SLOGANS OF IRAQI DEMONSTRATIONS: A SEMANTIC STUDY

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شعارات التظاهرات العراقية: دراسة دلالية

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Abstract

This research presents a study in semantics that examines some selected slogans which are taken from Iraqi demonstrations of 2015 against corruption and the corrupt. The study aims at understanding how demonstrators use language to express their dissatisfaction with the corrupt. The study also aims to illustrate the goals, demands, and issues raised in the slogans. The research adopts Leech's (1981) Semantics: The Study of Meaning in order to solve the problem of the study and serve its purposes. Based on the analysis of data, the study finds out that there is a direct shift in the Iraqi society, a shift from submissive society to that of disobedient society to the ruler. The analysis has proven that demonstrators present themselves as innocent, poor, and affected people by a group of corrupt politicians. The study also concludes that demonstrators use political, revolutionary, and Islamic figures as symbols of hope and inspiration in order to encourage the people to stand against the corrupt politicians. Iraqi people used language in the form of slogans to encourage themselves and to challenge the corrupt. This research is a clear example that shows people and students how language is powerful and can be used as a tool to challenge power represented by oppressive and corruptive dictators.

الخلاصة

يقدم هذا البحث دراسة في علم الدلالة والذي يبحث بعض الشعارات المختارة المأخوذة من التظاهرات العراقية في سنة ٢٠١٥ ضد الفساد والمفسدين.

تهدف الدراسة الى فهم كيفية إستعمال المتظاهرين اللغة للتعبير عن عدم رضاهم من الفاسدين. و تهدف ايضاً الى توضيح الأهداف، والمطالب، والقضايا التي أثيرت في الشعارات. ويعتمد البحث على ليج (١٩٨١) علم الدلالة: دراسة المعنى، من اجل حل مشكلة الدراسة، وتحقيق أغراضها.

من خلال تحليل البيانات، تكتشف الدراسة ان هنالك تحولا مباشراً في المجتمع العراقي من مجتمع خاضع الى مجتمع عاص للحاكم. وقد اثبت التحليل أن المتظاهرين يقدمون أنفسهم كأبرياء، وفقراء، ومتضررين من قبل مجموعة من السياسيين الفاسدين. واستنتجت الدراسة ايضاً ان المتظاهرين استعملوا شخصيات سياسية، وثورية، وإسلامية كرموز للأمل، والإلهام من اجل تشجيع الناس على الوقوف ضد السياسيين الفاسدين.

إستعمل الشعب العراقي اللغة على شكل شعارات لتشجيع أنفسهم وتحدي المفسدين. أن هذا البحث هو مثال واضح يظهر للناس والطلاب قوة اللغة والتي يمكن إستخدامها كأداة لتحدي السلطة التي يمثلها الطغاة الفاسدين.

1.   Introduction

Political slogans have always been used by ordinary people (demonstrators) as a tool to criticise and mock the government on one hand, and convey their needs and messages on the other. Cone (2008: xiii) defines a slogan as "A memorable phrase expressing an idea, purpose or claim". According to Ferriz (2014: 3), slogans are autonomous linguistic expressions that are easy to understand, comprehend, and memorise. They are also important in communication and in conveying the message clearly. A slogan is a word or phrase used by people to attract attention or suggest an idea about an important event or situation (Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary, 2001: n.pag.).

Many scholars have studied and investigated the use of slogans as a means to achieve ideological, political, economic, and social interests. Some scholars such as (Denton, 1980; Sharp, 1984; Urdang and Robbins, 1984) studied the rhetorical functions of slogans in political discourse. Others have investigated the ideological and persuasive use of slogans in politics and advertisements (McGee, 1980; Sharp 1984; Stewart et al, 1995; Lu, 1999). In addition to their vital role in informing the people of the ideologies and interests of their producers, slogans can also motivate people to express their needs and problems. After the fall of Baghdad in 2003, Iraq, one of the richest countries in the world, has become a victim of terrorist groups on one hand, and a group of corrupt politicians on the other. The corrupt have destroyed the country politically, economically, and militarily and have stolen its fortune. Iraqi people have been left suffering from terrorism, sectarianism, and poverty. All of these tragic events have led Iraqis to demonstrate. This research aims to illustrate how Iraqi people express their needs, problems, and messages through slogans. The study also aims to show how power in the discourse of the Iraqi slogans indicates the great change in the Iraqi people, a change from allegiance and devotion to the ruler to that of disobedience and defiance. In order to achieve the aims, the study offers three hypotheses: there is a direct shift in the Iraqi society, a shift from obedient society to that of challengeable society to the ruler, demonstrators use positive lexical items to describe themselves, while they use negative lexical items to describe the corrupt, and revolutionary and Islamic figures are used as symbols of hope and inspiration to encourage people against the corrupt.

