

# **International Journal of Linguistics, Literature and Culture (Linqua- IJLLC)**

***2014 / December***

Publisher:

**European Scientific Institute,  
ESI**

Reviewed by the “Linqua – International Journal of Linguistics, Literature  
and Culture” editorial board 2014

***December 2014 edition vol. 1, no. 3***

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# SOME FUNCTIONS OF ELLIPSIS IN RELIGIOUS TEXTS

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## Abstract

Ellipsis is the non-expression of sentence elements whose meaning can be retrieved by the addressee <sup>(1)</sup>. In grammatical analysis ellipsis is a term used for a sentence, where for reasons of economy, emphasis or style a part of the structure has been omitted. Using ellipsis can restrict possible readings, express otherwise ineffable meanings, clarify discourse functions and establish rapport between the addresser and the addressee.

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**Keywords:** Ellipsis, discourse functions, eloquence, ineffable meanings

## Preliminaries

Ellipsis is the non-expression of sentence elements whose meaning can be the addressee. It is the shared information that allows the addresser retrieved by to omit out things that have been said, or hinted at earlier. In grammatical analysis, ellipsis is a term used to refer to a sentence where, for reasons of economy, emphasis or style, apart of the structure has been omitted, which is recoverable from the scrutiny of the context. For further information see: Halliday, 1994; Quirk et al, 1985; Crystal 2003; Hendriks, 2004; May, 2005; Bertomen, 2005; Hardt, 2005.

In literature on Arabic, ellipsis is preferred since it shortens discourse and makes it easily learnt by heart and recited. This can definitely be noticed in poetry, speeches and proverbs. Following the trails of ellipsis, the meaning can easily be grasped without any modification and the style ,will be effective. ( ابن جني ، 1952 : 83 ) ; ( مطلوب ، 1980 : 207 ) claims that Arabs prefer brevity to prolixity because the former leads to understanding whereas the latter to misunderstanding.

Although ellipsis is a highly pervasive phenomenon in natural languages, its function has largely remained a mystery. Using ellipsis can

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<sup>(1)</sup> The terms addresser /addressee are used here to refer to the speaker/writer and the listener/reader respectively.

restrict possible readings, express otherwise ineffable meanings, clarify discourse functions and establish rapport between the addresser and the addressee.

In this paper, I argue that ellipsis has more interpersonal functions than merely meeting the addresser's wish to reduce his efforts. As such; this paper limits itself to the exploration of such functions as realized in verbal sentence in the religious book called "Nahjul-Balagha" (henceforth N.B.) where in the elided forms contribute different functions than their full counter forms do.

This paper is structured as follows. Section one introduces the book of "Nahjul- Balagha" (The Peak of Eloquence). Section two highlights the conception of linguistic ellipsis in classical Arabic <sup>(2)</sup>. Section three is dedicated thoroughly to the analysis of various functions of ellipsis explicable in N.B. And section four rounds the paper off with conclusions.

### **Nahjul-Balagha (The Peak of Eloquence)**

Nahjul-Balagha is the most reputed collection of the utterances of Ali Bin Abi Talib (A.S.) (The Prince of Believers). The book was compiled by Sharif Razi towards the close of the 4<sup>th</sup> century of Hijra. This book is divided into three categories: firstly, sermons and decrees, secondly, letters and communications and thirdly, maxims and counsels.

The sermons and preaches of Ali Bin Abi Talib are so highly valued and venerated in the Islamic world. They are taught, read and learnt as reflections on philosophy, piety and faith. The sermons are masterpieces of literature and a model of the art of rhetorics. That is why some people think that:

*His eloquence (Ali) is such that he is the leader of the eloquent and the chief of the rhetoricians... and from him the world has learnt the art of speech and rhetorics.*  
(Reza, 2003: 12)

### **Ellipsis in Arabic**

Ellipsis in the concept adopted throughout this study seems to have been discussed by Arab rhetoricians within either brevity or omission in its broadest sense, i.e. obligatory and optional. Arabs are highly interested in brevity which mostly involves the omission of superfluous linguistic items.

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<sup>(2)</sup> The term Classical Arabic refers to the language known to us from about the 5<sup>th</sup> century A.D. Arabic language has been the medium of expression for the works of poets, historians, theologians, philosophers and other scholars. Furthermore, it is the language of the Glorious Quran.

Brevity is thought of as a mode of meaning expression in fewest linguistic items. (Al-Hashimi, 1940: 231)

It should be noted, however, that omission is not done haphazardly. Arab grammarians have put rules for ellipsis, for what can and cannot be omitted in an utterance in a particular context, otherwise unintelligibility or ambiguity will often loom indistinctly. Arab grammarians warn against using ellipsis unless it is necessary and/or understood. 275 : 1959 ، ابن الأثير ( الزركشي ، 1957 : 10 ) ؛

ابن جني (1900: 360) considers ellipsis as a mark of good style with a degree of reduction, compactness and connectedness. He alludes to the centrality of context in various elliptical phenomena since it is a decisive factor in the interpretation of all types of omission and without its clues the whole discourse will be nonsensical. In other words, the elided pieces of meaning must be recovered from the context or even inferred, otherwise communication would have never been intact or restored.

### Arabic Verbal Sentence

The Arabic simple verbal sentence may be described in terms of four elements: Verb (V); Subject (S), Object (O) and Adverbial (A). The simple sentences can be joined together by conjunctive particles which have a coordinative function or a subordinative function.

### Verb and Object

Arabic verbal sentence has a basic VSO word order. The verb is either transitive or intransitive where the latter governs the noun in the accusative. The object can either stand separately or can be suffixed to the verb. Transitive verbs are either monotransitive, ditransitive or tritransitive.

### Subject

The subject is either an explicit noun or an implicit/implied pronoun

- 1) حضر الرئيس      *The president came.*  
                                  *The president-nom came.*
- 2) جاء متأخراً      *He came late.*  
                                  *late came – he*

In this sentence, the subject is the implicit third person masculine singular pronoun "huwa" (he). The subject is realized by either a nominal element in the nominative (noun or enclitic pronoun).

### Deputy Subject/Agent

In a sentence with a passive verb, the object of the corresponding sentence becomes a deputy subject/agent marked for the nominative. See (4.2).

### Adverbial

An adverbial can be realized by adverbs, prepositional phrases and circumstantial accusative:

- 3) Adverb جاء أمس *He came yesterday.*  
*yesterday came – he*
- 4) Prepositional phrase ذهب إلى المدرسة *He went to school*  
*school went - he*
- 5) Circumstantial accusative رأيته نائماً *I saw him sleeping*  
*sleeping saw –I-him*

To sum up, these elements may combine to form the following basic verbal sentence patterns: VS, VSO, VSOO, VSOOO, VSOC, VSA, and VSOA. For further information, see: (Al-Aswad, 1983; Bakir, 1980; Beeston, 1986; Cantarino, 1975; Hassan, 1963; Wright, 1955; Khalil, 1999)

### Data Analysis

In this section, I will postulate that ellipsis has more functions than merely meeting the addresser's wish to reduce his efforts. Though this paper is a model-free, I will examine the functions in line with the observations originating with Hendriks and Spender (2005) who suggest that the elided forms contribute function and restrict possible interpretations and allow us to say things which that are otherwise ineffable, ambiguate/disambiguate discourse structure, serve as a rapport device that could be relevant to dialogue systems etc. moreover, I will draw upon the findings of different linguists who propose different terms and definitions. See (Crystal, 2003; Hendriks, 2004; Bertomen, 2005; Hardt, 2005; May, 2005)

### VP Ellipsis

Arabic grammarians contend that the ellipsis of the lexical verb is rare if compared to the ellipsis of the subject and the direct object. Nevertheless, it can be elided alone with its subject. (الجرجاني ، 1969 )

The verb can also be elided either obligatorily or optionally. The former is syntactically motivated while the latter is rhetorically/pragmatically motivated. In N.B., the VP is ellpted likewise in seventy-seven places to fulfill the following functions: ( اللامي ، 2001 )



## Refusal

The verb along with its implied subject is ellipted in the following interrogative clauses, to express denial.

6) فعلى من اكذب أ على الله ؟ فانا أول من آمن به ؟ أم على نبيه ؟

*Against whom I lie? Whether against Allah? But I am who believed in him. Whether against his Prophet?*

In the first example, the intransitive verb أكذب "lie-I" along with its first person singular masculine pronoun "I" is ellipted in the second and the third interrogative clauses since it is recoverable from the first interrogative clause where it is mentioned first.

The impetus behind the omission of the verb phrase is to drag the addressee's attention to the prepositional phrase على الله (to Allah) and not to any other clausal components. This is done to foster the act of denial and/or refusal. The addresser refuses to commit the sin of lying to Allah for whatever the cost may be since a man of faith like him holds lying in abhorrence.

## Proclamation

The verb phrase of saying is optionally ellipted in the following example:

7) ما يريد عثمان إلا أن يجعلني حملاً ناضجاً بالغرب : أقبل وأدبر

*Ottoman just wants - he to make me like the water - drawing camel so that I may go forward and backward with the bucket.*

The omission of the intransitive verb يقول "says-he" in the second clause is recoverable from the linguistic context which presupposes the verb of saying. The interpretation of the elided vp depends on the mentioning of the verbs يريد "wants-he" and جعل "makes-he" where both insinuate the proclamation of the message which entails belittling of the person by instructing him to follow orders.

## Specification

This function is realized in the following example:

8) وعندنا أهل البيت أبواب الحكم وضياء الأمر

*We, the family of the Prophet Mohammed, possess the keys of wisdom and the lights of prudence*

This example involves the omission of the vp أعني "mean-I" because the word أهل "people/family" is in the accusative case and stands for the direct object of the ellipted transitive verb أعني "mean-I". Such an ellipsis draws the attention to the specified noun phrase أهل البيت (lit. The people of

the house) (Family of the Prophet: Ali, Fatima, Hassan, and Hussein) <sup>(3)</sup>. If the vp had been mentioned, the noun phrase would have not been at a focus.

## Reproach

The vp is ellipted obligatorily in the following example:

9) قولاً بغير علم وغفلة من غير ورع وطمعاً في غير حق

*Will there be saying without action, overlooking without piety and coveting things not right?!*

10) وشوهوا بإعفاء الشعور محاسن خلقهم ، ابتلاءً عظيماً ، وامتحاناً شديداً واختباراً مبيهاً وتمحيصاً بليغاً

*They deformed their morality by forsaking good sense and thus got severe trial, harsh testimony, affliction and painful judgment.*

Three verb phrases are ellipted in the first example. They are يقول "says-he"; يغفل "overlooks-he" and يطمع "covets-he". They are recoverable from the existing three accusative verbal nouns: قولاً "saying"; غفلة "overlooking" and طمعاً "coveting". The use of rhetorical questions along with the ellipsis of the verb phrases has a forceful style of expressing reprimand and rebuke.

The addresser reproaches ignorant and greedy people and impeaches their impiety.

As regards the second example, four verb phrases are elided obligatorily. They are: ابتلاهم "tries-he-them"; امتحنهم "tests-he-them"; اختبرهم "examines-he-them"; and محصهم "judges-he-them" respectively. These verb phrases are recoverable from the non-omitted cognate accusatives: ابتلاء "trail"; امتحاناً "testing"; اختباراً "examining" and تمحيصاً "judging" respectively.

The morphology of these verbs involves tense, the agent, the action and the receiver of the action. All these grammatical phenomena are recoverable from the linguistic context. That is, tense is perfect, the doer of the action refers to Almighty Allah and the receivers of the action are human beings. What remains then is the action. The action is best realized through the verbal noun, i.e. cognate accusative. This is because the verbal noun necessitates constancy and assiduity. The addresser neither concerns himself with the agent nor with the tense. Rather, he is concerned lucidly with the action. By omitting the verb phrase the action is then given due emphasis.

## Instruction

This function is obviously illustrated in:

11) فصمداً صمداً حتى ينجلي لكم عمود الحق

*Keep one enduring till the right of Truth drowns upon you.*

<sup>(3)</sup> See the different Prophetic Hadiths, concerning the sacred status of these people, as they are transmitted and quoted by various theologians and traditionists.

The verb phrase اصمدوا "endure-you pl" is obligatorily ellipted, and is reiterated from the two repetitive forms of the accusative verbal noun صمداً "enduring". Arab grammarians and rhetoricians assert that the expression of a command or an instruction is better expressed via verbal nouns than through verbs. This is because the expression of such a function is nurtured strongly through verbal nouns: the force of which is extolled by pragmaticians and rhetoricians verbatim.

### Invocation

In the example:

12) اللهم سقيا منك مجيبه مروية ... اللهم سقيا منك تعشب بها نجادنا

*O my Allah! Give rain from Thee with which our high lands get covered with green herbage.*

One can realize that the obligatory ellipsis of the verb phrase in the imperative sentence اسقنا "give rain-us" explicates the function of invocation. The addresser beseeches Allah to pour out rain because of the draught, aridity and a want of rain. The verb phrase is recoverable from the non-omitted verbal nouns, سقياً "giving/pouring rain". It is unanimously agreed upon by semanticists and rhetoricians that verbal nouns consolidate the expression of request or invocation. As such, this function is expressed via verbal nouns with a perfection and precision unequalled by the verb phrase.

### Persuasion

This function is realized in:

13) فالله الله أيها الناس فيما استحفظكم من كتابه

*So remember Allah, O People, about what He has asked you in His book to take care of.*

14) عباد الله ، الله الله في أعز الأنفس عليكم

*O creatures of Allah! Fear Allah, Allah, in the matter of your own selves which are the most beloved and dear to you.*

15) العمل العمل ، ثم النهاية النهاية والاستقامة الاستقامة ثم الصبر الصبر والورع الورع

*Action! Action! Then look at the end the end, and remain stead fast stead fast. Therefore, exercise endurance, endurance, and piety, piety.*

In all these imperative sentences, the verb phrases are obligatorily elided. These verbs are اتقوا "fear-you pl"; راقبوا "remember-you pl"; راعوا "comply with-you pl"; أحسنوا "do good-you pl" and أصلحوا "reform-you pl" respectively. The second person plural masculine subject pronominals are suffixed to the verbs. The verbs are recoverable from the existing accusative abstract nouns.

The addresser intends to persuade the addressee to fear Allah, to abide by the teachings of Islam which call for faith, righteousness and charity.

This function is executed through vivacious repetitive forms of the abstract nouns. Repetition is resorted to here to evoke a powerful emotional effect wherein the concept of persuasion is highly articulated and elaborated with vigour and vividness. Repetition is a discourse structuring device. Repetition is composed with a persuasive intent. It is one way to treat a marked structure with a special rhetorical effect that forces the addressee's attention onto the issue targeted. That is, repetition can be rhetorically effective only in attracting the addressee's attention to real arrangement which is located in the ideas and their logical organization. It not only expresses the argument, but it is the argument itself.

This can also be clearly seen in the letter by the addresser to his son Imam Hassan when the former was on his death bed:

- 16) **الله الله في الأيتام ، والله الله في الجيران ، والله الله في الصلاة ، والله الله في بيت ربكم ...**  
*(Fear) Allah (and) keep Allah in view in the matter of orphans... (Fear) Allah (and) keep Allah in view in the matter of your neighbors... (Fear) Allah (and) keep Allah in view in the matter of Qura'an... (Fear) Allah (and) keep Allah in view in the matter of prayer... (Fear) Allah (and) keep Allah in view in the matter of Jihad.*

Again, various verb phrases are ellipted in a discourse which revolves on the idea of fearing Allah and piety. The verbs, which have the graphic realization of "أوصيكم" "recommend-I-you 2n pl masc", are understood from the same repetitive nouns which all refer to Allah.

The repetition of the word "Allah" emphasizes the oneness of Allah ingeniously. In an argumentative discourse, Arab rhetoricians advocate the use of repetition as a highly stylized form deployed premeditatingly to enliven the power of persuasion. Repetition does not ornament an already constructed argument, for without repetition there would be no argument. Repetition keeps the addressee to a definite viewpoint. It is rhythmic, cohesive and rhetorical, and as such, persuasion is the result. To learn more about repetition in Arabic argumentative texts. To learn more about repetition in argumentative texts, see (Johnstone, 1991)

### Subject Ellipsis

The subject of the verbal sentence is ellipted in more than nine hundred places in N.B. The ellipsis of the subject occurs in passive sentences. (اللامي ، 2001 )

Early and modern Arabic grammarians purport that the passive in Arabic is a lexical operation bringing changes to the verb and does not

consist in major transformations in the syntactic structure of the sentence. Arabic passives are, therefore, morphological in which the passive form of the verb is derived by internal vowel change. The occurrence of the passive verb triggers the absorption of the object into the subject position without having to move it. This does not result in thematizing the non-agent as is the case in many Indo-European languages. The object affected noun does not only occupy the position of the subject but also assumes all the diacritic features a subject usually takes. For further information, see: (Keenan, 1985; Kalil, 1999; Wright, 1955; 1996 ، الاستريادي )

### Focus of Information

This function is realized in the following example:

بدئت من سلالة من طين ، ووضعت في قرار مكين ، ثم أخرجت من مقرك إلى دار لم  
تشهدها

*You were originated from the essence of clay and placed in a still place for a known length and an ordained time.... Then you were taken out from your place of stay to a place you had not seen*

This example encompasses four passive clauses. Each of them begins with a transitive verb which appears in the passive and has annexed to it first person masculine pronoun. This pronominal refers to the generic term "man" and stands for the deputy agent. The verb phrases are followed by various prepositional phrases which pertain to various adverbial functions. These verb phrases are: بدئت "were-originated "; وضعت "were-placed"; أخرجت "was-taken".

The connotation of these verbs are associated with the omnipotency of Allah. The objective of the episode is how man is created by Allah and the high destiny offered to him in his intellectual, moral and spiritual nature by Allah a priori. Since these divine powers are well understood and retrieved from resources outside the text, the agent is elided and the object affected noun vis-a-vis "man" is highlighted and brought to focus.

Actually, texts are organized into units of information. Information can also be organized on the clause/sentence level according the principles of "new" and "given". The given information contributes the least to the development of communication, while the new contributes the most to the communication process. The participants in the message already share the given information while the new information enriches the addressee's knowledge: locates the focus and the climax within it.

Syntactically, the agent is associated with the given/old information, while the non-agent component is, generally speaking, associated with the new information. This account seems to be more defensible and readily applicable to Arabic rhetoric. That is why the addresser prefers to leave the agent unmentioned and in case he wants to mention the agent recourse is had to

active voice since the active sentence and its passive counterpart have different focal areas. For rhetorical reasons, the noun with the nominal case is more important than the one with the accusative case. As such, the non-agent of the passive construction is awarded the nominative status in order to carry the highest degree of communicative dynamism and whose attraction can not be resisted. By emphasizing the non-agent, the addresser is presenting a non-phoric component i.e. that is not received by the addressee from other sources. The emphasis is used to express what the addresser wishes to say about the already known pieces of information. To sum up, ellipsis is used unambiguously to mark the focus of information by avoiding repetition of given information. For a detailed discussion of information organization, see: (Halliday, 1994; Lock, 2003; Greenbaum and Quirk, 2003)

### Removing Readings

Though ellipsis often introduces ambiguity, it sometimes removes ambiguity that would otherwise occur. Well-attested examples are the following:

ليس فيهم سلعة أبور من الكتاب إذا تلي حق تلاوته ، ولا سلعة أنفق بيعاً ولا أغلى ثمناً (18)  
من الكتاب إذا حرف عن مواضعه

*For them there is more worthless than Qura'an if it is recited as it should be recited, nor anything more valuable than the Qura'an if its verses are removed from their places. [It is misstated].*

كن في الفتنة كابين اللبون ، لا ظهر له فيركب ، ولا ضرع فيحلب (19)

*In times of sedition, be just like the infant camel neither it is mounted nor is it milked.*

These examples consist of clauses that are structurally parallel wherein the subjects are not pronounced because they are passivized. In the first example, the book refers to the Glorious Quran. It is described as *تُلي* "is-recited" and *حُرِفَ* "is-misstated". Yet, there is no specific reference to the agent who recites or misstates it. The disappearance of the subject signals a very restricted meaning. The addresser may, for reasons, related to personal attitudes, refer to a particular agent. This may lead to a mismatch between the addresser meaning and that of the addressee(s). The addresser wishes to say that the referentiality of the agent is irrelevant to the interpretation of the event and there is no such a need to delineate it. Ambiguity stems if the subject is overtly stated, because the addressee(s) will associate the event with that particular agent and not with somebody else. This will go in contradiction to all intents and purposes of the addresser. As a result opacity will prevail and the message will be totally prevaricated.

This surely applies to the elided agent of the second example wherein two passivized verbs are present. They are *يُرْكَب* "is-mounted" and *يُحْلَب* "is-milked". The episode talks about incitement to sedition. The addresser

preaches people not to participate in such a heinous event. The addresser endeavours to provide a symmetrical reading of the event as against asymmetrical one provided by the addressee(s). To remedy this, ellipsis provides the addressee(s) with clues about the coherence relations and instructs that the two readings of the same elided agent stand as contrastive topics. In that, the addresser touches upon the boundaries of generalization while the addressee's reading relates to irrelevant definiteness.

### Glorification

This function is triggered off in the following examples:

- 20) ألبسه الله ثوب الذل و شمله البلاء ، و ديث بالصغار والقماءة و ضرب على قلبه بالإسهاب  
وأدىل الحق منه بتضييع  
الجهاد وسيم الخسف ومنع النصف

*Allah covers him with the dress of disgrace and the clothes of distress. He is kicked with the contempt and scorn [is abased], and his heart, is vetted with screen: (of neglect) [is blinded]. Truth is taken away to suffer ignoring [is perverted] and justice is denied to him.*

- 21) ندعوك حين قنط الأنام ، و منع الغمام ، و هلك السوام

*We call Thee when the people have lost hopes, cloud has been denied and cattle have died.*

The first example contains various clauses. The subject of the first clause is explicitly stated, i.e. Allah. The subjects of the other clauses are elided through passivization. The events in all these clauses allude to Allah as being supreme and exalted in might and divinity. However, part of politeness strategies the addresser refrains from referring to Allah by any vituperative epithets which describe Allah as the source of humiliation. These epithets are implicated in the following passivized verbs: ديث "is-abased"; ضرب "is-blinded"; أدىل "is-perverted"; سيم "is-wronged"; منع "is-denied".

Instead, the addresser believes unequivocally that Allah should be glorified and extolled. He adheres to the conviction that man should be close to Allah with propitiatory acts.

Following the same premise, the subjects of the second example are also ellipted through passivization. These verbs may involve the conceptions of منع "denial" and هلاك "extermination or death". The addresser again refuses to ascribe the negative attribute of non-providing to Allah. In opposition, the addresser insists that all the divine bounties of Allah should be proclaimed by man. In line with the addresser's propositions, Allah is the sole provident who cares for human beings and all He has created.

In matter of fact, ellipsis can be recognized as a positive politeness strategy (Brown and Levinson, 1987; Morand and Ocker, 2003). The researcher contends that the addresser is imbued with the desire to make any



possible effort to avoid face or minimize the number and size of face threatening act (FTA), as much as he can. This entails that any verbal act needs to be properly mitigated in an attempt to minimize or even abolish face threat similar to what the addresser has done. The addresser has omitted part of the message to establish a relationship with the addressee and this helps soften the Face Threatening Act made. Since the addressee is Allah here, He requires the ceremonies of glorified respectful address. In this sense, then, the elided utterances express a subset of the meanings of their full counterparts. For a detailed discussion on FTA, see (Eelen, 2001; Flores, 1999; Trosborg, 1995)

### Contempt

In the example:

عصي الرحمن ، ونصر الشيطان ، وخذل الإيمان 22)

*Allah was being disobeyed, Satan was given support [triumphed] and Belief has been forsaken.*

The subjects of the parallel clauses are elided through passivization. The verbs are: عصي "was disobeyed", نصر, "was triumphed" and خذل "was forsaken". These deputy subjects are: الرحمن "Most Merciful"; الشيطان "Satan" and الإيمان "faith" respectively. The interpretation of the events contained in the parallel structures has negative connotations. Such connotations relate to disobedience, evil-doing, loss and going astray. The omission of the agent is pragmatically motivated so as to reinforce derogation and contemptibility.

Evidently, syntactic categories stem from pragmatic functions. A sentence may have alongside its literal sense some sort of illocutionary force indicated by the syntactic form(s). Accordingly, the addresser makes a direct appeal to the addressee by inviting him to agree with general proposition of the concept of contempt. This proposition is concealed in the ellipsis of the agent which is accomplished through adopting the passive voice. This proposition is reinforced by three parallel and semantically equivalent structures. By doing so, the addresser extends his tone from pure composition to pure denunciation. That is, he has pity upon wrong-doers since they do not know what the consequences are and at the same time he condemns the act of wrong doing since it leads to destruction. The worst imputation thrown out against them is worldliness.

This is not found in the plain sense of the syntactic structure, but it is rather implied so as ellipsis can assist the addressee(s) to meticulously read between lines. Following the strategies of successful communication, the addresser says nothing more than what is required. Through agent ellipsis the addresser tries to convey the force of contempt in order to bid the addressee(s) to stop doing an act that does not suit him/them.



## Introducing Ambiguity

One of the obvious side-effects of ellipsis is that it can introduce ambiguity as in:

23) فاتيح له قوم قتلوه

*A group [was] overpowered him and [they] killed him.*

The episode here relates to the historical incident of the murder of the fourth Orthodox Caliph Ottoman. The incident is hinted at in the use of the passive verb أتيح "was-overpowered". The addresser neither imputes murder to Allah nor to the devil so it remains a puzzling issue. Ambiguity is then, so as to speak, recommended as a means of problem-solving.

This type of ambiguity seldom creates impeachment problems. This observation is not surprising from a communicative perspective. Since the addresser knows what meaning he wants to convey, his task is to select the form for that meaning. Only when the form is selected do alternative meanings become available. The purpose of the addresser, however, is not to leave the addressee in uncertainty as to the meaning to be expressed. Because the addressee has to put in some effort to decode the message, when he succeeds the result is a positive attitude towards the addresser. That is why interpreting an elided form can really have similar effect as escaping a maze. In this sense, the purposeful introduction of ambiguity through ellipsis can be subsumed under another function, namely to contribute to a positive rapport with the addressee(s).

## Semantic Extension

The addresser, sometimes, stretches out his discourse to extend semanticity in an exquisite lofty style. This is subtly expressed in the following example:

24) لقد صرفت نحوه أفئدة الأبرار

*Hearts of virtuous persons have been inclined towards him.*

The addresser does not limit the entity of the real elided agent of the verb صرفت "have been inclined". The meaning of the sentence here is that hearts of the some righteous yet unspecified agents were directed towards the teaching of Prophet Mohammad.

By not specifying the agent, it could have more than one specific reference. This is because the addresser does not invest the expression with reference by the act of referring. The addresser stands in fear of referring to Allah as one possible agent whereas there is another possibility of another agent who performs or fills in the agentive role. To avoid such a referential disparity, the addresser unmistakably branches out the narrow limits of agent co-referentiality. This in turn enriches the sentential semanticity and leaves conspicuous room for inference.

There is a central issue in discussing communication via language. In a matter of fact, linguistic expressions are merely indexical devices for conjuring up in the mind of the addressee some creative processes that might [italics are mine] correspond to the thoughts that the addresser has and wishes to convey. One can say that words, phrases, and utterances do not stand for things, thoughts, propositions, but rather have the potentiality of implying such entities so as the addressee(s) could recourse to referential reasoning based on the linguistic, non-linguistic and experiential cues. As such, semanticity will be expanded by fully remarkable unlimited insights and colourful tunes.

### Object Ellipsis

This direct object is ellipped in more than one hundred seventy places in N.B. The ellipsis of the object contributes in the following functions ( 2001 ، اللامي ).

### Non-transitivity

The object is elided since it is felt as superfluous as in the following examples:

25) هلك من ادعى ، وخاب من افترى

*He who claimed (otherwise) [feigned] is ruined and who concocted [fabricated] falsehood is disappointed.*

26) إن سألوا ألحفوا ، وإن عدلوا كشفوا

*When they were asked they gave nothing and when they reproofed they disclosed.*

27) ولعمر الله أردت أن تذم فمدحت ، وإن تفضح فافتضحت

*By the Eternal Allah, you had intended to revile me but you have praised me, and to humiliate [disgrace] me but you have yourself been humiliated [disgraced].*

The direct objects are omitted in the first example. These objects are realized by the pronominal "hu" which denotes third person singular masculine accusative suffixed to the verbs: ادعى "feign-past"; افترى "fabricate-past". By omitting the objects, the addresser refers to the agents who were perished and disappointed as being slanderers and fabricators. The victimized themes affected by the actions of feigning and fabrication are not highlighted or brought to focus as if the above mentioned transitive verbs were made intransitive.

This applies to the second example wherein the addresser delineates the detestable characteristics of the hypocrites when they سألوا "ask past-they" and عدلوا "reproof past-they". If the addresser mentioned the direct objects of the two verbs الناس "people", the addressee would imagine that the negative connotations might cling to the direct objects of the verbs and not to the agents

who are the real target of bitter criticism. Again, the transitive verbs are dealt with as if they were not followed by the obligatory direct objects.

As regards the third example, the objects are elided for the same reasons stated earlier. Here, the discourse is a letter sent to "Muaawiyah", the adversary of the addresser vis-à-vis Imam Ali. The addresser certifies that the agent of the sentence intends to perform the act of ذم "dispraise" while in fact he praises unknowingly. At the same time, the same agent, i.e. Muaawiyah, tries to perform the act of فضح "disgrace" but he himself has become the object of indignation. The addresser believes that it is not relevant to mention explicitly the entities that are affected by the act of dispraise and disgrace because if mentioned the addressees may cherish the illusion that these gruesome acts are associated with the recipient of the action and not with the doer of the action per se.

The addresser cannot afford to avoid the use of the transitive verbs تَذِمُ "dispraise-you" and تَفْضَحُ "disgrace-you". Yet, he uses them freely as being intransitive verbs without the overt realization of the objects; the addresser appears to have a perfect understanding of cause and effect. In his discourse, the addresser ascertains that primacy need to be given to the agents as they are involved directly in doing the ill-natured actions than to the elided objects themselves. The ellipsis of the direct object is called for to solidify the structure and lore of argumentation in which the addresser sets forth his claims which have been proven valid through ellipsis. The role played by ellipsis to instantiate the valid argument stems from the contention that arguments are not made fully explicit. Some premises are supposed by the addresser to be too well known to be worth being stated.

