

A Contrastive Discourse Analysis of Iraqi and American Demonstrations Slogans

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Abstract

Demonstrations slogan is a significant tool for masses around the world to voice their opinions about public actions. It remains one of the ways that the public use to show their approval or disapproval of their governments. The present study is an attempt to conduct a contrastive linguistic analysis of Iraqi and American demonstration slogans by adopting methodologies of political discourse analysis, particularly, van Dijk's (1997). The study is based on data collected from American demonstration slogans during 2020, and Iraqi ones during Tishrīn (October) Iraqi demonstration which broke out in October 2019 and began to recede in April 2020. It stands to reason that, in spite of the differences in the political outlook in both Iraq and America, striking similarities warranted a single study, it has been found that the Iraqi and American demonstrations slogans actually underline mostly just some degree of similarity, but yet in ways divergent, if not distinct.

Keywords: demonstration, slogan, political discourse, contrastive analysis, discourse structure.

1. Introduction

Contrastive analysis is the comparison and contrast of the linguistic systems of two or more individual languages in order to highlight points of contrast as well as points of similarity between them. It is used in this study as a form of language description across two languages, focusing on the discourse structures of demonstration slogans in both compared languages, mainly English and Arabic.

During 2019 and 2020, the extensive media attention on the demonstrations in America and in Iraq has yielded a rich collection of images which capture what can only be described as an outstanding volume of demonstration messages. These messages expressed through the use of slogans are often visually and linguistically innovative. The present study is mainly concerned with finding out the specificity of Iraqi demonstration slogans and their differences from the American ones. Demonstrations are social movements that draw global attention towards a problem and seek for a specific change. Some of these demonstrations became truly historical landmarks. The so – called ‘Arab spring revolution’ is a recent example of the protest demonstration. In October 2019, mass demonstrations engulfed Baghdad and southern Iraq as citizens protested against widespread sanctioned corruption, unemployment and poor public services. The Tishrīn (October) uprising, driven by youth, became the largest and longest – lasting social movement since 2003. More than 600 protestors were dead and over 20,000 were injured in the first six months. The turmoil forced prime minister ‘ādil ‘abdul Mahdi to resign and won

a promise from his successor, Mustafa Alkazimy, to hold early elections, scheduled for October 2021(<https://ar.wikipedia.org>).

While the US has long been home to a vibrant protest movement, demonstrations surged to new levels in 2020. Between 24 May and 22 August, more than 10,600 demonstration events were recorded across the country. Over 10,00 of these or nearly 95% involve peaceful protesters. Fewer than 570 , or approximately 5%, involve demonstrators engaging in violence. Well over 80% of all demonstrations are connected to the Black Lives Matter movement or the Covid – 19 pandemic. (<https://acleddata.com>).

The study of slogans is not new. The use of slogans in political discourse have been examined by Denton (1980), Sharp (1984), Urdangs and Robbins (1984), McGee (1989) and Kaul (2010) and others. In the previous literature about slogans in political discourse, the Iraqi demonstration slogans have not been investigated, and no contrastive study of the English and Arabic demonstration discourses has been constructed. Hence, there is a need for research in this area.

2. Theoretical Framework

2.1. Slogans: English and Arabic Definitions

Slogans act as a means by which the general public may express their opinions on public issues. In English, Slogans are defined differently. Bailey asserts that "slogans or catch phrases are about the only medium through which large numbers of ordinary citizens can express their views personally and repeatedly for or against given candidates or propositions"

(1976, p.501). Safire (1978, p.654) defines a slogan as "a rallying cry; catch phrase; a brief message that crystallizes an idea, defines an issue, the best of which thrill, exhort, and inspire." Here, Safire asserts a purpose for the slogan that captures its persuasive use. To thrill, exhort and inspire is at the heart of persuading an audience. To evoke these emotions is the start of persuasion. In function, political slogans are typically a "brief statement of a single idea" Brevity makes them "easy to remember and repeat". Slogans can come to characterize the ideas of those who use it. They become concise expressions of consent for a political action. By adopting a slogan, the user is offering his or her approval of the action that it defines (Barry, 1998, p. 161).

In Arabic, according to Wahba (1984, p. 210) , a slogan is a word, a group of words, phrase, or a sentence usually used for political, religious, or economic purposes to indicate an idea or a goal. Slogans differ in their style, they may be written , visual, or spoken, but they are similar in that they convey the desired meaning quickly and do not require much explanation and clarification. Seraj (2017, p.15) studies the slogan as a communicative and expressive style in crises and moments of social rift. And he adds that the contents of the popular protest discourse which reject the reality contributes to the formation of an advanced environmental and national awareness among the concerned public, whether it is the producer of these slogans , consumers, or promoters. Furthermore, he states that for a slogan to become a means of appeal, persuasion, or injunction, it must be based on a distinct linguistic rhetoric. Thus,

according to the researcher, a slogan, whether English or Arabic, is a brief statement that crystalizes an issue and aims to persuade the public.

2.2. Political Discourse

Political discourse and its many sub-genres has certain structures and strategies that distinguish it from discourse in other societal domains (like education, business, religion), or that enables us to differentiate the sub-genres of political text and talk. Van Dijk (1997, p.24) describes these structures (of text or talk) as exclusively or prototypically 'political' in the sense that they appear primarily in political discourse, and precisely signal or constitute the political nature of such discourse. The various levels and dimensions of discourse structure that are proposed by van Dijk are as follows:

1. Macroproposition

Political discourse may principally be about virtually any topic (macroproposition). However, it is assumed that political discourse also exhibits preferred topics. "Topically, political discourse is at least partly topically about politics itself" (van Dijk, 1997, p. 25). That is, overall meanings related to political systems, ideologies, institutions, political processes, political actors and political events are typically expected. In other words, much political discourse is reflexive. It usually combines its topics with those from other societal domains.

2. Superstructure or textual 'schemata'

Discourse genres may be organized by abstract, schematic forms, consisting of conventional categories that define their nature and the overall

structure of the semantic content' (topics) of each genre. "Each political discourse genre may exhibit its own canonical schematic structure, as is the case for parliamentary debates, political speeches, party programs, propaganda leaflets or slogans in demonstrations " (van Dijk , 1997, p. 29). Each one of these discourse genres is recognized by schematic forms that vary according to the communicative goal, audience, information load, etc.

3. Local semantics

As is the case for macropropositions, thus, semantic participants (agents, patients, settings) and predicates in local propositions tend to be reflexive in political text and talk. Given the nature of the political system and process, thus, the usual partisan polarization could be expected at this level of analysis. *Our* group will be described more positively than *their* group, such a polarization will result in *contrastive meanings*. One main semantic strategy to achieve such polarization is to make propositions with positive predicates about our own group rather *explicit* , direct and stated than *implicit*, indirect, and presupposed. Similarly, given the possibility to vary the level of generality and specificity and the degree of completeness in description of people, events and actions, Our good deeds will be described with plenty of detail, while our bad deeds, will tend to get short thrift, remain implicit or referred to only indirectly or vaguely (Gruber, 1993). The reverse will be true for the description of the others (van Dijk, 1997, p. 31).

4. Lexicon

What is true for local meanings is evidently true for the meanings of words, and hence at the level of lexical choice and variation, most studies of 'political

language' concentrate on the special words being used in politics. The same partisan principles of the Ideological Square will be applied here: Opponents or enemies will be described in more negative words. Our bad habits, properties and actions will usually tend to be described by euphemisms (van Dijk,1997, p. 33). Accordingly, local semantics and lexicon will be put together in the analysis section.

5. Syntax

The political manipulation of syntactic style is less obvious and more subtle than lexical style. To express underlying meanings in sentence structures, the political manipulation of syntactic style includes " the use of pronouns, variations of word order, the use of specific syntactic categories, active and passive constructions, nominalizations, clause embedding, sentence complexity, etc. " (van Dijk,1997, p. 33).

6. Rhetoric

The analysis of rhetoric here is limited to the use of specific rhetorical operations traditionally named as figures of style. Unlike semantic, syntactic and stylistic structures, these rhetorical operations are generally optional. Their presence usually has persuasive functions, and therefore political significance in a political context of communication (van Dijk,1997 , p. 35).

7. Expression structure

The expression structures of sounds and graphics always play an indirect function in emphasizing or de-emphasizing partisan meanings. "Volume (shouting and whispering), pitch and intonation of speakers may influence

modes of attention and understanding of what they say following the principles of the ideological square". The same is true for graphical display through headlines, letter type, use of colors or photographs. Preferred meanings are thus emphasized by shouting, high pitch, raising intonation, or by headlines, big type, striking color or catchy photos, and the opposite is true for the unpreferred meanings (van Dijk,1997 , p. 36).

8. Speech acts and interaction

A pragmatic analysis may examine which speech acts are preferred in what sub-genres of political text and talk. For example, "whereas government declarations may largely be assertions and official laws and regulations have the same illocutionary force as directives (orders, commands, advice), parliamentary debates will be more varied and typically feature assertions, questions, accusations or apologies" (vanDijk, 1997, p. 36).

3. Research Methodology

3.1. Data Collection

The data of the study consist of the transcripts of a number of slogans that were used by the demonstrators during the Tishrīn (October) Iraqi uprising in 2019 and 2020 and during 2020 in America. The slogans appeared on the banners raised by demonstrators or they were repeatedly verbally chanted during demonstrations. The slogans were widely circulated by various TV channels (e.g. Aljazeera, Al-Arabiya and BBC Arabic and ABC news) and in various media articles, blogs, videos and social networks including Facebook,

and Twitter. The data comprise a total of 160 slogans, 80 of which were from Iraqi demonstration, the other 80 were from American demonstration. Slogans which share the same discourse structures are not included in the analysis. The collected slogans deal with various socio-political issues. It is purposeful collection of slogans to identify themes, topics or issues, yet, it is not motivated by political considerations. The researcher relies solely on pre – existing materials collected after the demonstrations. All the slogans were kept intact and they did not undergo any modifications or corrections. In this regard, the Arabic slogans are transliterated by using Alphabetical Arabic symbols based on 'Alī' (2001).

