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A Brief Examination of the Speech of Sayyed Hassan Nasrallah

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As the Secretary General of Hezbollah, Sayyed Hassan Nasrallah has been an enduring figure of the political landscape of Lebanon since the 1990's. While recent articles on Nasrallah have focused on political and religious discourse in his speech (Lahlali 2012; Matar 2010), what can be seen as lacking is a more astute sociolinguistic analysis of language use in Nasrallah's political address and the implications of an analysis of this sort within the wider field of sociolinguistics. The general aim of this paper is to examine instances of dialectical influence and code-switching in Nasrallah's speech and, although a full sociolinguistic analysis of Nasrallah's speech is outside of its scope, inroads can be made towards a fuller examination of Nasrallah's political speech.

It is important to note, however, that this examination includes data from only one particular speech, in a single setting, delivered by a single speaker on August 26th, 2011. This analysis can make no definite claims regarding the wider issues of variation and in particular, code-switching, in the context of Arabic. Through examining a speech of this nature, the hope is to gain some insight into what kinds of variation a more thorough analysis may provide us and how the variation present may fit into the wider theoretical framework. Additionally, examining the speech of one of the Middle East's more iconic political figures may aid in developing further questions regarding code-switching, language ideology, and the influence of politics on speech.

The speech from which the analysis of this paper draws is Hassan Nasrallah's Al-Quds day address delivered on August 26th, 2011 and broadcast live on Al-Jadiid Television from Lebanon (Nasrallah). Additionally, written transcripts of the speech were published on Hezbollah's official website and are included in appendix alongside my transcription. This analysis focuses on ten minutes of a roughly 51 minute address. Transcription begins fifteen minutes into the speech and continues to the 25 minute mark.

A noticeable aspect of Nasrallah's public address is a clear speech impediment that, from cursory examination of this speech, appears to render a great amount of the pronunciation of what would generally be an alveolar flap or trill as an approximant. Commenting on this aspect of Nasrallah's speech is not one of the aims of this paper but a particular convention was noted in the appendix regarding how this impediment is transcribed.

When speaking of the ten minutes that comprise this sample, on the whole Nasrallah follows the general conventions of spoken Modern Standard Arabic (MSA). Although, as with any speaker, his adherence to MSA is not categorical. Additionally within the sample it is possible to note instances (17:26, 18:38) where Nasrallah does make use of *i'raab*, the Arabic system of case marking but also instances where it is a part of the written version of the speech but was not pronounced (three examples can be noted at 17:36).

When examining Nasrallah's use of dialectical variants in this speech excerpt, two examples stand out for comment. The first in this regard, is the realization of the Arabic س as ث at 21:10.

Variation regarding the fricative ث in favor of the س and ت is a noted feature of the dialects of the Beirut (Naim 275), where Nasrallah was born, and it is possible that is this an example of that variation being realized in this formal address. However, within the context of the sample this was the only token in which variation in this regard may have taken place. Further study of Nasrallah's speech would be needed in order to see if this is in fact the influence of dialect.

Another interesting site in which dialectical influence is apparent in Nasrallah's speech is an instance in which a loan word from MSA was realized with the dialectical pronunciation of the ق. At 21:45, in the middle of a brief section of code-switching, Nasrallah realizes the ق of the MSA loan word افريقييا – afriiqiyya as *afrii'yya*. This token comes from a section of code-switching wherein Nasrallah switches into dialect when referencing Mu' ammar Qaddafi. Nasrallah's verb conjugation in this example is the first person and he very much appears to be portraying or mimicking Qaddafi in this example.

It may be worth considering the potential that while switching into dialect as well as the brief portrayal of Qaddafi that Nasrallah may have hyper corrected his speech towards the dialect and realized the ق as if it were dialect even though in general a loan word of that nature would keep the formal pronunciation. Labov (2001) and others have noted issues of hypercorrection, particularly in cases where ethnicity is a salient feature. I am unaware, however, of any major works relating to hypercorrection in Arabic. In this regard, it is impossible to draw a serious conclusion about Nasrallah's pronunciation and without a clearer picture of Nasrallah's speech based in a more thorough empirical analysis any ideas relating to possible hypercorrection remain based on cursory observation.