### Economy

The notion of economy is one of the deriving forces behind ellipsis. This can be elicited from the following examples:

28) وَلَنْ أَمَهْلَ اللَّهُ الظَّالِمَ لَنْ يَفُوتَ أَخْذَهُ

*Although Allah gives time to the oppressor, His catch would not spare him.*

29) فَإِنَّمَا أَنْتُمْ كَالْمَرْأَةِ الْحَامِلِ ، حَمَلْتَ فَلَمَّا أَتَمَّتْ أَمْلَصَتْ

*You are like the pregnant woman who, on completion of the period of pregnancy delivers a dead child.*

The elided objects in these examples are recovered from the linguistic context. The object is realized in the first example by the third person singular masculine accusative pronoun "hu" suffixed to the transitive verb يَفُوتُ "spares-he". The accusative pronominal refers back to the direct object of the verb of the main clause أَمَهْلَ "gives time-he", i.e. الظالم "the oppressor".

Economy is established when ellipsis is restricted to those cases where the elided material is recoverable by the addressee because some

identical element is present in the sentence. Thus, economy is by itself sufficient to explain the presence of ellipsis

The ellipsis of the object in the second example is also recoverable from the linguistic context. The presence of different repetitive forms of the same lexeme حمل "pregnancy" makes it possible for the addresser to omit the direct object of the transitive verb أتمت "complete past-she". This elided object refers to حمل "pregnancy" which in turn can be retrieved from the context. Aided by ellipsis; the addresser truly takes the stand that he should say no more than he must. He believes beyond all doubts that the addressee is able to recover the unpronounced material.

This is also true of the following example:

30) فأما الناكثون فقد قاتلت وأما القاسطون فقد جاهدت وأما المارقة فقد دوخت

*I fought the breachers of the promise; I confronted wrong-doers and I dizzied the disobedient.*

Here, there are three elided objects. They are realized by the third person plural masculine accusative pronominal "hum" (them) suffixed to the verbs: قاتلت "fight past-I"; جاهدت "confront past-I" and دوخت "make dizzy past-I" respectively. These objects refer back to the preceding nominal: الناكثون "the preachers of promise"; القاسطون "the wrong doers"; المارقة "the disobedient". The episode revolves around the struggle between the addresser and those outlawed wrong doers.

The standard explanation for ellipsis in these texts is in terms of the addresser's economy (or least effort). By not expressing sentence elements whose presence is not essential for the meaning of the sentence, the addresser would be able to communicate more with few words. Evidently, the addresser deploys ellipsis to signal the existence of a co-referential reading associated with the reduced syntax. This goes in line with the standard view on ellipsis according to which the full or the marked utterance is the default case and ellipsis or unmarked utterance is the special case.

## Rhyming

The ellipsis of the object helps create rhyming as in the following example:

31) فاتقوا الله تقية من سمع فخشع ، و اقترف فاعترف ، ووجا فعمل ، و حاذر فبادر وأيقن  
فأحسن و عبر فاعتبر ، وحذر فحذر ، وزجر فازدجر ، وأجاب فأناب ، فراجع فتاب ،  
واقنتى فاحتدى ، وأرى فأرى

*Fear Allah like him who listened (good advice) and bowed before it, when he committed sin he admitted it ,when he felt fear he acted virtuously, when he apprehended , he hastened (towards good acts), when he believed he performed virtuous acts, when he was taught to take lesson (from the happiness of this world) he did take the lesson, when he was taught to desist he abstained (from evil), when he responded to the call (of*

*Allah) he leaned (towards him), when he turned back (to evil) he repented, when he followed he almost imitated and when he was shown (the right path) he saw it.*

The text, on the one hand, contains transitive and intransitive verbs. The actions associated with these verbs all denote and express piety and righteousness. They are performed by a pious person and as such the actions mirror the inherent characteristics of mysticism. The objects of the transitive verbs are elided and are recoverable from the linguistic and extra linguistic situations. Ellipsis here contributes towards giving heed to the religious actions contained in these verbs. Yet, the appearance of the object could have directed the addressee's thought to something else and consequently attention to these actions would be distracted and dispersed.

On the other hand, the appearance of the objects of these verbs can drastically spoil the rhyming scheme and bring up discordance. The text consists of rhyming sets of words which are related on the phonological, morphological, syntactic and semantic levels. The members of each set are combined to each other by the conjunction "faa": an inseparable sequential additive particle which has here the meaning of reason or cause. These verbs are:

Sami9a "listen past-he"; khasha9a "bow past-he"; ?iqtarafa "commit past-he"; ?i9tarafa "admit past-he"; wajila "fear past-he"; 9amila "act past-he"; Hathara "apprehend past-he"; baadara "hasten past-he"; ?ayqana "believe past-he"; ?aHsana "perform past-he"; 9ubbira "was asked-he" ?i9tabara "take the lesson past-he"; Huththira "was asked to desist"; Hathara "abstain past-he"; zujira "was asked"; izdajara "learn past-he"; raaja9a "turn back past-he"; taaba "repent past-he"; ?ajaaba "answer past-he"; ?iqtadaa "follow past-he"; Hathaa "imitate past-he"; ?uriyya "was seen"; ?araa "see past-he".

From a corollary observation of these rhyming graphic units, one can undoubtedly foretell that style is forcibly brusque and abnormally emphatic. These rhyming sets of verbs create luscious and rhetorically luxurious effect: such dyadic sets exhibit phonological patterning which often creates repetition on the morphological level which is in turn realizable within structurally parallel constructs. Such a network of interlinked structural paragon conveys sentiments and consequently adds to the connection between images and ideas a tinge of emotive heightening and reinforces the global themes. Such an authorial tone is subtle, complex and variable so as to give solidity to the rhetorical organization of cause and effect. That is to say, attention is paid to reconcile the rhetorical aims and their linguistic manifestations in a non ad hoc manner.

These eloquence canons could have been impaired if the direct pronominal objects are explicitly wedded to the verbs. The non-ellipsis of the

objects in such a ritualistic context would have inescapably weakened the rhetoric of the text and as such the colourful appeal to the addressees be awfully inexorable and rhetorically suspended.

## Conclusion

To conclude, in this paper, I have identified the rhetorical functions of VP ellipsis in the religious book of Nahjul-Balagha (The Peak of Eloquence). I have shown how Arabic VP ellipsis exhibits different functions which govern the VP construction and captures the fact that ellipsis in Arabic must be recoverable because knowing what has been deleted is necessary for understanding the ellipsed components. What is to be recovered is not the syntactic function only, but information about the functions performed by the syntactic expressions. It is the identity of these functions we have already looked for: what the main functions are raised by the VP ellipsis.

I have also argued that the addresser's economy is not sufficient to explain the presence of ellipsis in N.B. I have discussed several examples illustrating that ellipsis can have many other functions than merely meeting the addresser's wish to reduce his efforts: ellipsis can convey non-expressible aspects of meaning or a subset of the multiple meanings expressed by the corresponding full form.

From a corollary observation, one can conclude that the ellipsis of the agent of the verb rates higher than the ellipses of the lexical verb or the direct object of the transitive verb. This is because the passive structure explicates a focal area which is different from that posed by its active counterpart. Though the ellipsis of the lexical verb is rare in Arabic, the data show a few examples in which the elided lexical verb can encode various rhetorical functions. The paucity of the elided verbal element could be attributed to the contention that the verb represents the nucleus of the Arabic verbal sentence round which other parts collect. If the verbal element is elided, the sentence may lose its idiosyncratic typological features concomitant of it.

The ellipsis of the third component of the verbal sentence is centered on the direct object. Arabic transitive verbs are followed by accusative nouns or nominals. When these elements are elided, the verbs stop to function transitively. As such, the object loses focus, interest and importance. This type of elision, similar to other two types mentioned earlier, is rhetorically/pragmatically motivated. Arabic allows optional and obligatory ellipsis as a strategy to serve various discoursal functions which all draw upon the context of discourse, the structure of the utterance and the intended meaning.

**Note:** The researcher adopts the Riza's translation (2004) of Nahjul-Balagha, but sometimes he modifies some of the translations to suit the analysis requirements.

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# A PRAGMA-RHETORICAL PERSPECTIVE OF IMAM ALI'S LETTER TO MALIK AL-ASHTAR

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## Abstract

This paper addresses itself to Imam's Ali epistle to his governor over Egypt, Malik Al-Ashtar. The pivotal concern of this paper is the Imam's rhetoric, more precisely, the pragmatic perspective of his rhetoric (realized by various pragmatic concepts and a variety of rhetorical devices). Here, rhetoric is being identified with argumentation. As such, argumentation, in turn, is identified with persuasion. Therefore, rhetoric can also be associated with persuasion as well. The intention to persuade links rhetoric with pragmatics in a global intentional architecture of individuals.

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**Keywords:** Pragmatics, Rhetoric Persuasion, Argumentation, Rhetorical Devices, Pragmatic Structure

## Introduction

Imam Ali (p.b.u.h) is second to none in eloquence, hence his title 'Master of Eloquence' has emerged to show refinement of expression, uniformity of motifs, unexpectedness and perfection; all that have been unequalled ever since. His writings spring up all over the world in which a series of themes are elaborated with vigor, vividness of imagination and precision of imagery. The language is rich, highly articulated, polished, and comes to us extempore, i.e. it does not go through revisions and corrections. His style attests to his skills as its content does to his erudition. As his interest is not confined to but ranges over a wide spectrum of humanistic fields, he has various contributions to philosophy, religion, law and politics, which are highly evaluated for their content and literary value (web source 1). As a person, he represents a very fine picture of the ideal Muslim Arab hero—brave, enduring and valiant warrior. He is generous, loyal and always true to his word. Other characteristics are his wisdom, prudence, inventiveness, wise restraint and knowledge of the limits to which he may go.

In fact, the point of departure of this paper is Imam Ali's rhetoric, more accurately, the pragmatic perspective of his rhetoric (realized by various pragmatic notions and rhetorical devices).

Accordingly, the paper makes its appeal to investigate the argumentative structure of Imam Ali's letter, in addition to highlighting the pragmatic texture of such a structure. This will be performed by developing a model which can be utilized to achieve these purposes.

These aims design the framework as being engendered by defining what is meant by rhetoric, and proceeds further in navigating through different pragmatic notions which dress up the kind of rhetoric hinted at in this work, and finally terminates in analyzing data to posit some conclusions.

## Rhetoric

The term 'rhetoric' is quite familiar to all linguists, and in different languages (in English and Arabic, at least). Classical Arabic is the high variety which has greater prestige than other varieties. It is regular, more beautiful and less intelligible. As such, Arab rhetoricians have taken the lead in the field of rhetorical studies since Arabic possesses lengthy literary tradition and the use of which is closely linked to religious beliefs and attitudes. Arabic is the language of the Quran which is known for its matchlessness and inimitability.

Nevertheless, rhetoric has been defined differently by different scholars, the thing which makes Gill and Whedbee (1997:157) declare that "there is little consensus as to the meaning of the word rhetoric". However, the definition which serves to the hilt the purposes of this study is hinted at by Gill and Whedbee (ibid.): "one definition identifies rhetoric with argumentation"<sup>(4)</sup>, and thus it will be the operational definition adopted.

To elaborate, the relationship between rhetoric and argumentation varies along a means-and-end continuum: "Rhetoric helps us understand and evaluate arguing as a natural process of persuasive communication" (Wenzel, 2006:9). If the means (rhetoric) is identified, the end (argumentation), then, must be identified as well.

Mirza (2010:6) remarks that argumentation is a hybrid topic that has been seen by the eyes of philosophers, rhetoricians, logicians, dialecticians, and more recently linguists. However, the most relevant view of argumentation, which will be utilized in this work, is invented by Eemeren et al. (1996:1):

*Argumentation is a verbal and social activity of reason aimed at increasing (or decreasing) the acceptability of a controversial standpoint for the listener or reader, by putting forward a constellation of propositions*

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(4) For more definitions, see ibid.

*intended to justify (or refute) the standpoint before a rational judge*

As the definition clarifies, argumentation can be both oral and written. The present study aspires to the latter.

In order to shed more light on the structure of argumentation, a brief relevant review is posited. After that, a link with pragmatics is established.

### **Structure of Argumentation**

Eemeren and Grootendorst (1992a: 73-89) and Eemeren et al. (2002: 63-78) paint a detailed picture of the structure of argumentation. Briefly put, they classify it into:

1. Single: consists of two-premise argument, one is explicit, the other implicit.

e.g. You have earned a substantial gift, and we are proud to offer you this trip to Hawaii, because you have worked very hard for it (Eemeren et al., 2002:64).

2. Multiple: consists of more than one argument of equal weight presented one after another.

e.g. You can't possibly have me my mother Marks and Spencer's in Sheringham last week, because Sheringham doesn't have a Marks and Spencer's, and as a matter of fact she died two years ago (ibid.: 65).

3. Coordinative: consists of a combination arguments which, unlike the multiple one, must be taken in tandem to constitute a conclusive defense, i.e. the ingredients of this type of structure are dependent on each other.

e.g. We had no choice but to go out to eat, because there was nothing to eat at home and all the stores were closed (ibid.)

4. Subordinate: consists of 'layered' arguments, as it were. If the supporting argument for the initial standpoint cannot stand on its own, then it is supported by another argument, and the process continues until the defense rings the bell of conclusiveness.

e.g. I can't help you paint your room next week, because I have no time next week, because I have to study for an exam, because otherwise I will lose my scholarship, because I'm not making good progress in my studies, because I've already been at it for more than five years (ibid.: 65-6).

### **Pragma-Rhetorical Perspective**

It has been pointed out before that rhetoric is identified with argumentation (Cf. 1 above), and argumentation, in turn, is identified with persuasion, as concluded by Eemeren and Grootendorst (1983: 42-6; 1992a: 4-5; 1992b: 589-90). It follows that rhetoric is identified with persuasion as well. The intention to persuade links rhetoric with pragmatics in a global intentional architecture of individuals

To pragmatically achieve this aim, part of the model developed by Al-Hindawi and Mirza (2012: 10-11) is adopted<sup>(5)</sup>. According to them, convincing (i.e. persuasion in this study)<sup>(6)</sup> is pragmatically arrived at by employing conversational implicature which is not used in its banal sense (that is, the familiar violation of the Gricean maxims); rather, it embraces two types of pragmatic strategies: relevance and rhetorical devices, the thing which the data under scrutiny reveal.

As for relevance, Wilson and Sperber (2004:607-32) argue that "the expectations of relevance raised by an utterance are precise enough and predictable enough to guide the hearer towards the speaker's meaning". It works, as they (ibid.) proceed, at two levels: cognitive and communicative. The former has to do with the cost the mind pays in order to process an input (the easier to process, the lesser the cost becomes; the more difficult, the more cost); the latter centers around the intended meaning of the output.

Rhetorical devices, on the other hand, include: metaphor, metonymy<sup>(7)</sup>, irony, antithesis, rhetorical questions, hyperbole and simile<sup>(8)</sup>. But what do rhetorical devices have to do with conversational implicature? Actually, those devices breathe relevance to conversational implicature as they violate one or more of the Gricean maxims. Metaphor, for instance, which is "a figure of speech in which a word or phrase is used to describe something it does not literally denote, e.g. this journal is a gem" (McGlone, 2007:2), violates the quality maxim as stated by Rozina and Karapetjana (2009:598)<sup>(9)</sup>.

## Model of Analysis

The model that will be utilized to analyze the data of the work is built on the relevant parts of the two models cited above:

1. Eemeren and Grootendorst's structure of argumentation (which sheds light on the rhetorical aspect of the text); and

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(5) Their model is developed for the pragmatic analysis of gossip, which is quite different from the data under investigation in this paper, hence only the relevant components will be adopted.

(6) Eemeren and Grootendorst (1983: 48) show the difference between the terms as follows: convincing aims to influence viewpoints, whereas persuasion has to do with influencing actions. Since Imam Ali wants to influence Malik's actions, then persuasion is adopted.

(7) It must be indicated here that metonymy is not part of the rhetorical devices in Al-Hindawi and Mirza's (2010) model. The data of this work have revealed its existence. Moreover, employment of rhetorical devices in their model is optional; it is obligatory in the model developed in this paper.

(8) Yule (2006:108,245) defines metonymy as "a word used in place of another with which it is closely connected in everyday experience (e.g. He drank the whole bottle (=liquid))". It has different types of relations: container-content (the example just cited), whole-part (e.g. car/wheels), or representative-symbol (king/crown).

(9) Simile: the direct comparison between two things or action via the use of 'like' or 'as', such as: Their house is like a Renaissance palace, (Cruse: 2006: 165).

## 2. Al-Hindawi and Mirza's (2012) pragmatic model (which highlights the pragmatic aspect).

That is, in analyzing the data, the type of the structure of argumentation will be indentified first, and then the floor is held by conversational implicature (with its divisions) to complete the analysis. This can diagrammatically be represented as follows:

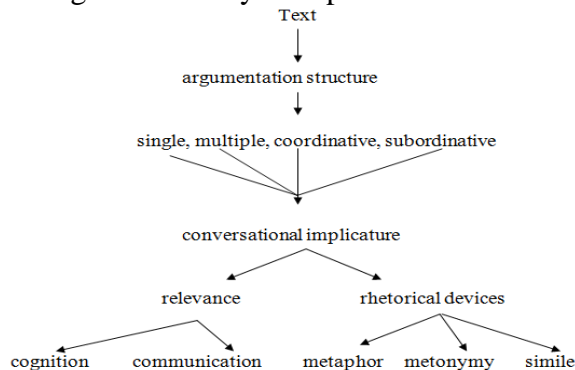


Figure (1). Model of Analysis

## Discussion and Results

In this section, the rhetorical and pragmatic aspects of the intended text will be practically manifested. This is attained by two procedures:

- The model of analysis diagrammed previously will be used to analyze the data of the work represented by Imam Ali's letter to Malik Ashtar.
- The percentage equation is the mathematical statistical tool that will be used to calculate the results of the analysis.

There are two important things to be highlighted before embarking on discussion:

- a. The text is an end by itself, i.e. it is not adopted as a means to pragma-rhetorically investigate a certain phenomenon (e.g. argumentation, gossip, etc.). Rather, some rhetorical and pragmatic concepts (argumentation and conversational implicature, respectively) are used to navigate throughout the text. This is mainly because the text is a very important document in the history of humanity, and because it is highly rhetorical, owing to its being produced by the most creative Arab eloquent writer ever known. It follows that extracts from the original Arabic text intended to be analyzed will be presented along with their translation which is written in italics. However, some sentences will be literally translated either because they have no translated equivalents to highlight their linguistics phenomena (See excerpt 2 below).
- b. The data are characterized by two types of reasoning: inductive and

deductive<sup>(10)</sup>. Inductive reasoning (that is, giving conclusion first and then provide justifications, logically speaking) is appealed to, generally, when Imam Ali commands Malik (command is the conclusion, here) to keep to certain personal traits, as in the following example:

أمره بتقوى الله ، وإيثار طاعته ، وإتباع ما أمر به في كتابه ، من فرائضه وسننه ، التي لا يسعد أحد إلا بإتباعها ، ولا يشقى إلا مع جحودها وإضاعته.

*[You are commanded to: worship Allah, put in advance His obedience, follow what He has commanded in His book of ordinances and traditions, which make one happy only when followed, otherwise one will be unhappy]*

In this example, a direct command is issued (by the use of the explicit performative أمر 'command') first and then explanations are given for issuing this command (the two underlined ones). The presentation of reasons (or justifications) after issuing a command is to show politeness, as Lakoff (1977) asserts: one way of showing politeness is by giving reasons for issuing a speech act. Presenting an explanation, a justification, etc., might help the addressee grasp the reason behind issuing a speech act (command in this example), the thing which may lead the addressee to comply willingly with.

What is meant by personal traits is certain things (which Malik should adhere to) that have no 'direct' influence on people's life. In such a case, Imam Ali issues a direct command and multiple argumentation is used as a justification (like the example just cited). This proves actually the intimate relationship between the two, that is, in using such pragma-rhetorical structure Imam Ali does not address Malik from a higher status (due to his showing politeness). But when he addresses Malik about something that has to do with people's welfare directly, then another structure is used: deductive reasoning.

Deductive reasoning is the reverse of its inductive counterpart: justifications are given first, and then a conclusion follows. The purpose behind employing this type of reasoning is to shape the addressee's mind to cope with the standpoint being argued. Put differently, when advancing a certain standpoint (in speaking or writing), the addresser does not expect the addressee having a mind like a tabula rasa; there must be stored knowledge categorized on the various shelves of expertise. It follows that instead of making the addressee add different 'flavors' of his stored knowledge to that standpoint and, further, to protect her/him from falling prey to changing winds and whims of opinion, the addresser presents the justifications first to help the addressee locate what to process, hence direct and facilitate cognition. Psychologically speaking, deductive reasoning

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(10) For more details on each, see Reishaan (2007: Ch. 3).

“helps working memory recourses for problem solving” (Lohman et al., 2009: 8) (that is, solve the addressor’s intended meaning), and not to be distracted by other factors added by the addressee’s stored knowledge.

Deductive reasoning is relied on when Imam Ali addresses Malik about the common good of people, which means that there is no intimacy resorted to here; rather, status rules, as shown below, to show the seriousness of what is being argued:

ثم اعلم يا مالك إنني قد وجهتك إلى بلاد قد جرت عليها دول قبلك من عدل وجور ، وأن الناس ينظرون من أمورك في مثل ما كنت تنتظر فيه من أمور الولاية قبلك ، ويقولون فيك ما كنت تقول فيهم ، وإنما يستدل على الصالحين بما يجري الله لهم على ألسن عباده ، فليكن أحب الذخائر إليك ذخيرة العمل الصالح ، فمالك هوأك ، وشح بنفسك عما لا يحل لك

*Be it known to you, O, Malik, that I am sending you as Governor to a country which in the past has experienced both just and unjust rule. Men will scrutinize your actions with a searching eye, even as you used to scrutinize the actions of those before you, and speak of you even as you did speak of them. The fact is that the public speak well of only those who do good. It is they who furnish the proof of your actions. Hence the richest treasure that you may covet would be the treasure of good deeds. Keep your desires under control and deny yourself that which you have been prohibited from]*

One last thing to be hinted at: the text is too long to be analyzed in this paper, accordingly only some illustrative examples will be posited for the sake of brevity and simplicity. However, the mathematical statistical results will count the various aspects in the text as a whole (see 5.2 below), hence a holistic analysis still holds<sup>(11)</sup>.

### Some Illustrative Examples for Pragma-Rhetorical Analysis

وأمره أن يكسر نفسه من الشهوات ، ويزعها عند الجمحات ، فإن النفس أماراة بالسوء

*[And he charged him to break the passions of his soul and restrain it in its recalcitrance, for the soul incites to evil]<sup>(12)</sup>*

The structure of argumentation in this extract is single, because it consists of one justification only, the underlined one.

From the pragmatic angle, further processing is required at the cognitive level due to the use of rhetorical devices. At the communicative level, Imam Ali commands Malik to deter the volatile passions of his soul and restrain it in its recalcitrance. Three rhetorical devices are used here: twometaphors and one metonymy, respectively: يكسر نفسه (break his soul), يزعها عند الجمحات (restrain it in its recalcitrance), and النفس أماراة بالسوء (the soul incites to evil).

What the first two metaphors have in common is the embodiment of

(11) It is to be pointed out that the version of text under analysis is found at the end of the paper (taken from web source 2), owing to the fact that there are different versions.

(12) Translation is taken from Sewadi (2010:36).



soul to be treated like something which can be broken and restrained. A thing which is liable to breaking is either fragile or strong; in this case it is strong, because if it is fragile, then it will break by itself and there will be no need for one's attempt to fragment it. What supports this belief is the second metaphor (i.e. restrain), because had the soul not been strong enough, there would have been no need restrain it. Hence, what is really intended by these two correlated metaphors is that one's soul has an implicit power (passions and recalcitrance) that must be controlled, otherwise a human will lose humanity and turns out to be a wild beast, which is also strong and recalcitrant.

The third rhetorical device – metonymy– represents part-whole relation, where النفس 'the soul' (i.e. the part) is used to refer to 'Man' (i.e. the whole), who is the real inciter and subverted by evil.

ثم اعلم يا مالك ! إني قد وجهتك إلى بلاد قد جرت عليها دول قبلك من عدل وجور ، وأن الناس ينظرون من أمورك في مثل ما كنت تتظر فيه من أمور الولاية قبلك ، ويقولون فيك ما كنت تقول فيهم ، وإنما يستدل على الصالحين بما يجري الله لهم على ألسن عباده ، فليكن أحب الذخائر إليك ذخيرة العمل الصالح ، فاملك هواك ، وشح بنفسك عما لا يحل لك.

[Be it known to you, O, Malik, that I am sending you as Governor to a country which in the past has experienced both just and unjust rule. Men will scrutinize your actions with a searching eye, even as you used to scrutinize the actions of those before you, and speak of you even as you did speak of them. The fact is that the public speak well of only those who do good. It is they who furnish the proof of your actions. Hence the richest treasure that you may covet would be the treasure of good deeds. Keep your desires under control and deny yourself that which you have been prohibited from]<sup>(13)</sup>.

Argumentation in this extract is coordinative because more than one justification is presented, and only the totality of all the justifications makes one solid 'defense' to account for the commands introduced here.

At the cognitive level, further processing is needed to cope with what is being said. This is due to, first, the employment of coordinative presentation of justifications, which makes the cognitive processing 'coordinative' as well, i.e. cognition is distributed over the totality of coordinative argumentation to understand what is meant by each justification first, and then to arrive at the intended meaning performed by the totality (and this is actually the case with subordinative argumentation which consists of layers, as hinted at before, Cf. 2. point 4 above). Second, more cognition is attained by the use of rhetorical devices. At the communicative level, what is meant is that you (Malik) should keep yourself under control

(13) This is Armstrong's translation, cited in <http://paulsarmstrong.com/articles/caliph-ali-letter-to-malik-ashtar/>



all didactic and religious premises (one of which is the denial of anything that is not yours).

Metaphor has been heavily relied on here, it is manifested in:

- جرت عليهم دول من قبلك [Countries have run on them before you]
- يجري الله لهم على السن عباداه [What Allah makes for them run on his worshippers' tongues]
- ذخيرة العمل الصالح [Treasure of good deed]
- فاملك هواك [Own your desire]

• شح بنفسك [Be very stingy as to what you are prohibited from] In the first two, metaphor is created by embodying it as an animate (that can run 'يجري'). This metaphor has not been randomly used: as regards the first example, running is not the only movement animates can do; they can crawl, trot and walk as well, so why running in particular? It is running, among these movements, that has the strongest effect on the ground (i.e. running leaves a noticeable trail on the ground) due to the fact that running requires greater muscular energy than any of the other movements do. Hence, if Egypt is considered the ground on which different regimes had 'run', then it had necessarily undergone different sovereigns and consequently, had tested almost everything, as such it will not be quite predictable how to deal with them to arrive at the most convenient results. By the same token, words 'run' on people's tongues because they are more influential.

The third metaphor is arrived at by considering good deeds a treasure. As well known, a treasure is, generally, something hidden which shows only in time of need, emergency and want. Then, how could good deeds be a treasure? Actually they are, so for the majority of cases, good deeds of repository of multifarious experiences are not well reimbursed in life, so their rewards are stored, like a treasure, to the time of need: Judgment Day.

'Keep your desires under control', the fourth metaphor, means, as it were, 'posses' them. Possession means having a fully-fledged control over something. Put another way, Imam Ali uses possession and not control (i.e. الملكية and not السيطرة) because the former is more permanent than the latter: one can lose control but not possession. Thus, desires must be possessed, otherwise they will result in fatal problems.

The last metaphor ('شح بنفسك') *'Be very stingy ...'* is really genuine. The word 'شح', which means extreme stinginess, is used to express the 'extreme' extent to which one must prohibit one's self from anything that one has no right in. If by stinginess is meant giving very little, then by extreme stinginess is meant not giving even very little. And this makes relation to what Imam Ali commands Malik to do: not taking even very little from anything that he has no right in.

واعلم أنّ الرعية طبقات ، لا يصلح بعضها إلا ببعض ، ولا غنى ببعضها عن بعض : فمنها جنود

الله ، ومنها كتاب العامة والخاصة ، ومنها قضاة العدل ، ومنها عمال الإنصاف والرفق ، ومنها أهل الجزية والخراج من أهل الذمة ومسلمة الناس ، ومنها التجار وأهل الصناعات ، ومنها الطبقة السفلى من ذوي الحاجة والمسكنة ، وكل قد سمي الله له سهمه ، ووضع على حده فريضة في كتابه أو سنة نبيه ( صلى الله عليه و آله ) عهداً منه عندنا محفوظاً . فالجنود ، بإذن الله ، حصون الرعية ، وزين الولاية ، وعز الدين ، وسبل الأمن ، وليس تقوم الرعية إلا بهم ، ثم لا قوام للجنود إلا بما يخرج الله لهم من الخراج الذي يقوون به على جهاد عدوهم ، ويعتمدون عليه فيما يصلحهم ، ويكون من وراء حاجتهم . ثم لا قوام لهذين الصنفين إلا بالصنف الثالث من القضاة والعمال والكتاب ، لما يحكمون من المعاهد ، ويجمعون من المنافع ، ويؤتمنون عليه من خواص الأمور وعوامها . ولا قوام لهم جميعاً إلا بالتجار وذوي الصناعات ، فيما يجتمعون عليه من مرافقهم ، ويقيمونه من أسواقهم ، ويكفونهم من الترفق بأيديهم ما لا يبلغه رفق غيرهم . ثم الطبقة السفلى من أهل الحاجة والمسكنة الذين يحق رفقهم ومعونتهم ، وفي الله لكل سعة ، ولكل على الوالي حق بقدر ما يصلحه ، وليس يخرج الوالي من حقيقة ما ألزمه الله من ذلك إلا بالاهتمام والاستعانة بالله ، وتوطين نفسه على لزوم الحق ، والصبر عليه فيما خف عليه أو ثقل ، قول من جنودك أنصحهم في نفسك لله ولرسوله وإمامك ، وأنقاهم جيباً ، وأفضلهم حلماً ، ممن يبطن عن الغضب ، ويستريح إلى العذر ، ويرأف بالضعفاء ، وينبو على الأقوياء ، وممن لا يثيره العنف ، ولا يقعد به الضعف . ثم الصق بذوي المروءات والأحساب ، وأهل البيوتات الصالحة ، والسوابق الحسنة ، ثم أهل النجدة والشجاعة ، والسخاء والسماحة ، فإنهم جماع من الكرم ، وشعب من العرف .

