Kervan

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In memory of

Michele Vallaro

(Turin, September 16, 1948 — Pergusa (Enna), January 12, 2023)

Founder of

Kervan

Michele Vallaro (1948-2023)

On January 12, 2023, the Arabist Michele Vallaro (Turin, 1948) suddenly passed away in his villa on the beautiful shores of Pergusa Lake, near Enna, Sicily. Vallaro was one of the most significant personalities of Turin Oriental studies from 1969 to 2007, the year in which he moved to the recently established "Kore" University of Enna.

Michele Vallaro was a pupil of the Roman Arabist Paolo Minganti (1925-1978), who taught at the Faculty of Arts of the University of Turin in the first half of the 1970s—in his turn a pupil of Francesco Gabrieli (1904-1996), who was a student of the Piedmontese Carlo Alfonso Nallino (1872-1938), this latter from the school of Italo Pizzi (1849-1920). Vallaro became a full member of this prestigious succession of scholars of Classical Arabic language and literature.

After holding a "Carlo Alfonso Nallino" scholarship from the *Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei* from 1975 to 1978, in August 1980 Michele was appointed university researcher at the *Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia* of the University of Turin. From November 1990 he acted as substitute lecturer of Arabic until October 2002. With the establishment of the Faculty of Modern Foreign Languages and Literatures in Turin, Michele was appointed Extraordinary professor of Arabic Language and Literature in November 2002, with confirmation in the role of Full professor since 1 November 2005. In December 2007, he moved to the University of Enna, Faculty of Psychology and Education Sciences. He had recently been confirmed as a member of the university's Board of Trustees.

A member of the *Istituto per l'Oriente* and of the *Sodalizio Glottologico Milanese,* Vallaro was a member of the Editorial Board of the scientific journal *Oriente Moderno*, director of the Arabic classics series of Edizioni Ariele in Milan, as well as the founder of *Kervan.*

Consistent with the school to which he belonged by training, Michele Vallaro's research interests were mainly aimed at Classical Arabic, from *Detti e fatti del Profeta dell'Islām raccolti da al-Buḫārī* ("The Sayings and facts of the Prophet of Islām collected by al-Buḫārī," by Virginia Vacca, Sergio Noja and Michele Vallaro, with a foreword by Francesco Gabrieli. Turin: UTET: 1982), to the poems of Abū Nuwās selected and translated by Michele in the volume *La vergine nella coppa* ("The virgin in the cup," with a presentation by Francesco Gabrieli. Roma: Ipocan: 1992), to "La poesía araba: modelli e simboli" ("Arabic poetry: models and symbols") in *Lezioni di Arte e Letteratura islamica* ("Lessons of Islamic Art and Literature," edited by M. S. Elsheikh. Siena: Cantagalli: 2005: 11-34).

This imprint of interest in classical studies was enriched by linguistic research that goes as far as the study of the Arabic grammatical tradition and the foundations of Arabic linguistics. His in-depth work on these issues is testified by very significant articles, including "*La Hamzat Bayna Bayna* Secondo i Grammatici Arabi" ("The *hamza bayna bayna* according to Arab grammarians," *Oriente Moderno* 67 (1987): 215–221), "Fra linguistica e glottodidattica: la traduzione della terminología grammaticale araba. A proposito del *mubtadaʾ*" ("Between linguistics and glottodidactics: the translation of Arabic grammatical terminology. About the *mubtadaʾ*," *Studi Magrebini* 25 (1993-1997): 385-402), "Sull'asíndeto tra aggettivi attributi in àrabo letterario" ("On asyndeton among adjectives attributes in Literary Arabic"), *Kervan* 1 (2005): 73-85), and "Qualche considerazione ulteriore sulle proposizioni aggettivali («naʔt sababi») in àrabo letterario" ("Some further considerations on adjectival propositions (*naʕt sababi*) in literary Arabic," *Kervan* 2 (2005): 123-137).

His interest in the role of language and linguistic studies in Arab culture is also demonstrated by his translation from Romanian of the book by Nadia Anghelescu *Linguaggio e cultura nella civiltà araba* ("Language and culture in Arab civilization." Torino: Zamorani: 1993). The importance of translating the book lies in the fact that it deals with the great themes of Arab civilization seen from a linguistic point of view, the Arabic language and Arabic literature, linguistic studies among the Arabs, the attitude towards language and its cultural dimensions, linguistic variation in synchrony and diachrony. It constitutes an introduction to this civilization from an unusual angle, as it shows the place that language has occupied and continues to occupy in Arab civilization.

The deep interest that Michele Vallaro had in classical Arabic philology did not prevent him from having important insights into the field of Arabic language teaching with particular attention to contemporary Arabic and the "language in use." Indeed, his intuitions anticipated the most modern guidelines in terms of teaching Arabic as a foreign language, namely the importance of vernacular varieties for communicating in Arabic and consequently for teaching the language.

In fact, in the agile book *Parliamo arabo. Profilo (dal vero) d'uno spauracchio linguistico* ("Do we speak Arabic? Profile (from life) of a linguistic scarecrow." Torino: Magnanelli: 1997)—whose title is an example of Michele Vallaro's marked sense of humour—the author states that students' frustration originated from the discovery of the discrepancy between their expectations and motivations—i.e. their desire to use the language the way they would use any other modern living language—and the "Teaching Arabic as a Foreign Language" practices 'can negatively impact their desire to learn.'[1] To this purpose, he very effectively adds that

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[1] Original: *può influire negativamente sul loro desiderio di imparare* (Vallaro 1997: 59).

"The Arabic language," we should put this into our heads, [...] consists from a pedagogic point of view at least of two languages, although related to each other.[2]

With reference to this last point he comments that

The average Arabic speaker (be he/she a Christian, a Muslim, or an atheist) is basically a "purist," independently of his/her level of education. Difficult as it might be for him/her to speak or to write the literary language, he/she will always consider it as the ideal model of expression, and very often will not conceal his/her fundamental disesteem towards that language, the "vulgar," to which he/she resorts for the majority of his/her communicative needs.[3]

Michele Vallaro's intellectual curiosity, combined with his passion for studying, were a source of stimulus and involvement for his students and collaborators during the long years of his teaching and academic activity. We would still like to be able to say, with Leila Mohamed Said, «God keep you for us with the men of science to increase us in knowledge and learning» (*fa-dumta wa-dāma la-nā al-ʾudabāʾu yazīdūna ʿilman wa-bi-l-maʿrifati*) (*Oriente Moderno*, Nuova serie, Anno 17 (78), Nr. 2 (1998): 372-373).

Those who knew him remember a gentleman of extraordinary literary and musical culture, but also an elegant, generous, friendly and cordial man.

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[2] Original: *La "lingua araba", bisogna metterselo in testa [...], sono da un punto di vista didattico almeno due lingue, anche se imparentate fra loro* (Vallaro 1997: 60).

[3] Original: *Il parlante medio dell'arabo (che sia cristiano, musulmano, ateo) rimane fondamentalmente un "purista", indipendentemente dal suo livello d'istruzione: per quanto difficile gli riesca parlare o scrivere la lingua letteraria, la considererà sempre come il modello ideale d'espressione, e spesso non nasconderà una sostanziale disistima per quella lingua, il "volgare", in cui pure si attua la massima parte delle sue necessità comunicative* (Vallaro 1997: 58-59).

Remembering Michele

I never thought I would write these lines to remember Michele Vallaro, who suddenly passed away from us just a few months ago. He was the first teacher I talked to when I entered the Institute of Oriental Studies at the University of Turin a few days before classes began; it was the fall of 1983. That young researcher would be an important part of my life as a student, a teacher, a scholar, and a human being. As I moved into a new world of knowledge, Michele's expertise and wide-ranging culture illuminated my academic path, then my professional career.

In academic circles it is common to identify yourself as a disciple of someone, and many times I have wondered whether Michele Vallaro was my mentor. Several people in my life have taught me something very valuable, both personally and professionally, and Michele was one of these. What I most acknowledge to him, apart from his teachings in the area of Arabic studies, is that he gave me his trust. When I was about to enter the classroom for the first time as a teacher at the University of Turin, he told me: "Now you can do it yourself." Those words, pronounced in front of the ajar door, beyond which were my first students of the Faculty of Arts, gave me that encouragement which novices need, especially when they are timid by nature.

He supervised my dissertation and doctoral thesis with a meticulous attention to detail. I remember that we spent endless hours in his office checking step by step the translation of a novel, which was the subject of my dissertation work in the late eighties, and in the two-thousand years, during my PhD programme, we made long phone calls discussing on sociolinguistic topics. Even though his lines of research were mainly in other fields, being a curious person he was interested by the subjects I was working on as well. As a result, fiction, modern Egyptian society, Egyptian dialect, and sociolinguistics became good topics of conversation for us.

He was profoundly knowledgeable about the Arabic language, about which I often sought his advice or asked him questions. When Maurizio Bagatin and I proposed to him in the last few years to put together a grammar which would collect all his "notes," as he called them (they were actually very in-depth), he responded enthusiastically, showing increasing enthusiasm as we were unable to keep up with the material he was sending us. Now we feel a responsibility to carry on his important legacy.

We have crossed paths several times in our professional life, and yet I want to remember him in carefree moments, driving his sports car, among the autumn-colored Piedmont countryside, or in a typical restaurant in the hills of the Langhe, over a glass of wine or while he kindly gives me a gift: an assortment of artisanal chocolates, a bottle of champagne, or a course in German language. Michele

leaves a void that cannot be filled. As I reflect back over the past, I am full of nostalgia and grateful for the time we spent together, and regret for the things we could still have accomplished together and the very many others he could still have taught me.

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Following Michele Vallaro's passing, suddenly occurred a few months ago, I experienced several moods and feelings, different in nature but all equally very intense. From the initial shock, due to the disruptive force of a completely unexpected event—I had talked to him on the phone not long before—I moved on to the dismay of a serious loss, then to the awareness that a cycle of life, mine as well as of many other people, was closed. This is an impression we usually go through when we separate from someone very close to us, with whom we have shared a long stretch of our existence or who has impacted deeply our lives.

Well, Michele was for me all these things put together, since our first meeting back in 1990 in his office, located at that time in the old headquarters of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the University of Turin. Starting from that first conversation, the awareness of a certain affinity of interests, thought and attitude towards other people has been increasingly defined, also by virtue of a common past that I would discover only later. In fact, Michele and I were born in the same hospital of the same district in Turin, albeit many years apart; we attended the same primary school, and, like him, I was often a guest in the Leones' house, whose householder was a friend of Michele's father. In this family environment I heard the very first stories about him as a child, before Michele himself told them to me. I am convinced that all this, in addition to the teacher-disciple relationship which lasted, rather increased, well beyond the achievement of my degree, helped to grow the profound esteem between us.

There are many reasons why I wish to express all my gratitude to him. He was the supervisor of my degree dissertation, regarding which he enthusiastically accepted the topic, even though it was somewhat distant from his specific interests. Although he was not also the supervisor of my doctoral thesis, his prompt and methodical suggestions were fundamental for the final drafting and for making it a publication. Moreover, immediately after my graduation he involved me, together with two other

young Arabists, in a project whose ultimate goal was to be a full Italian translation of Ibn Ḫaldūn's *Muqaddima.* Unfortunately, this publication has never seen the light, but the long and meticulous work carried out together allowed me to learn a certain know-how, which I would later put to good use, as a teacher, in an Arabic literature class at the University of Bergamo, as well as in an article of mine devoted to that work. Talking about his skills as a scholar and passionate researcher, I would certainly recall the relevance he used to give to details without losing sight of the whole. Precisely this dual vision of reality, punctual and comprehensive at the same time, enabled him to see beyond the surface of things and to get where others often didn't get. In addition to allowing him a full understanding of the examined facts, whether they were linguistic or of other kinds, this attitude ensured him an almost total independence of thought. Still with regard to his academic activity, there were not a few occasions in which Michele invested his trust in me, calling me to collaborate with him, both during his time in Turin and after his moving to Enna. It was indeed in Enna that we inaugurated the Arabic language and literature courses for the local University, together with colleagues such as Lucia Avallone and Manuela Giolfo. This experience gave me the opportunity to share a good deal of time with Michele, so that I could know more about some of his most intimate traits, his interests outside the academia, his passions, and even some of his idiosyncrasies.

In the last period, his activity focused on the writing of a progressive grammar of the Arabic language, starting from some of his notes that he wrote for his Arabic language classes. He had welcomed the idea, originally proposed by Lucia Avallone and me, to take up this material, integrate and publish it. In order to do that, he had once again decided to avail himself of our collaboration, involving us in long and enriching discussions, bibliographic and literary inquiries and method choices to assure the cohesiveness of the work. In hindsight, I believe that it was for me the highest point of a harmony of thought and an intellectual exchange timidly reached year after year through consistent observation and learning. The project has come to an abrupt halt due to an inscrutable divine plan, as Michele would have commented. Our hope, Lucia's and mine, is to worthily complete it.

However, the sense of gratitude is not addressed only to the scholar, but also and above all to the man. After all, Michele was Michele in every circumstance. He used to say that he was not a professional of the Arabic studies, but rather an *amateur*, in the proper sense of the word, that is, one who finds the main reason for carrying out a certain activity in personal delight. So then, alongside the academic discussions, one could talk to him about everything, thanks to his large erudition, subtle irony, love for art and literature, especially poetry, but also for classical and popular music, opera, old movies, good food and good wine. During our trips by plane or car, telephone conversations and lunches in some restaurant carefully chosen by him, I enjoyed innumerable intellectual solicitations that could range

seamless from theology to Petrolini's theatre, from Dante's verses to those of Pascoli and Kavafis, passing through Pound and Eliot, from Mozart to Verdi, to the songs of the twentieth century.

On several occasions Michele wrote recommendation letters or assessments of my work in which he didn't spare praise and compliments (perhaps not always fully deserved).

I realize that by drafting these lines, for the first time I am doing something similar for him, in the hope of not being completely inadequate for the task.

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Articles

Kussummiya phonology

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The article provides a descriptive account of the phonology of Kussummiya spoken in southwest Ethiopia. It is basically a qualitative study in that linguistic data are collected from native speakers by using elicitation technique. The collected data are organized and analyzed categorically. The findings of the study show that Kussummiya has 21 attested consonant phonemes and five short and five long vowel phonemes which is a typical feature of Cushitic vowel system. All consonant phonemes geminate and they occur only in word medial position. Consonant gemination and vowel length are phonemic. Consonant cluster occur in word medial position with a maximum of two non-identical consonants. Some of the phonological processes identified in words or across words are: insertion, deletion, devoicing, spirantisation, assimilation and metathesis.

1. Introduction[1]

The Kussumme people live in Diraashe district particularly in a place called "Gatto,[2]" in Segen Area Peoples Zone within the Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples Regional State of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia. According to the 2007 Population and Housing census, the Kussumme people are 9, 213. The basic economic activities of the people is mixed agriculture. They are pastoralists and cultivators. They grow crops such as sorghum, maize, teff, barley, wheat, peas, chickpeas, lentils, beans and enset (false banana). They also produce cash-crops such as coffee and Khat (Catha edulis). Moreover, they rear animals such as cattle, goats, sheep, mules, donkeys, etc.

They refer to their language by the name "Afa Kussummiya" which means the language of Kussumme. Kussummiya is surrounded by Konso, Diraytata, Mosittacha and Mashooleya speech

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[2] Gatto is the homeland of Kussumme people.

varieties. According to the information obtained from the language consultants during focus group discussion, there is a high level of mutual intelligibility between Konso, Mashooleya and Kussummiya. Thus, the people of Kussumme communicate with the people of Konso and Mashoole without any difficulty. The intelligibility among the three language speakers can be either due to language contact or close genetic relationship. However, the Kussumme people have a strong self-esteem and language identity as a result they consider themselves and their language different form Konso and Mashooleya. Black's (1973) work considers *Faaʃe*, *Karatte*, *Turo* and *χolme* as dialects of Konso but his (1974) work includes *Gatto* and *Mashoole* in addition to the previously mentioned dialects. Contrary to this, the House of Federation recognizes Kussumme as one of the nationalities in the country and Kussummiya as their language. The language consultants suggested that they can hear Diraytata and Mosittacha a little bit and hence require interpreter to communicate with them. Multilingualism is common in Kussumme society as a result in addition to their mother tongue they speak Mashooleya and Konso from the neighboring languages, and they also speak Amharic and Oromo languages. Little is known about Kussummiya. Some facts about Kussummiya have been mentioned in passing by in works dealing with a more general concern of Proto-Eastern Cushitic history and reconstruction[3]. However, there is no published work particularly on Kussummiya,

The data for the present study is collected in two field trips to Diraashe district for one month each. The data collected was 500 words including 200 words of basic vocabulary of Swadesh (1952), 300 additional words, and various data on the morphology and syntax of Kussummiya. The first field trip was from February 25, 2021– March 28, 2021, the second field trip was from May 4, 2021 – June 3, 2021. The key language consultants were seven: *Tadesse Guyyita* (age 50), *Dima Genc'ac'e* (age 45), *Luttayto Shabele* (age 40), *Ayyano Bunnayo* (age 38), *Dubbale Tadesse* (age 40), *Mengistu Messele* (age 42) and *Girma Ayyibo* (age 55). They were born in Gatto. All of them are farmers who live in *Gatto*. They served as language consultant in both field trips.

The research methods and techniques used for data collection is basically elicitation. However, interview and focus group discussion are also used to clarify concepts that require more attention and which are not clear during elicitation. The data is transcribed using IPA symbols.

The article has seven sections. The second section, presents some comparative notes. Section three, describes consonant and vowel phonemes. Section four, discusses consonant sequence. Section five, presents syllable structure. Section six, discusses phonological processes and section seven, summarizes the major findings of the study.

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[3] For example, Black (1974).

2. Comparative notes

Although the purpose of this article is not to compare Kussummiya with other closely related languages and dialects, giving a few comparative notes on closely related languages will help the reader.

Regarding the similarities between Kussummiya and Konso, and their difference from Diraytata and Mosittacha, the following correspondences have been identified. Kussummiya and Konso /ɠ/ corresponds to /k'/ in Diraytata and Mosittacha as the following examples illustrate. Kussummiya *ɠanin-* 'bite,' Konso *ɠanin-*, Diraytata *k'anin-* and Mosittacha *k'anin-*. Kussummiya and Konso /m/ corresponds to /mɓ/ in Diraytata and Mosittacha. That is, Kussummiya *ʔama* 'breast,' Konso *ʔama*, Diraytata *ʔamɓ* and Mosittacha *ʔamɓa*. By the same token, Kussummiya and Konso /ɗt/ corresponds to /kk/ in Diraytata and /hh/ in Mosittacha. For example, Kussummiya *loɗta* 'foot,' Konso *loɗta*, Diraytata *lukket* and Mosittacha *luhhe*. Similarly, Kussummiya and Konso /tt/ corresponds to /ʃʃ/ in Diraytata and Mosittacha. The following are examples, Kussummiya *matta* 'head,' Konso *matta*, Diraytata *maʃʃ* and Mosittacha *maʃʃa*. Similarly, Kussummiya and Konso /f/ corresponds to /t'/ in Diraytata and /tʃ'/ in Mosittacha as shown in the following examples. Kussummiya *kurmufa* 'fish,' Konso *kurmufa*, Diraytata *k'urt'umet* and Mosittacha *kurmutʃ'a*. Moreover, Kussummiya and Konso /r/ corresponds to /rɗ/ in Diraytata and /rʔ/ in Mosittacha as the following examples illustrate. Kussummiya *karitta* 'belly,' Konso *karitta*, Diraytata *karɗ* and Mosittacha *karʔa*.

The first person prevocalic clitic *ʔin-* has the allomorphs *ʔin-, ʔim- ʔil-* and *ʔiw-* in Kussummiya as the following examples illustrate: *ʔin-ħrip-e* 'I danced,' *ʔin-tooj-e* 'I watched,' *ʔim-pooj-e* 'I cried,' *ʔil-lel-e* 'I told,' *ʔiw-waat-e* 'I roasted.' The languages closely related to Kussummiya such as Konso, Diraytata and Mosittacha have such allomorphs as those in the following words: Konso *ʔin-krip-e*, Diraytata and Mosittacha *heŋ- hrip-I* 'I danced,' Konso *ʔin-tooj-e*, Diraytata and Mosittacha *hen- tooj-i* 'I watched,' Konso *ʔim-pooj-e*, Diraytata and Mosittacha *hem-pooj-i* 'I cried,' Konso *ʔil-lel-e*, Diraytata and Mosittacha *hel-lel-i* 'I told' and Konso *ʔiw-waat-e,* Diraytata and Mosittacha *hew-waat-i* 'I roasted.' Thus, Kussummiya and Konso have identical first person prevocalic allomorphs (*ʔin-, ʔim-, ʔil-* and *ʔiw-*) which are different from Diraytata and Mosittacha allomorphs (*heŋ-, hen-, hem-, hel-* and *hew-*).

Regarding the differences among Kussummiya , Konso, Diraytata and Mosittacha the following correspondences have been identified: Kussummiya /ħ/ corresponds to /k/,/h/ or /χ/ in Konso, and /k/ or /h/ in Diraytata and Mosittacha as the following examples illustrates: Kussummiya *ħuta* 'dog,' Konso *kuta*, Diraytata *herra*, Mosittacha *herro*. Kussummiya *ɗiiħa* 'blood,' Konso *ɗiiha*, Diraytata *ɗiik*, Mosittacha *ɗiika*. Kussummiya *ħala* 'yesterday,' Konso *χala*, Diraytata *hal* and Mosittacha *hala*. Moreover, Kussummiya /ħħ/ corresponds to /χχ/ in Konso, and /hh/ in Diraytata and Mosittacha as in Kussummiya *maħħa* 'name,' Konso *maχχa*, Diraytata *mahh*, and Mosittacha *mahha*.

The first and second person singular pronouns in Kussummiya are different from Konso, Diraytata and Mosittacha. For example, ʔana 'I' and ħeʔe 'you (sg.)' in Kussummiya corresponds to ʔanti and ʔatti in Konso, ʔantot and ʔatti in Diraytata, and ʔantʃo and ʔatʃtʃi in Mosittacha. The third person singular pronoun is different from Diraytata and Mosittacha. For example, ʔiʃa 'he' in Kussummiya and Konso corresponds to ʔijja and ʔijjatʃa in Diraytata and Mosittacha respectively. This is shown in Table 1 below:

Person	Kussummiya	Konso	Diraytata	Mosittacha	Gloss
1SG	ʔana	ʔanti	ʔantot	ʔantʃo	'I'
2SG	ħeʔe	ʔatti	ʔatti	ʔatʃtʃi	'you (SG)'
3SG (M)	ʔiʃa	ʔiʃa	ʔijja	ʔijjatʃa	'he'
3SG (F)	ʔiʃetta	ʔiʃeetta	ʔit	ʔitʃa	'she'
1PL	ʔino	ʔinu	ʔinno	ʔinnotʃa	'we'
2PL	ʔiʃʃina	ʔiʃina	ʔinna	ʔinnatʃa	'you (PL)'
3PL	ʔiʃʃotta	ʔiʃootta	ʔijjaa	ʔijjotʃa	'they'

Table 1. Pronouns in Kussummiya, Konso, Diraytata and Mosittacha

The possessive marker in Kussummiya is the prefix *ʔaħ-*, in Konso it is *χa(a)-*, in Diraytata and Mosittacha it is *hek-*.

Person	Kussummiya	Konso	Diraytata	Mosittacha	Gloss
1SG	ʔaħaw	χajja	hekaw	hekaho	'mine'
2SG	ʔaħajti	χaajti	hekajt	hekajtʃi	'yours (SG)'
3SG (M)	ʔaħaɗɗi	χaaɗɗi	hekajj	hekajji	'his'
3SG (F)			hekaɗɗ	hekaɗɗi	'her'
1PL	ʔaħinno	χannu	hekajnu	hekajno	'ours'
2PL	ʔaħissina	χaajʃin	hekajn	hekajna	'yours (PL)'
3PL	ʔaħissole	χaajʃu	hekaɗɗu	hekaɗɗo	'theirs'

Table 2. Possessive pronouns in Kussummiya, Konso, Diraytata and Mosittacha

The nominative case is marked by the suffix *-e* on a noun as in *Datikko–e to-e* 'Datikko died' in Kussummiya, in Konso it is marked by the suffix *-ʔ* as in *Datikko-ʔ to-e*, in Diraytata it is marked by the suffix *–t* as in *Datikko-t he-toy-i*, in Mosittacha it is marked by the suffix *-ntʃi* as in *Datikko-ntʃi he-toy-e.*

Accusative case is not morphologically marked in Kussummiya, Konso, Diraytata and Mosittacha and hence the citation form of a noun is used as an accusative form.

Dative case in Kussummiya, is marked by the morpheme *-teʔe* as in *Kittonnajjo-e ʔanna Datikk-o teʔe ɗass-e* 'Kittonnajjo gave a milk to Datikko', in Konso, it is marked by the suffix *-ʔ* as in *Kittonnajjo-ʔ ʔannaa Datikko-ʔ ɗaʃʃ-e*, in Diraytata, it is marked by the suffix *-as* as in *Kittonnajjo-t ʔanna Datikko-as he-ɗaʃʃ-i*, and in Mosittacha, it is marked by the suffix *-hhi* as in *Kittonnajjo-ntʃi ʔannaa Datikko-hhi he-ɗetʃtʃ-e.*

3. Consonant and vowel phonemes

3.1. Consonant phonemes

This section presents the inventory of consonant phonemes, description of consonant phonemes, consonant germination and distribution of consonant phonemes.

3.1.1. Inventory of consonant phonemes

Kussummiya has 21 clearly attested consonant phonemes. That is, four stops (p, t, k, ʔ), four implosives (ɓ, ɗ, ʄ, ɠ), three nasals (m, n, ɲ), five fricatives (f, s, ʃ, ħ, h), one affricate (tʃ), two liquids (l, r) and two semivowels (w, j).

	Bilabial	Labiodental	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Uvular	pharyngeal	Glottal
Stops	*p*		*t*		*k*			*ʔ*
Implosive	*ɓ*		*ɗ*	*ʄ*		*ɠ*		
Nasals	*m*		*n*	*ɲ*				
Fricative		*f*	*s*	*ʃ*			*ħ*	*h*
Affricate				*tʃ*				
Liquids			*l, r*					
Glides	*w*			*j*				

Table 3. Consonant phonemes of Kussummiya

Close observation of the above consonant inventory reveals that there is no voiced stop in Kussummiya (for the allophonic variation see section 6). The absence of voiced stop is not uncommon to Kussummiya, similar cases have been observed in neighboring languages such as Konso (Ongaye 2013,

Black 1973), Diraytata (Wondwosen 2006, Sinkeneh 1983, Black 1974, Wedekind 1994), Mosittacha (Wondwosen 2000, 2015, Harlow 2016, Yibeltal 2020) and Gawwada (Black 1974, Geberew 2003). However, other Cushitic languages such as Oromo (Andrzejewski 1957, Black 1974, Owens 1985), Burji (Sasse 1982) and Ts'amakko (Savà 2005) make voice distinction. Moreover, like the neighboring language Konso (Ongaye 2013), Kussummiya does not have ejective sounds in its consonant inventory but such sounds exist both in Diraytata (Sinkeneh 1983, Wondwosen 2006) and Mosittacha (Wondwosen 2000, 2015, Harlow 2016, Yibeltal 2020). Besides, both Kussummiya and Konso have the palatal implosive /ʄ/ and the uvular implosive /ɠ/ in addition to the implosives /ɓ/ and /ɗ/. However, the palatal and the uvular implosives are absent from both Diraytata and Mosittacha phonemic inventories. The voiceless pharyngeal fricative /ħ/ exists in Kussummiya but absent in Konso, Diraytata and Mosittacha.

3.1.2. Description of consonant phonemes

In this part, descriptions of consonant phonemes along with examples are given. The description is made based on point of articulation.

(1) /p/ is a voiceless bilabial stop.

pata	'back'
piʃaa	'water'
ʔerpa	'elephant'
ʔappa	'father'
ʔapitta	'fire'

(2) /ɓ/ is a bilabial implosive. It is rare in word initial position.

ɓuɓɓa	'egg'
hiɓta	'lip'
ʔamɓa	'breast'
kaɓa	'canal'

(3) /m/ is a bilabial nasal.

muukuta	'frog'
murra	'forest'
mana	'house'
nama	'man'

ɠimajta	'old man'
maaka	'snake'
moonta	'sky'

(4) /w/ is a bilabial glide.

waaɠa	'God'
waħira	'speech'
kawsa	'beard'
ʔalawta	'sister'
ʔawrara	'throat'

(5) /f/ is a voiceless labio-dental fricative.

farta	'horse'
foola	'warm (weather)'
filta	'hole'
ʔafa	'mouth'
lafta	'bone'
ʔafuri	'four'
koofina	'lung'

(6) /t/ is a voiceless alveolar stop.

takka	'one'
tira	'liver'
talteta	'female goat'
moonta	'sky'
kuutajta	'smoke'

(7) /ɗ/ is an alveolar implosive.

ɗaʔta	'butter'
ɗaħaa	'stone'
ɗikla	'elbow'
ɗiiħa	'blood'
hoɗɗeta	'thorn'

kud̠ani	'ten'

(8) /n/ is an alveolar nasal.

nama	'man'
kofina	'lung'
ʔaanna	'milk'
sind̠aa	'urine'
ʔana	'I'

(9) /s/ is a voiceless alveolar fricative.

sind̠aa	'urine'
surra	'rope'
sokitta	'salt'
sona	'nose'
sipla	'iron'
pissa	'flower'
ʔiska	'star'
sessa	'three'

(10) /l/ is an alveolar lateral.

lakki	'two'
lukta	'foot'
latta	'sun'
keltajta	'baboon'
pulajta	'cold (whether)'
pujjalajta	'dust'
ʔilta	'eye'

(10) /r/ is an alveolar trill.

ramajta	'goiter'
roopa	'rain'
ʔerpa	'elephant'

tira   'liver'

(12) /ʄ/ is a palatal implosive.

   ʄolta   'blind person'

   faɠaa   'local beer'

   kaaʄaa   'money'

   firʄa   'diarrhea'

   kurmuʄaa   'fish'

(13) /ɲ/ is a palatal nasal.

   ɲirfa   'hair'

   ɲaapa   'enemy'

   ɲaaŋnaa   'tomato'

   sekiɲawwa   'vegetable'

(14) /ʃ/ is a voiceless palatal fricative.

   ʃokki   'few'

   ʃikreta   'razor'

   ʔiʃa   'he'

   piʃaa   'water'

   haʃʃa   'leaf'

(15) /tʃ/ is a voiceless palatal affricate; it is a very rare phoneme.

   natʃtʃa   'crocodile'

   ʔantʃufa   'saliva'

(16) /j/ is a palatal glide.

   jappa   'grass'

   joojta   'jackal'

   ɗojira   'wood'

   ɗajranta   'tiger'

   (17) /k/ is a voiceless velar stop.

karitta	'belly'
kawsa	'chin, beard'
karɠa	'feather'
mookota	'frog'
maaka	'snake'

(18) /ɠ/ is a uvular implosive.

ɠapana	'hold (in hand)'
ɠojira	'tree'
ɠolpajta	'he-goat'
ɠajranta	'tiger'
karɠa	'feather'
seeɠi	'far'
haɠa	'river'

(19) / ʔ/ is a voiceless glottal stop.

ʔaanna	'milk'
ʔana	'I'
ʔinno	'we'
saʔa	'cow'
soʔa	'meat'
leʔa	'moon'

(20) /ħ/ is voiceless pharyngeal fricative.

ħeni	'five'
ħaana	'fly (v.)'
ɗiiħa	'blood'
ɗaħa	'stone'
maħħa	'name'
leħi	'six'

(21) /h/ is a voiceless glottal fricative.

harka	'hand'

harreta   'donkey'

laha   'ram'

ojha   'fodder'

The consonant description above shows that in Kussummiya all consonant phonemes occur in word initial and medial positions but not in word final position. Except the phoneme /tʃ/ which occurs only word medial position.

3.1.3. Consonant gemination

In Kussummiya, all consonants may appear geminate. Geminate consonants occur only in word medial position. That is, a geminate consonant may function as ambi-syllabic segments as coda of the preceding syllable and onset of the following syllable. The following are illustrative examples.

Consonant	Word	Gloss	Consonant	Word	Gloss
/p/	*ɗippa*	'hundred'	/r/	*surra*	'rope'
/ɓ/	*ɓuɓɓa*	'egg'	/f/	*kaaffaa*	'a children's game'
/t/	*matta*	'head'	/ʃ/	*haʃʃa*	'leaf'
/k/	*lakki*	'two'	/tʃ/	*fatʃtʃa*	stick'
/m/	*kammaa*	'behind, after'	/ɲ/	*ɲaaɲɲaa*	'tomato'
/w/	*ɗawwijaa*	'herding'	/j/	*fajja*	'right hand'
/f/	*taffataa*	'snatch'	/ɠ/	*peeɠɠaa*	'dispute'
/ɗ/	*hidɗan*	'bundle'	/ʔ/	*seʔʔe*	'this'
/n/	*ʔaanna*	'milk'	/ħ/	*maħħa*	'name'
/s/	*sessa*	'three'	/h/	*mehhi*	'shake'
/l/	*ʔofalla*	'tree bark'			

Table 4. Consonant gemination

Besides, consonant germination is phonemic. This can be learned from the examples below.

(22)   a   /p/   *kapaa*   'near'

                   kappa   'wheat'

b   /n/   *ʔana*   'I'

ʔaanna   'milk'

c   /m/   *kamaa*   'hillside'

kammaa   'behind'

d   /w/   *ɗawijaa*   'hitting (something)'

ɗawwijaa   'herding'

Geminate and non-geminate consonants make meaning distinctions. Moreover, gemination is represented by doubling a consonant.

3.1.4. Distribution of consonant phonemes

The distribution of consonant phonemes in a word initial, medial, geminate, preceding and following a consonant is presented below.

3.1.4.1. Stops (p, t, k, ʔ)

Stops occur in word initial and medial positions. Moreover, all stops geminate in intervocalic position and also they occur as a first member in a non-geminate cluster. Except the glottal stop /ʔ/ all the other stops occur as a second member in non-geminate consonant cluster.

	initial	medial	geminate	-C	C-
/p/	*para* 'year'	*kapaa* 'near'	*ɗippa* 'hundred'	*sapta* 'wound'	*ʔerpa* 'elephant'
/t/	*tira* 'liver'	*ħuta* 'dog'	*matta* 'head'	*naatɲa* 'crocodile'	*moonta* 'sky'
/k/	*karitta* 'belly'	*maaka* 'snake'	*lakki* 'two'	*ʃikreta* 'razor'	*harka* 'hand'
/ʔ/	*ʔana* 'I'	*saʔa* 'cow'	*seʔʔe* 'this'	*daʔta* 'butter'	—

Table 5. Distribution of stops

3.1.4.2. Implosives (ɓ, ɗ, ʄ, ɠ)

Implosives occur in word initial and medial positions. Besides, all implosives may geminate in a word medial position. The implosives /ɓ/, /ɗ/ and /ɠ/ may occur as a first and second member in a non-

geminate cluster. However, the implosive /ʄ/ may not occur as a first member in a non-geminate cluster but it may occur as a second member in a non-geminate cluster.

	initial	medial	geminate	-C	C-
/ɓ/	ɓubba 'egg'	kaɓa 'canal'	ɓubba 'egg'	hiɓta 'lip'	kolɓa 'water reservoir'
/ɗ/	ɗaħaa 'stone'	kuɗani 'ten'	hoɗɗeta 'thorn'	muɗkanhonta 'plant sp.'	sinɗaa 'urine'
/ʄ/	foʄaa 'local beer'	kaafaa 'money'	paraffa 'type of crop'	—	firfa 'diarrhea'
/ɠ/	ɠojra 'tree'	seeɠi 'far'	laaɠɠuta 'bread'	tololoɠsaa 'tickle'	karɠa 'river'

Table 6. Distribution of implosives

3.1.4.3. Nasals (m, n, ɲ)

Nasals may occur in word initial and medial positions. All of them may geminate in word medial position. Moreover, except /ɲ/ all the other nasals may occur as a first member in a non-geminate cluster.

	initial	medial	geminate	-C	C-
/m/	mana 'house'	nama 'man'	tomma 'hoe'	taamta 'branch'	ʔarma 'weed'
/n/	nama 'man'	ʔana 'I'	ʔaanna 'milk'	sinɗaa 'urine'	ɗakajna 'listen'
/ɲ/	ɲirfa 'hair'	sekiɲawwa 'vegetable'	ɲaaɲɲaa 'tomato'	—	naatɲa 'crocodile'

Table 7. Distribution of nasals

3.1.4.4. Fricatives (f, s, ʃ, ħ, h)

Fricatives may occur in word initial and medial positions. Besides, all fricatives may geminate in intervocalic positions. They can also occur as first and second member in non-geminate cluster.

	initial	medial	geminate	-C	C-
/f/	*farta* 'horse'	*ʔafuri* 'four'	*taffaa* 'thighs'	*lafta* 'bone'	*konfa* 'shorts'
/s/	*surra* 'rope'	*kaasa* 'horn'	*desse* 'there'	*ʔiska* 'star'	*polsaa* 'dream'
/ʃ/	*ʔiʃa* 'he'	*piʃaa* 'water'	*haʃʃa* 'leaf'	*koʃkoʃa* 'comb of chicken'	*teʔʃaa* 'elephantiasis'
/ħ/	*ħeni* 'five'	*diħa* 'blood'	*maħħa* 'name'	*moħna* 'rocky area'	*malħaa* 'flood'
/h/	*harka* 'hand'	*laha* 'ram'	*mehhi* 'shake'	*halhota* 'left (hand)'	*ʔojha* 'fodder'

Table 8. Distribution of fricatives

3.1.4.5. Affricate (tʃ)

	initial	medial	geminate	-C	C-
/tʃ/	—	—	*fatʃtʃa* 'stick'	—	*ʔantʃufa* 'saliva'

Table 9. Distribution of affricate

The distribution of the affricate /tʃ/ is rare in the sense that it geminates in word medial position and also it occurs following a consonant in non- geminate cluster.

3.1.4.6. Liquids (l, r)

Liquids may occur in word initial and medial positions. They geminate in a word medial position and also they occur following and /or preceding a consonant in non-geminate cluster.

	initial	medial	geminate	-C	C-
/l/	*lakki* 'two'	*pulajta* 'cold (weather)'	*ħalla* 'kidney'	*ʔilta* 'eye'	*hawla* 'grave'
/r/	*roopa* 'rain'	*tira* 'liver'	*surra* 'rope'	*marɗina* 'intestine'	*ɗajranta* 'leopard'

Table 10. Distribution of liquids

3.1.4.7. Glides (w, j)

Glides may occur in word initial and medial positions. They geminate in word medial position and also they occur preceding a consonant in a non-geminate cluster. However, glides do not occur as a final constituent in a non-geminate cluster.

	initial	medial	geminate	-C	C-
/w/	*waaɠa* 'God'	*kawsa* 'beard'	*ɗawwijaa* 'herding'	*alawta* 'sister'	—
/j/	*jappa* 'grass'	*ɗojira* 'wood'	*fajja* 'right (hand)'	*ɗajranta* 'tiger'	—

Table 11. Distribution of glides

3.2. Vowels

In this section, vowel phonemes and their description, vowel length and vowel co-occurrence will be considered.

3.2.1. Vowel phonemes

Kussummiya has five short /i, e, a, o, u/ and five long /ii, ee, aa, oo, uu/ vowels. These vowels are identified based on the height of the tongue (high, mid and low) and the position of the tongue (front, central and back) during the production of a vowel phonemes.

	Front	Central	Back
High	*i , ii*		*u, uu*
Mid	*e, ee*		*o, oo*
Low		*a, aa*	

Table 12. Vowel phonemes

(23) /i/ is a high front vowel.
　　ʔiska　　'star'
　　piʃaa　　'water'
　　lakki　　'two'

(24) /e/ is a mid-front vowel.

ħeni	'five'
leʔa	'moon'
ħeʔe	'you (sg.)'

(25) /a/ is a low central vowel.

ʔappa	'father'
pata	'back'
hiɓta	'lip'

(26) /u/ is a high back rounded vowel.

ʔunta	'grain, crop'
surra	'rope'
ʔajinu	'who'

(27) /o/ is a mid-back rounded vowel.

ʔoħinta	'fence'
soʔa	'cow'
ʔinno	'we'

All short vowels occur in word medial and final positions. Most nouns end in the vowel /a/.

3.2.2. Vowel length

In Kussummiya, vowel length is phonemic in the sense that short and long vowels contrast in the same environment. The following are illustrative examples.

(28)　　a　　/i/ and /ii/

　　　　　　pisa　'flower'

　　　　　　piisa　'all'

　　　　b　　/e/ and /ee/

　　　　　　ħela　'age mate'

　　　　　　ħeela　'boundary'

　　　　c　　/u/ and /uu/

　　　　　　furaa　'key'

　　　　　　fuuraa　'fear'

　　　　d　　/o/ and /oo/

ʃoraa   'jumping'

ʃooraa   'thin stick'

    e   /a/ and /aa/

saraa   'looting'

saaraa   'poem'

3.2.3. Vowel co-occurrences

The vowel sequences are shown in the table below. The table is presented in such a way that the left-most column occur preceding the vowels on the top row.

