HateSpeak in Contemporary Arabic Discourse
HateSpeak in Contemporary Arabic Discourse

By

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To Miral, Mariam and Marwa
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The following symbols are used in transcribing Arabic words and texts in the book:

- ؤ - voiceless glottal stop (as in the American /t/ variant in "bottle")
- ج - voiced palatal fricative (as in "gentle" and "jam")
- ح - voiceless pharyngeal fricative
- خ - voiceless uvular fricative
- ذ - interdental voiced fricative (as in "then")
- ث - interdental voiceless fricative (as in "thin")
- ش - voiceless palatal fricative (as in "sheep")
- ص - voiceless pharyngealized fricative (the /s/ allophone in "son")
- ض - voiced pharyngealized plosive
- ط - voiceless pharyngealized plosive
- ظ - voiced pharyngealized fricative
- ع - voiced pharyngeal fricative
- ه - voiceless uvular fricative
- ق - voiceless uvular plosive
- ي - voiced palatal semi-vowel (as in "yet")

Long vowels and geminate consonants are indicated by doubling the relevant symbols. Transliterations are given in italics. Transliteration of proper nouns mixes conventional and phonetic variants based on convenience.
HateSpeak, with its Orwellian overtones, is all around us today; its stridency has been tremendously magnified by the internet revolution. It has been fuelled by the 'oxygen of publicity' in blogs, the web, and social networking sites such as Facebook and Twitter. In this volume, the author's focus is HateSpeak in the Arab World; he uses his first hand knowledge of the language and its dialects to interpret not only on-line sources but the placards and slogans displayed in Tahrir Square during the 'lotus' revolution, as it has unfolded in the year since its inception on 25th January 2011. In the first chapter he considers the wellsprings of hate and its metaphoric affinity to envy and jealousy, fear and ignorance. The second chapter reviews the external factors which can lead to hate and HateSpeak, among which are discrimination and humiliation. The latter abound in the Arab World, principally as a result of political and cultural factors as a result of which Arabs and Muslims perceive themselves as being stereotyped and judged in the West by double standards.

However, the author's focus is not solely the Arab and Muslim world versus the West; he devotes much analysis to intra-Arab rivalries such as those between sunni and shi'a and Egyptian and Algerian football supporters. He comes close to the heart of the problem when he characterizes purveyors of HateSpeak as seeking a monopoly of the truth and the negation of the opposing Other as an enemy. In this, the Arab World is far from unique; such tendencies are equally on display in the West in these days of digital freedom of expression. The author also examines traditional (often humorous) stereotypes of minoritized groups such as sa'idis in Egypt or people from Tarhuna in Libya. However, only a moment's thought is enough to convince us that even such easy jocularity can swiftly turn to something more sinister. For, at the root of the problem is difference and where there is difference there is always the potential for hatred.

A notable feature of this book is its topicality; not only are the twists and turns of the Egyptian people's revolution followed through their slogans at demonstrations and their tweets but ramifications of the Arab Spring, such as the current rapprochement between Egypt and Algeria, are also charted. There is a solution to the torrent of Hatespeak and that solution lies in basic religious injunctions in the Quran and hadith. It also lies in the promotion of the antonyms of hate such as knowledge, respect
and tolerance. It is embodied in the attitude of Tariq Jahan whose 21 year old son was the fatal victim of a hate crime in Birmingham, UK in August 2011. He challenged those who shouted for vengeance: 'Do you wish for your sons also to be killed? If not, then go home.' His speech appealing for calm, social unity and an end to violence was hailed as a major contribution to easing ethnic violence in that city.

The chapter on HeartSpeak is followed by one on the problems and issues in translating HateSpeak. The author even questions whether it ought actually to be translated but concludes that transparency is necessary in the interests of better intercultural understanding. An interventionist strategy such as omission or euphemism is held to be dishonest but literal translation also poses its own problems, culture-bound references often being difficult to grasp. What is usually needed is a 'thick' translation, negotiating an understanding and at the same time forming a representation of the foreign object and culture.