3.2. Data Analysis

The study aims qualitatively to conduct a contrastive analysis of the slogans within the framework of political discourse, particularly, van Dijk's (1997) model. Various typical discourse structures and strategies that concern to political discourse at various levels and dimensions will be discussed, mainly, the slogan's topics, textual schemata, local semantics, lexicon, syntax, rhetoric, expression structures and speech acts. The current study will be an attempt to show how Iraqi and American demonstrators used the 'loaded weapon' (Bolinger, 1980) called language to mock, oppose and resist what they suffer from for decades and to highlight the points of similarities and differences between the Iraqi and American demonstrators' use of discourse structures with a view to representing their ideological square 'de/emphasize good/bad things of US/Them'.

4. Analysis

1. Macropropositions (Topics)

A. Iraqi Demonstrations Slogans

Based on their contents, the Iraqi demonstrators' slogans can typically be analyzed under a number of macropropositions (topics) relevant to their religious, socio-economic, cultural and political perspectives.

1. Political Humour and Satire

Political topics are mainly about political actors(van Dijk ,1997, p.28). Iraqi leaders and their actions, the parliaments and the ruling parties were a matter of ridicule in a number of slogans .Iraqi demonstrators use their knowledge of culture and rhetoric to generate satirical messages embedded in political humour. Perhaps one of those slogans that employ ridicule accompanied by cartoons is:

1. يا مسؤول ياسمين كافي بوك بأسم الدين yamas'ul ya samīn kafi bwk b'sim aldīn
(oh, fat official stop stealing under the name of religion)



The official here represents the authority that wreaked corruption and even became an icon of theft in Iraq. They are enjoying a life of luxury to surfeit as a result of the theft of Iraqi peoples' funds. The cartoon has made the meaning more "prominent for obvious partisan reasons".

Expressions of political humour and satire are not only through linguistic means alone, but also through multimodality, which combines verbal and visual semiotic materials to generate political messages.

Consider the multimodal political humour in (2) where the demonstrators employ Google search engine in the production of satirical text.

2. أكبر حرامية بالعالم Akbar ħaramyah bil'alam (the biggest thieves in the world?)

هل كنت تقصد نواب البرلمان العراقي Hal kunta taqsd nwab albarlaman al'raqy?

Did you mean the Iraqi parliamentarians?



In this sarcastic text, the revolutionaries denounce the extent of rampant corruption in the country, especially as it targets the legislative authority. Defining it in such a satirical way by the global search engine indicates that the

corruption of this authority is so rampant to the extent that it has become the icon of the word 'corruption' globally.

2. Patriotism

Actually, beside venting their anger about the government policies and claiming their rights to democracy and freedom, Iraqi demonstrators also broadcast their patriotism, love for Iraq and their Iraqi identity. They proclaim these sentiments by using slogans such as:

3. ولائي للعراق wala'y ll'iraq My loyalty is to Iraq.

4. اشهد ان لا وطن الا العراق ashhadu an la waṭn ela al'iraq. I testify that there is no homeland but Iraq.

5. انا للعراق وانا له لعاشقون ina ll'iraq wa ina lahu la'ashiqūn. I am for Iraq and for it we are lovers.

Slogan 3 is the most evident example of the concept of patriotism itself. The slogan in 4 is a reversal of saying اشهد ان لا اله الا الله ashhadu an la 'lāh ela Allah (I testify that there is no god but Allah), intertextuality is obvious here. Just as belief in the oneness of Allah Almighty is the basis of faith, so faith in the concept of patriotism is manifested only in devotion to this country . It is worth mentioning that intertextuality is perspicuous in 5, as it is intertextual with the quranic verse " انا لله وانا اليه راجعون " ina llah wa ina 'layh larāj'ūn (we belong to Allah and to Him we shall return).

6. لكم دينكم ولي وطني lakum dīnakum wa li waṭany (you have your religion and I have my country) . This slogan, which is intertextual with the quranic verse, (لكم دينكم ولي دين ' lakum dīnakum wa li dīn,' reflects a realistic situation gleaned from the content of the qur'anic text. It aims to separate the authority led by

the Islamic parties that tampered with the country's bounties and funds through its failed policy and the revolutionaries who represent the true patriotic affiliation to this country. Even more significant, albeit subtle, on the same placard is the invocation of martyrdom and self- immolation. Martyrdom, which is part of the subtext of some signs, is subsumed under patriotism as in 7.

7. اني الام العراقية اموت من اجل الوطنية. ani alum all'iraqiya amūt min ajl alwaṭaniya (I am an Iraqi mother dying for the sake of patriotism).

3. Resentment of Politics of Sectarianism

The demonstrators express their rejection of the parties' politics which is based on dividing the established authority between Shiites, Sunnis and Kurds on a partisan basis and not on competence, specialization and experience. One of the most important tools of this policy is playing on the sectarian chord that ravaged the country from 2006 and beyond. One of their slogans in this concern is:

8. من سياستكم الطائفية فقدت حبيبتي ذنبنا أنا شعي وهي سنية.

'min syasatkum alṭa'fiya faqadtu ḥabibaty dḥanbuna ana shi'y wa hiya suniyah'.

(Due to your sectarian politics, I lost my beloved, our fault is that I am Shiite and she is Sunni)

This slogan exhibits demonstrators' resentment at what they deem a bad policy that aggravates the sufferings of Iraqi people and ruin their lives. Within the same vein, demonstrators hung a black piece on the walls of Taḥrīr square with the inscription as

9. انتقلت الى رحمة الله تعالى الطائفية عن عمر ١٦ سنة من ٢٠٠٣/٤/٩ ولغاية ٢٠١٩/١٠/١ وسيقام مجلس العزاء في ساحة التحرير انا لله وانا اليه راجعون.

(Sectarianism is moved to God's mercy at the age of 16 years, from 9/4/2003 to 1/10/1019 and the funeral council will be held in Tahrir square. We belong to Allah and to Him we shall return.)

This is to indicate the demonstrators' insistence on turning the era of sectarianism which led to slain innocents whose afflicted families have not found them yet. The refusal of these sectarian parties is highlighted by the following slogan:

10. لا سنيه ولا شيعيه نريدها دوله مدنيه la suniyah wa la shi'yah nuridaha dawlah madaniyah. (Neither Sunni nor Shiite, we want a civil state).

4. Separating Religion from Politics

Part of the demonstrators' demands is to separate religion from politics. That was evident in their slogans such as:

11. العمامة مكانها الحوزة وليس السياسة al'imama makanaha alḥwza wa laysa alsiyasa. (The place of the turban is the estate , not politics).

The turban here symbolizes the clergy whose natural place is the religious seminary, not the authority of the state.

12. فصل الدين عن الدولة افضل بكثير من فصل الذكور عن الاناث faṣl aldīn 'an aldawlah afḍl bikathīr min faṣl alḍḥikūr 'an al'ināth. (Separating religion from the state is much better than separating males from females).

This slogan comes as a reaction against the political voices that employed religion in their political discourse, those who reject mixing between male and female in the arenas of demonstrations considering it as something forbidden.

5. Political Evaluation

Van Dijk (1997: 28) states that topics feature typical polarized appraisals of “politicians, public figures, and organizations and their actions”. The corpus of this study presents many instances of references to politicians and their actions. The evaluations come in the form of insulting words directed at politicians and their actions. For example, the insulting word نفايات ,nifyāt, (trash) is used to negatively evaluate the Iraqi politicians in 13:

13. لا نريد تدوير النفايات la nurīd tadvīr alnifyāt (we do not want to recycle waste).

This slogan is given as a reaction against the ruling parties' decision to nominate a former minister in the government to take over as prime minister. Moreover, insult is continued by using the word حيوانات ḥaywānāt (animals) to implicitly describe the politicians in the following slogan:

14. بعد عجز السياسيون عن سماع اصواتنا وفهم مطالبنا نطلب من الله تعالى ان يرسل لنا النبي سليمان (ع) لاننا لا نستطيع ان نكلم الحيوانات

ba'd 'ajiz alsiyasiyūn 'an samā' aṣwatanā wa fahim maṭalibanā naṭlub min Allah ta'ala an yursil lana alnabi sulaymān li'anana la nastaṭī' an nukalim alḥaywanāt. (Due to the inability of the politicians to hear our voices and understand our demands, we ask Almighty Allah to send us the prophet Solomon because we cannot talk to animals).



The word 'animals', which is highlighted by using the eye – catching color, red, and a large font, is humorously employed to refer to politicians who are considered as another group with whom the contact is impossible.

This slogan depicts what van Dijk (1997, p. 28) describe as the ' strategic principle of all ideological and political discourse ... emphasis/ de- emphasis of our/ their Good / Bad actions '.

قضيتنا ليست استبدال الحمار بالبغل بل الغاء حضيرة البهائم برمتها .. ويرجعون فلوس العلف. 15.

qaḍiyatunā laysat 'stibdāl alḥimār bilbaghil bal 'lghā' ḥaṭyrat albahā'm

birumatuhā wa yraj'ūn flus al'alaf

(Our issue is not replacing the donkey with the mule but cancelling the entire animal barn and returning the fodder money).

