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Introduction

As a continuum of the English Department strategy that ceaselessly seeks to promote the role of scientific research work in contributing to the world of academia especially, at this critical moment of world history, this issue of the *Journal of English Language and Literature Studies* comprises quite a number of varied research papers in interdisciplinary and cross -disciplinary areas of scientific research.

The first research paper in the English literary domain titled "Indecent Exposure and the Exposure of Indecency: Discourses of the Camera in Ray Bradbury's "Sun and Shadow"" is by Shokry Megahed. It explores the indecent acts of the cameramen and the negative impact of their pictures upon the photographed people and their properties. Critically argued in the study, such indecent acts which show discourses of power in near and distant social contexts is signaled in the objection of Ricardo in "Sun and Shadow" that the photographer uses his house for a photo shoot. As a believer in the realistic signification of the mirror in manipulating the inward psyche of humans manifest in his *Bradbury Speaks*, Ray discusses the self/other relationship and the resultant 'optimal behavior' of individuals shown in the short story in question.

"Nigerian and Arabic Variations on Shakespeare's *Hamlet*", Mansour's, examines the two theatrical adaptations of *Hamlet* by the Nigerian writer Femi Osofisan and by the Kuwaiti writer Sulayman Al-Bassam. The paper seeks to explore the degree of nearness and/or farness from the Shakespearean text. Following the comparative analytic and intertextual method of representation, the researcher argues the direct or indirect thematic and technical influences of the Hamletian 'hypotext' on the two adaptations.

Al-ssiefy's "Form and Function of Ditransitive Structure in English and Cairene Arabic: A Contrastive Perspective", addresses the question of why languages provide alternative means of conveying similar meanings. This is done within the framework of contrastive linguistics via the treatment of ditransitive structures in English and Cairene Arabic. The ditransitive construction is implemented as a practical example of a clause which allows for syntactic alternatives that express similar meanings. The researcher

adopts the Systemic Functional Approach and the Functional Sentence Perspective as descriptive and analytic devices to discuss the ditransitive structure in both varieties.

In his “Functional and Structural Patterns of Code –Switching in Academic Contexts”, Tohamy discusses Egyptian university professors’ use of English as a language of instruction and of code-switching. This research paper seeks to find answers as to when, how and why code-switching occurs among this academic group during the classroom performance. This is done via the researcher’s examination of data collected from academic contexts. The aim is to examine the sociolinguistic functions and syntactic structures of code- switching. This is resulted in three main syntactic structures, namely intersentential, intrasentential and tag-switching. Additionally; the participants’ use of code-switching is viable in pedagogical and conversational situations.

The next research paper in the same domain, Moftah’s, discusses, within the framework of three different planes of cultural contexts, the refusals of requests and their linguistic significations according to the social distance, in tune with L2 learners' proficiency and in concord with the cultural context in which the refusal strategy is practiced. To use the refusal strategy and its influence by such social context variables as power and social distance, the researcher examines how British native English speakers, Egyptian native Arabic speakers and Egyptian L2 learners refuse requests. The study proceeds to conclude that at the time the Egyptian native Arabic speakers’ refusals were affected by the collective nature of their society, the British native English speakers were influenced by the individualistic construct of their society.

Hasan’s paper focuses on a theme which is rarely researched in the field of contrastive linguistics, namely reduplication in English and Arabic. It is treated as a linguistic feature that is phonologically as well as semantically dealt with. Such semantic aspects of reduplication as repetition, intensity, lack of control, of specificity and continuity are maintained to convey values which are not well -researched in the two languages.

Abouawafi's research is a stylistic discourse analysis of political speeches of world leaders treated with the aim of effecting social change. This is done

via media to discuss the dialectical relationship between viewers and the misfortunate sufferers around the world. The study proceeds to widen the scope of the topic to convey global dimensions. A practical example of the effect of media on our lives today relates to the media coverage of the so-called 'The Arab Spring'.

In her research paper titled: "Translation of Foregrounding in the Holy Qur'an: A Linguistic Analysis" Abdeen discusses the problems a translator may encounter when translating deviant structures such as marked word order. The study proceeds to maintain the strategic problems that translators of the meanings of the Glorious Qur'an usually seek to overcome. Problematic issues that may arise in the translation of the miraculous structure of the Holy Qur'an necessitate the linguistic competency of the translator, for the translators have to meticulously translate the meanings of the Glorious Qur'an.

In her paper "National Identity as a Postcolonial Theme in Wole Soyinka's *Death and the King's Horseman*", Ahmed methodically begins with a review of the prior critical treatments of Soyinka's poetry with the goal of pinpointing where exactly she would locate her topical theme on identity. Adopting the postcolonial approach to criticism to signal the dialectical relationship between the colonizer and the colonized, the researcher argues Soyinka's focus on the Nigerian national identity.

In his paper titled "An Ecocritical Reading of Emily Dickinson's Nature Poetry", Ahmad Al-Sayyed discusses the symbiotic relationship between literature and environment which has been a predominant theme in literature since the 1980's. This is shown in the treatment of Emily Dickinson's nature poetry where she views nature as what we see, what we hear, what we envision and what we dream of. Such nature elements as the hill, the squirrel, the afternoon, the eclipse, the Bumble bee, the flowers and the wind are discussed to viably convey the Dickinsonian worldview of the inevitable inseparability of creative writing and nature.

We hope that our readers will profit from and enjoy reading the wide range of themes published in this issue.

Editor: Fathi Darrag
Cairo: 2011

**Indecent Exposure and the Exposure of Indecency:
Discourses of the Camera in Ray Bradbury's
"Sun and Shadow"**

Shokry Megahed

In their introduction to *Faith and Fiction: The Modern Short Story*, Robert Detweiler and Glenn Meeter consider what they call "clues⁽¹⁾ to the religion of literature" (xix). They marshal evidence that the knowledge of the 'religion' of the author does not guarantee a valid description of "the theme or spirit of a writer's work," which may "run counter to that of his co-religionists"(xx). Moving to the reader as another clue, they raise the old question whether a reader's identification or description of a work's thematic core is the result of "reading from or into the work." Ostensibly reinforcing the legitimacy of the question, they add, "It is Christians, after all, who are most likely to see Christianity in Shakespeare; it is Marxists who are most likely to see Marxism. 'If I know your sect,'" they attribute the saying to Emerson, "I anticipate your argument" (xx). Detweiler and Meeter manage, as I hope to do, to disentangle their introduction and brief analyses of the stories anthologized from the intricacies of the controversy over 'intrinsic' and 'extrinsic' critical practice. At the heart of modern critical theory, the question poses itself as unavoidable when one is to tackle a text with a history of personal attachment such as Ray Bradbury's "Sun and Shadow" ⁽²⁾.

In *Five Readers' Reading*, Norman Holland provides the insight of 'identity theme', which he borrowed from Heinz Lichtenstein to explain "why we respond powerfully to certain books." (Bonnycastle 145). By identity theme Holland means "a central structure" that "each person has...to his or her personality...when we read a book, essentially we try to reproduce the main elements of that structure." A person's identity theme Bonnycastle explains, "establishes the crucial issues in his or her life...expresses what a person wants in life and what he or she fears and it indicates what defenses will be established against those things" (142). This thesis is likely to impose on a reader the more general question: Are great works so rated because they "touch on elements of identity themes which

are widely shared?" (145) or in Holland's own words because they "act out [their] identity theme" (110). This paper is an attempt to provide an answer to a question about reasons for a personal attachment of the author to a story that has not failed to produce the same effect on its reader every time it is read. This is done in the hope that the result of the investigation would contribute to the clarification of the question that seeks to locate the 'meaning' of a work in the author's or the reader's text.

It is not certain that "Sun and Shadow," which received the Benjamin Franklin Award for the best short story in a magazine in 1953, has sustained and extended its appeal to Egyptian readers because of some widely shared elements of identity themes, unless 'widely shared' pushes towards the sense of 'universal', a highly controversial term in its own turn. One other term, which also belongs to the same critical school, the reader-response, comes in handy in our analysis of Bradbury's brilliant piece of fiction and why it has had this powerful appeal. It is Louise Rosenblatt's term 'aesthetic reading'. But unlike Rosenblatt, it is not my "primary concern" in using the term to describe "what happens during the actual reading event"(24). The relevance of the term to my investigation derives from the fact that in aesthetic reading, as Charles E. Bressler explains Rosenblatt's term, "we experience the text. We note its every word, its sounds, its patterns...while the text may allow for many interpretations by eliciting and highlighting different parts of the experiences of the reader, it simultaneously limits the valid meanings the poem can acquire" (49) or in Lee Patterson's terms "the parameters of possible significance" (251). Admittedly leaning towards the assertion that "some interpretations are more valid than others," with a crowd of reservations on the tenets of the New Critical theory, and a recognition of the reader's undeniable role in the process of interpretation, I approach the issue of whether an interpretation is born out of a text or in the mind of the reader with the assumption that a text – with the admission of the full presence of its author – uses a range of rhetorical devices to manipulate "the reader to produce meaning", to use Bressler's phrasing of the point (50) and to recall the core of Wayne Booth's critical classic *The Rhetoric of Fiction*.

Expanding and consolidating Stein Haugans Olsen's position ⁽³⁾ (290 footnote 11), Peter Lamarque in "Appreciation and Literary Interpretation"

gives the notion of 'aesthetic reading' a grounding which, I believe, liberates it from some constraining assumptions of the reader-response approach. The way Lamarque defines and elucidates the terms 'appreciation' and 'literary interpretation' comfortably accommodates my reading of Bradbury's text under study. "[A] central component of literary interpretation properly so called," which he explains as "that part which makes it literature," has less to do with "*meaning* as such, or with understanding, than with *appreciation* of a special kind" (290). Apparently skeptic about phrases such as 'the meaning of the work' as critics and metacritics commonly use it, but in short of a more expressive word or phrase, Lamarque states that it is "at this level of meaning or theme (differently described) that the enterprise of literary interpretation exhibits its essential character" (290).

Paraphrasing 'literary interpretation' as "the characterizing of literary qualities, Lamarque cites and refutes Monroe C. Beardsley's restriction of the term interpretation to "themes and theses" and speaks of "ways of characterizing themes" (298). The "focus of interest at the thematic level," he argues, "rests not in the bare statement of theme but in the manner in which the theme is elicited and supported through interpretation" (298). To move from a critic's to an author's work – as it is glaringly clear in Bradbury's case, as will soon be shown, an author may repeatedly make more than one statement of his main themes, as Bradbury does in "Sun and Shadow." But this "thematic summary" as Lamarque calls it, does not fully express the "unifying vision of a literary work". It rather resides, he argues, "in the complex manner in which elements of the work – character, incident, symbol, verbal structure – are subsumable under themes of general interest" (298).

The difference that marks Lamarque's use of theme or meaning is that meaning as he uses it does not simply consider or incorporate the methods which make it possible, but rather make meaning or theme 'emerge' from them. According to Lamarque, this is only what deserves the description "interpretation at a literary or thematic level" (302). At this level the aim is not the pursuit of "a single determinate meaning..." but rather "to reveal the value of a work, why it merits attention, to draw out the perspective under which the value is manifested" (302). In light of this understanding of meaning or theme, Lamarque gives a definition of literary interpretation which this investigation aspires to put into practice:

Literary interpretation...is essentially an imaginative exploration of a work's thematic content on the assumption of an aesthetic pay off. It seeks to identify and characterize features that show the work to be of literary interest. These features, patterns, thematic unity, interconnectedness of parts – are "emergent," features a work possesses under a conception" (302).

The object of analysis and interpretation in "Sun and Shadow" is a rather unorthodox response on the part of the story's protagonist to what seems to be a barely disturbing act such as shooting an advertisement in a poor ancient vicinity. The man's reaction proceeds from an interpretation of the simple act of photographing a fashion model against the wall of his house and other sites in his alley as an act of violation of privacy and more importantly as an act of reification. Ricardo, the protagonist, finds that the shooting crew and their director belittle the locals, feminize the place, treat it as they treat cardboard views or props in a boringly familiar text. They totally dehumanize the people of the alley as well as their own models. Ricardo immediately recognizes in the act of shooting manifestations of a range of binaries which define power relations and give intruders the upper hand. What Ricardo as a character says and does and a set of other rhetorical devices of language and narrative, used by Bradbury, upset the balance of power and subvert the photographers' discourses of power. The brilliant thing about "Sun and Shadow" is that Bradbury uses the same means or instrument of power, the power of the show or performance, to debunk the discourses of power the intruders assume inherent in their own profession and class. Norman Holland's term "identity themes", I believe, is not wide enough to assimilate the diverse and interconnected discourses of power that go on between Ricardo and the cameramen. Neither is it wide enough to assimilate Bradbury's ingenious use of narrative as well as dramatic rhetoric tradition to create one of the finest pieces of short fiction and to problematize such a simple and probably happy act as the shooting of a fashion advertisement with a group of female beauties in a poor neighbourhood.

Though he insists that defining 'discourse' defeats the purpose of establishing such a term and its critical and political implications, Paul A. Bové gives a description of it that is relevant to the way I use it in the title

and the rest of the article. According to Bové, discourse might be described as "a set of isolated events hierarchically related or a seeming enduring flow of linguistic and institutional transformation" or one of a set of "analytical and theoretical concepts which are 'weapons' for grappling with contemporary society and history" (54). Bové's description confirms its relevance to the understanding of the narrative relations Bradbury creates in "Sun and Shadow" when he explains that discourse 'implicitly' "hierarchizes...identity and difference, taste and vulgarity...it shares in the operation of the generalized discourse of our society that constitutes its most basic categories of understanding and thought" (52). Falling squarely into the line of thought Bradbury imaginatively presents in the story, Bové further explains that "discourse helps to maintain a population as a set of actors always available for discipline, to act ends announced by agents themselves responding to (or even resisting) the distributed effects of power in [their] society" (63). Discourse, Bové further explains, "can help us to avoid reduction, either of the historical context of an event or of the rhetorically complex display of power within a textualized discourse of institutionalized discipline" (64).

As will be soon illustrated, Ricardo, the man in the poor alley, could recognize the tendency of discourse to hierarchize and to maintain a population as a set of actors, always ready to act ends announced by agents who are not aware that they are also ready for discipline. Ricardo's use of 'actors', though, has more sense of choice and agency than Bové suggests. In the fictional world of "Sun and Shadow" there are what can be called discourses of the camera's gaze. By this I mean a set or a pattern of assumptions about human relationships, occasioned or revealed by/in the shooting situation and centered on the seer/subject – seen/object relation, whether the photographed 'object' 'willingly' poses for the shot or is unaware of it. It is the diverse implications of the gaze which decide the kind of discourse to which the resultant relationship belongs. Central to the relationship are questions of understanding, recognition, human communication and empathy. With a great a span of overlapping, these are the issues over which the confrontation between Ricardo and the cameraman argue and from which issue the three relationships, which represent power relations and discourses in Bradbury's story. Proceeding from what Kelly Oliver calls 'willful ignorance' (167), the three discourses of the camera's

gaze are: the feminizing discourse as manifested in the pornographic seeing or looking implied in the use of the old alley in the same manner a woman's body is used in advertising and the concomitant debate over what is moral and legal and what is not; the reification discourse implied in treating the alley and its people as mute things or still nature, a sin that photography in general is implicated in; and the discourse of actors and extras or props, which assumes that only the holder of the camera decides what appears in the picture. "Sun and Shadow" is built to expose these discourses of power and artistically subvert them.

Revealing the occasion for the conception of his story and disclosing his attitude towards its characters and main theme, Bradbury reminisces:

I pick up a copy of *Harper's Bazaar*...glance through the Bazaar, looking at the skinny-food-starved and sex-starved vultures which I take it are women, make a mental note never to go to bed with one, those cleaver shoulder-blades look like guillotines and those elbows would pierce one's flesh immediately, throw down the magazine and go write a story about the invasion of a small Mexican town by *Bazaar* photographer and some of his barracuda models. The result: "Sun and Shadow", in my book *Golden Apples of the Sun*. In it I have a brave wise old Mexican gentleman spoil the *Bazaar* photography by stepping into each shot and serenely letting his pants drop. The photographer and his skeletons are put to rout. *Bravo!* Say I and the story is finished (A portrait of Genius *Show* 18-19).

In another interview, Bradbury relates the occasion differently revealing another aspect of his authorial attitude. "Sun and Shadow", writes David Cochran, "grew out of [Bradbury's] righteous indignation" over a photo spread in *Harper's Bazaar*. "I came across an issue", Cochran quotes from Bradbury's "The Joy of Writing", where the Bazaar photographers with their perverted sense of equality once again utilized natives in a Puerto Rican back street as props in front of which their starved-looking manikins postured for the benefit of yet more emaciated half-women in the best salons in the country" (13).

It is notable that in these two reminiscences and others, the protagonist has never been part of the scene. Ricardo is the pure invention of the author to embody the idea that struck him immediately when he glanced at the

photo. Describing himself as an 'idea writer', Bradbury observes that most of his stories are "ideas in action. In other words," he explains, "I get a concept and I let it run away. I find a character to act out the idea. And then the story takes care of itself"(Newcomb 102). I take "the story takes care of itself" to mean that all the other elements of the narrative and the narration 'emerge' in some way or other from the idea and its ramifications, which is a precise description of the case of "Sun and Shadow." In Bradbury's words, as he explains what he means by a successful story, "it has its own life, move(s),[has] feelings, an entity and a whole" ('Portrait of Genius' 18).

In the same interview with Barbra Newcomb in 1980. Bradbury explains how the idea, the setting, and the characters of a new story occur to him. He speaks of morning exchanges between diverse voices and describes that as his "morning theatre". The characters "talk to one another and when it reaches a certain pitch of excitement I jump out of bed and run and trap them before they are gone" (81). The theatrical quality of Bradbury's stories is especially characteristic of "Sun and Shadow" for thematic reasons in the sense which Lamarque uses as reviewed above. The story looks like a one act play: it depends on dialogue, which is interspersed with narratorial comments. These comments often sound like stage directions. Only the closure takes on the characters of a prose narrative as Bradbury gives access to Ricardo's consciousness recalling the history of the crack in his house wall which attracted the 'vultures' of *Harper's Bazaar*.

The play form that Bradbury gives to the story is thematically significant because the main situation of the narrative has to do with the concept of show: who runs the show, who the actors are, and 'what' props are used. It also has to do with the rights to the distribution of such roles and functions. The conflict of the story and almost every element of narrative, description, dialogue, and narration "emerge," to recall Lamarque, from the disagreement about or misconception of the right to 'take' a picture or possess one's show. What we have in "Sun and Shadow" is a show versus another or more accurately a show displaced by a performance, with the assumption that the *Bazaar* photographers provide the 'original' show and Ricardo the artistic performance which displaces it.

In "Performance", Henry Sayre provides clues to the understanding of the 'original' - 'performance' relationships, which prove to be of high interpretive potential. Sayre defines artistic performance as "the single

occurrence of a repeatable and preexistent text or score" (91). The assumption here is that "the work itself is not only distinct from its actual or possible realizations but in fact *transcends* them". Sayre observes that the preexistent text "anticipates, even authorizes, its many occurrences and somehow contains their variety" (91). He speaks of a text's "a priori status in relation to its manifestations". Traditionally, he explains, "a performance is itself an event of the second rank" (91). One major development that Sayre notes is that "the concept of the 'original,' the self-contained and transcendent master work, containing certain intentions, has been undermined, and a plurality of possible performative gestures has supplanted it" (94). The scene of Ricardo as he solemnly receives the hot applause of the audience while the angry troupe of photographers leave the scene declares the primacy of the amateur performance over the professional, original, show.

One "good way to think of performance," Sayre observes, "is to realize that in it the potentially disruptive forces of the outside...are encouraged to assert themselves" (94). This provides us with further clues to the understanding of "Sun and Shadow". Two of these disruptive forces of the outside which are of special relevance to our analysis are "the physical space in which [a text] is presented" and "the various frames of mind the diverse members of a given audience might bring to it" (94). These two forces are in full sway in the story as the photographers work on the assumption that they have the understanding requisite for the exploration of the 'quaint' surroundings and that the frame of mind of the people following their work does not count. What sets the action moving is a recognition on the native's part of these assumptions of the intruders.

Bradbury creates the drama of "Sun and Shadow" with its suppressed text and fully realized performance in a perfect chronological cause-and-effect manner. The unwelcome sound of a camera begets an angry shout. A situation is created between an alley man and intruders who do not recognize his right to interrupt their work. Offering the man money complicates rather than solves the problem and so does the move to 'another' place. The alley man decides to control their show by giving them the image of the "hilarious man" ("Sun and Shadow" 147) they image him to be. The hilarious man's performance prevails, but the photographers insist that they

will always try to enact their 'original' text. This is the dramatic line in abstract, but the actual artistic performance, (Bradbury's not just Ricardo's) as will be shown, promises a rich "aesthetic pay off," to recall Lamarque.

Choosing Ricardo as a focalizer and speaking in the dual voice of character-narrator and by the use of images and suggestive description, Bradbury helps the reader to decide with whom to identify and whose issue to side with. As he describes the *Harper's Bazaar* people as 'vultures' and 'barracuda' and associates them with 'piercing', 'blades' and 'guillotines', in the quote above, he introduces the camera as an ugly insect in sound and shape. The fatness of the beetle (camera) is suggestive of greed and its holder's "precious and tenderly exploiting hands" are associated with "perverted sense of equality"(Cochran 13). This immediately creates a binary of exploiter-exploited and a distribution of characters over the dividing line. The binary of sun and shadow suggested in the title is developed as the narrator observes that the camera "winked in the flashing sun." The winking of the camera subtly suggests deceit, not affection or greeting, and anticipates defeat as winking means close and open the eye because of the inability to look into the sun, not shine or flash intermittently. It is the sun, apparently on the side of the alley people, which is "flashing". It is notable that Ricardo's brown eyes were also flashing ("Sun and Shadow"145) in contrast to the blinking of the camera and the fashion model.

The main situation between the alley man and the photographer is presented as something recurrent. The wife's tired, angry demand of her husband to "come away" and "stop" immediately reveals the kind of character who is going to act out Bradbury's idea of what it means to venture a 'shooting' trip into a neighbourhood where a man like Ricardo lives. The point of disagreement is immediately thrust to the foreground : Is it true that "they are not hurting anything "and that "Everything's all right"? (145). It is for Ricardo to show them and the people the harm, the 'tort', in what they are doing that the law overlooks . The introduction of the photographer as "The man with the black camera in the alley" (144) cues in Ricardo's opponent, giving him no personal identification other than holding an insect-like camera and having exploiting hands. In terms of behavior, the man glances up and returns to the more sophisticated world of fashion and

photography as the full description of the model's clothes suggests. Ricardo is treated as a nuisance, an intruder in other people's 'business'.

The use of the indefinite in 'a dark boy', and 'a banister' and the generic reference to the house as the 'building' with 'cracked plaster' represents how the cameraman sees them. Ricardo's shout "my own son", "that's my banister" is a protest against this oppressive indefiniteness. The disparity of vision resulting from the incompatibility of the perspective taken on the objects shot explains the contrast between the cameraman's dismissive "Everything's all right", with the verb 'is' contracted, and the assertive "Everything is not all right" with the verb written in full and 'not' most probably stressed. It is at this moment that Ricardo's eyes flash and the photographer's "precious" hands are contrasted to Ricardo's "wrinkled hand". The exploitative aspect is now established as the precious hands offer money and the wrinkled hand pushes it away with the caption "I work for my money" explaining how both hands have attained their present descriptions and developed their present attitudes. This is further revealed by what the cameraman assumes to be a retort, a statement that would bring the argument to a stop. "We're taking fashion pictures." betrays the cameraman's condescension and assumption that he is honoring the place by giving it the recognition of his camera's gaze. Ricardo, on the other hand regards it, 'abusive shooting'. Angry sarcasm is Ricardo's way of expressing his position: " 'Now what am I to do?' said Ricardo to the blue sky. 'Go mad with this news? Dance around like an epileptic saint?'"(145) Jonathan R. Eller agrees with Don Congdon that this " anger turns [the] story into a tract"(258), unjustifiably giving the moral effect primacy over any other.

An important element in the narration or stage direction is Ricardo's address to "the blue sky". It is an indication of his mistrust of the man's understanding. This part is the most instructive and anger revealing in Ricardo's performance. It is where Ricardo uses language as an equal to the photographers to discover their inability to understand a discourse which contradicts with their 'perverted' sense of equality. The commercial photographers cannot but commodify whatever they shoot, with neither understanding nor recognition, not to mention appreciation. Ricardo is disturbed that the man rarely looks at him as he talks and hardly gives an answer which shows consideration. In response to the first shout, "You

there," the man "glanced up then went on focusing his machine at" his fashion model ("Sun and Shadow"144). Understanding has to do with the meaning of the crack the respective responses of the two men proceed from. What is 'nice' and 'interesting' for the stranger is a reminder of a past danger and a present need for the native. Ricardo's rejection of the crew's attitude and assumptions underlying it pushes him to openly assume the role of the instructor in the relationship occasioned by the shooting situation. But the cameramen, consciously or unconsciously, reject the new relationship holding on to the advantageous order of the binary that Ricardo and his fellows should not be allowed to upset.

When the fashion advertisement people decide to sever the camera relationship and move to another 'interesting' place, Ricardo stops them to reconnect on a different basis: 'Don't misunderstand...it is not you I am mad at.' He tries to show them what connects them, "We are all people employed. We must understand each other," (146). In Ricardo's accented voice Bradbury lectures the photographers of *Harper's Bazaar* and others on the question of understanding. The assumption on which the photographers act is that Ricardo cannot see in what they do anything they cannot see. To help them change perspective the man produces his books as another element common between them .He directly makes the crew aware of their dehumanizing attitude: "you are not talking to some cow in the forest, you are talking to man" (146), to which the head photographer gives no reply. A similar statement is made by Granny Cain in Toni Cade Bambara's "Blues Ain't No Mockin bird" when the old woman instructs her granddaughter to "go tell that man[a photographer] we ain't a bunch of trees" (36).

Like the black American woman, the Mexican or Porto Rican man holds on to his instructional discourse countering the patronizing, condescending, and dehumanizing discourse of the cameraman: "Before you go, you must see What I am getting at... Do I look like a piece of cardboard?" when the man with the black camera appears to be completely oblivious to what the native is trying to make him see, he gives a speech, which in critical terms is a thematic summary of the story:

We are poor people," said Ricardo. "Our doors peel paint, our walls are chipped and cracked, our gutters fume in the street, the alleys re all cobbles. But it fills me with a terrible rage when I see you make over these things as if I had *planned* it this way, as if I had years ago

induced the wall to crack. Did you think I knew you were coming and aged the paint? Or that I knew you were coming and put my boy in his dirtiest clothes? We are *not* studio! We are people and must be given attention as people. Have I made it clear?[emphasis original]"(147).

As an ardent instructor, Ricardo concludes his speech by the traditional "Have I made it clear?" The irony that Bradbury is keen to highlight is that the photographer's reply contradicts his behavior, reaffirming Ricardo's speech. In answer to the verifying question the photographer replies, "with abundant detail" followed by the authorial comment or stage direction "not looking at him, hurrying" (147).

The dividing line between Ricardo and the photographer is that the alley man is more aware than the man with the camera of the implications of picture taking and the discourses it at once proceeds from and perpetuates. The photographer's "bewilderment", his angry question "why," and the fashion model's blinking betray their total oblivion to Ricardo's reason for anger. Ricardo tells them the reason, but they are neither ready for or capable of understanding. "We must understand each other. But when you come to my house with your camera", Ricardo explains, "then the understanding is over. I will not have my alley used because of its sun, or my house used because there is an interesting crack in the wall" (147). In addition to the misunderstanding or rejection of understanding which secures the photographers their privileged positions of 'silent' picture taking. Ricardo shows awareness of (and aversion to) at least two discourses of the camera which represent and reproduce power relations. One is that of the voyeur to a sex object. In *Woman as Weapons of War :Iraq, Sex, and the Media*, Kelly Oliver identifies the voyeuristic or pornographic seeing as one major discourse of the camera's gaze. "Pornographic seeing," she observes, "is voyeuristic looking that treats the scene or looked at as an object for one's own" purposes. "The seer," she adds, "considers only his own interests and maintains a *willful ignorance* [emphasis mine] about the subject-positions of those he watches. "The voyeur is not concerned with the effect of his watching on *his object* [emphasis original]" (167) This, I believe, accurately describes the case in hand.

Ricardo rejects the voyeuristic implications of the shooting situation to which he angrily draws the attention of the bewildered or "willfully ignorant" intruder: " 'you see! Ah how beautiful! Lean here! Stand there! Sit here! Crouch there! Hold it' Oh I heard you. Do you think I am stupid'" (146). The angry native understands the sexual connotations of posing and exposing. On the level of narration or stage direction, Bradbury shares this kind of understanding with Ricardo. When the man shows deceptive or ironic compliance with the cameraman's instructions calling him "kind sir" (148), he also uses "I'll pose here" with its mock sexual implications. In the 'stage directions' Bradbury reinforces the validity of Ricardo's understanding: "the photographer...lifted his machine...Now turn your right leg...Hold it" (148). At this very moment Ricardo inflates the tense moment by dropping his pants, in an attempt to show the photographer the kind of exposure he is involved in. Inflated also is the air of wedding party suggested by elements of the setting such as the "Church of the Virgin," and the description of the layers of the stone stairway as "a bridal cake" (147).

Two poses in the scene, the model's and Ricardo's, raise the question of morality and legality, which further highlights the disparity of vision as a result of the opposition of perspectives. As irony is bitterly generated by the cameraman's treatment of Ricardo as an intruder, irony is equally generated as "the man with the black camera in the alley" protests at Ricardo's "indecent exposure" (150) and demands the policeman to arrest Ricardo. The policeman "surveyed the scene like an amateur photographer himself with its component elements with Ricardo's pants where a man's pants rarely are" (150). As Ricardo fails to make the cameraman understand that what he does in the alley is indecent and immoral, the photographer also fails to understand the code of decency and morality that both Ricardo and his fellow policeman enact. What Bradbury depicts humorously here is an old debate over "the conflict between privacy and photography" – or the press in general – and the moral and legal issues it involves. According to *The Harvard Law Review*, in a review of the subject, "the press is overstepping in every direction the obvious bounds of propriety and decency", as Samuel D. Warren and Louis d. Brandeis are reported to say as early as 1890 (1086). It is admitted that "Privacy is central to dignity and individuality, or personhood" and that it is "indispensible to a sense of autonomy" and "a feeling that there is an area of an individual's life that is

totally under his or her control, an area that is free from outside intrusion" (1087). Nevertheless, "the courts do not consider, as a general rule, the mere taking of a person's photograph without consent to be an invasion of privacy, even if the act of taking the photographs disturbs the person being photographed" (1088). The idea is that the taking of a photograph is treated as "not different essentially from a full written description of a public sight which anyone present would be free to see," as Dean Prosser is reported to state" (1088). What the famous law periodical tells us is that the disturbance of the photographed by the act of photographing is not considered under the 'tort law'. More significantly to our investigation is that the verbal receives the same legal treatment as the visual.

Assuming to be better versed in this moral and legal issue than Ricardo, the photographer does not listen to Ricardo's explanation. He fails to understand every verbal statement of theme made by Ricardo and is outraged by the policeman's legal reasoning. "That man," the policeman refers to Ricardo as he explains to the photographer, "is doing nothing immoral". When the stranger screams that Ricardo is "naked, *naked!* [emphasis original], the policeman puts the moral code in more explicit terms:

'There are naked people and naked people,' said the officer. 'Good and bad. Sober and with drink in them. I judge this one to be a man with no drink in him a good man by reputation; naked, yes, but doing nothing with this nakedness in any way to offend the community' ("Sun and Shadow"150).

The man's inability to comprehend what is being done and said is presented by Bradbury's narrator in animal language. "It seemed that at any moment he might snap and bite and bark and woof and race around in circles under the blazing sun" (151). His question "where is justice?" is highly ironic as it betrays a settled conviction that he is fair and just. Bradbury balances the effect of this irony by another. It is the irony of associating beauty and "gentlemanly decorum, great dignity and grace" with the act of Ricardo's "lifting his pants to belt them around his waist" (152). The 'beauty' of the act is reinforced by the now omniscient narrator's reference to "the winging of soft doves in the air" (152).

One effect of the voyeuristic discourse is the objectification of the seen. "This type of seeing or vision," Kelly Oliver elaborates her definition of pornographic seeing, "divides the word into seers and seen, subjects and objects. The seer remains in control of the scene of sight, while the seen is there for him" (167-8). In this respect, Katherine Bullock in her study of the politics of hijab, provides the concept of 'the-world-as-an-exhibition' and observes that to experience the world in this understanding is to give priority to looking" (5) regardless of how the object of sight feels or thinks. Both Bullock and Oliver cite Malek Alloula's *The Colonial Harem*, where the postcards sent from Algeria to France are meant to and do "reproduce colonial domination, again by putting the occupier and the viewer in the position of subject looking at Algerian women as objects – posing them, framing them" (Oliver 70). As for the reaction of those women in actual life, Bullock observes, they refused to "present themselves as an exhibit. Neither [did] the houses in which they lived (lattices were over windows that looked onto the streets). By refusing to be grasped as a spectacle," Bullock suggests, the Algerian women made it known that they "refused to offer themselves up to the visitor" (6).

Also overlapping with the discourses of voyeuristic looking and the reification it implies is the discourse of the viewed as props and the viewer as author or director. Who owns the show? Who owns what is in the picture? are restatements of the questions who is the director/author? and who are the extras and the props? In "A Stranger with a camera," an essay which reveals the violent aspect of 'shooting', associating gun with camera, Calvin Trillin creates an atmosphere of some semblance to "Sun and Shadow". In the essay the stranger with a camera is shot as a trespasser and his killer is acquitted. Regardless of the intentions of the photographer and the violence of the response of the place owner, what Trillin highlights is the miserable fact that "Appalling poverty" was seen as irresistible "attraction" (402). When the killer was asked why he did what he did, it was explained that "it was a case of misunderstanding...the old man thought they were laughing and making fun of him and it was more than he could take... the old man felt he was being pushed around (404).

Trillin presents a case of murder, minimizing sympathy for the victim, explaining, and at times justifying, the deadly act. He notes that the objectification of the seen, the pictured, and the lack of sympathy are often

the marks of professional photographers. One illustration is the picture of the “half-dozen children who, somehow, lived with their parents in one of the tiny shacks. A second, which is that of “the woman drawing water from the common well, who is asked to repeat the action for filming.” Once the woman does what she normally does for the purpose of filming, reality gives way to acting, she would not be drawing water for her use but would be acting, with hardly a shade of agency. Quoting the famous photographer Jacop Riis, Vicki Goldberg suggests that the man meant the viewers of his photos to realize that viewing the photos is one thing and taking them is another. According to Goldberg, Riis speaks of the “beauty of looking into these [poor] places without actually being there”. The “excursionist,” as he calls the viewer “is spared the vulgar sounds and odious scents and repulsive exhibitions attendant upon such a personal examination” (qtd in Goldberg 179). Goldberg also cites Susan Sontag who, with a number of critics, “were excoriating documentary photographers and photography itself for exploiting the poor and turning them into objects of dubious beauty” (181). Goldberg speaks of ‘sins’ that “documentary photographs” and photography in general “is heir to – its inclination to intrude, exploit, sensationalize, distance and patronize” (179). This is exactly what provokes Ricardo not only to displace his stranger’s show but to appropriate it to give primacy to the performance over the original text and grant the leading roles to extras and props.

The conflict over the camera’s act in “Sun and Shadow”, which creates the disparity between preexistent text and its subversive performance, has to do with the process of image taking/making. A photograph, as Joel Eisinger contends, “will bear the mark of a personal image and will embody a personal interpretation of subject matter... or a metaphorical meaning toward which the nominal subject matter is a springboard” (3-4). Ricardo is especially enraged as he realizes that he and his alley are mere “nominal subject matter.” To use Eisinger’s main line of argument, the camera does not “trace” what is in the alley but rather transforms it. The crack in the wall is made to be ‘nice’ and ‘interesting’. Ricardo seems to ask with Ellen Goodman “Do we all lose our right to privacy simply by stepping into view? [Or forced into view?] ...Does the photographer or the photographed own the image?” (291). Lkening the camera to an insect as does Bradbury,

Goodman observes that the average camera bug-like, the average tourist, too often goes about snapping 'quaint' people, along with 'quaint' scenes" (251). If you claim "the right to bring other people home in a canister", Ricardo almost says to the director of photographer, we will keep "the right to control our image" (Goodman 251).

A famous case where the question of privacy and control of image is raised is that of the 'the Boston Photographs'. Reporting readers' reactions to the publication of three photos of a woman and her child falling to their death off the fire escape stairs, Nora Ephron writes that readers "repeat the same points: 'invading the privacy of death', 'cheap sensationalism,'" but the most relevant response is "assigning the agony of a human being...to the status of a side-show act" (502). Ricardo is not concerned about some "unguarded moments" of the alley's life, to use Janet Kornblum's phrase in her essay "Street View Clicks, Captures Everyday Antics," he is rather concerned about the alley as a living being, not mere props. In Bambara's story, Granny puts this even clearer: "I don't know about the thing, the it, and the stuff...Just people here is what I tend to consider" (37).

Ricardo is keen on making the photographers understand this discourse of the camera: "Have I made it clear?" He puts it in plainer words to Jorge, a fellow alley man when he sees that the man is "not bothered" ("Sun and Shadow"148): "Ricardo shook his arm. 'They are treating your property like a movie actor's place. Aren't you insulted?'. The problem is that the man has neither "thought about it," nor can "see any harm". Ricardo angrily addresses "his empty hands...Is this a town of false picture scenes?" The responses of another group of photographers reinforce the indifferent attitude of the intruders. The images they have taken are called "stuff" and the people watching described as "noses" (147). Ricardo is sarcastically called "Pancho" and his lecture on the reality of his son, house and alley is dismissed as nonsensical "uproar". This is the moment Ricardo decides to start his performance.

"Picturesque," literally understood i.e. pertaining to pictures not real life, is the quality that Ricardo means to highlight in order to subvert. The interesting point is that the photographer does not suspect Ricardo or discern his plan. Ricardo's offer to be part of the background is an ironic translation of everything which provoked him to come down to "cut off their heads" (145), but the advertisement man fails to see that. It is the audience who can

see it coming. Seeing Ricardo in this state of mind, the people of the alley began to form a crowd. In expectation of a performance they most probably have seen before, they “murmured and smiled and nudged each other’s elbows” (145). A dramatic irony is created as only the audience and the narrator can see that Ricardo “wildly” declared his compliance to the stranger with a camera. The elements of his offer speak out his intention to subvert the picturesqueness he volunteers to promote:

‘Do you want a *picturesque* man in the background?’...I’ll pose here. Do you want me near this wall, my hat *so*, my feet *so*, the light *so* and thus on my sandals which I made myself? Do you want me to rip this hole in my shirt a bit larger, eh, like *this*! Is my face smeared with enough perspiration? Is my hair long enough, kind sir? [emphasis original].

Ricardo gives the cameraman the illusion that he would present himself as an ‘exhibit’, a ‘spectacle’, and that he would allow the photographer to ‘pose’ him, ‘frame’ him, and construct a pre-conceived image of him. The meek man even ‘kind sirs’ him and promises not to spoil the shot by looking into the camera. Ricardo mimics the photographers’ show to reveal its absurdity and inhumanity. By acting as a piece of props he reveals what it means to present as natural, beautiful, and credible something so fake and lifeless. Bradbury makes Ricardo’s dropping of his pants almost dramatically inevitable, because the outrageous absurdity of the scene has to lead to an equally outrageous act. The real performer, Ricardo, captions his performance with the highly intense question “Was that picturesque/quaint enough?”⁽⁴⁾ Ricardo’s question utterly dumps the notion of picturesqueness the cameramen seem to cherish so much. It exposes its banality and indecency.

Bradbury gives Ricardo’s performance an acute sense of attack on ‘picturesqueness’ by the introduction of a silent actor. After the climactic moment of dropping the pants, a dog invades the carefully prepared setting in a second climactic moment or an anticlimax (for the photographer). The dog “briefly made water against the wall” (149), the quaint wall. The dog dissipates the picturesqueness of the wall and so restores it to life. More importantly, it strips the job of the photographer of value or status. The banal event reinforces Ricardo’s act and gives him the chance to make the

photographer's concept of creativity the butt of his severely sarcastic attack : " 'Look at that!' cried Ricardo 'What art! What a pattern! Quick, before the sun dries it!' "

In a perfectly balanced control of action, description, actors, enters and exits, Bradbury reinforces Ricardo's "Quick" by showing the cameraman's assistant urging the policeman to hurry. Within the same mode of ridiculing the work of photography crew, the policeman "stroll[s]" quietly assuring the man "with a gesture at a distance that the day was not yet over and in time they would arrive at the scene of whatever disaster lay ahead" (149). The man's belittling of what concerns the photographer by the sarcastic use of 'disaster' reinforces an earlier sarcastic depiction of the man as he "peered into the mysteries of his camera" (147). For it is obvious that there is neither mystery nor disaster. This accordance of commentary, action, enters and exists makes it certain that all these elements are part of one performance created to counteract the show of the men with the cameras, not as private persons but as the enactors of a code of behavior that is indecent and immoral.

Bradbury's performance doesn't end in this note, it reaches yet higher levels of dramatic and narrative brilliance. After the climactic moment of dropping the pants at the moment of shooting and the enter and exit of a dog, who knows and performs his role to the letter, Ricardo informs the cameraman that the conflict is not over and the he would follow him everywhere he goes "quietly, with grace. With dignity, to *perform* my necessary task[emphasis mine]." The local man's acts and words play havoc with the stranger's conception of grace, dignity, and duty and sets the scene for the statement of the question I take to be the story's intellectual climax. The cameraman angrily asks: "Who are you? Who in hell do you think you are?" In Ricardo's answer the voice of an author with an idea at the heart of his work is clearly heard. Ricardo has been waiting for the man to ask him. The point of the performance was to make the cameraman see him as a man not as a part of a quaint background: "Consider me," Ricardo says, "Go home and think of me" What the alley man did was his own way of saving the humanity of this world. "As long as there is one man like me in town of ten thousand, the world will go on. Without me all would be chaos"(151). It does not detract from Ricardo's work that the photography crew leave with their mental make-up unchanged. The hope is in the crowd who "still looked

upon him and smiled," waiting for their leading star to give them a signal that the performance is over. For the man had not moved from his "position" in its physical and intellectual significations.

In a kind of epilogue, Ricardo is given the stage all to himself. This piece of Ricardo's thought moves the props: the house, the alley's walls, the stone stairways, to centre stage along with him. He associates them with his own life. The crack in the wall is made into a character whose history began when he and Maria started their life together. His late father is part of this history. "Let us admit it" is a direct address to the audience who cannot hear him but can follow his strain of thought, and to readers, who follow his rise from a mere prop to the leading role by the power of performance. Ricardo enumerates his things as if introducing them one by one to the audience as actors at the end of a performance. These things and people are real "not photographs, not false cardboard, not paintings, not stage furniture, any of us. But actors, all of us, very fine actors indeed." As the dropping of the pants was the core of his show, the gesture of the closure is the solemn 'elevating' of those trousers, amid the pleasant sound of applause which releases "soft doves in the air" and breaks "like a brief wave upon the shore of the nearby sea (152). In a brilliant finale, Bradbury allows the dog "who watered the wall" to make an entry into the scene, where Ricardo "shook hands" with him in recognition and in appreciation.

Ray Bradbury's "Sun and Shadow" is a piece of short fiction which has held the attention of readers not simply because it "touche[s] on elements of identity themes" which those who highly rate it share, but also because it is built with care and written with wit and passion. The story expresses Bradbury's repulsion for a group of fashion photographers invading a poor neighbourhood that they intend to use as a background to their shots. The encounter with an alley man reveals the discourses involved in this shooting excursion to later subvert them. Ricardo's method of preventing the taking of the fashion pictures against the cracked plaster of his house and elsewhere, appalling as it may seem, is a metaphor of great potential for the exposure of the camera's discourses based on binaries of subject- object relationships.

The camera, as handled by the fashion photographers, involves a feminizing discourse which manifests itself in the pornographic or voyeuristic seeing. This is an old discourse that was conceived with the invention of the camera to express gender and imperialist relationships, as the post cards sent from Algeria to France that Alloula examined reveal. Another discourse is the reifying discourse, which treat people as things, and it does not discriminate between the real and the fake or the picturesque. It is a discourse which turns real people and real houses into "cardboard views and movie actors' furniture". The third discourse has to do with the distribution of roles within a show; it represents the relationship between director and extras and props. In the fashion photography situation even the models are not actors. They are props. The term performance and (preexistent) text, which create the prevalent binary in this play-like narrative, are very useful tools for the exploration of these discourses. Ricardo gets angry because the cameraman cannot realize that they are voyeuristic lookers, they reify the alley people and create a fake show. He decides to force them to see their indecency, inhumanity, and fakeness.

Ricardo comes up with his performance of mock stripping, which completely takes the attention away from the camera show and displaces it. By doing this Ricardo raises the issue of decency as central to the understanding of the relationship created between the photographer and the photographed in the alley. Ricardo's performance, defined by the photographers as 'indecent exposure' helps expose the indecency of what they do. This 'exposure' forces the photographer to look at Ricardo - though in outrage - to recognize him even as an opponent who must be personally identified. Lastly, the performance succeeds in redistributing roles or recasting. In contrast to the camera show, the performance gives the leading roles to what the camera holders view as props and make the props deservedly take the applause. This performance, however, does not start when Ricardo decides to spoil the cameramen's show, it starts with the opening sentence as Bradbury's own show, whose effect 'emerges' from every element of this brilliant piece of short fiction.

Notes

- 1- Other clues are the spirit of the age, the spirit of place, the spirit of form.
- 2- I came across "Sun and Shadow" as I was preparing a reading unit on the theme of the representation of the poor in short fiction, which included stories by Catherine Mansfield, Toni Cade Bambara, Alice Walker, Eugenia Collier, and others. It was Ray Bradbury's story which has held my attention as an outstanding piece of fiction.
- 3- "[N]otably in his book *The End of Literary Theory*", as he acknowledges.
- 4- The early editions use 'picturesque', and the later editions use 'quaint'.

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**The Mouse Trap:
Nigerian and Arabic Variations on Shakespeare's *Hamlet*^a**
Magda Mansour Mohamed Hasabelnaby

This paper deals with two theatrical rewritings of *Hamlet* by William Shakespeare: *The Chattering and the Song* (1977) by the Nigerian writer Femi Osofisan (b.1946) and *Al-Hamlet Summit* (2002) by the Kuwaiti writer Sulayman Al-Bassam (b.1973).^b Both plays were originally written in English, though they both belong to a post-colonial theatre meant to express national concerns, and to articulate the suffering of Nigerian and Arab peoples respectively. As such, these two variations on *Hamlet* prove that “‘something’s rotten in Denmark’ is currently a spatiotemporal travelling phrase” (Sami 25), and that Shakespeare will always remain “Our contemporary” as Jan Kott rightly calls him.^c

Both variations on *Hamlet* by Osofisan and Al-Bassam can therefore be described, using Gérard Genette’s terms, as “hypertexts” which refer back to the Shakespearean “hypotext” (ix). Genette uses the term “hypertext” for any appropriative or adaptive text, whereas he uses “hypotext” to refer to the source text of any appropriation or rewriting. In a metaphorical sense, the two “hypertexts” studied in this paper can be read as plays within the classical “hypotext” written by Shakespeare in 1601. Yet, the history of literary adaptation has taught us that adaptive texts never manage to remain ‘within’ the ‘source’ that have motivated them, but often go out of its box altering our initial response to that source. According to Genette, a “hypertext” often transforms, modifies and elaborates on the “hypotext” (5,6). The aim of this paper, therefore, is not merely to pinpoint similarities and differences between these two “hypertexts” and their correspondent “hypotext”, but rather to examine their interaction with and critique of their common “hypotext”.

Whether “hypertexts” declare their debt to an earlier text or not, Julie Sanders rightly asserts, “we need to view literary adaptation and appropriation from [a] positive vantage point, seeing it as creating new cultural and aesthetic possibilities that stand alongside the texts which have inspired them” (41). Al-Bassam’s play overtly admits its debt to *Hamlet*,

through the names of the characters and the similarity of the events. Osofisan's play, however, does not include any explicit reference to the Shakespearean text. Despite this concealment of hypertextuality, this paper views *The Chattering and the Song* as a post-modernist and a postcolonial rewriting of *Hamlet*. The play does not only bear a strong resemblance to the Shakespearean play, but also manages to deconstruct and transcend its Shakespearean hypotext, in an attempt to present a new version of revolution and political reform. As such, the play qualifies not only as an adaptation but also as an appropriation of the old text. "An adaptation", Julie Sanders points out, signals a relationship with an informing source text ... On the other hand, appropriation frequently affects a more decisive journey away from the informing source into a wholly new cultural product and domain" (26). Both adaptation and appropriation, Sanders points out, carry "an engagement with a single text or source" (4). Appropriation, however, "frequently adopts a posture of critique, even assault" on that source (4).

Critical theory has greatly undermined the concept of originality of "source". If any text were original, Linda Hutcheon points out, "it could have no meaning for its readers. It is only as part of prior discourses that any text derives meaning and significance" (7). According to Roland Barthes, any text becomes: "a multi-dimensional space in which a variety of writings, none of them original, blend and clash . . . a tissue of quotations drawn from innumerable centers of culture" ("The Death" 170). Consequently, William Shakespeare's *Hamlet* ceases to become an "original source" on which other texts build; the play rather shares with all other texts their inauthentic presence. For "Any text", Barthes points out, "is a new tissue of past citations. Bits of codes, formulate, rhythmic models, fragments of social languages, etc. pass into the text and are redistributed within it, for there is always-language before and around the text ("Theory" 39).

Within such post-modernist fluidity, Shakespeare occupies a very special position. He is a writer "whose oeuvre functions in a remarkable similar way to the communal, shared, transcultural, and transhistorical art forms of myth and fairy tale" (Sanders 45). Moreover, Shakespeare himself

was “an active adaptor and imitator, an appropriator of myth, fairy tale, and folklore, as well as of the works of specific writers as varied as Ovid, Plutarch, and Holinshed” (46).

In the postcolonial era, many writers have made great efforts in rewriting European classics in attempts to domesticate these classics and to use them for representing local problems and concerns. By doing so, they have actually dislocated these classics from their authenticity as European classics, and have produced what Helen Tiffin calls “a counter discourse for the canon” which helps to alter its structures of power (93). “Shakespeare”, Julie Sanders points out:

was undoubtedly deployed as a tool of empire, taught in schools across the world as a means of promoting the English language and the British imperial agenda. As a result, postcolonial texts that ‘talk back’ to the colonizing culture frequently deploy Shakespeare as a means of achieving this. (52)

Our basic questions are therefore: Do the two plays under consideration ‘talk back’ to a colonizing culture through their adaptation and/or appropriation of Shakespeare? Do they offer a counter discourse to *Hamlet*, or do they merely present contemporary renderings which parallel and reiterate the classical play and activate its canonical status?

The two authors Osofisan and Al-Bassam, may be using their *Hamlet* hypertexts as mouse traps for specific third world leaders who adopt corrupt politics. By doing this, they replicate the acting of “the murder of Gonzago”, which Hamlet in the Shakespearean play uses to disgrace his uncle Claudius as murderer of his father, and usurper of the throne. As such, each of these hypertexts would be seen as a play-within-a larger “play” performed on a political stage of dictatorship, oppression and corruption.

It is possible, however, that the two authors themselves have been caught in a literary mouse trap of their own making. The canonic “source” play itself may have functioned as a mouse trap for Osofisan and Al-Bassam from which they could not escape. The paper therefore raises another question: Have the two authors managed to move from mere adaptation to critical appropriation and from honorary replication of the Hamletian hypotext into new literary terrains? To answer all these questions, the paper

attempts an analysis and a comparison of the two plays and endeavors to reach conclusions about how each of them has attempted a re-writing of the canonical hypotext *Hamlet*.

Femi Osofisan is one of the most prominent and productive Nigerian writers nowadays. Critics see him as a successor of Wole Soyinka the Nobel laureate of 1986. Osofisan, however, thinks of himself and his generation as totally different from the first generation of Nigerian writers represented by Soyinka, Chinua Achebe, and Bekedremo. "Unlike the early writers" Okoampa-Ahoffer points out,

[P]ost-emancipation writers of the second and third generations are not after a universal acknowledgement of [their] literary talents, but are mainly interested in writing works that touch our peoples. When a writer addresses an international audience, he might feel obliged to change what he writes to suit the temperament of that audience. As for us, we write for the audience here, and publish our works here. (18)

In fact, it seems that Osofisan goes even further than this: Instead of changing what he writes to please the western spectator, he alters the western canon adapting it to suit the Nigerian audience. African drama critics have been aware of Osofisan's Africanization of several classics. In his "The Theater of Ovonramwen", Rasheed Abiodun Musa mentions five plays by Osofisan which are either based on, or inspired by classics, including *Tegonni*, an adaptation of *Antigone* by the classical Greek dramatist Sophocles, and *Farewell to a Cannibal Rage* inspired by Romeo and Juliet (2).

A certain hypertextuality can be traced in Osofisan's *The Chattering and the Song*, whereby *Hamlet* by William Shakespeare carries "codes" which mediate meaning to the reader.^d On the plot level, both *The Chattering and the Song* and *Hamlet* contain events which dramatize political unrest, plotting against leaders, treason, unsuccessful love affairs, in addition to a son who avenges his father's death. On the technical level, *The Chattering and the Song* is, like its hypotext, a metadrama, in which the fine lines between drama and life almost disappear, and in which illusion and reality merge.^e As in *Hamlet*, Osofisan temporarily suspends theatrical

disbelief, and reveals his theatrical tricks, producing them while the audience is watching. At one point in the play, the characters decide to dramatize their lives and to perform a-play-within-a-play which reflects the turmoil and the political unrest from which they suffer. At this point, the spectators turn into sharers in the production of a play.^f

As for the characters, each of the main characters in *Hamlet* has a counterpart in *The Chattering and the Song*. Hamlet's recklessness, imprudence and inability to take action are paralleled in Sontri, Osofisan's male protagonist. This parallelism is evident in the obscure relation between both protagonists and the female characters in the two plays. Sontri's violence, recurrent insults, and repugnant sexual beckons directed at his fiancé Yajin, recall Hamlet's repeated attacks on Ophelia and Gertrude. Sontri, the revolutionary, accuses Yajin of ignorance and foolishness and yells insults at her father who holds a position of authority equivalent to that of Polonius, Ophelia's father. Both Yajin's and Ophelia's fathers are embodiments of political corruption, betrayal and hypocrisy in their pursuit of promotion in power ranks. Sontri refers to Yajin's father saying: "Your dear father did so well, killing off the nation's bad children that, to reward him, they're going to put him on the Armed Robbery Tribunal!" (*The Chattering* 18).

Yajin's characteristics resemble Ophelia's; both provoke the reader with their subservience, silence, and surrender to oppression. Funlola, Yajin's friend, wonders how Yajin could carry on the preparation for her marriage to Sontri despite his humiliation of her and his disrespect of her family. Yajin, nevertheless, gives excuses for his conduct maintaining that he is "A mountain, with a volcano inside ... If only he will be still, his mountain holds great promise of fruitful fields... If I can tame that fire in his belly" (*The Chattering* 21).

Sontri never calms down; he remains till the end of the play an ineffective revolutionary who lacks the ability to take proper action. As in *Hamlet*, the borderline between sanity and madness disappears in Sontri's behavior. His motivations transcend the private and move from the domestic to the national. He is an activist in the banned peasants' movement and a speaker against corruption and oppression; he nonetheless practices the type of oppression Hamlet inflicts on Ophelia. In a typically Hamletian scene, Sontri objects to Funlola's release of birds that built perfect nests. These

continuously singing birds represent for him the peasants and the revolutionaries who ceaselessly demand their rights even when they are neglected by the government. Sontri's response to Funlola's release of birds immediately recalls Hamlet's accusations of Ophelia:

FUNLOLA. (infuriated) I am sorry. . . I didn't know the birds were not to be touched. I pulled down the nests . . . (Even before she finished, Sontri has leapt at her and gripped her with brutal force)

FUNLOLA. (frightened by his savagery) I . . . I thought they were causing too much commotion . . .

SONTRI. Commotion! (He is almost hoarse with anger): Who is this . . . this virgin? (The Chattering 17).

Sontri uses verbal and physical violence to force Funlola to repeat after him his beliefs about the government corruption and the importance of listening to the peasants' pleas for reform. In an absurd scene, Funlola repeats what Sontri says not out of being convinced of his revolutionary ideas but out of being afraid that he could break her arm if she did not:

SONTRI. A commotion is ...

FUNLOLA. A commotion is ...

SONTRI. A violent disturbance ...

FUNLOLA. A violent disturbance ...

SONTRI. Like a riot...

FUNLOLA. Like a riot...

SONTRI. Or a bad government...

FUNLOLA. Or a bad government...

SONTRI. But the chirruping of birds...

FUNLOLA. But the chir... chir...

SONTRI. Chirruping!

FUNLOLA. Chirruping...

SONTRI. Of birds...

FUNLOLA. Of birds, ouch!

SONTRI. Is called a song...

Funlola: Is called a song... (*The Chattering* 17-18)

Through this scene, Osofisan succeeds in presenting a Hamlet-like image of the impetuous revolutionary whose rebellion brings about his own detention and who directs his anger at the wrong target. Nevertheless, Osofisan goes beyond the Hamlet prototype and adds to the Shakespearean text another character, Leje. Leje is the alternative revolutionary who plays the role of Latoye in the play-within-the-play. He is a modified version of the revolutionary; he protests cleverly; hides sneakily and achieves skillfully what Sontri and the Shakespearean Hamlet cannot achieve. Latoye appears via a play-within-a-play reminiscent of Hamlet's "mouse trap".

The play-within-the-play in Osofisan's text, functions as a way out for presenting an alternative history and an attempt to change the mutilated reality. It also commends the heedful opposition represented by the effective Nigerian intellectual Latoye. The characters in the outer play exchange roles with those of the internal play; Sontri, the revolutionary, plays the role of the tyrannical dictator Abiodun who begins his reign with justice and gradually turns into a tyrant. The borderline between acting and reality melts down when Yajin, the director of the show, interferes to protect Sontri, her fiancé, who acts the role of the tyrant, from Latoye's attack. For her, as Sandra Richardson points out, there is no distinction between her revolutionary lover and the actor/tyrant; both are real as identities mix and oppose each other (5).

This mingling also occurs at the beginning of the play when the lovers Yajin and Sontri play "Iowri Otura", a Nigerian climate game in which each player chooses an element from nature such as a frog, a fish or a hawk to imitate. We find that Sontri always plays the role of the predator that attacks Yajin, the prey (*The Chattering* 1-3). Such symbols in the game shed light on the relationship between Yajin and Sontri on the one hand, and Yajin and her first lover Mokan, with whom she decides to break up forever, on the other. Moreover, those symbols point to the paradox implied in the fact that in politics, the revolutionary asking for his rights may appear as, or even turn into, a tyrant and the savior may look like or transform into a beast.

The two complex scenes, the game (the prologue) and the play-within-the-play can be read in the light of the tense political situation in Nigeria and many other "third world" countries where coup d'états,

desperately hoped for, bring about tyrants who shortly forget the causes behind occupying their positions. Here, role playing takes place in reality when the revolutionary standing in opposition takes on a new role, i.e. of the dictator allowing for no opposition.

The Chattering and the Song is the same as “The Murder of Gonzago” in being a mouse trap and a direct indication of a rejected political reality. Sandra L. Richardson notes that the performance of the play in 1976 coincided with the increasing public rejection of the military rule led by General Yakubu Gowon and the desire for a peaceful devoid-of-bloodshed transition into a better leadership provided by Murtala Muhammed (5). Yet, “The Murder of Gonzago” as presented by Hamlet before his uncle does not transcend the past and the present to any future action; Hamlet’s incapacity to take action aborts the play’s potential for change. On the other hand, *The Chattering and the Song*, in its capacity as a political drama, does offer alternative solutions for political stability and social reform. This is due to the difference between the character of the revolutionary in Shakespeare’s *Hamlet* and in Osofisan’s *The Chattering and the Song*.

In *Hamlet*, the revolution ends tragically and the revolutionary prince dies stabbed with a poisoned sword just as his father died before. Change comes from outside Elsinore as Fortinbras, the outsider, takes on the mission of reform. This is not the case in Osofisan where change springs from within; the blood cells of the country get renewed with new revolutionaries who belong to the people and are thus much more capable of taking the responsibility of the reform process. As such, more than one Hamlet appears in the Nigerian play whereas in Shakespeare only one Hamlet exists as the solitary hero expected “to set it right” (act 1 sc.5, 1). Accordingly, a “collective heroism” is achieved in Osofisan’s theatre as Muiyiwa P. Awodiya points out. Awodiya, professor and former chair of Theater Arts at the University of Benin, sees Osofisan as a model of an African trend in playwriting through which heroism becomes collective. Awodiya maintains:

The individual hero [of western drama] disappears altogether, and collective heroism takes the stage. [Osofisan] suggests in his

plays that social change can be achieved through unity and collaboration of everyone, especially the masses, who are the victims of social injustice. Therefore, the struggle for freedom, justice and progress in society is a collective one. (4)

This is typical of *The Chattering and the Song*, as Osofisan replaces Hamlet the individual hero, who is represented here as Sontri, by a group of revolutionaries, who in turn are inseparable from the massive revolting crowds. Osofisan, therefore, not only introduces the intellectual revolutionary through the play-within-the-play, but also materializes his existence and celebrates his revolt in the main play. Leje surprises Funlola, as he surprises the audience, with his real identity in the end/beginning. Feelings of astonishment and admiration commingle within Funlola: “You’re Osongongon, the Farmers’ leader!” (*The Chattering* 52). Leje answers her revealing that Osongongon is one of the nicknames he keeps to hide out. He tells her that it does not mean anything to be wanted by the police: “The Police are ignorant. What is a single man in revolution? Once a movement begins, in the search of justice, it will run its course, with or without those who serve to spark it off. History will not remember us” (*The Chattering* 53).

Thus the Nigerian Hamlet survives a tragic death, he derives his strength and revolution from the eternal strength of the people that goes back to the ancestors and lives on by their children and grandchildren. Leje, Osofisan’s counterpart for Hamlet, changes names and characters throughout the play. He is first a substitute for Sontri the irrational revolutionary; he is “Leje” all through the play; “Latoye” in the play-within-the-play; and “Osongongon” the leader of the peasants' movement in the end/beginning (end of the play/ beginning of change). So the hero becomes all these characters and more, which enables him to escape Moka the treacherous police officer, who is paralleled in Shakespeare’s Hamlet by Rosencrantz and Guildenstern. While Hamlet manages to get rid of Rosencrantz and Guildenstern, Moka arrests Sontri and puts him in jail, a scenario nearer to reality than the Shakespearean one. However, Osofisan clones Sontri to revive heroism again in the play. The scene of Sontri’s arrest is followed by another scene where Funlola, along with the audience, discovers another free Hamlet, who is Leje or Osongongon the peasants’

leader. Hamlet's version this time becomes that of a smarter leader who is more connected to the people; this connection with the people is what makes him stronger and more capable of action. Thus Osofisan seems to have reevaluated and rewritten the relationship between the revolutionary, the masses, and the authority in Shakespeare. He has constructed a new relationship in his play where people back the revolutionary giving him the upper hand over the authority and its security grip.

Osofisan transforms the Shakespearean text once again in relation to the gender of the hero. Unlike Shakespeare's Hamlet, heroism in *The Chattering and The Song* is not exclusive to men. While in *Hamlet* Ophelia dies as a victim of the suppression of the individual hero and those around him, in *The Chattering and the Song* Osofisan replaces the weak Yajin by a capable female activist who survives oppression and political turmoil. Funlola, Yajin's substitute, turns into an active Ophelia and a modified version of Hamlet himself; she even surpasses him in her ability to take action and in her talent of merging with the community.

The audience knows Funlola first as a visual artist and a victim to Sontri's violence, then as a defender of Sontri (here we notice the dominance of the collective sense over the individual one). Finally Funlola, the artist, unites with Leje the poet, and both dissolve into the crowds in the final scene. In the epilogue, everyone chants an enthusiastic song celebrating the hero, the heroine and the people. Collective heroism expands to include the audience who join the actors in singing.