	/i/	/e/	/a/	/u/	/o/
/i/	*hittina* 'root'	*ʔappile* 'other'	*piʃaa* 'water'	—	*ʔirroota* 'mountain'
/e/	*ħeni* 'five'	*ħeʔe* 'you (sg)'	*sessa* 'three'	*ɗeruma* 'tallness'	*nessotta* 'to breath'
/a/	*laawi* 'green'	*talteta* 'female goat'	*latta* 'sun'	*kaakurta* 'beehive'	*halhota* 'left (hand)'
/u/	*muukitta* 'to sleep'	*surra* 'rope'	*ħuta* 'dog'	*muukuta* 'frog'	*ʔufotta* 'to vomit'
/o/	*ʃokki* 'few'	*roope* 'to rain'	*ʔojha* 'fodder'	*ɠojunta* 'wetness	*ɗompolta* 'chunk of dry soil'

Table 13. Vowel co-occurrences

Kussummiya may not allow cluster of non-identical vowels. But it may allow doubling of identical vowels which is technically termed as vowel length. The vowel phonemes may occur in word medial and final positions, but they may not occur in word initial position.

4. Phonotactics

Kussummiya allows a maximum of two consonant clusters. The non-geminate consonants appear in word medial position.

4.1. Stops as the first member of the cluster

Stops may occur as a first member of the cluster.

    (29) a   *ɗapnaa*   'possession'

b	*naatɲa*	'crocodile'
c	*takma*	'honey'
d	*joʔmaa*	'grindstone'
e	*ħaʔnaa*	'rising'
f	*ʔipsaa*	'light'
g	*ɗepʃi*	'to break'
h	*teʔʃaa*	'elephantiasis'
i	*kiʔsaa*	'fireplace'
j	*sipla*	'metal'
k	*ɗikleeta*	'elbow'
l	*ʃikreta*	'razor'

As can be observed from the above examples, in (29a), /p/ occurs preceding /n/ in *ɗapnaa* 'possession,' in (29b), /t/ occur preceding /ɲ/ in *naatɲa* 'crocodile,' in (29c), /k/ occurs preceding /m/ in *takma* 'honey,' in (29d, e), /ʔ/ occurs preceding /m/ in *joʔmaa* 'grindstone' and preceding /n/ in *ħaʔnaa* 'rising.' Similarly, in (29f, g), /p/ occurs preceding /s/ in *ʔipsaa* 'light' and preceding /ʃ/ in *ɗepʃi* 'break (v.),' in (29h, i), /ʔ/ occurs preceding /ʃ/ in *teʔʃaa* 'elephantiasis,' and preceding /s/ in *kiʔsaa* 'fire-place,' in (29j), /p/ occurs preceding /l/ in *sipla* 'metal,' in (29k, l) /k/occurs preceding /l/ in *ɗikleta* 'elbow' and preceding /r/ in *ʃikreta* 'razor.' However, non-geminate cluster of stops may not be followed by implosives or affricate or glides. However, two non-geminate stops may occur in a cluster.

(30) a   *sapta*   'wound'

b   *pitpahaare*   'loom soil'

In (30), we can see that two non-geminate stops occur in a cluster. Particularly, in (30a), the bilabial voiceless stop /p/ occurs preceding the voiceless alveolar stop /t/ in *sapta* 'wound.' Similarly, in (30b) the voiceless alveolar stop /t/ occurs preceding the voiceless bilabial stop /p/ in *pitpahaare* 'looms soil.'

4.2. Implosives as the first member of the cluster

Implosives may occur as a first member in a non-geminate cluster of consonants as the following examples illustrate.

(31) a   *hiɓta*   'lip'

b   *muɗkanhanta*   'plant species'

c   *siiɓʃi*   'hang'

    d   *tololoɠsaa*   'tickle'

    e   *poɠla*   'chief'

In (31a) the bilabial implosive /ɓ/ occurs preceding the voiceless alveolar stop /t/ in *hiɓta* 'lip;' in (31b) the alveolar implosive /ɗ/ occurs preceding the voiceless velar stop /k/ in *muɗkanhanta* 'plant species;' in (31c) the bilabial implosive /ɓ/ occurs preceding the voiceless palatal fricative /ʃ/ in *siiɓʃi* 'hang;' in (31d, e) the velar implosive /ɠ/ occurs preceding the voiceless alveolar fricative /s/ in *tololoɠsaa* 'tickle' and preceding the lateral /l/ in *poɠla* 'chief.'

4.3. Fricatives as the first member of the cluster

Fricatives may occur as a first member in a cluster of non-geminate consonants.

(32) a   *lafta*   'bone'

      b   *ʔiska*   'star'

      c   *koʃkoʃa*   'comb of a chicken'

      d   *haʃhota*   'left hand'

      e   *moħna*   'rocky area

      f   *napahta*   'ear'

      g   *pohmajta*   'chameleon'

      h   *pahnaa*   'example'

In (32a) the voiceless labio-dental fricative /f/ occurs preceding the voiceless alveolar stop /t/ in *lafta* 'bone' and in (32b) the voiceless alveolar fricative /s/ occurs preceding the voiceless velar stop /k/ in *iska* 'star.' By the same token, in (32c, d), the voiceless palatal fricative /ʃ/ occurs preceding the voiceless velar stop /k/ in *koʃkoʃa* 'comb of a chicken' and preceding the voiceless glottal fricative /h/ in *haʃhota* 'left hand;' in (32e), the voiceless pharyngeal fricative /ħ/ occurs preceding the alveolar nasal /n/ in *moħna* 'rocky area;' in (32f- h), the voiceless glottal fricative /h/ occurs preceding the voiceless alveolar stop /t/ in *napahta* 'ear,' preceding the bilabial nasal /m/ in *pohmajta* 'chameleon,' and preceding the alveolar nasal /n/ in *pahnaa* 'example.'

4.4. Nasals as the first member of the cluster

Nasals may occur as a first member in non-geminate cluster as shown in the following examples.

(33)   a *ħampiritta*   'bird'

b	*kanta*	'neighbor'
c	*kaankita*	'mule'
d	*sinɗaa*	'urine'
e	*fanɠala*	'splinter'
f	*ɗumɗuma*	'forearm'
g	*konfa*	'short (cloth)'
h	*tansa*	'dance'
i	*hantʃufa*	'saliva'

In (33a) the bilabial nasal /m/ occurs preceding the voiceless bilabial stop /p/ in *ħampiritta* 'bird;' in (33b-e) the alveolar nasal /n/ occur preceding the voiceless alveolar stop /t/ in *kanta* 'neighbor;' preceding the voiceless velar stop /k/ in *kaankita* 'mule;' preceding alveolar implosive /ɗ/ in *sinɗaa* 'urine' and preceding the uvular implosive /ɠ/ in *fanɠala* 'splinter.' In (33f) the bilabial nasal /m/ occurs preceding the alveolar implosive /ɗ/ in *ɗumɗuma* 'forearm;' in (33g, h) the alveolar nasal /n/ occurs preceding the voiceless labio-dental fricative /f/ in *konfa* 'short (cloth)' and preceding the voiceless alveolar fricative /s/ in *tansa* 'dance;' and in (33i) the alveolar nasal /n/ occurs preceding the affricate /tʃ/ in *hantʃufa* 'saliva.'

4.5. Lateral as the first member of a cluster

Lateral can occur as a first member in non-geminate cluster as the following examples illustrate.

(34)	a	*kilpa*	'knee'
	b	*talteta*	'she-goat'
	c	*alkitta*	'sisal'
	d	*ɓaalɓaala*	'potbellied'
	e	*ʔipalɗa*	'it is wide'
	f	*telɠajta*	'lizard'
	g	*ħolma*	'neck'
	h	*ħolfa*	'earring'
	i	*olsaa*	'dream'
	j	*malħaa*	'flood'

In (34a-j), the alveolar /l/ occurs preceding the voiceless bilabial stop /p/ in *kilpa* 'knee,' preceding the alveolar /t/ in *talteta* 'she-goat,' preceding the voiceless velar /k/ in *alkitta* 'sisal,' preceding the bilabial

implosive /ɓ/ in *ɓaalɓaala* 'potbellied,' preceding the alveolar implosive /ɗ/ in *ʔipalɗa* 'it is wide,' preceding the uvular implosive /ɠ/ in *telɠajta* 'lizard,' preceding the bilabial nasal /m/ in *ħolma* 'neck,' preceding a voiceless labio-dental /f/ in *ħolfa* 'earning,' preceding the alveolar fricative /s/ in *olsaa* 'dream,' and finally preceding the voiceless pharyngeal fricative /ħ/ in *malħaa* 'flood.'

4.6. Trill as the first member of a cluster

A trill may occur as the first member in non-geminate cluster as the examples below illustrate.

(35)		
	ʔerpa	'elephant'
	farta	'horse'
	murkufa	'fish'
	ʔerɓa	'lie'
	tarɗaa	'ash'
	furʄa	'diarrhea'
	marɠinaa	'intestine'
	ʔurmala	'market'
	ʔirɲa	'gum'
	ɲirfaa	'hair'
	marsaa	'buttock'
	ħarħarajta	'warthog'

In (35), the trill /r/ occurs preceding the voiceless bilabial stop /p/ in *ʔerpa* 'elephant,' preceding the voiceless alveolar stop /t/ in *farta* 'horse,' preceding the voiceless velar stop /k/ in *murkufa* 'fish,' preceding the bilabial implosive /ɓ/ in *ʔerɓa* 'lie,' preceding the alveolar implosive /ɗ/ in *tarɗaa* 'ash,' preceding the palatal implosive /ʄ/ in *furʄa* 'diarrhea,' preceding the uvular implosive /ɠ/ in *marɠinaa* 'intestine,' preceding the bilabial nasal /m/ in *ʔurmala* 'market,' preceding the palatal nasal /ɲ/ in *ʔirɲa* 'gum,' preceding the voiceless labio-dental fricative /f/ in *ɲirfa* 'hair,' preceding the voiceless alveolar fricative /s/ in *marsaa* 'buttock,' and finally preceding the voiceless pharyngeal fricative /ħ/ in *ħarħarajta* 'warthog.'

4.7. Glides as the first member of the cluster

4.7.1. The glide /w/ as the first member of a cluster

The glide /w/ may occur as the first member in non-geminate cluster as shown in the examples below.

(36)   *kawpa*   'besides'

     ʔalawta   'sister'

     kawkawa   'jaw'

     hawɗatta   'clan name'

     ɟiwɟiwa   'chicken'

     tawna   'bell'

     kawsa   'beard'

     ɗawraa   'prohibition'

     hawla   'grave, tomb'

In (36), the glide /w/ occurs preceding the voiceless bilabial stop /p/ in *kawpa* 'besides,' preceding the voiceless alveolar stop /t/ in *ʔalawta* 'sister,' preceding the voiceless velar stop /k/ in *kawkawa* 'jaw,' preceding the alveolar implosive /ɗ/ in *hawɗatta* 'clan name,' preceding the palatal implosive /ɟ/ in *ɟiwɟiwa* 'chicken,' preceding the alveolar nasal /n/ in *tawna* 'bell,' preceding the voiceless alveolar fricative /s/ in *kawsa* 'beard,' preceding the flap /r/ in *ɗawraa* 'prohibition,' and finally preceding the lateral /l/ in *hawla* 'grave, tomb.'

4.7.2. The glide /j/ as the first member of the cluster

The examples below show when the glide /j/ occurs as the first member in non-geminate cluster.

(37)   *ʔajkitta*   'grass species'

     hajɗaa   'fried meat'

     ɗejmatta   'irony'

     ħajnaʔtaa   'thread'

     kalatejsata   'praise'

     hajhita   'guest'

     sajleeta   'mane'

     ɠojra   'tree'

In (37), the palatal glide /j/ occurs preceding the voiceless velar stop /k/ in *ʔajkitta* 'grass species,' preceding the alveolar implosive /ɗ/ in *hajɗaa* 'fried meat,' preceding the bilabial nasal /m/ in *ɗejmatta* 'irony,' preceding the alveolar nasal /n/ in *ħajnaʔtaa* 'thread,' preceding the voiceless alveolar fricative /s/ in *kalatejsata* 'praise,' preceding the voiceless glottal fricative /h/ in *hajhita* 'guest,' preceding the lateral /l/ in *sajleeta* 'mane,' and preceding the flap /r/ in *ɠojra* 'tree.'

From the preceding discussion on a consonant sequence, we observe that a consonant sequence in Kussummiya is made up of two non-geminate consonants. Consonant sequence occurs only in word medial position. The consonants that occur in the coda position are stops, implosives, fricatives, nasals, liquids and glides.

		Stops				Implosives				Fricatives					Affr	Nasals			Liquids		Glides	
		p	t	k	ʔ	ɓ	ɗ	ƒ	ɠ	f	s	ʃ	ħ	h	tʃ	m	n	ɲ	l	r	w	j
Stops	p		x							x	x						x		x			
	t	x																x				
	k															x			x	x		
	ʔ									x	x					x	x					
Implosives	ɓ		x								x											
	ɗ			x																		
	ƒ																					
	ɠ									x									x			
Fricatives	f		x																			
	s			x																		
	ʃ			x										x								
	ħ																x					
	h		x													x	x					
Affricate	tʃ																					
Nasals	m	x	x				x				x											
	n		x	x			x		x	x	x					x						
	ɲ																					
Liquids	l	x	x	x		x	x		x	x	x		x			x						
	r	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x		x			x		x				
Glides	w	x	x	x			x	x		x	x						x		x	x		
	j			x			x				x			x		x	x		x	x		

Table 14. Phonotactic grid

From the above table, we may learn that not all consonants combine in a sequence in Kussummiya. For example, a stop may be followed by another stop or a fricative or a nasal or a lateral. However, a stop may not be followed by an implosive or an affricate or a glide. Implosives may be followed by stops, fricatives and liquids in non-geminate clusters of consonants. But implosives may not be followed by

other implosives, affricate and glides. Fricatives may be followed by a stops or fricatives or nasals. Fricatives, however, may not be followed by implosives, affricate, liquids and glides. Affricate, in Kussummiya, may not occur as a first member but it may come as second member in a cluster only with a nasal. Nasals may be followed by a stop, or an implosive, or an affricate or a fricative but they may not be followed by a liquid or a glide. Liquids may be followed by a stop or an implosive or a fricative or a nasal but they may not be followed by an affricate or a glide. Glides may be followed by stops or implosives or fricatives or nasals or liquids but not with an affricate or another glide.

From the preceding discussion on non-geminate cluster of consonants we can make the following generalization. Sonorants make more non-geminate consonant cluster than obstruents. This is because, obstruent's may allow stops, fricatives, nasals and liquids as the second member, whereas sonorant's allow stops, implosives, fricatives, affricate, nasals and liquids as their second member in a cluster.

5. Syllable Structure

In this section, syllable types, syllable internal phonotactics, syllable profiles of nouns and verbs will be considered.

5.1. Syllable types

Clements and Keyser (1983) classify the syllable structure of world languages into four canonical types. They argue that languages of the world can fall into one of the four types. The four canonical types are presented in 38 below.

(38)   Type I   CV

         Type II   CV, V

         Type III   CV, CVC

         Type IV   CV, V, CVC, VC

When we consider the syllable structure of Kussummiya in light of the above four canonical types, it seems that Kussummiya falls into Type III.

A syllable that may contain a consonant in its coda is called a closed syllable whereas a syllable that may not contain a consonant in its coda is called an open syllable. Kussummiya does not allow neither onset nor coda cluster. Thus, geminate consonants occur as coda of the preceding and onset of the following syllables. There are four types of syllables as the following examples illustrate.

(39)   a   CV   *ma-na*   'house'

          b   CVV   *maa-ka*   'snake'

          c   CVVC   *moon-ta*   'sky'

          d   CVC   *mur-ra*   'forest'

Based on the above data the following syllable template can be drawn for Kussummiya.
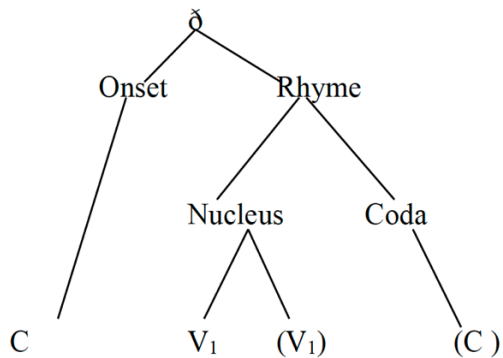
Figure 1. Syllable template

Kussummiya has a CV syllable pattern. In this speech variety, onset and nucleus are obligatory and coda is optional. The nucleus may contain either a long or short vowels. Similar, patterns of syllable can be observed in Konsoid languages such as Konso (Ongaye 2013), Diraytata (Wondwosen 2006) and Mosittacha (Wondwosen 2015, Yibeltal 2020 and Harlow 2015).

5.2. Syllable patterns in nouns

The most common syllable pattern in nouns is CV:

(40)   *ma-na*   'house'

          na-ma   'man'

          ʔa-fa   'mouth'

          ti-ra   'liver'

          so-na   'nose'

          ku-ta   'dog'

          sa-ʔa   'cow'

          le-ʔa   'moon'

          la-ha   'ram'

          ha-ɗa   'river'

The other common syllable pattern is CVC-CV structure:

(41)
har-pa	'elephant'
ʔam-ɓa	'breast'
hiɓ-ta	'lip'
kaw-sa	'beard'
far-ta	'horse'
fit-la	'hole'
tak-ka	'one'
pis-sa	'flower'
sup-ra	'rope'
tak-ka	'one'
haʃ-ʃa	'leaf'
maħ-ħa	'name'
mat-ta	'head'
ses-sa	'three'

Another common syllable pattern in nouns is CVV(C)-CV structure:

(42)
maa-ka	'snake'
waa-ɠa	'God'
foo-la	'warm (weather)'
ɗaa-ta	'butter'
roo-pa	'rain'
moon-ta	'sky'
ʔaan-na	'milk'
jooj-ta	'jakal'

The following tri-syllabic nouns with the CV(C)-CV(C) - CV structures have been observed:

(43)
ʔaw-ra-ra	'throat'
ʔa-law-ta	'sister'
hoɗ-ɗe-ta	'thorn'
so-kit-ta	'salt'
kel-taj-ta	'baboon'

pu-laj-ta	'cold'
ra-maj-ta	'goiter'
ʃik-re-ta	'razor'
ʔan-tʃu-fa	'saliva'
ɠoj-ran-ta	'tiger'
ɠol-paj-ta	'he-goat'

Regarding quadric-syllabic nouns, they are a few in number in Kussummiya:

(44)   *puj-ja-laj-ta*   'dust'

      se-ki-ɲaw-wa   'vegetable'

      ʔal-la-ʔit-ta   'vulture'

      ko-kor-re-ta   'guinea fowl'

5.3. Syllable patterns in verb roots

In verb roots, there are five syllable patterns: CVC- (the most common), CVCC-, CVVC-, CV-CV(C)-and CV(C)-CVV(C):

CVC-	*ɠot-*	'to dig'
	ɗam-	'to eat'
	ɠur-	'to cut'
	ɗaw-	'to hit'
	toj-	'to see'
	muk-	'to sleep'
	tak-	'to swim'
	luk-	'to suck'
CVCC-	*ʔukk-*	'to drink'
	kull-	'to enter'
	pidɗ-	'to buy'
	ʔerk-	'to send'
	ɗink-	'to kiss'
CVVC-	*tooj-*	'to die'
	fuur-	'to fear'
	ɗaaf-	'to give'
	pooj-	'to cry'
CV-CV(C) -	*ɗa-kay-*	'to hear'
	ɗe-ham-	'to advise'
CV(C)-CVV (C)-	*ɠa-niin-*	'to bite'

ʔo-raap	'to fetch water'
ʔa-ħaaw-	'to roast'
su-raaw-	'to hurt'

Table 15. Syllable patterns in verb roots

6. Phonological processes

The phonological processes discussed here are: insertion, deletion, devoicing, spirantisation, assimilation and metathesis. In what follows we shall take up each in turn.

6.1. Insertion

The epenthetic vowel [i] is inserted to break the impermissible consonant cluster as in the examples below.

(45)   */iʔakk- + -t + -e /* →   [iʔakkite]

   see - 3FS - PRF   'she saw'

   /ipidɗ- + -t + -e/ →   [ipidɗite]

   buy- 3FS- PRF   'she bought'

In (45), the epenthetic vowel [i] is inserted, when the feminine marker morpheme *-t* is suffixed on the verb roots *iʔakk* 'see' and *ipidɗ* 'buy' as in *iʔakkite* 'she saw' and *ipidɗite* 'she bought.' Similarly, a sequence of two non-identical vowels is not allowed in Kussummiya. Thus, in order to break the impermissible vowel sequence, the glottal stop [ʔ] or the glide [j] is inserted:

(46)   */Datikko-e   ʔana idaw-e /*   →   [datikkoʔe ʔana idawe]

   Datikko-NOM   I   hit-PRF   'Datikko hit me'

   /ʔiʃeete –e ʔana idaw-t-e /   →   [ʔiʃeeteʔe ʔana idaw-t-e]

   she-NOM   I   hit-3FS-PRF   'she hit me'

   /nama-e   ito-e/   →   [namaʔe itoje]

   man-NOM die-PRF   'a man died'

In (46) the glottal stop *[ʔ]* is inserted before the nominative marker morpheme *-e* as shown in the phonetic forms while in the last example the glide /j/ is inserted on the verb root preceding the aspect marker morpheme *-e.*

6.2. Deletion

Deletion refers to the loss of a sound in a certain defined context. In other words, it is the omission of a certain sound in a certain context. Consider the following examples.

(47)   /ħuta + -aɗa /   →   [ħutaɗa]   'dogs'

        /okotta + -awwa/   →   [okottawwa]   'cows'

        /ħorma + -aɗa/   →   [ħormaɗa]   'oxen'

In (47), the base final vowel [a] is deleted when a plural suffix is attached to it.

6.3. Devoicing

In Kussummiya, implosives are devoiced when they occur geminate. Devoicing of geminate implosives have also been observed in Konso (see Ongaye 2013: 40).

(48)   /ɓuɓɓa/   →   [ɓuɓ̥ɓ̥a]   'egg'

        /kuɗɗeta/   →   [kuɗ̥ɗ̥eta]   'thorn'

        /kaaffaa/   →   [kaaf̥f̥aa]   'dispute'

        /peeɠɠaa/   →   [peeɠ̥ɠ̥aa]   ' a children game'

However, non-geminate implosives are not devoiced:

(49)   ɠojranta   'tiger'

        folta   'blind person'

        ɗiiħa   'blood'

6.4. Spirantisation

In Kussummiya, the voiceless bilabial stop /p/ becomes a voiceless bilabial fricative [ɸ] between vowels:

(50)   /ɠapana/   →   [ɠaɸana]   'hold (in hand)'

        /roopa/   →   [rooɸa]   'rain'

        /ʔarrapa/   →   [ʔarraɸa]   'tongue'

        /ħupata/   →   [ħuɸata]   'tortoise'

It is also spirantised following a resonant consonant:

(51)   /sipla/   →   [siɸla]   'metal'

/harpa/	→	[harɸa]	'elephant'
/ʔerpa/	→	[ʔerɸa]	'lie'
/ɠolpajta/	→	[ɠolɸajta]	'he-goat'
/kilpa/	→	[kilɸa]	'knee'

Besides, the bilabial implosive [ɓ] may occur spirantised in a non-geminate cluster preceding the consonant [t] consider the following examples:

(52) /hiɓta/   →   [hiɸta]   'lip'

      /ħoɓta/   →   [ħoɸta]   'shoe'

6.5. Assimilation

Assimilation is a process by which a consonant becomes more like its neighbor in point or manner of articulation or both. In Kussummiya, assimilation happen when the preceding consonant becomes more like the following consonant or vice versa in point or manner of articulation or both. In a consonant sequence, when the following consonant becomes more like the preceding consonant it is called progressive assimilation and when the preceding consonant becomes more like the following consonant it is called regressive assimilation but in Kussummiya progressive assimilation is very rare. Moreover, assimilation could be complete or partial. The following examples illustrate complete assimilation.

(53)   a   /ʔin- + -lel + -e /   →   [ʔillele]

              I-tell-PRF   'I told'

        b   /ʔin- +- wat + -e/   →   [ʔiwwate]

              I-roast- PRF   'I roasted'

In (53a), the alveolar nasal /n/ completely assimilates to the following lateral sound [l] in (53a) and in (53b) to the following glide sound [w].

    As to the partial assimilation, consider the examples in (54):

(54) /hanfufaa/   →   [haɲfufaa]   'saliva'

      /konfa/   →   [koɱfa]   'short'

      /kaankita/   →   [kaaŋkita]   'mule'

In (54) the alveolar nasal /n/ becomes a palatal nasal /ɲ/ preceding the palatal implosive /ʄ/, while in (54), it becomes /ɱ/ preceding the labiodentals sound /f/, and it becomes /ŋ/ preceding the voiceless velar stop /k/.

The voiceless velar stop /k/ is phonetically a voiced [g] in the environment following a voiced consonant:

(55)   /ɗikla/   →   [ɗigla]   'elbow'

        /ʔajkitta/   →   [ʔajgitta]   'grass species'

        /ʔalkitta/   →   [ʔalgitta]   'sisal'

        /murkuɸa/   →   [murguɸa]   'fish'

        /kaankita/   →   [kaaŋgita]   'mule'

Similarly, the voiceless bilabial stop /p/ becomes phonetically voiced after a nasal consonant:

(56)   /ħampiritta/   →   [ħambiritta]   'bird'

        /tampoota/   →   [tamboota]   'tobacco'

        /timaa/   →   [timbaa]   'drum'

6.6. Metathesis

Metathesis occurs in some words that contain non-geminate consonant clusters. Words that allow metathesis are limited in number. They require the alveolar later /l/ to be either the first or the second member in a consonant cluster. The speaker may show preference in the use of one form from the other. For example, in (57) below the variants listed in the left of the arrow are preferred to those in the righ of the arrow.

(57)   a /kilpa/   →   kipla   'knee'

            b   /silpa/   →   sipla   'iron, metal'

            c   /ʔilkitta/   →   ʔiklitta   'tooth'

            d   /ʔalkitta/   →   ʔaklitta   'sisal'

            e   /ɗolfaa/   →   ɗoflaa   'bark (of tree)'

7. Conclusion

Kussummiya has 21 consonant phonemes. That is, four stops (p, t, k, ʔ), four implosives (ɓ, ɗ, ʄ, ɗ), three nasals (m, n, ɲ), five fricatives (f, s, ʃ, ħ, h), one affricate (tʃ), two liquids (l, r) and two glides (w, j). Except the affricate (tʃ) all consonants occur in word initial and medial positions but not in word final

position. Moreover, all consonants may geminate. However, gemination may occur in word medial position only. Thus, geminate consonant may function as ambi-syllabic segments as coda of the preceding syllable and onset of the following syllable. Regarding the vowel phonemes, there are five short (i, e, a, o, u) and five long (ii, ee, aa, oo, uu) vowels. All short vowels occurs in a word medial and final positions. Kussummiya may not allow two non-identical vowels in a sequence.

Consonant sequence, in Kussummiya, is made up of two non-geminate consonants. Consonant sequence may occur only word-medially. The consonants (ɲ, ʃ and tʃ) may not occur as first member in non-geminate cluster. The consonants that occur in the coda position are stops, implosives, fricatives, nasals, liquids and glides.

The syllable structure of Kussummiya allow neither onset nor coda cluster. There are four types of syllables: CV, CVV, CVVC and CVC. The syllable structures in noun consists of: CV-CV, CVC-CV, CVV(C)-CV, CV(C)- CV (C)- CV and CV (C)- CV(C)-CV (C)-CV. The following syllable structure is observed in verb roots: CVC-, CVC-CV-, CVVC-, CV-CV(C)- and CV(C)-CVV(C)-.

Regarding the phonological processes, insertion, deletion, devoicing, spirantisation, assimilation and metathesis have been discussed. The epenthetic vowel [iʼ] is inserted between the verb root that ends in double consonants and a suffix that begins in a consonant. Moreover, the glottal stop [ʔ] or the glide [j] is inserted to break a sequence of two non-identical vowels. The final vowel of the base may be deleted when a suffix beginning with a vowel is attached to a base. In Kussummiya, implosives are devoiced when they geminate. Moreover, the voiceless bilabial stop /p/ becomes a voiceless labiodentals fricative [ɸ] in intervocalic or when it occurs preceding a resonant consonant.

In Kussummiya, progressive assimilation is rare whereas regressive assimilation is the common type of assimilation. The alveolar nasal /n/ becomes a palatal nasal [ɲ] preceding the palatal implosive /ʃ /, it becomes [ɱ] preceding /f/, it becomes [ŋ] preceding /k/. Similarly, the voiceless bilabial stop /p/ becomes a voiced bilabial stop [b] following a nasal consonant. The voiceless velar stop /k/ becomes a voiced velar stop [g] following a voiced consonant.

Finally, metathesis changes /lp/ into /pl/, as in *kilpa* becoming *kipla* 'knee.'

Symbols and abbreviations

1	First Person	SG	Singular
2	Second Person	C	Consonant
3	Third Person	V	Vowel
F	Feminine	PRF	Perfective

| M | Masculine | NOM | Nominative |
| PL | Plural | → | the constituent before the arrow is changed into … |

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"Of madness and sagacity"

An intercultural dialogue between masks in Luigi Pirandello's and Penina Muhando's plays (Part 1)

Cristina Nicolini

This paper stems from the challenge of translating Pirandello's plays into Swahili and is aimed to open up a polylogue between Italian and Swahili literature. Therefore, in searching for connections between Luigi Pirandello's and Penina Muhando's plays, this paper will explore multiple masks engaged in a reciprocal dialogue among the following six selected plays: *Enrico IV* ('Henry IV,' Pirandello 1921); *Così è, Se vi pare* ('It is so, if you think so!' Pirandello 1917); *Il Berretto a Sonagli* ('Cap and bells,' Pirandello 1916); *Pambo* ('Decoration,' Muhando 1975); *Nguzo mama* ('The Mother Pillar,' Muhando 1982); and *Lina ubani* ('An Antidote to Rot,' Muhando 1984). In conclusion, this study will illustrate how different forms of sociohistorical alienation, which encircle the twentieth century, are stylistically represented in these plays through the characters who wear the masks of madness, or 'sage-madness.' To allow an in-depth analysis of the plays this study will be divided into two parts. Part one will examine *Enrico IV* ('Henry IV,' Pirandello 1921) and *Pambo* ('Decoration,' Muhando 1975). Part Two will examine *Così è, Se vi pare* ('It is so, if you think so!' Pirandello 1917); *Nguzo mama* ('The Mother Pillar,' Muhando 1982); *Il Berretto a Sonagli* ('Cap and bells,' Pirandello 1916); and *Lina ubani* ('An Antidote to Rot,' Muhando 1984).

Keywords: Swahili literature, theatre, comparative literature, comparative philosophy, translation studies, Luigi Pirandello, Penina Muhando, alienation, masks, madness, sage-madness.

1. Introduction[1]

This paper stems from a project that I started a few years ago,[2] when I translated some of Pirandello's pieces of theatre into Swahili. The rationale behind this project is that Italian theatrical culture is practically unknown in Tanzania compared to other foreign theatrical traditions. In particular,

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[1] Part Two is scheduled for publication in *Kervan* 28 (2024).

[2] I was inspired to start translating Pirandello's plays after a period of research as an exchange student at the University of Dar es Salaam. This award was granted by the University of Naples "L' Orientale," in agreement with the University of Dar es Salaam (a.y. 2014/2015).

Shakespearian theatre is very popular, not only as a British colonial legacy in the country, but also because in post-independence Tanzania it continued to be widespread as a result of the prestigious translations into Swahili made by *Mwalimu* ('the Teacher') Julius K. Nyerere, the first Tanzanian president. Nyerere translated Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar* (as *Julius Kaizari* 1969) and *The Merchant of Venice* (as *Mabepari wa Venisi,* lit. 'the bourgeoises of Venice,' 1972) (Mazrui 1996). These translations were followed by Mushi's translations of Shakespeare's *Macbeth* (as *Makbeth* 1968) and *The Tempest* (as *Tufani* 1969).

In post-independence Tanzania, the trend of literary translation represented a strategy of nation-building (Talento 2021; Nyerere 1972) as well as an expression of cultural nationalism in reaction to colonialism (Mazrui 1996). This was done by operating a "transtextualization" (Mazrui 1996: 73) aimed at re-"Africanizing" (Mazrui 1996: 6) the literary panorama of the new-born republic. Furthermore, post-independence Swahili theatre was influenced by Brechtian theatre, and some Tanzanian playwrights, such as Ebrahim Hussein, studied in the former East Germany. Hussein was the first author to introduce the trend of self-translation by translating his widely known play *Kinjeketile* (1969) into English (1970); it has been defined a "piece of epic theatre" (Fiebach 1997: 23) in which he experimented with Brechtian dramatic techniques. Moreover, he also quoted Pirandello's play *Six Characters in Search of an Author* as "*Wahusika Sita Wanaomtafuta Mwandishi*" (Hussein 2003: 200) to illustrate the strength of its characters, who overcome the creativity of their creator.

Nevertheless, a translation of Pirandello's works into Swahili has never been attempted; thus, I thought to introduce a diverse cross-cultural encounter.

In this paper, I will firstly lay a theoretical base in comparative literature and philosophy to frame the textual analysis of six selected plays, namely: *Enrico IV* ('Henry IV,' Pirandello, 1921); *Così è, Se vi pare* ('It is so, If you think so!' Pirandello 1917) – that I translated as *Hivyo ndivyo mambo yalivyo, ukipenda hivyo*; and *Il Berretto a Sonagli* ('Cap and bells,' Pirandello 1916) – that I rendered as *Kofia yenye kengele*. They will be analysed in dialogue with: *Pambo* ('Decoration,' Muhando 1975); *Nguzo mama* ('The Mother Pillar,' Muhando 1982); and *Lina ubani* ('An Antidote to Rot,' Muhando 1984).

The initial challenge, which triggered the comparative analysis, was the aforementioned work of translating from Italian to Swahili not only Pirandello's theories, but also his selected plays, some of which are written in the Sicilian dialect or in a Sicilian-like colloquial style. Particularly, I strove to preserve all the author's humour, while making the content accessible to Swahili speakers.

Since my first attempt to read Pirandello's and Muhando's plays in conjunction with one another, what immediately sparked my curiosity was a feeling of similarity or familiarity with certain thematic and aesthetic elements; this, pushed me to seek further for differences. Therefore, the comparative

endeavour sprouted, aimed at establishing a dialogue, while acknowledging cultural peculiarities, between two authors who are totally unrelated to each other.

This study will establish a polyphonic dialogue focused on alienation. The two authors' works encircle the twentieth century by delimiting it in its first decade (Pirandello) and towards its end (Muhando). The twentieth century was indeed a century characterised not only by socio-political transformations and territorial upheavals, which changed the world order and the hierarchy of powers, such as two world wars, the end of colonialism, and the cold war, but also by new discoveries, such as the modern study of psychoanalysis inaugurated by Freud and Jung. Pirandello's plays are set in the troubled historical context between the two world wars, whereas Muhando's plays are set in the period of disillusionment about the socialist ideology of *ujamaa* in post-independence Tanzania – a period that was followed by the implementation of neoliberal reforms and an increase in neo-colonial dependence on foreign aid (Lugalla 1995).

The Tanzanian socialist experiment founded on *ujamaa na kujitegemea* ('socialism and self-reliance,' Nyerere 1964; 1974; Blommaert 1997) was launched in 1967 through the Arusha Declaration (*Azimio la Arusha*), the manifesto of the political and philosophical ideology of *ujamaa* (lit. 'familyhood'), whose pillars are "the concept of togetherness, sharing and unity [among] African communities" (Topan 2006: 111). *Ujamaa* and its consequent development marked an influential historical period for Swahili writers, who wrote between "euphoria and pain" (Topan 2006).[3]

The twentieth century was also characterised by some challenges to insofar uncontested scientific positivism. Therefore, alienated persons, torn between their conscious and unconscious fears and desires, lost their certitudes as well as their established values and beliefs, which were exchanged for an awareness of both knowledge relativity and the lack of unique truth. The alienated individual, who adopts a pessimistic attitude toward life, is represented on stage as the character wearing the costume and the mask of 'sage-madness.' In other words, madness is not madness as such, but is the mask worn on the face of rationality and sagacity.

The textual analysis in this paper will centre on characters/personas and the narrative style of the plays, endeavouring an "inside-out" methodology that entails, firstly, to reveal and extrapolate the authors' emic theories, and then to apply those theories to analyse the plays.

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[3] "Writers' pain" (Topan 2006) sprang from seeing all the principles of the Arusha Declaration ravaged at the banquet of the bourgeoisie (Kezilahabi 2008). Cf Kezilahabi's poem *Azimio* ('Declaration') in the collection of poetry *Karibu Ndani* ('Welcome Inside,' 1988).

2. Comparative literatures and philosophies: between cultural universals and particulars towards relativism

In this section, the theoretical framework will be built by reviewing literature in the field of comparative literature and philosophy. "Making a comparison" is a basilar instrument to conduct literary criticism, which is indeed both "an action and the outcome" (Brown 2013: 71). The best definition of comparative literature is considered to be Remak's description, which was provided at the 9th Congress of the International Comparative Literature Association (AILC/ICLA) in 1979:

> Comparative Literature is the study of literature beyond the confines of one particular country and the study of the relationships between literature on one hand and other areas of knowledge and belief, such as the (fine) arts, philosophy, history, the social sciences, the sciences, religion, etc. on the other. (Remak quoted in Domínguez *et al.* 2015: 5; Remak 1980)

Comparative literature is also a bridge to the larger horizon of world literature. In 1827, Goethe coined the term *Weltliteratur* to describe a "literary system without boundaries" that Damrosh (2003) afterwards explained as a "universal literary system" (Damrosch in Dominguez *et al.* 2015: 2). Indeed, Damrosch further defined world literature as "a mode of circulation and a reading" (Damrosch 2003: 5) of texts. Then, he provided his well-known threefold definition: "world literature" is "an elliptical refraction of national literatures;" "a writing that gains in translation;" and "it is not a set canon of texts but a mode of reading: a form of detached engagement with worlds beyond our own place and time" (Damrosch 2003:281). Since "a theoretical lens may distort as much as it reveals" (Damrosch 2020: 126), "epistemophilia" should be transformed into a positive quest for "an epistemic difference to come" (Spivak 2009: 625) or an epistemic shift aimed to include "subaltern" (Spivak 1993) voices and perspectives.

After the second world war, the discipline of comparative literature, as a reaction to totalitarianism, started requiring a close reading of original texts in order to open up a dialogue with non-hegemonic languages: "philosophical concepts cannot transcend idiomatic differences" (Derrida quoted in Spivak 2003: 18). Comparative literature must "cross the borders" and "communicate among the heterogeneity of subaltern cultures in the world" (Spivak 2003: 18). Furthermore, world literature teaches people how to "[recognise] themselves through the projection of otherness," "thinking beyond barriers and boundaries" and through "the articulation of cultural differences into a third space of engagement" (Bhabha 1994: 1-12). Particularly, African literatures, as an example of world literature, have the potential not only to highlight "cultural differences" engaging in a dialogue which

"articulates and contests different cultural meaning and values" (Julien 1995: 17-8), but also to cross "the significatory boundaries of cultural interaction" (Bhabha in Julien 1995: 18). Nevertheless, a proper textual analysis must be an intra-textual analysis, a close reading, and an effort of "calibrations" (Quayson 2005) of the text through "its specific textuality, its specific way of being a text" (Barber 2007: 3), so as to disclose its emic cultural context aimed to overcome objectification of literature as per Kezilahabi's "onto-criticism" (1985). Therefore, "the analogical method of comparison and translation" (Gaudioso 2017: 29; 2018) are privileged hermeneutical instruments to interpret and analyse literature (Gaudioso 2017: 21; 2018: 63). Indeed, not only is "consciousness" "an operation which operates by way of analogy" (Jaynes 2000: 65-66), but also "consciousness is embedded in language" (Jaynes 2000: 450). People need to create a familiar analogue to understand new and/or unfamiliar concepts: "the source of all representations is to make something unfamiliar familiar" (Moscovici 2000: 37). Consequently, both analogy and translation become epistemic instruments to gain new knowledge, for "translation is a process of comprehension and restitution of a text through the constitution of an analogue" (Gaudioso 2017: 3, 19; Aiello and Gaudioso 2017).

In conclusion, to compare implies creating analogies, crossing barriers, and connecting borders, by constructing links or epistemic tools – both linguistic and aesthetic - to generate new knowledge. Comparing implies being aware of cultural plurality, which articulates both universals and particulars through relativity. Comparison is an unavoidable process for understanding something new, and its effective instrument seems to be translation: "learning another tradition through the lens of one's own" (Connolly 2015: 33).

Furthermore, language is an important point of discussion not only in the field of world literature but also in "comparative philosophy," which means to engage in "comparison across culturally distinct philosophical traditions" (Connolly 2015: 24). Particularly, "global philosophy" aims at a "dynamic commingling and creative interactionism" in which parties constantly exchange "between convergence and divergence" and "engage constructively through cross-cultural traditions" to make philosophy progress (Connolly 2015: 198). Indeed, the philosopher Kwasi Wiredu (1997) maintains the actual existence of cultural universals, a sine qua non condition for intercultural and cross-cultural communication (Wiredu 1997: 3). On the one hand, persons are the products of culture, and "cultural particulars are tongue dependent" (Wiredu 1997: 5), which means they are "expressed by intrinsic self-reflexivity of natural languages" (Wiredu 1997: 3). On the other hand, culture is a relative concept; however, the "untranslatability of culture" does not mean "unintelligibility" (Wiredu 1997: 25). In fact, "human beings rely upon a combination of particular and universals" (Wiredu 1997: 25) through which different cultures of the world can communicate. Additionally, "each natural language is a unique and

complex theory of describing experience that conveys its own ontology" (Hallen and Sodipo 1997:16). Thus, experiments in cross cultural translation, which implies to create a theoretical equivalent in the language of translation and/or apply certain concepts in a radically different language system, generate alternative philosophies (Hallen and Sodipo 1997: 124) and new epistemological perspectives. To conclude, not only by "translating alien behaviour in foreign languages [are] new meanings created" (Hallen and Sodipo 1997: 37), but also an active engagement in cross cultural comparisons provides evidence of the relativity of meanings (Hallen and Sodipo 1997: 124).

