167	هاتوا لِيّ التَبَرُّعاتِ	You do not go out of your houses effective today
GA-1-168	أَنَا خَلِيفَةُ وَتُبعُ بِن لادنٍ وَتَبَعُ الظَواهِرِيّ!!	He also said
GA-1-169	كُلُ العائِلاتٍ, كُلُ الجَماهِير فِي دَرَنهِ, إذهبوا	you bring me donations
GA-1-170	طَهِّرُوا دَرَنهَ	I am the successor and follower of "Bin Ladin" and "Alzawahiri"!
GA-1-171	هَلَّ أَنْتُمُ تُرِيدُونَ	All families all people in "Darnah" go
GA-1-172	أنْ تَأْتِيَ أَمْرِيكا إِلَيكُم ؟	cleanse "Darnah
GA-1-173	تَحْتَلَكُمُ ؟	Do you want
GA-1-174	وَتُعْمَلُ لَكُمُ مَثَلَ أَفْغانِسْتانَ, وَمِثْلَ الصُومالٍ, وَمِثْلَ الباكِسْتانٍ, مَثَلَ العِراقٍ؟!	that America come to you?
		Do you want America to occupy you?
GA-1-175	أَيعجبكُمُ هُذا؟	and do to you like Afghanistan, like Somalia, like Pakistan and like Iraq?
GA-1-176	إذَنْ إخرجوا	
GA-1-177	إذاً كَانَ لا يُعَجِّبكُمُ	Do you like this?
GA-1-178	إخرجوا إِلَى الشَوارِع	So, you go out
GA-1-179	أَقْفَلُوها كُلّها	if you do not like this
GA-1-180	عَنْ جَرائِمهُمُ فِي قانُون العُقُوباتِ اللِيبِيّ [[الصادِرُ مُنْذُ قِبَلِ الثَوْرَةِ]] تَقُول	Go out to the street
		Barracked them all
GA-1-181	رَفْعُ اللِيبِيّينَ السِلاحَ ضِدَّ الدَوْلَةِ عُقُوبتهُ الإعْدامُ	The Penal Code [[which has been made effective before my revolution]] says about those crimes
GA-1-182	يُعاقِبُ بِالإعْدامِ	In the case of Libyans holding arms again the state the punishment is death
GA-1-183	كُلُ لِيبِيّ رَفْعَ السِلاحَ عَلَى لِيبِيا	

	Arabic	English
GA-1-184	يُعاقِبُ بِالإعْدامِ	He will be punished with death
	كُلُّ مِنْ زَوَّدَ حُكومَةً أَجْنَبِيَّةً, أَوْ أَحَدَ عُمَلائِها, أَوْ أَيُّ شَخْصٍ آخَرَ [[يَعْمَلُ لَمَصْلَحَتِها]] عَلَى أَيِّ وَجْهٍ مِنَ الوُجوهِ, وَبِأَيِّ وَسيلَةٍ, ما [[يَتَعَلَّقُ بِالدِفاعِ عَنِ البِلادِ, أَوْأَي	every Libyan who held arms against Libya
GA-1-185	سِرٍ مُماثِلٍ لَهُ]]	He will be punished with death
GA-1-186	وَهُؤُلاءِ أَعْطَوْا كُلَّ أَسْرارِنا لِلعَدُوِّ	everybody turned in a secret [[that is defense related]] to a foreign state, an agent of it or anybody [[that works for it]] in any way or form, or any similarly important to it
GA-1-187	لَيْسَ ذَنَبُ الأَطْفالِ	Those have turned in all our secrets to the enemies
	نَحْكِي عَنْ ذَنَبِ اللِّحْيِ, [[الَّتِي وَراءَ الأَطْفالِ]] [[الَّذينَ يَضْحَكونَ عَلَيكُمْ]]	It is not kids' guilt
GA-1-188	أَرْجُوكُمْ	We talk about the beards [[whch are behind the kids]] [[those who fool you]]
GA-1-189	أَنْ تَوَقَّفوا الرَمْيَ	I beg you
GA-1-190	كَيِّ تُسَمِّعَ الناسُ الكَلامَ [[الَّذِي سَأَقُولُهُ عَمَلٌ آخَرُ غَيْرَ هَذا الرَصاصِ]]	that you stop shooting
GA-1-191	الرَصاصُ مازالَ لَمْ أَمَرْ بِهِ	so that people can hear the talk [[which I am going to say]], something other than those bullets
GA-1-192	لَما يَصْدُرُ بِأَسْتِعْمالِ القُوَّةِ	I still have not ordered shooting
GA-1-193	عِندئِذٍ نَكُونُ نَحْنُ أَهْلِها	when the order of using force is given
GA-1-194	وَمِثْلَما قالَ لَكُمُ سَيْف الإسْلام أَمْسُ	At that point, we will be a match to it
GA-1-195	نَحْنُ قَبائِلَ كُلُّها مُسَلَّحَةٌ	And as "Saif- Alisam" said yesterday
GA-1-196	وَلَيسَتْ هُناكَ قَبيلَةٌ تَحْكُمها قَبيلَةٌ	we are all armed tribes
GA-1-197	وَلا أَحَدَ يَسْتَطيعُ أَنْ يَحْكُمنا, لا مِنْ دَرَنَةَ وَلا مِنْ هُونُولُولُو	and no tribe controls over another tribe
GA-1-198	نَحْنُ مُسَلَّحُونَ	and no one can rule us, neither from "Darnah" nor from Honolulu
GA-1-199	وَنَسْتَطيعُ أَنْ نَتَمَرَّد مَثَّلَ الصُومالِ	We are armed
GA-1-200	وَتُصْبِحُ لِيبيا تَطْبَخُ	and we can rebel like Somalia
GA-1-201	أَتريدونها أَنْ تَكُونَ هَكَذا؟	then Libya will burn
GA-1-202	هَذا يَقُودُ إِلَى الحَرْبِ الأَهْلِيَّةِ	Do you want it to be that way?
GA-1-203	يِلْتسِنْ رَئيسُ رُوسِيّا << >> قالَ لَهُمْ	This leads to a civil war
GA-1-204	<<عِنْدَما اِعْتَصَمَ مَجْلِسُ الدُوما>>	Yeltsin the president of Russia << >> he said to them
GA-1-205	أَطْلَعُوا	<<when the Duma council went on strike>>
GA-1-206	قالُوا لَهُ	come out
GA-1-207	لا نَحْنُ مُحْتَجِّيْنَ	They said to him
GA-1-208	وَظَلَّ يَقُولُ لَهُمْ	no, we are protesting
GA-1-209	أَطْلَعُوا	And he kept on saying to them