*Remember that the people are composed of different classes. The progress of one is dependent on the progress of every other; and none can afford to be independent of the other. We have the Army formed of the soldiers of God. We have our civil officers and their establishments, our judiciary, our revenue collectors and our public relations officers. The general public itself consists of Muslims and other subjects and among them of merchants and craftsmen, the unemployed and the indigent. God has prescribed for them their rights, duties and obligations. They are all defined and preserved in the Holy Quran and in the traditions of his Prophet.*

*The army, by the grace of God, is like a fortress to the people and lends dignity to the state. It upholds the prestige of the faith and maintains the peace of the country. Without it the state cannot stand. In its turn, it cannot stand without the support of the state. Our soldiers have proved strong before the enemy because of the privilege God has given them to fight for Him; but they have their material needs to fulfil and have therefore to depend upon the income provided for them from the state revenue. The military and civil population who pay revenue, both need the co-operation of others – the judiciary, civil officers and their establishment. The judge administers civil and criminal law; the civil officers collect revenue and attend to civil administration with the assistance of their establishment. And then there are the tradesmen and the merchants who add to the revenue of the state. It is they who run the markets and are in a better position than others to discharge social obligations. Then there is the class of the poor and the needy, whose maintenance is an obligation on the other classes. God has*

*given appropriate opportunity of service to one and all; then there are the rights of all these classes over the administration which the administrator has to meet with an eye on the good of the entire population – a duty which he cannot fulfill properly unless he takes personal interest in its execution and seeks help from God. Indeed, it is obligatory on him to impose this duty on himself and to bear with patience the inconveniences and difficulties incidental to his task. Be particularly mindful of the welfare of those in the army who in your opinion, are staunchly faithful to their God and the prophet and loyal to their chief, and who in the hour of passion can restrain themselves and listen coolly to sensible remonstrance, and who can succor the weak and smite the strong, whom violent provocation will not throw into violent temper and who will not falter at any stage.*

*Keep yourself in close contact with the families of established reputation and integrity with a glorious past, and draw to yourself men brave and upright in character, generous and benevolent in disposition; for such are the salt of society].*

Apparently, argumentation in this extract is subordinative. People are divided into classes, where every class is dependent on the other. Accordingly, the process of showing this dependency is progressed by developing subordinative argumentation. Consequently, it can be confidently stated that this structure of argumentation is a must in this extract, for one cannot give such a detailed and accurate description (as the one presented in this text) by making a recourse to single, coordinative or even multiple argumentation. This is mainly because the tenor of what is meant here, i.e. people are ranked on interrelated classes, cannot be reached by any other structure than the subordinative one whose main concern is layered progression.

At the cognitive level, the mind works hard to process the various layers of subordination (as hinted at before, Cf. extract 2 above). What is maintained at the communicative level is that Malik must pay heed to all those classes in a way that ensures the smoothness of the relationship between them.

Interestingly, such a lengthy extract has only three rhetorical devices: two metaphors (*people fortress* حصون الرعية and *rightness catching* لزوم الحق), and one metonymy (جيبا *the purest pocket* انقاھم). This is done on purpose: cognition balance. If this extract is compared with the previous as regards length, then there appears no match between the shorter having five rhetorical devices, and the longer with three only. This is due to the fact that subordination normally requires more cognition, and rhetorical devices require more cognition as well, then the intended meaning needed will be lost by over-cognition. Thus, a few rhetorical devices are used to keep the rhetorical aspect balanced as well, for it does not seem reasonable that such a

lengthy argumentation does not have rhetorical devices.

However, the first metaphor (people fortress ‘حصون الرعية’) is used to describe how strong and protective soldiers must be; just as a fortress, which is tightly built, prevents anything from passing through it, so must soldiers be fortified physically, mentally and morally as well.

The other metaphor is ‘rightness catching’ (لزوم الحق), as it were. Rightness, here, is embodied as something that can be caught; when we catch something, we manipulate it for some purpose. For instance, we catch a pen to write, we catch a cane to help us walk, etc.; but for what purpose do we catch rightness? We do this for our and others’ welfare, because adhering to rightness avails oneself of doing but good things that eliminate problems and purge abomination.

Metonymy is used to represent part-whole relation: the part (pocket) is used to refer to the whole (money). What is meant by this representation is that soldiers who earn their money licitly deserve having some authority over others, why? In fact, a little scrutiny shows that money is the basis of everything in life, by which one can buy, sell, and make different things. If it makes no difference for someone how to earn money whether lawfully or not, this will cause social disasters because there will be no constraints on one’s social relationships with others. If, on the other hand, one sticks to licit earning, this may sometimes drive one to sacrifice different (precious) things for the sake of keeping to morals which, in turn, leads to good marsh in life. The one who is ready to sacrifice his own needs in order to adhere to high morals is, naturally, the optimal one worthy giving some authority.

وأشعر قلبك الرحمة للرعية ، والمحبة لهم ، واللطف بهم ، ولا تكونن عليهم سبعا ضارياً  
تغتنيهم ، فإنهم صنفان : إما أخ لك في الدين ، أو نظير لك في الخلق ، يفرط منهم الزلل ،  
وتعرض لهم العلل ، ويؤتى على أيديهم في العمد والخطأ ، فأعطيهم من عفوك وصفحك مثل الذي  
تحب وترضى أن يعطيك الله من عفوه وصفحه ، فإنك فوقهم ، ووالي الأمر عليك فوقك ، والله  
فوق من ولاك

*Develop in your heart the feeling of love for your people and let it be the source of kindness and blessing to them. Do not behave with them like a barbarian, and do not appropriate to yourself that which belongs to them. Remember that the citizens of the state are of two categories. They are either your brethren in religion or your brethren in kind. They are subject to infirmities and liable to commit mistakes. Some indeed do commit mistakes. But forgive them even as you would like God to forgive you. Bear in mind that you are placed over them, even as I am placed over you. And then there is God even above him].*

This extract differs from all the previous ones discussed so far, concerning its structure of argumentation: it exhibits coordinative and multiple structures at the same time. It is so claimed because there are two commands issued, each, by itself, consists of a coordinative structure:

- اشعر قلبك الرحمة للرعية... في العمد والخطأ (*Develop in your heart...do commit mistakes*).
- فاعظمهم من عفوكم... والله فوق من ولاك (*But forgive them...even above you*).

Yet, when they are combined together, they do not give one coordinative structure, as one ordinarily supposes; rather, one multiple structure shows as the two can be issued in isolation and still communicate complete ideas. It follows that each will be discussed separately to clarify and prove the idea more.

- a. اشعر قلبك الرحمة للرعية... في العمد والخطأ (*Develop in your heart...do commit mistakes*).

The structure has already been identified, so the pragmatic aspect will be discussed soon. At the cognitive level, there is much to do due to the use of five rhetorical devices. At the communicative level, Imam Ali commands Malik to behave kindly with people and not to take advantage of the authority annexed to him.

The five rhetorical devices are: one simile (سبعا ضاريا) '*fierce lion*', one metonymy (تغتتم اكلهم) '*to capture their food*', and three metaphors (يفرط منهم) (الزلل، تعرض لهم العلل، يؤتى على ايديهم) '*sins are loosen from them, to show unintentional mistakes, and it is come on their hands*'.

Simile is used to indicate two things:

1. Malik's strength, in which he is likened to a lion, and it is axiomatic that lion is the strongest among animals.
2. His people's weakness, due to the fact that he is the strongest.

What can be argued by this simile is that you (Malik) are strong (like a lion), but do not be voracious, i.e. to have control over things that are not yours, as those people are weak and can match you neither in strength nor in authority. (It must be indicated that Malik's strength is not only his own, it also refers to the soldiers he commands as well, in a nutshell he derives his strength from the position he got appointed in).

The second, yet related with the previous, rhetorical device is metonymy. It is demonstrated by the use of (أكلهم) 'their food', which is the part to refer to 'money', the whole. The question now is: do we use money to exchange food only? Certainly no; then why this specification? Being the Master of Eloquence, Imam Ali uses the most important part (food) to refer the whole. By the most important is understood that food is the elixir of life. All other things that are exchanged by money come after food, owing to its being the only thing that keeps people alive, biologically speaking. In other words, when you (Malik) illegally take their food, you will affect their earning, and as a result, will hurt them.

What the last three metaphors have in common is the embodiment of mistakes. This is a ranked embodiment, from lower to higher. It first starts with infirmities (and that's why the verb 'يفرط' 'to loosen' is used to show the

probability of making infirmities just like a necklace, which *may* break up at some time). Unintentional mistakes come then (and the verb ‘تعرض’ ‘to show’ is used to express the purpose of committing such mistakes, due to the fact that when something is shown, some purpose is served: selling, showing off, discussing, etc.), so their unintentional mistakes show to be handled and corrected. The highest degree of committing mistakes is the intentional one, which does harm to people. This is clearly shown by using the verb ‘يؤتى’ ‘to come’ to actualize the extent of harmfulness. It is axiomatic that what comes (and goes) is in fact animates, so committing mistakes intentionally is resembled, indirectly, to animates due to the bad consequences it has on people’s lives, just like when any animate does such harm to others.

b. فاعطهم من عفوك... والله فوق من ولاك (*But forgive them...even above you*).

At the cognitive level, the mind works hard to go along with the five rhetorical devices used here. At the communicative level, Imam Ali commands Malik to be tolerant and to forgive people as much as he should, because he is more powerful than them.

The five rhetorical devices are:

- اعطهم من عفوك (*Give them from your forgiveness*)
- يعطيك الله من عفوه (*Allah gives you from his forgiveness*)
- فانك فوقهم (*You are above them*)
- ووالي الامر عليك فوقك (*Your Imam is above you*)
- والله فوق من ولاك (*And Allah is above your Imam*)

In the first two metaphors, forgiveness is crystallized as something that can be given. This implies two things: first, forgiveness must always be under hand, as it were, because one cannot give something which one does not have. Second, though (مثل الذي تحب وترضى) ‘as you would like’ seems to be simile at face value, yet this is not the case, simply because no one, whosoever, can be likened to God. What is really meant here is that Imam Ali wants Malik to ‘absorb’ the concept of forgiveness. That is, what Malik feels when he wants God to forgive him, is very much the same feeling any of his people has when coming to Malik, regardless of the quiddity of forgiveness (whether moral or material). It refers to the feeling of the need for forgiveness.

The last three rhetorical devices are metonymies in a hierarchical arrangement from lowest to highest, indicating that there is no such thing as an absolute power. Metonymy is reached by using position (i.e. above) to represent power and authority. So, power is scaled from the lowest (Malik) to the highest (God), with Imam Ali’s power lies in between. This ranked power leads to a very interesting remark correlated with the first part of this extract: just as mistakes are degrees, so should do forgiveness. That is to say, one should know what, when, and how to forgive depending on the kind of mistake committed.



There remains one last thing to be mentioned about this interesting extract: its parallelism. It has been stated before that we have coordinative and multiple structures of argumentation in this extract. After analyzing it as a whole, two things have strongly supported this claim:

1. There are five rhetorical devices used in each part.
2. Each part ends with a hierarchy of one rhetorical device: metaphor in the first; metonymy in the second.

This makes the two parts rhetorically and meaningfully parallel, and hence, each can stand alone as a rhetorical extract, thus becomes multiple.

ولا تتصبن نفسك لحرب الله ، فإنه لا يد لك بنقمته ، ولا غنى بك عن عفوه ورحمته.

*[Do not set yourself against God, for neither do you possess the strength to shield yourself against His displeasure, nor can you place yourself outside the pale of His mercy and forgiveness]*

In this extract, there is a multiple argumentative structure, as it consists of the two underlined justifications. Each can stand by itself as they are of equal weight as far as their meaning is concerned.

At the cognitive level, much cognition, as usual, is required due to the rhetoric employed. At the communicative level, Imam Ali prohibits Malik from appealing to tyranny in accordance with the position attached to him.

The rhetoric of this extract is reached to by two ways:

1. The use of metonymy: 'hand' is used to refer to power and strength. Yet, this is merely the secondary source of rhetoric.
2. The primary source is the wording per se. That is, the use of the verb 'تتصبن' 'set', and 'غنى' 'dispense with', together with the metonymy cited above. As a matter of fact, this needs to be scrutinized a little bit.

When somebody wants to set her/himself (or to be set by others) to a certain position, this means that s/he has certain qualifications helping her/him to be so. Such qualifications as age, experience, money and power, of which the last two are more, if not the most, reliable and influential than others, due to the fact that not all people have them, unlike age and experience. This makes them, and their owners, valuable. So, do not (Malik) set yourself to a position that you are, and will never ever be (like all other people in the world whosoever), qualified to, even though you have power (by his position as a governor) and money (by all the money of the country being under his control). Your 'alleged' power will never help you go along with God's displeasure (not to say anger, which is far beyond anyone's reach), nor does 'your' money make you dispense with God's mercy and forgiveness.

This implicit reference to power and money is reinforced by their explicit (negative) indication afterwards in the justifications. This combination is more rhetorical than mentioning them first, and then

repeating them again in the justifications (which are used as politeness marker for justifying issuing the prohibition).

Another reason for the implicit reference is that explicitly mentioning them again and again over-emphasizes their importance, the thing which attracts pride in any one holding them. Accordingly, Imam Ali suppresses this pride, not only by implicitly referring to them, but also by negatively referring to them 'لا يد لك... لا غنى بك' *'neither do you possess the strength to... nor can you place yourself outside'*, which means that whatever power and money you have, they mean nothing in comparison to what you intend to indulge yourself in.

It is important to point out that this is not the first time when Imam Ali 'deescalates' power; it has been first made in extract 4 b above. This means that Imam Ali deals with this concept in a drag-and-drop manner, i.e. he mentions it first to reinforce Malik (extract 4 b above), yet some suppression is appealed to as mentioned previously.

ثُمَّ تَفَقَّدَ مِنْ أُمُورِهِمْ مَا يَتَفَقَّدُ الْوَالِدَانِ مِنْ وَلَدِهِمَا ، وَلَا يَتَفَقَّصْنَ فِي نَفْسِكَ شَيْءٍ قَوِيَّتُهُمْ بِهِ ، وَلَا تَحْقِرْنَ لَطْفًا تَعَاهَدْتُهُمْ بِهِ وَإِنْ قَلَّ ، فَإِنَّهُ دَاعِيَةٌ لَهُمْ إِلَى بَذْلِ النَّصِيحَةِ لَكَ ، وَحَسَنَ الظَّنِّ بِكَ .

[*Care for them with the tenderness with which you care for your children, and do not talk before them of any good that you might have done to them, nor disregard any expression of affection which they show in return, for such conduct inspires loyalty, devotion and goodwill*]

The structure of argumentation, here, is multiple, just as the preceding example.

The mind works really hard at the cognitive level, because of the use of the rhetorical devices. Imam Ali commands Malik, at the communicative level, to take good care of his people by deepening his sight when dealing with them.

Two rhetorical devices are used in this extract: simile (تَفَقَّدَ مِنْ أُمُورِهِمْ مَا يَتَفَقَّدُ الْوَالِدَانِ مِنْ وَلَدِهِمَا) '*Care for them with the tenderness with which you care for your children*' and metaphor (بَذْلِ النَّصِيحَةِ) '*grant advice*'. Simile is performed by likening Malik's conduct to that of parents', i.e. a mother and a father, but why both? A little perusal reveals that parents' role is complementary: the mother's has to do with forgiveness (embracing mercy, passion, etc.); the father's has to do with power (i.e. controlling the general policy of the house). Interestingly, both of these roles have previously been annexed to Malik elsewhere in the text (extract 4, for instance). It follows that Malik should play double contradictory, yet complementary role: power contradicts with forgiveness. This also requires him to have an unusual ability to cover them both.

Another thing which that depicts is the extent to which Malik should take care of his people: he should check their matters that which parents check of their household (sons and daughters). The question which arises



here is: What is that which parents *do not* check of their household? Definitely nothing: they do check everything of their household; and so must Malik do. He must put into his consideration all their matters, as he has been put into a position that makes him heavily responsible for all of them, just like parents. The only difference is that parents have themselves brought their own household, thus all what they do to them is a matter of instinct, i.e. they do it unconsciously. Malik, by contrast, has been brought to those people, as such he will not instinctively behave in a parent-like manner, and consequently, he should be urged to do so.

Behaving in a parent-like manner, in tandem with respecting and appreciating them, will make them advise and think good of you. 'Advise' needs to be stopped at a little bit, does Malik, the governor, need advice? Actually, he does. This is mainly because he is new to Egypt, so whatever he knows will not be as much as its own people do.

Moreover, 'advice' has been presented as something that can be given 'بذل' *'grant'* and this is where the metaphor lies. It means that those people have much to give you (especially that they have seen so much of different countries, as mentioned in extract 2), and thus you will need them willynilly, as they know, and can know, more than you (at least in the beginning), because you are the minority, and they are the majority.

Consequently, the best way to make use of their experience is to drive them to advise you willingly. This can only be attained if you do care about them and make them 'see' it. Then, and only then, they will advise you and think good of you. It follows that advice is part of thinking good of somebody, and that is why it has been presented first.

## Results

It has been indicated before (Cf. 5. Above) that the various aspects of the text as a whole will be presented for the sake of adhering to a holistic analysis, so the following results have been arrived at:

- The number of single structures of argumentation is: 4
- The number of multiple structures of argumentation is: 14
- The number of coordinative structures of argumentation is: 10
- The number of subordinative structures of argumentation is: 2

It follows that the percentages of the three rhetorical devices will be calculated by dividing the occurrence of each device by the total number of structures (viz. 30), and then multiplied by 100. Thus, we have:

- Metaphor: 93.3%.
- Metonymy: 30%.
- Simile: 6.6%.
- The percentage of using rhetorical devices in general: 100%. It must be pointed out that even if a certain extract does not have a rhetorical

device, then in another two or more are found. This indicates the balance of the rhetorical weight of the text.

## **Conclusion**

The paper has come up with the following conclusions:

1. The use of rhetorical devices is obligatory in the text. This clearly shown by its full percentage, i.e. 100%.
2. Cognition is very active in this text. This is proved by the percentage of metaphor, 93.3%. This high percentage is justified by the fact that metaphor requires more cognition than the other two devices as it is the most indirect one, the thing that makes it more rhetorical.
3. It is commonly thought that the more indirect a construction is, the more cognition it requires; the analysis of this text has shown something different. As far as it relates to simile (the most direct of the three rhetorical devices), more cognition is needed to arrive at what is actually communicates.
4. There are two types of cognition appealed to in this text: one by the use of rhetorical devices, the other by wording.
5. Every argumentation is an entity by itself and, at the same time, complementary to the other one. This makes one conclude that the text is rhetorically interwoven in such a way that makes it really difficult to analyze some extracts (especially when the text progresses more and more) without referring to some previous ones.
6. This text has a salient feature: an all-in-one structure. It can be considered single, multiple, subordinative, and coordinative at the same time, depending on how one analyzes it.
7. Rhetorical devices are not used for aesthetic purposes. They are used to enrich the depth of the text, due to their being overloaded with meanings. What supports this conclusion is that the text is mainly made for persuasion which requires a skillful employment of tools, the thing which has been optimally done by the Master of Eloquence.
8. The most interesting feature of the text is that it is of a kaleidoscopic nature. That is, it can be stretched to cover various aspects of our life 'today', by means of using rhetorical devices that breathe relevance to everyday life.

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# **SELF-PERCEPTIONS OF NON-ARAB NON-NATIVE ENGLISH-SPEAKING TEACHERS**

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## **Abstract**

The status of being native or non-native has been extremely important in TESOL job market because it is relevant to a large number of critical issues beginning from the recruitment, performance and evaluation of teachers as well students' perceptions and satisfaction. Aim of the present study is to focus on non-Arab non-native teachers teaching English as a foreign language to Arab students in the Middle East. These teachers neither share L1 with their students nor do they speak English as their mother tongue. The present pioneer study focuses on the self-perceptions of these non-Arab non-native EFL teachers in order to verify if they perceive themselves different from other non-native teacher fraternity and if so, how this perception influences their teaching practice. The results of this studies shows that non-Arab non-Native speaking teachers hold a very positive self-image of themselves and feel very confident about their command of English.

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**Keywords:** Native non-native English-speaking teachers, EFL/ESL/EIL, TESOL, Native Speaker Fallacy

## **Introduction**

### **Context of the Study**

The present study investigates the self-perceptions of non-Arab non-native English-speaking teachers (Non-Arab NNESTs) working as EFL instructors in university-based intensive English Language Programs (ELPs) in the Middle East. Until the turn of 21<sup>st</sup> century, NNESTs were openly and unquestioningly regarded unequal to native English-speaking teachers (NESTs) in terms of their knowledge and performance (Braine, 2005). This would diminish the self-confidence of NNESTs because it challenges their credibility in the field of TESOL (Braine, 1999). The existing body of

research on native non-native dichotomy is structured around two approaches: (1) self-perceptions of NNESTs and; (2) students' perceptions of NNESTs. The term NESTs is applied to those EFL/ESL teachers who speak English as their mother tongue whereas the term NNESTs is applied to those EFL/ESL teachers who speak English as a foreign or second language and may share L1 with their students. Such EFL/ESL teachers abound in the field of TESOL. For example, there are millions of Chinese EFL teachers who are teaching English as a foreign language to their Chinese countrymen in China besides a small amount of native teachers mainly imported from the US, UK or Canada. Same applies to thousands of Japanese EFL teachers teaching English to Japanese students in Japan. Many European African and Asian countries are included in this arena. All these NNESTs share L1 and culture with their students.

Interestingly enough, another variety of NNESTs has emerged on the scene. This variety represents thousands of EFL teachers who teach English to Arab students. These teachers are non-native by default. However, unlike other non-native teachers they do not share L1 with their students. Neither do they speak English as their mother-tongue. Hence, they are non-Arab NNESTs. This is the first study undertaken regarding the self-perceptions of non-Arab NNESTs so far.

English has recently become a compulsory subject in schools in the Middle East. It has also been adopted as a medium of instruction at university level for all professional faculties. Therefore, there is an ever growing demand of EFL teachers in the Middle East. Arab NNESTs are very few and do not fulfil the market demand which is why recruitment of expat EFL teachers is on all year round. Native teachers are the first choice of the ELP administrators, but qualified native teachers are not attracted. If they ever do, they do not stay for long. Eventually to meet the operational demands, ELP administrators have to recruit non-Arab NNESTs mainly from Asian countries. Part of these non-Arabs NNESTs come from Turkey, Bangladesh, Malaysia, Indonesia, and Sri Lanka. However, it constitutes a tiny minority. The overwhelming majority comes from Pakistan and India. As mentioned earlier, the principal strength of NESTs is English as their mother tongue, and the principal strength of NNESTs is that they share mother tongue and culture with their students. What is the strength of non-Arab NNESTs then? It has yet to be determined whether being a non-Arab NNESTs surrounded by Arab EFL students is an advantage or a disadvantage.

## **Second vs Foreign Language**

Initially, the term *foreign language* was used in contrast to *native/indigenous languages*. Later, the term *second language* was

increasingly used for all types of *non-native languages*. These days, the two are mostly used synonymously, but in certain cases a marked distinction exists between the two. Thus, the acronym TESL (Teaching of English as a Second Language) is distinguished from TEFL (Teaching of English as a Foreign Language). TESL refers to the teaching of English in the USA, UK, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, etc. to immigrants or students who are speakers of other languages.

There is an obvious difference between a non-native language learnt *within the speech community* termed as a second language and a non-native language learnt *outside the speech community* termed as a foreign language. It was considered politically incorrect to call a language *a foreign language* within its speech community so distinction was made between a second and a foreign language (Stern, 1983). For example, if students and immigrants are learning English in the US or the UK, it is considered politically incorrect to say that they are learning English as a foreign language. English is no longer a foreign language for them and it should not be called a foreign language within its speech community so the term second language was explicitly used to refer to such scenarios. These two different situations frequently have important consequences from curriculum, teaching, and assessment perspective to which attention has been drawn in the literature (for example, Stern 1969a, Hartmann and Stork 1972, Quirk *et al.* 1972, Christophersen 1973, Harrison *et al.* 1975). The objectives of second language learning are often different from foreign language learning. Since the second language is frequently the official language or one of two or more recognized languages, it is needed 'for full participation in the political and economic life of the nation' (Paulston, 1974:12-13); or it may be the language needed for education (Marckwardt, 1963). Foreign language learning is often undertaken with a variety of different purposes in mind, for example, travel abroad, communication with native speakers, reading of a foreign literature, or reading of foreign scientific and technical works. A second language, as it is used within the country, is usually learnt with much more environmental support than a foreign language whose speech community may be thousands of miles away. A foreign language usually requires more formal instructions and other measures compensating for the lack of environmental support. By contrast, a second language is often learnt informally ('picked up') because of its widespread use within the environment.

English is strictly taught as a foreign language for academic purposes at universities in the Middle East.

## Literature review

### The Non-native Speaker Movement

Non-native English-speaking teachers (NNESTs) were generally regarded as unequal in knowledge and performance to native English-speaking teachers (NESTs) until some dramatic changes started taking place in the field of TESOL (Braine, 2005). TESOL (Teachers of English to the speakers of other Languages) is the largest international organization of English language teachers with over 12,000 members from over 156 countries and more than 100 worldwide affiliates. TESOL Quarterly, one of the best-known research journals in the field of applied linguistics and TESOL, is also published by the same organization. The first dramatic change took place when, in 2005, the first non-native speaker of English was appointed as an editor. A step further, the first non-native speaker of English was also elected as president of TESOL by the general membership (see [www.tesol.org](http://www.tesol.org)). These two unprecedented events were the core indicators that NNESTs were recognized by the mainstream and the principal reason behind these events was no other than the Non-native Speaker Movement.

Historical evidence suggests that English was being taught as a foreign language since 15th century. The rise of England as a maritime power during the 16th century, and the expansion of the British Empire made English an important international language besides French, Italian and Latin. Gabriel Meurier, a French who lived in Antwerp, may have been the first NNEST we know by name. A Treatise to learn to Speak French and English authored by Meurier was published in 1553 (Howatt, 1984 in Braine, 2010).

After the groundbreaking research by Medgyes (1992, 1994), there was a mysterious silence until the establishment of Non-native speaker Caucus in TESOL Organization in 1999 (see Braine, 1999). Medgyes (1992), took up a very sensitive and political issue which nearly all non-native teachers were aware of but probably no one was ready to openly discuss. In his pioneering article: "Native or non-native: who's worth more?" he recognized that the difference between native and non-native teachers is language-related and further reiterated: "I would contend that a deficient command of English may even have hidden advantages" (340). He admitted that there is no clear or trenchant deviation a NEST and a NNEST. For example, British and Australians are natives whereas Hungarians and French are not. And questions can be raised when it comes to Indians for whom English has been the language of professional communication ever since. There is no distinct division between native and non-native in countries where English is a second language and Pakistan falls in this category too. Liberal minded researchers have long ago suggested more acceptable terms to replace native and non-native speaker. Edge (1998) suggests more or less



accomplished users of English while Paikeday (1985) suggests more or less proficient users of English. Medgyes (1992: 347) admits that those who use English as a first language obviously and undoubtedly have advantage over those who use it as a foreign language. However, he challenges the notion '*the more proficient in English, the more efficient in the classroom*' to be based on wrong judgment. He maintains that language competence is the only variable in which non-native teachers are inevitably handicapped. However, non-native teachers have six advantages over native teachers when it comes to classroom practice (346-7):

Only non-natives can serve as imitable models of the successful learners of English.

Non-natives can teach learning strategies more effectively as they themselves have gone through the same learning process.

Non-natives can provide learners with more information about the English language because non-natives usually have more command over the language system.

Due to the above mentioned reasons ( 2&3), Non-natives seem more capable to anticipate language learning difficulties.

Non-natives can be more empathetic to the needs and problems of their learners.

Only non-natives can benefit from sharing the learner's mother-tongue.

More than 200 research publications have appeared since the formation of Non-native Caucus later turned into an Interest Section for Non-Native English Speakers in TESOL at TESOL Organization (see <http://www.tesol.org/connect/interest-sections/nonnative-english-speakers-in-tesol>). The first landmark anthology on native non-native issues was *Non-native educators in English Language teaching* (Braine, 1999). Afterwards four more anthologies were published: (1) *Learning and Teaching from Experience: Perspectives on Nonnative English-speaking Professionals* (2004), edited by Lia Kamhi-Stein; (2) *Non-native Language Teachers: Perceptions, Challenges, and Contributions to the Profession* (2005), edited by Enric Llurda; (3) *Teaching English to the World: History, Curriculum, and Practice* (2005), edited by George Braine; (4) *Nonnative Speakers English Teachers: Research Pedagogy and Professional Growth* (2010), by George Braine.

### **The Non-native Teachers & English as an International Language**

The British Council (<http://www.britishcouncil.org/learning-faq-the-english-language.htm>) estimates that English is spoken by 375 million people as first language (mother-tongue) and just about the same number of people speak it as a second language. However, 750 million people speak



English as a foreign language hence non-native speakers. Majority of those who speak it as a second language are also non-native but they live in English-speaking countries. It is an established fact that the majority of English Language teachers across the globe are non-natives. Similarly, English as an L2 is spoken by more people than as a mother-tongue. Therefore, English language is no longer exclusively owned by native-speaking communities, rather its ownership is also shared by non-native speakers, who therefore have a right to be heard in matters affecting the language (Widdowson, 1994). The transformation of English from being the language of a few powerful countries such as the United States and the United Kingdom to becoming the international language (EIL) as it is today has brought with it a number of changes to the TESOL profession.

The perceived 'superiority' of native speaker stems from Chomsky's (1965) notions that the native speaker is the ultimate authority on language grammaticality. Philipson (1992), termed it '*native speaker fallacy*' - the belief that – '*the ideal teacher of English is a native speaker*'. He challenged this fallacy by advocating that; (1) native teachers' abilities could also be instilled in non-native teachers through teacher training; (2) non-native teachers undergo language learning process so they are better qualified to teach the language; (3) language teaching is no longer synonymous with the teaching of culture, thus could be taught by teachers who do not share the same culture.

Cook (1999) proposed to move beyond the native speaker as a model of language teaching. It is logical since, as an EIL, native speakers are only a part of the much larger group of speakers of the language. This notion is further endorsed by Modiano (1999) who asserts that proficiency in speaking English is no longer determined by birth but by the capacity to use the language properly, a capacity that is shared by some - but not all – regardless of being natives or non-natives.

### **Sharing Learners' Mother-tongue or not**

Sharing learners' mother tongue can be a lead at times. Medgyes (1992) enlisted six advantages non-native teachers have over native teachers when it comes to classroom practice. Sharing learners' mother-tongue is probably the most important among them. Inecay and Atay (2007) in a qualitative study conducted at an English Prep School in Istanbul found out that most of the learners thought that it was suitable to have non-native teachers during the early stages of L2 learning process. The reason behind this perception was the explanations provided in Turkish which were much easier for them to understand and remember. Al-Omrani (2008) in his doctoral dissertation discusses the similarities and differences of Arab EFL and ESL learners towards native and non-native teachers. He found that the

beginners of Arab EFL learners preferred Arab non-natives teachers as they could communicate with these teachers more readily, while advanced ESL learners preferred native teachers because they assumed these teachers could provide meaningful language practice. Nevertheless, there is always a risk of overdoing L1 explanation in the class. It is happening in the Middle East. English is a compulsory subject and students learn it approximately for 6 years in state/National schools before entering universities. Because of the excessive use of Arabic in English Language classes during their schools years most of the high school graduates are enrolled onto an intensive English Language Program and start with beginner's level (A1 on CEFR) when they enter university. Due to this concern, non-Arab non-native teachers were recruited on a small scale in 2002 and later on a large scale in 2008 onwards to teach English in public schools in Saudi Arabia.