The approach that is followed in this study is Leech's (1981) seven types of meaning which serves as an analytical framework to analyse the

selected slogans. The researchers have selected (12) slogans for the analysis. The slogans are taken from the year of 2015 because this year was accompanied by many demonstrations against the unlimited corruption in various State departments.

2. Review of Related Literature

This section sheds light on semantics, the concept of slogans, the world of slogans, slogans in political discourse, and the discourse of slogans.

2.1 Semantics

According to Saeed (1997: 3), semantics is the study of meaning which is communicated through language.

Palmer (1981: 1) defines semantics as "the technical term used to refer to the study of meaning, and, since meaning is part of language, semantics is part of linguistics".

Semantics is the study of the meaning of words phrases and sentences. It attempts to focus on what the words conventionally mean, rather than on what a speaker might want them to mean on a particular occasion. This technical approach to meaning emphasises the objective and the general. It avoids dealing with subjective and local meaning. Linguistic semantics deals with the conventional meaning conveyed by the use of words and sentences of a language (Yule, 2010: 112).

Semantics is the study of meaning. Meaning has been investigated and studied from different approaches. Philosophers, for instance, have investigated the relation between linguistic expressions such as the words of a language, persons, things, and events in the world to which these words refer. Linguists have investigated the way meaning in a language is structured and have distinguished between different types of meanings (Richards and Schmidt, 2010: 520).

2.2 Understanding the Concept of Slogans

Slogans are important part of today's public life to the extent that one cannot turn anywhere without being greeted by a slogan. In ancient times, slogans were used to unite individuals and groups of people together for protection. There is no specific culture or time about the origin of the use of slogans, but they go back to ancient times with the

beginning of language as a form of communication (Raj, 2007: 32).

Sherif (1937: 32) illustrates the power of slogans through analysing the elements of strength, unity, and solidarity in a slogan to conduct a course of action. This shows the naturalness and energy of a slogan.

Slogans are words, phrases, and even sentences which express either a new or an old idea in a new way. In this way, slogans, consist of not only general words or phrases but also consist of special words or phrases used in a special way and in a certain social context (Raj, 2007: 35).

Farmer et al (1970: 207) demonstrate that when people use language to express animosity, ridicule, or contempt, they may be creating a slogan.

Casnir (1995: 44) says "Language has a major impact on all individuals and shapes their organizational reality". Slogans are one of the strategies of language. People can use these strategies to send a clear, deductive, understandable, and coherent message to the government. Politicians can also use slogans to persuade, manipulate and convince people.

2.3 The Discourse of Slogans

Holmes (1988: 27) illustrates that words are not pure and precious stones; they can be changed and they may vary greatly in their colour and content depending on the circumstances in which they are used.

Skorupa and Duboviciene (2015: 64) point to many scholars such as Leech (1972), Foster (2001), Ding (2003), Kohli et al (2007) who illustrate a number of linguistic and rhetorical devices typical for slogans: metaphor, alliteration, rhyme, repetition, pun, capitalisation, etc. and analyse slogans in terms of syntactic, semantic, phonological, lexical, and graphical levels. At the syntactic level, Nouns, pronouns, questions, tenses, idioms, proverbs, phrases, ellipsis are used. In terms of the semantic level, Puns, metonymy, metaphor, synecdoche, personification, simile, hyperbole, and antithesis can be identified. At the phonological level, the extensive use of rhyme, alliteration, assonance, and less often onomatopoeia can be observed. In terms of lexical level, coined words, numerals, adjectives, and verbs are widely used. At the graphical level, whether slogans are written with full or partial capitalisation, as well as unconventional spelling.

2.4 Slogans in Politics

Politicians always use slogans as a means of persuasion. They also use slogans to achieve political goals and ambitions (Lahlali, 2014: 1).

Condit and Lucaites (1993: viv) conclude that through the analysis of slogans, one can discover the hidden thought of politicians and their goals. One can also know how social and political problems are constituted through political discourse.

Persuasive and manipulative slogans are widely used in advertising and political campaigns (Lu, 1999: 7).

One of the main functions of slogans is to create emotional responses and persuasive functions that could convince, manipulate, and mobilise people (Lahlali, 2014: 2).

Political slogans are used to emphasise a problem (whether it is political, social, or ideological), to send messages, and express an idea or a goal. They are also used to argue for a cause or reason (Raj, 2007: 117).