Having analyzed Osofisan's *The Chattering and The Song*, and examined its subtle and unique rewriting of Hamlet, we now move to the second "hypotext" in this study, namely *Al-Hamlet Summit* (2002), by the Kuwaiti writer Sulayman Al-Bassam, which, in many ways, recalls the play-within-the-play in Hamlet. The king in Shakespeare's play accepts to attend "The Murder of Gonzago" whose incidents replicate what happened at the Elsinore court where a king kills his brother to steal his throne and marry his wife. Hamlet's intention behind the performance of this play was to trap Claudius and Gertrude into a revealing response as they get thunderstruck watching their own crime acted before their very eyes. Hamlet, thereby, could obtain a concrete proof of their guilt.

The incidents of Al-Bassam's play recall the deplorable political reality of many Middle-Eastern countries. This in turn exposes the play to the same fate as that of "The Murder of Gonzago" which gets immediately expropriated as the king rises, saying "Give me some light: away!" (3.2.269), a Shakespearian pun to which everyone responds: "Lights, lights, lights!" (270). In an attempt to avoid the same fate, despite the passage of more than four hundred years, Al-Bassam resorts to what he calls in his introduction to the Arabic edition "hasty modifications ... according to the nationality of the Arab ambassador who happens to be watching the performance, so as not to see in such trivial humorous statements an ethical insult to him and his country" (Al-Bassam, the Arabic introduction 18). Although any ambassador could switch on the lights as Claudius did, these "hasty modifications" delude every official or ambassador into thinking that the criticism in the play is directed at a "neighboring country", not his own. The understatement in Al-Bassam's description of his serious political critique as "trivial humorous sentences", may be one strategy in his struggle to protect his freedom of expression.

Al-Hamlet Summit, written in English and then translated into Arabic, captures the tragic state of Middle-East politics in the frame of Shakespeare's *Hamlet*. The main characters share the names of the familiar *Hamlet* characters and occupy parallel positions in a contemporary Middle-Eastern setting. Claudius in *Al-Hamlet Summit* might be any Arab king or president who betrays his homeland and the dreams of his people to maintain his position and to earn some "petrodollars". The conflict between Claudius and Hamlet, as in Shakespeare, is the conflict between the legitimate heir to the throne and the usurping king. However, Al-Bassam's Hamlet is an extremist and a terrorist who ultimately uses Islamicist religious discourse as a disguise for his fury. He responds to the People's Liberation Front which distributes leaflets suggesting that his father, the former king Hamlet was killed by his brother Claudius, the contemporary ruler. Ophelia in *Al-Hamlet Summit* is a veiled political activist who distributes the leaflets against King Claudius, whereas Hamlet pretends to be mad. His madness, as in both the Shakespearean hypotext and in Osofisan's work, is rational.

The ghost of King Hamlet in Shakespeare is incarnated in Al-Bassam's text as a phantom of a popular uprising which exposes the regime and urges people to bring back their rights. In an interview with Shirley Dent in 2003, eight years before the Arab Spring, Al-Bassam describes this popular resistance as "a shadowy network of propaganda and disinformation that drops leaflets over the city- in the same way American and British bombers are leafleting Basra today." (Online) For many Egyptians, these shadowy networks to which Al-Bassam refers would bring to mind movements such as Kefaya and the 6th of April which heralded the Egyptian revolution in 2011. Such movements, and people's strong response to them, would parallel, in the Egyptian political scene, the ghost of Hamlet's father who woke up and tried to mobilize Hamlet to take action.⁸

Al-Bassam thus relocates the characters into the boiling Middle Eastern politics, changing their attitudes and convictions without changing their names. Al-Bassam's Laertes, to take another example, adopts a kind of conspiracy theory, which maintains that whatever disorder or strife takes place in the Arab world is an Israeli plotting.

HAMLET. He is a murderer.

LEARTES. So are all leaders.

HAMLET. He killed my father.

LEARTES. Fortinbras wrote that line, it's enemy propaganda and you know it. (56)

Here, Leartes's speech carries an allusion that the crime of killing the brother and the usurpation of the throne, which is the main drive behind the action in Shakespeare's play, is merely a myth created by the enemy Fortinbras, who stands for Israel in the hypertext. Fortinbras/Israel is the prime winner in the feud between Hamlet/revolution and his uncle/the regime, a feud which Al-Bassam develops into a civil war between the opposition and the king.

In the Shakespearean hypotext, Fortinbras is the son of the King of Norway, whose father was killed by King Hamlet the father. Fortinbras returns to avenge his father's murder and retrieve his right to the throne, and thus he benefits from any internal strife in Denmark. In Al-Bassam's play, Fortinbras represents Israel whose continued existence depends on the

oppressive regimes in the region. Such regimes, which fight for power or/and money, and views all opposition as terrorism helps secure the supremacy of Israel.

Al-Bassam's Laertes, thus, questions the story of Claudius's crime and suspects the King's murdering of his brother; he adopts the conspiracy theory which sees Fortinbras/Israel as the source of all evil in the region. The text, however, clearly reveals that Claudius's crime goes beyond the murder of his brother to the murder of thousands of people. This is obvious in a soliloquy that echoes Claudius's soliloquy in Shakespeare's *Hamlet*. In this soliloquy, Al-Bassam's Claudius addresses his god, the only Lord he knows; the "god of money":

CLAUDIUS. (*Alone, opening a briefcase full of dollars*) Oh God: Petro dollars. Teach me the meaning of petro dollars. I have no other God than you, I am created in your image, I seek guidance from you the All-Seeing, the All-Knowing Master of Worlds, Prosperity and Order. This for the nation's new satellite TV station, this for God's satellite; this for the epic about my valiant life, this for God's film industry; this for surveillance networks across the capital. (70)

Al-Bassam intensifies the allusions, thereby turning the soliloquy to a clear condemnation of the United States as the prime creator and supporter of dictators whom it afterwards deposes:

I have learnt so much filth, I eat filth, I am an artist of filth I make mounds of human bodies, sacrifices to your glory, I adore the stench of rotting peasants gassed with your technology, I am a descendant of the Prophet, Peace be Upon Him, and you, you are God. Your angelic ministers want to eliminate me, throw me like Lucifer from the lap of your mercy, but who brought me here oh God let us not forget, who put me here? In front of your beneficence, I am a naked mortal, full of awe: my ugliness is not unbearable, *surely* it is not? My nose is still as hooked, my eyes as diabolical as when you offered me your Washington virgins and CIA opium. (71)

Whereas Claudius's apolitical soliloquy to his God in Shakespeare reveals Claudius as a weak human being who confesses the hideousness of his guilt and asks for forgiveness in a moment of honesty with his creator, the corresponding soliloquy in Al-Bassam lacks any metaphysical or spiritual dimension. It even descends from the level of the human to that of animals, as the language in the above extract shows. This soliloquy in particular refutes the readings of the play as a "private imperial dance" (Al-Bassam introduction 19) The condemnation of the United States is quite blunt, and the political references are far more accentuated than Al-Bassam's description of them indicates; he describes the political events his play indicates as forming "a hazy almost invisible mist behind the stage" (20) This is not true; politics in this text is not "an invisible mist" but rather a burning sun whose heat shocks, blazes and pushes people into action against their ineffective leaders, against Israel, the United States, and their allies in the Arab governments. The grotesque image quoted above of the Arab Claudius who idolizes the United States is a case in point.

Ironically, however, the end of Al-Hamlet Summit with Fortinbras/Israel's triumph and control has stirred up the rage of one Arab critic to the extent that he accused the author of receiving "a secret subvention from an Israeli foundation masked by a sponsoring Japanese organization, for directing an anti-Arab wave under the title of a classic work" (Al-Bassam introduction 19) Fortinbras in Shakespeare is the rightful successor to the throne of Elsinore; his relocation as Israel, thus, may lead to the resentment of the Arab reader who sees Israel as the usurper of the land of Palestine. Such critical uproar, however, overlooks the fact that the process of appropriating a text does not entail a replication of its plot lines and characterization. The reader's resentment may even be a response the author wishes to stimulate. Al-Bassam may have wished to end his play with the victory of Israel in an attempt to shock his people into an awareness of the consequences of internal conflicts and inefficient leadership.

Yet, Al-Bassam does not go beyond shocking his audience into an awareness of the menace. Unlike *The Chattering and the Song* which offers hope; and instigates audience action through Leje, Funlola and collective heroism; Al-Hamlet Summit reveals a bleak Arab future in which the

inefficient leader who works alone fails to combat corruption and to “set it right.”

It would be helpful here to borrow from the field of education and teaching methodology a taxonomy that could illuminate what both Osofisan and Al-Bassam have done to the Shakespearean hypotext. Bloom's taxonomy of cognitive domain can offer an analogy of how each of the writers studied in this research dealt with the hypotext before him.^h Applying this taxonomy to the adaptation process of the two plays by Al-Bassam and Osofisan, reveals that Al-Bassam has not exceeded the application level of Bloom's cognitive hierarchy. This level is often expressed using any of the following verbs: “apply- construct- choose- modify- employ- practice- plan- solve- link- imitate- sketch”. *Al-Hamlet Summit* is an imitation of the Shakespearean play and a new Arabic sketching of an old English text. On the other hand, *The Chattering and the Song* has gone beyond the cognitive domain of “application” to the highest levels of “evaluation” and “synthesis”. The evaluation level includes making judgments, suggesting options, and offering alternatives, while synthesis is concerned with utilizing old ideas in generating new ones. This is exactly what Osofisan has done in *The Chattering and the Song*; he managed to propose an alternative for the solitary tragic hero of the Shakespearean text, suggesting other forms of resistance based on evaluating rather than adopting western heritage.

It seems that Al-Bassam has not only applied western classical heritage to the historical moment of the Arabs, but has also heavily relied on a western perspective regarding “the Arab character”. By choosing Hamlet in particular to become his Arab tragic hero, Al-Bassam seems to conform to certain definitions of the “other” and the “self” in western consciousness. “The Oriental is irrational, depraved (fallen), childlike, ‘different’; thus the European is rational, virtuous, mature, ‘normal’” (Said 40). The character of Hamlet, as drawn by Shakespeare and employed by Al-Bassam in his play, matches to a great extent the prevailing stereotype of the Arab and the Moslem in Western orientalist consciousness. John Esposito, the director of the Center for Muslim-Christian Understanding at Georgetown University, claims that “For many in the West it is axiomatic that Arabs are nomads or

oil Shaykhs, denizens of the deserts and harems, an emotional, combative, and irrational people” (5).

Al-Bassam’s play has not aspired to change, let alone to challenge, the predominant stereotypes or to propose an alternative vision. It has rather chosen a character from the established formal literary legacy whose characteristics correspond to “the Arab character” as made up in orientalist western consciousness; i.e. Hamlet, the impetuous powerless prince. As such, the play itself turns to be a trap for Arabs and Muslims; a new trap Arabs have created for themselves whose clamp shuts on the stage of an international theatre.

Al-Bassam does not offer a way out of stereotyping; there is neither a revolutionary substitute nor a collective heroism as in Osofisan’s hypertext. In Al-Hamlet Summit, there is no hope for a fruitful Arab spring and no future for an Arab-made political reform. With the exception of reckless Islamic movements exploding as a result of the absence of democracy in the Arab societies, Al-Bassam believes no political forces are capable of incurring change. Even Horatio does not appear in Al-Bassam’s Hamlet. No one remains on stage in the final scene except for Fortinbras/Israel, who dominates the stage/land after all Arabs become dead:

FORTINBRAS. Faeces [sic], intestines and sweat. Only dead humans can smell like that. I have biblical claims upon this land, it is empty and barren and my presence here is a fact that has not been invented. It won’t be easy, terrorism is not yet defeated, but the pipeline will be completed within a year, and hunger will be eradicated, the homeless will find refuge, the old will die and the young will forget . . . For this is the dawn and the birth of the Greater

Is

White noise fills the conference room censoring Fortinbras’s voice. Fortinbras repeats the attempt and, each time, his voice is overwhelmed by white noise.

Izzzz. . . Izzzzzzzz. . .aaaaa

Sudden Silence. (85)

While the Arabic play *Al-Hamlet Summit* ends with the defeat of the Arabs and the dominance of Israel or Izrael, as the last unfinished utterance indicates, the African play *The Chattering and the Song* ends with the people's strong will prevailing in their fight for truth and their resistance of oppression and occupation. Such a strong will is directed and guarded by a collective heroism that represents the different categories of people; includes males and females; and secures an outstanding leading position for the artist and the intellectual.

In conclusion, this paper has dealt with two herptexts which are holding a dialogue with a Shakespearean hypotext: *Hamlet*. Through an analysis of these two hypertexts, we have reached a conclusion that the first play, Femi Osofisan's *The Chattering and the Song* (1977), engages in a real dialogue with *Hamlet*. Osofisan has evaluated and reconstructed the Shakespearean text and has offered its spectators an appropriation of a hypotext. Osofisan's appropriation does affect "a decisive journey away from the informing source into a wholly new cultural product and domain" (Sanders 26). The second hypertext i.e. Al-Bassam's *Al-Hamlet Summit* (2006) has only adapted the classical text applying it to the status quo in the Arab world and relocating it into a different chronotope. This has resulted in an interesting adaptation which, nevertheless, obeys the "original" text without subverting or evaluating its general canon.

Endnotes

1. An earlier version of this paper was published in Arabic in Alif: Magda Mansour Hasabelnaby, "Masiadat al-fi'ran: Tanwi'at afriqiya wa sharq awsatiyya 'ala lahn Hamlet," Alif: Journal of Comparative Poetics 28 (2008). 160-72. Translated with permission.
2. Before its publication in 2006, *Al-Hamlet Summit* was performed in English in August 2002 as part of the Edinburgh International Fringe Festival, where it was awarded the Fringe First Award for excellence and innovation in writing and directing. It was subsequently presented in September 2002 at the 14th Cairo International Festival of Experimental Theater, where it won Best Production and Best Director Awards. (Holderness 12)
3. In his book, *Shakespeare: Our Contemporary* (1964), Kott reads Shakespeare in the light of 20th century ideologies and historical contexts. The book has

strongly influenced theatrical and cinematic productions: Peter Brook and Charles Marowitz are among the many directors who have acknowledged their debt to Jan Kott (Sami 24).

- 1 To the knowledge of the writer of the present research, Hamlet has not so far been noted as a "hypotext" of this particular play. More recent productions by Osofisan, however, include a play called *Wezo Hamlet or the Resurrection of Hamlet* that was staged in 2003, and was published in November 2013.
5. Metadrama can be defined as "drama about drama [which] occurs whenever the subject of a play turns out to be, in some sense, drama itself" (Hornby 31).
6. For the difference between Western and African theatricality, see Brian Cow's "African Metatheater: Criticizing Society, Celebrating the Stage". Cow claims that the main function of metadrama in African theater is "to anatomize oppression and injustice and to celebrate the capacity of theatre and the theatrical to function as modes of survival [and] resistance"(134).
7. Extending the metaphor within the Egyptian political turmoil ElBaradei with his "To be or not to be" edicts, are Hamlet-like in his own way. "ElBaradei," The Associated Press writes: returned to Egypt in the year before Mubarak's fall, speaking out against his rule, and was influential with many of the youth groups that launched the anti-Mubarak revolution. But since Mubarak's fall, he has been criticized by some as too Westernized, elite and Hamlet-ish, reluctant to fully assert himself as an opposition leader. (Batrawy Online)
8. Bloom classifies the intellectual skills into six major levels starting from the lowest levels of recall and comprehension to the higher ones of application, analysis, evaluation and finally synthesis or creation. This classification demonstrates the way humans learn and helps teachers develop their students' thinking skills. While remembering, i.e. the ability to retrieve information, is considered the lowest level in the cognitive domain, the levels of evaluation and synthesis are at the top of that hierarchy. Evaluation can be defined as passing judgments and defending an estimate based on definite criteria. As for synthesis, it refers to putting parts and elements together to form a "whole" or a new product.

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Form and Function of Ditransitive Structure in English and Cairene Arabic: A Contrastive Perspective

Zakaria K.A. Al-ssiefy

Abstract

This research aims primarily at investigating the question of why languages provide alternative means of conveying similar meanings. Within a contrastive framework, the ditransitive structure in English and Cairene Arabic, (CA) henceforward, will be investigated as an example of a clause which allows for another syntactic alternative that expresses a similar meaning. The study seeks to analyse the morpho-syntactic and semantico-pragmatic features of the ditransitive structure in the two varieties under investigation. The researcher has adopted an eclectic approach combining the Systemic Functional Approach and the Functional Sentence Perspective as research tools in describing and analysing the ditransitive structure in both varieties in an attempt to account for the form and function of the ditransitive structure in English and CA.

Key Terms

Ditransitive structure, Dative alternation, Double-object construction, Prepositional paraphrase, Cairene Arabic, Systemic Functional Grammar, Functional Sentence Perspective.

1. Introduction

Although the notion of transitivity has received a considerable interest in both English and Arabic linguistic literature, the ditransitive structure has received minimal attention, especially as the prototypical ditransitive verb is a matter of controversy. Therefore, the present study aims at investigating the morpho-syntactic and semantico-pragmatic features of the canonical ditransitive structure in English and Cairene Arabic, (CA) henceforward.

English and CA possess the linguistic option of exhibiting two syntactic realizations for the ditransitive structure as in clauses (1) and (2) below:

- (1) a- She gave Charlie a biscuit.

b- She gave a biscuit to Charlie.

- (2) a- mā:mā -ddat di:na tuffaHte:n
 mother-nom gave Vdit. Dina-dat. two apples. acc.
 (Mum gave Dina two apples.)
 b- mā:mā -ddat tuffaHte:n li-di:na
 mother-nom. gave Vdit. two apples -acc. to-Dina-dat.
 (Mum gave two apples to Dina .)

In the above English and CA clauses, the (b) clauses are the dative alternation or variants of (a) clauses. Though the ditransitive structure and its dative alternation convey similar propositional content, this research seeks to provide evidence that both clauses serve different pragmatic functions. In addition, an attempt is made to explore the potential relationship between coding and information structure.

1.1. Objectives

Within a contrastive framework, the present research aims at investigating the form and function of the ditransitive structure in English and CA. The research seeks to furnish answers to the following questions:

- a- Do the ditransitive structures exhibit similar morpho-syntactic features in English and CA?
- b- Do they allow a prepositional paraphrase (dative-alternation)?
- c- Can they accept passivization? Are there any constraints on their passivization?
- d- Are the ditransitive verbs in the two varieties governed by similar morpho-syntactic constraints?
- e- Is the object of ditransitive verbs realized by the same linguistic units?
- f- Do the verbs in the two varieties possess the same semantics?
- g- What are the theta-roles of the objects of the ditransitive verb?
- h- Do the variants of the ditransitive structure fulfil similar pragmatic functions?

Furnishing answers to the above questions is intended to set the stage for accounting for the major question of why languages provide alternative linguistic variants to express similar meanings.

1.2. Corpus

This research has drawn upon a wide range of authentic and semi-authentic data to account for the question of how the form and meaning of the linguistic utterance are inextricably bound up, as far as the use of language is concerned. The data required for this study has been drawn from a number of sources. First, the data used in the analysis and description of English ditransitive structures has been elicited from the following sources:

- a- Spontaneous data has drawn heavily upon the files of the Survey of English Usage (SEU), University College London. The SEU's goal is "to describe the grammatical repertoire of adult educated native speakers of British English" (Svartvik and Quirk, 1980, p.9).
- b- Near-spontaneous data has relied mainly on the most common type of modern unscripted English natural conversation features on BBC talk-show programmes and other discussions on various domains of knowledge.

Secondly, CA data used in this study has been elicited from the following sources:

- a- Spontaneous data has drawn heavily upon the files of ArabiCorpus which includes natural real-life recordings of Colloquial Egyptian speech. The ArabiCorpus is a free 30-million-word corpus which is maintained and developed by Dilworth Parkinson, professor of Arabic at Brigham Young University. The variety of spoken Egyptian Arabic used in this study represents the more dominant regional form of educated colloquial Egyptian Arabic. It is spoken in Cairo and its immediate adjoining suburbs for purposes of everyday communication. This Cairene Variety is not, however, restricted to the speech of a certain social group, but it is used by other speakers living outside the borders of Cairo. In addition, this variety is the most widely intelligible form of regional Arabic. This level of colloquial Arabic is identified by Badawi (1973) as that level in which the reduction of the features of the traditional classical variety reaches an extent which makes it difficult to remain within the realm of Classical Arabic (p.149). According to Gamal-Eldin (1967), though "S+V+O is the favourite order in colloquial speech, there are,

however, instances where the order becomes V+S+O. These are few in number and are mostly classicisms” (p.58).

- b- Near-spontaneous data has been derived from talk-show programmes conducted in CA. Other supplementary material has been drawn from a number of literary texts written in CA, since the language of such texts is intended to simulate real-life natural conversation. Besides, it should be noted that the researcher is a native speaker of CA, which provides him with the privilege of using his own introspection in the process of collecting and judging the CA data.

1.3. Research Methodology

The present study adopts an eclectic approach which combines the Systemic Functional Approach (SFA), which is a form of grammatical description developed by M.A.K. Halliday, and Functional Sentence Perspective (FSP), which is associated with the Prague school of linguistics. Both approaches are employed in the present study as tools for describing and analysing the ditransitive structure in English and CA in order to underpin the notion that language is used first and foremost as a means of social interaction. This will help in accounting for the question of how language allows its speakers to convey meanings through the use of different linguistic variants.

1.4. Limitations of the Study

The present research is concerned first and foremost with the ditransitive structure whose predicator (verb) belongs to the category of ditransitive verbs, and which is followed by two noun phrase arguments known in the linguistic literature as direct and indirect objects. Such sentences follow the following patterns:

- S Vdit. IO DO (Ditransitive / Double-object Clause)
- S Vdit. DO to/for IO (Dative-alternation/ Prepositional Paraphrase)

Such sentences must be distinguished from those which include transitive verbs allowing for a direct object followed by an objective complement such as, “The boss appointed her a secretary” which follows the pattern

(S VtDO OC).

It is worth noting, nonetheless, that a sentence like:

- We found Mrs. Walker a good nurse

involves some ambiguity in that it can be classified as either a ditransitive clause or a “complex-transitive construction ” (Huddleston, 1984, p.194).

2. Review of Literature

As early as 1968, S.P. Corder published his paper “Double-object verbs in English” in which he described double-object verbs as ‘those verbs which take two objects; a direct and an indirect object’ (p.1). Corder was concerned primarily with establishing “a set of rigorous grammatical criteria whereby ‘directness’ and ‘indirectness’ could be determined”(Ibid,p.1). He also discussed categories of double-object verbs by identifying lexical features for each category (Ibid,p.2).

Quirk et al.’s (1972) definition of ditransitive complementation involves two objects that are not in a “coreferential, intensive relation” (p.843). This definition sets a line of demarcation between the clause patterns (SVOO) and (SVOC). Their definition of ditransitive verbs seems to centre on the fact that a ditransitive verb is defined on the basis of its occurrence in the clause pattern where both direct and indirect objects are required (Quirk et al., 1985, p.54). Such a clear-cut definition plays an important role in the distinction between verbs which require two distinct objects and other three-argument verbs in which two co-referential complements are used.

Moreover, Quirk et al.’s (1985, p.1171) broad definition of the notion of “object” allows for a wide selection of formal realizations which include the following types of ditransitive complementation:

Oi + wh-clause: He asked me what time it was.

Oi + wh-infinitive clause: Mary showed us what to do.

Oi + to-infinitive: I advised Mark to see a doctor.

Gropen et al. (1991) have investigated the speaker’s predictability of the syntax of the verb through its meaning. They argue that: “There is a strong correlation in English between a verb’s semantic properties and its syntactic properties, and it seems obvious that speakers can sometimes exploit this pattern to predict form from meaning” (p.154). They conclude with a

suggestion that learning of linguistic and nonlinguistic contextual information by young children plays a significant role in their acquisition of argument structure (p.193).

Krifka (1999, p.1) discusses the well-known restrictions for the dative-alternation. He endeavours to illustrate that a number of the “low-level” semantic restrictions result from a more general one which incorporates a manner component into the meaning of the verb. He argues that these restrictions can be accounted for by postulating two distinct representations of the verbs used in the dative alternation. He concludes that the restrictions for the dative alternation ‘follow smoothly from the semantic representation of the DO and PO constructions than previously thought’ (p.13).

Mukherjee (2005) undertakes a study of a number of English ditransitive verbs (give, tell, show, ask, send and offer) and another group of verbs which he calls “peripheral” ditransitive verbs such as (deliver and drop). His major objective has been to reconcile between the corpus-based study of performance data and all other sorts of intuition-based consideration about competence and cognition. Mukherjee adopts a “pluralist” theory of ditransitivity which attempts to combine various frameworks without bias towards a specific model.

Levin and Rappaport (2005) make a distinction between what they call ‘core dative verbs’ such as (give, show) and “noncore dative verbs”, for example (send, throw, kick). They argue that core dative verbs are typically associated solely with an event involving caused possession, where (X causes Y to have Z), i.e. “Y” is a Recipient. On the other hand, they observe that noncore dative verbs are associated with both “caused motion’ in which (X causes Y to be at Z), i.e. “Z” is a spatial Goal, and caused possession. (p.31)

Haspelmath (2008) examines the treatment of ditransitive constructions in Role and Reference Grammar and compares it to a former view she has developed in earlier work (2005, 2007), in addition to other formal grammatical frameworks.

Rappaport and Levin (2008) challenge the dominant concept of the English dative alternation which holds that all alternating verbs involve two meanings; a caused possession meaning represented in the double object

variant, and a caused motion meaning realized by the to-variant. Alternatively, they argue that verbs such as (give, sell) possess both caused motion and caused possession meanings. They also show how the caused possession meaning can be realized by both variants. (p.1)

Malchukov et al. (2010) discuss the physical and mental transfer in the ditransitive construction. They maintain that the definition of the most typical ditransitive construction should include: first verbs denoting “physical transfer” like (give, lend, hand, sell, return), which describe an event in which an agent causes an object “to pass into the possession of an animate receiver (= recipient)” ; and second, verbs indicating “mental transfer” such as (show, tell), since such verbs behave in a similar way. Their definition also includes other verbs involving “central transfer” such as (offer and promise). (Ibid.,p.2).

The notion of ditransitivity has received considerable attention in the linguistic literature in many languages and dialects. For instance, research done on the ditransitive construction (double-object construction) includes the following: “Double-Object Verbs in English” by S. P. Corder (1968), “Three types of ditransitive verbs in Japanese” by Hideki Kishimoto (2007), “The syntax of double-object constructions in Bangla/ Bengali” by Bhatta Charya Tanmoy and Simpson Andrew (2007), “The ditransitive construction of Dutch” by Timothy Collman (2007),” Ditransitive constructions in Mandarin Chinese” by Feng-hsi Liu (2007) and “prototypical ditransitivity” by Ashild Naess (2007).

In Studies in Ditransitive Constructions: A Comparative Handbook, Malchukov et al. (2010) explore the cross-linguistic variation in the ditransitive constructions and the syntactic patterns of “give-like” verbs taking Agent, Theme and Recipient arguments.

In Arabic, the situation is different in that almost all references on Arabic grammar have touched slightly upon the notion of “transitivity and intransitivity” /ʔattaʕaddi wa-lluzuum/ with some details on ditransitive verbs and their usage. Some of these words include: /ʔalkita:b/ (The Book) by Sibawayh (1975), /ʔal-ʔa

lfiyyatu/ in grammar by Ibn-Malik (no date), /ʔal-naHwu-l-wa:fi/ (The Comprehensive Grammar) by Abbas Hassan (1973), /qɑDɑ:ya -al-taʕaddi

wa-lluzuum fi-ddarsi-nnaHawi/ (Transitivity and Intransitivity Issues in the Grammar Class/Lesson) by Al-Shamsan (1987).

Much ink has been spent on the grammar of Classical Arabic and Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) as two varieties or levels of the Arabic language (Badawi, 1973). Although the notion of transitivity has received considerable attention in these levels of Arabic, transitivity in general and ditransitivity, in particular, have not received adequate attention in the colloquial level as represented by Cairene Arabic.

Most research done on Colloquial Egyptian Arabic and Cairene Arabic (CA) has dealt with all aspects of this colloquial level of Arabic, and this started as early as 1926 when Gairdner published his book Egyptian Colloquial Arabic: A Conversation Grammar. This work was followed by a series of studies dealing with the structural features of CECA. These books include: Birkland (1952); Mitchell (1956, 1962); Gamal-Eldin (1967); Aboul-Fetouh (1969); Badawi (1973); Abdel-Massih et al. (1979); Hafez and Wright (1980); Salib (1981); Gary and Gamal-Eldin (1982); and McGuirk (1986).

It is worth mentioning that most of the above-mentioned works have slightly touched upon the ditransitive structure in CA. Thereupon, the present research is intended to provide a detailed analysis of the ditransitive structure in CA.

3. Theoretical Framework

Following the Systemic Functional Approach and the Functional Sentence Perspective, the present research seeks to explain how speakers of English and CA's choice between the variants of the ditransitive structure is determined by the communicative message they intend to convey. According to the systemic-functional tradition, language is viewed, first and foremost, as a system of communication where grammar is analysed for the purpose of finding out how the speakers organize the components of the utterances in order to exchange meanings. Halliday (1985) argues that "every text- that is, everything that is said or written- unfolds in some context of use" (p. xiii). In this connection, Jack Richards in a preface to Lock's (1996) maintains that the emphasis of a functional grammar is on "how the purpose for which language is used and the contexts in which it

appears affect the choices speakers and writers make” (p, xi). Besides, it is worth noting that the functional approach to grammar differs from the other views to grammar, as it views the language system as a resource used for communicative purposes and not as an arbitrary set of rules.

The Functional Sentence Perspective is a theory which is concerned with describing the structure of information (informational packaging) in the clause, in particular, and communication through language, in general (Firbas, 1959; Vachek, 1964 & 1966; Foley and Van Valin, 1985; Lock, 1996 and Richards et al., 2007). According to Foley and Van Valin (1985), “languages possess several types of syntactic devices to express variations in the packaging of information” (P. 299). Since the variants of the ditransitive structure in English and CA provide different possibilities for packaging and organizing information, this research draws upon a wide range of authentic material elicited from real-life situations in order to account for how form and function are inextricably related, as far as language use is concerned. The emphasis, therefore, will be on the appropriateness of a certain utterance for a particular communicative purpose to serve a particular situation.

4. Analysis of English Ditransitive Structures

4.1. The English Ditransitive Structure

The English ditransitive structure is typically defined as a clause combining a ditransitive verb with two objects: indirect object and direct object. The presence of these objects in the post-verbal position has led many grammarians to assign the term “double-object construction” to the ditransitive clause (Croft et al. 2001), and the term double-object verbs” to the ditransitive verbs which can accommodate two noun phrase objects (Corder, 1968 and Krifka, 1999).

Givón (2001), as cited in Naess, (2007, p.1), refers to ditransitive verbs as “bi-transitive” verbs which “code events in which a deliberate agent (the subject) causes the movement of the patient (direct object) to or from some location (indirect object).”

Rappaport & Levin (2008, p.130) refer to the to-variant of the double-object construction as “dative-alternation” as in their two realizations:

- a- Martha gave an apple to Myrna.
- b- Martha gave Myrna an apple.

In the “to-variant”,(a) above, it is understood that NP₁ “Martha” causes NP₂ “apple” to go to NP₃ “Myrna”, whereas in the double-object variant the NP₁ causes NP₂ “apple” to have NP₃.

The saliency of the ditransitive structure derives from its relative markedness, as it is a clause which allows the encoding of three syntactic arguments. According to Naess (2007, p. 40), “A prototypical ditransitive, is in fact a highly marked construction type, as it requires the hearer to simultaneously keep track of three distinct prominent participants.” Additionally, in the canonical English ditransitive clause a highly restricted number of verbs can be used. This property may add to the markedness of this structure.

4.2. Word order

A typical ditransitive structure in English follows two major distinct word-order patterns or rather two syntactic realizations as in (a) and (b) below:

- a- Natalie gave Suzan a biscuit.
- b- Natalie gave a biscuit to Suzan.

As illustrated in clauses (a) and (b), the verb “give” is a special verb in that it can accommodate two distinct arguments: “Suzan” and “biscuit”, and the entire clause has three syntactic arguments. These three arguments are distinguished in terms of word-order. In clause (a) the subject comes pre-verbally, the IO argument comes post-verbally, and the DO follows the IO. In clause (b) the post-verbal arguments exchange places where the DO occupies the post-verbal slot followed by the IO preceded by a preposition.

4.3. English Ditransitive Verbs

In classic reference grammars, there is no explicit mention of the term “ditransitive”, but Jespersen (1927) gave the following description to what was known in subsequent grammars as “ditransitive verb”: “Some verbs frequently or even regularly have two objects; we shall first mention the

type: he gave the boy a shilling. Here it is customary to speak of the boy as the indirect, and a shilling as the direct object.” (p.278)

Naess (2007, p. 39) argues that “The question of what exactly characterizes a prototypical ditransitive verb is a matter of some disagreement in the prototypical literature.” The ditransitive verb has been defined by most linguists as a verb which can accommodate two arguments in addition to the subject (Quirk et al. 1985; Givón, 2001; Haspelmath, 2005). Mukherjee (2005, p.65) provides the following working definition of ditransitive verbs: “A ditransitive verb is a trivalent verb that requires a subject, a direct object and an indirect object for a complete syntactic complementation.”

The ditransitive verb, or the double-object verb is, therefore, expected to participate in forming a ditransitive or double-object structure. English ditransitive verbs are members of a rather limited category of verbs of which “GIVE” is “probably the most frequent ditransitive verb in all languages” (Haspelmath, 2005, p.426). Typical English ditransitive verbs include “give, tell and send” Naess (2007, p.1) argues that “GIVE” is crosslinguistically the most prototypical ditransitive,” and that “ if any verb in a language is ditransitive, GIVE is.” The importance of the verb “GIVE” in language arises from the fact that “the act of giving can be considered as the basic type of act of considerable functional importance” (Newman, 1998, p.11).

It should be noted that some verbs, which are typically ditransitive, can also function mono-transitively. Such verbs include: “tell, pass, show and buy” as in:

- 1) a- She didn’t tell the whole truth.
b- She didn’t tell (the police) the whole truth.
- 2) a- Would you pass the salt, please?
b- Would you pass (me) the salt, please?

In the above (b) sentences the IOs can be removed without affecting the semantic relations between the verbs and their DOs. A number of monotransitive verbs can, nonetheless, accept an additional argument such as “read, cook and bake” as in the following clauses:

- The nurse read (him) the reports.
- Nancy baked (her) mother a fruitcake.

- Nelly passed (him) the pepper.

Such verbs can function both monoton transitively and ditransitively.

Ditransitive structures containing prepositional verbs such as “provide (with), remind (of), address (to)” behave differently from other verbs, as they accept only one passive transform. Quirk et al. (1985, p. 1209) observe that “ditransitive verbs with prepositional objects normally have only one passive”, and they have cited the following clauses as examples:

- a- We addressed our remarks to the children.
Our remarks were addressed to the children.
* The children we addressed our remarks (to).
- b- We reminded him of the agreement.
He was reminded of our agreement.
* The agreement was reminded him (of).

The question of how far the morphemic structure of the verb can affect its ability to participate in a ditransitive clause is worthy of investigation. According to Lock (1996, p.78):

The verbs which allow the recipient or beneficiary as indirect object are usually one-syllable words, of Germanic origin (e.g., give, make, pass, get, write), while those that do not are usually longer words, of French or Latin origin (e.g., donate, manufacture, circulate, obtain, compose...

However, exceptions like “advance”, which is a two-syllable verb of Romance origin, is quite acceptable in the clause “The bank advanced us some money”
(Ibid., p.78).

Green (1974) and Zwicky and Pullum (1986) have explored the possibility that the number of syllables and stress patterns might play a role in the ability of the verb to participate in the double object construction, but they have rejected this hypothesis. Green’s rejection rests on the grounds

that the verbs “carry, cable, promise” and several other verbs allow both variants of the ditransitive structure

(p.78). Zwicky and Pullum observe that the verbs (offer, advance, deliver, guarantee, telephone and radio) come under the same category of ditransitive verbs while other monosyllabic verbs such as (lift, raise, lisp, yell, prove and voice) fail to ditransitivise or alternate (p. 93).

It may be construed that verbs which can participate in forming both variants of the ditransitive structure encompass both monosyllabic as well as bisyllabic verbs, though the majority of such verbs belong to the monotransitive category. Table 1 provides a list of verbs which can participate in the ditransitive structure:

Mono-Syllabic Ditransitive Verbs		Bi-Syllabic Ditransitive Verbs	Tri-Syllabic Ditransitive Verbs
ask	hunt	accord	allocate
bake	keep	advance	deliver
book	leave	allow	overpay
bring	lend	appoint	
build	make	assign	
buy	mix	assure	
call	name	award	
cash	owe	deny	
catch	pass	design	
cause	pay	forgive	
charge	play	offer	
cook	post	order	
cast	read	permit	
cut	save	prepare	
deal	sell	prescribe	
do	send	promise	
draw	serve	purchase	
drop	set	reserve	
earn	show		
feed	sing		
fetch	spare		
find	take		

fine	teach		
fix	tell		
get	throw		
give	wish		
grant	write		
hand			

Table 1: Verbs Participating in the Ditransitive Structure

Jespersen (1964, p. 114) classified the verbs which can accept a DO and an IO into the following categories: first, the verb “give and synonyms and the opposite” such as (leave, pay, buy, refuse, and grudge); second, verbs of motion implying giving and the like, such as (pass and bring); third, the verbs (wish, intend, cause, mean, do); and fourth, verbs of communication, such as (tell and read).

The semantics of the verb plays an important role in determining whether the IO will be assigned the roles of Recipient or Beneficiary and this will in turn determine the choice of the preposition preceding the IO (to / for / of). Downing and Locke (1992) argue that recipient indirect objects occur with “verbs of transferring goods, services or information from one person to another.” These verbs include “give, grant, hand, leave, offer, owe, pass, promise, read, send, show, teach, throw, write” (p.87). On the other hand, beneficiary IOs are associated with “verbs which carry out an action on someone’s behalf” (Ibid.,p.87). These verbs include “book, find, save, bring, get, spare, build, keep, write, buy, leave, cash, make, cut pour, fetch, reserve” (Ibid.,p.87), as in the following clauses:

- a- I’ll fetch it for them.
- b- You can read it for me.

In this connection, Coppock (2009, p.62) rightly claim that “Failure to exhibit either a to-dative or a for-dative form can be taken as an indication that a verb lacks the appropriate semantics.”

4.4. Objects of English Ditransitive Clauses

The two arguments which occur post-verbally in the ditransitive clause and the dative variant are traditionally referred to as direct and indirect objects. Both are, syntactically, complements of the predicator.

4.4.1. Indirect Object

First, in terms of word-order, the IO normally occupies the post-verbal slot in the double-object clause and precedes the DO. In the dative alternative, the IO occurs after the DO, preceded by a preposition (to/ for). Second, it has the ability to be a subject in the passive transformation, as in:

- He was given an absolute discharge and all the case was dismissed.

Third, it has the ability to have a prepositional paraphrase, i.e. it can occur after a preposition in the dative alternative, as in:

- You say you do typing for your husband?

Fourth, the IO can be realized by nouns, pronouns, noun phrases, and noun clauses, as in the following examples:

- a- They offered Peter only a temporary job. (noun)
- b- Lily was going to lend me the book. (pronoun)
- c- She probably gave it to one of the boys. (noun phrase)
- d- I just need to send an e-mail to the girl who asked the questions. (noun clause)

Fifth, with certain ditransitive verbs like “tell, sell, send”, the grammaticality of the clause is not violated by the absence of the IO in the double object construction (Downing and Locke, 1992, p.46), as in the following clauses:

- You should have told the whole truth.
- He ought to have sold the whole thing.
- Send them along or give me a call.

Conversely, with verbs such as “teach and tell”, the IO can be retained as the only object in the clause, i.e. in the absence of the DO, as in these clauses:

- When Alec first told me, I phoned my dad.
- A long time ago when I’d been teaching apprentices at Vauxhaul...

Sixth, though the IO can be realized by a noun clause, there is a syntactic constraint on which type of nominal clause can be assigned the function of DO. Quirk et al. (1985, p.726) argue that “generally only nominal relative clause” can be used, as in these sentences:

- Liz told whoever she met the details of the prom.

One last syntactic feature of IOs is that it cannot be fronted in a passive wh-interrogative double-object clause, though the dative-variant can allow this:

- Vauxhaul gave an engineering degree to him.
- He was given an engineering degree by Vauxhaul.
- An engineering degree was given to him (by Vauxhaul).
- * Who was an engineering degree given by Vauxhaul?
- To whom was an engineering degree given (by Vauxhaul)?

Jo Napoli (1993, p.100) provides the following syntactic diagnostic test for the IO:

If the object of a to or for in a given sentence can appear without the to or for in the position immediately following the verb in a synonymous sentence, the object of to or for in the given sentence is an IO.

4.4.2. Direct Object

The DO is characterized by the following syntactic features: first, it can be realized by nouns, pronouns, noun phrases, or noun clauses, as in the following examples:

- a- You’ll never be lonely cos your family will come along and pay you visits ... (noun)
- b- I’ll give it to Marlene.... (pronoun)
- c- Cause I was taking a load of stuff down the dump for her. (noun phrase)
- d- Perhaps you can tell us what you mean by them. (noun clause)

It is observed that a pronominal form of the DO is not allowed in the above ditransitive clauses, though the other variant, i.e. the dative-variant, can admit a pronominalized form of the DO object, as in the following clause:

- a- They've left it to the librarian.
- b- * They've left to the librarian it.

Second, the DO can occur as subject in a passive clause as in:

- ... and a free kick has been given Chelsea.

Third, the DO cannot take a prepositional paraphrase, i.e. it cannot be preceded by either “to” or “for”, as is the case with IOs. Fourth, another syntactic feature of the DO is that in double-object structures it follows the IO, but in the dative variant it follows the predicator.

4.4.3. Semantic Features of English Indirect and Direct Objects

In terms of affectedness, both objects of the ditransitive clause are affected by the action of the verb, though the degree of affectedness is higher in favour of the DO. According to Huddleston (1984).

The terms “direct” and “indirect” reflect the traditional idea that in an example like “He gave Liz some flowers”, the flowers are more directly affected than Liz in as much as they ‘undergo’ the transfer. The terms are thus based on the associated semantic roles. (p. 200)

The IO stands for an entity which is indirectly affected by the action indicated in the clause, and it normally refers to an animate being which has the semantic role of “recipient” of an action (Quirk et al. 1985, p.727).

Speaking of the semantic roles of the IO, Kruisinga (1925, p.159) observed that “the indirect object usually expresses the person or thing that is benefited by the action (e.g. do, spare, allot), often combined with direction of place (e.g. bring, less clearly give).”

Semantically, the objects of the ditransitive structure are assigned different theta-roles. The DO is assigned the role “Patient / Theme” because

it refers to the entity undergoing the action, and which the actor intends to transfer into the possession of the Goal / IO. Hence, the IO is normally assigned the function of “Recipient” or “Beneficiary”, as in the following clauses:

- She probably gave it to one of the boys. (Recipient)
- You’re producing meals for many people. (Beneficiary)

The semantics of the ditransitive verb plays a crucial role in determining the theta-role played by IO, and this is obviously reflected in the choice of the preposition which introduces the IO. The choice of “to” is a marker of “Recipient”, while “for” is a marker of “Beneficiary”. Both prepositions seem to be the most frequent ones to occur before the IO, yet the preposition “of” can occasionally be found before the IO. The following clauses have been cited by Quirk et al. (1985, p.1211):

- She asked Paul a favour.
- She asked a favour of Paul.

Quirk et al. (1972 and 1985) have not discussed the details of the possible theta-role of the IO occurring after the preposition “of” which may encourage prospective research to suggest another theta-role to those of “Recipient” and “Beneficiary”, namely the function of the person being asked a favour or even a question. According to Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English (2009) “if you ask something of someone, you want them to do it for you”, and the dictionary provides this example: “You have no right to ask anything of me” (p.48). Furthermore, the dictionary classifies this use of the verb “ask” occurring in the double-object structure under the entry “demand” (Ibid.,p.48).

An interesting remark about the theta-role “Beneficiary” is that certain verbs like “deny, charge, fine and cost” seem to convert the role of “Beneficiary” into “Maleficiary”, since the IO used with such verbs is construed to be a “loser” rather than a “Beneficiary” (Coppock, 200, p. 62). The following examples may illustrate this fact:

- Their company denied us access to their database.
- She was fined £50 for speeding.
- The publishing company charged them ten thousand pounds.
- A dental chair costs you twelve thousand pounds.

Occurrence of certain ditransitive structures runs counter to the Animacy constraint which holds that IOs are associated with “animate being” (Quirk et al. 1985, p.727). The following example will illustrate this:

- I think soybean sauce will give this meat a better flavour.

Additionally, the claim that the action in the ditransitive clause should be performed by a wilful or volitional “Actor” runs counter to clauses such as the one below:

- She got herself a speeding ticket.

Goldberg (2004) argues that “The ditransitive or double-object construction requires that its goal be animate, whereas the dative construction does not.” (p.1) She provides the following clauses to illustrate this point:

- a- Chris sent them a package. (Ditransitive)
- * Chris sent that place a package. (Dative)
- b- Chris sent a package to them.
- Chris sent a package to that place. (Ditransitive)

To conclude this section, it should be emphasized that the markedness of the ditransitive structure reflects a number of semantic constraints governing the behaviour of its NP arguments. First, the actor is not only expected to play the role of the instigator of the action, but in most cases, it has to effect a certain transfer to an intended recipient or beneficiary. In other words, in the clause: “She baked a cake for her granny”, the actor/ agent does the act of baking with the intention of giving the patient “cake” to the beneficiary “her granny”. Hence, the action is not performed for the sake of the action as such. Therefore, the principle of intended transfer should always be present. Second, the IO is supposed to be a prospective possessor. Third, the DO is the entity that is directly affected by the action.

4.5. Pragmatic Features of English Ditransitive Structures

The distribution of the information within a clause is normally determined by the meaningful constituents of the utterance which include word-order, intonation and context of situation (Firbas, 1992). The double object and its dative-variant are two alternative means of expressing similar

meanings. Goldberg (2004) maintains that such slight differences in meaning are a distinguishing factor between patterns of argument structure, which provides the speaker with freedom to opt for the appropriate pattern, hence offering the speaker more expressive power (p.1).

The length of IO and DO, as reflected in the number of words which compose these constituents, seems to have a role in the speaker's preference of the double-object or dative-variant clause. According to Close (1975), the double-object pattern "is normally preferred if the indirect object is shorter than the direct, eg. "Give me that bundle of flowers"(203), and the dative-variant is preferred "if the indirect object is longer, as in "Give those papers to the girl at the door". However, the shorter group comes second for the sake of emphasis, as in " Give that bundle of papers to ME, not to HIM" (p.203).

Arnold et al. (2000) have found that both "newness" and "heaviness" play a crucial role in determining the choice of the ditransitive over the dative structure, where heaviness is determined by number of words, and newness of lack of previous mention in discourse (p.34). Given this, we can apply the principle of newness and heaviness to the speaker's choice of double-object construction or the dative-variant.

Celce-Murcia and Larsen-Freeman (1983) argue that a major reason for alternation from double-object to dative-variant is when the DO is a long complex phrase or clause (p.242). The following utterance may illustrate this point of view:

- I don't expect James to give me what you get from a guidebook.
(Ibid., p.242)

This alternation obviously entails the deletion of the preposition (to) and the movement of the IO to the post-verbal slot.

The principle of Newness, on the other hand, can be applied as follows. In a situation where the speaker views the DO as carrying new information, the double-object construction is used, but if the IO carries new information, the speaker can use the dative-variant. This, of course, is normally governed by contextual considerations, which reflects the crucial role of contextual factors in organizing information within the clause. This may be illustrated by the following exchanges:

- (1) (A) and (B) are male-academics in their thirties. (A) is telling (B) about a certain work experience.
- (A) It's best to train properly. Besides training will be interesting. So I went to the School of Applied Linguistics in Winchester.
- (B) Mm... good place.
- (A) Actually **I** applied to the British Council and failed to get in, and **I** found that they send people up there. So **I** then applied to Birmingham and they gave **me** a **further education grant**, and I went to Winchester and did applied linguistics.

[SEU: Subtext S.2.4b, p.482]

Speaker (A) in the above exchange has used the double-object variant as a means of topicalizing the Recipient and focalizing the theme, as the recipient is viewed as Old information.

- (2) (A) is an interviewee and (B), (C) and (d) are interviewers. It is (C)'s turn in the interview.
- C: How, I mean, how do you feel about using new technology? Have you had any experience of computers of any sort?
- A: I've had some experience of computers, different people I know have got computers. I've had a little bit experience of computer. I've never been trained to use a computer, but I'd very much like to.
- C: Mm, and you feel your keyboard skills are still...
- A: Oh yes, I've done quite a lot of **typing**...
- C: Reasonable standard.
- A: over the years, cause I've done **typing** for **my husband** quite often.

[Cheepen & Monaghan:1990, p.194]

Speaker (A) in the above exchange topicalizes the Theme and focalizes the Recipient by using the dative-variant, since the Theme represents Old information.

Passive versions of the ditransitive construction are also context-dependent, as the speaker can choose the passive with the DO as subject, if this DO stands for given information in the dative-variant, but if the IO is topical, the double-object is used with IO as subject of the passive clause. The agent is normally expressed when it carries new information. This may be illustrated by the following extracts:

- a- Oh, a free kick. A free kick has been given on that far side...
[SEU: Text S.10.02, Sentence.13]
- b- Oh, well. Dan's doing quite well. He was offered a very good job in the United States, which he wouldn't take.
[SEU: Text S.1.13, p. 340]

It should be noted that the frequency of passive ditransitive and dative constructions with IOs as subject is higher in comparison with passives with DOs as subjects.

4.6. English Idiomatic Ditransitive Structures

A number of ditransitive structures and dative-variants exhibit resistance to alternation or passivization, as they are used in a stable form, and their use is mostly idiomatic. The following list provides some of these structures:

- When Alex first told me, and I phoned my dad and sort of ...gave him a piece of my mind as much as I could...
- Please, give me a break!
- They gave him the pink slip.
- He gave her a hard time.
- Would you give her a hand, please.
- She did me a favour.
- They gave me a headache.
- You can't teach an old dog new tricks.

5. Analysis of CA Ditransitive Structures

5.1. CA Ditransitive Structure

The notion of transitivity in Arabic is one of the most crucial and controversial issues in Arabic grammar. In essence, transitivity is a

description of how the predicator/verb imposes a given change, or causes a certain effect on the object in a clause. If the verb causes an effect on the object, it is supposed to have acquired the property of being “transitive”, otherwise it is “intransitive”. The Arabic transitive verb differs from the intransitive in that the former accepts an object without having to use a preposition, i.e. the acceptance of an object is what mainly distinguishes a transitive from an intransitive verb.

The ditransitive structure in Classical Arabic has been studied within the general framework of the notion of transitivity, but as far as this research is concerned, the ditransitive verb has been the subject of old and recent research. The present research limits itself to the study of the ditransitive construction in Cairene Arabic, which is almost a neglected area in the grammar of Egyptian Colloquial Arabic.

5.2. Word Order

The CA ditransitive structure is characterized by the presence of a ditransitive verb followed by two NP arguments as in clauses (a), (b) and (c) below:

- | | | | |
|----|---------------------------------|---------------|---------------|
| a- | haddi | nadya | -l-mufta:H |
| | give-Vdit-fut- I | Nadia-dat. | the key-acc |
| | (I'll give Nadia the key.) | | |
| b- | haddi | l-nadya | l-mufta:H |
| | give-Vdit-fut-I | to-Nadia-dat. | the key-acc |
| | (I'll give (to) Nadia the key.) | | |
| c- | haddi | l-mufta:H | l-nadya |
| | give-Vdit-fut-I | the key-acc | to-Nadia-dat. |
| | (I'll give the key to Nadia.) | | |

The most typical ditransitive structure in CA follows the pattern (S + Vdit. + IO + DO), yet two other variants of this structure follow the pattern (S+Vdit. + particle + IO + DO) and the dative alternative pattern (S + Vdit. + DO + particle + IO), as illustrated in clauses (a), (b) and (c) above.

The CA ditransitive structure can be considered as one of marked structures in Colloquial Arabic for a number of reasons. First, it contains a three-place verb which requires that the listener keeps track of three NP arguments and gives a special attention to the information structure in the clause. Second, the number and quality of the ditransitive verbs play a

crucial role in the markedness of this structure, because this category of verbs is rather limited in number, and its members reflect certain semantic features which will be illustrated in the next section. Third, this structure exhibits three distinct syntactic realizations which express similar semantic contents. Finally, the CA ditransitive structure exhibits a unique feature which allows both DO and IO to occur in their pronominal forms within a clause, as in the following extract:

- A: xalɑ:S hatibʕat li -nnati:gah
 fine send-Vdit.fut-you-itrog. to me the result
 (Fine, you'll send me the result?)
- B: ma tiʔlaʔfi habʕat-ha:lak bukraħ
 not worry-you-mascl. send-Vdit.fut-I-it-to you tomorrow
 (Don't worry, I'll send it to you tomorrow.)

5.3. CA Ditransitive Verbs

Ditransitive verbs in CA belong to a limited class of verbs which have the ability to accommodate two NP arguments, namely the indirect and direct objects. The ditransitive verb in CA possesses an exceptional feature, as it has the ability to assume the status of a full meaningful sentence by indicating person, number and gender of both subject and object by means of pronominal affixes. This is attributable to the fact that Arabic is a synthetic language. Moreover, both modality and aspect can be coded in CA verbs.

The verb (yiddi-give) is considered as the most prototypical of the ditransitive verbs, as it has the highest frequency as a major predicator in the ditransitive clause. Besides, it is capable of occurring in all variants of this structure. The great majority of CA ditransitive verbs have a tri-consonantal root, while a rather limited group has either bi-consonantal or quadri-consonantal roots. In addition, some of the bi-consonantal and tri-consonantal verb roots have one of their consonants reduplicated, as illustrated in table 2 below. The verbs in the table below are given in their past forms (third person, singular).

Bi-consonantal Verbs		Tri-consonantal Verbs		Quadri-consonantal Verbs	
/ʔa:l/	(said)	/ʔaggil/	(postponed)	/ʔiʃtara/	(bought)
/ʔidda/	(gave)	/ʔakkil/	(fed)	/bahdil/	(messed)
/ba: ʕ/	(sold)	/barrad/	(made cold)	/daʃdiʃ/	(broke to pieces)
/bana/	(built)	/baʕat/	(sent)	/gargar/	(dragged)
/ga:b/	(brought)	/ballay/	(informed)	/karkib/	(muddled)
/Haka/	(told)	/garrab/	(tried)	/karmiʃ/	(shrank)
/HaTT/	(put)	/gahhiz/	(prepared)	/laxbaT/	(confused)
/xad/	(took)	/Haddid/	(gave an appointment)	/naʕkiʃ/	(messed)
/sadd/	(blocked)				
/samma/	(named)	/Hagaz/	(reserved)		
/jadd/	(pulled)	/HaDDar/	(prepared)		
/ʃa:f/	(found)	/Hawwil/	(transferred)		
/ʃawa/	(grilled)	/xayyaT/	(sowed)		
/ʕabba/	(filled)	/Hawwiʃ/	(save)		
/ʕadd/	(counted)	/xassar/	(made to lose)		
/faDDa/	(emptied)	/darris/	(taught)		
/fakk/	(changed)	/dafaʕ/	(paid)		
/laff/	(wrapped)	/rabaT/	(tied)		
/lamm/	(collected)	/raggaʕ/	(returned)		
/mala/	(filled)	/rakkib/	(fix)		
/malla/	(dictated)	/sabbat/	(fix)		
/hadd/	(destroyed)	/saddid/	(paid) (handed)		
/waTTa/	(lowered)	/sallim/	(explained)		
/warra/	(showed)	/ʃaraH/	(cooked)		
		/Tabax/	(squeezed)		
		/ʕaSar/	(taught)		
		/ʕallim/	(showed)		
		/farrag/	(broke)		
		/kasar/	(broke to pieces)		
		/kassar/			
		/labbis/	(dressed)		
		/lammaʕ/	(polished)		
		/lawwin/	(coloured)		
		/naDDaf/	(cleaned)		
		/naffaD/	(dusted)		
		/na:wil/	(handed)		
		/waSaf/	(described)		
		/wallaʕ/	(lit/lighted)		

Table 2: CA Verbs Participating in the Ditransitive Structure

Prepositional ditransitive verbs like /yibɣat-li/ (send-to), /yigi:b-li/ (bring / fetch-

to) and /yina:wil-li/ (hand/ pass-to) seem to have only one semantically acceptable passive transform, as in the following sentence:

- ?ana baɣatti – lak ?i:me:l
I - mascl. sentVdit-I to-you-dat. e-mail-acc.
(I sent you an e-mail.) (Active)
- ?itbaɣat -lak i:me:l minni
sentVdit.psv. to-you-dat. e-mail-acc. from-me
(You were sent an e-mail (by me). (Passive)
- *?i:me:l minni -itbaɣat -lak
e-mail from me sentVdit.psv. to-you-dat
(An e-mail (by me) was sent to you.) (Passive)

Likewise, it has been noticed that ditransitive clauses containing a noun clause IO accept only one passive transform, as in this example:

- ?ana bass ?ult- il-ha ma-tu?ɣ udi:-ʃ kiti:r ɣa -nnet
I just said-Vdit. to-her not-sit-you much on - line
(I just said to her “don’t stay much on line”. (Active)
- ?it?a:l la-ha ma-tu?ɣ udi:-ʃ kiti:r ɣa -nnet
told-Vdit-psv. to her-dat. not-sit-you much on - line
(She was told not to stay much on line.) (Passive)
- * ma-tu?ɣ udi:-ʃ kiti:r ɣa-nnet ?it?a:l la-ha
not-sit-imp.fem. much on-line said-psv. to-her
(Don’t stay much on line was said to her (by me). (passive)

Most CA ditransitive verbs can accept passivization, however a few of them resist passivization, which indicates that some ditransitive clauses fail to be passivized such as the clause:

- ?idde:tu mɑSru:fu -imba:riH
gave-Vdit.I-him-dat. his pocket money-acc.yesterday
(I gave him his pocket money yesterday.)

In the above clause, resistance to passivize arises from the fact that the verb (yiddi – give) has no passive form (Gamal-Eldin, 1967, p. 60). Other non-passivizable verbs include (yifarrag – to show, yixtɑ:r – to choose, yi?akkil

– to feed, yifahhim – to explain). If clauses containing such verbs are passivized, they yield semantically awkward passive transforms.

The semantic content of the verb plays an important role in deciding upon the function of the IO, and hence the choice of the appropriate preposition which precedes it. It has been observed from the examination of data that the most frequently used ditransitive verb is (yiddi-give) and few other verbs which can imply the act of giving such as (yisallim – to hand; yimarrar – to pass; yibḡat – to send; yisallif – to lend). Following Coppock (2009), the semantics of the verb should exhibit the recipient or the benefactive function taken by the IO, and that the verb's failure to fulfil this role is a sign of a lack of its "appropriate semantics" (p.62).

5.4. Objects of CA Ditransitive Verbs

The post verbal NP arguments occurring in the CA ditransitive clauses are traditionally referred to as "first object" and "second object" by most Arab grammarians. These objects will be called indirect and direct objects, respectively for convenience.

5.4.1. Indirect Object

The IO is characterized by a number of morpho-syntactic properties. First, it can be realized morphologically by attaching a pronominal suffix to the ditransitive verb to signal the person, number and gender of the IO, as in:

- | | | | | |
|---|--|------------------------|------------------|-----------|
| - | ?ana | sallimtaha | - I?i:Sɑ:l | bi-nafsi |
| | I | handed Vdit.- her-dat. | the receipt-acc. | by myself |
| | (I handed her the receipt by myself.) | | | |

In the clause above, the pronominal suffix /-ha/ is attached to the verb (sallim-to hand) which signals the person (3rd. pers.), number (sing.) and gender (fem.) of the IO. Second, the IO can be realized by nouns, noun phrases and noun clauses, as in the following clauses:

- | | | | | |
|---|----------------------------------|----------------|-------------------------|------------|
| - | na:wil | bɑ:bɑ | -irrimo:t-kontro:l | |
| | hand-Vdit-imp.mascl. Dad-dat. | | the remote control-acc. | |
| | (Pass Dad the remote control.) | | | |
| - | Hana:? | -iddat | kolli-lwila:d | hada:ya |
| | Hana'-nom. | gave-she-Vdit. | all the kids-dat. | gifts-acc. |
| | (Hana' gave all the kids gifts.) | | | |

- ?issifa:ra hatibɣat ?i me:l li-kull-illi-Ha:Daru
the embassy-nom. send-Vdit.fut. e-mail-acc. to all who attended-dat.
(The embassy will send e-mails to all who attended.)

Third, the IO can occur as subject in a passive transform, as in:

- kull wa:Hid minkum ha-yitHaddid-lu miɣa:d
everyone- of you-pat. assigned-psv.fut. an appointment-acc.
(Everyone of you will be given an appointment.)

Fourth, the IO can occur post-verbally with or without a preposition, or after the DO, but in the latter case the preposition is obligatorily used, as in these clauses:

- a- ?ana ballayt -ilmudi:r -iɣtiza:rak
I informed-Vdit. the boss-dat. your excuse-acc.
(I informed the boss with your excuse.)
- b- baba:kum ma-yi?dərɣ- yiɣtiri l-kulli wa:Hid laptop
father-your cannot buy-Vdit for-everyone-dat. laptop-acc
(Your Dad cannot buy (for) each of you a laptop.)
- c- ?iɣfarika hatsallim kompyu:tar li-kul- muwaZZaf
the company give-Vdit.fut. a computer-acc. to-every clerk-dat.
(The company will give a computer to every employee.)

Fifth, the grammaticality of the ditransitive clause is not violated by the absence of the IO with certain ditransitive verbs such as (yifahhim – to explain; yiɣtiri – to buy; yibi: ɣ – to sell; yibɣat – to send; yivanni – to sing).

- hayiɣturu ɣa??a -f-maSr-iggidi:dah
buy-Vdit.they-fut. a flat-acc. at Heliopolis
(They will buy a flat at Heliopolis.)

Sixth, with certain verbs, the IO can be the only retained object in a clause. These verbs include (yi?u:l – to say; yiHki – to tell; yiwarri – to show; yidarris – to teach; yibi: ɣ – to sell).

- ?ul-li Ha:lan -itfaDal
tell-Vdit.imp.mascl.to me right now come on
(Tell me right now, come on.)
- yalla warri:ni
come on show-Vdit.you-imp. me
(Come on. Show me.)

The above examples show that the DO can be easily recovered from the context.

Seventh, fronting the IO in a passive interrogative ditransitive clause yields an ungrammatical clause, although the dative alternative can allow this fronting, as in the following clauses:

- baξatu kru:t daξwa l-kulli ?arayib-hum
sent-Vit.they cards invitation-acc.to-all-dat. relatives-their
(They sent invitation cards to their relatives.) (Active)
- kulli ?arayib-hum -itbaξat-l-hum kru:t daξwah
all relatives-their-dat. sent-psv.to-them cards invitation-acc.
(All their relatives have been sent invitation cards.) (passive)
- mi:n itbaξat-l-hum kru:t daξwah
who-introg. sent-psv. to-them-dat. cards invitation-acc.
(Who have been sent invitation cards?) (passive)
- * mi:n itbaξat kru:t daξwah -li-hum
Who-introg. sent-psv. cards invitation to-them
*(Who have been sent invitation cards to?) (passive-interrogative)

Finally, the choice of the type of nominal clause as IO in the ditransitive clause is governed by a syntactic constraint, i.e. only a nominal relative clause can occur as IO, as in the following example:

- sallim-i -illi HaDaru wara?it -il?as?ilah
hand-Vdit.imp.-fem. whoever attended-dat. sheet the questions-acc.
(Give whoever attended a question sheet.)

5.4.2. Direct Object

The DO in CA can be realized morpho-syntactically by the following forms. First, a suffixal pronominal form of the DO is attached to the ditransitive verb, as in the following clauses:

- yalla ru:H raggaξ-ha -lu- w-xud fulu:sak
hurry go-imp.mascl. return-Vdit.imp.-it to-him and get your money
(Hurry up. Go and return it to him and get your money back.)
- law samaHt yayyar-ha li
if you-mascl.please change-it for me
(Please, change it for me.)

