

*Arab Spring Presidential Speeches and New Social Identities: A Critical Discourse
Analysis Study*

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Abstract

Political leaders in Tunisia, Yeman , Egypt and Lybia found themselves on a horn of a dilemma that was ended by sacrificing their social and political identity in their attempts to re gain public support. Different styles were used to establish different identities in the phases that Zain alabedden, Mubarak , Saleh and l-Qathafi passed through. As stated by Fairclough(2003:112) ‘Styles are the discorsal aspect of ways of being, identities. Who you are is partly a matter of how you speak, how you write, as well as a matter of embodiment — how you look, how you hold yourself, how you move’.

The present study investigated the changing identities of four Arab Spring countries former presidents tracing how different identities of these leaders were established and analyzing the linguistic resources utilised to establish them. The study revealed that There was a drastic move from the semi-god leader to that one that was dying to seek people’s understanding and support. That change was reflected basically through the use of personal pronouns, lexical repletion and use of colloquial Arabic.

Introduction

Political leaders in Tunisia, Yemen, Egypt and Libya found themselves on a horn of a dilemma that was ended by sacrificing their social and political identity in their attempts to gain public support. Different styles were used to establish different identities in the phases that Zain alabedden, Mubarak, Saleh and I-Qathafi passed through. As stated by Fairclough(2003:112) 'Styles are the discursal aspect of ways of being, identities. Who you are is partly a matter of how you speak, how you write, as well as a matter of embodiment — how you look, how you hold yourself, how you move'.

The issue of identity in discourse studies encompasses a wide range of realisations and manifestations that all aim at establishing the image the speaker wants to create for himself/herself at a particular situation. Human beings constantly make use of the gift of communication to exercise power and control in their attempt to establish different social identities in different settings. It is not only political leaders who exercise power and it is not always political power being exercised. A husband or a wife, a son or a father, a brother or a sister, a boss and employee may all exercise power to establish different social identities. These identities are not static since they are constantly changing according to various social as well as political factors. Though the term identity was first associated with the individual, it gained a more comprehensive associations later on where we start to talk about discourse identity, collective identity, cultural identity, religious identity, political identity and so forth.

Identity is defined by Benwell and Stokoe (2006:4) as:

a performance or construction that is interpreted by other people. This construction takes place in discourse and other social and embodied conduct, such as how we move, where we are, what we wear, how we talk and so on. 'identity' is then defined in its broadest sense in terms of *who people are to each other*, and how different kinds of identities are produced in spoken interaction and written texts.

The issue of identity was studied from various perspectives. It was tackled theoretically by Harré(1998 and Michael 1996) while Benwell and Stokoe (2006) adopted a practical approach to social identity concentrating on the *context of construction* and studying how the environment of identity is established. Some studies of social identity dealt with gender such as, Bucholtz, Liang and Sutton, 1999; Johnson and Meinhof 1997; while Others dealt with age and identity such as Coupland and Nussbaum 1993 and Nikander 2002).

Different *approaches to understanding and analysing identity* were investigated by Tracy 2002 and Williams(2000).

Social identity could be studied from social and linguistic perspectives. The social theory of identity establishes the concept of identity with relation to the concept of ingroup and outgroup where the borders of identity are established within the borders of these concepts. (Brown 2000)

Linguistic approaches to social identity have been basically sociolinguistic where a social identity is studied in terms of the presence or absence of a given linguistic feature that gives indications of the social class, gender, age or social status of the speaker.

Critical discourse analysis (CDA) is basically concerned with how power is exercised and negotiated by language users. It is based on the idea that as language users we tend to choose lexical items or grammatical constructions that reflect our ideology and aim at positioning our addressee. Fairclough (1989) takes grammar as the basic element through which identity is established on two levels where the first involves the relation between the reader and the text while the other takes ideologies conveyed by the linguistic choice into consideration. Style is viewed by Fairclough (2003:111) as a basic tool to establish identity. He states that

Styles are the discursive aspect of ways of being, identities. Who you are is partly a matter of how you speak, how you write, as well as a matter of embodiment — how you look, how you hold yourself, how you move, and so forth. Styles are linked to identification using the nominalization rather than the noun 'identities' emphasizes the process of identifying, how people identify themselves and are identified by others. Fairclough (2003:159) distinguishes between personal identity and social identity maintaining that personal identity is constrained by social identity:

'there is a dialectical relationship between social identity and personality: the full social development of one's identity, one's capacity to truly act as a social agent intervening in and potentially changing social life, depends upon 'social roles' being personally invested and inflected, a fusion between social identity and personality.