3. Self-alienation camouflaged behind the mask of madness

This section introduces the core theme of this study, which is also the leitmotif of the plays: the socio-political and psychological alienation of the human person, who I understood to be in its totality both "existential and essential" (Mancini 2014). Alienation will be discussed in the case study further on this paper moving between universalism and particularism.

Alienation or self-alienation as a theme has been widely discussed in literature. Firstly, on the one hand, Marx in his *Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844* argues that the oppressive social condition induced by capitalism produces the effect of "material alienation."[4] According to Marxist theory[5], not only are laborers "estranged" from the process of their labour and its product, which is a commodity, but they are also alienated from their own being and from those of others. On the other hand, Levine wrote *Method or Madness: On the alienation of the professional* (1982), where he maintains that it is indeed the method for seeking knowledge that alienates the professional, meaning philosophers and physicians, from their objects of research.

Conversely, Lacan, in his *Seminar XI* (1964), maintains that alienation is a fundamental step towards building up human subjectivity. The process is divided into two phases. The first is the famous "mirror phase," which occurs during "Ego formation." The self is disconnected and disjointed between, on the one hand, the child's visual perception of themselves as a whole through the "integral" image reflected in the mirror, and on the other hand, their "fragmented" inner experience of the self. The

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[4] See also: The Political Significance of Marx's Theory of Alienation - Logos Journal; Definition: Alienation (purdue.edu).

[5] The Marxist epistemology, as a literary criticism theory, is particularly applicable to analysing Swahili literary works produced during the *ujamaa* period and the "transition to socialism" of Tanzanian society (Philipson 1989; Wafula and Mue 2021).

Cf. Kezilahabi's play "*Kaptula la Marx*" ('Marx's Shorts,' 1978), which is a satire about the first symptoms of collapse of the *ujamaa* pillars (Bulcaen 1997; Wamitila 2000).

image of wholeness jars with the inner experience of a fragmented self; thus, children are alienated from themselves. The second phase occurs during "the symbolic order," when the unconscious and sociosexual relations develop, and thus the subject is split between consciousness and repressed desires. To sum up, the subjective identity develops through "separation" from the mother/care giver and the "subjective alienation" of the self (Lacan quoted in Malherbe 2021: 4-5).

Furthermore, Frantz Fanon in 1952 psychoanalysed the damage wrought by capitalism in Africa and explored what he called "the psychopathology of the negro:" an identity crisis developed during colonial times, which generates a distorted representation of blackness as "phobogenic" (Fanon 2017: 151). People are estranged from themselves and alienated, so they identify themselves with white people and wear "white masks on their black skins" (Fanon 2017). This "colonial cultural alienation" (Fanon 2017; Mbembe 2001) not only results in the displacement and dispersion of a person's identity between the dialectics of self/other-black/white, but it also causes an unconscious psychoanalytical ambivalence between the imposed white supremacy, invented myths (Mudimbe 1988), and "the process of identification in the colonial subject" (Fanon in Bhabha 1994: 44). Therefore, a black person can suffer from an alienated image of the self: "the otherness of self" and a "metonymic illusion of presence" (Fanon quoted in Bhabha 1994: 40-65), because they do not recognise that "identification with the other is a negation to one own identity caused by an ambivalent and antagonistic desire of the other" (Bhabha 1994: 40-65). Mignolo, subsequently, theorised the concepts of "decolonial epistemic de-linking" and "epistemic disobedience" (Mignolo 2009). Likewise, Malherbe (2021) claims for a "de-alienating epistemology" that "locates the truth of collective resistance in self-reflection and consciousness-raising" (Malherbe 2021: 15) as well as in "reflexivity (reflexive knowledge), emotionality (emotional knowledge), and unconscious knowledge" (Malherbe 2021: 16). To conclude, "epistemologies of the South" (Santos 2014) include all those forms of knowledge which, systematically submitted to the test of science (Cooper and Morrel 2014) and subjected to "epistemicide" (Santos 2014), mobilise against "cognitive injustice" (Santos 2014).

At this point in the discussion, methodologically speaking, alienation, as performed in theatre, will be analysed not only as a theme, but also as a narratological and stylistic feature.

Certainly, Freud's theory deeply affected the literary panorama of the 1900s' with his tripartition of the mind into "Ego, Id and Superego" (*The Ego and the Id* 1923) that explains the dual tension between the rational and the irrational mind: the id is the instinct and innate unconscious desires; the superego is the critical moral consciousness; and both of them are mediated by the ego. Previously, Nietzsche in *The Birth of Tragedy* (1872) had reunited the two opposing strengths: when Dionysian chaos and emotions clash with Apollonian harmony and logic, the greatest features of the tragic representation

are finally achieved (Styan 1981). Theatre is indeed "symbolic" (Styan 1981), yet it is more an intense experience of reality – its "double" (Artaud 2017). Especially, "cruelty" in the practice of theatre occurs to shock the audience and awaken unconscious passions as well as violent emotions: "theatre will evoke in us heart and nerves" (Artaud 2017: 75).

The function of theatre in this case study can be analogically described as the *stultifera navis* "the ship of fools," which navigates the madmen in the quest for their reason or "reason-madness" (Foucault 2001: 5). In literature, the character of the fool and/or madman has been popular since the Middle Ages as a form of veiled criticism, as Erasmus Roterodamus explained in his *Praise of Folly* (1509): because "madness reminds each man of his truth. The deception of deception" (Foucault 2001: 11). The follies are "the guardians of truth," who are closer to reason than reason itself (Foucault 2001: 11-12). Madness is also an epistemology that conducts people of reason and wisdom towards the perception of fragmentation, the absurdity of knowledge, and the nothingness of existence (Foucault 2001: 19). According to Foucault (2001: 273-274), "madness in a work of art opens a void, a moment of silence, a question without an answer, provokes a breach without reconciliation where the world is forced to question itself:" an alienation effect. Precisely, the "alienation effect" occurs when "the audience is hindered from simply identifying itself with the characters in the play;" thus, the audience is obliged to accept or reject the play on a conscious basis (Brecht 1992: 91). For instance, the "A-effect" (Brecht 1992) appears as an annoying external voice that interrupts the flow of the performance or the main dialogues all of a sudden. As can be noticed in the following examples from Muhando's plays:

Sauti: "Wema! Wema! Wema!" (Muhando 1975: 21)	Voice: Wema! Wema! Wema! [An external unknown voice calling for Wema]
Sauti: Mama! Mama! Mama! Mama mtoto analia. (Muhando 2010: 43)	Voice: Ma'am! Ma'am! Ma'am! Ma'am the child is crying

Or when a crazy character cries out complete nonsense, interrupting the central dialogue abruptly and surprising the spectators through the "A-effect," such as in Pirandello's *Henry IV*:

Original	*Translations*
Belcredi: (al dottore, vedendolo andare) Si guardi i piedi, si guardi i piedi, dottore! I piedi! (Pirandello 1973: 86)	*Belcredi: (kwa Daktari akimwona anapondoka) Uangalie miguu yako, uangalie miguu yako, Daktari! Miguu!*

Belcredi: [to the Doctor as he sees him going over]: Watch your feet, be careful of your feet, Doctor! Your feet! (Pirandello 1995: 81)

The audience, estranged from the event, reflect, and ask themselves questions that they would have not asked, if something odd had not called for their attention (Mutembei 2012). The "A-effect" is a self-contained incident that happens on stage, surprising the audience, and serving as an instrument of social criticism (Brecht 1992: 91).

Particularly in Tanzania during Nyerere's *ujamaa* period, Bertolt Brecht was a major author studied at the University of Dar es Salaam. Brecht's concept of popular drama, as expressed in the essay *The Popular and the Realistic* (1938), was introduced and reinterpreted (Brecht 1992; Etherton 1992: 324-25). "Popular" as a concept means that African people are "the makers of their own revolutionary drama" in conscious opposition to the bourgeoisie (Etherton 1992: 324). "Popular" implies not only the artwork crafted to oppose bourgeois art by representing the truth about society, but also work "by/about/for the oppressed" (Etherton 1992: 325). Theatre raises consciousness so as to free people from oppression (Boal 2008) and avoid unconscious objectification with the oppressor (Fanon 2017). In fact, "drama more than other literary arts deals with the contradictions of social existence" (Jeyifo 1985: 7), attempting a resolution of conflicts, and thus it reveals the "truthfulness of the artifice" in face of "the lie in the truth" (Jeyifo 1985: 7).

The theme of alienation is stylistically represented in theatre not only through aesthetic features such as Brechtian alienation effect and meta-theatrical devices, *e.g.* plays-within-plays or a story inside the story (Styan 1981; Shepherd-Barr 2016), but also through a narrative style, that features characters who are crazies and mad persons. The case study will illustrate how the character of the mad person sometimes overlaps with the narrative agent, the narrator. The narrator is "that agent which utters the linguistic signs which constitute the text" and differs from the author of the narrative (Bal 1997: 18). The narrator who never refers to itself as a character and does not act nor figure in the fabula is an external narrator (EN). The narrator who can be identified with a character in the fabula and performs actions in the story is a character-bound narrator (CN) (Bal 1997). For instance, in Muhando's plays, we will see how the "mad" character overlaps with both the external and internal narrators, whereas Pirandello's style prefers internal bound characters.

To sum up, the feelings both of sociohistorical alienation and self-alienation experienced by the individual, performed on stage through the mask of madness and acted by characters who play the role of mad persons will be the key aspects of the analysis conducted in the case study.

4. Two dramatists who frame the twentieth century: Luigi Pirandello and Penina Muhando

This section briefly introduces the two playwrights who frame the twentieth century cross-culturally between Italy and Tanzania, and their core theories, to whom this paper is dedicated.

Luigi Pirandello wrote his plays at the beginning of the century. He was born in 1867 in Agrigento, Sicily, and died in Rome in 1936. He is the author of 7 novels, 40 plays and 232 short stories and novellas, and won the Nobel Prize for Literature in 1934 (Poma and Riccardi 1998a; Styan 1981; Macchia 1986; De Monticelli 1973).

Pirandello was not only a writer, but also a philosopher (Poma and Riccardi 1998a: 354). According to Pirandello the positivist epistemology fails to reach deep knowledge, and actual understanding of human nature, because it is illusory and escapes the limits of science. Therefore, in his view, scientific positivism destroyed metaphysics and faith, pushing humanity to recognise that life no longer had a meaning: "*un'enorme pupazzata, [...] senza spiegazione*"[6] ('a huge puppet-show [...] without an explanation'); in Swahili: *mchezo mkuu wa karagosi bila ufafanuzi*[7]. Life is small in the shadow of death, according to his "Lanterninosofia" ('Lanterninosophia') (Poma and Riccardi 1998a: 374). Furthermore, Pirandello's critique of positivism led him to claim a philosophy of "gnoseological relativism," which means that there is no objective reality: each individual has their own. Knowledge is a plural and multifaceted concept which implies subjective interpretations by individuals. These subjective interpretations can be projected both inwards: how an individual sees her/himself (including the plural interpretations of the Self), and outwards: how others see the individual (Poma and Riccardi 1998a: 395). As per Pirandello's theory of relativity (*nadharia ya uhusiano wa kulinganisha)*,[8] knowledge can be described as a multifaceted prism; indeed, it subjectively depends on which face of the prism is observed. Likewise, truth can be interpreted as transitory, chameleonic and plural.

Pirandello was a pioneer of meta theatre and the creator of "the grotesque theatre" (Styan 1981: 78) established through his "theory of puppets" (*nadharia ya kikaragosi mtu*). People are not free to express themselves but are trapped behind masks designed according to influences from the social

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[6] Pirandello's letter to his sister Lina (1886), quoted in Poma and Riccardi (1998a: 355).

[7] All Swahili translations in this paper are mine, if not otherwise indicated. All emphasis mine.

[8] All the Swahili translations of Pirandello's theories quoted in brackets in this paragraph are drawn from: Nicolini, Cristina. 2016. "*Mkabala Linganishi: Dhamira ya Wazimu na Kichaa katika Tamthilia za Luigi Pirandello na Tamhilia za Penina Muhando*" (Comparative perspective: leitmotif of madness and insanity in Luigi Pirandello and Penina Muhando's dramas). Paper presented at the "29th Swahili Colloquium," Bayreuth.

environment and its rules. Those masks are staged in theatre that is the double of life. Pirandello's statement on the grotesque theatre is enclosed in his long essay *L'Umorismo* ('On Humour,' 1908) (Styan 1981). In this essay, Pirandello explains that humour (*dhana ya ucheshi*) works through the *avvertimento del contrario* "perception of the opposite" (*hisia ya kinyume*): when you perceive that something is odd and does not conform to social norms, it makes you smile at first; however, it is not supposed to amuse people, but to make them reflect. In fact, after the initial laughter comes bitterness through the *sentimento del contrario* "feeling of the opposite" (*mihemko ya kinyume*) that makes you understand the drama of human existence (Styan 1981; Poma and Riccardi 1998a).

Reflection, like a demon behind the mirror, reveals the contrary of what appears to be reality: reality is as fragmented as human identity. Especially, people are alienated in modern societies, absorbed as they are with worshipping "factisches" (Latour 2010: 11). Pirandello focuses his criticism on the false morality of the bourgeoisie, who search for the "ideal truth" no matter what, by repressing whatever is different. This leads to a fragmentation of the self, which splits in plural identities: "one (how you see yourself), one hundred thousand (how you are seen from the others' perspectives), and no one (the fragmented self, bewildered and confused, became no one)" (Poma and Riccardi 1998a). The splitting of identity into "one, no one, and one hundred thousand (*mmoja, hakuna mtu na laki moja*)" (Pirandello 1914) is bound to Pirandello's theory of masks (*vinyago*). Pirandello explains that life is like a stage, where people wear thousands of different masks to fit social conventions: "in life you see a lot of masks but few faces" (Pirandello 2014).

Pirandello maintains that the truth is an abstract concept that lies beyond human capabilities. Indeed, in the play *Cosi è (se vi pare)* (1917), he describes metaphorically the "relative truth" appearing behind a thick black veil, and revealing itself as each one of us desires it to be. In other words, relative truth is how each person interprets differently the world as seen through an impenetrable thick black veil (Musa 1995).

Therefore, the concepts of both reality and identity fragment. This fragmentation induces a state of self-alienation in the individual. The mad men are the only ones who can be so brave as to take off their masks and shout out loudly a crude and sharp 'reality' liberating themselves from appearances. In fact, the simplest way to appear crazy is just to shout out loudly what we acknowledge as the truth without caring about how we should 'appear' ('*kwa kujionyesha kama kichaa inatosha tu kwamba mtu alie ukweli kwa sauti kubwa hadharani*') - this is what Pirandello (1916) suggests.

Pirandello's linguistic code is rooted in the literary tradition of Italian Verismo,[9] and thus it is a non-elitist language without adornments: either the Sicilian dialect or a lively spoken Italian (Trovato 2008: 44). However, Pirandello distanced himself from the Verismo tradition, maintaining the impossibility of representing an objective reality which is multifaceted, and he employed a highly expressive language which is characteristic of his poetic of humour (Poma and Riccardi 1998a: 357).

Penina Muhando wrote her plays towards the end of the twentieth century. Professor Penina Oniviel Muhando Mlama (1948) not only is Emeritus Professor of Creative Arts at the University of Dar es Salaam, but she is also an activist for gender equality and development rights through the performing arts. From 1998 to 2010 she cooperated with the pan-African NGO, "Forum for African Women Educationalists (FAWE)," which promotes girls' education in Africa; she was also co-founder of TUSEME, "Girls' Empowerment for Gender Equality model" that is an example of Theatre for Development (TfD) in Tanzania.[10]

Muhando is a well-known playwright and a pioneer of "the experimental drama or new-traditional African drama" (*tamthilia za majaribio*), which connects the influences of the European model with a revitalization of traditional East African performing arts, and which was launched after independence. Academics from the Dar es Salaam Arts College, as well as dramatists and playwrights of international fame, including Farouk Topan, Ebrahim Hussein, Magabyuso Mulokozi, Emmanuel Mbogo, Amandina Lihamba and May Balisidya (Mlama 2003a,b; Wafula 1999; Method 2013) were the creators of "modern Swahili theatre" (Bertoncini *et al.* 2009; Lihamba 2004). Mlama in particular is a strong supporter of African traditional performing arts (*sanaa za maonyesho za jadi,* Mlama 1981), as she explained to me during our interview (12-11-2018[11]). I had the privilege to obtain formal interview with Prof. Penina Muhando to talk about her artistic engagement and productions. For instance, she explained to me that since colonialism had suffocated the African traditional arts, she was committed to reviving Tanzanian traditional theatre, taking on the responsibility to demonstrate that Africa has a long history of performing arts. In fact, she reintroduced in her plays all the traditional stylistic and

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[9] The literary movement of Verismo was created at the end of the 1800s by the theorists Luigi Capuano and Giovanni Verga as a technique to tell the humble life unvarnished as it is through a raw language. Another characteristic of the movement was support for the Sicilian language.

See also Poma and Riccardi (1998b: 138-139).

[10]   https://www.britannica.com/biography/Penina-O-Muhando;   https://gateproject.net/prof-penina-mlama-3/; https://www.udsm.ac.tz/web/index.php/alumni/name/10

[11] Penina Muhando Mlama, whom I acknowledge, was interviewed by the author on November 12, 2018, at the University of Dar es Salaam.

narrative features, such as *ngoma*, dances; *hadithi* storytelling; and dialogic interactions between narrators and spectators. I argue that Muhando was capable of both retrieving traditional culture after colonialism and expressing full awareness of cultural development dynamics and political consciousness, especially in her later works.

In addition to this, she is a pioneering exponent of the Tanzanian variant of Theatre for Development (*sanaa kwa maendeleo*), as well as a scholar and practitioner of the "African Popular Theatre" approach, "which emerged as a conscious effort to assert the culture of the dominated classes" (Mlama 1991a: 67) with the objective of "decolonising theatre with endogenous structures" (Kerr 1995: 105; Thiong'o 1986). Especially, Mlama, Lihamba along with their colleagues Chambulozoki and Balisidya, brought into being the effective project of "Malya Popular Theatre for Social Development in Tanzania" in 1982-1983 (Lihamba 2004; Mlama 1991a), as well as the *Mkambalani* workshop in 1986, a form of popular theatre which produced a "communication for development" for women in Tanzania (Mlama 1991b).

Not only is Mlama the author of academic articles and books, but also the author, by "creating in the mother-tongue" (Mlama, 1990), of the following plays: *Haitia* ('Guilt,' 1972); *Tambueni haki zetu* ('You recognise our rights!' 1973); *Heshima yangu* ('My dignity'1974); *Pambo* ('Decoration,' 1975); *Harakati za ukombozi* ('Liberation struggle'1982); *Nguzo mama* ('The mother-pillar,' 1982); *Abjadi yetu* ('Our alphabeth,' 1983); and *Lina ubani* ('An Antidote to Rot,' 1984).

I argue that Muhando's characters can be framed in the context of "sage philosophy," *i.e.* "expressed thoughts of wise men and women in any given community; those thoughts are a way of representing and explaining the world that fluctuates between popular wisdom and didactic wisdom" (Oruka 1990: 28). According to Oruka (1990), the masters of popular wisdom (conformist thoughts) are the folk-sages, while the philosophic sages are the experts in didactic wisdom, who at times are critical of the communal set-up as well as of popular wisdom (Oruka 1990: 28). A central objective in Muhando's plays is to oppose the "epistemic marginalization of women:" "all measures spoken, written or gestured by men which seek to convey the impression that women are incapable of intellectual rigour or cognitive enterprises" (Chimakonam 2018a: 11; Mosima 2018).

Secondly, in Muhando's plays appear all the seven types of choruses detected by Mutembei (2012: 27-68). They are as follows: a peculiar event which describes traditional habits and customs such as life cycle rituals and symbolises the ethical pillars of African society; songs and music performances that expressed in the form of refrains repeat core concepts; a structure that is commonly dialogic, and a style characterised by a story within a story, or multi-layered narrations usually rich in flashbacks; choral characters who give advice, opinions, raise questions and propose answers to those queries.

Choral characters also unify the plot, lead both the audience and other characters, and teach the reasons underpinning the purpose of the drama; the purpose of the play itself has a choral function; finally, the presence of silence (*ukimya*) not only as absence of voices, but also in the form of understood cultural implications of actions, metaphors, and proverbs. For instance, the title of Muhando's play *Lina ubani* was inspired by the proverb "*la kuvunda halina ubani*" ('when something is rotten there is no incense strong enough to cover the bad smell') (Mutembei 2012: 62).

Finally, there also appear characters who fit in the category of what I baptise as "choral sages" (Nicolini 2022: 93; 74): traditional African figures endowed with wisdom, who are connected to both the world of ritual and the performance. These personas, endowed with knowledge and common-sense, perform the role of both "Orukian sages" and "choral characters" by wearing the costume and the mask that I call of 'sage-madness.' Sagacious reasoning is conveyed by mad characters' words and actions. As Mlama explained (12-11-2018): "*katika ukichaa wahusika wana uhuru wa kusema wanachotaka na wana uhuru wa kusema vitu 'havisemeki'*" ('the characters in their madness have the freedom to say whatever they want and to say things that cannot be said'). Many times, the mad character states the actual truth that all people know, but cannot dare to say; however, since those characters are considered unreliable fools, who cannot be taken seriously, they are simply free to utter whatever they want, without facing any consequences.

The case study in the following sections is strategically arranged so as to put the six selected plays in dialogue with each other two at a time: *Enrico IV* ('Henry IV,' Pirandello 1921) in dialogue with: *Pambo* ('Decoration,' Muhando 1975); *Così è, Se vi pare* ('It is so, If you think so!' Pirandello 1917) in dialogue with *Nguzo mama* ('The Mother Pillar,' Muhando 1982); and *Il Berretto a Sonagli* ('Cap and bells,' Pirandello 1916) in dialogue with *Lina ubani* ('An Antidote to Rot,' Muhando 1984).

5. Madness as an escape from injustice

5.1. *Enrico IV* ('Henry IV,' 1921)

Enrico IV is a tragedy in three acts, which employs the technique of theatre in the theatre. It deals with differences and alternations between objective and subjective knowledge; in this play, madness debunks the illusion of the existence of an external objective shape of reality and knowledge (Poma and Riccardi 1998a).

The plot narrates the vicissitudes of a group of country lords, who celebrate Carnival by a masquerade in a solitary villa in the Italian region of Umbria. The protagonist, Enrico IV, has no real name, for he is completely identified with the character he performs: the German emperor of the eleventh century. However, during the masquerade, Enrico IV falls from his horse, hits his head, and

suddenly becomes crazy; he starts believing he is the authentic Enrico IV. After 20 years, his friends, especially the Marchesa Matilde Spina (who during the first Carnival masquerade performed as Matilde di Toscana), reunite together with a doctor to replicate the masquerade so as to cure Enrico IV of his madness. During the play within the play, Enrico IV confesses that he had been genuinely mad for 12 years only; then he just pretended to be crazy so as to set himself free. In the end, he revenges the treason endured 20 years previously, when Belcredi made him fall off his horse deliberately in order to steal Enrico's betrothed, the Marquise Matilda Spina, by killing Belcredi with his sword.

In the following paragraphs, core scenes of the play, which are performed by the characters who wear the mask of madness, will be illustrated alongside my Swahili translations[12]. In this play, madness is a character in its own right: Follia or *Wazimu*:

Original	Translations
Donna Matilde: Non dimenticherò mai quella scena, di tutte le nostre facce mascherate, sguajate e stravolte, davanti a quella terribile maschera di lui, che non era più una maschera, ma la Follìa! (Pirandello 1973: 95)	*Bibi Matilde: Sitasahau kabisa onyesho hilo la nyuso zetu zenye vinyago, chafu na zenye maumivu, mbele ya kile kinyago chake cha kutisha, ambacho hakikuwa kinyago tena, bali Wazimu mtupu!*
	Lady Matilda: I shall never forget that scene: all of our faces masked, gross and distorted, there in front of that terrifying mask of his face that now was no longer a mask but rather madness itself! (Pirandello 1995: 89)

Nevertheless, the fool is not so foolish, he explains that each one of us is playing a part and wearing a costume imposed by society through the theory of masks/*vinyago*:

Enrico IV: [...] Ci siamo fissati tutti in buona fede in un bel concetto di noi stessi [...] seguitiamo a tenerci stretti	*Enriko IV: [...] Kwa nia njema, tunaendelea kukazia fikra zetu juu ya dhana nzuri kuhusu sisi wenyewe [...]*

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[12] All the translation of Pirandello's plays from Italian to Swahili in this paper are mine.

al nostro concetto, così come chi invecchia si ritinge i capelli. [...] Ma vi assicuro che per quanto sul serio, siete mascherata anche Voi, Madonna; [...] per codesto ricordo che volete fissare in voi artificialmente del vostro color biondo [...]; l'immagine che viene meno della vostra gioventù. (Pirandello 1973: 109)

tunaendelea kushikilia ile dhana yetu, kana kwamba mtu aliyezeeka anapaka rangi nywele zake. [...] Lakini nakuhakikisha kwamba, kwa kweli, hata wewe Bibi unavaa kinyago; [...] kwa kumbukumbu hiyo ya rangi ya blond unayopenda kuurekebisha ndani yako [...]; sura ya ujana wako inayofifia.

Henry IV: [...] But all of us, none the less, continue to hold tightly to the concept we have of ourselves, just the way someone growing old will colour his hair. [...] But I assure you that no matter how seriously you take it, you, too, are masquerading, my Lady; [...] I am speaking only about that memory of yours which you desire to fix artificially in yourself of your blonde colour which on a certain day you found pleasing [...] the fading image of your youth! (Pirandello 1995: 99)

Enrico IV: Ma guai a chi non sa portare la sua maschera, sia da Re, sia da Papa. (Pirandello 1973: 111)

Enriko IV: Lakini ole wao wasioweza kuvaa kinyago chake cha Mfalme, ama cha Baba mtakatifu (Pope).

Henry IV: But Heaven helps the one who does not know how to wear his mask, be he king or Pope! (Pirandello 1995: 101)

Each person must obey the rules imposed by the mask they choose, so they become prisoners of their own masks; the witch crafted punishment imposed on them by their masks is to be excluded from the play of life:

Enrico IV: La mia vera condanna è questa - [...] di non potermi più distaccare da quest'opera di magia! –

Enriko IV: Adhabu yangu halisi ni hii – [...] ya kutoweza kujitengana na mchezo huu wa uchawi! – [...]

[...] Di staccarmi di là [...] e farmela vivere tutta, questa mia povera vita, da cui sono escluso... (Pirandello 1973: 112)

kujitengana nao [...] na kuishi maisha yangu yote maskini, Maisha ambayo nimetengwa nayo...

Henry IV: my true condemnation is this – or that- never to be able to detach myself from this work of magic! [...] to release me from that, there and allow me to live wholly this poor life of mine from which I am excluded (Pirandello 1995: 102)

Madness is like an act of witchcraft, which enacted by a spell, becomes a privileged observation space from which the reality that surrounds us can be observed:

Dottore: Si può essere anche sicuri che un pazzo nota, può notare benissimo un travestimento davanti a lui; e assumerlo come tale; e sissignori, tuttavia, crederci; proprio come fanno i bambini, per cui è insieme giuoco e realtà. (Pirandello 1973: 116)

Daktari: Inawezekana kuwa na uhakika kwamba mwenda wazimu anaweza kutambua [kujificha ndani ya] umbo la uwongo mbele yake, na anaukubali; na ndio mabwana, kuuamini; kama wanavyofanya watoto kwa hiyo ni uongo na uhalisia pamoja.

Doctor: you see – that they notice things, that they can easily detect someone who is wearing a disguise; and he can recognize it as such; and yes, ladies and gentlemen, at the same time he can believe in it, the way children do, for whom it amounts to a mixture of play and reality. (Pirandello 1995: 104)

Enrico IV: Buffoni! Buffoni! Buffoni! [...], buffoni spaventati! E si spaventano solo di questo, oh: che stracci loro addosso la maschera

Enriko IV: Wachekeshaji! Wachekeshaji! Wachekeshaji! [...], wachekeshaji wanaoogopa! Na wanaogopa mi nirarue kinyago chao

buffa e li scopra travestiti; come se non li avessi costretti io stesso a mascherarsi, per questo mio gusto qua, di fare il pazzo! [...] -E avevano l'aria di prestarsi per compassione, per non far infuriare un poverino già fuori dal mondo, fuori dal tempo, fuori dalla vita! (Pirandello 1973: 131-132)

cha kuchekesha na nigundue wamejificha; kana kwamba singalikuwa mimi mwenyewe kuwalazimisha wavae vinyago kwa furaha yangu ya kuwa mwenda wazimu [...] – Na walionekana wafanye hivyo kwa sababu ya huruma, wasije wakamkasirisha maskini mmoja aliyekwisha kuwapo nje ya dunia, nje ya wakati, na nje ya maisha!

Henry IV: Clowns! Clowns! Clowns! [...], frightened clowns! And one thing only frightens them, oh: that I tear off their ridiculous masks and reveal the disguise, as if it were not my very self who forced them into masquerading to satisfy my own pleasure of playing the madman! [...] and with the nerve to pretend they were doing it out of pity, so as not to infuriate a poor wretch already out of the world, out of time, out of life! (Pirandello 1995: 118-119)

People are trapped behind their masks, and they are scared to death to take them off; only the mad man, who fears nothing, eludes the rules of the ruling class, and rebels against oppressive obligations by tearing off his mask.

Enrico IV: pretendono che gli altri siano come li vogliono loro: ma non è mica una sopraffazione, questa! [...], vi fanno subire e accettare il loro, per modo che voi sentiate e vediate come loro! (Pirandello 1973: 132)

Enriko IV: wanadai wengine wawe kama wanavyotaka wao: si ndio udhalimu huu! [...] wanakulazimisha mkubaliana na njia yao, ili msikie na mkaone kama wao!

Henry IV: And those others take advantage of this, they put you down and make accept their way,

to make you feel and see as they
do! (Pirandello 1995: 119)

The laugh of alienation is a feature typical of madmen characters, who obtain relief from unease and
frustration by bursting into laughter:

Enrico IV: "Pazzo" "pazzo"! [...] -
Sono o non sono? – Eh, via, si, sono
pazzo! (Pirandello 1973: 133)

Enriko IV: "Kichaa" "kichaa"! [...] -
Mimi ni kichaa au la? – Basi, ndio,
mimi ni kichaa!

Henry IV: 'crazy,' 'crazy'! [...] Am
I or am I not? Eh, why not? Yes,
of course, I am crazy! (Pirandello
1995: 119)

Enrico IV: [...] Facciamoci tra noi una
bella, lunga, grande risata... (E ride)
(Pirandello 1973: 135)

Enriko IV: [...] Hebu jamani sote
pamoja tucheke kicheko kizuri,
kirefu, tena kikubwa... (Anacheka)

Henry IV: [...] let's have a good,
long laugh over it... (and he
laughs) (Pirandello 1995: 121)

Crazy people, who wear the mask of 'sage-madness,' are living authentic experience in contrast with
the falsity of those who are wearing social masks, pretending to live, while they are performing a play,
according to the rules of appearance imposed by the conventions of society.

Enrico IV: [...] Conviene a tutti far credere
pazzi certuni, per avere la scusa di tenerli
chiusi. [...] -Non si può mica credere a quel
che dicono i pazzi! - [...] trovarsi davanti a
un pazzo significa trovarsi davanti a uno
che vi scrolla dalle fondamenta tutto
quanto avete costruito in voi, attorno a
voi, la logica, la logica di tutte le vostre
costruzioni! - Eh! Che volete? Costruiscono
senza logica, beati loro, i pazzi!
(Pirandello 1973: 136-137)

Enriko IV: [...] Inafaa kila mtu
kwamba wengine wanafikiriwa ni
wendawazimu ili apate kisingizio
kwa kuwafunga. [...] -Haiwezekani
kuamini maneno ya wenda
wazimu!- [...] Kuwa mbele ya
mwenda wazimu inamaanisha kukaa
mbele ya mtu anayeangusha chini
kila kitu mlichokijenga moyoni
mwenu, kandokando yenu, mantiki,
yaani mantiki ya ujenzi wote wa
mambo yenu ya ndani! – Enhee!
Mnataka nini? Vichaa,

*wanabahatika kweli enhee, wao
wanajenga bila mantiki na
utaratibu!*

Henry IV: [...] it's convenient for everybody to make others think that certain people are crazy in order to have an excuse to keep them shut away. [...] you cannot possibly believe what crazy people say! [...] To find yourself face to face with a person who shakes the foundations of everything you have built up in and around you: that logic, the logic of all your constructions! Eh! What do you expect! Crazy people, bless them, construct without logic! (Pirandello 1995: 121-122)

*Enrico IV: Dico che siete sciocchi!
Dovevate sapervelo fare per voi stessi,
l'inganno; non per rappresentarlo
davanti a me* (Pirandello 1973: 141)

*Enriko IV: Ninakuambieni kwamba mu
wapumbavu! Mlipaswa kuigiza hila hii
kwa ajili yenu; sio kwa ajili yangu mimi*

Henry IV: I say that you are fools! You should have known how to stage it for yourselves, this deception of yours; not to act it out in front of me (Pirandello 1995: 124)

However, crazies are also excluded from the small pleasures of life. The choice to be crazy has no way out, and the mad person is thus condemned to a different punishment:

*Enrico IV: [...] e che sarei arrivato con
una fame da lupo a un banchetto già
bell'e sparecchiato.* (Pirandello 1973:
151)

*Enriko IV: [...] Na ningaliwasili nikiwa
na njaa kubwa kama ya mbweha
kwenye dhifa ambayo imeshapakuliwa*

Henry IV: [...] I realized that I had arrived hungry as a bear to a banquet that was already over (Pirandello 1995: 132)

Enrico IV: [...] siamo i pagliacci involontari quando senza saperlo ci mascheriamo di ciò che ci par d'essere - (Pirandello 1973: 153)

Enriko IV: [...] sisi ni wacheshi wapumbavu wakati ambapo bila kujua tunavaa vinyago vyetu ili tuwe kama tunavyodhani

Henry IV: [...] we are involuntary clowns when, without knowing it, we masquerade ourselves with what we think we are (Pirandello 1995: 133)

Enrico IV: Sono guarito, signori: perché so perfettamente di fare il pazzo, qua; e lo faccio quieto! - Il guajo è per voi che la vivete agitatamente, senza saperla e senza vederla la vostra pazzia. (Pirandello 1973: 154)

Enriko IV: Nimepona, jamani! Kwa sababu ninatambua kwamba ninajifanya kichaa, hapa; na ninajifanya kwa utulivu! - Shida ni kwenu mnaoishi kwa msisiko, bila kujua, na bila kuona wazimu wenu.

Henry IV: Ladies and gentlemen, I'm cured because I know how to play the part of a madmen to perfection, right here; and I do it quietly. The trouble with you is that you live in your own madness with such agitation that you do not even know or see it! (Pirandello 1995: 134)

Enrico IV: La mia vita è questa! Non è la vostra! La vostra in cui siete invecchiati io non l'ho vissuta! [...] Fisso in questa eternità di maschera! (Pirandello 1973: 155)

Enriko IV: Haya ndiyo maisha yangu! Sio yenu! Maishani kwenu mlikozeeka, mimi maisha yale sikuyaishi kabisa! Nasimama tu katika huo umilele wa kinyago!

Henry IV: This is what my life is! It is not your life! Yours, in which you

have grown old, I did not live! [...]
fixed in this eternal masquerade.
(Pirandello 1995: 135)

In the end, *huku akicheka kama kichaa* – *"ridendo come un pazzo"* ('laughing like a madman,' Pirandello 1973: 156), Enrico IV avenges himself by inflicting a mortal wound[13] on Belcredi, while Donna Matilda defends him by declaring that he is crazy!

Donna Matilde: è pazzo! È pazzo!

Belcredi: Non è pazzo! Non è pazzo!
(Pirandello 1973: 156)

Bibi Matilde: Kichaa! Kichaa!

Belcredi: Sio kichaa! Sio kichaa!

Lady Matilda: he is crazy! He is mad!

Belcredi: he is not crazy! He is not crazy! (Pirandello 1995: 136)

5.2. *Pambo* ('Decoration,' 1975)

Pambo is a play in three acts that deals with the disillusionment of young people facing the government false promises. Pambo is a newly graduated young person, who even after all the challenges endured to achieve his university degree, cannot find a proper job and get married, disappointing both his fiancée and his parents. Therefore, one day, while he is looking at his degree certificate and his graduation gown, which represent all his unachieved goals and expectations, he loses his mind and starts singing an exasperated yet liberating song:

Original	*Translations*
Pambo Pambo mkubwa mie	Pambo, I am Pambo the big one
Hakuna anayenizidi	There is no one who can beat me

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[13] Cf. Ebrahim Hussein's play *Mashetani* ('Daemons' 1971): *Binadamu anatumbukiza kisu katika mbavu. Shetani anacheka. Kila pigo la kisu linasababisha kicheko zaidi. Kicheko kinajaa nyumba nzima [...] Shetani anaanguka lakini kicheko kinaendelea* (Hussein 1971: 8) ('The human being stabs a knife into the devil's rib cage. The devil laughs. Each stab causes a louder laugh. Laughter fills the entire house. [...] The devil falls down, but the laughter goes on').

In this scene, *Binadamu* (lit. the son of Adam) dances in a trance-like state a lethal waltz with the Devil, and a dreadful laugh characterises the event. This laugh can be explained as a post-hypnotic suggestion (Dargenio and Nicolini 2017; Nicolini 2021a), which not only brings to the surface unconscious emotions and desires, but also re-establishes contact with reality for both characters and spectators.

Wa wa wa ewaa	*Wa wa waa! Ewaa!*
Kisomo kikubwa ee	I studied at high levels
Madarasa tele tele	A lot of classes
Wa wa wa ewaa	*Wa wa waa! Ewaa!*
Digrii kupata mie	I obtained a degree
Cheti na joho juu	With a certificate and the
	ceremonial gown.
Wa wa wa ewaa	*Wa wa waa! Ewaa!*[14]
(Muhando 1975: 5-6)	
	Io sono Pambo il grande
	Nessuno mi può superare
	Wa wa wa ewaa
	Ho studiato ad alti livelli
	Moltissime materie
	Wa wa wa ewaa
	Mi sono laureato
	Con tanto di certificato e toga
	Wa wa wa ewaa[15]

The song, which is an expression of chorus (Mutembei 2012), is sung as a refrain throughout the whole play, alongside the alienation effect of an external choral voice which explains Pambo's state of mind:

Sauti: Kichaa! ... kichaa! ... kichaa! ... lakini sio kichaa cha kutumia nguvu na kufanya madhara, bali zaidi ni kichaa cha mawazo
(Muhando 1975: 34)
Voice: Crazy! ...Crazy!... Crazy! but not the harmful violent madness, he has only a troubled mind

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[14] All the translations from Swahili in this paper are mine if not otherwise indicated. I acknowledge William Mkufya, Swahili and English bilingual writer and translator, for the proofreading of my translations from Swahili to English of Muhando's plays.

[15] The Italian translations of Muhando's plays added in this paper are mine. The Italian version has been added to create a parallel between the two works of translation, *i.e.* in Pirandello's case from Italian to Swahili and in Muhando's case from Swahili into Italian and English.

Thus, Pambo's personality is split in three parts: the empty shell of himself, lost in disillusion; *Raha,* 'happiness/self-realisation;' and *Pesa,* 'economic remuneration and stability.' Pambo, who is psychologically wrecked, escapes into the forest with his new imaginary friends, *Raha na Pesa*, into a fantastic world where he hopes to rediscover himself. Subsequently, the play is characterised by a communal event *"msako wa vichaa,"* the hunt of fools, which is also a choral event (Mutembei 2012). The whole community is involved in the hunt, which is led by a traditional healer:

Mganga: Wananchi tusaidiane. Tushirikiane. Jamii nzima haina budi kuwaokoa watoto hawa kwa maana ni wetu sote. Kuwaokoa wao ni kuokoa jamii nzima. (Muhando 1975: 46)

The healer: Fellow citizens let's help one another. Let's work together. The whole community has the duty to save these youths because they are our children. To save them means to save the entire community.

Il guaritore: Cittadini aiutiamoci a vicenda. Cooperiamo. È dovere di tutta la comunità salvare questi nostri ragazzi. Salvarli significa salvare tutta la comunità.

If, on the one hand, the European symbols of the gown and the certificate brought Pambo to the edge of insanity, the traditional African healer, *mganga wa jadi,* is the one who speak the language of madness: *katika kumponyesha mwenye kichaa ni lazima umwongeleshe kwa lugha anayoielewa yeye mwenyewe* ('in the effort to cure a person with a troubled mind, you have to speak the language he can understand,' Muhando 1975: 45), and who is an example of a "folk-sage" (Oruka 1990). Indeed, philosophical sagacity is "the thought of rigorous indigenous thinkers (sages) who have not had the benefit of modern education, but they are nonetheless critical independent thinkers" (Oruka 1990: 234). The healer, by staging a play within the play, performs an apotropaic counter performance that looks like a reverse imitation game to Pambo's delirium:

Kikundi A (Pambo): Pambo Pambo mkubwa mie

Group A (*Pambo*): Pambo? I am Pambo the big one

Hakuna anayenizidi

There is no one that can beat me

Hakuna!