A final example of the potential influence of dialect in Nasrallah's speech in this sample relates to the marked introduction of an expression from the dialect. This example also provides a useful segway into the discussion on code-switching in Nasrallah's speech as it is a flagged introduction of dialect and is subsequently defined with a continuing code-switch from MSA into the dialect. At 17:48, Nasrallah marks his introduction of the expression in MSA and then proceeds to offer an example of its use in dialect:

usta 'mal 'ibaara 'aamiyya itnaḥnaḥit ya'ni itnaḥnaḥit maṣar išhwayy

The expression which Nasrallah introduces into his speech equates to a metaphorical "clearing of the throat". In the example which Nasrallah gives it has the communicative effect of saying that Egypt "cleared her throat" or things were "shaken up" in some way, and then Nasrallah continues on to cite his examples relating to Egypt's influence in the region and that when Egypt "moves" the region also moves.

This paper does not attempt draw hard and fast conclusions regarding code-switching in Nasrallah's speech or within the field of Arabic sociolinguistics more generally. However, before examining specific examples of code-switching present in the sample, it's necessary to offer a general discussion on the various theories influencing the study of code-switching. Many different theories and methods have developed throughout the scholarly discussion on code-switching and they will be touched on here in the sense that they may offer a jumping off point for further analysis of code-switching in Nasrallah's speech.

One point of note before continuing forward relates to the issue of code-switching within Arabic sociolinguistics. A number of good studies on code-switching in Arabic have been carried out, but it is worth mentioning Clive Holes article on the political speech of Gamal Abdel Nasser

as an example (Holes 1993) as I believe it is relevant to this discussion. Holes' article was based on excerpts from six of the speeches of the former Egyptian president and provided a discussion on variation between MSA and Egyptian Arabic in Nasser's speech and how that variation related to differences in the topic which Nasser spoke about or the potential role which he played vis-a-vis the audience. Holes' article does not purport to offer explanations for the motivations behind diglossic code-switching in the case of Arabic, but rather offers potential explanations for the variation apparent in Nasser's speech based in socio-political and socio-historical realities present in the background of the former Egyptian leader as well as those apparent in the region at the time.

There is a danger apparent, however, in other work on Arabic code-switching wherein we see examinations such as the one offered by Holes taken a step further, with explanations and justifications for code-switching being extrapolated to the wider Arabic speaking community. It is important to continually base analyses in an empirical framework and continuously be aware that when examining political figures like Nasser, Nasrallah, or other regional figures such as former Egyptian president Hosni Mubarak that they represent specific ideologies, backgrounds, and experiences. They are a single speaker and it would be irresponsible and unwise to take an examination of their speech and offer it as a discussion on or as evidence of the motivations for code-switching in the Arabic language generally.

In her work, *Social Motivations for Codeswitching*, Carol Myers-Scotton notes that much of the current interest in the subject of code-switching stems from Blom & Gumperz's (1972) study into code-switching in Norwegian (Myers 46). Gumperz offers an important point that may be considered relevant when considering code-switching in the context of Nasrallah. Myers-Scotton quotes Gumperz in saying that:

Rather than claiming that speakers use language in response to a fixed, predetermined set of prescriptions, it seems more reasonable to assume that they build their own and their audience's abstract understanding of situational norms, to communicate metaphoric information about how they intend their words to be understood (Gumperz quoted in Myers-Scotton 53)

In line with Gumperz, Myers-Scotton's own Markedness model expands on the agency of the speaker to communicate the intended understanding of their words. Myers-Scotton discusses that, "while norms largely determine interpretations...Speakers weigh the costs and rewards of alternative choices and make their decisions" (Myers Scotton 110). With some of these notions in mind it is possible to begin to look at code-switching for Nasrallah as a potential attempt to construct an understanding of the norms within which he and his audience operate and through that communicative framework, relaying how he wants himself to be understood. When examining the examples of code-switching apparent in the Nasrallah sample it is at least plausible to view those instances when he makes a flagged or marked choice towards dialect as an attempt on his part to let the audience know how he wants to be interpreted.

