

The Rhetorics of Hafez al Assad

Adel Shakour*

1. Introduction

Rhetoric is the art of persuasion as opposed to a simple communication of information. The aim of rhetoric is not to spread truth and present it plainly and openly but to convince an audience to accept a speaker's position - one which not necessarily congruent with that of the audience. The arguments alone cannot persuade, but when presented in a certain way, they become acceptable to the audience¹.

Language is a device that enables us to understand the world. Speech is the expression of understanding (Sophia) which lets us explain situations, construct dialogue, and clarify and investigate the world. The word is the most powerful expression of human ability; without it human beings would have accomplished no more than animals intellectually². Communication is the essential activity that links the various parts of society together and allow them to function as an integrated whole.³ Rhetoricians understand the importance and power of words. They use strategies that rely on words, which they see as a tool to be used to effect, often in sophisticated ways. They seek to fashion a new reality, which the audience can accept as genuine. Rhetoricians generally do this by eliciting a sense of agreement with the listener and once that feeling of understanding has been established, the task of persuasion can begin.⁴

* Lecturer at Al- Qasemi Academy.

¹ Gitay, 2011, p. 55; Tsur, 2004, p. 64; Carpenter & Thompson, 1999, p. 7; Kedar, 1998, p. 211.

² Searle, 2002, p. 18; Gitay, 2010, p.27.

³ Mio, 1997, p. 113; Graber, 1993, p. 305.

⁴ Gitay, 2013 (b), p. 120.

The article examined the rhetorical devices found in Hafez al Assad's political speech. It hypothesized that Assad's rhetoric would include both stylistic and argumentative rhetorical devices.¹

The first step involved an impressionistic assessment of Assad's political speech. A preliminary reading found several rhetorical features: syntax-based rhetorical devices, semantic-based rhetorical devices, and discourse analysis. When a rhetorical device was identified in one political speech, the researcher looked for the same device in other speeches and calculated its frequency of usage. Finally, a profile was drawn up of the rhetorical devices found in al-Assad's political speech: in other words, the rhetorical and stylistic devices and argumentation that he used.

A. Stylistic rhetoric

A common analytical approach when studying rhetoric is to examine the wording of persuasive messages and the tools of persuasion that speakers and writers use. Influential figures who express their ideas publicly use a variety of argumentation approaches and methods to appeal to their audience's logic and emotions. Stylistic rhetoric targets the emotions and is known as rhetorical appeal.² When appealing to the emotions, speakers' use specific elements and structures in their messages in order to arouse given responses in their audience, such as sympathy, empathy, hesitancy, or rejection³.

According to Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca, "persuasive arguments" are arguments which claim things that are only valid for a particular audience. "Convincing arguments" on the other hand are arguments that seek the agreement of all rational people. In other word, a "persuasive arguments" is an

¹ Landau (1988, p. 17) used the term "استمالة" for "persuasion" a term she used to denote arguments that address the emotions. This contrasts with "إقناع" which refers to "conviction" and refers to arguments that address the intellect.

² Tsur, 2004, p. 78.

³ Tsur, 2011, pp. 74-75.

argument which takes the viewpoint, beliefs, and needs of a particular audience into account.¹ This might include addressing a particular audience's emotions, which might not be effective if addressed to a universal audience that does not share those particular beliefs or needs. The goal of a speech which is addressed to a universal audience of listeners is to persuade while the goal of a speech which is addressed to a specific audience is to convince.²

1. Repetition of syntactic elements

Darshan³ cites Koch's study⁴, showing that Arab political discourse very typically uses rhetorical repetition. This involves rhythmic repetition of phonemes, morphemes, roots, words, phrases and key sentences, sentence paraphrases, the multiple use of syntactic parallels between sentences, structures, and members. Repetition is the key to textual coherence and understanding the whole meaning of a text, which is a feature of discourse.⁵

The force of rhetorical repetition is achieved in several ways:

A. Repeated phrases, anaphora, epiphora, repeated members and repeated syntactic patterns create a rhythm, a particular cadence. Word repetition creates a rhythmic musical effect which is produced by both the sounds being repeated and the repetition itself⁶. Repeating a message elicits aesthetic musical pleasure in the listener that helps to embed the message in the listener's mind, arouse the listener, and create an emotional tendency to agree with the speaker almost instinctively⁷. Perelman argued that in order to produce the presence of the message, it is effective to stress undeniable fundamentals at length: Increasing a

¹ Perelman & Olbrechts-Tyteca, 1969, p. 28.

² Perelman, 1994, p. 20.

³ Darshan, 2000, p. 7.

⁴ Koch, 1983, pp. 47-52; Koch, 1981, pp. 179-180.

⁵ Tsur, 2004, p. 89-90.

⁶ Landau, 1988, p. 63.

⁷ Darshan, 2000, p. 7; Kedar, 1998, p. 240.

person focus on them reinforces their presence in the listener's mind. Simply dwelling on a certain subject produces the desired emotion¹.

In psychology, an emotional connection between a listener and an idea is called identification: A person identifies with real and symbolic objects which give rise to excitement, normally on an unconscious level. As a rhetorical device, repetition helps to instill the speaker's ideas in the audience's mind and to use the audience's involuntarily emotional tendency to agree with the speaker without considering the content².

B. The parallel repetition of sentences is what produces the rhythm of a rhetorical text. That rhythm, which created by the rhetorical musical emphasis, helps in highlighting key ideas, and assists their recall. The parallelism within the rhythmic syntactic pattern creates a parallelism of ideas in the complementary members of the sentence which can either reinforce or oppose an idea, or divide a long idea being developed slowly, into smaller parts.

C. Besides creating a rhythm, syntactic structure can also break a rhythm by interrupting the symmetry in the length and structure of the parallel sentences / clauses on the first connection level. This happens when one part of a sentence on the first level contains other sentence parts which are repeated on the second connection level. A strong break happens in the beginning or middle of the sentence. When it is at the end, it is regarded as part of the rhythm which is generating the rhetorical force³. The connection-within-a-connection structure that breaks the rhythm and symmetry serves to focus the listener's attention on the idea. This break in the rhythm focuses the listener's mental energy on the idea that the speaker wishes to highlight; again, in order to persuade the audience⁴.

¹ Perelman, 1994, p. 35.

² Landau, 1988, p. 64.

³ Landau, 1989, pp. 116-117.

⁴ Landau, 1988, p. 57, 64.

D. Repeating a lexical element, word, or expression in nearby or more distant sentences enables the speaker to establish continuity between the sentences in the speech and to connect them and give them cohesion.

E. Repetition using synonyms—repeating an argument multiple times with linguistic variations helps the speaker to impress the audience¹.

F. Sentence repetition—this allows the speaker to buy time to continue his speech. When speakers use stylized repetition they are not seeking to prove what they are saying and convince their audience that it is the truth by using logical proof: they wish rather to communicate a message which is not open to discussion by using repetition—as if that itself were proof.

1.1 Syntactic parallelism between clauses involving repetition of syntactic patterns and verbal repetition

Balanced, reasoned, rhythmic patterns

1. * لا تراجع أمام التهديدات،

* ولا تخاذل أمام التحديات،

* ولا نكوص في معركة التحرير،

* ولا انكفاء أمام الصعوبات.

(خطاب الرئيس حافظ الأسد في الذكرى الرابعة والعشرين لثورة الثامن من آذار، 1987)

* **We cannot** surrender to threats,

* And **we cannot** give up before the challenges,

* And **we cannot** hesitate in the campaign for liberation,

* And **we cannot** turn our backs on the obstacles.

(Speech by Hafez al-Assad on the 24th anniversary of the March 8 Revolution, 1987)

A parallel syntactical structure with a repeated anaphoric element لا denoting not + subject + modifier. The nouns "نكوص"، "تخاذل"، "تراجع" and "انكفاء" are nouns taken from the same semantic field of giving in and breaking.

¹ Patai, 1973. pp. 53-55.

Rhythmic patterns with increasing length

2. إن الأجيال الجديرة التي تنعم بمنجزات الثورة ألفت هذه المنجزات وهي تنعم بها، ومن حقها أن تنعم بها، ولكن من الضروري أن تعرف أيضا

* كم من الجهد والتضحية والبذل كان ضروريا لتحقيق هذه المنجزات،
* وكم من الجهد والتضحية والبذل ينتظرنا للدفاع عن هذه المنجزات وتطويرها،
والتقدم بخطوات ثابتة ووعي كامل إلى المهام التي تنتظرنا.

(خطاب الرئيس حافظ الأسد في الذكرى الرابعة والعشرين لثورة الثامن من آذار، 1987)

The deserving generations that enjoy the achievements of the revolution built on and benefit from these achievements and have the right to enjoy them. But it is also vital for them to know

* **How much work, sacrifice, and effort** were needed to accomplish these achievements,

* **How much work, sacrifice, and effort** we are expected to make in order to protect these achievements and extend them and move ahead with steady steps and full awareness towards the tasks that lie ahead.

(Speech by Hafez al-Assad on the 24th anniversary of the March 8 Revolution, 1987)

This is a parallel syntactical structure consisting of two object clauses connected by a conjunction starting with the repetitive anaphoric structure "كم" "من الجهد والتضحية والبذل". The last sentence powerfully concludes the preceding ideas.

3. (وهو) الأمر الذي،

* يتيح لكم وبشكل ميداني أن تتحسسوا آلام المواطنين
* ويتيح لكم أن تعملوا بشكل جدي ويجب أن تعملوا بشكل جدي على معالجة هذه الآلام بالقدر الذين تستطيعون.

(خطاب الرئيس حافظ الأسد خلال لقائه مع أعضاء مجالس المحافظات للإدارة المحلية 20.7.1976)

(and this is) the thing which,

* **allows you**, in the field, to feel the pain of the citizens

* **and allows you** to act in a serious and careful way, to deal with this pain.

(Speech by Hafez al-Assad at his meeting with the Local Administration District Council members, 20.7.1976)

This is a parallel syntactical structure consisting of dependent relative clauses starting with the repeated anaphoric element "يتيح لكم أن". Both these relative clauses are dependent on the object clause.

4. لقد

* جربوا أخذنا من الخارج ففشلوا،

* وجربوا تخويفنا بالتهديدات فاندحروا،

* وجربوا التسرب من الداخل فارتدوا،

* وجربوا استدراجنا بالمغريات فخسئوا،

* وها هم يجربون كل وسائلهم دفعة واحدة، بما في ذلك الضغوط الاقتصادية، وحظهم في النجاح لن يكون بالتأكيد أفضل منه في أية معركة خاسرة خاضوها ضد شعبنا الأبى.

(خطاب الرئيس حافظ الأسد في الذكرى الرابعة والعشرين لثورة الثامن من آذار، 1987)

They have already

* **tried** to control us from the outside, and failed,

* **tried** to frighten us with threats, and they failed,

* **tried** to infiltrate from within, and gave up,

* And **tried** to attract us with temptation, and gave up for ever,

*And now they **are trying** with all their might, including with economic pressures, and are succeeding no more than in any of the failed campaigns which they fought against our proud people.

(Speech by Hafez al-Assad on the 24th anniversary of the March 8 Revolution, 1987)

In the final sentence, the anaphoric element "جربوا" changes to the present tense "يجربون". This is to emphasize the situation in the present. Before this element,

the phrase "وها هم" breaks the rhythm and draws the audience's attention to the main point in the message. Possibly, the speaker said everything in one breath until he reaches the last sentence, which breaks the rhythm. The final sentence in the pattern is longer than its predecessors and ends what was said before on an impressive final chord.