The Arab Spring is a term that has been coined to refer to protests that arose independently and spread across the Arab world in 2011. It originated in Tunisia in December 2010 and quickly swept over to Egypt, Libya, Syria and Yemen. The present study investigated changing identities of four Arab Spring countries former presidents tracing how different identities of these leaders were established and analyzing the linguistic resources utilised to establish them.

The questions that the study tackled could be specifically stated as follows:

- 1- How are different identities of these political leaders established and communicated?
- 2- How and why do these identities change?
- 3-How are these changes manifested lexically?
- 4-How is agency utilised to represent the changing identities?

The following sections provide discussion of how each of these leaders established their social identities through their speeches.

1- Social Identity in Bin Ali's Speeches

Bin Ali was the Tunisian president from 1987 to 2011. Protests against him, which initiated the Arab Spring lasted for a month that ended with his fleeing to Saudi Arabia with his wife and family.

His reign was characterised by absence of democracy and freedom of expression. In his speeches during this rebellion he tried to establish a new social identity in a desperate attempt to stay in office.



Bin Ali's speech at the beginnings of protests in Tunisia portrays the social identity of a political leader who has everything under control, who is following up everything and who can identify the problems and has the solution, as shown by the following excerpt from one of his earliest speeches where he uses both singular and plural first person to refer to himself:

ayyuaah elmuaTenun walmuwaTinat

Dear citizens,

laqad taaba9utu binshighaal ma shahidathu sidi buzaid min aHdath xilal il'ayyam ilmunaqadeyya.

I have followed with concern what Sidi Buzaid witnessed during the previous days.

The first person plural (*naHnu*) (we) is used in the following excerpt rather than the singular:

WanaHnu la nadaxira juhdaan litfaadi mithl hadhihi elHalaat.

We save no efforts to avoid such situations.

Bin Ali describes people protesting against him as terrorists and equates himself with the country so anything against him is against the country as shown by the following excerpt:

Kama anna lujju'i aqaleyya mina elamutaTrefain ila '19unf walshaghab fi ilshare9 wasiila lilta9biir amrun marfuD.

A minority of terrorists resorting to riots at streets as a means of expression is unacceptable.

The tyrant who had either imprisoned or exiled any voice against him for the first time acknowledges people rights of freedom of expression thus trying to look as a democratic leader saying:

'inna nujadedu 'ilta'kid 9ala iHtirami Hurreyati ilrai walta9bir waliHirS 9ala tarsixiha fi eltashri9

We reaffirm respecting the freedom of expression and implanting it in legislation.

Bin Ali's last speech before he was forced to flee reflects a drastic change in his social identity. He switched for the first time to colloquial Arabic and his phrase (*ana fihmtikum*) (I understood you) became a cliché and sparked a lot of ridicule not only in Tunisia but also across the Arab world as he was trying to replace the old social identity of a dictator with a popular person who could feel, respond and react to the pain of the public. French was not used or standard Arabic as was the case in pre Arab Spring speeches. He used very vernacular terms in his last speech to convince the protesters that he is one of them, cares for them and they have no right to protest against him. His last speech was 90% colloquial as he said at the beginning of his speech that he was addressing his people in their own language justifying this shift by the critical situation the country is passing through as shown by the following excerpt:

Ayyuha elsha9b eltunsi
Dear Tunisian people

Nekalmkum elyawm wankalemkum lekul fi tunis wuxarij tunis,
I speak to you today inside Tunisia and abroad .

Nekalmkum bilughat kull iltuneseyyen waltunseyyat
I address you today in the language of all Tunisian men and women

l'anna alwaD9 yafreD taghyyr 9amiq,taghyir 9amiq washamel.
because the situation imposes a drastic and a comprehensive change.

Wana ifhmtikum, ifhmt iljamii9, ilbaTTal welmuHtaj welsiyasi welTalb mazid min elHureyyat.Fehmtikum,fehmt elkul.
And now I understood you, I understood all, the unemployed, the needy, the politician and the one who is asking for more freedom.