GA-1-211	أَطْلَعُوا	you come out
GA-1-212	لَمْ يُرْضُوا,	you come out
	يَوْمٌ, إِثْنَينِ, ثَلاثَةٌ, أَرْبَعَةٌ أَمامَ العالَمِ	They did not agree
GA-1-213	يُساوِمُونَ فَيْهِمُ	They had negotiated with them in front of the world for a day, two, three, four
GA-1-214	وَهُمْ قالُوا	and they said
GA-1-215	لَنْ نَخْرُجَ	we will not come out
GA-1-216	أُحْضَرَّ الدَبَّاباتِ	He brought tanks
GA-1-217	وَقُدْ كانَتْ مَنْقُولَةً بِالإذاعَةِ المَرْئِيَّةِ بِالتِلِفِزِيُون	and it had been broadcasted on TV
GA-1-218	وُدَكَ مَبْنَى مَجْلِسُ النُوّابِ وَالأَعْضاءُ مَوْجُودِيْنَ بِداخِلِهِ	and he bombarded the council with the members inside of it
GA-1-219	دَكَّهُمْ بِالدَبَّاباتِ	He bombarded them with tanks
GA-1-220	حَتَّى خَرَجُوا مَثَّلَ الفِئْران	until the representatives had left like rats
GA-1-221	وَالغَرْبُ لَمْ يَحْتَجُ	And The west did not object
GA-1-222	بَلْ قالَ	but, they said
GA-1-223	أَنْتَ تَقَومُ بِعَمَلِ قانُونِي	you are doing a legal action
GA-1-224	وَحْدَةُ رُوسِيّاً الإِّتِحادِيَّةٍ, وَهَيْبَتِها, وَقانُونِها, وَلِاحْتِرامُ دُسْتُورها وَحَلُّ مَشاكِلِها بِالطُرُقِ السِلْمِيَّةِ, أَهَمُّ مِنْ كَمِشَةِ النُوّابِ, الَّذِينَ فِي البَرْلَمان	the sovereignty of Federal Russia, its dignity, law, respect of constitution and peaceful ways of solving issues, are more important than a bunch of representatives in the parliament
GA-1-225	إضربهُمْ بِالدَبَّاباتِ	hit them with tanks
GA-1-226	وَلا تَسْتَطِيعُ أَمْرِيكا أَنْ تَحْتَجَ عَلَى وَأَحِدٍ مَثَّلَ الَّذِي فِي دَرَنَةَ	America cannot condemn such a person in "Darnah"
GA-1-227	لَما أَنْتَ تَدْمُرهُ	when you destroy him
GA-1-228	لِأَنَّ الأَمْرِيكانَ هُمْ نَفَسهُم عَمِلُوها	because the Americans did it
GA-1-229	أَطْلَعُوا بِسُرْعَةٍ إِلَى الشَوارِع	Go out fast to the streets
GA-1-230	سَيَطْرُوا عَلَى الشَوارِع	Control the streets
GA-1-231	أَنَا أَقُودُ السُلْطَةَ الشَعْبِيَّةَ	I lead the public authority
GA-1-232	نُرِيدُ الشَعْبَ اللِيبِيَّ	We want Libyan people
GA-1-233	أَنْ يُسَيْطِرَ عَلَى لِيبيا مِنْ أَقْصاها إِلَى أَقْصاها	that they control Libya from the start to the end point of its boarders
GA-1-234	الناسُ عايِشَةٌ فِي جَحِيمٍ	People are living in hell
GA-1-235	فَلا هُوَ جَيّشٌ	It is not an army
GA-1-236	تُحارِبهُ بِالدَبَّاباتِ وَالطائِراتِ	which you fight with artillery and planes
GA-1-237	وَإِلّا لَكُنا اِسْتَخْدَمَنا الطائِراتِ وَالدَبَّاباتِ وَالمِدْفَعِيَّةِ	otherwise we could have used planes, tanks and artillery
GA-1-238	وَلا هُوَ ناسُ جَبْهَةٍ مِنَ الجَبَهاتِ أَبَداً	

	أَعْتَقَدُ أَنَّ مِنْ غَدٍ سَتَبْدَأُ إِدارَةٌ جَدِيدَةٌ فِي الجَماهِيرِيَّة. جَماهِيرِيَّةٌ جَدِيدَةٌ, شَعْبِيَّاتٌ جَدِيدَةٌ, وَبَلَدِيّاتٌ جَدِيدَةٌ,	and they are not even aggressors from any side of the borders
GA-1-239	وَسَلَطَةٌ شَعْبِيَّةٌ جَدِيدَةٌ حَقِيقِيَّةٌ	I think that from tomorrow a new administration will begin in the Jamahiriya, a new Jamahiriya, new local councils, new municipalities and new real public authority
GA-1-240	لَيْسَ عِنْدِي مانِعٌ	
GA-1-241	أَنَّ الشَعْبَ اللِيبِيَّ يَعْمَلُ دُسْتُورً	I have no objection
GA-1-242	يَعْمَلُ أَيَ نِظامٍ قانُونِي	that Libyan people write a constitution
GA-1-243	نُرِيدُ القانُونَ	they write any legal system
GA-1-244	أَنْ يَسُودَ	We want the law
GA-1-245	وَأَنَا مازِلتُ مُصِرّاً	to dominate
GA-1-246	عَلَى أَنَّ البِتْرُولَ اللِيبِيَّ يَجِبُ أَنْ يَكُونَ لِلِيبِيِّيْنَ	And I am still insistent
GA-1-247	أَنْتُمْ لَمْ تَعُدْ عِنْدَكُمْ ثِقَةٌ فِي اللِجانِ الشَعْبِيَّةِ؟	that the Libyan oil must be for Libyans
GA-1-248	خَلاص خُذُوا البِتْرُولَ فِي يَدِكُمْ	You do not have trust in the public committees anymore?
GA-1-249	وَتَصَرَّفُوا فِيه	Ok, take the oil in your hands
GA-1-250	كُلُّ وَأَحِدٍ يَأْخُذُ حِصّتُه	and you manage it
GA-1-251	أَنْتَ حُرٌّ	Everybody takes his share
GA-1-252	تُرِيدُ	You are free
GA-1-253	أَنْ تَعْمَلَ بِها شَجَرَةً ؟	You want
GA-1-254	حُرٌّ	that you plant a tree with your share?
GA-1-255	تُرِيدُ	You are free
GA-1-256	أَنْ تَتَصَدَّقَ بِها؟	You want
GA-1-257	حُرٌّ	that you donate it ?
GA-1-258	أَلْمَهِمُ أَنَّ حِصّتَكَ أَخَذتَها	You are free
GA-1-259	وَتَصَرَفْ	The most important thing [is] that you took your share
GA-1-260	كَيْفَما تُرِيدُ	And you act
GA-1-261	وَأَعْتَقَدُ	however, you want
GA-1-262	أَنَّ سَيْف الإسْلام سَيَهْتَمُّ بِالسُفَراءِ وَالصُحُفِيِّيْنَ	I think
GA-1-263	وَسَيَتَمَكَّنُونَ مِنْ نَشَرِ كُلِّ الحَقائِق عَنْ لِيبيا	that "Saif- Al-Islam" will handle the ambassadors and journalists
	لِأَنَّ لِيبِيا فِي العالَمِ الخارجِيِّ لايرونها إلّا عَنْ طَرِيق المَحَطّاتِ القَذِرَة لِأَشِقّائِنا الأَعِزّاء [[الَّذِينَ	and they will be able to release all truths about Libya
GA-1-264	خانُونا]]	because Libya in the world they do not see it except through the dirty TV channels of our dear brothers [[who betrayed us]]
GA-1-265	فَبَدَلَ أَنْ يَنْقُلُوا الحَقِيقَةَ	
GA-1-266	يُزَوِّرنَها	