Also along these lines, not only could we potentially view Nasrallah as actively working to construct the intended understanding of his speech, but it is also worth considering Nasrallah's speech in the context of Bourdieu's linguistic market (Bourdieu 1991) and Kathryn Woolard's comments on language ideology (Woolard 1998). When discussing the linguistic market and the concept of legitimate language in Egypt, Nilofaar Haeri notes in that particular linguistic market and the realm of political speech, that the primary code is often Egyptian Arabic with interspersed MSA (Haeri 797). In contrast to this, Clive Holes notes that political speech, "is governed by social conventions about 'correct' and 'appropriate' language use" (Holes 22),

which appears to support the idea for the dominance or “legitimacy” of MSA in political speech. Further study in an effort to define more concretely a linguistic market for Lebanon would allow future research on Nasrallah’s political speech to be grounded in a discussion on language legitimacy as well as the potential for ideologies prevalent in Lebanon to influence speech.

A final point relating to theoretical aspects of code-switching as it relates to Nasrallah’s speech comes from Monica Heller, who notes that, “code-switching can be used to appeal to the shared understanding characteristic of co-membership, or to create distance by associating oneself, momentarily, with the out-group” (Heller 83). When examining examples from the sample speech which represent a marked or flagged switch from MSA into the dialect, I would argue that we may also see a situation representing the converse of that mentioned by Heller; a lessening of distance between Nasrallah and the audience. This lessening of distance works part and parcel with Heller’s ideas regarding the notion of an in versus out-group and the ability of code-switching to appeal to a shared understanding among the group. For Nasrallah, marked code-switches could serve the dual purpose of lessening the distance between himself and his audience and while also drawing attention to the point he puts forth and the language in which he makes it.

Moving now to an examination of examples of code-switching in the speech sample there are two marked or flagged instances of code-switching, occurring at 17:48 and 24:52 respectively. The first of these instances was mentioned previously with Nasrallah flagging in his speech that he will be using an ‘aamiyya expression. After introducing the expression, Nasrallah continues on in the succeeding sentence to provide an example of the expression in common usage. Nasrallah’s explanation of the expression also features the use of ya’ni as a discourse marker, a characteristic feature of the Arabic dialects, as well as the replacement of the more

common MSA verb خرج – *kharaj*, which is noted in the written transcript, in favor of طعل – *tu'la*.

An interesting point of note is that following his marked code-switch into dialect, the dialectical expression is used shortly later at 18:30 as part of an un-marked code-switch:

almaşri ma 'amlu shi bas itnaḥnaḥuu ya'ni

Although after introducing this colloquial expression into the lexicon of the speech it is only used one other time in the sample, I would be eager to know if within the remaining 30mins of the speech it is called upon again. If that is the case, the initial use of the expression could potentially be viewed as a signal that it has entered the lexicon of this particular speech and can be called up repeatedly as an unmarked code-switch as it has been defined and used in the context of his address. However, further examination of the remainder of the speech would be necessary to see if other instances of its usage exist.

The second example of marked code switching used in this sample occurs at 24:52, falling at the end of the section of the speech under analysis. Although it lies outside of the time frame used for this excerpt, the speech immediately succeeding the marked code-switch was examined and the point at which my sample stops also marks an end to that particular code-switch. Nasrallah addresses his audience with:

*khaliin nihki bil'aami[a] kaanat mishat itaswiia bil manṭa'a wa ḍaa'at filisṭiin wa qaḍiiyat
filisṭiin*

Nasrallah marks his intention to switch from Modern Standard Arabic into dialect with the dialectical form خلىنا – *khaliina* “let us”, favoring that over the MSA verb نتكلم – *natakalam* which is part of the flagged introduction of the code-switch in the official transcript. The MSA verb

carries the same general meaning as that which Nasrallah used but he opted to use the dialect to flag the switch.

Additionally, Nasrallah's use of *mišat itaswia* may be seen as an effective conveyance of the notion of a settlement to the conflict in the Middle East being snuck in. Not one that is forced or worked towards, but one that appears to be under the table or brought in "through the back door". Nasrallah's choice of verb in this example is, in my opinion, made even more effective by the fact that the code-switch was flagged before the verb was used. This flagged introduction drew significant attention to the succeeding line of speech and served to emphasize the point that Nasrallah was trying to make.

