



palgrave▶pivot

# Language in a Failed State

## Public Discourse in the Lebanese Crisis

**Samia Bazzi**

palgrave  
macmillan

## Language in a Failed State

Samia Bazzi

# Language in a Failed State

Public Discourse in the Lebanese Crisis

palgrave  
macmillan

Samia Bazzi  
Centre for Languages and Translation  
Lebanese University  
Beirut, Lebanon

ISBN 978-3-031-66999-6      ISBN 978-3-031-67000-8 (eBook)  
<https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-031-67000-8>

© The Editor(s) (if applicable) and The Author(s), under exclusive license to Springer  
Nature Switzerland AG 2024

This work is subject to copyright. All rights are solely and exclusively licensed by the Publisher, whether the whole or part of the material is concerned, specifically the rights of translation, reprinting, reuse of illustrations, recitation, broadcasting, reproduction on microfilms or in any other physical way, and transmission or information storage and retrieval, electronic adaptation, computer software, or by similar or dissimilar methodology now known or hereafter developed.

The use of general descriptive names, registered names, trademarks, service marks, etc. in this publication does not imply, even in the absence of a specific statement, that such names are exempt from the relevant protective laws and regulations and therefore free for general use.

The publisher, the authors and the editors are safe to assume that the advice and information in this book are believed to be true and accurate at the date of publication. Neither the publisher nor the authors or the editors give a warranty, expressed or implied, with respect to the material contained herein or for any errors or omissions that may have been made. The publisher remains neutral with regard to jurisdictional claims in published maps and institutional affiliations.

Cover credit: © Harvey Loake

This Palgrave Macmillan imprint is published by the registered company Springer Nature Switzerland AG  
The registered company address is: Gewerbestrasse 11, 6330 Cham, Switzerland

If disposing of this product, please recycle the paper.

*For my country, Lebanon*

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to express my gratitude to a number of people who were involved with my book from the beginning of the 17 October Revolution, 2019, in Lebanon. These include my students from the Lebanese University who gave me indispensable feedback on many of the main texts used in this book relating to the revolution and the media reports produced on the critical situation in Lebanon. During the discussion of the texts, I had illuminating ideas about the construction of ‘state failure’ in language itself, and about the ‘zeitgeist’ surrounding the spirit of the Lebanese nation.

I also owe a debt of thanks to Jenifer Spencer, previously from the English Language section of Heriot-Watt University, for her exceptional job of copy-editing every draft of this book, and for our discussions on the implications of the concept of gaslighting. On an equal level of gratitude, I would also like to thank Dr. Kathleen Kaess, who is a lecturer in Translation/Interpreting and Liberal Arts, at the Centre for Translation and Interpreting, Queen’s University Belfast. Kathleen has patiently read all my work, edited and polished it with an academic brush where needed. My journey would not have been possible without their intellectual companionship.

This research work could not have developed into a published book without Palgrave Macmillan. I am, therefore, extremely grateful to Cathy Scott, the executive editor, for showing interest in my project, for

evaluating it, for her patience to answer all my queries and for her encouragement with this project throughout all its stages. My special thanks also go to the reviewers for their valuable feedback and assistance, as well as everyone else involved in the process of making this book become a reality.

A big thank you also goes to my friend Noura Badran, who is an arts lecturer at the American University of Beirut. She has produced a drawing in Chapter 6 reflecting the way the Lebanese citizens and media cognize their own politicians, based on my text analysis. I would also like to thank Fadel Itani, the freelance photographer, who gave me permission to use a couple of his expressive pictures published in national media.

Finally, my immense thanks go to my family and friends (Hani Donovan, Diana Donovan, Yuran Shi and Peter Matthews) without whose support, in various ways, this book would not have materialized.

To all, my gratitude and the assurance that I assume sole responsibility for the book's mistakes and shortcomings.

# CONTENTS

## Part I Context and Theoretical Framework

<b>1</b>	<b>Introduction</b>	<b>3</b>
	<i>Definition of the Term “Failed State” and the Need to Pose a New Research Question</i>	5
	<i>Using this Book</i>	14
	<i>References</i>	16
<b>2</b>	<b>Why Has Lebanon Become a Failing State?</b>	<b>19</b>
	<i>Background and Historical Setting</i>	20
	<i>References</i>	28
<b>3</b>	<b>How Can a CDA Approach Contribute to the Study of State Failure?</b>	<b>31</b>
	<i>Thematic Overview of Critical Discourse Analysis</i>	32
	<i>Gaslighting the Population: A Socio-Linguistic Approach</i>	38
	<i>References</i>	44

## Part II Analysing Discourse in a Failed State

<b>4</b>	<b>How Does the Act of Coining Words and Expressions Help in the Manufacture of Failure?</b>	<b>51</b>
	<i>What is Word Coinage?</i>	51
	<i>Case Studies</i>	53
	<i>Conclusion</i>	68
	<i>References</i>	69