In Martin Luther King's words 'Darkness cannot drive out darkness; only light can do that' and the light of knowledge is a necessary first step in breaking the chain reaction of hate. This book enriches our understanding of a topic of concern to us all.

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FHSS, UAE University
27/1/2012
"… Hatred has already appeared from their mouths, and what their hearts conceal is greater…” (Holy Qur'an, Sura of Aal Imran – The Family of Imran Chapter, verse 118, http://quran.com/3, slightly adapted)

"The whole problem with the world is that fools and fanatics are always so certain of themselves, and wiser people so full of doubts." (Bertrand Russell, bolds added)

The story of this book began in the aftermath of three football matches between Egypt and Algeria in 2010. The matches were preceded, accompanied and followed by a lot of insults being exchanged between the fans of the two national teams. The football grudge grew into a political crisis. Occasionally, I felt personally insulted and very often I felt it was all absurd. I became interested in the issue of hate speech in the Arab world and was amazed how widespread it is and how negligent of this serious concern academic research has been.

To address the issue of hate speech (henceforth HateSpeak) in contemporary Arabic discourse is a "hateful" task for a number of reasons. To start with, the writer will most likely find it difficult to side with a certain party, or to "sit on the fence" and watch what is going on. When there is HateSpeak exchanged between A and B, the writer has the option of siding with A, in which case s/he will be hated by B, or siding with B and thus incurring hate from A, and, which is more, will cease to be objective in both cases. A third option is to switch between A and B, which sounds very hypocritical and chameleon-like.

The last and safest option is not to side with either party and to remain as detached and neutral as possible. In this case, the writer will sound indifferent and maybe cold-blooded, especially in the middle of tumultuous events such as the revolutions in the Arab world.

The book was very frequently interrupted by the revolutions in many Arab countries starting in Tunisia at the end of 2010 and spreading over to Egypt, Libya, Yemen, Syria and occasionally Bahrain. A lot of HateSpeak was generated during these revolutions - between the target regimes and the protestors, as well as between those supporting the regimes and those siding with the protestors. The "revolutionary" hate is still very widespread,
at least in Egypt, Yemen and Syria, and so is the HateSpeak, while this Preface is being written (Dec. 28, 2011).

Although there is a separate section on expressions of hate, especially in Egypt, after January 25, 2011, and remarks on the impact of the revolutions on HateSpeak in contemporary Arabic discourse in different places throughout the book, HateSpeak generated during the revolutions in the Arab world was not in its original plan.

The interruptions caused not only delay, but also reconsideration of many parts in the book. This was not the last challenge, anyway. Translating expressions of hate from Arabic to English is a tough and hateful endeavor for reasons elaborated in the last chapter. The translations and transliterations throughout the book are mine unless otherwise indicated. For transliterations, a phonetic key is provided above. In translating expressions of hate, a blend of literalism and functionalism is used to keep the cultural components and produce communicative translations at one and the same time.

Beyond this Preface and the Introduction which sets the stage for the remaining parts, the book is divided into seven chapters varying in length based on their content. Chapter One is definitional and semantic. The meanings of "hate" and its equivalents in Arabic, their synonyms and semantic fields are discussed. The metaphorical representations of hate in English as well as in Arabic are also elaborated and illustrated.

Chapter Two investigates the "bones of contention", or why people and groups hate one another. The major "bones of hatred" explored in the chapter are Discrimination and Marginalization, Corruption, Humiliation, Damage, Diversity and Disparagement, Unfulfilled Expectations and Third Party. Chapter Three is very short. It is about the Battlefields and Damage, or the media and channels through which hate is communicated and the potential chain of hate from dislike to crime.

Chapter Four - Fighting Parties, or Targets of HateSpeak – illustrates major cases of hate and HateSpeak in contemporary Arabic discourse before the revolutions in the Arab world: Arabs vs. Israel, Sunni vs. Shi'ites, Ahly vs. Zamalek (the Cairo Derby), Egypt vs. Algeria, Men vs. Women, Rebel vs. Mainstream, and Sa'idi (Upper Egyptian) vs. Cairene (those who live in the capital city of Cairo). The section Jan. 25, 2011 and After: Revolutionary Hatespeak was added to the original conception of the book.