3. Method

In this section, the researchers aim to introduce the selection and description of data on one hand, and present the adopted model for the analysis of the selected data on the other.

3.1 Selection and Description of Data

The data to be analysed are collected on the internet from the period of 2015 by visiting online websites of some Iraqi news channels. Websites are chosen as the source of slogans because of easy availability and the fact that the Iraqi media are one of the most important sources that present the slogans of the Iraqi demonstrations. The slogans are taken from three Iraqi news channels namely, albaghdadia, alrasheed, and alsumaria. The slogans used for the analysis are obtained from the main websites of the channels as follows: albaghdadia website is (www.albaghdadia.com), alrasheed website is (www.alrasheedmedia.com), and alsumaria website is (www.alsumaria.tv). The researchers were able to find (12) slogans for the analysis. The researchers have found that this number is enough to fulfil the goals of the research and solve its problem.

3.2 Leech's Types of Meaning

Leech (1981: 9-18) divides meaning into three main types. They are: conceptual meaning, associative meaning, and thematic meaning. Associative meaning is further subdivided into five types: connotative, affective, social, reflective, and collocative meanings.

3.2.1   Denotative   Meaning

Denotative meaning is the central meaning of a linguistic form, regarded as the set of things it could possibly refer to (Trask, 2007: 66). Denotative meaning is concerned with the literal, basic, and essential meaning of words, phrases, and sentences (Razmjoo, 2009: 65).

According to Leech (1981: 13), denotative meaning is essential and important type of meaning. It is the first and essential level of analysis. It is difficult to analyse words, phrases, and sentences without referring to it. The denotative meaning of the word "needle" is 'a thin sharp steel instrument' (Yule, 2010: 113).

Denotative meaning is recognised as a basic component of grammatical competence. It is the basic meaning and can be studied at the lexical level, the clause, or simple sentence (Mwihaki, 2004: 130).

3.2.2   Connotative   Meaning

Connotative meaning is the non-literal and associative meaning that a word or phrase has in addition to its central meaning. This part of meaning shows people's emotions and attitudes towards what the word or phrase refers to. For example, the denotative meaning of the word "child" could be as 'a young human being', but it can be associated with, e.g. affectionate, amusing, lovable, sweet, and grubby (Richards and Schmidt, 2010: 118).

According to Leech (1981: 12), this type of meaning is beyond the denotative meaning of words. It represents the broad meaning of a word. It is broader than the literal and primary meaning of a word and is often acquired through frequent associations (Trask, 2007: 51).

Mwihaki (2004:133) illustrates that connotative meaning varies considerably according to factors such as culture, historical period, social class, and the experience of a speaker or group of speakers. In this case, connotative meaning can be described as coincidental to language rather than an essential part of it.

3.2.3   Affective   Meaning

This type of meaning shows people's emotions, feelings, and attitudes towards what a certain lexical item refers to (Richards and Schmidt, 2010: 118).

According to Leech (1981: 18), tone of voice such as intonation and voice –timbre are important in showing the really intended message of a speaker. Because affective meaning is related to one's feelings and attitudes, it depends on other types of meaning such as conceptual, connotative, and social meanings.

3.2.4   Social   Meaning

This type of meaning deals with the usage of language in and by the social community. Social meaning differs and varies from speaker to speaker and from place to place (Noor et al, 2015: 10).

Leech (1981: 14-15) demonstrates that social meaning means which a piece of language conveys about the social circumstances of its use. People understand the social meaning of a text through their recognition of different levels of style within the same language. People recognise some words or pronunciations as being dialectal, for example, people through their speech, can tell about their geographical or social origin. Other features of language should be taken into consideration such as the social relationship between the speaker and hearer, subject of discourse, and the purpose of communication (Odebunmi, 2001: 51).

3.2.5   Reflective   Meaning

According to Leech (1981: 16), reflective meaning is the meaning which occurs when a lexical item has more than one conceptual meaning in a text. In this way, one can respond to one sense of the lexical item and at the same time respond to the other sense of it. For example, in church service, there are two synonymous expressions 'The Comforter' and 'The Holy Ghost'. These two expressions refer to the Third Person in Trinity. They are religious words, but they can be used in non-religious texts too. In non-religious texts, 'The Comforter' looks warm and good, while 'The Ghost' sounds scary. The dominant meaning of the word 'Ghost' is scary and dreadful. This dominant meaning excludes the nice meaning. This other meaning of 'Ghost' is called reflective meaning.