No one

Wa wa wa ewaa

Wa wa wa ewaa

Kikundi B (mganga): Pambo Pambo gani mie	Group B (the healer): Pambo what kind of 'decoration' am I?
Pambo nampamba nani	Pambo, who am I decorating?
Pambo gani!	What decoration is that?
Wa wa wa ewaa	*Wa wa wa ewaa*
(Muhando 1975: 49)	
	Gruppo A (Pambo): Pambo Pambo il grande
	Nessuno mi può superare
	Nessuno!
	Wa wa wa ewaa
	Gruppo B (Il Guaritore): Pambo che 'decorazione' sono io
	Chi sto decorando
	Che decorazione è questa
	Wa wa wa ewaa

In the end, the healer could heal Pambo's ripped personality, bring him back from the *stultifera navis* (Brant quoted in Foucault 2001) and support him to regain some hope for the future.

Comparing the two plays, the technique of theatre in the theatre is used in both *Enrico IV* and *Pambo.* Pirandello's characters, after 20 years, decided to perform again the Carnival masquerade, together with the support of a doctor, to heal Enrico IV from his madness; whereas in *Pambo,* the traditional healer performs a counter song to Pambo's delirious refrain so as to bring him back from madness and reunite his threshold split personality, which both illuded and deluded had been unable to reconcile desires/expectations and factual reality. To sum up, both Enrico IV and Pambo, deluded by and disillusioned from the play of life, exclude themselves from that stage to shelter in the world of madness.

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The appeal of subjugation

Artistic evidence of Pharaoh's propaganda in the southern Levant during the 18th–20th Dynasties

Giulia Tucci

The article proposes an interpretative revisitation of a rather well-known and widespread iconographic motif in Egyptian art: the depiction of the Pharaoh striking his enemies. The scenes of subjugation constitute a red thread that connects all pharaonic dynasties, with an obvious propagandistic purpose to benefit the power of the Pharaoh, and more extensively of the imposition of Egyptian order against the chaos created by everything outside the empire, reason to take foreigners prisoners and therefore punished. The analysis develops on the double strand of monumental art and glyptic media, with a comparison of the diffusion of the two media and an in-depth study of scarabs dated between the 18th and 20th Dynasty found in the southern Levant.

1. Introduction[1][2]

According to Hodder (1990) style is not arbitrary, but results from active selection of meaningful objects that can be understood only in their broader social context, as it is a dimension rooted in time and space (Conkey and Hastorf 1990: 1).[3] In this sense Hodder's theory is partly followed by M. Feldman (2006: 73) in which she states that 'there is no absolute definition of style, but rather a range of operative definition varying with user and analytical task to be performed.' Thus, she prefers to use the term *style* 'to describe the minutiae of formal details.'

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[2] The article is written within the framework of the research project "Stamp Seals from the Southern Levant," funded by the Swiss National Science Foundation (Sinergia project CRSIIS_La6426), a collaborative project between the universities of Zurich, Bern, and Tel Aviv. The directors of the project are Christoph Uehlinger (Zurich, coordinator), Silvia Schroer (Bern), Stefan Münger (Bern) and Ido Koch (Tel Aviv). The author would like to thank the Swiss National Science Foundation for its financial support.

[3] "Style is not separated from the social contexts that give the cultural materials in question their social values" Conkey and Hastorf (1990: 1). For a state of the art on "style" theories in anthropology and archaeology I would refer to the recent Root 2019 chapter.

As noted by Schapiro (1953: 287) 'the style is, above all, a system of forms with a quality and meaningful expression through which the personality of the artist and the broad outlook of a group are visible. It is also a vehicle of expression within the group, communicating and fixing certain values of religious, social and moral life through the emotional suggestiveness of forms.' Schapiro's theories, despite being much quoted, although saving some of his thoughts, have been subjected to criticism (Root 2019).

Binford (1965, 1986; see also Dunnel 1978 and Sackett 1982, 1986), have made a division between style and function, debating the relationship of style with technology as a "way of doing."

Wobst (1977) then adds the concept of enculturation according to which "style" is a product of the social condition in which it is born. The role of the community that produces a certain style is also central in the discourse of M. Feldman (2014).

The "use" of style in archaeology has often developed following the path of *history of art*, analyzing the material culture and all kind of representations both in what they are and how they were realized, and at the same time Hodder suggest that "style" is "a way of doing, where doing includes the activities of thinking" (Hodder 1990: 45).

Style is also often considered to draw a line between homogeneity and heterogeneity: the differences were read as traces of others, linked to diffusion, trade, continuity and migrations.

Starting from this assumption, how is it possible for a different culturally-based society to understand symbols and features of power that were apparently far from their original context? Even if this could seem a contradiction in terms, it is the basic process for the Egyptian royal propaganda in the Levant during the Late Bronze Age.

2. A few words about propaganda

First of all it is important to define my use of the term "propaganda." Propaganda expresses the precise will to convey a message commissioned by a restricted group of people, in this case the dominant ones, and directed to a large part of the population, in attempt to persuade, to promote or to influence them. One of the definitions of propaganda in the Oxford English Dictionary is 'the systematic dissemination of information [...] in order to promote a political cause or point of view,' while in the Italian Treccani we can read "action that tends to influence the public opinion, directing collective behaviour"[4]

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[4] Original: 'azione che tende a influire sull'opinione pubblica, orientando verso determinati comportamenti collettivi' (translation by the author).

The second definition adds to this meaning elements of the media through which ideology is disseminated.

Around 100 years ago, in 1921, the father of psychoanalysis, Sigmund Freud (who had a veritable passion for archaeology as is recognizable from the theoretic basis of his doctrine) published the essay *Massenpsycologie und Ich-Analyse* (English title: *Group Psychology and the Analysis of the Ego*). Within the context of Europe nearing the totalitarian affirmation of Nazi-fascism, Freud foresaw in his theoretical analysis a reflection on the fanaticism that would push the masses to conform, hypnotized by their leader, with whom they would identify maniacally. According to Freud's thesis, if on the one hand this idealizing identification results in the loss of critical thought and freedom, on the other it compensates them guaranteeing the refuge of identity. For this very reason, according to Freud, masses identifying with their leader have a deeply religious connotation.

If on the one hand the spread of this mass ideology can be described as the emergence of a pre-existing drive which had been, until then, kept dormant, on the other hand a fundamental role of propaganda actions put in place by the leader (Führer, Duce or... Pharaoh) and his *entourage* must be recognized in the dynamics of this awakening.

From this point of view, if the goal of propaganda is polarization and the conquest of affective components and of the interests of the masses in a specific direction, its language must bear the characteristics of ultra-simplification and obsessive repetition through the capillary diffusion of connotatively epitomized symbols[5].

Egyptian texts, especially those reporting battles, events or biographies, are filled with propagandistic elements; as stated by Simpson (1982: 266), Egyptian art is mostly propaganda, the function most of the time is not just decorative.

Material goods and their associated symbols are being used also to mask relationships of inequality and domination as part of religiously sanctioned world-view (Earle 1990: 75), however with the Egyptian domination in Canaan the role of dominant and dominated were pretty clear, with very few spaces for interpretation[6].

Thus, big reliefs on temple walls had a double perspective: the attempt to impress the viewer and at the same time to show the mighty figure of the Pharaoh, and to justify his role in the history.

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[5] I would like to thank Dr. Mario Cucca for this brief introduction. Dr. Cucca suggests among other studies Lippmann (1922), Allport and Postman (1947), Lazarsfeld and Merton (1971), Freud (1981), Shapiro (1984), Pratkanis (2001), and Perelman and Olbrechts Tyteca (2008).

[6] Taking into account, however, on the ground of reality was more entangled and with bi-directional influences than was then represented.

Legitimizing his figure, one would probably expect a better reception or at least little or no resistance to his rule.

3. The subjugation scenes: same scene, different media

The motif of subjugation of foreigners is a common theme in Egyptian art from the very earliest period,[7] and the way in which the Egyptians depicted the foreigners does not necessary imply a xenophobic character (Roth 2015: 156). Relevant at this point is the schematic summary proposed by Loprieno (1988: 8), in which the foreigner is represented first as a negative counterpart of a "Nilocentric" vision in the Old and Middle Kingdom and then in the post-Amarna era where a certain degree of cultural exchange with Asian peoples is recognized; in particular this latter scenario has also been more recently corroborated by Schneider (2003: 157), who proposes Egypt as dynamic and alternative to isolation.

Therefore, it is likely that there was a certain percentage of foreigners in Egypt who had adapted to live as the subjects of the Pharaoh, and not as subjugated by him. As evidence of this, as Schneider (2010: 144) has said, the term to identify foreigners (ḫ3s.tjw), could not be applied to those who, although not born in Egypt, now lived within the borders of the kingdom.

The inward and outward movements of people in and out Egypt contributed to a better Egyptian knowledge on its neighborhood:[8] during the Middle Kingdom, scenes depicting Asiatics mostly related to commercial involvement of people from East. From the 18th Dynasty few Asiatics were represented as mercenaries in the Egyptian army and with the intensifying of the campaigns against the Levant, Asiatics become the personification of the enemy made captive (Tucci 2019: 118).

In other scenes the king could be personified by an animal, a lion in the majority of cases, such as in the hunting scenes or in the scene in which the lion tramples on enemies;[9] interesting enough is a

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[7] Such scenes are not exclusively to Egyptian culture, but can also be found in the Near East, such as the representations of battles and victories of the Neo-Assyrian rulers (Nadali 2001-2003: 54 foll.)

[8] A number of foreigners from the Levant, must have taken up permanent residence in Egypt, as a result of economic or war-related migration (See e.g. Sparks 2004). Almost certainly, however, these fringes of the population, which retained their own cultural identity, were reabsorbed into the local social fabric, particularly if they had some technical skills.

[9] For a discussion on this topic see for example Davis (1992: 133). One of the first appearances of a lion in the scene is on an alabaster palette from Saqqara, 1st Dynasty (Hall 1986: Fig. 7). Here the lion appears just as a spectator. In a relief on a door jamb from the Merneptah Palace at Memphis (19th Dynasty), the lion is trampling on the same enemies hit by the Pharaoh (University Museum of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia E17257). There are few other examples of animals in this kind of scene. See e.g. Hall 1986: 47.

particular scene in which both the Pharaoh and the lion appear together, reinforcing the meaning of the scene itself.

Fig. 1. Door jam. Palace of Merneptah, Memphis. 19th Dynasty (Philadelphia, University Museum of Pennsylvania E17527).

The first attestations of the depiction of the Pharaoh smiting enemies date to around 3330 B.C.E., as part of wall painting in tomb No. 100 at Hierakonpolis, a large tomb possibly indicating social stratification10. The standing man, hierarchically bigger than other characters, is depicted in the act of smiting a row of human figures linked together by what appears to be a rope. The man is wielding a

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[10] A fine updated summary regarding the topic is Cohen (2019).

club and the bound characters are probably prisoners. The Narmer Palette (ca 3100 BC), is the second famous example in which the scene of smiting is depicted. The symbolic meaning of the entire decoration on the palette is well known (Luiselli 2011: 14). The palette was found inside the Hierakonpolis[11] temple dedicated to Horus and the monument is the manifesto of King Narmer's virile power, uniting Egypt and defeating his enemies. This could be said to be placed in the temple to commemorate and remember a key political event in Egyptian history.

Fig. 2. Tomb 100, Hierakonpolis. 220 BC ca. (after Luiselli 2011, fig. 1.1)

The image became quite common during the Old Kingdom and the following periods.[12] One of the major variations occurs in the New Kingdom, with the multiplication of the captives (sometimes there are nine prisoners, as the Nine Bows) who are now kneeling, almost lying at Pharaoh's feet. This multiplied reproduction is intended to reinforce the image of the Pharaoh and his power of control even over the world outside the Egyptian borders (Luiselli 2011: 16). One could summarize the diffusion on several devices of the image of the sovereign smiting enemies as in the table below.[13]

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[11] The concentration of finds with such a figure near Hierakonpolis could be an interesting topic to investigate further, but this is beyond the scope of this research. See also an ivory cylinder seal with three superimposed registers with this motif repeated (Hall 1986: fig. 6).

[12] This is not the place for a long list of templar reliefs in which the scene appears, see e.g. Hall (1986) and Luiselli (2011). In the Old Kingdom there is a flowering of stone markers with this theme, many found in the Sinai desert near Wadi Maghara.

[13] The motif endured in the Egyptian imagery beyond the classical periods, since the Roman period, as we have a scene in the exterior wall of the Roman Mammisi in the Dendera Temple.

What was considered "accessible" was likely that which was highly visible in open public spaces, or widely circulating. In the case under analysis, we have an example for both: reliefs on temple walls and small portable items.

Pre-Dynastic Period and Old Kingdom	Middle Kingdom	New Kingdom
Tomb walls	Wall reliefs	
Funerary temple walls		Temple walls
		Rock carving
Stone markers	Royal Stelae	
		Private Stelae[14]
		Small sculptures
Ceremonial Palettes		
Ivories		Ivories
		Plaques and Ostraka
	Ceremonial Weapons	
	Jewelry	
Cylinder Seals		Scarabs

Table 1. Different media and periods of diffusion of *the* "Pharaoh smiting" scene

The equivalent of the scene also appears in the texts, where the scene is described in words and not drawn. As noted by Filer (1997: 52), the power of the Pharaoh is equated with his ability to inflict wounds. Thus in *The Story of Sinuhe,* dated to the Middle Kingdom the Pharaoh is called 'the smiter of foreign lands.' Amenhotep II, in the Amada Stela (Pritchard 1955: 248) is described back after 'he had slain with his own mace the seven princes who had been in the district of Tagashi.'

4. Rituality or reality?

The scene of the Pharaoh smiting enemies, as suggested by Roth (2015: 157) may represent the ceremonial execution of a foreign captive, not necessary a living human being but a substitute, like a statue, as we can see from the sculptures of kneeling captive ready to be executed (Metropolitan

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[14] Schulman (1988: 8) narrows down the phenomenon between the 18th and 20th Dynasty.

Museum of Art 64.260). However, it cannot be denied that this practice was the reality at the conclusions of the battle (Bader 2017: 68).

In this sense, I do not agree with the definition of these representations as just emblematic of a precise historical event, 'scenes that lack historical specificity and depict the Pharaoh smiting foreign enemies or leading bound captives' (McCarthy 2003: 59).[15] In fact, one cannot totally exclude that they do not have a limited narrative purpose of describing a ritual or something that really happened on the fringes of a battle.

The gesture of smiting the enemies was a clear prerogative of the Pharaoh (represented both from his human figure, or by his name),[16] there are no officers, even of high rank, engaged in this operation.

Both in texts and depictions it seems that the gesture that is part of the divine act of rule of the king, and inflicting cranial injuries is perceived as something "moral or legal" (Filer 1997: 59).[17]

As noted by Bader (2012: 216) 'foreigners were considered to endanger the cosmos and justice and thus, must be ritually crushed (*topos*), aptly expressed by the ritual of killing of foreigners in Egyptian art.'[18]

Since the enemies were almost all foreigners, the meaning was clear: Egypt itself (i.e. Egyptian people) embodied by the Pharaoh figure, represented hierarchically bigger than the other characters, and the captives, the strangers accused of being the cause of unrest and therefore representing chaos. For the (local) Egyptian subjects of the Pharaoh, it was therefore a struggle between good and evil, in which they perceived themself as the Good, the right side of the dispute and their leader was the Pharaoh. The motif gains such an appeal leveraging the common sense of danger coming from outside. A feeling that justifies expansion outside one's own borders (Wylson 1979: 164).

As correctly noted by Routledge (2004: 29) hegemony is a more powerful concept when it is seen as being constituted by both the coercive (law, discipline, punishment, and retribution backed by the use or threat of force) and consensual (e.g. religious sanction, system of values, emotional dispositions) elements of state power.

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[15] McCarthy (2003) proposed to classify the representations of the Pharaoh dominating foreign enemies in two distinctive categories. The emblematic one, abbreviated (see above), and the narrative one, in which complex battle scene were depicted "many of which may be correlated to historical events," e.g. the Qadesh battle's relief at Abu Simbel.

[16] The king's name was part of the royal ideology, a substitute for the image, scarabs and other seals transporting royal propaganda in the most direct way, e.g. bearing the Pharaoh's name (Münger 2018: 41).

[17] Male's prerogative. We have just the depiction of Nefertiti, Amenhotep IV's queen, smiting enemies with a scimitar in hand (see e.g. Matić 2017).

[18] The different Egyptian approach toward the group of foreigners and the singular foreign has been well explained by Loprieno (1988) with the contrast between the *topos* and *mimesis*.

But what effect should this have on a foreigner? Surely it could instill the awe, the fear … But the presence of a god overseeing the sacrifice gave the scene something ineluctable, preordained (Leprohon 2015: 313) legitimizing it in the eyes of most.

The scene of offering the prisoners to a god of the Egyptian pantheon are trace of what Sales (2018: 296) claim as 'ritual violence.'[19]. In many of the scenes, a deity appears (Amun-Re, Re-Horakhty, Horus, Ptah...), often also the 'sword of victory," the *khepesh* (a curved scimitar) is offered to the Pharaoh by the divinity itself.[20] The analysis of Sales (2018: 308) is that the scene represents an entire divine favor in granting Pharaoh the military victory.[21]

Physical evidence suggesting human-sacrifice are little in Egypt,[22] but this is not real evidence either way, as the bodies of the condemned were probably not given the same attention in burial and therefore preservation was not a given.[23] Despite this, Campbell argues that prisoners of war were almost certainly publicly executed (Campbell 2020: 135), moreover enemy leaders, brought to Egypt after a military victory,[24] had to enjoy particularly violent (and spectacular) treatment.

The practice of mutilating the defeated in battle, well represented in the depictions, was also thought to be purely symbolic, but findings of numerous hands at Tell ed-Dab'a have provided tangible evidence of the practice (for a recent article see Candelora 2021).

These majestic scenes, as mentioned above, occupy the walls of important and representative buildings in a grand manner. Their positioning is also not random. As noted by Sales (2012: 95) 'the Medinet Habu's tower [entrance pylon] fulfilled a double function of protection: on one hand as a physical structure, imposing and powerful, served as a defense for its "owners"...; on the other hand, through the magic message released from the reliefs, acted as a "supplementary defense" against all potential assault from Egypt's enemies.' These images inscribed in the stones have the value to perpetrate the victory of the Pharaoh virtually forever and against all sorts of enemy.[25]

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[19] In this sense I rather prefer to call it "ritualized" violence. A violence that is made part of a ritual.

[20] See the description of the Southern Levantine scarabs.

[21] However, Sales (2018: 309) also emphasizes that some scenes could represent something real, albeit through exaggeration.

[22] The posture of the decapitated individual used as a foundation deposit in the Temple of Mut in Luxor may be one of this (Campbell 2020 and Anonymous 2012; see also Janzen 2013: 317).

[23] *Contra* see Campbell (2010: 128): 'Given the remarkable preservation of human remains from ancient Egypt, and the centuries of archaeological work conducted in Egypt, there is surprisingly little physical evidence of state-sanctioned violence against living (or even dead) victims.'

[24] See e.g the relief of Ramsess II at Abu Simbel. The king is depicted bringing the Hittites and Kushite prisoners in front of Re-Harakhty and Amun-Re.

[25] For a for a summary of the matter I also recommend Matic (2017: 104-106).

5. The glyptic material

Two main considerations push an analysis of this subject beyond Egypt's borders: the subject *per se* and the hypothetical propagandistic purpose. The scene is well known also from private and royal stelae dated to the New Kingdom and may point to two different scenarios: the commissioning of the king to undertake a war or the victorious outcome of the war with the killing of the enemies. As often happened the scene may be a fusion, or an abbreviation between the two meanings, as also suggested by Schulman (1988: 60-62 and 1994: 267).

Aside from stelae and stone markers, the motif is visible in small, personal and easily transportable objects, such as the stamp seals, and it is likely that scarabs motifs took inspiration from this kind of "bigger" and more visible supports.

Scarabs and seals are one of the ubiquitous Egyptian small finds in archaeological excavation of sites dated to the Late Bronze Age and Iron Age and as said by Higginbothan (2000: 250), the motif of the king smiting a foreign captive is not uncommon between the Late Bronze Age IIB and Iron Age IA.

Recent studies (e.g. Ben-Tor 2011 and Lalkin 2008) proposed that, in contrast to the scarabs found in the southern Levant from the Middle Bronze to Late Bronze Age IA-B generally considered to be locally produced, what is dated to later periods is of exclusive import from Egypt.

From Egypt we know several examples of this iconography on scarabs, most of which come from private collections, or from excavations undertaken at the beginning of the last century less common is the depiction on rectangular plaques and signet-rings.

Fig. 3. Scarabs from Egypt with "Pharaoh smiting enemies" scene (Petrie 1889; Petrie 1906; Hall 1913; Hall 1986 and Metropolitan Museum of Art – New York).

The motif appears on three solid rings (or signet rings) from Egypt, all listed in the book by Hall (1986; Figures 1 and 3).[26] Of particular interest is the specimen from Saqqara in the Brooklyn Museum (37.726E). The ring shows a solid silver ring soldered to an unusual square bezel (Keel 1995: Type III or Tucci type B.2.a).[27] An object of great value, it shows a scene on the bezel in which the Pharaoh strikes an enemy kneeling at his feet and apparently with a severed hand.

The material collected in Egypt proposes a consistent date ranging from the 18th to the 20th Dynasty. Stamp-seals from Southern Levant (mainly modern Israel and Palestine) collected and analyzed in this paper are 22 in total and share the same temporal range from the 18th to the 20th

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[26] The second one is a ring in gold with square bezel in sardonyx, dated to Psmatik I (Paris, Museé du Louvre E.3704).

[27] Tucci "Between Methodology and Anthropology. Research Perspectives on Signet Rings" in press.

Egyptian Dynasty (or Late Bronze II-III) with a peak concentration between the 19th and 20th Dynasties.[28]

Akko No. 81
1

Dor No. 34
2

Megiddo No. 13
3

Megiddo No. 40
4

Beth Shean No. 23
5

Beth Shean No. 47
6

Gat Karmel No. 8
7

Yavneh No. 2
8

Ashkelon (Brandl 2020: 390 No. 10)
9

Lachish No. 475
10

Lachish No. 620
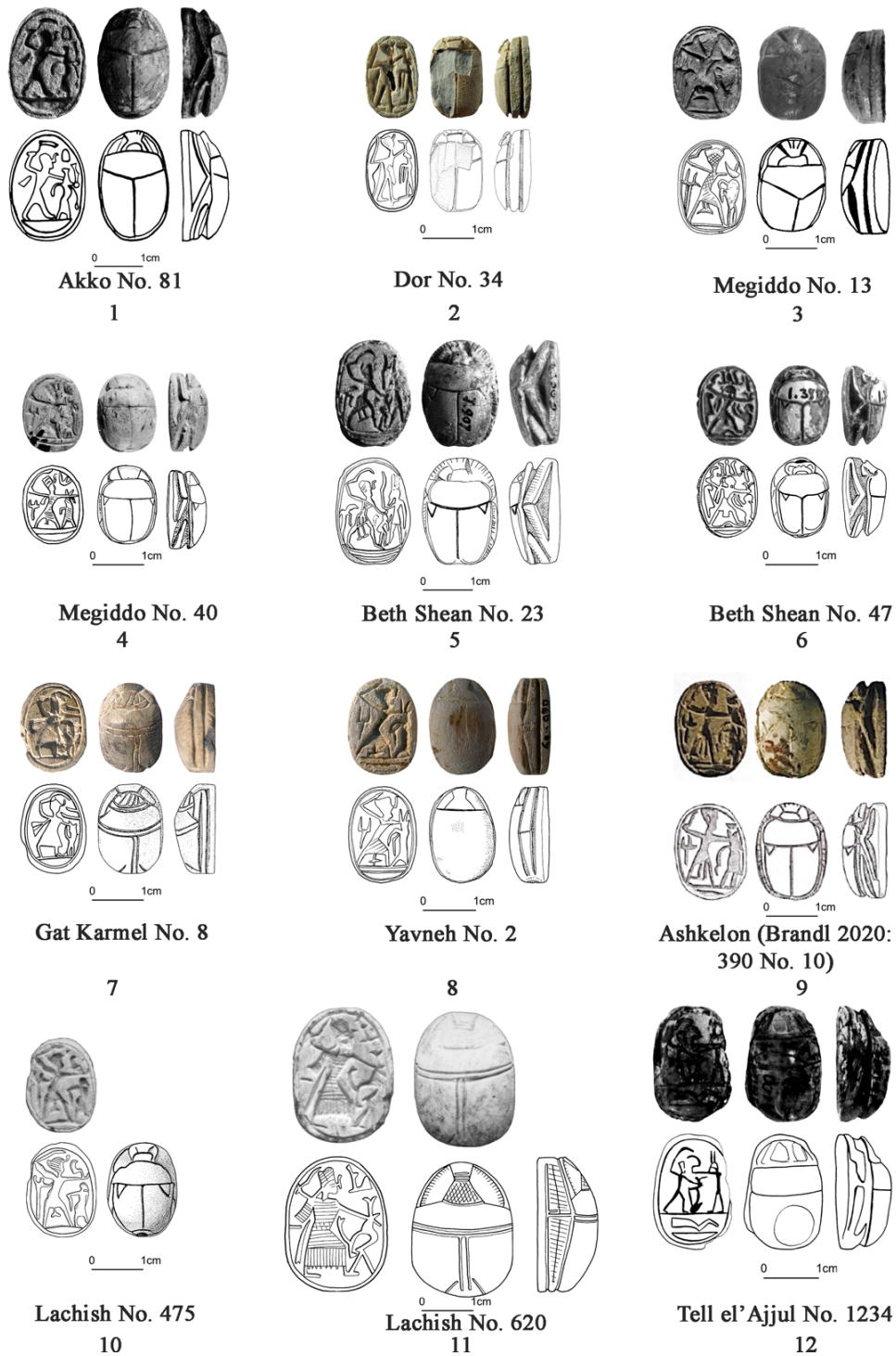11

Tell el'Ajjul No. 1234
12

Fig. 4. Scarabs from Southern Levant with "Pharaoh smiting enemies" scene (1-12) (for sources see footnote 27).

[28] Considerations of distribution in relation to contexts is deferred in the following section.

Tell Beit Mirsim No. 11
13

Deir el Balah No. 10
14

Tel Ridan No. 10
15

Tel Masos No. 1
16

Tell el Far'ah South
No. 245
17

Tell el Far'ah South
No. 566
18

Tell el Far'ah South
No. 569
19

Tell el Far'ah South
No. 652
20

Tell el Far'ah South
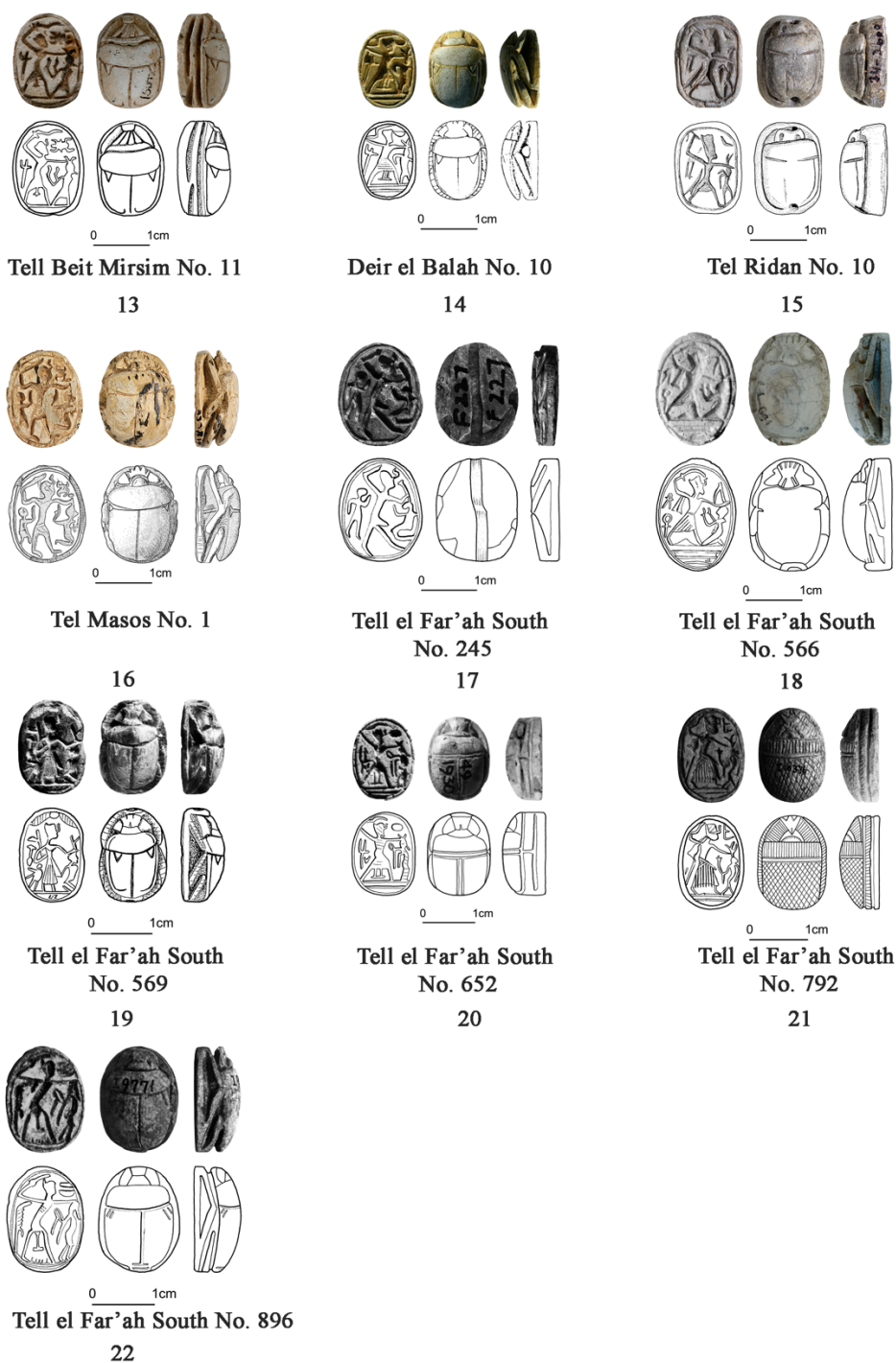No. 792
21

Tell el Far'ah South No. 896
22

Fig. 5. Scarabs from Southern Levant with "Pharaoh smiting enemies" scene (13-22). (for sources see footnote 27).

Name	Context	Date	Typ. features	Figure	References
Akko No. 81	Surface find	19th-early 20th Dyn.	HC 57; EP 27; Side 27	1:1	Keel 1997: 558-550, No. 81
Dor No. 34	Locus cleaning	Iron	HC 65?; EP 27; Side 19	4:2	Keel 2010: 396–397, No. 34
Megiddo No. 13	Hoard	19th-20th Dyn.	HC 65; EP 27; Side 19	4:3	Schroer 2018: 140–141, No. 1029
Megiddo No. 40	Unknown	19th-20th Dyn	HC 64; EP 32/33; Side 27	4:4	Keel 1994: 14–15, n. 10, Pl. 11:25
Beth Shean No. 23	Temple	19th Dyn.	HC 9: EP 33; Side 22	4:5	Keel 2010: 106-107, No. 23
Beth Shean No. 47	Temple	19th Dyn.	HC 50; EP 33; Side 22	4:6	Keel 2010: 118-119, No. 47
Gat Karmel No. 8	-	19th-20th Dyn	HC 15; EP 61; Side 19	4:7	Keel 2013: 126-127, No. 8
Yavneh No. 2	Tomb	19th Dyn.	HC 67; EP 1; Side 42	4:8	Keel 2017: 10-11, No. 2
Ashkelon (Brandl 2020: 390 No. 10)	?	19th Dyn.	HC 9; EP 32; Side 29	4:9	Brandl 2020, 390 No. 10
Lachish No. 475	Tomb	19th Dyn.	HC 13?; HP 33; Side 23	4:10	Tufnell *et al.* 1958: Pl. 36-37:243
Lachish No. 620	Palace	19th-20th Dyn	HC 7?; EP 49?; Side 28	4:11	Tufnell *et al.* 1958: Pl. 39-40:391
Tell el-'Ajjul No. 1234	Unknown	19th Dyn.	?	4:12	Keel 1997: 522-523, No. 1234
Tell Beit Mirsim No. 11	Residential quarter?	19th Dyn.	HC15; HP 33; Side 38	5:1	Keel 2010: 46-47, No. 11
Deir el-Balah No. 10	Tomb	19th-early 20th Dyn.	HC 9; HP 33; Side 22	5:2	Keel 2010: 406-407, No. 10
Tel Ridan No. 10	Tomb	19th- 20th Dyn.	HC 63; HP 27; Side 43/44	5:3	Lalkin 2008: No. 498
Tel Masos No. 1	Surface find	19th- 20th Dyn.	HC 57; EP 32/110; Side 27	5:4	Giveon 1978: 107, Fig. 58 a-b

Tell el Far'ah South No. 245	Tomb	19th- 20th Dyn.	?	5:5	Keel 2010: 134-135, No. 245
Tell el Far'ah South No. 566	Tomb	19th- 20th Dyn.	HC 10; HP 3; Side 27	5:6	Keel 2010: 270-271, No. 566
Tell el Far'ah South No. 569	Tomb	19th Dyn.	HC 9; HP 33; Side 27	5:7	Keel 2010: 272-273, No. 569
Tell el Far'ah South No. 652	Tomb	19th- 20th Dyn.	HC 30; HP 61; Side 12	5:8	Keel 2010: 306-307, No. 652
Tell el Far'ah South No. 792	Tomb	19th- 20th Dyn.	HC 53; EP 80; Side 12	5:9	Keel 2010: 362-363, No. 792
Tell el Far'ah South No. 896	Tomb	19th-early 20th Dyn.	HC 5; EP 34; Side 27	5:10	Keel 2010: 404-405, No. 896

Table 1. Summary of scarabs in Figures 4 and 5.[29]

The Southern Levant has been linked to Egypt since the Protodynastic period and the Old Kingdom, being a privileged bridge to the interior of Mesopotamia, but also to the northern regions (Syria and Lebanon) rich in raw materials.

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[29] Credits for the published objects are as follows: Akko No. 81: Keel 1997, drawing © Keel/BODO created by unknown; Dor No. 34: Keel 2010, drawing © Keel/BODO created by U. Zurkinden; Megiddo No. 13: registration made by Dr. B. Greet, photo © unknown, drawing © Keel/BODO created by U. Zurkinden; Megiddo No. 40: registration made by Dr. B. Greet, photo © unknown, drawing © Keel/BODO created by U. Zurkinden; Beth Shean No. 23: Keel 2010, drawing © Keel/BODO created by U. Zurkinden; Beth Shean No. 47: Keel 2010, drawing © Keel/BODO created by U. Zurkinden; Gat Karmel No. 8: Keel 2013, drawing © Keel/BODO created by U. Zurkinden; Yavneh No. 2: Keel 2017, drawing © Keel/BODO created by U. Zurkinden; Ashkelon: Brandl 2020, 390 No. 10; Lachish No. 475: registration made by Dr. T. Beuthe, photo © SSSL/Ashmolean Museum created by Dr. B. Greet, drawing © SSSL created by I. Berney; Lachish No. 620: registration made by Dr. T. Beuthe, photo © unknown, drawing © unknown created by C. Mlinar; Tell el-'Ajjul No. 1234: Keel 1997, drawing © Keel/BODO created by U. Zurkinden; Tell Beit Mirsim No. 11: Keel 2010, drawing © Keel/BODO created by U. Zurkinden; Tel Masos No. 1: registration made by Dr. T. Beuthe, photo © IAA/SSSL created by M. Goldemberg, drawing © SSSL created by I. Berney; Tel Ridan No. 10: registration made by the Author, photo © IAA/SSSL created by M. Goldemberg and S. Flit, drawing © SSSL created by U. Zurkinden; Tell el Far'ah South Nos. 245, 566, 569, 652, 792, 896: Keel 2013, drawing © SSSL created by U. Zurkinden.

During the Middle Kingdom, there is an intermittent interest of Egypt in the Levantine regions, characterized by trade and relations between courts.

It is however, during the New Kingdom, that the Egyptian presence established itself in the Southern Levant, first with a series of military campaigns and later with the creation of outposts and fortresses across the territory (Tucci 2016: 89).

The Ramesside period (19th-20th Dynasty), has been defined as 'essentially characterized by the struggle to regain what was lost during the Amarna period, is characterized by stabilization of power with the Kadesh treaty (see below) and ends with Egypt's last conquests in Palestine lost and settled by new inhabitants' (Xekalaki 2021: 3939). That is, in my opinion, quite a reductive view of the engagement of the Ramessides in the Southern Levant, given that the archaeological traces left from Egyptians in the territory are much more frequent and widespread than what we have for the 18th Dynasty, especially indicative of the ongoing contacts between part of the local population and Egyptians.[30]

Only one object seems to deviate slightly from these dates (Dor No. 34, dated to beginning of the Iron Age). This scarab does not show any particular differences in the back, and seems to differ slightly in its simpler and more schematic engraving style than the other specimens.

As well as their parallels found in Egypt the favorite medium is that of the scarab, and so far, we do not know from the southern Levant these representations, for example on signet-rings.

The common features of the scarab back is HC9 (head), EP33 (back) and 27 (side).[31] The head can be slightly different and the back can present or not humeral callosities (V-shaped marks) and a single or double suture line.

There is not an extreme variety regarding the backs of the scarabs and to underline that also the variety of the engravings on the bases is limited to few variations. There is not a full correspondence between type of back and engraved motif.

The center of the represented motif is an anthropomorphic figure, identified as the Pharaoh, in some cases represented hierarchically bigger than other characters incised on the base. The Pharaoh is in most cases dressed with a short skirt (šnḏw) from which hangs one or two central tassels, rarer the

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[30] Koch (2021: 127) suggest that the process began in LB IIB and reached its peak at the end of the 13th century B.C.E. As also noted by Martin (2011: 273) 'first Pharaohs of the 18th Dynasty, [...] apparently made no attempt to establish a permanent military or political authority over Canaan.' For a discussion about the 18th Egyptian Dynasty presence in the southern Levant see also Höflmayer (2015).

[31] According to Rowe (1936) types, preferred to Ben-Tor (2007) being the proposed types more pertaining to the exemplars of the Late Bronze Age; see Table 2.

long skirt, decorated with parallel incisions. In few cases the bows that hang from the pharaoh's costume are longer (Lachish No. 620 and Tell el Far'ah South No. 792 and maybe Tel Ridan No. 10).

The Pharaoh also wears in almost all cases the so-called "blue crown" (ḫprš). Skirt and helmet crown are accessories usually used in war clothing, as we know from various other representations, such as the Qadesh battle's relief at Abu Simbel or the Medinet Habu reliefs.

From the shoulders of some of the Pharaohs descend two ribbons, which are also part of the headdress, the uraeus on the forehead is symbolically representing the protection against attacks.

Rare, on the scarabs, is the use of the Atef Crown, which is usually associated with funerary contexts and with the god Osiris. The crown could be identified also with the Hemhem Crown, worn by Ramesses II in aggressive attitude, called also the Triple Atef Crow.

The posture of Pharaoh is the same on every scarabs, represented in profile, leaning forward with one leg in front of the other, the left arm raised and the right holding a character in front of him, in the act of striking.

The raised arm, usually the left one, holds what appears to be a curved sword (ḫpš). There do not seem to be any instances in which Pharaoh wields a mace, as instead it appears some times in the coeval monumental reliefs, and sure it appears in previous representations. In the New Kingdom the use of the mace by the Pharaoh could be an anachronism, as this specific weapon was in use during battles until the Middle Kingdom. Other weapons depicted in wall reliefs are sickle, sword, javelin or axe.

Concerning the arm stretched forward holding the prisoner by the hair, a careful analysis would suggest that from the anomalous shape that the pulled hair takes, the pharaoh also holds a bow.[32] This figure is known for example from the relief of Amenhotep II at Karnak, or even in the relief of Seti I on the chariot, in which Pharaoh brandishes with one hand the curved sword and holds with the other the reins and at the same time the bow.[33]

The only pose that differs from the others is the one from Tell el Far'ah South No. 569, in which the hand of the Pharaoh who is about to strike the prisoner held by the hair, also holds what seems to be a staff.

The motif itself seems to be the origin of the pose of the so-called "menacing-god" Ba'al and/or Resheph,[34] with the difference that the god does not hit anyone, is often found on a pedestal and in front of him is a worshipper (or a priest) in the act of prayer or offering. The god, in some of these

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[32] Already suggested by Keel (2013) for Tell el Far'ah South No. 566.

[33] For other depictions see the article that inspired this interpretation, Lagarce-Othman (2021).

[34] Cornelius (1994: 255) after Collon (1972: 30). To mention on the subject is definitely Lipinski (2009).

representations, could be nothing more than the statue or the simulacrum venerated in places of worship.

The scene on Tell el-'Ajjul (No. 1234) and Beth Shean (No. 23), as in the other depictions, takes place in the presence of the statue of the god, with the presence of a deity or with the deity intervening directly by handing the sword to the king.[35]

The depicted god could be Amun, Horus, Set or Khnum; the god is shown standing and in the act of offering a sword to the king, a pose not found in statuary depictions.

In Tel Masos (No. 1) and Tell el Far'ah South (Numbers 245 and 569?) an anthropoid figure on the back of the Pharaoh has been recognized as a worshipper (Keel and Uehlinger 1998: 120).

With regard to the Pharaoh's target, this is not ethnically characterized, except perhaps for the hint of a beard that recalls the representations of Asiatics visible in the seal of Tell el Far'ah South (No. 652 and 859) and Tell Beit Mirsim (No. 11), but the target itself is always smaller than the Pharaoh itself.

Contrary to what can be seen in some wall reliefs, probably due to the small size of the engraving, the characters do not have any kind of characterising object, neither ornaments nor weapons.