Chapter Five, or Weapons and Shields: Pragma-linguistics of HateSpeak, discusses the Vocabulary and Metaphors of Hate as identified in the sample cases and the general Characteristics of HateSpeak in Arabic. The characteristics identified and explained in this chapter are Polarizing and
Divisive, Conflictive, Generally Impolite and Dysphemistic, Subjective and Often Impulsive, Dissimulative, "Stuck in History", Decontextualized and *Ad Hominem*, Not only an Index, but also a Tool, Can be Manufactured and Not always Bad.

Some remedies for hate and HateSpeak are suggested in Chapter Six - From HateSpeak to HeartSpeak. This chapter may sound didactic and occasionally patronizing, although it is the ultimate end result of the whole book.

Chapter Seven is about Translating HateSpeak. The issues discussed in this chapter are Local Varieties, Obscenity and Context-/Culture-bound References and Allusions. The chapter also touches upon some Issues in Transliterating Arabic HateSpeak

In addition to the few figures and the quotes at the beginning of each chapter and section, the book contains a large number of bordered digressions that shed more light on relevant aspects in each chapter. Although the book can be read without these digressions, they highlight some very important aspects of HateSpeak in Arabic, and things most closely related.

I am very grateful to many people for helping, each in his or her own way, in getting this book out: to Teun A. van Dijk, Muhammad Jamil and Duane Lacey for their encouraging and insightful remarks on a very early draft of the book, to Ivan Humberto Jimenez Williams for a very careful reading of some chapters, to Peter Emery for writing a very valuable Foreword, to Ahlam Khattabi, Abeer Al-Alousi, Fatiha Yahiaoui, Samira Farahat, Fatima Benslemiah, Naglaa Ghanem, Asmaa Kassab and Mooze Shekary for their input on how hate is expressed in their varieties of Arabic, and to Gamal Al-Gezeery for a very careful reading and a number of important comments and suggestions on the book. My gratitude also goes to the numerous Facebook friends who commented on some hate-related notes and postings of mine in Arabic. They are too many to be listed here. Usama Ibrahim, Refaat Mazid, Fathi Al-Dabie, Laila Hashem and Shabaan Abd Elrahman made some very important remarks, and Usama also suggested some articles and links that were very useful. I am no less deeply grateful to Carol Koulikourdi and Amanda Millar of the CSP for their patience and assistance in materializing this project from a proposal to a book.

As ever, there is nothing to say to my small family – my wife and my daughters - except a very humble "thank you".

The usual disclaimers do apply.
INTRODUCTION

"HateSpeak should be viewed for what it is: psychological violence, an attack upon people’s inner lives, a form of social betrayal that results in short-term and long-term effects on both its perpetrators and its victims. Even the 'milder' forms of HateSpeak, such as that inflicted by this radio talk-show host, lead to actual, physical mayhem. With HateSpeak, it’s not just a matter of messages leading to actions, because here, the messages are the actions, are the event itself, destroying without physical action." (Fox 2000, 167-168)

"Or, being lied about, don't deal in lies,
Or, being hated, don't give way to hating,
And yet don't look too good, nor talk too wise….”
(Rudyard Kipling, If)

Some of the most profound and influential conceptualizations of the issues of the power of language and the language of power, of manipulation and inscription, ideology and control, of what people can do with language, and many other aspects of language and discourse, are articulated in fables and allegories, e.g., Kalila and Dimna, especially the Chapter of the Hermit and His Guest, Orwell's Animal Farm, parts of Swift's Gulliver's Travels, Shakespeare's Tempest, interpreted allegorically, Friel's Translations and Carroll's Alice in Wonderland and Through the Looking Glass. Carroll's Humpty Dumpty and his views on language are very hard to forget. Orwell's "newspeak" and "doublethink", and the blending based thereon - "doublespeak" - and his views on the power of language and the language of power in his 1984 have been important starting points for any critical perspective on language and discourse (Mazid 2007, 13, and 2009a).