5. * وليس غريبا أن تعترضنا الصعاب،

* وليس غريبا ولا جديدا أن نجابه الصعاب بقوة وتصميم وأن نقتحمها ونذلها بعملنا وجهدنا ووعينا وتضحياتنا.

(خطاب الرئيس حافظ الأسد في الذكرى الرابعة والعشرين لثورة الثامن من آذار، 1987)

* **It is not surprising** that difficult obstacles lie ahead.

* And it is not **surprising** or new that we overcome these difficulties with strength and determination, or that we break through them and overcome them through our actions, efforts, awareness, and by our sacrifices.

(Speech by Hafez al-Assad on the 24th anniversary of the March 8 Revolution, 1987)

Here we see a repetition of the parallel syntactic structure consisting of a predicate preceded by a negative + subject clause. This repetition is accompanied by the repeated anaphoric element "وليس غريبا" acting as a subject. The predicate in the second sentence subordinates a connected subject clause conveying the main message.

6. خستتم أيها الرجعيون ... نحن لن نضل الطريق،

* لأن لنا قضية نمسك بها

* لأن لنا وطن نحبه ونمسك به.

(خطاب الرئيس حافظ الأسد عام 1982)

You are very weak, you reactionaries... we will never lose the way,

* ours is an issue we uphold

* ours is motherland we love and which we hold on to.

(1982 speech by Hafez al-Assad)

1.2 Syntactic parallelism between sentence parts involving repetition of syntactic patterns and verbal repetition

Balanced, reasoned, rhythmic patterns

7. مَعَ تَحِيَّتِي لِكُلِّ فَرْدٍ مِنْكُمْ، أُخَاطِبُ فِيكُمْ الرُّوحَ الْعَرَبِيَّةَ الْأَصِيلَةَ،
 * رُوحُ الشَّجَاعَةِ وَالْبُطُولَةِ،
 * رُوحُ الْبَذْلِ وَالتَّضَحِّيَةِ،
 * رُوحُ الْفِدَاءِ وَالْعَطَاءِ.
 (خطاب الرئيس حافظ الأسد إلى الأمة عقب اندلاع حرب تشرين)

Along with my blessing to every one of you, I address my words to you in the noble Arab spirit,

- * the **spirit** of courage and heroism,
- * the **spirit** of courage and heroism,
- * the **spirit** of bravery, devotion, and sacrifice / giving in the face of danger.

(Speech by Hafez al-Assad following the outbreak of the Yom Kippur War)

This is a syntactical repetition consisting of detailed apposition and repetition of the anaphoric element "روح".

8. إِنْ دَوْرَكُمْ كَبِيرٌ جَدًّا فَأَنْتُمْ تَعِيشُونَ مَعَ الْمَوَاطِنِينَ، كُلُّ الْمَوَاطِنِينَ
 * فِي كُلِّ مَدِينَةٍ
 * فِي كُلِّ حَيٍّ
 * فِي كُلِّ قَرْيَةٍ.

(خطاب الرئيس حافظ الأسد خلال لقائه مع أعضاء مجالس المحافظات للإدارة المحلية
 20.7.1976)

Your role is very great, and you live with the citizens, all the citizens

- * **in every** city
- * **in every** neighborhood
- * **in every** village.

(Speech by Hafez al-Assad at his meeting with the Local Administration District Council members, 20.7.1976)

Repetition of the preposition "في" with parallelism in the types of location.

Rhythmic patterns with a rising direction

9. أحييكم في عيدكم، وأهنئكم بذكرى ثورتكم، الذكرى الرابعة والعشرين لثورة الثامن من آذار المجيدة،

* ثورة حزب البعث العربي الاشتراكي،

* ثورة جماهير الشعب المتطلعة إلى التقدم والاشتراكية،

* ثورة التحدي العربي للانفصال والتخلف والاستعمار والصهيونية.

(خطاب الرئيس حافظ الأسد في الذكرى الرابعة والعشرين لثورة الثامن من آذار، 1987)

I bless you with peace in your celebration and send you good wishes on the anniversary of your revolution, the 24th anniversary of the glorious March 8 revolution,

* the **revolution** of the Arab Socialist Ba'ath Party,

* the **revolution** of the masses in a nation which supports progress and socialism,

* the **revolution** of the Arab challenge to social division, backwardness, imperialism.

(Speech by Hafez al-Assad on the 24th anniversary of the March 8 Revolution, 1987)

This example includes the syntactical repetition of detailed apposition which increases in scale. Repetition of the apposition is accompanied by repetition of the anaphoric element "ثورة".

10. إننا اليوم نخوض معركة الشرف والعزة دفاعاً

* عن أرضنا الغالية،

* عن تاريخنا المجيد،

* عن تراث الآباء والأجداد.

(خطاب الرئيس حافظ الأسد إلى الأمة عقب اندلاع حرب تشرين)

Today we embark on a glorious and heroic brave battle

- * **to protect** our precious country,
- * **to protect** our glorious history,
- * **to protect** the heritage of our fathers and grandfathers.

(Speech by Hafez al-Assad following the outbreak of the Yom Kippur War)

Syntactical repetition of prepositional modifier and repetition of the anaphoric element "عن".

Rhythmic patterns with a descending direction

11. وطنكم هو

* حيث مصالحكم الانتهازية

* حيث جشعكم

* حيث انتهازيتكم.

(خطاب الرئيس حافظ الأسد عام 1982)

Your country

- * **where** your opportunistic interests lie
- * **where** your greed is
- * **where** your opportunism is.

(1982 speech by Hafez al-Assad)

Repetition of the predicate noun and the anaphoric element: "حيث".

Rhythmic curving patterns

12. وبقدر ما تكون مواقف الدول الأخرى إيجابية

* من مبادئ ميثاق الأمم المتحدة وقراراتها

* ومن السلام العادل في المنطقة

* ومن حقنا في استعادة أراضينا وحقوقنا،

تتاح فرص تطوير وتعزيز العلاقات والتعاون في مختلف الميادين.

(خطاب الرئيس حافظ الأسد عام 1982)

And the positive stance of the other states

- * **towards** the principles of the U.N. Convention and its resolutions
- * **towards** a just peace in the region

* **towards** our right to regain our lands and our rights
will offer us opportunities to develop and strengthen the ties and cooperation in
a number of areas.

(1982 speech by Hafez al-Assad)

Repetition of prepositional modifier and repletion of the anaphoric element:
"من". The repetition postpones the message to the end of the sentence.

1.3 Syntactic parallelism between sentence parts, which are not linked by repeating the first word of the repeated part

Balanced, reasoned, rhythmic patterns

13. سنظل مع الشعب العربي في رفضه

* الاستسلام أمام المحتلين،

* والخنوع أمام الغاصبين،

* والاستكانة أمام المنحرفين.

(خطاب الرئيس حافظ الأسد في الذكرى الرابعة والعشرين لثورة الثامن من آذار 1987. 3.

(8)

We stand with the Arab people in its refusal

* to surrender to the occupiers,

* to humiliate itself in front of the thieves,

* to be submissive to those who deviate from the path.

(Speech by Hafez al-Assad on the 24th anniversary of the March 8 Revolution,
1987)

Rhythmic patterns with a rising direction

(Speech by Hafez al-Assad on the 24th anniversary of the March 8 Revolution,
1987)

14. لقد خطت الثورة خطوات واسعة على طريق تحقيق أهدافها في الداخل والخارج

* القاهرة الكثير من الصعاب،

* متخفية الكثير من العقبات،

* مطلقة العديد من الطاقات،

* ملهمة النضال العربي التحرري والوحدوي،
حتى أصبحت بمنجزاتها وانتصاراتها التحدي الأهم لقوى الاستعمار والصهيونية تتوجه إليها
المؤامرات والتهديدات والضغط والافتراءات.

(خطاب الرئيس حافظ الأسد في الذكرى الرابعة والعشرين لثورة الثامن من آذار، 1987)
The Revolution has take great strides towards fulfilling its goals both at home
at abroad

- * by conquering many difficulties,
- * by realizing much of its potential,
- * by overcoming many obstacles,
- * by inspiring the Arab struggle for liberation and unity,

until, thanks to its achievements and victories, it became the biggest challenge
to the imperialist and Zionist powers and the target of plots, threats, pressure,
and libel.

(Speech by Hafez al-Assad on the 24th anniversary of the March 8 Revolution,
1987)

15. إننا أقوياء بوحدتنا الوطنية التي كانت دوما سلاحنا الأمضى في كل معركة، بتصميم
جماهيرنا على متابعة تقاليدنا النضالية المجيدة وتقديم كل التضحيات الضرورية، كي
تبقى سورية

حرة

قوية

صامدة

رافعة لواء العروبة والتقدم والاشتراكية.

(خطاب الرئيس حافظ الأسد في الذكرى الرابعة والعشرين لثورة الثامن من آذار، 1987)
We are strong in our national unity, which has always been our strongest
weapon in the every battle, thanks to the determination of the masses of our
people to maintain the tradition of their glorious struggle and make all the
necessary sacrifices, so that Syria can remain

- * free

* strong

* and firm

and wave the flag of Arabism, progress, and socialism.

(Speech by Hafez al-Assad on the 24th anniversary of the March 8 Revolution, 1987)

Rhythmic curving patterns

16. إِنَّ ثَوْرَتَنَا

* مستمرة،

* قوية،

* أمينة لأهدافها الاستراتيجية،

* ثابتة على المبدأ،

* قادرة على قبول التحدي،

* قوية على الصعاب،

* مستحيلة الأخذ على الأعداء،

* عزيزة

* بكم،

* بوحدتنا الوطنية،

* بجماهير شعبنا وأمتنا الأمينة على أهدافنا المصيرية في الوحدة والحرية والاشتراكية.

(خطاب الرئيس حافظ الأسد في الذكرى الرابعة والعشرين لثورة الثامن من آذار)

Our revolution

* is ongoing,

* strong,

* loyal to its goals and strategies,

* loyal to its principles,

* capable of overcoming challenges,

* fighting hardships,

* will not be overcome by enemies,

* precious

* thanks to you,

* thanks to our national unity,

thanks to the multitudes of our people and our nation who are faithful to the goals of unity, freedom, and socialism which shape our future.

(Speech by Hafez al-Assad on the 24th anniversary of the March 8 Revolution, 1987)

Syntactical parallelism of predicates repeated in a complex syntactical pattern in terms of length, which does not begin with the same verbal element but rather a recurring grammatical element — a predicate. By repeating the predicates a gradually emerging idea is expressed.

17. إنا أقوياء

* بثورتنا وجماهيرها وحيويتها،

* بأهدافنا التي تعبر عن ضمير جماهير أمتنا،

* بتصميم جماهيرنا على النضال والتضحية،

* بإنجازات ثورتنا في جميع الميادين،

* بتمسكنا المكين لأهدافنا الاستراتيجية،

* برؤيتنا الواضحة لعالم اليوم والصراعات الدائرة فيه،

* بوعينا للقوانين التي تحكم الصراع الدائر بين الشعوب وأعدائها على امتداد الكرة الأرضية.

(خطاب الرئيس حافظ الأسد في الذكرى الرابعة والعشرين لثورة الثامن من آذار، 1987)

We are strong

* in our revolution, in the masses of our people, in their vitality

* in our goals which express the collective conscience of our nation,

* in the determination of the masses of our people to struggle and make sacrifices,

* in the achievements of our revolution in every area,

* in strongly clinging to our goals and strategies,

* in our clear vision regarding the world today and the struggles happening in it,

* in our awareness of the laws governing the struggle between nations and their enemies in this world.