GA-1-267	وَيَنْشُرُونَ صُوَرَ مِنْ كَمْ سَنَةٍ فَائَتْ	Instead of them broadcasting the truth
GA-1-268	عِنْدَنا مَطالِبُ داخِلِيَّةٌ	they fake it
GA-1-269	نُريد دُسْتُورَ	and they broadcast pictures from a few years ago
GA-1-270	عادي جِدّاً جِدّاً	We have local demands
GA-1-271	شَيْءٌ سِلْمِيٌّ وَمَقْبُولٌ	We want a constitution
GA-1-272	أَمّاً التّآمُرُ مَعَ الخارِجِ بِإسْمِ هِذِهِ الأَشْياءِ فَهِذا شَيْءٌ آخَرُ	That is very normal and acceptable
GA-1-273	نَحْنُ يا إخْواننا نَعْرِفُ بَعْضَنا	It is peaceful and acceptable
GA-1-274	كَيْفَ سَأَتَصَرَّفُ أمامَ شُبّانٍ فِي الزنتان مَثَلاً؟	However, plotting with abroad in the name of those things is something different
GA-1-275	الزنتانُ أَحْفادُ وَأَبْناءُ أَبْطالٍ وَشُهَداء مَعْرَكَةِ الكُرْدُون << >> تَقُولُونَ <<الَّذِينَ داسُوا بِأَقْدامِهِمُ الحافِيَةُ	Brothers, we all know each other How would I act in front of "Azuntan" youths for example?
GA-1-276	عَلَى العَلَمِ الإِيطالِيِّ>>	"Azuntan" the sons and the grandsons of the heroes and martyrs of "Alkardoon" battle << >> you say
GA-1-277	إنَّهُمُ خَوْنَةٌ؟!	<<who trampled the Italian flag with their barefooted feet>>
GA-1-278	هُوُلاءِ أَطْفالٌ مِنَ الزنتان مُتَمَرِّدُونَ	that they are traitors?
GA-1-279	مُتَمَرِّدُونَ عَلَى أَهْلِهِمُ	Those are disobedient kids from "Azuntan"
GA-1-280	وَلا يَعْرِفُونَ مَعْرَكَةَ الكُرْدُون	they are disobedient to their families
GA-1-281	أَنّا أَعْرِفها	and they do not know the battle of "Alkardoon"
GA-1-282	وَأُقَدِّرُ مِن أَجْلِها الزنتانَ	I know it
GA-1-283	أَنّا لَو أَذْهَبُ إلى الزنتانِ	and I honor "Azuntan" for it
GA-1-284	سَيَهْتِفُونَ (الفاتِحُ ؛ الفاتِحُ)	If I go now to "Azuntan"
GA-1-285	وَسَيَقُولُونَ	they would chant," the conqueror, the conqueror"
GA-1-286	كُلُّ الرُوس فَداً لَرَأْسكَ	And they would say
GA-1-287	نَحْنُ نَعْرِفُ بَعْضنا بالأَسْمِ أَنّا أَعَرِّفُ الزنتانَ أَوْلادُ أبواللَيْلِ,الهَوْلِ, أَوْلاد عِيسَى, بنَ زويدٍ, بلقاسِم.لَو الحاجُ مُحَمَّدُ	all heads are before your heads
GA-1-288	الصَغِيرُ العايب أَخِيراً ياسادةُ مالِمْ تَتَحَقَّقْ هِذِهِ الأَشْياءُ تَسْلِيمُ الأَسْلِحَةِ تَسْلِيمُ	We know each other by name
GA-1-289	الأَسْرَى تَسْلِيمُ المُشاغِبِيْنَ	I know "Azuntan" and the sons of "Abo Alaeil", "Alhoal", sons of "Issa","Ben Zoayed" and "Bulqassim"
GA-1-290	وَنَرَى	In the end gentlemen, if those things have not been accomplished turning the weapons in and turning the captives in, turning the trouble makers in, turning the trouble makers
GA-1-291	أَنَّ وَحِدَةَ لِيبيا تَتَعَرَّضُ لِلخَطَرِ	
GA-1-292	عِندئذٍ << >> سَيُعِلنُ الزَحْفُ	
GA-1-293	<<نَقُولُ لَكُمْ>>	
GA-1-294	سَيُعْلِنُ الزَحْفُ المُقَدَّسُ مِثْلَ مُسَيَّرَة أَلْفِ مَيْلٍ,]] الَّتِي قادَها ماو تسي	and we see

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	Arabic	English
	تونغ II وَحَرَّرَ بِها الصِينَ إلَى عِنْدِ اليَوْمِ]]	that the unity of Libya is being endangered at that time << >> marching will be announced
GA-1-295	أَنّا باقٍ هُنّا	<< we say to you>>
GA-1-296	لا يَكْذِبُوا عَلَيكُمُ	Marching will be announced like the one-thousand-mile journey [[which was led by Mao Tse-tung and II he has freed china with it till today]]
GA-1-297	أَنّا نَمْشِيَ إلَى فِنِزْويلّا؟!	
GA-1-298	أتصدقونَ؟!	
GA-1-299	هٰذِهِ المَحَطّاتُ العَرَبِيَّةُ أُكْبَرُ عَدُوٍ	I am staying here
GA-1-300	مغتاظُونَ مِنكُمُ	Do not they lie to you
GA-1-301	بِآركَ اللهُ فِيكُم يا إخْوتِنا فِي قَطَرٍ	I flea to Venezuela?!!
GA-1-302	هٰذِهِ آخِرتُها؟!	Do you believe that?!!
GA-1-303	بَدَّلَ أَنْ تَكُونُوا مَعَنا	Those arab TV channels are the biggest enemy
GA-1-304	تَكُونُونَ ضِدَّنا؟!	
GA-1-305	قَدْ تَنْدَمُونَ	they are jealous of you
GA-1-306	يَوْمَ لا يُنْفَعُ النَدَمُ	God bless you our brothers in Qatar
GA-1-307	مَنْ أَنْتُمْ؟!	Is this the end?
GA-1-308	دَقَّتْ ساعَةُ العَمَلِ	Instead of you being with us
GA-1-309	دَقَّتْ ساعَةُ الزَحْفِ	you be against us ?
GA-1-310	دَقَّتْ ساعَةُ الأنْتِصارِ	You will regret this
GA-1-311	لا رُجُوعَ	when regret will not suffice
GA-1-312	إلَى الأمامِ ثَوْرَةٌ, ثَوْرَةٌ	Who are you ?
		The hour of work has come
		The hour of marching has come
		The hour of victory has come
		No retreat
		Go forward revolution, revolution.

2-Speech two

Arabic Text		English Translation
GA-2-1	رُدُّوا عَلَيهِمُ	Reply to them
GA-2-2	رُدُّوا عَلَى العُمَلاءِ	Reply to the infiltrators
GA-2-3	رُدُّوا عَلَى الكَذَّابِينَ	Reply to the liars
GA-2-4	رُدُّوا عَلَى وَكالاتِ وَإذاعَاتِ الكِذبِ	Reply to the agencies and stations of lies
GA-2-5	وَلِيسَ وَكالاتِ وَإذاعَاتِ الأَعْلامِ	and they are not agencies and stations of media
GA-2-6	لَيْسَ إعْلاماً بَلْ إذاعَاتِ الكَذِبِ	It is not media but stations of lies
GA-2-7	وَيَجِبُ أَنْ تُسَمَى إذَاعَاتِ الكَذِبِ	and they should be called stations of lies
GA-2-8	رُدُّو عَلَيهِمُ	Reply to them
GA-2-9	أَهْوَ الشَعْبُ اللِيبِيُّ	This is the nation of Libya
GA-2-10	أَنَا إذاً كَانَ شَعْبِي مايُحِبُني	If my nation does not love me
GA-2-11	مانستحقشْ الْحَياة	I do not deserve life
GA-2-12	إذاً كَانَ شَعْبِيَ وَالشَعْبُ العَرَبِيُّ وَالشُعُوبُ الإِفْرِيقِيَّة وَكُلُ الشُعُوبِ إذاً ماتِحِبِشْ مُعَمَّر القَذَّافِيّ	If my nation, the Arab nations, the African nations and all nations do not love Muammar Gaddafi
GA-2-13	مُعَمَّر القَذَّافِيّ مايِسْتَحِقِشْ الْحَياة حَتَّى يَوْمَ وَأحِدٌ	Muammar Gaddafi does not deserve life not even for one single day
GA-2-14	إذاً مايُحِبُني شَعْبِي	If my people do not love me
GA-2-15	أَنَا مانِسْتَحِقِشْ الْحَياة حَتَّى يَوْمَ وَأحِدٌ	I do not deserve life, not even for one single day
GA-2-16	أَهْوَ شَعْبِي	This is my nation
GA-2-17	أَهْوَ الشُعُوبُ	These are the nations
GA-2-18	أَهْوَ صَوْتُ الشُعُوبِ	This is the voice of the people
GA-2-19	إسْتَعِدو	Prepare
GA-2-20	لِلدِفَاع عَنْ لِيبيا	so you defend libya
GA-2-21	إسْتَعِدو	Prepare
GA-2-22	لِلدِفَاع عَنْ النَّهْرِ الصِناعِيّ العَظِيمِ	so you defend the Great Man-made River
GA-2-23	إسْتَعِدو	Prepare
GA-2-24	لِلدِفَاع عَنْ البِتْرُولِ	so you defend the oil
GA-2-25	إسْتَعِدوا	Prepare
GA-2-26	لِلدِفَاع عَنِ الكَرامَةِ و عَنِ الأَسْتِقْلالِ عَنِ العِزَّةِ وَعَنِ المَجْدِ	so you defend the dignity, the independence, the pride and the glory
GA-2-27	رُدُّوا عَلَيهِمُ	