3.2.6 **Collocative** **Meaning**

Collocative meaning is a term used by some linguists to refer to the habitual co-occurrence of individual lexical items (Crystal, 2008: 86).

The term is used to refer to any sequence of words that go together without oddness such as an "excellent performance". The word "excellent" collocates with the word "performance", that is, they go together normally (Cruse, 2006: 27).

Leech (1981: 17) illustrates that collocation consists of the associations a lexical item acquires because of the meanings of other lexical items which tend to occur in its environment.

3.2.7 **Thematic** **Meaning**

Leech (1981: 19) demonstrates that thematic meaning deals with the way in which speakers or writers organise their message in terms of ordering, focus, and emphasis. The way words are arranged in a phrase, clause, or sentence is important, because it helps people understand the implications of the message clearly. The active and passive forms are important and can affect the semantic property of a sentence.

4. Data Analysis

This section presents the semantic analysis of (12) slogans raised by Iraqi demonstrators during their demonstrations against corruption and the results arrived at from the analysis.

4.1 **Semantic** **Analysis**

In order to have a successful semantic analysis, the following points need to be made:

1. The semantic analysis of the selected slogans involves studying the denotations and connotations of lexical items. According to Zaher (2009: 80), lexical choices are crucial in determining how people and their actions are represented and perceived. Such analysis is significant because these lexical items used in the slogans are powerful and clearly show the implicated message of the demonstrators to the corrupt.

2. It was rare to find reflective and collocative meanings in the selected slogans. Therefore, it was preferred to exclude them from the analysis.

3. In order to analyse and understand the selected slogans, they have been divided into themes, theme of reprimand, theme of expulsion and rejection, and theme of hope and inspiration.

4.1.1   Slogans   of   Reprimand

One of the major themes that Iraqi demonstrators want to send to the corrupt is that of reprimand. The following four slogans of reprimand are   presented   as   follows:

Slogan   1

"إذا دعتكم قدرتكم على ظلم العراقيين، فتذكروا قدرة الله عليكم"

If your power enables you to oppress the Iraqis, remember the power of Allah   (the   Almighty)   upon   you

Slogan   2

"ارهاب و حرامية الأحزاب السياسية"

Political   parties   are   terrorists   and   thieves

Slogan   3

"إكنسوهم قبل ان يتكاثروا"

Sweep   them   before   proliferation

Slogan   4

"جدي حمورابي لم يكن مسلما و لكنه كان اعدل من كل حكام الاسلام السياسي"

My grandfather, Hammurabi was not a Muslim, but he was the fairest of all   the   rulers   of   the   current   political   Islam

What is striking in all of these slogans is the use of powerful words against the politicians in the Iraqi government. Words such as terrorism, thieves, oppressors, and corrupt. These powerful words indicate a new shift in the Iraqi society, a shift from obedient society to powerful and disobedient society against the corrupt and their corruption in the country.

In slogan (1), the denotative meaning of the word "power" is 'the ability to control, oppress, and influence people'. The word "power" has negative and positive connotations: the negative connotation of "power" is related to the corrupt in the government. It is associated with evil, weakness, falsehood, manipulation, deception, persuasion, and corruption. The positive connotation of "power" is related to the power of Allah (the Almighty) which is associated with righteousness, justice, and integrity.

In terms of thematic meaning, the way the words of the slogan are arranged is important. The slogan starts with the conditional "if" (itha). The conditional "if" often refers to a condition-something which must happen so that something else can happen. It is clear from the slogan that the evil power of the corrupt has happened and has suffered from it the poor Iraqis. But the right and great power of Allah has not happened yet. It will inevitably happen and will prosecute all the corrupt and oppressors. The most powerful agent 'Allah' and his legal power against the satanic tyrants (corrupt) and their evil and deceptive power. The verb "oppress" means 'to treat a person or group of people in a cruel or unfair way'. It is associated with brutality and severity. It refers to the corrupt and their evil power. The word "remember" means 'to keep in mind; to not forget'. It is imperative impolite order and it is a warning directed to the corrupt.

This slogan clearly presents positive and negative groups: the positive group is represented by (Allah, the Almighty), and innocent and oppressed people of Iraq}. The negative group is represented by (corruptive and oppressive politicians and their evil power).

The theme of reprimand is clear in this slogan. The attitudes and feelings of Iraqis towards the corrupt are that of (oppressors) against the (innocent and poor Iraqis). The language of this slogan indicates that the Iraqis are very angry on the corrupt.

In terms of social meaning, demonstrators used the standard Arabic language in this slogan.