(Speech by Hafez al-Assad on the 24th anniversary of the March 8 Revolution, 1987)

1.4 Repetition of a phrase immediately or after a gap

18. خستتم أيها الرجعيون ... نحن لن نضل الطريق ... لأن لنا قضية نمسك بها ... لأن لنا وطن نحبه ونمسك به ... أما أنتم فلا وطن لكم ... أما أنتم فلا وطن لكم ... لأن وطنكم هو حيث مصالحكم الانتهازية ...
(خطاب الرئيس حافظ الأسد عام 1982)

You are very weak, you reactionaries... we will never lose the way... ours is an issue we uphold ... ours is motherland we love and which we hold on to... **but you, you have no motherland... You, you have no motherland...** because your motherland is about your opportunistic interests...

(1982 speech by Hafez al-Assad)

19. إن الأجيال الجديدة التي تنعم بمنجزات الثورة ألفت هذه المنجزات وهي تنعم بها ومن حقها أن تنعم بها ...
(خطاب الرئيس حافظ الأسد في الذكرى الرابعة والعشرين لثورة الثامن من آذار)

The worthy generations that enjoy the achievements of the revolution have built on these achievements and **are enjoying them** and they have the right to **enjoy them**...

(Speech by Hafez al-Assad on the 24th anniversary of the March 8 Revolution, 1987)

1.5 Repeating a word immediately in order to create a link with the rest of the statement

20. ... الرجعية أيها الأبناء وطنها ... وطن الرجعية وطن متحرك لا حدود له ولا ثبات ...
(خطاب الرئيس حافظ الأسد عام 1982)

Oh my Sons, **his land ... the reactionary's motherland** is a land that moves, without borders, without stability...

(1982 speech by Hafez al-Assad)

1.6 Sentence parts which convey the same meaning by using synonymous words / expressions or words from the same semantic field

Landau discussed the semantic relationships within expression, for example: synonyms, antonyms, and same semantic domain. She stressed that symmetrical repetition, involving not only structural and verbal repetition, is also a persuasion device, since we know that repeating an idea often can slowly break down opposition or at least gain the agreement of listeners with no definitive view on a matter¹. Words possessing a high semantic load can also help to communicate a message since the text's inherent emotional force contributes to conveying the idea²:

21. لقد بغت إسرائيل وأصابها الغرور وملأت الغطرسة رؤوس المسؤولين فيها، فأوغلوا في الجريمة واستمروا أسلوب العدوان، يملأ قلوبهم حقد أسود على شعبنا وعلى البشرية، ويستبد بهم تعطش لسفك الدماء، ويوجه خطاهم استخفاف بمبادئ البشرية ومثلها العليا وبالقرارات والقوانين الدولية.

(خطاب الرئيس حافظ الأسد إلى الأمة عقب اندلاع حرب تشرين)

Israel has been a whore, it has yielded to temptation, and its leaders' heads have been filled with sovereignty; they have committed many crimes and they think it is right to use aggression; it (idea of sovereignty) fills their hearts with black hatred towards our people and towards humanity, it controls them completely, it thirsts for blood, and its actions show contempt for the principles and highest ideals of humanity, and for international resolutions and law.

(Speech by Hafez al-Assad following the outbreak of the Yom Kippur War)

¹ Landau, 1989, p. 117.

² Livnat, 2001, p. 139.

22. إن الشدائد هي محك للشعوب وامتحان لأصالتها، وكلما ازدادت الأمة شدة ظهر المعدن الصافي وتأكدت الأصالة الراسخة. إنكم أبناء أمة عرفت على مدى التاريخ بمواقف الرجولة والإباء، مواقف البطولة والفداء، أبناء أمة حملت رسالة النور والإيمان إلى أصقاع الأرض، وشهد لها العالم قاطبة بأسمى الصفات وأنبى الأخلاق.
(خطاب الرئيس حافظ الأسد إلى الأمة عقب اندلاع حرب تشرين)

Wartime is a criterion for nations and a test of their nobility. When a nation experiences greater distress, its pure metal is revealed and its underlying nobility can be seen. You belong to a nation which is known throughout history for its **masculinity and pride**, for its heroism and **devotion in the face of death**, a nation that carried the message of light and faith all over the world, and the whole world has seen the unity of its lofty and noble qualities.

(Speech by Hafez al-Assad following the outbreak of the Yom Kippur War)

23. ونحن الذين لم نتعود أن نحني هاماتنا لأحد أو أن نرضخ لتهديد، أو أن نجزع أمام تخويف، أو أن نركع أمام معتد، أو أن نقبل إملاءً خارجياً، نقول إننا نقبل التحدي الموجه إلينا، وقرارنا هو الانتصار على الأعداء وإحباط المؤامرات والتقدم بخطى ثابتة على طريق شعبنا وجماهيره العربية، طريق النصر.
(خطاب الرئيس حافظ الأسد إلى الأمة عقب اندلاع حرب تشرين)

And we, who are not accustomed to **bowing** our heads to anyone, or to **accepting** threats, or **being too despairing to confront fear**, or to **bending** our bodies to aggressors, or **obeying orders** from outsiders, we say that we accept the challenge given to us, and our decision is to defeat the enemies and thwart their plots, and move steadily along the path of our nation and the masses of its Arab peoples, the path of victory.

(Speech by Hafez al-Assad following the outbreak of the Yom Kippur War)

1.7 Repetition of speech unit with variations

24. إن ثورتنا مستمرة، قوية، أمينة لأهدافها الاستراتيجية، ثابتة على المبدأ، قادرة على قبول التحدي، قوية على الصعاب، مستحيلة الأخذ على الأعداء، عزيزة بكم، بوحدتنا

الوطنية، بجماهير شعبنا وأمتنا الأمانة على أهدافها المصيرية في الوحدة والحرية والاشتراكية.

(خطاب الرئيس حافظ الأسد في الذكرى الرابعة والعشرين لثورة الثامن من آذار، 1987)

Our revolution is ongoing, strong, loyal to its goals and strategies, loyal to its principles, capable of overcoming challenges, fighting hardships, will not be overcome by enemies, precious, thanks to you, thanks to our national unity, thanks to the multitudes of our people and our nation who are faithful to the goals of unity, freedom, and socialism which shape our future.

(Speech by Hafez al-Assad on the 24th anniversary of the March 8 Revolution, 1987)

لقد كانت ثورتنا تصديا للأعداء في كل مكان ولا تزال، ونحن مصممون على قبول التحديات الموجهة إلينا وعلى قهرها وإنزال الهزيمة بها وإبقاء رايات شعبنا عالية خفاقة تحمل أمانى الأمة وتطلعاتها وحقوق جماهيرنا في النضال من أجل وحدتها وحريتها وتقدمها.

(خطاب الرئيس حافظ الأسد في الذكرى الرابعة والعشرين لثورة الثامن من آذار، 1987)

Our revolution was to stand against the enemies everywhere, and it still is, and we are determined to meet the challenges against us, to defeat them, and cause their downfall, and for the flags of our people to fly high in the wind, carrying the dreams and aspirations of the nation and the right of the masses of our people to fight for unity, freedom, and progress.

(Speech by Hafez al-Assad on the 24th anniversary of the March 8 Revolution, 1987)

25. إننا أقوياء بثورتنا وجماهيرنا وحيويتها، بأهدافنا التي تعبر عن ضمير جماهير أمتنا، بتصميم جماهيرنا على النضال والتضحية، بإنجازات ثورتنا في جميع الميادين، بتمسكنا الممكن لأهدافنا الاستراتيجية، برؤيتنا الواضحة لعالم اليوم والصراعات الدائرة فيه، بوعينا للقوانين التي تحكم الصراع الدائرين الشعوب وأعدائها على امتداد الكرة الأرضية.

(خطاب الرئيس حافظ الأسد في الذكرى الرابعة والعشرين لثورة الثامن من آذار، 1987)

We are strong in our revolution, the masses of our people, their vitality, in our goals which express the collective conscience of our nation, in the

determination of the masses of our people to struggle and sacrifice, in the achievements of our revolution in every area, in our strong adherence to our goals and strategies, in our clear vision concerning the world today and the struggles within it, in our awareness of the laws of the struggle between the nations and their enemies around the world.

(Speech by Hafez al-Assad on the 24th anniversary of the March 8 Revolution, 1987)

إننا أقوياء بوحدتنا الوطنية التي كانت دوما سلاحنا الأمضى في كل معركة، بتصميم جماهيرنا على متابعة تقاليدنا النضالية المجيدة وتقديم كل التضحيات الضرورية، كي تبقى سورية حرة قوية صامدة رافعة لواء العروبة والتقدم والاشتراكية.

(خطاب الرئيس حافظ الأسد في الذكرى الرابعة والعشرين لثورة الثامن من آذار، 1987)

We are strong in our national unity, which was always our sharpest weapon in the battle, thanks to the determination of the masses of our people to maintain the tradition of their glorious struggle, and make all the necessary sacrifices, so that Syria can remain free, strong, and firm, and wave the flag of Arabism, progress, and socialism.

(Speech by Hafez al-Assad on the 24th anniversary of the March 8 Revolution, 1987)

26. تقسيم لبنان يشكل طعنة لفكرة القومية العربية وكأننا نقدم الدليل على أن القومية العربية ليست الرباط الصالح الذي يربط بيننا جميعا بحيث نستطيع أن نعيش في ظل لواء القومية العربية. عندما لا يستطيع العرب في لبنان أن يعيشوا معا في دولة واحدة رغم مرور السنين الطويلة على هذا العيش المشترك فهذا دليل عملي مادي يريدون تقديمه على بطلان فكرة القومية. أكثر من هذا أريد أن أقول أن تقسيم لبنان يشكل ضربة كبرى للإسلام باعتباره دين الأكثرية الساحقة من الأمة العربية لأنهم يريدون أن يقدموا الإسلام في هذا العصر على أنه الدين المتزمت الذي يمنع أنصاره من العيش مع الآخرين حتى إذا كانوا من أبناء الأمة الواحدة. إن هذه مؤامرة على الإسلام ومؤامرة على المسلمين وأناؤكد على هذا الموضوع ولا أريد أن أجامل به أحدا إطلاقا. وقد قلته في كثير من أحاديثي مع

المعنيين في لبنان وخارج لبنان. إنها مؤامرة على الإسلام ومؤامرة على العروبة ولصالح العدو ولصالح الصهيونية ولصالح إسرائيل.
(خطاب الرئيس حافظ الأسد خلال لقائه مع أعضاء مجالس المحافظات للإدارة المحلية
20.7.1976)

Divided Lebanon is a stab [attack] against the notion of Arab unity; it is as though we are providing proof that Arab nationalism is not the right link which connects us all allowing us to live under the Arab nationalist banner. If the Lebanese Arabs cannot live together in one country despite living together for many years, it gives them [the Israelis] practical proof [ammunition] for negating the concept of [Arab] nationalism. More than that, I say that dividing Lebanon is the biggest blow to Islam which is the religion of the vast majority of the Arab nation, because they want to portray present day Islam as an extreme religion which prevents its believers from living side by side with others even if they are part of the same nation. It is a plot against Islam and against Muslims, which I want to stress, and I want this truth to be known.