Eltaxrib mahush min 9adat eltunsi ilmitHadir, eltunsi elmitsamiH
Sabotage is not the habit of the civilized and tolerant Tunisian.

The lexical devices used here are the vernacular *baTaal* for unemployed, *mahush* for it is not, *nkalmkum* for I talk to you .Bin Ali's use of repetition here paves the way for a new social identity. In his attempt to affirm power, his words betray him and represent him as someone who is insecure stumbling at words.

In the following excerpt Bin Ali code-switches between colloquial and standard Arabic trying to establish a social identity of the leader who sacrificed a lot for his country.

Huzni wa'almi kabirayn li'ani amDayt akthar min xamsiin sana min 9umri fi xidmat tunis fi muxtalf elmawaqi9 .

My grief and pain are so huge because I spent more than fifty years of my life serving Tunisia in various fields.

kul yawm min Hayati kan wumazal lixidmet ilbilaad waqadmt eltaDheyaat wumanHebesh n9adidha walam aqbal yawma 'wumaneqbalsah 'bash tsiil qatret dam waHida min dimaa' eltuneseyyen.

Every day of my life has been dedicated for serving the country. I sacrificed a lot and do not like to enumerate my sacrifices. I have never and will never allow for single drop of Tunisian blood to be shed.

Bin Ali establishes the identity of the father in the following excerpt, a responsible father who cares, not only for his role as a father but also for his role in the overall social network using the terms (*Haram*) (religiously unacceptable) and the term (*9aib*(socially unacceptable) again in colloquial not in standard Arabic.

***Awladna elyawm fi idaar wumush fi elmadrasa whadth Haram wa9aib.*Our sons are at home today not at school and this is shame and unacceptable.**

Bin Ali shifts to standard Arabic and employs repetition again but this time to show how much he is involved in the situation and how much he cares. All his efforts were in vain and the famous response (*irHal*) (leave) was the answer.

Wa'asafi kabir kabir jidan wa9amiq jiddan , wa9amiq jiddan, fakafa 9unfan, fakafa 9unfan, fakafa 9unfan

My sorrow is so big, so big, and so deep, so deep, enough violence, enough violence, enough violence

At the end as he is more exhausted, Bin Ali decides to give more freedom and again uses the phrase ('ana fahemtkum) (I understood you). Now the early confident president who was not willing to repeat a word is repeating words and phrases.

'amma elmaTalib elseyaseyyah waqultkum ana fehmtkum waqarrat elHurray elkamelh lil'9lam.

As for the political demands regarding more freedom, I understood you and decided to give more freedom for media.

Bin Ali then mentions his love for his country and his determination to protect it as a final resort using the pronoun (we) to include his people with him.

Tunis neHbuha wukul sha9baha yeHbha wylzam nsunha

We love Tunisia and all its people love it and should protect it.

2-Social Identity in Mubarak's Speeches

Mubarak was the Egyptian president from 1981 to 2011. He was driven out as a result of the Egyptian revolution, which started in January 2011.

On 25 January 2011, thousands of anti-government protesters clashed with police in Cairo during a Tunisia-inspired demonstration to demand Mubarak's removal. The day marked the start of the Arab spring in Egypt. Three weeks later, Mubarak's rule which lasted for more than three decades was ended with his stepping down and handing in power to the military court. The most significant speeches by Mubarak during that critical era were the speeches delivered on 28/1/2011, 11/2/2011 and 28/2/2011. The following section provides an analysis of how Mubarak's social identity is established in these speeches.

A New discourse with a new identity

Comparing these speeches with pre- Egyptian revolution era clearly shows a change in the construction and representation of Mubarak's social identity. For over three decades Mubarak's discourse had been characterised by brevity, preciseness and avoidance of extreme use of metaphor. He used to start his speeches with *brothers and sisters*, or *ladies and gentleman*. Change is marked in the inaugurating phrase in the speeches delivered during the Egyptian rebellion. The three speeches start with

Ayyuha il'xwa elmuaTinuun

Dear fellow citizens.

Mubarak here is trying to establish a new social identity appealing to the majority of protesters, the citizens addressing them as brothers.