## **Procedure**

### **The Study**

The purpose of this study is to evaluate the self-perceptions of non-Arab non-native EFL teachers who are teaching English as a foreign language to Arab EFL learners in Saudi Universities. The study was conducted with the help of an online questionnaire administered to English Language teachers working in several universities across the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. 120 English language teachers who were invited to participate in the study on the basis of their voluntary participation. Finally, 49 teachers responded to the questionnaires.

### **Methodology**

The study is based upon a survey which seeks information about the self-perceptions of the non-Arab non-native teachers teaching in Saudi Universities. A questionnaire is always considered the best tool for conducting a survey type research (Mackey and Gass 2005, Seliger and Shohamy 1989). The questionnaire mainly produced quantitative data because it was based upon 17 close-ended items. Now we discuss the construct of the data collection tool (questionnaire) in details.

### **Data Collection Tool (Questionnaire)**

The questionnaire consists of 5 parts containing 17 items. Part-1 consists of three items, Part-2 also comprises three items, Part-3 covers five items, Part-4 consists of four items, and Part-5 comprises two items. The questionnaire served as an instrument which was developed to assess the self-perceptions of the participants in five important areas: (1) Academic/Professional Training Background; (2) Native Non-Native Distinction; (3) Linguistic Competence; (4) Exposure to/Stay in English-

speaking countries; (5) Focus of Teaching.

### **Data Collection**

An online survey was sent to 120 non-Arab EFL teachers teaching English as a foreign language at different universities in Saudi Arabia. There are mandatory intensive English language programs for all students who want to join professional colleges after graduating from schools. The questionnaire was addressed to only those non-native teachers whose mother tongue was not Arabic and they were part of this intensive program. Majority of participants were from Pakistan. However, 5 participants were from India, 3 from Malaysia, 2 from Turkey, and only 1 from Indonesia.

### **The questionnaire**

The questionnaire asked 20 questions. All of them were close-ended, i.e. they elicited answers from a number of options given to the respondent. First three questions intended to solicit information about personal background of the teacher and the rest of them were intended to elicit participants' opinions about their teaching practice and self-perception. It was expected that the responses would shed some light on the views of non-Arab non-native teachers in the field of TESOL, especially their self-perceptions while teaching in Saudi Arabian universities.

### **Findings**

In this part, initially the findings of each section will be analyzed separately and then a final report of these findings will be discussed in details.

#### **Findings of Part-1**

Part-1 consists of three items seeking information about the teachers' academic and professional background. The results of Part-1 are presented in Table-1. The covered items are: (1) the length of experience of teaching English as a foreign language to Arab learners learning English as a foreign language; (2) the participants' highest level of education in the field of TESOL/TEFL/Applied Linguistics; (3) the participants' highest level of professional certification in the field of TESOL/TEFL/Applied Linguistics. The results of Part-1 are shown in Table-1.

Table-1. Academic/Professional Training Background

1	How long have you been teaching EFL to Arab EFL students?	1-5 yrs.	6-10 yrs.	11-15 yrs.	16 yrs. /above
		44.9%	24.5%	22.4%	8.2%
2	What is your highest level of education in the field of TESOL/TEFL/Applied Linguistics?		BA	MA	PhD
			0.0%	91.8%	8.2%
3	What is your highest level of professional certification in the field of TESOL/ TEFL/Applied Linguistics?		CELTA	DELTA	Others
			40.8%	2.0%	57.1%

The overall results of Part-1 show that the participants hold a very strong educational and professional background. 55% of the participants have taught EFL to Arab EFL learners for more than 6 years. For non-Arab teachers who are recruited on the basis of prior rich teaching experience, above six years of post-recruitment experience shows very strong professional background. Similarly, participants' academic background is also very strong. The base qualification required for the position of English Instructor in English Language Programs in the Middle East is BA with at least 2 years of teaching experience. Any certificate/diploma in the relevant field is an advantage. However, the data shows that overwhelming majority is (91.8%) highly qualified teachers with master's degrees in the relevant field with an exception of (8.2%) doctoral degree holder. This is also interesting to note that all the participants hold relevant professional certifications. The only difference is that less than half (42.8%) hold international & highly reputed Cambridge certifications such as Certificate in English Language Teaching to Adults (CELTA) & Diploma in English Language Teaching to Adults (DELTA) and more than half (57.1%) hold similar certifications from universities in their home countries.

So the results of Part-1 show that the participants of the study have rich teaching experience. They are highly qualified in the relevant field and hold professional certifications.

### Findings of Part-2

Part-2 consists of three items. It elicits participants' perceptions towards native non-native distinction. The three items cover following notions: (1) the perceptions of participants towards native non-native divide; (2) perceived superiority of native teachers over non-native teachers; (3)

perceived superiority of Arab non-native teachers over non-Arab non-native teachers. The results of Part-2 are shown in Table-2.

Table 2. Native Non-Native Distinction

4	Do you agree with Native Non-Native distinction?	Agree	Neutral	Disagree
		40.8%	8.2%	51%
5	Do you think a native English teacher is relatively a better English teacher?	Yes	No	Not Necessarily
		0.0%	30.6%	69.4%
6	Do you think an Arab non-native English teacher is relatively better than a non-Arab non-native English teacher for Arab EFL learners?	Yes	No	Not Necessarily
		8.2%	32.7%	59.2%

The data shows that there is a distinctive division in the opinion. Nearly half of the participants (51%) think that native and non-native teachers are not different from each other. However, a substantial number of participants (40.8%) believe in the difference between native and non-native teachers. A tiny minority (8.2%) remains undecided/neutral about this distinction. Participants expressed their perceptions very clearly by rejecting NESTs' superiority. No one agreed (0.0%) that a NEST is a better teacher whereas a significant number of participants (30.6%) remained indecisive. Majority of the participants (69.4%) was of the opinion that a native teacher is not necessarily a better teacher. It obviously means the only nativeness cannot make someone a better teacher. In the same vein, whether an Arab non-native English teacher is relatively better than a non-Arab non-native English teacher for Arab EFL learners? In another question participants again expressed very clear opinion if an Arab non-native English teacher is relatively better than a non-Arab non-native English teacher for Arab EFL learners. A tiny minority (8.2%) thought that knowing learners L1 was an advantage. However, a significant number of participants (32.7%) remained neutral and the majority of participants (59.2%) thought that unknowing L1 was not a disadvantage.

So the results of Part-2 suggest that the participants of the study are aware of the differences between native and non-native teachers. However, the results clearly show that the participants do not believe that native status makes any teacher a better teacher.

### Findings of Part-3

Part-3 consists of five items. It elicits participants' perceptions towards their linguistic competence. The following notions are covered in these three items: (1) the perceptions about the command of English; (2) strength of language skills; (3) strength of language areas; (4) participants' linguistic difficulties and their self-confidence; (5) linguistic difficulties of participants and their influence on teaching effectiveness. The results of Part-3 are shown in Table-3.

Table 3. Linguistic Competence

7	Please rate your overall command of English.	Poor	Average	Very Good	Excellent
		0.0%	0.0%	34.7%	65.3%
8	What language skill is your strength?	Listening	Speaking	Reading	Writing
		6.1%	34.7%	24.5%	34.7%
9	What language areas are your strength?	Grammar & Vocabulary	Pronunciation	Fluency	Idioms & Phrasal verbs
		77.6%	46.9%	44.9%	24.5%
10	Do your language difficulties affect your self-confidence as an EFL teacher?	A lot	Quite a bit	A little	Not at all
		0.0%	4.1%	34.7%	61.2%
11	Do your language difficulties hamper the effectiveness of your teaching?	A lot	Quite a bit	A little	Not at all
		0.0%	0.0%	16.3%	83.7%

The data shows that the participants are very confident and hold very positive self-image of their command of English. No one rated his command of English to be poor or even average whereas majority (65.3%) rated it to be excellent despite their interactions with native teachers on a daily basis. However, participants seem to be facing problems with receptive skills especially listening skills. They also seem to be finding difficulties with Idiomatic expressions and phrasal verbs. On the contrary, they reported to be more confident about their productive skills, grammar and vocabulary. Quite a significant majority of the participants (83.7%) reported that despite their problems with language skills and sub-skills, they do not think that their

personal difficulties hamper the effectiveness of their teaching at all. So the results of Part-3 reveal that the participants of the study are very confident about their command of English and they think their language problems (if any) do not upset the effectiveness of their teaching at all.

#### Findings of Part-4

Part-4 consists of four items. It elicits participants' responses about their exposure to/ presence in English-speaking countries. The four items cover following notions: (1) if they have lived in an English-speaking country; (2) the length of their stay in an English-speaking country (if any); (3) if they have studied in an English-speaking country; (4) the length of their studies undertaken in an English-speaking country (if any). The results of Part-4 are shown in Table-4.

Table 4. Exposure to English-speaking countries

12	Have you lived in an English-speaking country?		Yes	No
			51.2%	48.98%
13	How long have you lived in an English-speaking country?	Less than 6 months	1-3 years	More than 3 years
		52.0%	20.0%	28.0%
14	Have you studied in an English-speaking country?		Yes	No
			48.98%	51.0%
15	How long have you studied in an English-speaking country?	Less than 6 months	1-3 years	More than 3 years
		54.2%	29.2%	16.7%

The data reveals that more than half of the participants have exposure to English-speaking countries although their length of stay varies greatly. Again among those who have lived in English-speaking countries, majority (52.0%) has lived for less than six months. Slightly less than half of the participants stayed there for more than one year. A significant minority (28.0%) has been there for more than 3 years. In the same vein, nearly half (48.98%) of the participants have studied in English-speaking countries although the duration of their courses differs. The majority (54.2%) studied for less than 6 months, however, a sizable number (45.9%) studied there for

more than one year.

So the results of Part-4 show that nearly half of the participants of the study have had somehow exposure to English-speaking countries.

### Findings of Part-5

Part-5 consists of two items. It elicits participants' methodological priorities while teaching oral skills and grammar. The two items cover the following questions: (1) If they focus more on fluency or accuracy while teaching oral skills; (2) whether they focus more on meaning or form while teaching grammar. The results of Part-5 are shown in Table-5.

Table 5. Focus of Teaching

16	What do you focus on more while teaching oral skills?	Fluency	Accuracy
		83.7%	16.3%
17	What do you focus on while teaching grammar?	Meaning	Form
		57.1%	42.7%

The data reveals that the overwhelming majority (83.7%) of the participants focus on fluency while teaching oral skills and majority of participants (57.1%) focus on meaning while teaching vocabulary.

So the results of Part-5 suggest that the majority of the participants of the study employ communicative approach especially while teaching grammar and vocabulary.

### Conclusion and discussion

Before the inception of Non-Native Movement in 1996, it was a widespread strongly-held belief that non-native English-speaking teachers (NNESTs) were second in knowledge and performance when compared to native English-speaking teachers (NESTs). While in the English-speaking countries, NESTs were accepted as a norm and there was a little or no room for employment even for highly qualified NNESTs. Qualification, ability and teaching experience were of little value in the job market and the NNESTs were advised "no non-native need apply" (Braine, 1998:4). This uncritical assumption conferred status on a selective group. ELP administrators wanted to hire NESTs because of 'native speaker fallacy' and they adduced that students expected to be taught by NESTs (Medgyes, 1994). As a matter of fact, such students expected to be taught by NESTs because of falsified notion prevailed and bruited by students and educators against NNESTs (Ling and Braine, 2007). However, ESL students in the US and Hong Kong held very positive perceptions and it became even more positive when they



were taught by NNESTs. (Linang, 2002; Mehboob, 2004 ; Moussu and Braine, 2006; Ling and Braine, 2007).

It is generally assumed that the most vital variance between native and non-native teachers is the level of their language proficiency. NESTs are considered superior to NNESTs because of their high proficiency in English. NNESTs usually do not feel very confident especially when they have to interact with NESTs. They feel certain problems in some areas and usually admit that they are not expert users of English. The realization of this inadequacy is the strongest factor biasing non-native teachers' self-perceptions and teaching attitude. Medges and Reves (1994) identified two important cause and effect chains which could influence the non-native teachers' command of English. The cause chain that could positively influence is teaching qualification, the time spent in English-speaking country and the frequency of NNESTs' interaction with NESTs. The effect chain that may influence is their success in teaching, the difficulty felt in teaching caused by language problems and the provision of collaborative environment between NESTs and NNESTs. In their pioneer international survey administered to 216 ESL/EFL teachers from 10 different countries, Medges and Reves (cited in Braine ,2010:18), found that the majority (74.7%) considered their English to be 'good' or 'average' and only a tiny minority (10%) considered their English to be 'excellent'. On the contrary, in this study the non-Arab NNESTs hold very positive self-image of their command of English. 65.3% rated their command of English to be excellent and 34.7% rated it to be 'very good'. Interestingly enough, no one rated it to be 'average' or 'poor'. There seems to be a strong co-relation between their confidence in their command of English and their exposure to English-speaking community. 86% of the subjects in the international survey (Medges and Reves, 1994) had never been to English-speaking countries whereas 51.2% of the non-Arab NNESTs in this study have lived in English-speaking countries and all of them have interacted with NNESTs on a daily basis as they worked and are working with them side by side.

Medgyes (1992) enlists six advantages NNESTs have over NESTs when it comes to classroom practice. One of them and probably the most important one is the NNESTs' ability to share the learner's mother-tongue and culture. This is the area where non-Arab NNESTs might be handicapped because they do not share Arabic language with their Arab students. Beginner's EFL learners prefer teachers who can explain things in their own language (Atay and Incecay 2008, Al-Omrani 2008, Ling and Braine, 2007). Although in beginner level classes it can be a serious disadvantage, it has a lot of hidden advantages for EFL students and teachers simultaneously as Medgyes claimed that deficient command of English among NNESTs may have hidden advantages (Medgyes, 1992). Obviously, teacher's inability to

speak Arabic compels students to interact in English, hence more fruitful in an EFL class.

In a nutshell, non-Arab NNESTs appear to be very qualified and experienced in the TESOL job market. They hold very positive self-image of themselves and feel very confident about their command of English. They seem to be very successful in their classroom practice and their inability to speak Arabic does not appear to be any serious disadvantage at all or hinders their performance as EFL teachers.

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## MODERN STANDARD ARABIC ʕ: /ʕ/ AND /dʒ/

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### Abstract

This paper explores the phonemic inventory of Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) with respect to the phoneme represented orthographically as ʕ in the Arabic alphabet. This phoneme has two realizations, i.e., variants, /dʒ/, /ʕ/. It seems that there is a regional variation across the Arabic-speaking peoples, a preference for either phoneme. It is observed that in Arabia /dʒ/ is dominant while in the Levant region /ʕ/ is. Each group has one variant to the exclusion of the other. However, there is an overlap regarding the two variants as far as the geographical distribution is concerned, i.e., there is no clear cut geographical or dialectal boundaries.

The phone [dʒ] is an affricate, a combination of two phones: a left-face stop, [d], and a right-face fricative, [ʒ]. To produce this sound, the tip of the tongue starts at the alveolar ridge for the left-face stop [d] and retracts to the palate for the right-face fricative [ʒ]. The phone [ʒ] is a voiced palato-alveolar fricative sound produced in the palatal region bordering the alveolar ridge.

This paper investigates the dichotomy, or variation, in light of the grammatical (morphological/phonological and syntactic) processes of MSA; phonologies of most Arabic dialects' for the purpose of synchronic evidence; the history of the phoneme for diachronic evidence and internal sound change; as well as the possibility of external influence.

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**Keywords:** Modern Standard Arabic (MSA), Cairene Arabic, Saidi Arabic, Bahraini Arabic, Kuwaiti Arabic, Eastern Yemeni Arabic, Semitic languages, the Arabic definite article, sound change, lenition, spirantization, affricatization, synchronic linguistics, diachronic linguistics, assimilation

### Introduction

To my knowledge, there is much obscurity and similarly a lack of explanation with respect to a problematic aspect of Arabic phonology. This problem is whether Arabic has the palatal fricative [ʒ], the alveo-palatal affricate[dʒ], or both. Hence, the question this paper attempts to answer is

whether the phonemic inventory of Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) comprises the phoneme /dʒ/ to the exclusion of /ʒ/, or vice versa, or both /dʒ/ and /ʒ/. If it is both, then what is the distribution of the two phonemes phonologically and across the Arabic-speaking world?

The phone [dʒ] is a voiced alveo-palatal affricate, with an alveolar stop [d] and an alveo-palatal fricative [ʒ]. An affricate is a succession of two phones: a stop such as [b], [p], [t], [q] and [k], and a homorganic fricative such as [s], [z], [ʃ] (Ladefoged, 2006: p. 66). The affricate phone [dʒ] is a combination of the dental/alveolar stop [d] and the alveo-palatal fricative [ʒ] (Geoffrey & Ladusaw, 1996: p. 42). Both are voiced, and so is the resulting combination [dʒ]. An example of this phone is in the English word “*judge*” /dʒʌdʒ/, where the first phoneme and the last are /dʒ/. Another example of an affricate is [tʃ], the voiceless counterpart of [dʒ], as in the English word “*church*” /tʃɜrʃ/, where the first phoneme and the last are [tʃ].

What concerns this study is the status of the two relevant phonemes /ʒ/ and /dʒ/ and their distribution in MSA Arabic. It is obvious that they are dialect-specific: in some regions, speakers favor one over the other. It should be clear that the focus is MSA and the topic is exclusively these two phonemes. Only by way of comparison, drawing evidence and making analogies, does this paper draw on other Arabic varieties.

### **The phones [ʒ] and [dʒ]**

In producing the phoneme [dʒ], the tongue sets out to produce the stop [d] by placing the tip of the tongue against the tooth ridge, the alveolar ridge. As soon as making the [d], it immediately moves back to the end of the soft-hard palate line to produce the phone [ʒ] by slightly retracting and raising the front of the blade of the tongue against the soft palate. The phone [ʒ] is a voiced palato-alveolar, median laminal, fricative (Pullum and Ladasaw 1986). The blade of the tongue contacts the palate creating a closure and moves forward to the alveolar, allowing airflow along the center of the oral cavity (uvula to middle front teeth) as the vocal folds vibrate. Clearly it is produced further back in the mouth than the phone [dʒ], which is alveo-palatal, starting at the alveolar/tooth ridge and retracting toward the palate, the reverse process of producing [ʒ]. An overview of the Arabic phonemic inventory is indispensable here, as it offers a description of the phonemes in term of their point of and manner of articulation, and phonation.

### **The Arabic phonemic inventory:**

The Arabic phonemic inventory consists of twenty-six consonants and six vowels: three long vowels and three short vowels. Since the consonants are our focus, Figure 1 shows the MSA Arabic consonant inventory.

Figure 1: Arabic consonants chart

	Bilabial	Labiodental	Interdental	Alveolar	Alveopalatal	Palatal	Velar	Uvular	Pharyngeal	Glottal
Stops <sup>VI</sup> vd b.ب			ط.ط ت.ت د.د ض.ض				ك.ك	ق.ق		ء.ء
Fricatives <sup>VI</sup> vd		f.ف	ث.ث ظ.ظ ذ.ذ	س.س ز.ز		ش.ش 14*3 ج.ج		x.خ ğ.غ	ħ.ح ʕ.ع	h.هـ
Affricate <sup>vd</sup>					*dʒ.ج					
Nasals <sup>vd</sup>	m.م			n.ن						
Laterals <sup>vd</sup>				l.ل						
Flap <sup>vd</sup>				r.ر						
Glides <sup>vd</sup>	w.و					j.ي				

Note that the affricate row has only one phoneme namely /dʒ/. That is, in Arabic there is one class of affricates that consists of one affricate segment. Is it a natural class in Arabic? The phonemes in questions and their notational variants are juxtaposed and placed in parentheses. Note also that MSA, unlike some Arabic varieties, lacks the phone [g].

### Literature review

There is a dearth in Arabic phonology with respect to research and studies dealing with the Arabic phonemes {/dʒ/3/, /y/, /g/, /ğ/, /q/, /ʔ/, /k/}, which are problematic cross-dialectally in the Arab speaking world. These phonemes evince a complex overlap across Arabic dialects. For instance, for MSA /dʒ/ or /ʒ/ and /q/:

In Egypt, Cairene Arabic uses /g/ and /ʔ/, except in *Qur'an* and *al-Qahira*; e.g., /gaw/ 'weather' and /ʔaal/ 'he said'; Saidi uses /dʒ/ and /g/, respectively, e.g., /dʒaw/ 'weather' and /gaal/ 'he said';

In Yemen, San'ani Arabic uses /dʒ/ and /g/, respectively, e.g., /dʒaw/ 'weather' and /gaal/ 'he said'; Adeni/Taizi Arabic favors /g/ and /q/, respectively, e.g., /gaw/ 'weather' and /qaal/ 'he said'; in addition to /dʒ/ and /g/, some parts of Hadramout (also in Kuwait), /j/ and /g/, respectively, e.g., /jaw/ and /gaal/; and

In Bahrain, some Bahrainis favor /g/ and /q/, as in Adeni/Taizi Arabic

\* The asterisk indicates questionability, which is the thesis of this paper.

above, for MSA /dʒ/ and /g/ while other Bahrainis /dʒ/ and /g/, as in the San'ani and Saidi Arabic varieties above.

Moreover, the cross-dialectal overlap does not confine itself to these phonemes, it includes others. For example, MSA /q/ is replaced by /ġ/ and MSA /ġ/ by /q/ in Abyani Arabic in Yemen. Likewise, in some parts of Palestine, Egypt, and Lebanon, MSA /q/ is pronounced as /k/.

There is a scarcity of research in this area in relation to the two phones [ʒ] and [dʒ] and identifying which of these is part of the phonemic inventory of MSA Arabic, the research query this paper investigates. To my knowledge, books that target ASL/AFL (Arabic as a Second/Foreign Language) fail to adequately address this problem. The scarcity stems from the fact that most ASL/AFL fall short of sufficiently focusing on Arabic phonology and offering sound and theoretically supported generalizations.

Several works have touched upon the problem but were inadequate. One of these is McCarus and Rammuny's (1974) *A Programmed Course in Modern Literary Arabic phonology and Script* postulating several pronunciations for the MSA Arabic phoneme represented by the letter ج. These are variants: [dʒ], [ʒ], and [g]. They explain that although these phones are cross-dialectally different, they pose no intelligibility problems for Arabic speakers. That is tantamount to saying that these phones are allophones for the same phoneme, which is theoretically and empirically controversial. They also offer a geographical distribution, i.e., a dialectology atlas, for the pronunciations of the respective phoneme. Such distribution seems to be confusing at best for lack of a thorough investigation, scholarship and empirical support.

Along the same lines, Abdel-Malek and Abdul-Malak (1974) in their book *The sound system of Modern Standard Arabic: A handbook for teachers and learners*, liken the pronunciation of ج is similar to that of English /dʒ/. This paper argues for neither /ʒ/ nor /dʒ/ and attempts to investigate the matter objectively on the basis of the following:

- (1) grammar (morphological, phonological, and syntactic processes) of MSA;
- (2) historical evidence (history of the relevant phonemes and sound change);
- (3) synchronous evidence by probing the phonologies of the Arabic dialects vis-à-vis the phonemes in question, aside from MSA where applicable.

### **The grammatical behavior of [dʒ] and [ʒ]**

This section explores the behavior of two phonemes vis-à-vis the morphological, phonological and syntactic rules. The query here is when involved in concatenation, involving either phone abides by the rules



imposed by MSA phonology, morphology and syntax. A grammatical process that involves the phoneme in question is the definite article throughout the morphological, phonological, and syntactic levels is the definite article rule.

### The Arabic definite article

The definite article in Arabic is /ʔal-/. When the definite article is prefixed to words that begin with coronal consonants, it undergoes assimilation, a universal phonological process. In environments where the following sound is coronal, i.e., produced with the tip or blade of the tongue against the alveolar/tooth ridge, the phoneme /l/ of the definite article morpheme /ʔal-/ assimilates to the next coronal phoneme. Due to this rule, the Arabic alphabet is divided into two equal sets: coronal and non-coronal consonants, based on the way they behave when preceded by the phoneme /l/ of the definite article.

### The [+coronal] phonemes

The coronal consonant sounds symbolized by the letters in 1 below are also known as the “sun letters/sounds”. The word شمس /šams/ ‘sun’ in Arabic starts with the phoneme [š], which is a coronal consonant that forces assimilation on the [l-] of the definite article. Table 2 shows examples of the assimilation of all the consonants in 1.

{/θ /ث/, /ð /ذ/, /ḏ /ظ/, /š /ش/, /s /ص/, /s /س/, /z /ز/, /d /ض/, /d /د/, /t /ط/, /t /ت/, /r /ر/, /l /ل/, /n /ن/}

Table 1: Assimilation of (ʔa)l- → C<sub>l</sub> [+coronal] /-- C<sub>l</sub> [+coronal]

Def. Article	Word	Concatenation	Gloss	Phoneme
ʔal- أَلْ-	ثوب θaub	ʔaθθaub الثَّوْبُ	Garment, gown	/θ /ث/
ʔal- أَلْ-	ذرة ḏura	ʔaḏḏura الذَّرَّةُ	corn	/ð /ذ/
ʔal- أَلْ-	ظبي ḏabi	ʔḏḏabij الظَّبْيُ	deer	/ḏ /ظ/
ʔal- أَلْ-	شمس šams	ʔaššams الشَّمْسُ	sun	/š /ش/
ʔal- أَلْ-	صيف šaif	ʔaššaiif الصَّيْفُ	summer	/š /ص/
ʔal- أَلْ-	سيف saif	ʔassaif السَّيْفُ	sword	/s /س/
ʔal- أَلْ-	زيت zeit	ʔazzeit الزَّيْتُ	oil	/z /ز/
ʔal- أَلْ-	ضابط dabiṭ	ʔaḏḏabiṭ الضَّابِطُ	officer	/d /ض/
ʔal- أَلْ-	درب darb	ʔaddarb الدَّرْبُ	path, way	/d /د/
ʔal- أَلْ-	طالب ṭalib	ʔaṭṭalib الطَّالِبُ	student	/t /ط/
ʔal- أَلْ-	تربة turba	ʔatturba التَّرْبَةُ	soil	/t /ت/
ʔal- أَلْ-	رب rabb	ʔarrab الرَّبُّ	god, lord	/r /ر/
ʔal- أَلْ-	لبوة labwa	ʔallabwa اللَّبْوَةُ	lioness	/l /ل/
ʔal- أَلْ-	نار naar	ʔannaar النَّارُ	hell, fire	/n /ن/

Note the doubling diacritic / ّ / on the coronal consonant. It indicates the doubling of the coronal consonant in compensation for the loss of /l-/ due to assimilation.

Elsewhere, meaning in other environments such as those where the consonant phoneme following the /l/ of the definite article /ʔal-/ is a non-coronal [-coronal], this assimilation rule is inapplicable. These non-coronal consonants have been dubbed “the moon letters”, known as such because the word قمر /qamar/ ‘moon’ starts with the phoneme /q/, a non-coronal phoneme, which bleeds (prevents) the assimilation rule of the definite article’s /l-/.

Note that /s/ the voiceless counterpart of /z/ is included in this set of coronal consonants in Table 1. This poses a dilemma for our analysis. Are /s/ and /z/ coronal; is one coronal while the other is non-coronal? If so, which is which? What are their phonetic properties then? This dilemma seems to be inconclusive at this point. This dilemma is explained in further detail by the history of the phoneme /z/ or /dʒ/ later in the paper in section 3.6.

### The non-coronal [-coronal] phonemes

Table 10 shows those phonemes in 2 and the process and their concatenation with the definite article. The table also demonstrates that no assimilation is required with the moon letters/ phonemes. Note that the two variants /dʒ/ and /z/ are included in this non-coronal set in Table 2 with respect to the definite article assimilation rule in MSA Arabic phonology.

{/ʔ ء/, /b ب/, /z/دʒ/ ج/, /h ح/, /x خ/, /ʕ ع/, /g غ/, /f ف/, /q ق/, /k ك/, /m م/, /h ه/, /w و/, /j ي/}

Table 2: (ʔa)l- → C<sub>1</sub> [+coronal]/--C<sub>1</sub> [+coronal]

Def. Article	Word	Concatenation	Gloss	Phoneme
ʔal- أَلْ	ʔard أرض	ʔalʔard الْأَرْض	earth	/ʔ ء/
ʔal- أَلْ	beid بيض	ʔalbeid الْبَيْض	eggs	/b ب/
ʔal- أَلْ	zawz جوز	ʔalzawz الْجَوْز	nutmeg, walnut	/z ج/
ʔal- أَلْ	hibr حبر	ʔalhibr الْحَبْر	ink, rabbi	/h ح/
ʔal- أَلْ	xawx خوخ	ʔalxawx الْخَوْخ	peach, plum,	/x خ/
ʔal- أَلْ	ʕain عين	ʔalʕain الْعَيْن	eye	/ʕ ع/
ʔal- أَلْ	guṣn غصن	ʔalguṣn الْغُصْن	branch, twig	/g غ/
ʔal- أَلْ	faaris فارس	ʔalfaaris الْفَارِس	knight	/f ف/
ʔal- أَلْ	qamar قمر	ʔalqamar الْقَمَر	moon	/q ق/
ʔal- أَلْ	kaff كف	ʔalkaff الْكَف	palm	/k ك/
ʔal- أَلْ	mahd مهد	ʔalmahd الْمَهْد	cradle	/m م/
ʔal- أَلْ	hadaf هدف	ʔalhadaf الْهَدَف	goal	/h ه/
ʔal- أَلْ	ward ورد	ʔalward الْوَرْد	roses	/w و/
ʔal- أَلْ	yadd يد	ʔalyadd الْيَد	hand	/y ي/

### The definite article: implications

This section investigates the behavior of these two variants when the Arabic definite article /ʔal-/ is prefixed to a word that begins with either of the variants, vis-à-vis the Arabic definite article assimilation rule of the

phoneme /l/ in the morpheme /ʔal-/. The phoneme /l/ assimilates with consonant phonemes with the feature coronal [+coronal]. That is to say that it assimilates with homorganic phonemes, i.e., phonemes produced in the same articulation point/place. To elaborate, it assimilates with all phonemes that are produced with the tip and/or front of the tongue contacting the dental/alveolar area of the mouth. In brief, the definite article rule in Arabic phonology treats the phoneme in question as non-coronal, perhaps palatal, rather than alveolar. If the phoneme in question were /dʒ/, then the definite article rule would treat it as coronal. Thus, the assimilation of /l/ to the left-face component of the affricate [dʒ] will apply. As the case is, it doesn't apply, slightly tipping the argument in favor of /ʒ/, which is palato-alveolar (starting at the palate and advancing towards the tooth/alveolar ridge), in which case the assimilation rule is inapplicable, while the assimilation is applicable in the case of /ʃ/, which is the voiceless counterpart of /ʒ/.