It may be noticed in the above clauses that both DO and IO can be realized by pronominal forms, which is a remarkable property of CA ditransitive clauses.

Second, DOs can be realized by nouns, noun phrases or noun clauses, as in the following examples:

- farrāgi: ni liḡbitik ya noha
show-Vdit.imp.me.dat. your toy-acc. oh Noha-fem.
(Show me your toy, Noha.)
- la:zim yisaddid ?iSTi -lḡarabiyyah li-lbank
must pay-Vdit.he installment the car-poss.acc. to the bank-dat.
(He must pay the car installment to the bank.)
- ?ihda wi- Hki:-li -illi ?alituh
calm down and tell-Vdit.imp.-me.dat. what she-said-acc.
(Calm down and tell me what she said.)

In terms of word-order, the DO can occur post-verbally or after the IO in the clause-final position. Contrary to the IO, the DO has no prepositional paraphrase. In addition, it can occur as subject in the passive transformation, as in:

- ha-yibḡat -li nati:git -ittaHli:l ḡ-l?i:me:l
send-Vdit.-fut-he to me-dat. result analysis-acc. by e-mail
(He will send me the analysis result by e-mail.) (Active)
- nati:git-ittaHli:l hatitbḡit -li ḡa-l?i:me:l
result - analysis send-Vdit.psv.fut. to me by- e-mail
(The analysis result will be sent to me by e-mail.) (Passive)

5.4.3. Semantic Features of CA Indirect and Direct Objects

The objects of CA ditransitive verbs fulfil different semantic functions. The IO is assigned either the theta-role “Recipient” or “Beneficiary”, since it is the entity which stands for the intended recipient or beneficiary of the action. The particles /li-/ and /ḡalafa:n/ meaning ‘to/for’ and “for”, respectively, are positioned before the IO or prefixed to its pronominal form. The particle /li-/ can be used before both recipient or beneficiary, while the particle /ḡalafa:n/ is used exclusively before beneficiary IOs.

Occurrence of the IO in its prepositional paraphrase in the post-verbal slot of CA double-object construction is used for contrastive stress, as in the following exchange:

- A- ?inta -t?axxart kida le:h
 you-mascl. kept-late this way why-introg.
 (Why are you late?)
- B- kunt baftiri -l-di:na wara? Tibā:ḡah
 was-I buy-Vdit.prgrs. for-Dina-dat. paper printing.acc.
 (I was buying (for Dina) some printing paper.)

In B's answer above, the speaker expresses the idea that he has bought the printing paper for the beneficiary (Dina) and not for somebody else.

Although the IO is normally construed to be an animate entity, certain sentences run counter to the Animacy constraint. Such sentences are rare in CA and they can take the form of double-object or dative alternation. The examples below may illustrate this:

- ?ana fa:yif - innak tiddi -lfilu:s di l-mustaffa -ssaraTā:n
 I see that-you give Vdit - money-acc this to- hospital-dat. cancer
 (I see that you give this money to the Cancer Hospital.)
- ?ilwaHid la:zim yiddi l-xaya:lu furSā yiḡtaḡal
 One has to give.Vdit. to imagination.poss.dat. a chance-ac to work
 (One must give his own imagination an opportunity to work.)

Following Coppock (2009, p.62), the benefactive function, which is normally assigned to the IO in ditransitive clauses, is occasionally reversed to "Maleficiary", when certain verbs such as (yixSim – to punish by deducting from one's salary; yidaffaḡ -to make somebody pay; yiyarrām - to fine; and yixassar - to make someone lose). The use of such verbs seems to convert the IO to a loser rather than a beneficiary. It is, however, worth noticing that these verbs imply a causative meaning. The following clauses may illustrate this "maleficiary" function of the IO.

- zaḡla:na ḡalaḡa:n -lmudi:r xāSām -laha yome:n
 upset-fem. because the boss deduct.Vdit-for her.dat. two days
 (The boss punished her by deducting two days from her salary.)
- tagdi:d ruxSit -ilḡarābiyya kallifni aktar min toltmi:t gine:h
 renewing licence car- poss. cost Vdit. more than 300 pounds
 (Renewal of the car licence has cost me 300 pounds.)

- bikida -inta hatxəssər-ni xamsi:n gine:h
this way you-mascl. make-Vdit-me-lose-fut. fifty pounds
(This way, you'll make me lose fifty pounds.)
- ?ilɣaʃa da kallif - ni mite:n gine:h
the dinner this cost-Vdit-past me two hundred pounds
(This dinner cost me two hundred pounds.)

The use of the particles (li- to/for) or (ɣalaʃa:n- for) is a means of marking the transfer of the action or possession to the intended recipient or beneficiary.

The DO is assigned the theta-role Patient /Theme, as it stands for the entity which is intended to be transferred to the Goal / IO by means of the action performed by the Agent.

5.5. Pragmatic Features of CA Ditransitive Structure

The speaker's choice of the appropriate variant of the ditransitive structure in CA is mainly context-dependent. It has been observed that speakers of CA tend to prefer the double -object variant when recipients are topicalized and themes are focalized, but when themes are topicalized and recipients are focalized, the dative-variant is normally preferred, as in the following exchanges:

- (1) Speaker (A) is (B)'s mother. (B) is a young female teacher. She has recently been on bad terms with her fiancé. (B) has just arrived home from a meeting with her fiancé, and she is crying. (A) tries to calm her daughter, and asks her about her meeting with her fiancé.

A: ɣamalti ?e:h maɣa xɑTi:bik ?iHki:li
did you-fem. what with fiancé-poss. tell me
(What have you done with your fiancé?)

B: ?abiltuh wi-dde:tu diblitu wi-haraggaɣlu kul hadaya:h
met-I-him and-gaveVdit.I- ring-poss. and-return-to-him all gifs-poss.
(I've met him and given him his ring. I'll return all his gifts.)

(2) Speaker (A) is (B)'s husband. (A) is dressing, but he cannot find a certain shirt to wear. (B) is busy in the kitchen. (A) goes to his wife and asks her about that shirt:

A: fe:n -il?ami:S - liswid ya nada
 where the shirt - the-black oh-Nada
 (Where is the black shirt, Nada?)

B: miʃ fi-ddula:b - ?ana baʒatt-u l- ilmakwagi
 not in the wardrobe - I sent Vdit.it-acc. to the laundry-dat.
 (It isn't in the wardrobe. I sent it to the laundry.)

Thus, the double-object variant is normally preferred when the speaker regards the theme as a source of new information, but when the recipient/beneficiary is viewed as carrying new information, the dative variant is preferred. This may pinpoint the role of contextual considerations in the process of organizing information within the clause.

Following Close (1975), Celce-Murcia and Larsen- Freeman (1983) and Arnold et al. (2000), one major reason for the speaker's preference of the double-object structure to the dative-variant is when the DO is realized by a long phrase or clause, which makes it difficult to occur before the DO, as in the following sentence:

- xala:S ha-ʃtiri: -lak -ilmubayil -lli -nta ʒawzuh
 all right buyVdit.fut.I for you-dat. the mobile-acc. that you want
 (All right, I'll buy you the mobile phone you want.

The CA ditransitive pattern (S + Vdit. + Particle + IO + OD), where the prepositional paraphrase of the IO occurs post-verbally, is preferred in situations where contrastive stress is required, ie. in cases where the Goal / IO is emphasized, as in the following exchange:

A: - tiftikir haniʃtiri hada:ya l-xwa:tak -ilmarra:-di
 think-you buyVdit.we-fut. gifts-acc. for brothers-poses.dat. time this
 (Do you think we shall buy gifts for your brothers this time?)

- B: - miʃ ʒa:rif bafakkər niʃtiri l-wla:dhum ka:m hidiyya
 neg. know-I think-I-prgrs. buy-Vdit.we for kids-dat. a few gifts-acc.
 (I'm not sure. I'm thinking of buying **for** their kids a few gifts.)

In the above exchange, speaker "B" restricts the act of buying to the "kids" but not to their parents.

5.6. CA Idiomatic Ditransitive Structures

In CA corpus, a number of ditransitive constructions have shown a stable form which does not allow either alternation to the other ditransitive variant or to passivization, which emphasizes the idiomaticity of such structures. Some of these structures are listed below:

- yiddi -ilʔoTT mufta:H -ilkəɾa:r
 give-Vdit.-he the cat-dat. key the attic-room
 (To appoint the fox to guard the chickens.)
- yiddi ilʒe:ʃ l-ixabba:zuh
 give-Vdit.-he the bread-acc. to its-baker-dat.
 (To leave things to those who know better.)
- ʔiddi:ni ʒaʔl-ak
 give-Vdit.imp.me-dat. mind-poses.acc.
 (Picture it for yourself!)
- warri:ni ʒərD -ikta:fak
 show-Vdit.imp.me-dat. breadth - shoulders-of yours-acc.
 (Let me see the back of you!)
- gibli: -li SuDə:ʒ
 brought-you to me-dat. headache-acc
 (You gave me a headache.)
- ʒamal -li -ilbəHr TiHi:nah
 made-Vdit.he for me-dat. the sea taheena(sesame-paste)-acc.
 (He promised me the moon.)
- yiddi -lHala? l-illi bala-wda:n
 give-Vdit.-he the earrings-acc. to those-dat. without-ears
 (The devil looks after his own).
- labbis-na -ilʒimmah
 dress-Vdit-he-us-dat. the turban-acc.
 (He gave us the runaround.)

-
- | | | |
|---------------------------------|-------------|-----------------|
| - warra: | -na | -il murr |
| showed-Vdit-he | -us-dat. | the bitter-acc. |
| (He gave us a tough time.) | | |
| - ?idda: | -lu | duff |
| gave-Vdit.he | to-him-dat. | a shower-acc. |
| (He gave him a sound scolding.) | | |

The idiomatic use of the above utterances imposes a syntactic, as well as a semantic constraint on their behaviour; the former accounts for the resistance of these structures to allow the other ditransitive variant, while the latter is related to their yielding a semantically unacceptable passive transform.

6. Contrastive Analysis

This section is intended to provide a contrastive analysis of the ditransitive constructions in English and CA in order to highlight the similar and dissimilar morpho-syntactic and semantico-pragmatic features pertaining to them.

The ditransitive structures in English and CA follow the same word-order (S+V-dit. + IO + DO), and their respective dative-alternations follow the pattern (S + V-dit. + DO + prep./particle+IO). They differ, however, in that CA double-object structure exhibits a morphologically significant feature where the IO can occur in its prepositional paraphrase in the post-verbal slot, which is not quite common in English, since English is an analytic language, whereas Arabic is a synthetic language. In Siewierska and Hollman's (1992) comment on the occurrence of the clause (She gave to him a book), they argue that their "informal enquiries among native British English speakers (from the North West) suggest that it is not entirely unacceptable, particularly if the theme carries contrastive stress" (p.7).

The double-object structure in both varieties has shown the ability to produce a dative-alternation, except, of course, that some idiomatic structures show resistance to alternation which accounts for their idiomatic use.

The ditransitive structures in both varieties are considered among the most marked structures. Their markedness, as previously mentioned, is due to a number of morpho-syntactic and semantic-pragmatic factors.

The verbs used in ditransitive structures in both varieties are typically monotransitive, but they have the ability to accommodate an additional NP argument. These verbs belong to a rather limited category, and most of them are composed of one or two syllables in English, whereas the majority of CA verbs belong to the tri-consonantal category, i.e. their morphemic structure plays an important role in their ability to participate in the ditransitive structure. Semantically, these verbs seem to have a convergence in their meanings. The verbs (GIVE and /yiddi/ ‘to give’) have proved that they are the most prototypical ditransitive verbs, as they have shown the highest frequency in the two corpora under investigation.

English and CA ditransitive verbs are similar in their acceptance of two NP arguments, namely the IO and DO. IOs in the two varieties are realized by similar linguistic units which include nouns, pronouns, noun phrases and noun clauses. One major difference lies mainly in CA’s expression of the IO by a pronominal suffix attached to the ditransitive verb, which refers to the nature of the Arabic language.

The prepositional paraphrase of the IO exists in both varieties. One contrastive feature between them is that “to” and “for” and, in rare cases, “of” are used in English, while one single particle /li-/ meaning (to/for) is used before recipient and beneficiary IOs in Arabic. In addition, the particle /ʕalafɑ:n/ (for) is restricted to the use of beneficiary IOs in this variety.

Semantically, the IO, in both varieties, is associated with “Animacy”, although inanimate entities are also possible in this position. The IOs in both varieties are assigned either the theta-role “Recipient” or “Beneficiary”, yet the notion of “Volitionality” of the IO, i.e. the principle which requires that the IO is a willing recipient or beneficiary, can occasionally be violated by clauses such as the following:

- Bob caused her many problems.
- She burned her husband some rice.

(and)

A: mama bitzaʕ ʕa? le:h
 Mom yel-prgrs. why.introg.

- (Why is Mom yelling?)

B: ʕomar dala? I-laban bita:ʕ-uh wi-wassax la-ha-lbalako:nah
 Omar-masc. spilt the milk his-poses. and dirtied for her-the balcony

- (Omar spilt his milk and dirtied the balcony (for her).)

The prepositions which precede IOs in both varieties express the transfer of action or benefit to the recipient or beneficiary.

Similarity between English and CA DOs is reflected in their morpho-syntactic behaviour, i.e. both can be realized by the same linguistic units which include nouns, pronouns, noun phrases and noun clauses. One major difference, however, is related to the nature of the Arabic language where the pronominalized form of the DO is encoded in the verb, showing person, number and gender of the DO.

Failure of certain ditransitive structures in both varieties to alternate or passivize has been accounted for as either a lack in the verb's semantics, or the idiomaticity of such structures. In addition, some double object structures and dative alternations yield semantically awkward transforms.

Goldberg (1992), as cited in Siewierska and Hollman (2007), rightly maintains that "Semantically the double-object construction is viewed as highlighting the transfer of possession, the prepositional construction the location of the transferred item" (p.2).

Pragmatically, the double object constructions in the two varieties are used by the speaker to fulfil the same function which is "associated with topical recipients and focal themes", whereas the prepositional or dative-alternative is chosen by the speaker when themes are topical and recipients are focal (Polinsky, 1998 cited in Goldberg, 1992, p.2). Therefore, the emphasis on "Given" versus "New" information seems to play a crucial role in determining the speaker's choice of one form rather than the other, although both of them may convey similar meanings.

Pedagogically, the similarities between English and CA ditransitive structures significantly outweigh the differences indicating that the learning difficulties which might be encountered by native speakers of English learning CA, and native speakers of CA learning English, will be insignificant during the learning process.

7. Conclusion

This research has attempted to investigate the form and function of the ditransitive structures in English and CA, with a view to highlighting the morph-syntactic and semantico-pragmatic features pertaining to them. The researcher has dealt with a number of issues related to one of the most

marked and controversial linguistic structures in the two varieties, namely the ditransitive structure.

In order to accomplish this task, the researcher has relied on two corpora representing the two varieties under investigation, and adopted an eclectic approach combining the Systemic Functional Approach and the Functional Sentence Perspective in answering the major questions posed at the outset, especially why do languages provide different linguistic variants for expressing similar propositional content?

Analysis of the formal and functional features of the ditransitive structures of both varieties has been employed to pinpoint the potential relationship between coding and information structure. The possible theta-roles of DOs and IOs have been highlighted and the pragmatic functions of the double-object and the dative-alternative have been investigated in an attempt to prove that each of these variants can be used to fulfil a given communicative function. To conclude, this study has set the stage to encourage prospective research into the depth of Cairene Arabic.

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Appendix I

Phonemic Conventions for Reading Transcribed Arabic Forms

1. Consonants

- / b / Voiced bilabial plosive, as in / be:t / (house)
- / d / Voiced denti-alveolar plosive, non-emphatic, as in, / de:l / (tail)
- / f / Voiceless labio-dental fricative, as in, / fe:n / (where)
- / g / Voiced velar plosive , as in, / gidi:d / (new)
- / h / Glottal fricative , as in, / huwwa / (he)
- / H / Voiceless pharyngeal fricative , as in, / Hilm / (dream)
- / q / Voiceless uvular plosive, as in, / ?alqɑ:hirɑh / (Cairo)
- / k / Voiceless velar plosive, as in, / kari:m / (generous)
- / l / Voiced denti-alveolar lateral , as in, / le:l / (night)
- / m / Voiced bilabial nasal , as in, / malH / (salt)
- / n / Voiced denti-alveolar nasal , as in, / nu:r / (light)
- / r / Voiced alveolar flap , as in, / rigl / (leg)
- / s / Voiceless alveolar fricative non- emphatic sibilant , as in, / samak / (fish)
- / ʃ / Voiceless palato-alveolar fricative , as in, / ʃams / (sun)
- / t / Voiceless denti-alveolar plosive non- emphatic , as in, / ti:n / (figs)
- / w / Voiced labio-velar semi-vowel , as in, / walad / (boy)
- / x / Voiceless uvular fricative , as in, / xo:x / (peaches)
- / y / Voiced palatal semi –vowel , as in, / yo:m / (day)
- / z / Voiced alveolar fricative, non-emphatic sibilant , as in, / ze:t / (oil)
- / ? / Glottal plosive , as in, / ?alam / (pen)
- / ɣ / Voiced pharyngeal fricative, as in, / ɣa:li / (high)
- / ʁ / Voiced uvular fricative , as in, / ʁa:li / (expensive)

Emphatic Consonants

- / S/, / D /, / T /, / Z / are emphatic or velarized consonants. They differ from the non-emphatic / s /, / d /, / t /, / z / in that in the articulation of the emphatic consonants the tongue is laterally expanded so as to fill the mouth.
- / S / as in / So:t / (sound, voice)
 - / D / as in / Dɑɣi:f / (weak)
 - / T / as in / Tɑ:lib / (student)
 - / Z / as in / Zɑrf / (envelope)

2. Vowels

- / i / Half-close to close front spread vowel , as in, / *ṣidd* / (pull)
- / e / Mid to half-close front spread vowel , as in, / *betna* / (our house)
- / a / Front open vowel , as in, / *katab* / (he wrote)
- / ʌ / Back open vowel , as in, / *Talab* / (request)
- / u / Half-close back to central rounded vowel , as in, / *suxn* / (hot)
- / o / Mid to half-close back rounded vowel , as in, / *yo:m* / (day)

- Length of vowel is marked by / : /
- Geminated consonants are indicated by doubling the consonant.

(Adapted from Ezzat, A. (1978). *Aspects of Language Study*. Beirut: Beirut Arab University.)

Appendix II

List of Abbreviations and Symbols

The following abbreviations and symbols are used throughout this research:

acc.	accusative
CA	Cairene Arabic
dat.	Dative
DO	Direct object
fem.	feminine
fut.	future
imp.	imperative
Introg.	interrogative
IO	Indirect object
mascl.	Masculine
MSA	Modern Standard Arabic
neg.	negative
NP	noun phrase
nom.	nominative
pat.	patient
pers.	person
pl.	plural
poss.	possessive
prep.	preposition
prgrs.	progressive
psv.	passive
SEU	Survey of English Usage
sing.	singular
Vdit	ditransitive verb
Vt	transitive verb
/	a slant indicates optional items
//	slants enclose transcribed Arabic forms
*	an asterisk signals unaccepted or ungrammatical clauses.
(-)	a hyphen indicates elision at word boundaries in the transcribed Arabic forms.

Functional and Structural Patterns of Code-Switching in Academic Contexts

Mohamed Mohamed Tohamy

Abstract

The aim of this study is to investigate the phenomenon of code-switching (CS) among Egyptian university professors who use English as the language of instruction. This study attempts to answer such questions as when, how, and why code-switching occurs among this selected group of university professors who are observed to resort to it in classroom interaction. The study examines the sociolinguistic functions and syntactic structures of code-switching as revealed by data collected in academic context. The findings indicate that there are three major syntactic structures that are recurrent among participant teachers, namely intersentential CS, intrasentential CS, and tag-switching. The results also reveal that the participants code-switch for a range of pedagogical and conversational purposes including explanation or translation, discussing culturally related issues, reproaching, or creating an atmosphere of informality. The findings of this study are taken to be valid only in connection with CS among Egyptian university teachers of English.

Key words: code-switching, code mixing, classroom discourse, morpho-syntactic.

Introduction

The aim of the study is to present a syntactic description of the code-switching (CS henceforth) phenomenon in an Arabic/English setting in Egypt. The study is based on the assumption that CS follows certain patterns and principles that need to be investigated and uncovered, particularly in relation to how and why teachers code-switch. It studies

various types of CS (i.e. intersentential and intrasentential), explores the different levels of CS such as word, phrase, clause, and sentence levels, and analyses the social contexts in which CS occurs.

CS is the alternation between languages or language varieties, depending on the demands of a particular communicative situation. This linguistic phenomenon (sometimes referred to as code-shifting, or, within one language, style-shifting) is illustrated by the switch bilingual or bidialectal speakers make between standard and regional forms of a language, between two languages, or between occupational and domestic varieties (Crystal, 2008; Hymes, 1974, & Myers-Scotton and Ury, 1977). Myers-Scotton (1993) provides a further explanation of the term, indicating that it is the selection by bilinguals or multilinguals of forms from an embedded variety (or varieties) in utterances of a matrix variety during the same conversation.

CS might occur at various levels, as explained by Cheng and Butler (1989). On the lexical level, CS usually occurs when there is no existing translation for a word or phrase. At the semantic level, CS can occur within a phrase, or a sentence, particularly when an idea can be better explained in the other language. Syntactic CS occurs when the rules of syntax of one language are applied to the other.

I. Code, Code-Switching, Code-Mixing and Borrowing:

In sociolinguistics the term 'code' is mainly used as "a neutral label for any system of communication involving language" – such as dialect, language or variety (Crystal, 2008, p.83). A language or a dialect that two or more people use for communication is a kind of code (Wardaugh, 2002). Many speakers command more than one variety in their language or even more than one language in what is referred to as bilingualism or multilingualism. In such situations, people usually choose a particular code to communicate with each other, and sometimes switch from one code to another in a process known as code-switching.

CS is defined variously in light of its nature and structure. It is defined as the alternate use of two languages within the same discourse (Gonzales-Velásquez, 1995; Lipski, 1985; Myers-Scotton, 1988; Poplack, 1980). Among various definitions proposed for CS, the most convenient one to the

purpose of this study is that of Poplack (1998) who uses the term 'code-switching' to refer to "the alternate use of two codes in a fully grammatical way, in the same discourse, and even in the same sentence" (p. 61).

The terms code-switching and code-mixing are often used interchangeably to refer to the same phenomenon. However, recent research has distinguished between the two terms as they represent two different phenomena (Kumar and Narendra, 2012; Mansour, 2000). According to Kumar and Narendra (2012), for instance, code switching, also called inter-sentential code alteration, occurs at a clause or sentence boundary, where each clause or sentence is in one language or another. Code mixing, also called intra-sentential code alteration, occurs within the clause or sentence and is considered the most complex form of switching.

One more negotiable issue for researchers is whether types of language mixture should be classified as instances of code-switches or borrowings. Although they may bear some resemblance in surface manifestation, analyzing any type of mixed discourse is based on the hypothesis that CS and borrowing differ as processes (Grosjean, 1995; Poplack, 1987; Poplack and Meechan, 1998; Sanches, 1983). Unlike CS, lexical borrowing refers to the incorporation of a lexical item from one language into another, with only the recipient system operative (Grosjean, 1995). Further, loanwords differ from CS in that the latter includes no involvement of the morphology, syntax or phonology of the donor language (Poplack, 2004, p. 590).

Setting a basis for analyzing contact phenomena, Sankoff and Poplack (1981) distinguish code-switching from other possible outcomes of language contact situations such as interference, pidginization, borrowing, and calquing, by at least two criteria. The first is that, whereas many of the above involve deformation or replacement of parts of the grammar or lexicon of the language(s) involved, CS does not. The second is that, unlike the above-mentioned phenomena which refer to specialized situations or language functions, CS is a "widely operative norm of communication in certain types of multilingual communities" (p. 4). The structural integrity of the component languages is one of the major characteristics of CS.

II. Literature Review

The literature on CS can be broadly classified into three major categories. The first of these addresses the use of CS in bilingual and multilingual communities. The second deals with its use in English language teaching contexts. The third category describes CS from a sociolinguistic perspective, focusing on the pragmatic functions of this linguistic behavior.

II.1. CS in bilingual and multilingual communities

Some studies on CS in bilingual and multilingual communities have generally examined the various strategies, and sociolinguistic functions applied by speakers when they switch languages (Chung, 2006; Field, 2005; Hasbun, 2001; Ruan, 2003). In addition, other studies have been concerned with investigating the various structural characteristics of bilingual CS (Deuchar, 2005; Lipski, 2005; Ochola, 2006; Pert and Letts, 2006).

CS is generally used as a communicative tool among bilingual speakers. According to Chung (2006), CS functions as a communicative strategy to reinforce the speaker's point and "achieve particular conversational goals in interactions with other bilingual speakers" (p.30). Hasbun's (2001) study shows that bilinguals usually develop a repertoire of codes that provides them with different expressive resources needed to enhance communication. Along these lines, Field (2005) indicates that CS is part of the 'adaptive' nature of speakers usually initiated as psychological responses to social encounters.

It has been observed that a good portion of CS studies focuses on examining communicative and social goals of CS. While examining CS between Mandarin and Taiwanese, Su (2001) shows that CS is employed as a tool to "negotiate interpersonal relationships and to organize the internal structure of the conversation" (p. 446). Within the same context, Essizewa (2007) investigates language contact phenomena in Togo between Kabiye and Ewe through a sociolinguistic analysis of CS within the Kabiye speech community. The study proves that the increasing CS into Ewe is due to its prestigious and socioeconomic pressure, in addition to its status as a lingua franca that provides wider communication opportunities.

Studies that focus on the structural patterns of CS generally investigate the various syntactic structures of this phenomenon (e.g. Lipski, 2005;

Ochola, 2006). Gardner-Chloros and Edwards (2004) provide a general principle to be considered when investigating the structural patterns of CS. They reflect on the grammatical approaches to CS and conclude that rather than seeking universal, predictive grammatical rules, research on CS should focus on the variability of bilingual grammars. They realize that CS must, in general terms, conform to universal grammar principles, but it is not bound to reflect the rules of particular languages.

II.2. CS in English language teaching contexts

A number of studies have investigated the use of CS in foreign language classrooms and its functions in language teaching and learning. Observing young Chinese/English bilingual children's CS behavior, Ruan (2003) indicates that CS is used by teachers and learners as a device to expand and monitor teaching and learning. Ustunel and Seedhouse (2005) view CS as an interactional resource used by teachers and learners to achieve educational goals.

What is common among these studies is that they regard CS as an active and creative process that enhances communication. Gearon (2006), for instance, indicates that CS functions as a positive teaching method in courses where the two languages resemble each other at the syntactic level. Reyes (2004), studying children who learn two languages, challenges the negative view that CS is due to lack of proficiency, and indicates that it is used as a strategy to extend communicative competence during peer interaction. Similarly, Walt (2009) explains that CS is used by teachers and learners to clarify meaning and develop English language competence. Exploring the functions of CS in a Korean Sunday school, Shin (2010) states that CS can be a powerful tool for teachers to transmit Korean traditional values and to reinforce the hierarchical relationships between teachers and students.

II.3. Sociolinguistic functions of CS

Studies dealing with CS from a sociolinguistic/pragmatic perspective describe two types: situational and metaphorical CS (Blom and Gumperz, 1972). Situational switching occurs when participants redefine each other's rights and obligations. For example, teachers deliver formal lectures in one code, but they shift to another code if they want to encourage

open discussion. Metaphorical switching, on the other hand, is triggered by changes in topic rather than the social situation. This is evident in cases when people use one code for business and formal discussion, and another one for greetings and inquiries about family affairs.

This is related to what Spolsky (1998) describes as shifting for convenience, i.e. when speakers select the words or phrases available in their language repertoire to convey their message. He associates metaphorical switching with role-relationships and emphasizes that it is "a powerful mechanism for signaling social attitudes or claiming group membership or solidarity" (p. 50).

Auer (1988) discusses a model of bilingual conversation, introducing two basic categories of language alternation: participant-related and discourse-related alternation. He argues that in the organization of bilingual conversation, participants face two types of tasks. First, there are problems specifically addressed to language choice (i.e. participant-related). Switching thus may display an unbalanced bilingual competence when the speaker's switching into one language is being related to his lack of competence in the other. The second type of participant-related switching does not display a participant's competence, but his or her preference for one language over the other. Second, participants have to solve a number of problems related to the organization of conversation in general, e.g. turn-taking, topical cohesion, the constitution of specific linguistic activities (i.e. discourse-related). The alternating use of two languages may be a means with which to cope with these problems (p. 192).

Within the same context, Elsaadany (2003) investigates code alternation among Arab speakers living in the United States. The study indicates that Arab speakers change their code, according to the topic and the context of situation, to prove that code-mixing and code-switching are not always used to enhance communication; rather, they may be used to make fun of other dialects that may not be very reasonably popular or refined.

In an attempt to identify the functions of CS to English in televised conversations of Jordanians on Jordan Television, Abu Mathkour (2004) finds that quotation, interjection, reiteration, message qualification, and

personification vs. objectification are the functions that CS fulfills in these conversations.

III. Structural approaches to CS

The major approaches to the structural description of CS that are discussed in this section are Poplack's (1980) "linear order constraints" model, Chomskyan "generative grammar" model, and Meyers-Scotton's (2007) "Matrix Language Frame" model.

III.1. Poplack's linear order constraints

Poplack's study on Spanish/English bilinguals (1980) argues for the word-order equivalence between the languages involved. After a large bilingual corpus was examined, the 'free morpheme constraint' and the 'equivalence constraint' were proposed as being operative at the point of the switch in Spanish/English bilingual utterances.

(1) The Free Morpheme Constraint

Codes may be switched after any constituent in discourse provided that constituent is not a bound morpheme.

(2) The Equivalence Constraint

Code-switches will tend to occur at points in discourse where juxtaposition of L1 and L2 elements does not violate a syntactic rule of either language. (Poplack, 1980, pp. 585-586)

According to the equivalence constraint, code-switching occurs where two languages share the same word order. Thus, this equivalence constraint restricts CS between typologically distant languages such as English and Japanese more than between those of close ones. On the other hand, the free morpheme constraint prohibits a switch between a lexical item and a bound morpheme unless the item is phonologically integrated into the base language. It limits the potential switch sites to word boundaries only. For example, in the case of Spanish/English CS, *EAT-*iendo*, where the Spanish bound morpheme '-*iendo*' (-ing) is affixed to the English root 'eat', is not permissible unless the verb stem is phonologically adapted into Spanish (Poplack, 1980, p. 586).

III.2. Chomskyan Generative model

A variety of non-linear approaches is proposed on basis of Chomsky's generative grammar, drawing on, for example, the Government and Binding (GB) framework (Di sciullo et. al. 1986, cited in Rizk, 2003), and the Functional Head Constraint (Belazi et. al. 1994). Based on the GB framework, Di sciullo et al. propose the Government Constraint, according to which a governing element must be in the same language as its complement. They apply the GB theory to an analysis of intrasentential code-switching, claiming that code-switching is not possible when there is a government relation between adjacent items. Their basic unit of analysis is dependency, rather than equivalence, so that a switch cannot occur between two constituents if they are lexically dependent on each other. They predict that there will be no code-switching between verbs and objects, for example. Similarly, a verb (V) and a noun phrase (NP) should come from the same language, since V commands and governs NP.

To account for switching between a functional head and its complement, Belazi et al. (1994) introduce the Functional Head Constraint. They invoke the well-established distinction between functional heads, such as C (complementizers) and D (determiners), and lexical heads, such as V and N. They propose a re-formalization of the notion of 'f-selection', which states that a special relation exists between a functional head and its complement, introducing thus their constraint:

The language feature of the complement f-selected by a functional head, like all other relevant features, must match the corresponding feature of that functional head. (Belazi et al., 1994, p. 228)

III.3. Myers-Scotton's Matrix Language Frame Model (MLF)

As the two approaches presented above focus on only one aspect of CS and neglect other aspects (for example, Poplack's linear order constraint model restricts itself to the morpheme and the word level ignoring CS in larger structures, whereas Chomskyan generative model focuses on phrase structure without any consideration for morpheme or word level), the present study adopts a third approach which enables researchers to investigate CS at all levels of linguistic structure.

Myers-Scotton (2007, p. 3) introduces her MLF model on the basis of differentiating both the languages participating in CS and the morpheme types at a number of abstract levels. The model claims a dominant role in the bilingual clause for only one of the participating languages, called the Matrix Language (ML). The non-dominant language (the Embedded Language or EL), on the other hand, provides either content morphemes in mixed constituents or EL phrase-level constituents (EL islands), or both.

As for morpheme types, the model differentiates between content and system morphemes. Content morphemes, such as nouns and verbs, express semantic and pragmatic aspects and assign or receive thematic roles. System morphemes, such as determiners and clitics, express the relation between content morphemes; they are essential in building grammatical frames. (Myers-Scotton, 2007, p. 4).

The MLF model distinguishes two types of intra-sentential CS: classic CS and composite CS.

Classic code-switching

Classic code-switching includes elements from two (or more) language varieties in the same clause, but *only one of these varieties is the source of the morphosyntactic frame for the clause*. (Italics in the original).

(Myers-Scotton, 2006, p. 241)

Composite code-switching

Composite code-switching is bilingual speech in which, even though most of the morphosyntactic structure comes from one of the participating languages, the other language contributes some of the abstract structure underlying surface forms in the clause.

(Myers-Scotton, 2006, p. 242)

A central assumption behind Myers-Scotton's model is that the matrix language dominates a mixed clause, according to the following two principles:

(1) *The Morpheme-Order Principle:*

In ML+EL constituents consisting of singly-occurring EL lexemes and any number of ML morphemes, surface morpheme order will be that of ML.

(2) *The System Morpheme Principle:*

In ML+EL constituents, all system morphemes which have grammatical relations external to their head constituent will come from the ML

(Myers-Scotton, 1993, p. 83)

According to the first principle, the matrix language determines the order of the elements in ML + EL constituents. The second principle requires that function morphemes can only be drawn from the matrix language.

So far, we have presented a theoretical background of the study, including a review of related literature and a detailed discussion of the various structural approaches to CS. We are now going to present the study itself. We will start with the methodology, then give data analysis and finally deal with the results.

IV. Methodology

IV.1. Data

We have stated earlier that the purpose of this study is to investigate the sociolinguistic functions as well as the syntactic structures of CS as detected in university professors' discourse in academic interaction. To achieve this purpose, two sets of data were collected, each meant to cover a definite phase of the study.

In the first set, two stages for data collection were conducted. The first stage, a structured questionnaire was designed to detect the sociolinguistic factors affecting CS (See Appendix 2). The questionnaire consists of three major items, the first of which asks whether the professors code switch in their lectures, and the second is concerned with whether or not code switching is a conscious process. The third item consists of twelve points that concern the sociolinguistic functions of CS in academic contexts. The questionnaire was given to 18 university professors including the five professors from whose classes the audio-recorded data were collected. Respondents were asked to opt for 'Yes', 'To some extent' or 'No' to respond to the prompts given in the questionnaire items.

In addition to the questionnaire, structured interviews with the five participant professors who permitted audio-recording some of their lectures were conducted. These interviews focused on why participants code switch and whether or not they are aware of such a process¹. Each participant was asked the following questions:

- 1- What is your opinion about code-switching in the class?
- 2- Are you aware when you code switch in the class?

The second stage of the data was taken from the discourse of university professors lecturing in the postgraduate program in the English department in an Egyptian university. As this program is directed for English majors, all the lectures are supposed to be in English. It is worth mentioning that all the students in these classes are either Egyptians or Arabs, which means that professors are expected to alternate the code between English and Arabic.

Five native Arabic-speaking professors were asked to permit the researcher to audio-record some of their lectures to be used as data for this study. Ten lectures were recorded, two for each professor. The sampling system applied in this study is non-random, in the sense that there was no access for data except that collected from the available classes.

IV.2. Procedures

First, the data collected through the questionnaire and interviews were analyzed to describe the sociolinguistic functions of CS.

Second, the audio-recorded data were transcribed in phonemic symbols (See Appendix 1). Then, a qualitative analysis was conducted to describe the different grammatical structures of CS.

¹ - I would like to thank Mohamed M. Saeed, Faculty of Arts and Humanities, Suez Canal University, for helping me to collect the data.

IV.3. Research questions

1- What are the sociolinguistic functions of code-switching in classroom interactions as represented in the academic discourse of Egyptian University professors?

2- What syntactic structures of code-switching are recurrent in the academic discourse of Egyptian university professors of English?

V. Results and discussion

V.1. Sociolinguistic functions of CS

The results in this section are based on the questionnaire that was designed to elicit information about the sociolinguistic functions of CS. Percentages of informants' responses to the questionnaire items are summarized in Tables 1 and 2 below.

Table 1: Percentages of respondents' "code switching" in their lectures and their "awareness" of this practice:			
Item	YES	TO SOME EXTENT	NO
1- Do you code switch in your lectures?	66.7 %	33.3 %	0 %
2- Are you aware when you code switch?	66.7 %	33.3 %	0 %

Table 2: Sociolinguistic Functions of CS as elicited from respondents:			
Item	YES	TO SOME EXTENT	NO
1- Avoiding Misunderstanding	83.3 %	16.7 %	0 %
2- Emphasis	81.6 %	18.4 %	0 %
3- Managing class	66.7 %	33.3 %	0 %
4- Providing translation	66.7 %	33.3 %	0 %

5- Blaming	60 %	22.3 %	16.7 %
6- Cultural comparisons	50 %	50 %	0 %
7- No similar terms in Arabic	50 %	33.3 %	16.7 %
8- Understanding difficulties	50 %	33.3 %	16.7 %
9- Explaining new vocab	50 %	33.3 %	16.7 %
10- Explaining grammar	21.4. %	17.6 %	61 %
11- Filling speech gaps	16.8 %	50 %	33.2 %
12- Conveying intimacy	15.4 %	84.6 %	0%

The results obtained in Tables 1 and 2 strongly support a tendency among Egyptian university professors to resort to code switching in their academic discourse, particularly when content and meaning are the primary focus of this discourse. This is clearly indicated in Item 10 (Table 2), where 61% of the respondents see that they do not resort to code switching to teach grammar. This may be due to the fact that university courses focus on content rather than linguistic structure.

A close look at Table 1 shows that code switching is dominant in academic discourse. Respondents strongly confirm that they code switch while they are lecturing (66.7 % opt for YES), which means that CS is seen as a normal discourse strategy among respondents. Awareness is a key factor of CS use in academic discourse (66.7 % opt for YES). It is interesting to note that the percentage for the "NO" option in both items is zero. The results in Table 1 provide further evidence for Poplack's (1980) finding that CS requires a high level of bilingual proficiency, as the speaker needs sufficient knowledge of both languages in order to produce correct and comprehensible sentences.

Table 2 reveals the multiplicity of reasons/functions for CS as elicited from informants in Egyptian academic context. Respondents were asked of their reasons for switching between English and Arabic. The most frequent reasons for CS identified by respondents are "avoiding misunderstanding" (83.3 %) and "emphasizing key concepts" (81.6 %). Three other less

frequent reasons for CS that were recognized are “managing the class” (66.7%), “providing translation” (66.7 %), and “blaming” (60 %). 50 % of the participants see that they resorted to CS as a means of “comparing cultural issues”, “conveying an idea directly because there is no equivalent word in Arabic”, “helping students when they have difficulty in understanding” and “explaining new vocabulary items”. The least frequent reasons for CS identified by respondents are “explaining grammar” (21.4%), “filling speech gaps” (16.8 %), and “conveying intimacy” (15.4%).

The results revealed in Table 2 all support Gumperz’s (1982) view that CS is employed to fulfill the relational and referential functions of language. This amounts to effective communication and interlingual unity. It has been suggested that bilinguals code-switch with other bilinguals when they share a common environment which allows them to express their membership in, or at least their shared knowledge of two languages and two cultures (Bullock & Toribio, 2009).

V.1.1. Interviews

As mentioned before, interviews with five participant professors were conducted to support and broaden the data collected by means of the questionnaire. In these interviews, the participants’ were asked about the reasons/functions behind their use of CS in their classroom discourse. The major functions of CS are summarized below, according to the participants’ responses in the interviews:

(Note: Quotations are transcribed as they are produced without any interference from the researcher)

1- Providing explanation or translation:

Participant 1

Using Arabic when needed can cut a long story short when you are trying to explain to the students a word or a concept, and sometimes it's easier to say it in Arabic. I think L₁ has its place when you need to explain particular concepts like vocabulary; it's easier to use the mother tongue.

Participant 2

If there is a very difficult part, I mean a complicated part – a difficult theory or something of that sort, and I see if I look at the faces of the students that they are puzzled or so, I may resort to an Arabic interpretation or translation, but I repeat it again in English; I say it more than one time in English with the Arabic translation.

One of the most striking reasons for implementing CS in the classroom is to explain new topics/concepts introduced to the students to overcome any misunderstanding or confusion. As stated by these two participants, resort to the mother tongue helps to facilitate learning, especially in relation to complicated concepts and terminology. They found it easier to deliver the message using L₁.

2- Discussing Culture-Specific Issues:*Participant 3*

On many occasions if I want to explain something about our culture, society, social aspects, I have to resort to Arabic because I want to explain something that happens concerning practices that take place in our society.

This participant resorts occasionally to CS in the classroom when discussing issues relevant to the native culture of the students, with the purpose of comparing and explaining some social practices. She finds it more convenient to discuss such culture-specific issues in the students' first language.

3- Being informal (digressions):*Participant 1*

I think sometimes if I want to inject some humor in the class, if I want to establish this very interesting concept in classroom which is called rapport ... so that when I try to crack a joke – sometimes if I crack a joke in English, it may go over students, but in Arabic for sure they'll get it. That's why I owe to L₁ not just in terms of academic content but also for the social part of teaching.

Participant 4

Normally I believe I switch to the Arabic language to give a comment, especially if it's a funny comment or something to comment on ... any aside, any personal saying just to lighten the air and present a personal comment, I can switch to Arabic at that point.

Digressions are normally observed in the classroom CS practices in general, as the teachers may move away from the main subject they are discussing to deal with other issues of personal or public interest. Participants (1) and (4) resort to CS in order to give a joke, a comment, or an aside, something that helps create rapport and lighten the air.

4- Reproaching:*Participant 5*

Sometimes I may use Arabic when I'm angry with my students and want to rebuke them or tell them off. I guess this is the only case I use Arabic in the class.

In this example, CS is used affectively in the sense that the teacher expresses his anger or frustration by resorting to L_1 .

It is interesting to note that the participants' responses to the interview questions support the results obtained from the questionnaire in various ways. Both the interviews and the questionnaire results provide valuable information about the sociolinguistic functions of CS. The CS functions referred to in the interviews (translation, explaining difficulties, discussing cultural issues, and reproaching) are among the topmost functions obtained from the questionnaire results.

The second phase of this study attempts to discover the syntactic structures of CS that are recurrent in the discourse of Egyptian university professors using English as the language of instruction.

V.2. Syntactic description of CS

This section is devoted to analyzing the various grammatical structures of code-switching as detected in the professors' discourse. It is based on the audio-recorded data of actual lectures given by the same five professors who answered the interview questions. Professors' speeches were analyzed

according to the Matrix Language Frame (MLF) model by Myers-Scotton (2007; 2006; 1993).

The analysis reveals three different forms of CS that match what Romaine (1995) has labeled 'intersentential', 'intrasentential', and 'tag-switching'. Intersentential switching involves "a switch at a clause or sentence boundary, where each clause or sentence is in one language or another" (p. 112). Intrasentential switching, on the other hand, is a switch within a single utterance. Tag-switching involves the insertion of a tag in one language into an utterance in another language and functions as a gap filler.

V.2.1. Intersentential switching:

The data analysis reveals that one common type of CS in university professors' discourse is switching at discourse boundaries. This kind of switching involves a switch from one language to another at the end of a sentence based on a change in the situation. The following extracts represent this structure of switching thoroughly.

Extract 1

We know much more about language than we do. *?eddaliil 'ala kedah ?ennak momken tesma' waahed beyetkallem betarii?a ghariiba we tefham, betefham leeh! li?an* the knowledge is at the back of your mind: implicit knowledge; it is your competence, *?ennama tiigi te'mel zayyuh mate?darsh*. So, there are things that we can appreciate, we can understand because we have a fuller knowledge of language. Our performance is limited by what we actually do ... what our abilities are ... *wel ability beta'etna betekhtelefmen waahed liwaahed*.

(Note: Extracts are taken as they were spoken by the participant professors without any interference from the researcher)

In the above extract, the professor resorts to CS at certain points of the discussion. She switches languages at sentence boundaries, in what is referred to as 'intersentential' switching, that is, she does not mix the two languages in the same utterance. The professor first discusses the point in English and then provides a kind of clarification or comment in Arabic to

enhance the students' understanding. Instances of intersentential switching in the above extract are introduced separately as follows:

We know much more about language than we do. "*?iddaliil 'ala kedah ?ennak momken tesma' waa?hed beyetkallem be?arii?a ghariiba we tefham*" [the evidence for this is that you may listen to someone talk in a strange manner and you understand it.]

Here, the professor switches to Arabic at the end of the English sentence. She finishes her sentence in English then clarifies her point in her students' L₁, which is Arabic, without mixing the two languages. The Arabic sentence beginning with "*?iddaliil*" is thus coded as a sentence switch from English to Arabic. It forms a separate unit by itself, and its morpho-syntactic structure is not mingled with that of the English sentence.

"betefham leeh!" [why do you understand it] *"li?an"* [because] the knowledge is at the back of your mind: implicit knowledge; it is your competence, *"?ennama tiigi te'mel zayyuh mate?darsh."* [but if you try to imitate him, you won't manage to.]

This example shows Arabic-English-Arabic switching at sentence boundaries. The professor starts with a question in Arabic that functions as an exclamatory expression, followed by an explanation in English. However, the set of English clauses are introduced with an Arabic conjunction "*li?an*" that functions as a gap filler. Then, at the end of English clauses there is a final clause in Arabic that comments on and refers to what was stated in Arabic earlier in the professor's speech. Although the set of English clauses occurs within an Arabic-dominated context, they are not integrated into the structure of Arabic clauses.

Our performance is limited by what we actually do ... what our abilities are ... *"wel ability beta'etna betekhtelef men waa?hed lewaa?hed."* [and our ability differs from one person to another.]

The professor again resorts to intersentential switching at sentence boundary to clarify her point in L₁. The switched sentence in Arabic

includes a gap filler "*ability*" inserted at the beginning of the sentence. However, the switch begins at the end of the English clause marking the boundary between the two languages.

Extract 2

There are certain phonetic characteristics we'll speak about in the perception: perception, *we howwa ʔessam' aw ʔelʔedraak 'an ʔariiʔ ʔessam'*. There are certain phonetic characteristics that make a stressed syllable prominent: prominent *ya'ni akthar buruuzan*; prominent... you hear it in sound, *wa yuqṣad bil prominence ʔelli benʔuuluh dah; ʔel buruuz fi ṣṣoot*.

This extract is taken from a different class for a different professor, and it reveals other cases of intersentential switching at clause and sentence boundaries. The teacher here introduces certain academic terms for the students followed by their definition in Arabic. The teacher introduces the term in English and explains the definition in Arabic as a means of clarifying the meaning of the term. The following examples illustrate how CS works in this extract.

There are certain phonetic characteristics we'll speak about in the perception: perception, *"we howwa ʔessam' aw ʔelʔedraak 'an ʔariiʔ ʔessam'."* [and it is listening or perceiving through listening.]

The professor in this extract begins her speech with an English sentence introducing the term being discussed in this part of the lecture. Then, she switches into Arabic to give the definition in the Arabic sentence. The professor uses a tag, the term being defined: *'perception'*, to introduce the Arabic clause. However, this word insertion is not mixed with the following clause, rendering thus an intersentential switch which separates the two sentences morphologically and syntactically.

There are certain phonetic characteristics that make a stressed syllable prominent: prominent *"ya'ni akthar buruuzan."* [that is, more outstanding.]

The structure of the intersentential switch in this example resembles that of the previous one; it uses a tag, '*prominent*' to separate the two languages, thus creating a boundary and introducing the Arabic independent clause in a separate syntactic structure. The participant switches into modern standard, not colloquial, Arabic.

prominent... you hear it in sound, "*wa yuqṣad bil prominence ʔelli benʔuuluh dah; ʔel buruuz fi ṣṣoot.*" [and what is meant by '*prominence*' which we are discussing now is extra emphasis on sound.]

In this example, the switch starts at the end of the English clause. Although this is a case of intersentential switching, the Arabic sentence includes an English word inserted near its beginning. This inserted tag '*prominence*' functions as a referent marking the term being defined. It does not violate the Arabic structure of the sentence, as it just fills in the gap for the term discussed here.

Extract 3

Ya'ni ya gamaa'a ʔelli ana 'ayza ʔaʔuuluh ʔennuh you have to stop thinking with the mentality of an undergraduate student. An undergraduate student '*anduh, we dah kaman ghalat, 'anduh ʔel novel ʔelli howwa beyidresha we hayeʔraaha marreeteen talaatah weykhosh yemtehen fiiha kaam suʔaal*'; that's not research. In pop research, you could have a topic, and you have to research that topic ... ok ... come up with material on that topic; you come up with ideas about that topic; you read more and more *fi sikak mokhtalifah* until you actually write at the point of view that you want to elaborate on in your ... paper or whatever you have to use journals, to bring articles from journals and from periodicals, and you read more books *ʔennama dah mayenfa'sh; ʔelkalaam ʔelli entuh bite'miluuh dah mayenfa'sh.*

One more extract signaling intersentential switching is taken from the discourse of a third teacher. It shows how the teacher switches to Arabic several times at clause and sentence boundaries, maintaining the syntactic structure for each code without mixing them. The following examples

demonstrate how each part of the utterance agrees with the rules of the corresponding language being spoken.

"Ya'ni ya gamaa'a ?elli ana 'ayza ?a?uuluh ?ennuh" [so, guys, what I want to make clear is that] you have to stop thinking with the mentality of an undergraduate student.

This sequence shows how the two languages fit together smoothly at clause boundary, as the teacher starts her speech with an Arabic clause and finishes it in English, maintaining the structure of each language. The switch begins after the Arabic word *"?ennuh"* which plays the role of a conjunction, introducing the following clause. However, the English switch represents a sentence switch which is not mingled with the Arabic syntactic structure.

An undergraduate student *"'anduh, we dah kaman ghalaṭ, 'anduh ?el novel ?elli howwa beyidresha we haye?raaha marreeteen talaatah weykhosh yemtehen fiiha kaam su?aal;"* [just has, and this is wrong, the novel that he studies and he will read it two or three times and then set for the exam to have some questions on it] that's not research.

Here, the professor marks her little talk in Arabic with an introductory English phrase and a concluding English clause commenting on her Arabic sentence. The main point is delivered in Arabic only. The switch here is stretched over a number of Arabic clauses. This is an instance of English-to-Arabic switching.

You have to use journals, to bring articles from journals and from periodicals, and you read more books *"?ennama dah mayenfa'sh; ?elkalaam ?elli entuh bite'miluuh dah mayenfa'sh."* [but this is not going to work; what you are actually doing is not going to work.]

This example represents a switch of a long stretch of two Arabic clauses following the English ones at sentence boundary. This reveals that the intersentential switched units may consist of more than one clause or one sentence.

This analysis provides evidence of the fact that switching at the sentence level, or intersentential switching, separates the morphosyntactic structure of

the two languages but does not interrupt the flow of thoughts throughout the switched discourse.

The following section highlights the second type of CS, intrasentential switching, analyzing the structure and role of the participating languages.

V.2.2. Intrasentential switching:

Table 3 shows that the most prevalent type of code-switching in the professors' discourse is intrasentential switching (F. = 119), compared with intersentential CS (F.= 24). This feature is considered a kind of code mixing which involves embedding individual words or phrases of one language in sentences of another. This type of switching requires a high level of fluency in the two codes because it requires speakers to switch to the rules of syntax of the other language. Therefore, many linguists believe that a study of intrasentential code switching will “yield the greatest fruits in the way of characterizing the linguistic organization of the bilingual cognitive apparatus” (Lipski, 1985, p. 3).

Table 3: Frequencies and percentages of Intersentential and Intrasentential Code-switching (F = Frequency, P = Percentage)				
Participant	Intersentential		Intrasentential	
	F.	P.	F.	P.
1	14	58.33%	40	33.61%
2	1	4.17%	26	21.85%
3	-	-	24	20.17%
4	3	12.5%	19	15.97%
5	6	25%	10	8.4%
Total	24	100%	119	100%

This section focuses on analyzing the structure of intrasentential code switching in order to specify the structural differences between this type of switching and intersentential switching. The extracts and examples

included in this section are analyzed in some detail to identify the roles of both the ML and EL, following Myers-Scotton's MLF model.

Extract 4

Mate?la?uush, no problem ... *mish hayeb?a zay emtehaan el novel fi ssiniin elli faatet ?elli howwa* context; *mafiish* context questions; *we tab'an ?ehna 'amalna* three novels, *fa* definitely *?el* questions *hayeb?a fii haaga ?ennuh* trying to bring them together; *ya'ni mish hayeb?a ?essu?aal 'ala novel lewahdaha ... hayeb?a ya ?emma haydom ettalaata* together, *ya ?emma hayeb?a su?aal wa?ollak* illustrate from two of the three ... *ya'ni haaga beheeth yeddiiko* scope *te'melo* analysis comparing one aspect in the three or two aspects in one *?aw haaga kedah ya'ni*, *we mish hateb?a haaga ghariiba*, unpredictable *ya'ni. ?el?emtehaan elmafruud* should test you on what you know not on what you don't know; you see what I mean!

This is part of a professor's speech about the final exam. She is trying to elaborate on the form of the exam and the structure of the questions for the students. In so doing, she resorts to code-switching at several points of her discussion. It is obvious that the teacher mixes Arabic and English on different levels. Arabic is used mainly as the matrix language in this extract, providing the main morpho-syntactic structure of the utterances. The teacher's speech in this excerpt reveals two types of intrasentential CS: classic code-switching and composite CS as distinguished by the MLF model. In classic CS, only one of the participating languages is the source of the morphosyntactic structure of the bilingual clause, whereas the morphosyntactic structure consists of two languages in composite code-switching. This is elaborated in the following examples:

"mish hayeb?a zay emtehaan el 'novel' fi ssiniin elli faatet ?elli howwa 'context'" [it won't be like the novel exam of the previous years which is context.] *"mafiish"* [there will be no] context questions.

Arabic forms the matrix language here, whereas English is the embedded language. The professor's speech is mainly in Arabic and she

switches to English intrasententially at the word level twice when using the words 'novel' and 'context', and at the phrase level in the noun phrase 'context questions'. This example illustrates how Arabic, the ML, builds the morpho-syntactic frame of the clauses. It shows how word order in the noun phrase '*emteħaan el novel*' comes from the ML (Arabic in this case) as opposed to the English word order 'the novel exam'.

"we ʔab'an ʔeħna 'amalna" [and of course we've done] three novels, *"fa"* [so] definitely *"ʔel"* [the] questions *"hayebʔa fii ħaaga ʔennuh"* [will include something that is] trying to bring them together.

The professor switches codes from Arabic to English on various levels. The switches consist of small constituents like: noun 'questions', noun phrase 'three novels', and adverb 'definitely', and larger constituents, as in the verb phrase 'trying to bring them together'. This example shows how the System Morpheme Principle proposed by the MLF model is achieved. This principle states that system morphemes, which are affixes and some function words such as determiners and clitics, come from the ML only (Myers-Scotton, 2007). In this example, the EL noun 'questions' takes the Arabic definite article '*ʔel*' (ال).

"hayebʔa ya ʔemma haydom ettalaata" [it will either include the three] together, *"ya ʔemma hayebʔa suʔaal waʔollak"* [or it will be a question and I'll ask you to] illustrate from two of the three novels.

The English switches in the professor's discourse here include one switch at the word level as the adverb 'together' which is inserted in the Arabic sentence, and another switch at the phrase level where the teacher switches into English in the verb phrase 'illustrate from two of the three' at the end of the Arabic clause. The EL verb phrase fits into the structure of the ML clause, as it functions as the predicate of the ML verb '*ʔaʔollak*'.

"ya'ni ħaaga beħeeth yeddiiko" [so, it will be something that gives you] scope *"te'melo"* [to make] analysis comparing one aspect in the three or two aspects in one *"ʔaw ħaaga kedah ya'ni"* [or something like that.]

This example represents a case of composite intrasentential switching where the morpho-syntactic structure consists of two languages. Both Arabic and English are used alternatively as the matrix language, and

they fit together in one whole without violating the structure of any of them. The English noun 'scope' just fills in the gap for the equivalent Arabic noun in the first clause. In the following clause, English takes over, forming the main structure of the clause and the Arabic verb '*te'melo*' is used to compensate for the English verb 'make'.

"ʔelʔemteħaan elmafruud" [the exam is supposed to] should test you on what you know not on what you don't know; you see what I mean!

This is an instance of EL islands which Myers-Scotton (2002) describes as consisting of EL morphemes only, and as being well-formed by EL grammar, but they are inserted into an ML frame. The EL island in this example consists of Arabic words only '*ʔelʔemteħaan elmafruud*' and is structured, following the EL rules (Cairene Egyptian Arabic in this case). The Arabic noun '*elmafruud*' fulfils the role of an English modal. However, the Arabic EL island fits into the structure of the ML, as it functions as a noun phrase for the English sentence and is followed by a verb phrase 'should test'.

Extract 5

Remember we said what! We've found that the group *ʔelli haşalloh ʔel* treatment were brilliant, *ya'ni 'amal kowayyes ʔaħsan men el* group *ʔelli maħaşalluush el* treatment. Can you conclude that this treatment was the cause? ... No... If the two groups are not equal ... What if *ʔaşlan ʔel* group *ʔelli haşalloh ʔel* treatment *kaan* brilliant to begin with? *yebʔah mesh el* treatment ... *dah khotooret el* differential selection.

Unlike the previous extract where Arabic is dominant and marks the ML in the professor's discourse, this extract shows how English acts as the matrix language alternatively with Arabic in this excerpt. The professor explains a technical point in her course through the ordinary medium of communication, which is English, and in so doing, she switches into Arabic several times. Arabic here plays the role of the EL, thus providing content

morphemes that fit into the grammatical structure of the English language (ML). This is revealed in the following examples:

Remember we said what! We've found that the group "*ʔelli haṣalloh ʔel*" [which underwent the] treatment were brilliant.

Following the rules of English sentence structure, this is a complex sentence consisting of two clauses, one independent and one subordinate. The Arabic clause '*ʔelli haṣalloh ʔel*' fits into the main frame of the English sentence without violating the structure of the complex sentence, as it replaces the English relative clause or the subordinate clause.

"ya'ni 'amal kowayyes ʔaḥsan men el" [I mean it did better than the] group "*ʔelli maḥaṣalluush el*" [which didn't undergo the] treatment.

In this sentence, Arabic takes over and becomes the matrix language providing the surface morpheme order and the system morphemes. The switched nouns 'group' and 'treatment' take the Arabic definite article '*ʔel*' (ال), which is one type of the system morpheme that is provided by the ML only. The two English nouns are content morphemes that replace the Arabic ones in this context.

What if "*ʔaṣlan ʔel*" [originally the] group "*ʔelli haṣalloh ʔel*" [which underwent the] treatment "*kaan*" [was] brilliant to begin with?

This is an interrogative sentence in English that includes Arabic switches on different levels. The switch consists of two units which are the adverb '*ʔaṣlan*' and the definite article '*ʔel*'. Although this switch includes two words of different categories, it is not considered a phrase in the Arabic structure, but rather two separate words. The other switch in this example is at the clause level, as the constituent '*ʔelli haṣalloh ʔel* treatment' forms an adjective clause that fits into the English sentence. However, the object of this adjective clause is switched back into English to fill in the gap replacing the Arabic noun.

"yebʔah mesh ʔel" [so, it isn't the] treatment.

This negative statement conforms to the structure of the ML, which is Arabic in this short utterance. The surface morpheme order of negation comes from Arabic as realized in the negation particle '*mesh*' and the determiner '*ʔel*'. The only switch is at the word level in the noun 'treatment' which takes the Arabic system morpheme '*ʔel*', replacing the definite article 'the'.

"dah khotooret el" [this is the problem of the] differential selection.

In this utterance, the teacher switches into Arabic at the phrase level. The noun phrase 'differential selection' functions as the modifier of the predicate of the Arabic nominal group. As indicated in the previous examples, the English noun phrase takes an Arabic determiner which marks the system morpheme of the ML. Although this is a short utterance and the number of English words almost equals that of Arabic, the ML is identified as the Arabic language depending on the System Morpheme Principle. This decision to categorize Arabic as the basic language of this sentence is also made at the level of discourse, as the teacher begins her utterance here in Arabic.

Intrasentential code-switching practices among the participants vary from the use of either English or Arabic single words to longer strings of words in single utterances. The data yield various instances of switches within different syntactic categories (i.e. noun, verb, noun phrase, relative clause etc.). This scrutiny is limited to only typical examples of switches from English to Arabic or Arabic to English that occur in major syntactic categories. The following are examples of switches of single or larger sequences of words.

- Single word

(6) I'll stop *masalan* correcting the essay

"I'll stop, (for example), correcting the essay"

- Larger sequences of words

(7) ʔentu *delwaʔti betakhdu* course on bibliography, right?

"(now you are taking a) course on bibliography, right?"

Within 'word' category, switches vary. They include noun, verb, adjective, adverb, pronoun and conjunction. Among the examples of Arabic or English single insertion of words are the following:

- Arabic to English:

(8) *ya'ni mish hayeb?a ?essu?aal 'ala novel lewaħdaha*

"so, the question won't be on one (novel) alone"

- English to Arabic:

(9) *ṭab'an* it depends on the type of errors that you have written.

"(of course) it depends on the type of errors that you have written"

As for the syntactic category 'phrase', different types of phrase construction are detected in the participants' switches, whether English or Arabic. The various phrase types include noun phrase, adjective phrase and prepositional phrase. Examples of English and Arabic phrase switches are represented in the following:

- Arabic to English:

(10) *we ṭab'an ?eħna 'amalna* three novels

"and of course we've discussed (three novels)"

The English noun phrase 'three novels' marks a phrase switch that functions as the object of the Arabic verb '*amalna*'.

- English to Arabic:

(11) So, this is *?el muqaabel betaa' el* random classified.

"So, this is (the equivalent of the) random classified"

The Arabic switch above represents an adjectival phrase marked by the (*betaa'*) construct, introduced by Abdel-Massih et. al. (1979, p. 15), where the word *betaa'* occurs as part of a definite construct phrase which modifies a definite noun.

At the clause level, switches include relative subordinate clauses. The following examples illustrate the syntactic structure of English and Arabic clause switches:

- Arabic to English:

(12) *ya ?emma hayeb?a su?aal wa?aollak* illustrate from two of the three.

"or it will be a question and I'll ask you to (illustrate from two of the three)"

The English clause is a dependent one that is subordinated to the Arabic reporting clause. It functions as a predicate of the Arabic clause "*?a?aollak*" (I will ask you to).

- English to Arabic:

(13) the group *?elli ha?alloh ?el* treatment were brilliant

"the group (which underwent the) treatment were brilliant"

The Arabic relative clause in the above example serves as a subordinate adjective clause describing the noun phrase 'the group'. It follows the typical relative clause construction, introduced with the invariable relative pronoun '*?elli*' (which). (Abdel-Massih et al., 1979, p. 234).

The expansive category of intrasentential switches consists of phrase-level constituents (prepositional phrase, adjective phrase, noun phrase, subordinate clause,) and word-level constituents (noun, verb, pronoun, adjective, adverb, subordinate conjunction, and coordinate conjunction). Examples (14)-(25) demonstrate each type of code-switch (whether the switch is from English to Arabic or vice versa).