Another negative evaluation of Iraqi politicians is indicated by slogan 15 in which politicians are described by words as donkey, mule and animals. The revolutionaries invoke several historical figures, as Al Emām 'aly Bin Abi Ṭalib in the following slogan, and it seems that this invocation is in fact a recall for the intellectual and behavioral data of those figures in consolidating the concept of 'the state' and the authority at once, especially if these figures represent a unique model for the concept of just authority.

16. ayna antum min 'adil 'aly ayuha almufsidin. اين انتم من عدل علي ايها المفسدين.
(Where are you from Ali's justice, you spoilers).

Justice here is the basis of the comparison between Al Emām 'aly, peace be upon him, and the Islamic parties that claim to belong to his principles. It is as if two opposite meanings are indicated in this slogan: One of them manifests justice, Al- Emam Ali, and the other represents the icon of 'corruption', Islamic parties that are holding the reins of power. Therefore, this slogan has the most impact on the established authority, being run by the Islamic parties, that is apparently based on the heritage of these personalities and even pretends to follow their principles.

Another negative evaluation is presented in the following slogan:



17. saraqatum ḥayatunā ya liṣūṣ. سرقتم حياتنا يا لصوص. (You stole our lives, oh thieves).

Politicians here are described as لصوص (thieves). The demonstrators are ashamed of politicians' actions and this is reflected by using the sentence

faḍaḥṭunā فضحتونا (you exposed us) which is written in a red color. tanḍhīf albarlamān (cleaning the parliament) here reflects the view in which the demonstrators consider the politicians as نفايات (nifāyat), waste, in 17 since the word 'tanḍhīf' is basically collocated with النفايات (alnifāyat). This slogan depicts what van Dijk (1997, p. 28) describes as the 'strategic principle of all ideological and political discourse [...] emphasis/ de- emphasis of our/ their Good / Bad action.' Here, the demonstrators emphasize the bad actions of the politicians by describing them as thieves. The same description is also reflected in 18:

18. بأسم الدين باكونا الحراميه bi'sm aldīn bākuna alḥaramiyah. (In the name of religion, the thefts stole us).

19. في العراق الدواعش نوعان: دواعش الصحراء ودواعش الخضراء. ' Fi al'iraq aldawa'ish naw'ān: dawa'ish alṣaḥrā' wa dawa'ish alkhadrā' (There are two types of ISIS in Iraq: Desert ISIS and green zone ISIS).

The demonstrators here use the term 'ISIS' دواعش to refer to the Iraqi politicians. It is worth mentioning that the Green Zone is a name that includes the Karada Maryam area, part of the Al-Ḥarithiya district and part of the Al-Qadisiyah district in Baghdad, Iraq. This zone was established by the American occupation forces that invaded Iraq in 2003. It has an area of approximately 10 km² and is located in the center of Baghdad. And her name began to appear with the establishment of the Iraqi transitional government. The Green Zone is one of the most fortified military sites in Iraq and it is the seat of the state from the government and the army, in addition to containing the headquarters of the American embassy and the headquarters of governmental and foreign organizations and agencies for other countries. Because the Green Zone re-

presents the seat of the government, the demonstrators call the politicians there as the Green Zone ISIS. It is another bad connotation that can be added to what the demonstrators use to describe the Iraqi politicians.

6. The Demonstrators' Agency and Power

Another important topic that can be highlighted is that of announcing and proclaiming the demonstrators 'agency and power'. In this regard, agency is understood, according to Ahearn (2001, p. 112), as the "socio-culturally mediated capacity to act". However, it is not "rule – governed or rule – oriented action", but rather "engagement in the exercise of power in the sense of the ability to bring about effects" (Karp, 1986, p.137). Many slogans indicate the affirmation of the demonstrators' actions and power and the claim of victory, as illustrated in the following slogans:

20. باجر نرد الوطن للوطن bājir nirid alwaṭan lilwaṭan. (Tomorrow we will restore the homeland to the homeland).



Although most of the slogans are in the form of texts, others emerge to be accompanied with images. This slogan is painted onto a wall in Tahrir square. It

depicts the established authority as a snake being killed by the revolution which is represented here by a wounded person making the victory sign by his hand. It is a multimodal slogan in the sense that it conveys its communicative goal through both image and text. It tends to promote the image of the revolutionaries and to distort the image of the established authority and the ruling parties. This multimodal slogan is designed to show the revolutionaries' agency. i.e. the force that energizes them to save their country from the claws of the ruling parties. This slogan is plurivalent in so far as it fits in more than one topics, i.e. it could also exemplify the demonstrators hope and aspiration which will be referred to later in the section.

21. 'lan tuskitū ṣawt tishrīn.' (October voice will not be silenced).

22. 'tishrīn ṭhawra lan tamūt.' (October is a revolution which will not die).

23. 'muḫḫ' man dḥana 'ina ṭhawratānā qad 'intahat. naḥnu lan nastaslim nantaṣur aw namūt'.

(Those who thought that our revolution is over are wrong. We will not surrender, we will win or we will die).

24. 'Alshabāb lan yakil hamahu an yastaqil.' (Youth will not tire, what worries him is to be independent.)

25. 'ma niskit.' (We will not be silent).

The use of such slogans reflects the defiant spirit of the demonstrators as well as their self-confidence of victory. In other words, they reflect their power as revolutionaries against the established authority. The prevalence of negativity could reflect the revolutionaries' refusal and total rejection of anything that does not satisfy their demands. لن is utilized to emphasize their rejections of any partial solution that would fall short of meeting their demands in the future. By using ما نسكت , the revolutionaries send a clear message that they will never backpedal on their demands. Such a stand reflects a shift in the power structure of the Iraqi revolutionaries, as it is stated by Fairclough (1989, p. 31) "the way in which orders of discourse are structured, and the ideologies which they embody, are determined by relationship of power in particular social institutions, and in the society as a whole". Among other slogans that depict the revolutionaries' defiance and steadfastness is 26.

عَبثًا تَحاول لا فناء لثائر 26.

أنا كالقيامة ذات يوم آت

('abathān tuḥawil la fanā' liṭh'irn

ana kal qiyama ḍḥāt yawmin ātin.)

(You are trying in vain, there is no end for the revolutionist,

I am like the resurrection, one day it will come.)

It is part of the poem entitled الثائر المتمرّد alṭhā'ir almutamarid for the poet

مهذل الصقور Muhaḍḥal Alṣuqūr. Grammatically, ' la' is used to negate the present tense, but it has been employed in this slogan to negate nominal phrases to express the futility of what the authority is doing in terms of killing

and kidnapping. This slogan clearly reflects the demonstrators' belief in the principles of the revolution and their endless willingness to sacrifice in order to perpetuate it and achieve its demands, even if they are being killed and abused by the authority and its parties.

7. Women's Participation in the Revolution

The revolutionary movement in Iraq shows the important role of the woman who did not hesitate to participate with the man objecting ,thus, all the taboos of prohibition imposed by social, religious and political restrictions. This feminist movement resulted in slogans specific to the woman herself. Such slogans came as a reaction to the political voices who wanted to limit the woman's role. The most prominent of these slogans are:

27. 'Tā' alta'nīṭh alṭha'irah laha maḥal 'aẓīm min alṭhwrah. (The revolutionary femininity has a great place in the revolution).

It is intertextual as it echoes the grammatical rule in Arabic which says:

Tā' alta'nīṭh alsakinah la maḥal laha min al'ī'rāb. (The constant feminization taa' has no place of parsing).

The women enhance the importance of their role in the revolution by referring to Zainab bint Ali bin Abi Talib who went out with her brother Al-Emam Al-Hussein in his battle against corruption and completed the reform process after his martyrdom. And another evidence of the legitimacy of her participation is the reference to Hajj, which is a religious rite and is performed without separating men from women. Women here challenged the political authority represented by its Islamic parties who employed religion in their

political discourse and tried hard to prevent them from participating in the revolution and supporting the revolting demonstrators.

28. أنتِ الثورة وهم العورة 'Anti al_{th}wrah wa hum al'awrah.' (You are the revolution and they are the nakedness).

This slogan comes as a reaction to the political voices who employ religion in their political discourse saying that صوت المرأة عوره *ṣawt almar'ah 'awrah*, women's voice is nakedness , it should not come to surface. The women replied: أنتِ الثورة وهم العورة and صوتك ثورة *ṣawtik _{th}wrah* (your voice is a revolution). The same message is expressed by using English language in certain slogans to target various audiences such as “Revolution is female” or “Women are the soul of the revolution.”

8. Denouncing External Interference

This call is illustrated in slogans such as

29. إيران بره بره بغداد تبقى حرة 'irān bara bara , Baghdad tubqa ḥura. (Iran outside outside, Baghdad remains free).

30. جيراننا اصدقاءنا لا اسيانا . قرارنا عراقي 'jirānunah 'ṣduqa'anā la 'syadunāh. Qarārūnā 'Iraq.' (Our neighbors are our friends not our masters. Our decision is Iraqi.)

These slogans reflect a clear rejection of Iranian interference in Iraqi affairs. They represent the demonstrators' call for Iraq freedom and sovereignty.

9. The Demonstrators' Hope and Aspiration

Although the demonstrators faced murder, abuse, kidnapping and a barrage of criticism, their hope and aspiration for a better future armed them with a sense of perseverance.

31. 'nazlīn nḥawil ḡalmatna shamis ' نازلين نحول ظلمتنا شمس

(We are going to turn our darkness into a sun.)

32. 'qūlūhum ma nanḥany wa haṭḥ alwaṭan ruḡhm almiḥan yarja' 'azīz wa yanbany.' كولوهم ماننحي وهذا الوطن رغم الحزن رغم المحن يرجع عزيز وينبني

(Tell them we will not bend, and this country, despite the sadness, despite the adversity, returns precious and will be built).