Moving on to instances of code-switching in Nasrallah's speech that are not flagged before introduction, we find two predominant examples from the sample. The first of these occurs at 18:56 and coincides with a topical shift from a discussion on Egypt towards one focused on Libya. In this instance Nasrallah is heard diverging from the written script of the speech and is offering commentary outside of the realm of his address:

nadhhab ila libya ana radi ajil anu taht iš šams wi tlah'u il'iftaar

Nasrallah is alerting the audience that he plans to quicken his speech because they are collectively out under the sun during Ramadan, which fell in August of 2011. This unmarked code-switch serves as a brief diversion from the speech to address Nasrallah's awareness of the challenge of Ramadan in August and that he plans to adjust his rate of speech in some way in order to finish before 'iftaar.

The second noted instance of unmarked code-switching in this sample of Nasrallah's speech occurs at 21:42. In this particular instance Nasrallah is referencing Mu'ammār Qaddafi.

Nasrallah can be seen as assuming the character of the former Libyan leader through his code-switch into the dialect and his use of first person verb conjugations. Nasrallah is quoted as saying:

yawm badiyyu ala amerika latiniyya yawm badiyyu ala afrii'yya

Nasrallah is mocking Qaddafi's historical tendency to change his apparent affiliations and alignment, seemingly on a whim, thus removing his government and by proxy Libya from concern for Palestine or the Palestinian cause. This instance was also called upon previously in the discussion on Nasrallah's somewhat peculiar pronunciation of the ق in the MSA loan word *افريقيّة* – *afriiqiyya*.

This excerpt provides a number of interesting examples of code-switching in Nasrallah's speech. The sample illuminates varying uses of both marked and unmarked code-switching as well as flagged introductions of the dialect into what remains to be a speech segment very much heavily influenced by MSA. It is clear to see where it would be possible to begin to think about Nasrallah's potential motivations for code-switching, particularly in the case of his flagged introductions of dialect. As noted previously, there is a potential that through his flagged introductions of dialect Nasrallah was attempting to lessen the distance between himself as the political figure and his audience as everyday people. Those flagged introductions also drew attention to the speech following them, which could be seen as adding a communicative punch to his words or potentially highlighting Gumperz's notion regarding the construction of intended meaning, wherein Nasrallah may be actively constructing the way in which he intends to be understood.

As set out in the beginning of this examination, any analysis provided in this paper can only be seen as a starting point for future work. Characterizing any of Nasrallah's actions as clear indications of dialectic influence on his speech or attempting to draw hard and fast conclusions about potential motivations for Nasrallah's code-switching requires significantly more research. In order to begin to tackle the questions and ideas raised in this paper, a fuller exposition of the conventions of Nasrallah's particular dialect would need to be provided. Additionally, a larger analysis of Nasrallah's speech which draws from more data collected from varying types and settings of speech is necessary. Before analyses in this regard have been completed, work on Nasrallah's speech falls short of being able to offer any serious conclusions, but still allows for a meaningful look at the potential ideas and motivations that could be guiding the speech of one of the more iconic political figures in the modern Middle East.

Appendix

Conventions –

R: Indicates the presence of a alveolar flap or trill that is potentially realized as an approximate

15:00: wa naḥnu id naqif ilaan amaam ba‘d ḥaḍihi taṭawwarat yajib alaina an nadfa‘a taṭawwarat ilijaabia li maṣlahat filistiin akthar wa ida kaana hunaak min taṭawwaraat aw taḥawalaat salbia ala filistiin wa alqaḍia filistiiniyya yajib an na‘mal ala mu‘aalajat ataṭawwarat asalbia bilḥikma wa bil‘aqal wa bilmantiq

15:27: law bada‘it min miṣr biba‘di kalimaat ma nuṣhaduhu ḥaḍihi alayaam fi miṣr min waqfa rasmia wa sha‘bia ayan yakun ḥajmuha wa ayan yakun taqiimuha wa ayan yakun ḥajmu tawaqu‘aati minha wa almuṭaalabaat laha hiya bita‘kiid mua‘ṣir ala marḥala jadiida fi miṣr law kaana nizaam ḥosni mubaarak law kaanat qiyaadat ḥosni mubaarak ma zaalat hiya ilmasaitare wa al qaa’ima la kaana rad alfa‘il mukhtalifan bal la kaana alghaḍab alrasmi al miṣri sayahil ala alfiliṣṭiiniyyin liyuḥammiluhum masu‘uuliyat wa tabi‘aat ‘amaliyyat ‘eilat wa tabiiat istiṣhaad ḍubaat wa januub maṣriyyin ala alḥaduud almaṣria alfiliṣṭiiniyya alyawm filmawqif arasmi wa filmawqif a-ṣa‘bi alaham al alaafu laḍiina ma zaaluu yaftariṣuun al’aRd amaama safaarat isra’iil fil qaahira wa yuṭaalibuun biṭard a-safiir ilfilistiini