In slogan (2), Iraqi demonstrators describe the corrupt as "terrorists and thieves". The word "terrorists" means 'the use of violent acts to

frighten the people in an area as a way of trying to achieve a political goal'. The word "terrorists" has acquired a very strong negative connotation. It is a powerful-pejorative word used by demonstrators to show the implied (evil, deceptive, and manipulative) truth of the corrupt in the Iraqi government.

The word "thieves" means 'a group of people who steals, especially secretly or without open force'. The word "thieves" is associated with trickery, devilishness, and deceit.

In terms of the thematic meaning, the linking verb "are" links the agent "political parties" with the subject complement "terrorists and thieves". It should be noted that the agent "political parties" and the lexical items "terrorists" and "thieves" are written with plural. This indicates that the demonstrators emphasise the idea that all the corrupt politicians who represent these political parties that rule the government are terrorists, untrustworthy, and deceptive.

The attitudes (feelings) of demonstrators towards the corrupt are that of reproaching, critical, and outraged. The language of the slogan signifies that the people are very angry on corruption and the corrupt.

In terms of the social meaning, the word "thieves" is written with Iraqi dialect (haramia). This word denotes the geographical place of the speaker.

In slogan (3), the denotative meaning of the word "sweep" means 'to remove something such as dust or dirt from a surface with a broom or brush'. In terms of the connotative meaning, the word "sweep" has a negative connotation. It implies a dirty, ruthless, and harmful obstacle that lies in the way of people. It is as if a disease or a virus that is killing innocent and ordinary people. The word "proliferation" means 'to increase in number or amount quickly'. It has positive and negative connotations. In this slogan, the word "proliferation" has a negative connotation. It implies increasing in number of harmful bacteria or viruses. The preposition "before" means 'earlier in time'. There is a tendency from the demonstrators to compare the corrupt politicians to bacteria or viruses and there is also an insistence to eliminate them, because their diseases will spread and infect the honest quickly.

In terms of thematic meaning, this slogan starts with the main verb "sweep" indicating imperative. The forceful and angry language of this slogan indicates the aggressive feelings of the demonstrators towards the corrupt. The objective pronoun "them" used to refer to groups of people,

animals, or things. It refers to the politicians and implies that all of them are corrupt and they should be swept away.

The attitudes of the demonstrators towards the corrupt are filled with aggression and dissatisfaction due to their wrong policies towards the Iraqis.

In terms of social meaning, the demonstrators use the standard Arabic language. This indicates that a large number of well-civilised people have organised and taken part in the demonstrations.

In slogan (4), Iraqi demonstrators use a powerful and honest political figure, Hammurabi, to compare him with the current corrupt and political figures in the Iraqi government. Hammurabi is one of the greatest kings of ancient Iraq. Hammurabi started the first years of his reign making internal reforms, projects, administrative systems, eliminating bribes, building domes, and strengthening the army in order to disseminate justice among people (Al-Ameen, 2007: 8).

It is interesting to see Iraqi demonstrators compare a group of corrupt politicians that are ruling Iraq with a powerful, historical, and honest leader of ancient Iraq, Hammurabi. The comparison implies three important messages: first, the corrupt in the current Iraqi government have betrayed powerful and honest leaders of ancient Iraq like Hammurabi and have also betrayed innocent Iraqis. Second, the corrupt are two faced because it is assumed that they are faithful to the people but as soon as they enter the government, they forget them and start following their desires. Third, they are hypocrites because they claim or pretend they are Muslims in order to deceive or manipulate people. They use religion to fulfill their desires. They claim that they are following Islam instructions in helping the poor, standing with the weak against the strong etc., but as soon as they achieve their goals, they forget their promises.

In terms of social meaning, Iraqi demonstrators also use the standard Arabic language.

The word "grandfather" means 'the father of your father or mother'. It has a positive connotation. It means that demonstrators are descended from the honest leader Hammurabi. The possessive pronoun "my" modifies "grandfather" and indicates ownership.