### **Arabic phonology: Naturalness and markedness**

Affricates are marked as opposed to other phonemes, which are unmarked. If we were to presume that the phoneme in question is the affricate phone [dʒ], it would be marked since it would constitute an affricate class in and of itself. If MSA Arabic contained this affricate, it would be more natural to have at least one other member in the class of affricates: more likely, the voiceless counterpart [tʃ], as the case is in English and other languages that have an affricate class of consonants. Looking at the phonemic chart of MSA Arabic in Figure 1 above, the affricates class is a one-member category, which makes the affricate phoneme /dʒ/ marked, i.e., unnatural, given MSA's phonology. In other words, it is an odd constituent.

On the other hand, a glance at the class of fricatives in Figure 1, above, strikes us as natural. The class of fricatives is the largest, a universal across languages. Possible affricates are [dʒ] and [tʃ] and [ts] and [dz] among others, which are discernable across languages. English, for example, has for its affricate class /dʒ/, as in *judge* /dʒʌdʒ/, and /tʃ/, as in *church* /tʃɜːtʃ/.

Arabic syllable structure and phonotactics allow for consonant clusters word-finally [cvcc] (Abdel-Malek & Abdul-Malak, 1975: 63). However, clusters and affricates are not the same or synonymous. Although they may seemingly be so, clusters are not affricates, but are combinations of independent phonemes. One reason is that in Arabic, those consonant clusters are breakable. They resyllabify with a following vowel to abide by the Arabic syllable rules that ban clusters elsewhere in words, except for monosyllabic words of one super heavy syllable [cvcc] as in /qabr/ 'tomb'. This line of thinking renders any equation between clusters and affricates as irrelevant and that, once again, /dʒ/ is an affricate rather than a consonant cluster.

### Synchronic evidence: Other Arabic dialects

In some parts of the Arab world, for example Cairene Arabic, southern and western Yemen, and parts of Bahrain, this same phoneme is realized as /g/. In some parts of the Arabic-speaking region it is realized as /ʒ/. Still in other parts, for example, in parts of Kuwait and western Yemen, it is realized as /j/. One of the three different realizations is velar /g/, the second palato-alveolar /ʒ/, the third palatal /j/, and none of which is an affricate. Adding the affricate realization [dʒ] augments the inventory of the realizations to four. Applying the definite article assimilation rule to the four realizations using the word [g/ʒ/dʒ/jaamiʃa] “university” yields:

- a. /ʔalgaamiʃa/ (in some Arabic dialects, specifically Cairene Egyptian)
  - b. /ʔalʒaamiʃa / , /ʔaldʒaamiʃa/ (in MSA Arabic)
  - c. /ʔaljaamiʃa/ (still in some other Arabic dialects)
  - d. /ʔidʒdʒaamiʃa/ (by some Sudanese and Saidi speakers, personal experience)
  - e. /ʔiggaamiʃa (in Cairene Egyptian; relatively restricted)
- But not <sup>15</sup>\*ʔaʒzaamiʃa

This gives rise to the argument that the phoneme in question may be produced further back in the mouth [-Anterior] closer to /j/ and [g]. The fricative /ʒ/ may be this phoneme. Being coronal phonemes, [ʒ] and [dʒ]/bleed the definite article rule of assimilation.

### The definite article assimilation rule

[+Coronal] [+Lateral] → C<sub>i</sub>/ \_\_ C<sub>i</sub>[+Coronal]

Where the /l/ in /ʔal-/ assimilates to the next coronal consonant.

It gets more complicated as the phoneme /š/, the voiceless (homorganic) counterpart of /ʒ/, feeds the rule; one way to reconcile the bleeding of the rule is by positing an additional rule that would bleed the assimilation rule in relation to /ʒ/. Thus, there will have to be two rules ordered in a bleeding relationship, according to which the assimilation rule will apply to [š] but not to [ʒ]. Not only is this additional rule counter-intuitive, but it is beyond the scope of this paper. It suffices to say that there is an anomaly posed by the application of the definite article assimilation rule with respect to /dʒ/ and /ʒ/ on the one hand, and /š/ on the other.

### Diachronic investigation: Semitic languages

Reviewing the alphabet, and hence sound system, of Semitic languages Assyrian, Aramaic, Ugaritic, and Akkadian reveals that neither /dʒ/

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<sup>15</sup> Ill formed in MSA, for the correct pronunciation is /ʔalʒ/dʒaamiʃa/; assimilation is inapplicable.

nor /ʒ/ constituted part of their phonemic and orthographic systems. On the other hand, Semitic alphabets attest to the phonemes /g/ and /j/. That is to say that /g/ and /j/ are native to Semitic Languages and Proto-Semitic. This raises the question: how has Arabic, especially MSA, come to have either or both of the respective phonemes /dʒ/ or /ʒ/.

At a glance, there are two possible answers to this question. The first hypothesis is that they may be the result of external influence. They were borrowed from Persian, Latin, or Greek. Perhaps, one or either was borrowed then changed over time to become the other, with the possibility that it remained unchanged in some dialects.

The second hypothesis is that it may be the outcome of sound change. Sound change occurs through phonological processes and is motivated by various reasons, amongst which is context and naturalness for the purpose of simplification.

### **Phonological processes: Simplification**

Simplification is a natural process of language. Languages, it is said in the literature, tend toward simplification. It seems that a fricative [ʒ] is simpler than the affricate [dʒ]; [dʒ], in turn, is simpler than the stop [g]; and the glide [j] is simpler than [ʒ]. Simplification occurs through phonological processes of sound change, as discussed below.

Along these lines, MSA /dʒ/ may have been the result of a phonological process known as affricatization, whereby stops (e.g., [g]) change into affricates (e.g., [dʒ]). In this process, due to their position in a certain phonetic environment, certain stops become affricates over time. In such phonetic environments, the phoneme's position may be intervocalic (between vowels), postvocalic (preceded by a vowel), or prevocalic (followed by a vowel). For example, [k] becomes [č] and [g] becomes [dʒ].

Moreover, another phonological process, known as spirantization, may have been at the heart of the sound change yielding /ʒ/, and /dʒ/ in the process, in the case of MSA Arabic. Spirantization is a left-to-right sound change (also known as weakening or lenition), whereby a stop or an affricate turns into a fricative in postvocalic (after a vowel or a voiced consonant) environments (Kenstowicz. 1994), possibly forming an affricate as an intermediary step in the process. Hence, affricatization may be part of the process of spirantization. Thus, [k] may change into [h] or [š], possibly undergoing a phase of [č]; likewise, [g] may change to [ʒ], likely undergoing a phase of [dʒ]. A sound change to the phoneme ʔ /j/ would have been unlikely since it had been in the phonemic inventory of Proto-Semitic and has persisted in descendent Semitic languages including Arabic dialects, especially MSA. If the change to ʔ /j/ had taken place, a concomitant change should have occurred to the genuine ʔ /j/ itself to turn it into another

sound or be excluded from the phonemic inventory MSA like  $\text{ج}$  [g]. Nonetheless, spirantization in some Arabic dialects may have led to the approximant  $\text{ي}$  /j/ as a further phase of sound change merging /j/ and  $\text{ج}$  /z/.

Accordingly, MSA and other Arabic dialects could have been through sound change producing the phonemes /z/ and /dʒ/. So those that have /z/ may have reached this point in the process; those which have /dʒ/ perhaps are still in the sound change process towards /z/. Apparently, MSA, along with other Arabic dialects, has reached the end point of the spirantization process from Semitic /g/ to MSA /z/. Still, other Arabic dialects may be at the /dʒ/ stage. Whether that stage is final or transitional begs research and remains to be a guess into the future.

The fact that [g] is nonexistent in the phonemic inventory of MSA supports the speculation that Semitic /g/ had spirantized to /z/, or was at the intermediary /dʒ/ by the time the Qureishi Arabic dialect became dominant in Arabia in the latter half of the seventh century. Qureishi Arabic is historically a prestigious Northern Arabic dialect and ancestor of Classical Arabic, of which MSA is a modern descendent.

Yet a third hypothesis may be that other Arabic dialects had developed alongside the Quraish dialect and continued to develop, from which some of the current Arabic dialects may have descended. It is probable that some of these dialects had undergone some sound changes, such as that of spirantization reaching the stage /dʒ/. In the process, some made it to /z/ as well as MSA. Some have passed to the /j/ stage in the process. Perhaps some may have not been through the sound change process and preserved their Semitic /g/.

To summarize this historical account of sound change, some Arabic dialects have retained their Semitic phoneme /g/. Some have come to have /z/ or /dʒ/ as a result of the phonological process of spirantization as a historical phonological process of sound change. Still, others may have undergone one further step, namely lenition, than spirantizing Semitic /g/ to /j/, which already exists in their current phonemic inventory. An alternative explanation is that /z/ or /dʒ/ had been adopted from one or more other languages, i.e., external influence. Stated differently, either Semitic [g] had gone through spirantization to MSA [z] and /dʒ/ or MSA had adopted /z/ and /dʒ/ from other languages by virtue of cultural contact and/or geographical affinity.

## Discussion

As far as MSA is concerned and irrespective of the other Arabic dialect, reviewing the points arrived at through the investigation of the evidence projected in the previous sections above, the following insights emerge: grammatically, as far as the definite article is concerned, both

variants [ʒ] and [dʒ] behave the same in relation to the definite article assimilation rule in MSA. In other words, they both bleed the rule, as if they were non-coronal.

The definite article assimilation rule also reveals another discrepancy. The phoneme [ʒ] does not behave the same as its voiceless counterpart [š] in relation to the definite article rule of assimilation. The rule applies to [š], but not to [ʒ]. As a coronal phoneme, /š/ feeds the rule. On the other hand, /ʒ/ is coronal yet it behaves as a non-coronal, retaining properties of the original Semitic /g/: the inapplicability of the definite article assimilation rule. This substantiates the analysis that /ʒ/ is in actuality the Semitic /g/, which has evolved into /ʒ/ through the process of spirantization, as discussed above. This is supported by the fact that the phonemic inventory of Proto-Semitic and its descendents, the Semitic languages Ugaritic, Assyrian, Aramaic, and Akkadian lacked the phones [ʒ] and [dʒ]. Instead, they had /g/. Simpson (2009; 83) cites Cantineau's (1945; 56) proposal illustrating the evolution of Proto-Semitic /g/ to /ʒ/, /dʒ/ on the one hand and to /y/ on the other in Arabic dialects. Thus all possible variants across the dialects including MSA are represented in this sound change that originates in Proto-Semitic /g/. The proposal is reproduced here for convenience:

g → g<sup>y</sup> → d<sup>y</sup> → ʒ [dʒ] → ž [ʒ] (my brackets)

                    ↘  
                    y

Spirantization, in order to yield MSA /ʒ/ or /dʒ/, must have had as input (Semitic) /g/, since the process starts with a stop and ends with the appropriate fricative. As shown in Cantineau's sound change proposal above, spirantization also may have transitioned through palatalization [g<sup>y</sup>] and [d<sup>y</sup>] then affricatization yielding /dʒ/ in the process of evolving /g/ to /ʒ/. Accordingly, the MSA phoneme orthographically represented as ʒ is both /ʒ/ and /dʒ/ in form but is [g] in behavior.

Theoretically, the definite article assimilation rule in 4 above should tip the balance for /ʒ/, which is palato-alveolar, since /dʒ/, which is alveo-palatal--note the direction of the tongue with respect to the alveolar ridge, would yield unacceptable forms, such as \*ʔadʒdʒumʕa instead of ʔalʒumʕa "Friday". That is because the left-face of the affricate [d] is a coronal stop feeding the assimilation rule. However, empirically the rule applies indiscriminately to both /ʒ/ and /dʒ/, as though they were non-coronal phonemes. This lends support to the claim that MSA /ʒ/ and /dʒ/ are developments of Semitic /g/ by virtue of spirantization. In short, with respect to the definite article assimilation rule, MSA /dʒ/ and /ʒ/ behave as if they were [g], which is a voiced velar stop, irrelevant to MSA's phonemic inventory.

In terms of naturalness and markedness, the fact that the phonemic inventory of MSA lacks any affricates other than [dʒ] renders this very



variant as marked, i.e., unnatural. This adds to the argument that it is a transition. Finally, in terms of simplification and naturalness, the fact that it is easier to produce [ʒ] in the mouth than it is to produce [dʒ] supports the argument for /ʒ/ as more natural, simpler and unmarked, as it forms a natural class with other respective fricatives in the MSA phonemic inventory.

In addition, the Arabic phonotactic ban on consonant clusters except at the end of a super heavy syllable may have a bearing on why /dʒ/ is marked. Although consonant clusters and affricates are dissimilar, the principle of combining consonants without an intervening vowel is disfavored in MSA. The same principle probably holds here, too.

So far, the arguments in this section are based on: MSA grammar (morphology, phonology, phonotactics and syllable structure, and syntax); on the phonetic properties of the relevant MSA phonemes; on the history and the development of the variants and related phonemes; and the comparison and contrast drawn with counterparts in other Arabic varieties.

The alternative hypothesis to explaining the situation lies in the possibility that they both developed by way of external influence from different sources of which one was [ʒ] and the other was [dʒ]. That is, as Arabic came into contact with other languages, it adopted the variants [dʒ] and [ʒ] from their respective languages, possibly Latin and Persian, among others, at certain point in time of contact.

## Conclusion

To address the question this paper set out to answer, MSA has one psychological phoneme orthographically represented as *ج*. It is realized as an affricate /dʒ/ in some Arab regions and as a fricative /ʒ/ in others. Arabic-speakers from regions where the affricate realization is common tend to substitute their /dʒ/ for MSA *ج*. Those who come from a region where the fricative variant is dominant replace MSA *ج* with /ʒ/.

To explain the dichotomy, there are two explanations. The first is internal influence reflected in sound change through phonological changes such as spirantization. Spirantization is a process of for example evolving Semitic /g/ to /ʒ/ that may have involved affricatization, producing /dʒ/ in the process. Thus, speakers in some regions have the intermediary phase of the change /dʒ/. Others have /ʒ/ as the final stage of the sound change process. This is a plausible explanation for which there is support in MSA grammar; (phonology, morphology, syntax, syllable structure and phonotactics) of MSA; and in the history of Semitic linguistics as [g] may be the source of the of MSA /ʒ/ and /dʒ/.

The alternative explanation to the dichotomy espouses external influence, i.e., adopting the sounds [dʒ] and [ʒ] from other languages. Having developed from its Semitic ancestors, which had no such sounds, Arabic

must have borrowed these sounds from languages it came in contact with across history. It may have also borrowed one or the other. Later the borrowed phone went through sound change to become either at a different pace across the Arabic-speaking region. At any rate, the question that arises is what happened to the sound that was used before the borrowing, presumably the Semitic /g/. The answer is that it may have been pushed out of the inventory of Qureshi Arabic, the ancestor of MSA, long before Qureshi became the Standard, prestigious Arabic variety in Arabia.

### **Implications**

For teachers and learners of Arabic, it is imperative that teachers know reasonably well the sound system of the language or dialect they teach. It is also important to distinguish between the sound systems of the different dialects. Blanketing generalizations and unsupported claims should be avoided by all means. Teachers owe this to their students, their profession and their integrity as teachers.

It may not make a difference to the native Arabic-speaker, but it certainly does to the non-native speaker or student of Arabic. Having several variants for the same phoneme is inefficient in terms of memory space, management, retrieval, and processing. Not to mention the confusion for the students that may result from the overlap between sounds across Arabic dialects in general and in MSA particularly. Native teachers of Arabic impose their dialectal variant of the phoneme  $\text{ج}$  on MSA. So it is either /ʒ/ or /dʒ/, depending on the teacher's dialect of Arabic. Some teachers choose to use [g] which is not part of the phonemic inventory of MSA.

To students, it makes a difference, especially those who differentiate between the phones [ʒ] and [dʒ], not to add [g] to the mix, in their own native tongue. For instance, in English, as well as a host of other languages, these are two independent phonemes with completely different phonetic properties and a contrasting relationship.

Imagine the hesitation and frustration they go through when producing the sound for MSA  $\text{ج}$ . They are not sure which variant they are expected to use. Let alone the inconsistency resulting from having teachers who may inadvertently impose their own dialectal variant. Such variants should be kept distinct and within the boundaries of their respective dialects. It should be clear that [ʒ] and [dʒ] are acceptable variants for  $\text{ج}$  in MSA, to the exclusion of [g], which, although it is relevant to other Arabic dialects' phonologies, it is irrelevant to MSA's phonology.

The investigation projected in this paper will help explain the overlap of the variants of  $\text{ج}$  in MSA and across other Arabic varieties. Such overlap, although seemingly perplexing, is explainable in terms of phonological processes of sound change and the history of the evolution of the phoneme in

question, ج.

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# THE STRUCTURAL ANALYSIS OF “THIRTEEN REASONS WHY”, A NOVEL BY JAY ASHER

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## Abstract

Structure of a literary text especially novel is crucial as it is not merely a summary but a thread that brings together writer's perspective, critical evaluation, plot and other elements of the story, to make it easy for the readers to grasp the intentions of the writer. Accordingly, this paper attempts to analyze the structure of “Thirteen Reasons Why” a novel by Jay Asher to demonstrate why the writer used certain word orders, or structures to convey his message by examining different literary devices and writing structures. The result is expected to give the reader a better understanding of the genre.

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**Keywords:** Structure, theme, plot, settings, characters

## Introduction

With the massive popularity of media and other technologies literary text, as a piece of art, has developed stupendously. Now it is easily in the reach of the common man, in the form of poetry, novel or fiction because of internet and different media of publication. Even people in remote areas enjoy reading their favorite literature and because of this advancement more and more people are taking interest in the evaluation and interpretation of literature and other forms of discourse.

Fiction is the most popular literary genre. As a source of entertainment it is gaining more and more attention from the public. People develop a personal attachment with the fictional characters and the story. Some people even prefer reading a novel than watching a movie made on it. And they get offended if the director makes certain changes in the plot or settings, this is because of their emotional attachment to the story. They create their own fictional world and don't like any changes in it. In the view of this increasing attention given to novel reading the focus of this study is the analysis of the structure of the novel “Thirteen Reasons Why” by Jay Asher to show how the specific structure of the novel conveys the message

of the writer to the reader.

## **Review of related literature**

### **The nature of novel**

It is not easy to define the novel. A novel is a long narrative that is usually in the form of prose and describes and presents the characters and events in the form of stories. Many writers have given different definitions of it. According to IP Watt,

“The novel is the form of literature which most fully reflects this individualist and innovating reorientation. Previous literary forms had reflected the general tendency of their cultures to make conformity to traditional practice the major test of truth: the plots of a classical and Renaissance epic, for example, were based on past history or fable, and the merits of the author's treatment were judged largely according to a view of literary decorum derived from the accepted models in the genre. This literary traditionalism was first and most fully challenged by the novel, whose primary criterion was truth to individual experience - individual experience which is always unique and therefore new. The novel is thus the logical literary vehicle of a culture which, in the last few centuries, has set an unprecedented value on originality, on the novel; and it is therefore well named.”(Watt, 2001: 13)

CN Davidson is of the view that, “The novel is the paradigmatic democratic form. Conflict (of desire, motive, agency, principles) is the basis of fictional form. The novel is not only about conflict as is the case with democracy, without conflict there is no novel.” (Davidson, 2004: 6)

While talking about different works of authors Hale says, “For Bakhtin, the novel's unity lies in the ethical condition of achieved alterity. Lukacs, Jameson, Armstrong, D.A. miller and Edward Said all stress the unity of the ideological mystification performed by the novel. Jane Tompkins believes that the novel can provide a unified “blueprint” for social reform. Girard finds the novel a unified path out of self-blindness and into authentic self-awareness. Johnson, Felmon, and J. Hillis Miller imagine this same dynamic as a unified process of oscillation: the novel moves its reader into insight only to return to her to blindness – and then back again.” (Hale, 2009: 9)

Novel as a genre came into being in the early 18<sup>th</sup> century though the term “novel” was in use since the 16<sup>th</sup> century. It has its roots in Greece and Rome and it was famous as medieval romances and novellas. Novel in its early form dealt with the conflict between romances and novellas.

### **Parts of novel**

Almost all the novels have some similar parts. Those are the plot, the

setting, the theme, the characters and language. These parts link the whole work together and give it a unified form. Almost all the novels deal with a conflict that is introduced at the start and most of the story deals with it. The basic message or idea that the writer wanted to convey is called the theme.

The most important part of the novel is the plot. It covers the overall story, conflict is introduced in it and it is logically sequenced. A plot consists of five basic parts:

**Introduction:** It is the beginning of the story where the characters are introduced. It shows the type of characters, their goals and motives. It reveals the most important feature that the audience gets to know, the main character and the main character gets to know his aims and goals.

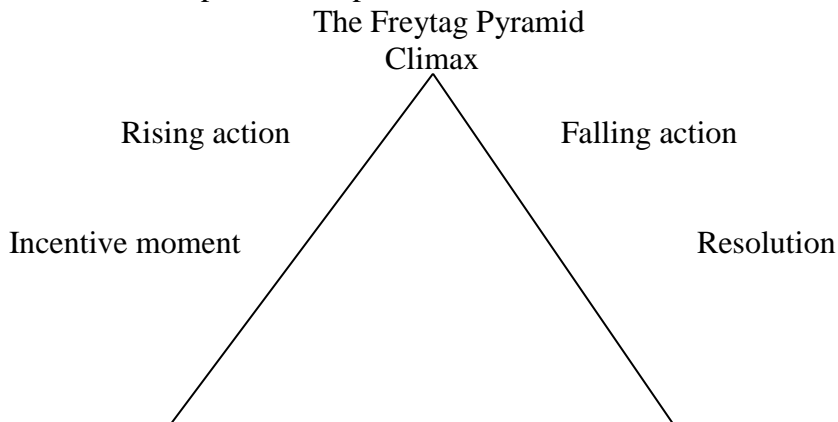
**Rising Action:** Here the things get complicated by the death of a character or by presenting the conflict.

**Climax:** Then comes the climax. It is the highest turning point in the story. Here the character makes a decision that decides the further course of the story and the fate of the characters. It shows a continuous struggle.

**Falling Action:** This part contains greatest tension. Here, it mostly looks like that the evil will triumph over good. The audience tries to understand what will happen next and that whether the conflict will come to an end or not. However, the complications begin to resolve slowly.

**Resolution:** This is the final part. It shows the outcome of all the events.

Gustav Freytag a German novelist presented the plot structure as a pyramid. He used six parts of the plot rather than five.



According to Lavanya there are five basic types of conflict.

**Man versus Wild:** It means the battle within oneself. The battle with a person's own thoughts and feelings. They affect his future actions and his interactions with other characters of the story. That conflict can be present throughout the novel or maybe at some particular time.

**Man versus Society:** These are those types of conflicts where the

characters or protagonists beliefs differ from those of the societies. It can be said that it involves all wrong customs of the society that the character fights against.

**Man versus Man:** These types of conflicts are often used to provide a comic relief to the audience. Here character is usually opposed by the other character or opposes their action and motivations.

**Man versus Nature:** Sometimes Nature creates hindrances in peoples endeavors. These are those types of conflicts where man faces the calamities alone. Like that in *Tess of D'Urberville* where Tess was raped in the lap of nature. Such types of conflicts also involve human triumph at the end.

**Man versus Supernatural:** Supernatural elements are those that are above the understanding of human mind, science or even the laws of nature. This type of setting adds more drama and suspense in the story. (www.booksoarus.com)

The characters are persons that are involved in the story. Novels usually have minor and major characters. The story revolves around the major characters and minor characters have a small role to play in the story. The major character that solves the problems and faces the complications is called the protagonist. The character that creates problems and complications is called the antagonist.

**Setting** is the specific condition in which the story takes place and the problem is solved in certain place and time. Nina Munteanu in her blog *Importance of Setting in a Novel* says, there are four types of settings.

**Setting as Character:** She says that usually settings have characters in it but sometimes setting itself can be a character. When a novelist or writer portrays different characters he or she can also find himself making a portrait of a place. This is the example of setting being portrayed as character. The settings play the role of main catalyst and shapes different characters in the story. In this way the setting becomes the central character.

**Setting as Metaphor:** The setting also plays the role as metaphor in the story. In that case its main role becomes to depict the theme of the story.

**Setting & Emotion:** Setting also plays an influential role on the emotions and feelings of the character. It depends on the types of experiences that character is going through, types of moods and their skills to observe their surroundings. In this way setting provides a kind of emotional landscape, it depends on the character how he will use that landscape.

**Setting as weather:** Weather plays a very important role in conveying the mood of both the story and the characters. The writer uses weather not just as a part of a scenery but as a device to convey certain meanings in the plot and overall theme. (www.scribophile.com)



## **Method of Analysis**

Before going further it is necessary to know what structuralism and structural analysis is.

## **Structuralism**

After the emergence of linguistics emerged structuralism. It is an intellectual movement, that begun in France in the 1950s. Hawkes, in his book "Structuralism and semiotics" says that, "structuralism is fundamentally a way of thinking about the world which is predominantly concerned with the perception and description of structures" (Hawkes, 2003: 6). He further adds that, "the world is made up of relationships rather than things, constitutes the first principle of that way of thinking which can properly be called 'structuralist'. At its simplest, it claims that the nature of every element in any given situation has no significance by itself, and in fact is determined by its relationship to all the other elements involved in that situation. In short, the full significance of any entity or experience cannot be perceived unless and until it is integrated into the structure of which it forms a part." (Hawkes, 2003: 7) The world comprises systems of centralized logic and structures which are accessible through processes of reason. In structuralism individual objects are seen as part of a greater whole. Nothing is observed as an independent entity. Rather a representation of wholistic culture with its identifiable values. The underlying forms/structures are seen as the medium of transmitting meanings. Therefore, these discrete forms/units become the main focus of study rather than the content.

The structuralists believe that language is a system of relation and difference. They adhere meanings from the basic patterns of language and the binary oppositions. They believe that language is the key-process in the creation and communication of meaning. They add that language is a self-referential system. All perceptions and understandings are formed by words.

## **Structural Analysis**

A structuralist analysis involves uncovering the patterns in the text and there meanings. Meanings are attributed by the human mind, no word can be explained in isolation, and therefore structuralism in literature means analyzing literature with reference to its underlying structure of a specific literary genre. Structuralism says that in every text there may be a structure that's why the experienced readers easily interpret a text than the non-experienced readers. Structural Analysis relates a text to the structure as a whole, which can be of any genre, or a system of recurrent patterns. It deals with the fact that is there any meaning beyond the text? What is the position of individual and position of a person in relation to the culture? P Barry says that the typical structuralist process is "moving from the particular to the

general, placing the individual work within wider structural context. The wider structure might also be found in, for instance, the whole corpus of an author's work; or in the genre" (Barry, 2002: 39).

Structuralists analyze the conventions of a particular genre or a network of inter-textual connections, or a specific model of underline universal text structures. They find out repetitive complex structure patterns. They interpret literature in relation to structures of language. They apply the concept of systematic patterning to the whole field of culture. (Barry, 2002: 41)

Structural analysis is the examination of different elements that form an organization or set of systems to uncover their interrelationships.

### **Methodology**

The selected text for analysis is "Thirteen Reasons Why" a novel by Jay Asher. The novel will be analyzed on the basis of following elements of structural analysis.

The plot

The title

The genre

The setting

Point of view

Active details (symbols and symbolism)

Insights/Theme/motifs

Style (word choice, syntax etc.)

Characters

Results and findings

Plot and Summary

Summary of the novel

Hannah Baker a normal teenage girls experiences some abnormal incidents that totally changed everything for her, even life itself. Having being shift into a new town she hopes to have a new and beautiful life, and wants to enjoy a good reputation, but unfortunately things went quite opposite. False rumors, revenge and treachery by her friends and those around her affected her badly. Hannah tries to show her pain to others but no one noticed her cries for help not even the school guidance counselor, she comes to the point of giving everything up. Before taking her life she records a set of audiotapes to explain the actions which she thought pushed her to the point where she was ready to take her life.

The novel opens as Clay Jensen, the narrator of the novel, sends a mysterious package to a girl named Jenny. The readers soon come to know that the mysterious package is actually the suicide note in the form of audiotapes by Hannah Baker, a girl Clay used to like before she committed

suicide two weeks ago before the story starts.

The package contains total seven cassettes and thirteen different stories. On the first side of the first tape Hannah tells everyone that she considers all those people mentioned in the tape responsible for her suicide, in some way or the other. She says that after listening to the tapes each person must pass it on to the next one on the list, and follow the map given with the tapes to physically experience all the details of the story. And if anyone won't follow the rules the tapes will be made public.

Clay Jensen, who had always liked Hannah is one of the Thirteen people on Hannah's list, who receives the cassettes. He gets shocked after listening to the story that how false the rumors about Hannah was and how they all originated by a boy to whom Hannah didn't give more than a kiss. He gets angrier when he continues listening to the story on the students who treated her very badly and also on himself for not telling Hannah that he liked her. The novel ends with a kind of hopeful note; Clay goes to a girl named Sky Miller to be friends with her who also has a reputation of being strange. Clay was unable to save Hannah but he won't let Sky Miller kill herself.

### **Analysis of the plot**

Keeping in view structure of the plot discussed above plot of "Thirteen Reasons Why" will be analyzed.

### **Introduction**

The main story begins when Clay Jensen receives a strange package of seven audiotapes by Hannah Baker, a girl he liked and who recently committed suicide. The story takes the readers into the minds of the characters, Hannah Baker and Clay Jensen as they recall the events that led Hannah to the decision to commit suicide.

### **Rising Action**

Then the conflict starts in the story. According to Hannah, all the people in the tapes are responsible for her death, Clay is also on the tapes but he does not understand why. To know this he is forced to listen to all the stories in tape. This is the main conflict that stays with him and the readers throughout the book.

The complication in the story comes when Clay finally gets to listen his tape. Before that the thought that he has never done anything bad to her was continuously hindering on him. But when Hannah says that she actually does not blame him for her death, he realizes that it was also his fault that's why he is on the tapes. If he was not so afraid, and didn't bother about the rumors he would have made a positive impact in her life and would have

saved. This thing complicates his views about life.