The word شمس 'shams' is often associated with light, hope and optimism. In this slogan, نحول ظلمتنا شمس, this sentence shows that the demonstrators' long struggle for a good future has come to an end. It indicates that the days of oppression will be over. Such a theme of hope is similarly reinforced by slogan 32 . It does not only instill hope and aspiration into the hearts and minds of Iraqi people, indeed, one could read into it that the producers sought to rally the audience behind the demonstrators, asserting that sadness, hardship and oppression, which Iraqis have endured for years, will shortly draw to a close . 'qūlūhum ma nanḥany, (tell them we will not bend) exemplifies a message of perseverance and steadfastness.

33. باجر من تنتصر الثورة، احافظ على نظافة الشارع لأن مسؤوليتي . طور ذاتك غير
'Bājir min tintṣr alṭḥwrah 'aḥafid 'ala naḡafat alshārī' l'an mas'ulīty. ṭawir ṭḥātak ghayir ḥayatak.' (Tomorrow when the revolution wins, I keep the street clean because it's my responsibility. Develop yourself, change your life).

is an Iraqi word for باجر This slogan attempts to assure demonstrators and Iraqi people in general that victory is certain and imminent. Such slogans have undoubtedly been used as a motivating factor for those who might have lost hope , or those who have started wavering and questioning the outcome of the

revolution. The claim of victory is largely publicized by these slogans; they may be interpreted as a premonition of an assured victory.

B. American Demonstrations Slogans

1. Rejecting Racism

Racism is “an ideology of racial domination” (Wilson, 1999, p. 14). In racism, “the presumed biological or cultural superiority of one or more racial groups is used to justify or prescribe the inferior treatment or social position(s) of other racial groups”. Through racism, perceived patterns of physical differences ,such as skin color, are used to discriminate against groups of people, thereby constituting them as ‘races’. Racial bias has caused numerous social tragedies in American society since the foundation of America. Different slogans have been raised by black American demonstrators to indicate their refusal for racial discrimination such as:

34. Black lives matter.

On June, 2020, in Minneapolis, the protestors marched in the streets, chanting "black lives matter" to express black people's anger and irritations due to the killing of the African American man, George Floyd . *Black* refers to African American , *lives* is the plural of life, and *matter* is a verb which stands for importance and significance. Refusal of racial bias is also marked by slogans as:

35. Fight racism

36. My skin color does not determine my worth.

2. Calling for Equality

Countless attempts have been made in America to the racial equality and human rights equality between white and black people, but, in fact, African

American people still suffer from white police unfair treatment and their violent law enforcement. The African American demonstrators raised many slogans to call for equality such as:

37. Equality is not optional

38. We all bleed the same.

3. Pursuing Justice

The cry for justice is presented in many slogans as:

39. No justice, no peace

40. Down with a corrupt justice system.

The system, which has long been seen as the service provider for citizens, has been rejected by the demonstrators for being corrupt.

4. Demanding a Support

Since a lot of white people choose to stand by and be silent, the black American demonstrators use certain slogans to call on all American people not to be silent, reject unfairness and speak bravely for the black people. Such slogans are like the following:

41. White silence is violence

42. Silence encourages the oppressor.

43. There comes a time where silence is betrayal.

Silence in these slogans refers to those who are indifferent and stand by without any action. Sometimes the indifference of the relevant actions encourages the harm to be continued and allows the wicked to be fearless.

5. Hope and Aspiration

Some slogans indicate demonstrators' hope and aspiration for a better future as in:

44. A change is gonna come

'Gonna' is a way of saying 'going to' in informal speech, when it refers to the future.

45. Fight today for a better tomorrow.

6. Rejecting the Lockdown

At a time when the United States suffers the highest death toll in the world from coronavirus, hundreds of demonstrators from New Hampshire, California, Texas and Ohio demand an end to the quarantine. They raise slogans as:

46. End the lockdown

47. Reopen now

48. We will not comply

7. The Refusal of Making Corona Vaccine Mandatory.

The Americans in many States, especially New York, protest against the government decision of making corona vaccine mandatory. Their rejection of such a decision is reflected in many slogans as:

49. Medical choice is a human right

50. I will not vaccinate

51. Not anti-vaccine but anti – mandate

8. Refusing War or Sanctions against Iran

Thousands of Americans in many American cities ,especially New York and Washington, organized marches against war on Iran and denounced the terrorist

act that America carried out to assassinate Qassim Suleimani in Baghdad as is evident from the following slogans:

52. No war on Iran

53. Stop bombing Iraq

Other slogans express the demonstrators' demands for healthcare, education, housing and jobs instead of engaging America in endless war as in:

54. Jobs, healthcare, education, housing, human needs. Not endless war

9. Political Evaluation

The American demonstrators' slogans also present many instances of references to politicians and their actions.

55. Trump is a war criminal

Demonstrators carried banners describing Trump as a war criminal. In another occasion, Trump is described as not their president as in the following multimodal slogan which includes an image for Trump in addition to the text as shown in the following picture.



56. Not my president

Trump is also described by using a swear word 'dump' in the following slogan:

57. Dump Trump

In another slogan, he is also described by 'pro rape' with his picture on the slogan. Racist and fascist are also used to describe Trump as it understood by putting his picture with text of the slogan.

58. No racism no Trump no fascism

Sick narcissist and outnumbered are part of the features used by the demonstrators to describe Trump.

The whole American system is evaluated as being 'corrupt' in the slogan:

59. Down with a corrupt justice system

2. Superstructure or Textual 'Schemata'

A. Iraqi Demonstrations Slogans

Like any other genre, slogans in demonstration have their own schematic patterning, i.e. they have particular canonical and conventional forms that define their genre membership. Iraqi demonstrators promote their ideas by using brief, eye-catching and musical slogans that can readily stick to minds due to their specific sound patterns. Rhyme , alliteration, antithesis, parallelism, colloquialism are all devices of the textual schemata of political slogans. An analysis of which will be presented in the rhetorical operations section.

Multilingualism is another mode of expression in the Iraqi slogans of demonstration. To target various audiences, slogans require the use of a multilingual toolkit. In the following slogan, demonstrators use Arabic and

Persian to implicitly indicate that the loyalty of the Iraqi established authority is for Iran not for Iraq. This slogan also contains a diglossic situation as both standard Arabic and Iraqi dialect are used.

الشعب يريد اسقاط النظام (اذا ماتفتهمون) راح احجي بالايрани مردم می خواهند سیستم را براندازند. 60.
'Alsha'bu yirīd 'ṣqāṭ alniẓām('dḥā ma tiftahmūn) rāḥ 'ḥjy bil'irāny'

(The people want to overthrow the regime. If you do not understand, I will speak in Persian).



Another schematic feature that can be noticed in the Iraqi slogan is violating the syntactic and rhetorical norms. Indeed, slogans become catchier when they deviate from the norms and can communicate their messages efficaciously.

Moreover, many Iraqi slogans are found to be intertextual with religious and literary texts. Literarily, intertextuality is embodied in the narratives of the demonstration in a remarkable way which is evident through the employment of the poetic verses and literary sayings, and perhaps the most famous of them is the eternal verse of the Tunisian poet Abū al – Qāsim Al – Shāby, which became an anthem for Iraqi revolutionaries. They cite his poem opening line as follows:

61. إذا الشعب يوما أراد الحياة فلا بد للبرلمان أن ينجلي
alḥayāt fala buda lilbarlamān an yanjaly (If people wanted life one day the
parliament must disappear)

This slogan echoes the original text which is

إذا الشعب يوما أراد الحياة فلا بد ان يستجيب القدر

ولا بد لليل ان ينجلي ولا بد للقيد ان ينكسر

'dḥā Alsha'bu yawman 'arāda alḥayāt fala buda an yastajīb alqadar

Wa la buda lilayl an yanjaly wa la buda lilqayid an yankasir

If people wanted life one day,

Destiny must respond,

And the night must disappear,

And the shackles must be broken

Another intertextual slogan is the following.

62. إذا الشعب يوما أراد الوطن فلا بد ان يترك عبادة الصنم

'dḥā Alsha'bu yawman 'arāda alwaṭan fala buda an yatrūk 'ibadat alṣanam

(If people wanted homeland one day,

They must abandon idolatry).

What distinguishes the Iraqi demonstrators' use of this verse is that they adapt it in line with the significance of the main slogan of the revolution: we *want a homeland*.

Some of the slogans even echo certain historical events as illustrated in 63:

أحد ما تنعاد بينا والجبل ما نتركه عفنا كل المغريات وما خسرنا المعركة 63.

'uḥid mātin'ād binā wa aljabal ma nitrkah, 'ifnā kul almughrayāt wa ma kḥisarna alma'rakah' (Uhid will not be returned and we will not leave the mountain, We abandon all temptations and we will not lose the battle.)

In these slogans, there is a reference to the battle of Uhud that the Muslims, under the leadership of the Prophet Muhammad(peace be upon him), waged against polytheists. In that battle, Muslims left their places on Uhud Mount and went down to collect the booty, thinking that the battle had ended, so the polytheists turned against them and were able to defeat them. Intertextually, Uhud Mount here is represented by the Turkish restaurant, a building considered as the demonstrators' largest headquarters in Tahrir Square. Muslims are represented by demonstrators and polytheists are their opponents, the established authority. The demonstrators echo the historical event in such a way to depict their insistence on continuing the revolution.

B. American Demonstrations Slogans

American demonstrators also promote their ideas by using brief, eye-catching and musical slogans. Rhyme , alliteration, antithesis, parallelism, colloquialism are all devices of the textual schemata of political slogans. An analysis of which will be presented in the rhetorical operations section.