This study is an examination of some aspects of HateSpeak, hate speech or hate language, in contemporary Arabic discourse, with a secondary emphasis on translating it into English. Translation of hate expressions and metaphors from Arabic to English is an integral part of the study. Many quotes about hate and related concepts are translated from Arabic to English. In addition, the study includes a separate section on issues involved in translating, and transliterating, HateSpeak from Arabic to English.
Hamas and Fath (Fateh)


"Both of the parties, since the fight in Gaza (and even before that, ages ago, when the Islamists were a minority) are waging an endless and fierce campaign against each others. Fateh is composed of “corrupt immoral mafia” people (for Hamas) and Hamas, in turn, is a bunch of terrorists who live in the dark ages (dzalamyyoun, in plain arabic). This continuous fight is spoken and fed with and in every single medium; TV, Radio, songs, conferences, sessions, pamphlets, handouts, Youtube, Facebook and all what can you imagine of forums. The gap is not only so deep, but fierce and brutal. Every party is trying to attract the simple people (as if people are foolish) by his own narrative of hatred…. and here I am bargained to sell my head and fight within this circle of hatred… facts are irrelevant, you can use spices, lies and exaggerate or even invent what has never happen in order to beautify your ugly and bloody face".


Hate and HateSpeak have always been there in the Arab world as well as elsewhere. Yet, there is a "tsunami" of hate language in the Arab world today as a result of the Iraqi Invasion of Kuwait, followed by the liberation of the latter 1990-1991, the 9/11 attacks and the subsequent wars on Afghanistan and Iraq, resulting in the respective toppling of Taliban and Saddam Hussein by the USA and its allies 2001-2003. The conflict between Hamas and Fatah over authority in an occupied Palestine, paradoxically referred to as the "Conflict of Brothers" (Siraa Ġil Ṭikhwah) but commonly known among Palestinians as waksah ("collapse", "humiliating defeat") which began in 2006-2007 after Hamas's legislative victories and continued into 2010, with Hamas remaining in control of Gaza, is another significant development over which Arabs and Muslims have been intensely divided. An "intractable ethno-national conflict" (Rouhana and Bar-Tal (1998) with Israel and a second war with Hezbollah also explain a lot of hate language in the Arab and Muslim world today. An increasing grudge over such issues as football and media supremacy
and an explosion in free speech in many Arab countries, the rise of
formerly suppressed minorities such as the Shi’ites under Saddam Hussein
and the conflicting attitudes amongst Muslims and Arabs toward
globalization, normalization with Israel and secularization, all accompanied
with an upsurge in using the World Wide Web, are important causes of
hate and hate language in contemporary Arabic discourse.

The background of the examination of HateSpeak in contemporary
Arabic discourse is a discussion of the types of hate language according to
Kozhevnikova (2008), the semantics of hate, its synonyms and degrees
and "conceptual company", so to speak, in Arabic and English, and
metaphors of hate in the two languages. The bones of contention, or where
hate comes from, and the battlefields, or where hate is communicated, are
then explored. The subsection on battlefields of hate also contains a note
on whether or not hate hurts – which sounds like a dumb question. It is not
that dumb, anyway, because hate is not always negative. More practical
illustrations of HateSpeak in contemporary Arabic discourse are then
given under the headings of Fighting Parties, or Targets of HateSpeak, and
weapons and tools of expressing hate toward others and shields of
beautifying and protecting self.

Conflicts where illustrations are drawn from include Arabs vs. Israel,
Egypt vs. Algeria, Sunni vs. Shiite, men vs. women, Sa’idi (Upper
Egyptian) vs. Cairene, Ahly vs. Zamalek (two Egyptian football teams),
and mainstream vs. rebel. A special section is devoted to the HateSpeak
generated by the revolutions in the Arab world, especially the revolution in

It goes without saying that there are other conflicts going on in the
Arab and Muslim world. However, a single study cannot afford to
illustrate all conflicts in any part of the globe and the hate expressed as
part of them. The section on Weapons and Shields focuses on the
vocabulary, metaphors and other linguistic-pragmatic tools of HateSpeak
in contemporary Arabic. No attempt is made anywhere in the study to
provide solutions to the conflicts referred to therein, although some golden
middles that exist between the fighting parties are occasionally discussed.
The study concludes with some notes on issues involved in translating,
and transliterating, HateSpeak from Arabic to English.