4.1.2   Slogans   of   Expulsion   and   Rejection

Slogan   **5**

"نواب طلعوا من البلد"

MPs: *Get*   *out*   *of*   *the*   *country*

Slogan   **6**

"ارحلوا يا سراق"

Leave,   *oh*   *thieves*

Slogan   **7**

"كفى. لن نطلب منكم بعد الأن لا خدمات ولا إصلاح ففاقد الشيء لا يعطية – فاسدون – دجالون – طائفيون. إرحلوا. إرحلوا. إرحلوا"

Enough. We will not ask you about neither services nor reform because a man can do no more than he can. Corrupt-Jugglers-Sectarians. Leave. Leave.   *Leave*

       The above slogans begin and end with words "get out and leave" and this is very important. The main verbs "get out" means 'to leave a place' and "leave" means 'to go out of or away from a place permanently'. In terms of the connotative meaning, the political message in the imperative impolite order "get out and leave" (Irhal) illustrates the direct change in the Iraqi society, a change from loyalty to that of challenge to the ruler. It awakens their frozen strength. It also motivates them to raise their rightful demands which have been hindered by those whom they are asking to leave. This clause equivalent refers to the corrupt and is used in the plural imperative mood to suggest that they are all corrupt and it has an intense impact on the demonstrators. It became a protest weapon in which they threaten the corrupt, raising their voices to overturn injustices and put an end to oppression, unemployment, lack of services, security, and poverty while they (the corrupt) live in prosperity.

       In slogan (5) and (6), demonstrators send a direct imperative impolite order to the members of parliament and all the government respectively to leave Iraq and labelling them as "thieves". It should be noted that when making a request, it is preferable to show value and respect to the listener/hearer, therefore, in most cases, the speaker softens

his/her speech with polite expressions in order not to be direct or forceful. The imperative impolite order in the slogans indicates that politicians in the government are unrespectable and they should not be respected. The rude and powerful language used by demonstrators indicates the power of and the change in Iraqi society.

The attitudes of Iraqis are that of powerful, resistible, aggressive, and unsatisfied society with the wrong policies and corruption made by the corrupt in the government. The officials (politicians) are described as "thieves, corrupt, liars, and traitors". They become detested figures amongst Iraqis.

In terms of social meaning, demonstrators use Iraqi dialect in the word "get out" (tleu).

Slogan (7) starts with the word "enough". The word "enough" means 'stop /do not do that anymore'. It is associated with negative words such as impatience, nervousness, exasperation, discontent, anger, malcontent, and frustration. The word "enough" shows to what extent does the corrupt politicians are unwelcomed by Iraqis.

According to the demonstrators, the corrupt will no longer be asked to make reforms, because "a man can do no more than he can". This proverb is remarkable. Although this proverb is unacceptable by many people, but according to the demonstrators, it can be applied on thieves, traitors, and corrupt like the politicians in the Iraqi government. The demonstrators are very sure that the corrupt who rule the government are two faced, hypocritical, deceptive, and unfaithful.

In terms of thematic meaning, the arrangement of this slogan is important in showing the implied message of the demonstrators. First, it starts with the interjection "enough", then the use of the negative words "not, neither and nor". In addition to the interjection "enough" which implies 'anger and impatience', this slogan includes negative words which emphasise a negative idea. These words clearly illustrate the desperation the poor Iraqis live in because of the corrupt.

In terms of social meaning, the demonstrators use the imperative impolite order "get out" (irhal). Irhal becomes a mobile slogan in the Arab Spring Uprisings. It is used by the Tunisians, Egyptians, Libyans, and Iraqis. It illustrates the power of Arabic dialects which becomes a regional phenomenon and not a simple event specific to Tunisia or Egypt.

4.1.3 Slogans of Hope and Inspiration

Slogan   **8**

"إذا الشعب يوماً اراد الحياة   فلا بد ان يستجيب القدر

و لا بد لليل ان ينجلي   و لا بد للقيد ان ينكسر"

If, one day, a people desires to live, then fate will answer their call

And their night will then begin to fade, and their chains break and fall

Slogan   **9**

"هيهات منا الذلة"

Far away we are from accepting humiliation

Slogan   **10**

"يا حسين على نهجك سائرون في رفض الظلم و الفساد"

Oh Hussein, on your policy we are moving, in the rejection of injustice and corruption

Slogan   **11**

"نحن لن نستسلم ،ننتصر او نموت"

We will not surrender, we win or die

The above two lines are taken from the Tunisian poet, Abu al-Qasim al- Shabi's famous poem "The Will of Life".

The powerful discourse of these two lines is very remarkable. The poet starts his poem with the conditional "if" (itha) in order to link people's insistence on life and their thirst to it with the inevitable response from fate. There is an insistence from the poet to motivate people that Allah (the Almighty) loves his/her worshipper whom insists through prayers and seeks with all his/her energy to work. What if all the people work together. Their power will enable them to achieve freedom from oppression, corruption, sectarianism, deception, and poverty.

In the second line, the words "night" and "chains" are important. The word "night" means 'the darkness that occurs during the nighttime'. The word "chains" means 'series of usually metal links or rings that are connected to each other in a line used for holding things together'. The word "night" is associated with death, silence, evil, depression, loss, hopelessness, and devastation. The word "chains" is associated with slavery, bondage, restriction, and lack of freedom.