- | | |
|-------------|---|
| Noun | (14) <i>Howwa nafs ?el</i> questionnaire
"it is the same (questionnaire)" |
| Noun phrase | (15) <i>walla fii grey zone kedah benel'ab fiiha walla eeh!</i>
"or is there a (grey zone) that we play in, or what!"
(16) or is it all a question of conscience, <i>?eḏḏamiir</i>
"or is it all a question of conscience, (the conscience)" |
| Pronoun | (17) <i>?eḥna</i> we focused on the content
"(we) we focused on the content" |

Verb	(18) <i>ʔezzay ʔelloghah</i> encodes <i>ʔel</i> experience "how the language (encodes) the experience"
Adjective	(19) <i>mish ma'naaha ʔen entum kamaan mish</i> intelligent "it does not mean that you too are not (intelligent)"
Adverb	(20) <i>ya ʔemma haydom ettalaata</i> together "or it will include the three (together)"
Particle	(21) The influence <i>betaa' ʔel</i> neighboring sounds "The influence (of the) neighboring sounds"
Prepositional phrase	(22) you read more and more <i>fi sikak mokhtalifah</i> "you read more and more (in different directions)"
Conjunction (subordinate)	(23) <i>liʔan</i> they make the issue of random assignment "(because) they make the issue of random assignment"
Conjunction (co-ordinate)	(24) Do you think it is suitable for beginners <i>walla</i> they should have added something more "Do you think it is suitable for beginners (or) they should have added something more"
Relative clause	(25) It's better than <i>ʔelli beyefti</i> "It's better than (he who claims to be knowledgeable)"

So far, we have discussed the two major syntactic types of CS that are recurrent in the data, namely intersentential and intrasentential code switches. There remains a third type of CS which is less frequent than the other two: tag switching.

V.2.3. Tag switching:

Tag-switching usually occurs when a speaker inserts a tag statement from one language into another. Examples of this in English are phrases like *you know*, *I mean*, and *no way*, which are inserted into a sentence of another language (Romaine, 1995). This type of switching involves a switch of either a tag phrase or a word that functions as a gap filler. The data of this study reveal that the tag switches occur only in Arabic, meaning that the participants switch from English into Arabic inserting Arabic words or tags into their English discourse. The following examples illustrate the process of switching.

- (26) "*ʔab'an*" [of course] it depends on the type of errors that you have written.

(27) Do you think it is suitable for beginners "*walla*" [or] they should have added something more?

(28) "*laaken*" [but] what Ducklen has done has been affected by what many people collect.

(29) "*li?an*" [because] they make the issue of random assignment

The above examples include tag switching on the word level. All the tags are single words that replace the English conjunctions or sentence connectives. Arabic conjunctions fit into the structure of the English sentences as they fill in the gap for an equivalent category in that language. The structure of such switches is typical of an intrasentential switching in that it maintains the surface structure of the English clause, thus achieving the two main principles of the MLF model: the Morpheme Order Principle and the System Morpheme Principle.

The following examples represent a different category of tag switches:

(30) What is proofreading "*ba?a*"? (ba?a =then)

(31) We have a tweety sound "*kedah*". (kedah=sort of)

(32) Not focus on it "*ya'ni*". (ya'ni=I mean)

(33) "*tab*" very good. (tab=then)

(34) "*bas*" definitely there will be choice. (bas=but)

In examples 30-34 above, the Arabic tag does not replace an equivalent English one. The tags here are insertions that fill in the gap in the teacher's speech. They do not fit into the structural frame of the whole utterance, for they could be considered as additions that could be omitted without violating the surface structure or changing the meaning. Such tags (ba?a 'بقي'; kedah 'كده'; ya'ni 'يعنى'; tab 'طب'; bas 'بس') are language specific as they do not have direct and exact English equivalents. They are common expressions in Arabic that are used as discourse markers or gap fillers.

The following is a list of the tag switches, words and phrases, which occur in the collected data. Items are ordered according to their frequencies in the data:

Table 4: A list of tag switches that occurred in the data (F = Frequencies, P = Percentages)		
Item	F	P
ya'ni يعني	44	28.95 %
masalan مثلا	31	20.39 %
ṭab'an طبعا	22	14.47 %
laaken لكن	12	7.89 %
t=ab طب	8	5.26 %
ya gamaa'a ياجماعة	8	5.26 %
kedah كده	6	3.95 %
liʔan لأن	6	3.95 %
bas بس	4	2.63 %
walla ولا	3	1.97 %
ba'd kedah بعد كده	2	1.32 %
baʔa بقى	2	1.32 %
heyya heyya هي هي	1	0.66 %
we khala:š وخلص	1	0.66 %
walla eeh ولا ايه	1	0.66 %
ḥaaga kedah حاجة كده	1	0.66 %
Total	152	100 %

Table 4 shows that the ten recorded lectures yield a total of 152 tag-switches, which means that this type of switches is more frequent than the other two types, namely intersentential (F = 24) and intrasentential (F = 119). The table also shows that the most frequent tags are those which are used to reformulate information such as 'ya'ni' (*I mean* =28.95 %), 'masalan' (*for example* =20.39 %), ṭab'an (*of course* = 14.47 %) and 'laaken' (*however* =7.89 %). The others are used as gap fillers which do not violate the structure of the sentence. It seems that these markers have the same function in both English and Arabic.

VI. Conclusion

Two major issues have to be dealt with in the study of codeswitching: (1) why it occurs (functional dimension); (2) where it occurs (formal or syntactic dimension). The current study is an attempt to discover both

dimensions in academic Egyptian context. These dimensions have traditionally been treated separately, although researchers agree that they interact.

This study provides evidence that there is a general tendency among Egyptian university professors to code switch in their classes. University professors code switch for a variety of reasons including “avoiding misunderstanding”, “emphasizing key concepts”, “managing the class”, “providing translation”, “blaming” and “comparing cultural issues”, all of which are conducted for achieving academic goals. The classroom in this case is regarded as a social environment which imposes a set of discourse strategies in order for communication to be successful.

The major findings of the study reveal that participants tend to use the three main syntactic structures of CS proposed by Romaine (1995): intersentential, intrasentential and tag-switching. Intersentential switching occurs at sentence level, separates the morphosyntactic structure of the two languages, but does not interrupt the flow of thoughts throughout the discourse. Intrasentential switching, on the other hand, is found to be more frequent than intersentential CS. Participants tend to switch at word and phrase levels without violating the structure of the Matrix Language. Tag-switching is used by participants as a gap filler. Generally, tag-switches are used by participants as additions; whose omission violates neither the structure nor the meaning.

There is a final remark to be made about CS in classroom context. It is an active and creative process that fosters successful communication. This study is a serious attempt at proving that the use of L₁ in bilingual communication is not due to lack of proficiency in the second language, but to a tendency to enhance the act of communication among those who are fluent in two (or more) languages.

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Appendix 1

List of phonemic transcription symbols

The following symbols are used to represent Arabic consonants and vowels for the phonemic transcription of the data:

Arabic sound	Symbol	Description	Arabic sound	Symbol	Description
ʔ	أ/ء	Glottal, stop, voiceless	ض	ʤ	Alveodental, emphatic stop, voiced
ب	b	Bilabial, stop, voiced	ط	ʤ	Alveodental, emphatic stop, voiceless
ت	t	Alveodental, stop, voiceless	ظ	ʤ	Interdental, emphatic fricative, voiced
ث	th	Fricative, interdental, voiceless	ع	ʕ	Pharyngeal, fricative, voiced
ج	g ʤZ	Velar, stop, voiced Alveopalatal, affricate, voiced	غ	gh	Uvular, fricative, voiced
ح	h	Fricative, pharyngeal, voiceless	ف	f	Labiodental, fricative, voiceless
خ	kh	Fricative, uvular, voiceless	ق	q	Uvular, stop, voiceless
د	d	Alveodental, stop, voiced	ك	k	Velar, stop, voiceless
ذ	dh	Fricative, interdental, voiced	ل	l	Alveodental, lateral, voiced
ر	r	Alveodental, trill, voiced	م	m	Bilabial, nasal, voiced

ز	z	Alveodental, fricative, voiced	ن	n	Alveadental, nasal, voiced
س	s	Alveodental, fricative, voiceless	هـ	h	Glottal, fricative, voiced
ش	sh	Alveopalatal, fricative, voiceless	و	w	Labio-velar, glide, voiced
ص	σϕ	Alveodental, emphatic fricative, voiceless	يـ	y	Palatal, glide, voiced

Vowels:

Arabic owel (short)	Symbol (short)	Arabic vowels (long)	Symbol (long)
فتحة ---	a	أ/ ^aad/ عاد أ/ ^aar/ عار	aa aa
ضمة ----	o or u	و/ ^uud/ עוד و/ yoom/ يوم	uu oo
كسرة -----	i or e	ي/ ^iid/ عيد ي/ ^een/ عين	ii ee

Note: In Arabic, there is a tendency to double some consonants in the pronunciation of some words. This is called gemination. In such cases the symbol will be written twice.

Appendix2: Questionnaire

Sociolinguistic factors affecting code switching

Dear Professors. Thank you for allowing me to audiotape parts of your lectures for my study. Please, have a look at this questionnaire and check the answers you choose. It will take no more than 10 minutes. Thank you for your cooperation.

1- Do you code switch in your lectures?

Yes ----- To some extent ----- No -----

2- Are you aware when you code switch?

Yes ----- To some extent ----- No -----

3- I code switch to

1. convey intimacy (be informal).

Yes ----- To some extent ----- No -----

2. fill a gap in speaking.

Yes ----- To some extent ----- No -----

3. avoid misunderstanding.

Yes ----- To some extent ----- No -----

4. add emphasis to key concepts.

Yes ----- To some extent ----- No -----

5. convey the idea directly because there is no similar word in Arabic.

Yes ----- To some extent ----- No -----

6. explain grammar.

Yes ----- To some extent ----- No -----

7. manage the class.

Yes ----- To some extent ----- No -----

8. help students when they have difficulty in understanding.

Yes ----- To some extent ----- No -----

9. to teach new vocabulary

Yes ----- To some extent ----- No -----

10. provide translation

Yes ----- To some extent ----- No -----

11. to compare cultural issues

Yes ----- To some extent ----- No -----

12. to blame

Yes ----- To some extent ----- No -----

Refusals by Egyptian ESL learners: Development, transfer, and cross-cultural differences

Abdelfattah Mofiah

Abstract

This study examines how British native English speakers, Egyptian native Arabic speakers and Egyptian L2 learners refuse requests, and how their refusal strategy use is affected by social context variables such as power and social distance of their interlocutors. It also investigates the effect of L2 proficiency level and exposure to L2 input on the development of L2 learners' refusal strategy use. Eight British English native speakers and seventeen Egyptian L2 learners of British English at the lower, intermediate and high proficiency / exposure levels were asked to take part in open role-plays by refusing requests of people of different social distance and power. Quantitative and qualitative analysis of the data elicited provides evidence that L2 proficiency level and exposure to L2 input affected the L2 learners' refusal strategies. However, L2 proficiency level was found to be a better determiner of L2 learners' ability to realize refusals that approximate those of the native English speakers. Pragmatic transfer was also found to exist on the pragmatic level and it was found to negatively correlate with L2 proficiency level. The study also showed that the Egyptian native Arabic speakers' refusals were affected by the collectivistic nature of their society, and that the British native English speakers' refusals were affected by the individualistic nature of their society.

Introduction

Pragmatic competence or the ability of second language (L2) learners to use the target language appropriately and properly when communicating in the L2 has been identified as an integral part of the broad communicative

competence that they should acquire and be assessed against (Bachman, 1990). However, acquiring that pragmatic competence is hard and time consuming (Kasper & Roeper, 2005) to the extent that even very linguistically proficient learners may fail to acquire some of its aspects (Bardovi-Harlig, 1999). Basic to the study of the development of L2 learners' pragmatic competence is the investigation of how they produce and comprehend different speech acts and how their pragmatic performance is affected by factors such as proficiency level and exposure to L2 content.

Research findings showed that L2 proficiency level positively affected L2 learners' pragmatic performance (Maeshiba, Yoshinaga, Kasper & Ross, 1996; Takahashi & Beebe, 1987). However, results of Bouton's (1994) study on the L2 comprehension of conversational implicature showed that certain kinds of implicature did not correlate with the L2 learners' proficiency level. In addition, Olshtain and Blum-Kulka (1985) and Bardovi-Harlig (1999) also noted that research findings revealed that high grammatical level did not guarantee better pragmatic performance.

Length of residence (LoR) in the target language community was also found to positively correlate with pragmatic competence (Bardovi-Harlig & Hartford, 1993; Félix-Brasdefer, 2004). Blum-Kulka and Olshtain (1986) maintained that LoR is a better determiner of L2 learners' pragmatic competence than L2 proficiency level. However, taking LoR as a measure for the quality, quantity and intensity of L2 learners' exposure to L2 pragmatic input is somehow misleading, since it does not guarantee more opportunities for obtaining L2 pragmatic input which is a necessary condition for the development of the L2 learners' pragmatic competence. Dietrich, Klein and Noyau (1995) also noted that LoR in the target language (TL) community is a crude measure for L2 learners' exposure to the pragmatic resources. A more accurate measure of exposure to L2 pragmatic input is a questionnaire developed and used by Freed, Dewey, Segalowtiz and Halter (2004) to assess L2 learners' contact with the L2 called *The Language Contact Profile* (LCP).

In a situation where an L2 learner does not have the required pragmatic competence to understand or execute a certain speech act, s/he may transfer the sociocultural norms of his/her first language (L1) when realizing the required speech act in the target language (Beebe, Takahashi & Uliss-Weltz,

1990). Studies of pragmatic transfer investigated the effect of L2 proficiency level on pragmatic transfer. Takahashi and Beebe (1987) and Kwon (2003 cited in Wannaruk, 2008) claimed that pragmatic transfer correlated positively with the L2 learners' proficiency level. However, study findings of Maeshiba *et al.* (1996) showed that low proficiency Japanese L2 learners negatively transferred the Japanese apology norms more than the high proficiency learners did. They also maintained that pragmatic transfer depended on the learners' perceptions of pragmatic knowledge as universal or cultural specific. Other social and cultural factors, such as pride in L1, religious and political orientation, were found to affect pragmatic transfer (Al-Issa, 2003) in some Arabic speaking cultures.

The speech act of refusal

For many reasons, the speech act of refusal was the focus of many studies in Interlanguage Pragmatics (ILP). First, refusals are face-threatening acts (Brown & Levinson, 1987) which involve a lengthy interpersonal negotiation and complex interactions which include many face-saving moves (Hudson, 2001) such as indirectness, hedging, reversal and extensive planning on the part of the refuser (Beebe *et al.*, 1990). Second, they also "require a high level of pragmatic competence" (Félix-Brasdefer, 2004: 592, Beebe *et al.*, 1990 : 68). Third, refusals are often culture-specific and are affected by other factors such as social status and gender (Beebe *et al.*, 1990; Félix-Brasdefer, 2004).

Refusal studies in the Arabic setting

Al-Shalawi (1997) used a 14 item Discourse Completion Test (DCT) to compare Arabic and American refusals to requests, invitations, offers and suggestions. His study findings revealed that the Americans significantly used more direct refusals than the Saudis who believed that using direct refusals endangers the in-group harmony and therefore should be avoided. Americans, on the other hand, were direct and straightforward in their refusals. The study also showed that the frequency of refusal strategies was affected by the speech act used to elicit the refusals (i.e. request, invitation,

offer, and suggesting) rather than by the social status or distance of the interlocutor.

Rizk (2000) conducted a study to investigate American and Egyptian refusal strategies. His main objective was to find out the similarities and differences between the Egyptian and American NSs, as well as the refusal responses of the Egyptians EFL learners. 72 participants took part in his study: 24 American NSs, 24 Egyptian NSs and 24 Egyptian EFL learners. All participants were asked to respond to a six-situation DCT that required the participants to refuse offers, invitations, and requests. Data collected were coded by four raters according to a devised taxonomy of refusal strategies based on earlier taxonomies of refusal strategies. His study findings showed similarities and differences in the American and Egyptian refusal strategy usage. One of the main differences between the two groups was that American NSs' were indirect and used fewer direct refusal strategies in comparison with their Egyptian counterparts (3.8% and 18% respectively). In addition, Egyptian NSs used cultural specific refusal formulas such as "no + thanks" which were never used by the Americans NSs. Third, Egyptian NSs were affected by the Egyptian collectivistic culture in their refusals, whereas the Americans showed more tendency towards the individualistic self-assorted refusal strategies. For example, family related matters showed more in Egyptian refusals than they did in American refusals. A fourth difference was that the differential social status of the interlocutor was found to affect the Egyptian and American refusals differently. When refusing the request of higher status interlocutor, the Egyptians used more semantic formulas, whereas their American counterparts were direct and brief in their refusals. Egyptian EFL learners, on the other hand, approximated the Egyptian cultural norms in their refusals. In addition, they transferred the Egyptian cultural norms in using direct refusals (14.2%) to the foreign language setting. Exposure to L2 was also found to affect the degree of transfer from L1 to L2. An interesting finding was that L2 proficiency level did not have an effect on EFL learners' refusal strategies. However, the fact that most of the study participants come from the academia (50 PhD holders and 22 MA holders) poses questions related to the generalizability of the study findings to different participants in different settings.

Nelson, Carson, Al-Batal and El Bakary (2002) compared Egyptian Arabic and American English refusals with focus on the frequency of direct and indirect refusal strategies. 30 native speakers of American English and 25 native speakers of Egyptian Arabic were asked to respond orally to a DCT read to them by an interviewer. Study results revealed that both the American and Egyptian refusals were similar in respect of the use and frequency of refusal strategies. Moreover, the social status of the interlocutor was found to have a small and statistically insignificant effect on the speakers' choice of the refusal strategies.

Al-Qahtani (2005) investigated the order, frequency and content of the refusals realized by 10 Americans, 10 Arabs and 10 Japanese participants using the classification of refusal strategies proposed by Beebe *et al.* (1990). The participants in his study were asked to respond to a twelve-situation DCT containing 3 requests, 3 invitations, 3 offers and 3 suggestions. The situations in the DCT allowed differential social status. Data analysis showed that the three groups used similar order of refusal strategies across the three request situations regardless of the social status of their interlocutors. However, differential social status was found to affect the frequency of the refusal strategies used by the three groups when they had the upper hand in the request situation. The most frequently used refusal strategy by the Americans and the Japanese was “positive agreement” whereas “postponement” was the most frequently used refusal strategy by the Arabs. However, in a situation where the participants were of a lower status than their interlocutors, the most frequently used refusal strategies used by the three groups were “Excuse” and “Regret” respectively. Study findings also showed that the refusals of the Arabs and the Japanese were vague and unspecific, whereas the American refusals were clear and specific in their refusals.

Al-Eryani (2007) conducted a study to investigate the frequency and order of refusal strategies of 20 male Yemeni Arabic native speakers (YANSs), 20 male Yemeni learners of English (YELs) and 20 male American native speakers of English (AENSs). Participants were asked to give refusals to six situations in a DCT: 2 requests, 2 invitations, 1 offer and 1 suggestion. Data analysis showed that the requester's social status affected the participants' choice of refusal strategies. YANSs' refusals were direct and brief, and they did not apologize to their interlocutors when they had the upper hand in the

conversation. Moreover, they gave their direct refusals in the first turn of the conversation, whereas AENSs and YELs' direct refusals came in the fourth and second turns respectively. AENSs started their refusals by apologizing to their interlocutors, whereas YELs did not do that.

One cannot help but notice three characteristics of the refusal studies in the Arabic language setting. First, three of the above mentioned four studies were contrastive in nature and did not have groups for L2 learners. This, in part, minimizes their usefulness in studying ILP. Second, all of them except for Al-Qahtani's (2005) study, had male participants only, which limits their generalizability. Third, all of them used DCTs in collecting their data despite the criticism directed at DCT in studying pragmatics.

The present study

The present study aims to contribute to the increasing body of research in ILP by investigating how Egyptian native Arabic speakers, British native English speakers and Egyptian L2 learners of English at different proficiency/exposure levels refuse a request.

The following research questions are investigated in the current study:

1. How do proficiency level and exposure to L2 input affect L2 learners' refusal strategy use?
2. Do L2 learners negatively transfer the Arabic refusal norms to the L2 context? If yes, is negative pragmatic transfer affected by L2 learners' proficiency level?

Methodology

Participants

25 participants took part in this study: 8 native English speakers (NESs) and 17 Egyptian L2 learners of English. All participants were male and lived in Leeds during the study. It was difficult to include female participants in the study because the majority of the Egyptian women who lived in Britain came with their husbands and it was culturally inappropriate for the researcher to ask a man who was barely a passing acquaintance to bring his wife to participate in a study, especially when it involved acting a role play with a British native speaker. Table 1 (See appendix 4) shows the profile of the NESs' group.

All L2 learners were asked to take a two-part proficiency test. The first part of the test was a three-paragraph C-test that contained 75 gaps developed by Klein-Braley (1997), and the second part was a ten-item implicature test developed by Roever (2005). These tests were chosen not only because of their reliability and validity in measuring the overall language proficiency and pragmatic competence of the L2 learners, but also because of their practicality, since they did not require the researcher to hold the participants for a long time. Based on their scores, L2 learners were divided into three groups: low proficiency learners, intermediate proficiency learners and high proficiency learners.

Information about L2 learners' exposure to L2 was obtained by asking them to fill in a modified version of The Language Contact Profile (LCP) developed by Freed *et al.* (2004) (See Appendix 3). The validity of using the L2 learners' exposure to L2 input as a measure of exposure to L2 input instead of their LoR was discussed earlier. In addition, Pearson's *r* correlation showed that the LoR did not correlate with the L2 learners' weekly exposure hours to L2 input ($r = .270$). Based on their exposure to L2 input, learners were divided into three groups: high exposure L2 learners, intermediate exposure L2 learners and low exposure L2 learners. Table 2 shows a complete profile of the L2 learners.

Instrumentation

Data collection instruments have always been an area of debate in ILP research. All data collection methods have been identified as having advantages and disadvantages (Houck and Gass, 1996). However, open role plays were selected for collecting data in this study because of the many advantages they have over other data collection instruments. First, unlike DCTs, they can have many turns and thus allow the learners to interact and negotiate (Houck & Gass, 1996). Second, they allow the researcher to observe the entire conversational interaction from the opening to the closing (Scarcella, 1979). Third, by arranging different roles for participants, the researcher can observe the influence of power, distance, degree of imposition and other variables on the strategies used by L2 learners in realizing different speech acts (Kasper & Rose, 2002). Fourth, role plays

allow the researcher to control extra-linguistic variables such as power, status, gender and age (Golato, 2003).

The role plays in this study contained three situations in English and three in Arabic (See Appendix 2). The three English role plays contained three situations about a person borrowing a laptop (-power, -distance), a person asking for a lift to the train station (-power, +distance) and a salesperson trying to convince a customer to take on his electricity company (+power, +distance). The Arabic role plays, however, were not a translation of the English role plays, because it was believed that the English role plays contained some situations that are not feasible in Egypt, such as the role play of the salesperson of the electricity company. To make the Arabic role plays as realistic as the English role plays, they contained situations that are common in Egypt while sharing the English role plays the same theme: borrowing something, selling something ... etc. The situations in the Arabic role plays were a person asking his colleague to lend him his digital camera (-power, -distance), a neighbour borrowing a (Camera) VCR (-power, +distance), and a salesperson trying to convince a customer to enroll in the French language classes (+power, +distance). All the role plays were piloted with three Egyptian L2 learners to detect any problems in the design of the role play situations, and to make sure that the situations in the role plays are realistic and that refusal is possible to them. All three participants expressed that the situations are real and that refusal is possible in all of them. To make sure that the English and the Arabic role plays are equivalent in respect of distance, power and imposition, the researcher scrambled the six role plays, and asked the participants in the pilot study to match each English role play with another Arabic role play that resembles it in respect of distance, power and imposition. All the three participants did the task successfully. Detailed role play cards were prepared for the English native speaker and the L2 learners.

Procedure

Before starting the role plays the researcher asked all the participants to sign a consent form giving permission to the researcher to use their data in the study. At the beginning, a warm-up role play was administered to familiarize the participants with what they would do. After that, the three English role plays were administered one at a time. At the beginning of each

role play, the English native speaker and the participants were given cards that gave them the contextual information surrounding each role play situation. The English native speaker was told to keep the introduction and the closing of the role plays as fixed as possible for all the participants and not to give up too easily if his request was refused in the first turn of the role play. The Arabic role plays were administered by the researcher directly after the English role plays and followed identical procedures.

After the role plays, the researcher had interviews with the participants and asked them if some requests were more difficult to refuse than others and why. Participants were also asked about any details in their data that the researcher found interesting. Directly after the interview, L2 learners were asked to fill out the LCP and to answer the language test.

Analysis

The English and Arabic role plays were transcribed by the researcher according to the transcription conventions proposed by Du Bois, J., Schuetze-Coburn, S., Cumming, S., and Paolino, D. (1993). The data were then coded by the researcher and a bilingual TA in the Department of the English Language – Suez Canal University separately according to a modified version of the classification of refusal strategies proposed by Beebe *et al.* (1990) (See Appendix 3).

As shown in table 3 appendix 4, in this modified version of the classification of refusal strategies, one strategy 'Mitigated Refusal' was adopted from Felix-Brasdefer (2004) and some strategies, which did not show in the data of this study, were excluded. Two other strategies were added to the classification; 'Repeated Excuse' and 'Ask for Details to Tailor an Excuse'. It was noticed that during the role plays participants asked about some details of the request (e.g., What time/day is the presentation?). During the interview that followed the role plays, participants were asked about the purpose of these questions. If they expressed that the question was asked with the intention of tailoring an excuse to the requester, the question was then accounted as a refusal strategy, namely 'Ask for Details to Tailor an Excuse'. The second refusal strategy that was added was 'Repeated Excuse'. Since the DCT did not allow the participant to repeat their excuses, this strategy was not present in Beebe *et al.*'s (1990) classification of refusal strategies. However, in role plays, as well as in natural conversations, some

participants repeated their excuses in subsequent turns, whereas others came up with completely different excuses. Therefore, in order to differentiate between the repetition of the same excuse and coming up with another excuse, it was believed that there should be a category called 'Total Excuse' that includes two other strategies; 'Excuse' and 'Repeated Excuse'.

Example 1 shows how each refusal interaction was divided into refusal strategies and coded according to the classification presented above:

(1)(L2 learner3 Salim En 1: 3-6) intermediate proficiency, high exposure

Roommate: You know I've got the history presentation tomorrow. I wonder if I can borrow your laptop.

Salim: Uhm .. sorry man I can't do it because I've got a computer virus at the moment

(i) Uhm (*Pause Fillers*)

(ii) sorry (*Statement of Regret/Apology*)

(iii) I can't do it (*Direct*)

(iv) I've got a computer virus at the moment (*Excuse*)

The intercoder reliability of the two coders was 83%. For items on which there was disagreement, the coders went back to the classification of the refusal strategies until they came to a consensus.

Data were, then, statistically analyzed using SPSS 12. Descriptive statistics were calculated in order to determine measures of central tendency and dispersion. Paired sample *t*-tests were used to find out if NESs and native Arabic speakers (NASs) significantly employed different refusal strategies to accommodate interlocutors of different social distance and status. Also, *t*-tests were used to detect any differences between the NESs' group and any of the different proficiency/exposure groups in the type and frequency of refusal strategy use in each of the three English role plays. Although one-way ANOVA appeared more suitable for this task than a *t*-test, small sample size and insufficient power made one-way ANOVA incapable of detecting anything but the huge differences between the groups that could be easily seen without using inferential statistics.

Results

How do proficiency level and exposure to L2 input affect L2 learners' refusal strategy use?

To answer this question and for the sake of investigating pragmatic transfer, it is important to examine the refusal strategy use of the NESs and the NASs first.

Native English speakers

The NESs showed sensitivity to social status in the lift (-power, +distance) and the electricity salesperson (+power, +distance) role plays. Paired sample *t*-test results showed that they significantly used more 'Total Excuse' in the lift role play than they did in the electricity salesperson role play ($t = 2.663$, $p = .032$). Examples 2 and 3 show two of the NESs refusing the requests of the classmate and the salesperson.

(2)(NES2 John En 2:3-9)

Classmate: Uhh: you know I need a lift to the train station. You reckon you can help me out?

...

John: Uhh uhh OK ... to get to the city there I've got a bit of a problem my sister I've to pick my sister tonight. She's leaving school on time. I've got to be there right on time otherwise I get in trouble. She gets nervous and things like that.

(3)(NES3 George En 3: 1-5)

The salesperson: Good afternoon sir, I was wondering if you're interested in Power-Plus a new electricity company. We're offering good rates [

- George:* [No, not today thank you
- The salesperson:* Can I ask you who's your supplier at the moment?
- George:* No. ... If I want to change my electricity company I'll go to the Internet.

Moreover, as shown in figure 1 (see appendix 5), the NESs used more 'Direct' refusals with the salesperson (+power) than they did with the classmate (-power). It is also worth mentioning, as table 4 shows, that the NESs' conversations with the salesperson were shorter than their conversations with the classmate.

The NESs also showed sensitivity to social distance in the laptop (-distance) and the lift (+distance) role plays. Paired sample *t*-test results showed that the NESs significantly used more of the strategy 'Statement of Alternative' with the classmate (+distance) than they did with the roommate (-distance) ($t = 3.024$, $p = .019$). Example 4 shows a NES refusing the request of the classmate.

(4) (NES4 Michael En 2: 4-14)

- Classmate:* I was wondering if you can give me a lift on your way.
- Michael* No, I can't because I have got to pick my sister from school tonight.
- Classmate:* ...
- Michael* ... just pull a cab and you'll have to pay the fee. You got a credit card, don't you?
- Classmate:* No, I don't have a credit card. I can't afford it. It costs too much money.
- Michael* So how about I lend you 5 bucks and you pay me back tomorrow?

Native Arabic speakers

As table 5 shows, the NASs used more refusal strategies with the salesperson (+power, +distance) in the French courses role play than they did with the neighbour (-power, +distance) in the VCR role play.

In addition, their conversations with the salesperson (+power), as table 6 shows, were much longer than their conversations with the neighbour (-power).

Differential social distance also affected the NASs' refusal strategy use in the camera (-power, -distance) and the VCR (-power, +distance) role plays. As figure 2 (see appendix 5) shows, in the camera role play, the NASs were less direct, but more definite in their refusals. They, however, gave their interlocutor more alternatives.

Native language performance on equivalent role plays

In this section, the performance of the NASs' in the camera, VCR and French courses role plays is compared with that of the NESs in the laptop, lift and electricity salesperson role plays which are equivalent to the Arabic role plays in respect of distance and power. As table 7 shows, the NASs used far more 'Statement of Apology' in all role plays than the NESs did. Example 5 shows an NAS using two synonymous formulas each of which means 'I'm sorry' to make his apology more sincere.

(5)(NAS1 Hazam Ar 2: 41)

Hazam: معلىش .. انا انا اسف اني بقولك لاه

ma^caleshsh ..'ana 'ana 'asef ?enni ba'?ullak la?h

I'm sorry... I'm sorry to say no.

On the other hand, the NESs used far more 'Adjuncts to Refusals' and 'Mitigated refusal' than the NASs did. A third difference was in the use of the 'Direct' refusals. The NESs used more than twice as many direct refusals with the salesperson as the NASs did. Example 6 shows an NES refusing the request of the classmate.

(6) (NES7 Sam En 2: 3-6)

Classmate: Listen I need a lift to the train station you reckon you could help me out?

Sam: Uhh today uhm mate I've got to get my sister from school uhm ..yeah I've got to get there pretty soon so I might not be able to make it.

L2 learners' performance in the English role plays

As Figure 3 (see appendix 5) shows, the L2 learners' group and the NESs' group were different in their refusal strategy use across the three English role plays. L2 learners used about three times as many 'Statement of Apology' and 'Avoidance' as the NESs did in all the role plays. They also used significantly more 'Statement of Apology' ($t = 3.032, p = .006$) and fewer 'Adjuncts to Refusals' ($t = 2.599, p = .029$) with the classmate in the lift role play (+distance) than the NESs did. The NESs, on the other hand, used twice as many 'Mitigated Refusal', 'Statement of Alternative' and 'Adjuncts to Refusals' as the L2 learners did in all the role plays. The performance of the two groups was especially incomparable with the roommate in the laptop (-power) and the salesperson in the electricity salesperson (+power) role plays. Contrary to what the NESs did, the L2 learners used more direct refusals with the roommate than they did with the salesperson. The two groups' use of the strategy 'Statement of Apology' was also striking. The L2 learners used more 'Statement of Apology' with the roommate and the classmate than they did with the salesperson. The NESs, on the other hand, used twice as many 'Statement of Apology' with the salesperson as they did with the roommate and the classmate.

The effect of L2 proficiency on the L2 learners' refusal strategy use

As shown in table 8, in the lift role play the high proficiency learners approximated the NESs in using the strategy 'Mitigated Refusal', whereas the low proficiency learners did not use it at all. The high proficiency learners were also closer to the NESs in the use of the strategies 'Direct', 'Wish', 'Total Excuse' and 'Statement of Alternative' than the low proficiency learners. However, all proficiency groups deviated very much from the NESs in the use of the strategies 'Statement of Apology' and 'Adjuncts to

Refusals'. Statistically significant differences were found between the low proficiency learners and the NESs in the use of the strategies 'Statement of Apology' ($t = 2.832, p = .026$), 'Adjuncts to Refusals' ($t = -2.366, p = .036$) and 'Mitigated Refusal' ($t = -2.397, p = .048$). The high proficiency learners were no exception. They also used significantly fewer 'Adjuncts to Refusal' ($t = -2.319, p = .040$) than the NESs did. However, the low proficiency learners surprisingly approximated the NESs more than the other proficiency groups did in using the strategies 'Direct', 'Total Excuse' and 'Set Condition for Future/Past Acceptance' in the electricity salesperson role play (+power, +distance). A closer look into that finding, as table 9 shows, revealed that they did not really approximate the NESs' group in the use of the direct refusals with interlocutors of equal/unequal power relationship. The NESs used more direct refusals with the electricity salesperson, who was inferior to them in the power relationship, than they did with the classmate, who was equal to them in the power relationship. The low proficiency learners, on the other hand, did the exact opposite.

There might be two reasons for this refusal behavior. First, research findings of Takahashi and Beebe (1987) and Rose (2000) showed that the low proficiency learners favor direct strategies over indirect strategies. This is probably because they do not have sufficient language resources to communicate effectively. Second, all proficiency groups used fewer direct refusal strategies with the electricity salesperson than they did with the classmate, despite of the fact that they have the upper hand in the situation. This can be attributed to the effect of pragmatic transfer, as will be illustrated in the answer of research question 2. Example 7 shows a low proficiency learner refusing the request of the electricity salesperson.

(7) (L2 learner8 Emad En 3: 5-11) low proficiency, low exposure

<i>Emad:</i>	I'm sorry I got I got good service from company: from my company and I: don't want I don't want to change it
<i>The salesperson:</i>	Compared to other companies sir, PowerPlus provides exceptional service no power cuts and a better transmission of electricity

Emad: ... I don't have any problems with .. from this company for now. Maybe in the future if I have any short in their service for me I will ask for your service but for now I am fine

As shown in table 8, in the laptop role play, the high proficiency learners approximated the NESs in using the strategies 'Direct', 'Statement of Apology', 'Set Condition for Future/Past Acceptance', 'Criticizing the Request/Requester' and 'Adjuncts to Refusals' more than the intermediate and the low proficiency learners did. The low proficiency learners, on the other hand, were the farthest from the NESs in using the strategies 'Direct', 'Total Excuse' and 'Adjuncts to Refusals'.

The effect of exposure to L2 Input on the learners' refusal strategy use

Generally speaking, the effect of exposure to L2 input on the L2 learners' ability to refuse a request in situations of differential power and social distance relationship was not as evident as the effect of L2 proficiency level. None of the exposure groups was close to the NESs in the refusal strategy use across the three role plays. However, some effect of exposure to L2 content can still be detected. In the lift role play (-power, +distance), the high exposure learners approximated the NESs more than the intermediate and the low exposure learners in four strategies: 'Statement of Apology', 'Total Excuse', 'Alternative' and 'Adjuncts to Refusals'. The low exposure learners, on the other hand, deviated a lot from the NESs in four strategies: 'Statement of Apology', 'Wish', 'Mitigated Refusals', and 'Statement of Alternative'. In addition, the low exposure learners and the NESs were also incomparable in using the strategy 'Adjuncts to Refusals', as they used it with the percentage of 2.1% and 27.2% respectively. The intermediate exposure learners also used significantly fewer 'Adjuncts to Refusals' than the NESs' group did ($t = -2.397, p = .038$). Similarly, in the laptop role play, the low exposure group was the farthest group from the NESs in the use of six strategies: 'Direct', 'Statement of Apology', 'Set Condition for Future/Past Acceptance', 'Indefinite Reply', 'Avoidance' and 'Adjuncts to Refusals'. Example 8 shows a high exposure learner refusing the request of his roommate.

(8) (*L2 learner7 Hassan En 1: 3-5*) high proficiency, high exposure

Hassan: Mate, I really wish I could but actually: it's uhh the laptop. I got my work on there and some serious sensitive stuff and .. I really promised not to be not to hand it over to anyone because it's very classified information.

Do L2 learners negatively transfer the Arabic refusal norms to the L2 context?

To answer this question, the refusal strategy use in the following three equivalent pairs of English and Arabic role plays was examined:

1. The electricity salesperson role play and the French courses role play (+distance, +power).
2. The laptop role play and the camera role play (-distance, -power)
3. The lift role play and the VCR role play (+distance, -power)

As table 8 shows, L2 learners at all proficiency levels transferred the sociocultural norms of the Egyptian Arabic culture in refusing the request of the salesperson (+power). Just like the NASs, they used fewer 'Direct' refusals with the salesperson than they did with the roommate and the classmate (-power). The NESs, on the other hand, did the opposite thing. This stark contrast in the use of direct refusals with the salesperson between the NESs and the L2 learners is inherent in how the British and the Egyptian cultures view the salesperson. NES4 Michael described the salesperson as an "annoying person who always comes at the wrong time". NES8 Tom who refused to take the brochure from the salesperson said about him "He never gives you anything for free. He always works for his own benefit". Examples 9 and 10 show two NESs refusing the request of the salesperson.

(9) (*NES4 Michael En 3: 20-23*)

Michael: Listen. I'm busy. I'll tell you what you have to do. You can give me your home telephone

number and I'll call you when I'm not busy about midnight tonight, how's that? No. I'm not interested.

(10) (NES8 Tom En 3: 4-11)

<i>The salesperson:</i>	We have far better services than the other companies.
<i>Tom:</i>	I don't believe you.
	[...]
<i>The salesperson:</i>	OK. Here's the brochure man just in case you change your mind.
<i>Tom:</i>	No keep it mate.

On the other hand, the L2 learners viewed the salesperson from the perspective of Egyptian culture. When L2 learner15, Saif, was asked why he allowed the salesperson to drag him into a lengthy conversation, he said, "When someone wants to offer you a service, you can't say no directly. He's a hard working man trying to offer you a service and he'll, of course, get something in return. So you can't treat him badly since he isn't inferior to you. What I want to say is that you should treat him as a human being". L2 learner17, Osama, also added "I always put myself in his position". Regardless of their proficiency level, L2 learners transferred these sociocultural norms of the Egyptian community to the L2 context when they refused the request of the salesperson.

Another example of pragmatic transfer was in the use of the strategy 'Ask for Details to Tailor an Excuse' which was used with the percentage of 2.7% by the NASs in the Arabic role plays and 0.8% by the NESs in the English role plays. In the French courses role play, the NASs used this strategy with the frequency of 3.6%, whereas the NESs did not use it at all. As table 8 shows, all L2 learners transferred the norms of the Egyptian culture into the English language setting. A third example of pragmatic transfer was in the use of the strategy 'Adjuncts to Refusals'. Table 7 shows a stark difference

between the NESs and NASs in the use of this strategy. They used this strategy with the percentage of 6.7% and 27.4% respectively. Unlike NESs, the L2 learners, as table 8 shows, obviously approximated the Arabic language norms in using the strategy 'Adjuncts to Refusals'.

Although high proficiency level did not prevent pragmatic transfer, table 9 shows that as the proficiency level decreased pragmatic transfer increased. Moreover, only the low and intermediate proficiency learners transferred the Arabic refusal norms in using the strategy 'Mitigated Refusals' in the lift and the electricity salesperson role plays. Table 8 also shows that as proficiency decreased, the degree of transferring the strategy 'Adjuncts to Refusals' increased. In addition, Table 10 shows that the low and intermediate proficiency learners transferred the sociocultural norms of the Arabic language in negotiating with the electricity salesperson more than they did with their roommates. The high proficiency learners, on the other hand, did not transfer the Arabic norms in this respect. Their conversations with the electricity salesperson were shorter than their conversations with their roommates approximating by this the English language sociocultural norms.

Discussion

Summary of findings

The present study investigated how social context variables affected refusal strategy use of NESs, NASs and the L2 learners. Findings of the study showed that social power and distance played an important role in shaping the refusal strategies of the three groups differently. With inferior interlocutors, NESs were direct, short and clear. NASs, on the other hand, were indirect and conversed more with their interlocutors. This finding contradicts with the findings of Rizk (2000) who found that more semantic formulas were used with higher status interlocutors than with those of lower higher status. On the other hand, this study findings support the findings of Nelson *et al.* (2002) that with inferior interlocutors, the Egyptians used fewer direct refusals than they did with equal and higher interlocutors. This, however, contradicts with the findings of Al-Eryani (2007) who found that Yemenis were direct in their refusals and did not apologize when they were higher than their interlocutors. This contradiction in the findings of the

above mentioned studies in relation to the usage of direct refusals may be attributed to the difference in data collection instruments across the studies or to the difference in culture (i.e., DCTs and role plays), and calls for further research.

The findings of the present study also showed that Egyptians' refusals reflected collectivistic cultural norms. This supports the findings of Rizk (2000) who mentioned that the Egyptians were affected by the Egyptian collectivist principles, whereas American were more inclined to individualistic tendencies. This finding is in line with what Al-Shalawi (1997) found out that the Saudi culture was a collectivistic culture which disfavors direct refusals for the sake of keeping in-group harmony, whereas the American culture was individualistic.

The findings of this study also revealed that the most frequently used refusal strategy by the NASs and NESs is 'Excuse'. This supports the findings of Nelson *et al.* (2002) that the Egyptians and the Americans favored 'Excuses' as an indirect refusal strategy over other refusal strategies. Al-Qahtani (2005) also reported that the most favored refusal strategies by the Arabs and the Americans were 'Excuse' and 'Regret' respectively.

Social distance was also found to have an effect on NASs, NESs and the L2 learners. NASs were less direct in their refusals with their colleague (-distance) than with their neighbour (+distance). However, they also apologized to their neighbour more than they apologized to their roommate. Interviews with NASs showed that they acted this way because they believed that their familiarity with the colleague would make him more understanding, so there was no need for many apologies. NESs significantly used 'Statement of Alternative' with their classmate (+distance) than they did with the roommate (-distance). However, they used a variety of refusal strategies with the classmate to soften their refusals.

The L2 learners' refusals were also affected by their L2 proficiency and exposure levels. L2 proficiency level was a better determiner of pragmatic performance than exposure level. The high proficiency group was the closest to the NESs' group in refusing the request of the roommate (-power, -distance) and the classmate (-power, +distance).

Evidence of negative pragmatic transfer was found in the L2 learners' use of the strategies 'Direct', 'Ask for Details to Tailor an Excuse' and 'Adjuncts to refusals'. Pragmatic transfer was also found to override the effect of L2 proficiency and exposure levels in the electricity salesperson role play, yet pragmatic transfer was found to negatively correlate with proficiency level. This finding supports the findings of Maeshiba *et al.* (1996) that the low proficiency learners transferred the Japanese apology norms more than the high proficiency learners did. The reason for the high percentage of pragmatic transfer among low proficiency learners is perhaps due to the fact that they did not have the adequate L2 linguistic resources that enable them to realize the speech act in the L2. That is why they fell back on their native language sociocultural norms and conventions in carrying out the speech act of refusal in the L2 context (Takahashi, 1996).

Limitations of the study

The data in this study were obtained from Egyptian ESL learners in Britain. Therefore, it is hard to generalize its findings to Arab learners coming from different cultures or Arab learners in a foreign language setting. In addition, the small number of participants and the fact that there were no female participants in the population is perhaps the most significant limitation of the study.

Conclusion

The study at hand provided evidence that L2 proficiency level and exposure to L2 input are important factors for the development of L2 learners' pragmatic competence. Transfer was also found to exist in the pragmatic level for all L2 learners' proficiency / exposure levels. However, pragmatic transfer was also found to negatively correlate with L2 proficiency level. The low and intermediate proficiency learners showed more pragmatic transfer than the high proficiency group did.

More research is needed on the usefulness and methodology of teaching pragmatics in the English language classroom to increase the L2 learners' pragmatic competence. In addition, future research can address issues such as how L2 learners develop new representations of paralinguistic features (e.g., gestures, distance, posture, facial expressions, and vocalizations) in L2

when performing a speech act and the effect of social context variable on these L2 paralinguistic features.

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Appendix I

The Language Contact Profile

The responses that you give in this questionnaire will be kept CONFIDENTIAL. This cover sheet is to allow the researcher to associate your responses with your name if needed. However, only the people entering your responses into the computer will see this name. An identification number or pseudo name will be used in place of your real name when referring to your responses in publications. Every effort will be made to keep your responses confidential. Thank you for your cooperation. The information that you provide will help us to better understand the backgrounds of learners who are learning English as a second language. Your honest and detailed responses will be greatly appreciated.

1. Name: _____ Research Code: _____
2. Age: _____
3. Gender: Male / Female _____
4. Address: _____
5. Home telephone: _____ Mobile telephone: _____
6. What is your native language?
 ___ Arabic ___ English ___ Other _____
7. In what language(s) did you receive the majority of your education?
 ___ Arabic ___ English ___ Other _____
8. Have you ever been to an English -speaking region?
 Circle one: Yes / No
 8a. If yes, when? _____ 8b. Where? _____
 8c. For how long? _____
 8d. Why? ___ Study ___ Tourism ___ Work ___ Other

9. In the boxes below, rate your language ability. Use the following ratings:
0)Poor, 1)Good, 2)Very good, 3)Native/near-native.

Listening	Speaking	Reading	Writing

10. In the following table mention the approximate weekly hours you received in English language instruction in each of the following educational levels. Mention the language that was commonly used in teaching English. Use 1) for English only 2) for Arabic only and 3) for a mixture of English and Arabic.

Level	No. of weekly teaching	Language used in
Elementary		
Preparatory		
Secondary		
University / College		

11. Do you live with native-speakers of English?

___Yes ___No

- 11a. If no, what are their native languages?

___ Arabic ___ English ___ Others

- 11b. How fluent are they in English? (the answer can accommodate 3 people)

(1st person) ___ poor ___ good ___ very good ___ near-native.

(2nd person) ___ poor ___ good ___ very good ___ near-native.

(3rd person) ___ poor ___ good ___ very good ___ near-native.

- 11c. How often do you interact with them in English?

___ never ___ rarely ___ sometimes ___ usually ___ always

- 11d. For how long have you been living with them?

12. For the following items, please specify:

(i) How many days per week you typically used English in the situation indicated, and (ii) on average, how many hours per day you did so. Circle the appropriate numbers.

On average, How much time did you spend doing each of the following activities?

12a. speaking in English with native fluent English speakers

Typically, how many days per week? 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

On those days, typically how many hours per day?

0-1 1-2 2-3 4-5 more than 5

12b. speaking in English with non-native English speakers

Typically, how many days per week? 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

On those days, typically how many hours per day?

0-1 1-2 2-3 4-5 more than 5

12c. trying to catch other people's conversation in English

Typically, how many days per week? 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

On those days, typically how many hours per day?

0-1 1-2 2-3 4-5 more than 5

12d. reading e-mail or internet web pages in English and writing e-mails

Typically, how many days per week? 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

On those days, typically how many hours per day?

0-1 1-2 2-3 4-5 more than 5

12e. watching English programs on TV

Typically, how many days per week? 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

On those days, typically how many hours per day?

0-1 1-2 2-3 4-5 more than 5

12f. watching a movie or series in English

Typically, how many days per week? 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

On those days, typically how many hours per day?

0-1 1-2 2-3 4-5 more than 5

12g. listening to the radio in English

Typically, how many days per week? 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

On those days, typically how many hours per day?

0-1 1-2 2-3 4-5 more than 5

12h. reading a newspaper, a magazine or a story in English

Typically, how many days per week? 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

On those days, typically how many hours per day?

0-1 1-2 2-3 4-5 more than 5

12i. writing personal notes or letters in English

Typically, how many days per week? 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

On those days, typically how many hours per day?

0-1 1-2 2-3 4-5 more than 5

12j. reading schedules, announcements, menus, and the like in English

Typically, how many days per week? 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

On those days, typically how many hours per day?

0-1 1-2 2-3 4-5 more than 5

Appendix 2

Role Plays

English Role Plays

Solidarity (-power +-distance)

Your roommate has a classroom presentation tomorrow. He will use graphs and slides in his presentation. He asks you for your laptop to use it for the presentation. You **DO NOT WANT** to give it to him since he is not very skilful in dealing with computers and he may damage it.

Deference (-power +distance)

After class, one of your classmates whom you do not know very much asks you to drive him with you to the train station. You **DO NOT WANT** to do that since if you go to the train station you will get caught in the traffic and you will not be able to collect your sister from school.

Hierarchical (+power +distance)

A salesperson knocks at your door. He represents a newly established electricity company. He tries to convince you to abandon your current electricity service provider and take on his company. You **DO NOT WANT** to do that since you are satisfied with the service offered to you by your current electricity service provider. Moreover, you do not want to take risks by subscribing to a company that has never been tested yet by other people.

Arabic Role Plays

Solidarity (-power, -distance)

أحد زملائك في العمل الذي تعرفه من زمن طويل أقام حفلة بمناسبة نجاح ابنه في الثانوية العامة و يطلب منك استعارة كاميرتك الرقمية الجديدة لتصوير الحفلة حيث يستطيع بعد ذلك حفظ الصور على الكمبيوتر. أنت تعرف جيدا ان كاميرتك الرقمية غالية الثمن و حساسة و ان هذا الشخص ليس لديه الخبرة اللازمة للتعامل معها فلذا أنت لا تريد إعطائه إياها.

Idiomatic English translation

One of your colleagues whom you know for a long time is having a party because his son succeeded in the secondary school. He asks you for your new digital camera to take photos of the party in order to be able to save the photos in his computer. You know well that your digital camera is

expensive and sophisticated and that he is not experienced enough to deal with it. So **YOU DO NOT WANT** to give it to him.

Deference (-power, +distance)

أحد سكان العمارة و الذي ليس لك به معرفة جيدة تلقى شريط فيديو لعرس أخ له في أمريكا و لكنه لم يستطع مشاهدة الشريط لأن جهاز الفيديو خاصته لا يدعم نظام NTSC المسجل به الشريط . أحد سكان العمارة الآخرين أخبره بان لديك جهاز فيديو متعدد النظام فجاء إليك ليستعير جهازك . انت لا تريد اعارته الجهاز لأن لديه أطفالا مشاكسين و قد يتلفون الجهاز ، علاوة على ذلك فإن آخر مرة أعرت فيها جهاز الفيديو لصديق لك كلفتك ١٠٠ جنيه في صيانة الجهاز .

Idiomatic English translation

One of your neighbours whom you do not know very well received a video cassette from his brother containing his brother's wedding in America. Unluckily, he could not watch it since his VCR does not support the NTSC system in which the tape was recorded. He was told by another neighbour that you have a multisystem VCR, so he came to you to borrow it. You **DO NOT WANT** to lend him the VCR, since you know that his kids are very naughty and may damage the VCR. Moreover, the last time you lent your VCR to a friend cost you 100 pound at the repair shop.

Hierarchical (+power, +distance)

أثناء زيارتك لمعرض القاهرة الدولي للكتاب دخلت في جناح معهد ايفل تاور لتعليم الفرنسية و هناك يلتقيك مندوب الشركة ويحاول إقناعك بشتى الوسائل بالالتحاق بدورة اللغة الفرنسية بمعهدهم . أنت لا تريد الانضمام للدورة حيث أنك مشغول في عملك معظم اليوم و الدورة لن تفيدك في عملك . بالإضافة إلى ذلك فإن تكاليف الدورة باهظة .

Idiomatic English translation

During your tour in Cairo International Book Fair, you entered the section for the Eiffel Tower Institute for teaching French. A salesperson meets you there and tries hard to convince you to join the French language courses in their institute. You **DO NOT WANT** to do that because you are busy in your work all day long and the courses would not help you much in your career. Moreover, the fees of the courses are very costly.

Appendix 3

The Classification of Refusals in Beebe, Takahashi, and Uliss-Weltz (1990: 72)

I. Direct

- A. Performative (e.g., "I refuse")
- B. Nonperformative statement
 - 1. "No"
 - 2. Negative willingness/ability ("I can't." "I won't". "I don't think so.")

II. Indirect

- A. Statement or regret (e.g., "I'm sorry ..."; "I feel terrible ...")
- B. Wish (e.g., "I wish I could help you ...")
- C. Excuse, reason, explanation (e.g., "My children will be home that night." "I have a headache.")
- D. Statement of alternative
 - 1. I can do X instead of Y (e.g., "I'd rather ..." "I'd prefer ...")
 - 2. Why don't you do X instead of Y (e.g., "Why don't you ask someone else?")
- E. Set condition for future or past acceptance (e.g., "If you had asked me earlier, I would have ...")
- F. Promise of future acceptance (e.g., "I'll do it next time"; "I promise I'll ..." or "Next time I'll ..." –using "will" of promise or "promise")
- G. Statement of principle (e.g., "I never do business with friends.")
- H. Statement of philosophy (e.g., "One can't be too careful.")
- I. Attempt to dissuade interlocutor
 - 1. Threat or statement of negative consequences to the requester (e.g., "I won't be any fun tonight" to refuse an invitation)
 - 2. Guilt trip (e.g., waitress to customers who want to sit a while: "I can't make a living off people who just order coffee.")

3. Criticize the request/requester, etc. (statement of negative feeling or opinion); insult/attack (e.g. "Who do you think you are?" "that's a terrible idea!")
4. Request for help, empathy, and assistance by dropping or holding the request.
5. Let interlocutor off the hook (e.g., "Don't worry about it." "That's okay." "You don't have to.")
6. Self-defense (e.g., "I'm trying my best." "I'm doing all I can do." "I no do nutting wrong.")

J. Acceptance that functions as a refusal

1. Unspecific or indefinite reply
2. Lack of enthusiasm

K. Avoidance

1. Nonverbal
 - a. Silence
 - b. Hesitation
 - c. Do nothing
 - d. Physical departure
2. Verbal
 - a. Topic switch
 - b. Joke
 - c. Repetition of part or request, etc. (e.g., "Monday?")
 - d. Postponement (e.g., "I'll think about it.")
 - e. Hedging (e.g., "Gee, I don't know." "I'm not sure.")

Adjuncts to Refusals

1. Statement of positive opinion/feeling or agreement ("That's a good idea ... "; "I'd love to ...")
2. Statement of empathy (e.g., "I realize you are in a difficult situation.")
3. Pause fillers (e.g., "uhh; 'well'; "oh"; "uhm")
4. Gratitude/appreciation

Appendix 4

Tables

Table 1: Profile of the NESs in the study

<i>Name</i>	<i>Age</i>
Daniel	29
John	39
George	50
Michael	31
Tim	22
Chris	32
Sam	22
Tom	30

Table 2: Profile of the L2 learners in the study

	<i>Name</i>	<i>Age</i>	<i>Proficiency Level</i>	<i>LoR in Britain</i>	<i>Exposure to L2 Input</i>	<i>Exposure by weekly</i>
1	Hazam	23	Low	36	Intermediate	62
2	Sameer	24	Intermediate	18	Intermediate	53
3	Salim	25	Intermediate	24	High	116
4	Tamer	28	High	18	High	166
5	Kamel	32	High	20	Low	41
6	Ayman	33	High	30	High	104
7	Hassan	35	High	36	High	131
8	Emad	33	Low	12	Low	24
9	Khalil	27	Intermediate	30	High	122
10	Yousef	38	High	18	Low	37
11	Ramzi	36	Low	31	Low	42
12	Talat	26	Low	19	Low	40
13	Fathi	32	Intermediate	34	Intermediate	81
14	Ameen	32	Intermediate	36	Intermediate	75
15	Saif	29	Low	48	Intermediate	82
16	Abdullah	24	High	13	Intermediate	54
17	Osama	26	Low	7	Low	37

Table 3: A modified version of the Classification of Refusals in Beebe, et al. (1990)

Refusal Strategies	
1. Direct	
2. Indirect	
A.	Statement of Regret/Apology
B.	Wish
C.	Mitigated Refusal
D.	Total Excuse
	1. Excuse
	2. Repeated Excuse
E.	Statement of Alternative
F.	Set Condition for Future or Past Acceptance
G.	Promise of Future Acceptance
H.	Statement of Principle
I.	Criticizing the Request/Requester.
J.	Asking about details to tailor an excuse
K.	Indefinite Reply
L	Avoidance
	1. Repetition of Part of Request
	2. Topic Switch
	3. Postponement
	4. Joke
Adjuncts to Refusals	
	1. Statement of Positive Opinion, Agreement or
	2. Pause Fillers

Table 4: The average numbers of turns and words used by the NESs (n=8) in all role plays

	The laptop		The lift		The electricity salesperson	
	Turns	words	Turns	words	Turns	words
Average	6.8	120.3	4.5	121.1	5.8	95.7

Table 5: The total and average numbers of refusal strategy use by the NBSs (n=17) in the Arabic role plays.

	Total No. of Strategies	Average No. of Strategies
The camera	111	6.5
The VCR	113	6.6
The French courses	172	10.1

Table 6: The average numbers of turns and words uses by the NBSs (n=17) in the Arabic role plays

	The camera		The VCR		The French courses	
	Turns	words	Turns	words	Turns	words
Average	4.7	77.1	3.1	84.2	4.7	132.4

Table 7: The percentage of refusal strategy use for the NESs (n=8) in the English role plays and the NBSs (n=17) in the Arabic role plays

	<i>Direct</i>	<i>Apology</i>	<i>Wish</i>	<i>Mitigated Refusal</i>	<i>Total Excuse</i>	<i>Alternative</i>	<i>Cond. F./P</i>	<i>Accept.</i>	<i>Promise of F.</i>	<i>Accept</i>	<i>Principle</i>	<i>Criticizing</i>	<i>Tailor Excuse</i>	<i>Indefinite Reply</i>	<i>Avoidance</i>	<i>Adjuncts</i>
<i>The laptop</i>	8.1	2.1	2.1	2.3	28.5	4.9	4.6	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.4	2.3	5.7	5.0	31.9	
<i>The lift</i>	11.9	2.4	1.8	5.1	37.3	13.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.6	0.0	0.6	0.0	27.2	
<i>The electricity</i>	24.7	5.7	0.0	3.8	29.1	0.0	5.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	3.0	0.0	3.0	2.7	23.0	
<i>The camera</i>	8.4	12.2	6.2	0.8	33.4	13.2	2.0	0.0	1.2	0.9	3.5	3.2	10.8	4.2		

The VCR	12.3	15.4	5.5	0.0	34.7	9.3	1.8	2.0	2.4	0.8	1.0	7.9	1.8	5.1
The French	11.4	10.9	2.6	0.8	48.5	0.0	1.3	1.6	0.0	1.9	3.6	0.0	6.5	10.8

Table 8: The percentage of refusal strategy use by the NESs (n=8), the NASs (n=17) and the low proficiency learners (n=6), intermediate proficiency learners (n=5) and the high proficiency learners (n=6)

	Direct	Apology	Wish	Mitigated Refusal	Total Excuse	Alternative	Set Condition for F./P. Accept.	Promise of F. Accept.	Principle	Criticizing the Request / Requester	Tailor an Excuse	Indefinite Reply	Avoidance	Adjuncts
<i>(The Camera)</i>	8.4	12.2	6.2	0.8	33.4	13.2	2.0	0.0	1.2	0.9	3.5	3.2	10.8	4.2
<i>(The laptop) NESs</i>	8.1	2.1	2.1	2.3	28.5	4.9	4.6	0.0	0.0	2.4	2.3	5.7	5.0	31.9
<i>(The laptop) High Prof.</i>	12.7	6.2	2.8	2.4	33.5	6.1	4	0	0	1.5	2.6	7.5	1.7	18.9
<i>(The laptop) Intermediate Prof.</i>	20.4	10.2	2	0	26.4	6.2	2.2	0	0	6.2	0	6	4	16.2
<i>(The laptop) Low Prof.</i>	23.4	8.9	1.3	1.3	33.8	1.4	0	0	1.2	5.7	0	7.1	6	9.9
<i>(The VCR)</i>	12.3	15.4	5.5	0.0	34.7	9.3	1.8	2.0	2.4	0.8	1.0	7.9	1.8	5.1
<i>(The lift) NESs</i>	11.9	2.4	1.8	5.1	37.3	13.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.6	0.0	0.6	0.0	27.2
<i>(The lift) High Prof.</i>	8.3	16.2	1.5	5.8	41.5	4.9	0	0	0	0	7.3	4.2	1.7	8.6
<i>(The lift) Intermediate Prof.</i>	20.9	9.9	1.7	2.9	43.2	7.5	0	0	0	0	0	0	4.5	9.5
<i>(The lift) Low Prof.</i>	18	15.8	7.7	0	42.2	1.7	1.7	0	0	2.4	3.3	0	0	7.3
<i>(The French courses)</i>	11.4	10.9	2.6	0.8	48.5	0.0	1.3	1.6	0.0	1.9	3.6	0.0	6.5	10.8
<i>(The electricity salesperson) NESs</i>	24.7	5.7	0.0	3.8	29.1	0.0	5.0	0.0	0.0	3.0	0.0	3.0	2.7	23.0
<i>(The electricity salesperson) High Prof.</i>	7.4	6.4	0	2.1	38.7	0	1.5	2.6	0	5.4	14.4	0	7.4	14.1
<i>(The electricity salesperson) Intermediate Prof.</i>	7.3	7.3	0	0	33.7	0	11.5	1.1	0	4	4	1.1	14.5	15.4

<i>(The electricity salesperson) Low Prof.</i>	13.7	5.8	0	0	27.9	0	4.3	7.9	0	5.8	7.8	0	19.1	7.6
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Table 9: The percentage of the direct refusals used by the NESs and high, intermediate and the low proficiency groups in the lift and the salesperson role plays

	<i>The lift</i>	<i>The English salesperson</i>
<i>NESs (n=8)</i>	11.9	24.7
<i>High proficiency learners(n=6)</i>	8.3	7.4
<i>Intermediate proficiency</i>	20.9	7.3
<i>Low proficiency learners(n=6)</i>	18	13.7

Table 10: The average number of turns and words used by the participants in the different role plays.