Very little can be said about the socio-historical background of the data
qualitatively examined throughout this study, since many of the texts cited
are not signed and most of them are signed with pseudonyms. The
majority of pseudonyms refer to male contributors and commentators –
which is in line with Temkin and Yanay’s (1988) note on hate letters in an
Israeli context. However, no conclusions can be made on this account,
since all information about gender, age, nationality, and so on, is quite uncertain, or simply missing.

What the study does - beyond the theoretical background and the semantics and metaphors of hate, before some suggestions for mitigating hate and HateSpeak are made, and in addition to an investigation of translational issues - is to trace recurrent descriptions used in targeting objects of hate and to classify them toward a characterization of the weapons and shields, as well as the pragmatics of HateSpeak – specifically as to its instantiation of the ideological square, its impoliteness and uncooperativeness.

A Hopeful Note to Start with

"Hope is the little voice you hear whisper 'maybe' when it seems the entire world is shouting 'no'" (Facebook, Positive Outlooks, http://www.facebook.com/positiveoutlooks, Jan. 25, 2012).
CHAPTER ONE

HATE AND HATESpeak

Gratefulness and meanness are twins -
some human traits are best known by being in opposition.
Wherever an insult is met with meanness and spite,
a good deed is likely to receive grateful thanks.
A land wherefrom you reap whatsoever you sow -
be it good, be it bad - is certainly a perfect land.
(Ibn Al-Rumi, AD 836-896)

In this chapter, HateSpeak is situated as part of SensationSpeak within
the broader context of contemporary MediaSpeak as elaborated by Fox
(2000). The various terms synonymous with HateSpeak – hate language,
or language of hate, and hate speech - are also introduced. The types of
hate language are summarized. (However, almost nothing is said about
hate crimes which are triggered by hate on ethnic, political and religious
grounds. Nothing is said about how much hate hurts, either, although it
does hurt. The possible materializations of hate into action are certainly
beyond the scope of a linguistic-discursive analysis.) Then, hate and its
Arabic equivalent kurh or karaahiyah are located within their semantic,
conceptual and metaphorical spaces.

HateSpeak

O you who believe! Take not as (your) Bitânah (advisors, consultants,
protectors, helpers, friends) those outside your religion … since they will
not fail to do their best to corrupt you. They desire to harm you severely.
*Hatred has already appeared from their mouths, but what their breasts
conceal is far worse.* Indeed We have made plain to you the Ayât (proofs,
evidences, verses) if you understand. Lo! You are the ones who love them
but they love you not, and you believe in all the Scriptures (i.e. you
believe in the Taurât (Torah) and the Injeel (Gospel), while they disbelieve
in your Book, the Qurân). And when they meet you, they say, "We
believe." But when they are alone, *they bite the tips of their fingers at you
in rage. Say: "Perish in your rage.* Certainly, Allâh knows what is in the
breasts (all the secrets)." (Holy Qur'an, Aal Imraan 3, 118-119, Translation from: http://quran.muslim-web.com/sura.htm?aya=003118, italics added)

A host of "–Speaks" has developed based on George Orwell's seminal ideas – although the Qur'anic quote above indicates that hate can be expressed without speaking, or nonverbally, that hate can kill, as will be elaborated later in this study, and that expression of hate may fall short of revealing all the hate "concealed". Fox (2000) elaborates on these "–Speaks" under the umbrella of MediaSpeak, where Doublespeak flourishes and prospers, and so does HateSpeak. The focus of the book is on American media and politics and that is why Fox grounds Doublespeak in American ideologies of individualism and the newer is always better, among other things.