According to the demonstrators, the words "night" and "chains" refer to the corrupt politicians who have enslaved, deceived, and restricted the innocent Iraqi civilians in order to mislead and persuade them for no other purpose than to satisfy their interests leaving Iraq and its people in a mess. But those corrupt must be eliminated and destroyed if the true will of the Iraqis (which is invincible and nothing can stand in its face) is achieved.

The feelings of demonstrators are that of optimistic and hopeful people. Through these slogans, demonstrators promise all Iraqi people of a better tomorrow and a future that is full of hope and better situation.

In terms of social meaning, al-Shabi's famous poem "The Will of Life" becomes a street protest and spreads throughout the Arab world and is used by different cultures in the Arab uprisings.

Slogan (9) is taken from Imam Hussein's (peace be upon him) respond to the tyrant, Yazeed bin Muawiyah, when the tyrant Yazeed asked him to give allegiance to him, but Imam Hussein refused to give allegiance to the tyrant and corrupt, Yazeed.

Imam Hussein (peace be upon him) responds to the tyrant Yazeed regarding the caliphate: "far away we are from accepting humiliation". The word "humiliation" means 'to humble with a loss of self-esteem and self-respect'. According to the Imam's awareness, giving allegiance under duress, under the edge of the sword, to an unfair and oppressive authority contradicts the principle of dignity and Islam instructions. Rather, it is humiliation; therefore, he preferred to die in dignity than to live in humiliation. The purpose behind raising such a slogan by Iraqi demonstrators is to show that Imam Hussein's statement 'far away we are from accepting humiliation' is a slogan of all the good people that support freedom and call for liberation from satanic rulers.

According to the demonstrators, the current corrupt in the Iraqi government are similar to the corrupt Yazeed. Imam Hussein refused to

give Yazeed allegiance, on the contrary, he chose death and sacrifice his family for the sake of Islam and justice. Demonstrators use Imam Hussein's statement to refuse tyrants, corrupt, and oppressors.

Imam Hussein is associated with freedom, justice, purity, dignity, integrity, and human revolution against tyranny and dictatorship.

The attitudes of the Iraqis are that of rejection to the tyrants, oppressors, and corrupt.

In terms of social meaning, the powerful, revolutionary, Arabic, and Islamic figure like Imam Hussein does not only represent a symbol of hope, and inspiration to the entire world but also the use of Imam Hussein clearly shows the identity and the region of the demonstrators that most of the demonstrators are from the Shiite sect of Iraq.

Demonstrators use Imam Hussein as a symbol of hope and inspiration in slogan (10). Imam Hussein is associated with integrity, right, and justice. Iraqi demonstrators are addressing Imam Hussein (*the revolutionary leader who made the ultimate sacrifice for social justice in the face of corruption and tyranny*) and sending him a clear message which says "Iraqi people are following your path of righteousness, resistance, and justice and they will use it as a weapon to fight with against the tyrant, corrupt, and dictators". Hussein's legacy continued to inspire millions around the world especially Iraqi people who have been deceived, manipulated, marginalised, and oppressed by a group of corrupt politicians.

Slogan (11) is also taken from a famous, Libyan, Arab, and Muslim Hero, Omar al-Mukhtar who led the Libyan native against the illegal oppression by Italy in early twentieth century.

The word "surrender" in the slogan means 'to agree to stop or give up fighting, hiding, and resisting, because one knows that he/she will not win or succeed'.

The word "surrender" is associated with 'weakness, laziness, and cowardliness'. What is preceding the word is important. It is preceded by the inclusive "we", the auxiliary verb "will", and the negative "not". The inclusive "we" in the slogan is associated with collectivity and unity. Omar al-Mukhtar attempts to create unity in the Libyans' points of view regarding the Jihad against the Italian oppression.

According to Swan (2005: 629), the auxiliary "will" is used to express certainty or confidence about present or future situations. The negative "not" is used to emphasise a negative idea. The language of the slogan is enthusiastic, full of certainty, unity, and a promise of a better tomorrow that is full of hope and never giving up to any enemy, oppressor, and corrupt.

This slogan is used by Iraqi demonstrators to motivate and encourage other people to join their unity, unity against the corrupt, and sectarian politicians. The conjunction "or" is used to talk about a choice between two possibilities. According to the demonstrators, they will either win their holy battle against satanic tyrants and corrupt or die just like the martyr Omar al-Mukhtar in the path of righteousness and Jihad.