3. Local Semantics and Lexicon

A. Iraqi demonstrations slogans

A thorough look at the Iraqi slogans shows that slogans carry positive meaning about the demonstrators presenting them as unified group that aspires to change the country for the best. In contrast, they exhibit negative meanings about the established authority and its ruling parties.

At the lexical level, the choice of words displays a very clear kind of partiality for 'partisan principles of the Ideological Square' (van Dijk, 1997, p. 33). While the demonstrators call themselves as الثوار alṭhiwār revolutionaries ,al'aḥrār ,الاحرار ,the brave الشجعان alshuj'ān students الطلاب alṭulāb youth الشباب alshabāb , the established authority describes them as جوكريه jokariyah, مخربين mukḥaribīn ,awlād alsafarāt اولاد سفارات . In addition, the established authority is described in the slogans as فاسدين fasidīn , مفسدين mufsidīn, حراميه ḥaramiyah , قتله qatalah , , سراق المال surāq almāl al'ām طائفيون ṭā'ifiūn, دجالون dajalūn , مرتزقه murtazaqah , نفایات nifāyāt ,حيوانات ḥaywanāt ,whereas the established authority and its alliance describe the demonstration as فوضى fawṣa , تخريب takḥrīb , fitnah , فتن , it is described by the demonstrators as ṭhawrat ghaṣab , ثورة غضب ṭhawrat ṭulāb ,صحوة طلاب sha'ab ṣaḥwat ṭulāb . Moreover , those who are killed during the demonstration are called by the authority as قتلَى qatlā, while the demonstrators call them شهداء shuhadā' .

a. American Demonstrations Slogans

Concerning the American slogans, the paradigm of 'us' and 'them' is also present. The demonstrators describe themselves as 'one', in the slogan, 'we are one dump Trump'. 'We' is reinforced by the determiner 'all' in the slogan ' we all

bleed the same ' to refuse the racial bias. In all slogans, demonstrators emphasize all meanings that are positive about themselves and negative about others; demonstrators describe themselves as *informed citizens*, *anti – racist* and their opponent as *sore loser* and *complicit*. The white police are described as *racists*, *killers*, *oppressor*, *murderers* and *criminals*. Trump is described as *narcissist*, *fascist*, *dump*, *outnumbered*, *war criminal* and *racist* and *terrorist*. The American system is described as '*racial*' and *corrupt*, the action done by the police is described as *terror* , *tyranny* and *violence*.

4. Syntax

A. Iraqi Demonstrations Slogans

1. Use of Pronoun

One of the syntactic features in political slogans is the partisan use of deictic *pronouns* , انا and نحن. انتم and هم as in:

64. 'antum bil'itād wa anā bil'inād' (You are with gear and I behave stubbornly).

Principles of exclusion and inclusion are at play here and reflect the partisan strategies of power in the political process. Many slogans clearly show the sense of inclusion when it comes to demonstrators and the sense of exclusion of the established authority and the ruling parties. Moreover, there is a narrative development in the course of the events of the demonstration from individuality to pluralism. The slogan, نازل اخذ حقي , nāzil ākhudh ḥaqy, I am coming down to take my right, carries the connotation of individuality which is reinforced by the speaker's connotations in '*my right*', whereas the slogan نريد وطن , nurīd waṭan ,

we want homeland, is characterized by inclusiveness and pluralism. There is an act of transgression from the individual demand to the mass demand which is represented clearly by the use of the pronoun 'I' and 'we'.

2. Variation of Word Order

Some slogans deviate from the standard word order of Arabic for the sake of topicalization. One of the evident examples is fronting the subject in a structure verb + subject+ object to be subject + verb + object.

An example of this shifting word order is the famous and widely circulated slogan

65. الشعب يريد اسقاط النظام Alsha'bu yirīd 'şqāṭ alniḏām. The normal word order is يريد الشعب اسقاط النظام. yirīd Alsha'bu 'şqāṭ alniḏām this shift in word order put emphasis on the topic of the slogan. Actually, الشعب Alsha'bu has been thematized with a view to foregrounding the revolutionaries' demands of toppling the regime.

Topicalization is also utilized by the demonstrators with an aim to emphasize the bad features of the outgroups, represented by the established authority and its ruling parties, as is plain in 68 :

66. داعش ولد من رحم فسادكم 'dā'ish wulid min raḥm fasadakum

(ISIS was born from the womb of your corruption.)

The normal order is ولد داعش من رحم فسادك wulid dā'ish min raḥm fasadakum.

What is fronted here is

نائب الفاعل nā'ib alfā'il, dā'ish. This syntactic topicalization emphasizes the corruption of the established authority. In line with van Dijk's (1997, p. 34) ideological square, syntactic topicalization emphasizes the good aspects of the demonstrators and the bad ones of established authority and its ruling parties.

B. American Demonstrations Slogans

1. Ellipsis

Ellipsis is a cohesive device in which part of the structure is deleted. The use of ellipsis is evident in the American demonstrators' slogans as in

67. Liberty is essential, panic is not.

It can be written 'liberty is essential, panic is not essential', but the word *essential* is ellipsed in the second part. The same kind of ellipsis is found in the slogan:

68. Workers are essential, Mandates are not.

2. Blending

Blending as a word formation process is utilized in the slogan

69. Warmerica

Which is the result of blending war and America. Such a blending highlights the demonstrators' belief that America always engages itself in war. Using it in such a way emphasizes their refusal of this policy.

3. Incomplete Clauses

According to Leech and Svartvik (2002, p. 136), incomplete clauses " in some way lack the structure of a complete sentence". Such clauses are employed in situations where the omitted structure contains information that is already understood, and does not need to be repeated. Leech and Svartvik (p. 137) add that incomplete clauses can appear in various functions such as statements, questions and commands and they can consist of different types of phrases and clauses such as noun phrases and nominal clauses. The American demonstrators use phrases as if they use complete sentences, thus forming clauses that may consist of phrases without a main verb or even of a single element. The following two slogans are examples of incomplete clauses:

70. Natural immunity.

71. White supremacy.

5. Rhetoric

Rhetoric can have a great ' influence on the formation of public attitudes, opinions and will' (Reisigl, 2008b, p. 258). In this respect, the use of rhetorical devices makes slogans memorable and easy to be chanted and recalled.

A. Iraqi demonstrations slogans

1. السجع Al - saja' Rhyme

It is based on the correspondence of sounds at the ends of the last words in each phrase or a clause or a line of verse ('atīq', p.215). It is widely used in Iraqi demonstrators' slogans. The following slogans can be taken as illustrations:

72. دھِیقَار سَوْت الثَّوَار وَمِنْهَا الْقَرَار dhīqār ṣawt alṥhiwār wa minhā alqarār

dhīqār is the voice of the revolutionaries, it has the decision.

73. كل الخراب من الاحزاب kul alkhārāb min alahzāb. (All the ruin is from the parties.)

2. Aljinās al'istihlālī الجناس الاستهلاكي Alliteration

Alliteration is "the commencement of two or more words in close connection with the same sound" for the purpose of providing an audible pulse that gives a piece of writing a lulling, lyrical, and/or emotive effect (Drabble,1985:18).

74. حسين ثورة وهاي ثورة واحنا واحدنا شهيد. husayn ṭhawrah wa hāy ṭhawrah wa iḥnā wāḥdnā shahīd.

75. لكم دينكم ولي وطن lakum dīnakum wa li waṭany (you have your religion and I have my country)

3. Altikrār التكرار (Repetition)

Repetition is another prominent feature in the slogans. Alzarkashy (1957 , p.221) defines it as repeating a word or phrase more than once in one context for the sake of emphasis. The repetition of the word اعتصام, for instance , in 78 shows the demonstrators' insistence on the continuation of the الاعتصام until the regime falls.

76. 'a'tiṣām 'a'tiṣām ḥata yaṣquṭ alniḍām.' حتى يسقط النظام اعتصام اعتصام (Sit in, sit in until the regime falls).

Kalā كلا in 79 is repeated for the sake of emphasis, emotional effect and amplification.

77. كالا كالا للأحزاب kalā kalā lil'ahzāb. No no for parties.

4. Parallelism الموازنة Al - muwazanah

In Arabic literature, parallelism is connected to " rhymed prose" since it gives the structure a musical effect. Al - Maşry (1957,p.95) uses the term المماثلة *almumātḥalah* to describe parallelism, while Al - Qizwiny (n.d., p.232) uses the term موازنه *muwāzanah* and defines it as the case where the two separate sentences, or phrases, are equal in rhyme".

78. القلم سلاحنا، الكتاب درعنا، الفكر قوتنا. *‘alqalam silāḥunā, alkitāb dir‘unā, alfikir qwatunā’* (The pen is our weapon, the book is our shield, thought is our strength). Here, the three successive clauses in this sentence are structured symmetrically. all consist of مبتدأ وخبر *mubtada’ wa kḥabar*.

Sometimes parallelism, as a figure of speech, goes beyond just the grammatical structure of a sentence. They might repeat a word or several words at the start of parallel successive clauses, a type of parallelism known as “**anaphora.**” (Harris, 2008, p. 16) , as in the slogan ماكو وطن ، ماكو دوام *mākū waṭan mākū dawām*. Mākū is an Iraqi word meaning لا يوجد *layūjad*. There is no homeland, there is no work hours

It is also possible to put opposite ideas into parallel positions within a sentence, bringing attention to their contrasting character. A particular kind of parallelism is called الطباق **(Alṭibāq) antithesis**, where the two parallel elements express opposite ideas.