### **Climax**

All the findings about Hannah's death were hard for Clay to handle. He knows that act was self-destructive; he got angry and frustrated that he didn't do anything. All these emotions finally come out when he gets so angry that he pinches a fence and hurts his hand.

Suspense is left in the story that what was the reaction of other twelve people. What happened to them when they heard about the secrets related to them? For example, what does Jessica do when she heard that she was raped? Was Mr. Porter, the student councilor fired? These questions keep haunting the readers throughout the play even after the play ends.

### **Falling Action**

After hearing everything on the tapes, Clay decides to go to school, though he fears facing those on that like Mr. Porter. But he decides that he will go there and face whatever life has to present.

### **Resolution**

The ending is really moving. Clay liked Hannah and her revealing tapes really affected him but instead of crying in pain he goes out to face the world. Without bothering about his reputation he goes to Sky Miller, to save her from Hannah's fate.

### **The Title**

The title of the novel is very interesting and accurate as it gives a direct hint of the thirteen reasons on Hannah's death. It points towards the thirteen people and thirteen incidents that according to Hannah led to her death. As Hannah says in the starting tape,

"I hope you're ready, because I'm about to tell you the story of my life. More specifically, why my life ended. And if you're listening to these tapes, you're one of the reasons why"(Asher, 2010: 7)

The title also deals with two important features of the play, guilt and blame. Though she was angry and furious about the chaos in her life but she was also confused and she blamed those thirteen people to make sense out of chaotic situation. As in the start Clay thinks he is not the one to be blamed but when Hannah says, "Clay, honey, your name does not belong on this list" (Asher, 2010: 106). He realizes that though Hannah didn't blame him but he is guilty as he didn't do anything to save her.

The thirteen reason of her decision to take her life, the thirteen people and the thirteen different experiences are following:

- 1) Justin Foley: The boy Hannah first kissed. He exaggerated

that they did more than just a kiss. This little rumor started all the mess.

2) Alex Standall: The boy in Hannah's class. He started a pole and voted Hannah as the hottest girl in the class. This incident gave others the opportunity to do things that they did.

3) Jessica Davis: She was Hannah's first friend in the town. They spent good time together. But she got really angry when she heard that Hannah was on Alex hot list and she was not. She liked Alex, and started the rumor about Hannah and Alex, though she knew Hannah and that previous rumor was false.

4) Tyler Down: A boy who took pictures of Hannah from her window, without her permission. Hannah called him peeping Tom. One night Hannah along with another girl posed for him only to catch him. But before being caught he took more photos of them that gave the snowball more speed.

5) Courtney Crimson: A girl who only pose to be nice. For being voted for the yearbook as the nicest person. She started more rumors that Hannah had some bad things in her room.

6) Marcus: A boy at school who has to take Hannah on date on the Valentine's Day because of a survey. But he came late and tried to misbehave with Hannah.

7) Zach Dempsey: A boy who saw Marcus trying to misbehave with Hannah but didn't help her. Only after he went away Zack approached Hannah and asked if she was okay. He tried to comfort her and got angry because she was unresponsive. For that he took Hannah's encouragement notes. That was the point when all she thought was to commit suicide.

8) Ryan Shaver: Hannah met him in a poetry class and shared her poems with him until he stole her work and published the poem in the school magazine. It let to her more ridicule.

9) Clay Jenson: He does not belong to her list of suicide reasons. Hannah just wanted to confess her feelings for him.

10) Justin Foley: Again, at the party when she was hiding in the closet she say him letting Bryce in to rape Jessica.

11) Jenny Kurtz: A cheerleader, she gave a ride to Hannah, but while driving she was so drunk that she hit the stop sign and it caused an accident and death of a person.

12) Bryce Walker: A boy with bad reputation. At the party he approached her and Hannah for the first time gave up. He is the same boy who raped Jessica.

13) Mr. Porter: The student counselor. Hannah told him everything but he asked her to leave his office.

## **The Genre**

The novel is clearly a tragedy from the start. As the readers come to know from the very first tape that the protagonist of the novel, Hannah Barker is dead. It is also a psychological thriller. From the very moment when Clay pushes the first tape in the tape recorder the reader is pulled into Hannah's gloomy and dark world. Her compelling story forces the reader to see what comes next. It had a psychological impact on the reader's mind that he/she wants to know that is Hannah right in blaming all those people on the tapes. Same is the case with Clay who experiences the same thing but he also wanted to know why his name was on the tapes.

## **The Setting**

Hannah's story is all about settings. She asks everyone on the tapes to visit the places marked on the map to experience the incidents closely. That's why the settings change quite often. And just like the people in Hannah's life the settings are also quite disturbing unlike what Hannah wanted them to be. Some important settings are these:

Eisenhower Park: This is the park where this entire snowball thing started. Hannah planned to get her first kiss from Justin in this park. Instead of being memorable that becomes disastrous as Justin started spreading false rumors about them.

Hannah's first house: Hannah's first house after coming to the town is the same place where that old man came to live who died in the accident because of Jenny's mistake.

Blue Spot Liquor: This is the place where Bryce misbehaved with Hannah when she stopped there to get a candy bar.

Rosie's: A restaurant where Marcus mistreated her and after that Zach insulted her.

The Crestmont Movie Theater: The place where Hannah worked with Clay, the only place that was not marked on Hannah's map.

Different Parties: Hannah marked four stars on her map at the places of parties. Most of the bad events occurred there. Jessica got raped. Courtney betrayed her at a party. Hannah had sex with Bryce at a party. All these settings indicate the drama of high school students.

## **Point of view**

The narrative style of *Three Reasons Why* is very unique. Narration continues to move between Hannah and Clay. The story mixes Hannah Barker's explanation for her suicide in the form of audio tapes and Clay Jensen's reactions to those tapes. Both sides of stories are told in first person by Hannah and Clay.

Most of the narration is in the form of thoughts, what is going on in

characters mind. Hannah's perspective lacks objectivity as she recorded those tapes at the time of total despair, when she was so depressed that she decided to commit suicide. So, she didn't look at things from all angles. And the reader also doesn't come to know what other people have to say to whom Hannah accused. But her story, in the first person makes add high level of emotions that readers cannot get from third person narration.

At some moments Hannah calls her listeners directly by calling their names or saying ("Hey you!") only on those moments she is the second person narrator.

Clay's point of view is however more objective than Hannah's. On many occasions he points out when she is not being fair enough. He also questions her decisions and reasoning. But at the same time he accepts her assumptions about different people and situations, like in the rape scene, the stop sign incident.

The idea of audio recordings is quite unique as it takes the readers into the mind of someone who is not in the world anymore. It also adds the effect of foreshadowing, that Hannah gives lots of hints about what will happen next.

### **Active details (symbolism)**

Symbolism is used in great detail by the author. At the start of the novel the rocket ship symbolises Hannah's innocence and reminds her of her home and her happy days.

The Crossroad, in one of her tapes Hannah mentions a T-shaped road, it represents Hannah's difficulty to decide which way to go in her life.

Rumors as Hannah calls them snow ball, they symbolize Hannah's loss of secrecy and privacy. The day she kissed first boy in her life they started spreading without any stop.

"A rumor based on a kiss ruined a memory that I hoped would be special. A rumor based on a kiss started a reputation that other people believed in and reacted to. And sometimes, a rumor based on a kiss has a snowball effect. A rumor, based on a kiss, is just the beginning."

(Asher, 2010: 30-31)

The scar symbolizes treachery and betrayal. Jessica gave that scar to Hannah when she heard that she was not on Alex' hot list.

The cut on Clay's hand symbolizes pain, the pain Hannah felt emotionally.

In Hannah's class they played a game in which all the students got notes of encouragement. For Hannah those notes were the symbol of hope and when one student stole her notes he actually stole her last sting of hope from her.

Later in the novel Hannah gets a strange haircut. That symbolizes the



drastic change her reputation brought to her personality.

Then the closet in which Hannah hides to avoid the rape scene symbolizes her character flaw. Instead of facing her problems she tries to run away and hide from them and in this way gets herself into unlikely situations.

### **Themes**

One of the main themes in the novel is how one's actions impact others. Throughout the story Hannah blamed those people on her tapes but in a way she gave them the message to rethink how their actions affect others. Another central theme is of death that is present throughout the novel. Guilt and blame that has been discussed in the title section another theme is that of respect and reputation. Respect that Hannah wanted to gain about her bad reputation created by others ruined everything for her. Some other themes are betrayal, sex and love.

### **Style**

Most of the story is in the form of thoughts. The sentences are mostly short and not very complicated and there are a few fragments in the sentences like in this one,

That's why you did it. You wanted your world to collapse around you. You wanted everything to get as dark as possible. And Bryce, you knew, could help you do that. (14.84)

Style is also conversational. In his thoughts Clay is having a conversation with Hannah. The tone is sometimes very direct when Hannah tells people that if they had treated her differently she might be alive now and sometimes it is quite subtle.

### **Characters and characterization**

The main characters of the novel are Clay and Hannah. Clay Jensen is one of the main characters of the novel. He is the narrator and the one who takes the readers into the dark world of Hannah Baker. Most of the story takes place in his thoughts. He is one of the people on Hannah's tapes but later he gets to know that he is not one of the reasons of her death. He liked Hannah but never got courage to tell her because of her reputation that he later regrets. He gets to learn from the tapes that Hannah liked him too. His approach as a narrator is quite objective that makes him an ideal narrator.

Hannah Barker: The readers get to know her from her tapes. Hannah was a normal girl before moving to the new town. She dreamed about love and respect but her high school life turned out to be a disaster for her. Her friends betrayed her, people mistreated her because of her false reputation and no one trusted her that's why she committed suicide and before that

recorded all those incidents on seven tapes.

### **Conclusion**

The structural analysis of any piece of literature focuses on the underlying structures of that work. It involves a detail evaluation of its plot and other elements like settings, themes, characters, symbols, style, narrative point of view to uncover the meanings and message of the story. This study has attempted to explore the underlying structures in the novel “Thirteen Reasons Why” by Jay Asher to help the readers have a better grasp of the story and to understand the writers intentions more accurately.

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# WILLIAM FITZHERBERT'S DIVINE OFFICE

*Kathleen Broer*

A Resource Text for Continental Poetic Traditions

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## Abstract

A Breton lai or lay is a lyrical, narrative poem written in couplets and refrains and is based on Greek, Arabic and Persian poetic structures and themes. Lais were mainly composed in France, England, the low countries and Germany during the 12th, 13th and 14th centuries. The Breton *lai* were similar in purpose to Skolion σκόλιον which were songs sung by invited guests at banquets in ancient Greece and they evoked the ancient Persian *ghazal* in their tributes. Their enormous contribution to the linguistic cultures of Europe impacted language development for centuries.

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**Keywords:** Divine Office Antiphons Greek and Persian Poetic Traditions Linguistic Cultures

## Introduction

The roots of lai development are found in ancient Greek and Arabic-Persian culture. Often extolling the virtues of the gods or heroic men, Greek *skolia* were improvised to suit the occasion and were accompanied by a lyre, which was handed about from singer to singer as the time for each scolion came around. "Capping" verses were exchanged, "by varying, punning, riddling, or cleverly modifying" the previous contribution. Skolia are often referred to as 'banquet songs,' 'convivial songs' or 'drinking songs'. The term also refers to poetry composed in the same form. In later use, the form was used in a more stately manner for chorus poetry in praise of the gods or heroes.

The *ghazal* is a poetic form consisting of rhyming couplets and a refrain, with each line sharing the same meter. A ghazal may be understood as a poetic expression of both the pain of loss or separation and the beauty of love in spite of that pain. The form is ancient, originating in ancient Arabic poem in Arabia long before the birth of Islam. It is derived from the Arabian *panegyric qasida*.

## I.

Bretonese *Lai* poetic structure provided a similar format for trouveres to retell epics, tragedies, fables or comedies in a variety of vernaculars. The tradition of “capping” may explain the curious “circular” variation quality of traditional Bretonese *lai* refrains. The secular English term is a loan from the Old French 13th century *lai*. The origin of the French term itself is not clear and may be a loan from the German *Leich*, meaning *lai* or funeral, reflected in archaic or dialectal English *Lake* meaning "sport or play." Musical settings were improvisations on standard melodic forms.

The *Leich* MF 165, 10: *Swaz Ich Nû Niuwer Maere Sage* is a poem about the complaints of a spurned lover by minnesinger Reinmar von Hagenau d. 1205. It was so popular that poet Walther von der Vogelweide d. 1230 included it in his obituary. This minnesinger repertoire was collected in the Codex Manesse, Große Heidelberger Liederhandschrift completed in 1330 for the Manesse family in Zurich. The text of *Swaz Ich* expresses traditional themes of the troubadour or minnesinger in the court of love in a brilliant reworking of the line structure of the Breton *lai*; *abc adc be def gf*. It is a retort to Marie de France's fabulist contemplation on the subject.

Swaz ich nû niuwer mære sage,  
des endarf mich nieman frâgen:  
ich enbin niht frô.  
Die friunt verdriuzet mîner klage.  
Des man ze vil gehœret,  
dem ist allem sô.  
Nû hân ich beidiu schaden  
unde spot.  
Waz mir doch leides unverdienet,  
daz bedenke got,  
und âne schult geschiht!  
Ich engelige herzeliebe bî,  
sône hât an mîner freude nieman niht.

Bretonese *lai* structure of couplets and refrain also recall the Arabic-Persian *ghazal* which had spread into South Asia in the 12th century due to the influence of Sufi mystics and the courts of the new Islamic Sultanate. Trade partnerships with the Middle East and Asia included a transmission of court culture to Frankish-Gall centers of trade and power in Cadiz, England, Sicily, Paris, Utrecht, Aachen, Nijmegen, Ghent, Mainz, Leipzig and Wörtzburch in the form of luxury trade, poetry, music and art. Persian poetry was promoted by strong court patronage and was popular because of the demand for panegyrics and the سبک فاخر "exalted style."

In some forms each couplet in a Ghazal ends on the same word or phrase *radif* and is followed by the couplet's rhyming word *qafia*. The last

couplet includes a proper name, often the poet's. William of York's antiphons recall a modified ghazal form suitable for a spiritual leader which was to provide a model for the court poets of the day. Musicians performing his divine office would have been able to demonstrate the ability to improvise 'sur,' melody and 'lai,' rhythm; the arrangement of rhythmic *lai* in a cycle known as *taal* formed a foundation over which improvised scales or *raga* were played.

Iubilemus regum *regI* qui concedit nos hic *regI* per *Guillelmi* meritA  
Iesu nostra fiduciA honor noster et gloriA amor virtus leticiA  
Vita veritas et viA iustorum pax et patriA tua nos clemenciA  
*Guillelmi* per suffragiA de mundi miseriA transfer ad palaciA

Like William of York's Latin antiphons, the poetic form of the Breton *lai* was structured around stanzas of 5 or 6 lines containing couplets and refrains. The accompanying music was varied, not repeated. It is this characteristic that distinguished the *lai* from the *rondo* and the *ballad*. Marie de France's famous rendering of Aesop's Fables were ironic statements about the limitations of caste, sexuality and race using a *lai* sequence hymn structure: *y aa bb cc dd*.

Saveir poez par ceste fable  
la maniere de meinte gent  
mult le puet l'uum sovier sovent  
ki tant se vuelent echalcier  
e en tel liu aparagier  
ki n'avient pas a leur corsage  
ensurquetut a leur parage  
A meint en est si avenu  
cum a l'asne ki fut batu.

Marie de France's Aesop's fables were translated into Dutch in the 13th century by Jacob van Merlant (1230-1300). He hints in *Spiegel Historiael* at an earlier source for the fables and adroitly points attention to the "mixed" heritage of a poetic tradition that expressed cultural attitudes of the day, using a *lai* sequence hymn structure without a refrain, *aa bb cc dd ee*:

In Cyrus tiden was Esopus  
De *Favelare* wi leffent dus  
Die *favela* conde maken  
Hoe heefden en vogel spraken  
Hierute is gemaecht *Aviaen*  
En andere boeken sonder waen  
Die man Espopus heet, bi namen  
Waren oec di si bequamen  
Die havet Calfstaf en Noydekyn

Ghedict en rime scone en fyn.

The famous 14th century French allegorical *Roman de Fauvel*, traditionally attributed to French royal clerks *Gervais de Bus* and *Chaillou de Pesstain*, tells of Fauvel, a fallow or "muddy beige" colored horse who has risen to prominence in the French royal court in a series of interlocking songs in a variety of formats. The anti-hero's name, which, when broken down, forms the name *fau-vel* or "false veil," in an acrostic outlining a sin for each letter: *Flatterie* Flattery, *Avarice* Greed, *Vilenie* Guile, *Variété* Inconstancy, *Envie* Envy, and *Lâcheté* Cowardice. In *mari miserie*, an extract from *Roman de Fauvel*, BNF fr. 146, 1316 illustrates the blended Christian and "Levant" references of the ghazal-lai, *aa b cb b*:

In marie miserie maris stella  
erantes cotidie a procella  
defende nos et precare  
cominm pie ut at portas glorie  
nos trahat per hoc mare  
nos que *Fauvel* faciat superare

The *lai* reached its highest level of development as a musical and poetic form in the work of Guillaume de Machaut d. 1377; 19 *lais* composed by the famous 14th century *Ars Nova* composer survive. The musical settings of these *lai* are the most sophisticated and highly developed among Machaut's secular works. Machaut's use of *Lai* poetic form recalled the original Breton line structure of two "long" phrases, two "short" and a "refrain, *abbb a a ccc a*:"

Amis, t'amour me contreint  
Si qu'il me convient descrire  
Le martyre  
Qui empire  
Mon corps et mon cuer esteint  
Et de grieés si m'enseint  
Que je ne saroie eslire  
Le meins pire;  
Dont matire  
N'ay qui à joie me meint

Machaut's legacy is followed in a famous example of Dutch "gheselle" lied, *Edigdius waer bestu bleven* (Anonymus) which has been sung in Dutch culture since 1400, *aba bbab aab aab aab aab*.

Egidius, waer bestu bleven?  
Mi lanct na di, gheselle mijn.  
Du coors die doot, du liets mi tleven!  
Dat was gheselschap goet ende fijn,  
Het sceen teen moeste ghestorven sijn.

Nu bestu in den troon verheven,  
 Claerre dan der zonnen scijn:  
 Alle vruecht es di ghegheven.  
 Egidius, waer bestu bleven?  
 Mi lanct na di, gheselle mijn!  
 Du coors die doot, du liets mi tleven.  
 Nu bidt vor mi, ic moet noch sneven  
 Ende in de weerelt liden pijn.  
 Verware mijn stede di beneven:  
 Ic moet noch zinghen een liedekijn;  
 Nochtan moet emmer ghestorven sijn.  
 Egidius, waer bestu bleven?  
 Mi lanct na di, gheselle mijn!  
 Du coors die doot, du liets mi tleven.

Examples of late medieval uses of the Lai form are also found in the work of Pierre de Nesson. The *Lay de Guerre* was composed by Pierre de Nesson to mourn the defeat of the French at the Battle of Agincourt in 1415; “*Guerre*” as the “author” of the poem proclaims against a rival, “*Paix*.” Nesson’s *Vigiles des Morts* renders the ancient sequence hymn structure y aabbcc x as a modified *lai* in a rhyming scheme *aa b c cb*, using closed line pairings to emphasize the closed nature of death.

Et lors, quand tu trépasseras,  
 Dès le jour que mort tu seras,  
 Ton orde chair commencera  
 À rendre pugnaise pueur.  
 Que ne gouttes-tu de sueur  
 Quand tu penses que ce sera ?

Hartmann Schedel, a student in Leipzig from 1461-2 had returned from Padua with sketchbooks of lute tablature. Schedel was a student of Johannes Ciconia (c. 1370--1412) who was a composer and music theorist of the late Middle Ages. Ciconia was born in Liège, but worked most of his adult life in Italy, particularly in the service of the papal chapel(s) and at Padua cathedral. Although Ciconia lived in Italy, he continued to compose French *virelai* which were often heard by audiences as instrumental music.

The lied *Myn trud gheselle* (anonymus) was compiled in Schedel’s tablature books and stands as a classic of the genre for lute. It is likely that the melody and text were copied from the collection of Heinrich Laufenberg who lived and worked between c.1390 and 1460 in the Swiss canton of Argovia, southern Germany and Alsace. He was the author of a vast body of works, comprising of spiritual hymns, didactic epics and religious prose. A manuscript had been housed in the Strasbourg Library for centuries until a



fire destroyed it in the late 19th century. A copy did survive, however and this had allowed scholars and musicians to maintain the tradition.

Jacob Obrecht's 1457/8 – 1505 "Roman" *Liedteksten* or Little Songs, attained pan European fame around 1500. Deeply imbedded in the culture, the texts of the *liedteksten* evoked Bretonese lai and provided both a snapshot of harsh reality and a ribald retort to Marie de France's Fables. Since Obrecht's usual compositions were masses for the church, his instrumental renderings of the *lied* stood outside of his standard repertoire. He may not have known the lyrics of these popular songs--but he did know the tunes because by 1500 the genre had almost completely become instrumental. Obrecht left more than thirty secular songs, although some are weakly attributed and are likely arrangements only.

The courtly song genre seems to have held little appeal for Obrecht, as the songs overwhelmingly survived without text, graced with light-hearted or folk titles. Many, and perhaps most, seem to be explicitly instrumental and are of modest length. Obrecht's polyphonic instrumental settings of these famous drinking songs helped him to pay off debts at a time when his patronage was uncertain. Obrecht's elegant settings of delightful melody was what made him famous. Obrecht's treatment of the profane had influence upon the paintings of Pieter Bruegel (1525-1569).

Meiskin es u cutkin ru  
 Ick draghe de mutse clutse  
 Wat scheefjes en wat schuin  
 Bekroont hij mijn kruin  
 Half gruijs Half bruin  
 Ik kan daar niet veel meer aan verprutsen  
 Meschine su chut chiru  
 uadebtighi mete done  
 Laetemitas tendat bideghu  
 Obien tot morchent moen  
 Jeso luaer Jeso daschar  
 it asternaer obie tot morghent moen.

William of York's antiphon settings and cast of characters biblically mirrors the stylized images of the ghazal world--garden, desert, wine-house, prison--and its supporting cast of characters-- the Rival, the Messenger, the Doorkeeper, the Advisor, the Ascetic--as each figure played a role in this passion play. The antiphons are set between Glorias, Gospels, Psalms and Alleluya chants which provided additional commentary on William's vita. The Alleluyas found in early manuscripts containing William's office resemble the famous "In Hoc Anni Circulo" chant, which, in Aquitaine, was heard as sacred processional music. The ghazal format of the antiphons

provides a perfect structure to express William's mysticism and longing for the divine.

Marthe ministeriO copulat mariaM rachelis amplexibuS  
 fruitur post *liaM*  
 Fide fuit *phineeS* ut iob mansuetuS paciens ut israeL ut noe  
 discretuS  
 Fidelis ut abraham ut lot hospitaliS sagax ut samuel uT  
 ioseph liberaliS

A French variant of Wilhelme's historia is found in the Oscott Psalter, 1261. Willelme's reworked vita recalls *Orfeo's* alien existence in the Romanz poem *Sir Orfeo*. The Oscott Psalter was written in Oxford at a time when Henry III was seeking relief from the Oxford Provisions in a period of great social unrest. Henry III's mission was to reach outward and so he developed credit relationships with Flemish textile markets that helped to reestablish trade relations between Flanders and England.

The now separate folio from *MS 54215* depicts an image of a clergyman wearing a miter and a yoke shown without pallium or crozier. The image may refer to St. William of York's troubled episcopal tenure of the previous century. The Oscott *lai*, written in vernacular French refers to a false allegation, the identity of the "real" culprit, a correct attribution of authorship of the metrical vernacular psalms and a benefit to repair the damage. The *lai* is both panegyric and epigram, *aab cc b*.

'Cil est benure  
 Ki nest pas ale  
 As conseils as feluns:  
 Ne estut el sentier  
 Out *Ceus* Ki uunt pecher  
 Ne as seges a bricuns."  
 'Willelme ki me escrit  
 Seit de deu beneit  
 Kil nul a rachete.  
 Est li doint la grace.  
 Kil maigne vant la face  
 kant sera trepasse'

William's Fitzherbert's antiphons *ca. 1177* bear resemblance in structure, tone and subject matter to The Romanz *The Wooing of Etain* from the Irish *Tochmarc Étaíne ca. 1106* and the Anglo-Norman *Partonapeus de Blois*, or *La Vie Seint Edmund le Roi ca. 1148-56* by Bury St. Edmund's Benedictine monk *Denis Pyramus*.

*Tochmarc Étaíne* begins, *abc dec*:  
 Gabais Eochaid  
 Airium rigi

nErENN ro  
 Giallsad  
 coiceadaigh  
 ErENN do  
*Partonapeus de Blois* begins, aaa:  
 Jeo ai nun *Denis Pirus*  
 Les jurs jolis de ma joenesce  
 S'en vunt, si trei jeo a veilesce

Following in the poetic traditions established in the Angevin and Capetian courts, the fragmentary child Ballad 19 "*King Orfeo*," a Middle English narrative poem written ca. 1330 treats the familiar subject matter of hidden identity, exile, wandering and the underground world of music through the *lai* format *aba cdd*, with refrain interpolations:

19A.1 Der lived a king inta da aste,  
 Refrain: Scowan ürla grün  
 Der lived a lady in da wast.  
 Refrain: Whar giorten han grün oarlac  
 19A.2 Dis king he has a huntin gaen,  
 He's left his Lady Isabel alane.

In lines 47-50 a couplet rhyme scheme *ee ff* marks the material as prefatory, outlining the complex heritage of the narrative, *aa bb*:

"This king sojournd in *Traciens*,  
 That was a cité of noble defenses -  
 For *Winchester* was cleped tho  
*Traciens*, withouten no."

Modern revisitations of this tradition are found in Longfellow's *Evangeline: A Tale of Acadie*, published in 1847 which immortalized the tragic story of deportation for New World audiences and *Ave Maris Stella*, an Acadian anthem, deeply rooted in the Romanz culture of the Breton and Poitevin diaspora.

## Conclusion

William of York's antiphon chant settings found in Andrew Hughes' edited edition of the Lambeth Palace Sion College ms. L1: Noted breviary of York: olim Sion College *MS Arc. L.40/2/L.1* are intricately related to Persian and Arabic classifications: C (C), re (D), mi (Eb), F (F), ground (G), La (A) if (b flat) if (b / flat half). It is very likely that the scribe of William's office wrote what he heard with imperfect knowledge of the complex structure of maquam permutation in more familiar Gregorian modal terms. A Western rite system adequate enough to record micro tunings did not exist in 12th century France. Early renderings of William of York's divine office were written using a system that allowed for ease of transcription; only insiders

who had training in the tradition would be capable of lifting its performance from the page.

## Appendix

### A. In Hoc Anni Circulo, ca. 1130 (translated from Latin)

In hoc anni circulo

♩ = 140

Staff

In the end - ing of the year Life and  
light to man ap - pear; And the Ho - ly  
Babe is here, De Vir - gi ne; And the  
Holy Ba - be is here, De Vir - gi ne Ma - ri a.

### B. In Mari Miserie, ca. 1310

In Mari Miserie

aus dem Roman de Fauvel

In ma - rie mi - se - ri - e — ma - ris stel - la er - ran - tes co -

### C. Egidius, Waer Bestu Bleven, ca. 1400

R E - gi - di - us, waer bes - tu ble - ven? Mi lanct na di, ghe - sel - le  
 C1 Nu bes - tu in dentroon ver - he - ven Claer - re dan der son - nen  
 R E - gi - di - us, waer bes - tu ble - ven? Mi lanct na di, ghe - sel - le  
 C2 Nu bidt vor mi, ic moet noch sne - ven, Ende in de we - reld li - den  
 R E - gi - di - us, waer bes - tu ble - ven? Mi lanct na di, ghe - sel - le

mijn. Du coors die doot, du liets mi tle - ven.  
 scijn, Al - le vruecht es di ghe - ghe - ven.  
 mijn. Du coors die doot, du liets mi tle - ven.  
 pijn; Ver - ware mijn ste - de di be - ne - ven;  
 mijn. Du coors die doot, du liets mi tle - ven.

R Dat was ghe - sel - scap goet en - de fijn, Het sceen teen moeste ghe - stor - ven zijn.  
 C2 Ic moet noch singhe een lie - de - kij, Noch - tan moet emmer ghe - stor - ven zijn.

### D. Myn Trud Gheselle, ca. 1430

D-Wa cod. VII B Hs Nr. 264, fol. A'  
 diplomatic transcription: Marc Lewon, 2013

should be semibreve

should be read dotted

Myn trud gheselle

should be read dotted

### E. Meiskin Es u Cutkin ru, ca. 1500

Jacobus Obrecht

Ick dra - ghe de mut - se clut - se, Wat scheef - jes en wat  
 Ick dra - ghe de mut - se clut - se, de mut - se clut - se, Wat  
 Ick dra - ghe de mut - se clut - se, de mut - se clut - se, Wat  
 Ick dra - ghe de mut - se clut - se, de mut - se clut - se, Wat

## F. Ave Maris Stella ca. 1150

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### Ave, maris stella

1 A - ve, ma - ris stel - la, De - i  
 2 Su - mens il - lud A - ve Ga - bri -  
 3 Sol - ve vin - cla re - lis, Pro - fer  
 4 Mon - stra te es - se ma - trem: Su - mat  
 5 Sit laus De - o Pa - tri, San - mo

Ma - ter al - ma, At - que sem - per Vir - go,  
 é - lis o - re, Fun - da nos in pa - ce,  
 lu - men car - eis: Ma - la no - stra pel - le,  
 per te pec - ces, Qui pro no - bis ma - tus  
 Chri - sto de - cus, Spi - ri - tu - i San - cto,

Fe - lix cae - li por - ta.  
 Mu - tans He - vae no - men.  
 Ro - na eun - cta po - ste.  
 Tu - lit es - so tu - us.  
 Tri - bus ho - nor u - nus. A - men.

## **MEXICAN DRUG BALLADS: DO THEY PROMOTE VIOLENCE?**

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### **Abstract**

Narcocorridos, or Mexican drug ballads, are a contemporary form of the corrido connected to banda music in the northern part of Mexico and along the border in the United States. The narcocorrido is sometimes compared to gangsta rap due to its exciting narratives of drug traffickers who rose above poor socioeconomic conditions to become powerful and wealthy figures in the drug trade. The stories reflected in narcocorridos highlight the lifestyle of drug lords and aspects of drug trade that are imbued with violence. Narcocorrido lyrics focus on misfortunes and death while referencing events related to illegal criminal activities of the drug trade. Violent depictions have led to narcocorridos being banned in parts of Mexico and the U.S. However, narcocorridos are mild in comparison to the hyper-violence experienced in real, everyday life as a result of drug trafficking. Narcocorridos are not a cause of drug trafficking, instead they are an effect or aspect of narcocultura.