Another change is marked by establishing self reference through use of reference pronouns or pronouns attached to verbs. Mubarak refers to himself using singular first person pronouns and singular verbs though he used to use the plural first person (we) rather than (I). In his speech on 28/1/2011 he says:

AtaHadathu 'ilaykum fi THarfen Daqiq yafreDu 9alya jami9an waqfatan jaaddah

I speak to you today in a very critical situation that imposes on us all a serious stand.

Here Mubarak establishes his social identity using first singular person verb (*atHadathu*) I speak, rather than the plural as he used to do in previous speeches.

In a speech delivered in January 2010, Mubarak establishes his social identity as a political leader using the plural person and the plural verb as shown by the following excerpt.

Innana idh naHtaafulu bihadhihi elmunasaba alwataneyya el9ariqa nastad9i sijillan nasi9an lirijaliha.

As we celebrate this national anniversary we recall a brilliant record for its men.

Notice here that Mubarak uses the plural pronoun ('innana) (we) and the plural verb (nastad9i)(we recall).

In the following example from his speech, Mubarak first tries to emphasize his political status as a part of his social identity, a thing that he did not do before since this is the first time this political identity is put at stake. Then he tries to appeal to his addressee's emotions in his attempt to establish his social identity as an Egyptian trying to tell his people how much he did for them.

Inni kara'is liljumphureyya wbimuqtaDa aSalaheyat allti Khawalaha li adistur

As a president of the Republic and in accordance with the authorities given to me by the constitution, I-----

Inni la atHadathu elaykum elyauma kara'is liljumphureyya faHasb winnma

KamiSri sha'at 'al'qdar an yatHamala mas'uleyyata hadha elwaTan

I do not speak to you today as a president only but as an Egyptian who has been fated to shoulder the responsibility of this homeland

wa amDa Hayatahu min 'jleh Haraban waslaman .Laqad ijtazna ma9an min qabl awqatan Sa9bah taghalabna 9alayha 9indama wajahnaha ka'umma waHida wa9indama 9arafna Tariqana waHaddana ahdafana.

and has dedicated his life for it in peace and war .We all could overcome critical times when we faced them as a unified nation and when we knew our destination and identified our goals.

Mubarak creates a new social identity presenting himself as a member of the Egyptian big family rather than a ruler in an attempt to gain some sympathy. Though later on he affirms his sense of responsibility saying:

Wainni mutaHamellan mas'uleyyati el'uwla fi ilHifaaDH 9ala amn elwaTan walmuwaTin lan asmaHa bidhalik

I, shouldering my top responsibility of safeguarding the homeland and the citizens security will not allow that.

As far as the issue of agency is concerned, the role of agent is assigned to Mubarak almost all over the speech. Though he was trying to establish a new social identity, he was still not ready to give up his position totally.

Verbs such as I speak, I felt sorry, I called and I will not tolerate were all used to establish Mubarak as agent and his addressees as patients.

The second speech on Feb,1,2011 marks a dramatic change in the forming and presentation of Mubarak's social identity. The plural pronouns and plural verbs are more frequent in this speech as Mubarak tries to gain more support as shown by the following excerpt:

9ishna ma9an ayyaman mu'lemah ..wa'kthar ma yawje9u qulubana huwa alxawf allahi 'intab al'aghlabeyya elkasseHa mina 'ilmSreyyin

We have lived together difficult days, and what hurts our hearts the most is fear which has overtaken most Egyptians.

Notice here how Mubarak uses the word (*ma9an*) (together) to establish his collective identity as part of the large Egyptian community.

Though there is a shift of person in the following example from plural first person to singular first person, Mubarak constitutes a new social identity that stems from acknowledgment of all slices of society. What Mubarak is trying to do here is to appeal to all members of society of all religious affiliation, profession and age groups.

Fa'inanni atawajahu biHadha ilyawm mubashara li'abna'i elsha9b,befallaHi wa9ummalihi ,muslmihi wa'aqbaTih,shuyuxhi wa shababih wa likul miSriyyin wa meSriyyah.

Today I am directly speaking to my people, peasants and workers, Muslims, and Copts, old people and young, and to all Egyptian men and women.

In the following example, Mubarak tries to portray himself as someone who is not dying for authority and someone who gave a lot to Egypt establishing his identity as a member of the military building on the positive associations, stereotypical image and high status of the military in Egypt .He is also referring to himself as a son of the military forces in indirect attempt to appeal to the military as well.