Fox (2000) explores three forms of MediaSpeak – Doublespeak, SaleSpeak and SensationSpeak. He classifies the last form into CelebSpeak, AlienSpeak and HateSpeak. Doublespeak is any message that "intentionally tries to change how we view the world." It "pretends to tell something, but doesn't." It seeks to "hide something or to make it seem better than it really is" (47, original emphasis). Sometimes it is an obvious contradiction, if the recipient of the message "knows the facts." Doublespeak is often "obscure, pompous, vague, evasive, confusing and deceptive." It is "slippery"; it "evades, suggests, implies, wiggles, weasels, slides and slithers here and there." Although it communicates "a big fat lie", it often "nips at or shades the truth rather than telling obvious black-and-white lies" (ibid, 48).

In SensationSpeak, (the content and/ or the form of) a message stimulates the senses rather than the mind (ibid, 148). The most relevant part of SensationSpeak to this study is HateSpeak. It is communication that "expresses negative and destructive attitudes and behaviors toward certain groups of people on the basis of their race, age, ethnicity, religion" and other affiliations or backgrounds. More definitions and characterizations of HateSpeak are given below. The targets of American HateSpeak include "women, Jews, African Americans, Hispanics, immigrants", "the federal government" and "whiggers" (white niggers) (ibid, 165). This is a very partial list, of course. Some other targets, hated because of their sexual orientations, are not mentioned here for very serious cultural reasons.

Wherever there is human interaction, there is hate, a certain degree thereof, and wherever there is hate, there are victims thereof. It may not be hate as such, as will be suggested throughout this book; it may be merely disliking or being indifferent.
"not merely referential"

"There exists in society a linguistic code among many. A nod here, a wink there, and a subtle change in intonation all mark opinions and thoughts on race. The general assumption by many is that matters of racism and discussions of hate speech are simply unwarranted attempts by some to dredge up the past" (Josey 2010, 27).

"… racist speech is not merely referential, as many believe. On the contrary … different strategies such as register shifts, double voicing, footing changes and intonational breakthroughs … index a complex set of beliefs. These indexed beliefs serve to position [a certain group] in sharp contrast to folk beliefs or rhetoric that all too often marginalizes more overt racialized speech out of scholarly discourse" (ibid, 36).

"… although many in the academy and society at large may deem hate speech too vile to analyze at any length, there is a growing impetus for scholars to analyze such speech, given the real political and social implications" (ibid, 38).

Hate speech must have existed long before HateSpeak and it seems that the latter term only adds a neologistic flavor to the older one. In fact, the older term is more comprehensive and more common in communication research. HateSpeak refers to both text and talk, as well as image and other types of signs, "perceived to disparage a person or group of people based on their social or ethnic group, such as race, gender, age, ethnicity, nationality, religion, sexual orientation, gender identity, disability, language ability, ideology, social class, occupation, appearance (height, weight, skin color, etc.), mental capacity, and any other distinction that might be considered by some as a liability" (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hatred).

An alternative term used by Kozhevnikova (2008) is hate language or language of hate which is defined as "any intolerant pronouncements against an ethnic or religious group and/ or its members, contributing to negative ethno-religious stereotypes" (3). The types of hate language identified by Kozhevnikova (2008, 4) are summarized and substantially modified in the following – many up-to-date examples are added:
a) **Overt** or **covert** calls to violence and/or discrimination against certain groups or individuals, e.g. "Kill him", "Get them out of this country";

b) **Creating** a negative image of a person or a group, e.g., Taliban, Al-Qaeda, bin Laden, Saddam Hussein and many others. The representation of rebels in Egypt, Libya, Syria and Yemen, as subhuman, disloyal mercenaries, by the pro-government media is an important case in point;

c) **Justification** of historical violence and discrimination;

d) **Publications** and statements questioning historically established facts of violence and discrimination;

e) **Statements** alleging inferiority to a certain group, especially during the age of European explorations into the *Heart of Darkness* – Africa – and during times of revolution when fighting parties describe each other as subhuman;