5. الطباق (Alṭibāq) Antithesis

Alṭibāq refers to the combination of a word and its opposite in speech. There are two types of Alṭibāq: ṭibāq al’ijāb, طباق الايجاب (affirmative antithesis) ,

which is the combination of two opposites that do not differ by negation and affirmation, and *ṭibāq alsalb*, طباق السلب (negative antithesis, which is the combination of two meanings, one is affirmative and the other is negative (Aljārm & 'amīn , 2017, p. 281).

الشعب يريد وطنًا مُهابًا ولا يريد وطنًا مُهانًا .79

'Alsha'b yirīd waṭanan muhāban wa la yirīd waṭanan muhānan'

(The people want a dreaded homeland,

They do not want a humiliated homeland.)

In this slogan يريد and لا يريد represent *ṭibāq alsalb* ; مُهابًا and مُهانًا stand for *ṭibāq al'ijāb*

Another example of *ṭibāq al'ijāb* is represented by the use of the two contradictory words فوق and تحت in the following parallel structure:

نحن قوم حسم امرنا، اما فوق الارض اعزاء، او تحت الارض شهداء .80

naḥnu qawm ḥusim amranā, ama fawq al'arḻ 'a'izā', aw taḥt al'arḻ shuhadā'

(We are a nation whose mind is made up Either honored above ground Or martyrs underground.

6. التشبيه Al – tashbīh Simile

Al – tashbīh is a type of figurative language that describes something by comparing it to something else with particle such as the prepositions الكاف *alkāf* , كَأَنَّ *ka'inah* and nouns *shabah* مثل، شبه *miṭḥil* and verbs يشبه *yashbah*, يَناظر *yunaḍir* (Al – jārm, 18) .

عادل عبد المهدي انت مثل الفريدي . 81

لا تحل ولا تربط الشغلة كلها بيد مسي الأرجنتيني

Here, demonstrators compare the vice president , عادل عبد المهدي , with Ernesto Valverde , who was the coach of FC Barcelona, but was sacked in January 2020 after his exit from the Spanish Super Cup , by using the particle مثل . This comparison indicates a dislike of the vice president.

Another slogan expressing simile is the following

الثورة قويه كال فولاذ حمراء كال جمر باقيه كال سنديان عميقه كحبنا الوحشي للوطن . 82.

alṥhawrah qawiyah kalfūlaḥ ḥamrā' kaljamur bāqiya kalsindiyan, 'amīqah ka ḥubunā alwaḥshy lilwaṭan. (Revolution is strong as steel, Red as embers, lingering as oaks, deep as our brutal love for the homeland.)

This slogan includes a positive portrait for the revolution. It is described as strong, everlasting, fiery and deep. It is compared with steel, embers, oaks, and love for homeland respectively by using the particle 'ka'. It is worth mentioning that there is another figure of speech presented here in this slogan. An **oxymoron** الـارداف الخلفي al'irdāf alḥulfy represented by ḥubunā alwaḥshy. حبنا الوحشي Oxymoron combines two seemingly contradictory words, giving them a new meaning (Wahbah, 1984). Here, in ḥubunā alwaḥshy, alwaḥshy represents the hyponym of hate, which is the antonym of the head noun of the oxymoron in question- love. It is an indirect oxymoron.

Another simile is presented in the slogan:

رجال الشرطة عيون ذيا به واحمى من النار اللهابة . 83. rijāl alshaṭrah 'yūn dḥyabah wa 'hmā min alnār allahaba. Shatra men are the eyes of wolves, they are more flaming than the flame fire.

عيون الذئاب The shatra men are compared with the eyes of wolves. The particle of simile is not mentioned here. In this slogan, demonstrators use

another mode of semantic embellishment to exaggerate their state. It is a **hyperbole** (المبالغة) **al – mubālaghah** which is indicated by احمى من النار اللهابه . The use of this figurative device depicts the demonstrators' furiosity and courage.

7. الاستعارة **Al - 'sti'ārah Metaphor**

Al - 'sti'ārah is a figure of speech that, for rhetorical effect, "compares two different things by speaking of one in terms of the other". It may provide (or obscure) clarity or identify hidden similarities between two different ideas. In other words, Al - 'sti'ārah is an eloquent simile, one of its sides is omitted (Al – Jārm, p. 76). In the following slogan:

84. انتخاب نفس الوجوه مذبة الوطن. 'intikhāb nafis alwijūh maḍḥbahat alwaṭan.

Election of the same faces is the massacre of the homeland.

The composers of this slogan compare the homeland with the human being, but the human is not mentioned. The same metaphor is manifested in other slogans as:

85. قاوم ارجوك يا وطني. فاجئ من ينتظر انهيارك.

'qawim 'arjūk ya waṭany faj' man yantẓr inhiyārak.'

(Resist please, my homeland, surprise those who are waiting for your collapse).

86. حرر قيودك يا وطن. ḥarir quyūdak yawaṭan. (Free your chains, oh homeland).

Metaphors in these slogans are beautifully presented through another figure of speech which is التشخيص **Al-tashkḥīṣ Apostrophe** which is directly addressing a nonexistent person or an inanimate object as if it were a living being. In such slogans , the demonstrators address the homeland as if it were a human being (Aljirjānī, 1984, p. 67).

8. Paradox Al - tanāqid Al - ḡāhiry التناقض الظاهري

Paradox is a statement that appears to contradict itself. Demonstrators utilize this figure of speech in their saying

87. بين الجسر والساحة ، الوطن عالي جناحه .

رادوا يمسحون اسمي بس كتبته المساحة

Byn aljisir wa alsāḥah, alwaṭan 'āly janaḥa, radaw yamishūn 'ismy bas kitbitah al misāḥah. (Between the bridge and the square, the homeland's wing is so high.

They wanted to erase my name , but the eraser wrote it.)

The statement كتبته المساحة kitbitah al misāḥah is paradoxical in the sense that an eraser, which is an Iraqi colloquial word for ممحاة is used for erasing what is written not writing what is erased as is depicted in the slogan. Paradox here is used alongside other literary devices such as rhyme, alliteration, and paronym.

9. Al – Tajsīd التجسيد

Al – Tajsīd is similar to personification in English. It "metaphorically represents an animal or inanimate object as having human attributes--attributes of form, character, feelings, behavior, and so on" (Harris, 2008, p38) . It is indicated by the following slogan:

88. باجر حزنه يروح وبغدادنا تهلهل . bajir ḥizina yrūḥ wa baghdadna tihalhil

(Tomorrow our grief will end and our Baghdad will cheer).

بغدادنا تهلهل is a personification in the sense that تهلهل is an act performed by human. In Iraqi dialect, it refers to cheerful sounds produced by women in times of happiness. In this slogan, it is attributed to Baghdad which is a city.

Another personification is presented in the slogan,

هذي دماك على فم تتكلم ماذا يقول الشعر إذا نطق الدم 89.

haḍḥy dimāk 'alā fami tatakalamu

maḍḥ yaqūl alshī'ru in naṭaqa aldamu

(This is your blood, in my mouth, speaks what poetry says? If blood utters)

It is an excerpt from a famous poem by Abd al-Hussein Zelzala in which he addresses Al Imam al-Hussein on the anniversary of his martyrdom. In this slogan, acts of speaking and pronouncing are attributed to the blood -which is inanimate being- while they are human activities ,hence there is personification.

10. الحكمة الساخرة **Al ḥikmah Al saḥīrah (Epigram)**

An epigram refers to a concise, witty, memorable, and sometimes surprising or satirical statement. Demonstrators employ this rhetorical device to depict the spread of corruption and the futility of complaint as the ruler is himself part of such a corruption.

90. لمن تشتكي حبة القمح اذا كان القاضي دجاجة 'liman tashtaky ḥabat alqamḥ 'dḥā kān alqāzy dajājah.' (To whom does the grain of wheat complain if the judge is a chicken).

It is a proverb that demonstrators recall to intend" to whom does the oppressed turn if the oppressor is the judge?"

11. الجناس **Al – jinās paronomasia**

The nearest equivalent term to pun or paronomasia in Arabic is jinās which is a type of ('al-muhassināt 'al-lafẓiyya) phonologically oriented schemes. al-Qazwīnī (n. d., p. 382) defined it as the similarity in the pronunciation between two words only or words and part of words. Iraqi demonstrators utilize different kinds of jinās in their slogans. For example,

91. tik tik 'qtarabat sā'atakum (Tik tock your hour is near.)

It is a **complete jinās** جناس تام which occurs when the two words are identical in type, number, vowel and quiescence and order of letters (speech sounds). It is *homonymic pun* which arises from the exploitation of words which are both homographs and homophones.

Here is spelled and pronounced similarly, but it has two meanings: تك تك the first refers to the small cart that played a major role in transporting the injured from the demonstration yards to the hospitals, and the second , which is the one that the context supports in the slogan due to the presence of ' your watch', refers to the chimes of the seconds of the hour, an indication of the imminent displacement of the established authority and the ruling parties. It is worth mentioning here that this slogan is intertextual with the quaranic verse Wa 'qtarabat alsā'ah, ' 'And the hour drew near' (واقتربت الساعة)



The morphologically derived *jinās* الاشتقاق (*jinās al-'ishtiqaq*) is another kind of *jinās* in Arabic . Hilāl (1980, p. 278) classified this type under the complete *jinās*. It is a kind of morphological repetition which intensifies music through the complete or partial similarity of utterances. It refers to words that have the same root. It is equal to 'paronym' in English. Such kind of root repetition is common in Iraqi demonstrators' slogans.

92. خرجنا لرمي النفايات خارج العراق لم نخرج لأعاده تدويرها.