16:45: ḥaḍa lam yakun yahṣal fi ṣaabiḳ hunaak faaraq kabiir bein an tuwajjia miṣr risaala liṣahaaiyana wa tuḥaḍiruhum min ali‘tidaa’ ala ghazza kama yajRii ilaan wa an tughati aṣulta almaṣria ‘audwaan a ghazza kama ḥaṣal sanat alfeen iu tamaani ‘andima u’lin il‘adwaan ala ghazza min alqahira lil’asaf hunaaka faaraq kabiir beina an yatazaahir almaṣriyyun wa yanza‘uu al‘alam alisra’iili ‘an asafaara almaṣriyya wa bein an yuwajja ariṣaaṣ ila ṣudurihim kama kana yajri fi zaman ḥusni mubaarak ‘andama araaduu an yatazaahiruu taḍaamunan ma‘ ghazza ‘aam alfeen iu tamaani ‘andama tataḥarrak maṣr [fahaḍa] ya‘ni [an] hunaak taḥaawul stratiji muhim fil manṭaqa unzu[ru] ay alikhwa wa alakhawat ma jaara fi ayaam ilqaliila almaaḍia ana la usammih taḥaruka maṣaria usta‘mal ‘ibaara ‘aamiyya itnahnahit ya’ni itnahnahit masar iṣhwayy ihtazzat isra’iil tul’a[ḥaithu kharaj] netanyahu bi raghm min

18:00: qasaawat wa nataa’ij ‘amaliat ‘ilaat anaww‘iyya wa bi raghm min ana almujahidiin fi qiṭaa‘ ghazza radu ala i‘tidaa’ bi qaṣf ilmusta‘maraat fi januub filistiin bil katyuusha kharaja netanyahu li yaquul alisra’iiliyyin la nastati‘a an nadḥab ila ‘amalia barria duḍ ghazza waasi‘a ila ‘amalia barria waasi‘a duḍ ghaza li anna haḍa sayu‘attil aw yu’athir ala ‘alaaqaatina ma maṣr almasri ma‘amlu shi bas itnahahu ya’ni kiif ida ilmawqif almaṣri bada yatabaddal tadriijiyyan bil itijaah ilafdal wa itijaah ilaḥsan wa ḥaḍa huwa ma nuraahin ‘alayhu wa (natawaqa’uhu) natiijat ma‘rifatina bia‘ṣaalat wa ‘azamat aṣa‘b almaṣri wa aljaish almaṣri

18:56: nadḥab ila libya ana radi ajil anu taḥt iṣ ṣams wi tlah’u il’iftaar nadḥab ila libya la shak anna nizaam alqadaaffi irtakab alkathira min aljaRaa‘im wa alkathira min al’akthaa biḥaq aṣa‘bi wa bi ḥaq alqaḍia alfiliṣṭiiniyya min jumla jaRaa’iimihi bi ḥaq alqaḍia alfiliṣṭiiniyya wa bi ḥaq lubnaan kan iḥtijaaz alimam alqaa‘id asayyid muusa ṣadir wa rafiqai samaahat sheikh

muhammad ya'quub wa istaaq 'abas badaR adiin fi mithl hadihi alayaam tama ihtijaazuhum wa hum duyuuf ala qadaffi hadihi aljaRiim, aljaRiimat alihtijaazat iRtukibat khidmatan lil mashRu'a alisra'iili kuluna ya'rif alimam muusa şadir mađa ya'ni muusa şadir