'Innani lam akun yawman Taliba Sulta aw jah.way9lam alsha9b alDHuruf al9aSiba allati taHammaltu fiha elmas'uleyya wa ma qadamthu lilwaTan

I have never, ever been seeking power and the people know the difficult circumstances during which I shouldered my responsibility and what I offered to this country

Harban wa salaman. Kama anni rajulun min 'abnai elquwwati elmuslaHa walaysa min Tab9i xiyanatu el'amaana.

In war and peace .I am a man from the armed forces and it is not in my nature to betray the trust.

Mubarak's declaration of his intention not to nominate himself is expressed informally. Though standard Arabic is used, the use of the phrase (wa bikulli iSSidq) literally (with all honesty) is used here to echo a new social identity, an identity of an ordinary person rather than a president.

Wa'qulu bikulli iSSidqi wa biSarfialnaDHar 9an alwaDi alrahen 'annani lam akun anwai altarashuHa lifatraten ria'seyyah jadida faqad qaDaytu ma yakfi mina el9umr fi xidmati miSr washa9baha

"I say with all honesty and regardless of the current situation that I did not intend to nominate myself for a new presidential term. I have spent enough years of my life in the service of Egypt and its people."

The social identity of an ordinary man is also stressed when Mubarak refers to himself using his first name and family name and stressing his belonging to his homeland, which he shares with every Egyptian man and women. Furthermore, he establishes his social identity as a warrior who is ready to die for his country and on his country's soil implicating that he will never leave Egypt as done by the Tunisian president Bin Ali. Part of his social identity here is established through the stereotypical image of a loyal and a stubborn Egyptian who strongly belongs to his country and will never leave it. His body language along with the tone of his voice as he uttered the following excerpt all contribute to the social identify Mubarak is portraying.

'inna Husni Mubarak alladhi yataHadathu 'ilaykum elyawm ya9tazu bima quaDahu min siniin Tawilah fi xidmati miSr washa9baha .

Hosni Mubarak who speaks to you today is proud of the long years he spent in the service of Egypt and its people.

' inna hadha ilwaTn huwa waTani methlama huwa waTanu kulli miSreyyen wa miSreyyah .Fihi 9isht waHarabutu min ajleh wadafa9tu 9an 'ardhi waseyadathi wa maSalih wa9al 'arDhi 'amut wasayHkum eltarix 9alli wa9al ghayri

This dear country is my homeland, it is the country of all Egyptians, here I have lived and fought for its sake and I defended its land, its sovereignty and interests and on this land I will die and history will judge me and others.

Agency is also utilised to establish a new social identify for Mubarak where he refers to Egypt in the following excerpt and makes it the basic agent.

'inna ilawaTana baqin walashxaSu za'ilun wamiSr al9ariqa heya elxaaledah abadan.tantaqulu rayatha wa awanatah bayana sawa9idi 'abna'iha wa9alya anaDmana taHaqiq dhalik bi9izza warif9a wakarama.

The nation remains. People come and go but ancient Egypt will remain eternal, its banner and safekeeping will pass from one generation to the next. It is up to us to ensure this in pride and dignity.

Last Speech before stepping down 11/Feb/2011

In this speech, which was delivered one day before Mubarak stepped out, other techniques were followed to establish a new social identity. Mubarak started by positioning himself as a father who has the right of custody addressing his people as ('al'abnaa') which means sons and daughters thus assuming all authorities of father in the Middle Eastern societies where the father has the right to advise, guide or even discipline if needed. The new social identity for this stereotypical father is manifested in the pride he takes in the new behaviour of the protester. Mubarak is trying to appeal to the youth on one hand telling them that he is a father for them who has all power but at the same time, he is different from stereotypical fathers in the sense that he is more open minded to change. That was what he intended to convey but it triggered the opposite reaction, more protests and more rejection of this ancient fatherly imposed custody.

'alabnaa' shababa miSr washabaatiha ,atawajahu biHaadha elyawm lishababi miSr bemaayan eltaHrir wa9ala itisa9 'arDiha ,atawajahu 'elaykum jami9an biHadithin mina alqalb , Hadithu al'ab li'abna'hi wabanatihi.'aqulu lakum 'anni '9tazu bikum ramzan lijilin miSreyyen jadiid.