f) **Statements** alleging historical crimes committed by a certain ethnic or religious group, e.g. Sunni suppression of Shia;

g) **Statements** describing a certain group as criminal, as morally deficient, or as harmful and dangerous to society;

h) **Statements** alleging disproportional superiority, Hitler's perception of his own race vs. other races;

i) **Mention** of an ethnic or religious group or its members in a humiliating or offensive context (e.g. in crime reports);

j) **Appeals** to prevent the settlement in a region of migrants belonging to a certain ethnic or religious group (e.g., protests against building a mosque in a non-Muslim city, and so many angry Western voices calling on Arabs and Muslims to "go back home", especially after 9/11);

k) **Quoting** radical xenophobic statements and texts without comments, and offering newspaper space to explicitly nationalist propaganda without editorial comments, e.g., an Israeli girl on Youtube suggesting that all Arabs should be killed;

l) **Accusing** a group of attempts to seize power or territory, e.g., accusing the Muslim Brotherhood and The Muslim Groups, *jamaaʕaat*, in Egypt of such attempts;
m) **Denying** nationality or citizenship, e.g., the case of the late Egyptian academic and thinker Nasr Hamid Abu Zeid (see below). Denying can materialize into a legal action.

Noriega and Iribarren 2009: *Hate Speech on Commercial Radio*

**Example of Hate Speech** from *The John & Ken Show*

“And this is all under the Gavin Newsom administration and the Gavin Newsom policy in San Francisco of letting underage illegal alien criminals loose” (from the July 21, 2008, broadcast).

**Types of Hate Speech**

1. **False Facts** – e.g., simple falsehoods, exaggerated statements, and decontextualized facts [which should also include half-truths and biased information.]

2. **Flawed Argumentation** – e.g., ad hominem, guilt by association, hidden assumption or missing premise, misrepresentation of opponents' positions, appeal to fear, fallacious appeal to authority and innuendo.

3. **Divisive Language** – [the "us vs. them" theme that we will see very frequently instantiated in the examples of HateSpeak from Arabic].

4. **Dehumanizing Metaphors** - "We identified 185 dehumanizing metaphors, which often evoked warfare, enemies, biblical characters, criminality, persecution, corruption, evil, animality, disease, and conspiracy. These metaphors were used to draw a contrast between a target and the talk show hosts, their guests, their audience, and/or the values and positions they represent" (3).

These (mostly verbal) manifestations of hate recur in various languages and contexts, albeit under different names and categories. They are also discussed under the broad term of **verbal abuse** (De Angeli and Brahnam, 2008) – "The referents of terms of abuse could take the form of body parts, mental abnormalities and inadequacy, immoral behaviour, and sexuality" (308).
Semantics and Metaphorics of "Hate"

The register of hate ... can be distinguished from three other related attributes: (1) detest, which means “strong aversion, but may lack active hostile malevolence associated with hate”, (2) to loathe, which means “revulsion, rather than active antipathy”, and (3) to abhor, which “entails revulsion or repugnancy but with the tendency to flinch” ... To loathe, detest or abhor, are certainly in the same emotional range as hate, but tend to lack active hostile malevolence, active antipathy and, while expressive of revulsion, will recognize limits (Natter 2001, 30, adapted).

Hate itself is an intense feeling of dislike, antipathy or aversion. It translates into Arabic as kurh, karh and karaahah and karaahiyah all designating painful feelings – feelings of unwillingness to do something, or feeling of pain and hardship in doing or putting up with it. In the Holy Qur'an, the Sura of Al-Ahqaf, there is a reference to a mother's painful experience of pregnancy and giving birth - "His mother bears him with hardship and she brings him forth with hardship" (verse 21). "With hardship" is a translation of kurhan. It is very unlikely that a normal mother will hate her child in the sense of disliking or feeling disgusted. In the same vein, the etymology of the English word "hate" relates it to feelings of "care", "trouble", "sorrow", "pain" and "anger" (http://www.etymonline.com/index.php?term=hate). Both "hate" and kurh carry the sense of pain in enduring or bearing up with someone or something. Interestingly, the (Tunisian) Arabic expression ma b nihmilhesh ("I cannot stand it") and the Standard Arabic laa yuhtamal and laa yuTaqq ("cannot be endured"/ "put up with") may translate into English as "I cannot stand ..." and "unbearable".
Fire and Ice

Some say the world will end in fire,
Some say in ice.