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GA-2-28	رُدُّوا عَلَيهِمُ	Reply to them
GA-2-29	خَلَّهُم يَنْكَسِفُوا	Reply to them
GA-2-30	خَلَّهُم يَخْسَوا	Let them feel shy
GA-2-31	خَلَّهُم يَخْجَلوا	Let them feel little
GA-2-32	أَنَا فِي وَسَطِ الجَماهِير فِي طَرابُلسَ فِي السَاحَةِ الخَضْراءِ	Let them feel embarrassed I am in the middle of the masses in Tripoli in the Green Square
GA-2-33	هاهُو الشَبابُ أَبْناءُ وَأَحْفَادُ شُهَدَاءِ مَعارِكِ الجِهَادِ [[الَّذِينَ حَطَّمُوا الغَزوَ الإيطالِيَّ]]	Those are the youths, [[the sons and the grandsons of the martyrs of the Jihad battles, who destroyed the Italian invasion]]
GA-2-34	الإمْبِراطُورِيَّةَ الإيطالِيَّةَ تَحَطَّمتْ عَلَى أَيْدِي مُقاوِمَةِ آبائكُم وَأَجْدادكُم	The Italian empire was wrecked on the resistant hands of your fathers and grandfathers
GA-2-35	نَحْنُ نَسْتَطِيعُ أَنْ نُحَطِّمَ أَيَ عُدْوانٍ أَيَ عُدْوانٍ سَنَحْطِمهُ بِالإرادَةِ الشَعْبِيَّةِ ، بِالشعْبِ المُسَلَّحِ ، بِالشعْبِ المُسَلَّحِ	We can destroy any aggression
GA-2-36	بِالشعْبِ المُسَلَّحِ	We will destroy any aggression by the public will, by the armed people
GA-2-37	وَ<< >> سُنَفْتَحُ المَخازِنُ	And << >> all storages are going to get opened
GA-2-38	<<عِنْدَ اللُزُومِ>> لِيَتَسَلَّحَ كُلُّ الشَعْبِ اللِيبِيُ ، كُلُّ القَبائِلِ اللِيبِيَّةِ	<<when it is necessary>>
GA-2-39		so that the all Libyan people get armed, all the Libyan tribes
GA-2-40	تُصْبِحُ لِيبِيا ناراً حَمْراءَ	Libya will become a vicious fire
GA-2-41	تُصْبِحُ جَمْراً	It will become burning coal
GA-2-42	أَنَا أَتَيتُ لَكُم هَنَا	I came to you here
GA-2-43	لِأُحَيِّيكُمُ	so that I salute you
GA-2-44	وَأُحْيِي شَجَاعَتَكُمُ	and salute your bravery
GA-2-45	وَ<< >> أَقُولُ لَكُمُ	And << >> I say to you
GA-2-46	<<لِكَي نَردَ عَلَيْهِمُ >>	<<so that we respond to them>>
GA-2-47	بِأَنِّي أَنَا فِي وَسَطِ الشَعْبِ فِي وَسَطِ الجَماهِير	that I am in the middle of the people in the middle of the masses
GA-2-48	مَعَ أَنَّ مُعَمَّر القَذَّافِيَّ لَيْسَ بِرَئِيسٍ ، وَلا مَلِكٍ ، وَلا رَئِيسِ حُكُومَةٍ	Even though Muammar Gaddafi is not a president, not a king, not a prime minister
GA-2-49	وَلا عِنْدَهُ أَيُ صَلاحِيَّاتٍ دُسْتُورِيَّةً، وَلا إدارِيَّةٍ	and he, neither has any constitutional authorities nor managing authorities
GA-2-50	وَلِكِنَ الشَعْبَ يَحُبهُ	however, the nation loves him
GA-2-51	يَراهُ	They look up to him
GA-2-52	لِأَنَّ هَنَا العِزَّةُ	because pride is here
GA-2-53	نَحْنُ نَحْنُ العِزَّةُ وَالكَرامَةُ وَالمَجْدُ وَالتَارِيخُ وَالكِفاحُ	We, we are the pride, the dignity, the highness, the history and the struggle
GA-2-54	هَذا الشَعْبُ [[الَّذِي رَكَّعَ إيطالِيَا]|وَقَبَّلتْ يَدَ ابْن " عَمَر المُخْتَارَ]]	

	الثَّوْرَةُ [[الَّتِي رَكَعتْ إيطالِيَا] |وَجَعَلْتُها تُقْبِّلُ يَد ابِن " عَمَرَ المُخْتارَ " شَيْخُ الشُّهَداءِ ، بَطُلُ الغابَةِ ، قائِدُ المُقاوِمَةِ الوَطَنِيَّة اللِّيبِيَّةِ]]	This is the nation [[that made Italy kneel || and made it to kiss the hand of the son of Omar Almukhtar]]
GA-2-55		It is the revolution, [[that made Italy kneel || and made it kiss the hand of the son of Omar Almukhtar, the martyr of the martyrs, the hero of the wood, the leader of the Libyan National Resistance]]
GA-2-56	هٰذا الشَّعْبُ[[الَّذي جَعَلَ إيطالِيَا تَعْتَذِرُ] |وَتَدْفَعُ التَّعْويضَ غَصْباً عَنها]]	This is the nation [[that made Italy apologize and pay compensation, while being submissive || and pay compensation, while being submissive.]]
GA-2-57	الثَّوْرَةُ [[الَّتِي جَعَلْتْ إيطالِيَا تَعْتَذِرُ] |وَتَدْفَعُ التَّعْويضَ وَهِيَ صاغِرَةٌ]]	It is the revolution [[that made Italy apologize || and pay compensation against its will]]
GA-2-58	الثَّوْرَةُ [[الَّتِي جَعَلْتْ لِيبِيا فِيَّ القِمَّةِ]]	It is the revolution [[that put Libya at the peak]]
GA-2-59	جَعَلْتَ لِيبِيا [[هِيَ قائِدَةَ العالِم الثالِثِ بَلِّ العالِمَ كُلُّه]]	It made Libya [[not only the leader of the third world, but the whole world]]
GA-2-60	الثَّوْرَةُ [[الَّتِي جَعَلْتْ الشَّعْبَ اللِّيبِيَّ فِيَّ العلا]]	It is the revolution [[that put the Libyan people at the highest rank]]
GA-2-61	جَعَلْتْ الشَّعْبَ اللِّيبِيّ عَظيماً , عَظيماً , جِدّاً بِالثَّوْرَةِ	It made the Libyan people great very great with the revolution
GA-2-62	وَعَلَيكُمْ عَلَيكُمْ أَنْ تُغَنَّوا	And you have to, you have to sing
GA-2-63	وَتَرْقُصُوا	and you dance
GA-2-64	وَتَسْتَعِدُّوا	and you prepare
GA-2-65	غَنَّوا	You Sing
GA-2-66	وَأَرْقُصُوا	and you dance
GA-2-67	واسْتَعِدُوا	and you prepare
GA-2-68	هٰذِه الرُّوحُ المَعْنَوِيَّةُ العالِيَةُ هِيَ أَقْوَى مِنْ أَبْواقِ العَرَبِ	This high morale is stronger than the high voices of Arabs
GA-2-69	هِيَ أَقْوَى مِنْ أَبْواقِ العَرَبِ العُمَلاءِ الأَذِلَّاءِ ، الأَخِسَّاءِ	It is stronger than the high voices of the low, servile, infiltrative Arabs
GA-2-70	أَنْظُري يا أُورُوبَا	Look Europe
GA-2-71	أَنْظُري يا أَمْريكَا	Look America
GA-2-72	أَنْظُرُوا أَيُّها العَرَبُ	Look Arabs
GA-2-73	أَنْظُرُوا إِلَى الشَّعْبِ اللِّيبِيّ	Look at the Libyan people
GA-2-74	ها هُو " مُعَمَّر القَذَّافيّ " وَسَطَ الجَماهِير وَسَطَ الشَّبابِ	This is Muammar Gaddafi, in the middle of the masses in the middle of the youths
GA-2-75	هٰذا هُو الشَّعْبُ اللِّيبِيُّ	
GA-2-76	هٰذا هوا	Look at the Libyan people
GA-2-77	هٰذِي هِيَ ثَمَرَةُ الثَّوْرَةِ	
GA-2-78	هٰذا الشَّعْبُ مُتَحَمِّسٌ	
GA-2-79	هٰذا الشَّبابُ مُتَحَمِّسٌ	This is the Libyan nation