19:56: lilmuqaawama fi lubnaan wa fi filistiin mađa ya'ni lilqadāia alfilistiiniyya mađa ya'ni fi/lil quds mađa kaanat filistiin fi 'aqlih wa i'raadatih wa qiraarih mađa kaana[t] [ta'ni] almuqaawama alfilistiiniyya lahu wa huwa lađi kaana ya'quul anani aħmi almuqaawama alfilistiiniyya bi'amaamati wa miħraabi wa minbaRi fi tilka asanawaat alađi kaana [tata'arađ] fi almuqaawama alfilistiiniyya likhařar ataşfia tam ikhtiřaaf alimam wa ihtijaaz alimam mima ada ila kul ma jaRa ba'd ihtijaaz alimam huwa min alnataa'ij allati kaana[t] tastahdif almuqaawama alfilistiiniyya wa lubnaaniyiin ala hadin sawaa' wa la uriid an a'uud ila tilka mar[wa]hala hađi akbar jariima (wa tukiba) [urtukibat] law quid[r] an yabqaa imam muusa şadir haadıran fi hadihi saaha sanat alf iu tis'a mia iu taman iu sab'iin wa ma ba'id[iha] hađa kaanat hunaak taħawwalaat kubara li maşlahat ilmuqaawama filistiiniyya wa almuqaawama lubnaania wa alwiħda alwataniyya wa alqadāia alfilastiniyya fi lubnaan wa filmantaqa alyawm naħnu natařala'a ila ikhwa liibiyyiin ila s[th]uwaar ila mujahidiin fi libya an yađ'auu ĥadan niha'iian li hadihi alqadāia alma'saawiyya wa li hađa alihtijaaz alijiRaami wa na'mal wa kuluna amal an ya'uud alimam wa rafiiqah ila lubnaan aħyaa' asaalmiiniin aghaanimiini inshallah ayđan min jaraa'im hađa niřaam ana wa akhađa libya ba'iidan 'an filistiin wa al'aalam al'arabi yawm badiyyu ala amerika latiniyya yawm badiyyu ala afrii[q]yya wa tannakar li filistiin wa alqadāia alfilistiiniyya alyawm almaRjuu ayđan min athaa'iriin wa almujaahidiin fi libya an yu'iiduu libya ila al'aalim al'arabi an yu'iiduu libya ila filistiin wa naħnu na'rif thaqaafat hađa řa'b wa wajdaan hađa řa'b la yumkin li řa'ibin qaawim iliħtilaal ay ihtilaal wa qaddama fi muqaawamatihi mi'aat alaaf ashuhadaa' wa qaada ashuhadaa' bi ĥajim 'umar ilmukhtaar ila an ya'uud ila filistiin litakuun ĥađara qawiyya fi qiraareh wa fi wa fi siyaasateh wa fi khuřateh wa in kuna na'rif an ařa'b illiibi alyawm amaam mas'uuliyyaat jasiima fi [ħafaz] alaman wa alwaħda wa i'aadat bina' adawla wa laakin alistihqaaq alakħřar wa alistihqaaq alistiqlaal wa siyaada fi muqaabil alħajma alamerikia algharbia mutawaqa'a li istilaab khayraat libiya wa qaraar libiya arihaan huna min jadiid ala ařaalati ařa'b aliibi

23:00: ařil ila tařawwaraat fi suuRiyya min zaawiyat filistiin fi yawm ilquds alħaq wa alladı yajib an yuqaal wa laa yakhaafa fih aħadu lawmat alaa'im ayan kaan hađa laa'im alħaq wa alladı yajib an yuqaal wa la yajuuz an yataajahala wa aħad aw yansahu aħad huwa haqiqat mawqa'a asuuRiyya wa hadihi alqiyaada suuRiyya fi řaRaa' ilarabi alisra'iili wa fil qadāia alfilistiiniyya bi taħdiid yakfi fil 'ijaaza alyawm an aqif amaam amarayn alamar alawal tamassuk alqiyaada suuRiyya wa min khalfiha řa'abu suuRiyya al'aziiz wa jaiřuha řujaa' bi thawaabit alwataniyya fima ya'ni alħaquuq asuuRiyya kul ĥabat ramal wa kul qařaRat maa' asuuRiyya wa tamassuk hadihi ilqiyaada bil ĥaquuq al'arabia hađa tamassuk fi muqaabil alđughuut adawlia al'amriikia algharbia wa khilaal al'aquud almaađia allati řahidat inhiyaaraat kubara min alitiħaad suuviyeti ila al'aalam alarabi ila alghaz wa alamriiki mubashir li manřaqat alkhaliij wa mu'akharan lil'iraaq kulu hađa lam yahuzz a'řaab hadihi ilqiyaada wa yu'ass[th]ir 'ala tamassukiha bil

ḥaquuq asuuRiyya wa alḥaquuq al‘arabiya law tanaazalat wa takhallat wa ḍa‘ufat alqiyaada asuuRiyya khaliin nihki bil‘aami[a] kaanat mishat itaswiia bil manta'a wa daa‘at filistiin wa qadiiyat filistiin.