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**Keywords:** Narcocorrido, drug ballad, banda, drug trafficking, gangsta rap music, violence, Mexico

### **Introduction**

Drug trafficking has infiltrated social and cultural arenas and has given rise to an oppositional culture commonly referred to as *narcocultura*, a culture obsessed with drugs, violence and death. This subculture has evolved into a physical and cultural construct referred to as the "Drug War Zone" (Sullivan 2012). The physical dimension refers to both the geographical region in which the drug war is fought between law enforcement and cartels and the violence associated with this conflict. Northern Mexico is the most violent part of the country due to its proximity to the U.S., but other regions



have fallen under the influence of cartels. The cultural dimension is related to aspects of society from politics, law, and ideology to education, television, and music. A dedicated lexicon even exists that refers to aspects of drug trafficking and *narco*-culture, including: *narcocine* (*narco*-cinema), *narcovida* (*narco*-life), and *narcotumbas* (*narco*-tombs) to name a few. This subculture has not only impregnated regions controlled by Mexican cartels but also governmental institutions and has become popular in the streets (Wald 2001).

Accounts of *narco*-trafficking have not only been reported by news outlets, but have also been chronicled through music, drug ballads known as *narcocorridos*. The *narcocorrido* is a musical composition that is notorious for its violent protagonists and powerful storylines. A new generation of *corridistas*, [*narco*] *corrido* artists and composers, have embraced the violent aspects of the drug trade by transforming a traditional music form into one that has become almost as controversial as drug trafficking itself due to its graphic nature and the assumption that it promotes violence. The aim of this paper is to examine how *narcocorridos* reflect the presence of *narco*-culture in society and how the *narco*-lifestyle is glamorized through the narratives. The analysis will be developed using three models described as follows.

First, the model set forth by Charis Kubrin in “Gangstas, Thugs, and Hustlas: Identity and the Code of the Street in Rap Music”, developed through an analysis of 403 gangsta rap songs, will be used to explore issues of identity, culture, and violence. He examined the role of street code in rap music and how it influenced the way inner-city black youth perceive violence and respect on the street, participate in crime, and identify themselves. Utilizing Kubrin’s approach to analyze *narcocorridos* allows consideration of both the text itself and the conditions of its production and consumption. For this reason, social conditions that perpetuate *narco*-culture as well as the history of policies, procedures, and laws of Mexican and U.S. entities pertaining to the regulation and interdiction of narcotics will be discussed. Societal events are often delineated through cultural narratives and artifacts. Therefore, it is necessary to place *narcocorridos* in context with social, economic, and political issues in order to see and understand the complex nature of their existence and their ability to express social conflict that often reflects harsh cultural, political, and economic conditions.

Second, this examination will apply the street culture framework by Anderson. In his book *The Code of the Street* Anderson argues that violence is promoted and condoned by what he refers to as the *street code*, a type of social order that has emerged in disadvantaged communities (Anderson, 1999). This street code has three important features that include respect, violent reputation, masculinity. Respect and masculinity are paramount in self-perception for those intentionally or unintentionally governed by street

code, and many will go to extreme measures to maintain these attributes. According to Anderson, the street codes emerges where the police influence ends and personal responsibility for safety and well-being begins. The same aspects that dictate street life as identified by Anderson can be applied to circumstances surrounding the drug trade between Mexico and the U.S. He claims issues of violence in urban areas emerge from circumstances of the ghetto poor—lack of decent jobs, race stigmas, and illegal drug use and sales. Problems faced by urban black communities are also present in rural, middle, and low-class areas in Mexico, along the border and in other Hispanic population centers in the U.S.

Third, this discourse will utilize John McDowell's study on the relationship between poetry and violence. McDowell identifies three theoretical approaches on the social functions of *corridos* from the Costa Chica region of Guerrero, Mexico. The first approach, celebratory thesis, refers to the manner in which *corridos* proliferate violence and inspire listeners to follow in the protagonist's footsteps. The regulatory thesis maintains that these ballads not only glorify violent deeds but also serve as a means to interpret and understand them. Lastly, the therapeutic thesis states that while *corridos* do not and will not heal those dealing with the violent events captured by the musical compositions, they do however serve as an emotional outlet for individuals to cope. Using Kubrin's study as a template and incorporating Anderson's "code of the street" with McDowell's scholarship on the relationship between poetry and violence allows for a comprehensive examination and understanding of *narcocorridos*.

## Literature Review

The *romance* is a Spanish oral tradition that emerged during the middle ages. It is believed the first *romances* were fragments of longer, epic poems that sang the deeds of great heroes. The singer-poet would travel between towns reciting these poems to make a living. People would memorize and recite their favorite fragments to others, thus transmitting and conserving the *romancero español*, a collective product of the people. Since the *romance* is transmitted orally, it contains poetic expressions that facilitate memorization such as: repetition, rhyming, epithets, and dramatic characterization. The development and continuation of the ballad was not confined to Spain as Spaniards carried the tradition with them wherever they traveled, including Mexico in the 16th century as part of the Spanish conquest of the Americas.

The traditional Mexican *corrido* evolved from the Spanish *romance* with which it shares several characteristics, most notably form and structure. For example, the *romance* contains an indeterminate number of octo-syllabic lines alternating in pairs with assonant rhyme scheme in the even lines and

none in the odd. Similarly, the traditional *corrido* consists of eight quatrains that contain four to six lines, each of which is usually octo-syllabic (Paredes 1995). While eight syllables are considered standard for *corrido* verses, some may have more; the flexibility of the *corrido* is a unique genre characteristic. The *corrido* began to develop characteristics that made it a Mexican production during the Mexican Revolution (1910-20). For example, there are five characteristics that most commonly occur in the Mexican *corrido* that make it distinct from the *romance*. They are: (1) The *corridista*'s initial greeting to the public; (2) the introduction of the protagonist and/or event to be sung by providing the date, location, or name of the protagonist(s); (3) the message or moral of the story; (4) the protagonist's farewell; and (5) the *corridista*'s farewell, or *la despedida*. Another fundamental difference is the musical component of *corridos*. The Mexican *corrido* typically employed the use of one or more guitars, but overtime transitioned to the accompaniment of *norteño* bands (Torres 2013).

During the revolutionary period, ballads delineated the struggles of the Mexican Revolution: from tragic tales to stories of honor and heroism of those who fought on behalf of the poor like Emilio Zapata and Francisco Villa (Chew Sánchez 2006). In the years of the traditional *corrido*, the protagonists were revolutionaries: heroes who fought for a cause and made sacrifices for their communities. "*Corrido de la Muerte de Zapata*" by Los Hermanos Záizar sings of the revolutionary hero Emiliano Zapata. This *corrido* highlights the valiant nature of Zapata as a protector of the people. He is referred to as "*el gran insurrecto*" or "*el valiente*," which is congruent with popular belief regarding Zapata even today. During the revolution, Zapata advocated for peasant farmers in the form of land redistribution and ownership. The ballad ends exalting Zapata and his heroic actions that characterize his legacy as a protector, for which he paid the ultimate price.

*Corridos* were a way to spread news about battles, victories, and defeats of the revolutionaries (Mendoza 1939). Many people did not know how to read, so written publications failed to reach a large part of the population. In the years following the revolution, *corridos* told stories of issues other than war, such as love, prohibition, folk heroes, hometowns, migration, natural disasters, homesickness, and social/political events (Chew Sánchez 2006).

In addition to his three theses, McDowell describes the *corrido* tradition as a living ballad defined as a "ballad in its source community, typically a community that embraces a visionary heroic worldview", and he examines the effects that poetry written about violence has on communities' and people's response to violence (McDowell 2000). Similarly, Martha Chew Sánchez explores how *corridos* help shape identities of recent migrants in *Corridos in Migrant Memory* (2006). Both scholars find that

*corridos* are cultural artifacts that narrate events in society; this means *corridos* are transitive and directly reflective of changes in society especially at times of transformation and crisis (Chew Sánchez 2006). As a result of the transitive nature of *corridos*, composition and dissemination began to change around the 1930s, and following the revolution *corridos* began to be recorded due to industrialization. During this time, *corrido* production remained steady but none gained notoriety. It was not until the 1970s that a hit was produced, which came at a peak of Mexican drug trafficking and U.S. narcotic demand.

*Narcocorridos*, or Mexican drug ballads, are a contemporary form of the *corrido* that evolved from folk or *banda* music in the northern part of Mexico and along the U.S. border. The *narcocorrido* is sometimes compared to gangsta rap due to its exciting allegories of the *narcotraficante* who rises above his poor, marginalized societal classification to become a powerful and wealthy figure in the drug trade (Ragland 2009). The stories reflected in Mexican drug ballads highlight the lifestyle of drug lords and aspects of the drug trade that are imbued with violence. *Narcocorrido* lyrics focus on misfortunes and death as part of their narrative structure while referencing events related to illegal criminal activities of the drug trade (Paredes 1995).

While McDowell provides a basis for an analytical study of *corridos* that can be applied to *narcocorridos*, Elijah Wald explores the roots of contemporary Mexican drug ballads in his book *Narcocorrido: A Journey into the Music of Drugs, Guns, and Guerrillas* (2001). Wald delves into the “music of drugs, guns, and guerrillas” by traveling deep into Mexico and its urban centers. He visits composers and producers in their homes, conducts interviews, and explores notoriously cartel-controlled areas. In doing so, he immerses himself in the culture of drug trafficking. He offers a unique contribution to the study of *narcocorridos* by providing rare insights of composers who have transformed the genre into what it is today. Those interviewed give personal testimonies of the cultural phenomenon that the “drug-war” has created, as well as first-hand experiences of their intimate connections with the drug trade. As a result of the diversity of respondents, separated by space and time, Wald provides a chronological history of the traditional revolutionary *corrido* to the modern-day drug ballad.

### **Analysis of Narcocorrido Narratives**

Representation of Socioeconomic Factors: Coinciding with an increase in drug trafficking, *narcocorridos* gained popularity in the 1970-80’s with their exciting tales of danger and extravagant depictions of the lives of drug traffickers. However, as years passed, the songs have begun to purport acts of revenge and modes of settling the score with rivals in more gruesome manners, which is congruent with changes in cartels’ methods of

operations. For example, following former President Felipe Calderón's crackdown on drug traffickers, beheadings, mutilations, and shootouts became a more prevalent focus in ballads. Moreover, this violence has not been reserved for those participating in the drug trade as was done in the past; *ciudadanos*, or citizens, and families have become cartel targets in an effort to gain control and enact power over territories while spreading their influence – all of which has been captured by *corridistas*.

Due to increasing controversy over these musical productions, Mexican and U.S. authorities have pursued implementing bans that prohibit *narcocorridos* from being played on the radio, in bars, or other venues where alcohol is served to avoid inciting crime. Despite attempts to censure these productions, in many areas the music plays on. Thus, several questions arise regarding why *narcocorridos* are produced and listened to in such great numbers in spite of bans. In contrast with traditional *corridos*, *narcocorridos* are largely produced for money. The questions remain: For whom are they produced? Why does such a huge market exist? In short, *narcocorridos* are narratives about values pertaining to community coherence.

Mark Cameron Edberg conducted a series of interviews with consumers and producers of *narcocorridos* to reveal who comprises the market. In one interview, a radio executive divided listeners of his stations into four socioeconomic groupings. These groupings resemble class stratification as identified by W.E.B. DuBois in his work entitled *The Philadelphia Negro*, a study of socioeconomic conditions of blacks in the Philadelphia-area to discern why African Americans were not fully integrated into mainstream society (DuBois 1899). DuBois categorized blacks into four classes. The first faction was composed of the upper-class followed by hardworking, blue collar laborers who lived comfortably. He referred to the third class as the “worthy poor,” people who worked hard at providing necessities for their families, but had significant difficulty doing so. Lastly, the fourth group was the “submerged tenth,” those who lived below the poverty line. This group was more inclined to participate in unlawful activity in order to survive and provide for their families. He found that circumstances of social exclusion, lack of education, discrimination, bigotry, hopelessness and white supremacy impeded their ability to gain lawful employment and therefore promoted involvement in illegal activities. DuBois' class characterization coincides with that of the music executive interviewed in Edberg's study. The radio manager revealed the station that primarily played *norteño* and *banda* music such as *corridos* and *narcocorridos* had the largest following of listeners who were members of the working and lower classes, such as those who work in *maquiladoras* and participate in the trafficking of illicit drugs.

*Narcocorridos* are not only heard through radio but are largely listened to in the street, bars, festivals, and homes. Listeners are largely made up of the rural, lower class living near the border, recent migrants, or those having strong social and familial ties on both sides of the border. Further, due to commercialization of the genre, a percentage of the audience includes upper class individuals who are educated, politically and socially active, and who do not have close ties in Mexico or participate in illegal drug trafficking. Those who support radio bans contend that *narcocorridos* promote violence and negatively affect youth who listen to the harsh and vulgar lyrics. In 2001, a “voluntary” ban was implemented in Sinaloa. That same year, Senator Yolanda González Hernández from Coahuila argued that criminal lifestyle is promoted through such ballads and pushed for a national ban. She did not wish to infringe upon the constitutional rights of *ciudadanos*, stating she did not endorse restricting the production and dissemination of *narcocorridos*; she simply did not want them broadcast on the radio. In her push for a ban, Senator Hernández cited success at the state level (Wald). For example, *narcocorridos* were entirely eliminated on airwaves in Nuevo León and Guanajuato while other states pushed for similar restrictions (Gray & Johnson, 2013). Representative Elida Bautista Castañón, also from Coahuila, supported bans saying, “it is known that man tends to imitate what he sees and hears, so it is logical that a person will act violently if all day long he is seeing scenes of crimes and listening to the adventures of a drug trafficker whose aim is to illegally enrich himself” (Wald). Interestingly, some *corridistas* also support censorship. In 2002, the lead singer of Los Tucanes de Tijuana, Mario Quintero said, “They [*narcocorridos*] have fallen into vulgar language. There are fictitious *corridos*, without a foundation, obscene, vulgar and invented. They sell because they are common. So it’s good that they [the authorities] are getting involved in the affair” (Wald). Others contend radio bans are a violation of their rights, but many states support bans or ratings as is done with movies and TV shows.

In 1972, Los Tigres del Norte released the song “*Contrabando y traición*” (“Smuggling and Betrayal”), which sparked the beginning of the *narcocorridos* genre. This song was composed by Ángel González, who is widely known as the “Father of the *Narcocorrido*” (Burgos Dávila 2011). It tells the story of a couple, Emilio Varela and Camelia, who cross the border from Tijuana into the U.S. with their tires stuffed full of marijuana. When the lovers reach the border they are stopped and questioned by immigration officers, but proceed without a problem to Los Angeles. After making the drug exchange and receiving payment, Emilio informs Camelia he is moving to San Francisco where “*la dueña de mi vida*” is waiting. Camelia becomes outraged and as the song goes, “Seven shots rang out, Camelia killed Emilio,



The police only found the discarded pistol, Of the money and Camelia not more was ever known.” A woman killing her partner and fleeing with the money in a border smuggling was unheard of at this time. The novelty of the storyline, the ostentatious appearance and accordion sound of Los Tigres, along with the peak of the drug trafficking business and public demand for risky accounts of drug smuggling led to today’s *narcocorrido* (Wald 2001).

Representation of Drug Traffickers: Protagonists of *narcocorridos* are revered as “Robin Hoods,” stealing from the rich to provide for the poor (Berry 2012). An example is Jesús Malverde, or Jesús Juárez Mazo, a Sinaloan folklore hero who was referred to as the the “*Bandido generoso*” (“Generous Bandit”) and “Angel of the Poor” (Wald 2001). Chalino Sánchez sings about this social bandit in “*El bandido generoso*” (2004). According to legend he was a bandit killed by authorities in 1909.

The “Robin Hood” archetype can be accredited to social, political, and economic conditions in Mexico. Although drug traffickers murder and steal, they do so to the enemy and not their own people. Many cartel leaders are fair and help their people, doing more than the government which is generally characterized as corrupt and more violent than their *narco* counterparts. *Narcos* are viewed as powerful figures that ensure the welfare of the community and increase their quality of life by providing basic necessities such as homes, schools, roads, and providing electricity and business opportunities. These amenities may be afforded by the government, but at subpar standards (Edberg 2004). Following capture of one of the most wanted drug kingpins, thousands flooded the streets demanding the release of Joaquín “El Chapo” Guzmán, head of the Sinaloa Cartel. Supporters referenced economic opportunities Guzmán created and the protection he afforded. Pedro Ramirez said, “We support ‘Chapo’ Guzmán because he is the one who gives us jobs and helps out in the mountains” (Caldwell, Spagat, Billeaud and Weissenstein 2014). Others said his presence deterred rival cartels from victimizing the community (Hastings 2014).

The *narcocorrido* “*El niño de la Tuna*” (“The Boy from La Tuna”) (2009) by Roberto Tapia sings of “El Chapo” Guzmán. He was born in La Tuna de Badiraguato, Sinaloa, to a poor family. Guzmán’s father was involved in the drug trade as well as others from his hometown. He followed their examples and began working in the marijuana fields. Through the drug trade he became a very powerful figure. In Enigma Norteño’s ballad “*Generales de batalla*” (“Generals of Battle”, 2012), Guzmán is even compared to Francisco “Pancho” Villa, the Mexican revolutionary general.

Similarly, Los Tucanes de Tijuana describes the ability to transcend social class through involvement in the drug trade in “*Mis tres animales*” (“My Three Animals”, 1995). The protagonist in this *narcocorrido* is a drug baron who came from a lower-class family. It was not until he entered into



the drug trade by selling his “three animals” (the parakeet [cocaine], the rooster [marijuana], and the goat [heroin]) that he was able to escape the restraints of poverty and become a wealthy individual (Wald 2001):

These three *narcocorridos* represent an integral aspect in the emergence and influence of “street code” in society. Each ballad references poor economic conditions; whether in “*El bandido generoso*” in which the protagonist is ultimately murdered while trying to aid the poor or in “*El niño de la Tuna*” and “*Mis tres animals*” in which the protagonists hail from poor socioeconomic backgrounds. Kubrin states the “continual demand for economic and social success, coupled with limited legitimate avenues but numerous illegitimate avenues by which to attain it, creates a unique situation” (Kubrin 2005). Poverty limits many individuals from achieving social status due to the lack of legitimate opportunities. However, drug trafficking is a widely accessible means to earn an income in Mexico.

Material wealth is another aspect highlighted by street code, due to its ability to establish self-image and respect among peers. *Narcos* are able to make something of themselves through illegal drug trade; they are considered to have everything—money, women and cars (Wald 2001). Kubrin asserts that ostentatious showings of wealth not only reflect image, but more importantly demonstrate a willingness to show off expensive items that may attract attention from would-be aggressors; a sentiment present in “*El Americano*” (“The American”) by Jorge Santa Cruz y Su Quinto Elemento (Kubrin 2005). The protagonist is a Mexican-American male who changed his life by entering the drug trade in his twenties. Over the years, he murdered, stole, and even faced death himself. However, his dangerous exploits proportioned him many luxuries. Materialistic gains are also the topic in “*Estilo Italiano*” (“Italian Style”) (Ojeda 2011).

Material wealth does not maintain identity and respect but must be reinforced by violence, and it is one of the most defining factors in achieving and maintaining respect in street code. *Narcos* are often faced with retaliation and opposition from rivals or law enforcement usually resulting in death, but violent encounters are essential in the preservation of image. Dinastia Norteña expresses the urge that many *narcos* have in committing acts of violence against others in “*La venganza del M1*” (“Revenge of the M1”, 2010). The protagonist takes pleasure in murdering his opposition; but the last verse urges not to kill anyone who has not wronged them.

“*Las torturas*” (“The Tortures”, 2011) by Dueto Luis y Ramón depicts a protagonist who committed many murders throughout his life. He attempts to recount all of his murders in an effort to determine in which instance he was the most bloodthirsty. For example, he once hung a man from his arm and then began shooting him to obtain information. In a different murder, he buried alive a victim who attempted to kill him but the

protagonist reacted quicker and killed the aggressor first. By the end of the ballad, the protagonist shows no remorse for the murders and goes on to say that he will continue to torture and kill because he is the most bloodthirsty.

Death is also represented as inevitable in *narcocorridos*, reflecting its role in Mexican culture. Death is celebrated in Mexico; funeral ceremonies are festive when compared to the somberness of North American traditions. Festivals such as *Día de los muertos* (Day of the Dead) which remember, honor, and celebrate the deceased, and images of *La calavera catrina* (Skeleton Dame) or *La santa muerte* (Saint Death) are held in high regard by Mexicans. In Mexico, death is not something to be feared but is part of the life cycle. Moreover, death is viewed as an equalizer. Disparities between rich and poor exist but death comes to all despite status. Drug traffickers embrace the proximity to death in their attempt to escape poverty. For example, despite riches the drug trade has afforded in “*Mis tres animales*,” he is aware of the danger from rival traffickers or the government.

Death is celebrated in Jenni Rivera’s *narcocorrido* “*Cuando muere una dama*” (“When a Woman Dies”, 2006). The theme of this song is the anticipation of death. The protagonist asks her friends and family to celebrate her life, instead of mourning her death when the time comes. “*Cara a la muerte*” (“Facing Death”, 2011) is a *narcocorrido* performed by Gerardo Ortiz that sings of an unknown drug trafficker’s murder from the perspective of the person experiencing death himself. The protagonist conducted business with a rival drug cartel and when the bosses discover his betrayal they order his murder, something he expected. This *narcocorrido* does not reflect the widely presumed openness toward death; instead, when death arrives, the protagonist thinks of his family and wishes he could change the outcome. Death is inevitable, and once it arrives is near impossible to evade.

These examples illustrate how Anderson’s code of the street is present throughout the narratives of *narcocorridos*. A street code emerges when issues of poverty, social exclusion, weak governmental institutions, a lack of legitimate socioeconomic opportunities, and the presence of a lucrative, illegitimate options combine in a given area. In Mexico, a *narcocultura* has emerged that “shapes and constrains residents’ behaviors, particularly with respect to violence” (Kubrin 2005). This means an alternative social order has developed throughout parts of Mexico and the U.S. that dictates people’s actions and perceptions. As such, *narcocorrido* lyrics present narratives that reproduce, represent, and describe activities involved in the drug trade.

**Representation of Women:** It is imperative to discuss Camelia, the protagonist of “*Contrabando y traición*,” when considering feminine depictions in *narcocorridos* since her role in that ballad contributed to the

popularity of the genre. As a result of unprecedented success of this song the character of Camelia has been reproduced in other *narcocorridos*. Los Tigres del Norte recorded two ballads with Camelia as a main protagonist: “*Ya encontraron a Camelia*” (“They Found Camelia”, 1975) and “*El hijo de Camelia*” (“Camelia’s Son”, 1977) (Ramírez-Pimienta 2010). In “*Contrabando y traición*” Camelia is represented as a powerful woman in the drug trade who kills her partner following his betrayal. In “*Ya encontraron a Camelia*” she is pursued by *la banda*, likely the gang associated with Emilio Varela. In addition to continuing the original plot, it is narrated from the perspective of the woman waiting for Emilio in San Francisco in “*Contrabando y traición*”. Like most *narcocorridos*, this one ends in death. Camelia is captured and killed by the gang searching for her.

“*Ya encontraron a Camelia*” concludes with a warning which is characteristic of *narcocorridos*. McDowell identifies this type of warning as the “essential paradox” of ballads because the protagonists are celebrated, but also warned of imminent death at the same time (McDowell 2000). Many individuals involved in the *narco*-lifestyle remain dedicated to it until they are either imprisoned or meet death, as occurs in “*Ya encontraron a Camelia*” (McDowell 2000). The storyline is further developed in “*El hijo de Camelia*” in which Camelia’s son seeks revenge for her murder. He travels from Tijuana in search for the men. When he finds them, he murders them. It is said that he is seen in all parts of the country as he continues the hunt for other men responsible for the death of his mother. In street code, seeking vengeance for this type crime is considered appropriate because it is pursuant of justice. Being involved in a similar street culture as Anderson has identified, Camelia’s son feels that the responsibility rests with him to seek justice for his mother’s murder. This reveals an important component of the street code: the absence of an effective police force. Anderson states that violent forms of social control are related to law enforcements’ abilities to protect and serve its citizens. When police are ineffective or completely absent from society an alternative means of social control will arise, which is what can be inferred from Camelia’s son’s actions (Anderson 1999).

Camelia remains the most popular female of *narcocorridos* as *corridistas* and groups other than Los Tigres have placed Camelia as the central figure in other ballads. Her character has also inspired storylines in which a woman kills her partner. Foreexample, Juan Carlos Ramírez-Pimienta identifies several *narcocorridos* with similar storylines in his article “*Sicarias, buchonas y jefas: perfiles de la mujer en el narcocorrido;*” ballads including, “*La gringuita traficante*” (1983) by Mario Rodríguez de Hoyos, “*La Venus de Oro*” (2000) by Los Huracanes del Norte, “*Margarita la de Tijuana*” (1977) by Los Tigres del Norte. (Ramírez-Pimienta 2010). However, most drug ballads depict women as strong individuals who do not

rely on men when conducting their illegal business. For example, Jenni Rivera's ballad "*También las mujeres pueden*" ("Women Can Too", 2001) tells the story of five women traffickers waiting for a shipment to arrive from Colombia when the police came and killed three of them. The women are described as beautiful, but when angered can become extremely violent.

After the three Colombian women are killed by the police, the other two return to *la Tierra Blanca*. As the *narcocorrido* closes, women traffickers are equated to their male counterparts in their awareness of danger. When they die, they do so like men. One of the most famous *narcocorridos* involving a woman is "*Reina del sur*" ("Queen of the South", 2002) by Los Tigres del Norte. Teresa, *la mexicana*, is the protagonist and is introduced as a famous trafficker from the *narco* state of Sinaloa who fled to Europe following an attack in a border town. She quickly began trafficking drugs between two continents. She is described as assimilating quickly upon arriving in Spain by adapting her manner of speech to the local custom. Teresa is a strong woman who demonstrates a valiant nature in all aspects of life. Although she resides in Spain, she maintains her Mexican roots.

"*La maestra del contrabando*" ("The Master of Smuggling", 2002) by Jenni Rivera is a *narcocorrido* that explains the circumstances of why a female protagonist entered the drug trade. Rivera cites hunger and poverty as the two motivating factors which later serve as the justification for her involvement. The protagonist says that nobody cares when you are dying of hunger, but society judges and despises you when fail to walk the straight and narrow path. It is clear the woman is committed to drug trafficking and the code of the street because it is stated that she received her education in "*Ciencias del contrabando*," or in the "Science of Smuggling," and that the authorities search for her, but are unable to locate and apprehend her.

Most *narcocorridos* pertain to masculine topics and showcases of bravado. However, women are not excluded as can be seen through these narratives. It is interesting to see that the same factors that influence male involvement in drug trafficking are the same ones cited by women, with issues related to poverty being the most common. The protagonist of "*La maestra del contrabando*" explicitly refers to the plight of her children instead of her own condition when defending her decision to step into the world of drugs; whereas no males analyzed in this study mentioned children as a reason to participate in drug trafficking. This demonstrates there is a slight distinction between men and women in the drug trade. While women are generally equated to men, they do retain some of their feminine characteristics such as motherly instincts. Females in these ballads are fully capable of caring for themselves and their families and willing to take responsibility for their actions if any repercussions were to arise as a result of their involvement in the violent business of drug trafficking.

The drug ballads analyzed present drug barons as individuals who have no alternative means of employment; therefore, they are essentially forced into drug trafficking. While involvement in the drug trade is considered a method of survival, the violent measures that some protagonists have enacted are not condemned or criticized. For example, the narrators in “*La venganza del MI*” and “*Las torturas*” recognize the acts they committed as violent and brutal, but do not demonstrate remorse for their actions. They embrace their violent tendencies which subsequently serve as a means to identify themselves; this demonstrates how the street code is actively present. Charis Kubrin cites Jaber F. Gubrium’s and James A. Holstein’s (1997) description of how the street code influences people’s behaviors. Gubrium and Holstein contend that “the code [is] a living embodiment of social control, serving as a shared accountability structure for residents’ actions” (Kubrin 2005). The violent environment of drug trafficking is disseminated through the lyrics. These songs represent the realities of those involved in drug trafficking, but they do more than simply tell a story as Luis Astorga argues, “there is no justification for their [drug traffickers’] activities, only an affirmation of situations where the primacy of the ethical codes and rules of the game at play are often disputed through gun shots” (Astorga, 1997). While these ballads do not justify events or violent actions, they do celebrate them. John McDowell’s celebratory thesis states that, “poetry about violence celebrates the deeds of the heroes who initiate and sustain violent encounters. Celebration here entails the rehashing of violent episodes in public narratives designed to exalt the noble qualities of the story protagonists” (McDowell 2000). The seemingly absent criticism of violence essentially sends the message that the protagonist’s actions are justified due to underlying socioeconomic circumstances. Listeners then receive this message and hear of the fortune that could await them if they enter the drug trade, almost placing the imminence of violence as secondary to the riches are obtainable.

The decision to enter drug trade is contingent on several circumstances, and while listening to *narcocorridos* may factor into someone’s decision, it is not a sole factor. The manner in which protagonist’s lives are represented in *narcocorridos* could have a convincing effect on the listener because, after all, most listeners experience the same social struggle and economic exploitation as the protagonists and are from the same socioeconomic strata.

## Conclusion

The *narcocorrido* is a descendant of the traditional *corrido* which developed from the *romance español*. Stories of brutal battles, valiant revolutionary heroes, and daily struggles of the people were highlighted in

*corridos* from the revolutionary era. As the Mexican Revolution came to an end, tales of battle became more sporadic. However, *corridos* continued to portray social struggle and political strife. While there is discord regarding the origin of the *narcocorrido*, it is widely accepted that it emerged along the border stemming from tensions during the time when drug trafficking increased in Mexico. Clearly, a history of violence and unrest in Mexico is represented through the *corrido* and the *narcocorrido* traditions.

As stated at the outset, the purpose of this analysis was to examine how *narcocorridos* capture and reflect the presence of *narcocultura* in society and how the *narco*-lifestyle is glamorized through their narratives. This study was developed using frameworks established by Anderson, McDowell, and Kubrin. It was necessary to discern factors leading to the development of the *narcocorrido*, which made it possible to examine the portrayal of protagonists, their attitudes toward crime, violence, and death, and the glamorization of the *narco*-lifestyle. This study also examines how women are represented to determine what role they have in the *narcocorrido* genre. Kubrin's study of gangsta rap lyrics provided a format to analyze *narcocorridos* in the context of Anderson's and McDowell's frameworks.