GA-2-80	لِأَنَّه يَرَى	This is it
GA-2-81	أَنَّ الثَّوْرَةَ هِيَ العِزَّةُ	This is the fruit of the revolution
GA-2-82	هِيَ الكَرامَةُ	This nation is so enthusiastic
GA-2-83	هِيَ المَجْدُ	Those youths are so enthusiastic
GA-2-84	هِيَ التاريخُ	because they see
GA-2-85	الثَّوْرَةُ [[الَّتِي أَحْيَتْ جِهَادَ الأَبْطالِ وَالأَجْدَادِ]] [[الَّذِي كَآنَ مَطْمُوساً]]	that the revolution is the pride
GA-2-86	الثَّوْرَةُ [[الَّتِي أَحْيَتْ " عَمَرَ المُخْتَارَ " مِنْ جَدِيدٍ]]	It is the dignity
GA-2-87	الثَّوْرَةُ [[الَّتِي أَحْيَتْ مَعارك الجِهادِ فِي كُلِّ مَكانٍ]]	It is the glory
GA-2-88	وَنَصَّبَتْ لَها التَذْكَارَ	It is the history The revolution is [[what shed light on the unheard struggle of the heroes and grandfathers]], [[which was unknown]]
GA-2-89	حَتَّى لا تَضِيعَ هَذِه التَضْحِياتُ	The revolution is [[what shed light on Omar Almukhtar again]]
GA-2-90	كانُوا يُرِيدُونَ	The revolution is [[what shed light on Jihad battles everywhere]]
GA-2-91	طَمْسَ تَضْحِياتِ أبائِنَا وَأَجْدَادِنا	and it put up memorials for them
GA-2-92	أَنَا في وَسَطِ الجَماهِير	so that those sacrifices do not fade away
GA-2-93	وَسَنُقاتِلُ	They wanted
GA-2-94	وَ>> <<سَنَهْزِمَهُمُ	to obliterate the sacrifices of our fathers and grandfathers
GA-2-95	<<إذاً أَرادُوا	I am in the middle of the masses
GA-2-96	أن يُمَسُّوا بِأيِّ جُزْءٍ مِنْ تُراب لِيبيا تُرابُ لِيبيا الغالِيّ>>	and we will fight
GA-2-97	سَنَهْزِمُ أي مُحاوَلَةٍ خارجِيَّةٍ	and << >> will defeat them
GA-2-98	كَمَّا هَزَمناهُم مِنْ قَبَلُ	<<if they wanted
GA-2-99	كَمَّا هَزَمْنَا الأَسْتِعْمارَ الإيطالِيَّ وَالغَارَاتَ الأَمْريكِيَّةَ	to touch any part if the Libyan soil, the precious soil of Libya>>
GA-2-100	هاهيَ القَوَى [[الَّتِي لا تَقْهَرُ]]	We will defeat any foreign attempt
GA-2-101	هاهيَ قُوَّةُ الجَماهِير , قُوَّةُ الشَبَابِ	as we defeated them before
GA-2-102	الحَياةُ بِدُونِ عِزٍّ لا قِيمَةَ لَها	as we defeated the Italian colonization and the American bombing
GA-2-103	الحَياةُ بِدُونِ مَجْدٍ لا قِيمَةَ لَها	This is the power [[that cannot be defeated]]
GA-2-104	الحَياةُ بِدُونِ راياتٍ مَرْفُوعَةٍ مِثْلَ هَذِه الراياتِ الخَضْراءِ لا قِيمَةَ لها	This is the power of masses power of youths
GA-2-105	حَياتُنا لَها قِيمَةٌ لِأَنَّ فِيها العِزَّ وَالمَجْدَ ، وَالكِبْرِياءَ ، وَالنَصْرَ ، وَالعِلْمُ الأَخْضَرُ الخَفَّاقُ	Life without pride is worthless
GA-2-106	أَيُّها الشَبابُ	Life without glory is worthless
GA-2-107	خُذُوا راحَتكُمْ فِي أي مَكَانٍ في الشَوارع , فِيَّ المَيادِين	Life without flying flags, like those green flags is worthless
GA-2-108		

GA-2-109	أرْقَصُوا	Our life is valuable
GA-2-110	غَنَّوا	because in it there are pride, glory, dignity victory and the flying green flag
GA-2-111	إسْهَرُوا	O Youths
GA-2-112	عَيَّشُوا حَياةَ العِزّ	Make yourself comfortable anywhere, on the streets and at the squares
GA-2-113	عَيَّشُوا بِالرَوْح المَعْنَوِيَّة العالِيَة	You dance
GA-2-114	مُعَمَّر القَذّافِيّ " ما هُو إلّا فَرْدٌ مِنكُم ، وَاحِدٌ مِنكُمُ	You Sing
GA-2-115	أرْقَصُوا	You stay up
GA-2-116	أرْقَصُوا	You live the life of pride
GA-2-117	وَغَنُوا	You live with high morale Muammar Gaddafi is no one, but a member of you, one of you
GA-2-118	وَأَفْرَحُوا	You dance
GA-2-119	وامرَحُوا	You dance
		and you and Sing
		and you cheer up
		and you rejoice

Appendix 4-Sample Analysis

1-Ben Ali's First Speech Sample

#	Clause	Translation	Process	Process Type	'er' Role (Actor, Senser, Sayer, Carrier, Token)	Thing Type
BA-1-1	بِسْمِ اللهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ	In the name of God, the Most Gracious, the Most Merciful	x	x	x	x
BA-1-2	أَيُّهَا الْمَواطِنُونَ	Male citizens	x	x	x	x
BA-1-3	أَيَّتُهَا الْمُوَاطِنَاتُ	Female citizens	x	x	x	x
BA-1-4	لقد تابعْتُ بِانْشِغالٍ مَا [[شَهِدَتْهُ "سِيدِى بوزيد" مِنْ أَحْدَاثٍ خِلاَلَ الأَيَّامِ الــمُنْقَضِيَةِ]]	I followed with concern the events [[that the city of Sidi Bouzid witnessed in the last few days]]	Follow	Mental	I - Ben Ali	Human
BA-1-5	وَلَئِنْ كَانَ مُنْطَلَقُ هَذِهِ الأَحْدَاثِ حَالَةً اجْتِمَاعِيَّةً [[نَتَفَهَّمُ ظُرُوفَهَا وَعَوامِلَهَا النَّفْسِيَّةَ]]	Even though the starting point of these events was a social situation [[whose conditions and psychological factors we understand]]	Be	Relational-I	The starting point of these events	Abstraction
BA-1-6	كما نَأْسَفُ	We also regret	Regret	Mental	We-Ben Ali	Human

BA-1-7	لِمَا خَلَّفَتْهُ تِلْكَ الأَحْدَاثُ مِنْ أَضْرَارٍ	for what those events left of damages	Left	Material	Those events	Abstraction
BA-1-8	فَإِنَّ [[مَا اتَّخَذَتْهُ]] مِنْ أَبْعَادٍ مُبَالِغٍ فِيهَا بِسَبَبِ الاسْتِغْلاَلِ السِّيَاسِيِّ لِبَعْضِ الأَطْرَافِ [[الذِينَ لاَ يُرِيدُونَ الخَيْرَ لِبِلاَدِهِمْ]] [[وَيَلْجَؤُونَ إِلَى بَعْضِ الفَضَائِيَّاتِ الأَجْنَبِيَّةِ]] [[التي تَبُثُّ الأَكَاذِيبَ والمُغَالَطَاتِ دُونَ تَحَرٍّ]] [[بَلْ بِاعْتِمَادِ التَّهْوِيلِ والتَّخْرِيضِ والتَّجَنِّي الإعْلاَمِيِّ العِدَائِيِّ لِتُونِسَ]] يَدْعُونَا إِلَى تَوْضِيحِ بَعْضِ المَسَائِلِ	However, the exaggerated dimensions [[that they took]], as a result of political exploitation by some parties [[who do not want benefaction to their country || and who resort to some foreign TV channels [[that broadcast lies and deception without investigation || but uses alarmism, incitement, and false accusatory information inimical to Tunisia]]]], call us || to clarify a few issues	Call	Verbal	The exaggerated dimensions …	Abstraction
BA-1-9	وَتَأْكِيد حَقَائِقَ [[لاَ يَنْبَغِي التَّغَافُلُ عَنْهَا]]	and we emphasize realities [[that	Emphasize	Verbal	We-Ben Ali	Human