	<i>The laptop</i>		<i>The lift</i>		<i>The electricity. salesperson</i>		<i>The Camera</i>		<i>The VCR</i>		<i>The French courses</i>	
	<i>T</i>	<i>W</i>	<i>T</i>	<i>W</i>	<i>T</i>	<i>W</i>	<i>T</i>	<i>W</i>	<i>T</i>	<i>W</i>	<i>T</i>	<i>W</i>
<i>NESs (n=8)</i>	6.8	120.3	4.5	121.1	5.8	95.7						
<i>High Prof. (n=6)</i>	5.5	161.8	3.8	90.6	5.8	150.1	4.6	99	3.1	103.6	4.8	160.6
<i>Intermediate Prof. (n=5)</i>	4	100.8	4	89	5.4	113.2	3.4	73.2	3.2	73.4	4.4	116
<i>Low Prof. (n=6)</i>	5.1	84.8	3.3	73.6	5	93.6	4.3	58.6	3	73.8	5	117.8

Appendix 5 (Figures)

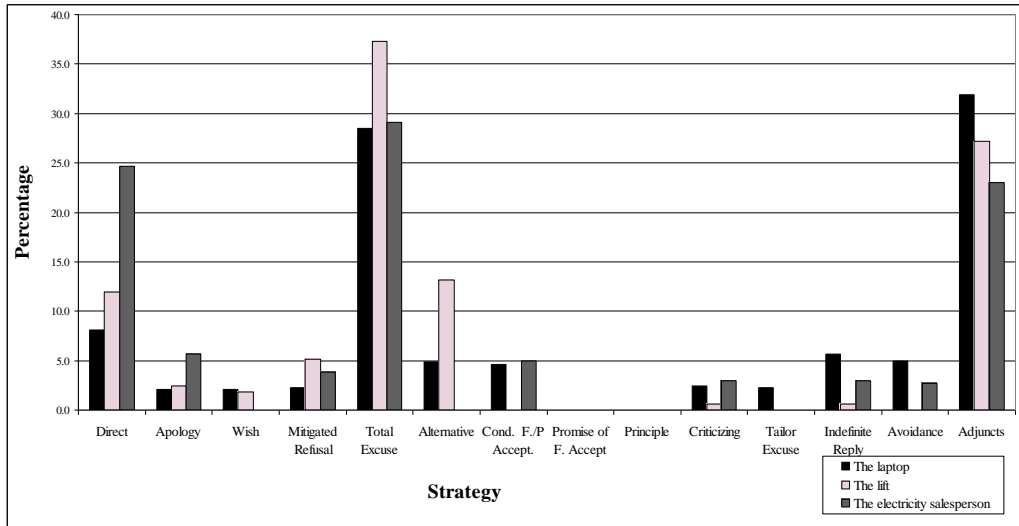


Figure 1: The refusal strategies used by ENSs in all role plays

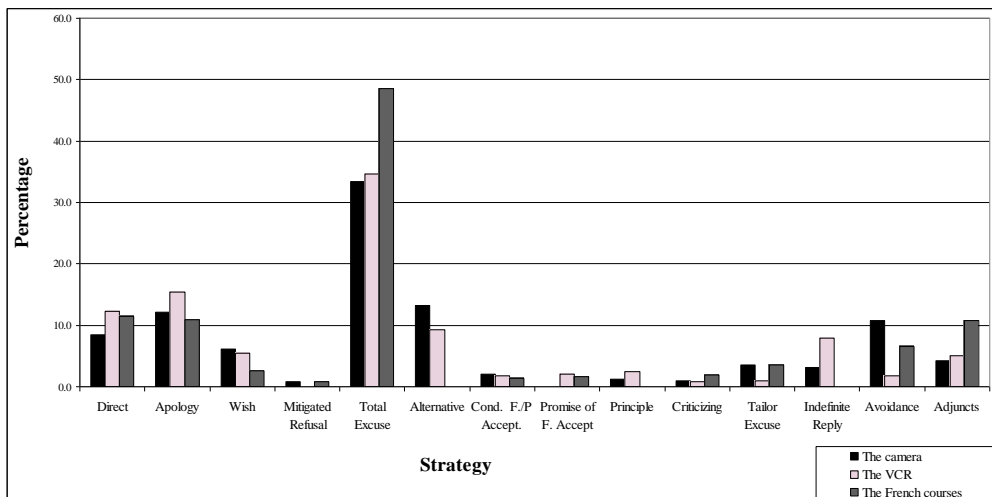


Figure 2: The refusal strategies used by ANSs in all role plays

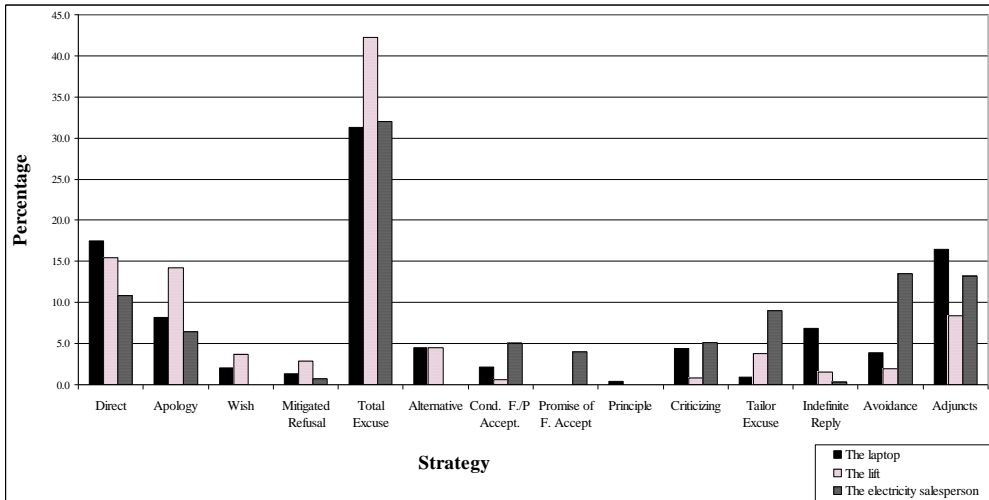


Figure 3: The refusal strategies used by L2 learner in the English role play

Reduplication in English and Arabic: A Contrastive Study

Hesham Hasan

Abstract

This paper is an attempt to investigate reduplication in English and Arabic and conduct a contrastive study of this linguistic reservoir. Reduplication is an untapped source of linguistic creativity which is ignored and neglected in the two languages. This research aims to bring this phenomenon to the limelight and raise the awareness of language users of such a linguistic feature. Following the exposition of the various taxonomies of reduplication phonologically and semantically in this research, it is then investigated as a child-centred contextual tool of teaching language through nursery rhymes, especially at the pre-school stage. Reduplication types are categorized phonologically into reduplication of consonant-motivated ablaut and vowel-motivated one. Semantic aspects of reduplication include diminution, repetition, intensity, baby register, scattering, contempt, lack of control, lack of specificity and continuity. The didactic nature of nursery rhymes is reinforced by the use of reduplication which appeals to the ears of children. The contextual investigation of reduplication within nursery rhymes hypothesizes that reduplication is oriented to instil values and refine morals in the hearts and souls of children.

1. Introduction to and Definition of Reduplication

Reduplication is viewed to be a resource for linguistic creativity and a strategy for linguistic meaning-making process in language. It is described morphologically as the duplication of linguistic constituents such as words, stems and roots. In reduplication, the base is a word or a part of the word that is often copied. It also involves the interface between phonology and morphology. Linguistic forms of reduplication have long been explored at the lexical level. However, its functions have been overlooked at the level of discourse. That is why there is a pressing need in this paper to investigate reduplications beyond their lexical level. This is also due to the fact that reduplication is a phenomenon belonging to morphology and syntax, on the formal side, but it also involves semantics, lexicology and pragmatics, on the content side (Dansieh, 2011, p.168).

In line with these arguments, this paper attempts to analyse forms of reduplications lexically, semantically, functionally and contrastively as they exist in English and Arabic within their context of situation which is nursery rhymes in this case. The paper will also study the functional features of reduplication at the discoursal and contextual levels (Nadarajan, 2006, p.39). The rising number of corpus-based studies on reduplication will help develop greater awareness about the direction of reduplication in actual discourse. It is assumed that by laying focus on the semantic, functional and contextual aspects of reduplication in Arabic and English, this paper will put forward the hypothesis that reduplication is an interesting word play which can help enrich language.

2.Reduplication and Children

Reduplication is one of the most salient features of baby talk in all languages. It is an effective tool in teaching language at the pre-school stage. During the nursery school level, children learn language through nursery rhymes based on reduplication. Children are instinctively attached to nursery rhymes because of its musical and melodious nature that appeals very much to the ears of children. Hence, it is a common practice in probably all languages and cultures that teaching, learning and memorizing are done through the rhyming and reduplicating phenomenon distinctively found in nursery rhymes. Moreover, child-directed speech, nursery rhymes per se, is structured in a manner which satisfies the skills and preferences of small children and is an imitation of child language. Reduplication is also considered an individual strategy selected by some children because they like reduplication. However, reduplication is systematically used by adults in many languages of the world and is considered a phonological phenomenon.

Phonological reduplication produced by children can be observed from the very beginning stage of language acquisition (i.e. at around 12 months) until some 18 to 24 months of age. The origins of reduplicative structures in child language phonology are a form of playing a game with language structure, at the babbling stage. The so-called "canonical babbling" i.e. /C₁ V₁ C₁ V₁/utterances, is the most important stage in the development of articulation. Apart from babbling, reduplication also occurs by imitating the baby talk of adults. (Hurch et al, 2008, p.10).

3.Rationale and Objective of the Study

This paper claims to be the first modest attempt to conduct a contrastive study of reduplication in English and Arabic drawing the similarities and dissimilarities of this linguistic pattern in the two languages. The phonological aspects of reduplication will be pointed out in the two languages. The semantic features of reduplication will also be highlighted. However, the scope of this study is not confined to theoretical exposition of this linguistic phenomenon, it rather elaborates on the contextual significance of reduplication which is a missing element in the literature; the study endeavours to fill this gap, for reduplication studies are not mainly oriented to context. It is for this reason that the researcher picked up the children nursery rhymes as data for analysis. It is widely acknowledged that reduplication is the most distinctive feature in nursery rhymes for its phonological, semantic and rhetorical characteristics. The children nursery rhymes are a rich inventory of values and didactic lessons for children. However, the traditional presentation of such a set of values will devoid the nursery rhymes of its novelty. This is why the nursery rhymes resort mainly for ethical overtones and undertones in their guidance for children; the most effective device which appeals to children and matches with the musical and rhythmical nature of the nursery rhyme is reduplication which is a source of attraction for children. The study will also lay a major focus on another side of reduplication which furthers the purpose of the study, i.e. the onomatopoeic reduplicative words. The researcher assumes that they enhance the musicality of the nursery rhyme and shed light on the parallel relationship between sound and meaning. So, the present paper will reveal the imitative function of onomatopoeic reduplicative words in matching the rhyming sound with the meaning of the item in English and Arabic nursery rhymes. In other words, the research will focus on the employment of reduplicative onomatopoeic words in baby talk and children songs which are epitomized in English and Arabic nursery rhymes.

4.Hypothesis of the Research

The hypothesis the study seeks to verify is that reduplication is a rich linguistic inventory and by means of its rich reservoir of semantic meanings and phonological features will enhance greatly the didactic nature of the nursery rhymes. Moreover, the study will try to validate the claim that the

onomatopoeic reduplicative words help bridge the gap between sound and meaning and prove that nursery rhymes are not mere wordplays that are carried by word of mouth from generation to another but rather a rich store of values with an interplay between form and meaning to deliver a message to the young generations.

5. Research Design and Research Layout

The research will be divided into two major sections: the theoretical and the practical sections. The first part will introduce reduplication in the literature, two major elements of reduplication will be singled out for analysis: phonological and semantic. Then, an appropriate phonological classification of reduplication which serves the tool of analysis in the research will be adopted: consonant-motivated ablaut and vowel-motivated one. A taxonomy of the semantic shades of meaning of reduplication is provided to set the criteria of analysis in the data selected. This semantic taxonomy is divided into two parts: the first part focuses on the semantic relations of the individual components of reduplication from the point of view of the meaninglessness of the two components, the meaningfulness of a single component or the two components, and the synonymy or antonymy of the two individual parts of reduplication. The second part of the semantic taxonomy of reduplication highlights the following shades of meaning: repetition, continuity, incrementality, spreading out or scattering, baby language, diminution, contempt, lack of control, lack of specificity and intensity. Then, a section of analysis of consonant-motivated reduplication in English and Arabic nursery rhymes is in place, another section follows for analysis of vowel-motivated reduplication in nursery rhymes in the two languages while highlighting the semantic paradigm aforementioned. The following part presents onomatopoeia in English and Arabic and its different types with theoretical preliminaries. Then, a section follows for the application of onomatopoeia in nursery rhymes in English and Arabic. Finally, conclusion is reached.

6. Limitations of the Study

No previous contrastive studies on English and Arabic reduplication are found. there are no past studies on the role of reduplication in nursery rhymes, but few studies are found on the influence of context on the study of reduplication. Onomatopoeic reduplicative words in nursery rhymes have

not been studied before. The researcher depended on tentative analysis of his own of the role and influence of reduplication on nursery rhymes. These factors were all conducive to the fact that the researcher flinched from the thought of conducting an experimental study. But after laying the foundation stone and taking the first step along an untrodden path of knowledge, I think the way is now paved for empirical and experimental studies after this tentative attempt.

7. Classification and Types of Reduplication

Reduplication has different types and classifications. One of these categories is Contrastive Reduplication(CR). CR is treated as a lexical item with syntactic and semantic content and reduplicative phonology. It is considered to have a repeated word or phrase within the expression for the semantic effect of contrastiveness.

(Binna and Chungmin, 2007, p. 259). CR is clear in the following example: It's tuna salad, not SALAD-salad, or Do you LIKE-HIM-like him. CR is not the only reduplication process in English; there are at least six other processes of various degrees of productivity in reduplication: a. 'Baby-talk' reduplication, e.g., choo-choo, wee-wee. b. Multiple partial reduplications, e.g., hap-hap-happy (as in song lyrics) c. Deprecative reduplication, e.g., table-shmable. d. 'Rhyme combinations': super-duper, willy-nilly, pall-mall, okey-dokey, hanky-panky. e. 'Ablaut combinations': flim-flam, zig-zag, sing-song, pitterpatter, riff-raff, mish-mash.

f. Intensive reduplication: You are sick sick sick! Intensive reduplication is not confined to the adjective category but it is inclusive of all the parts of speech: reduplication also occurs with (i.a) verbs such as: Let's get out there and win win win! b. with nouns such as: All Sandy thinks about is sex sex sex! c. with adverbs and prepositions such as: Prices just keep going up up up. d. with pronouns such as: All you think about is you you you. And It's mine mine mine (Ghomeshi et al, 2004, pp. 307-309). Lim and Wee (2001, p. 91) state that adjectival reduplication results in an intensification of the meaning of the base adjective. Here are two examples: Don't always eat sweet-sweet (= very sweet) things. Why the veggie [i.e. vegetables] got bitter-bitter (= very bitter) taste? At this point, it is worth noting that many writers rely on the concept of intensification to describe reduplication in world languages. (cited in Wong, 2004, p. 343)

The two types of reduplication that the paper will focus on in Arabic and English are the rhyme and ablaut combinations or, in other words, reduplication with vowel and consonant alternation. In general, the term ablaut refers to a process of vowel or consonant change. The following section shows the major classifications of reduplications: complete reduplication, partial one and reduplication beyond word level. It will also show the simplified structure of English reduplication from the phonological point of view, where the V stands for vowel and the C stands for consonant:

- (1) Full reduplication (A) V.V aye aye. (B) CV.CV exact copy of the same syllable: dodo, lulu, tutu, wee wee. (C) CVC.CVC Tartar, dum dum, dum-dum.

(2) Partial reduplication (A) $C_1V.C_2V$ where the consonants are different $C_1 C_2$ as in polo, hi-fi, voodoo. (B) $CV_1C.CV_2C$ where the two vowels are different $V_1 V_2$ as in criss-cross, sing-song, zig-zag (C) $C_1VCn.C_2VCn$ ($n > 0$) where the symbol n shows that the consonants are identical as in the following examples: hubbub, ragbag. (D) $C_1V.C_2V.C_3V.C_2V$, where the consonants are different $C_1 C_2 C_3$ and the second consonant C_2 is reduplicated as in charivari, willy-nilly.

- (3) Beyond word level:

CVC CVC exact copy so and so (215), such and such (130)
 $C_1VC C_2VC C_1 C_2$ wear and tear (153), Queen of Mean (0)
 $CV_1C CV_2C V_1 V_2$ this and that (212), tit for tat (92) (Wang, 2005, p.512).

Dienhart (1999, pp.4-5) gives different labels for these three classifications of the reduplication (complete reduplication, consonant ablaut, vowel ablaut):

- Class1: the Boo-Boo class
 Class2: the Hocus-Focus class
 Class3: the Mish-Mash class

First the Boo-boo class. If we are interested only in constructions of the form $X_1 X_2$, where $X_1=X_2$, then this class contains not only such baby talk as boo-boo, din-din, and pee-pee, but also animal noises like arf-arf and oink-oink, and other sounds such as bang-bang and boing-boing, words like

mama, papa, and yoy, proper nouns like Lulu, Baden-Baden, and Walla Walla, foreign borrowings like bonbon and couscous, as well as such repeated lexical items as fifty-fifty, my-my, and so-so.

A similar variety can be found in connection with the other two classes. Hocus-pocus is a prototypical example of the second class, as are boogie-woogie and roly-poly. All these compounds are formed by altering the consonant onset of the kernel and duplicating the rest. Once again, the same phonological relationship holds between the two ‘elements’ yielding constructions of the type CVCV, where the vowels are identical, but the consonants are different—the defining characteristic of Class 2.

Finally, consider the Mish-Mash class. In addition to mish-mash, the class includes such prototypical examples as dilly-dally, knick-knack, and wishy-washy. But what about see-saw, ship-shape, sing-song, and telltale? Or baby and khaki? In all these, the consonants are identical, but the vowels are different, which is the defining characteristic of Class 3.

After presentation of the categories of reduplication in the literature, the following classification will be introduced in the current paper for purpose of explication, analysis and contrastiveness between English and Arabic reduplication. The reduplications in the present paper can be grouped into two main types:

- 1) Consonant-motivated Ablaut.
- 2) Vowel-Motivated Ablaut.

7.1. Consonant-Motivated Ablaut

Onset alternations occur when there is a consonant (C) change in ‘h-C’ or ‘C-w’ alternation where C stands for consonant and h and w stand for the consonant letters or any other alphabet, such as in handy dandy, bow wow and mumbo jumbo. Often, the root word would have a meaning while the reduplicant would lack any explicit meaning, as indicated in the following examples a. handy dandy b. hurly burly c. bow wow d. teeny weeny. e. downtown. Alternatively, there is the assonance of vowels in a changing consonantal framework, as illustrated in claptrap, hilly-billy, hotshot; this class overlaps with the case of the alternation of the initial consonant. (Rastall, 2004, p. 39).

7.2. Table of Consonant-Motivated Ablaut Reduplications in Arabic and English.

Arabic Examples of Consonant Ablaut	English Examples of Consonant Ablaut
شيطان ليطان, šaiṭān laiṭān, devil (Ibn Faris, 1947, p.53)	Hocus-pocus
يأجوج مأجوج, ya'jūj ma'jūj,	Hotchpotch
عفريت نفريت, 'afrīt nifrīt, Jinn	Lovey-dovey
عطشان نطشان 'aṭṣān naṭṣān, thirsty (Suleiman, 2004, p. 32)	mumbo-jumbo
حسن بسن ḥasan basan, good (Alhalabi, 351, p.12)	willy-nilly
شائع ذائع, šā'i' dā'i', widespread	no-go
جائع نائع, jā'i' nā'i' (Suleiman, 2004, p. 33)	Hobnob
عمت و طمت 'ammat waṭammat, spread	Cookbook
كر وفر karr wafarr, attack and escape	Brain drain
هش وبش hašš wabašš, smiled and welcomed	pay-day
عبس وبسر 'abasa wabasar, grimaced	jet-set
فكر وقدر fakkara waqaddar, thought	nit-wit , hoity-toity (Hladky,1998, pp. 40-42)

Rastall gives illustration of this kind of consonant ablaut and this time it is not a single consonant alternation but rather an initial consonant group with the same endings. This overlaps with end rhyme. Examples are: Bee's knees, blackjack, blame-game, booze-cruise, brain-drain, chick-flick, cop-shop, dream-team, flower-power, fun-run, funny-bunny, God-squad, helter-skelter, hill-bill(y), hot-pot, hot-shot, jet-set, lovey-dovey, nitty-gritty, oddbod, power-shower, rich-bitch, silly-billy, steady Eddy, swag-bag, tee-hee, toy-boy, think pink, true blue, vicar's knickers, wheeler-deeler. (2004, p. 40).

7.3.Vowel-Motivated Ablaut Reduplications.

The antiphony of vowels, i.e. the alternation of the internal vowel while the preceding and following consonants remain constant, is recurrent in English such as: criss-cross, flip-flop, knick-knack, mishmash, riffraff, shilly-shally, ship-shape, tip-top. Vowel alternation occurs as follows in the following forms:

- a. 'i-a' alternation: chitchat/drizzle-drazzle/rip-rap/zigzag.
- b. 'i-o' alternation: crisscross/ding-dong/flipflop.
- c. others: gewgaw/seesaw/shuffle-shuffle.

Illustration would be the vowel alternation from the present tense *drink* to the past tense *drank*. According to this reduplication process, it consequently means that the stressed root vowel changes while the rest of the word remains constant and is repeated. This process describes a partial reduplication, since only a part of the base is doubled. The following examples make this kind of reduplication clear: *whishy-washy* (adj.) *ding-dong* (noun), *chit-chat* (noun), *dilly-dally* (verb) (Bensmann, 2008, pp 9-10).

Assuming that the root is the first syllable of the reduplicated form, the derivation of a form such as *zigzag* basically undergoes two stages, 1) syllable copy; 2) vowel ablaut: An example for ablaut alternation would be *zig zag*, which shows a complete reduplication of the base syllable which is (CVC> CVC CVC). (Braun, 2007, p. 7). The phonological process underway can be summarized in the following steps.

- 1) A syllable template is fully reduplicated and linked to its C/V slots (CVC CVC.CVC; i.e. zig zig.zig).
- 2) A vowel change motivated by ablaut occurs from /i/ to /a/ for the second syllable (zigzag). (Nadarajan, 2006, p.43)

8.Reduplication in Arabic

There are divergent ideas about the characteristic features of coupled word pairs in the classical Arabic literature: It is argued that if the conjunction wa ‘and’ occurs between two words, this reduplication can be defined as *’itbā’* and

muzāwaja, while lack of this conjunction will make it *tawkīd*, emphasis. Conversely, it is argued that whether a coupled word pair can be considered *’itbā’* and *muzāwaja* has nothing to do with the conjunction ‘and’. Other views stipulate that for the second word in a coupled word pair to be considered *’itbā’* and *muzāwaja*, it must rhyme with the first word. It is also argued that three conditions must be satisfied to properly call reduplication *’itbā’* and *muzāwaja* (a) existence of a second component derived from transformation of first element of the reduplication; (b) lack of any preposition between two components; and (c) non-inclusion of the second component in Arabic dictionaries. (Suçin, 2010, pp. 212-213).

The phrases considered to be reduplications in this paper have the following

characteristics. Firstly, the word sequences that make up reduplication

have high collocation frequency. Secondly, in many reduplications, the posterior word cannot be used without the anterior word. Thirdly, the word sequences that make up reduplications have phonological or semantic harmony. The word sequences in the reduplications are characterized by phonetic assimilation and semantic relations between the words. The semantic relation may be in the form of synonymy, antonymy or close similarity of meaning. The following section will investigate the semantic relations of reduplication. (Suçin, 2010, pp.212-213).

9. Reduplication and Meaning in Arabic and English

It is possible to categorize reduplications according to the semantic characteristics of the words that form them. Semantic characteristics of reduplication pertain to relations of meaning or meaninglessness of the constituents of the reduplication, or those of synonymy or antonymy, between anterior and posterior words. By characteristic features of reduplications, we mean phonological copying in one or both components of the reduplication. The semantic relation may be in the form of synonymy, antonymy or close similarity of meaning. “It is rather pointless to study reduplicative forms through 'sense' or 'denotation' because the meaning of a reduplicative word is not referable to the meaning of its individual parts”. (Anani, 2011, p. 3)

9.1. Reduplications with Meaningless Components

In these reduplications, both the anterior word and the posterior word of the reduplications are meaningless. It is very difficult to find current examples of these reduplications in Arabic; there are, however, a few examples of reduplication of this kind in classical Arabic and English:

Arabic Reduplications	English Reduplications
(1) ḥadāriju nadāriju حذار ج نذار 'Come on! Go ahead!' [NG] (no gloss)	ack ack SOD (Hladky, 1998, p.36)
(2) ṣalqa'un balqa'un صلقع بلقع 'He is dead broke.' [NG]	hotchpotch (Hladky, 1998, p. 40)
(3) 'akīkun 'akīkun أكيك أكيك 'It is scorching hot.' [NG] (Suçin, 2010, pp. 212-213).	hodgepodge (Hladky, 1998, p. 40)

Dienhart (1999, p.4) would call this type of meaningless reduplication as the narrow view which would permit only items in which the kernel and/or the reduplicant involve nonsense forms. Nonsense is treated as any form that does not appear as an entry in a standard English dictionary. Then, the narrow view of reduplication would permit such items as jeepers-creepers in which the kernel of the template is nonsense, and so is the reduplicant. This is manifested in the following pairs: fiddle-faddle (the reduplicant is nonsense), and argle-bargle (both the kernel and the reduplicant are nonsense). It would not allow items such as fifty-fifty, even-steven, and flip-flop. For ease of explication and definition of the label, nonsense rhyme is used to refer to compounds permitted by the narrow view. Such compounds appear to spring from the native speaker's playfulness and creativity, while displaying a number of phonological regularities.

9.2. Reduplications with One Meaningful Component

The broad view would extend the set of reduplicative compounds by allowing, in addition to nonsense forms, forms in which both elements are standard lexical items. This would open the set to such items as fifty-fifty (class 1), even-steven (Class 2), and flip-flop (Class 3). To items of this type, the label lexical rhyme is assigned. In these reduplications, one of the constituent words is meaningful while the other word's meaning is either lost, or altogether meaningless, being merely rhymed to ensure harmony. Such reduplications are frequently used to add a dynamic aspect to text. In modern standard Arabic, it is difficult to find current examples of these reduplications. In classical Arabic books, on the other hand, these reduplications (even three-word and four-word reduplications) called 'itbā' and muzāwaja, can be easily found:

(1) 'azīzun mazīzun عزيز مزيـز

'dear; beloved' ['azīzun 'dear', mazīzun 'NG' no gloss]

(2) 'aṭṣānun naṭṣānun عطشان نطشان

'thirsty' ['aṭṣānun, naṭṣānun 'NG']

(3) ḥasanun basanun حسن بسـن

'What a beauty!' [ḥasanun 'beautiful', basanun 'NG']

(4) 'ifrītun nifrītun عفریت نفریت

'troublemaker' ['ifrītun 'demon, devil', nifrītun 'NG']

(5) huwa 'aswānun 'atwānun هو أسوان أتوان

'He is forlorn and gloomy.' ['aswānun , 'atwānun 'NG']

English cases where one component has a separate meaning and the other component is separately meaningless and is added for aesthetic effect in English are as follows: Boo-hoo, bow-wow, clap-trap, hanky-panky, harum-scarum, higgledy-piggledy, hob-nob, hoity-toity, hokey-cokey, hotch-potch, hugger-mugger, hubbub, humdrum, hurdy-gurdy, hurly-burly, mumbo-jumbo, namby-pamby, roly-poly, tootsy-wootsy, willy-nilly, super-duper, piggy-wiggy) (Rastall, 2004, p. 40).

9.3. Reduplications with Meaningful Components

There are cases in which both components of the reduplication separately convey some central meaning such as (ship-shape, tip-top, sinbin) (Rastall, 2004, p.40), and the two words that make up the word sequence in the reduplication are meaningful. Likewise, in the Arabic reduplication (mirāran wa tiktāran) 'many times' [mirāran 'several times', tiktāran 'repeatedly'], both words are meaningful. The majority of English and Arabic reduplications can be classified under this category. The reduplications in the following examples of Arabic reduplications from this category are given below:

(1) mālahu sāḥatun wa lā rāḥatun ماله ساحة ولا راحة

'He is a rolling stone.' [sāḥatun 'courtyard, open square', rāḥatun, 'rest']

(2) mā lahu dārun wa lā 'aqārun ماله دار ولا عقار

'He is homeless and forlorn.' [dārun 'home, house', 'aqārun 'real property']

(3) huwa šā'i'un dā'i'un هو شائع ذائع

'He is renowned.' [šā'i'un 'widespread', dā'i'un 'widely known']

(4) haḏā 'al 'amru ma'rūfun ladā 'al-qāṣī waddānī هذا الأمر معروف لدى القاصي والداني

‘This business is known to everybody, close or distant.’ *al-qāṣī* ‘the distant one’, *’addānī* ‘the near one’].

In the very broad view, kernels need not be word forms at all (sensible or nonsensical). The reduplication of any syllable(s) will do. This would further expand the set by including such items as yoyo (class 1), kiwi (class 2), and Nina (class 3). Such items are referred to as syllable rhyme. (Dienhart, 1999, p.4)

9.4. Reduplications with Two Antonymous Components

In many languages, two antonymous words are used side by side to create reduplications. In Arabic, these reduplications have frequent usage:

(1) *’atat ‘alā ’al’aḳdari wa ’al yābisi* أتت على الأخضر واليابس

‘The war destroyed the whole kit and caboodle. [’*al’aḳdari* ‘green’, *wal-yābisi* ‘dry’]

(2) *huwa ṣadīqun lahum fī ’assarrā’i wa aḍḍarrā’i* هو صديق لهم في السراء والضراء

‘He is their friend through trial and tribulation. [’*assarrā’i* ‘happiness, prosperity’, *aḍḍarra’i* ‘adversity, distress’]

(3) *’iḳtalaṭ ’al ḥābil binnābil* اختلط الحابل بالنابل

‘Everything went topsy turvy.’ [’*al-ḥābil* ‘the setter of the snare’, *’al-nābil* ‘the shooter of the arrows’]

(4) *lā ’alāqata lahu lā min qarībin walā min ba’īdin*

‘He has no involvement whatsoever with the traffic accident.’ [*qarībin* ‘near’, *ba’īdin* ‘far away’] لا علاقة له لا من قريب ولا من بعيد

(5) *bayna ’aṣiyyatin wa ḍuḥāhā* بين عشية وضحاها

‘Peace will not come lickety-spit.’ [’*as iyya* ‘late evening’, *ḍuḥāhā* ‘forenoon’]

In English, on the other hand, wear and tear is an example which is illustrated in the following sentences:

1-The living-room carpet has to stand up to the combined wear and tear of two dogs and three children.

2-The insurance policy does not cover damage caused by normal wear and tear.

9.5. Reduplications with Synonymous Components

Dienhart (1999, 4) argues that there are closely related reduplicative items in meanings such as *braindrain* and *night light*. These show the same phonological pattern as *hocus-pocus*, but each of these compounds is made up of already existing lexical items. Moreover, there is in these compounds a grammatical and semantic relationship between the two elements; *brain drain* is a draining away of *brainy* people, and a *night light* is a light kept burning at night. This semantic relation exists in the following lexical items that are orthographically written as one word, such as *cookbook*, *grandstand*, and *payday*. The same relation is maintained in the the following lexical items where the notion of ‘compound’ is dim, at best such as (e.g., *bozo*, *hobo*, *kiwi*, and *weenie*, *teeny-weeny*)

They occur also in Arabic:

(1) *bilā qaidin wala šarṭin* بلا قيد ولا شرط

‘Articles of the agreement shall be regulated unconditionally.’ [qaydin ‘condition, proviso’, šarṭin ‘condition’]

(2) *‘illā mā qalla wa nadara* إلا ما قل وندر

‘When it is hot at noon, you will find nobody but a few in the street.’ [qalla ‘to be of rare occurrence’, nadara ‘to be rare’]

(3) *sam‘an wa ṭā‘atan* سمعا وطاعة

‘With pleasure! I am at your service.’ [sam‘an ‘I hear’, ṭā‘atan ‘I obey’]

(4) *mirāran wa tiktāran*

‘Over and over again.’ [mirāran ‘several times’, tiktāran مرارا وتكرارا ‘repeatedly’]

(5) *yasraḥu wa yamraḥu* يسرح ويمرح

[yasraḥu ‘to move away; to graze cattle freely’, yamraḥu ‘to be cheerful’]

(6) qadāt 'al- ḥarbu 'alā 'azzar'i wa dḍar'i *قضت الحرب على الزرع والضرع*
 'The war devastated everything under the sun.' ['azzar'i 'green crop', wa
 dḍar'i 'udder']

9.6. Numerical Reduplications

Reduplications may consist of numerical words. The smaller number is expressed by the anterior word while the larger number is expressed by the posterior word. In Arabic, numerical reduplications consist of repetition of the same number:

(1) daḳalū wāḥidatan wāḥidatan *واحدة واحدة*
 'One by one, they went in.'

(2) Fifty fifty.

10. Semantic Shades of Meanings of Reduplication in English and Arabic:

Reduplication expresses a wide array of meanings cross-linguistically. There is, however, a set of meanings which recur so frequently and in so many languages. Consider, for example, the English words higgledy-piggledy, helter-skelter, pell-mell, and willy-nilly. These reduplicatives share a semantic component of lack of control and lack of specificity with reduplicatives from many other languages. Other senses which recur cross-linguistically include intensity, increased quantity, scattering, repetition, continuation, diminution, endearment, contempt. The apparent incoherence of the set of meanings leads to the conclusion that:

Given that reduplication is neither the exclusive expression of any one meaning category in language, nor are the meanings that it is an expression of all subsumable under general classes, no explanatory or predictive generalization about the meanings of reduplicative constructions can be proposed. (Regier, 1994, p. 9).

10.1. Reptition

Full reduplication involves the exact repetition of a sound or a word. In English this would involve putting together a sound or a morpheme to bring forth an entirely new grammatical function or semantic feature, while full reduplication would be used to provide emphasis. Repetition is taken as the

central sense of reduplication. The abstract notion of replication is taken as the center, which then gives rise to repetition and continuation as “replication across time”, and plurality as “replication across participants.” Repetition is taken as the center primarily because it, unlike either plurality or the more abstract replication, is directly iconically grounded in the repetition of the stem in the linguistic form. (Anani, 2011, p.3)

The repetition serves to conjure up a certain feeling or impression in the mind which implies an emotive force or aesthetic effect:

ḥaṣ ḥaṣ – ḥaṣ ḥaṣah- (emergence). The repetition of the base serves the idea of an increase/decrease in size: waswas-waswasah-(peep). The repetition of the base serves as a means of intensifying the idea of an activity so that the action denoted by the verb becomes more dynamic:kamkam- kamkam-ah (cover with garment);lamlam- lamlam-ah (collection).The repetition of the stem is a sign of agitation, bewilderment and exasperation: balbal – balbal-ah (disturbance). The repetition of the base serves a means of intensifying the idea of an activity so that the action denoted by the verb becomes more dynamic. (Anani, 2001, p.3)

10.2.Continuity

The use of reduplication to express continuity has been noticed by many researchers. Reduplication expresses continuative aspects.The continuative sense of reduplication is evident in Iraqi Arabic ṭanṭan (to buzz or hum), and arguably the English reduplicative, dilly-dally.The use of reduplication in the sense of continuity is easily motivated from repetition. A number of languages have a reduplicative forms for buzzing insects, an appealing motivation for this is simply that these insects make continuous sounds, and this association provides a conceptual link from continuity to insect. Examples of this are the Arabic كتكوت , katkūt, chick, صرصور, ṣarṣūr, cockroach and the English cuckoo. It is also quite common for birds to have reduplicative names.The motivation for this is entirely analogous to the motivation for insects: birds often make repetitive and continuative sounds, providing a simple conceptual link from repetition to bird, e.g., بلبل, bulbul, nightingale.

10.3. Incrementality

Incrementality is illustrated in the example extracted from Palestinian Arabic *šway šway* “little by little”. Incrementality is also related to repetition through a “part for whole metonymy, a conceptual link used widely throughout language. An example of this is the English expression *fifteen head*, e.g. of cattle, in which the word *head*, a part of the individual cow, is used metonymically to refer to the cow as a whole.” This metonymy is applicable here since incrementality, the notion of performing some action bit by bit, involves the repeated application of some subpart of the overall action, gradually completing the action as a whole. Repetition is, therefore, a part of the semantics of incrementality, so the use of a repetition to mean incrementality is well motivated metonymically. Dansieh argues in this respect that:

Emphatic reduplication, which signals emphasis, may also involve the idea of intensity. When reduplicants function this way, they exhibit an interesting morphological phenomenon. Instead of the entire stem, the repetition may involve only the last syllable or morpheme; and the more the repetition, the stronger the intended emphasis. Such repetitions, with their attendant slight increment in processing effort, guide the reader or hearer towards the achievement of optimal relevance. (2011, p. 171)

This element of incrementality in the use of the reduplicated words that refer to the same entity proves the idea that reduplication has this aspect of making the meaning of incrementality through this part to whole reference with the maintenance of the distinctive feature of reduplication, i.e. rhyming and consonant ablaut.

10.4. Spreading out – Scattering

The notion of scattering or spreading out is also often expressed by reduplication. There is an interesting phenomenon in Palestinian Arabic related to this sense of reduplication: many small sprinkable and hence scatterable foods have reduplicative names, e.g. pepper (*filfil*), sesame (*simsim*), mint (*nā‘nā‘*), and crumbs(*fatāfīt*). While apricot(*mišmiš*) does not seem to fit the general pattern at first, it may be significant that in the

Levant apricot is often beaten out flat into sheets, dried sold in that form. This gives an obvious connection to the sense of spreading. Motivation for this can be found in the fact that lack of control can cause scattering or spreading out:

This link is also highlighted in the colloquial American English sentence: He's a very together person, which uses a word whose central sense is the opposite of dispersion or distension to express self-control, i.e. the opposite of lack of control. The English word scatterbrained makes use of the same mapping. In these English examples the extension operates in the same direction, in that they use lexemes indicating scattering (or lack thereof), while in reduplication the directionality is reversed. They do provide independent motivation for the existence of the link. (Regier, 1994, p.13)

10.5. Baby Language–Baby Register

A number of languages use reduplicative nouns for the concept “baby”, presumably the case because babies, like birds, often make repetitive sounds, yielding associational link from repetition to baby. In addition to this, and related to it, reduplication can be used to mark “baby register”, that register is used when addressing babies. Consider, for example, English reduplication such as teeny-weeny, Georgie-Porgie who is a boy in an old Nursery Rhyme with these words:

Georgie Porgie, pudding and Pie,
Kissed the girls and made them cry;
When the boys came out to play,
Georgie Porgie ran away(OED)

There is also the related use of reduplication to express affection such as Georgie for George, Jo-Jo for Joe and Jon-Jon for John in colloquial American and this is exemplified by Arabic names as terms of endearment such as (mišmiš) for Hesham and šūšū for Aiysh and sūsū for Sahar in Egyptian Arabic. This extension from baby to affection is the sort of unidirectional semantic spread from concrete reference to an expression of speaker's attitude.

10.6.Diminution

The use of reduplication to express diminution, i.e. the concept of smallness, is widespread and is noted by the link from baby to small which is motivated by the very salient fact that babies are small, and may be the most salient class of small things. The use of linguistic forms meaning baby to also mean small is illustrated in such English sentences as a baby airplane, meaning a small airplane. Examples of diminutive forms are numerous, such as tidbit and nitty-gritty. Arab grammarians have viewed the diminutive formation as a productive process that is employed to express a variety of meanings, some of which are: smallness in size and number, contempt, endearment, and drawing near a time. Below are illustrative examples:(1) a. Smallness in number (*durayhīmāt*) (drachmas).b. Smallness in size *al- hujayrata* (the room) c. Contempt (*ar-rujaylu*) (This little man).d. Endearment *bunayya* (O little son) e. To draw near a (time) (*qubayla*) shortly.(Ismail, 2011, p.188)

10.7.Contempt

A number of languages use reduplication to express contempt, insignificance, or irrelevance.This can be motivated via the metaphorical conceptual link of power, and that importance is size, linking small to contempt. It is argued that this metaphor can be seen in the meaning of the English -y suffix: while often used for diminution (e.g. doggy), -y can also express derogation or contempt (e.g. limey, a derogatory term for an Englishman). This extension, like the extension from baby to affection, is an instance of semantic spread from the referential to the attitudinal.Two examples of this type are claptrap and hillbilly. In Arabic, there is *وإنه لحقير ناقيّر* , *wa'innahu laḥaqīr naqīr*, which means contemptuous, humiliated and diminutive.

10.8.Lack of Control

Lack of control and disorder are expressed by reduplication in a number of languages. A plausible motivation for this phenomenon springs from the fact that babies are often out of control, doing things we wish they would not. This gives us a simple associative link from baby to lack of control. Examples are: helter-skelter and the Arabic *هرج ومرج*, *haraj wa maraj*, that is, confusion.

10.9.Lack of specificity

Lack of specificity is expressed by reduplication in Arabic, such as كذا كذا *kaḏā -kaḏā*. These examples can be seen as denoting lack of control in referential specificity. It is argued that this is “a sort of sloppy uncontrolled scattering motion in semantic space, picking out a cluster of closely related meanings rather than just a single one” (Regier, 1994, p.12). Many English reduplicatives in this sense seem to exhibit variance in form between the first and second instantiations of the stem e.g. mish-mash, hodge-podge. bric-a-brac, zig-zag. This need not be the case in all languages.

10.10.Intensity

Reduplication is often used to express intensity. Keevallik (2010, p.800) argued that reduplication has been shown to “carry the semantic meaning of increased intensity, duration or emphasis”. There are at least two possible sources of motivation for this use. One of these is a link from plurality, highlighted by English expressions such as many thanks and a thousand pardons, in which quantity is used to express intensity. The other is a link from spread out, or perhaps more accurately from the result of spreading out, from enlargement. (Regier, 1994, p.10)

Arabic reduplicative forms ...have basically a bilateral root, i.e. two compatible consonants which form the stem of the reduplicative pattern. ...The reduplicative suffix has a skeletal CVC representation and obtains its full phonological specification by copying the CVC segments of the base, e.g. tam- is the base of the reduplicative word tamtam. The resulting word signals an increase in intensity, frequency size, speech defect, speech indistinctness, dullness, recurrence either immediate or at short intervals and other 'emotive' functions. (Anani, 2001, p.4).

11.Reduplication, Context and Stylistic Efficacy

Reduplication is used the most to emphasize the main action points of a story or the plotline in the nursery rhyme. When we examine the sentences corresponding to the main points in a story, we notice that every one of the main episodes has at least one reduplicated verb in it, and in a number of cases more than one. The reduplications in stories are

concentrated in the action sequence points, lending an added focus to the recounting of the events. In each episode, the writers have used reduplication at a crucial point. In some cases, this event is marked by two or more reduplications. In narratives, the actions leading up to the main events are not emphasized through reduplication.

Nevertheless, these preceding events are crucial to a complete understanding of the narrative. Pronouns, pro-verbs, elision, and other grammatical devices provide anaphoric ties linking lines containing reduplication with the foregoing sections of the narrative, as do poetic devices such as parallelism. The result of these processes is an extremely tight narrative with the reduplicated lines expressing the sense of the action that preceded them. (Bunte, 2002, p.15).

Reduplication paints a picture of the terrified stopping and starting of the story. As reduplication heightens the focus on selected elements of the story, the reduplicated verbs draw attention to the story events. Thus, the emphasis that reduplication brings to the story becomes just a "normal" part of everyday talk. By employing reduplication in all the main action sequences, it sets up those events as the framework or structure of the story, and thus focuses listeners' attention on that structure. Reduplication and the repetition of the phrases "frame the episode as a chunk, tie the "before" and the "after" together, and help ease the transition back to the story".

The reduplication emphasizes the action of arriving, punctuating the entire narrative and marking the sequential actions. Indeed, it both concludes the previous action and sets up the next action sequence. However, the narrators do reduplicate a large number of motion verbs, perhaps to "structure action sequences and to emphasize the cosmological significance of directions in this important narrative". The purpose of this discussion is to provide a contextually adequate analysis of reduplication in storytelling, since the storytellers all seem to accept reduplication as a stylistic resource. Nevertheless, reduplication in use is not at all uniform. Each storyteller adjusts the story to the evolving context and uses reduplication and all other resources as he sees fit. The word-initial placement of reduplication appears to help capture the audience's attention,

marking specific events as worthy of notice. The precise sense of the reduplication is:

indexed by the story context. Thus, the reduplicative form indexes both the referential meaning and the narrative structuring. The multi-indexicality of this process is further complicated since there are times when more than one interpretation seems possible. (Bunte, 2002, pp.15-27)

Similarly, adequate linguistic description and understanding of reduplication require analysts to attend to discourse processes and the performance context, in addition to linguistic form.

12.Reduplication in Nursery rhymes

12.1. Consonant Ablaut in English Nursery Rhymes

12.1.1.Little Bo Peep story

Little Bo peep has lost her sheep
 And doesn't know where to find them.
 Leave them alone and they'll come home,
 Bringing their tails behind them.
 Little Bo peep fell fast asleep
 And dreamt she heard them bleating,
 But when she awoke, she found it a joke,
 For they were all still fleeing.
 Then up she took her little crook
 Determined for to find them.
 She found them indeed, but it made her heart bleed,
 For they left their tails behind them.
 It happened one day, as Bo peep did stray
 Into a meadow hard by,
 There she espied their tails side by side
 All hung on a tree to dry.
 She heaved a sigh, and wiped her eye,
 And over the hillocks went rambling,
 And tried what she could,
 As a shepherdess should,
 To tack again each to its lambkin.
 (Nursery rhymes lyrics, origins, histories www.rhymes.uk.org.)

12.1.1.1. Analysis

The Little Bo Peep rhyme builds the picture of a young shepherdess and the advice given to her by someone more experienced not to fall asleep; otherwise tragedy ensues. It is interesting that the name of Little Bo Peep is implicitly referring to the words: bleat and sheep. There is no specific allusion to events in history for the origins of the Little Bo Peep rhyme. The morale of the words in the song is that one must avoid falling asleep or face the consequences of such an act. The words of Little Bo Peep are quite interesting as they contain archaic items such as espied, hillocks and lambkin. (www.rhymes.uk.org.)

There is a morale in this story which is didactic in nature for children who are warned against being slept or overslept when they are in charge of something or when someone is in their custody. This meaning is invigorated through the rhyming reduplicating pairs in each line. The starting line initiates the story by fronting its storyline (Little Bo Peep losing her sheep) peppered with this onset alternation kind of reduplication; the alternation lies in the starting sounds of the two reduplicating words /peep and sheep/ in the two alternating consonants /p/ and /š/; then the storyline develops with the help of reduplication; the reason behind the loss of the sheep is that little lo peep fell asleep; the reduplicating and rhyming sounds are the initial consonant group /asl/ and the single consonant /p/ in the two words: /asleep and peep/ which echo the first reduplicative pair and explain the reason behind the loss of the sheep; the basic core vocabulary items in the story are reduplicating (peep /sheep, peep /asleep); the story reaches its climax when the little Bo peep heard them bleating in her dream; however, it was just a dream, it never turned into reality; this materializes in the following rhyming pair in the following line /awoke/ajoke/ with middle consonant ablaut /w/ /j/. The little Bo Peep was intent on searching for her sheep, this is why she took her stick, that is, the crook; this is clear in the rhyming pair /took/ /crook/. She found her children; but her finding them made her bleed for discovering that they lost their tails, this was asserted by the reduplicating pair, / indeed//bleed/. When she was wandering around, she found their tail. The writer is keeping up his parallel reduplicating pairs in the story (day-stray) and (by-dry). Then, the relaxation of the shepherdess ensues following her finding their sheep; this state of relaxation was reinforced by the two acts: the heaving of the sigh and the wiping of the

eyes, and the two rhyming items (sigh-eye). Then, she exerted her utmost efforts to complete the process of restoring the tails to the sheep by tacking them; this image was intensified by the alternating onset consonants in (could-should). The didactic lesson of not to fall asleep lest you should miss or lose something was given force by the rhyming and reduplicating pairs which are appealing to the ears of children and helpful in making these rhymes memorable for them.

12.1.2. I'm a Little Teapot

I'm a little teapot
 I'm a little teapot, short and stout
 Here is my handle, here is my spout
 When I get all steamed up, hear me shout
 Tip me over and pour me out!
 (Nursery rhymes lyrics, origins, histories www.rhymes.uk.org.)

12.1.2.1. Analysis

The teapot is talking about itself describing its structure in a merry, jolly and cheerful way, the epithets and qualities are rhyming together; the description of the teapot as stout is followed by onset alteration of the first two consonants and the mentioning of the reduplicated word spout; then the sound of the teapot is also described with the word shout and the movement of the teapot to pour the liquid inside it out with the maintenance of the same vowel all through, and the alteration of the onset consonant sounds in the following words: /stout-spout-shout- out/. The meaning of incrementality which is a basic component of reduplication is based on the part to whole metonymy; this is evident in the listing of the various parts of teapot and its handle, then ending up with the spout; at the very inception of the nursery rhyme, the description of the teapot is the main storyline; that is why the contrastive reduplication is right in place/ I am a little teapot! I am a little teapot/, and the rhyming reduplication ensues in stout-spout pair; then the plotline is stylistically heightened through the rhyming between spout and shout, and the ending note of the nursery rhyme is also reminiscent of the rhyming reduplication throughout with the adverb /out/ which is matching rhythmically with / stout-spout-shout/.

12.1.3. Little Tommy Tucker

Little Tommy Tucker
Sings for his supper:
What shall we give him?
White bread and butter.
How shall he cut it
Without a knife?
How shall he marry
Without a wife?

(Nursery rhymes lyrics, origins, histories www.rhymes.uk.org.)

12.1.3.1. Analysis

Little Tommy Tucker is a reference to the orphans who are not able to feed themselves, hence they are singing to get their supper; there are these rhyming pairs in Tucker –supper- butter; there is this initial alternation of sounds and the change of the middle consonants. The main plot of the story is the orphans who try to sustain themselves by singing. The initiating line of the story is invigorated stylistically by the reduplicated pairs /Tucker and supper/. The line of the story is maintained throughout in its sequence of events when the offer of help is materialized in /bread/ then /butter/ which echoes the rhyming tone in /supper/ and reduplicates with it to keep the thread of the story going on. The storyline gains momentum with the two interrogatives about how to cut the bread without a knife. Then, the rhyme refers to another problem the orphaned children face because of their exceptionally low standing in society, that is the difficulty of getting a wife; this again is rhyming with the word knife which Tommy Tucker lacks to cut bread with: /knife/wife/. The idea of incrementality and part to whole metonymy comes up vigorously in this nursery rhyme with the pieces and parts of the picture that are gathered together in citing the rudimentary parts: /supper/ and its constituent elements such as /bread and butter/, and then the knife which he employs to cut bread with.

12.1.4. The Cock Crows

The cock crows in the morn
To tell us all to rise,
And he that lies late

Will never be wise:
 For early to bed,
 And early to rise,
 Is the way to be healthy
 And wealthy and wise

(Nursery rhymes lyrics, origins, histories www.rhymes.uk.org.)

12.1.4.1. Analysis

This is a didactic nursery rhyme in which the onset alternation of rhyming sounds are effectively employed to instill a cherished lesson in the minds of children. The cock produces this sound of crowing for people to rise early; then the beginning sounds are rhyming with the following epithet; those who will not rise early will not be wise, which rhymes with the words /rise and wise/. The core of the lesson is heightened when the rhyme concludes that early to rise is to be wise and /healthy and wealthy/. Again, the onset alternation of sounds /rise/wise/, and healthy/wealthy/ is observable.

Again, incrementality and part to whole metonymy looms large in this nursery rhyme. The whole story revolves round the idea of rising and lying in bed early, which is closely attached to the crowing of the cock. Then, the whole picture is drawn and completed when health, wealth and wisdom are natural results of the act of early rise. The main plotline is ‘rise’ and its consequent outcomes ‘wise’, so the reduplicated pair is introduced to reinforce the core of the story, when the action sequence mounts up with the acts of early lying and rising. The heightening climax of the plot is again bolstered up with the reduplicating pair /healthy, wealthy/ and eventually /wise/ to take us back to the starting point which is a warning against late rise or otherwise unwise.

12.1.5. Wee Willie Winkie

Wee willie winkie runs through the town,
 Upstairs and downstairs in his nightgown,
 Tapping at the window and crying through the lock,
 Are all the children in their beds, it’s past eight o’clock?

(Nursery rhymes lyrics, origins, histories www.rhymes.uk.org.)

12.1.5.1. Analysis

Before the age of the wireless, television and the internet, the town crier was the one who passes on information to the townspeople; the wee willie winkie is the version of the town crier in the children's minds and cultures; the town crier wants all children to lie in bed by eight o'clock. The device of reduplication helps boost his job with the rhyming pair town/gown -lock/clock. The musicality of the rhyming pairs helps boost the job of the town crier. The inception of the nursery rhymes with this traditional rhyming name with the similar-sounding initial consonant Wee Willie Winkie, the town crier, arrests the children's attention and paves the way for the unleashing of the sequence of the story actions which initiates with the running of the town crier far and wide in the town, then he is clad in nightgown which rhymes and reduplicates with town/gown; the closing note brings reduplicated pairs to the frontline and draws them to the limelight when the rhyme ends up depicting the town crier as crying through the lock inquiringly whether children turned in their beds for it is past eight o'clock or not. The 'lock' reduplicates and rhymes with 'o'clock' introducing the didactic lesson of the story that children should go early to their beds.

12.2. Consonant Ablaut in Arabic Nursery Rhymes

12.2.1. الطائر

Transliteration	Translation	The Arabic Nursery Rhyme
'aṭā'ir 'al'amīr, 'aṭā'ir 'aṣṣagīr maskanuhu fī 'al'uṣ wa'ummuhu taṭīr ta'tī lahu bilqaṣ, takāluhu 'aṭṭuyūr 'idā badā fī 'alfarṣ ka'annahu 'amīr yajlis fauqa 'al'arṣ	the prince bird is the small bird whose abode is in the nest, and whose mother flies to bring straw for him. The birds would imagine him as a prince who sits on the throne.	الطائر الأمير الطائر الصغير مسكنه في العش وأمه تطير تأتي له بالقش تخاله الطيور إذا بدا في الفرش كأنه أمير يجلس فوق العرش (Shalabi , 2002 a, p. 129)

12.2.1.1. Analysis

The rhyme is tackling the little bird, the prince bird whose abode is the nest. His mother flies to bring some haystacks; seeing him lying in bed, birds take him to be a prince posturing on his throne. The alternating initial sounds in the four words, /العش/ 'al'uš, nest – /القش- 'alqaš straw, — /الفرش 'alfarš, bedding, /العرش 'al'arš throne/ make the four lines coherent and create unity. Thus, the change in meaning gives variation to the rhyme and bestows musicality and vividness in drawing the picture of this bird. The four-line nursery rhyme contains a reduplicated noun in each line which makes the fabric of the rhyme unique and well-knit, the alternation of the onsetting consonant sound from /'a/to /qa/to /fa/ ending again in /'a/ lays focus on the the identity of the bird; the relation of /العش/ to /القش/ is like that of incrementality, that is, of part to whole metonymy, the straw is the constituent component of the nest, and is an indispensably part and parcel of it. The relation of /الفرش/ to the /العش/ is that of synonymy, and the sense relation /العرش/ to the rest of the preceding words is like that of exaggeration and magnification. The reduplicants tie the preceding and following items of the episode and describe the sparrow as a whole chunk with organic unity. The reduplicating pairs help highlighting the focal point of the story that is the bird.

12.2.2. محمد الدرة.

Transliteration	Translation	The Nursery Rhyme
hā huwa 'alaqṣā yunādī 'aina 'antum 'aina antum yā ḥumata 'addīn ḥibbū 'anqīdūnī 'anqīdūnī bilmašā'ir walmašā'il wa'al'ayādī	This is Alaqsa calling for you: where are you? Where are you? O! protectors of religion! Get ready and rescue me, rescue me with your feelings, torches and hands.	ها هو الأقصى ينادى أين أنتم؟ أين أنتم؟ يا حماة الدين هبوا أنقذوني أنقذوني بالمشاعر والمشاعل والأيادي (Shalabi, 2002 a, p.99)

12.2.2.1. Analysis

This nursery rhyme is for a famous child martyr called Muhammad Eldurrah who was shot by Israeli soldiers though he was not armed; this provokes international condemnation at that time. The device employed in this rhyme is the use of repetition of the plural vocative pronoun and the doubling of the question form twice أين أنتم أين أنتم, 'aina 'antum 'aina 'antum, where are you? he calls for protectors of religion to hasten to his rescue to save him with their good feelings and torches and hands بالمشاعر والمشاغل, bilmašā'ir walmašā'il ; the use of the reduplicated form with repetition of the pronouns and question forms, and the change of the last letter and sound /ra/ and /la/ shows the variation of these reduplicated words. The musicality and the rhyming of the two words except for the last sound /r/ and /l/ make the meaning more emphatic and reinforced.

12.2.3. لازم حازم

Even in politics, this device is used in garnering support to one's parties or one's loyalties; the coordinator of the presidential campaign of the Egyptian presidential hopeful, Hazem Abo Ismael who is known for his ultra-conservative teachings, invented this reduplicating rhyming words so that it can render an effect on the voters.

13. Vowel Alternation in Nursery Rhymes

13.1. Vowel Alternation in English Nursery Rhymes

13.1.1. Seesaw Margery Daw

Seesaw Margery Daw

Johnny shall have a new master

He shall earn but a penny a day

Because he can't work any faster

(Nursery rhymes lyrics, origins, histories www.rhymes.uk.org.)

The seesaw is the oldest ride for children, easily constructed from logs of different sizes of "Seesaw Marjorie Daw". It reflects children playing on a see-saw and singing this rhyme to their game. The nursery rhyme has the same vowel ablaut which causes the two words to reduplicate and rhyme.

13.2.Vowel Alternation in Arabic Nursery Rhymes

13.2.1.غذائي.

Transliteration	Translation	Nursery Rhyme
ġ i ġ ā' ī munazam li'anī moslem šabāḥan fiṭūrī lijismī ḍarūrī waḏuḥran ġadā' ī 'asāsu ġ i ġ ā' ī waqabla al ' i š ā' ṭa'ām 'a š ā' ī	My meals are at regular times because I am a Muslim. In the morning I take my breakfast which is necessary for my body, and at midday I have my lunch, and before the late evening(eisha) prayer I take my supper.	غذائي منظم لأنني مسلم صباحا فطوري لجسمي ضروري وظهرأ غذائي أساس غذائي وقبل العشاء طعام عشائي (Shalabi, 2002a, 99)

13.2.1.1.Analysis

The reduplication lies in the alteration of the diacritics, i.e. the vowels which come over the letters like the short vowels, such as / a i u /and the long vowels / ā ī ū /.This is clear in the two words, غذائي وغدائي. والعشاء وعشاء. The different vowels over the same letters cause the words to reduplicate: ġ i ġ ā' ī , ġ a d ā' ī, the variation lies in the middle consonant and the middle vowels / i/ and/ a/.This difference in vowels causes ' i š ā' , 'a š ā' to reduplicate and rhyme.

13.2.2.ماذا يقول الصباح.

Transliteration	Translation	Nursery Rhyme
maḍā yaqūl 'aṣṣabāḥ yaqūl 'inna 'aṭṭiyūr tas'ā 'ilā 'alḥabbi lituṭ'im 'al'abnā' bilḥabbi walhubbi	What does the morning say? Morning says that birds seek grains so as to feed children with grains and love	ماذا يقول الصباح يقول إن الطيور تسعى إلى الحب لتطعم الأبناء بالحب والحب (Shalabi , 2002 b, 76)

13.2.2.1. Analysis

The same applies to the last reduplication when the diacritics i.e. the short vowels over the letters, change their meaning and make them reduplicant though they have the same letters but different vowels bilḥabbi and walḥubbi. The second kind of reduplication is vowel alteration, and this is clear in the previous nursery rhyme which says: what does the morning say? It says that birds seek grains to feed its children with grains and love. The change in the words is brought about by the change in the diacritics of the word. الحب والحب bilḥabbi and walḥubbi. With vowel alternations, the first syllable of the reduplicated form, the derivation of a form such as crisscross undergoes two stages such as 1) syllable copy and 2) vowel ablaut. Here the initial syllable is fully reduplicated and linked to its CV slots (CVCV-> CVCV.CVCV). A vowel change motivated by ablaut occurs from /e, i, o/ to /a,u/. The vowel change in the Arabic nursery rhymes motivated by ablaut occurs from /i/ to /a/ as in ġ i ḍ ā' ī , ġ a ḍ ā' ī , and from /i/ to /a/ as in ' i š ā' , ' a š ā' , and from /a/ to /u/ as in bilhabbi and walhubbi.

14. Onomatopoeia

14.1. Definition of Onomatopoeia and Sound Symbolism(SS)

There exists an important referential relationship between the form and meaning of lexical items. In certain cases, the sound sequence of the word in itself denotes the particular meaning of the form. In such examples, the sound of utterances of lexical items by themselves matches the meaning they stand for. Such forms of lexical items are known as onomatopoeic. In the 'ono' word, the sound of the word has a special significance which illustrates the meaning. The onomatopoeic words represent an imitation of a particular sound or imitation of an action along with the sound. Some 'ono' words are reduplicated and others are not.

Onomatopoeia is interchangeably termed as Sound Symbolism (SS) which stands for the same relationship between the sound of an utterance and its meaning. A typology is outlined of SS consisting of:

Four categories: (1) corporeal, e.g., vocalizations and comic strips with visual effects; (2) imitative, e.g., onomatopoeia and sound-movement rhyming; (3) synaesthetic, e.g., diminutives

and size symbolism, and (4) conventional, e.g., phonaesthesia, blending and creation of names for commercial products. Onomatopoeia appears with two semantic functions: 'imitation' and 'name-making'. Diminutives such as teeny-weeny exhibit sound reduplication as well. (Wang, 2005, p. 511).

The following sections will shed light on onomatopoeia and its imitative function of matching the rhyming sound with the meaning of the item in English and Arabic nursery rhymes.

14.2. Sound Symbolism, Onomatopoeia and Reduplication.

SS reduplication in daily communication is routinely employed in advertisements, newspapers, election slogans and the like. SS is also often used for brand naming. In the following six categories SS reduplication is commonly used for:

- 1) Baby talk, children songs, lyrics, poetry, and prayer;
- 2) Second language pedagogy, phonics, especially for children's English;
- 3) Language games, tongue twisters, comics and cartoons;
- 4) Advertisements, branding, political slogans;
- 5) Headlines (for any message or newspaper);
- 6) Political and ideological rhetoric. (Wang, 2005, p. 511)

The following sections will focus on the employment of onomatopoeia in baby talk, children songs, or in other words, English and Arabic nursery rhymes.

14.3. Onomatopoeia in Advertisements

Company name	McVitie's Original
Brand name	Hobnobs
Slogan	One Nibble And You're Nobbled
	Nobly Oaty biscuits

The above elements are the major components of the Hobnob Advertisement

The distinctive attribute of this slogan [We're Buick—We're Better] is that it repeats the /b/-sound four times in terms of alliteration, i.e. onset-repetition, to stress the better quality of its product. One more characteristic of metaphoric expression is the pattern of bilabial onset repetition 'W. . .B' used to highlight: 'We're Buick—We're Better.' A similar slogan, One Nibble and You're Nobbled!, integrates a h-C alternation and /i-a/ alternation for a cookie brand name, Hobnobs:

The slogan undergoes /i-a/ ablaut for both 'nibble' and 'nobbled'; they in turn reflect their sound reduplication back to the brand name 'Hobnob'. This alternation, a type of Conventional Sound Symbolism, occurs at the syntactic level and can be used to demonstrate lexical cohesion in terms of SS reduplication. Its potential advertising effects are obtained by integrating into the discourse level the following two components of the aforementioned categories of sound symbolism:(1) synesthetic SS (Category 3: representing visual properties) and (2) conventional SS (Category 4: brand-naming, with sound and meaning

linked automatically).