The pose in which the enemies are depicted is kneeling, standing, or more rarely sitting, almost lying down (Beth Shean No. 47); they can be turned towards the Pharaoh or turn their backs, in this case with their hands tied behind their back (e.g. Tell el Far'ah South No. 896). Where there are free hands in some cases (e.g. Beth Shean No. 47 and Tell Beit Mirsim), the prisoners raise their arms towards the Pharaoh in an act of asking for clemency (or protecting themselves?).

The setting in which the scene takes place is bare, the Pharaoh is standing on a nb sign or two horizontal lines interpreted as mrj. In the scarab from Tell el-'Ajjul (No. 1234) the scene is acted on the royal epithet *nb ḫpš* 'Lord of power.'

The hieroglyphic signs surrounding the Pharaoh are repeated in almost every exemplar. In Table 3 we can see a recurrence of these signs taken individually.

Specifically, *m3't* figure and *m3't* feather (*šwt*) appear on numerous examples, usually at the back of the Pharaoh; in Beth Shean No. 47 with *wsr* and *r'* in composing the throne name of Ramsess II. The same throne name is possibly readable in Megiddo No. 40 in which the *m3't* figure is highly schematize and the *r'* sign is not visible and Tell el Far'ah South No. 652 in which the *m3't* figure is smaller and inserted between the *wsr* and the back of the Pharaoh.

The same combination of *r'* and *wsr* is visible also in the Ashkelon item and in Deir el-Balah scarab. The *wsr* sign alone appears on Lachish No. 475, Megiddo No. 13 and Yavneh 2.

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[35] For the sword as a symbol for the godgiven power see Keel (1999).

The *m3't* feather (*šwt*) appears with two horizontal signs read by Keel as a double *nb t3wj,* a rudimentary spelling of the formula "Lord of the Lands;" same double line is visible on the item from Gat Karmel.

In Tel Masos scarab the *ḥpr* sign is accompanied by a small sign read *r,* š or *t* differently; the same *ḥpr* sign appear with a *wsr* sign on Tell Beit Mirsim scarab. The two combinations could point to the throne name of Seti II (*wsr- ḫprw-r'stp-n-r'*).

Other combinations of hieroglyphic signs are visible in Tell el Far'ah South in which a *'nḫ* appear under a *z3* and Tell el Far'ah South in which the king is accompanied by the epithet *ḫ'w nfr (w),* with perfect appearances. In this last item the scene is acted under a winged sun disk.

The motif of the Pharaoh striking enemies, to be fully effective, needed some additional elements, as is visible in Table 3. Although the message conveyed is the same, monumental art and scarabs shared some features, while other are only present in one of these media.

Although it is not possible to give a definitive judgment, the variations present in the iconographic motif may depend on the pharaoh (different name inscribed), but also on the area of origin or consumption of the object itself (e.g. proximity of a specific deity dedicated sanctuary), as well as on the occasion in which the scarab was made.

Scarabs			Monumental Art
Common	*Rare*	*Unique*	
Blue Crown (*ḫprš*) with uraeus	Blue Crown (*ḫprš*)	Atef Crown	Blue crown (*ḫprš*) with or without uraeus, Red Crown (*dšrt*), double crown (*sḫm.ty*), atef crown (rare)
Long ribbons at the shoulder high	Long ribbons from the Crown		Ribbons and tassels
Short skirt with tassels, short skirt (*šnḏwt*)	Long skirt, no skirt indicated		Short skirt with tassels (*šnḏwt*)
ḫpš sword	*ḫpš* sword and bow (?) or club		Club, *ḫpš* word, short spare (rare)
Enemy kneeling	Enemy standing or crouching	Enemy sitting	Enemy/es kneeling, laying (rare)

Enemy held by hairs	Enemy held by tied hands		Enemy/es held by hairs or raised arm
	Amun handing over the sword to the Pharaoh		Amun, Horus, Thot (rare) or Ptah in the *naos*
	Anthropomorphic figure with arm raised	Anthropomorphic figure behind the back of the Pharaoh	Anthropomorphic figure with arm raised (rare)
	ḫpr sign		
	m3ꜥt figure and *m3ꜥt* feather (*šwt*)		*m3ꜥt* figure and *m3ꜥt* feather (*šwt*)
		ꜥnḫ sign	*ꜥnḫ* sign/s
	nb		
	Wsr		Pharaoh's name
		Winged sun disk (*bḥdtj*)	Winged sun disk (*bḥdtj*) (rare)
		nfr	

Table 3. Features of the "Pharaoh smiting" scene in both scarabs and monumental art

6. Distribution in the southern Levant

Canaanite city-states were exposed to the ongoing economic stress of land confiscation, population deportation, military raids, with a clear hierarchical inequality in benefits and economic advantages from one to another. The Egyptian domination, in this sense, cannot be considered "monolithic," having modulated itself in different ways, that differently impacted on local culture, economy and society.

Different sites therefore had different functions, depending also on their geographical location: coastal sites served both as fortresses along the coastal route (e.g Deir el Balah and Tell el-ʿAjjul) and as harbors for trade. Sites with an agricultural hinterland acted as collectors of foodstuffs and control of inland routes (e.g. Lachish and Tell el Farʿah South; Streit 2019, Tucci 2022).

The territorial control was achieved by the Egyptians through the creation of functional "districts:" limited areas under a direct control, economic and productive zones of interest (Tucci 2016: 63).

In most cases, seals with the depiction of Pharaoh striking enemies appear at sites with a strong Egyptian presence in LB II-III.

These objects likely belonged to personnel involved in the Egyptian administration, if not directly from Egypt, perhaps acquired as a gift or as a handout. The contexts of discovery do not offer us much information about the owners of these seals, most of which come from funerary contexts, a small part from residential contexts of a certain prestige. Funerary contexts indeed show mixed assemblages of local culture and Egyptian-style objects, if not actually of Egyptian importation (e.g. Lachish, Tell el Far'ah South and Deir el-Balah).
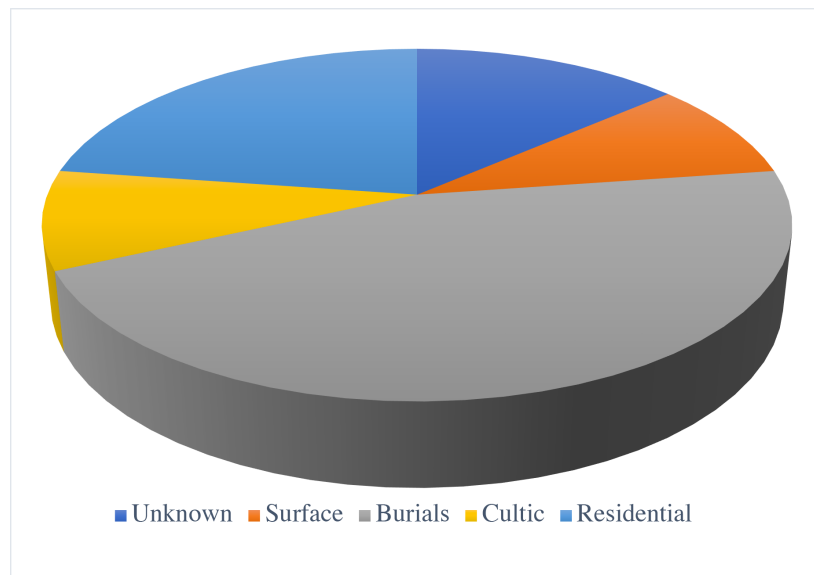
Fig. 6. Finding contexts of Southern Levantine scarabs with "Pharaoh smiting enemies" scene (by the author).

At Beth Shean, a site that during the Ramesside period became an Egyptian stronghold and likely an administrative center, the "smiting Pharaoh" scarabs were found in the area of the temple.

Shrines and temples of the Late Bronze Age are in this period multifunctional centers integrated into the social-cultural context and likely, in some case (e.g., Lachish), the became centers for the collection of taxes or tributes imposed by the Egyptian rulers (see e.g., Lachish; Tucci 2022); at the same time the level of mutual religious syncretism operating in the southern Levant should not be underestimated (Sala and Tucci 2019).

7. Discussion and conclusion

The scene engraved on some scarab seals from the Southern Levant directs the attention to what relationship could have existed between the iconographic repertoire and the monumental art.

The reproduction and copying of the image on small objects could be related to the artisans' knowledge and the use of the image itself (Washburn 2001: 69).

The typology and iconography of the artefacts produced to serve the propagation of ideology could have involved three individual and interrelated but distinct user groups, including royalty, priesthood and members of urban elite. Here we can quote Hegmon (1992: 528-529): 'The control of material goods and manipulation of ideology are often central to the definition of rank and the exercise of power in complex societies. The style of the material culture may be an important component of these power manipulation strategies. Elites often have exclusive access to certain kinds of goods, and elite status is reinforced by iconography. Analyses of style with respect to power relations must consider how people who are trying to gain or maintain power manipulate material culture.'

Assuming that such scarabs were therefore produced on the occasion of a particular event and distributed to officials and perhaps prestigious foreign dignitaries (even if the circumstances under which these scarabs reached the Southern Levant are still unknown), we have the solid comparison of the commemorative scarabs dated to the reign of Amenhotep III, a practice therefore not new to the Pharaonic world (Weinstein 1998: 235; and for a resumé of the scarabs found in Southern Levant see Sweeney 2003: 58 and Brandl, Bunimovitz and Lederman 2013). Even if assuming the perpetuation of a victory, and not just a punctual celebration, could the 'victory' still be traced back to a specific battle? Although it is not possible to trace the scene back to a specific historical event, is it possible to think that the production of the scarabs took place in connection with some particular event?

Unfortunately, as mentioned above, the contexts of discovery do not provide much basis for assessments other than preliminary.

In monumental demonstration the power of the Pharaoh was evident and drawn in vivid strokes. Apparently, there was no need to infiltrate more deeply into the cultural landscape subtly, as Egyptian objects and customs were already well known, and we can say, appreciated by the local population.

Did the propaganda mechanism work? Were the Southern Levantine truly convinced of Egyptian superiority? According to the thesis proposed at the beginning of this article by Freud: were the people of the Southern Levant identified with Egyptian power, idealizing and finding in it an identity refuge or shelter?

One of the most successful propaganda operations is undoubtedly that carried out by Ramsess II with his reliefs of the Battle of Kadesh. The enemies, the Hittites, are depicted fleeing. This narration

should not be understood as the real end of the battle, for it could only be a fragment of it, which could actually be an avoided disaster on both sides.[36]

As noted by Gubel (2016: 175) the message conveyed by the iconography is clear: "Obey the Egyptian crown or perish!" but in the same article he also pointed out that this kind of representation used and re-used by the Asiatics, allegedly the target of the punishment can be a translation of the moral values[37] respecting which one contributes to a civil life. Although well contextualized, this statement does not find my full agreement with the situation of the southern Levant at the end of the Late Bronze Age, which was experiencing a (albeit apparently peaceful) occupation. Is it not possible to recognize in the latter (i.e. the, albeit apparently, peaceful occupation)—and without denying the presence of what today we would call "pockets of resistance"—that conquest of the affective components of the masses, which is the primary purpose of any propaganda action? The question is legitimate, and may remain open.

Although in most cases the adaptation of the same subject to different media affects the resulting style, the depictions of the pharaoh striking his enemies do not seem to suffer from this bias.

In fact, the scene is reproduced almost in its entirety, with only a few missing or summarized features, on both large wall reliefs and small engravings.

Although the "semantic weight" (Roe 1995: 44) of these two media is not comparable, the question posed by Roe may be of interest in this case. Could the media itself be the message? Following this idea, is it possible to propose that the ability to manipulate huge architecture visible from afar, as well as very small objects visible only from very close up, was equal to an entry of the proposed message into every level of the social and cultural life of the recipients of the message itself?

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[36] We know historically and politically what the battle of Kadesh was, less do we know about its actual course and outcome. But almost certainly the likely end was a stalemate to preserve what could be saved after heavy losses on both sides. See e.g. de Bruyn (1989), Santosuosso (1996), Spalinger (2005: 209-234). The "Bulletin" or report of the battle is itself fully focused on Ramsess II's exploits. Caviller 2005 (87) defines the report as Wcelebrativo," far from a precise chronological account of the events of the war.

[37] Gubel (2016: 176). Note an important detail in the depiction of the central medallion of the "Bernardini" bowl of Praeneste. The pharaoh in the hand that holds the enemies by the hair, also holds a bow, from here a further proof of what has been said for the "curious" representations of locks of hair arched on the heads of Asian prisoners on the seals.

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An alternative hypothesis on the origin of the Greek alphabet

Fabrizio A. Pennacchietti

Did the Greeks learn the alphabet directly from the Phoenicians or did they learn it from non-Semitic intermediaries? Were these intermediaries the Phrygians or did the Phrygians learn it from the Greeks or some other people? Discussing the form taken by certain Phoenician letters in the Greek and Phrygian alphabets, this article raises the hypothesis that the current forms of these two alphabets emerged for the first time in Cilicia Pedias towards the end of the 9th century BC at the chancery of the Achaean kingdom that had settled there. They were the first "Westerners" to master the Phoenician alphabet. From there, the alphabet, which by then had become consonantal and vocalic, would have spread to Phrygia through Cappadocia, and then to the peoples of the Mediterranean coast of Anatolia through Cilicia Trachea.

Keywords: Greek alphabet, Phrygian alphabet, Cilicia, Achaeans, Karatepe, Çineköy, İvriz, Cebel İres, Tyana.

1. The state of the art[1]

On the origin of the Greek alphabet there is a vast bibliography and everything seems to have been said already: the Greeks learned the alphabet from the Phoenicians in the 8th century BC. Before entering into the discussion, it is worthwhile to define the issue in terms of space and time. There is no doubt that the art of expressing oneself in writing by means of letters that distinguish vowels from consonants was learned by the Greeks in all the Asian and European territories they populated at the time when the Hellenic Middle Ages ended and the urban aggregates described in the Homeric poems emerged. The most ancient documents written in Greek that have been found go back, as it is known,

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to the 8th century BC. Two of these inscriptions have been written on painted pottery in the geometric style, dated between the years 735 and 720 BC. One of them comes from Eretria, a city of Euboea; the other, called "the Cup of Nestor," comes from Pithekoussai, "the Island of Monkeys," the Greek name for Ischia (Johnston-Andriomenou 1989).

According to Herodotus (5th century BC), the Phoenicians introduced the use of the alphabet in the very heart of Greece, namely in Thebes, in Boeotia. It must have been a widespread opinion in his time because the Greeks called their alphabet, in all its epichoric variants, *phoinikéia grámmata*, "Phoenician scripts." Some scholars argue, however, that the ethnonym *phoiníkeos* alludes not only to the Phoenicians but also to the inhabitants of Caria, the region of Asia Minor opposite Rhodes, and that it was probably extended to other peoples on the Mediterranean shore of Anatolia (Garbini 1980: 128). On the other hand, the inhabitants of Phoenicia never called themselves "Phoenicians:" they either distinguished themselves by the name of their port city or were called "Canaanites" KNʻNYM, from the name of the easternmost coastal strip of the Mediterranean (Garbini 1980: 5).

There is a widespread opinion that an innovation as technically and culturally important as the alphabet spread because of interpersonal relationships that occurred repeatedly in the markets of the various Greek ports on the mainland, islands and colonies: on the one hand, enterprising Phoenician merchants, on the other hand, illiterate Hellenic customers. The decision taken in 402 BC by the *boulé* in Athens should refute this view. On that occasion, on the initiative of the archon Euclid, the highest legislative institution of the city officially adopted the "blue" alphabet in use in Miletus with appropriate modifications. It was to become the graphic dress of the Hellenistic civilization.

The alphabet, therefore, is above all a political, institutional and cultural fact, just as essential to the administration of a community as are monetary units and the laws regulating commerce and justice. For this reason, an alphabet requires careful regulation, official codification and formal stabilization guaranteed by state-recognized scribal schools, as well as activities related to the operation of a chancery, such as archiving, bookkeeping and the production of writing media such as papyrus, parchment or rigid tablets. The codification of the Greek alphabet yielded significant practical effects of daily relevance: in accordance with the Phoenician model, the rigidly established order of succession of its letters implies that each letter corresponds to a figure relating to the units (1-10), tens (20-90) and hundreds (100-900).

2. The adoption of an alphabet as a state issue

The adoption of an alphabet is a state issue, it is the result of an important political decision. A surprising innovation concerning writing was launched in the 15th century CE by the Korean king

Sejong the Great (1397-1450). His proposal (*hangŭl* or *chosŏngŭl*), initially aimed at women's literacy, became established as the national script of Koreans in the last century. Much more rapidly implemented was the reform imposed on the Ottoman people on 1.11.1928 by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk (1881-1938), the father of modern Türkiye. The Arabic alphabet was abandoned in favour of the Latin one with the introduction or elimination of some diacritical signs. Essentially the same reform has been mandatory in Azerbaijan since 1.12.1991 with the abandonment of the Cyrillic alphabet imposed by Stalin in the 1930s. Other Turkic-speaking Central Asian republics are currently imitating Azerbaijan.

One may ask what Hellenic power, in the 8th century BC, could have officially adopted the alphabet proposed by Phoenician merchants. A comparison of the Greek and Phrygian alphabets may help answer this question. Phrygians were a Balkan people akin to the Greeks who migrated to central western Anatolia in the 12th century BC and who created a powerful kingdom that, to the east, bordered with Cilicia (as far as the western Taurus) and, to the west, extended to Lydia and the Propontid. Its capital, Gordium, is known to be connected with the exploits of Alexander the Great.

The oldest preserved document written by the Phrygians dates back to about 740 BC. Since then, the Phrygian alphabet continued to be used for about 1200 years, as shown by inscriptions dating from the 8th to 5th century BC and from the 1st to 4th century CE (Sowa 2020: 284, fn. 1). Its derivation from the Phoenician alphabet seems to date back to the 9th century BC. Its resemblance to the archaic Greek alphabet is extraordinary.

Table 1. The Phrygian, West Greek and Cyrillic alphabets

(https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Phrygiae.jpg)

Similarities highlighted by this table led scholars to argue that the Phrygians learned to write from the Greeks, who, in turn, were taught directly by the Phoenicians. But here again a question arises: in the 9th century BC which ruler or tyrant of a Greek colony recently settled on the Asian coast of the Aegean could enjoy such prestige as to propose its alphabet to the institutions of a kingdom already largely consolidated in the interior of Anatolia? Although there is no convincing answer to this question, there is still a strong temptation to consider the Greeks as the promoters of the Phoenician alphabet among the Phrygians (Powell 1991; Woodard 1997, 2010).

All the same, in the Phrygian alphabet there is also a letter for the phoneme /j/. This is similar to the Phrygian letter for the phoneme /z/ (in Cyrillic з). In fact, if you look carefully at texts in the Phrygian alphabet, you will notice that they present a letter formed by a Z, with or without a short horizontal stroke placed in its middle in the opposite direction to the direction of reading. In Phrygian, it specifically indicates /j/, a semivowel which is preserved in certain Greek dialects, while in Attic it is the allophone of the vowel /i/ in certain positions (Allen 1987: 47-52).

Table 2. The Phrygian inscription on the Monument of Midas Yazılıkaya, Midas Kenti, province of Eskişehir, Türkiye, 6th century BC: ΒΑΒΑ: ΜΕΜΕϜΑΙΣ: ΠΡΟΙΤΑϜΟΣ: ΚΦΙJΑΝΑϜΕJΟΣ: ΣΙΚΕΝΕΜΑΝ: Ε[ΔΑΕΣ] "Baba, advisor, leader from Tyana, dedicated this niche"
(https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:MidasSehri.TombDetail.jpg)
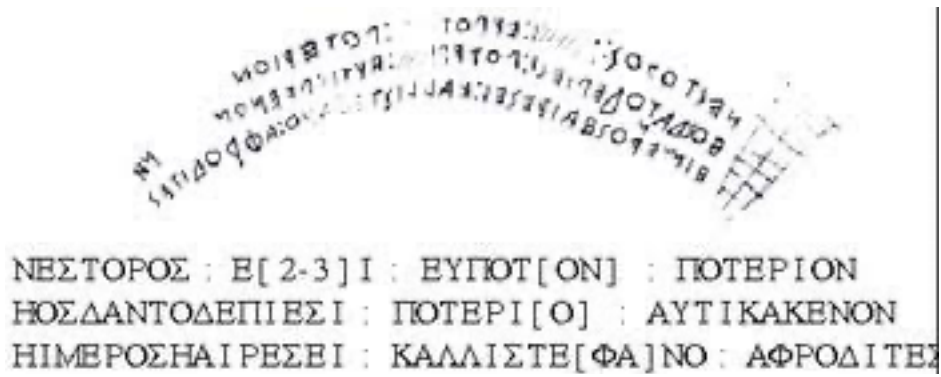
Table 3. The *Cup of Nestor*, Pithekoussai (Ischia), Italy, in the Greek "red" alphabet, 720? BC

(https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Iscrizione.png)
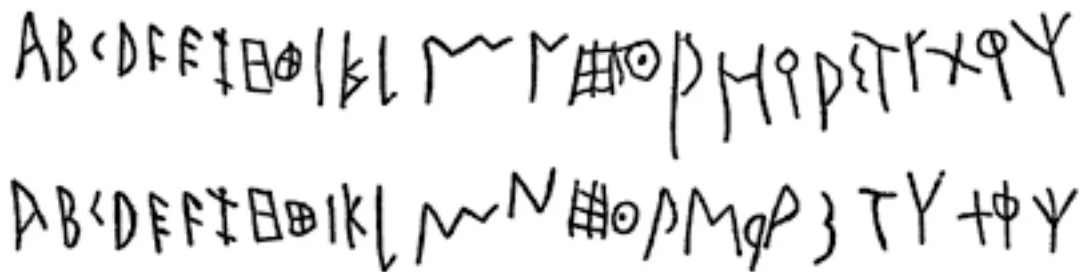
Table 4. Greek "red" alphabets from Cumae (Pozzuoli), Italy

(https://www.archeoflegrei.it/quando-cuma-insegno-a-scrivere-agli-etruschi/)

Table 5. The Phoenician alphabet

(https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Phoenician_alphabet.svg)

The letter for the phoneme /j/ appears in several Phrygian inscriptions, as well as in an epigraph dated to the middle of the 6th century BC, engraved on a rock temple known as the *Monument of Midas* (see above).[2] The same letter, however, is missing from an older epigraph from the same site, which explicitly mentions the famous Phrygian king Midas (beginning of the 7th century BC); it is also missing from Phrygian inscriptions discovered in the ruins of Pteria and of Tyana in Cappadocia (Elti di Rodeano 2020a: 269). We will return to the letter for the semivowel /j/ later.

There is now another Greek letter that deserves special attention: *sigma* Σ.

- Thesis 1: The Greek and Phrygian letter Σ for the phoneme /s/ was obtained by shifting the Phoenician letter <W>, used for the phoneme /š/, to an upright position. It is unlikely that this operation would have been suggested by a Phoenician scribe):

W   ↻   Σ

In my opinion, in order to be convinced that it was not the Phoenicians who handed down the alphabet to the Greeks and Phrygians, but that instead we can assume that they intervened through intermediaries of different culture and language, it is sufficient to consider the fate that befell the Greek capital letter *sigma* Σ and consequently also the Latin letter s, which is the same letter in simplified form. In the Phoenician alphabet, as well as in all other Semitic alphabets, the letter called *šīn* or *sīn* that graphically corresponds to *sigma* is never upright, it is never vertical. Instead, it appears in a horizontal position, lying on the reading line with its three tops facing upwards, as it happens in the grapheme <W>. However, since the 8th century BC, the vertical position assumed by *sigma* appears on Greek or Phrygian texts, graffiti or engraved on tombstones (see above the "Cup of Nestor" and the alphabets of Cumae).

It is well known that the Phoenician alphabet was conceived according to the intuitive principle of acrophony: each letter of the alphabet, schematically representing an object, should call to mind a certain phoneme of the Phoenician language. The phoneme to which it alludes is the one with which the name of the depicted object begins. Phoenician letter <W> presents the symbolic profile of two upper teeth, that is the shape of two objects that, in every being with teeth, usually work in a horizontal position. Indeed, the Phoenician grapheme <W> is called *šīn* or *sīn* because it recalls the Semitic word **šinn-* 'tooth.' Since the phoneme inventory of Greek and probably Phrygian does not include the phoneme /š/, the vertical *sigma* Σ has taken over the task of indicating the phoneme /s/.

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[2] This rock temple, dedicated to the Phrygian goddess Kybele, is located in the place called *Midas Kenti* "the town of Midas," in the province of Eskişehir, Türkiye.

One may wonder why in the Greek and Phrygian alphabets the grapheme <Σ> is vertical while in the Phoenician alphabet it is horizontal <W>. Normally the explanation given to this issue is that *sigma* Σ is vertical to differentiate it from the form M that the Phoenician letter *ṣade* had taken in the archaic Greek alphabet and in the Carian alphabet. In these scripts the *ṣade* also denoted the phoneme /s/, before serving as the numerical letter *sampi* "90." This explanation does not seem to fit: ancient Greek inscriptions use either *sigma* or *ṣade* to indicate /s/, but never both in the same text. The Phoenician grapheme <W>, or rather the hypothetical horizontal *sigma*, could not even be confused with the Greek letter *mu* M, since at the time it had not yet developed its classical form. As shown by the Phrygian inscription on *the Monument of Midas* and by the Greek alphabets of Cumae, the letter *mu* in the 8th century BC still retained its original Phoenician form.

But it is also believed that the form of the vertical *sigma* came into conflict with the original appearance of the Phoenician *yod*, forcing the latter to be stripped of its angularity and to transform itself in the Greek alphabet into a simple vertical rod, the classical *iota* <I> (Elti di Rodeano 2000a: 265-266, §§ 0.1. and 0.2.). To this one could retort, first, that in Phrygian the letter for /j/ has not been stripped of its angularity at all; second, that the vertical *sigma* of Phrygian and Greek constitutes an innovation, while the Phrygian letter for /j/ still retains the original Phoenician form.

- Thesis 2: The Phrygian and Greek hammer-shaped letter <T> for the phoneme /t/ was obtained by setting upright and by decapitating the Phoenician letter <X> for the same phoneme. It is unlikely that this operation was suggested by a Phoenician scribe):

<div align="center">X   ↻   T</div>

But there is a further aspect common to the Phrygian and Greek alphabets that deserves attention. This is the hammer shape that the grapheme <T> presents in both alphabets from their earliest attestations, which is also found centuries later in both Etruscan and Latin. I believe that the Phoenician scribes could not have imagined that the *taw* letter <X> "mark" would assume the maimed and unrecognizable form <T>. They would not have given up the cruciform appearance of their last letter.

On the basis of the preceding considerations about the origin of the Phrygian and Greek alphabets, the question arises as to who spread to the Hellenic West an alphabet that was already culturally connoted as "non-Phoenician."

I believe that the non-Phoenician intermediaries in the transmission of the alphabet to the Phrygians and Greeks were the *Aḫḫiyawa* (in Greek *Achai[w]ói* 'Achaeans') of Cilicia. Around the 11th century BC a Hellenic population settled in Cilicia, more precisely in Cilicia Pedias, the fertile alluvial plain of Anatolia, northeast of Cyprus. In the 8th century BC these Achaeans were subdued by the

Assyrians and in the 6th century BC by the Babylonians. Herodotus (5th century BC) called them *Hupachaiói,* that is to say "sub-Achaeans" (Histories 7: 91), perhaps in the derogatory sense of "barbarized Achaeans."

In the Bible (1 Kings 10: 28-29) they are remembered as Qoweh, as well as in Assyrian texts in the form of QU-E and in Babylonian texts in that of ḪU-ME [ḫuwe] (Liverani 1988: 885). However, they did not call themselves Achaeans but DNNYM, i. e. "Danai." Living in the midst of a majority population of Luwian-speaking neo-Hittites, these Achaeans tried to culturally distinguish themselves by adopting as official means of expression a language and an alphabet alien to both, the language and alphabet of the distant Tyre, a Phoenician city that between the 10th and 9th century BC had reached the height of its economic and cultural supremacy (Garbini 1978 and 1980: 103).

This is proved by two bilingual stelae discovered in Cilicia Pedias, the one from Karatepe (Bossert 1948) and the other from Çineköy (Tekoğlu, Lemaire, İpek and Tosun 2000). In these inscriptions, the text written in the local language and its hieroglyphic script was engraved below the Phoenician text, as if in second order. Since there was not yet a Greek written language, the chancellery of the Achaean kingdom of Cilicia resorted to the language and writing of a prestigious Phoenician city. This is not surprising. Even today, for many activities, for example in the field of science, the language of a foreign nation is used, willingly or unwillingly.

It is likely that, on becoming familiar with the Phoenician alphabet, the Greek scribes of Cilicia tried to adapt it to their own language, even inaugurating the way of indicating its vowels in writing. It is known that, for the phonemes /a/, /e/ and /o/, it was sufficient to change the function of three Phoenician consonantal letters that were unrelated to the inventory of Greek phonemes: thus the Phoenician letter alpha, used for the glottal occlusive /ʔ/, served for /a/; the Phoenician letter he, used for the glottal fricative /h/, served for /e/ (to indicate the phoneme /h/ it was sufficient to resort to the Phoenician letter ḥet); and the Phoenician letter ʕ*ayn,* used for the pharyngeal fricative /ʕ/, served for /o/.

When this process of adaptation and reform was completed, the Phoenician alphabet in "Cilician" hand finally lost its original link with acrophony and its reference to the shape of specific objects. Only then did the names of the letters (alpha, beta, gamma, delta, etc.) become purely conventional. With one exception, however: the Phoenician letter ʕ*ayn* 'eye' <O>, not only because of its name, but also

because of its rounded shape, suggested the association with vowel /o/ of the Greek words *ómma* and *ophthalmós* 'eye' and probably also of the corresponding Phrygian word.[3]

What can we say as regards the vowels /u/ and /i/?

- Thesis 3: The Greek and Phrygian letter Y, used for the vowel /u/, has NO direct Phoenician ancestry. It is NOT even derived from the Greek and Phrygian letter F used for the semivowel /w/):

$$Y \nless F$$

It is commonly believed that the Greek and Phrygian letter Y, used for /u/, originated from the splitting of the Phoenician letter *waw* Y used for the semivowel /w/: on the one hand, the Phoenician *waw* would have assumed the function of the vocalic letter for /u/, maintaining the original form and becoming *upsilon* Y; on the other hand, would have emerged both the Greek letter *digamma* F of the Phrygian and of the Greek "red" alphabet, used for /w/, and the Etruscan and Latin letter F used for /f/. Instead, I believe that *upsilon* Y (in the Latin alphabet V) is a letter that was introduced by a non-Phoenician scribal school. Being an innovation, it was consequently placed after the letter *tau* T, the last letter of the Phoenician alphabet, beyond which all the innovated Greek letters up to *omega* are collected. If the *upsilon* had not been invented, it would certainly have assumed the numerical value "6," which in Greek is instead supported by the letter *stigma* ς.

- Thesis 4: The Greek and Phrygian letter I, used for the vowel /i/, has NO direct Phoenician ancestry. It is NOT even derived from the letter, similar to <Z>, exclusively used by the Phrygians for the semivowel /j/. Some archaic Greek alphabets used the same letter for /i/):

$$I \nless Z$$

Equally invented, in my opinion, is the letter *iota* <I> used for /i/, the simplest, graphically speaking, of all the letters of the Phrygian and of the Greek alphabet. It is commonly considered the result of a drastic simplification of the characteristic features of the Phoenician letter *yod*, which has already been mentioned. This thesis is refuted by the fact that, in the Phrygian alphabet, the straight stroke *iota* <I> indicates only the vowel /i/, while the *iota* in the shape of <Z>, more complex and graphically more similar to the Phoenician *yod*, indicates the semivowel /j/ exclusively. Evidently in the phonology of Phrygian the vowel /i/ and the semivowel /j/ were still two distinct phonemes.

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[3] In some archaic Greek alphabets, like that of Cumae, the letter *omikron* shows even a central dot in its circle in order to represent the pupil.

It is precisely the formal simplicity of the grapheme <I> of the Phrygian and of the Greek alphabet that increases the probability that the corresponding letter was introduced by Phrygian or Greek scribes immediately after acquiring the purely consonantal alphabet of the Phoenicians,

However, the hypothesis remains that the grapheme <I> was invented even before the Phoenician alphabet had come to the knowledge of Phrygians and Greeks. Probably a scribal school, by then independent of the Phoenician tradition, introduced it into the alphabet. That scribal school should be credited with having first started the spread of the alphabet in the West. Since the phonemes /j/ and /i/—one a palatal approximant, the other a palatal vowel—were no longer distinct in many Greek dialects (Allen 1987: 47-52), the grapheme <I> took the place of the Phoenician *jod* (position 10) in the Greek sequence of the letters in the alphabet. It has thus replaced the original Phoenician grapheme for /j/ in most Greek alphabets. Unfortunately, we do not know the sequence of the letters in the Phrygian alphabet, an alphabet that reflected a language in which the phonemes /j/ and /i/ were still distinct.

If we accepted the hypothesis that the first popularisers of the alphabet were the Achaeans of Cilicia, there would be two routes along which, perhaps at the same time, the alphabet, already transformed into a script that included vowel letters, would have moved towards Phrygia and Hellas.

One of the two itineraries would have passed the Western Taurus by crossing the "Cilician Gates" (Gülek Boğazı) and entering southern Cappadocia. There existed a vassal kingdom of the Phrygians which was subdued by the Assyrians with the name of Tabal. Its capital was Tyana (*Tuwanuwa* in Hittite). Among the ruins of that city, inscriptions in the Phrygian alphabet were also found. Not far away, in İvriz (Aydınkent), a bilingual stela emerged, in Phoenician and Luwian, the local Neo-Hittite language (Dinçol 1994). This suggests that even Tyana's chancellery has become familiar with the use of the Phoenician language and alphabet. For this reason, southern Cappadocia could be considered as one of the corridors that the alphabet would have crossed until it reached the chancellery of the great Phrygian king.

The second hypothetical corridor would instead wind its way, from east to west, along the Mediterranean coast of Anatolia starting from Cilicia Trachea. Along this path, the alphabet would later arrive in Lycia, Caria and Lydia, and finally in Hellas. Unfortunately, the only clue to support this hypothesis is represented by a single Phoenician inscription which, moreover, is more than a century later compared to the hypothetical date of the establishment of the standard form of the Phrygian and archaic Greek alphabets. As a matter of fact, in Cilicia Trachea, but already in the vicinity of Alanya, a Phoenician inscription from the second half of the 7th century BC has emerged. It was located in the

ruins of the city once called Laertes,[4] about 800m above sea level, above the coastal town of Mahmutlar (Mosca-Russel 1987).

This document proves that local scribes have continued for more than a century to use the Phoenician language and script: a fact that is the premise for the spread of this alphabet along the Mediterranean coast of Anatolia among the Lycian, Carian and Lydian chancelleries. Inspired by the Phoenician alphabet, the scribes of these kingdoms have created their respective ethnic alphabetic scripts.[5]

3. Conclusions

In summary, the four Phrygian and Greek graphemes <Σ>, <T>, <I> and <Y> are so divergent from the original appearance of the corresponding Phoenician letters as to suggest the possibility that they had already taken shape towards the beginning of the 8th century BC, simultaneously with the emergence of the "full" alphabet, with the letters for vowels. An innovative process of this kind could be attributed to the chancellery of an important kingdom, such as that of the Achaeans of Cilicia, where presumably the Phoenician element was no longer predominant.

However, this is an impossible hypothesis to prove because, both in Cilicia Trachea and in Cilicia Pedias, no documents written on perishable media have been found, the only types of clue that could substantiate it. There are only a few official Achaean stelae written in the language and in the alphabet of the distant Phoenician city of Tyre, as well as in Luwian and in its Neo-Hittite script. Brixhe had already assumed that the Phrygian alphabet was formed independently of the Greek one (Brixhe 1991: 343). Young in turn assumed that the Phrygian and Greek alphabets had a common ancestor, probably in use in the coastal region between Syria and Cilicia (Young 1969: 264; Jeffery 1982: 832-833, and 1990: 10-11).

This hypothesisis is based on evaluating, on the one hand, the role probably played in this regard by the Achaeans of Cilicia, and on the other, the anomalous aspect (at least in the eyes of a Semitist) of the Greek and Phrygian graphemes < Σ> and <T>, and the relatively recent emergence of the graphemes <I> and <Y>.

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[4] Leartes appears to have been the birthplace of Diogenes Laertius (180-240 CE), the biographer of the Greek philosophers.

[5] See Elti di Rodeano on the Lycian (2020b: 51-73), the Lydian (2020b: 104-118), and the Carian alphabets (2020b: 150-174).

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Koineization trends in Spoken Arabic across three Moroccan towns

Jacopo Falchetta and *Jairo Guerrero*

This paper presents a comparative study of the linguistic data collected during fieldwork in three Arabic-speaking towns in Morocco: Larache, in the north; Temara, on the central Atlantic coast; and Berkane, in the east. The goal of the article is twofold: first of all, it aims at highlighting the new dialectological findings made by analysing the three corpora separately; secondly, it attempts to clarify, by means of a comparative analysis, if there is evidence of a modern *koine* spreading from the urban areas in Central Morocco to other regions of the country. To these purposes, seven variables pertaining to the levels of phonetics, verbal and nominal morphology are selected for cross-analysis among the three corpora. Previous dialectological data on the same and other Moroccan areas are then taken into account to advance hypotheses on the spread and the ancientness of the identified phenomena of linguistic variation, and their more or less likely connection to the modern *koine*. The results show that, while there is indeed a certain degree of convergence among the three towns (with Berkane being the least involved in the converging trend), some of the phenomena identified could be explained as accommodation to other varieties having common features with the inter-urban *koine*, while others could be the result of mutual rather than one-way convergence. More sociolinguistic data are needed to clarify the doubts raised by the analysis.

Keywords: Moroccan Arabic, sociolinguistics, koinéisation, dialect contact, language change

1. Introduction[1]

In the last 100 years, linguistic change across the Arabic-speaking region has mainly been affected by two interconnected social phenomena: rural-to-urban migration and the urban areas' growth in

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demographic, socio-economic and political weight.[2] The movement of population implied by these dynamics, in this as well as in other world regions, has led spoken varieties to undergo a certain degree of homogenization, following increase of inter-personal contacts among different urban centres or regions within and across Arabic-speaking countries. In many of these, the most prominent consequence of the rise in intra- and international mobility has been the emergence of a regional or (more often) national unofficial standard, usually corresponding to the dialect spoken in a prestigious urban centre (such as the capital city), to which residents from other towns or regions gradually accommodate from generation to generation (Miller 2007; Miller and Falchetta 2021). In the framework of this regional trend, Morocco represents a somehow special case, in that the inter-urban vernacular which is being ostensibly accommodated to across the country does not have a clearly defined geographical origin, although it appears to be mostly spoken in the big central cities, i.e. Sale, Rabat, Casablanca and possibly others.

The present paper will be based on data that the authors collected during three separate field studies, respectively carried out in Larache, Temara and Berkane. It will first and foremost highlight some of the findings from the three studies which we think add up to previous knowledge on Moroccan Arabic (henceforth MA) spoken varieties. Each of the features that will be treated here will then make the object of a comparison among the three towns, as far as the available data allow it. On the basis of this comparison and of previous data on MA dialectology, we will then attempt to discuss which features have undergone koineization, and if the data confirm that a *koine* is spreading from the Rabat-Casablanca area to the rest of Morocco, as is often claimed in the literature.[3]

2. Diatopic and diachronic variation in Moroccan Arabic

Building upon Heath (2002: 2-10), who has given the most detailed classification and description of MA spoken varieties so far, three main dialect types can be roughly distinguished in the territory of present-day Morocco: 1) the northern, 2) the central and, 3) the Saharan type. The first one can be found today in an area that goes from the Atlantic Ocean on the west to the Rif mountain range on the

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[2] For an overview of these phenomena and their relations with linguistic change in the Arabic-speaking world, cf. Miller (2007).

[3] By "koineization" we intend "a dynamic process, usually of dialect levelling and mixing, of which the formation of a stabilized koine may be one stage." (Siegel 1985: 364). We also subscribe to Siegel's definition of "*koine,*" i.e., "the stabilized result of mixing of linguistic subsystems such as regional or literary dialects" (1985: 363).

east, and southward to the cities of Ksar El Kebir and Ouezzane. Solid communities of northern-type speakers were once also found in some old cities such as Rabat, Sale, Fes, Sefrou and Azemmour; however, internal migration fluxes have now radically changed the composition of these towns, causing these communities to become minorities and, in some cases, to scatter in other Moroccan towns. The second type, the central one, corresponds to a vast territory that stretches from the south of Larache to Essaouira and spreads inland towards the Atlas range. Most varieties in this area are said to result from the mixing and contact among a great number of linguistically diverse Berber- and Arabic-speaking tribes, with Berbers being numerically dominant. Lastly, the Saharan type spans across the southernmost part of Morocco, from the Draa valley to the port town of Tarfaya, and is usually regarded as markedly Bedouin.

The urban varieties which appear to be the target of koineization belong to the central type, which has indeed the most composite nature. This is also the dialectal type which Heath sees as closest to what he calls the "modern koine" (Heath 2002: 10), as we will also refer to it in what follows. Caubet situates geographically and socially the ideal place of origin of this *koine*, by defining the latter as "un dialecte de citadins de fraîche date d'origine rurale" (Caubet 1993: VII), to distinguish it from the receding old urban northern-type varieties. Lévy adds to this definition by dating this phenomenon back to earlier historical processes

> [c]ette dialectique entre parlers de générations différentes, entre villes et tribus arabes, semble bien avoir constitué le mécanisme qui, du XIIIe au XXe s., a produit l'arabe marocain actuel, puissamment diffusé à partir du creuset casablancais (et rbati) dès le début du protectorat (Lévy 1998: 23).

We will provide now a quick overview of the location and demographic situation of the three cities whose Arabic varieties are dealt with in this paper.