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		should not be overlooked]]			
BA-1-10	أَوَّلاً إِنَّنَا نُقَدِّرُ الشُّعُورَ [[الَّذِي يَنْتَابُ أَيَّ عَاطِلٍ عَن العَمَلِ]]	First, we respect the feeling, [[that any unemployed person feels]]	Respect	Mental	We-Ben Ali	Human
BA-1-11	وخُصُوصًا عِنْدَمَا يَطُولُ بَحْثُهُ عَن الشُّغْلِ	especially when his looking for a job lasts for a while	Last	Relational-A	His looking for a job	Abstraction
BA-1-12	وَتَكُونُ ظُرُوفُهُ الاجْتِمَاعِيَّةُ صَعْبَةً	and his social conditions are difficult	Be	Relational-A	His social conditions	Abstraction
BA-1-13	وبِنْيَتُهُ النَّفْسِيَّةُ هَشَّةً	and his psychological build is fragile	Be	Relational-A	his psychological build	Abstraction
BA-1-14	مِمَّا يُودِي بِهِ إِلَى الحُلُولِ اليَائِسَةِ	which will lead him to desperate solutions	Lead	Relational-I	which	Abstraction
BA-1-15	لِيَلْفِتَ النَّظَرَ إِلَى وَضْعِيَّتِهِ	so that he draws attention to his condition	Draw	Material	He	Human
BA-1-16	وَنَحْنُ لَا نَدَّخِرُ جُهْدًا	And we do not spare efforts	Spare	Material	We-Government	Institution
BA-1-17	لِتَفَادِي مِثْلَ هَذِهِ الحَالَاتِ بالمُعَالَجَةِ الخُصُوصِيَّةِ المُلَائِمَةِ	so that we avoid these cases through suitable specific treatment	Avoid	Material	We-Government	Institution
BA-1-18	مواصلينَ سِياسَاتِنا وَبَرامِجَنَا مِنْ أَجْلِ التَّشْغِيلِ وَرِعايَةِ ضِعافِ الْحالِ وَالإِحَاطَةِ بالأُسَرِ المُعْوِزَةِ	while we pursue our	Pursue	Material	We-Government	Institution

	وَتَفْعِيلِ التَّنْمِيَةِ الْجِهَوِيَّةِ عَبَرَ بَرامِجَ اِسْتِثْمارِيَّةٍ مُتَوَالِيَةٍ [[شَمِلَتْ كَلَّ مَنَاطِقِ الْبِلادِ]]	policies and programs for employment, families and poor welfare, and regional development activation through investment programs [[that involved all the country's regions]]				
BA-1-19	وكَانَ آخِرُهَا [[مَا أَقْرَرْنَاهُ في المجلِس الوزَارِيَّ لِيَوْم 15 ديسمبر الجاري]] [[وَمَا أُعْلِنَ عَنْهُ مِنْ بَرامِجَ إِضَافِيَّةٍ]] [[سَتَفُوقُ الاعْتِمَادَاتُ المخَصَّصَةُ لَها سِتَّةَ آلافٍ وخَمْسَمِائَة مِلْيُونَ دِينَارٍ]]	And the last of those programs was [[what we decided on 15 December 2010, in a Council of Ministers]] [[as well as supplementary programs that have been announced]] [[its value will exceed TD6,500 Million]]	Be	Relational-I	The last of those programs	Abstraction
BA-1-20	في إطَارِ حِرْصِنَا الدَّائِمِ عَلَى تَأْمِين كُلِّ مُقَوَمَاتِ التَّنْمِيَةِ المتَوَازِنَة والمتَكَافِئَة بينَ الجهاتِ، والتَّوْزِيع العَادِلِ لِثْمَارِهَا بينَ الفِئَاتِ	because we are constantly keen [[to guarantee all the requirements	Be	Relational-A	We-Government	Institution

of balanced and equal growth between regions and division of its fruits equally among different categories]]				

2-Ben Ali's Second Speech Sample

#	Clause	Translation	Process	Process Type	'er' Role (Actor, Senser, Sayer, Carrier, Token)	Thing Type
BA-2-1	بِسْمِ اللهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ	In the name of Allah the most Gracious the most Merciful	x	x	x	x
BA-2-2	أَيُّهَا الشَّعَبُ التُّونِسِيُّ	People of Tunisia	x	x	x	x
BA-2-3	نُكَلِّمُكُمُ الْيَوْمَ	I talk to you today	Talk	Behavioral	I - Ben Ali	Human
BA-2-4	وَنُكَلِّمَكُمُ الْكُلَّ فِي تُونِسٍ وَخَارِجَ تُونِسَ	and I talk to you all inside and outside Tunisia	Talk	Behavioral	I - Ben Ali	Human
BA-2-5	نُكَلِّمُكُمْ بِلغَةِ كُلِّ التَّونِسِّيِينَ وَالتَّونِسِيَّاتِ	I talk to you in the language of Tunisians	Talk	Behavioral	I - Ben Ali	Human
BA-2-6	نُكَلِّمَكُمْ	I am talking to you now	Talk	Behavioral	I - Ben Ali	Human
BA-2-7	لِأَنَّ الْوَضْعَ يَفْرِضُ تَغْيِيرً عَمِيقً نَعَمْ, تَغْيِيرً عَمِيقً وَشَامِلً	because the situation dictates deep	Dictate	Material	The situation	Abstraction

		change Yes, deep and comprehensive change				
BA-2-8	وَأَنَا فَهِمْتُكُمْ	And I have understood you	Understand	Mental	I - Ben Ali	Human
BA-2-9	نَعَمْ انا فَهِمْتُكُمْ	Yes, I have understood you	Understand	Mental	I - Ben Ali	Human
BA-2-10	فَهِمْتُ الْجَمِيعَ الْبَطَّالَ وَالْمُحْتَاجَ وَالسِّيَاسِيَّ وَ [[اللّي طَالِبُ مَزِيدً مَن الْحَرِيَّاتِ]]	I have understood everyone the unemployed, the needy, the politician, and those [[who demand more freedoms]]	Understand	Mental	I - Ben Ali	Human
BA-2-11	فَهِمْتُكُمْ	I have understood you	Understand	Mental	I - Ben Ali	Human
BA-2-12	وفَهِمْتُ الْكُلَّ	and I have understood you all	Understand	Mental	I - Ben Ali	Human
BA-2-13	لَكِنَّ الاحَدَاثَ [[اللّي جَارِيَّةٌ الْيَوْمَ في بلادِنَا]] مَا هِيش مَتَاعْنَا	However, the events [[that are currently taking place in our country]] are not part of us	Be	Relational-A	The events [[that are currently taking place in our country]]	Abstraction
BA-2-14	وَالتَّخْرِيبَ مَا هَوشْ مَنْ عَادَاتِ التّونِسِيّ، التّونِسِيُّ الْمُتَحَضِّرُ، التّونِسِيُّ الْمُتَسَامِحُ	and vandalism is not part of the customs of Tunisians, civilized Tunisians, tolerant Tunisians	Be	Relational-A	Vandalism	Abstraction

BA-2-15	الْعُنْفُ موش مَتَاعْنَا	Violence is not part of us	Be	Relational-A	Violence	Abstraction
BA-2-16	وَلَا هُوَ مَنْ سُلُوكِنَا	nor it is a part of our conduct	Be	Relational-A	Violence	Abstraction
BA-2-17	وَلَا بَدَ أَنْ يَتَوَقَّفَ التَّيَّارُ	And this tension must stop	Stop	Material	Tension	Abstraction
BA-2-18	يَتَوَقَّفُ	It stops	Stop	Material	Tension	Abstraction
BA-2-19	بِتَكَاتُفِ جُهُودِ الْجَمِيعِ أحزاب سياسية ، منظمات وطنية، مجتمع مدني ، مثقفين ومواطنين،	when efforts of everyone, political parties, national organizations, civil society, intellectuals and citizens, are brought together.	Bring	Material	Efforts	Abstraction
BA-2-20	الْيَدُ فِي الْيَدِ مَنْ أَجْلِ بِلَادِنَا	Hand in hand, for our country's sake	x	x	x	x