Hobnobs (rhyme)

Hob- (SS: sound of gorging)

Nob (3 key sounds also for nobly, oaty biscuits)

Nibble.nobbled (/i-o/ablaut,

Nobly, oaty, biscuits (3 onsets from –nob). (Wang, 2005:517)

14.4. Types of Onomatopoeia

Echoism includes primary onomatopoeia and secondary onomatopoeia (phonasthesia) including repetition for aesthetic or expressive effect. In primary onomatopoeia, products of the true onomatopoeic faculty, there is an attempt at direct imitation of naturally occurring sounds in sound symbolism or natural correspondence between sound and sense. Some reduplications are of this sort, e.g., chug-chug, slip-slop, ding-dong, hubbub. In secondary phonaesthesia, the sound of the spoken word is felt to be appropriate to the meaning of the lexemes of which they are forms. Many reduplications are of this sort –dilly-dally, harum-scarum, humdrum, mumbo-jumbo, namby-pamby.(Rastall, 2004, p.39). Echoism is a distinctive

form of expression which includes repetition of words for aesthetic or expressive effect. However, the echoic forms appear to exist in contexts that are culture specific, in the sense that the composition of onomatopoeic words is determined by the system of the language to which it belongs. Thus, a word would be considered onomatopoeic even if only a part of it is imitative. This would account for certain imitations of natural sounds which are culture specific and totally different from the way another culture views the object. This would include the more subtle sounds such as knock-knock and splish splash as well. (Rastall, 2004, p. 39)

14.5. Onomatopoeic Reduplications in Arabic and English

The Following are English and Arabic examples of Onomatopoeic Reduplications:

Ack-ack, Boo-boo, buzz-buzz, bye-bye, chug-chug, chug, bong-bong, tuk-tuk, ack-ack SOD, aye-aye SOD, ba(a)—ba(a), bandy-bandy, barbar B, baw- baw B, biddy-biddy, buzz-buzz B • bye-bye, chuck-luck B, fifty-fifty, foo-foo, fufu, footer-footer, ga-ga, Bonbon “a sweet”, Bulbul “an Asian or African song-bird”, Chuff-chuff, chuff ‘steam engine’, Chug-chug, chug, “sound of an engine”, Clop-clop, clop “sound of heavy shoes or hoofs, Fifty-fifty, Ha-ha, sound of laughter, Hush-hush highly secret, Pee-pee an act of urinating (redupl. of pee; colloq), Ping-pong ‘table tennis’, quack-quack, duck’s quack; duck, sim-sim, simsim ‘sesame’ (Swahili, f. Arabic), tuk-tuk(thuk-thuk, tuk tuk) n. ‘a three-wheeled taxi in Thailand’ (imit.; joc.), 66, tum-tum n., v. ‘monotonous sound of a stringed instrument’ (imit.), 66, yoohoo int., v., n. ‘attract attention’ (natural exclam.) 61, honk-honk, honk n. ‘sound of a motor horn’, mamma n. ‘mother, woman’ (redupl. of infants’ ma; US slang So), no-no n. ‘thing that must not be done’ (redupl. of no; colloq.), pee-pee n. ‘an act of urinating (redup of pee, colloq) 63 pom-pom n., int. “Maxim gun; repetitive sound”, puff-puff n. ‘locomotive, train’ (nursery&colloq), quack-quack, duck’s quack; duck’, swish-swish, swish ‘hissing sound’, tick-tick ‘make a ticking sound’, yum-yum, yum a., n.’ expr. the sound of smacking the lips, something tastes very well, chug chug (locomotive), ding dong (doorbell), gobble gobble. (Rastall, 2004, pp.36-67)

زلزلت, zulzilāt, shaken—سمسم, simsim, sesame—وشوش, wašwaš, whisper---
—وسوس, waswasa, whisper--- مصمص, maṣmaṣ, produce a sound with his

lips-- خصص, kaşkaş, privatize,--- سلاسل, salāsīlā, chains, - زمزم, zamzam, the sound of collecting water from spreading -- -- زقزقة, zaqzaqah, the sound of sparrows, توك توك, tuk tuk, a three-wheeled vehicle --- عسّس, 'as'asa, departed, صرّصرا, şarşara, furious - فكبكبوا, fakubkibū, are thrown, حصص, haşhaşa, manifest --- فدمدم, fadammdama, destroy.

15. Onomatopoeia in English Nursery Rhymes

15.1. Three Little Kittens

The three little kittens they lost their mittens, and they
began to cry, "Oh mother dear, we sadly fear our mittens we have lost."

"What! Lost your mittens, you naughty kittens!

Then you shall have no pie."

"Meeow, meow you shall have no pie."

The three little kittens, they found their mittens,

And they began to cry,

"Oh mother dear, see here, see here
our mittens we have found."

"What, found your mittens you darling kittens

And you shall have some pie"

"Meeow, meeow

then you shall have some pie."

The three little kittens put on their mittens

And soon ate up the pie,

"Oh mother dear, we greatly fear
our mittens we have soiled."

"What! Soiled your mittens, you naughty kittens!"

Then they began to sigh, "Meeow, meeow,

They began to sigh.

The three little kittens they washed their mittens
 And hung them out to dry,
 “Oh mother dear, look here, look here
 Our mittens we have washed.”
 “What! Washed your mittens, you’re such good kittens.”
 I smell a rat close by,
 Hush, hush, I smell a rat close by
 Nursery rhymes lyrics, origins, histories www.rhymes.uk.org.

15.1.1. Analysis

This is a cautionary tale; it is the mother cat teaching her little kittens that if the customary occurrence of losing an article is done by them, their mittens in this context, then they will be punished by not having their pie. The effective technique of onomatopoeia where the sound of the word expresses its meaning is in place. The cats are producing a sound of miaowing to indicate their groaning and moaning and pleading their mother to forgive them, especially after finding their mittens; the kittens are reprimanded once again because of their soiling their mittens and they are miaowing again and forgiven when they cleaned their mittens. The reduplicating pairs kittens/mittens- /dear /fear through onset alternation is effective throughout; the added method of onomatopoeia this time gives more value and variety to the reduplicating words, that is, the imitation of the sounds of the word to the sense it conveys in the context.

15.1.2. Horsey Horsey

Horsey Horsey
 Horsey horsey don’t you stop
 Just let your feet go clippetty-clop;
 The tail goes swish and the wheels go round,
 Giddy up, we’re homeward bound
 Nursery rhymes lyrics, origins, histories www.rhymes.uk.org.

15.1.2.1. Analysis

The words in Horsey Horsey include ‘swish’ and ‘clippetty clop’ when they are pronounced they convey the sounds of the movement which the horse might make. The items employed for the steps of the feet of the horse are ‘clippetty-clop’ which imitate the sounds that are already made by the horse feet. The same applies to the sound of the tail. When it goes it swishes which is a typical duplicate of the real movement. This technique is used in various children’s books. In Horsey Horsey nursery rhyme, the words ‘Giddy up’ are included. This is a term long used by horse riders from way back in English history, and has been adopted in many other parts of the world. It is a command given by the rider to the horse to go faster.

15.2. Onomatopoeia in Arabic Nursery Rhymes

15.2.1. الطائرة العجيبة

Transliteration	Translation	Nursery Rhyme
’aṭṭā’irah ’al’ajībah safīnatu ’alhawā’i taṭīru fi ’alfadā’i tasīru fi ’arriyāḥ mabsūṭatu ’aljanāḥ manzaruhā fi ’aljaw kaṭā’ir ’almudawī ta’izu wahiya ṭā’irah miṭl ’azīz ’alqāṭirah	The amazing plane The air plane flies in the space, flies in the winds stretching its wings; its sight in the air is like the buzzing bird; it is buzzing like the buzzing train.	الطائرة العجيبة سفينة الهواء تطير في الفضاء تسير في الرياح مبسوطة الجناح منظرها في الجو كالطائر المدوي تنز وهي طائرة مثل أزيز القاطرة (Shalabi, 2002 a, p. 147)

15.2.1.1. Analysis

The wonderful plane is flying in the airspace and is resisted with winds, so it spreads its wings and it looks in the air like the bird; the plane is droning and producing a buzzing, chukking and chugging sound like the train أزيز, ta’iz ’azīz; the use of onomatopoeia in the rhyme shows the expressive verb whose sound gives the meaning of the movement of the

plane. There is an imitation between the sound of the plane and train, however, the mere sound of the verb *تتربز* is reflective and expressive of the actual and real engine sound of the plane, and the employment of the noun derivative of *أزيز* once again, in the same line, recalls to the mind of the child the sound of the plane; eventually the composer of the rhyme partially reduplicates *طائرة*, *tā'ira* with *لقاطرة*, *alqāṭira*, where the last two letters /rah/ are rhyming together with the medial /ā/.

15.2.2. آدم وحواء

Transliteration	Translation	Nursery Rhyme
'ādam wa ḥawā' 'abū 'albarāyā 'adam 'awal ḵalq 'albašar qad ḵalaq 'allāh lahū ḥawā' miṭl 'aššiwarr qāla 'isuknā fī janatī bayna aljana wannahar walakumā 'an ta'kulā mā šī'tumā min ṭamar wa 'innamā lā taqrabā wāḥidatan fī 'aššajar fawaswasa 'aššayṭān ḥata ḵarajā 'an ḥaḍar wa'akalā faḥabaṭā watilka 'ummu al'ibar	Adam and Eve The father of human beings is Adam, the first human creature whom Allah has created and to whom he created Eve. He said to them live in my paradise between the gardens and rivers and you can eat whatever you like of fruit but do not come close to the forbidden tree. The devil has whispered to him till they avoided Allah's warning and ate and descended to earth and this is the best example to follow.	آدم وحواء أبو البرايا آدم أول خلق البشر قد خلق الله له حواء مثل الصور قال اسكنوا في جنتي بين الجنى والنهر ولكما أن تأكلا ما شئتما من ثمر وإنما لا تقربا واحدة في الشجر فوسوس الشيطان حتى خرجا عن حذر وأكلا فهبطا وتلك أم العبر (Shalabi, 2002 a, p. 64)

15.2.2.1. Analysis

The rhyme is about the story of Adam and Eve; Adam is the first human being created on earth, and Allah creates Eve for him, and asked them to live in paradise amongst gardens and rivers, and eat of whatever fruit they

like except the Forbidden tree. The devil whispered evil to them until they disobeyed Allah's orders and ate from the tree, and they landed to earth which is the lesson of all lessons. The verb *waswasa* is of the structure *cvcvcv*. It is a two-part verb; the first part is identical with the second; this invigorates the meaning of the verb because the double nature of the stem of the verb gives force to it, and bestows a special nature for these verbs which are copious in English and Arabic.

15.2.3. العصفور

Transliteration	Translation	Nursery Rhyme
'al 'uṣṣūr wa'anā wannahār 'aljadīd yuzaqziq 'al'uṣṣūr ma'zūfata 'albukūr wa'asma'u 'al'uṣṣūr 'uḥissu bissurūr wa'aftaḥi 'al'aynayn tastaqbilān 'annūr wa'aftaḥi 'aššibāk wa'almaḥu 'al 'uṣṣūr	The sparrow and myself and the new day time; the sparrow is producing beeps during the early hours of the morning and when I hear the sparrow I feel happy and open my eyes to receive light and open the windows to see the sparrow	العصفور وأنا والنهار الجديد يزقزق العصفور معزوفة البكور وأسمع العصفور أحس بالسرور وأفتح العينين تستقبلان النور وأفتح الشباك وألمح العصفور (Shalabi, 2002 a, p.130)

15.2.3.1. Analysis

This rhyme is about the sparrow and the new daylight; the sparrow is producing a peep which is an announcement of the coming of daylight; the production of the verb *تزقزق* is onomatopoeic because its sound is an imitation of its meaning, and it is a two-part verb; the second part is a typical reduplicant of the first part *زقزق*, *zaqzaq*. The repetition, typicality and duplication of the two parts, is a reinforcement, intensity and sound symbolism of the meaning of the entire verb.

15.2.4. الكتكوت

Transliteration	Translation	Nursery rhyme
'alkatkūt 'albaydah walkatkūt tūt tūt tūt tūt haḍī 'albaydah fihā katkūt kasara 'alkiṣrah aḡaraja minhā ṣauṣau ṣauṣau waba'uda 'anhā man 'ahyyāh huwa 'allāh man yar'āhu huwa'allāh subhāna 'allāh subhāna 'allāh	This is an egg and a nestling. Tut tut tut tut. This is an egg in which there is a nestling which breaks the crust and got out producing beeps and practiced life on his own. Who gave him life, this is allah. Who who is taking care of him. Praise be to Allah, Praise be Allah.	الكتكوت البيضة والكتكوت توت توت توت توت هذى البيضة فيها كتكوت كسر القشرة وخرج منها صوصو صوصو وبعد عنها من أحياء هو الله من يرعاه هو الله سبحان الله سبحان الله (Shalabi, 2002 a, p.136)

15.2.4.1. Analysis

This rhyme is about the egg and the chick. This is the egg in which the chick is breaking the eggshell and gets out producing peeps صوصو ṣauṣau; who gives his life? It is 'allāh; who takes care of him, it is 'allāh; praise be to 'allāh, praise be to 'allāh. This peeping is a voice of the nestling which expresses the movement; the sound of the word gives its meaning. The two-part verb is again employed in this rhyme where the first part mirrors the second part.

15.2.5. الكتكوت الصغير

Transliteration	Translation	Nursery Rhyme
'alkatkūt 'aṣṣaḡḡīr Lī katkūt kana ṣaḡḡīran ya'kul ḡaban yal'abu yajrī 'aṣbaḡa dīkan ṣāra kabīran yaḡtifu kūkū 'inda 'alfajr	The little nestling I have a young nestling which was eating grains, playing and running till it became a big rooster which produces beeps at dawn time	الكتكوت الصغير لِي كَتَكُوت كان صغيرا يَأْكُل حَبَا يَلْعَب يَجْرِي أَصْبَحَ دِيكَا صَارَ كَبِيرَا يَهْتَفُ كُوكُو عِنْدَ الْفَجْرِ (Shalabi, 2002 a, p.136)

15.2.5.1. Analysis

The little nestling is the title of this rhyme. I had a little nestling which was eating grains; the nestlings were playing and running. The little nestling became a big rooster, which peeps كوكو, kūkū, at dawn. The sound of the rooster كوكو, kūkū, is expressive of the meaning of the beep of the rooster; the sound and the structure of the word is typical of the meaning of the word.

15.2.6. هند وقطا

Transliteration	Translation	Nursery Rhyme
ya lalhūl kānat Hend taḥmil qīṭan ṭawāl 'alyūm waba'ḍa 'alayl masakat ḍayl 'alqīṭah wa rāḥat tarbiṭuhu min ḍāka 'aḍḍayl ya lalhūl ya lalwayl dāra alqīṭ yabuṣu 'ilīhā wahuwa yaṣihu bikalimati nau thumma 'inqaḍḍa wa'aḍḍa yaddiyhā faṭalaqat taṣṣ ruḵ fī 'attaui tarakathu lasalimat yaduhā lakin lan tanfa'ahā lau.	How horrible! Hend was carrying a cat during the daytime and partly at night; she held the tail of the cat and tied it from its tail. How terrible! How horrible! The cat was looking at her while miawing then pounced on her bit her hands; then she rushed and screamed immediately if she left the kitten she would lose her hand but the word 'if' would not benefit her.	يا للهول كانت هند تحمل قطا طوال اليوم وبعض الليل مسكت ذيل القطه وراحت تربطه من ذاك الذيل يا للهول ... يا للويل يا للهول ويا للويل دار القط يبص إليها وهو يصيح بكلمة (نو) ثم انقض وعض يديها فانطلقت تصرخ في التو لو تركته لسلمت يدها لكن لن تنفعها (لو) (Shalabi , 2002 b, p. 29)

15.2.6.1. Analysis

Hend was carrying a cat the whole day; Hend caught the tail of the cat; she caught the tail of the cat and tied it! Hell ! Hell! the cat was looking at Hend and producing beeps; then the cat pounced and bit her, then she shouted, if she escaped free, her hand would be saved. Again, the sound of the word miawing is reflecting its meaning.

16. Conclusion

Reduplication is an untapped source of linguistic virtuosity in conveyance of meaning in an expression with a note of musicality; the rhythmical nature and harmonious cacophony of reduplications make them all the more learnable, memorable and retrievable by the retentive memories of children and adults alike. It is this fact that justifies the inclusion of this linguistic phenomenon in school books of nursery rhymes for the sake of easing the process of memorization and teachability of this material. The melodic nature of reduplication makes these rhymes attractive to school children. The functions which reduplication renders for children are that they convey information in an interesting way, they instill morals and cultivate ethics in the hearts of children as in the rhyme, i.e. going early to bed, and warning against oversleeping, and chastising the young for losing their belongings and soiling their clothes.

Reduplication in nursery rhymes upgrades the aesthetic value of children as shown in the depiction of the whole picture of the teapot; augmentation of linguistic inventory of children is evidenced in the new vocabulary introduced to the children and the unused and archaic vocabulary that was incorporated in the nursery rhyme to be recognized by children. The singsong nature of producing the reduplication-filled nursery rhyme is a means for releasing the pent-up feelings of children through repetition and singing. Curriculum experts, courses and syllabus designers should evince interest in reduplication and nursery rhymes as a beneficial instrument in pedagogy. Nursery rhymes in English and Arabic should be compiled in dictionaries or anthologies; the cultural and historical background or allusions of nursery rhymes which are fraught with reduplication should be annotated to every nursery rhyme in any anthology of nursery rhyme. Reduplication is the pivot round which the nursery rhyme revolves. Bilingual dictionaries for reduplications should be compiled to serve language teachers and learners in English and Arabic. Educators and pedagogy experts could capitalize on the significance of nursery rhymes and its reduplicative nature in indoctrinating whatever set of values, be they religious, cultural, moral or otherwise, in the hearts of children.

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Table of Transliteration Symbols

ء	’	ذ	d	ظ	z
ب	b	ر	r	ع	‘
ت	t	ز	z	غ	g
ث	t̤	س	s	ف	f
ج	j	ش	š	ق	q
ح	h	ص	ṣ	ك	k
خ	k̤	ض	ḍ	ل	L
د	d	ط	ṭ	م	M
Long vowels	ā	ī	ū	ن	N
				هـ	H
short vowels	a	i	u	و	W
				ي	Y

Distant Televised Discourse and the Relationship between Speakers and Distant Sufferers: A Study of Political Speeches on Revolutions in Egypt, Syria, and Lybia

Nevine Abouawafi

Abstract

The aim of this research is to identify, through analysis, the particular linguistic, semiotic, and interdiscursive features of texts (televised speeches of world leaders), which are a part of the process of social change, in ways that facilitate the productive integration of textual analysis into multidisciplinary research on change. Political discourse has the potential to play a key role in the manipulation of audience members. The intensive media coverage during the Arab revolutions or any global crises played a main role in our daily lives all over the world.

I. Introduction

This research is focusing on the crucial role of the media in producing various forms of connectivity between spectators and sufferers across national borders. Political dialogue has the potential to play a key role in the manipulation of audience members. The intensive media coverage during the Arab revolutions, or any global crises, played a main role in our daily lives.

In other words, there are many linguistic features traced in the speeches or news that dealt with Arab revolutions and that has more to do with the analysis of what people mean by their utterances than what the words or phrases in those utterances might mean by themselves.

I.1. Cosmopolitanism

Television news, around the world, increases the spectator's concern for the misfortune of the distant sufferer. The constant flow of images on screen, inevitably, opens up the local world of the spectator to non-local realities, and enables the reflexive process by which the spectator comes to recognize such realities as a potential domain of his/her own action. It is the interplay between the visibility of the sufferer and the reflexive response of

the spectator to his/her suffering that contains, here, the promise of cosmopolitanism.

I.2. Protest Events Analysis

Nowadays, the news of uprisings and revolutions all over the Arab world, especially with regard to my country Egypt, grabs the attention of a worldwide audience due to many respects, such as, mutual interest, curiosity, significance, and bilateral relations. The research is focusing on the language of address of such news, and the extent to which it influences the global attitudes and support of other countries towards these revolutions. The comparison between the stances or positions taken by world leaders towards the three Arab revolutions in Egypt, Libya, and Syria shows the similarities and differences in the language of address which in turn influence the frames of media effects as well as news coverage.

I.3. Objectives of Study

Protest Events Analysis (PEA) has been developed to systematically map, analyze, and interpret the large numbers of protests by means of content analysis (Koopmans and Rucht). There are many critical issues I try to deal with through my discourse analysis of the speeches of world leaders during protests or revolutions as:

- 1: What are the factors affecting the effectiveness of reiteration of distant discourse?
- 2: Can the kind of medium or channel through which the discourse is reiterated can affect the effectiveness of distant discourse?
- 3: Is mediation of pain and suffering is an effective means of achieving the goals of distant discourse?
- 4: Can the cosmopolitanism of issues and global crises link the speaker of distant discourse and recipients (nations or people at a distant)?
- 5: What are the factors affecting the relationship between real sufferers (sender), social actors (World leaders), and addressees (receivers of discourse)?

The study reviews the relation between global crises, media coverage in TV news programs, and the international reactions of world leaders, including the US President, the French President, the British Prime

minister, the EU High Commissioner, the UN Secretary General, among others. I am trying to answer the following questions in my research:

1: What is the media frame of both the American and European political address towards global crises as the Arab uprisings in Egypt, Libya, and Syria?

2: What is the difference between the American and European address in relation to several factors as bilateral relations, mutual interests, and type of governing regime in each country?

3: What is the difference in language of media coverage of CNN, BBC, Al Jazeera English and Al Arabia of the protest events?

The study aims also at:

1. Conducting a paralinguistic analysis of selected speeches from specific English TV Channels: CNN, Al Jazeera English and BBC.
2. Pinpointing the pragmatic aspects (Speech acts, Conversational Implicature and presupposition) to have a better understanding of the speeches.
3. Showing how distant speaker can explicitly and implicitly communicate his/her words and sentences.

II. Review of Literature

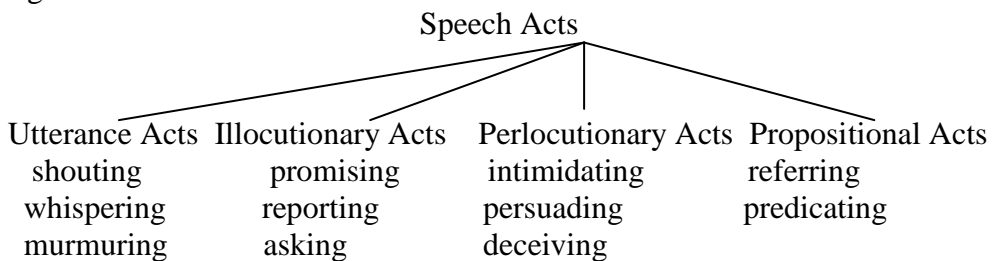
Crystal (1989:388) believes that the world of modern media presents a wider range of linguistically distinctive varieties than any other domain of language study. Bakhshandeh et al. (2003: X) state that news writing tends to be:

1. Impersonal so that it may appear objective; hence news is written in the third person, uses some direct speech or indirect speech which is attributed to someone other than the reporter, uses passive verbs but usually when someone is being quoted to distance himself from the issue and to show objectivity about an issue.
2. Using the past tense when talking about something that has taken place.
3. Simple in fact, close to the way we talk, relatively short sentences and words and some uses of clichés which the audience understand.
4. Punchy it must grab the attention of listeners or readers; so it uses:
 - a. Short rather than long words.

- b. Active verbs.
- c. Relatively short sentences.
- d. Concrete rather abstract vocabulary.
- e. Sometimes emotive and colorful vocabulary.
- f. Adjectives, though moderately.
- g. Sometimes imagery is used to help create a clearer mental picture for the reader or listener.

Yule (1996:3) relates pragmatics to the study of meaning as communicated by a listener (or reader). So, pragmatics is the study of speaker's meaning. Yule (Ibid) also focuses on context and how it influences what is said. It requires a consideration of how speakers organize what they want to say in accordance with whom they are talking to, where, when, and under what circumstances. Pragmatics is the study of contextual meaning. He also defines pragmatics as a study related to the speaker's intended meaning. This type of study explores how a great deal of what is unsaid is recognized as part of what is communicated. We might say that it is the investigation of invisible meaning. "Pragmatics is the study of how more gets communicated than is said". According to Crystal (1989:301), pragmatics is not a coherent field of study. It refers to the study of those factors, which govern our choice of language, such as our social awareness, our culture and our sense of etiquette.

Akmajian et al. (1995: 377) on the other hand, observe that there are four important categories of speech acts, as illustrated in the following figure:



Types of speech acts.

Stubbs (1983: 149) believes that speech acts are defined by the speech act philosophers according to psychological and social functions

outside the on-going discourse. They include, for example, the expression of psychological states (e.g. thanking, apologizing), and social acts such as influencing other people's behaviour (e.g. warning, ordering) or making contracts (e.g. promising, naming).

The notion of conversational implicature is one of the most important ideas in pragmatics. Levinson (1983: 97) mentions that the projection of the concept of implicature in recent work in pragmatics is due to a number of sources. First, implicature stands as a paradigmatic example of the nature and power of pragmatic explanations of linguistic phenomena. Second, implicature provides some explicit account of how it is possible to mean more than what is actually said, i.e. more than what is literally expressed by the conventional sense of the linguistic expressions uttered.

Thomas (1996: 57) indicates that Grice has distinguished two different sorts of **implicature: conventional implicature and conversational implicature**. They have in common the characteristic that they both convey an additional level of meaning, beyond the semantic meaning of the words uttered. Thomas (Ibid) states that the difference between them is in the case of conventional implicature; the same implicature is always conveyed, regardless of context, and there are comparatively few examples of conventional implicature.

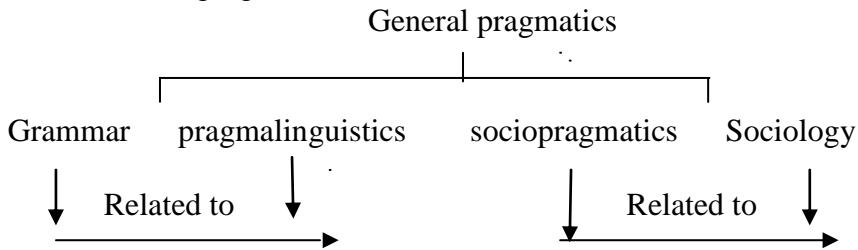
Pragmatics is the study of language from the point of view of users, especially of the choices they make, the constraints they encounter in using language in social interaction and the effects their use of language has on the other participants in the act of communication (Crystal, 2003: 301).

In other words, Rose and Kasper (2001: 2) define pragmatics as the study of communicative action in its sociocultural context. They mention that Leech (1983) and Thomas (1983) divide pragmatics into two components: pragmalinguistics and sociopragmatics.

II.1. Pragmalinguistics

It refers to the resources for conveying communicative acts and relational or interpersonal meanings. Such resources include pragmatic strategies such as directness and indirectness, routines, and a large range of linguistic forms which can intensify or soften communicative acts.

Wales (1989: 368) on the other hand, observes that pragmalinguistics has been used by some scholars to refer to the more linguistic end of pragmatics where these matters are studied from the viewpoint of the structural resources available in language. Leech (1983: 11) defines pragmalinguistics as a branch of general pragmatics, as shown in the following figure:



II.2.General Pragmatics

Sharyan (2003: 6) sees that pragmatics is concerned with meaning that comes from the contextual and interpersonal situation which includes speaker and listener. For example, an utterance like “Can you drive a car?” will have different meanings if the context and participants vary. If these words are spoken by a girl to a young man in a pub or by a driver to his passenger when taken suddenly ill, they have different implications and interpretations. Pragmalinguistics thus does not ask about “what does X mean?” but “what do you mean by X?” It is interested in the functions, intentions, goals and effects of language use in specific social situations (Ibid).

Verschueren (1999a: 496) points out that while the field of pragmatics in its widest sense is constituted of many diverse approaches (without clear-cut boundaries) united by a common functional (social, cultural, cognitive) perspective on language in communication, pragmalinguistics (linguistic pragmatics, pragmatic linguistics, internal pragmatics) focuses primarily (though not exclusively) on the study of linguistic phenomena (i.e. code) from the point of view of their usage.

III. Theoretical Framework

The aim of this research is to identify, through analysis the particular linguistic, semiotic, and interdiscursive features of texts, which contribute to the social change and facilitate the productive integration of textual analysis. This paper is an attempt to analyze pragmatically and linguistically a very fundamental genre in the study of mass media, i.e., distant televised speeches of heads of states and officials to see what linguistic and pragmatic features they incorporate in their speeches in order to reflect the intended meaning of their distant audience.

Theoretically, this approach is characterized by a realist social ontology, which regards both abstract social structures and concrete social events as a part of social reality; a dialectical view of the relationship between structure and agency; and the relationship between discourse and other elements or ‘moments’ of social practices and social events. Conversely, texts are so massively overdetermined (Althusser & Balibar 1970, Fairclough, Jessop, & Sayer 2004) by other social elements that the linguistic analysis of texts quickly finds itself addressing questions about social relations, social identities, institutions, and so forth, but this does not mean that linguistic analysis of texts is reducible to forms of social analysis. Nevertheless, the dialectical character of relations between elements underscores the value and importance of working across disciplines in a ‘transdisciplinary’ way. (Fairclough et al. 2004:1-5)

This research relies in its analysis of texts on the theory of ‘critical linguistics’ of Fowler *et al.* (1979) which is particularly associated with Systemic Functional Linguistics of Halliday (1978, 1994).

One believes that the study of political discourse depends to a great extent ,on what Van Dijk (2004) said that:

“The choice of words is very important in any political address as it influences the mental models and hence the opinions and attitudes of recipients. For discursive, cognitive and social reasons, the topic of discourse plays a fundamental role in communication and interaction.”

Analysis of texts also includes linguistic and semiotic analysis of, for instance, visual images (contemporary texts are characteristically, and

increasing, ‘multimodal’ with respect to semiotic systems (Kress & van Leeuwen 2000:2)).

According to Schaffner (1996), political discourse, as a sub-category of discourse in general, can be based on two criteria: functional and thematic. Political discourse is a result of politics and it is historically and culturally determined. It fulfills different functions due to different political activities. It is thematic because its topics are primarily related to politics such as political activities, political ideas and political relations. (Bayram, 2010: 27)

Interdiscursive analysis is a central and distinctive feature of this version of CDA. It allows one to incorporate elements of context into the analysis of texts, to show the relationship between concrete occasional events and more durable social practices, to show innovation and change in texts, and have a mediating role in allowing one to connect detailed linguistic and semiotic features of texts with processes of social change on a broader scale. The predominant form of critique associated with CDA, and critical social research more generally, has been ideology critique. But we can distinguish three forms of critique that are relevant to CDA: ideological, rhetorical, and strategic critique (Fairclough 2004:11-12).

Whereas ideological critique focuses on the effects of semiotics on social relations of power, and rhetorical critique on persuasion (including ‘manipulation’) in individual texts or talk, what we might call ‘strategic critique’ focuses on how semiotics figures within the strategies pursued by groups of social agents to change societies in particular directions. Strategic critique emerges in periods of major social change and restructuring such as the one we are going through now. This is not to suggest at all that ideological and rhetoric critique cease to be relevant; it is more a matter of their relative salience within the critical analysis. (Fairclough et al, 2004:12)

III.1.Framing Theory of Media Effects

This research also adopts the framing theory of media effects, as mentioned by Reese et al. (2003) who explained that:

“Framing has been particularly useful in understanding the media role in political

life...Under this approach issues are not unproblematic; labeling, classifying, and reducing them to a simple theme is not the straight forward task performed elsewhere in studies of news content. As both a noun and verb, the word frame suggests an active process and a result...When viewed as the interplay of media practices, culture, audiences and producers, the framing approach guards against unduly compartmentalizing components of communication (sender, content, and audience).”

The research has examined various theories of framing of media effects, particularly, how structured information affects cognitive processing, and how audience schemata interact with texts to determine the ultimate meaning derived from them. Therefore, the study places greater emphasis on how issues are framed as a result of social and institutional interests.

We focused on examining the basic conceptual and ideological framework of current events (Arab Revolutions in Egypt, Libya, and Syria). As a result, we presume that both the Egyptian and Syrian protests can be framed as political, while the Libyan is humanitarian. However, Freeland & Mengbai (1996) said that if a frame is reduced to a stance or position on an issue or dominant theme, the news story goes beyond an individual story.

IV.Methodology and Data Collection

We have collected several televised speeches from CNN, BBC, Al-Jazeera English and Al Arabia given by World leaders on Arab revolutions in Egypt, Libya, and Syria, so as to critically analyze their language, and relate it to meaning in order to show that the language and content are the same. We also tried to assess the degree of bias in each channel towards the global intervention or support to the three protests in Egypt, Libya, and Syria. We live in one cosmopolitan world, sharing the pain and suffering which is mediation in global crises.

V. Analysis and Discussion

V.1.Egyptian Revolution

During the revolt in Egypt against President Hosni Mubarak in late January and early February of 2011, the government demonized and attacked the press in a way that appeared to be more organized than in Libya. As the Egyptian demonstrations grew, the government sought to block the transmission of broadcast news and communication via the Internet. Meanwhile, as reporters flooded Cairo to report on the revolution, crackdowns came in the form of intimidation and attacks by security forces, police, and even gangs deployed by the Mubarak regime.

Al-Jazeera was an early target of government attempts to silence media coverage of the massive protests, which centered on Cairo's Tahrir Square. The government also ordered the offices of all Al-Jazeera bureaus in Egypt to shut down, and the accreditation of all of the network's journalists revoked. On January 31, six Al-Jazeera reporters were briefly detained in Cairo and their cameras permanently confiscated.

CNN correspondent Anderson Cooper was the target of one of the most high profile attacks as he and his crew were "set upon by pro-Mubarak supporters" in an area near the Egyptian Museum in Cairo on February 2nd 2011 and repeatedly kicked and punched in the head. Cooper recorded the attack on a video camera he was carrying, and it was later broadcast on CNN.

Applied Halliday's functional grammar rules are used to trace the relation between the creations of the text of speech, choice of words, and meaning. However, the interaction between speaker and addressees is clear. Besides, the framing approach guards against unduly compartmentalizing components of communication (sender, content, audience).

In this regard, we found it relevant to refer to the term "Pragmalinguistics" which is concerned with the ability to use appropriate linguistic means to perform a given speech act. On the one hand, learners have shown to acquire the linguistic means to realize different functions before they acquire the rules of their usage. Harlig and Hartford (1993: 79)

find that although learners became increasingly successful in choosing the appropriate speech acts over time, they failed to mitigate appropriately. That is, their pragmalinguistic dimension calls for "fine tuning" at a later developmental stage.

If we apply the rules of pragmalinguistics to former President Mubarak's last speeches, we will find that they deprive him of the sympathy of people and caused opposite repercussions. Mubarak's decisions during the outburst of protests came late, and his languages of address fluctuate between being emotional and threatening, so the toll was the provocation of citizens' emotions.

Nobody knows certainly who was behind writing Mubarak's speeches, but what was most outstanding was that he lost contact with the Egyptian people since he made his speech on the 28th of January 2011, which was described at that time as provocative, and was followed by his second speech on the first of February, in which he gained the sympathy and affection of a number of his people, so they attacked his opposition in a battle known as Camel Battle. Mubarak afterwards addressed the Egyptians in a third speech before his declaration to step down, which provoked the people to the extent that made them move forward from Tahrir square towards the Palace of Presidency in Heliopolis area to put it in siege. Afterwards came his last sound recording to AL Arabia TV Channel, which was followed by his facing investigation, together with his two sons, for crimes of killing protestors and illegal gaining of money as well as political corruption.

Therefore, anyone who is following Mubarak's last speeches will realize that they all resulted in negative attitudes of the Egyptian citizens, or at least they didn't achieve their real objective of calming down the mob. Pragmatics helps in understanding the psychology of former President Mubarak. Communicative action includes not only using speech acts (such as apologizing, complaining, complimenting, and requesting), but also engaging in different types of discourse and participating in speech events of varying length and complexity.

As when Mubarak appeared on the 28th of January at the end of the fourth day of protests saying:

"I am following up every minute the protests and the demands of the protesters."

Therefore, he declared that:

"I asked the government to resign."

Mubarak here is ignoring the people's demands to crack down the whole regime. These words led the protesters on the following day to change their slogans from 'The people want to crack down the regime' into 'Egyptians want to crack down the President' together with the sharp notice to Mubarak, 'To wake up ...Today is the last day'."

Despite the fact that Mubarak proved to be persistent, the mob also proved to be more persistent in organizing a million-people protest on the first of February in Tahrir square, which seems to have frightened the regime and pushed Mubarak to address the people to declare the start of the national dialogue for which he mandated his vice-President, saying that the national powers refused him, so he is addressing every Egyptian; male or female.

There was the speech on the 2nd of February 2011, in which he used emotional language to a great extent, especially when Mubarak said that:

"This dear nation is my country, it is the country of all Egyptians, here I have lived and fought for its sake and I defended its land, its sovereignty and interests and on this land I will die and history will judge me and others for our merits and faults."

This speech was aired on television so that thousands of people from all the Egyptian governorates went out to the streets to express their sympathy with President Mubarak, and some even exaggerated their degree of sympathy with him to the extent that they hired gangsters to confront the protestors in Tahrir square and attack them in the Camel battle in which a

huge number of people died and were injured. However, the day didn't pass yet and the previous sympathy with the President faded away and never came back.

This speech was too long to the extent that the people felt bored and were provoked by what he said on 2nd of February posted in the UK Guardian:

"I was a young man as all of the youth now...when I learned military honor and loyalty to the nation, I spent all my life to defend its lands and sovereignty...Witnessed many wars in which we won and lost...I lived the days of victory and defeat ...I never was suppressed to foreign pressure or instructions."

People here sympathized by the President and were going to return to their houses by the force of the use of various speech acts moving from illocutionary acts as promising, then to perlocutionary acts as persuading and finally propositional acts as predicting when Mubarak also stated on 2nd of February that:

"I have never, ever been seeking power and the people know the difficult circumstances that I shouldered my responsibility and what I offered this country in war and peace, just as I am a man from the armed forces and it is not in my nature to betray the trust or give up my responsibilities and duties."

This statement is uttered to establish truthful background information about the history of Mubarak's achievements so as to appear as a reminder to his nation.

Mubarak also explained in the same speech that:

"My primary responsibility now is security and independence of the nation to ensure a peaceful transfer of power in circumstances that protect Egypt and the Egyptians and allow handing over

responsibility to whoever the people choose in the coming presidential election."

This is a promising speech act to build a futuristic vision of the events and to tell his people. Mubarak tries in the following words to persuade the nation of his call. This is a clear example of an illocutionary act. Mubarak said that:

"I say in all honesty and regardless of the current situation that I did not intend to nominate myself for a new presidential term. I have spent enough years of my life in the service of Egypt and its people. I am now absolutely determined to finish my work for the nation in a way that ensures handing over its safe-keeping and banner ... preserving its legitimacy and respecting the constitution."

At the end of Mubarak's speech on 2nd of February, he gave hope to his people by predicting what will happen in the future. He elaborated that:

"I will work in the remaining months of my term to take the steps to ensure a peaceful transfer of power."

However ,the speech of Mubarak on the 10th of February 2011 was disappointing to everybody who expected that he would come up to the people to declare his stepping down. As, after hours of waiting for Mubarak's speech, he came out to talk about mandating Omar Silliman, his vice-President, to carry on the authorities of the President. Mubarak said that:

"I have delegated to the vice president some of the power - the powers of the president according to the constitution. I am aware, fully aware, that Egypt will overcome the crisis and the resolve of its people will not be deflected and will [inaudible] again because of the - and will deflect the arrows of the enemies and those who [inaudible] against Egypt."

Mubarak uses the perlocutionary speech act to deceive or persuade his people that he is standing on their behalf by saying that:

"We will stand as Egyptians and we will prove our power and our resolve to overcome this through national dialogue. We will prove that we are not followers or puppets of anybody, nor we are receiving orders or dictations from anybody -- any entity, and no one is making the decision for us except for the [inaudible] of the Egyptian [inaudible].

We will prove that with the spirit and the resolve of the Egyptian people, and with the unity and steadfastness of its people and with our resolve and to our glory and pride."

Mubarak, in his last speech on the 14th of February 2011 aired by Al Arabia TV Channel by phone, expressed his readiness to submit to the General Prosecutor any documents proving that he and his wife, as well as their children, had no assets, real estate, or even money accounts in any domestic or foreign banks. This speech seemed to have provoked the general prosecutor's office, and immediately ordered opening an investigation with him and his sons, and jailed them.

This rhetorical structure constitutes a frame within which diverse discourses are articulated together in a particular way, within such relations are textured (textually constituted) among these discourses. A significant feature of the articulation of the four discourses of Mubarak is that they present a flash back on the history of the President, playing on the chords of fatherhood emotions and finally a threat of heavy penalty of attacking his honesty and that of his family.

The relationship between strategic goals and problems is largely reversed: rather than goals and strategies being legitimized in terms of their adequacy and timeliness in responding to a diagnosis of the problems facing the country, the problems are construed as weaknesses and difficulties with respect to achieving the strategic goal of 'the information society'. Mubarak

in the aforementioned speeches never addressed the real problems of Egypt of poverty, unemployment, social injustice, and political corruption as well as other social and economic problems. There is no reference in his speeches to democracy or human rights or even the readiness to fulfill people's demands in the ongoing protests in all the streets of the country. Thus, I cannot apply to these texts the rules of existence of rhetoric structures or recontextualization. The rhetorical structure must set up a relationship between diagnosed problems, a strategic goal for solving them and strategies for achieving this goal. Here, by contrast, the strategic goal is taken for granted rather than established on the basis of diagnosing problems (there is no such diagnosis), and the focus is on possibilities arising from general claims of economic and social change, as well as the strategies for realizing them.

There is both a process of an 'external' discourse colonizing the recontextualizing practices (country, field, organization etc), and a process of the 'external' discourse being appropriated within the recontextualizing practices. In principle one can claim that there is no colonization without appropriation – recontextualization is always an active process on the part of 'internal' social agents of inserting an 'external' element into a new context, working it into a new set of relations with its existing elements, and in so transforming it. This is often manifested in the interdiscursive hybridism of texts, the mixing of 'external' with 'internal' discursive elements. Moreover, in strategic terms one could argue that strategic relations between 'external' and 'internal' social agents will always be inflected by strategic relations between 'internal' social agents. (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999:12-13)

Although the US administration was criticized by some for interfering in Egypt's internal affairs from the start of the Egyptian revolution, Obama actually hit the right chords in his last speech after Mubarak's resignation. Here, we can say that the recontextualization is applied so clearly. The inspiring speech targeted not only Egyptians (internal), but also the entire world (external). He praised the never-before-seen spirit that Egyptians adopted during the revolution, and how the word *selmeya* 'peaceful' was chanted continuously by the protestors. Framing of

media effects can also be applied as the way information is structured affects cognitive processing and audience schemata interact with texts to determine the ultimate meaning derived from them. What was more astonishing, was that Obama compared this Egyptian Revolution with the tearing down of the Berlin Wall, the Indonesian Revolution, and Gandhi's liberation movement.

CNN, one of the World's pioneering news stations, provided a very powerful and intensive coverage of the January 25 revolution. CNN's most well known reporter, Anderson Cooper, was reporting live in the midst of the protests in Tahrir square. Most reports were found to be on the side of the people more than the regime, but after the injury of Anderson Cooper, the approach changed more to be against Mubarak and his regime. Anderson Cooper lashed out after his return and demanded Mubarak to be removed. After the revolution, a CNN reporter commented on the Youth cleaning up movement and it was the first time the world witnessed a nation that cleans up after its revolution. The Egyptians were praised highly in all the reports.

As a result, the US president was influenced by what he watched in CNN News, minute by minute, following up all the details of events in Cairo. So he sympathized with the protesters and addressed the people, praising them when he says on 11th of February 2011 that:

"Egyptians have inspired us, and they've done so by putting the lie to the idea that justice is best gained through violence. For in Egypt, it was the moral force of nonviolence – not terrorism, not mindless killing –but nonviolence, moral force that bent the arc of history toward justice once more. "

This speech was aired too clearly on Al Jazeera News Channel, as its main feature of its coverage was to deliver a clear picture with no additions or interpretation. The language of address here is politically framed as it focused on democracy. On the one hand, the Mubarak government has been a staunch ally of the United States, as well as a recipient of billions of dollars in military aid from a series of U.S. administrations, in the past thirty years. On the other hand, the protesters were calling for democracy,

something that any U.S. president has a duty to take seriously. Perhaps as a way to thread this ideological needle, President Obama focused on the historical significance of the moment:

“By stepping down, President Mubarak Egyptian responded to the people’s hunger for change. But this is not the end of Egypt’s transition. It’s a beginning. I’m sure there will be difficult days ahead, and many questions remain unanswered. But I am confident that the people of Egypt can find the answers, and do so peacefully, constructively, and in the spirit of unity that has defined these last few weeks. For Egyptians have made it clear that nothing less than genuine democracy will carry the day.”

If we apply on the above speech of US President Obama the theory of Mathiessen & Halliday (1997) who said that in some speeches or texts we will find that there is extensive use of interpersonal grammar. We can also assume that all languages have a system of MOOD: i.e. grammatical resources for the interaction between speaker and addressee, expressing speech functional selections in dialogue. Furthermore, the semantic categories of giving information (statement) are clear in saying: “By stepping down, President Mubarak responded to the Egyptian people’s hunger for change. But this is not the end of Egypt’s transition.”

We can find as well the mood of demanding information (question): “It’s a beginning. I’m sure there will be difficult days ahead, and many questions remain unanswered.”

Then, there is the mood of encouraging the listeners of the Egyptians at a distance: “For Egyptians have made it clear that nothing less than genuine democracy will carry the day.”

The role of the textual Metafunction is an enabling one. It serves to enable the presentation of ideational and interpersonal meaning as

information that can be shared: it provides the speaker with strategies for guiding the listener in his/ her interpretation of the text.

Pragmatics is not only concerned with meaning that comes from the contextual and interpersonal situation which includes a speaker and a listener but is interested in the functions, intentions, goals and effects of language use in specific social situations.

The US president then stated, in vague terms, the role of the United States in the transition:

“The United States will continue to be a friend and partner to Egypt. We stand ready to provide whatever assistance is necessary — and asked for — to pursue a credible transition to a democracy.”

By including the words “and asked for”, the president implied that the United States would not intervene in Egypt’s transition from dictatorship to democracy. These words were followed by a suggestion that the Egyptian people focus on further developing a free enterprise system when Obama said:

“I’m also confident that the same ingenuity and entrepreneurial spirit that the young people of Egypt have shown in recent days can be harnessed to create new opportunity — jobs and businesses that allow the extraordinary potential of this generation to take flight. And I know that a democratic Egypt can advance its role of responsible leadership not only in the region but around the world.”

Sentences can also convey information about power relations! Who is depicted as in power and over whom? Who is depicted as powerless and passive? Who is exerting power and why? This property of the text is referred to as *agency* and can remain at the subconscious level unless made visible by the analyst or critical reader. Starting with the full text, working down to the individual word level, one can peel back the layers to reveal the “truth behind the regime” – the profoundly insidious, invisible power of the written and spoken word. (McGregor, 2003)

Just as text can be framed, so can a sentence, which is called *topicalization*. In choosing what to put in the topic position, the writer creates a perspective or slant that influences the reader's perception.

BBC news coverage conveyed what goes behind the scenes by echoing the feelings of distant speakers while giving his speech as saying that:

"Obama was happy making the speech on the exit of President Hosni Mubarak. It was not just that he could complete the one he had started prematurely yesterday. It was not just that, despite all the brickbats that have been thrown at the White House for clumsy handling of this crisis, the administration has got exactly what it has wanted for a couple of weeks: the exit of Mr. Mubarak, the entry of the military as caretakers, the promise of democracy, and the absence of violence."

Obama said also on 11th of February 2011:

"The military has served patriotically and responsibly as a caretaker to the state, and will now have to ensure a transition that is credible in the eyes of the Egyptian people. That means protecting the rights of Egypt's citizens, lifting the emergency law, revising the constitution and other laws to make this change irreversible, and laying out a clear path to elections that are fair and free. Above all, this transition must bring all of Egypt's voices to the table. For the spirit of peaceful protest and perseverance that the Egyptian people have shown can serve as a powerful wind at the back of this change."

Obama acts as a world leader giving his moral vision by selecting several facts and building a simple story. He instantly cast the Egyptian

revolution as part of a pattern. Al Jazeera, on the other hand chose other stances of the scene in the US stating that:

"Cairo must spell out a clear path to democracy."

The power of the text here is emphasized by using certain words "spell out" that take specific ideas for granted, as if there is no alternative (presupposition), begging the question: what does this verb imply ?

Many viewers are reluctant to question statements that the US President appears to be taking for granted; presupposition can also occur at the sentence level in the form of persuasive rhetoric that can be used to convey the impression that what an agent of power says carries more weight.

The text in general, omits the information about agents of power at the sentence level and is most often achieved by nominalization (converting a verb into a noun) and the use of passive verbs. "The Egyptian people have been told that there was a transition of authority, but it is not yet clear that this transition is immediate, meaningful or sufficient," Obama said in a statement published on council foreign affairs online on the 11th of February 2011.

Echoing Obama's position, the European Union's foreign policy chief said that Mubarak's remarks did not allay the concerns of the Egyptian people and the international community. Obama's discourse is ambiguous and holds various interpretations that the ordinary citizen in Egypt can't comprehend or get immediately. He is not clear at all. The Arabs looked at Obama differently from the beginning of his rule as he visited the Islamic and Arab region and gave a historic speech in Cairo University addressing the entire Arab nation and promising to have a prosperous period under his reign, but after a while they were disappointed. He failed to fulfill his promises and the Arab Spring started.

In a statement, Catherine Ashton, EU high Commissioner said on 11th of February 2011 "the time for change [in Egypt] is now". The European Union's foreign policy chief said:

"Egyptian authorities should listen to their people, deal with their problems, and respect their right to demonstrate. She urged the "Egyptian authorities to respect and to protect the right of Egyptian citizens to manifest their political aspirations". (Wikipedia)

The US stance or position towards the events in Egypt was more interfering and powerful than it was the case of Libya. On the other hand, the European Union as well as the Parliament, which have interests in Libya regarding the oil exports. So they were more aggressive and their address was stronger as well as interfering. There seems to be insinuations and underlying meaning here behind the direct words of Ashton.

V.2.Libyan Revolution

Libyan dictator Muammar Qaddafi's speech to his people during the protests was a signature rambling statement. He said he would continue to fight the nationwide revolt against his 41-year rule. Ben Ali of Tunisia fled and Egyptian President Mubarak resigned, but Muammar Qaddafi seemed bent on continuing his brutal fight against the nationwide revolt that threatened his 41-year grip on power. Ghadafi told Libyan state TV that he "will die as a martyr."

In a disjointed discourse delivered before a statue of a fist smashing an American military jet, the Libyan leader signaled his commitment to a violent cling to power that starts to make Egypt's Mubarak look like a Jeffersonian democrat.

In contrast to Egypt and Tunisia, the European Institute stated in its report on Libya on February 2011 after the eruption of tension and raise of world concern:

"Libya has oil, not a modern middle class; tribal clans, not a state having a political system. Libyan Leader has mercenaries, not a national army. So, any transition is bound to be chaotic as well as bloody. In that sense, Libya is bound to pose more problems for the West as a whole than anything

foreseeable in the political earthquake shaking every regime across the whole Arab world from North Africa to the Levant, and even in the Gulf States around Saudi Arabia. The impact will be particularly direct on Europe. Oil is a major factor: 80 percent of the output from Libya (a major Arab and African producer) goes to Europe. Even though oil is “fungible” on the world market, the apparently inevitable rupture of supplies from Libyan oil fields and refineries can cost temporary shortages for consumers in Europe, starting in Italy.”

There are here both a process of an ‘external’ discourse, colonizing the recontextualizing practices (country, field, organization, etc.), and a process of the ‘external’ discourse being appropriated within the recontextualizing practices. (Fairclough et al. 2004:12-13)

In Hillary Clinton’s speech at the summit in London on 27th March 2011, she plays on words by saying:

“The priority at the moment is to deliver humanitarian assistance to the Libyan people, to pressure the Gaddafi government through sanctions and further isolation, and helping Libyans achieve ‘political change’.”

Clinton says that the international community has “prevented a potential massacre, established a no-fly zone, and stopped an advancing army”.

Clinton’s words are considered an ideological critique focusing on the effects of semiotics on social relations of power. Clinton had other intentions beneath her words.

CDA is interested in the instantiation and reproduction of power and power abuse (dominance), and, therefore, it is clear in this text that there is a relation between the local and the global, between the structures of

discourse and the structures of society. The choice of words is very important in any political address; Clinton said, “The priority” to refer to the welfare of Libyan people as if she is speaking on their behalf. This influences the mental models, and hence the opinions and attitudes of recipients. It is only diplomacy that makes Clinton give this speech, although the interests of the Libyan people are not put into her consideration.

The US reaction or speech to address Libyan protest came in late in comparison to the European, which was, all the time, calling for taking decisive measures towards controlling the crisis and condemning the massacre against civilians in Libya. However, the US speech can be framed as humanitarian, not political, as in the case of both Egypt and Syria, as the US President’s said in his speech to Libya:

The United States and the world faced a choice. Gaddafi declared that he would show “no mercy” to his own people. He compared them to rats, and threatened to go door to door to inflict punishment. In the past, we had seen him hang civilians in the streets, and kill over a thousand people in a single day. Now, we saw regime forces on the outskirts of the city. We knew that if we waited one more day, Benghazi – a city nearly the size of Charlotte – could suffer a massacre that would have reverberated across the region and stained the conscience of the world.

US President Obama is trying to frame his speech to Libya as humanitarian, but this cannot be accepted, as he applied the rules of Halliday of textual metafunction, which is concerned with the creation of text, with the presentation of ideational and interpersonal meanings as information that can be shared by speaker and listener in text unfolding in context. Obama is saying words that contradict what really took place on the ground. There is no need to give excuses for military action against Gadhafi’s regime. Obama played on the words by saying and terrifying the Libyan people “Gaddafi declared he would show no mercy to his people”.

In the Times newspaper on 25th march 2011, President speaks from National Defense University on policy decision saying:

“When our interests and values are at stake, we have a responsibility to act. That is what happened in Libya over the course of these last six weeks.”
 “So while I will never minimize the costs involved in military action, I am convinced that a failure to act in Libya would have carried a far greater price for America.” “If we tried to overthrow Gaddafi by force, our coalition would splinter... To be blunt, we went down that road in Iraq.”

So intervention in Libya, if it comes at all, will be up to the Europeans to lead. That’s the implication to draw from the meetings in Brussels of NATO defense ministers and EU foreign ministers, and subsequent comments by American officials in Washington. It looks still more likely that any intervention would not be by a united NATO, but by what former Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld once called “a coalition of the willing,” led in this crisis by Britain and France. (Barry2011)

Barry(2011) said:

Libya is above all a European crisis. Libya is in Europe’s backyard, one official said. “Libyan oil is important to the Europeans, arguably vital to Italy. It’s not important to the United States. And if the uprising fails, Europe will have to cope with the exodus of refugees.

V.3.Syrian Revolution

Syrians reacted with anger and disappointment after their president, Bashar El Assad, failed to deliver any decisive reforms in his first public appearance since the street uprising that had threatened his regime.

At homes and cafes around Damascus, Assad was castigated for a speech on the 31st of March, 2011, which seemed tailored to send a message of strength to protesters demanding an overhaul of the Baathist old guard

which has ruled Syria for 40 years. However, demonstrators had demanded much more, and were unlikely to be pleased by Assad's main message that foreign conspirators were largely responsible for the unprecedented scenes across the country during the past fortnight.

However, Assad's speech offered no substantive concessions. He said satellite television and propaganda had incited demonstrators, although he also said, "not all demonstrators were conspirators". He added that the chaos in Syria had an Israeli agenda, but did not elaborate. For a core of supporters, however, the speech may have made little difference. Some said he was received as honest for admitting to the need to fight corruption, and interpreted the speech as reiterating that reforms were needed. Before the address, one Syrian diplomat said that Assad was intent on striking a dignified tone. Dictators all the time feel that others are making conspiracies against them. They feel haunted by the feeling that their people love them but others are provoking and inciting them.

Nevertheless, the US did not immediately react to the Syrian speech. Some observers in Damascus said the speech would add weight to calls for further protests across the country. The scenes of recent clashes were quiet amid a large security presence, which is expected to be reinforced on every Friday—a day of prayers that has seen a rise in violence for the past two weeks. (Guardian, UK, March 2011)

The US address to the Syrian revolution is very much limited, and US President Barak Obama didn't give a single speech to the Syrian regime. The US intervention was through US Secretary of State and US administration officials. The frame of US address can be considered as political. In contrast with the quick international decision to launch an air campaign in nearby Libya, the United States is responding cautiously to mounting civilian deaths in Syria, preparing steps such as slapping new travel limits and financial penalties on Syrian leaders.

As violence escalated on the 16th of May, 2011, the White House stepped up its condemnation of President Bashar Assad's regime, but stopped well short of demanding the ouster of a leader some U.S.

Democrats had considered a potential reformer and peace broker. U.S. Officials said Washington has begun drawing up targeted sanctions against Assad, his family and inner circle to boost pressure on them to halt the repression. Meanwhile, the U.S. also was conferring with European countries and with the United Nations about options for Syria, where more than 350 people have been killed in weeks of protests.

U.S. Secretary of State Hillary Clinton says that world powers must show the Syrian government that there are consequences for what she called a brutal crackdown on civilians. Clinton adds that she discussed possible sanctions against Syria during a meeting with Italian Foreign Minister Franco Frattini in Rome on the 16th of May 2011.

The United States called for Syria's Bashar al-Assad to "address the legitimate aspirations of its people" in the wake of 11 deaths at the hands of security forces during protests.

Nevertheless, the US address to the Syrian regime is restricted when compared to the stance in Egypt. Assad appears to be dugged in and prepared to risk international condemnation in order to squash dissent. He faces little danger of invasion or attack from outside his borders, largely because Syria's neighbors and Western powers fear the consequences of war or the fall of the Assad's regime after four decades of iron rule. And unlike Libya, there is little evidence of an organized rebel military faction that could take on Assad's forces with an outside help .

Also, unlike Libya, and even Egypt, where a longtime ruler fell earlier this spring, what happens in Syria is likely to have a direct effect on Israel, the main U.S. ally in the Middle East. The crackdown in Syria has ignited debate over whether Israel's interests would be better served by the survival of the Syrian leader or the end of the one of the most despotic regimes in the Middle East.

Britain, France, and Germany on the 6th of May 2011, for the second time, pressed the U.N. Security Council to respond to the Syrian

government's deadly crackdown on protesters, stressing the regional implications of the violence.

President of the European Parliament, Jerzy Buzek, urged the Syrian government on the 6th of May 2011 to stop the bloodshed and respond to the demands of the demonstrators. He called on the country to release all prisoners of conscience, end media censorship and bring those responsible for torture and abuse to justice. "The Syrian regime must at last acknowledge the signs of the times and meet the legitimate aspirations of its own people. Mere declarations will not delude the people anymore."

Buzek said:

"People have expressed their demands in all clarity. Any form of violence against peaceful demonstrators must stop: No more killing, no more torture, and no more arbitrary arrests. An independent investigation into the deaths of protesters has to be carried out." Buzak added.

The choice of words is very inspiring and has appeared to come out with something that refers to something going on behind the scenes. This is 'emergence', Buzek said, "Legitimate aspirations", referring to the right of Syrians to dream of freedom and democracy after the ousting of their dictator. He added "No more killing, no more torture, and no more arbitrary arrests." Then the President of European Parliament confirmed that "an independent investigation...has been carried out". Another feature of the headline is the special uses it makes of tenses, which are different from those of ordinary language. Many writers have intensively referred to this topic.

According to Garst and Bernstein (1961: 109) the present tense is normally used to describe past events. This usage is not something made by speech writers, but is simply something borrowed from everyday speech. The present tense is used because it is the tense of immediacy, because it is more active and in most instances verbs in the present tense are shorter than those in the past, and space is always required in the speech." An independent investigation into the deaths of protesters has to be carried

out.”There is also the expression of the mood of order in this statement, as Mathiessen & Halliday (1997) state.

Rivers (1964: 291) asserts that speeches are written in the present tense, not in the past tense, and the main reason for this is to gain impact:” People expressed their demands in all clarity.”

There are here both a process of an ‘external’ discourse colonizing the recontextualizing practices, and a process of the ‘external’ discourse being appropriated within the recontextualizing practices. In principle one can claim that there is no colonization without appropriation – recontextualization is always an active process on the part of ‘internal’ social agents of inserting an ‘external’ element into a new context, working it into a new set of relations with its existing elements, and in so doing transforming it. (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999:12-13)

We believe that there is cultural colonization through the spread of certain ideas or thoughts related to either one of the two new camps: United States and European Union. This division is related to the degree of closeness in views between any of the emerging Arab countries and mutual interests.

Syria’s ambassador to the UN said it had nothing to hide, blaming the violence on rioters. The Syrian President thinks that he can deceive the world by the fake scenes on TV channels and words. On the otherside, the Human Rights Council convened a special session on Syria.

Ban ki-Moon, UN Secretary General said in March 2011:

"I condemn, utterly, the continuing violence against peaceful demonstrators, most particularly the use of tanks and live fire that have killed and injured hundreds of people."

The secretary-general said that an independent investigation should be held over the matter, and that he was convinced that "only an inclusive dialogue and genuine reform can address the legitimate aspirations of the Syrian people and restore peace and social order."

All the world leaders in Europe, US, and UN agreed that to protest is the legitimate right of Syrians. Discourse here plays a vital role in establishing a strong relation between distant speakers and sufferers, as it causes the world community to intervene to help the Syrian people and save their lives from the tyranny of their dictator. They are helpless and need support. This is also mediation of pain and suffering through the bloody and terror scenes. World leaders form their opinions of what's really happening on the ground in distant and remote areas. Therefore, this action is followed by calling for international investigation to find the truth behind the televised scenes of international media channels and the difference between the local state-run television screens. The degree of objectivity and credibility of media coverage is something very important here in forming the public and world opinion.

What is the Difference between BBC, CNN, Al Jazeera and Al Arabia in their Media Coverage of the Revolutions in Egypt, Libya and Syria?

The potency of media only becomes evident when it covers a movement that is as fluid, volatile, and populist, with multiple angles and perspectives as the Egyptian revolution. What a specific news network chooses to reinforce, what it chooses to downplay, the language it frames, and the approach it adopts has huge implications on the opinions the millions of viewers detached from the ground reality will formulate.

Al-Jazeera English is enjoying newfound global popularity in the wake of the chaos in Egypt. Given that Al-Jazeera's headquarters are embedded in the Middle East, and it has far more resources and networks available, it is only fair that the time they devoted to the revolution and efficiency in covering breaking news superseded that of others. However, apart from these understandable differences, Al-Jazeera made a conscious effort for its coverage to mirror the momentum of the revolution on the ground. The same coverage on CNN or other channels would be often interrupted by lengthy pieces on the automobile industry, snow storms in America, the Super Bowl, and even preparations for the royal weddings, cunningly deflating the energy that reverberates in the viewers when watching the protests. While Al-Jazeera's offices and journalists were

attacked and the channel taken off air in Egypt by Mubarak's government, no such action was taken against other mainstream western news networks.

If anything, this gives validation to the channel's struggle to expose the truth. Conversely, the other mainstream western news channels found it too much to stomach that this revolution was in fact orchestrated and sustained by the secular, youth bulge of Egypt. They displayed an overwhelming need to give the Egyptian revolution an Islamist bent with anchors on CNN and BBC consistently calling analysts to comment on the likelihood of a Khomeini -like takeover and obsessively discussing the Islamist credentials of the Muslim Brotherhood and their popularity amongst the Egyptian people.

For the most part, their coverage consisted of a small inset of the Tahrir Square and a dull analyst or well-matched diplomat in the foreground waxing emotional background about Mubarak's role in forging 'peace' in the Middle East and indispensability to the west.

The reality and simplicity of the Egyptian revolution was captured by Al Jazeera because it took a truly people centric approach; anchoring their journalists amongst those on the streets and letting the people tell their story, not to have it told by an endless stream of analysts and diplomats disconnected from the eye of the storm.

Similarly, the nuanced differences in language between channels became increasingly apparent; while CNN and BBC preferred to use words like 'crisis' or 'protests', Al-Jazeera befittingly called it a revolution.

When Mubarak made the anti-climatic speech in which he declared he was not stepping down, Western news channels described the protesters as 'deflated', whereas Al-Jazeera remained anchored in Tahrir and let the viewers at home feel the reverberation of the chants that grew louder and angrier; with the voiceover describing the mood as having shifted from, 'angry to volcanic'.

By televising Egypt's revolution, Al-Jazeera has not only played an undeniable role in cementing Egypt's democratic future, but also transmitted the ripples of people's power and the hope it inspires to all those sitting thousands of miles away from Tahrir Square.

With a camera continuously focused on Tahrir square and all areas of protests around the country, they were able to provide very professional reports despite all rumors and opposition. The tone of anchors and reporters was actually somewhat rigid as they paid more attention to in-field phone calls.

On the other hand, the case is completely different in both Libya and Syria, as the permit of Satellite coverage of foreign media is very much limited and restricted, and it depended on mobile transmissions sent to the TV stations by ordinary citizens. In some cases in Syria, it was reported that Al Jazeera fabricated the news about the real or true figure of injuries or casualties of protests in different parts of Syria. However, in Libya, reporters from Al-Jazeera disguised in the dress of Libyan protesters to cover the events of fighting. Gadhafi's speeches were aired sometimes through Libyan State-run Television and in other times sound was only transmitted without any video.