I said this often in conversations with the relevant parties both within and outside Lebanon. It is a plot against Islam and a plot against Arabism which benefits the enemy. It is a plot against Islam and a plot against Arabism which benefits the enemy, benefits Zionism and benefits Israel.

(Speech by Hafez al-Assad at his meeting with the Local Administration District Council members, 20.7.1976)

عندما ينقسم لبنان سيقول الإسرائيليون لا تصدقوا هؤلاء العرب إن لم يستطيعوا أن يعيشوا معا إذا لم يستطع المسلم العربي أن يعيش مع المسيحي العربي فكيف ممكن أن نعيش مع اليهود ومع اليهود غير العرب الذين جاؤوا من كل بقاع الأرض من الغرب والشرق؟ سيسقط هذا الشعار. إسرائيل تريد التقسيم لكي تسقط تهمة العنصرية. الأمم المتحدة اتخذت قرارا قالت فيه أن الصهيونية حركة عنصرية، وهذا مكسب كبير للقضية الفلسطينية وللنضال العربي. لماذا عنصرية؟ لأنها أساسا دولة تجمع الناس من كل مكان ولا رابط بينهم سوى الدين لتشكّل منهم شعبا وتقيم دولة. لهذا الشعب عندما ينقسم

لبنان بين المسلمين والمسيحيين ستقول لإسرائيل أين هي العنصرية؟ إسرائيل تقوم على أساس الدين وفي لبنان دولة أو دويلات تقوم أيضا على أساس الدين. فإما أن نكون جميعا عنصريين وإما أن نكون جميعا لا عنصريين. تقسيم لبنان يُسقط تهمة العنصرية عن إسرائيل.

(خطاب الرئيس حافظ الأسد خلال لقائه مع أعضاء مجالس المحافظات للإدارة المحلية 20.7.1976)

If Lebanon is divided, the Israelis will say Don't believe those Arabs if they can't live together, If Muslim Arabs can't live with Christian Arab, then how could we live with Jewish and non-Arab Jews from all over the world, from the west and the east? This slogan will be proved to be wrong. Israel wants a split so it can get rid of the accusation of racism. The U.N. agreed a resolution saying that Zionism is a racist organization — and this is a major achievement for the Palestinian issue and the Arab struggle. Why racist? Because it is a country that gathers people from everywhere who have nothing in common but religion in order to make a nation out of them and establish a state for this people. And if Lebanon is split between the Muslims and the Christians, Israel will say: why is it racist? Israel is based on religion and Lebanon is a state or mini states which are also based on religion. So either we are all racists or none of us are racists. A divided Lebanon means you cannot accuse Israel of racism. (Speech by Hafez al-Assad at his meeting with the Local Administration District Council members, 20.7.1976)

2. Ending speech unit with a summarizing statement

27. خستمت أيها الرجعيون ... نحن لن نضل الطريق ... لأن لنا قضية نمسك بها ... لأن لنا وطن نحبه ونمسك به ... أما أنتم فلا وطن لكم ... أما أنتم فلا وطن لكم ... لأن وطنكم هو حيث مصالحكم الانتهازية ... حيث جشعكم ... حيث انتهازيتكم ... وطنكم حيث الظلم والقهر ... حيث الحقد والاستغلال ... الرجعية أيها الأبناء وطنها ... وطن الرجعية وطن متحرك لا حدود له ولا ثبات ... يسبح فوق الناس على طول الأرض ... يسحق الجماجم ... يقتل القيم ... يفسد المناخ الإنساني حيثما استطاع ذلك ... هذا هو وطن الرجعية.

(خطاب الرئيس حافظ الأسد عام 1982)

You are very weak, you reactionaries... we will never lose the way... ours is an issue we uphold ... ours is motherland we love and which we hold on to... but you, you have no motherland... You, you have no motherland... because your motherland is about your opportunistic interests... your greed... your opportunism ... your motherland is a place of injustice and repression... a place of hatred and exploitation ... of reactionary policies. My sons, his motherland...the reactionary's motherland is a changing motherland, which doesn't have borders, which doesn't have stability...which drifts over people ... smashes skulls... kills values... destroys the human climate as much as it can... **that is the motherland of the reactionary.**

(1982 speech by Hafez al-Assad)

28. أراد المتآمرون أن ندوخ نحن فداخواهم. استخدموا كل الأساليب المتنوعة الملتوية وفشلوا في استخدام كل هذه الأساليب فشلوا في أن يحققوا هدفا واحدا من أهدافهم. حاولوا أن يلعبوا على كل الحبال فقطعنا وسنقطع كل الحبال التي سيلعبون عليها. إن القيم إن المعاني التي نؤكد عليها في كل مكان في المدرسة والحقل والمصنع وخلال سنين طويلة. إن القيم التي نتمسك بها ونعبر عنها ونتحدث عنها في كل مناسبة ليست للاستهلاك ليست للإنشاء إنها قيم إنها معان تعبر عن حقيقة مشاعرنا عن حقيقة نفوسنا عن حقيقة مقدساتنا. هذا ما لم يستطع أن يفهمه أولئك الذين يتآمرون من خارج البلاد.

(خطاب الرئيس حافظ الأسد خلال لقائه مع أعضاء مجالس المحافظات للإدارة المحلية 1976. 20.7)

The schemers wanted us to give in and they gave in. They used all kind of cunning tactics and their tactics all failed. They did not achieve even a single goal. They did everything they could and we destroyed them in the past and we will destroy them in the future. The values, the values we stress everywhere: in the schools, in the field, in the factory, and over many years; the values that we cling to, that we express and talk about at every opportunity — they are not for consumption and not for building; they are values, they are symbols which

express the truth of our feelings, the truth of our lives, the truth we hold sacred.

Those schemers at home and abroad, they cannot understand this.

(Speech by Hafez al-Assad at his meeting with the Local Administration District Council members, 20.7.1976)

29. تقسيم لبنان يشكل طعنة لفكرة القومية العربية وكأننا نقدم الدليل على أن القومية العربية ليست الرباط الصالح الذي يربط بيننا جميعا بحيث نستطيع أن نعيش في ظل لواء القومية العربية. عندما لا يستطيع العرب في لبنان أن يعيشوا معا في دولة واحدة رغم مرور السنين الطويلة على هذا العيش المشترك فهذا دليل عملي مادي يريدون تقديمه على بطلان فكرة القومية. أكثر من هذا أريد أن أقول أن تقسيم لبنان يشكل ضربة كبرى للإسلام باعتباره دين الأكثرية الساحقة من الأمة العربية لأنهم يريدون أن يقدموا الإسلام في هذا العصر على أنه الدين المتزمت الذي يمنع أنصاره من العيش مع الآخرين حتى إذا كانوا من أبناء الأمة الواحدة. إن هذه مؤامرة على الإسلام ومؤامرة على المسلمين وأنا أؤكد على هذا الموضوع ولا أريد أن أجامل به أحدا إطلاقا. وقد قلته في كثير من أحاديثي مع المعنيين في لبنان وخارج لبنان. إنها مؤامرة على الإسلام ومؤامرة على العروبة ولصالح العدو ولصالح الصهيونية ولصالح إسرائيل.

(خطاب الرئيس حافظ الأسد خلال لقائه مع أعضاء مجالس المحافظات للإدارة المحلية (20.7.1976)

Divided Lebanon is a stab [attack] against the notion of Arab unity; it is as though we are providing proof that Arab nationalism is not the right link which connects us all allowing us to live under the Arab nationalist banner. If the Lebanese Arabs cannot live together in one country despite living together for many years, it gives them [the Israelis] practical proof [ammunition] for negating the concept of [Arab] nationalism. More than that, I say that dividing Lebanon is the biggest blow to Islam which is the religion of the vast majority of the Arab nation, because they want to portray present day Islam as an extreme religion which prevents its believers from living side by side with others even if they are part of the same nation. It is a plot against Islam and against Muslims, which I want to stress, and I want this truth to be known.

I said this often in conversations with the relevant parties both within and outside Lebanon. It is a plot against Islam and a plot against Arabism which benefits the enemy. **It is a plot against Islam and a plot against Arabism which benefits the enemy, benefits Zionism and benefits Israel.**

(Speech by Hafez al-Assad at his meeting with the Local Administration District Council members, 20.7.1976)

30. عندما ينقسم لبنان سيقول الإسرائيليون لا تصدقوا هؤلاء العرب إن لم يستطيعوا أن يعيشوا معا إذا لم يستطع المسلم العربي أن يعيش مع المسيحي العربي فكيف ممكن أن نعيش مع اليهود ومع اليهود غير العرب الذين جاؤوا من كل بقاع الأرض من الغرب والشرق؟ سيسقط هذا الشعار. إسرائيل تريد التقسيم لكي تسقط تهمة العنصرية. الأمم المتحدة اتخذت قرارا قالت فيه أن الصهيونية حركة عنصرية، وهذا مكسب كبير للقضية الفلسطينية وللنضال العربي. لماذا عنصرية؟ لأنها أساسا دولة تجمع الناس من كل مكان ولا رابط بينهم سوى الدين لتشكل منهم شعبا وتقيم دولة. لهذا الشعب عندما ينقسم لبنان بين المسلمين والمسيحيين ستقول لإسرائيل أين هي العنصرية؟ إسرائيل تقوم على أساس الدين وفي لبنان دولة أو دويلات تقوم أيضا على أساس الدين. فإما أن نكون جميعا عنصريين وإما أن نكون جميعا لا عنصريين. تقسيم لبنان يُسقط تهمة العنصرية عن إسرائيل.

(خطاب الرئيس حافظ الأسد خلال لقائه مع أعضاء مجالس المحافظات للإدارة المحلية (20.7.1976)

If Lebanon is divided, the Israelis will say Don't believe those Arabs if they can't live together, If Muslim Arabs can't live with Christian Arab, then how could we live with Jewish and non-Arab Jews from all over the world, from the west and the east? This slogan will be proved to be wrong. Israel wants a split so it can get rid of the accusation of racism. The U.N. agreed a resolution saying that Zionism is a racist organization — and this is a major achievement for the Palestinian issue and the Arab struggle. Why racist? Because it is a country that gathers people from everywhere who have nothing in common but religion in order to make a nation out of them and establish a state for this

people. And if Lebanon is split between the Muslims and the Christians, Israel will say: why is it racist? Israel is based on religion and Lebanon is a state or mini states which are also based on religion. So either we are all racists or none of us are racists. **A divided Lebanon means you cannot accuse Israel of racism.**

(Speech by Hafez al-Assad at his meeting with the Local Administration District Council members, 20.7.1976)

3. Creating a sense of closeness between the speaker and the audience by juxtaposing the pronoun "I" next to the pronoun "you"

Assad gives the impression of modesty and a shared destiny with the listeners by juxtaposing the personal pronouns "I" and "You," — this helps to bolster the audience's faith in their leader's credibility.

31. أنا وأنتم على ما أعتقد جميعنا متفائلون ويجب أن نتفاءل وأن نقرن هذا التفاؤل بالعمل الدائب المستمر من أجل أن نحقق نجاحا أفضل ...
(خطاب الرئيس حافظ الأسد خلال لقائه مع أعضاء مجالس المحافظات للإدارة المحلية 20.7.1976)

I believe that **you and I** are optimists, and we need to be optimists and to choose this optimism in our constant and ongoing efforts to achieve more success ...