<b>5</b>	<b>Measuring Social Cohesion in a Failed State Through the Citizenry's Own Evaluation and Speech Acts</b>	<b>73</b>
	<i>Introduction</i>	74
	<i>The Analytical Framework</i>	77
	<i>A. Evaluation in Discourse: A Semantic Approach</i>	77
	<i>B. Discourse Pragmatics in a Failed State</i>	80
	<i>Applied Case Studies</i>	85
	<i>Conclusion</i>	101
	<i>References</i>	103
<b>6</b>	<b>How Is a Failed State Perceived by Its Citizenry? A Study of the Metaphors that Reveal These Perceptions</b>	<b>107</b>
	<i>Hypothesis and Theoretical Background</i>	108
	<i>Introduction</i>	108
	<i>What is Metaphor and How Can We Relate Its Definition to Our Study of 'Perceiving Own State As'?</i>	109
	<i>'Perceiving the Failed State As': Analytical Model</i>	114
	<i>Introduction to the Case Studies</i>	114
	<i>Case Studies</i>	115
	<i>Conclusion</i>	129
	<i>References</i>	131
<b>7</b>	<b>Conclusions</b>	<b>135</b>
	<i>Another Way Forward</i>	140
	<i>References</i>	142
	<b>Index</b>	<b>143</b>

## ABOUT THE AUTHOR

**Samia Bazzi** is professor of Translation and Linguistics at the Centre for Languages and Translation, at the Lebanese University. Her main research uses Critical Discourse Analysis to analyse the links between language and politics in contexts of media representations, political conflict, bias and terrorism. She has also contributed to methodologies in translation studies and has been dedicated to developing text analysis models in both translation studies and discourse studies. She is the author of many articles and chapters published by John Benjamins and Routledge. Her key publications also include *Arab News and Conflict* (John Benjamins, 2009). Bazzi is on the advisory and editorial board of a range of leading journals in the field, including *inTRAlinea* and *Al Hadatha*.

# LIST OF FIGURES

Fig. 4.1	Demonstrators asking for the student dollar	65
Fig. 5.1	Demonstrators demanding justice after the Beirut port explosion	95
Fig. 6.1	Power of the metaphor	123

## LIST OF TABLES

Table 4.1	A collocational network found in the manufacturing of failure in the state of Lebanon	67
Table 6.1	Metaphors designating the ruling classes and their target domains	119
Table 6.2	Metaphors designating the actions of the establishment and their effect on the citizens and the target domains	125
Table 6.3	Perceptions of sectarianism: source and target domains	128

PART I

---

Context and Theoretical Framework



## Introduction

**Abstract** This chapter defines the notion “failed state” and poses a new research question.

At the outset, I define this notion with the aim of building up a theoretical framework capable of interpreting the discourse that materializes collapse in a country.

I argue that the literature looking specifically at the meaning of failed state is extensive; however, I have not encountered, up to the time of writing, a study that analyses discourse in a failed state. The previous reflections on the concept of a “failed” or “fragile” state prompt a novel discussion and definition of the term, namely one based on discourse analysis, and its contribution in shaping the plural character of its meaning. I also argue that this book will explore the role of discourse in indicating the degree of state collapse and failure; hence the principal argument is that discourse both plays a role in that collapse and is a presenting symptom of social disintegration. Through this project, I seek to bridge this apparent gap in applied linguistic research on state failure.

**Keywords** Aşabiyyah · Definition of “failed state” · Measuring state failure · Rentier capitalism · Social cohesion in discourse · Social exclusion

Since 2019 up to the time of writing this book, the state of Lebanon has experienced a series of deep political and economic crises. On 17 October 2021, this resulted in a revolution, which started as a series of civil protests condemning unjust financial measures, corruption, sectarian rule and economic meltdown. This book is based on my observations of a new discourse being disseminated among the citizens. In their attempt to blame everyone but themselves, the failing government have continuously coined and legitimized a raft of unjust terminology to fit its purpose, making the citizens themselves complicit in the process of civic decay. Moreover, political and financial institutions have kept producing and reproducing the new terminology and adding new expressions and social meanings, giving the illusion to the citizen that the new terms reflect their own interest.

That said, I have also observed intriguing narratives circulating among the Lebanese nation, many of which are characterized by impolite or negative discourse. For example, a narrative that has prevailed among many Lebanese citizens, whenever asked about the fate of their own country is: “We are going to hell”. The expression comes from the warning by the last President, Michel Aoun, in 2020, when asked where Lebanon was heading if there was no agreement on forming a new government (Francis and Perry 2020). This kind of zeitgeist has become recurrent in daily discourse inside the Lebanese society. As a consequence, the term “failed state” to designate Lebanon’s situation has emerged in the discourse of the citizenry and in a very noticeable manner. In fact, it has become a system of thought and mode of communication that constructs the citizens’ experience of their own state. In its broad reference, the term is common currency on social media, in political debates, in TV programmes and news outlets, as well as in daily papers and opinion pieces to indicate the state of collapse and failure within this country.

Conscious of this phenomenon that I have personally experienced in Lebanon, I have been prompted to examine the concept “failed state” from an academic standpoint and relate it to the status quo in Lebanon. In this respect, I hope to add an additional insightful understanding to its broad definition, specifically from the standpoint of a socio-linguistic investigative study of a type of discourse that is exclusively exchanged in a failed state. As the study gradually unfolds, it will be shown that such discourse may be both an indicator of and a collaborator in the state’s collapse.