'*kḥarajnā liramī alnifāyāt kḥārij al'irāq, lam nakḥuj li'ādāt tadwirahā*' (We went out to throw waste outside Iraq, we did not go out to recycle it.) All words خرجنا *kḥarajnā*, *kḥārij* خارج , *nakḥuj* نخرج are derived from the same root *kḥaraja* خرج

Another type of *jinās* which is used by the Iraqi demonstrators is **The mis-constructed *jinās* ('al-muharraf)** الجناس المحرف , in which the two words have the same number of letters, but they differ in the vowels and quiescence. "Al-Qazwīnī (n.d., p. 384). In English this kind is equal to what is called *homographic* pun, or anagrams. It exploits words which are spelled the same (homographs) but possess different meanings and sounds, as in:

93. الشعب يريد الإعمار والأعمار بيد الله والله يأخذ أعماركم.

Wa Allah yakḥuḍḥ 'a'mārkum. Alsha'bu yirīd al'i'mār wa al'a'mār bīd Allah
People want construction and lives are in the hand of Allah and Allah will take your lives.

Jinās here are represented by the word الإعمار In the first, it came with hamza maksora al'i'mār, meaning building and construction, and the second

al'a'mār with hamza maftoha meaning age. The Iraqi demonstrators also make use of **the incomplete jinās** in which the two words are identical except for one letter as in the words مُهابا and مُهاننا mentioned in one of the previous slogans.

B. American Demonstrations Slogans

1. Rhymed words and phrases are also present in the American demonstrator slogans. *Silence* and *violence* , in the slogan , silence is violence , is a pair of end rhyme. Police, justice, and peace , in ' prosecute police, no justice, no peace' , are also end – rhymed words. Such phrases are easy to read aloud because of their rhyme . rhymed words are also found in the slogan.

94. No racism, No fascism.

2. Alliteration is also present in American slogans as in:

95. Defund, Disarm, Disband .

The 'd' sound is repeated at the start of the three successive words to provide emotive effect.

3. Parallelism is "recurrent syntactic similarity. Several parts of a sentence or several sentences are expressed similarly to show that the ideas in the parts or sentences are equal in importance". Parallelism also adds balance and rhythm and, most importantly, clarity to the sentence (Harris, 2008, p. 11). Demonstrators use parallelism, alongside other literary devices such as rhyme and alliteration, to create flow and rhythm and to heighten the persuasiveness of their slogans. Parallelism is employed in the following parallel imperative structure:

96. What is required of us?

Pursue justice

Love mercy

Be humble

4. **Anaphora** is also manifested in the American slogans where the same words are repeated at the start of successive clauses as in:

97. No more lies, no more masks, no more lockdown

5. **Antithesis** can be defined as "a figure of speech involving a seeming contradiction of ideas, words, clauses, or sentences within a balanced grammatical structure Parallelism of expression serves to emphasize opposition of ideas" (Harris, 2008, p17). Antithesis is represented by:

98. **Stop** quarantine **start** work

The antithetical elements here are the verbs *stop* and *start*

Another slogan which make use of antithesis is represented by 'less' and 'more' as follows:

99. Fear **less**, love **more**

6. Repetition

According to Hoey (1991, p. 20) repetition can serve "didactic, playful, emotional, artistic, ritualistic, textual and rhetorical functions". It could be said that repetition is employed in the slogans to persuade demonstrators and emphasize their collective actions. In the American demonstrators slogans, the phrase *no war* is repeated to emphasize the American refusal of war against Iran. As in the following slogan:

100. No war, no war, no war, no war

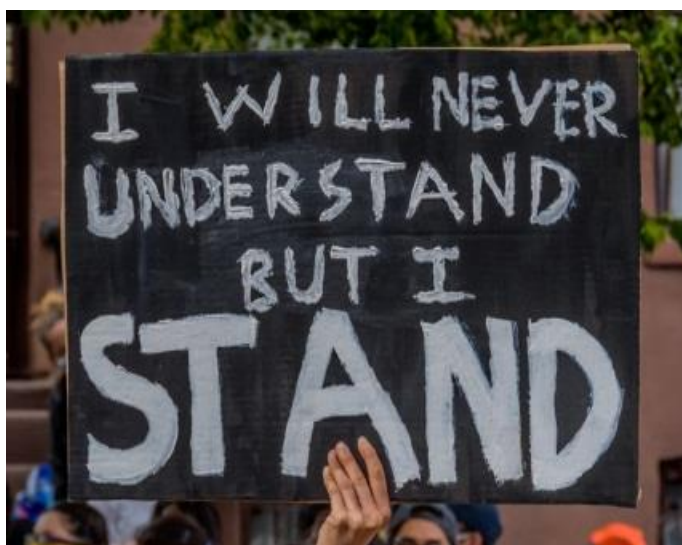
7. Paronym

The Oxford English Dictionary (1989) defines a paronym as “a word which is derived from another, or from the same root.” Paronyms are often such words that contain one common root, but their meaning does not coincide. Paronyms have been used by the American demonstrators to fulfill rhetorical purposes and to create a textual cohesion. Part of the slogans in which root repetition is employed are:

101. I will never understand but I stand

102. Men of quality do not fear equality

Where in slogan 101 the two words *understand* and *stand* share the same root which is *stand* , in the slogan 102 the words *quality* and *equality* have the same root which is *quality*.



8. Simile as a rhetorical figure is present in American demonstrators' slogans as in :

103. Racism is the pandemic. It is a simile in which the particle of comparison is suppressed. Racism here is compared to the pandemic. It is described as being pandemic. Deaths of innocent black people in America targeted specifically because of their race are both deeply shocking and shockingly routine. " we are living in a racism pandemic, which is taking a heavy psychological toll on our African American citizens", says Sandra L. Shullman, president of American Psychological Association.

6. Expression Structures

The way the expression structures of sounds and graphics are shown plays ' an indirect function in emphasizing or de-emphasizing partisan meanings' (van Dijk, 1999, p.36). In both Iraqi and American demonstrations, Some slogans were written to be chanted, others were presented in a skillful graphic manner by using eye – catching colours and capital or bold fonts. Iraqi and American demonstrators expressed their ideational meanings by using banners, photographs, graffitists and drawings.

A. Iraqi Demonstrations Slogans

It is obvious that certain slogans raised by the demonstrators are multimodal, i.e. they convey their communicative goal through both image and text. In Iraq, many slogans are painted onto walls of Tahrir square and banners along with pictures of martyrs or effigies of politicians. The following slogan, for example, contains an image of one of the martyrs, safaa Al – Saray, who is

considered as one of the icons of the revolution. The image is accompanied with the text, written in the Iraqi dialect,

ماكو واحد يحب العراق بكدي 'maku wāḥid yuḥb al'iraq bikady'. No one loves Iraq as I do. The image and text together reflect loyalty to his country to the point of sacrificing himself for it. Multimodality is also referred to previously in slogan 22.



B. American Demonstrations Slogans

Multimodal slogans are also part of the American demonstrators slogans.as it is shown in:



In the first slogan a picture for Trump is put in the sign of " do not use" with a text " No Trump" as an indication for the demonstrators' refusal for Trump policies. The same rejection is indicated by a slogan in which a picture of Trump is accompanied with the phrase " not my president". A similar use of the sign " do not use" , with an image of a medical needle drawn inside it, is manifested in the following slogan to express the demonstrators' refusal of coronavirus vaccine.



In the slogan, we all bleed the same, the word ' bleed' is highlighted by using a colour associated with blood, red, which is an eye- catching colour, and the word itself is bleeding.



Another representative slogan is the following one which is written by using different colours to echo its meaning.



7.Speech Acts and Interactions

A. Iraqi demonstrations slogans

In their slogans, Iraqi demonstrators employ several speech acts as they will be presented in this section.

Many slogans are directives indicting the speech act of **command** as the followings:

104. ثوري فالمرأة تاريخ *ṭhūry falmar'ah tārikh*. (Revolutionize, the woman is history)

105. ابعادوا العراق عن الحرب. *'ab'idū al'iraq 'an alḥarb*. (Keep Iraq out of war

106. كفى ارحلوا ارحلوا ارحلوا *Kafā ... 'irḥalū, 'irḥalū, 'irḥalū*. Enough ... leave, leave, leave. The imperative verbs *'irḥalū* and *'ab'idū* have been used to

address the established authority and its ruling parties to step down and to get Iraq out of war. **Warning** as a directive speech act is also prevalent in the slogans, as stated in 110. Warning is expressed explicitly here by using the verb (beware) .

107. احذر اذا غضبنا . 'iḥḍhar 'dḥā ghaḍbnā

(Beware if we get angry).

The directive speech act of **prohibition** is utilized by the demonstrators to urge the Iraqi people not to elect the same politicians again. It is realized by the particle لا lā and the present tense form of the verb تنتخب tantakḥib .

108. لا تنتخب من قتلني . lā tantakḥib man qatalany. Do not elect who killed me.

The main slogan in the revolution, نريد وطن , nurīd waṭan, we want homeland represents a directive speech act of **request**. Some slogans are presented in interrogative forms expressing the directive act of **asking** as in :

109. من قتلني؟ man qatalany? who killed me?

110. اين حقي؟ 'ayna ḥaqy? where is my right?

One of the expressive speech acts used in the slogans is that of **wishing**. Wish is expressed explicitly by using the verb نتمنى in the following slogan:

111. نتمنى ان يُشنق اخر سياسي فاسد بعمامة اخر رجل دين خائن .

Natamanā 'an yushnaq ākḥir siyāsy fāsid bi'imāmat ākḥir rajul dīn kḥā'in.

(We wish that the last corrupt politician will be hanged with the turban of the last traitorous cleric).