(Speech by Hafez al-Assad at his meeting with the Local Administration District Council members, 20.7.1976)

4. Use of vernacular

32. قال إنهم لا يمثلون شيئا قلت له إن الأمر ليس أمر تمثيل إنما أمر يتعلق بالدين الإسلامي وعندما يتعلق الأمر بالإسلام فيجب عدم الاستهانة به هذا ما قلته في ذلك اللقاء الأمر ليس أمر تمثيل يمثل أو لا يمثلون إنما الأمر يتعلق بالدين الإسلامي وعندما يتعلق الأمر بالدين الإسلامي فيجب أن لا نستهن بالأمر. قال: خلونا نؤدبهم - لا بد من الحسم العسكري منذ مئة وأربعين سنة يحكمونا بدنا نتخلص منهم هنا.

(خطاب الرئيس حافظ الأسد خلال لقائه مع أعضاء مجالس المحافظات للإدارة المحلية
20.7.1976)

He said — they don't represent anything. I said — it is not a question of representation, it is a question of the Islamic religion; and if it is related to Islam then it should not be belittled. This is what I told him at that meeting. It is not a question of representation, representing / not representing, it is just related to the Islamic religion. And if it is related to the Islamic religion, then it should not be belittled. He said: **let us teach them** — there is no alternative to defeating them militarily. For the past 140 years they have ruled us; **we want to get rid of them from** here.

(Speech by Hafez al-Assad at his meeting with the Local Administration District Council members, 20.7.1976)

Assad is quoting Kamal Jumblatt in every day language making it sound more reliable for his audience.

5. Use of sarcasm

33. ولم يكن في استطاعتنا أن ننظر إلى لبنان الشقيق وهو يغرق في الدم وأن نكتفي — كما فعل غيرنا — بالنظر إليه من بعيد، والدعوة له أو عليه — هذا إن اكتفوا بالدعاء عليه.
(خطاب الرئيس حافظ الأسد في الذكرى الرابعة والعشرين لثورة الثامن من آذار 1987)

We could not watch our sister Lebanon drowning in blood and **simply** watch her from a distance —like the others did— and send her a good wish or a curse — **that is if they sufficed just to curse her.**

(Speech by Hafez al-Assad on the 24th anniversary of the March 8 Revolution, 1987)

The phrase "هذا إن اكتفوا بالدعاء علي" sounds sarcastic and aims to lambast those who are sitting on the fence and not blinking over the horrendous terrorism in Lebanon.

6. Direct address to the audience

Addressing the audience directly, focuses the listeners' attention on what is

being said; the listeners feel important and worthy and close to the speaker, thus increasing the chances of them agreeing with the speaker.

34. لقد أثبتت قواتنا المسلحة في الماضي أنها جديرة بالثقة التي وضعها فيها شعبنا وأمتنا. فتحية إليكم أيها الأبناء في القوات المسلحة في كل مكان أنتم فيه.

(خطاب الرئيس حافظ الأسد في الذكرى الرابعة والعشرين لثورة الثامن من آذار، 1987)
Our armed forces have proved in the past that they deserve the faith which our people and our nation have in them. Greetings of Peace to you **Oh Sons** in the Armed Forces wherever you are.

(Speech by Hafez al-Assad on the 24th anniversary of the March 8 Revolution, 1987)

35. * أيها¹ الإخوة المواطنون،

* أيها الرفاق،

* أيها السادة الحضور،

إن ثورتنا، ثورة الثامن من آذار...

(خطاب الرئيس حافظ الأسد في الذكرى الرابعة والعشرين لثورة الثامن من آذار، 1987)

* Oh our brother citizens,

* Oh our friends,

* Oh sirs who are present,

our revolution, the March 8 Revolution...

(Speech by Hafez al-Assad on the 24th anniversary of the March 8 Revolution, 1987)

7. Figures of speech

Among the textual ornaments which have received a respected place in literary writing we find the various types of figures of speech. They include similes, metaphors, personification, allusion, metonymy, etc. What they share is a

¹ In this example, the anaphoric element "أيها" is repeated.

semantic shift from one area to another based on similarity between analogous ideas.¹

7.1 Metaphor

For at least 3 decades, researchers and political theorists have been interested in how metaphors are used as persuasive devices.² The metaphor is the most recognized figure of speech. It is a linguistic device that is used to transfer meaning from one sphere to another³. It is a semantic deviation from the original meaning of a word, any word, taken from any part of speech. For example, the word "gap" in the phrase "he has a gap in his education" means "a lack" metaphorically.

In contrast to their traditional linguist counterparts, cognitive linguists see metaphors not as rhetorical embellishment but as part of human thinking⁴. Metaphorical expressions are seen as expressions that nourish our world view and form our thinking, and thus our actions themselves⁵. These are metaphors that grasp concepts in one sphere via another sphere: a sphere that borrows, and is the goal, uses a different sphere that lends, and is the source. Thus, for example, the identification "Time is money" allows us to relate to time metaphorically in terms of money: e.g., 'waste of time', 'investment of time', 'valuable time':⁶

36. لقد بغت إسرائيل وأصابها الغرور وملأت الغطرسة رؤوس المسؤولين فيها، فأوغلوا في الجريمة واستمروا أسلوب العدوان، يملأ قلوبهم حقد أسود على شعبنا وعلى البشرية،

¹ Weinberg, 2006, P.52.

² Mio, 1997, p. 114.

³ Landau, 1966, pp. 307-308; Lakoff, 2002, p. 63; Kedar, 1998, p. 218-219.

⁴ Abadi, 1988, pp. 47-56; Richards, 1965, p. 89-138; Abdul latif, 2012, pp. 117-118; Gitay, 2010, 74-75.

⁵ Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, pp. 3-6; Carpenter & Thompson, 1999, p. 83.

⁶ Thompson, 1996, pp. 185.

ويستبد بهم تعطش لسفك الدماء، ويوجه خطاهم استخفاف بمبادئ البشرية ومثلها العليا وبالقرارات والقوانين الدولية.

(خطاب الرئيس حافظ الأسد إلى الأمة عقب اندلاع حرب تشرين)

Israel has been a whore, it has yielded to temptation, and its leaders' heads have been filled with sovereignty; they have committed many crimes and they think it is right to use aggression; it (idea of sovereignty) fills their hearts with black hatred towards our people and towards humanity, it controls them completely, it thirsts for blood, and its actions show contempt for the principles and highest ideals of humanity, and for international resolutions and law.

(Speech by Hafez al-Assad following the outbreak of the Yom Kippur War)

تعطش لسفك الدماء — A metaphorical expression stressing Israel's enthusiasm for war. Israel favors wars because it sees wars a political strategy. Blood is a known literary symbol denoting war.

37. ولم يكن في استطاعتنا أن ننظر إلى لبنان الشقيق وهو يغرق في الدم وأن نكتفي — كما فعل غيرنا — بالنظر إليه من بعيد، والدعوة له أو عليه — هذا إن اكتفوا بالدعاء عليه.

(خطاب الرئيس حافظ الأسد في الذكرى الرابعة والعشرين لثورة الثامن من آذار 1987)

We could not watch our sister Lebanon **drowning in blood** and simply watch her from a distance —like the others did— and send her a good wish or a curse — that is if they sufficed just to curse her.

(Speech by Hafez al-Assad on the 24th anniversary of the March 8 Revolution, 1987)

drowning in blood is a metaphor for the many terrorist attacks that took place. This metaphor is emotionally charged and aims to discourage violence.

38. أما نحن فنشعر بالسعادة لأننا خلال أيام قليلة أوقفنا حمام الدم الذي لم يسبق له مثيل في بيروت ...

(خطاب الرئيس حافظ الأسد في الذكرى الرابعة والعشرين لثورة الثامن من آذار 1987)

And although we are glad that within a few days we stopped the unprecedented **bloodbath** in Beirut.

(Speech by Hafez al-Assad on the 24th anniversary of the March 8 Revolution, 1987)

Similar to the metaphor in example 2 above, the "حَمَام الدم" metaphor is also emotionally charged and stresses the many acts of terrorism that have taken place.

39. ... وتشابكت الخيوط واختلطت الألوان، وضاعت المعالم حتى لم يعد معروفا من يقاتل من، عند هذا قلنا نعم، لأنه من خلال الضباب الكثيف، ولأنه ضباب من الدم والنار، أدركنا من هو القاتل الحقيقي ...

(خطاب الرئيس حافظ الأسد في الذكرى الرابعة والعشرين لثورة الثامن من آذار 1987)

... the threads became tangled and the colors mixed together and any means of recognition was lost until it became impossible to know who was fighting and killing whom. And then we said, yes, because **out of the thick fog, the fog of blood and fire**, we understood who is really responsible for the killing ...

(Speech by Hafez al-Assad on the 24th anniversary of the March 8 Revolution, 1987)

الضباب الكثيف من الدم والنار — the thick fog of blood and fire is a metaphor for the confusion and inability to know who was fighting and killing whom.

40. إن وعي شعبنا هو الصخرة الصلبة التي تتحطم عليها أحلام العدو ... وهو الصخرة الصلبة التي تتحطم أمامها أحلام المستعمرين ...

(خطاب الرئيس حافظ الأسد عام 1982)

The consciousness of our people is the **solid rock** against which the dreams of the enemy are shattered... and see how the dreams of the imperialists are shattered against the **solid rock**.

(1982 speech by Hafez al-Assad)

الصخرة الصلبة — the use of a hard rock as a metaphor for the strong faith of the Syrian people in the face of the enemy's scheming will eventually cause the enemy's downfall and shatter their dreams.

41. لاحظوا هذه الحملة المسعورة التي تشنها بعض الإذاعات الأجنبية ... لاحظوا هذه الحملة النفسية المسعورة التي تستهدف زعزعة ثقة شعبنا بنفسه ... (خطاب الرئيس حافظ الأسد عام 1982)

Look at the foreign radio stations' **insane campaign**... Notice this insane psychological campaign which is trying to destroy the self-confidence of our people...

(1982 speech by Hafez al-Assad)

الحملة المسعورة — the **insane campaign** metaphor portrays the aggression and wickedness of the enemies who are plotting to take control of Syrian land as though they were rabid dogs or wolves. In Arab culture dogs are an impure abomination which helps the speaker to arouse the associated feelings towards the object of the metaphor.

7.2 Personification

Personification is an artistic device which portrays inanimate objects, plants, or animals as human. In other words it ascribes human qualities to non-human things:

42. وطن الرجعية وطن متحرك لا حدود له ولا ثبات ... يسبح فوق الناس على طول الأرض ... يسحق الجماجم ... يقتل القيم ... يفسد المناخ الإنساني حيثما استطاع ذلك ... (خطاب الرئيس حافظ الأسد عام 1982)

the reactionary's motherland, is a changing motherland, without borders, without stability... which **drifts** over people ... **smashes** skulls... **kills** values... **destroys** the human climate as much as it can... that is the reactionary's motherland.

(1982 speech by Hafez al-Assad)

The words "متحرك" and "يسبح" personify reactionary countries as countries without borders, stability, or human values.