3-Assad's First Speech Sample

#	Clause	Translation	Process	Process Type	'er' Role (Actor, Senser, Sayer, Carrier, Token)	Thing Type
AS-1-1	أَعْلَمُ	I know	Know	Mental	I-Assad	Human
AS-1-2	أَنَّنِي غِبتُ فَتْرَةَ طَويلَةً عَن الإعْلام	that I stayed away from the media for a long time	Stay away	Material	I-Assad	Human

AS-1-3	لَكِنَّنِي اِشْتَقْتُ لِمِثْلِ هَذِهِ اللِّقاءاتِ	However, I missed such meetings	Miss	Mental	I-Assad	Human
AS-1-4	لِلتَواصُلِ المَباشِرِ مَعَ المُواطِنِيْنَ	so, I directly connect with the citizens	Connect	Material	I-Assad	Human
AS-1-5	لَكِنِّي كُنتُ دائِماً أَقُومُ بِمُتابَعَةِ الأُمُورِ اليَومِيَّةِ	But I have always been following up daily matters	Follow	Material	I-Assad	Human
AS-1-6	وَتَجْمِيعِ المُعْطَياتِ	and ^I HAVE BEEN collecting information	Collect	Material	I-Assad	Human
AS-1-7	كَي يَكُونَ كَلامِي مَبْنِياً عَلَى ما يَقُولُهُ الشارِعُ	so that my speech is built on what the street says	Be	Relational-A	My speech	Abstraction
AS-1-8	أَحَييكُمْ تَحِيَّةَ العُرُوبَةِ	I salute you the salutation of Arabism	Salute	Verbal	I-Assad	Human
AS-1-9	الَّتِي سَتَبْقَى عُنْواناً لِأَنْتِمائِنا وَمَلاذاً لَنا فِي المُلِمَّاتِ	which will remain a symbol of our identity and our haven in difficult times	Remain	Relational-I	Arabism	Abstraction
AS-1-10	وَأُحَييكُمْ تَحِيَّةَ الوَطَنِ	And I salute you the salutation of the home country	Salute	Verbal	I-Assad	Human
AS-1-11	الَّذِي سَيَبْقَى مَصْدَرَ فَخْرِنا وَاِعْتِزازِنا	which will remain the source of our pride and dignity	Remain	Relational-I	which	Abstraction

AS-1-12	وَأُحِيّي صَمُودكُم	And I salute your steadfastness	Salute	Verbal	I-Assad	Human
AS-1-13	لِتَبقَى سُوريَّةُ قَلعَةً حَصِينَةً في مُواجِهَةِ جَميعِ أشكالِ الأختراق	so that Syria remains invincible fortress in the face of all forms of penetration	Remain	Relational-I	Syria	Institution
AS-1-14	أَتَحَدَّثُ إِلَيكُم اليَومَ بَعدَ مُضِيّ عَشَرَةِ أشْهُرٍ عَلَى آندِلاع الأَحداثِ المُؤْسِفَةِ[[الَّتي أصابَتِ الوَطَنَ]][[وَفَرضتْ ظُرُوفاً مُستَجِدَّةً عَلَى الساحَةِ السُوريَّةِ]]	Today, I talk you ten months after the outbreak of the unfortunate events [[which befell the country]] and [[imposed new circumstances on the Syrian arena]]	Talk	Behavioral	I-Assad	Human
AS-1-15	أدَمتْ قَلبِي	They ached my heart	Ache	Mental	Heart	Abstraction
AS-1-16	كَمَا أدَمتْ قَلبَ كُلّ سُوَرِي	as they ached your hearts	Ache	Mental	Hearts	Abstraction
AS-1-17	إنَّ التَآمُرَ الخارجِيَّ لَم يَعُدْ خافِياً عَلَى أَحَدٍ	External conspiring is no longer a secret	Be	Relational-A	External conspiring	Abstraction
AS-1-18	إلّا عَلَى مَنْ لا يُريدُ أَنْ يَرَى	except for those who do not want to see	See	Behavioral	Those	Human collective
AS-1-19	فالدُمُوعُ[[الَّتي ذَرَفها]]عَلَى ضَحايانا تُجارُ الحُريَّةِ وَالديمُقراطِيَّةِ لَمْ تَعُدْ	The tears [[that were shed by the dealers	Be	Relational-A	The tears [[…]]	Abstraction

#	Clause	Translation	Process	Process Type	'er' Role	Thing Type
	قَادِرَةً عَلَى إِخْفَاء الدَّوْرِ[[الَّذِي لَعِبُوهُ فِي سَفْكِ دِمائِها]]	of freedom and democracy for our own victims]] are no longer capable of [[concealing the role they played in the bloodshed]]				
AS-1-20	لِلْمُتَاجَرَةِ بها	so that they exploit them	Exploit	Material	They	Human collective

4-Assad's Second Speech Sample

#	Clause	Translation	Process	Process Type	'er' Role (Actor, Senser, Sayer, Carrier, Token)	Thing Type
AS-2-1	أَيُّها السُّورِيُّونَ الشُّرَفاءُ	Honorable Syrians	x	x	x	x
AS-2-2	أَيُّها الشَّعْبُ الحُرُّ الثائِرُ	Free Syrian Revolutionaries	x	x	x	x
AS-2-3	ثَلاثُ سَنَواتٍ وَأَرْبَعَةُ أَشْهُرٍ, عِنْدَما قَالَ البَعْضُ نِيابَةً عَنكُم	Three years and four months since some declared, on your behalf	Declare	Verbal	Some	Human Collective
AS-2-4	الشَّعْبُ يُرِيدُ	the People want	Want	Mental	The People	Institution
AS-2-5	نَعَمْ الشَّعْبُ أرادَ	Yes, the People wanted	Want	Mental	The People	Institution
AS-2-6	الشَّعْبُ قَرَّرَ	The People decided	Decide	Mental	The People	Institution

AS-2-7	الشَّعبُ نَفَّذَ	The People took action	Take Action	Material	The People	Institution
AS-2-8	سَنَواتٌ مَضَتْ	Years have passed by	Pass	Material	Years	Abstraction
AS-2-9	مُنذُ صَرَخَ البَعضُ لِلحُرِّيَّة	since some called for freedom	Call	Verbal	Some	Human Collective
AS-2-10	فَكُنتُمُ الأَحْرَارَ في زَمَنِ التَبَعِيَّةِ	so, you have been the free ones in the age of subservience	Be	Relational-A	You-The people	Institution
AS-2-11	وَكُنتُم الأَسْياد فيَّ زَمِنَ الأَجَراءِ	and you have been the masters in the age of slaves	Be	Relational-A	You-The people	Institution
AS-2-12	زايَدُوا عَلَيكُم بالدِيمُقراطِيَّة	They patronized you with their calls for democracy	Patronize	Material	They	Human collective
AS-2-13	فَمارَسْتُمُوها بِأَرْقَى صُوَرِها	so you practiced it in the best possible manner	Practice	Material	You-The people	Institution
AS-2-14	وَرَفَضْتُمُ	And you refused	Refuse	Mental	You-The people	Institution
AS-2-15	أنْ يُشارِكَكُمُ غَريبٌ إدارَةَ الوَطَنِ	that a foreigner shares with you running the country	Share	Material	A foreigner	Human
AS-2-16	فَاخْتَرْتُمُ دُسْتُورَكُم وَبَرْلَمانكُم وَرَئيسكُم	You chose your constitution your parliament and your president	Choose	Material	You-The people	Institution
AS-2-17	فَكَانَ الخِيارُ خِيارَكُم	The choice was yours	Be	Relational-A	The choice	Abstraction