Wish is expressed implicitly in :

112. متى نرى القتلة خلف القضبان؟ matā narā alqatalah kḥalf alquḍbān?

When shall we see the killers behind bars?

The interrogative form here is not functioning as a question, rather it intends to express the demonstrators' wish for punishing anyone responsible of killing the demonstrators.

The commissive speech act of **threatening** is also evident in certain slogans as:

113. قل لعادل صارت خطره طبت بيها رجال الشطره 'Qul li'ādil ṣārat khaṭrah ṭabat bīhā rjāl alshaṭah'. Tell Adel it has become dangerous the men of shatra entered it

There is an implicit threat in this slogan which is chanted, using the Iraqi colloquial language, by demonstrators in Thi Qar governorate. It is worth noting here that demonstrators call the Iraqi prime minister by his name. The technique of name calling is used by demonstrators to intentionally underestimate the prime minister. Another implicit threat is indicated by the slogan *ma niskt*, mentioned previously. Such slogans reflect demonstrators' power as revolutionaries against the established authority.

There is also an assertive speech act represented by **denial** of accusation which is reflected in a number of slogans. The authority claimed that demonstrators were following foreign agendas and implementing their directives in exchange for material or political gains, as it called them the Joker. The revolutionaries did not find a response more indicative to these allegations and accusation than a poem by Al-Jawahiri in which he says:

114. سل مضجعيك يا ابن الزنا أأنت عراقي ام انا

Sal maḍja'ayk yā 'ibn alzinā'

a'anta 'iraqy am anā ?

(Ask your bed, you son of adultery,

Are you Iraqi or am I?)

Denial of accusation is also expressed by

انا لست جوكري ولا ابن سفاره. 115.

علمني الحسين ان اكون ثائرا

Anā lastu jwkarī wala 'ibn safarah, 'alamany alḥusyn 'an 'kūn ṭhā'ā

(I am neither jokeri nor son of embassy,

Hussein taught me to be a rebel.)

C. American Demonstrations Slogans

Most of the slogans raised by American demonstrators utilize directive speech acts mainly commanding , requesting, urging, prohibition and questioning as it will be clear from the following slogans:

The speech act of **commanding** is represented by :

116. Stop racist police terror

117. Reopen now

Where the imperative verb *stop* is used to address the government to end the racist treatment of white police for the American African people. The imperative verb *reopen* is used to address the governors of the closed American states to end the lockdown and the quarantine.

The speech act of **requesting** is found in such slogans as:

118. We have a choice, give us a choice

Give us indicates an attempt to request the government to make covid – 19 vaccines as optional and not mandatory. The speech act of **urging** also has a place in the American demonstrator slogans:

119. Fight racism

In this slogan, the African American demonstrators urge all Americans to stand against racism. The black people , through such a slogan, aim at mobilizing the American public against racial discrimination and those who encourage it.

Prohibition is reflected by the use of negative imperative in the following slogan:

120. Do not shoot.

The speech act of **questioning** is represented by the use of the following interrogative slogans:

121. Do I only matter after death?

122. When will you get it?

Commissive speech acts are also used in the American demonstration slogans:

Refusal is one of these commissive speech act.

123. I will not vaccinate

This slogan express explicitly the American demonstrators' refusal of covid -19 vaccine

124. We will not comply

This slogan also represents explicitly the American demonstrators' refusal of the strict lockdown due to corona virus.

One of the expressive speech acts , mainly **wishing**, is explicitly used in the following slogan:

125. I wish America loved black people the way they love black culture.

5. Discussion

Iraqi demonstration slogans, like the American ones, are mapped onto various levels of linguistics from lexis to pragmatics to enable demonstrators to convey their voices. Concerning the macropropositions of the slogans, it is evident that political evaluation and demonstrators' hope and aspiration are manifested in both Iraqi and American demonstrations slogans. Other topics vary due to the reason behind the demonstration in Iraq and America and the cultural and political perspectives of the demonstrators.

In terms of superstructure and textual schemata, Iraqi demonstration slogans are characterized by a remarkable presence of intertextuality. The adaptation of literary and religious texts has an active presence in these slogans. Multilingualism is another specific mode of expression in Iraqi demonstration slogans. Otherwise, both Iraqi and American demonstrators promote their ideas by musical slogans employing specific sound patterns created by scheme rhetorical devices such as rhyme, rhythm, alliteration, paronym, repetition, parallelism, anaphora and antithesis. Regarding local semantics and lexicon, the register used in the Iraqi demonstration slogans is very revealing; it echoes the

diversity of Iraqi society and different political orientations of its group. Both modern standard Arabic and Iraqi dialect are used in the slogans. Very few slogans, however, have been written in English. The use of the standard Arabic widely could be attributed to the desire of Iraqi demonstrators to communicate their actions to the wider public. In both Iraqi and American demonstration slogans, the choice of lexicon serves as an index of the strained relationship between Iraqi and American peoples and their regime. The choice of lexicon plays a significant role in the ideological square of positive self-presentation and negative other presentation. In both Iraqi and American demonstration slogans, demonstrators present themselves positively and their government negatively.

As far as syntax is concerned, some American demonstration slogans are in favor of elliptical sentences. No case of ellipsis is recorded in the Iraqi demonstration slogans. Many sentences used in the American demonstration slogans are incomplete, but their meanings are understandable and can touch the public. No incomplete sentence is manifested in Iraqi demonstration slogans. The lengthy and complex sentences in the Iraqi demonstration slogans are prominent. However, both Iraqi and American demonstration slogans manipulate simple sentences. The present tense and active voice are frequently employed in both as they can convey straightforward meanings. One example of passive voice is registered in Iraqi demonstration slogans to create emphasis. For the same reason, Iraqi demonstration slogans make use of word order variation. A remarkable use of pronouns is also highlighted in the Iraqi demonstration slogans to express social representations of 'us' and 'them' conflict.

In the matter of rhetoric, both Iraqi and American demonstrators use rhetorical devices (scheme) of rhyme, alliteration, paroxysm, repetition, parallelism, anaphora and antithesis. Tropes as rhetorical devices are recorded widely in Iraqi demonstration slogans. Simile, metaphor, oxymoron, apostrophe, paradox, pun, allusion, personification, and epigram are used remarkably in Iraqi slogans, while their use in the American demonstration slogans was limited to only one example of simile. Consequently, figurative language, which describes language that moves beyond standard or literal meaning, is evident in Iraqi demonstration slogans.

In respect of expression structure, both Iraqi and American demonstration slogans can be described as being multimodal slogans as they manipulate images in addition to texts. Thus, the different modes that have been employed in the these slogans make them a representative genre of social semiotics where meanings are projected through a range of modes, such as language and images.

In connection with speech acts and interaction, directive speech acts are performed in both Iraqi and American slogans with a slight variation; in Iraqi demonstration slogans, command, warning, requesting, questioning, and prohibiting are recorded, while in American demonstration, command, requesting, questioning, prohibiting and urging are found. Expressive speech act of wishing is manifested in both. Commissive speech act of threatening is found in Iraqi demonstration slogans, whereas that of refusal is presented in American ones. Finally, the assertive speech act of denial of accusation is utilized in Iraqi demonstration only.

6. Conclusions

The analysis has shown that Iraqi and American demonstration slogans of the present corpora do share similar linguistic characteristics as they both reflect a variety of macropropositions and a diversity of political perspectives. The deep inspection of these demonstrations slogans indicates that such slogans and sayings, one could conclude, do not spring from free mind; they often reflect the cultural, political and social ideologies of their producers. The Iraqi and American demonstrations slogans actually underline mostly just some degree of similarity regarding topics, local semantics and lexicon, the phonostylistic use of scheme rhetorical devices, superstructure and textual schemata and speech acts, but yet in ways divergent, if not distinct. As a result, they stress more differences than similarities including for instance, Iraqi demonstrators' use of ridicule and sarcasm, the revolutionary character of the Iraqi demonstrations slogans, the presence of intertextuality, the complexity of sentences, the utilization of figurative rather than literal meanings and threat and challenge profiles of the Iraqi demonstrations slogans.

Due to the analysis of the topics of both Iraqi and American demonstration slogans, it could be said that Iraqi demonstration slogans seem to be more revolutionary, the American ones are reformist. Moreover, Iraqi slogans stress the national identity and highlight the rejection of other identities. Sarcastic criticism of the ruling authority is one of the most important features of Iraqi demonstration slogans. Syntactically, American demonstration slogans are shorter containing

fewer words than those of Iraqi ones. Most of the sentences in American demonstration slogans are , though understandable, incomplete, while the use of incomplete sentences in Iraqi demonstration slogans is rare. Rhetorically, most Iraqi demonstration slogans express figurative rather than literal meanings, whereas in American demonstration slogans, the language used is succinct and to the point, and the meaning expressed is literal. Pragmatically, American demonstration slogans are mostly directives and there are certain slogans in which expressive and commissive speech acts are indicated. Iraqi demonstration slogans feature directives and assertives similarly in addition to the presence of commissive and expressive speech acts.

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APPENDIX (A)

This paper adopts the following keys to symbols of transliteration of ‘Abdullah Yūsuf ‘Alī's *the meaning of the Holy Qur'an* (2001).

= a ā (long vowel)	= ڤ
= b	= ' (inverted apostrophe)ع
= t	= ghغ
= thث	= fف
= jج	= qق
= hح	= kك
= khخ	= lل
= dد	= mم
= dhذ	= hه
= rر	= nن
= zز	= w (consonantal)و ū (long vowel)
= sس	= y (consonantal)ى ī (long vowel)
= shش	= ' (apostrophe)ء
= ṣص	fathah = aَ=
= ḍض	Kasrah = i
= ṭط	ḍammah = uُ