My sons, the youths of Egypt, today I am directing my speech to the youth of Egypt, those who are there in Tahrir Square and the vast areas of the country I'm addressing you today out of a true and an honest heart of a father to his sons and daughters and I'm telling you that I really cherish you as a symbol for a new generation for Egypt.

Again Mubarak resorts to first person singular pronoun, which is not welcomed by his addressees who have been used to the plural. Mubarak presents a new social identity of the president who is ready to listen to the youth.

Wa'qulu lakum inni kara'is liljumphureyya la ajadu Harajan aw ghaDaDatan fi elstima9i lishababi biladi waltajawubi ma9ahu.

And I say to you that as a president I do not find it degrading to listen to the youth and respond to them.

Again Mubarak, though he is trying to change the way he is presenting himself, he is unable to let go of the image of the superior treating youth as inferior. For him the mere act of listening is a humble behaviour on his part though it should be the role of the president.

A new social identity is marked by Mubarak's attempt to move the emotions of Egyptians where he talks about his achievements and appeals to the youth and indirectly accusing them of not being grateful to his service and sacrifice for his country.

Laqad kuntu shaaban methl shabab miSr 9indama ta9almat sharafa al9askareyya elmeSreyya walwala' lilwaTan wataDHeyya min 'ajleh.

I used to be exactly like the Egyptian youth when I was honoured to be part of the military, and developed the sense of loyalty and providing sacrifices for my country.

Afnaytu 9umri difa9an 9an 'arDhi waseyadathi .shahidtu Hurubahu bihaza'imeha waintSратиha .9ishtu ayyam alinkisar waliHtilal wayyam il9ubur walnaSr waltaHrir. 'as9ad ayyam Hayati yawma raf9at 9alama miSr 9ala sina'

I have spent my life safeguarding the interests of the nation, witnessed wars, and witnessed victories, and I had already lived the years of occupation, I lived also the moments of crossing and the moments of victory. The best moment of my life was when I put the Egyptian flag on Sinai.

Again Mubarak uses his first and family name without titles to create the identity of an ordinary man saying:

'inna 'allHaDH alrahina laysat muta9aliqa bishaxSi , laysat muta9aliqa biHusni Mubarak wainma bata alamru muta9alqan bimiSr fi HaDiriha wa mustaqbal abna'iha.

This critical juncture is not at all co-relevant to me personally, it's not co-relevant to Hosni Mubarak, but now Egypt is a top priority. Its present, its future.

Mubarak here views himself as part of Egypt .As long as he is in danger, Egypt will be in danger.

Mubarak then connects himself to the whole nation resorting to repetition and parallel structures as illustrated by the following excerpt:

Sata9ish hadhihi elruH fina ma damat miSr washa9baha , sat9ish hadhihi elruH fi kuli waHidn min fallaHina wa9umalina wamuthaqafina.satabqa fi qulub shiyuxina washababina wa'Tfalina muslimihim wa'aqbaTihim wafi 9ulubi waDama'iri man lam yawlad ba9d min 'aban'ina.

This spirit is going to live in us as long as Egypt is going to long live, with its peasants, with its labourers, with its intellectuals, and it is going to be in the hearts of our elderly, in the hearts of our youth, the hearts also of our kids, and the hearts of Copts and Muslims and all of those who are going to live on this soil.

3- Social Identity in al-ghadafi' s speeches

Muammar al-Ghadafi ruled Libya for 42 years that ended with him being ousted after the civil war in Libya. He hid for sometime than was found and killed by the rebels.



Al-ghadafi's established social identity during protests against him did not differ much from his other speeches. It might have provoked more laughter among Arabs for its weirdness and contractions. Some of his contradictory sayings during the Arab spring were:

Demonstrate as you wish but do not go out to streets.

I am not a dictator to ban the Facebook but I will arrest anyone who logs in to it.

I will remain in Libya until I die or my end comes.

The following section provides an analysis of one of his most famous speeches during the Libyan rebellion referred to as the speech of March of the Desert.

The social identify al-ghadafi establishes here is that of a super hero, a political leader who refers to himself earlier as king of the kings of Africa and the Imam of all Muslims. In the following excerpt, al-ghadafi equates himself to the country, in other words, he is the country.

Elyawm 9indama taqul Libya yaquluun lakum aah, Libya alqadhafi, Libya elthawra.