From what I’ve tasted of desire
I hold with those who favor fire.

But if it had to perish twice,
I think I know enough of hate
To know that for destruction ice
Is also great
And would suffice.

(Robert Frost, Fire and Ice)

Both "hate" and kurh, or karaahiyah, live, as could be gathered from the quotes above, in a rich semantic company - ṭadaawah, bughD, qila, shanaʔaan, shanaf, maqt, bughDah, fark, baghDaaʔ, hiqd, Daghînah ("ill will"), ghill ("spite") and ḥasad, in the case of kurh, and "aversion", "loathing", "abhorrance", "detesting", "disliking", "aversion", "revulsion", "repugnance", "grudge", "antagonism" and "hostility", "malice", "ill will", "malevolence", "abomination", "rancor", "spite" and "acrimony", in the case of "hate".

The scalings attempted in the first two quotes at the beginning of this section, though far from final, are based on how strong the aversion is and whether it is merely a motive for action, or a verbal and/ or nonverbal behavior or action (Anderson and Bushman 2002, 28; Rempel and Burris 2005, 300), i.e., whether it is dislike, or aggression, or something in between.

Other bases of categorization do exist. For example, Dufwenberg and Güth (2000) distinguish spite from other forms of hostility on the basis of whether or not there is a reason for harming others: "Spite is something different. Here others are harmed without an obvious reason" (147). "Without an obvious reason" does not mean "without any reason at all". In the discussion of where hate comes from, later in the book, it is indicated that hate is not always motivated by something material or tangible.
Flames of Hate

"Flaming is generally defined as the anti-normative hostile communication of emotions that includes the use of profanity, insults, and other offensive or hurtful statements. Flaming may be directed at an individual's partner (e.g., calling the partner a vulgar name) or at the negotiation context (e.g., cursing bad luck). The literature suggests that, compared to face-to-face, the increased incidence of flaming when using computer-mediated communication is due to reductions in the transfer of social cues, which decrease individuals' concern for social evaluation and fear of social sanctions or reprisals. When social identity and in-group status are salient, computer mediation can decrease flaming because individuals focus their attention on the social context (and associated norms) rather than themselves. However, we are interested in negotiations between parties who are strangers (i.e., unfamiliar with each other), so that social identity and in-group status become less salient, and therefore do not serve to mitigate the incidence of flaming" (Johnson et al. 2009: 661).

Hate lives in the conceptual company of envy, jealousy, ignorance and fear. "Hatred has a twin brother, and it's fear" (Reese, 2007) and "A man is an enemy of anything he does not know/ Ignorance breeds hostility", thus the Arabic adage goes. Perhaps earlier, Lucius Accius puts it in Latin thus, Oderint, dum metuant ("let them hate, so long as they fear"). As elaborated below, a good deal of hate derives from lack of adequate knowledge and the wholesale uncritical acceptance of negative stereotypes. "Prejudice is pre-judging, making a decision about a person or group of people without sufficient knowledge. Prejudicial thinking is frequently based on stereotypes" (ADL 2001, 15). When the attachment to negative stereotypes is "unreasonable" and "irrational", prejudice becomes "bigotry" (ibid: 13). A lack of reason and/ or some fear are/ is often there when there is hate. Fear, ignorance and hatred can be thought of as a triangle or a vicious circle. Which of them is a cause and which is an effect is difficult to determine, but they are inevitably interrelated. The triad should always be situated in a context. It is an oversimplification to argue that we hate whatever we fear or we fear whatever we hate.

Jealousy and envy, which are quite confusable, can also cause hatred. Envy indicates a longing to possess something awarded to, achieved, or owned by another; jealousy, on the other hand, is a feeling of resentment that another has gained something that one more rightfully deserves.