IV. Conclusion

This research highlights the role of 'strategic critique' which in turn focuses on how semiotics figures within the strategies pursued by groups of social agents to direct societies in particular ways. Strategic critique assumes a certain primacy in periods of major social change and restructuring such as the same period we are living now in the Arab region. The review of speeches of world leaders reflects the interaction between speaker and addressee, expressing speech functional selections in dialogue. Further, the semantic categories of giving information (statement), demanding information (question), and demanding specific reactions are very likely enacted in the grammars of all languages.

The choice of words and use of special structures of grammar in addressing the Egyptians, Libyans, and Syrians differ according to the mutual interests among speakers and recipients (peoples of different nations) and kind of relation as well as the degree of nearness between the world speaker and addressees. There is also the level of education and degree of freedom of press in each country that would affect the degree of accuracy of transmission of correct information the world leader wanted to deliver in his speech.

There were differences in language between TV channels covering the Arab revolutions in Egypt, Libya, and Syria, as CNN and BBC preferred to use words like 'crisis' or 'protests', *Al Jazeera* befittingly called them revolutions.

During the most crucial moment of the Egyptian revolution, before Mubarak's address to the Egyptian people, *Al Jazeera* remained anchored in the streets of Cairo and Alexandria capturing people's sentiment. Simultaneously, channels like CNN were intent on humanizing the dictator by running profiles of Mubarak, as an analyst droned on about a post-Mubarak Egypt, subtly pushing the false autocratic rule or Islamist takeover binary.

When it comes to Libya and Syria, the case with the media is different, as the access to the foreign media is so much restricted and limited. The only source of information is through mobile recordings by ordinary citizens and the footage of scenes of suffering and struggle is so scarce through the state-run television which only focused on certain battles, not all instances of conflict and clashes or bombardments or even air raids that will not be a double weapon against the existing regimes from international community or a means of condemnation to them later on. In Syria, some people said that *Al-Jazeera* fabricated the phone calls of sufferers during the protests, and in Libya, protesters (eyewitnesses) are absent from the scenes on foreign Satellite TV stations.

TV news programs on Satellite Channels create a new connectivity between spectators and distant sufferers. Both also stressed the role of the

medium in manipulating the spectators' sense of proximity to, and hence their ability to, connect with the spectacle of suffering.

Therefore, cosmopolitanism is shaped as a mutual feeling of togetherness with fellow spectators or as responsibility to the distant other. We need here to keep separate the conceptual space between watching and acting or reacting positively or negatively. This is the space of mediation as a public, political space.

Mediation is indispensable in today's public life. Besides, cosmopolitanism is about practices of mediation that represent sufferers to spectators to take a public stance vis-à-vis the sufferer's misfortunes. Mediation should be like face-to-face communication.

The address by the "other" happens, by virtue of being confronted with the spectacle of suffering itself, unexpected and unplanned in the monologue flow of television. This structure of address consists of linguistic and visual patterns, via which television construes the scene of suffering as a spectacle to be watched, and invites spectators to feel for and engage with sufferer's misfortunes. In the analytic language of pity, the management of distance in media discourse appertains again to both dimensions of mediation – hypermediacy and immediacy. Hypermediacy refers to those television practices such as camera work and linguistic narrative that regulates the degrees of proximity to spectators that the suffering may take, offering them to witness the suffering; visualization bridges the distance between spectators and sufferers because it facilitates imagination. Immediacy refers to emotional and practical reality in itself as feeling introduces a measure of proximity. (Chouliaraki, 2006)

Therefore, the research framed both the Egyptian and Syrian revolutions with regard to the media effects as political but the Libyan revolution is different in being humanitarian and military framed. When I tried to answer the question on the most affecting factors of construction of a relation of mediation of pain and suffering between distant speakers and addressees, we found that the sense of feeling of similarity unifies peoples of countries facing the same conditions of poverty, having similar demands,

and, therefore, imitating each other in protesting can be the main factor of mediation. We also noticed, through analysis of discourse, that there is a similarity between the revolutions in Egypt and Syria, the like that of Tunisia before ,as more than 20,000 people are taking part in the sit-in at Al-Saa Square (Clock Square), and they have renamed it Tahrir Square like the one in Cairo. The protesters put up tents in the square, copying demonstrators in Egypt who forced out veteran president Hosni Mubarak in February after 18 days of protests in Cairo's emblematic Tahrir Square. It is an open-ended sit-in which will continue until all demands of people are satisfied. "Protesters in Al-Saa Square in Syria chanted "sit-in, sit-in until the fall of the regime," and "Freedom, Freedom". The people are demanding greater freedoms, the release from jail of all political prisoners and an end to arbitrary arrests on political grounds, which are the same demands as well as the same slogans used by the all the Arab peoples in Arab nations in revolt.

In Egypt, former President Mubarak's last speeches deprived him of the sympathy of people and came with opposite repercussions. Mubarak's decisions during the outburst of protests came late and his language of address fluctuates between being emotional and threatening, so the toll was provocation of citizens' emotions. In Libya, Libyan leader Gaddaffi said: 'I am not going to leave this land' and added that he would not 'give up', like other leaders, in an apparent reference to the deposed Tunisian and Egyptian presidents. He added: "A small group of young people who have taken drugs have attacked police stations like mice... They have taken advantage of this peace and stability". It had been reported that he may leave power but his speech never looked likely to lead to a resignation. He added that he was not a president, so could not step down, and said that he planned to fight 'until the last moment.

In Syria, Assad appeared to be prepared to risk international condemnation in order to squash dissent. He faces little danger of invasion or attack from outside his borders, largely because Syria's neighbors and Western powers fear the consequences of war or the fall of the Assad's regime after four decades of iron rule. And ,unlike Libya, there is little evidence of an organized rebel military faction that could take on Assad's forces with help from outsiders.

Assad's speech offered no substantive concessions. He said that satellite television and propaganda had incited demonstrators, although he also said, "not all demonstrators were conspirators".

All of the three Arab leaders played on the same chords and reiterated the exact words to their peoples, i.e. there will be reforms and dialogue and that there was a conspiracy from foreign countries to interfere in the domestic affairs of these countries. They seem also to be ignoring the "other", which the people who are protesting and addressing them with the same language that they have used before throughout their years of rule. The language of all the dictators was the same; full of arrogance and no consideration of the "other", as if they have inherited these countries with everybody living on the lands.

Finally, the reaction of the distant spectators varies, according to different factors as mutual relations, kind of regime of distant sufferer, degree of proximity of scenes of suffering as been aired in TV news Channels, and mediation of suffering and pain, due to cosmopolitan emotions and global crises, as well as visualization which bridges the distance between spectators and sufferers because it facilitates imagination. Therefore, cosmopolitanism and global crises can link the distant speaker and recipients.

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Translation of Foregrounding in the Holy Qur'an: A Linguistic Analysis

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Abstract

This study exposes the problems a translator may encounter when translating deviant syntactic structures such as marked word order. It also discusses the strategies that translators of the meanings of the Glorious Qur'an usually opts for to overcome these problems. To this respect, some ayahs which demonstrate a linguistic problem to translators of the meanings of the Holy Qur'an are analyzed because of the marked structures they have. The proposed analysis discusses this problem and its correspondent translations by different translators for the sake of arriving at the most accurate translation. On the whole, a translator who takes the challenge of translating a text from Arabic to English finds himself clashed with the linguistic differences between these two languages. This problem is aggravated when translating the unique and miraculous structure of the Holy Qur'an. If the translator is not competent in the source language, the problem may become even worse because he might not be fully competent in the linguistic mechanism of the source language. Despite this, translating the meanings of the Qur'an is still mandatory to make it understandable to others who cannot read Arabic (Asad, 1980).

1. Introduction

1.1. Foregrounding Theory

Foregrounding is a textual analysis theory which means reshuffling word order for a stylistic and/or semantic effect. It is an umbrella term that covers all forms of Linguistic deviation: syntactic, semantic morphological and phonological. It is achieved linguistically in two different ways: either by violating the rules for the standard word order, which is called linguistic deviation, or by repeating particular linguistic patterns, which is called parallelism (van Peer and Hakemulder, 2006). Devices of deviation include:

neologism, metaphor, ungrammatical sentences, archaisms, paradox and oxymoron. Devices of parallelism, on the other hand, include repetitive and contrasted structures. It is worth emphasizing that this study is concerned with foregrounding as a result of Linguistic deviation. "Anything that is foregrounded is highly interpretable and arguably more memorable" (McIntyre: 3). In other words, things that tend to be different are easily recalled by memory. The use of some linguistic devices in a text that go against the reader's expectation may lead the reader to draw inferences about the stylistic significance of these devices. To recount a personal experience, the researcher's attention has been attracted by a huge advertisement for Jotun paint products displaying a photo of a huge pepper painted bright blue instead of the default colours. It depicts a striking graphological deviation by defamiliarizing the familiar. It is this that has inspired the researcher of searching and investigating the reasons for such deviation. Foregrounding invites the reader to think of the reasons of why a text is written of such a way. This produces a lasting effect on the reader's feelings and perception.

Foregrounded structures abound in interpretative issues; thus ignoring them in translation, will by default affect the intended communicative message. It is a choice made by the writer of a text for a stylistic and semantic effect and "there are communicative goals to be achieved out of a given marked order that involves foregrounding of the lexical item" (Wali 2007:14). It is a syntactic operation motivated by semantic goals to achieve a stylistic effect. Thus, Foregrounding links between syntax, stylistics and semantics. Wali (2007:13) states that "Foregrounding is a syntactic operation that places one or more constituents to the beginning of the sentence for effective stylistic reasons. Thus, syntax and style stand 'shoulder to shoulder' to produce the desired communicative goal whose meaning would not have been achieved via an ordinary simple syntactic pattern".

The proposed analysis of the research data adheres to the notions of Nida (2000: 127) that "the content of a message can never be completely abstracted from the form, and form is nothing apart from content; but in some messages the content is of primary consideration, and in others the form must be given a high priority". Between unmarked and marked syntax the later though heavier and less automatized is of greater communicative value to the producer, the former iconically motivated and easier to process, is of greater value to the receiver (Hatim & Mason, 1990).

1.2. Word Order in the English sentence and Arabic sentence

On the whole, the word order in the English sentence is more rigid than in the Arabic sentence because each syntactic constituent has a fixed position with a grammatical function. For example, grammatical subjects usually occupy initial positions in declarative sentence; objects follow verbs; adjectives precede nouns ...etc. When shifting in word position takes place, it is to signal out an important piece of information which can be achieved by some grammatical operations such as clefting and passivaization.

Sentence in the Arabic language, on the other, has a free-word order structure. Unlike the structure of the English sentence, the grammatical units of an Arabic sentence can be reshuffled without affecting sentence meaning. It is more flexible than the English sentence because of its "elaborate case marking and verb inflection systems" (Elimam: 2009). The sentence in the Arabic language has the grammatical structure of being either verbal or nominal. When the verb precedes the subject, it is verbal, when the noun precedes the verb, it is nominal. The default sentence pattern is the verbal with the structure of verb-subject- object/complement.

The Arabic sentence is highly inflective for number, gender and tense. Thus, a single word may demonstrate more than one grammatical category. For example, the verb خَلَقَهُ "khalaqa" in the ayah مِنْ نُطْفَةٍ خَلَقَهُ فَقَدَرَهُ "min nut'fatin khalaqahu faqaddarahu" is a third person masculine singular perfect verb and "hu" is a third person masculine singular object pronoun (فعل ماضٍ والهاء ضمير متصل في محل نصب مفعول به). "In other words, a single orthographic word in Arabic may realize both verb and subject or verb and object. As in English, the complement can be an object, adjective/adjectival phrase, adverb/adverbial phrase, or a prepositional phrase." (Elimam: 2009).

1.3. Foregrounding in Qur'an:

Qur'an has always been a rich resource for linguistic analysis because of its varied semantic syntactic and rhetorical structures. It is a unique texture where all linguistic features intermingle into a charming and unique texture. Abdul-Roaf (2001:32) stresses this in his detailed study on Qur'anic discourse:

Qur'anic usage, therefore is marked by richness and variety, discernment and subtlety, precision and

consistency (ibid:32); rendering of such a unique usage into a linguistically distinct target language requires radical 'usage' changes in order to meet the target language linguistic and semantic requirements.

Therefore, due to the complexity and ambiguity of many of the syntactic structures of Qura'nic discourse, many Moslem scholars "have objected to translating Qur'an for fear of distortion that will creep into it" (Abdul-Roaf: 45). Syntactic features are semantically oriented. Deviation, complexity and ambiguity of many of the Qur'anic syntactic constructions make it difficult to be copied into a far distant language "whose stylistic word order requirements are distinct from that of the Qur'anic discourse". Foregrounding, in particular, has a semantic and stylistic function. Swapping grammatical categories are meaning sensitive with communicative goals to be achieved. Attempts to reflect this in translation usually have their impact on meaning and may end in either meaning loss or meaning alteration.

1.4. Research hypothesis:

This research tests the following hypotheses:

1. Foregrounding in Qur'an is a rhetorical device to achieve stylistic and semantic effect. Hence, failure to reflect this in translation may result in either meaning loss or meaning change.
2. the translator of the meaning of the Holy Qur'an is faced with the choice of maintaining either the marked structure of the source text (ST) in his translation; thus sacrificing form to save meaning and style, or maintaining the structure of the target text (TT); thus sacrificing meaning to save form.

1.5. Objectives

The main objectives of this study are:

1. to compare and contrast the techniques adopted by the selected translators in translating marked word order for the sake of arriving at the most accurate translation.
2. to emphasize the stated fact that content and form of a message are integral to a full understanding of its meaning.

1.6. Research Questions and methodology

This study addresses the following questions:

1. What are the problems that translators may encounter when translating deviant syntactic patterns such as marked word order?
2. What are the compensation strategies that translators may use to make up for failure to translate deviant patterns such as marked-word order?
3. What makes a translation more authentic to the source language than another?

In an attempt to find answers to these questions, some ayahs that have marked word order are selected, their deviant structures are examined and their communicative meanings are discussed. In addition to this, the syntax and morphology of the marked pattern in Arabic and English are discussed. Each ayah is followed by seven different translations to show which one has failed/succeeded in keeping with the marked word order of the source language.

1.7. Limitation of the Study

Scholars of Arabic Rhetoric identify several functions for foregrounding in Qur'an. These functions include specifications, restrictions, importance, denial, ranking in terms of time; majority and minority and importance. Since this study focuses on how marked clauses are translated, it is more convenient to restrict the scope of this paper to the function of specification only. It is worth mentioning that the functions of specification and restriction overlap according to Arabic rhetoric scholars. They argue that signaling something means emphasizing it. Hence, this paper analyses the foregrounded patterns that fulfill either function.

2. Related Studies

This review discusses in what respect this current research is different from or similar to other studies that have dealt with the same topic.

Elimam's study (2009) "Marked Word Order in the Quar'n: Functions and Translation" draws intensively on the *balaghah* (the Arabic art of eloquence) of literature. His analysis of marked word order is done according to the discursive functions for foregrounding specified by *balaghah* scholars. He

analyses foregrounding in terms of deviations and parallelism. Each ayah is followed by one translation. He also analyses the functions of specification and restriction as two separate functions.

Although Elimam's study is similar to this research in some respects, it is different in others. Whereas Elimam's study focuses on examining the various functions achieved by foregrounding, this study focuses on how the same marked word order is rendered in different translations and its resultant effect on meaning. To achieve this end, this study restricts itself to only one function for foregrounding which is the function of specification and/or restriction. The ultimate goal of this study is to compare and contrast the strategies adopted by the selected translators in translating marked word order to find out which one conveys the intended message more explicitly. To limit the scope of this research, only ayahs that show syntactic inverted word order for reason of specification/ restriction are analysed.

Wali's study (2007) "The Loss in the Translation of the Qur'an" highlights the challenges that Qur'an translators encounter at the lexical, structural, stylistic, and rhetorical levels. He briefly mentions foregrounding as an example of structural and stylistic challenge in translation with reference to three ayahs. This study expands on Wali's views by focusing on the structural and stylistic challenges made by marked word order. He argues that "both the word order and the selection of specific lexical items are semantically orientated". Wali concludes that

Most Qur'an translations into English are source-language oriented. They are marked by dogged adherence to source syntax and the use of archaic language. The Qur'anic discourse enjoys very specific and unique features that are semantically oriented and Qur'an-bound and cannot be reproduced in an equivalent fashion in terms of structure, mystical effect on the reader.

Wali's generalization that most translations of Qur'an are source oriented is not tested by doing more analysis. His study focuses on the problem of finding proper equivalence to the lexemes of Qur'an. He calls for the

existence of bilingual-contextual dictionaries for the Arabic lexis as a solution to the problem.

Dorry (2008) "The Relevance of Foregrounding in Translation: Literarily Text in Focus" analyses the first 100 sentences of two literarily texts: Hemingway's 'Farwell to Arms' (1992), and Conrad's 'Lord Jim' (1949) and their Persian translations. She discusses how marked theme is translated in literary texts adopting Schmid's (1999) classification of marked theme. She compares and contrasts these two Persian translations to see whether marked thematic structures are handled properly in their translations. The finding of the analysis shows that marked thematic structure, as an important textual feature, is of special relevance in translation.

3. Data of the study

The following selected ayahs represent the analytical corpus of the study. Ayahs that reveal inverted word order for the function of specifications/restriction are discussed followed by seven different translations. The translations of the ayahs are derived from "The Qur'anic Arabic corpus", (an annotated linguistic resource for the Holy Qur'an developed by the Language Research Group at the University of Leeds, 2009) which shows the Arabic grammar, syntax and morphology for each word in the Holy Qur'an. It is available at <http://corpus.quran.com>. It is worth mentioning that the Syntax and Morphology is also based on the syntactic annotation provided by the Qur'anic Arabic Corpus with some modifications on the part of the researcher to facilitate clarification of the Arabic word syntactic category. For reasons of space and limitation of scope only 10 Ayahs are analysed intensively.

3.1. Procedures of the Data Analysis

The data analysis follows this order:

First, a syntax and morphological analysis of each word of the marked clause in each ayah is attempted using the English and Arabic word category based on the Qur'anic Arabic Corpus (<http://corpus.quran.com>).

Second, the word analysis is followed by giving the meaning of the selected ayah in addition to the significance and interpretative value of the marked

structure according to different scholars of Tafseer and Balagha (Arabic rhetoric).

Third, the seven translations quoted from the Qur'anic Arabic Corpus (<http://corpus.quran.com>). are presented with the marked structures under analysis highlighted for ease of reference.

Finally, the researcher evaluates the seven translations by comparing and contrasting them. This evaluation focuses on how far these translations are authentic to the meaning of the source text.

3.2. The Analysis

Ayah 1: Chapter (69) sūrat l-ḥāqah (The Inevitable) 31

{ثُمَّ الْجَحِيمَ صَلُّوهُ}

Arabic Word and transcription	Translation	Syntax and Morphology
ثُمَّ thumma	Then	coordinating conjunction حرف عطف
الْجَحِيمَ jahīma	Hellfire	accusative noun اسم منصوب
صَلُّوهُ sallūhu	burn him	"sall" imperative verb (ū) subject pronoun (hu) 3rd person masculine singular object pronoun فعل أمر والواو ضمير متصل في محل رفع فاعل والهاء ضمير متصل في محل نصب مفعول به

According to tafseer al Baher el-Moheet and Tafsir al-Jalalayn (www.altafsir.com), Allah, almighty, in this ayah, orders his angels to admit the unbeliever into Hell-fire, into the scorching Fire. This ayah demonstrates a marked word-order by placing the accusative (object) l-jahīma الْجَحِيمَ in front of the verb sallūhu صَلُّوهُ to specify the place of torture. The unbeliever is led to hell, where he will be tortured. This shifting of the object has the stylistic significance of emphasizing the place of torture rather than the act of torture itself to bring the unbeliever into a state of horror and panic. It

also emphasizes the fact that Hell fire is the eternal residence of the unbeliever.

Sahih International: Then into Hellfire drive him.

Pickthall: And then expose him to hell-fire

Yusuf Ali: And burn ye him in the Blazing Fire.

Shakir: Then cast him into the burning fire,

Muhammad Sarwar: then throw them into hell to be heated up therein.

Mohsin Khan: Then throw him in the blazing Fire.

Arberry: and then roast him in Hell,

Only Sahih International reflects the same marked pattern of the ST (source text) by foregrounding "Hellfire" and backgrounding the imperative verb and the object pronoun "drive him". On the other hand, the other translators fail to reflect the function of specification by adhering to the standard word order of the TT (target text) of verb; object; complement. Accordingly, their translations are more target-oriented, in the sense, that they do not provide the same stylistic effect of the ST. In fact, Sarwar's translation is the worst because he fails to observe the marked pattern, and changes the singular object pronoun "he" to a plural one "them".

Ayah 2: Chapter (35) sūrat fāṭir (The Originator) 28

وَمِنَ النَّاسِ وَالْدَّوَابِّ وَالْأَنْعَامِ مُخْتَلِفٌ أَلْوَانُهُ كَذَلِكَ إِنَّمَا يَخْشَى اللَّهَ مِنْ عِبَادِهِ الْعُلَمَاءُ إِنَّ اللَّهَ عَزِيزٌ
{غَفُورٌ}

Arabic word and transcription	Translation	Syntax and Morphology
إِنَّمَا innamā	only	Restrictive particle كافة ومكفوفة
يَخْشَى yakhshā	fear	فعل مضارع (present simple verb) منصوب
اللَّهُ l-laha	Allah	Proper noun in the accusative position (object) لفظ الجلالة منصوب

عِبَادِهِ مِنْ min <u>'ibādihi</u>	among His slaves	"min" preposition " <u>'ibād</u> " genitive plural noun (prepositional phrase)" hi" possessive pronoun اسم مجرور والهاء ضمير متصل في محل جر بالإضافة
الْعُلَمَاءِ l- <u>'ulamāu</u>	Those who have knowledge.	nominative masculine plural noun (subject) اسم مرفوع

This ayah displays another marked word order of subject-object inversion. The proper noun, Allah, is shifted to be in the subject position instead of the object position to convey the meaning that those who fear Allah Almighty are the knowledgeable only. Thus, failing to maintain this marked word order in translation would produce an opposite meaning to the intended one. According to Tafsser El- Zamakhshry (www.altafsir.com), it would be that the knowledgeable fear no one except Allah only.

Sahih International: And of men and beasts and cattle, in like manner, divers hues? **The erudite among His bondmen fear Allah alone.** Lo! Allah is Mighty, Forgiving.

Yusuf Ali: And so amongst men and crawling creatures and cattle, are they of various colours. **Those truly fear Allah, among His Servants, who have knowledge:** for Allah is Exalted in Might, Oft-Forgiving.

Shakir: And of men and beasts and cattle are various species of it likewise; **those of His servants (only who are possessed of knowledge) fear Allah;** surely Allah is Mighty, Forgiving.

Muhammad Sarwar: He has also created people, beasts, and cattle of various colors. **Only God's knowledgeable servants fear Him.** God is Majestic and All-pardoning.

Mohsin Khan: And of men and AdDawab (moving living creatures, beasts, etc.), and cattle, in like manner of various colours. **It is only those who have knowledge among His slaves that fear Allah.** Verily, Allah is Almighty, OftForgiving.

Arberry: men too, and beasts and cattle -- diverse are their hues. **Even so only those of His servants fear God who have knowledge;** surely God is All-mighty, All-forgiving.

Yusuf Ali and Arberry maintain the same syntactic pattern of the marked clause under discussion; thus, sacrificing the standard form of the target language to save meaning. Their translations reveal their awareness of the semantic value of the original marked structure and its effect on the communicated message. Moreover, they reflect the complexity of the clausal structure of the ST by using relative clauses to post modify "servants", and the restrictive particles "only" by Arberry. Consequently, their translations are prejudiced to preserving the pattern of the ayah with its stylistic effect. However, Ali's translation seems to be closer to the syntactic pattern of the ST than that of Arrbery because it places the subject "His servants" and the modifying relative clause after the object. On the other hand, the other translators ignore the communicative and stylistic value of the foregrounded clause by sticking to the standard word order of the English sentence. However, they compensate the reversal of the word order in the target language by inserting "only, alone" as restrictive modifiers to the noun "knowledgeable". Although the insertion of the restrictive particle may serve to help elucidate the meaning of the communicated message, it does not produce the same stylistic effect of the ST because of its multiple meanings in a variety of contexts. Translators may find it, however, a possible solution to help save part of the intended meaning.

Ayah 3: Chapter (80) sūrat 'abasa (He frowned) 19

{ مِنْ نُّطْفَةٍ خَلَقَهُ فَقَدَرَهُ }

Arabic word and transcription	Translation	Syntax and Morphology
مِنْ min	from	حرف جر preposition
نُطْفَةٍ <u>nut'fatin</u>	a semen-drop	genitive feminine indefinite noun اسم مجرور
خَلَقَهُ <u>khalaqahu</u> ,	He created him	"Khalaaqa" 3rd person perfect verb "hu" 3rd person masculine singular object pronoun

		فعل ماضٍ والهاء ضمير متصل في محل نصب مفعول به
فَقَدَّرَهُ <u>faqaddarahu</u> then He proportioned him,	then He proportioned him,	"fa" conjunction "qaddara" 3rd person singular verb "hu" 3rd person masculine singular object الفاء عاطفة فعل ماضٍ والهاء ضمير متصل في محل نصب مفعول به

This Ayah shows an instance of marked word order for semantic reasons. The prepositional phrase "Min nutfatin " is shifted to be at the beginning of the clause structure. This shifting has a semantic value because it emphasizes the fact that Allah almighty has created man from a despicable drop of fluid. Thus, man has no reason to be arrogant. The marked structure serves the function of specifying man's inferiority of origin. Wali (2007) comments that "one potential implication for foregrounding the prepositional phrase "Min nutfatin" is reminding man where he has originated from so that he should not be arrogant and disobedient to God's commandments, whereas when the verb is foregrounded, the ayah may only state a fact that God created man from a sperm-drop".

Sahih International: From a sperm-drop He created him and destined for him;

Pickthall: From a drop of seed. He createth him and proportioneth him,

Yusuf Ali: From a sperm-drop: He hath created him, and then mouldeth him in due proportions;

Shakir: Of a small seed; He created him, then He made him according to a measure,

Muhammad Sarwar: He created him from a living germ. He determined his fate

Mohsin Khan: From Nutfah (male and female semen drops) He created him, and then set him in due proportion;

Arberry: Of a sperm-drop He created him, and determined him,

All translations, except that of Sarwar, keep with the same marked word order of the ST by putting the standard word order of the TT into risk. Khan adds a graphological highlight by capitalizing "Nutfah" which may help highlight the importance of its shift. He also inserts a parenthetical explanatory note following it to help clarify the lexical meaning of "Nutfah". All these draw the reader's attention to think of the importance of the shifting. What is interesting is the variation in the use of punctuation following the prepositional phrase "from a sperm drop". Pickthall uses a period; Ali uses a colon; Shaker uses a semicolon. The variation in the use of punctuation following the shifted prepositional phrase separates it from the rest of the clause in an attempt to draw the attention of the reader to its importance. It also reveals the translators' awareness of the interpretive and stylistic value of the prepositional phrase. On the other hand Sarwar's translation fails to convey the same interpretative and stylistic effect of the source text by keeping with the target language fixed syntactic pattern. He shifts the marked pattern into the unmarked. According to Wali (2002) "Qur'an translators need to realize that foregrounded Qur'anic elements have a particular communicative function in the hierarchy of the text levels".

Ayah 4: Chapter (39) sūrat l-zumar (The Groups) 66

{ بَلِ اللَّهِ فَاعْبُدْ وَكُنْ مِنَ الشَّاكِرِينَ }

Arabic word and transcription	Translation	Syntax and Morphology
بَلِ <u>bali</u>	Nay!	retraction particle حرف اضرب
اللَّهُ <u>l-laha</u>	Allah	accusative proper noun (object) لفظ الجلالة منصوب
فَاعْبُدْ <u>fa-u 'bud</u>	But worship Allah	"Fa" prefixed resumption particle "u 'bud" 2nd person masculine singular imperative verb فعل أمر والفاء استئنافية
وَكَنْ <u>wakun</u>	and be	"wa" prefixed conjunction 2nd person masculine singular imperative verb الواو عاطفة فعل أمر

مِنْ mina	among	preposition حرف جر
الشَّاكِرِينَ <u>shākirīna</u>	l- the thankful ones	genitive masculine plural active participle اسم مجرور

According to Tafsser El- Zamakhshry (www.altafsir.com) the unbelievers order Prophet Mohammed (PBUH) to associate others with Allah Almighty in Ayah "64": "Say, [O Muhammad], is it other than Allah that you order me to worship, O ignorant ones?" The prophet (PBUH) reacts to their order in Ayah (66) by stating the fact that it is only Allah almighty to be worshipped. To assert this meaning, the object "Allah" is shifted to be in front of the imperative verb "worship". This shifting serves the functions of specifying Allah Almighty with worship, on one hand, and showing a strong denial to their request on the other. This denial is reinforced by using the retraction particle "Nay" in all of the seven translations followed by the exclamation mark in the translations by Shakir and Khan.

Sahih International: Rather, **worship [only] Allah** and be among the grateful.

Pickthall: Nay, **but Allah must thou serve**, and be among the thankful!

Yusuf Ali: Nay, **but worship Allah**, and be of those who give thanks.

Shakir: Nay! **but serve Allah alone** and be of the thankful.

Muhammad Sarwar: (Muhammad), **You must worship God alone** and give Him thanks.

Mohsin Khan: Nay! **But worship Allah (Alone and none else)**, and be among the grateful.

Arberry: Nay, **but God do thou serve**; and be thou among the thankful.

All the above translators, except Pickthall and Arberry, fail to reflect this marked pattern in their translations. Presumably, they do not want their translations to look bizarre to the reader. Khan inserted "only and none else" following the imperative verb as a compensation strategy for replacing the

marked pattern with the unmarked one. Although this strategy may help elucidate the communicated meaning, it does not capture the same stylistic effect produced by the word shifting. It does not also reflect the function of specification. Sarwar's translation does not only stick to the unmarked word order of the Standard English sentence, but changes the grammatical form of the sentence from the imperative into the statement. He uses the modal "must" to keep with the imperative sense as a compensation strategy.

Ayah 5: Chapter (18) sūrat l-kahf (The Cave) 1

{ اَلْحَمْدُ لِلّٰهِ الَّذِي اَنْزَلَ عَلٰى عَبْدِهِ الْكِتَابَ وَلَمْ يَجْعَلْ لَّهٗ عِوَجًا }

Arabic Word and transcription	Translation	Syntax and Morphology
اَلْحَمْدُ al-ḥamdu	All Praise	nominative masculine noun اسم مرفوع
لِلّٰهِ lillahi	(is) for Allah	"li" prefixed preposition <i>lām</i> genitive proper noun → <u>Allah</u> جار ومجرور
الَّذِي alladhī	the One Who	relative pronoun اسم موصول
اَنْزَلَ anzala	has revealed	Past simple verb فعل ماض
عَلٰى alā abdihi	to His slave	"ala" preposition "Abdi" genitive masculine noun "hi" 3rd person masculine singular possessive pronoun اسم مجرور والهاء ضمير متصل في محل جر بالاضافة
الْكِتَابِ l-kitāba	the Book	

The prepositional phrase "alā 'abdihi" is shifted to be in front of the object "l-kitāba" which is a marked pattern. According to tafseer AlBaher El Moheet (www.altafsir.com), this inversion is done for two purposes: to specify the prophet (PBUH) with revelation; thus, refuting the non-believers' claim that Qur'an is not revealed to him on one hand, and to honor the prophet on the other.

Sahih International: [All] praise is [due] to Allah, **who has sent down upon His Servant the Book** and has not made therein any deviance.

Pickthall: Praise be to Allah **Who hath revealed the Scripture unto His slave**, and hath not placed therein any crookedness,

Yusuf Ali: Praise be to Allah, **Who hath sent to His Servant the Book**, and hath allowed therein no Crookedness:

Shakir: (All) praise is due to Allah, **Who revealed the Book to His servant** and did not make in it any crookedness.

Muhammad Sarwar: Praise be to God. **He has sent the Book to His servant** and has made it a flawless guide (for human beings).

Mohsin Khan: All the praises and thanks be to Allah, **Who has sent down to His slave (Muhammad SAW) the Book** (the Qur'an), and has not placed therein any crookedness.

Arberry: Praise belongs to God **who has sent down upon His servant the Book** and has not assigned unto it any crookedness;

Pickthall, and Sarwar's translations are target language-oriented because they use the unmarked word order in translating this ayah by placing the prepositional phrase "alā 'abdihi" in front of the object "l-kitāba". Also, Sarwar changes the sentence structure from complex to simple by replacing the relative pronoun "who" with the subject pronoun "He". The other translations fulfill the specification function by preserving the same syntactic pattern of the word order of the ST.

Ayah 6: Chapter (67) sūrat l-mulk (Dominion) 29

{ قُلْ هُوَ الرَّحْمَنُ أَمَّنَّا بِهِ وَعَلَيْهِ تَوَكَّلْنَا فَسَتَعْلَمُونَ مَنْ هُوَ فِي ضَلَالٍ مُبِينٍ }

Arabic word and transcriptipon	Translation	Syntax and Morphology
قُلْ <u>qul</u>	Say	2nd person masculine singular imperative verb فعل أمر
هُوَ <u>huwa</u>	He	3rd person masculine singular personal pronoun ضمير منفصل
أَمَّنَّا <u>āmannā</u>	we believe	"āman" 1st person plural perfect verb "nā" subject pronoun فعل ماض و«نا» ضمير متصل في محل رفع فاعل
بِهِ <u>bih</u>	in Him	"bi" "prefixed preposition "h" 3rd person masculine singular personal pronoun جار ومجرور
وَعَلَيْهِ <u>wa'alayhi</u>	and upon Him	"wa (and)" prefixed conjunction "ala" preposition "hi" 3rd person masculine singular object pronoun الواو عاطفة جار ومجرور
تَوَكَّلْنَا <u>tawakkalnā</u>	we put (our) trust	"tawakkal" 1st person plural perfect verb "nā" subject pronoun فعل ماض و«نا» ضمير متصل في محل رفع فاعل

The ayah under discussion witnesses an interesting instance of marked word-order "āmannā bihi" and "wa'alayhi tawakkalnā". The verb "believed" is foregrounded and the prepositional phrase "in Him" is backgrounded. Whereas, the verb "relied" is backgrounded and the prepositional phrase "upon Him" is foregrounded. The reason behind shifting the verb "āmannā" is to specify that believing in Allah is accompanied by believing in His angels and the Hereafter. On the other hand, the prepositional phrase "wa'alayhi" is shifted to be in front of the verb to specify Allah Almighty with reliance (Alusy: www.altafsir.com).

Sahih International: Say, "He is the Most Merciful; **we have believed in Him, and upon Him we have relied.** And you will [come to] know who it is that is in clear error."

Pickthall: Say: He is the Beneficent. **In Him we believe and in Him we put our trust.** And ye will soon know who it is that is in error manifest.

Yusuf Ali: Say: "He is (Allah) Most Gracious: **We have believed in Him, and on Him have we put our trust:** So, soon will ye know which (of us) it is that is in manifest error."

Shakir: Say: He is the Beneficent Allah, **we believe in Him and on Him do we rely,** so you shall come to know who it is that is in clear error.

Muhammad Sarwar: Say, "He is the Beneficent One in **whom we have faith and trust.** You will soon know who is in manifest error".

Mohsin Khan: Say: "He is the Most Beneficent (Allah), **in Him we believe, and in Him we put our trust.** So you will come to know who is it that is in manifest error."

Arberry: Say: 'He is the All-merciful. **We believe in Him, and in Him we put all our trust.** Assuredly, you will soon, know who is in manifest error.

Sahih International, Yusuf Ali, Shakir and Arberry follow the same pattern of the ST. Picthall and Khan use a parallel structure of "in Him we believe, and in Him we trust" in their translations. Shifting the prepositional phrase "in Him" to be in front of the verb "believe" specifies Allah almighty with belief excluding the other pillars of complete faith. Sarwar's translation is the most uncommon amongst all because he manages to shrink the two

prepositional phrases into one using an identifying relative clause structure. This translation distorts the structure, meaning and style of the ST.

Ayah 7: Chapter (14) sūrat ib'rāhīm (Abraham) 50

{ سَرَّابِيلُهُمْ مِّنْ قَطْرَانٍ وَتَغْشَىٰ وُجُوهُهُمْ النَّارُ }

Arabic word and transcription	Translation	Syntax and Morphology
وَتَغْشَىٰ wataghshā	and will cover and will cover	"Wa"(and) prefixed conjunction "taghshā" Present simple tense الواو عاطفة فعل مضارع
وُجُوهُهُمْ wujūhahumu	their faces	"Wujūha" accusative masculine plural noun "humu" 3rd person masculine plural possessive pronoun اسم منصوب و«هم» ضمير متصل في محل جر بالاضافة function
النَّارُ l-nāru	the Fire.	nominative feminine noun اسم مرفوع

According to Tafsir al-Jalalayn.(www.altafsir.com), "their shirts [made] of pitch, because it ignites fire more intensely, and their faces are engulfed by the Fire,". This ayah portrays the tremendous torture that the unbelievers suffer by specifying face, which is the most dignified human organ, with this disgraceful humiliation. Hence, by placing the object "their faces" in front of the subject "fire", the degree of humiliation that the unbelievers will be exposed to on the Judgment Day is emphasized.

Sahih International: Their garments of liquid pitch and **their faces covered by the Fire.**

Pickthall: Their raiment of pitch, and **the Fire covering their faces,**

Yusuf Ali: Their garments of liquid pitch, and **their faces covered with Fire;**

Shakir: Their shirts made of pitch and **the fire covering their faces**

Muhammad Sarwar: with garments of pitch and **faces covered by fire.**

Mohsin Khan: Their garments will be of pitch, and **fire will cover their faces.**

Arberry: of pitch their shirts, **their faces enveloped by the Fire,**

Sahih International, Sarwar, Arberry reflect the inverted word order of the Arabic clause in their translation. Shakir, Pickthall, Ali and Khans' translations use the unmarked word order of the default English sentence of subject, verb and object. Hence, their translations of this Ayah fail to catch the stylistic significance of the marked word order of the ST. The other translations are source text oriented. Although the unmarked form still communicates the same meaning, it does not produce the same stylistic force of the degree of humiliation of the marked one.

Ayah 8: Chapter (75) sūrat l-qiyāmah (The Resurrection) 30

{ إِلَىٰ رَبِّكَ يَوْمَئِذٍ الْمَسَاقُ }

Arabic word and transcription	Translation	Syntax and Morphology
إِلَىٰ ilā	To	P – preposition حرف جر
رَبِّكَ rabbika	your Lord	"Rabbi" genitive masculine noun "ka" 2nd person masculine singular possessive pronoun اسم مجرور والكاف ضمير متصل في محل جر بالاضافة

يَوْمَئِذٍ yawma-idhin	that Day	time adverb ظرف زمان
إِلَـلْمَسَاقِ I-masāqu.	(will be) the driving	nominative masculine noun اسم مرفوع خبر

According to Tafsir al-Jalalayn (www.altafsir.com) "when the soul reaches the throat, it will be driven towards the judgement of its Lord". The prepositional phase "to your Lord" is fronted to be at the beginning of the clause to specify the eternal return to our Creator, Allah, Almighty.

Sahih International: **To your Lord**, that Day, will be the procession.

Pickthall: **Unto thy Lord** that day will be the driving.

Yusuf Ali: That Day the Drive will be (all) **to thy Lord!**

Shakir: **To your Lord** on that day shall be the driving.

Muhammad Sarwar: that will be the time to be driven to **one's Lord**.

Mohsin Khan: The drive will be, on that Day, **to your Lord** (Allah)!

Arberry: upon that day **unto thy Lord** shall be the driving.

Sahih International, Pickthall, Shakir and Arberry keep with the structure of the ST. Yusuf Ali fronts the adverb and backgrounds the prepositional phrase (Pp) "to thy lord". Sarwar, on the other hand, uses a complex sentence structure of non- finite clause and places the Pp at the end. This complex sentence structure communicates the intended message but rescues the specification function. Khan, also, rescues the specification function by backgrounding the Pp. Although Arberry fronts the adverbial phrase of time "Upon that day", he still keeps with the same marked word order of the ST for the rest of the clause.

Ayah 9 Chapter (7) sūrat l-a‘rāf (The Heights) 177

{ سَاءَ مَثَلًا لِّلَّذِينَ كَذَّبُوا بِآيَاتِنَا وَٱنْفُسُهُمْ كَانُوا بِظُلْمٍ }
 { سَاءَ مَثَلًا لِّلَّذِينَ كَذَّبُوا بِآيَاتِنَا وَٱنْفُسُهُمْ كَانُوا بِظُلْمٍ }

Arabic word and Transcription	Translation	Syntax and Morphology
<u>wa-anfusahum</u> وَأَنفُسُهُمْ	and themselves	"Wa" prefixed conjunction <i>wa</i> (and) "anfusa" accusative feminine plural noun "hum"3rd person masculine plural possessive pronoun الواو عاطفة اسم منصوب و«هم» ضمير متصل في محل جر بالاضافة
<u>yazlimūna</u> يَظْلِمُونَ	wrong	"yazlim"3rd person masculine plural imperfect verb "ūna" subject pronoun فعل مضارع والواو ضمير متصل في محل رفع فاعل

The accusative "wa-anfusahum" is shifted to be in front of the verb yazlimūna to serve the function of specifying "themselves" only with injustice by denying the revelation of the Qur'an upon Mohammed (PBUH). Thus, reversing this marked word order into "kānū yazlimūnawa-anfusahum" would risk the meaning of specifying themselves with injustice to include others (Mousa, 2010).

Sahih International: How evil an example [is that of] the people who denied Our signs and **used to wrong themselves**.

Pickthall: Evil as an example are the folk who denied Our revelations, and **were wont to wrong themselves**.

Yusuf Ali: Evil as an example are people who reject Our signs and **wrong their own souls**.

Shakir: Evil is the likeness of the people who reject Our communications and are **unjust to their own souls**.

Muhammad Sarwar: How terrible is the example of those who have rejected Our revelations and **have done injustice only to themselves!**

Mohsin Khan: Evil is the likeness of the people who reject Our Ayat (proofs, evidences, verses and signs, etc.), and **used to wrong their ownelves**.

Arberry: An evil likeness is the likeness of the people who cried lies to Our signs, and **themselves were wronging**.

Only Arberry succeeds in keeping with the same marked word order of the ST. The other ones fail to realize the significance behind the shifting and oriented their translations to the standard word order of the TL.

Ayah 10: Chapter (42) sūrat l-shūrā (Consultation) 53

{ صِرَاطَ اللَّهِ الَّذِي لَهُ مَا فِي السَّمُوتِ وَمَا فِي الْأَرْضِ إِلَّا إِلَى اللَّهِ تَصِيرُ الْأُمُورُ }

Arabic word and Transcription	Translation	Syntax and Morphology
إِلَى ilā	To	preposition حرف جر
اللَّهِ l-lahi	Allah	genitive proper noun → Allah لفظ الجلالة مجرور
تَصِيرُ taṣīru	reach	Present simple verb فعل مضارع
الْأُمُور l-umūru	all affairs	nominative masculine plural noun اسم مرفوع

According to Tafsir al-Jalalayn (www.altafsir.com), "the path of God, to Whom belongs whatever is in the heavens and whatever is in the earth, as possessions, creatures and servants. Surely with God all matters end [their

journey], [all matters] return". The prepositional phrase "ilāl-lahi" precedes the verb *taṣīru* to specify Allah Almighty with the ownership of all matters.

Sahih International: The path of Allah, to whom belongs whatever is in the heavens and whatever is on the earth. Unquestionably, to Allah do [all] matters evolve.

Pickthall: The path of Allah, unto Whom belongeth whatsoever is in the heavens and whatsoever is in the earth. **Do not all things reach Allah at last?**

Yusuf Ali: The Way of Allah, to Whom belongs whatever is in the heavens and whatever is on earth. Behold (how) **all affairs tend towards Allah!**

Shakir: The path of Allah, Whose is whatsoever is in the heavens and whatsoever is in the earth; **now surely to Allah do all affairs eventually come.**

Muhammad Sarwar: the path of God who is the owner of all that is in the heavens and the earth. **To God certainly do all matters return.**

Mohsin Khan: The Path of Allah, to Whom belongs all that is in the heavens and all that is in the earth. **Verily, all the matters at the end go to Allah (for decision).**

Arberry: the path of God, to whom belongs whatsoever is in the heavens, and whatsoever is in the earth. **Surely unto God all things come home.**

Sahih International, Shakir, Sarwar and Arberry preserve the same marked word order of the ST in their translations, whereas, Pickthall, Ali and Khan change the marked clause into unmarked one by placing the prepositional phrase at the end of the clause.

4. Findings and Conclusion

Foregrounding, as a syntactic theory based on word shuffling, has an outstanding stylistic effect that is indispensable for a full understanding of a communicated message. It has an artistic effect that triggers the reader's thinking. The Holy Qur'an, with its miraculous language, is full of ayahs that exhibit inverted word order. Only 10 ayahs that exhibit foregrounded structures are analysed intensively for the function of specification/restriction. Different translations of the selected ayahs are

compared and contrasted for arriving at the closest one to the ST in terms of structure and meaning. The selected Ayahs are the ones whose translations show either ignorance of the marked word order (translation loss) or a replacement strategy that may help save part of the conveyed meaning (compensation strategies) or a preservation strategy of the same structure of the source text. The different translations are compared and contrasted for arriving at the closest one to the marked pattern of the source text. The data analysis for this study provides the syntax and morphology for the selected Ayahs to clarify the structure of the marked clause. This Syntic and Morphological analysis supported by a stylistic one help elucidate communicative significance of the marked clauses.

The following table shows how many times each translator has reflected the marked clause structure of the ST in his translation:

Table 1

Translator	Ayah 1	Ayah 2	Ayah 3	Ayah 4	Ayah 5	Ayah 6	Ayah 7	Ayah 8	Ayah 9	Ayah 10
Sahih International	-		-		-	-	-	-		-
Pickthall			-	-				-		
Yusuf Ali		-	-			-	-			-
Shakir			-			-		-		-
Sarwar							-			-
Khan			-		-					
Arberry		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Arberry achieves the highest score in keeping with marked clause structure (9 times) in his translation, Sahih International, is the second in order (7 times), Yusuf Ali (5 times), Shakir (4 times), Pickthall (3 times) and Sarwar and Khan are the least (2 times).

The data analysis has shown that translators vary their strategies when translating inverted structures. First, they may ignore the marked word order by orienting their translations to the standard form for the correspondent English sentence (See Ayah 1). Although this method may communicate the same meaning of the ST, it may risk its style. Others may insert particles and adverbs such as "only, alone" as a compensation strategy (See Ayah 2) for meaning loss. Third, some translations are neither ST oriented nor TT oriented. They create their own forms which reflects their interpretations of the meaning of the ayah. Many of Sarwar's translation are an example of this. Other translators show a strong awareness of the communicative significance of the marked structure in their translation by abiding to the same pattern of the ST. Many of the translations by Arberry and Sahih International are ST oriented.

Based on the given analysis, this study has reached the conclusion that translating a marked structure using an unmarked one will end up in either meaning change or meaning loss. Translators, in general, and of the Holy Qur'an, in particular, should be competent enough of the linguistic significance of foregrounded structures in the source language and target language as a basic requirement of an authentic translation.

This research has focused on a small portion of a large data. The holy Qur'an is full of instances of marked structures which may require further researching from different perspectives.

Moreover, this study may be beneficial to English language learners, teachers and translators because it has thrown some light on a syntactic feature that may be incorporated into a grammar and/or translation course for pedagogical reasons. It may help them capture differences in structures between languages and draw their attention to marked constructions as well as unmarked ones.

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**National Identity as a Postcolonial Theme
in Wole Soyinka's *Death and the King's Horseman***

Mona A. M. Ahmed

The purpose of the present paper is to investigate Wole Soyinka's attempt to establish an identity for his postcolonial Nigeria as explored in his play *Death and the King's Horseman*. In fact, on studying this play, most of the researchers have focused on hybridity or the hybrid protagonist, mimicry or the mimic man as well as the structure of the play. Bernard Ayo Oniwe, for instance, has examined the hybrid protagonist in the play (1992). Olakunle George has focused on mimicry or the mimic man (1999). Craig McLuckie has discussed the structural coherence of the play (2004). However, national identity which is going to be examined in this study has been ignored. This paper deals with the endeavour of Soyinka as a postcolonial writer to emphasize the importance of reconstructing the history of his nation which has been savagely distorted by the colonizers. Soyinka investigates the past of his country in order to probe the customs, mores and myths adopted by his people. The play under study exhibits the traditions embraced by the Nigerians as a means of constituting their national identity.

After years of cultural colonialism and controlling people's thoughts and minds by the colonizers, postcolonial writers have struggled to achieve their cultural independence and restore their cultural heritage which has been lost for a quite long time under colonization. They have searched for their pre-colonial culture which has almost been forgotten by the natives who were severely oppressed by the colonizers. As Hans Bertens points out, "[T]he desire for cultural self-determination, that is for cultural independence, is one of the moving forces behind the literatures that in the 1970s spring up in the former colonies" (194). Accordingly, literature has been used as an instrument for cultural independence and national culture has become inescapable in order to achieve that end. As a consequence, nationalist writers such as Wole Soyinka attempt to "assert the existence of a national culture against that of the colonizers" (Wisker 51).

Colonialism is actually the occupation and enslavement of a weak country by a powerful one. Colonized peoples were "considered lesser, inferior, dependent and subject" (Said 134). By the end of the First World War, many countries of the Third World became colonized. Colonialism deprived colonized peoples of human qualities. Under Colonialism there was "[N]o human contact" between the colonizer and the colonized "but relations of domination and submission which turn the colonizing man into a classroom, monitor, an army sergeant, a prison guard, a slave driver, and the indigenous man into an instrument of production" (Cesaire 81). Colonialism, thus, exploited, dehumanized and devalued man.

After decades of colonial domination and by the end of the last half of the twentieth century, many formerly colonized countries gained their independence. This marked the end of colonialism and the emergence of Postcolonialism. Postcolonialism's ultimate goal has been to wage a war against the oppression and subjugation of colonialism; it aimed at "the contestation of colonial domination and the legacies of colonialism" (Loomba 12).

Postcolonialism as a literary theory actually began in the 1980s. It deals with literature of the Third World countries, that is recently decolonized nations as well as literature of the minorities. According to Homi Bhabha, an outstanding critic of postcolonialism, "Postcolonial perspectives emerge from the colonial testimony of Third World countries and discourses of 'minorities' within geographical divisions of east and west, north and south....They formulate their critical revision around issues of cultural difference, social authority and political discrimination" (qtd in Bertns 200). In *The Empire Writes Back*, Ashcroft, Griffith and Tiffin contend, " [W]e use the term 'Post-colonial', however to cover all culture affected by the imperial process from the moment of colonization to the present day" (2). Consequently, Postcolonial theory studies "literatures" of various countries of the Third World which "emerged in their present form out of the experience of colonization and asserted themselves by foregrounding the tension with imperial power" (Ashcroft et. al 2). In other words, it is concerned with postcolonial literature.

In fact, national identity is a major theme of postcolonial literature; postcolonial writers are preoccupied with questions of "identity, nationality and nationhood". In their writings, they vehemently fight to establish their national identity by adhering to their traditions and past since "the cultural inheritance of a people enables them to establish a national identity". (Wisker xiv - 50) They sought to reclaim their past which was distorted by the colonizers; they perceive that "[T]he study of national traditions is the first and most vital stage of the process of rejecting the claims of the centre" (Ashcroft et. al 16). The colonizers degraded colonized nation's past; they saw the pre-colonial era as barbarous and uncivilized. According to Frantz Fanon, "Colonialism is not satisfied merely with holding a people in its grip and emptying the native's brain of all form and content. By a kind of prevented logic, it turns to the past of the people and distorts, disfigures and destroys it" (94). In short, colonialism robbed colonized nations of their own culture.

Wole Soyinka(1934-) is one of the most distinguished postcolonial writers; in his writings he struggles to assert his nation's culture. He exerts himself to establish his country's national identity by attempting to direct the attention of the Nigerians to their cultural heritage embodied in their traditions and myths. In his preface to his critical work, *Myth, Literature and the African World*, a collection of essays written to interpret his creative works, Soyinka maintains, "man exists, however, in a comprehensive world of myth, history and mores; in such a total context, the African 'world' is unique" (xii). Soyinka extremely adheres to his nation's past, tradition and rituals which were devalued and regarded as savage and inferior by the British colonizers. He attempts to reconstruct and rewrite African past and tradition. This is explored in his masterpiece, *Death and the King's Horseman* (1975). The play has its origin in a real event that happened in Nigeria in 1946; that is during the British Colonial rule. In his prefatory note to the play, Soyinka writes:

This play is based on events that took place in Oyo, ancient Yoruba city of Nigeria, in 1946. That year, the lives of Elesin (Olori Elesin), his son, and the colonial district officer intertwined with the disastrous results set out in the play. The changes I have made are in

matters of detail, sequence and of course characterization. The action has also been set back two or three years, for minor reasons, of dramaturgy (Author's Note 3).

Jane Plastows details the real incidents as follows:

The Alafin (King) of Oyo, Oba Siyenbolu I, died after a thirty-three- year reign. His 'Horseman', Olokun Esin Jinadu, had led a Traditionally privileged life and the people expected that he would carry out his duty and 'follow his master' by a ritual suicide.

When

the Alafin died the Horseman was delivering a message in the village of Ikoyi. About three weeks later he returned to Oyo, dressed himself in white and, in a traditional build-up to committing suicide, began dancing through the streets. The British colonial officer in charge at Oyo heard of Olokun Esin's intention and ordered that the Horseman should be prevented from killing himself. When word of his father's arrest reached the Horseman's youngest son, Murana, he killed himself in place of Olokun Esin in order to fulfil the needs of the ritual ("Commentary" xxvii).

The incidents of the play begin thirty days after the death of the Alafin, King of Oyo, on the day of his burial, Elesin, the king's Horseman, has to commit a "ritual suicide" in order to accompany his master on his journey to the world of the ancestors. Elesin begins his "passage" in the traditional market accompanied by drummers and praise singers. During his dance, his sight is attracted by a beautiful maiden whom he wishes to marry as a final gift. On the last day of his life, the Horseman cannot be denied anything not even a new bride. Meanwhile, hearing about the "ritual suicide", the colonial District Officer decides to interfere in order to stop what he regards as a "barbaric custom." Olunde, Elesin's son, a medical student in England, has recently returned home to perform the necessary burial ceremony of his father. Enraged at the colonial District officer's intervening and his father's evasion of his duty as well as fearing catastrophe that could befall community because of his father's delay, Olunde commits suicide. He sacrificed himself in order to save his family's honour and keep

harmony of his society. Knowing about his son's sacrifice, Elesin strangles himself.

Throughout the play, Soyinka attempts to reconstruct his nation's past which was distorted by the colonizers; he is preoccupied with the idea of purging his society of the evils of cultural imperialism. In *Myth, Literature and the African World* (1976), he explicitly points out that "one of the social functions of literature" is "the visionary reconstruction of the past for the purposes of a social direction" (106). He searches for his roots in history and myth in order to establish a national identity for himself and his people. *Death and the king's Horseman* actually celebrates Yoruba mythology which is an essential constituent of Nigerian culture. According to Yoruba mythology, man has three stages of being or three worlds: the unborn, the living and the ancestors which are linked together by what Soyinka calls a "passage", an "abyss" or a "transitional gulf." In other words, there is some sort of transition from one world to another. In his note to the play under study, Soyinka states, "The confrontation in the play is largely metaphysical, contained in the human vehicle which is Elesin and the universe of the Yoruba mind - the world of the living, the dead and the unborn, and the numinous passage which links all. *Death and the King's Horseman* can be fully realized only through an evocation of music from the abyss of transition" (Author's Note 3-4). This stage of transition is what Soyinka calls "The Fourth Stage"; it is the "passage" or the connecting link between the three worlds or the areas of existence, the ancestors, the living and the unborn.

In his essay, "The Fourth Stage" which "helped to establish [his] reputation as a myth critic, a drama theorist and a master of language", Soyinka attempts to investigate the origin of Yoruba tragedy (Madaukor 8). He is of the view that in Yoruba world view, tragedy originated from gods' consciousness of their incompleteness or what he terms the "anguish of severance"; "[t]he tragedy in Yoruba traditional drama, is the anguish of this severance, the fragmentation of essence from self" (*Myth* 145). In other words, the gods who have become isolated from the world of men are eager for "complementary" which was lost and balance was destroyed as a result of a "curse" (19). The interaction of the divine and human or the need of the

gods "to be reunited with man" (145) by coming down to earth results in what Soyinka calls "cosmic *totality*" (original emphasis 3). He points out that, "Yoruba metaphysics of accommodation and resolution could only come after the passage of gods through the transitional gulf, after the demonic test of the self-will of Ogun the explorer-god in the creative cauldron of cosmic powers. Only after such testing could the harmonious Yoruba world be born" (145-46). Ogun, a Yoruba god, was the first one who challenges and conquers the transitional abyss, he is "the embodiment of the will" (150). Ogun was able "to forge a bridge for his companions to follow" (154). Yoruba tragic drama as Soyinka states is "the re-enactment of the cosmic conflict" (150). Tragic destiny is the reenactment of Ogun's ritual journey through the passage, the abyss or the transitional gulf. Madaukor comments on this point saying, "The gulf of transition is a symbol of continuity. It permits free traffic between the three areas of existence, and the transitional passage, being Ogun's pathway, establishes Ogun's primacy as the god of the 'roads' " (11). He adds, by immersing himself in "the seething cauldron of the dark world", Ogun forged "a bridge for both men and gods" (12-13). In this way, he created harmony in the Yoruba world of gods and humans.

In order to keep balance and harmony in Yoruba world, some pre-eminent people, usually leaders or rulers have to sacrifice themselves on behalf of the community. This notion is reflected in *Death and the King's Horseman*; Elesin Oba, the King's Horseman, who has been extremely honoured as a great chief as well as the King's close friend, has to join the dead king in his journey to the world of the ancestors; by so doing, he brings the world of gods and ancestors closer to that of the living. Consequently, he maintains balance and harmony in the Yoruba world and thus makes for its well-being. Elesin adopts all Yoruba beliefs and has faith in all its values and duties. He is "the embodiment of the culture of his people and as such he has an awful responsibility. It is quite simply that on him depends the future, on him depends the existence itself" (Bowman 89). Elesin has to play the heroic role played by Ogun in order to bridge the gap between man and the gods. He has to cross the dangerous abyss between the world of the living and that of the ancestors but this demands a strong will as that of Ogun. Elesin has the desire to make this journey but his attachment to

worldly pleasures damages his will; his love of women comes in the way of fulfilling his " sacred duty."

The play opens with the significant Stage Directions:

*A passage through the market in its closing stages. The stalls are being emptied, mats folded. A few women pass through on their way home, loaded with baskets. On a cloth – stand, bolts of cloth are taken down, display pieces folded and piled on a tray. **Elesin Oba** enters along a passage before the market, pursued by the drummers and praise singers. He is a man of enormous vitality, speaks, dances and sings with that infectious enjoyment of life which accompanies all his actions*

(Soyinka, *Death* 7).

Elesin chooses to begin his "passage" in the traditional market which is the world of women who control trade and it is his favourite place where he has " known love and laughter" (Soyinka, *Death* 43) . It is at the closing of the market. Elesin is accompanied by the drummers and the praise singers who are part and parcel of the Yoruba tradition. He dances and sings the story of the "Not I Bird" which expresses the call of death and how people tremble and are agitated by the idea of death. In contrast, Elesin welcomes death; he affirms his strong will and lack of fear of death:

My reign is loosed.
I am master of my fate. When the hour comes
Watch me dance along the narrowing path
Glozed by the souls of my great precursors.
My soul is eager. I shall not turn aside (13).

Elesin is conscious of his traditional role which should be carried out for the service of his community; he is eager to devote himself for the welfare of his community. During his life, he enjoyed all worldly pleasures owing to his position as the King's Horseman:

How can that be? In all my life
As Horseman of the King, juiciest
Fruit on every tree was mine. I saw,
I touched, I wooded, rarely was the answer No (18).

In return, Elesin has to fulfil his "sacred duty" by sacrificing himself for the prosperity and safety of his nation. This night he is going to save "the living" by joining "the ancestors." He is going, according to Yoruba tradition, to accompany the dead King, the Alfin, on his dangerous journey from the world of the living to the world of the ancestors by passing through the abyss or the gulf of transition in his way to the world of the ancestors. However, being well known for his love of women, Elesin's eyes are caught by a beautiful girl who extremely fascinates him:

Her wrapper was no disguise
 For thighs whose ripples shamed the river's
 Coils around the hills of Ilesì. Her eyes
 Were new laid eggs glowing in the dark.

Were new laid eggs glowing in the dark.
 Her skin...
 [...]

 And that radiance which so suddenly
 Lit up this market I could boast
 I knew so well? (18-19).

The Praise Singer who is regarded as the "guardian of culture" (Bowman 96) knows well about Elesin's weakness towards women. As a consequence, he attempts to warn him against his attachment to sexual desire which stands in the way of fulfilling his "sacred duty". He advises him to beware women; "[T]hey love to spoil you but beware. The hands of women weaken the unwary" Soyinka, *Death* 8). Meanwhile, he does his best to praise Elesin's ability in battle as a hunter and warrior in order to stimulate his will so that he can carry out his responsibility :

Who would deny your reputation, snake-on-the-loose in dark
 passages of the market! Bed-bug who wages war in the mat and
 receives the thanks of the vanquished! When caught with his
 bride's own sister he protested –but I was only protesting myself
 to her as becomes a grateful in-law. Hunter who carries his
 power-horn on the hips and fires crouching or Standing! Warrior

who never makes that excuse of the whining coward- But how can I go to battle without my trousers? – trouserless or shirtless. It's all one to him (19).

Like the Praise- Singer, Iyoloja, the most successful and wealthy trader whom Elesin calls "mother of the market", is keen to preserve the traditional customs of her people. She praises Elesin as a man of honour who does not blight " the happiness of others for a moment's pleasure"(20). However, perceiving Elesin's wish to marry the beautiful girl as a final honour, Iyoloja yields to his demand. Despite being betrothed to her son, she agrees to let Elesin marry the girl because he is his people's "intercessor to the world" (22); his "suicide is a heroic sacrifice in the interest of society" (Balgun 520). She affirms the women who try to prevent this marriage, "Let grain that will not feed the voyager at his passage drop here and take root as he steps this earth and us" (Soyinka, *Death* 22). She asks them to make the girl ready and tells Elesin:

It is those who stand at the gateway of the great change to those cry we must pay heed. And then, think of this – it makes the mind terrible. The fruit of such union is rare. It will be neither of this world nor of the next. Nor of the one behind us. As if the timelessness of the ancestor world and the unborn have joined spirits to wring an issue of the illusive being of passage (23).

Having fulfilled the marriage, Elesin appears carrying a blood-stained cloth proving the virginity of the bride, a traditional custom which Soyinka highlights. He holds " *a white velvet cloth folded loosely as if it held some delicate object* ". He cries out:

Oh you mother of beautiful brides!(*The dancing stops. They turn And see him, the object in his hands. Iyaloja approaches and gently takes the cloth from him.*) Take it. It is no mere virgin stain, but the union of life and the seeds of the passage. My vital flow, the last from this flesh is intermingled with the promise of future life" (43).

Now, Elesin is going to resume his "passage." As tradition demands, the King's dog has been killed, the King's favourite horse is about to be sacrificed in order to follow his master to the world of the ancestors and it is time for Elesin to carry out his traditional role. He asks his bride to stay beside him and begins to dance followed by the drummers and the praise singer who narrates his passage whereas the women of the market sing a dirge. The Stage Directions give us the following illumination:

*He comes down progressively among them. They make way for him, the drummers playing. His dance is one solemn, regal motions, each gesture of the body is made with a solemn finality. The **Women** join him, their steps a somewhat more fluid version of his. Beneath the **Praise-Singer's** exhortation the **Women** dirge 'Ale le le, awo mi lo' (Soyinka, *Death* 44).*

Through the Stage Directions Soyinka foregrounds the solemnity, sacredness and holiness of his nation's traditional customs. He attempts to direct his people's attention to the greatness of their mores and traditions as a means of emphasizing their national identity.