Today, when you say Libya, they say to you :Oh, Libya is Ghadafi, Libya is the rebellion.

He refers to himself by his first and family name but not as was the case with Mubarak. Here he establishes his identity as a commander of a rebellion rather than a president of the country:

Mu9ammar 'alqadhafi ma 9induh manSib Hata yaz9al wystqiil minnu kama fa9al elru'saa'. mu9ammar elghadafi laysa ra'isan, huwa qai'd thawra

Mummar al-ghadafi does not have a job to get angry and quit as done by other presidents. Mummar Al-ghadafi is not a president but a rebellion commander.

Another aspect of his social identity is established through showing his belonging and sacrifice to his country on one hand and comparing protestors to rats on the other hand. For him, he is a super human and any one against him is a rat.

Haadhihi bilaadi,bilaad ajdaadi wa'ajdadikum,gharasnaaha biyadina wasaqyanaha bidimai' ajdaadina.

This is my country and my grandparents' and your grandparents' country. We planted it with our hands and watered it with our grandfather's blood.

Al-ghadafi's identity is constituted in comparison to the protestors against him who are referred to as rats:

naHanu ajdar beliibya min tilak iljurdhan

We deserve Libya more than those rats.

Al-ghadafi portrays himself as a rebel, a fighter, a Bedouin and someone who had paid for his staying through the sacrifice of his grandfather, a status which –according to him-is higher than that of a president or a father.

'ana' 'arfa9 min 'almanaaSib allti yataqalldha elrusa' wal'abahaat .'ana muqatil,mujahid,thaa'ir mina alxayma,minal albaadeyah.'ana dafa9tu thamana baqaa'i huna.'ana jaddi 9badisalaam,awwal shahiid saqat fi alfwatis9meyya wiHadshar.

I have higher status of that of fathers and presidents, I am a fighter, a rebel coming from the tent, from the desert. I have already paid for my stay here. My grandfather is Abdulsalaam Abu Menyar, the first martyr in the battle of 1911.

Notice how many times he repeats the word ('ana), (I) though in Arabic he could simply have used the verb alone. This shows how self -conceited this leader is and how he is trying to establish a social identity of someone who treats himself as a god.

His social identity according to him stems from being a rebel he is trying to tell protestors against him that he is one of them and that is the reason why he is discriminated against as a president from the international community leaders. The following excerpt is full of the praise Al-ghadafi showers himself with.

hal li'anna mu9ammar ilghadafi ra'iis jumhureyya? Law kana ra'isan la9aamuluh mithlama 9aamlu ru'assa elduwal eluxra.walakin mu9ammar ilgadhaafi taarix muqawama,taHarur,majd,thawra.

Is it because Mummar al-gadhafi is a country president? Had he been a president he would have been treated like presidents of other countries. But Al-ghadafi is a history of resistance, liberation, glory and rebellion.

Another social identity that al-ghadafi tried to market is that of a popular and loved political leader who is loved for his extraordinary achievements. In the following excerpt he associates himself with glory considering this as the main reason why all Libya loves him.

Kul elmudun illibiyya wlaqura illibiyya walwaHaat illibiyya allti hiya tHib mu9ammar ilqadhaafi li'anna mu9ammar ilghadaafi huwwa ilmajd.

All Libyan cities, villages and oasis love Muammar al-ghadafi because

Mummar al-ghadafi is the glory.

He said that he did not have a position to resign from, he is only a fighter who will keep fighting until his death describing the protesters as germs that do not belong to the Libyan people.

'ana law 9indi manSib , law 'anni ra'is lakunt ramyt elistiqala 9ala wujuh hathihi eljarathiim -----'ana 9indi bunduqiyya , 'ana sa'uqatel 'ila aaxir qatra min damai wama9i ilsha9b allibi.

If I had a position, I would resign and threw my resignation at the face of these germs. I have a gun, I will fight to the last drop of blood and with me the Libyan people.

This image of a brave fighter, a super hero who defeated America is further elaborated on as shown by the following excerpt.

'anna kamalt 9umri, lastu xa'fan min shay'.antum tawajhun Saxratan Samma' taHaTammat 9alyha aSaTil amriica.

I have lived my life, I am not afraid of anything; you are facing a deaf rock, a hard rock on which the American fleets were destroyed.

The social identity of an ex protester is stressed in the following excerpt to appeal to the youth and gain their support.