AS-2-18	قَالُوا	They said	Say	Verbal	They	Human collective
AS-2-19	إِنَّ الشَعْبَ السُوريَّ وَاحِدٌ	That the Syrian people are united	Be	Relational-A	The Syrian people	Institution
AS-2-20	فَوَقَفتُم فِي وَجْهِ إِعْصَار فَتَنَتَهُم	so, you stopped in the face of their sedition	Stop	Material	You-The people	Institution

5-Gaddafi's First Speech Sample

#	Clause	Translation	Process	Process Type	'er' Role (Actor, Senser, Sayer, Carrier, Token)	Thing Type
GA-1-1	مَساءُ الخَيْرِ اليَوْمُ أَيُّها الشَبابُ في الساحَةِ الخَضراءِ	Good evening today those youths in the Green square	x	x	x	x
GA-1-2	أَحْييكُم أَيُّها الشُجْعانُ	I salute you brave people	Salute	Verbal	I-Gaddafi	Human
GA-1-3	أَحْييكُم شَبابَ الفاتِح, شَبابَ القَوْمِيَّة, شَبابَ الفاطِمِيَّةِ, شَبابَ التَحَدِّي, جيلَ التَحَدِّي, جيلَ الغَضِبِ	I salute you youth of victory, youth of nationalism, youth of "Fatimiya", youth of challenge, generation of challenge, generation of anger	Salute	Verbal	I-Gaddafi	Human

GA-1-4	أُحَيِّيكُمُ	I salute you	Salute	Verbal	I-Gaddafi	Human
GA-1-5	وَأَنْتَمُ تُقَدِمُونَ لِلعَالِمِ الصُورَةَ الحَقِيقِيَّةَ لِلشَعْبِ اللِيبِيّ	while you put the true picture forward to the world of Libya and the Libyan nation	Put forward	Material	You- Libyans	Institution
GA-1-6	المُلتَفِّ حَوْلَ الثْوْرَةِ عَلَى بَكْرَةِ أَبِيهِ	who surrounds the revolution	Surround	Relational-I	Libyans	Institution
GA-1-7	أَنْتُمُ مِنَ الساحَةِ الخَضْراءِ، تُقَدِمُونَ الحَقِيقَةَ [[الَّتِي تُحاوِلُ أَجْهِزَةُ الخِيانَةِ وَالعَمالَةِ و النَذالَةِ وَالرَجْعِيَّةِ وَالجُبْنِ أَنْ تُغَطِّيها]]	You are, in the Green square, Put forward the truth [[that agencies of betrayal, disloyalty, nastiness, narrow-mindedness and cowardice are trying to hide]]	Put forward	Material	You- Libyans	Institution
GA-1-8	وَتَشْوِهَ صَوُرَتَكُمُ أَمامَ العالِمِ	and they spoil your reputation before the world	Spoil	Material	They- Agencies	Institution
GA-1-9	أَجْهِزَةٌ عَرَبِيَّةٌ لِلأَسَفِ شَقِيقَةٌ، تَغْدُرُكُمُ	Unfortunately, some Arab media and some Arab organizations sell you out	Sell out	Material	Some Arab media and some Arab organizations	Institution
GA-1-10	وَتَخُونكُمُ	and they betray you	Betray	Mental	They- some Arab media and some	Institution

					Arab organizations	
GA-1-11	يَقُولُونَ لَهُمُ	They say to them	Say	Verbal	They- some Arab media and some Arab organizations	Institution
GA-1-12	أنظُرُوا إلى ليبيا	look at Libya	Look	Behavioral	You-People	Human Collective
GA-1-13	لا تُريدُ العِزَّ	it does not want nobility	Want	Mental	It-Libya	Institution
GA-1-14	لا تُريدُ المُجدَّ	it does not want glory	Want	Mental	It-Libya	Institution
GA-1-15	لا تُريدُ التَحريرَ	it does not want liberalism	Want	Mental	It-Libya	Institution
GA-1-16	لا تُريدُ الثَّورَةَ	it does not want revolution	Want	Mental	It-Libya	Institution
GA-1-17	أنظُرُوا إلَى ليبيا	Look at Libya	Look	Behavioral	You-People	Human Collective
GA-1-18	تُريدُ الدروشةَ	it wants goofiness	Want	Mental	It-Libya	Institution
GA-1-19	تُريدُ اللَّحَيَ	it wants people with long beards	Want	Mental	It-Libya	Institution
GA-1-20	تُريدُ العمايمَ	it wants people with turbans	Want	Mental	It-Libya	Institution

6-Gaddafi's Second Speech Sample

#	Clause	Translation	Process	Process Type	'er' Role (Actor, Senser, Sayer, Carrier, Token)	Thing Type
GA-2-1	رُدُّوا عَلَيهِمُ	Reply to them	Reply	Verbal	You-the People	Human collective
GA-2-2	رُدُّوا عَلَى العُمَلاء	Reply to the infiltrators	Reply	Verbal	You-the People	Human collective
GA-2-3	رُدُّوا عَلَى الكَذَّابِينَ	Reply to the liars	Reply	Verbal	You-the People	Human collective
GA-2-4	رُدُّوا عَلَى وَكالاتِ وَإذاعاتِ الكِذبِ	Reply to the agencies and stations of lies	Reply	Verbal	You-the People	Institution
GA-2-5	وَليسَ وَكالاتِ وَإذاعاتِ الأغلامِ	and they are not agencies and stations of media	Be	Relational-I	The agencies and stations of lies	Institution
GA-2-6	لَيْسَ إغلاماً بَلْ إذاعاتِ الكِذبِ	It is not media but stations of lies	Be	Relational-I	Media	Institution
GA-2-7	وَيَجِبُ أَنْ تُسَمَى إذاعاتِ الكِذبِ	and they should be called stations of lies	Call	Verbal	Stations of lies	Institution
GA-2-8	رُدُّو عَلَيِهِمُ	Reply to them	Reply	Verbal	You-the People	Human collective
GA-2-9	أهوَ الشَعْبُ اللِيبِيُّ	This is the nation of Libya	Be	Relational-I	Libyan Nation	Institution

GA-2-10	أَنَا إِذَاً كَانَ شَعْبِي مَايْحِبُنِي	If my nation does not love me	Love	Mental	My nation	Institution
GA-2-11	مَانِسْتَحِقِّش الْحَيَاة	I do not deserve life	Deserve	Relational-A	I -Gaddafi	Human
GA-2-12	إِذَاً كَان شَعْبِيَ وَالشَعْبُ الْعَرَبِيُّ وَالشُعُوبُ الإِفْرِيقِيَّة وَكُلُ الشُعُوبِ إِذَاً مَاتْحِبِّشْ مُعَمَّر الْقَذَّافِيّ	If my nation, the Arab nations, the African nations and all nations do not love Muammar Gaddafi	Love	Mental	My nation, the Arab nations, the African nations and all nations	Institution
GA-2-13	مُعَمَّر الْقَذَّافِيّ مَايِسْتَحِقِّشْ الْحَيَاة حَتَّى يَوْمَ وَأَحِدً	Muammar Gaddafi does not deserve life not even for one single day	Deserve	Relational-A	Muammar Gaddafi	Human
GA-2-14	إِذَاً مَايْحِبُنِي شَعْبِي	If my people do not love me	Love	Mental	My people	Human collective
GA-2-15	أَنَا مَانِسْتَحِقِّشْ الْحَيَاة حَتَّى يَوْمَ وَأَحِدً	I do not deserve life, not even for one single day	Deserve	Relational-A	I -Gaddafi	Human
GA-2-16	أَهْوَ شَعْبِي	This is my nation	Be	Relational-I	This	Institution
GA-2-17	أَهْوَ الشُعُوبُ	These are the nations	Be	Relational-I	These	Institution
GA-2-18	أَهْوَ صَوْتُ الشُعُوبِ	This is the voice of the people	Be	Relational-I	This	Abstraction
GA-2-19	إِسْتَعِدو	Prepare	Prepare	Material	You-the People	Human collective

| GA-2-20 | للِدِفاع عَنْ لِيبيا | so, you defend Libya | Defend | Material | You-the People | Human collective |