Official Transcript:

ونحن إذ نقف الآن أمام بعض هذه التطورات يجب علينا أن ندفع التطورات الإيجابية لمصلحة فلسطين أكثر، وإذا كان هناك من تطورات أو تحولات سلبية على فلسطين والقضية الفلسطينية، يجب أن نعمل على معالجة التطورات السلبية بالحكمة وبالعقل وبالمنطق.

مصر

لو بدأت من مصر ببعض كلمات، ما نشهده في هذه الأيام في مصر من وقفة رسمية وشعبية، أيًا يكن حجمها وأيًا يكن تقييمها، وأيًا يكن حجم التوقعات منها والمطالبات لها، هي بالتأكيد مؤشر على مرحلة جديدة في مصر، لو كان نظام حسني مبارك ولو كانت قيادة حسني مبارك هي المسيطرة والمهيمنة لكان رد الفعل مختلفاً، بل لكان الغضب الرسمي المصري سيحل على الفلسطينيين، ليحملهم مسؤولية وتبعات عملية إيلات، وتبعات استشهاد ضباط وجنود مصريين على الحدود المصرية – الفلسطينية. اليوم في الموقف الرسمي وفي الموقف الشعبي الأهم، الآلاف الذين ما زالوا يفتشون الأرض أمام سفارة "إسرائيل" في القاهرة، وبطالبون بطرد السفير الإسرائيلي، هذا لم يكن يحصل في السابق، هناك فارق كبير بين أن توجه مصر رسالة للصهاينة وتحذروهم من الاعتداء على غزة كما يجري الآن، وأن تغطي السلطة المصرية عدوان غزة كما حصل سنة 2008، عندما أعلن العدوان على غزة من القاهرة للأسف، هناك فارق كبير بين أن يتظاهر المصريون وينزعوا العلم الإسرائيلي عن السفارة المصرية وبين أن يوجه الرصاص إلى صدورهم، كما كان يجري في زمن حسني مبارك، عندما أرادوا أن يتظاهروا تضامناً مع غزة عام 2008.

عندما تتحرك مصر فهذا يعني أن هناك تحولاً إستراتيجياً مهماً في المنطقة، أنظروا أيها الأخوة والأخوات، ما جرى في الأيام القليلة الماضية أنا لا أسميه تحركاً مصرياً، أستعمل عبارة عامية: "نحنة"، "يعني تحنحت مصر شوي"، فاهتزت إسرائيل، حيث خرج ننتياهو بالرغم من قساوة ونتائج عملية إيلات النوعية، وبالرغم من أن المجاهدين في قطاع غزة ردوا على الاعتداء بقصف المستعمرات في جنوب فلسطين بالكاتوشا، خرج ننتياهو ليقول للإسرائيليين: لا نستطيع أن نذهب إلى عملية برية واسعة ضد غزة لأن هذا سيؤثر على علاقاتنا مع مصر، والمصريون لم يفعلوا شيئاً سوى أنهم "اتحنحوا"، فكيف لو أن الموقف المصري بدأ يتبدل تدريجياً بالاتجاه الأفضل والاتجاه الأحسن، وهذا هو ما نراهن عليه ونتوقعه، نتيجة معرفتنا بأصالة وعظمة الشعب المصري والجيش المصري.