'ana nafsi qudt muDHaharaat selmeyya fi el9ahd ilmubaad laken la Harqt wala kasart.

I, myself led peaceful demonstrations in the vanished era but did not burn or break anything.

The popular leader is stressed again in the following excerpt which is followed by a pledge for another chance to talk to the youth .Now al-ghadafi realises their importance and decides to talk to them.

'ana law 'adhab 'ila alzantan sayahufun (alfatiH, alfatiH) wasyaqulun kul elrus fada Iraasak.

If I go to Al-Zintan, people there will address me cheering (The conqueror , the conqueror) and will say : We are all ready to die for you.

Wa'Tuni furSa, ijma9u li ha'ulaa elshuban wa'tklam ma9hum, shufu kaif yeghayrun, '9Tuni furSa.

Give me a chance, gather these youth and let me talk to them and see how they will change, just give me a chance.

Al-Shabab ma9na naHn, ha'ulaa' shababna, ,hadha jüil elghab alladhi anna rabaituh wahum yahtifun fi kul makan yaqulun 'naHn jüil mu9ammar willi ya9adina mdammar.

The youth are with us. They are our youth, this is the generation which I brought up which cheers everywhere ‘ we are the generation brought up by Mummar and whoever fights us will be destroyed.

Al-ghadafi concludes his speech establishing his identity as an international leader for whom millions are fighting.

na'am, 'ana mu9ammar al-gadhafi , qa'id umami, 'ana tudafi9 9anni ilmalaayyn.

Yes, I am Mummar al-Ghadafi, an international leader for whom millions are fighting.

Al-ghadafi resorted to colloquial Arabic most of the time as he has always been doing even in his long speech at the UN, which lasted for about 95 minutes during which his translator whom he brought with collapsed shouting ‘I can't take it anymore’.

This always viewed bizarre political figure relied mostly on the use of first person singular pronoun, colloquial style and dominant agent over patient semantic roles.

4-Socail Identity of Saleh



Ali Abdulla Saleh ruled Yemen for thirty three years that ended after the Yeminirebellion motivated by the Arab Spring.

The Ex-president of Yemen Ali Abdauallh Saleh was no exception. His techniques to establish a new social identity were not much different from Bin Ali, Mubarak or al-ghadafi. He first tried to create the identity of the one in control reminding his people that Yemen is not Tunisia

Elyemen layst Tunis

Nor Egypt

Elyaman lyast miSr.

Yemen is not Egypt.

His famous phrase to protesters against him /fatkum elqiTar) (you missed the train) was later used to make fun of him where he tried first to appear as the one who knows more.

Before leaving Yemen for medical treatment of burns caused by the attempt to assassinate him, Saleh presents a new social identity that emphasizes participation and dialogue on one hand and comes closer to the protesters using colloquial Arabic on the other. Earlier speeches were totally delivered in standard Arabic. Colloquial Arabic started to find its way as the situation for Saleh got worse. The colloquial words are underlined in the following excerpt:

naHanu lasna Did almushaaraka.naHnu ma9a elmusharaka.ma9 musharakat kul elquwa elseyaseyya sawa' kanat mu9araDa aw Hakim walkin 9ala Daw'i barnamij yatafiq 9alayh elnaas la an kul waHa yalwi dhira9 ilaaxar.

We are not against participation, we are with participation, the participation of all political powers whether they were with or against, on the basis of a programme on which all people agree .

When Saleh leaves office he apologizes for all people. He is the only leader who did so.

aTlubu el9afwa min kulli 'abani' waTani rijaalan wanisaan 9an ayy taqSir Hadatha athna' fatrati wilayati al thalatha wthalthin sana.waTlub elmusamaHa wa uqaddem ili9tidhaar likul elmuwaTinin ilyameniyy walyameneyyat.

I ask for forgiveness of all sons of my homeland from all of my heart for any misconduct during my 33 years rule. I apologize for all citizens.

Conclusion

The present study investigated how political leaders of Arab Spring countries established their social identity during the Arab Spring. A clear change was noticed in the way these leaders presented themselves in their political speeches. There was a drastic move from the semi-god leader to that one that was dying to seek people's understanding and support. That change was reflected basically through the use of personal pronouns, lexical repletion and use of colloquial Arabic.

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