Larache lies on the mouth of the Lukus river, 72 km south of Tangiers (Northern Morocco). This important fishing port town is home to 125,008 people (2014 census) and falls within the area of the northern dialect-type.

Temara is located within the central dialect-type area. It is a newly formed urban centre situated immediately south-west of Rabat. Once a part of the capital's rural outskirts, this city has undergone a huge demographic growth in the last decades, due to a massive influx of migrants from other Moroccan regions. Today, it counts at least 312,246 residents (2014 census) and virtually forms a single metropolitan area with Rabat and Sale (a big city adjacent to Rabat). Such area, in turn, is part of a

wider conurbation that runs parallel to the Atlantic coast and goes at least as far as the town of Casablanca in the south-west.

Berkane is a town located in North-Eastern Morocco, just 23 km west of the Algero-Moroccan border. It counts over 109,237 inhabitants (2014 census), among whom a certain percentage are bilingual in Arabic and Berber (Beni Iznassen variety). According to Heath's (2002) dialect classification, the varieties spoken across North-Eastern Morocco belong to the central type. Nonetheless, it should be noted that Berkani Arabic displays a number of isoglosses which bring it closer to North-Western Algerian dialects.

3. Data and methodology

The data for the present study come from a corpus of interviews and speech samples recorded during fieldwork in the cities of Larache, Temara and Berkane. Fieldwork in Larache took place between October 2009 and September 2012, and included the speech of 38 male and female consultants with different educational levels, aged between 17 and 83 years old at the time of the survey. Data from Temara include a total of 40 male consultants between 18 and 83 years old and were collected between September 2015 and August 2017. As regards Berkane, data were gathered in December 2019 and include recordings of 8 male speakers from all social backgrounds, whose ages ranged between 19 and 60 years old. All informants from Larache and Berkane were born and raised locally. As for Temara, informants who were born and partially raised in Rabat or Sale (but had been living in Temara for a consistent number of years) are also included, as no consistent linguistic differences were found to depend on having been born in one of the three towns.

4. Linguistic differences between Larache, Temara and Berkane.

In what follows we will provide examples drawn from our fieldwork data in order to briefly illustrate the differences in language use among the Arabic varieties spoken in our survey sites, i.e., Larache, Temara and Berkane. More precisely, we will show cases in which such differences could be undergoing a levelling process leading to accommodation to another variety, e.g., the modern *koine*. To this purpose, information will also be provided (when available and relevant) on speakers' attitudes towards the features involved. Such a comparative outlook should allow us to get an idea of the extent to which these varieties are actually undergoing koineization. However, in some of these cases,

hypotheses alternative to that of the accommodation to the modern *koine* will be advanced, so that further research will be required to clear these uncertainties.[4]

4.1. Phonetics

4.1.1. Reflexes of etymological *q

The realization of the voiceless uvular *q[5] is probably one of the best-known variables used to discriminate between Arabic varieties. In Morocco, [ʔ] and [q], the voiceless reflexes of this ancient phoneme, are more often associated with urban varieties, while the voiced [g] is usually associated with rural or Bedouin speakers. In the three towns examined, [q] and [g] are the only reflexes recorded and, since they distinguish different lexemes, have to be treated as phonemes.[6]

As in most northern-type Moroccan varieties, *q is usually realized in Larache as a voiceless uvular stop /q/, although a few instances of the velar reflex /g/ were also recorded for some lexical items. /g/ is more frequent cross-lexically in Temara, and possibly also in Berkane, although only a few lexemes have been recorded there so far (cf. *mgəṭṭaʕ* and *gəddām* in (1)).

(1)[7]	*āna*	*m-gəṭṭaʕ*	*gəddām=hum*	*u*	*hūma*	*ka=y-qəllb-u*
	1SG	PTCP-tear	before=3PL	and	3PL	TMA=IPFV.3-seek-PL

	ʕla	*l=lībṛa*
	on	DEF=needle

"I was ripped open before them while they were looking for a needle [to stitch my wounds]"

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[4] The list of features chosen for the comparative analysis is by no means aimed at covering all the forms that are subject to accommodation in the three towns. Our attempt has been to select some of the most salient and frequently used features so as to highlight the diversity of outcomes and directions of accommodation that emerges from a detailed analysis of these dynamics, and thus to question the idea of a single *koiné* spreading across Moroccan Arabic varieties. Other features were discarded either because they would not have added much to the discussion or because no salient difference among the three towns was noticed (the latter was the case of, e.g., the vowel system).

[5] The historical form of this phoneme, i.e., its pronunciation as it was presumably heard in the Arabian Peninsula at the beginning of the Islamic conquest, is still a matter of dispute and could have varied among different tribes (cf. Taine-Cheikh 2000: 12: "Le *qâf* connaît diverses réalisations et on discute encore pour savoir quelle est la réalisation 'originale' de cette unité en arabe ancien. Cependant les dialectologues considèrent quasi unanimement que l'on peut opposer deux grands types de réalisation [[q] et [g]] et que chacun d'eux était caractéristique d'un certain type de locuteur").

[6] Some examples of minimal pairs found in Larache are *ḥrīq* "fire; pain" — *ḥrīg* "illegal immigration," *ṣūq* "market" — *ṣūg* "drive!" *qāʕ* "bottom" — *gāʕ* "all" (Guerrero 2016; the same ones were also observed in Temara).

[7] In glossing our examples, we followed the Leipzig Glossing Rules (Comrie *et al.* 2008) to which we have added the gloss "TMA" indicating the Temporal-Modal-Aspectual verbal prefix.

The more widespread use of /g/ in these two towns could be due to the greater influence of Bedouin-type varieties. However, it should be noted that an inter-generational comparison of homolexical /q-/g/ alternation carried out in Temara showed how /g/ clearly recurs less frequently in the idiolects of younger speakers, i.e., those who grew up in a fully urbanized town with greater exposure to other urban varieties (Falchetta 2019). Connected to this, the distribution of the phonemes appears to be much more diffuse in Temara than in Larache, as an obvious consequence of higher recent immigration rates to the former town: Table 1. shows how eighteen items were recorded there as alternating between the two phonemes, against one (*qāl ~ gāl*) in Larache.

Besides dialectologists, also laypeople are fully aware of this variable and usually evoke it in their metalinguistic discourses. The fact that it appears to be receding in Temara has been interpreted as a consequence of the young generations having more social contacts with the big adjacent urban centre Rabat as a consequence of – mainly – increased connection and improved job opportunities in the tertiary sector. A feature indexing rurality such as [g] may be perceived as inappropriate and even stigmatized in the capital city, so that frequently commuting Temari youth tend to use

Meaning	Larache	Temara
Blue	zrəq	zrəq ~ zrəg
Route, way	ṭrīq	ṭrīq ~ ṭrīg
Hanging (adj.)	mʕəlləq	mʕəlləq ~ mʕəlləg
Above	fūq	fūq ~ fūg
Before	qbəl	qbəl ~ gbəl
A little before	qbīla	qbīla ~ gbīla
To suffice; to be able to/capable of (vb.)/ Size (noun)	qədd	qədd ~ gədd
In front of	qəddām	qəddām ~ gəddām
To turn over	qləb	qləb ~ gləb
Heart	qəlb	qəlb ~ gəlb
Bridge	qənṭra	qənṭra ~ gənṭra
To say	qāl ~ gāl	gāl
To find	lqa	lqa ~ lga
To meet	tlāqa	tlāqa ~ tlāga
To stop (intr.)	wqəf	wqəf ~ wgəf
Standing	wāqəf	wāqəf ~ wāgəf
To stop (tr.)	wəqqəf	wəqqəf ~ wəggəf

Table 1. /q/ - /g/ lexical diffusion in variable lexemes in Larache and Temara.

[q] more than [g] after becoming conscious of such inappropriateness (Falchetta 2019). However, the stigmatization of a feature does not always imply its recession: in Larache, the realisation [gāl] has been considered as an innovation attributed to the influence of Bedouin-type dialects (Guerrero 2015: 50); this, notwithstanding the fact that, even in Larache, [g] is stigmatized as a "country bumpkin"'s feature (2015: 51). Interestingly, Hachimi (2005, 2007, 2011) reports on a very similar case in which speakers of another northern-type variety (Fassi MA) living in Casablanca, where most residents speak a central-type variety (and thus use [g] more often), only switch the word [gāl] to [g], while at the same time scorning speakers using [g] for their rural accent.[8] The switch to [gāl] parallels the speaker's desire to merge in the rest of the Casablancan society by adopting a feature that he/she positively defines as ḥrəš

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[8] She motivates this peculiarity by attributing what Errington (1985) calls "pragmatic salience" to the lexeme /qāl/ ~ /gāl/.

("rough") and by distancing him/herself from "snobbish" non-adopters. These similarities in language speech *and* attitudes between Larachi speakers and Fassi speakers in Casablanca will be observed for another feature as well (cf. *infra* Section 4.2.1), and will then be discussed in Section 5.

4.1.2. Affrication of /t/

A further phonetic variable is the realization of the voiceless dental stop /t/. This phoneme has undergone a phenomenon of lenition in many MA varieties, which has yielded a voiceless alveo-dental [ts] in most cases (Brunot 1950: 37; Cantineau 1960: 37). This pronunciation can be heard, for instance, in northern-type varieties such as those of Tetouan (Singer 1958: 110) or Larache (2). However, in the conurbation along the Atlantic coast (including Casablanca, Rabat and Sale), a marked voiceless alveo-palatal type of affrication [tš] has been spreading among young speakers in the last two or three decades, becoming the phonetically unconditioned pronunciation of this phoneme. Temara (3), being in the middle of this conurbation, is also part of this trend, which mostly concerns Temari speakers under 40. Most speakers over 40 also show a slighter affrication of this phoneme, although the phenomenon is much less marked and stable than it is among younger speakers and oscillates between an alveo-palatal [tš] and an alveo-dental [ts] place of articulation (thus standing closer to the affrication heard in Larache; cf. Falchetta 2019 for more details). A totally different situation is found in Berkane, where /t/ is usually not affricated; a look at this isogloss in North-Western Algeria might suggest that this is a Bedouin feature, as there is no affrication of /t/ in the Bedouin dialects of the area (Grand'Henry 2011: 54).

The "Atlantic urban" alveo-palatal affrication [tš] has turned into a distinctive feature of Casablanca youth talk, often stigmatized in metalinguistic discourse (personal observations), although it is now widespread in several towns across Morocco. In Meknes and Casablanca itself, it is indexed as "working-class" or "vulgar" (Ziamari *et al.* 2020: 35).

(2) ḥna   ma   ka=nə-mšī-w=ši   n   əl=mḍrāb-ātˢ
     1PL   NEG   TMA=IPFV.1-to.go-PL=NEG   towards   DEF=tuna.fishery-PL
     "We don't go to the tuna fisheries"

(3) l=bnātˢ̌   u   š=šṛāb
     DEF=girl.PL   and   DEF=alcoholic.drink
     "Girls and alcohol"

4.2. Verbal morphology

4.2.1. 2nd person singular gender distinction: prefixal conjugation

Gender distinction at the 2nd person singular of the prefixal (imperfect) conjugations is quite variable across Morocco. By comparing just three regional varieties (Hrizi, Fessi and Filali) with the paradigm most widespread in Casablanca, Hachimi (2018) highlights the differences illustrated in Table 2. across varieties.

Regional varieties	Person/ Number / gender	Imperfect
Casablanca	2SG.M	*t-ktəb*
	2SG.F	*t-kətb-i*
Hrizi	2SGM	*t-kətb-i*
	2SG.F	*t-kətb-i*
Fessi	2SG.M	*t-ktəb*
	2SG.F	*t-ktəb*
Filali	2SG.M	*t-ktəb*
	2SG.F	*t-kətb-i*

Table 2. 2nd person singular forms of the prefixal conjugation (adapted from Hachimi 2018: 6)

The Larache corpus shows the same verbal paradigms as Fessi Arabic, as exemplified in (4), while Temara follows the same as general Casablanca Arabic, as in (5) (both examples are addressed to female interlocutors). These data are coherent with the general picture drawn by Heath for Muslim Moroccan dialects, according to which northern towns like Larache use the (suffixless) masculine ending for both imperfect 2nd singular forms, whereas the rest of Morocco (where Temara is located) generally distinguishes 2nd singular masculine from feminine (Heath 2002: 215). As for Berkane, data on this variable are absent.

According again to Hachimi (2018), 2nd singular gender distinction is very often under the radar of social judgments about language in Casablanca, because of the indexical meanings carried by each form as a consequence of the stereotypical characterisation of the speakers that (are believed to) typically use it. In particular, she shows how Casablancans of Fessi origin consistently maintain the 2nd singular merger in the imperfect, despite of most Casablancans distinguishing genders. Since Fessis

explicitly attribute a superior status to their own lifestyle and way of speaking, with respect to those of other communities in Casablanca (cf. Hachimi 2005: 2012), Hachimi maintains that this elitist ideology is what underlies the maintenance of this minority morphological form. Interestingly, a very similar type of stance is found among Larachis, who justify the cultural uniqueness of Northern Morocco through their claim for a certain geographical and historical closeness to Spain. The experience of the Spanish protectorate in Morocco (1912-1956) and, more recently, the creation of international networks resulting from emigration to Spain have presumably reinforced this feeling of closeness.

(4)   *ma   ka=t-məšṣ̌ṭ=u*   *ma   wālu*
      NEG   TMA=IPFV.2SG-comb=3SG.M   NEG   nothing
      "You (fem.) do not even comb your [hair]"

(5)   *tā=t-əlqā-y*   *ṣəff dyāl   ḍ=ḍyūṛ*   *ã⁹ fas mʕa ṣəff mdyāl¹⁰   ḍ=ḍyūṛ*
      TMA=IPFV.2-find-SG.F. row POSS DEF=house.PL in face with row POSS   DEF=house.PL
      "You used to have two rows of houses facing one another"

4.2.2. 3rd feminine singular person of the suffixal conjugation

The main two alternative forms that this suffix takes across MA varieties are *-ət* and *-āt* (e.g., *kətbət* and *kətbāt*, "she wrote").[11] According to Heath's (2002: 222-23) data, the distribution of the two variants overlaps in most of Morocco, including in Rabat and Casablanca, but *-ət* seems to dominate in northern varieties and even in the variety of the Zaër (Aguadé 1998: 145; based on Loubignac's data), who inhabit a region adjacent to Temara. In the Larache corpus, *-āt* is present as a minority form and could be a recent import from Bedouin varieties, just like the [g] in [gāl], although *-ət* remains dominant (Guerrero

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[9] De-italicized forms in the transcription indicate code-switching with another language system. In this case the code-switched French form (*en face*) is joint with the MA preposition *mʕa* "with" to form a single prepositional locution meaning "opposite" or "facing."

[10] Alternative form of the genitive marker *dyāl*, used by a few speakers in Temara.

[11] Hollow and defective verbs often take irregular forms of this subject suffix, and therefore are not taken into account in the present discussion. By converse, geminate verbs are concerned, although they take irregular suffixes in a minority of MA varieties. Also, cases in which vowel-initial suffix pronouns follow the subject suffix are not considered, as the subject suffix often becomes *-āt* as a result of this suffixation, even when its unmarked form is *-ət*. (cf. Heath 2002: 222-225).

2015: 197; (6)); in Temara, *-āt* appears to be by far the prevalent choice by speakers of all ages (7). In Berkane, not enough data were collected on this variable.

(6) *kətb-ət*   *n*   *əl=mudīr*
     write-PFV.3SG.F   to   DEF=director
     "She wrote to the school head"

(7) *īla*   *tṣāwb-āt*   *ā=t-ṭləʕ*   *rxīṣ-a*
     if   be_fixed-PFV.3SG.F   FUT=IPFV.3SG.F-rise   cheap-F
     "It's cheaper to fix it."

4.2.3. Change in stem syllabic structure

Another interesting variable has to do with the prefixal conjugation of regular verbs. In the 2nd singular feminine and in all plural forms, the addition of feminine and plural suffixes (*-i* and *-u*) would entail the occurrence of a short vowel in open syllable, e.g.: *yəfhəm + -u → *yəfhəmu.*[12] However, it is well known that Maghrebi Arabic dialects have developed different devices to avoid short vowels in open syllables. For instance, most Moroccan varieties solve this problem through metathesis, which allows to preserve the stem-initial short vowel. While this is also the case in Larache (8) and Temara (9), a different solution may be observed in Berkane (10) where, in addition to the metathesis, the first consonant is geminated to preserve the short vowel in the subject prefix (a common feature among several Algerian varieties; cf. Marçais 1986).

(8) *ka=y-šəṭḥ-u*   *hākka*   *u*   *yə-tʕaššā-w*
     TMA=IPFV.3-dance-PL   like_this   and   IPFV.3-have_dinner-PL
     "They dance like this and have dinner"

(9) *ḥna*   *ta=n-həḍṛ-u*   *ʕla*   *Tmāra*
     1PL   TMA=IPFV.1-speak-PL   about   Temara
     "We're talking about Temara"

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[12] It should be recalled that Larache Arabic lacks gender differentiation in the imperfective 2nd singular person. In this variety, the (suffixless) 2nd singular form is used for both masculine and feminine.

(10) š=šəlḥ-a   wāld-i=yya   yə-hhədṛ-ū=ha

      DEF=Berber-F   parent-PL=1SG   IPFV.3-speak-PL=3SG.F

      "Berber, my parents do speak it"

4.2.4. Preverbal TMA markers

Many Arabic dialects make use of preverbal TMA markers (Agius and Harrak 1987); these are prefixes to the imperfective verb form that add temporal, modal or aspectual information which the verb form alone would not convey. The most common preverbal TMA markers in the dialects of MA are *ka-* and *ta-*, which both carry meanings of duration, reiteration or universality. While the two forms are semantically identical, and therefore interchangeable, they are differently distributed across the Moroccan map, with *ka-* dominating the north and *ta-* the south (Heath 2002: 210). However, a wide area of overlap is found in the middle, with many speakers alternating both prefixes in what appears to be free variation. *ka-* is believed to be originally characteristic of northern-type varieties,[13] a fact that might account for its prevalence in Larache (11), where *ta-* has nevertheless also been recorded in the speech of a few informants. *ka-* is the only attested variant in Berkane, although verbal forms without marker and with the same modal-aspectual functions are also frequent in our data (12). This suggests a link between Berkani Arabic and the varieties spoken on the other side of the border, as most Algerian dialects lack this type of markers. On the other hand, the two prefixes are clearly co-present in Temara (13).

(11) *ka=yə-kmi*   *s=sbāsa*   *d*   *əl=kīf*   *mʕa*   *ṭ=ṭalaba*

      TMA=IPFV.3SG.M-smoke   DEF=pipe.PL   POSS   DEF=hash   with   DEF=student.PL

      "He smokes hash pipes with the students"

(12) *lə=ḥrīra*   *y-dīr-u*   *fī=ha*   *l=quṣbūṛ*

      DEF=ḥrīra   IPFV.3-do-PL   in=3SG.F   DEF=cilantro

      "They add cilantro to the *ḥrīra*[14]"

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[13] Cf. Aguadé (1996: 198). The author mentions pre-Hilali varieties, which correspond to Heath's northern type in the Moroccan dialect area.

[14] Traditional Moroccan soup.

(13)   *ma*   *ka=t-ʕəžb=ək=š*   *l=lūġa*   *fhəm-ti*   *ma*

        NEG   TMA=IPFV.3SG.F-please=2SG=NEG   DEF=language   understand-PFV.2SG   NEG

ta=t-ʕəžb=ək=š   *wāḥəd*   *l=lūġa*

TMA=IPFV.3SG.F- please=2SG=NEG   INDEF   DEF=language

"You don't like the language, do you see? [Like when] you don't like a language"

4.3. Nominal morphology: annexation particle

In MA, analytic possessive constructions exhibit three main genitive exponents: *dyāl*, *d-*, and *ntāʕ*, with its reduced alternative *tāʕ*[15]. The first two are used in the modern *koiné*; as for *(n)tāʕ*, it is quite common across the rural areas of Central and Southern Morocco (cf. Heath 2002: 461), although it was also used in Larache until the first half of the last century (sometimes pronounced *mtāʕ*: Alarcón 1913: 10, 26, 83; Klingenheben 1927: 79). Today, *dyāl* and *d-* are by far the most common genitive particles in Larache (Guerrero 2015: 156-57; (14)) – which parallels the available data on North-Western Moroccan varieties – and in Temara (15); however, in the latter *ntāʕ* was recorded from several residents over 60, most of whom had been raised in other rural regions (and were therefore not taken into account in the present comparative analysis). This suggests that *ntāʕ/tāʕ* is either abandoned or discarded by locally-born young generations in both Larache and Temara. A different situation may be observed in Berkane, where *ntāʕ* and its cognate *tāʕ* are more common, but still less frequent than *dyāl* (76% of the occurrences; (16)). Curiously, a frequency count shows that *dyāl/d-* is higher among speakers aged above 40. This fact goes against the rest of the Berkane data that hints at a predominance of Algerian-like features in the speech of (especially elder) Berkani speakers.

(14)   *l=kwāġəṭ*   *dyāl=ək*

       DEF=paper.PL   POSS=2SG

       "Your papers"

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[15] Consider that, unlike *dyāl* and *ntāʕ/tāʕ*, *d-* can only be followed by a noun.

(15) *bəzzāf*   *d*   *əl=ʔamākin*[16]   *dyāl=ha*

　　　many   POSS   DEF=place.PL   POSS=3SG.F

　　　"Many of their places [of settlement]"

(16) *ž=žnān*   *tāʕ*   *lə=mzāḥ*

　　　DEF=orchard   POSS   DEF=medlar

　　　"The medlar orchard"

5. Discussion

Three of the cases of language variation shown above concern features which appear to be recent innovations in Larache, i.e., the reflex [g] for **q*, the 3rd person feminine singular suffix *āt* for the suffixal conjugation and the preverbal TMA marker *ta-*. All these features are more typical of central-type dialects and have presumably just started spreading into some Larachis' speech because of immigration from other, more southward areas in Morocco (Guerrero 2015: 50, 112).[17] This is confirmed by their absence in previous corpora of Larachi texts and in most northern varieties.

　　The three recently imported features suggest that Larachi speakers are indeed partially accommodating to a central-type variety. Does this mean that a *koiné* is spreading from the Sale-Rabat-Casablanca conurbation to reach the northern town? The answer to the question depends on who are the importers of these forms to Larache, a town on the periphery of the northern region with central-type varieties being spoken in surrounding villages like Laaouamera and Tleta Rissana. In fact, if immigrants from this close-by area contributed these features to the Larachi linguistic repertoire, then we may be dealing with a different, local *koiné* arising from the contact between the urban and the imported rural varieties, just as happened in cities such as Rabat or Sale. Nevertheless, the presence of civil servants, who (according to interviewed consultants) usually come from more southward areas, could also play a role in the spread of those features, in which case their origin might very well be the wide inter-urban modern *koine*. More in-depth sociolinguistic data on who are the users of these forms would be needed to provide a more definite answer.[18]

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[16] Codeswitching with Modern Standard Arabic.

[17] However, it should be noticed that most immigrants in Larache are from the Jbala region (Guerrero 2015: 201), where these features are absent.

[18] On the one hand, it is well-established that the media do not cause directly either the adoption or the disavowal of phonological or morphological forms in the context of dialect contact (Trudgill: 1986: 40, 41). On the other, they may play an

Looking at the other features analysed, more arguments may be brought against the idea that the modern *koine* is always the converged-to variety. As many of the variables analysed in the Berkane corpus hint at a similarity between the Arabic spoken there and the dialects beyond the Algerian border, we may interpret the partial use of the preverbal TMA marker *ka-* as a recent adoption in this town. However, the fact that *ta-*, unlike *ka-*, has not been accommodated to by Berkanis, even though the *ka- ~ ta-* alternation is widespread in the area considered to be the origin of the modern *koine*, could indicate that Berkanis are accommodating to some other, possibly geographically close-by varieties; the adjacent north, where only *ka-* is used, is a plausible candidate. Even more interesting is the case of the annexation particle *ntāʕ*, which appears to be gaining importance in young Berkanis' speech despite the fact that *dyāl* and *d-* are clearly dominant in the more widespread central urban *koiné*. Is this also due to immigrants importing this form from near-by rural areas, as could be the case in Larache? If so, why does this form win over *dyāl*, while the opposite occurs in other places (such as Temara)? If not, what makes *ntāʕ* more appealing than *dyāl* to Berkani youth? Besides, why are other forms not accommodated to by the majority of speakers (see the cases of alternative stem syllabic structure change and of omission of the preverbal TMA marker, which represent divergence from most MA varieties)? To answer these questions, more data on language use, immigration and social indexation of forms in Berkane are needed.

Also Temaris – who are supposedly native speakers of the modern *koine* – appear to be accommodating to other (maybe northern-type) varieties when they increasingly substitute [q] for [g] in a number of lexical items. Incidentally, this is probably one of the few variables in which koineization actually seems to be at work: Temaris, Larachis and even Casablancan Fassis (as shown in Hachimi's studies) are all separately tending towards the acquisition of a repertoire in which, among all the lexemes concerned by the alternation [q]~[g], they only assign [gāl] to [g] . This parallel development cannot be explained other than as a result of the speakers' "participation in a relatively uniform set of social norms" about language (Labov [1966] 2006: 298), which leads them to make similar judgments on what is the appropriate combination of phonetic reflexes and related lexemes – as long as they have

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indirect role through the (re-)production of sociolinguistic stereotypes, which can affect the speakers' attitudes towards certain forms and, therefore, their inclination to abandon or adopt them; cf. Benítez-Fernández and Guerrero (2022) and Falchetta (2022) for two analyses of Moroccan comical TV shows exploiting linguistic variation for the reproduction of stereotypes. Falchetta (2022), for instance, shows how Moroccan media authors exploiting linguistic variation in the writing of scripts in MA for TV series can implicitly elect a specific register to "ideal" or "standard" speech among all the other registers used by the community. In any case, for accommodation to take place, face-to-face contact with speakers employing the accommodated-to feature is always necessary.

been sufficiently exposed to both [q]- and [g]-pronunciations. Besides that, factors such as the mentioned pragmatic salience of [gāl] can be decisive as to which lexemes are assigned to which phonological class.[19] Positing a similarity in the social evaluations of language may also help explain why two other features present in the central Atlantic *koine*, i.e. the marked affrication [tš] and the gender distinction in the 2nd person singular of the prefixal form, have not made it to Larache so far: their stigmatized status is not compensated by any positive indexation, and therefore lag behind in their spread with respect to [gāl]. Further studies on language representations could clarify if social evaluation also plays a role in another clear case of convergence between Larache and Temara, i.e, the abandonment of the (minoritarian) annexation particle *ntāʕ* for *dyāl* in both towns.

6. Conclusion

The data exposed and the analysis carried out in the present article suggest that neither Larache nor Berkane, two towns located in different regions of Morocco, can definitively be proven to be accommodating to an inter-urban *koine* originating from the big conurbation including Rabat and Casablanca. This, however, is not to say that convergence is not taking place among the three towns: by importing central-type features, Larache is getting closer to the varieties of more southward urban centres, while increased use of *ka-* in Berkane is introducing the marking of a category (verbal tense, mood and aspect) that has been expressed through the use of a preverb for a long time in the rest of Morocco, but not in the importing town. However, in both cases, such convergence cannot be definitively proven to target a single variety, i.e., an inter-urban modern *koine* supposedly emanating from Central Morocco. The comparison between the Temara and the Larache corpora also showed that convergence is not necessarily uni-directional.

Further research will have to be carried out on Temara to integrate female consultants in the sample, and on Berkane to add more (including female) speakers. Besides that, in order to make more solid analyses of language variation and change in MA varieties, detailed comparative studies such as the present one should be carried out more often with the double purpose of identifying trends of convergence and divergence between different areas and of filling in the many blank points still

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[19] Following an analysis of the /q/~/g/ variation in verbal interactions recorded during an elicitation test, Falchetta (2019: 266-267) suggests that the spread of /q/ in Temara may be due to the combined effect of contact with ancient Rabat dwellers, who use /g/ much less frequently, and of school, which prescribes [q] as the correct pronunciation of lexemes coming from the corresponding roots. Schooling, however, should be taken (just like the media) as exerting an indirect rather than direct influence, as it causes the association of [q] to contexts of formal learning, literacy and, ultimately, to a certain type of prestige.

present in the dialectological map of Morocco.[20] Another necessary task is research on language attitudes, aimed at grasping the existing social norms about language. Kerswill and Williams (2002) and Hachimi (2018) convincingly argued that such norms are most relevant for a given form to become salient for the community of speakers and, as a consequence, for the accommodation or maintenance of certain linguistic features. Knowledge of the unequal power relationships that link the different groups within a single community (e.g., locals and newcomers, rurals and urbanites, etc.) is a further desideratum in order to fully comprehend the background of the norms of social evaluation.

List of glossing abbreviations

DEF	definite	PL	plural
F	feminine	POSS	possessive
FUT	future	PTCP	participle
INDEF	indefinite	SG	singular
IPFV	imperfective	TMA	tense, mood, aspect
M	masculine	1	first person
NEG	negation	2	second person
PFV	perfective	3	third person

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[20] An earlier, more comprehensive comparative study of this kind is the one by Sánchez and Vicente (2012).

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Refusal strategies used by Jordanians and Syrian refugees in Jordan

Oraib Mousa Alshmaseen, Marwan Jarrah and *Sharif Alghazo*

This study investigates the use and linguistic properties of refusal strategies by Jordanians and Syrian refugees in Jordan. To achieve this objective, a Discourse Completion Test (DCT), consisting of 10 situations: three requests, three offers, two invitations, and two suggestions was used. The participants were 40 (20 male and 20 female) Jordanians and 40 (20 male and 20 female) Syrian refugees in Jordan. The mixed-method data analysis resulted in a total of 1351 refusals: 719 Jordanian refusals and 632 Syrian refugees' refusals. The refusals were classified by semantic formulas, directness (a dimension of communication style), and frequency of semantic formulas. The results show that the two groups utilize different semantic formulas with different frequencies when making their refusals. The two groups used a different number of direct and indirect formulas. Although the two groups belong to the Arabic culture, the differences were significant. One main difference is that Jordanians' refusals were more direct and were often expressed as negative willingness, while the Syrian refugees' refusals were less direct, providing an explanation of their refusals. The results also indicate that gender is a significant variable where females in the two samples tended to respond with lengthy responses when making their refusals, employing at least three refusal strategies.

Keywords: refusals; Jordanians; Syrian refugees; DCT; gender; (in)directness.

1. Introduction

In pragmatic research, the study of speech acts has received much attention in different languages and cultures (e.g., Henstock 2003; Kwon 2004; Al-Kahtani 2005; Chunli and Nor 2016; Hong-lin 2007; Alghazo *et al.* 2021; Benyakoub *et al.* 2022).[1] In his articulation of the SAT, Austin (1962) suggests that uttering something can involve performing something else. For example, by saying 'I am sorry', a speaker is not only saying a phrase, but s/he is also doing an act, that of apologizing. Speech acts help us to develop a better understanding of how human communication is accomplished using linguistic structures

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(Olshtain and Blum-Kulka 1985). Such an exploration reveals the similarities and differences of interactions between people of different languages and cultures. In addition, the study of speech acts within different communities showed that cultures, norms, and beliefs play a major role in influencing the performance of speech acts (Richards and Schmidt 1983; Meier 1995). Many theories and concepts formed a theoretical framework of empirical studies on speech acts cross-culturally. The works by Austin (1962) and Searle (1969) formed the basis of our perception and understanding of speech acts. Other concepts and theories include politeness (Brown and Levinson,1987), communicative competence (Hymes 1972; Canale and Swain 1980), pragmatic competence (Leech 1983), and intercultural communication (Hofstede 1980).

One of the important speech acts is that of refusing, which occurs in all languages but is performed differently. In fact, each culture or language has its own way of refusing which is manifested in certain strategies of refusing. Refusals occur when a speaker says 'No' directly or indirectly to an invitation, offer or request (Al-Eryani 2007). They are identified as face-threatening acts (FTAs) due to their contradiction to the listener's, requester's, and inviter's expectations and, hence, can cause damage to the interlocutors' honour. Refusals are often comprehended using indirect strategies because refusing might be offensive (Beebe and Takahashi 1989). Refusals are complex because they involve long sequences and vary according to sociolinguistic factors such as gender and status. Thus, refusals are important to investigate cross-culturally. Searle and Vanderveken (1985) argue that refusals are "[t]he negative counterparts to acceptances and consentings" and continues to note that "[j]ust as one can accept offers, applications and invitations, so each of these can be refused or rejected" (p. 195). Beebe et al. (1990) see refusals as an act of interpersonal negotiation that involves utterances which listeners are not pleased to hear. This, in turn, requires hearers to respond in a way that avoids embarrassing the speaker and to offer support to the listener's face (Beebe et al., 1990). Indeed, performing refusals may cause harm to the relationship between interlocutors as they direct a threat to the positive face of the hearer by suggesting that their desires are not welcomed or wanted. In this case, the person who refuses faces a challenge which is overcome by the speaker maintaining his negative face and reducing the threat to his interlocutor's positive face (Brown and Levinson 1987).

This study investigates the use and linguistic properties of refusals by Jordanians and Syrian refugees in Jordan highlighting the similarities and/or differences, the degree of (in)directness, and the role of gender. The study seeks to answer the following three questions:

1. Do Jordanians and Syrian refugees adopt different communication styles? If yes, what communication style does each group adopt?

2. What are the refusal strategies employed by each group?

3.   To what extent do women employ different refusal strategies than men in two groups?

2. Theoretical framework

The SAT, which was articulated by Austin in 1962, stipulates that language is not only used to inform or describe entities, but it can also be used to do things, that is, to perform actions via utterances (Austin, 1962). Over the past 25 years, linguists have exerted significant efforts studying the strategies of speech acts across cultures and languages (Morkus 2009). Speech acts are utterances that carry some performative functions in language and communication (Austin 1962). Speech acts include three aspects: locutionary acts, illocutionary acts, and perlocutionary acts. A locutionary act is the literal meaning of an utterance, an illocutionary act is the action performed when saying something, and a perlocutionary act is the consequence or the effect of saying something (Austin 1962). Austin (1962) indicates that illocutionary acts are performatives which can be implicit and explicit. Ethnographers of communication also investigated speech acts. Hymes (1968), for example, viewed speech acts as functional units that serve interactants during communication and as being guided by the socio-cultural rules of communication in a given speech community. Hymes (1968) proposed a taxonomy which comprises speech situations, speech events, and speech acts. Another taxonomy was devised by Searle (1969) who divided speech acts into five types: commissives (e.g., swearing, offering, etc.), declarations (e.g., resigning, sentencing, etc.), expressives (e.g., thanking, apologizing, etc.), assertives (e.g., claiming, announcing, etc.), and directives (e.g., requesting, ordering, etc.). The speech act of refusing is considered a commissive speech act (Jiang 2015). Searle (1969: 95) defines commissives as "statements which commit the speakers to a course of action as described by propositional content."

3. Literature review

Much comparative research has been conducted on the speech act of refusing in different languages. For example, Beebe *et al.* (1990) examined the refusals performed by native speakers of Japanese and native speakers of English utilizing a DCT, with structurally written situations: three requests, three invitations, three offers, and three suggestions. The findings showed the importance of status regarding the refusal strategies given by the respondents: Americans adopted a pattern when refusing requests from higher to lower status people. In refusing a request from an equal status person, Americans usually initiate the refusal with an expression of regret and then illustrate the motive for the refusal. On the other hand, the Japanese respondents showed more direct style of refusing when

they were interacting with a lower status person. The Japanese respondents omitted apology and regret when refusing a person of a lower status.

In another study, Stevens (1993) analysed Egyptian Arabic and American English refusals, also utilizing a written DCT, with 15 situations: eight requests and seven offers/invitations. Steven's conclusions, similar to those of Beebe *et al.* (1990), revealed that refusals included a number of formulas and that respondents rarely refuse outright. His analysis showed that both Arabic and English speakers adopted many of the similar formulas (e.g., explanations, non-committal strategies, partial acceptances, and white lies). Because of the analogy between Egyptian and American refusal strategies, the researcher concludes that it is not a necessity that Egyptian learners explicitly learn refusal strategies since there may be a great deal of positive pragmatic transfer from Arabic to English. Steven's research is important because it is one of the first studies that investigated the differences between Arabic and English refusals, yet his study lacks certain elements. Steven's study examines neither the role of status nor the sequence of formulas in implementing refusals. Furthermore, the study does not point out the frequency of each semantic formula type nor does it indicate the reasons provided for refusing.

Hussein (1995) investigated the speech act of refusing in Arabic. Unlike the studies detailed above, Hussein's study adopted only naturalistic data that he elicited through observing Arabic speakers in naturally occurring situations. The participants were university graduates and professionals from Palestinian and Jordanian speech communities. He also investigated written communication in letters and newspapers. The researcher categorized Arabic refusals into direct and indirect strategies. The findings of the study indicate that indirect strategies are more frequently utilized among close friends of unequal status and acquaintances of both equal and unequal status. Examples of indirect strategies adopted by Arabs are expressions of positive opinion, expressions of regret, excuses, alternative statements, statements of principle and indefinite replies. However, this study suffers from some methodological limitations. The researcher did not present any detailed information on how the data was procured or transcribed. In addition, he did not illustrate any systematic approach in analysing the data. More importantly, all scenarios the researcher included in the DCT are written in Modern Standard Arabic (MSA), which is the formal written variety of the language, and no examples were included from any dialect of Arabic.

Al-Issa (1998) investigated the realization patterns of the speech act of refusal by Jordanian EFL learners, native speakers of Jordanian Arabic, and native speakers of American English. The study aimed to see whether there was evidence of pragmatic transfer from Arabic and the rationales causing this transfer if any. The researcher adopted a DCT to collect the data from the three groups (50

participants in each group) mentioned above. The three groups were equally divided according to gender. The researcher also conducted semi-structured interviews with the Jordanian EFL learners to figure out the factors for pragmatic transfer from L1. The findings showed evidence of pragmatic transfer especially with regard to type, frequency, number, and content of semantic formulas adopted. Also, the researcher indicated that there are specific semantic formulas that were only used by the Arab participants. In addition, it was recognized, that the refusals of the Jordanian participants, in comparison to their American counterparts, were lengthy, elaborate and less direct. Also, the excuses offered by the Jordanian participants were more vague and less specific than the American excuses.

Finally, Nelson et al. (2002) adopted a modified version of a DCT that was used by Beebe *et al.* (1990) in order to collect refusal data from 30 Americans and 25 Egyptians. The DCT consisted of 10 situations aiming at eliciting four different types of refusals: 3 invitations, 2 requests, 3 offers and 2 suggestions. The findings revealed that the two groups adopted similar semantic formulas to realize the speech act of refusing and utilized, to some extent, the same number of direct and indirect strategies. Nevertheless, it was found that in some situations the order of the semantic formulas differed between the two groups. Surprisingly, the Egyptian sample showed more utilization of the direct formulas than their American counterparts in the status-equal situations. Additionally, the American and Egyptian respondents expressed similar rationales for their refusals. However, the American respondents adopted more expressions of gratitude. Also, the Egyptian respondents made use of fewer face-saving strategies in their refusals than the Americans.

Al Masaeed, Taguchi and Tamimi (2020) investigated the connection the use of refusal strategies and second language (L2) proficiency using a spoken DCT. The participants were 45 learners of Arabic and 15 native Arabic speakers. The L2 learners were grouped based on their proficiency level in Arabic into three proficiency levels. The variables of power and social distance were considered in the construction of situations in the DCT. The results indicated that the use of refusals and the appropriateness of refusing were positively correlated with the proficiency level of learners. The findings also showed that native Arabic speakers tend to use vague explanations to refuse whereas L2 learners provided more specific explanations to refuse.

4. Methodology

This study examines the speech act of refusing as realized in Syrian Arabic and Jordanian Arabic and compares the strategies adopted by the speakers.

4.1. Sample

As for the sample, the study elicited responses from on 80 participants (40 Jordanians and 40 Syrian refugees). Each group was divided equally according to the gender of the respondent. The first group included 40 Jordanians who work at Queen Zain Al-Sharaf Centre for Development in Amman, Jordan. This group includes both males and females ranging from ages 20 to 50. It is worth indicating that age is not considered as a variable in the present study due to the insufficient numbers of Syrian refugees who could be arranged into age groups. Accordingly, both Jordanians and Syrian refugees were chosen and divided only according to gender. Most of the Jordanian respondents were recent graduates or graduate students at major colleges and universities in Jordan. All the participants used colloquial Jordanian Arabic as a medium of communication in their everyday interactions. The second group included 40 Syrian refugees who receive support from Queen Zain Al-Sharaf Centre for Development in Amman, Jordan. This sample consisted of refugees who fled Syria due to the 2011 Syrian crisis and sought shelter and safety in Jordan. The respondents' ages ranged between 20 and 40 years. Upon a discussion with the respondents during the data collection procedure, the researcher found that 80% received education up until twelfth grade.

4.2. Data collection instrument

The data was collected using a DCT. Mackey and Gass (2021: 467) define DCTs as "a means of gathering contextualized data. Generally, a situation is provided and then the respondent is asked what he or she would say in that particular situation." Before the scenarios were distributed, background questions were administered to all the respondents to determine their gender, age, and nationality to verify eligibility for participation in the study (see Appendix A). The study utilized open scenarios for data elicitation. The DCT was composed of 10 situations/scenarios and include four types of stimuli to refusal (i.e., requests, offers, invitations, suggestion). The situations also differ with regard to setting, social distance, and the relative status of the interlocutors to each other. These situations were piloted and found to be valid and effective in collecting the data. The situations in this study were composed based on previous research due to the similar situations that have been utilized in multiple previous refusal studies investigating refusals in American English, Chinese, Turkish, and Arabic. The researcher altered these situations and edited them in some ways in order to meet the context and the needs of the present study. Also, the researcher created a number of situations. These situations are shown in Table 1.