In terms of social meaning, the Arabic and revolutionary leader Omar al-Mukhtar also shows the identity and region of the demonstrators.

4.1.4 The Equivalence of Terrorism and Corruption Slogan 12

"داعش ولد من رحم فسادكم"

ISIS was born from the womb of your corruption

The acronym "ISIS" stands for the so-called 'Islamic State in Iraq and Syria', a terrorist group which has taken three northern Iraqi cities and displaced millions of innocent civilians due to their thirst to kill. What is important here in this slogan is the equilibrium of ISIS and the corrupt, in other words the equivalence between terrorism and corruption. That is due to corruption, ISIS has emerged.

The word "womb" denotatively means 'a place where something generated'. The word "ISIS" is associated with terror, horror, and evil. The word "womb" has positive and negative connotations: it can generate evil and good. It refers to the corrupt politicians in the Iraqi government. It means that the corrupt are the womb (nucleus or power cell) which generates evil and terror to the poor and innocent Iraqis.

The angry language of the demonstrators illustrates the attitudes and feelings of the Iraqis which are full of anger, dissatisfaction, and

desperation.

In terms of thematic meaning, much emphasis is given to the corrupt and their wrong policies towards the innocent-poor Iraqis. According to the demonstrators, ISIS and the corrupt are the same. They have the same goals: to destroy and destabilise Iraq on one hand, and marginalise, and deceive the poor Iraqis and push them to sectarian strife on the other.

The use of the standard Arabic language in this slogan not only indicates that well-civilised Iraqis took part in the demonstrations but also sends a direct message to the Arab world to support the Iraqi demonstrations against corruption.

4.2   Results

The denotative meaning in this study is crucial and helps make the interpretation and understanding of the language and messages of the slogans clear to the listener/reader. Denotation is an example of the first level of analysis: what readers can visually see on a page.

The second level of analysis is called associative meaning. Throughout the analysis of the selected slogans, associative meaning plays a vital role in showing the powerful associative meanings of lexical items used by demonstrators against politicians in the government. In all of the slogans, the corrupt in the government are associated with words that connote evil, dirt, death, deception, corruption, hypocrisy, slavery, bondage, restriction, trickery, sectarianism, and terrorism, while demonstrators are often associated with innocence, integrity, freedom, and justice. These different associations illustrate the difference between a group of corruptive and deceptive politicians and the poor and innocent Iraqi people.

The attitudes of demonstrators towards politicians are that of oppressors, corrupt, and manipulators. The language of the slogans is very angry towards the wrong policies of the corrupt in the government. The language of reprimand, criticism, and dissatisfaction is clear in most of the slogans. In some of the slogans, the feelings and the language of demonstrators are hopeful, optimistic, and enthusiastic, promising of a better tomorrow.

In terms of thematic meaning, the emphasis of demonstrators on the corrupt politicians in the government is clear. In most of the slogans, the corrupt have been described as thieves, corrupt, and terrorists. The use of imperative-impolite order in some of the slogans indicates the forceful and angry tone of demonstrators and their dissatisfaction on corruption and the corrupt.

In terms of social meaning, the standard-official Arabic language is used in most of the analysed slogans. This indicates that well-civilised people organised and also took part in the demonstrations. There are some words used by Iraqi demonstrators indicating Iraqi dialect such as 'get out' (tleu), and 'thieves' (haramia). The demonstrators resort to powerful and revolutionary Arabic and Iraqi leaders such as Hammurabi, Imam Hussein (peace be upon him), and Omar-al-Mukhtar. These names refer to Arabic nationalism and culture.

5. Conclusions

The researchers have analysed some selected slogans raised by Iraqi demonstrators against corruption and the corrupt politicians in the government. Based on the results of data analysis, important findings have arisen as follows:

1. The analysis of the selected (12) slogans has proven that there is a direct shift and change in the discourse of Iraqi demonstrations in particular, and Iraqi society in general. A shift from loyalty, obedience, and allegiance to politicians and rulers to that of reprimand and defiance.

2. The image of US and THEM is clear in all of the slogans. The positive or included group is the image of 'US', while the negative or excluded group is that of 'THEM'. The 'US' image is that of (innocent and poor Iraqi people), while the image of 'THEM' is that of (a group of corruptive, oppressive, manipulative, and deceptive politicians).

3. The analysis has shown that Iraqi demonstrators use powerful, revolutionary, political, and religious figures such as Hammurabi, Imam Hussein, and Omar-al-Mukhtar as symbols of hope, inspiration, and defiance against the current corrupt and oppressors.

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