B Argumentative Rhetoric

Argumentative rhetoric applies logical argumentative devices and is known as persuasive rhetoric. Rhetoric of this sort generally targets audience reason. When presenting a reasoned argument, speakers seek to establish a basis for their views or defend an action.¹

1. Rhetorical questions

Among other things, a speaker's arguments in political ideological discourse are based on patterns of indirect speech and rhetorical questions, which are part of a textual tapestry and an intentionally woven argumentative fabric. The rhetorical question is one of the most important aspects of argumentative rhetoric. It is an indirect speech act that seeks to express a emphatic assertion, with no expectation of a reply in most cases.²

Landau discussed rhetorical questions at length highlighting three central types of rhetorical question³: "Yes-No" questions that open with the question "Have / Has?" etc., for example: the questions "Could it be that...?" "Is it true that...?". Positive rhetorical questions like this express strong negative assertions while negative rhetorical questions express strong positive assertions⁴, for example, Could it be that they actually have the right to speak for this country's residents? Rhetorical questions that start with a completion question word, such as "What"? "How"? "Why"? etc., apart from the question word "Have/ Has"? for example: Which country besides Israel has compromised so much? and choice questions that are basically assertions

¹ Tsur, 2011, p. 74; Kedar, 1998, p. 254.

² Shaked, 2009, p. 139; Tsur, 2004, p. 83.

³ Landau, 1988, pp. 68-72.

⁴ Quirk & Greenbaum, 1989, p. 200.

which reject the first option and strongly approve the second option. For example: Could it be that you are genuinely worried about citizens' welfare, homes, and children, or do you just want their money perhaps in order to control and go on controlling and eat your fill at our expense?

Landau suggested that of the three types of rhetorical questions, rhetorical choice questions provide the most emphasis. She discussed at length the impact of including these questions in the text—rhetorical questions at the end of a sequence of declarative sentences, a series of rhetorical questions on one subject, putting a rhetorical question in a complex sentence, and splitting rhetorical questions.¹

Livnat² discussed Fruchtman's basic distinction between emotive and presentational texts³. According to this distinction, persuasive texts are also emotional and their emotional character helps to convey their concealed message of persuasion. The writer uses the implicit information to convey his or her attitude toward the events and to try to influence the reader's views. Livnat identified several linguistic stratagems that expose the implicit information encoded in the text and divided them into four categories: syntactic stratagems, poetic stratagems, semantic stratagems, and stratagems linked to logical structures. According to Livnat, a rhetorical question is a linguistic stratagem that is linked to logical structures and aimed at increasing the text's emotiveness and directing the emotions produced in the reader in the particular direction the writer wishes:

43. لقد وصلنا في تطبيق الديمقراطية الشعبية إلى مرحلة من النضج مقبولة، ولكن كلما نضجت التجربة أكثر أعطت أكثر، وهل هناك أهم من أن يقوم الناس بإدارة أمورهم

¹ Landau, 1988, p. 209.

² Livnat, 2001, p. 134.

³ Fruchtman, 1990, pp. 17-19.

بأنفسهم، وأن يتولوا بأنفسهم تنفيذ القرارات التي يتخذونها لتحسين حياتهم في جميع المجالات وتقوية وطنهم بوعي وفعالية في جميع الميادين؟

(خطاب الرئيس حافظ الأسد في الذكرى الرابعة والعشرين لثورة الثامن من آذار 1987)

To raise the people's democracy to an acceptable level. However, the more experience we have the better it is. **And is there anything more important than people conducting their own affairs and themselves being responsible for carrying out the decisions that they make aimed at improving their lives in all areas and making their homeland stronger by addressing all areas in a mindful and activist way?**

(Speech by Hafez al-Assad on the 24th anniversary of the March 8 Revolution, 1987)

44. نحن قدّمنا الأمن لبيروت، وأجواء الحوار الوطني للإخوة اللبنانيين، فماذا قدّم الآخرون؟

(خطاب الرئيس حافظ الأسد في الذكرى الرابعة والعشرين لثورة الثامن من آذار 1987)

We gave Beirut security and our brothers in Lebanon a climate of national discourse, **but what did the others give?**

(Speech by Hafez al-Assad on the 24th anniversary of the March 8 Revolution, 1987)

45. عندما ينقسم لبنان سيقول الإسرائيليون لا تصدقوا هؤلاء العرب إن لم يستطيعوا أن يعيشوا معا إذا لم يستطع المسلم العربي أن يعيش مع المسيحي العربي فكيف ممكن أن نعيش مع اليهود ومع اليهود غير العرب الذين جاؤوا من كل بقاع الأرض من الغرب والشرق؟ سيسقط هذا الشعار. إسرائيل تريد التقسيم لكي تسقط تهمة العنصرية. الأمم المتحدة اتخذت قرارا قالت فيه أن الصهيونية حركة عنصرية، وهذا مكسب كبير للقضية الفلسطينية وللنضال العربي. لماذا عنصرية؟ لأنها أساسا دولة تجمع الناس من كل مكان ولا رابط بينهم سوى الدين لتشكّل منهم شعبا وتقيم دولة. لهذا الشعب عندما ينقسم لبنان بين المسلمين والمسيحيين ستقول لإسرائيل أين هي العنصرية؟ إسرائيل تقوم على أساس الدين وفي لبنان دولة أو دويلات تقوم أيضا على

أساس الدين. فإما أن نكون جميعا عنصريين وإما أن نكون جميعا لا عنصريين. تقسيم لبنان يُسقط تهمة العنصرية عن إسرائيل.
(خطاب الرئيس حافظ الأسد خلال لقائه مع أعضاء مجالس المحافظات للإدارة المحلية 20.7.1976)

If Lebanon is divided, the Israelis will say Don't believe those Arabs **if they can't live together, If Muslim Arabs can't live with Christian Arab, then how could we live with Jewish and non-Arab Jews from all over the world, from the west and the east?** This slogan will be proved to be wrong. Israel wants a split so it can get rid of the accusation of racism. The U.N. agreed a resolution saying that Zionism is a racist organization — and this is a major achievement for the Palestinian issue and the Arab struggle. Why racist? Because it is a country that gathers people from everywhere who have nothing in common but religion in order to make a nation out of them and establish a state for this people. And if Lebanon is split between the Muslims and the Christians, Israel will say: why is it racist? Israel is based on religion and Lebanon is a state or mini states which are also based on religion. So either we are all racists or none of us are racists. A divided Lebanon means you cannot accuse Israel of racism.

(Speech by Hafez al-Assad at his meeting with the Local Administration District Council members, 20.7.1976)

2. Asked and Answered

In the case of this rhetorical device, the speaker asks and immediately answers his own question. In contrast to other types of questions, this question does not seek information, it does not assert something like a rhetorical question, it does not contain the answer, and the audience is not expected to offer an opinion in response. The purpose of the question is to focus the reader's mind on what the

speaker says next. In answering the question, the speaker can present his criticism and say what is on his mind¹.

We find this strategy of asking a "real" question as opposed to a rhetorical question in theatrical texts, where it serves as a plot device. A "real" question obliges an answer and is considered a new element, not a repetition or paraphrase. The answer given connects the parts of the text thus moving the plot forward. This dramatic device is also found in political discourse². This technique, which is used for convincing others, is similar to the rhetorical question, though not identical. In this case, the speaker employs a question and answer structure in order to rouse the listener to think more broadly about something the speaker assumes the listener has not previously considered:³

46. عندما ينقسم لبنان سيقول الإسرائيليون لا تصدقوا هؤلاء العرب إن لم يستطيعوا أن يعيشوا معا إذا لم يستطع المسلم العربي أن يعيش مع المسيحي العربي فكيف ممكن أن نعيش مع اليهود ومع اليهود غير العرب الذين جاؤوا من كل بقاع الأرض من الغرب والشرق؟ سيسقط هذا الشعار. إسرائيل تريد التقسيم لكي تسقط تهمة العنصرية. الأمم المتحدة اتخذت قرارا قالت فيه أن الصهيونية حركة عنصرية، وهذا مكسب كبير للقضية الفلسطينية وللنضال العربي. لماذا عنصرية؟ لأنها أساسا دولة تجمع الناس من كل مكان ولا رابط بينهم سوى الدين لتشكل منهم شعبا وتقيم دولة. لهذا الشعب عندما ينقسم لبنان بين المسلمين والمسيحيين ستقول لإسرائيل أين هي العنصرية؟ إسرائيل تقوم على أساس الدين وفي لبنان دولة أو دويلات تقوم أيضا على أساس الدين. فإما أن نكون جميعا عنصريين وإما أن نكون جميعا لا عنصريين. تقسيم لبنان يُسقط تهمة العنصرية عن إسرائيل.

(خطاب الرئيس حافظ الأسد خلال لقائه مع أعضاء مجالس المحافظات للإدارة المحلية 20.7.1976)

¹ Landau, 1988, p. 164; Kedar, 1998, p. 262.

² Even Zohar, 1970, p. 672.

³ Shaked, 2009, p. 141.

If Lebanon is divided, the Israelis will say Don't believe those Arabs if they can't live together, If Muslim Arabs can't live with Christian Arab, then how could we live with Jewish and non-Arab Jews from all over the world, from the west and the east? This slogan will be proved to be wrong. Israel wants a split so it can get rid of the accusation of racism. The U.N. agreed a resolution saying that Zionism is a racist organization — and this is a major achievement for the Palestinian issue and the Arab struggle. **Why racist? Because it is a country that gathers people from everywhere who have nothing in common but religion in order to make a nation out of them and establish a state for this people.** And if Lebanon is split between the Muslims and the Christians, Israel will say: why is it racist? Israel is based on religion and Lebanon is a state or mini states which are also based on religion. So either we are all racists or none of us are racists. A divided Lebanon means you cannot accuse Israel of racism.

(Speech by Hafez al-Assad at his meeting with the Local Administration District Council members, 20.7.1976)

3. Use of external sources

In order to convince their audiences, speakers may draw on the literary, religious, or folk sources associated with that audience's society or culture. These sources consist of poetry, sayings, proverbs, sacred writings, and myths.

According to Aristotle, these sources fall into two categories¹:

A. Sources that are accepted and taken for granted, whose validity needs no proof. They include laws, contracts, and sacred writings. These sources are termed "arguments outside the art of speech".

B. Intellectual or emotional sources, such as sayings, proverbs, and myths which are quoted in order to prove things that are not obvious.

¹ Spiegel, 1993, p. 73.

Myths nourish argumentation. According to Sivan's definition, myths are a form of political allegory, handed down in writing through the generations¹. A myth is structured as a dramatic story with heroes and villains and usually depicts an historical event. The mythical historical event is presented as larger than life; its heroes having the aura of epic heroes, despite being ordinary mortals. Myths speak to the emotions, carry the masses along, and leaving rationality behind. Their stories are handed down to subsequent generations, and form the basis of an organized belief whose believers have no need for logical persuasion².

Sivan suggested that political myths have two functions³:

- A. Interpretive function - Myths allow people to turn to the past for precedents and archetypes that will help them understand and interpret contemporary ideals. This involves drawing inferences from past events to present day issues.
- B. Behavioral function—Myths rouse people to political action. For example: to defend a political or social order warranted by the myth.

Cassirer wrote regarding the interpretive function, that myths arise at times of crisis when human logic fails and people turn to the power of the mysterious⁴. Regarding the behavioral function, Cassirer argued that political myths drive political action.

These persuasion devices are divided into two groups according to Arabic linguistic rhetoric⁵: 1. 'qtibās - verses from the Qur'ān or Ḥadīṭ; 2. Ṭaḍmīn-quotations from songs / poetry, prose, proverbs. According to Al-Ḥamwi, the quotation which is used retains the same structure, order of words, and original meaning as the Qurān, though it might not retain the qur'ānic form, say, by

¹ Sivan, 1988, p. 9.

² Sivan, 1988, pp. 9-11

³ Sivan, 1988, p. 73, pp. 78-79.

⁴ Cassirer, 1955, pp. 350-351.