Situation	Setting	Stimulus	Object of Refusal	Status
1	Respondent's house	Invitation	Dinner	Equal status
2	Workplace	Request	Report	High to low
3	College campus	Request	Lecture notes	Equal Status
4	Workplace	Offer	Promotion and relocation	High to low
5	Friend's house	Offer	More dessert	Equal status
6	College class	Request	A novel	High to low
7	Public transportation	Offer	money for dirtying a shirt	Equal status
8	Study area	Invitation	Relaxing during work	Equal status
9	Workplace	Invitation	Lunch	High to low

Table 1. Refusal situations

4.3. Scenarios and pilot study

The nine scenarios were piloted through distributing the DCT survey on participants who receive an English training course along with the researcher. The nine refusal scenarios were not modified based on the results received from the pilot study because the respondents in the pilot study managed to respond to the refusal scenarios required for the ultimate purposes of the study. The interactions also continued as expected. In addition, and after the respondents responded to the scenarios, the participants reflected on the scenarios as being "realistic and that a refusal was possible for each scenario." The respondents in the pilot study also declared that the "scenarios took them a reasonable amount of time to respond to." However, based on the feedback of the participants, a scenario was omitted. The tenth refusal scenario showed that the participant had to respond to his friend who suggests escaping work for some time and taking a couple of days off and relaxing in Aqaba. The participants pointed out that the type of stimuli to refusing in Scenario (10) stands out in comparison to all the other scenarios mentioned before. As the tenth scenario was designed to elicit a refusal to a suggestion, all the aforementioned scenarios included types of stimuli to refusals (e.g., requests, invitations, and offers). Accordingly, the listed modified version of the DCT in the present study includes nine refusal scenarios. The researcher felt that the modified version delivers a more coherent and related scenarios for the participants to respond.

4.4. Data collection procedures

Before the data elicitation, the researcher contacted Queen Zain Al- Sharaf Centre for Development and obtained an approval for conducting the research. An official statement was issued to ensure official coordination and smooth collection of data. Consent forms were composed and signed by all the respondents prior to their participation in the research. The data were elicited at Queen Zain Al-Sharaf Centre for Development because it used to receive Syrian refugees on a daily basis (at the time of data collection). In addition, the centre employs Jordanians for several positions. Accordingly, the centre is considered as a suitable setting. The data were collected in Arabic from Syrian refugees who usually attend the centre's services and events and from Jordanians who work daily at the centre. Both groups were native speakers of Arabic. Convenient sampling was used through the communication office of Queen Zain Al-Sharaf centre. Appointments and meetings were also arranged and set up in coordination with the researchers. Meetings were held inside the centre for 15-20 minutes.

5. Results

The analysis below presents answers to the research questions about the use of refusal strategies by the participants and the effect of the examined variables (nationality and gender) on the use of refusal strategies. The strategies are classified into direct and indirect strategies based on Beebe *et al.* (1990) refusal semantic formulas. The findings of the direct and indirect strategies in relation to nationality and gender are presented in Tables 2. and 3. below. The study used frequency and percentage techniques to illustrate the preferred refusal strategies employed by Jordanians and Syrian refugees in Jordan and a Chi-square test to show the statistically significant differences between the two groups regarding the strategies.

			Jordanian	Syrian	Total	Chi2	Sig.
Style	Direct style	Count	334	127	461	103.956	0.00*
		%	72.5%	27.5%	100.0%		
	Indirect style	Count	385	505	890		
		%	43.3%	56.7%	100.0%		
Total		Count	719	632	1351		
		%	53.2%	46.8%	100.0%		

Table 2. Frequency, percentage, and Chi-square test results as for the nationality variable

Table 2. shows that the Jordanians and Syrian refugees preferred the indirect style in their refusals, with 53.5% of the strategies used by the Jordanians and 79.9% of the ones used by the Syrian refugees being indirect. The variance between the direct and indirect types was presented by (Chi2 = 103.956) and its significance at level of 0.05, the variance was in favour of the indirect strategy type. The results also show that the direct strategy type was more employed by the Jordanians than by the Syrian refugees, while the indirect strategy type was more employed by the Syrian refugees. As for the categories for each refusal strategy style (direct and indirect) according to the nationality variable (Jordanian and Syrian), see Table 3. below.

			Jordanian	Syrian	Total	Chi2	Sig.
Direct	Performative	Count	38	11	49	1.849	0.397
		%	11.4%	8.7%	10.6%		
	Non-Performative statement (No)	Count	124	42	166		
		%	37.1%	33.1%	36.0%		
	Negative Willingness	Count	172	74	246		
		%	51.5%	58.3%	53.4%		
Total		Count	334	127	461		
		%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%		
	Statement of regret	Count	28	76	104		
		%	7.3%	15.0%	11.7%		
	Reason	Count	159	198	357		
		%	41.3%	39.2%	40.1%		
	Statement of alternative	Count	10	9	19		
		%	2.6%	1.8%	2.1%		
	Set condition for future or past acceptance	Count	1	0	1		
		%	0.3%	0.0%	0.1%		
	Promise of future acceptance	Count	8	11	19		
		%	2.1%	2.2%	2.1%		
	Statement of principle	Count	0	2	2		
		%	0.0%	0.4%	0.2%		
	Criticize the request / requester	Count	30	31	61		
		%	7.8%	6.1%	6.9%		

Indirect	Let off hook	Count	50	24	74	39.180	0.00*
		%	13.0%	4.8%	8.3%		
	Postponement	Count	22	35	57		
		%	5.7%	6.9%	6.4%		
	Statement/positive feeling	Count	11	11	22		
		%	2.9%	2.2%	2.5%		
	Statement of empathy	Count	21	32	53		
		%	5.5%	6.3%	6.0%		
	Gratitude	Count	42	75	117		
		%	10.9%	14.9%	13.1%		
	Other	Count	3	1	4		
		%	0.8%	0.2%	0.4%		
Total		Count	385	505	890		
		%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%		

Table 3. Frequency of semantic formulas, percentages, and Chi-square results in relation to nationality

As noted above, the direct strategy type was more employed by the Jordanians than by the Syrian refugees. Table 3. shows that 11.4% of the direct strategies used by the Jordanians were performative; 37.1% of them were the non-performative statement (No); and 51.5% of them were the negative willingness strategy. As for Syrians, the scores were 8.7%, 33.1% and 58.3% respectively. Table 3. also shows that the three direct strategies were used more by the Jordanians than by the Syrian refugees. To identify the statistically significant differences between the above-mentioned strategies, a Chi-square test was used. The result was 1.849, and it is not significant at level of (0.05). As for the indirect strategies, the analysis shows that this type was more employed by the Syrian refugees than by the Jordanians. Table 3 above shows that the statement of regret strategy constituted 15% of the indirect strategies used by the Syrian refugees, the reason strategy 39.2% of them, the statement of alternative strategy 1.8%, promise of future acceptance 2.2%, and the statement of principle 0.4%. As also shown in Table 3., other indirect strategies employed by the Syrian refugees include criticize the request/ requester, with 6.1%; let off hook, with 4.8%; postponement, with 6.9%; statement positive feeling, with 2.2%; statement of empathy, with 6.3%; and gratitude, with (14.9%). The Syrian refugees did not use set condition for future and past acceptance strategies.

As for the Jordanian participants, Table 3. shows that the statement of regret strategy constituted 7.3% of the indirect strategies used by the Jordanians; the reason strategy 41.3%; the statement of alternative strategy 2.6%; the set condition for future or past acceptance 0.3%; and promise of future acceptance 2.1%. The Jordanians did not use the statement of principle strategy. The strategies also employed by the Jordanians include criticize the request/requester, with 7.8%; let off hook, with 13%; postponement, with 5.7%; statement positive feeling, with 2.9%; statement of empathy, with 5.5%; gratitude, with 10.9%; and other strategies, with 0.8%. To identify the statistically significant differences between the above-mentioned strategies, a Chi-square test was used showing 39.180 and its significance at the level of 0.05.

In relation to the effect of gender on the use of refusal strategies, the study used frequencies of semantic formulas, percentages, and results of Crosstab Test to show whether women employ different refusal strategies than men. Table 4. below shows the use of direct strategies by the Jordanians according to gender. It demonstrates that 57.9% of the performative strategy occurrences were used by the Jordanian male participants, and 42.1% of its occurrences were cited by the females. 58.9% of the occurrences of the non-performative statement (No) strategy was used by the Jordanian males, and 41.1% was employed by the females. Finally, 62.8% of the negative willingness strategy was employed by the Jordanian female participants, and 37.2% was employed by the males. Collectively, the results show that females tend to employ more refusal strategies than males among the Jordanian sample.

			Jordanians			Syrians		
			Gender		Total	Gender		Total
			Male	Female		Male	Female	
Direct	Performative	Count	22	16	38	3	8	11
		%	57.9%	42.1%	100.0%	27.3%	72.7%	100.0%
	Non-Performative statement (No)	Count	73	51	124	14	28	42
		%	58.9%	41.1%	100.0%	33.3%	66.7%	100.0%
	Negative Willingness	Count	64	108	172	26	48	74
		%	37.2%	62.8%	100.0%	35.1%	64.9%	100.0%
Total		Count	159	175	334	43	84	127
		%	47.6%	52.4%	100.0%	33.9%	66.1%	100.0%

Table 4. Frequencies, percentages, and Crosstab Test results of the direct strategy use as for gender

As for the Syrians, the results show that 72.7% of the performative strategy occurrences were used by females and 27.3% by males. In addition, 66.7% of the non-performative statement (No) strategy occurrences were used by females and 33.3% by males. Finally, 64.9% of the negative willingness strategy occurrences were cited by females, 35.1% by males. Collectively, the results show that the females tend to employ more refusal strategies than males among the Syrian refugees.

As for the indirect refusal strategies, the results show differences between the two groups. Table 5. in the next page shows the results.

The results show that 82.1% of the statement of regret strategy occurrences were used by the Jordanian females, and 17.9% by the males; that 64.2% of the reason strategy occurrences were cited by the Jordanian females, and 35.8% by the males; and that 80% of the statement of alternative strategy occurrences were employed by the Jordanian females, and 20% by the males. The table also shows that 75% of the promise of future acceptance strategy occurrences were employed by the Jordanian females, and 25% by the males; that 60% of criticize the request/requester strategy by males and 40% by females; that 48% of the let off hook strategy by females and 52% by males; that 59.1% of the postponement strategy by females, and 40.9% by males; that 72.7% of the statement/positive feeling strategy by females, and 27.3% by males; that 71.4% of the statement of empathy strategy by females, and 28.6% by males; and that 57.1 of the gratitude strategy by females, and 42.9% by males. Finally, other strategies were employed (3=100%) by females. Collectively, the results show that the females used more indirect refusal strategies than did the males.

As for Syrian refugees, the results show that 56.6% of the statement of regret strategy occurrences were used by the females, 43.4% by the males; that 57.1% of the reason strategy by females, and 42.9% by males; that 66.7% of the statement of alternative strategy by males, and 33.3% by females; and that 72.7% of the set condition for future or past acceptance strategy by males, and 27.3% by females. The table also shows that the promise of future acceptance strategy was employed by males. The results indicate that 71% of the criticize the request/requester strategy occurrences were employed by females, and 29% by males; that 66.7% of the let off hook strategy by females, and 33.3% by males; that 57.1% of the postponement strategy by females, and 42.9% by males; and that 72.7% of the statement/positive feeling strategy by males, and 27.3% by females. The results reveal that 68.8% of the statement of empathy strategy occurrences were cited by females, and 31.3% by males; that 57.3% of the gratitude strategy by females, and 42.7% by males; and that other strategies were employed 100% by males. Collectively, the results show that the Syrian females used more indirect refusal strategies than did the males.

| | | | Jordanian | | Total | Syrian | | Total |
| | | | Gender | | | Gender | | |
			Male	Female		Male	Female	
Indirect	Statement of regret	Count	5	23	28	33	43	76
		%	17.9%	82.1%	100%	43.4%	56.6%	100%
	Reason	Count	57	102	159	85	113	198
		%	35.8%	64.2%	100%	42.9%	57.1%	100%
	Statement of alternative	Count	2	8	10	6	3	9
		%	20.0%	80.0%	100%	66.7%	33.3%	100%
	Set condition for future or past acceptance	Count	0	1	1	8	3	11
		%	0.0%	100.0%	100%	72.7%	27.3%	100%
	Promise of future acceptance	Count	2	6	8	2	0	2
		%	25.0%	75.0%	100%	100.0%	0.0%	100%
	Criticize the request / requester	Count	18	12	30	9	22	31
		%	60.0%	40.0%	100%	29.0%	71.0%	100%
	Let off hook	Count	26	24	50	8	16	24
		%	52.0%	48.0%	100%	33.3%	66.7%	100%
	Postponement	Count	9	13	22	15	20	35
		%	40.9%	59.1%	100%	42.9%	57.1%	100%
	Statement/positive feeling	Count	3	8	11	8	3	11
		%	27.3%	72.7%	100%	72.7%	27.3%	100%
	Statement of empathy	Count	6	15	21	10	22	32
		%	28.6%	71.4%	100%	31.3%	68.8%	100%
	Gratitude	Count	18	24	42	32	43	75
		%	42.9%	57.1%	100%	42.7%	57.3%	100%
	Other	Count	0	3	3	1	0	1
		%	0.0%	100.0%	100%	100.0%	0.0%	100%
Total		Count	146	239	385	217	288	505
		%	37.9%	62.1%	100%	43.0%	57.0%	100%

Table 5. Frequencies, percentages, and Crosstab Test results of the indirect strategy use as for gender

6. Remarks

We coded and analysed the data according to the semantic formulas implemented in each situation based on frequency and corresponding directness/indirectness of the employed semantic formulas. Adopting Beebe et al.'s (1990) classification, semantic formulas classified as direct included performative (e.g., I refuse), non- performative (e.g., No), and a statement of negative willingness (e.g., I can't). All the other formulas adopted from Beebe et al.'s (1990) classification were coded as indirect. Through the analysis of the coded data, the researchers determined the sets of strategies for each situation employed by the Jordanians and Syrian refugees. As indicated by Houck and Gass (1995: 49), refusals are perceived as complex speech acts "primarily because they often involve lengthy negotiations as well as face- saving maneuvers." In order to compare the frequency of strategies, the number of each semantic formula, utilized by the Jordanians and Syrian refugees, was counted. It was found that the Jordanians employ more refusal strategies than the Syrian refugees in their refusals. In the Jordanian data, the number of semantic formulas was 719, whereas the Syrian refugees' refusals amounted to 632. A total number of 1351 semantic formulas were employed by the whole sample. As shown in Table 2, direct strategies (three categories) accounted for approximately 34.12% of the total number of formulas employed by the Jordanians and Syrian refugees, whereas the indirect strategies (12 categories) accounted for approximately 65.87% of the formula's total number employed by the two groups.

There were 334 frequencies of strategies (direct style) used in the Jordanian refusals. By far the greatest number was identified in the implementation of the negative willingness strategy whenever refusing an offer, request, or invitation. Negative willingness accounted for 172 or 51.5% of the total number of strategies used. Providing reason or excuse for the refusal was the second most popular formula and was used 159 times, accounting for 41.3% of the strategies. Formulas coded as non-performative "No" accounted for 124 or 37.1% of strategies and the performative for 38 or 11.4% frequencies of the total. The Jordanian respondents also employed the let off hook strategy, accounting for 50 frequencies or 13.0% of the total data.

There were 632 strategies used in the Syrian refugee refusals. The most common refusals employed by Syrian refugee respondents were different from those used by the Jordanian respondents. Providing reasons was the most common refusal method used, at 198 cases or 39.2% of the refusals employed. Statement of regret was the second most common formula at 76 cases or 15% of the overall strategies. Negative willingness was used in 74 cases or 58.3% of the refusals. Non-performative as a direct strategy was accounted for in 42 cases or 33.1% of refusals. Gratitude was employed with a frequency of 74 cases as well, however, with a percentage of 14.9% of the total indirect data elicited.

The Syrian refugee respondents also differed from the Jordanian respondents. The performative strategy was used in only 11 cases or 8.7% of the refusals.

7. Qualitative analysis of the data

In this phase, we demonstrate common refusal strategies employed by the Jordanians and Syrian refugee respondents by providing examples on the strategies used. In the first example, the respondent is refusing a request from his boss who is asking him to spend extra time at work. A Syrian male responds:

(1)   *ʔana ʔal-jawm ʕind-i dˤjuuf bi-l-bajt w-miʃ ħaʔdar ʔatʔaxar bitˤuɣul* (Reason)

'I have people who are visiting over today, and I can't stay late at work'

bas kuun mitʔakkid ʔinni raħ ʔasalm-ak ʔal-taqariir ʔabkar min ʔal-mawʕid ʔal-matˤluub (Statement of alternative)

'But I guarantee you that I'll submit the report earlier than expected.'

ʔuʕðurni (Statement of regret)

'I'm sorry.'

In the same situation, a Jordanian male explains:

(2)   *maa baʔdar* (Negative willingness)

'I can't.'

ʔana mrattib ʔumuuri ʕala ɣajr hajk ʔal-jawm (Reason)

'I have other plans for today.'

mawʕid tasliim ʔal-taqariir lissa bakiir ʕalaj-h ʔinʃaaʔ ʔallah ħasalmuh ħasab ʔal-mawʕid (Statement of alternative; i.e., the submission is not due yet; I will submit the report on time)

In another situation, a Syrian female refused an offer of promotion and relocation from her boss by saying:

(3)   *ʔana mʔadrah ʕarḍ-ak ʔal-ʒamiil* (Statement of empathy)

'I appreciate your kind offer.'

ʔaj ħad maħalli mustaħiil jurfudˤ (Gratitude)

'No one would refuse it.'

bas jaa rajit tuʕður-ni w-taʕtˤi ʔal-rutbah l-aħad ɣajri (Statement of regret)

'But I hope that you might grant this promotion on to someone else.'

ʔana maa baʔdar ʔatruk haj ʔal-madiinah (Negative willingness)

'I can't leave this city.'

ʕajlt-i hawn maa baʔdar ʔatruk-hum (Reason)

'My family is here, and I cannot leave them.'

When a Jordanian male is invited for dinner by his status-equal friend, he refuses as follows:

(4)   *laa ʔana ʔaasif sˤadiiq-i* (Statement of regret)

'I'm sorry, my friend.'

ʔana ʕind-i ʃuɣul bukra (Reason)

'I have work tomorrow.'

Another Jordanian male refuses an invitation from his boss to attend a staff lunch by saying:

(5)   *ʃukran* (Gratitude)

'Thank you.'

maa baʔdar ʔaaʒi (Negative willingness)

'I can't come.'

ʕind-i masʔuulijjah fi ʔil-bajt (Reason)

'I have some responsibilities at home.'

When a Syrian male refugee refuses a piece of cake offered by a higher-status person, s/he comments:

 (6)   *laa* (Non-performative statement 'No')

'No.'

ʔaʕtaðir l-ak (Statement of regret)

'I'm sorry.'

ʃukran ʕala ħusn ʔal-dˤjaafah (Gratitude)

'Thank you for the nice hospitality.'

Many of the Jordanian refusals included a non-performative statement: 'No' strategy, often at the beginning of the response. An example is given below in a situation in which the Jordanian male student refuses to lend a colleague, who continues to be absent from lectures, a notebook:

(7)   *laa* (Non-performative statement 'No')

'No.'

maa baʔdar (Negative willingness)

'I can't.'

ʔana bukra ʕind-i ʔimtiħaan (Reason)

'Tomorrow, I have an exam.'

In the same exact situation, a Syrian male responds by saying:

(8)   *ʔana ktiir ʔaasif* (Statement of regret)

'I'm truly sorry.'

haj ʔil-muħaḍarah b-ið-ðaat ʔana laazim ʔadrus-il-ha ktiir w bi-ħaaʒit ʔal-daftar (Reason)

'I really need to study hard for this subject, so I really need the notebook.'

badil-lak ʕala ħal, ruuħ ʕala kuʃk ʔal-ʒamʕah w ʔiʃtari ʔil-maadah (Statement of alternative)

'I suggest you go to the bookshop of the university and buy the lecture notes.'

The Jordanian respondents differed from the Syrian refugee respondents in that the strategy of statement of regret was used in only 7.3% of the refusals. The following example demonstrate the use of statement of regret by the Syrian refugee respondents and the low use by Jordanian respondents. In the following situation, a professor at college requests the respondent to lend his novel to another student who is interested in reading it. The novel is precious for the respondent as it is a gift from his grandmother. Many of the Syrian refugee refusals contained a statement of regret, often at the beginning or at the end. An example is:

(9)   *ʔal-sˤaraaħah ʔana maa baʔdar duktuur* (Negative willingness)

'Honestly, I can't, professor.'

haj ɣaaljah ktiir w-hadijjah maa baʔdar ʔastaɣni ʕan-ha (Reason)

'It is so expensive; it is a gift, and I can't lend it to anybody.'

b-aʕtaðir (Statement of regret)

'I apologize.'

baʔdar ʔasaʕid bi-nusxit PDF ʔaw bi-ʔaj ʔasʔilah ʕan-ha (Statement of alternative)

'I can help with a PDF copy, or any questions needed about the novel.'

On the other hand, a Jordanian refused to lend his novel stating his refusal briefly. An example is (10):

(10)   *sˤaʕb* (Negative willingness)

'It's difficult.'

laʔanu ʔal-riwajah ɣaaljah ʕalj w b-it-saaʕidni bi-dirast-i (Reason)

'Because the novel is precious for me, and I am using it to study.'

In the following situation, a friend requests that the respondent let him go home to check his pet while they are working on a project one day prior to its deadline. Few Jordanian respondents used a statement of empathy in their refusals, with a percentage of 5.5% of responses. However, the Syrian refugee respondents used statement of empathy at a higher frequency, with 6.3% of their refusals. Typical examples are given below:

(11)   *sˤadiiq-i ma txalli ʔaaxir ʔijaam ʔal-ʒamʕa tintahi bi-zaʕal ʔax-i sˤabarna kti:r w-ʔitʕibna min-ʃaan ʔallah ʔaʕtˤi ʔal-mawdˤuuʕ ʃwaj min waʔt-ak b-aʔrif xaajif ʔal-bissah bas laa tiʔlaʔ bistak bi-xeɪr* (Statement of empathy)

'My friend, don't let our last days of college end with sadness. We have worked hard to get here so please give some time to what we are doing. I know you want to check on your cat but believe me she is okay.'

laa tizʕal kamaan ʃwaj bi-nxallisˤ w-baruuħ maʕa-ak (Statement of alternative)

'Don't be sad. We are about to finish, and I will join you to check on the cat.'

A Jordanian male, responding shortly, says:

(12)   *laa maa fi maʒaal* (Non-performative statement 'No')

'No, this should not happen.'

laazim ʔijkuun ʔal-maʃruuʕ ʒaahiz la-bukra (Reason)

'The project has to be ready for tomorrow.'

jaʕnii maʕʔuul ʔilli ʕam tiħkiih bidd-ak tutruk ʔal-maʃruuʕ laħata truuħ tiṭtˤamman ʕal-bissah (Criticize the requester)

'This is unbelievable. You want to leave our important project to check on the cat.'

As for directness and gender, the study also investigated the role of gender in the use of refusal strategies. The results of refusal strategies used by both genders in the Jordanian group and Syrian refugee group are presented earlier. The Crosstab test is adopted to inform whether gender has a significant effect on the use of refusal strategies. After refusals were grouped together and the statistical data analysis ran the Crosstab test, it was revealed that gender has a significant effect on the number of refusal strategies used and on the employment of directness. According to the results, the males in both the Jordanian group and Syrian refugee group demonstrated a considerable difference in the number of refusal strategies, employing the direct style (159 versus 43). Similarly, females in the Jordanian group utilized a relatively higher number of refusal strategies than the females in the Syrian

refugee group (175 versus 84). For both genders of the two samples, the most frequently utilized refusal strategies are

1. Negative willingness

2. Reason

3. Non-performative statement 'No'

4. Statement of regret, and

5. Gratitude.

It is also noticed that the Jordanian females utilized the strategy of *negative willingness* far more frequently than the Syrian refugee females did (108 versus 42). Considerable differences are observed between the two genders of the Jordanian group and Syrian refugee group in almost all the refusal strategies.

In relation to directness, the females in both groups employed higher frequencies of refusal strategies than males did, in particular the strategy of *negative willingness*, which accounted for 175 or 52% of cases by Jordanian females and 84 or 66.1% by Syrian refugee females. In comparison, the Jordanian males employed direct refusal strategies in 159 or 74.6% of cases and Syrian refugee males in 43 or 33.9%. After coding the semantic formulas in the response of each situation, the results reveal that the females use lengthy responses, employing at least 3 or more refusal strategies per situation. To illustrate this result, examples are given below. The examples below show the responses of the two genders of each group to the same situation.

In (13), a Jordanian female refuses an offer from a higher-status person of promotion and relocation to another country, employing four different strategies, saying:

(13)   *ʔaasfih* (Statement of regret)

'I'm sorry.'

maa baʔdar (Negative willingness)

'I can't.'

laʔanuh ʔawlaad-ii wa-zawʒ-i b-il-bajt wa-maa baʔdar ʔatruk-hum (Reason)

'Because my children and husband are at home, and I can't leave them.'

xalli waħda taanijih min zamiilaat-i taaxud ʔatarqijah wi-truuħ makaan-i (Statement of alternative)

'Let one of my female colleagues take it and go instead of me.'

A Jordanian male refused the same offer, commenting:

(14)   *bi-sˤaraaħa ʔana ktiir mirtaaħa hawn wa-maa b-afakkir ʔaɣajjir makaan sakan-i* (Reason)

'Honestly, I'm very comfortable working here, and I am not thinking of changing my place.'

ʃukran ʒaziilan (Gratitude)

'Thank you so much.'

A Syrian refugee female response to the same situation was as follows:

(15)   *ʃukran ktiir ʕala haad ʔal-ʕardˤ* (Gratitude)

'Thank you so much for this offer.'

ʔana ktiir mamnuuniit-ak li-ʔanak fakkarit fi-j (Statement of empathy)

'I am so grateful to you because you thought of me.'

bas maa baʔdar (Negative willingness)

'But I can't.'

ʔana ħaaljjan mirtaaħah bi-hal makaan wa-maa b-aħib ʔantaʔil la-makaan taanii (Reason)

'Working here is very convenient for me, and I wouldn't like to leave it.'

However, a Syrian male said:

(16)   *wallaahi sˤaʕib* (Negative willingness)

'By God, this is difficult for me.'

bi-sabab madaaris ʔawlaad-ii wa ʃuɣul zawʒt-ii (Reason)

'Because of my kids' schooling and my wife's work.'

In another situation in which an equal-status person offers more cake to a friend, a female Jordanian refuses by saying:

(17)   *jasallim ʔiid-ak, bi-ħajaat-i ma ʔakalit keik zaakii hajk* Gratitude)

'Thank you, the cake is so delicious.'

b-aħib wallaahi ʔaakul kamaan (Statement of positive opinion)

'I would love to eat more.'

bas wallah batˤn-i ful (Reason)

'But I swear I'm full.'

balki kamaan ʃiwaj b-aʒuuʕ wa b-aakul (Statement of alternative)

'Maybe in a while I will become hungry and eat.'

A Jordanian male responds by saying:

(18)   *wallah ʔiktafajt ʔana* (Reason)

      'I am full.'

      ʃukran ʃukran (Gratitude)

      'Thank you so much.'

On the contrary, a Syrian refugee female refuses the same offer by employing several refusals in just one response:

(19)   *wallah ʔal-keik biʃahi wi-ktiir biʃahi* (Statement of empathy)

      'By God, the cake is delicious; it is so delicious.'

      bas wallah ʔana maa b-akul ʔaktar min hajk (Reason)

      'But I swear to God usually I don't eat much.'

      jaʕtˤii-k ʔalf ʕaafjih maa ʔasˤsˤarrti/ (Gratitude)

      'Thank you so much. That's so nice of you.'

A Syrian male replied shortly by saying:

(20)   *maa baʔdar* (Negative willingness)

      'I can't.'

      liʔan-i miltizim bi-ħimjah (Reason)

      'Because I'm on a diet.'

The above-mentioned examples assert the result quantified above that females in both groups tend to employ multiple refusal strategies in one lengthy response. More examples below are given to illustrate other refusal strategies.

    A Jordanian female refuses an invitation from a higher-status person who is inviting her to a staff lunch. The respondent refuses the invitation by saying:

(21)   *wallah ħaabih ktiir ʔaaʒi* (Statement of empathy)

      'I really would like to join.'

      ʔana ktiir b-atʃakar-ak ʕal-ʕaziimah (Gratitude)

      'I'm so thankful that you're inviting me.'

      bas ʕind-i ʃaɣlih dˤaruurijjah w maa baʔdar ʔalɣii-ha (Reason)

      'But I have something urgent to do, and I can't cancel it.'

      ʔakiid ħ-aħdˤar ʔal-marrah ʔal-ʒaj (Promise of future acceptance)

      'Of course, I will come next time.'

A Jordanian male responds to the same situation by commenting:

(22)   *ktiir b-aʔaddir hal-ʕaziimah* (Statement of empathy)

         'I really appreciate your invitation.'

         bas ʔana w zawʒat-i ʕinaa mawʔid maʕ ʔal-duktawr (Reason)

         'But my wife and I have a doctor's appointment.'

Similar to the Jordanian female's lengthy refusal, a Syrian refugee female refused the invitation by replying:

(23)   *ʔaasfih* (Statement of regret)

         'I'm sorry.'

         kaan bi-wid-i ʔaaʒj w-ʔana b-aħib ʔal-ʕazawmaat (Statement of empathy)

         'I really would like to come. I really love gatherings.'

         bas ʔana ʕind-i mawʕid maa baʔdar ʔalɣii-h (Reason)

         'But I have an appointment that I can't cancel.'

         ʃukran ktiir (Gratitude)

         'Thank you so much.'

In this last example, a Syrian male refugee responds by commenting:

 (24)   *ʔaasif* (Statement of regret)

         'I'm sorry.'

         wallah ʔana ʕind-i ʒaamʕah baʕid ʔal-ʃuɣul (Reason)

         'I have to go to the university after work.'

8. Discussion

This cross-cultural study investigated the refusal strategies employed by Jordanians and Syrian refugees in the Jordan. The study examined the preferred refusal strategies employed by each sample in different situations under various conditions. The study also investigated directness as related to nationality and gender. The researchers utilized a DCT as a data elicitation tool and adopted Beebe et al. (1990) taxonomy to examine the refusal strategies employed by the two groups in their refusals. Similar to Al-Kahtani (2005, p. 14) who concluded that "different cultures have different ways to realize speech acts," the present study found that the number of differences between the two groups, though they both belong to the Arabic culture, is significant. Though Arabic cultures have been renowned as

generally preferring an indirect communication style (Cohen 1987; Zaharna 1995), one main difference found among the two cultures is that Jordanian refusals were more direct and often expressed their refusals as negative willingness while the Syrian refugees' refusals were less direct, providing explanation for refusals. This is consistent with Steven's work (1993), as the two groups also employed, to some extent, some similar semantic formulas when making refusals. For example, in both groups, frequent formulas included providing reasons, making statements of negative willingness, using non-performatives, and stating alternatives. This also partially agrees with the study of Hussein (1995), whose data indicates certain indirect strategies are usually adopted by Arabs such as expressions of positive opinion, expressions of regret, excuses, alternative statements, and statements of principle. Hence, the Jordanians and Syrian refugees in this study are found to frequently implement the two refusal strategies: expression of regret and excuses. The groups also responded with similar reasons when refusing, using both specific and non-specific reasons and often making references to family commitments. The discrepancy between the literature on Arabic communication style and the findings of this study, however, suggests the importance of investigating language use in specific contexts. It also illustrates the danger of generalizing about a language or culture's communication style as if one style (e.g., direct vs. indirect) is used in all situations.

Moreover, it was also found that the Arab participants use frequent reference to God in the Arabic data. This finding is parallel to the study of Al-Issa (1998), who proposes that Arabs have a tendency towards referring to God when implementing their refusals. In terms of gender, the data clarified that females in both samples tend to respond lengthily in their refusals, employing at least three or more refusal strategies. Bataineh (2004) proposes that, among Arabic speakers, gender-based differences were found when realizing speech acts. Finally, since the findings indicate that Syrian refugees tend to implement an indirect style of communication, adopting indirect refusal strategies, this, in turn, suggests that there is a tendency for positive politeness strategies in the refusals of Syrian refugees. This, based on the researcher's interpretation, is due to the image given to the Syrian refugees as a minority group in the Jordanian context. It is widely recognised in the related literature that participants who are affiliated with minor groups use indirect communication strategies especially with reference to strategies which include (positive or negative) face threatening acts (see, e.g., Pearson 1988, among others). This research paper shows that Syrian refugees who are a minor group in Jordan significantly use indirect refusal strategies as compared to Jordanians who implement more direct strategies. Syrian refugees are linguistically signalling their minor status in their host community.

9. Conclusion

This study has been an attempt to find out the preferred strategies used in refusals by Jordanians and Syrian refugees in Jordan. The study has investigated similarities and differences in one aspect of Jordanians' and Syrian refugees' communication style: directness. It has also investigated the speech act of refusals examining two variables: nationality and gender. The situations selected for this study asked respondents to make refusals in a modified DCT consisting of 10 situations: three requests, three offers, two invitations, and two suggestions. The study has shown that the Jordanians and Syrian refugees adopt different styles of communication (direct/indirect). Jordanians use more direct strategies than Syrian refugees in their refusals. They use it to refuse requests, offers, invitations, and suggestions to people at work, public transportation, and college. Jordanians most commonly use the direct strategy 'negative willingness' in their responses, while Syrian refugees are less direct, giving reasons in their refusals. As for the impact of gender in adopting refusal strategies, the data show that gender is a significant variable in which women in the two groups used long utterances giving a string of reasons and employing at least three refusal strategies. The findings of this study reveal that overall, the frequency of direct and indirect refusal strategies used by Jordanians and the Syrian refugees are different. The study calls for more investigations of the speech acts of Jordanians and Syrian refugees in Arabic. The results of such studies would present very useful insights into Arabic communication styles and how Arabic speech acts are realized at the discourse level. Findings from such studies can also certainly present an invaluable recourse for ethnographers and linguists. With regard to research studies examining how Jordanians and Syrian refugees realize the speech act of refusal in Arabic, there is certainly an urgent need. It is important for future research to elicit interactional data through other data elicitation tools, aside from DCTs, in order to reach a better understanding of how speech acts are realized in Arabic by Jordanians and Syrian refugees and duplicate the findings of this study. Future research can also investigate other variables that have not been previously addressed, such as age, educational background, social status, and social distance. It is important to find out in what ways such variables affect the realization of refusals in Arabic. All the Syrian refugees' participants in the present study are placed in the Jordanian community, therefore it is important in future studies to find out to what extent Syrian refugees displaced in other countries would realize the speech act of refusal. Another area of research that is also very promising and useful is the investigation of the differences and similarities between Syrians who are still living in Syria and refugees who are displaced in host countries. Finally, there is a need for research that examines the reasons behind refusals and favouring certain refusal strategies over others. Interviewing the respondents after conducting role play in order to reach a better understanding of their decision-making process with regard to the strategy they used

and why is an example of how to pursue this information. Such interviews or verbal responses have been found to present very useful insights into participants' perceptions of refusals and their linguistic and socio- cultural knowledge (Félix-Brasdefer 2002).

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A critical analysis of metaphors used in Arabic and English cosmetics advertisements

Ayah Alnajjar and *Abdel Rahman Mitib Altakhaineh*

This study aims to critically analyze metaphors employed in Arabic cosmetics advertisements and compare them to those used in English advertisements. A specialized corpus including 250 advertisements (125 Arabic advertisements and 125 English ones) of different cosmetics products was compiled. The method adopted for data analysis was based on Charteris-Black's (2004) Critical Metaphor Analysis framework (CMA). Data analysis demonstrated that advertisers in the context of cosmetics advertisements use different conceptual metaphors to depict cosmetics, beauty, skin/hair care and skin/hair. The findings revealed that both languages share 5 conceptual metaphors out of 10. Moreover, some metaphors reveal how both Arabs and Westerners perceive the beauty of skin or hair.

1. Introduction[1]

Advertising plays a crucial role in our lives, where advertisements are regarded as the most efficient and pervasive devices used by manufacturers to sell and promote their products (Kelly 2016). Advertisers use different methods in order to attract customers' attention, including inviting

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celebrities, exaggerating the effects of products, and using eye-catching and persuasive slogans with rhetorical devices such as alliteration, pun, metonymy, and metaphor (Kelly 2016). In relation to cosmetics advertising, Bai (2018) defines cosmetics advertisement as one kind of advertisements that communicates some information to consumers and aims to convince them to purchase cosmetics products. The researcher points out that the language of cosmetics advertisements tends to be concise, informative, interesting, and euphemistic in order to be persuasive and attractive. One of the main characteristics of cosmetics advertisements is the use of adjectives such as silky, soft, smooth, fresh, healthy, and so on (Bai 2018).

 Advertisers also employ metaphorical expressions in order to effectively convey the advertised messages to the audience and make them more attractive (Xiaqing 2017). For instance, advertising JEWELRY as CLOTHES (i.e., a woman wearing jewelry as clothes) shows that it is a necessity rather than a luxury (Negro-Alousque 2014).

In Cognitive Linguistics (CL), Metaphors are understood as mappings between two conceptual domains: the source domain and the target domain (Lakoff and Johnson 1980). For example, the expression *your claims are indefensible* is a linguistic realization of the conceptual metaphor ARGUMENT IS WAR (Lakoff and Johnson 1980: 4). In this example, ARGUMENT is the target domain, whereas WAR is the source domain. In traditional studies on Arabic metaphor, a metaphor is referred to 'al-istiʕra' which means borrowing. It is linguistically derived from the verb *istaʕra'* which means to borrow a feature from someone/something and give it to another (Abdul-Raof 2006). The author points out that metaphor in Arabic is regarded as a form of linguistic allegory which refers to an effective simile in which one of the two ends (either the likened-to or the likened) has been omitted. However, recent studies on Arabic metaphor shows that in essence many conceptual metaphors could be shared between different languages with their linguistic manifestations being different based on the language in question. Several researchers studied metaphors in Arabic from the viewpoint of CL and cultural linguistics (see among others Maalej 2007; Zibin and Abdullah 2019; Zibin and Altakhaineh 2023).

For instance, Zibin and Abdullah's (2019) analysis of the metaphors employed to conceptualize tolerance in the United Arab Emirates (UAE) revealed that the source domains used to conceptualize TOLERANCE in the context of UAE (e.g., PLANT, RUG, SHIP, OASIS, TENT, among others) reflected and were influenced by the Emirati culture. The researchers argue that the culture of Emirati Bedouins who used to navigate the desert, drink from the oases, live in tents, sleep on rugs, and use boats for fishing were reflected in the identified source domains employed to conceptualize tolerance in UAE newspapers. In relation to Arabs' view of beauty, it was reported by Zibin *et al.* (2022) that in their love songs, Arabs represent the object of love or the beloved as an animal that has certain attributes, e.g. big eyes and fit

figure. In addition, the beloved was also conceived of as basil\thyme. The latter is employed metaphorically to braise the slim waist of girls which is another coveted attribute in addition to big black shiny eyes (Zibin *et al.* 2022).

Apart from CL, metaphor can also be investigated under the scope of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) (see Zibin 2022). According to Charteris-Black (2004), metaphor analysis is central to CDA. CDA reveals the connection between language, power, and ideology (Fairclough 1995). Fairclough's analytical approach assumes that language helps create change and can be used to change behavior (Fairclough 1995). Therefore, metaphor is central to CDA as it contributes to forming a coherent view of reality (Charteris-Black 2004). The current study is concerned with metaphors used in Arabic and English cosmetics advertisements adopting Critical Metaphor Analysis (henceforth CMA) as its theoretical framework (Charteris-Black, 2004). This study attempts to uncover how the choice of certain metaphors can reveal the advertisers' embedded intentions, attitudes, beliefs, and ideologies in cosmetics advertisements. The investigation of metaphors in the context of cosmetics advertisements could provide the opportunity to explore the persuasive power of metaphors and the role that such metaphors play in revealing people's ideologies.

2. Literature review

2.1. Theoretical framework

Critical Metaphor Analysis (CMA) is defined as an approach to metaphor analysis which aims to unveil covert and unconscious intentions of language users utilizing CMT (Charteris-Black 2004). He points out that this is similar to what takes place in CDA (i.e., revealing covert and unconscious intentions of language users). CMA is also based on the main principle of CMT in which metaphors are claimed to govern human thinking processes. Thus, CMA is an approach towards language description and analysis that integrates corpus linguistics with CL and CDA (see Zibin 2020).

With regard to the role of corpora, Charteris-Black (2004) posits that a corpus helps us identify common metaphorical usages of language as well as it provides the basis for interpretations and explanations of these usages. He also points out that considering the context in which metaphors appear is central to the understanding of the metaphors under investigation. Thus, Charteris-Black (2004, 2014) points out that analysts should focus on what speakers/writers mean pragmatically when metaphors are used in a specific context to achieve a particular communicative objective. Hence, Charteris-Black (2004) argues that metaphor cannot be explained without considering the interdependency of its semantic, cognitive, and pragmatic dimensions.

Charteris-Black (2004) argues that metaphors have an important persuasive role in evoking a particular emotional response on the part of the recipient. He states that "metaphors are used persuasively to convey evaluations and therefore constitute part of the ideology of texts" (Charteris-Black 2004: 28). Thus, typical evaluations of metaphors will aid in explaining their role in persuasion (Charteris-Black 2004). Hence, the metaphors used by writers are not neutral, but they are covert ways that communicate the ideology of the text producer (Charteris-Black 2004). Charteris-Black (2004) follows three stages in conducting CMA which are identification, interpretation and explanation. A detailed explanation of these three stages is provided in Section 3.