ليبيا

نذهب إلى ليبيا، لا شك أن نظام القذافي قد ارتكب الكثير من الجرائم والكثير من الأخطاء، بحق شعبه وبحق القضية الفلسطينية، من جملة جرائمه بحق القضية الفلسطينية وبحق لبنان كان احتجاز الإمام القائد السيد موسى الصدر ورفيقه سماحة الشيخ محمد يعقوب والأستاذ عباس بدر الدين، في مثل هذه الأيام تم احتجازهم، وهم ضيوف على القذافي، هذه جريمة الاحتجاز ارتكبت خدمة للمشروع الإسرائيلي، كلنا يعرف الإمام موسى الصدر ماذا يعني، الإمام موسى الصدر للمقاومة في لبنان وفي فلسطين ماذا يعني، للقضية الفلسطينية ماذا يعني، للقدس ماذا. كانت فلسطين في عقله وإرادته وقراره، ماذا كانت تعني المقاومة الفلسطينية له وهو الذي كان يقول "إنني أحمي المقاومة الفلسطينية بعمامتي ومحرابي ومنبري"، في تلك السنوات التي كانت تتعرض فيها المقاومة الفلسطينية لخطر التصفية، تم اختطاف الإمام واحتجاز الإمام ما أدى إلى كل ما جرى بعد احتجاز الإمام، هو من النتائج التي كانت تستهدف المقاومة الفلسطينية واللبنانيين على حد سواء، ولا أريد أن أعود إلى تلك المرحلة هذه هي أكبر جريمة ارتكبت، لو قدر أن يبقى الإمام موسى الصدر حاضراً في هذه الساحة سنة 1978 وما بعدها، لكانت هناك تحولات كبرى لمصلحة المقاومة الفلسطينية والمقاومة اللبنانية والوحدة الوطنية والقضية الفلسطينية في لبنان وفي المنطقة اليوم نحن نتطلع إلى الأخوة الليبيين، إلى الثوار وإلى المجاهدين في ليبيا، أن يضعوا حداً نهائياً لهذه القضية المأساوية ولهذا الاحتجاز الإجرامي، ونأمل وكلنا أمل أن يعود الإمام ورفيقاه إلى لبنان أحياء سالمين غانمين إن شاء الله أيضاً من جرائم هذا النظام أنه أخذ ليبيا بعيداً عن فلسطين وعن العالم العربي، يوم يريد أن يذهب إلى أميركا اللاتينية ويوم يريد أن يذهب إلى أفريقيا، وتنكر لفلسطين وللقضية الفلسطينية، اليوم المرجو أيضاً من الثائرين والمجاهدين في ليبيا أن يُعيدوا ليبيا إلى العالم العربي، وأن يعيدوا ليبيا إلى فلسطين، ونحن نعرف ثقافة هذا الشعب ووجدان هذا الشعب، لا يمكن لشعبٍ قاوم الاحتلال أي احتلال، وقدم في مقاومته مئات آلاف الشهداء وقادة شهداء بحجم عمر المختار، إلا أن يعود إلى فلسطين، لتكون حاضرة قوية في قراره وفي سياسته وفي خطته، وإن كنا نعرف أن الشعب الليبي اليوم أمام مسؤوليات جسيمة، في حفظ الأمن

والوحدة وإعادة بناء الدولة، ولكن الاستحقاق الأخطر هو استحقاق الاستقلال والسيادة في مقابل الهجمة الأميركية الغربية المتوقعة لاستلاب خيرات ليبيا وقرار ليبيا، الرهان هنا من جديد على أصالة الشعب الليبي.

سوريا

أصل إلى التطورات في سوريا، من زاوية فلسطين، في يوم القدس الذي يجب أن يُقال وأن لا يخاف فيه أحدٌ لومة لائم، أياً كان هذا اللائم، الحق الذي يجب أن يُقال ولا يجوز أن يتجاهله أحد أو ينساه أحد، هو حقيقة موقع سوريا، وهذه القيادة السورية في الصراع العربي - الإسرائيلي، وفي القضية الفلسطينية بالتحديد، يكفي في الإيجاز اليوم، أن أقف أمام أمرين الأول: تمسك القيادة السورية ومن خلفها شعب سوريا العزيز وجيشها الشجاع بالثوابت الوطنية، فيما يعني الحقوق السورية، كل حبة رمل وكل قطرة ماء سورية، وتمسك هذه القيادة بالحقوق العربية، هذا التمسك في مقابل الضغوط الدولية والأميركية والغربية، وخلال العقود الماضية التي شهدت انهيارات كبرى، من الإتحاد السوفييتي إلى العالم العربي إلى الغزو الأمريكي المباشر لمنطقة الخليج ومؤخراً للعراق، كل هذا لم يهزّ أعصاب هذه القيادة ويؤثر على تمسكها بالحقوق السورية والحقوق العربية، لو تنازلت وتخلّت وضعفت القيادة السورية، فإنه، ولنتكلم باللغة العامية "لكانت مشت التسوية في المنطقة وضاعت فلسطين وقضية فلسطين

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