⁵ Darshan, 2000, p. 109.

adding a word or letter; deleting a word or letter; or changing the word order of a sentence. The original meaning of the qur'ānic quotation can also be altered to transmit a different teaching, the one the speaker wishes to transmit to his or her audience¹. When a speaker uses quotations he or she relies on the reader's acquaintance with the cultural tradition underlying the quotation. If the reader is unfamiliar with the cultural tradition he will not understand it fully, and it will usually seem quite strange. As known, in Arab culture, the Qur'ān is regarded as the highest form of Arabic. Its style and language defy all efforts at imitation. Its absolute truth is made holy by seal of Allah, its verses are perceived as truths requiring no proof. It is easy to understand why speakers seek to harness these verses for their own ends and exploit their effect on the audience².

Citing ancient sources returns the reader to the ancient historical situation. Readers now have to compare the text in the present with the original text they recall, thus enriching and deepening the present text. Thus, when people quote verses in their writing they are relying on the reader's familiarity with the cultural tradition which is cited. Readers who are unfamiliar with that tradition cannot grasp it fully.

According to Landau there are several reasons for quoting sources such as sacred writings³:

A. To reinforce the speaker's message by offering proof and support from the sources that his opinion or actions are justified; to disprove the opponent's position, and to criticize the opponent for an action linked to the quotation.

B. For purely stylistic reasons, to beautify the text—the speaker has a tendency to use these quotations when speaking and either consciously or unconsciously and sprinkles his speech with them. They have no persuasive rhetorical value.

¹ Al-Īamwiy, 2001, pp. 442-443.

² Darshan, 2000, p. 110.

³ Landau, 1988, pp. 182-185; Landau, 1993, pp. 50-51.

C. Manipulation - the speaker quotes a verse out of context and interprets it symbolically so that it fits in with new ideas on contemporary issues. For example, Darshan¹ cites Bengo's ideas regarding the manipulative use of quotations from outside sources. Bengo recalled that Sadaam Hussain quoted verses from the Al-Anfal Surra in order to justify his genocidal campaign against the Kurds, which involved the use of chemical weapons, and was known as the Al-Anfal campaign².

D. Archicetonic use - establish ideas by citing verses. Each new idea in a speech is preceded by a new verse. Another structure involves the use of several verses to present a single idea.

3.1 Qurānic quotations

47. نحن دعاة سلام، ونعمل من أجل السلام لشعبنا ولكل شعوب العالم، وندافع اليوم من أجل أن نعيش بسلام. فسيروا على بركة الله وإن ينصركم الله فلا غالب لكم. والسلام عليكم.

(خطاب الرئيس حافظ الأسد إلى الأمة عقب اندلاع حرب تشرين)

We preach peace and work towards peace for our people and all the peoples of the world, and we are engaged in defending ourselves so we can live in peace. Go with the blessings of Allah and **if Allah will send you victory one can defeat you**. Peace be with you.

(Speech by Hafez al-Assad following the outbreak of the Yom Kippur War)

The aim of this sentence is to support the argument that the Muslim nation will ultimately defeat its enemies because it is righteous and worthy.

3.2 Myths

3.2.1 The myth of the Crusades

This crusades myth relates to the historic invasion of the Middle East by

¹ Darshan, 2000, p. 110.

² Bengio, 1996, p. 246.

European forces in the 11th-13th centuries before the final defeat of the crusaders in the thirteenth century through jihad. The crusader myth symbolizes the endless struggle between aggressor and victim, with the West in the role of the eternal conqueror and the Arabs in the role of the eternal victim.

48. إن الشدائد هي محك للشعوب وامتحان لأصالتها، وكلما ازدادت الأمة شدة ظهر المعدن الصافي وتأكدت الأصالة الراسخة. إنكم أبناء أمة عرفت على مدى التاريخ بمواقف الرجولة والإباء، مواقف البطولة والفداء، أبناء أمة حملت رسالة النور والإيمان إلى أصقاع الأرض، وشهد لها العالم قاطبة بأسمى الصفات وأنبى الأخلاق. فيا أحفاد أبي بكر وعمر وعثمان وعلي رضي الله عنهم، يا أحفاد خالد وأبي عبيدة وسعد وصلاح الدين، إن ضمير أمتنا ينادينا وأرواح شهدائنا تستحثنا أن نتمثل معاني اليرموك والقادسية وحطين وعين جالوت. وإن جماهير أمتنا من المحيط إلى الخليج تشخص بعيونها وأفئدتها إلى صمودنا العظيم، وكلها أمل وثقة بأننا إلى النصر سائرون.

(خطاب الرئيس حافظ الأسد إلى الأمة عقب اندلاع حرب تشرين)

Times of hardship are a test for nations and a test of their nobility. The more hardship a nation faces the more pure metal is revealed and certainty and underlying nobility can be seen. You are a nation which has been known throughout history for its masculinity and pride, for its heroism and devotion in the face of death, a people that carried the message of light and faith to all over the world, and the whole world saw it united in its lofty qualities and noble qualities. Oh you grandchildren of Abu Bakr, Umar, Uthman, and Ali, may Allah always delight in you, Oh you grandchildren of Khalid, Abu Ubaidah, Saad, and Salah al-Din, the conscience of our nation calls to us and our martyrs' spirits speak to us to embody the values of al- Yarmouk, al-Qadisiyah, Hattin, and Ein Jaloith. The multitudes of our nation from the Ocean to the Gulf lift their gaze, with their eyes and their hearts, towards our firm and great durability, and everyone hopes and is certain that our destiny is victory.

Hafez al-Assad refers to the audience as the honored grandchildren of the caliphs: Abu Bakr al-Siddiq, Umar ibn al-Khattab, Uthman ibn Affan and Ali

ibn Abi Talib. He also addresses them as the grandchildren of the Muslim military leaders Khalid ibn al-Walid, Abu Ubaidah ibn al-Jarrah, Saad ibn Abi Waqqas and Salah al-Din who are considered the companions of the Prophet Mohammad. By addressing them this way, al-Assad makes the audience feel part of the Islamic victories against the West in battles like the Battle of Yarmouk, the Battle of Uhud, the Battle of Hattin, and the Battle of Ain Jalut. He argues that Israel will finally surrender the way the West has surrendered in battles against Islam. His argument is based on the myth that the Arabs and Islam are a victim of the West, which will eventually be defeated.

3.3 Antithesis

Antithesis is a form of focalization constructed as a subordinate / secondary clause or "satellite" clause and a primary or "nucleus" clause,¹ which expresses opposing or contrasting ideas. The reader / audience feels positively towards the idea in the nucleus (the thesis in this case). Their understanding of the satellite, which rejects the opposite view to the nucleus, enhances the reader's positive attitude to the state of affairs described in the nucleus²:

3.1.1 Antitheses with preceding satellite

49. لسنّا هواة قتل وتدمير، إنما نحن ندفع عن أنفسنا القتل والتدمير.
(خطاب الرئيس حافظ الأسد إلى الأمة عقب اندلاع حرب تشرين)

We do not enjoy death and destruction, we fight when they try to kill and destroy us.

(Speech by Hafez al-Assad following the outbreak of the Yom Kippur War)

50. نحن لا نريد الموت لأحد، إنما ندفع الموت عن شعبنا.

¹ The terms "satellite" and "nucleus" are terms from rhetorical structure theory (Mann, Matthiessen Christian & Thompson, 1992, p. 42).

² Mann & Thompson, 1988, p. 283; Azar, 1999, p. 10; Thompson, Sandra & Mann, 1987, pp. 359-381.

(خطاب الرئيس حافظ الأسد إلى الأمة عقب اندلاع حرب تشرين)

We do not seek anyone's death. We stop those wishing to kill our people.

(Speech by Hafez al-Assad following the outbreak of the Yom Kippur War)

51. لسنا معتدين ولم نكن يوماً معتدين، لكننا ولا نزال ندفع عن أنفسنا العدوان.

(خطاب الرئيس حافظ الأسد إلى الأمة عقب اندلاع حرب تشرين)

We are not aggressive and we were never aggressive, but we stop those who act aggressively towards us.

(Speech by Hafez al-Assad following the outbreak of the Yom Kippur War)

52. يجب علينا ألا نخضع استراتيجيتنا وأهدافنا لظروف عابرة أو عوامل آنية بل علينا أن نطور هذه الظروف العابرة والعوامل الآنية وأن نطوعها ونعمل على صياغتها بما يلائم استراتيجيتنا وأهدافنا.

(خطاب الرئيس حافظ الأسد في الذكرى الرابعة والعشرين لثورة الثامن من آذار، 1987)

We must not subjugate our strategy and goals to temporary circumstances or transient factors. We must use these temporary circumstances and transient factors. We must bend them and take action to shape them until they suit our strategy and goals.

(Speech by Hafez al-Assad on the 24th anniversary of the March 8 Revolution, 1987)

53. إن مسألة الخلاص من التهديد النووي للحياة البشرية على كوكبنا ليست مسألة دولة ما أو منطقة ما من مناطق العالم، بل هي مسألة كل دولة وكل إنسان حريص على الحياة والحضارة.

(خطاب الرئيس حافظ الأسد في الذكرى الرابعة والعشرين لثورة الثامن من آذار، 1987)

The question of protecting ourselves from the nuclear threat against the lives of human beings on this planet is not restricted to a particular state or a particular part of the world. It is a question which concerns every state and every person who fears for his life and culture.

(Speech by Hafez al-Assad on the 24th anniversary of the March 8 Revolution, 1987)

54. رأيت أن كل قناع قد سقط إذا الأمر ليس ما كنا نقول وليس ما كان يقال لنا الأمر ليس بين يمين ويسار ليس بين تقدمي ورجعي ليس بين مسلم ومسيحي المسألة هي مسألة ثأروانتقام تعود إلى مئة وأربعين سنة طبعاً.

(خطاب الرئيس حافظ الأسد خلال لقائه مع أعضاء مجالس المحافظات للإدارة المحلية (20.7.1976)

I have seen that all the masks have fallen. So the question is not what we have said and not what was said to us. It **is not** a question of right versus left, **not** about progressive versus reactionary, **not** about Muslim versus Christian. It is of course about vengeance and retribution relating to the past 140 years.

(Speech by Hafez al-Assad at his meeting with the Local Administration District Council members, 20.7.1976)

The repetition of the negative "ليس" as an anaphoric element which connects three subjects strengthens the satellite antithesis which rejects a view that does not agree with the thesis that is presented in the nucleus.

3.3.2 Antithesis with preceding nucleus

55. نحن مع فلسطين وسنظل مع فلسطين بالقول والعمل، بالشعار والموقف، بالتمسك بالحقوق الفلسطينية لا بالمساومة عليها. (خطاب الرئيس حافظ الأسد في الذكرى الرابعة والعشرين لثورة الثامن من آذار، 1987)

We support Palestine and we will continue to support Palestine in words and actions, slogans and opinions, we always support the Palestinians' rights, and will not try to negotiate over them.

(Speech by Hafez al-Assad on the 24th anniversary of the March 8 Revolution, 1987)

3.4 This highlights the speaker's behavior and compares it to the wrong behavior of others in relation to the same situation.