Anderson contends that a street code emerges in a society that lacks an effective governing body and/or police force, coupled with underlying social, political, and economic issues. In Mexico, these problems along with corruption have led to a perceived ineffectiveness of government, which in turn fostered skepticism of the government and its officials. *Narcocorridos* reflect these circumstances in the context of *narco*-culture. The analysis reveals that tenets of the street code appear in *narcocorrido* narratives which may indicate that a disfunctional social order may exist in regions of Mexico and the U.S. where *narcocultura* exists and drug trafficking abounds.

McDowell studied the relationship between poetry and violence and he established three theses of *corridos* in society. The celebratory thesis states that events and protagonists of these ballads are celebrated or glamorized for their violent actions. The regulatory thesis contends that *corridos* are "a kind of Trojan horse constructed to win acceptance through the thrill of heroic narrative, but nurturing a hidden mission, that of questioning and ultimately discouraging the indiscriminate use of violence" (McDowell 2000). The therapeutic thesis discusses how *corridos* "transform the sentiments of those who witness their performance, and like the elegies of learned poets, corridos no doubt help people transmute their feelings of sadness and anger" (McDowell 2000).

Based on McDowell's work, the analysis found the celebratory thesis to be active in the *narcocorrido* genre. The *narcocorridos* analyzed highlight the appeal of monetary gains and respect when deciding to participate in drug trafficking and committing violent acts. However, this



analysis did not find that the regulatory and therapeutic theses were actively portrayed. While many *narcocorridos* warn of the threat or likelihood of death, they do not discourage an individual's involvement in drug trade or violence. *Narcocorridos* analyzed here seem to lack emotions of the community toward acts committed by the protagonists. Moreover, *narcocorridos* could have a desensitizing effect due to the glamorization of violence, the opposite of the therapeutic thesis. The absence of these two theses could be due to technological advances and the manner in which *narcocorridos* are disseminated. For example, social media such as YouTube, Pandora, Facebook, Twitter, and Instagram, among others have aided in the distribution and propagation of *narcocorridos*, which have ultimately led to them becoming more mainstream and pop culture than they previously were.

Additionally, the regulatory and therapeutic theses may not be active in *narcocorridos* because they are not a living ballad tradition. McDowell analyzed a *corrido* tradition specific to the Costa Chica region of Mexico. Costa Chica *corridos* are what McDowell refers to as a living ballad tradition within the community. As a communal product, they reflect values and emotions of the community. In contrast with *corridos* of the Costa Chica, *narcocorridos* are not a living ballad tradition nor are they traditional *corridos*. The *corrido* tradition was generally reserved for more marginalized groups of society or was a product of specific communities such as the Costa Chica. Today, people listen to *narcocorridos* from all social classes and by individuals who are not related to drug trafficking at all. Now, *narcocorrido* artists sell out concerts to tens of thousands of people throughout Mexico and the U.S., a phenomenon not seen with traditional *corridos*.

There are several ways the study of *narcocorridos* could be further developed. The history and roles of *corridistas* in the *narcocorrido* tradition and *narcocultura* could be examined. Many popular drug ballad composers and artists such as Gerardo Ortiz, Jenni Rivera, and Roberto Tapia were born in and/or resided in the U.S. Moreover, some *corridistas* like Roberto Tapia and Regulo Caro have attended prestigious schools or hold higher education degrees. It would be pertinent to explore how artists and composers identify themselves and their roles in order to compare their attitudes with those of *corridistas* from earlier years. Due to a changing environment of the music industry and to the influence of social media, it would also be worthwhile to trace how the *narcocorrido* has changed over the past several decades within itself. Traditional *corridos* often referenced specific names, dates, and locations of the events that they delineated. This analysis did not encounter any such examples; therefore a more in-depth study might trace the evolution of *narcocorridos* in the wake of technological advances. Lastly, a quantitative economic analysis could further elucidate the relationship



between the narratives of *narcocorridos* and real world situations.

Violent content has led to *narcocorridos* being banned in parts of Mexico and the U.S. However, *narcocorridos* are mild in comparison to the violence experienced in drug trafficking. *Narcocorridos* do not necessarily promote drug trafficking, but instead are an aspect of the *narcocultura*. The *narcocorrido* tradition descended from the *corrido*, but emerged from the influence and elements surrounding drug trafficking. While *narcocorridos* do celebrate violence, they don't explicitly tell listeners to become a *narco*. Taking into consideration the original statement that *narcocorridos* capture and reflect *narcocultura* in society and glamorize the violent nature of the drug trade, the analysis of this paper concludes that *narcocorridos* do just that. Finally, *narcocorridos* not only reflect *narcocultura*, but demonstrate how violence is becoming more acceptable in society. That is, *narcocorridos* are mainstreaming violence and in the process may be numbing its listeners to violence.

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# **SUBJECTIVE RESPONSES OF THE COLONIAL MEN TO THE OBJECTIVES OF THE EMPIRE AS REFLECTED IN THREE LITERARY TEXTS**

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## **Abstract**

In contemporary history, Western colonialism, based on its ideological and epistemological visions, has affected almost all the modes of life across the world. Apart from other things, it has given birth to volumes of literary narratives dealing with colonial experiences. Many colonial people have served the objectives of colonialism and some of them have been immortalized in the pieces of literary representations. At the collective level, they served the invariable objectives of colonialism within their respective capacities but at the personal level, these people responded to colonialism in varying moods, introspections and reflections. In this paper, we are making a comparative and contrastive analysis to reveal how individual colonial men variably responded to colonial experiences while serving and executing almost invariable objectives of colonialism as reflected in three canonical literary texts- *An Outpost of Progress* by Joseph Conrad, *Shooting an Elephant* by George Orwell and *A Passage to India* by E M Forster.

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**Keywords:** Epistemology, rationalism, capitalism, colonialism, subjectivity

## **Introduction**

Historically saying, it is often commonly agreed that colonization or imperialism is as old as human civilizations. Man's imperial desire to colonize others has variously been interpreted and theorized by the political scientists. The world by this time has witnessed the rises and falls of so many Empires. In the modern history of the world, Western imperialism has so massively shaped and determined the history that it is often said- 'West is not in the west now; it is everywhere.'

To insightfully deal with the study we are going to undertake in this

paper, it would be rewarding for us to briefly revisit the construction of Western colonial history. At root of western imperialism, there is the growingly organized and systematic consolidation of industrial capitalism based on the principles of *laissez faire* (1) an interest-based banking system and a tight currency system for controlling finances. Based on multi-faceted dominating factors-technological, economic and military, Western or European imperialism had been flourishing during sixteen or seventeen century Christian era mostly led by –Portuguese, Spanish, Dutch, French, British, German etc. These colonial forces had been ‘mutually competitive and hostile’ yet, they had emerged out to ‘an ideally unified world-wide imperialistic venture of European Expansionism.’ About the immediate preceding history of the Western imperial expansion, Khan judgmentally remarks,

For various reasons, the rise of this western commercial capitalism coincided with the decadence and downfall of the old Empires of the Turkish Ottomans, Iranian Safavids and Indian Mughuls. (1990:13)

At the ideological level, western imperialism has grounded its roots on rationalism .In *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, Max Weber attempts to establish relationship rationalism and the birth of capitalism (Qtd in Lin:1997,140) . Western Rationalism fertilized by the western historical Renaissance, Reformation and Enlightenment has always been at struggle to place Man at the centre of the universe constructing absolute autonomy of the human subjectivity. There has been a conjugal relationship between rationalism and capitalism. It is this attitude of rationalist thought enabled the west to dominate over various fields. Having designated rationalism as characteristic of Western culture, Weber is able to demonstrate that capitalism as an economic system is made possible in the West only by means of ‘rational organization’ (Qtd in Lin: 1997, 140).

At the epistemological level, Western expansionism has systematically developed the idea of ‘Orientalism’ which has been ably critiqued by Edward Said (1978).To the Western colonial man, Orientalist vision has provided almost the ethical complacency of being racially superior, culturally advanced and civilized as contrasted with the colonial natives who are systematically metamorphosed and constructed to be inferior, savage, unadvanced etc .On other hand, rationalistic capitalism has structured his lifestyle in the almost inescapable frame of ‘capitalistic individualism, egotism and blind personal interest’ (Qtd in Khan, 1990,15).He has always found grounds and justifications to support and legitimize the hegemonic rule of colonialism and to carry ‘The Whiteman’s Burden.’

It is under these colonial phenomena that colonial men often worked, acted, reacted, interacted and reflected their experiences. Under the macro

structure of the colonial administration, so many micros/colonial men have served the colonial missions/ objectives. While serving the almost common colonial objectives, these men have responded to their experiences with their varying subjective outlooks. In this paper, we are undertaking an attempt to investigate into three literary texts and show how the major characters in them varyingly respond to the colonial experiences at the subjective levels even though they have all been serving the almost invariable purpose of colonialism. The three texts are *An Outpost of Progress* by Joseph Conrad, *Shooting an Elephant* by George Orwell and *A Passage to India* by E M Forster. We would introspectively look into the subjective responses of some particular characters to colonialism reflected and represented in these literary texts.

From the outset, Conrad orientates our reading towards the issue of what should be a civilized and decent representation of Empire in Africa, precisely by sketching an unrepresentative pair of agents: clearly, Kayerts and Carlier do not embody the advertised imperial fortitude. They are mock-heroes who belie the qualities of efficiency and determination which reputedly characterize European commerce in Africa. Their physical portrait is anything but flattering, with Kayerts presented as “short and fat”, and “Carlier the assistant [...] tall, with a large head and a very broad trunk perched upon a long pair of thin legs” (83). They are written off by their director as mentally unfit for their mission, which is why they are appointed to a far-off and barely productive trading station.

As an aside meant for the reader, Conrad makes the director address his servant on board the departing steamer to refer to them as “two imbeciles” with no skills:

I told those fellows to plant a vegetable garden, build new store houses and fences and construct a landing stage. I bet nothing will be done! They won't know how to begin. I always thought the station on this river is useless, and they just fit the station. (85)

As Ted Boyle remarks, “Conrad surrounds Kayerts and Carlier with some powerfully conceived images of decay, resulting from the men's neglect and untidiness” (Boyle, 1965:88). Indeed, their house is poorly kept, and for edibles the two men rely on the dwindling Company supplies of pulse and rice since they have not planted a vegetable garden to support themselves as their director told them to do before his departure. They largely depend on the food lavished by Gobila, the chief of neighbouring villages, despite his being arrogantly described as “a grey-headed savage” (91). Deflation is very much the privileged medium for their moral portrait, and they are recurrently shown as poor examples of imperial authority and inventiveness. Thus the image of the resourceful West which they are supposed to represent is derided by those “savages” who, contrary to them,

combine industry with generosity, and regularly offer them “fowls, and sweet potatoes and palm-wine and sometimes a goat” (92).

The reversal of hierarchical roles is further amplified by the presence of Makola, the black assistant in the station, whose portrait exudes cold determination, and who receives the new arrivals as “more white men to play with” (84). He is “taciturn, impenetrable [and he] despised the two white men.” (83). His composure and steadfastness counterpoint the carelessness of his white superiors. He actually acts as surrogate agent of the Company’s interests where Kayerts and Carlier prove unable to make business thrive. As Andrea White notes, not only does Makola “run the Company’s business of ivory collecting,” (White, 1996: 190), but he behaves as if he were the actual manager of the trading station. His decision to do business with black slave dealers to increase the amount of ivory in the station indicates his compliance with the Company’s mercantile objectives. The switching of roles is well rendered in this exchange, when Kayerts discovers that their native workers have been sold:

‘I did the best for you and the company’, said Makola imperturbably. ‘Why you shout so much? Look at this tusk’.

‘I dismiss you! I will report you- I won’t look at the tusk. I forbid you to touch them. I order you to throw them into the river. You-you!’

‘You very red, Mr Kayerts. If you are so irritable in the sun, you will get fever and die- like the first chief!’ pronounced Makola impressively (98).

The irony of the situation functions in the sense that the competence of action in the territory is handed over to the “subaltern”, who is made to speak and re-order the course of action. Kayerts and Carlier’s inadequacy comes as an impaired picture of imperial achievement, just like in this ‘dark’ place of the world, the usual objects of light and civilization fail to perform their duty. Indeed, the ship due to return to the station and relieve the white tradesmen from hunger and disease comes dramatically late, the trading station’s mercantile activities grind to a stop and in the end, the elephant tusks, to be refined and turned into precious objects, lose all meaning in this remote corner of the world.

There exist many traditions, and many debates, of ‘landscape’ studies in geography and the social sciences. Schein (1997, 660), for example, notes that landscape has been conceived as symbolic, as representative, and as representation. These alternative conceptions have been – and continue to be – (re)worked in the literature, as evidenced by the recent discussions forwarded by Walton (1995 1996), Mitchell (1996) and Peet (1996). Likewise, the place of landscape in literature has also been contested; this is seen, for example, in the contrasting positions of Sharp (2000) with Salter and Lloyd (1977). In this section I follow Riley (1997), who advocates an understanding of landscape not simply as something visible (able to be seen)



or visual (viewed through interpretation), but as places that convey meaning in everyday life. This conforms to Schein (1997, 662), who argues that the cultural landscape is produced and implicated in the ongoing reproduction of social and cultural life. Schein continues that 'As part of that production, spatial relationships – distributions, partitioning, enclosure, circulation, division – served as part of dispersed disciplinary mechanisms . . .' (1997, 662). 'Some texts may present revolutionary worldviews,' Sharp writes, 'but unless they are widely read, their influence on popular imaginations will be slight' (2000, 332). She concludes that it 'is important at least to consider the consumption of particular texts' (2000, 332). 'Shooting an elephant' is, arguably, one of the best known of Orwell's essays (Alldritt 1969). Since the 1950s this essay has been included in numerous literary anthologies; moreover, the essay has been adopted as a 'model' in introductory composition courses (see Rodden 1989, 390–3). It is common, for example, to employ 'Shooting an elephant' as a template for the writing of essays. I suggest, though, that this essay may also be read as a means to understand the intersection of landscape and human experience (see Salter and Lloyd 1977, 2). Literature cannot be truly fictitious any more than it can achieve verisimilitude (Sharp 2000, 330). And indeed, ambiguity shrouds the 'real' of 'Shooting an elephant'. Full of intent and densely realized description, the story cannot be fixed to a particular date or locale (Taylor 2003, 79). Written in firstperson, it is often presumed that the narrator is Orwell himself. Certainly, as Assistant Superintendent, in 1926 Orwell did serve in Moulmein, the setting of the story. However, according to Taylor (2003, 79), the story is actually based on Major E.C. Kenny, a subdivisional officer who did shoot an elephant. Also, as indicated earlier, 'Shooting an elephant' was written a decade after the supposed incident. The tenor of the story is that of contemplation. Meyers, for example, suggests that the significance of the story 'lies in the interplay between the young man's view of the situation and the older, wiser, more reflective voice of the narrator' (2000, 71). The question of who the protagonist is, therefore, calls into question notions of autobiography and author. Given this ambiguity, I refer to the lead character in 'Shooting an elephant' as Orwell's narrator. Orwell's narrator explains that his tale is about a 'tiny incident' that gave him a better glimpse of the real nature of imperialism, and the real motives for which despotic governments act (1981, 149). From the outset, therefore, the reader is informed that the significance of the tale transcends the actual killing of an elephant. However, the significance of the tale is not so readily apparent. Orwell's narrator is initially cryptic as to the 'real nature of imperialism'. Indeed, Orwell's intention is further enhanced by the stylistic form adopted. Written in first-person essay form, Orwell is able to convey 'not so much the experience itself, but the experience as a state of mind, a state of mind in which Orwell

comes to a new awareness' (Alldritt 1969, 98). 'Shooting an elephant' is set within a colonial landscape, one that is immediately familiar to readers of Fanon and other post-colonial theorists – though not necessarily to the readers of Orwell in the 1930s and 1940s. In his critique of colonialism, for example, Fanon (1963, 41) declared that the 'colonial world is a Manichean world' a world that is cut in two. These 'two worlds' of the colonial landscape are reinforced through various techniques and instruments of discipline. For Fanon, In the colonies it is the policeman and the soldier who are the official, instituted go-betweens, the spokesmen of the settler and his rule of oppression. (1963, 38) Orwell's story in fact begins with the narrator explaining:

In Moulmein, in Lower Burma, I was hated by large numbers of people – the only time in my life that I have been important enough for this to happen to me. I was sub-divisional police officer of the town. . . . As a police officer I was an obvious target . . . (1981, 148)

The narrator subsequently provides a detailed litany of experiences of hatred between the Europeans and the Burmans. He relates, for example, of a time when he was tripped on football field and of having 'sneering yellow faces' meeting his face. These incidences were unsettling because, according to the narrator, he 'had already made up [his] mind that imperialism was an evil thing' and that, secretly, he 'was all for the Burmese and all against their oppressors, the British' (1981, 148). Following this Manichean set-up between colonizer and colonized, the immediate plot-line begins with a shift in the cultural landscape. Apparently, a usually tame elephant was in must and, having broken its chain, was ravaging a local bazaar. Orwell's narrator takes his .44 Winchester rifle, a weapon he knew to be insufficient to kill an elephant if the situation required him to do so. Symbolically, readers understand that the taking of the weapon was largely for show. Orwell's narrator must enter the space of the Other and must do so as an agent of the British empire. Tellingly, the narrator goes to 'a very poor quarter, a labyrinth of squalid bamboo huts, thatched with palm-leaf, winding all over a steep hillside' (1981, 150). Reminiscent of Joseph Conrad's *Hearts of darkness*, Orwell's narrator must literally and symbolically journey further into the space of the colonized. The narrator travels a short distant to the scene and, after a period of questioning villagers, finds a dead body – that of a Dravidian who had been crushed by the elephant. And nearby, the elephant is calmly eating bunches of grass. The narrator sends for a more powerful gun. By this point a crowd of approximately 2000 Burmans had gathered. The narrator is unsure how to proceed. He inquires as to the 'state' of the elephant. He considers approaching the elephant. The ground, though, is too soft and muddy to approach; if elephant the attacked, the narrator would be unable to move fast enough to escape. Orwell's narrator is confronted with

the realization that his subjectivity, his sense of self, is inextricable from the alterity of the colonized others and, indeed, of the elephant. This moment occurs through a temporary displacement. Geographic allegorization becomes a central constituent of identity. In fact, the significance of landscape is that it serves as a situational marker of subjectivity. Subjectivity must have a point of reference. The colonizer is constituted by his or her relation to the colonized. Under the watchful eyes of the crowd, described as 'sea of yellow faces', Orwell's narrator relates:

I first grasped the hollowness, the futility of the white man's dominion in the East. . . . I perceived in this moment that when the white man turns tyrant it is his own freedom that he destroys. (1981, 152)

Neither subject positions are of their own choosing; each is dependent upon the other. As Bhabha writes, the question of identification is never the affirmation of a pre-given identity, never a self-fulfilling prophecy— it is always the production of an 'image' of identity and the transformation of the subject in assuming that image. (1999, 187) Two scenes, each marked by violence, in 'Shooting an elephant' relate to just such a transformation. The first is the narrator's description of the dead Dravidian. The narrator describes the scene: Landscape and the mask of self

I . . . saw a man's dead body sprawling in the mud. He was an Indian, a black Dravidian coolie, almost naked. . . . [The elephant] had put its foot on his back and ground him into the earth. This was the rainy season and the ground was soft, and his face had scorched a trench a foot deep and a couple of yards long. He was lying on his belly with arms crucified and head sharply twisted to one side. His face was coated with mud, the eyes wide open, the teeth bared and grinning with an expression of unendurable agony. . . . The friction of the great beast's foot had stripped the skin from his back as neatly as one skins a rabbit. (1981, 150–1)

While this scene may be read as a graphic metaphor for the brutality of British imperialism, with the elephant smashing the life out of the colonized Other, I contend that the passage more effectively reveals a concern with the narrator's sense of self. Here I juxtapose Orwell's writing with Fanon's wellknown scene in *Black skin/white masks* of being singled out by his appearance, of having a small child exclaim 'Look, a Negro! . . .

Mom, see the Negro! I'm frightened!' (1967, 112). Fanon continues:

My body was given back to me sprawled out, distorted, recolored, clad in mourning in that white winter day. The Negro is an animal, the Negro is bad . . . (1967, 113) Fanon explained that the small boy's cry of 'Look, a Negro!' was transformative: 'I become aware of my uniform. I had not seen it' (1967, 114). Under the dissecting eyes of the crowd, his appearance – his body, his uniform – was open for all to see. And so, recognizing what he had become – not what he was, but what was made of him through his relations

with whites, from his place in a white society – Fanon understood that ‘A man was expected to behave like a man. I was expected to behave like a black man . . . ’ (Fanon 1967, 114).

A second scene follows the narrator’s decision to shoot the elephant. He hits the animal with his first shot; the elephant, however, does not die immediately. Consequently, he continues shooting until the elephant collapses; the elephant, however, does not die for another agonizingly slow hour. The narrator explains that ‘It seemed dreadful to see the great beast lying there, powerless to move and yet powerless to die, and not even to be able to finish him’ (1981, 155). In this scene both the elephant and the narrator are trapped in a liminal space, neither of their choosing. The elephant, on one hand, is caught between life and death, its existence held in temporary abeyance. Orwell’s narrator, on the other hand, is powerless to ‘fix’ the elephant. He can no longer give the elephant life but, disturbingly, he is also unable to give the animal death. Orwell’s narrator is confronted with his own subjectivity; he understands that his persona, his existence, is irreparably related to the Burmans. Colonial identities are neither perfectly achieved nor fixed. Rather, as Bhabha explains, the masks of self entails: a doubling, dissembling image of being in at least two places at once . . . It is not the Colonialist Self or the Colonised Other, but the disturbing distance in between that constitutes the figure of colonial otherness – the White man’s artifice inscribed on the Black man’s body. It is in relation to this impossible object that emerges the liminal problem of colonial identity and its vicissitudes. (1999, 117) For Meyers and other commentators, ‘the elephant . . . symbolizes the death throes of the British Empire’ (2000, 72). Symbolically, the elephant does not die quickly and thus may signify a decaying, struggling empire. If we agree, for the moment, that the elephant does symbolize the British Empire (and I’m not so sure that we must), it seems all the more appropriate for the Burmans to likewise slaughter the elephant. However, Meyers also notes that ‘brutalized by the system and out for blood and glory’, the narrator (presumably Orwell) ‘actually wanted to shoot the elephant’ (2000, 72). Meyers concludes that Blair had been brought up to believe that imperialism was justified because British civilization was superior to that of the barbaric people they ruled, but experience taught him otherwise. (2000, 72)

Such a reading, however, downplays the significance of the dialectics of subjectivity and the literary landscape. Alldritt, for example, argues that the experience related is subsidiary and is merely used as an illustration by the essayist, whose voice and personality are the main matter of the piece. The experience is no longer an image, but merely an anecdote that forms but part of a discourse on the contradictions in the author’s thoughts and situation. (1969, 100–1) Pressed to kill the elephant, Orwell’s narrator

experiences a transformation. The narrator explains:

It is the condition of his rule that he shall spend his life in trying to impress the 'natives', and so in every crisis he has got to do what the 'natives' expect of him. He wears a mask, and his face grows to fit it. (Orwell 1981, 152)

Mrs. Moor is portrayed as a kind, God fearing Christian, who is meant to be extremely sympathetic towards the Indians and is very unhappy at the cruel treatment of the Indians by the Raj and its functionaries. She reminds her son Ronny that as Christians, they are duty bound to love Indians as well. Fielding, the principal of Government College, is presented as the new face of empire. He is not satisfied with the cosmic changes brought about by a few transfers and postings. It is for Kincaid(1988) to reveal the true reality of the British love for knowledge, and their enthusiasm to impart the same to the natives. Raj can continue only if its officials are compassionate and genuinely friendly towards the Indians. In the changing circumstances, the nineteenth century attitude and mode of administration cannot continue, "Ah, that won't take us far. Indians know whether they are liked or not—they cannot be fooled here. Justice never satisfies them, and that is why the British Empire rests on sand".

The Lieutenant-Governor Sir Gilbert also belongs to the new school of thought, regarding the administration of the colonies. Forster is not an opponent of empire, he only knows like Sir Gilbert that the hands of the clock move forward and not back. In a sense Forster intends to disarm the possible nationalistic uprising against the colonizers. The British need to come up with a solid new strategy to maintain their hold over India. Fielding believes, "we all build upon sand; and the more modern the country gets, the worse will be the crash". Forster through Fielding makes his new philosophy crystal clear. "In the old eighteenth century, when cruelty and injustice raged, an invisible power repaired their ravages. Every thing echoes now; there is no stopping the echo. The original sound may be harmless, but the echo is always evil".

Portrayal of the Growth of the Indian identity:

Though, India is shown slowly and gradually moving towards its roots and identity, but it has not resulted in the development of national identity and resistance against colonialism. It is very difficult to agree with Cronin, that Aziz becomes "a nationalist hero", after his acquittal (1989). He never becomes one. He is nowhere seen challenging the British and asking them to quit India, in the spirit of a nationalist hero. Singh (1975) is right when he claims that Aziz is not a hero. However, his claim that Forster's knowledge of Anglo- India shows insight and penetration is an exaggeration. It is the repetition of the same old Orientalist construction. Forster has portrayed the Indians, even the educated ones as living in the past, immersed

in pathos. The poetry of Aziz is full of references to Cordova and Samarkand. Aziz is portrayed as an escapist and not as a fighter. Instead of fighting against the Raj, against its oppression and injustice, he retires to a native state, which is described as “jungle state”. Aziz displays only the 1st stage of colonial encounter (Fanon, 2001). He does experience the 2nd stage of disturbance, but never moves on to the third phase, the fighting phase. Aziz is shown again reverting to a non-scientific and non-professional attitude.

The distorted impact of imperial culture can be seen even in the temple. God is Love becomes God si Love. The Hindu music at the temple and religious festivals is complemented by British music and bands. Europeanized bands play Nights of Gladness while the Hindu choir of Godbole repeats Takram, Takram. Even in the midst of his meditation the image of Mrs. Moor appears in Godbole’s mind and never leaves him . This is the portrayal of the impact of imperial culture and the resultant hybridity. India is throughout described as a land where everything is unpunctual. The divisions in the Hindu community are highlighted. Indian soil is a land of fissures (indirectly suggesting the relevance of the British as a force which can handle these fissures).

The Indian freedom fighters and nationalists are portrayed as people who kick and scream on committees. Dr. Aziz is Forster’s version of an Indian, who in reality lives in the past and retires to a native state and composes poems about bulbuls and roses. At the end he makes his peace with the English. Godbole, cannot even build the school he wants to build. Aziz is a memento, a trophy of the illegitimate embrace between India and the English. Aziz is so different from Sri Ram (Narayan,2001), who totally rejects imperial culture. The final message of the narrative is that so long as, there are people like Godbole and Aziz, Raj is not threatened and will continue to exert its influence even if Raj is formally withdrawn. Crane on the basis of the “progress” towards the relationship between the Indians and the British calls *A Passage to India* “an optimistic novel” (1992). This reveals the limitation of Crane. He associates himself with the British, a model for the neo-assimilative mode of hegemony.

The study has shown that E. M. Forster’s novel, *A Passage to India*, reinforces the colonialist ideology of superiority and its narrative strengthens the stereotypes, and the East –West division, invented by the West about India and the Indians. The study has proved its basic proposition that *A Passage to India* is a colonialist discourse and as one form of Orientalism has strengthened and reinforced the stereotype image of India and Indians. The study has shown that Forster has not made even a passing reference to the oppression and the pandemic brutalities of the natives by the colonizers. He has not mentioned any Indian leader or the struggle put up by the Indians to



get rid of their oppressors. The study has also shown the deep link between culture and imperialism. The Indians are shown to have assimilated the culture of their masters. The Indians are portrayed as ashamed of themselves, of their culture and of their identity. Throughout the novel, the Indians are presented as lesser people, who cannot manage their affairs like mature, responsible individuals. This is the projection of the European hegemonic assumptions, which have been exposed by the present study. The analysis also has highlighted the portrayal of the internal divisions and infighting among the Indians, on social and religious grounds. This was meant to justify the presence of the British in India.

The British characters occupy the center stage, while all Indian characters exist on the margins. The study has shown that Forster has reservations about the old style conduct of some Raj officials. He believes that such policies and conduct are not in the interest of the empire. He disapproves the nineteenth century attitude of the Raj, represented by the club, towards the Indians. He offers an alternative approach through the characters of Mrs. Moor, Fielding and Sir Gilbert. The study has shown that *A Passage to India* is an instance of literature in the service of Empire, as envisioned by Martin Green (1980). Forster's concern is that if and when the empire comes to its end, even then there should be some understanding between the British and the Indians. The study has shown that Forster has portrayed the Indians and the Indian landscape as lesser, with the objective to contain India and Indians along with their culture. He has presented the English as superior human beings, better administrators and responsible individuals. The Indians are presented as superstitious, diffident, irrational and excitable. Forster believes that this relationship between empire and India can continue. It might not be, strictly speaking, a master-slave relationship, but it will sustain the empire in the changed environment. The study has proved its assumptions regarding the portrayal of the Indians as stereotypes by Forster.

Commonly, which has been affected most by their experiences in the colonial administrative structure are their 'selves' and their moments of realization provoke us to ask echoing Ashcroft et al.

If the subject is produced by ideology, discourse or language, is it trapped in this subjectivity beyond the power of choice, recognition or resistance? (2000, 225)

At this crisis Fanon concludes,

It is through the effort to recapture the self and to scrutinize the self, it is through the lasting tension of their freedom that men [sic] will be able to create the ideal conditions of existence for a human world. (1967, 231)

Another common ground for colonial men was that their subjectivity had been more or less constructed by ideological and epistemological visions



of colonialism. So, to them, ‘imperialism was a sort of religion’ (Aziz 1975, 18). Aziz further argues:

...the Englishman, whatever his political convictions or party loyalties was an imperialist at heart. Imperialism became a sort of public religion to which practically everyone subscribed because he found in it to please his heart (common man), to ease his conscience (the missionary), to enrich his pocket (the trader), to satisfy his curiosity (the explorer), to fulfill his earthly mission (the upholder of progress and civilization), to win laurels (the soldier and governor), to improve his family (the younger sons of aristocracy), and to indulge his ego (the white man’s burden). (1975, 9).

Also, we would argue that colonial men’s responses to their experiences at the subjective level are peculiarly and revealingly varying. In *An Outpost of Progress* by Joseph Conrad, we find Kayerts and Carlier, the two low-posted trading agents to be men with narrow minds and incapable of dealing with the situations. In Orwell’s *Shooting an Elephant*, we discover an almost reluctant imperialist with highly sensible and sensitive outlooks. In E M Forster’s *A Passage to India*, we experience a rubber-stump type of colonial man in the character of Rony Heaslop who appears to be uncompromisingly rigid, arrogant and illiberal.

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