Elesin is supposed to commit spiritual suicide by means of dance and music with the assistance of the Praise Singer, the drummers and the women who sing a dirge. Elesin is going to undergo a trance in which he will quietly kill himself. The Praise Singer helps him on:

Elesin (*his voice is drowsy*)

I have freed my self of earth and now

It's getting dark. Strange voices guide my feet.

Praise-Singer

The river is never so high that the eyes

Of a fish are covered. The night is not so dark

That the albino fails to find his way. A child

Returning homewards craves no leading by the hand.

Gracefully does the mask regain his grove at the end of the day...

Gracefully. Gracefully does the mask dance

Homeward at the end of the day, gracefully...

Elesin's trance appears to be deepening, his steps heavier.

.....

Praise-Singer How shall I tell my eyes have seen? The Horseman Gallops on before the courier, how shall I tell what my eyes have seen?

He says a dog may be confused by new scents of beings he never dreamt of, so he must precede the dog to heaven. He says the horse may stumble on strange boulders and be lamed, so he races on before the horse to heaven. It is best, he says, to trust no messenger who may flatter at the outer gate; oh how shall I tell what my ears have heard? But do you hear me Elesin, do you hear faithful one? (46-47)

Owing to the drummers and the Praise Singer, Elesin begins to sink deeper in his trance until he becomes unconscious of the world surrounding him. However, Elesin fails to die; he is unable to enter the transitional passage. According to tradition, the signal of the drums and the movement of the moon indicate that Elesin has to end his life but could not. It is true that the British District Officer, Simon Pilkings's intervening to stop the "ritual suicide" comes in the way of fulfilling the "sacred duty"; yet Elesin's will has been weakened because of his attachment to sensuous enjoyments. He confesses to his bride saying:

First I blamed the white man, then I blamed my gods for deserting me. Now I feel I want to blame you for the mystery of the sapping of my will. But blame is a strange peace offering for a man to bring a world he has deeply wronged, and to its innocent dwellers. Oh little mother, I have taken countless women in my life but you were more than a desire of the flesh. I needed you as the abyss across which my body must be drawn, I filled it with earth and dropped my seed in it at the moment of preparedness for my crossing. You were the final gift of the living to their emissary to the land of the ancestors, and perhaps your warmth and youth brought new insights of this world to me and turned my feet leaden on this side of the abyss. For I confess to you daughter, my weakness came not merely from the abomination of the white man who came violently into my

fading presence, there was also a weight of longing on my earth – held limbs. I would have shaken it off, already my foot had begun to lift but then, the white ghost entered and all was defiled (Soyinka, *Death* 71).

Elesin has hesitated to commit the "ritual suicide" because of his love of wordly pleasures. It seems that he has welcomed Pilking's intervening. Elesin is convinced of Yoruba tradition and wants to uphold it; this is quite obvious in his rejection to let his son, Olunde, travel to England in order to study medicine to the extent that he disowned him. As the eldest son of the Horseman, Olunde has to stay home because he is the inheritor of the duties of the King's Horseman; as Joseph tells Pilking's if "Elesin had died before the King, his eldest son must take his place" (30). Elesin wants to keep his tradition, but he fails since his will has been corrupted by his attachment to sensuous enjoyment. By so doing, he ruins his honour and reputation and threatens the peace of his people. Iyaloja severely reproaches him saying:

You have betrayed us. We fed you sweetness such as we hoped awaited you on the other side. But you said No, I must eat the world's left-overs. We said you were the hunter who brought the quarry down; to you belonged the vital portions of the game. No, you said, I am the hunter's dog and I shall eat the entrails of the game and the faces of the hunter. We said you were the hunter returning home in triumph, a slain buffalo pressing down on his neck; you said Wait, I first must turn up this cricket hole with my toes. We said yours was the doorway at which we first spy the tapper when he comes down from the tree, yours was the blessing of the twilight wine, the purl that brings night spirits out of doors to steal their portion before the light of day. We said yours was the body of wine whose burden shakes the tapper like sudden gust on his perch. You said , No, I am content to lick the dregs from each calabash when the drinkers are done. We said, the dew on earth's surface was for you to wash your feet along the slopes of honour. You said No, I shall step in the vomit of cats and the droppings of mice; I shall fight them for the left-overs of the world (Soyinka, *Death* 74 -75).

Elesin becomes the cause of disaster for his people as well as disgrace and dishonour for his family; his failure is "spiritually and socially disruptive as well as shameful." (Bowman 82) According to tradition, Elesin ought to commit suicide at the appropriate time since the gate for the world of the ancestors opens for a short time. Elesin's failure to pass at this appropriate time threatens the Yoruba world. In order to rescue his people and to save his family's honour, Olunde, the eldest son of Elesin and inheritor of his duties as the King's Horseman, replaces his father by committing the "ritual suicide." Olunde who has hurriedly returned home to perform the necessary burial ceremony feels anger at Pilkings' colonialist arrogance and shame at his father's evasion of the one duty for which his entire life has been a preparation. Fearing catastrophe that could befall the community on account of his disruptive of cosmic balance of his people, and in order to restore the family honour, dreadfully tarnished by his father's failure, the son commits suicide 'better late than never seems to be logic' (George 72).

We first know about Olunde from Simon Pilkings's and his wife, Jane's conversation with Joseph, their house servant, when they ask Joseph about the drums going on in town:

Joseph Tonight sir? You mean the chief who is going to kill himself?

Pilkings What?

Jane What do you mean, kill himself?

Pilkings You mean he is going to kill somebody don't you?

Joseph No master. He will simply die.

Jane But why Joseph?

Joseph It is native law and custom. The King die last month. Tonight is his burial. But before they can bury him, the Elesin must die so as to accompany him to heaven.

Pilkings I seem to be fated to clash more often with that man than with Many of the other chiefs.

Joseph He is the King's Chief Horseman.

Pilkings (*in a resigned way*) I know

Jane Simon, what the matter?

[...]

Pilkings Don't you remember? He's that chief with Whom I had a scrap some three or four years ago. I helped his son get to a medical school in England, remember? He fought tooth and nail to prevent it.

Jane Oh now I remember. He was that very sensitive young man. What was his name?

Pilkings Olunde. Haven't replied to his last letter come to think of it. The old pagan wanted him to stay and carry on some family tradition or the other. Honestly I couldn't understand the fuss he made. I literally had to help the boy escape from close confinement and load him onto the next boat. A most intelligent boy, really bright (Soyinka , *Death* 29).

Olunde is a medical student in England. He is intelligent and sensitive young man. As the Horseman's eldest son, he has to stay home, he is not supposed to leave his country. As tradition demands, Olunde has to stay home since he is the inheritor of his father's duties. This is why Elesin vehemently fought to prevent Olunde from going abroad to the extent that he cast him off. However, as a member of the younger generation, Olunde had the ambition to continue his study abroad to the extent that he challenged his father and sought Pilkings's help to go to England so as to make "a first class doctor" 30).

Despite his Western education, Olunde could not abandon his own tradition. Olunde's stay in England and medical training there widened his understanding of both Yoruba and British societies. It "convinced him more about his father's responsibility of self-sacrifice. His experience of war casualties in English hospitals', the captain's self-sacrifice, and the British Prince's braving the seas in war time for a 'showing the flog tour of colonial possessions' reinforce his faith in his culture and people" (Ojaide 212). Olunde is keen to preserve his tradition and is conscious of the fundamental role it plays in the life of his people. In spite of the fact that he left his country for England in order to study medicine against the will of his father, "his experience of the world outside has brought a deeper understanding of his heritage and his relation outside it" (Bowman 87). During his stay abroad, he becomes aware of the void and fragility and disintegration of

European culture compared to the richness of Nigerian culture. On knowing about the King's death from a cable sent by one of his relatives, Olunde returns home at once so as to perform the burial ceremony of his father who should, as tradition entails, commit a "ritual suicide" in order to follow his master to the world of the ancestors.

On his arrival home, Olunde goes searching for Pilkings, in order to ask him not to intervene in what Pilkings regards as a "barbaric custom.. Since the English Prince of Wales is visiting the town and Pilkings wants everything to go peacefully, he has decided to intervene and arrest Elesin before committing suicide for fear of reducing his career prospects in the colonial service. On reaching the British Residency where a ball has been held in honour of the visiting Prince searching for Pilkings, Olunde approaches Jane, Pilkings's wife. The Pilkings have been wearing the egungun masks which are a central part of Yoruba religious rites. On wearing them, men represent the spirits of the ancestors. The Pilkings wear them as fancy dress so as to delight the Prince. The Stage Directions give us the following illumination:

*Sometime later the **Prince** dances again into view and is settled into a corner by the **Resident** who then proceeds to select couples as they dance past for introduction, sometimes threading his way through the dancers so that they are recognized in spite of, perhaps, their costume. The ritual of introduction soon takes in **Pilkings** and his wife. The **Prince** is quite fascinated by their costume and they demonstrate the adaptations they have made to it, pulling down the mask to demonstrate how the egungun normally appear, then showing the various press-button controls they have innovated for the face flaps, the sleeves, etc. They demonstrate the dance steps and the guttural sounds made by the egungun, harass other dancers in the hall, **Mrs Pilkings'** manic darts. Everyone is highly entertained, the Royal party especially who lead the applause (Soyinka, *Death* 50-51).*

The egungun masks worn by Pilkings and Jane have been confiscated from the natives. Sergeant Amusa, a "Native Administration" police officer is

employed by the locally appointed leadership, nevertheless Pilkings regards him as a police officer in the service of " His Majesty's Government." It is Amusa who helped to confiscate the egungun costumes as well as arrest the religious leaders who were making some rites and caused some troubles to Pilkings last month. As a native, Amusa is oppressed by Pilkings; " the demands of economic subsistence compel [him] to arrest egungun on the authority of the colonial administrative apparatus" (George 76). Despite being a Muslim, on watching the Pilkings wearing the egungun costumes, Amusa is shocked because of the Pilkings's disdain of the Yoruba sacred masks.

The egungun is highly respected by Yoruba people. On looking for Pilkings in order to prevent him from interfering to stop Elesin's ritual suicide, Olunde watches Jane wearing the egungun costumes at the ball. Despite being Westernized African wearing a "sober Western suit ", Olunde is shocked on watching Jane wearing the egungun costumes at the ball. He is outraged because of dealing with the sacred costume in a ridiculous way:

Olunde Mrs. Pilkings ! How fortunate. I came here to look for your husband.

Jane Olunde! Let's look at you. What a fine young man you've become. Grand but solemn. Good God, when did you return? Simon never said a word. But you do look well Olunde. Really!

[...]

Olunde Why should I be? But don't you find it rather hot in there? Your skin must find it difficult to breathe.

Jane Well, it is a little hot I confess, but it's all in a good cause.

Olunde What cause Mrs Pilkings?

Jane All this. The ball. And His Highness being here in person and all that.

Olunde (*mildly*) And that is the good cause for which you desecrate an ancestral mask?

Jane Oh, so you are shocked after all. How disappointing.

Olunde No I am not shocked, Mrs Pilkings. You forget that I have now spent four years among your people. I discovered that you

have no respect for what you do not understand (Soyinka, *Death* 54-55).

In fact, Soyinka foregrounds the egungun and its significance as part of Yoruba rituals and cultural heritage in his attempt to establish a national identity for his country. The egungun plays a fundamental role in practising Yoruba religious rites and therefore it must be highly esteemed. Soyinka uses Olunde as vehicle for directing the attention of younger generation to the significance of their traditions and customs which have been devalued and degraded by the British colonizers who exert their efforts to rob the natives of any trace of their cultural heritage. Olunde, who went to England aspiring for Western education and better way of life, was shocked by a society that lacks all human values. Consequently, he realizes the greatness of his national culture and returns home in order to bury his father who is going to sacrifice himself for the prosperity of his country. In his long conversation with Jane, Olunde tries to show the meaning of his father's death as well as his contempt of the British.

Olunde Mrs. Jane I came home to bury my father. As soon as I heard the news I booked my passage home. In fact we were fortunate. We traveled in the same convoy as your Prince, so we had excellent protection.

Jane But You don't think your father is also entitled to whatever protection is available to him?

Olunde. How can I make you understand? He *has* protection. No one undertake what he does tonight without the deepest protection the mind can conceive. What can you offer him in place of his peace of mind, in place of the honour and veneration of his own people? What would you think of your Prince if he refused to accept the risk of losing his life on this voyage?

This... showing-the-flag tour of colonial possessions.

[...]

Jane Not so fast Olunde. You have learnt to argue I can tell you that, but I never said you made sense. However clearly you try to put it, it is still a barbaric custom. It is even worse - it's feudal! The

King dies and a chieftain must be buried with him. How feudalistic can you get!

Olunde (*waves his hand towards the background. The Prince is dancing past again - to a different step - the guests are bowing and curtsying as he passes* And this? Even in the midst of a devastating war, look at that.

What name would you give to that?

Jane Therapy, British style. The preservation of sanity in the midst of chaos.

Olunde Others would call it decadence. However, it doesn't really interest me. You white races wiping out one another, wiping out one another, wiping out their so-called civilization for all time and reverting to a state of primitivism the like of which has so far only existed in your imagination when you thought of us. I thought all that at the beginning. Then I slowly realized that your greatest art is the art of survival. But at least have thee humility to let others survive in their own way.

Jane Through ritual suicide?

Olunde Is worse than mass suicide? Mrs Pilkings, what do you call what those young men are sent to do by their generals in this war? Of course you have also mastered the art of calling things by names which don't remotely describe them.

Jane You talk! You people with your long-winded, roundabout way of making conversation.

Olunde Mrs Pilkings, what we do, we never suggest a thing is the opposite of what it really is. In your newsreels I heard defeats, thorough murderous described as strategic victories. No wait, it wasn't just on your newsreels. Don't forget I was attached to hospitals all the time. Hordes of your wounded passed through those wards. I spoke to them. I spent long evenings by their bedsides while they spoke terrible truths of the realities of that war. I know now how history is made (Soyinka, *Death* 57-59).

Olunde attempts to reveal to Jane the greatness of his father's sacrifice for his peace and the peace of his own people, his father is going to commit suicide to save his community from destruction. However, Jane cannot

understand the implication of that sacrifice which she regards as a "barbaric custom" or even "feudalistic." Olunde's long conversation with Jane reveals the arrogance, vulnerability, disintegration and hypocrisy of the English people. He expresses the terrible conditions of war he underwent during his stay in England. As a medical student there, Olunde has seen "the West on its own grounds, complete in its wartime vulnerabilities. He attends to English soldiers wounded on World War II and has therefore seen England in the throes of a universal predicament" (George 81). Furthermore, he discloses the lies of authorities told to the English people about the war and how they portray "murderous defeats" as "strategic victories."

During his conversation with Jane, Olunde hears drums, the "*drums come over, still distant but more distinct. There is a change of Rhythm, it rises to a crescendo and then, suddenly, it is cut off. After a silence, a new beat begins, slow and resonant*" (Soyinka, *Death* 60). Olunde conceives from the drums that his father is dead; the drums announce his father's death:

Olunde There it's over.

Jane You mean he is...

Olunde Yes, Mrs Pilkings, my father is dead, His will-power has always Enormous, I know he is dead (60).

Olunde decides to go immediately to arrange the funeral of his father saying, " I am really anxious to go. I couldn't see my father before, it's forbidden for me, his heir and successor, to set eyes on him from the moment of the King's death. But now...I would like to touch his body while it is still warm" (Soyinka 62).

Because Elesins's death is a "ritual custom", every thing has to be performed at its time. As the eldest son of Elesin, Olunde has to "perform the rites over the body" (Soyinka, *Death* 62). On his journey on the boat, he went through the rites again and again in his mind as his father taught him; Olunde does not "want to do anything wrong, something that might jeopardize the welfare of [his] people" (62). To his astonishment, Olunde discovers that his father is still alive; he is arrested by Pilkings who is

responsible for security particularly during the visit of the Prince of Wales. Olunde is paralysed by the shock:

Elesin Olunde? (*He moves his head, inspecting him from side to side.*) Olunde! (*He collapses slowly at Olunde's feet.*) Oh son, don't let the sight of your father turn you blind!

Olunde (*He moves for the first time since he heard his voice, brings his Head slowly down to look on him*) I have no father, eater of left-overs. *He walks slowly down the way had run.*[...]

Elesin, sobbing into the Ground (66).

Elesin begs Olunde to acknowledge him but in vain; Olunde, who has respected his tradition, disowns his father. It is noteworthy that initially Elesin disowned Olunde because of abandoning his tradition and leaving for England. The situation is reversed; " Olunde now casts off his father who has failed in the central duty and meaning of his life" (Plastow, "Notes" 88). Olunde, who has realized the greatness of his culture, sticks firmly to it and decides to take his father's place by committing the ritual suicide so as to keep the harmony of Yoruba world and restore the family's honour. Four years ago the Pilkings helped Olunde to go to England in order to continue his study there hoping that he would give up Yoruba tradition. Nevertheless, Olunde's stay abroad widened his understanding of the "white races" and deepened his conviction of his own tradition.

Before leaving the Residency where Elesin is brought arrested, Olunde asks Pilkings to convey his apologies to his father whom he has insulted because of his failure to carry out the ritual suicide. On reporting the message, Elesin replies:

No. What he said must never be unsaid. The contempt of my own son rescued something of my shame at your hands. You have stopped me in my duty but I know now that I did give birth to a son. Once I mistrusted him for seeking the companionship of those my spirit knew as enemies of my race. Now I understand. One should seek to obtain the secrets of his enemies. He will avenge my

shame, white one. His spirit will destroy you and yours (Soyinka, *Death* 69).

Elesin becomes certain that his son has not abandoned his tradition; instead, he is keen to preserve it. Like Soyinka, Olunde is convinced of the significance of his cultural heritage and the necessity of shielding and upholding it against the attempts of the attacks of the West. Olunde is " often seen as a mouthpiece for Soyinka's views. He has certainly made a similar journey to that of Soyinka, who was also educated in both Nigeria and England, and who is happy to make use of what he has learned from the white world, while remaining deeply Yoruba and inspired, as he says, by a Yoruba 'muse' " (Plastow xxxiii).

After committing the " ritual suicide" in place of his father, Olunde's body is brought on the stage accompanied by the women who sing a dirge. Iyaloja approaches Elesin saying, "There lies the honour of your household and of our race. Because he could not bear to let honour fly out of doors, he stopped it with his life. The son has proved the father, Elesin, and there nothing left in your mouth to gnash but infant gums (Soyinka, *Death* 82). Olunde has taken his father's place so as to restore balance of Yoruba world. By so doing, he has become the father. Elesin gazes at the dead body of his son and suddenly strangles himself. The play ends with a hopeful note by Iyaloga who addresses Elesin's bride saying, " Now forget the dead, forget even the living. Turn your mind only to the unborn" (84). The hope is reposed in the unborn child of Elesin born by the bride.

To conclude, as a postcolonial writer, Soyinka is conscious of the attempt of Western countries to rob Third World countries of their cultural heritage as a means of dominating them. He is preoccupied by the inevitability of confronting such attempts by highlighting his nation's culture. As a consequence, he delves into his nation's past which was devalued and degraded by the colonizers in order to reconstruct it. He endeavours to explore some distinguished myth or tradition to deal with intending to establish a national identity for his own country, Nigeria.

National identity as a postcolonial theme is obviously demonstrated in Wole Soyinka's masterpiece, *Death and the King's Horseman*. The play is actually a commemoration of Yoruba myth, a notable West African myth which plays part and parcel of Nigerian culture. Elesin's failure to perform the "ritual suicide" which is imposed upon him by tradition is not an indicative of the collapse of that tradition; instead, it is an incitement for leaders to carry out their obligations towards their nations. By taking his father's place, Olunde, as a member of the younger generation, assures the indispensability of his cultural heritage. Furthermore, through Olunde, Soyinka calls for the younger generation to keep their eye on and uphold their tradition; he directs their attention to the inevitability of adhering firmly to their cultural heritage so as to confirm their national identity.

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An Ecocritical Reading of Emily Dickinson's Nature Poetry

Ahmad Muhammad Al-Sayyed Ahmad

The late eighties of the twentieth century witnessed the birth of the approach which combined both literature and environment. This approach has developed and become known in this post-modern age as "ecocriticism" or "ecocritical studies. It has acquired a number of relatively different names; such as environmental studies, green studies, and ecocritical studies. However, Lawrence Buell states: "Notwithstanding, ecocriticism remains the preferred term for environmental literary studies worldwide, although green studies is sometimes favoured in UK" (138). Cheryll Glotfelty and Harold Fromm show exactly that it appeared and started to develop "..., in the mid-eighties, as scholars began to undertake collaborative projects, the field of environmental studies was planted, and in the early nineties it grew" (xvii). They also traced the significant historical developments of this approach. Ecocriticism started with Frederick O Wage editing a book entitled *Teaching Environmental Literature: Materials, Methods, and Resources* in 1985. Four years later, there appeared The American Nature Writing Newsletter, which was founded by Alicia Nitecki from 1989 to 1993 when Patrick Murphy established a new journal, ISLE: Interdisciplinary Studies in Literature and Environment, there emerged a large number of landmarks in the history of the development of this approach (xvii-xviii).

Etymologically speaking, ecocriticism is a combination of two words; ecology and criticism. Ecology, as Glen A. Love states, "was coined by German scientist Ernst Haeckel in 1866 (German oikologie from the Greek oikos, house)" (37). In *A Dictionary of Cultural and Critical Theory*, Michael Payne and Jessica R. Barbera define ecology as "rooted in the Greek word oikos. In pre-Socratic thought the term is defined as "the whole house" that is, the unity of nature and the sciences" (210). Ecocriticism was, as Creg Garrard states in his book *Ecocriticism*, "a coinage of the early 1990s" (1). It was "coined by William Rueckert in his *Literature and Ecology: An Experiment in Ecocriticism* "1978" (Ufuk Ozdag 126).

Glotfelty posed some questions that ecocritics and theorists can not ignore for revealing the way environment can be tackled from a literary standpoint, mapping out the spacious approach of ecocriticism. These questions are the following:

How is nature represented in this sonnet? What does the physical setting play in the plot of this novel? Are the values expressed in this play consistent with ecological wisdom? How do our metaphors of the land influence the way we treat it? How can we characterize nature writing as a genre? In addition to race, class, and gender, should place become a new critical category? Do men write about nature differently than women do? In what way has literacy itself affected humankind's relationship to the natural world? How has the concept of wilderness changed overtime? In what ways and to what effect is the environmental crisis seeping into contemporary literature and popular culture? (xviii- xix).

The above questions sum up the critical procedures and methodology of ecocriticism. They show how ecocritics practically deal with different genres of literature ecocritically.

The term "ecocriticism" has received a number of definitions which elucidate it. Creg Garrard states that it " entails the study of the relationship between the human and the non-human, throughout human cultural history and entailing the critical analysis of the term 'human' itself" (5). Although this definition is not clear-cut, it means that "ecocriticism" is applicable to various texts and discourses including literature. However, Glotfelty delineates "ecocriticism" as " the study of the relationship between literature and the physical environment"(xviii), giving a direct reference to the scope and core of what this paper tries to conduct. The paper traces such a relationship and casts light on it. The nature of this relationship is exigent and far-reaching, giving literature a high locus among other branches of knowledge, and becoming an easy way of attracting people's attention to the significance of the environment and what people should do to protect it.

Rueckert defines "ecocriticism" as " the application of ecology and ecological concepts to the study of literature, because ecology (as a science, as a discipline, as the basis for human vision) has the greatest relevance to

the present and the future of the world” (107). He rationalizes the relationship between ecology and literature by stressing the fact that it is essential for the life of human beings both now and later. So, he urges that ecology should be applied to the study of literature. That is to say, it can not only be one of the themes of literature, but literature should convey its importance and propose solutions to the dangerous problems that may arise from abusing nature as well.

Unlike Glotfelty’s definition of “ecocriticism”, Rueckert’s concentrates not only on the application of environmental concepts to the study of literature, but also the importance of applying such concepts. Moreover, Leger confirms that “ecocriticism” is “an analysis of the cultural construction of nature, which also includes an analysis of language, desire, knowledge, and power” (227). Hence, “ecocriticism” is concerned with the literary study of the nature motifs in literary works, shedding light on the role they play in adding to characters, events, or the environmental background of such works. On how to conduct such an analysis, William Howarth mentions that:

We know nature through images and words, a process that makes the question of truth in science or literature inescapable, and whether we find validity through data or metaphor, the two modes are parallel. Ecocriticism observes in nature and culture the ubiquity of signs, indicators of value that shape form and meaning. Ecology leads us to recognize that life speaks, communing through encoded streams of information that have direction and purpose, if we learn to translate the messages with fidelity(77).

The various definitions given to “ecocriticism” expand its spectrum and discussion to include other areas. Simon C. Estock envisages ecocriticism as multi-functional going far beyond the borders of what is literary to what is not literary. He states that:

what counts as ecocriticism is any theory that is committed to effecting change by analyzing the function- thematic, artistic, social, ideological, historical, or otherwise- of the natural environment, or aspects of it, represented in

documents (literary or other) that contribute to the practices we maintain in the present, in the material world (124).

However, Peter Barry agrees with Glotfelty and quotes him as confining “ecocriticism” to “the study of the relationship between literature and the physical environment” (160). He goes on to assert that, regardless of which title, this approach bears (ecocriticism or green studies), “Both terms are used to denote a critical approach which began in the USA in the late 1980s, and in the UK in the early 1990s...” (160).

Although Peter Barry makes no difference between green studies and ecocriticism, she states that there are two versions of “ecocriticism”: American and British. She underlines the pioneer writers of each of these two versions which themselves propose how much they are prototypical or somehow different. Accordingly:

Ecocriticism, as it now exists in the USA, takes its literary bearings from three major nineteenth-century American writers whose work celebrates nature, the life force, and the wilderness as manifested in America, these being Ralph Waldo Emerson (1803- 1882), Margret Fuller (1810-1850), and Henry David Thoreau (1817-1862) (161).

On the other hand, the UK version of “ecocriticism” or green studies “takes its bearings from the British Romanticism of the 1970s rather than the American transcendentalism of the 1840s. The founding figure on the British side is the critic Jonathan Bate, the author of *Romantic Ecology: Wordsworth and the Environment Tradition* (Routledge, 1991) (161).

Ecology has greatly influenced the art of drama and theatre production though some ecocritics state that “ecological drama criticism constitutes a significant gap in ecocritical studies”(qtd. in Erdogan 111). However, this did not hinder the trend of ecological drama production. To prove it, Erdogan contends that:

there are many regional performance groups that produce theatre with environmental concerns and that have given their art names like Theatre in the Wild, EcoTheatre, EcoDrama, and Green Theatre. In their productions, these

groups mostly focus on regional or local environmental issues (111-112).

This highlights the fact that the function of literature is not only to entertain or to give pleasure, but also to tackle some, if not all, the problems and issues which concern man and affects his life. Environmental issues are verily at the heart of the role of literature. Such issues, in addition to others, are highly significant.

Ecology is not confined to literature, being related to a number of divergent areas of knowledge. History is surely one of these areas. In this regard, Theresa J. May, an environmental historian, argues that “Environmental historians challenge the notion of history as a story of political, economic and military events; and instead posit a history told as the chronicle of the relatedness between humans and their ecological context” (161). This is an evident proof that even history is not a mere story of, what most readers expect it to be, the above quoted issues away from ecology. In fact, it is not only that, but it also relates the connection between man and his/her ‘ecological context’.

On the contrary, Buell degrades the role of environment to nothing more than secondary elements of theatre production. But, even if this is the least part it can play, it can not be ignored because it represents some theatrical production tools and techniques that may verily propel the audience and affect them. In his article “Representing the Environment”, Buell contends that “in literature the nonhuman environment is usually used as the setting deprecating what it devotes implying that the physical environment serves for artistic purposes merely as backdrop, ancillary to the main event” (177). So, needless to say, the environment may have a subordinate role to play that surely buttresses and helps develop the theme and action of the literary work in case that it is not part and parcel of them. So, environment is implied in literature either directly or indirectly.

Again, nature, as part of environment, can play an effective role in formulating the personality of the character in a literary work. Head accounts for the interrelationship between man and the elements of nature: “human self-realization is dependent upon an identification with non-human world, not because of the benefits that can be gained, but because human

activity of any kind has no meaning without such an identification” (qtd. in Erdogan 116).

What is the need for ecocriticism? is a question that strikes many readers’ minds. The answer to this question lies in the fact that “contemporary critical theory fails to connect with the full human world to the extent that it treats objects in literature that can be seen only by means of the theory: in that case if the theory vanishes, its objects vanish” (Love 16). Each of the other critical theories was concerned with investigating, judging, and evaluating some specific aspects in literature ignoring the role of environment which works both as part of the setting, and as an interactive and effective element in the development of action of any literary work.

Thus, “ecocriticism” emerged at a time which abounded with a large number of critical theories shedding light on the problems ecocriticism confronted, Glen A. Love says:

The greatest problem ecocriticism presently faces is the inertia of existing literary-critical enterprises. Ecocritic William Howarth has astutely pointed out that disciplines tend to resist new approaches, giving lip service to innovation but remaining largely in their established grooves. Literary theorists will regard ecocritics as ‘insufficient problematic’ if their interests don’t clearly match current ideological fashion. An ethical politics is welcome, yet not if it focuses on non-human topics such as scenery, animals or landfill dumps(28).

Distinguishing “ecocriticism” from other critical approaches, Glotfelty says: “literary theory, in general, examines the relations between writers, texts, and the world. In most literary theory “the world” is synonymous with society- the social sphere. Ecocriticism expands the notion of the “world” to include the entire ecosphere” (xix). It verily examines the relationship between what is human and what is non-human. Non-human is actually a broad term that includes various and different elements. In common parlance, it corresponds to “Barry Commoner’s first law of ecology” which says that “everything is related to everything else” (qtd.in Glotfelty xix).

Although ecocriticism can be applied to the works of many dramatists, novelists, and poets; the researcher means to analyze Emily Dickinson’s

poetry ecocritically for two of reasons. First, Dickinson is a 19th century modern female American poetess, who wrote poetry on different subjects such as love, death, and nature. She wrote one hundred thirteen poems on nature. Second, Dickinson's love for nature made her produce poetry which is as magnificent as that of the Romantics. Her life style, which was somehow different from her counterparts, urged her to contemplate nature and articulate its beauties as well as its frailties. Wendy Martin speaks of her commitment to life, in general, with "its complex range of emotions and relationships, and also included a commitment to physical earth" (86). Martin also contends that Dickinson's marvelous poetry resulted from the fact that "she saw nature as an end in itself and not merely as a vehicle to philosophical truths" (86).

As Dickinson used to live in isolation, writing letters and poetry was the only way she could express a variety of experiences and feelings. Nature verily occupied the lion's share of her poetry. She was "capable of intense feeling for nature, able to discriminate among and tellingly tender, the various states of the human soul" (Buckingham 170). This seems clear-cut in most of her nature poetry where the interconnectedness between the human and the non-human worlds is fantastically interwoven. Her work in the garden of her house, the aroma of flowers, and the panoramic view of the hills, birds, and other natural elements sharpened her observation. So, she made use of nearly all her senses in describing such natural elements.

Patrick J. Keane highlights the various subjects Dickinson wrote about and classifies her as belonging to the 'Romantic Tradition'. He states that "her subjects(nature and the imagination, death and immortality, innocence and experience) and themes (transience and the yearning for the infinite, loss and compensation, experience transformed by consciousness) locate her in the great Romantic tradition" (3). Dickinson's love of nature made her rank it with God. Sometimes she declared that, for her, nature was more helpful and promising. McIntosh shows how she interwove such divine/non-human relationship. He contends that "general speculations concerning God, nature as God's creation, the relation between flesh and spirit, and the afterlife, often expressed in condensed and elliptical verse" (qtd. in Keane 40). Dickinson's view of the God/nature relationship proves that she pantheistic. Dickinson's love of nature surpassed her love even of Christ or

God. Martin adds: “nature, not Christ, is Dickinson’s source of hope and ecstasy” (92). However, she articulated both the beauties and frailties of nature. So, in some of her poems, she warned against the ills of nature. “Dickinson did not ignore nature’s tendency to harm as well as protect her creatures” (Martin 96). This proves that Dickinson was fair and objective in her portrayal of nature.

Dickinson’s nature poetry shares with Romantic poetry some of its characteristics. In both, nature is used as the raw material. However, each trend has its own specific purpose. For Dickinson, “Nature is one of the many mental categories which we use to successfully interact with the world outside ourselves as embodied human organism” (Wilson 13). That is to say, Dickinson’s main purpose of writing about nature is to show the relationship between man and nature and how they interact with each other. Romantic poetry is partially different as “Wordsworth’s nature poetry can help readers derive pleasure from nature” (Kuo 190). Romantic poets were concerned with depicting the beauty of nature just for the sake of nature. Moreover, to Wordsworth, “nature sometimes seems to be the power that makes the world meaningful” (Kuo194). Regardless of these differences between Romantic poetry and Dickinson’s nature poetry, one can not disclaim the Romantic impact upon Dickinson, who was, conspicuously, “torn between a Romantic celebration of the autonomous self and a growing realization of its isolation and limits of what philosopher Charles Taylor calls “secular” or “immanent”, or “exclusive humanism” (Keane 119).

Dickinson verily seems to have had a different and distinguished style of writing. Ambiguity and bizarre punctuation are two of the basic features of Dickinson’s poetry. More ostensibly, Pollak states that “Dickinson’s poems are difficult and inaccessible, intellectually challenging and emotionally intense-short and far-reaching, they are memorable and mnemonic, as are her letters, although the early letters are longer” (4). This makes reading Dickinson’s poetry a difficult matter which needs more than using language dictionaries and reading about her life. To understand her poetry, one needs to possess a crafty use of imagination which allows him/her to delve into the depths of what is possible and probable in order to grasp it. This is what Pollak reasserts, “this is not to deny that as a person Dickinson puzzled many people, including herself; her writings are at once self-revealing and biographically elusive” (17).

That is, her poetry carries different and various meanings that cannot easily be deciphered. It is not subject to a specific type of form. It is of varied lengths. It ranges from four lines, the shortest form of poems she wrote, to twenty eight lines. However, the discussion and analysis of the whole collection of Dickinson's poems is beyond the scope of this paper. So, the researcher means to be selective. Also, as her poems are untitled, the researcher uses the Roman letters used by Jim Manis in his book, *The Poems of Emily Dickinson*.

In poem I, Dickinson metaphorically describes nature as a mother giving it not only the qualities of an ordinary mother, but also the qualities of a perfect paradigm mother. Her portrayal of nature stems from her deep feelings and recognition of the significance of nature. Accordingly, nature, or let it be called mother nature, is always patient with her (metaphorical) children, regardless of whether they are extremely weak, obedient, considerate or even if they are behaving badly. When any of her children makes a mistake or wrongs her, she never blames him/her violently; however she is always kind. Dickinson's depiction of nature as a mother is not haphazard. Her poetry reveals that man and nature are inseparable. For her, "Man is only a reed, the weakest thing in nature, but he is a thinking reed {un Roseau pensant}" (qtd. in Keane 124). Linda Hogan also overemphasizes man/nature relationship:

We are of the animal world. We are part of the cycles of growth and decay. Even having tried so hard to see ourselves apart, and so often without a love for even our own biology, we are in relationship with the rest of the planet, and that connectedness tells us we must reconsider the way we see ourselves and the rest of nature (114-115).

Of mother nature, Dickinson says:

Nature, the gentlest mother,
Impatient of no child, the feeblest or the way wardest,-
Her admonition mild

.....
How fair her conversation,
A summer afternoon,-
Her household, her assembly;

And when the sun goes down (Manis 80)

Ecocritically speaking, the strong similarity Dickinson presents in this poem underscores the connectedness between man and nature. The way nature is depicted as a mother highlights the kind of relationship that connects both of them. That is to say, they are complementary. Ashton Nichols maintains that the interrelationship between man and nature is not confined to influencing each other, however “Nature penetrates each person from without as it permeates each person from within” (187). Then, Dickinson delves deep to speak, in detail, about the elements of nature; the forests, the hills, squirrels, and birds. She also moves a step to stress nature’s gentle conversation with her kids. She presents nature as a human-being by depicting her as having household and as speaking:

Her voice among the aisles,
Incites the timid prayer (80)

Moreover, in the fifth and sixth couplets of this same poem, Dickinson construes how nature, which amuses, teaches, and admonishes her kids by day, turns quiet at night. The poetess also stresses nature’s role at night as well as by day. Nature lights its lamps (stars) whose light fades at night so as to give her kids a sound sleep. Again, Dickinson recalls the role of nature as a mother in the last couplet by showing how it provides its kids with too much ‘affection’ and ‘care’ when they are asleep. Dickinson’s overestimation of nature and the role it plays to care about human beings verily accentuates the positive influence it has on man. Dickinson also agrees with what Laura Dassow Walls articulates of nature. Dassow claims that “nature does exist wholly independent of us, but the Cosmos does not-,” in spite of the fact that some elements of nature may appear as if they are “a human achievement, an achievement just as much part of the Cosmos as the most distant stellar nebulae or the lichens on a nearby rock” (206). In addition, nature spreads its silence everywhere to let them sleep quietly:

When all the children sleep
She turns as long a way
As will suffice to light her lamps
.....
With infinite affection

And infinites care,
 Her golden finger on her lip,
 Wills silence everywhere. (81)

The use of the adjective 'infinite' twice, the second of which in the comparative, shows how much affection nature gives and proves that it offers more care than that some real mothers may give to their kids. Moreover, the expression 'finger on her lips' is an indication of the pervasive silence and calmness it propagates.

Dickinson's poem II is a completion of the first one discussed above. However, in this poem, she tends to resort to posing some questions in spite of giving direct descriptions of nature. She asks:

Will there really be a morning?
 Is there such a thing as a day?

 Has it feet like water-lilies?
 Has feathers like a bird? (81)

The poetess's inclination to ask such questions shows how disappointed she is because she has been fed up with night. Generally speaking, the first question of this poem may carry different interpretations. As "Dickinson is carefully replacing God with nature" (Martin 88), it may be a reference to the poetess's yearning for a rescuer that can religiously be a reference to Jesus, or it may physically be a willingness to get rid of darkness, which itself means fear, sorrow, anger, pain or depression. That is why she inquires whether there will be a day to come or not. The tone of the poem is pessimistic. The concept of day has nearly become nothing more than an abstract idea. So, she wonders if there is something called a day. She again likens day to a 'water-lily' which means that it is not steady and that it does not have deep roots. For Dickinson, night is the womb out of which the day is born. Her portrayal of night in this gloomy way is an oblique reference to the negative effects nature may have on man. That is to say, the poetess asserts that the impact nature may have on man or vice-versa is not always positive. So, she goes on to ask:

Could I see it from the mountains

If I were as tall as they? (81)

In poem IV, Dickinson depicts various things that she has witnessed in different intervals and then returns to contemplate the beauty of the day breaking at 'five o'clock'. She compares the first lights of the day to the 'rubies'. This contends that it is too much precious and invaluable. The way she portrays the sunrise is also wonderful. Dickinson's fascination with daylight is not merely a sign of joy and optimism since it carries many other connotations. For her, "daylight itself was heavily burdened by familial and household demands, demands that chafed" (Barker 31). Wendy Barker also goes on to say how poignant Dickinson's use of the metaphors of light and darkness is. This indicates that her depiction of light is not just for the sake of nature; however, she means to unveil some of the troubles in her life. Barker also states that "Emily Dickinson's reliance upon these metaphors of light and dark emphasizes how painfully she felt herself, as a woman writer, to be at odds with the values and practices of nineteenth century American culture" (185). He goes far more than this to propose another function of Dickinson's use of light and dark. "Indeed, Emily Dickinson's use of light/dark metaphors as a dominant motif provides a fascinating example of the relationship between one's own actual daily experiences and cultural metaphorical valuing and practices" (185).

The interference of the colors 'the purple' and the 'the topaz' clarifies that the rise of the sun is fantastically portrayed. She manages to employ all the possible means to give a full picture of the natural scenes she presents in her poems. Dickinson's image of colors sheds light on the Romantic aspect both in her character and poetry since Wordsworth "argues that in terms of color, size, and outline, buildings should blend into the background to keep the natural beauty of the scenery intact" (Oerlemans 172). The moment she has finished her portrayal of the sunrise, she starts painting another picture. She relates how winds move smoothly in the horizons of the sky making a melodious sound similar to that which tambourines make. She also represents how flocks of birds, in regular rows, fly in the sky following their 'prince'. In this poem, the word 'prince' is used to refer to the wind because it is the natural element which carries the birds in the sky or at least helps them fly easily. In this regard, she versifies:

The happy winds their timbrels took;

The birds, in docile rows,
 Arranged themselves around their prince
 (the wind is the prince of those) (82)

To display how the gardens respond to the daybreak with the beautiful sun rays spreading over there, she leaves nothing to the readers' imagination.

The orchard sparkled like a jew,-
 How mighty't was, to stay
 A guest in this stupendous place,
 The parlor of the day! (82).

As " Ecocriticism is concerned not only with the attitude to nature expressed by the author of a text, but also with patterns of interrelatedness, both between the human and the non-human, between the different parts of the non-human world" (Gifford 5), Dickinson captures the image of the interaction of the different elements of nature. This does not seem eerie since "all human beings, meanwhile, remain interwoven, albeit often invisibly, with the life of countless non-human beings, who continue as best they can to pursue their ends in the midst of an increasingly anthropogenic environment" (Rigby 154). She holds that, in spring, birds of different types fly in flocks with various glittering colors, which constitute a harmonious figure. They also sing various and sundry songs as if, as Dickinson claims, they are directed to man who verily enjoys them. She says:

With specimen of songs
 As if for you to choose (85).

Dickinson's crafty imagination depicts birds as aware of the humans who observe them in the sky and listen to their songs. Calling a bird "a fellow in the sky" (Manis 85) shows Dickinson's reverence for man's other partners in the environment. It also highlights the non-human interaction with the human. Dickinson's poems illustrate how she used to interact with nature. Allister states: "what nature writers do is listen to nature, and then try to turn that listening into text" (30). It seems that she transmits to her readers what she really experienced with nature.

In poem IX, she moves to describing the fascinating scenery of the hills and the sun rays falling down on the village after the dawn. She seems

obsessed with the magical beauty of nature. Color plays a significant role in her portrayal of natural elements. She is right in focusing on color as it affects people's perception of things. Color fascinates eyes, catches people's attention, and sometimes change the signification of materials. The poetess genuinely tackles colors in various ways:

An altered look about the hills;
 A Tyrian light the village fills;
 A wider sunrise in the dawn;
 A deeper twilight on the lawn;
 A print of a vermilion foot;
 A purple finger on the slope; (86).

In this poem, Dickinson highlights the importance of the visual senses of human beings in recognizing the different natural scenery. However, in that same poem, she seems to contradict herself. Her portrayal of the fascinating view of the hills and the different colors such natural elements spread reflects her admiration and love of nature; but she again returns to pinpoint some of the defects of other natural elements, which have an unpleasant smell and voice. This is clear-cut in the following lines:

An axe shrill singing in the woods;
 Fern-odors on untravelled road,-

This stands for both an appreciation and condemnation of nature's role in man's life. That is to say, the effects nature may have on man are similar to those man may have upon nature. In other words, as man may contribute to the pollution of nature and environment, environment can, in turn, have a positive or negative impact on man. It can then be either a source of man's happiness or sorrow. So, Dickinson attempts to prove that there's an exchange of equal roles between man and his environment.

The study of nature and environment is not, as some people may think, confined to the countryside and villages. The city appears to be at hub of environmental studies as well since it occupies part of the biosphere. Nichols states that "... , nature is also in the heart of every city: countless trees, flowers, birds, soils, and the untold trillions of living things that lie invisible beneath the surface of every square foot of soil, beneath the foundations of every building" (92). So Dickinson turns to depicting city

life in the eleventh poem of her nature poetry although she spent most of her life in reclusion in a snug house with a beautiful garden in the town. She says:

Paris could not lay the fold,
Belted down with emerald;
Venice could not show a cheek
Of a tint so lustrous meek. (87).

She insists on stressing the importance of the natural elements even in the city. That is, city is part of the ecosphere. So, her description of the natural environment of Paris and Venice underscores her deep awareness of nature. This actually means that “the view of life proves that nature does not stop when people enter the city limits or the front doors of their homes” (Nichols 205). She presents nature as surrounded by precious stones of emeralds. Again, even in talking about city, color seems to be one of Dickinson’s catchphrases which she can never ignore in describing places in general. However, it seems that what Dickinson presents in this poem is no more than a short span which passed quickly. Again, she moves from one theme to another smoothly and without fetters. She may portray hills and pastures in one poem, then moves to the depiction of city life in another, and returns to representing birds and other insects in a third. In poem X11 of this collection, she describes a bird named oriole.

To hear an oriole sing
May be a common thing,
Or only a divine. (88).

She can not hide her fascination with and love of the melodious singing of birds. So, she is inclined to exaggerate the oriole’s singing as either ordinary to some people specially those who seem uninterested in nature, or divine for those who appreciate the blessings nature can bestow upon man. Her view of this bird is not only related to its sweet voice, but also to its nature, which seems to be unique. In poem X111, she adds that the oriole is totally different from other birds in that it was metaphorically touched or blessed by Midas. So, for Dickinson, the oriole changed into gold, which is surely metaphorical. This metaphor refers to how much Dickinson thinks of the oriole as precious and invaluable. She hoped that the ‘prodigal’ oriole

could have touched man to shower some of the blessings it got from Midas upon him. Conspicuously, it is not exotic for a nature writer like Dickinson to connect nature with religion since the former can be discussed in relation not only to religion, but also to other fields. Tod A. Borlik reveals that "Indeed, an inquiry into nature in the Renaissance demands an understanding of religion, moral philosophy, politics, gender, sexuality, colonial encounters with tropical ecologies, economics, agriculture, and the material history of energy usage" (208). The word 'prodigal' means that the oriole was generous and intended to bless man but it failed. Dickinson's image of birds symbolizes freedom of thought and movement. This actually pinpoints how human and non-human do interact and affect each other either positively or negatively. Thus, the oriole is:

One of the ones that Midas touched,
Who failed to touch us all,
Was that confiding prodigal,
The blissful oriole. (88).

Dickinson turns to portraying another bird, namely, the robin. Although she feared this bird at the very moment she saw it, she was charmed with its melodious sound. This bird seemed to have gained her love and admiration till she challenged that none else in the woods could have such sweet singing that bird actually had. She depicts her reaction towards it that way:

I dreaded that first robin so,
But he is mastered now,
And I'm accustomed to him grown,-
He hurts a little, though.
I thought if I could only live
Till that first shout got by,
Not all pianos in the woods
Had power to mangle me (Poem XIV, 89).

This, as all other poems do, refers to the fact that Dickinson utilizes most of her senses if not all. In this poem, Bradely asserts, "Dickinson possessed the most acute awareness of sensory experience and psychological actualities since she expressed discoveries with frankness and intensity" (qtd. in Gelpi 103). She uses the auditory sense clearly and

carefully to show how attractive the singing of the robin is. This actually clarifies how the human can make use of and enjoy the non-human. The robin's harmonious singing which enchants the poetess is an indication of the reciprocal relationship between the human and non-human worlds. Thus, Dickinson's poetry indicates that she was highly influenced by her imaginative faculty of delving deep into nature which, in turn, clears her mind and purges her emotions. These nature poems substantiate how deeply rooted in nature and environment Dickinson was, despite the fact that "she {Dickinson} was not a redoubtable walker nor spent at least four hours a day sauntering through the woods and over the hills as Wordsworth did; Dickinson restricted herself to the range of her room, the conservatory, and her garden" (Gelpi 95).

Although Dickinson portrayed the Robin in poem XIV, and the Oriole in poem XII, she discussed a situation she herself experienced with a nameless bird in poem XXIII. In this poem, she says:

A bird came down the walk:
He did not know I saw;
He bit an angle-worm in halves
And ate the fellow, raw.
And then he drank a dew
From a convenient grass,
And then hopped sidewise to the wall
To let a beetle pass
Like one in dangerous; cautious,
I offered him a crumb,
And he unrolled his feathers
And rowed him softer home (95).

She opens this poem with giving the readers a full description of the bird's landing to the 'walk' and how it ate a worm. This is a reference to the interaction between the non-human elements. The poetess sometimes shows how some elements may tyrannize others or forgive them. That is to say, the natural world enjoys the same values and defects of the human world. More conspicuously, "... the natural world is not a moral space held together by divine order. Spiders, wasps, and even birds engage in fierce territorial battles" (Gianquitto 248). Then, she attempts to incorporate this bird into the

human world when she paints the way it lands on the walk, eats, and drinks. To overemphasize that the bird acts like a human being, Dickinson uses the pronoun 'he' in the subjective mood and 'him' in the objective mood to describe it. In the third stanza, she demonstrates how humans interact with non-humans through the situation she experienced with the bird when she offered it a piece of dry bread. This situation proves that such a relationship may be negative since she depicted the bird as having felt afraid of her and flew soon. Again, she turns to assert that the bird acts like a human being. Her use of the word 'oars' referring to the bird's wings, and the verb personification 'rowed' confirms that she tends to anthropomorphise it.

Philosophically speaking, Dickinson was never confined to nature for the purpose of giving pleasure and attracting others' attention to it only. She shifts people's focus from that superficial role to a deep oriented one, which she refers to in her poem XVI. This really emanates from Dickinson's belief in anthropomorphism. In many of her nature poems, she attempts to incorporate such natural elements into the human world. She elevates hills, orchards, daffodils, and then birds to the status of prophets who received divine revelation from the Heavens to deliver them to the cosmos living on earth. In this way, she mingles both nature and religion together in an attempt to prove that nature is inseparable from the other constituents in man's life. She also attests that nature can work as a linkage between the heaven and the earth. That is to say, man should recognize that nature has a number of roles to play. Such heavenly and earthly secrets can be transmitted through the hills to the orchards, to the daffodils until she herself can bribe birds to overhear these secrets of the Father. She innovatively says:

The skies can't keep their secrets!
 They tell the hills-
 The hills just tell the orchards-
 And they the daffodils!
 A bird, by chance, that goes that way
 Soft overheard the whole.
 If I should bribe the little bird
 Who know but she would tell? (Poem XVI, 91)

“Summer” comes second to the “bird” in Dickinson’s nature poetry. The impact summer has on Europeans and Americans is undeniable as it spreads its warm sun rays on them. Dickinson herself seems to have enjoyed the blessings of summer. So, in poem xxviii, she hails summer, which comes to terminate the hideous weather of the other seasons. For her, summer represents the last resort which saves her from the ‘frost’ and gives her warmth. In spite of Dickinson’s bliss of summer, the tone pervading the poem seems pessimistic.

I know a place where summer strives,
 With such a practiced frost,
 She each year leads her daisies back,
 Recording briefly, “Lost.”
 But when the south wind stirs the pools
 And struggles in the lanes, her heart misgives for her vow,
 And she pours soft refrains. (98)

Hence, summer lasts for a short time depriving people of enjoying its blessings. Even though “summer’s lease is too short”, winds corrupt its serenity. This affects people’s sense of warmth and sunny weather. The way Dickinson presents summer in this poem illustrates the kind of positive relationship between the human and the nonhuman; and how the human longs for and depends on the nonhuman element. This indicates that “Nature is not a beneficent goodness for Dickinson nor does she worship nature as a solemn temple at the center of her observations. She gets the tunes of nature and develops her own perception of it by working as a craftsperson writing down in letters and poems how far her perceptions can reach” (Gelpi 95). Verily, as Dickinson makes it clear in most of her nature poems, the human and the nonhuman are inseparable.

However, in poem XLIV, Dickinson stresses the relationship between the natural elements and the effects some of them may have on others. Hence she draws the readers’ attention to the way ‘minor nations’ of insects and birds celebrate the arrival of summer. Summer, as the poetess points out, does not positively change only man’s life, but it also affects birds and other living creatures’ lives.

Farther in summer than the birds,
 Pathetic from the grass,

A minor nation celebrates
Its unobtrusive mass. (106)

Then, she goes on to portray the beauty of the sunny weather in August and how it leads people, animals, and insects to rest and enjoy the clear sky with its shining sun. This poem refers to the double role of summer, which incorporates both the human and the nonhuman. Dickinson's portrayal of summer is not just for the sake of the warmth it gives people, as it has other benefits. Leiter states, "... within this season of weddings, a "marriage" takes place" (193). That is why summer, for Dickinson as well as for a large number of people, was "the beloved season of nature's writing and fruitfulness" (194). So, Dickinson underlines summer's favors, which are generous and lavish, in a number of other poems.

Also in poem XLVI, on summer, Dickinson demonstrates how much she loves summer and hopes that it lasts longer. She uses the word 'white,' which carries different connotations. Some people consider this color a symbol of optimism and happiness. The poetess expresses her agonies of the winter weather, where snow covers big areas in her neighborhood.

It can't be summer,- that got through;
It's early yet for spring;
There's that long town of white to cross
Before black birds sing.
It can't be dying,- it's too rouge,-
The dead shall go in white. (107)

To express her suffering from the other seasons of the year such as winter, she uses the 'white' color, which is the normal dress of the dead. Consequently, summer represents life whereas the other seasons stand for death. The use of 'white' color to symbolize death is not a general rule, as it depends on the way a writer or a poet uses it. It may also refer to happiness as it is used as the dress of the bride. The poetess can use color in different contexts to serve her ends.

In her LXIII poem, Dickinson illustrates how an element of nature such as summer may change the mood of the human being. She relates one of her extremely joyous experiences in a summer's day and night. Although she

reveals the type of this experience, she states that it is one of the most jubilant moments in her life. She has had this experience both by day and at night. This is a direct reference that it is not only the sunny weather that positively influenced her:

And still within a summer's night
And something so transporting bright,
I clap my hands to see; (117)

At a summer's night, the weather is clear and the stars are shining. That's why she contemplates the stars, which may bring her good omen. Religiously speaking, such a good experience she had with the stars might be a link between her and the heavens.

In poem LXXVII, Dickinson leaves man's interrelationship and interaction with nature to initiate the interaction of the different elements of nature with each other and how man can benefit from it.

'T was later when the summer went
Than when the cricket came,
And yet we knew the gentle clock
Meant nought but going home.
'T was sooner when the cricket came,
Yet that pathetic pendulum
Keeps esoteric time. (125)

This shows how some elements of nature may announce the arrival or departure of each other. She likens this relationship to the 'pendulum' of the clock. Accordingly, the arrival of the cricket announces the departure of the summer whereas the departure of the cricket announces the arrival of the winter. She also shows how the weather may affect small insects. Conspicuously, the appearance or disappearance of some natural elements may give life or put an end to others. Nichols gives an example which proves Dickinson's view of the interaction and the impact such natural elements may have on each other. He states that "February is the death-month in nature. It can not find a single living thing in the cabin now: not a spider, not a beetle, not a wriggling bug. February reminds us that death is always part of the natural bargain" (179). This actually proves that the

relationship between the human and the nonhuman, and even between the nonhuman elements themselves, is reciprocal.

The “bee” is one of Dickinson’s most favorite insects. The poetess underscores her relationship with the bee and the butterfly, in poem LVIII, as if they were human friends. She verily describes them as people. She says “the pretty people in the wood” (Manis 114). She affirms that such harmony and love towards these two insects are not one-sided but mutual, as she states that they receive her cordially. She also delves deep into the depiction of her interaction with other elements of nature:

The brooks laugh louder when I came,
The breezes madder play. (114)

Even small streams of water in the woods feel happy when she comes. Dickinson may be unprecedented in claiming that human beings feel nonhuman elements, and vice-versa.

As Dickinson seems preoccupied with bees, she describes them in three poems. In poem LXV, she presents how bees go out to their hives and collect their nectar. They go in queues, the same as the carriages of the train, towards flowers moving from one flower to another.

Like trains of cars on the tracks of plush
I hear the level bee:
A jar across the flowers goes, (118)

In poem LXVI, she refers to the type of flowers both bees and butterflies prefer. Then, she paints a flower as follows:

Her face is rounder than the moon,
And ruddier than the gown
Of orchis in the pasture,
Or rhododendron worn. (119)

These characteristics may be the attractive elements of the bees to this flower. Dickinson concludes her nature poems with poem CXI where she speaks of the charming and enchanting sounds made by the bees. She

optimistically stresses that although some bees may stop murmuring, others' murmurs are soothing and life-giving.

The murmuring of bees are ceased;
But murmuring of some
Posterior, prophetic,
Has simultaneous came,- (142).

In these three poems, she declares that all elements of nature are inseparable whether they are animate or inanimate. The kind of mutual relationship among such elements is inevitable. No element of nature is independent from the others. That is why protecting one element is surely a protection of many other elements. Finally, this is what "Ecological thinking about literature requires us to take the nonhuman world as seriously as previous modes of criticism have taken the human realm of society and culture" (Love 48).

In poem XXVI, Dickinson skillfully uses the wind to warn people of the rampancy of a fatal disease. She begins this poem by revealing how this wind is and how ominous it seems to be. Day-Lindsey states that Dickinson "describes a storm, the storm is a metaphor for another destructive force—namely, the typhoid outbreak that struck Amherst, Massachusetts, in 1883 and claimed the life of Dickinson's nephew" (29-30). This is also what the poetess mentioned in one of her letters to her sister-in-law, Susan Gilbret Dickinson. She writes about the death of her young nephew: "his life was like the bugle, which winds itself away, his Elegy an echo—" (Letter 868 qtd. in Day-Lindsey 31).

There came a wind like a bugle;
It quivered through the grass,
And a green chill upon the heat
So ominous did pass
We barred the windows and the doors
As from an emerald ghost; (97).

This poem can be read either literally as referring to the weather changes that nature brings about, or as metaphorically suggesting the typhoid disease. The last two lines in the above stanza bear different connotations.

They can indicate protection against real wind, or against a disease. These two line accentuate Dickinson's trepidation of the outbreak of this dangerous disease and how much she seems cautious. Day-Lindsey comments on this poem as "describe(ing) a powerful storm that produces an eerie sight and a portentous sound, followed by great havoc" (29).

However, Dickinson does not always consider the wind as ominous. In poem XXX, she uses verb personifications to describe the wind as a tired man who came to visit her at home. The way she depicts it and how she received it underlines the intimate relationship between the human and the non-human. She astutely paints The wind that way:

The wind tapped like a tired man,
And like a host, "Come in,"
I boldly answered, entered then
My residence within
A rapid footless guest,
To offer whom a chair
A sofa to the air. (99)

This is a direct reference to the warm reception of this natural element specially if it is smooth and tender. She stresses the fact that people sometimes need such winds specifically in May when they 'shake the darling buds' and flowers. She goes on to portray how the wind smoothly shakes the glass of her windows as if knocking one's door.

His countenance a billow,
His fingers, if he pass,
Let go a music, as of tunes
Blown tremulous in glass (99).

Flower is one of the natural elements which occupies a special locus in Dickinson's life and poetry. In poem LV, she says:

Perhaps you'd like to buy a flower?
But I could never sell.
If you would like to borrow
Until the daffodil (113).

Although this is not the only poem Dickinson writes about different types of flowers, this poem seems to highly elevate flowers over the other natural elements. The line ‘I could never sell’ reveals how much Dickinson appreciates flowers. Dickinson’s love of flowers may have resulted from the fact that she, as Judith Farr claims, was:

...., engaged in gathering, tending, categorizing, and pressing flowers. After poetry became her central preoccupation, cultivating bulbs, plants, and flowers within a portion of her father’s land and in the glass enclosure of a conservatory, built just for her, remained a favorite occupation (3).

So, writing about flowers as an element of nature was one of Dickinson’s prime interests since she “often spoke of a flower when she meant herself” (Farr 11). This is a perfect paradigm of the interconnectedness between the natural world and the human world.

In another poem, she attaches a great magnificence to flowers. It is a continuum of her encomium of flowers. She says:

This is the Blossom of the Brain-
 A small- italic seed
 Lodged by design or Happening
 The spirit fructified-

 So of the flower of the soul
 Its process unknown-
 When it is found, a few rejoice
 The Wise convey it Home
 Carefully cherishing the spot
 If other flower became-
 When it is lost, that Day shall be
 The Funeral of God,
 Opon his Breast, a closing soul
 The Flower of our Lord (qtd. in Farr 207).

Dickinson’s inexorable and rapturous adoration of flowers urged her to liken them to the human brains’ innovations. Actually, this is not bizarre on

the part of such vivacious poetess who believes that, “Just as the world of flowers represent the world of men and women, so certain flowers represent specific qualities or endeavors, functions or careers,...” (Farr 186). Dickinson relates flower to two of the most important parts in the human body to stress its significance. She relates it to the brain in the first stanza, and then to the soul in the second stanza. She also asserts that the possession of such flower brings happiness whereas the loss of it symbolizes the end of the world. However, she hyperbolically states that the loss of this flower is an announcement that ‘the funeral of God will take place’. Again, the poetess tries to draw a triangle of the natural, the human, and the divine. It seems that she was not satisfied with highlighting the strong relationship between the human and the non-human only, but also between the non-human and the divine in her nature poetry. In the last two lines, the poetess seems to underscore her notion that the natural/divine relationship is not only confined to life, but it extends to the afterlife.

To conclude, Emily Dickinson concretizes the relationship between literature and physical environment, thus boosting the inevitable interaction between the human and the non-human, and applying ecological concepts and precepts to literary forms and studies. Throughout her nature poetry, Dickinson substantiates how all non-human elements are actually human in their own right, and how they are life-giving indispensable to human beings. She stresses the integration of the elements of the entire ecosphere, and that everything in the universe is closely related to everything else. Her intense feeling for nature enables her to identify the different and changing states of the human soul, making her assume the inseparable interconnectedness between the human and non-human worlds. She makes use of her senses in interacting and integrating with all the elements of the ecosystem. She also surpasses all expectations and ranks all the non-human elements of nature with God, considering them more positive and effective than the human ones.

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1. An earlier version of this paper was published in Arabic in Alif: Magda Mansour Hasabelnaby, "Masiadat al-fi'ran: Tanwi'at afriqiya wa sharq awsiatiyya 'ala lahn Hamlet," Alif: Journal of Comparative Poetics 28 (2008). 160-72. Translated with permission.
 2. Before its publication in 2006, *Al-Hamlet Summit* was performed in English in August 2002 as part of the Edinburgh International Fringe Festival, where it was awarded the Fringe First Award for excellence and innovation in writing and directing. It was subsequently presented in September 2002 at the 14th Cairo International Festival of Experimental Theater, where it won Best Production and Best Director Awards. (Holderness 12)
 3. In his book, *Shakespeare: Our Contemporary* (1964), Kott reads Shakespeare in the light of 20th century ideologies and historical contexts. The book has strongly influenced theatrical and cinematic productions: Peter Brook and Charles Marowitz are among the many directors who have acknowledged their debt to Jan Kott (Sami 24).
 - d To the knowledge of the writer of the present research, Hamlet has not so far been noted as a "hypotext" of this particular play. More recent productions by Osofisan, however, include a play called *Wezo Hamlet or the Resurrection of Hamlet* that was staged in 2003, and was published in November 2013.
 5. Metadrama can be defined as "drama about drama [which] occurs whenever the subject of a play turns out to be, in some sense, drama itself" (Hornby 31).
 6. For the difference between Western and African theatricality, see Brian Cow's "African Metatheater: Criticizing Society, Celebrating the Stage". Cow claims that the main function of metadrama in African theater is "to anatomize oppression and injustice and to celebrate the capacity of theatre and the theatrical to function as modes of survival [and] resistance" (134).
 7. Extending the metaphor within the Egyptian political turmoil ElBaradei with his "To be or not to be" edicts, are Hamlet-like in his own way. "ElBaradei," The Associated Press writes:

returned to Egypt in the year before Mubarak's fall, speaking out against his rule, and was influential with many of the youth groups that launched the anti-Mubarak revolution. But since Mubarak's fall, he has been criticized by some as too Westernized, elite and Hamlet-ish, reluctant to fully assert himself as an opposition leader. (Batraawy Online)
 8. Bloom classifies the intellectual skills into six major levels starting from the lowest levels of recall and comprehension to the higher ones of application, analysis, evaluation and finally synthesis or creation. This classification demonstrates the way humans learn and helps teachers develop their students' thinking skills. While remembering, i.e. the ability to retrieve information, is considered the lowest level in the cognitive domain, the levels of evaluation and synthesis are at the top of that hierarchy. Evaluation can be defined as passing judgments and defending an estimate based on definite criteria. As for synthesis, it refers to putting parts and elements together to form a "whole" or a new product.