56. ولم يكن في استطاعتنا أن ننظر إلى لبنان الشقيق وهو يغرق في الدم وأن نكتفي - كما فعل غيرنا - بالنظر إليه من بعيد، والدعوة له أو عليه - هذا إن اكتفوا بالدعاء عليه. (خطاب الرئيس حافظ الأسد في الذكرى الرابعة والعشرين لثورة الثامن من آذار 1987. 3. 8)

We could not watch our sister Lebanon drowning in blood and simply watch her from a distance -**as the others did**- and send her good wishes and curses - if it was enough for them just to curse her.
(Speech by Hafez al-Assad on the 24th anniversary of the March 8 Revolution, 1987)

57. نحن قدّمنا الأمن لبيروت، وأجواء الحوار الوطني للإخوة اللبنانيين، فماذا قدّم الآخرون؟

(خطاب الرئيس حافظ الأسد في الذكرى الرابعة والعشرين لثورة الثامن من آذار 1987)
We gave Beirut security and a climate of national discourse to our brothers in Lebanon, **but what have the others given?**
(Speech by Hafez al-Assad on the 24th anniversary of the March 8 Revolution, 1987)

58. لقد بادرنّا إلى العمل لإنقاذ الإخوة اللبنانيين عندما أراد الآخرون إغراقهم، فأبينا أن نقبل ذلك وقررنا إفشال هذه الخطة. (خطاب الرئيس حافظ الأسد في الذكرى الرابعة والعشرين لثورة الثامن من آذار 1987. 3. 8)

We took an initiative to rescue the Lebanese brothers **when the others wanted to drown them**, and we refused to accept this and decided to thwart this plan.
(Speech by Hafez al-Assad on the 24th anniversary of the March 8 Revolution, 1987)

59. ويجب أن يتذكر المتجاهلون أن سورية لم تلب النداءات اللبنانية بطلب المساعدة إلا عندما بدأت المذابح، واستشرى الاقتتال بشكل لم يسبق له مثيل، وتشابكت الخيوط واختلطت الألوان، وضاعت المعالم حتى لن يعد معروفا من يقاتل من، عند هذا قلنا نعم،

لأنه من خلال هذا الضباب الكثيف، ولأنه ضباب من الدم والنار، أدركنا من هو القاتل الحقيقي، وهذا هو المهم، فسرنا ملاقاته. ولم يكن في استطاعتنا أن ننظر إلى لبنان الشقيق وهو يغرق في الدم وان نكتفي – كما فعل غيرنا – بالنظر إليه من بعيد، والدعوة له أو عليه – هذا إن اكتفوا بالدعاء عليه.

(خطاب الرئيس حافظ الأسد في الذكرى الرابعة والعشرين لثورة الثامن من آذار 1987. 3. 8)

Those who ignored [Lebanon's plight] need to remember that Syria only answered Lebanon's cry for help when the pogroms began, when the fighting between them intensified to such unprecedented levels, and the threads were tangled up, and the colors intermixed, and the marks of identification were lost, until it was impossible to know who was fighting and killing whom. And at that point we said yes, because out of the thick fog, the fog of blood and fire, we realized who was really behind the killing, and that is what is important, and we went in to fight them. **We could not watch our sister Lebanon drowning in blood and simply watch her from afar— like the others— and either wish her well or curse her —if they sufficed only with cursing her.**

(Speech by Hafez al-Assad on the 24th anniversary of the March 8 Revolution, 1987)

4. Summary

Analysis of the rhetoric in al-Assad's political speeches reveals both stylistic and argumentative devices. The most common ones are: syntax-based rhetorical repetition, metaphor, rhetorical questions, antithesis and highlighting the speaker's behavior while comparing it to reprehensible behavior by others in the same situation.

Hafez al-Assad tends to use the stylistic device of syntactic repetition particularly often in his political speech. He seems aware that syntactical repetition is an especially powerful rhetorical tool. This repetition includes repeating sentences and clauses, repeating parts of sentences, repeating an entire sentence immediately or after a pause, repetition involving synonyms or

words from the same semantic field, repeating a word to create a link with the rest of the statement, and repetition involving variation on a unit of discourse. Repeating the message this way gives the listeners' aesthetic musical pleasure, which helps to embed the message in the audience's consciousness, arouses excitement, and creates an emotional inclination to almost instinctively agree with the speaker.

In the political speech of Hafez al-Assad, metaphors and particularly war-related metaphors are used to impressive effect. War-related metaphors such as "bloodthirsty", "drowning in blood", and "bloodbath" arouse the audience's emotions urging listeners to take action or at least to accept the message. The metaphors are emotionally loaded and aim to caution against and deter violence.

Hafez al-Assad often uses an antithesis which begins with a satellite. He apparently thinks that his message is enriched and the positive attitude of the audience towards the nucleus's message is intensified when the antithesis begins with a satellite and rejects the view that disagrees with the nucleus.

Hafez al-Assad seeks to justify his policy and convince his audience of the righteousness of his path by comparing his conduct in a given situation with the disgusting conduct of others in the same situation. This puts him in a positive light and presents him as a politician you can trust.

As an argumentative rhetorical device, rhetorical questions are a very important element in the political speeches of Hafez al-Assad. He is apparently aware of the power of the rhetorical question, especially rhetorical questions at the end of a series of declarative sentences. Rhetorical questions heighten the emotive quality of the text and direct the listeners' emotions in the direction desired by the speaker.

References

- Abadi, A. *Discourse Syntax of Contemporary Hebrew*. Jerusalem: Magnes, 1988. (in Hebrew)
- Abadi, A. Source Domains of Metaphors in Political Discourse in Israel. *HELKAT LASHON* 26 (1998): 56-67. (in Hebrew)
- Abdul latif, E. *The strategies of convincing and influence in political discourse*. Cairo: Egyptian General Book Authority. (in Arabic)
- Al-Īamwiy, I. *Khizānat al-Adab wa Ġāyat al-Arab*, I. Beirut: DAR SADER, 2001. (in Arabic)
- Azar, M.. Argumentative structures. In: Ben Shahar, R. & Toury, G. (eds.). *Hebrew – a Living Language*, II. Tel Aviv: Hakibbutz hameuchad, (1999): 9-23. (in Hebrew)
- Bengio, O. *Saddam's Iraq*. Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University, Moshe Dayan Center for Middle Eastern and African Studies, 1996. (in Hebrew)
- Carpenter, R. H. & Thompson, W. D. *Choosing powerful words: eloquence that works*. Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1999.
- Cassirer, E. *The Myth of the State*. New York: Doubleday, 1955.
- Darshan, A. *Rhetorical Characteristics of Speeches Given by Arab Leaders During the late 1990's*. M.A dissertation. Ramat-Gan: Bar-Ilan University, 2000. (in Hebrew)
- Even Zohar, I. & Shamroch, H. Authentic Language and Authentic Reported Speech: Hebrew vs. Yiddish. *Hasifrut Literature* 30/31: 82-87.
- Fruchtman, M. *A Question of Style*. Even Yehuda: Reches, 1990. (in Hebrew)
- Graber, D. Political communication: Scope, progress, promise. In: Finifter, A. W. (ed.). *Political science: The state of discipline*, II. Washington, DC: American Political Science Association (1993): 305-332.

- Gitay, Y. *The Israeli Discourse: Rational versus Emotional Argumentation*. Haifa: Pardes Publishing, 2010. (in Hebrew)
- Gitay, Y. About rhetoric. *Panim* 56 (2011): 54-59.
- Gitay, Y. *Returning to the Bible*. Jerusalem: Rubin Mass, 2013. (in Hebrew)
- Kedar, M. *The Public Political Language of the Asad Regime in Syria: Messages and Means of Communication*. Ph.D. dissertation. Ramat-Gan: Bar-Ilan University, 1998. (in Hebrew)
- Koch Barbara, J. *Repetition in Discourse: Cohesion and Persuasion in Arabic Argumentative Prose*. Ph.D. dissertation. United States: University of Michigan, 1981.
- Koch Barbara, J. Presentation as Proof: the Language of Arabic Rhetoric. *Anthropological Linguistic* 25(1) (1983): pp. 47-60.
- Lakoff, G. & Johnson, M. *Metaphors We Live By*. London: The University of Chicago Press, 1980.
- Lakoff, G. *Moral Politics: How Liberals and Conservatives Think*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002.
- Landau, D. Notes on the Essence of the Literary Metaphor. *LĚŠONĚNU* 30 (1966): 305-320. (in Hebrew)
- Landau, R. *The Rhetoric of Parliamentary Speeches in Israel*. Tel-Aviv: Eked, 1988. (in Hebrew)
- Landau, R. Syntactical-Rhetorical Repetition as Means of Persuasion in the Modern Political Address. In: Kaddari, M. Z. & Sharvit, S. (eds.). *Studies in the Hebrew Language and the Talmudic Literature*. Ramat-Gan: Bar-Ilan University (1989): 103-119. (in Hebrew)
- Landau, R. Citation as a Rhetorical Technique in Contemporary Rabbinical Speeches. *AM VASEFER* 8 (1993): 50-63. (in Hebrew)

- Livnat, Z. On implicit information and emotional manipulation. *SCRIPT 2* (2001): 133-143. (in Hebrew)
- Mann, W. C. & Thompson, S. A. *Rhetorical Structure Theory: Toward a Functional Theory of Text Organization*. Text 8 (1988): 243-281.
- Mann, W. C. Matthiessen Christian, M.I.M. & Thompson, S. A. Rhetoric Structure Theory and Text Analysis. In: Mann, W.C. & Thompson, S. A. (eds.). *Discourse Description – Diverse Linguistic Analysis of a Fund-Raising Text*. Amsterdam – Philadelphia: John Benjamins (1992): 39-78.
- Mio, J. S.. Metaphor and Politics. *METAPHOR AND SYMBOL* 12(2) (1997): 113-133.
- Muhammad, A. *Arabic Rhetoric*. Amman: Dar Al Massira, 2009. (in Arabic)
- Patai, R. *The Arab Mind*. New York: Scribner, 1973.
- Perelman, Ch. & Olbrechts-Tyteca, L. *The New Rhetoric*. Notre Dame: Notre Dame University, 1969.
- Perelman, Ch. *L'empire Rhétorique*. Translated into Hebrew by Joseph Ur. Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1994. (in Hebrew)
- Quirk, R. & Greenbaum, S. *A University Grammar of English*. England: Longman, 1989.
- Richards, I. A. *The Philosophy of Rhetoric*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1965.
- Searle, J. *Consciousness and Language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002.
- Shaked, Sh. Radiophonic argumentation. In: Gitay, Y. (ed.). *The Power of Words*. Afula: The Max Stern Academic college of Emek Yezreel (2009): 130-150. (in Hebrew)
- Sivan, E. *Arab Political Myths*. Tel-Aviv: Am Oved, 1988. (in Hebrew)
- Spiegel, N. *The Art of Persuasion*. Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1993. (in Hebrew)

- Thompson, S. A. & Mann, W. C. Antithesis: A Study in Combining and Discourse Structure. In: Steele, R. & Threadgold, T. (eds.). *Language Topics: Essays in Honour of Michael Halliday*, II. Amsterdam – Philadelphia: John Benjamins (1987): 359-381.
- Thompson, S. A. Politics Without Metaphors is Like a Fish Without Water. In: Scott Mio, J. & Katz, N. A. (eds.). *Metaphor: Implications and Applications*. New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates. (1996): 185-201.
- Tsur, N. The Rhetoric of Israeli Leaders in Stress Situations. Tel Aviv: Hakibbutz Hameuchad, 2004. (in Hebrew)
- Tsur, N. Rhetoric found in op ed articles on the internet. *Panim* 56 (2011): 74-81. (in Hebrew)
- Weinberg, B. Working on Words. Zefat: Hamodia, 2006. (in Hebrew)