2.2. Previous studies on metaphors used in cosmetics advertisements

Several researchers have analyzed metaphors in cosmetics advertisements using Lakoff's and Johnson's CMT. For instance, Czerpa (2006) conducted a comparative study pertaining to metaphors used in cosmetics advertisements published in a women's magazine called *ELLE* in both Swedish and English editions adopting Lakoff's and Johnson's (1980) CMT. Findings indicated that many textual elements of advertisements in both languages are built on metaphors to attract viewers' attention (e.g., PRODUCT IS A HUMAN WITH CAPABILITIES). Despite this similarity, the study found that the English advertisements focus on the effect (physical and emotional pleasure). On the other hand, the Swedish advertisements focus more on functionality (informing the viewer about the functions of a product). The researcher argued that this distinction can be attributed to cultural coherence, difference in world experience, or difference in customers' needs in both societies.

Lê (2018) analyzed the conceptual metaphors employed in both English and Vietnamese cosmetics advertisements adopting Lakoff's and Johnson's (1980) CMT. The data of this study consisted of 497 advertisements related to skin and hair products (227 in English and 270 in Vietnamese). The findings revealed that both Americans and Vietnamese share a number of conceptual metaphors, such as SKINCARE IS WARFARE, HAIR CARE IS WARFARE, SKIN IS SATIN, HAIR CARE PRODUCT IS WATER, among others. With regard to the differences, the study indicated that there was one difference related to the metaphor HAIR IS SUN. The researcher pointed out that this metaphor is only used in American advertisements since most Americans have a yellow and bright hair which is compared to the light of the sun. Conversely, Vietnamese have a dark hair which cannot be associated with the sun.

Alsalem (2019) conducted a multimodal discourse analysis of Saudi Arabic television commercials to examine the manifestation of figurative language and semiotic symbols, and how the employed visuals and figurative expressions are shaped by cultural values. The analysis was based on Saussure's (1966) theory of semiology, and Lakoff's and Johnson's (1980) CMT. The data of this study included five

commercials of personal care products. The study indicated that the commercials did not reflect Saudi cultural practices. The researcher pointed out that one reason is that most of personal care products did not belong to local companies that are aware of the cultural values and expectations of Saudi Arabia. With regard to figurative expressions, the analysis demonstrated that metaphor is used in cosmetics advertisements (e.g., HAIR was portrayed as A HUMAN BEING who comes back to life and who is a lover or a romantic partner). Furthermore, the visual metaphors were used to emphasize the meaning (e.g., THE HAIR is compared to AN ORCHID, ROSE, or CURTAINS).

Shuo and Xuanyi (2020) investigated metaphorical thoughts in business advertising from the perspectives of cognitive linguistics and relevance theory. The data of this study were made up of 70 texts and 15 pictures of Chinese cosmetics advertisements. Results showed that conceptual metaphors map concepts, features, effects, and actions of the source domain to the target domain. The study also demonstrated that the integration of metaphorical thought into advertisements stimulates the reader's interest in products.

Apart from CMT, Agnes (2009) used CDA from a cognitive perspective to analyze metaphors used in advertisements in *Cosmopolitan* magazine in American and Hungarian versions. The study emphasized the ways by which the media manipulate people's thinking by applying certain figures of speech like metaphor. For instance, the researcher indicated that in some perfume advertisements, perfumes are endowed with attributes, features, and characteristics that viewers would like to possess such as being friendly and easy-going. As pointed out by the researcher, these advertisements make people believe that if they wear the advertised perfumes, they will possess such attributes.

Kelly (2016) took a step further to conduct a cross-cultural study in an attempt to compare metaphorical expressions in both English and Chinese cosmetics advertising slogans adopting Charteris-Black's (2004) CMA framework. The data of this study included 10 Chinese metaphorical advertising slogans and 10 English ones. This study revealed that CMA is useful to uncover people's beliefs, values, and attitudes hidden in ideology loaded advertising slogans. This study found that both English and Chinese consider soft, shiny, and rosy to be good as reflected in cosmetics advertising slogans. Despite this similarity, English perceives STANDARD BEAUTY as BARBIE DOLL who has angelical face, big eyes, soft and shiny hair, and slim figure. On the other hand, Chinese view BEAUTY as having moist, smooth, and stretchy skin. , and to be obedient and gentle. Furthermore, metaphorical expressions in Chinese slogans emphasize mother's love and emotional intimacy with physical closeness, whereas English slogans focus on taste and personality. The researcher concluded that the cosmetics advertisers make use of metaphorical expressions in cosmetics advertising slogans to linguistically grab customers' attention to purchase the advertised products.

Based on the literature review, it is obvious that none of the previous studies have conducted a comparative study to analyze metaphors used in Arabic cosmetics advertisements and compare them to those used in English advertisements utilizing CMA. This study attempts to bridge this gap by providing some answers to the following research questions:

1. What are the metaphorical expressions and the underlying conceptual metaphors used in Arabic and English cosmetics advertisements?

2. What are the similarities and/or differences between Arabic and English in terms of the identified metaphorical expressions and conceptual metaphors?

3. In light of CMA, to what extent does the use of certain metaphors reveal the advertisers' ideology pertaining to cosmetics?

The next section explains the methods employed in the current study.

3. Methodology

3.1. Data collection

The corpus of this study was built via collecting 125 Arabic advertisements and 125 English ones of different cosmetics products including skincare cream, hair oil, soap and shampoo. These advertisements were selected from two social media websites (I.e., Facebook and Instagram), and they were posted in the year 2020. The researchers selected Facebook and Instagram due to their popularity. An online questionnaire was posted on Facebook groups, and 50 responses were randomly selected (40 women and 10 men). The age of the surveyed participants ranged between 18 and 45 since people in these ages may be more interested in searching for and using cosmetics.

The questionnaire consisted of two questions: first, the surveyed respondents were required to indicate which social media websites they use the most when they want to look for cosmetics. Second, they were asked to provide names of popular Arabic and English pages that post advertisements of cosmetics that they use. It was shown that 58% prefer using Instagram when they want to look for cosmetics, 32% use Facebook, and 10% prefer watching the advertisements on YouTube. After collecting the names of pages provided by the respondents, the researchers selected two groups of brands: the first group consists of three brands of English origin posting advertisements in English, whereas the second group consists of three brands of Arab origin posting advertisements in Arabic. The English brands include *Dove*, *The Body Shop*, and *OGX*, whereas the Arabic brands include *Amina's Natural Skincare*, *Izil Beauty*, and *Argan Package*.

The advertisements involved in this analysis were taken from the official pages of the selected brands. The researchers took into consideration that the selected pages have at least 20-30 advertisements a year in order for these brands to be representatives of the two languages.

The corpus compiled is a specialized corpus as it is collected for a particular purpose and represents one discourse type which is cosmetics advertising (see Upton 2004; Flowerdew 2004). This study is corpus-driven as opposed to corpus-based. According to Tognini-bonelli (2001), a corpus linguistic analysis leads to more insightful results when it is corpus-driven as it examines all the data. The corpus size in this study is approximately 13000 words (approximately 6600 in Arabic and 6400 in English), and as such, it can be entirely analyzed. With respect to the Arabic sample, the researchers selected the pages that post advertisements in modern standard Arabic (MSA). This is in order to avoid any cultural differences that may occur across the various dialects of Arabic. The Arabic advertisements were transliterated using the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA) of MSA. The symbols used are adopted from Altakhaineh (2016).

3.2. Data Analysis

CMA framework comprises three stages as follows:

3.2.1. Metaphor identification

The identification stage includes two steps: in the first step sample texts are closely examined to identify candidate metaphors, whereas in the second step corpus contexts are investigated in order to determine whether a keyword is metaphorical or literal. In the current study, metaphors were identified under CMA based on the Metaphor Identification Procedure (MIP), as outlined by the Pragglejaz Group (2007). That is, if the word under investigation has "a more basic contemporary meaning in other contexts than the one in the given context, it can be marked as metaphorical" (Pragglejaz Group 2007). Basic meanings tend to be more concrete (related to feeling, taste, hearing, sight, smell, and bodily actions), more precise (not vague), and historically older (Pragglejaz Group 2007).

3.2.2. Metaphor interpretation

After the identification of the metaphorical expressions, the interpretation stage deals with establishing a relationship between the target metaphors and the pragmatic and cognitive factors that

determine whether a keyword reflects a conceptual metaphor or not. In order to derive the underlying conceptual metaphors from the metaphorical expressions, the researchers adopted Steen's (2007) five step procedure which involves: 1) find the metaphorical focus, 2) find the metaphorical proposition, 3) find the metaphorical comparison, 4) find the metaphorical analogy, and 5) find the metaphorical mapping.

In an Arabic advertisement promoting a skin oil, the advertiser writes: *dallili: baʃarata-ki* 'pamper your skin.' The first step is using MIP in order to identify words which are metaphorically used. In this advertisement, *dallili: baʃarata-ki* 'pamper your skin,' is used metaphorically since it has a contextual meaning different from its basic meaning, i.e., we usually pamper humans typically children rather than things such as skin. In steps 2 and 3, it appears that THE SKIN in this example is being talked about as AN ORGANISM (CHILD). An open comparison is generated between two propositions: SIM {∃F ∃a [F (SKIN)]t [CHILD (a)]s. The meaning of this open comparison indicates that there are some similarities between the target domain (SKIN) and the source domain (CHILD). In the fourth step, the researchers transform the open comparison indicated in the previous step into a closed comparison to identify the analogical structure. In the fifth step, the researchers transform the analogical structure derived in step 4 into a mapping structure between two conceptual domains to identify other cross-domain mappings. For example, the fact that THE SKIN is being compared to AN ORGANISM (CHILD) and that as such, it should be pampered. Therefore, the conceptual metaphor would be that SKIN IS A CHILD that should be pampered.

3.2.3. Metaphor Explanation

The explanation stage is concerned with identifying the social agency involved in the production of metaphors and their social role in persuasion. This stage is also concerned with judging whether the used metaphors influenced an audience as well as it shows the persuasive role of metaphors in forming, constructing or changing beliefs and opinions (Charteris-Black 2014).

In the present study, metaphors were explained in the context of cosmetics advertisements to deconstruct the hidden ideology and persuasive power of metaphors used in such advertisements. In addition, this stage investigated the similarities and/or differences between Arabic and English metaphors used in cosmetics advertisements.

Based on the researchers' observation and reading of different cosmetics advertisements, it is expected that metaphors used in cosmetics advertisements tend to have positive connotations either when describing BEAUTY or THE PRODUCTS. In order to validate this argument, the judgments of 6 native speakers (3 native speakers of Arabic and 3 of English) were collected. Their age was between 18 and

45. They were recruited through personal contact. Each participant was given five items (each item includes two sentences: one has metaphorical expressions, and another does not). They were asked to choose the statement they prefer to find when reading cosmetics advertisements. The questionnaire was used to gain more insights into the role of metaphor in persuasion.

3.3. Limitations of the study

The current study is limited in terms of the compiled corpus. A larger number of advertisements would have allowed the researchers to generalize the findings more confidently. It should also be noted that the corpus was narrowed down to include only 3 Arabic brands and 3 English ones. Therefore, the fact that English advertisements use more metaphors could be due to the selected brands. Further studies may include other brands in order to validate the study's findings. Moreover, the current study was only concerned with written cosmetics advertisements. Therefore, an analysis of both written and spoken advertisements could be a possible area for future research. The current study was only concerned with the verbal content of the advertisements. This is because the images attached to the advertisements mostly represent the advertised products themselves.

4. Results and discussion

4.1. Conceptual metaphors

After identifying the metaphorical expressions used in both Arabic and English cosmetics advertisements, these metaphors are interpreted in order to identify the conceptual metaphors that these expressions represent (second stage of CMA). The following two subsections identify the conceptual metaphors found in each sub-corpus.

4.1.1. Analysis of the Arabic corpus

 Data analysis reveals that 10 conceptual metaphors were used to describe the target domains (i.e., COSMETICS, BEAUTY, SKIN/HAIR CARE, and/or SKIN/HAIR) in Arabic cosmetics advertisements. The following table presents the frequency of each conceptual metaphor.

No.	Conceptual metaphor	Frequency	Percentage
1	BEAUTY IS A NATURAL PHENOMENON	71	33%
2	SKIN/HAIR CARE IS WARFARE	43	20%
3	COSMETICS IS FOOD/DRINK	29	13%
4	COSMETICS AND SKIN/HAIR ARE HUMANS	24	11%
5	COSMETICS IS A SUPERNATURAL BEING	24	11%
6	SKIN/HAIR IS A BUILDING/CONSTRUCTION	8	4%
7	SKIN/HAIR CARE IS JOURNEY	5	2%
8	COSMETICS IS A CULTURAL ARTIFACT	5	2%
9	SKIN IS A CONTAINER	5	2%
10	COSMETICS IS GOLD	4	2%
	Total	218	100%

Table 1. Frequency of Conceptual Metaphors in the Arabic Corpus

The identified conceptual metaphors are presented in the following subsections based on their frequency in a descending order (from high to low).

1. BEAUTY IS A NATURAL PHENOMENON

The analysis reveals that different Arabic cosmetics advertisements employ features taken from the nature around us to describe BEAUTY as in example 1.

1.   *rabi:ʕ   la: yazu:l   / istaxdimi: zayt al-ʔargan [...]   li-baʃara muzhir-a da:ʔiman*
        'A spring never goes away use Argan oil ... to keep a bloom skin.'

This conceptual metaphor is reflected through the use of some adjectives that are mainly associated with the nature around us. For instance, shining, brightening, and glowing are usually associated with celestial bodies (e.g., sun, moon, star). These features are mapped to skin/hair as features of beauty. The mapped features in this conceptual metaphor are blossoming, brightening, glowing, and shining.

Describing THE BEAUTY of face (skin) in terms of SPRING (example 1.) indicates that the state of skin will become different from the previous days since the spring season is not always there. In spring, dark and cold begin to decline as well as the state of things around us starts to change (e.g., flowers begin to bloom). Therefore, using the product advertised will help consumers enter a state of renewal. This idea is confirmed by the use of 'libaʃara muzhira' (blossoming/bloom skin). Blossom refers to the flowering part of a tree that forms the seeds or the fruit, and this stage usually takes place in spring. In

the context of cosmetics and beauty, blossoming skin could be used to refer to skin that is characterized by having fresh and healthy appearance.

2. Skin/hair care is warfare

2.   6   ʔaʕdaːʔ / ħaribiː-him bi-l-ʔargan…

'6 enemies: Fight them with Argan oil….'

The analysis shows that cosmetics advertisers employ expressions related to the domain of WARFARE such as *yaħmi:* 'it protects,' *ħaribi:him* 'fight them!' and *muka:faħa* 'combat.' These expressions are used metaphorically since there is no real war/battle between skin/hair and the sun or other environmental factors. However, COSMETICS function as A WEAPON to protect skin/hair and fight against any factors that might affect them negatively (see Sandikci 1996; Czerpa 2006; Vincent 2007; Phakdeephasook 2009; Xu 2014; Xiaqing 2017; Lê 2018; Shuo and Xuanyi 2020). The example above indicates that THE ADVERTISED PRODUCT (ARGAN OIL) is depicted as A WEAPON that combats and fights against enemies of skin/hair such as signs of aging, dryness, stretch marks, etc.

3. Cosmetics is Food/drink

3.   ɣaððiː ʃaʕr-aki maʕ madʒmuːʕat al-ʕinaːya bi-ʃ-ʃaʕr bi-zayt al-ʔargan wa-l-ʕasal 🍼😊.

'Nourish your hair with the hair care collection made of Argan oil and honey 🍼😊.'

3. shows how the target product is responsible for nourishing hair. In this conceptual metaphor, FOOD/DRINK is the source domain and COSMETICS is the target domain (see Kelly 2016; Lê 2018; Stanković 2019). The main function of COSMETICS in relation to the FOOD/DRINK source domain is to nourish/feed skin/hair.

4. Cosmetics and skin/hair are humans

4.1. Cosmetics is human
Analyzing the data shows that COSMETICS are portrayed as A HUMAN with human characteristics as in:

4.   ʔafdal sˤadiːq li-baʃarat-iki   haːða: asˤ-sˤayf 🐢.

'Your skin's best friend this Summer 🐢.'

This conceptual metaphor was also reported in various languages (see Czerpa 2006; Kelly 2016; Bai 2018; Eatidal Khalefa 2018; Shuo and Xuanyi 2020). That is, the features that are generally associated with

HUMAN BEINGS are mapped onto COSMETICS. COSMETICS are described as A FRIEND, as A GENTLE MOM, as A PERSON WITH CAPABILITIES, among others. These usages possibly indicate that the target product is nice, strong, and very close to consumers. Since best friends tend to be honest, loyal and trustworthy, using 'best friend' might entail that the advertised product will be the best product that the consumer will use.

4.2 SKIN/HAIR IS HUMAN

SKIN/HAIR is depicted as A HUMAN and is thus endowed with human characteristics.

5.   *Yatruk baʃarat-aki tatu:q li-l-mazi:d.*
       'It leaves your skin yearning for more.'

This conceptual mapping demonstrates that SKIN/HAIR performs physical action (breathing), has desires, and is attributed with human emotions. In example 5., SKIN is described as A PERSON who yearns for more. In other words, SKIN is depicted as A PERSON who yearns and looks for more beauty. This is because skin does not have feelings and desires like humans. The feeling of longing or yearning is typically associated with humans.

Although SKIN/HAIR is part of human body, the examples above show that it is viewed as A SEPARATE BEING. This finding is similar to what was found by Sanjaya (2009), Kilyeni (2011), Kelly (2016), Eatidal Khalefa (2018), and Alsalem (2019). Sanjaya (2009) and Kilyeni (2011) pointed out that female body parts (lashes, hair, skin, etc.) live, act, and have feelings, attributes and needs like humans.

4.3. SKIN/HAIR CARE IS LOVE AND PAMPERING

This conceptual metaphor focuses on the process/experience of skin/hair care itself.

6.   *imnaħi: baʃarat-aki al-ħubb wa-l-ihtima:m allaði: tastaħiqqu-h.*
       'Give your skin the love and attention it deserves.'

In this conceptual metaphor, SKIN/HAIR is described as A HUMAN BEING (e.g., CHILD) that needs to be loved, pampered, and taken care of. This can be reflected via using words like *al-ħubb* 'love' and *dallili:* 'pamper.' We usually show and receive feelings and emotions from humans rather than non-human entities such as body organs. Skin/hair cannot show feelings as well as they cannot realize others' emotions. However, these expressions show that people should take care of skin/hair in the same way they love and pamper children.

5. Cosmetics is a supernatural being

7.   *yuʕadd ha:ða: azzayt alqawiy almudʕa:d li-ʕala:ma:t aʃ-ʃayxu:xa ʔaħdaθ muʕdʒiza fi: madʒa:l al-ʕina:ya bi-l-baʃara.*
     'This powerful anti-aging oil is considered the latest miracle in the field of skincare.'

The use of this conceptual metaphor reflects the powerful and supernatural abilities and effects of the advertised products (Shuo and Xuanyi 2020). The miracle in 7. is an impossible thing that can happen in rare occasions and to certain people. Miracle refers to an extraordinary event that tends to be attributed to God. Thus, describing THE TARGET PRODUCT as A MIRACLE might reflect its good, wonderful and amazing features and effects. In this conceptual metaphor, THE ADVERTISED PRODUCT is also depicted as A SUPERNATURAL CREATURE having supernatural powers. It is capable of reviving or bringing the dead or damaged hair back to life.

6. Skin/hair is a Building/construction

8.   *allati: tusa:ʕid ʕala: bina:ʔ aʃ-ʃaʕr.*
     'Which helps in building hair.'

Data analysis shows that some advertisers deal with SKIN/HAIR in terms of A BUILDING/CONSTRUCTION. The features that are mapped from the source to the target are restoration and building. This can be reflected through the use of the words 'tarmi:m' (restoration/renovation) and 'bina:ʔ' (building). Thus, skin/hair can be built, and therefore, if it is damaged, it needs to be restored or renovated. Hence, SKIN/HAIR CARE PRODUCTS are portrayed as TOOLS that help in strengthening and restoring skin/hair. Construing the process of SKIN/HAIR CARE as BUILDING entails that skin/hair will be in good shape after using the advertised products.

7. Skin/hair care is a journey

Throughout the analysis, it was found that some Arab advertisers portray USING COSMETICS in terms of A JOURNEY, as in 9.

9.   *Baʃara muʃriqa wa-nadʕira ala:n ʕala: buʕd xutˤwatayn.*
     'A bright and fresh skin is now two steps away.'

The advertiser views THE EXPERIENCE OF TAKING CARE OF SKIN/HAIR as A JOURNEY whereas COSMETICS are depicted as A VEHICLE that will take the user/customer to a certain point of satisfaction. Thus, BEAUTY can be regarded as THE DESTINATION that consumers aim to reach. This can be reflected through the use

of the phrases *aːla taʕuːd bizzamaːn* 'a time machine that returns,' *ʕala: buʕd xutˤwatayn* 'two steps away,' *li-l-wusˤuːl* 'to reach,' among others.

These phrases indicate moving towards a specific goal. Depicting the process of SKIN/HAIR CARE as A JOURNEY gives rise to image schemas such as movement, path, backward, forward, etc. This finding is similar to what was found by Shuo and Xuanyi (2020) who point out that the process of SKINCARE is described as A JOURNEY of benefit or enjoyment.

8. COSMETICS IS A CULTURAL ARTIFACT

10. *fiː-l-maɣrib / naʔxuð fann xalq adʒ-dʒamaːl ʕala: maħmal adʒdʒad / li-ʕiddat quruːn / istaxdamat an-nisaːʔ al-maɣribiyya: ʔadʒwad al-mukawinaːt min atˤtˤabiːʕa... wa-haːða: huwa at-turaːθ allati: tadʒlib-hu yizil ʔilay-ki al-yawm.*

'In Morocco, we take the art of beauty creation seriously. For many centuries, Moroccan women have used the best natural ingredients... and this is the heritage that Izil brings to you today.'

The example above shows that COSMETICS are perceived as A CULTURAL ARTIFACT that represents or carries the culture and heritage of a society. A cultural artifact generally refers to any object created by humans that represents a particular culture (e.g., books, tools, clothing, etc.). Conceptualizing COSMETICS as CULTURAL ARTIFACT might indicate that these cosmetics are valuable, authentic, and old since they get transferred from one generation to the next. It could be argued that this metaphorical use indicates that the advertised products represent the traditional signs of beauty, which means that if consumers use these cosmetics, they will acquire such signs of beauty.

This idea can be shown in the use of the expression 'the art of beauty creation' coupled with 'seriously' in 10. This metaphorical expression might indicate that these ancient signs of beauty are embedded in the advertised ingredients and thus get transferred from one generation to the other.

9. SKIN IS A CONTAINER

11. *mim-ma: yadʒʕalha: mumtaliʔa wa-muʃriqa wa-sˤihhiyya.*

'Which makes it plump, bright, and healthy.'

Data analysis reveals that skin is described as a container that should be fuller, meaning that beautiful skin should be a bit fat or full of fat. Thus, the conceptual mapping of this metaphor is that skin is an entity (container) that can be filled. This finding is consistent with Shuo and Xuanyi (2020) who point out that the human body is conceptualized as a container that stores, coagulates, or locks water. It is also worth noting that plumped skin has a fresh looking as well as wrinkles or fine lines are filled in.

10. COSMETICS IS GOLD

12.   *az-zayt að-ðahabi: ʔaħad ʔandar az-zuyu:t atˤ-tˤabi:ʕiyya fi:-l-ʕa:lam ma: yumayyiz ha:ða:*
     az-zayt tarki:bati-hi al-fari:da...

     'The golden oil is one of the rarest natural oils in the world what distinguishes this oil
     is its unique composition...'

This conceptual metaphor was reflected in expressions like *að-ðahab as-sa:ʔil* 'liquid gold,' *as-sa:ʔil að-ðahabi:* 'golden liquid,' and *az-zayt að-ðahabi:* 'golden oil.' It could be that the advertisers used these expressions to show the high value of the advertised products and their good effects. That is, the high value is the common likeness between COSMETICS and GOLD. Shuo and Xuanyi (2020) argue that the substantial metaphor GOLD reflects the product's high value, and that this mettle had a role in beauty treatment and calming nerves in the past. Gold is also entrenched in the Arabic culture. It was reflected in many aspects of their life, such as trade, adornment, and treatment. It was also used to describe the beauty of skin/hair by different Arab poets. Arabs still valuate gold nowadays where it is purchased as a dowry.

4.1.2. Analysis of the English corpus

The identified conceptual metaphors in the English corpus are presented in Table 2.

No	Conceptual Metaphor	Frequency	Percentage
1	COSMETICS AND SKIN/HAIR ARE HUMANS	77	29%
2	SKIN/HAIR CARE IS WARFARE	53	20%
3	COSMETICS IS FOOD/DRINK	46	17%
4	BEAUTY IS A NATURAL PHENOMENON	28	10%
5	COSMETICS IS A SUPERNATURAL BEING	27	10%
6	COSMETICS IS A GATEWAY	12	5%
7	BEAUTY IS SILK AND VELVET	11	4%
8	COSMETICS IS A PRODUCT OF NATURE	8	3%
9	SKIN/HAIR CARE IS A GAME	3	1%
10	BEAUTY IS A HIDDEN OBJECT	3	1%
	Total	268	100%

Table 2. Frequency of Conceptual Metaphors in the English Corpus

1. COSMETICS AND SKIN/HAIR ARE HUMANS

1.1. COSMETICS IS HUMAN

13.   Our Fuji Green Tea™ haircare range was born for that

The depiction of COSMETICS as A HUMAN BEING appears through the use of certain expressions such as 'was born,' 'best friend,' 'guy,' 'hug,' and others. The mapped features here could be: birth, friendliness, hard-working, gentleness, among others. Describing COSMETICS as A NEWBORN in the example above indicates that this product did not exist before, but it was born to do certain tasks. The previous products did not provide all the features that were needed, so this product comes to life (was created) to do some actions in order to improve the state of hair.

1.2   SKIN/HAIR IS HUMAN

14.   *Put dry skin to bed. Our new hemp overnight nourishing rescue mask gets to work while you sleep...*

This conceptual mapping shows that SKIN/HAIR is portrayed as A HUMAN who has feelings (e.g., thirst), performs physical actions (e.g., sleeping), and is attributed with emotions (e.g., love). In 14., the advertiser describes DRY SKIN as A HUMAN BEING (CHILD) who is taken to bed. The advertisement shows that the user should take dry skin (child) to bed and give it some care by using the advertised product that will do its job while sleeping.

1.3. SKIN/HAIR CARE IS LOVE AND PAMPERING

15.   Whether it is your skin or hair that is due for a little pampering, we've got you covered.

This example shows that some English advertisers deal with the process of SKIN/HAIR CARE in terms of LOVE AND PAMPERING given to skin/hair. This is shown in the words 'love', 'indulge', 'pampering', among others. The use of such metaphorical expressions possibly implies that we should take care of skin/hair in the same way we do with humans (e.g., children).

2. SKIN/HAIR CARE IS WARFARE

Data analysis shows that English advertisers also deal with the process of SKIN/HAIR CARE in terms of A WARFARE.

16.   *Keep dry skin at bay, top up throughout the day. If your skin's feeling thirsty, we've got dry skin defenders... what's your secret to beating weather-beaten skin.*

In this example, the advertiser used the expression 'keep dry skin at bay' which might indicate that DRY SKIN IS AN ENEMY that is kept under control and at a distance away from the user. Thus, dry skin cannot get closer to you as well as it cannot attack you, implying that COSMETICS function as WAR DEFENDERS/SOLDIERS that fight against dry skin and keep skin smooth and hydrated. Describing COSMETICS as ARMY or as WEAPONS implies that they have the ability to protect against any environmental factors (sun rays, cold weather, pollution, etc.).

3. COSMETICS IS FOOD/DRINK

17.   *We've got the answer to your hair nourishing needs 🙌The lightweight formulas of these Nutritive Solutions Shampoos moisturize your hair, without weighing it down 🤸Try...*

The advertiser in this example used the expression 'nourishing needs' accompanied with 'nutritive solutions shampoos' indicating that the advertised product is important to hair. This conceptual metaphor was also reflected in expressions like 'needed drink' coupled with 'parched skin'. To make it easier to grasp, we can say that skin/hair is portrayed as a thirsty human who needs a drink to quench their thirst. In the same way, extremely dry and damaged skin/hair needs nourishment.

4. BEAUTY IS A NATURAL PHENOMENON

18.   This lightweight lotion will also help your skin look brighter and healthier – the perfect way to finish off that glowy summer look.

In 18., SKIN is described as A BRIGHT AND GLOWING CELESTIAL BODY. The advertiser employed the expression 'glowy summer look' implying the glowy and radiant look that someone will get when being exposed to the sun. Glowy summer look also refers to a type of makeup characterized by having a light touch. Thus, the advertisement indicates that the user will get that glowy look by using the advertised lotion. This is confirmed by the use of 'brighter'. It is worth noting here that the advertiser used 'summer look' because people typically get a nice glowing look in summer (e.g., people usually tan in summer). Thus, this advertisement indicates that beautiful skin should be glowy and radiant. In the context of cosmetics, bright or glowing skin refers to skin that looks healthy, has small pores, reflects light, and is not dull, flaky or dry. Poets and singers tend to use both the sun and the moon when describing a beautiful girl. According to Lê (2018), both English and Vietnamese perceive healthy and beautiful skin as being bright like light.

5. COSMETICS IS A SUPERNATURAL BEING

19.   ... and let the creamy formula work its magic 🪄 to reveal skin that feels: ...

The use of the expression 'work its magic' shows the powerful ability of the target product. Since magic requires supernatural force or power, employing this metaphorical expression could be used to show the unique abilities of the target product. To make it easier to grasp, we can compare it to a magic stick that can do magical things. This conceptual metaphor was also reflected in expressions such as 'superheroes', 'breathe life', 'give your hair a whole new lease of life', among others.

6. COSMETICS IS A GATEWAY

The corpus analysis demonstrates that some English advertisers use some metaphorical expressions that describe COSMETICS as A GATEWAY as in 20.:

20.   Summer vibes in winter time! Soften, hydrate, and transport your senses to the tropics
        with our Nourishing + Coconut Milk shampoo. ✨

Data analysis shows that THE ADVERTISED PRODUCT is compared to A GATEWAY through which consumers can get to somewhere they would like to access. This conceptual metaphor is reflected in the use of some expressions such as 'slice of paradise', 'escape to the tropics', 'transport your senses to the shores', among others. In example (20), 'transport your senses to the tropics' is coupled with 'summer vibes in winter time', which indicates that using the advertised product will allow the consumer to experience the feeling of the tropics without really going there.

7. BEAUTY IS SILK AND VELVET

21.   ... to help uncover silky smooth hair in time for the holidays.

This conceptual metaphor shows that BEAUTIFUL SOFT SKIN/HAIR is described as SILK or VELVET. This conceptual metaphor is explicitly shown through the use of the words 'silk' and 'velvet'. Construing SKIN and HAIR in terms of SILK/VELVET indicates that they are very soft and smooth. Moreover, velvet could be used to show that beautiful skin should shine as velvet is characterized by having a shiny appearance. According to Lê (2018), both English and Vietnamese perceive healthy and beautiful hair as smooth and soft like silk.

8. COSMETICS IS A PRODUCT OF NATURE

Analyzing the data reveals that some English advertisers focus on the idea that cosmetics products are made of natural ingredients.

22.   Force of nature in a bottle! 🌿Our drops of youth range is enriched with the power of plants.

This example shows how cosmetics are empowered and inspired by nature (plants) which might imply their high qualities since organic things are conventionally associated with being better than non-organic or chemical products.

9. SKIN/HAIR CARE IS A GAME

23.   Looking to boost your hair game?...

In this conceptual metaphor, the process of SKIN/HAIR CARE is depicted as A GAME, whereas USERS themselves are THE PLAYERS. The features that can be mapped are competition and winning. This can be reflected in the use of 'game', 'up', 'level up', and 'boost'. Since GAMES usually involve competition, using such metaphorical expressions might indicate looking for better skin/hair care routine. Thus, the winner is the user who uses the best products and has better results.

10. BEAUTY IS A HIDDEN OBJECT

24.   Still looking to repair summer hair damage? Grab our Coconut Miracle Oil Conditioner for a boost of hydration to help soften and revive damaged strands to discover silky, soft island-inspired hair. 🖤

Viewing this example indicates that BEAUTY is perceived as A HIDDEN OBJECT that will be unveiled using the target products. This conceptual mapping is reflected in the use of verbs like 'reveal', 'uncover', and 'discover'. Construing BEAUTY as A HIDDEN OBJECT might imply that the final result of using the advertised product will be surprising since there will be a big transformation in the user's skin/hair. In fashion shows and beauty makeovers, the change in appearance is presented by showing the viewers a before and after image of the same person. In these shows, the after picture is presented by uncovering the person in order to show the viewers the big change or transformation in the person's appearance.

4.2. Similarities and/or differences

Based on the comparison of the conceptual metaphors in the two corpora, the researchers reached the following two results:

1. Data analysis demonstrates that both languages share 5 conceptual metaphors, i.e. BEAUTY IS A NATURAL PHENOMENON (33% in Arabic and 10% in English), COSMETICS AND SKIN/HAIR ARE HUMANS (11% in Arabic and 29% in English), SKIN/HAIR CARE IS WARFARE (20% in Arabic and 20% in English), COSMETICS IS FOOD/DRINK (13% in Arabic and 17% in English), and COSMETICS IS A SUPERNATURAL BEING (11% in Arabic and 10% in English). These conceptual metaphors were the most frequent conceptual metaphors in both languages. These similarities can be attributed to the nature of the context of cosmetics advertisements which may require using common conceptual metaphors that are not related to a specific language/culture. For example, conceptualizing the process of SKIN/HAIR CARE in terms of A WAR was reported in various languages, such as English, Vietnamese, Chinese, and Thai (see Phakdeephasook 2009; Kelly 2016; Xiaqing 2017; Lê 2018; Shuo and Xuanyi 2020). It could also be that cosmetics advertisers in different languages/cultures have borrowed some metaphors from each other (see Kövecses, 2010), especially that advertisers nowadays depend on social media websites to promote their products. With regard to the HUMAN source domain, using this source domain in both languages may be attributed to universal bodily experience emerging from human cognitive embodiment (see Kövecses, 2010). For instance, describing A DRY SKIN/HAIR as A THIRSTY HUMAN in both languages can be due to our experience in the physical world. That is, when our bodies are in need of water, we feel thirsty.

2. Data analysis shows that some conceptual metaphors used in Arabic advertisements do not appear in English advertisements: SKIN/HAIR IS BUILDING/CONSTRUCTION (4%), SKIN/HAIR CARE IS A JOURNEY (2%), COSMETICS IS A CULTURAL ARTIFACT (2%), SKIN IS A CONTAINER (2%), and COSMETICS IS GOLD (2%). On the other hand, the conceptual metaphors that were used in English but were not reported in Arabic are: COSMETICS IS A GATEWAY (5%), BEAUTY IS SILK AND VELVET (4%), COSMETICS IS A PRODUCT OF NATURE (3%), SKIN/HAIR CARE IS A GAME (1%), and BEAUTY IS A HIDDEN OBJECT (1%).

These differences indicate that some conceptual metaphors tend to be salient in some cultures more than others (Zibin and Abdullah 2019). According to (Kövecses 2010: 207), "the set of conceptual metaphors for a particular target domain is roughly the same between two languages/cultures, but one language/culture shows a clear preference for some of the conceptual metaphors that are employed."

These differences may be also attributed to social, regional, stylistic, ethnic, subcultural, and individual dimensions that may cause variation in metaphorical conceptualization across cultures or even within cultures (see Kövecses 2010). For instance, the GAME source domain is used in English advertisements since Westerners, especially Americans, can be known for their competitiveness. The west is known for sports, playing competitive games, and having championships. A more detailed explanation of metaphorical choices is provided in the next section.

4.3. The results in light of CMA

4.3.1. The role of metaphor in revealing advertisers' ideology

This section attempts to show how both Arabs and Westerners view beauty based on the metaphors employed in cosmetics advertisements. Data analysis demonstrates that both Arab and Westerners perceive the beauty of skin and hair in terms of natural phenomena. This cross-mapping from the source domain (natural phenomenon) onto the target domain (beauty) seems to be near-universal (it appears in various languages). This is consistent with Lê (2018) who found that both English and Vietnamese perceive healthy and beautiful skin as being bright like light which is reflected in adjectives such as glow, bright, radiant, and luminosity. Moreover, Kelly (2016) indicated that water stands for the Chinese women's beauty (e.g., lips are portrayed to look as radiant as ripple).

Although both cultures PERCEIVE THE BEAUTY of skin/hair in terms of NATURAL PHENOMENA, data analysis reveals that there are some differences with respect to the adjectives being used. Arabic advertisements tend to use the adjective *muʃriq* 'bright' more than English advertisements. This adjective was used only once in the analyzed English advertisements, whereas it constitutes the majority of the expressions reflecting the source domain NATURAL PHENOMENON in the Arabic advertisements. *muʃriq* 'bright' or *ʔiʃraːq* 'brightening' are often associated with the sun in the Arabic language. English advertisers tend to use 'glowing' or 'radiant' which usually have nothing to do with skin's tone (i.e., whatever the skin tone is, it can get glowing). On the other hand, 'bright' seems to refer to fair/white skin. In some Arabic ads, 'bright' was directly associated with whitening the skin's tone.

This can be attributed to different reasons. First, Westerners tend to have a whiter skin tone more than Arabs. Most Middle Easterners skin's tone tends to be tawny or dark brown. Thus, it seems that westerners do not need many products to brighten their skins unlike Arabs. Rather, some western women tend to tan their skin under the sun. Second, it could be that Arab women are influenced by western ads especially that many cosmetics brands that appear on the social media websites and are sold in the Arab world belong to western countries. The models appear in these advertisements usually have white skin, which might influence Arab women' perception of their skin's beauty (the desire to

have white skin). Third, it could also be that Arab women were influenced by Westerners given that Arabic countries were colonized by Western countries. This might show the role of power (Western countries had power over Arab countries). This might explain Arab women's desire to get the same appearance of Western women's skin/hair. Using such metaphorical expressions shows the role of advertisers in constructing and changing beliefs about the beauty of skin among Arab women.

Apart from the source domain NATURAL PHENOMENON, data analysis reveals that the conceptual metaphor BEAUTY IS SILK AND VELVET used in English advertisements indicates that Westerners considers soft skin/hair to be beautiful. This does not mean that Arab do not view soft skin/hair to be good, but it was not frequently used in the metaphorical expressions found in the analyzed advertisements (i.e., only two advertisements reflect this conceptual metaphor in the Arabic corpus). One reason that might explain this difference is the potential straightforwardness of the Arabic advertisements. In the analyzed advertisements, Arab advertisers seem to be more straightforward when describing beauty or the product. Another reason could be related to Arabs' tendency of using concepts from nature around them. This is evident in the Arabic literature, where some poets describe the beauty of women's skin/hair using entities from nature (e.g., vineyard branches, palm tree, the darkness of the night, among others). Furthermore, some Arabs portray the softness of the woman's skin/hair in terms of animals such as horses and antelopes. This is still evident nowadays where we can find some Arabic hair oils that carry names like 'Muhra' or 'Horsetail.' These concepts seem to be associated with the Arabic culture more than silk or velvet.

Kelly (2016) argues that both English and Chinese perceive soft and shiny to be good. Therefore, the features of shining and softness seem to be regarded as standards of beauty in various cultures (e.g., Chinese, English, and Arabic). However, the data of the current study are not in agreement with Kelly's finding with respect to the feature 'rosy' which only appears in the Arabic corpus. One reason that might explain this could be attributed to the nature. The Arab countries are not ever green due to the lack of water resources and the tyranny of the desert environment in most of their lands. It could be that Arabs use metaphorical expressions such as spring or rose in their advertisements to compensate for this need.

With regard to the Arabic corpus, it was found that Arabs conceive of BEAUTIFUL SKIN in terms of A FULL CONTAINER. This could indicate that Arabs tend to consider plump skin to be beautiful. Ancient Arabs used to prefer women with plumped skin before fashion shows that focus on thin figures. This was reflected in their songs and poems in the past. This is also evident in Arabs' use of the expression 'xarsa:ʔ alʔasawir' (the mute of the bracelets) to describe a plumped woman. This metaphorical use

indicates that advertisers imply that plumped and youthful-looking skin is attractive unlike old-looking skin that is considered undesirable.

4.3.2. The persuasive power of metaphor

This section discusses the persuasive power of metaphors from the viewpoints of pragmatics and cognitive linguistics. As conceptual metaphors are construed as systematic restructuring of cognitive target domains via source domains (by projecting semantic aspects, features, and/or entities of the source domains onto the target domains; Lakoff and Johnson 1980), conceptualizing BEAUTY (target domain) in terms of more concrete source domains (NATURAL PHENOMENON, SILK, VELVET, CONTAINER) may have a role in helping consumers realize the signs of beauty that will be obtained after using the target products. For instance, describing THE BEAUTY of skin/hair in terms of NATURAL PHENOMENA may facilitate consumers' cognitive processes to interpret the target features. This is because these features are generally associated with celestial bodies which are part of people's environment.

In this respect, emphasizing the features of brightening, glowing, and shining as features of beauty might show advertisers' intention of making viewers feel unsatisfied about their appearance, and therefore, buy the target product in order to acquire the ideal image of beauty (see Kelly, 2016). This might also show how advertisers exercise power over consumers by using language to influence people's construction of concepts (see Agnes 2009; Kaur *et al.* 2013).

According to Charteris-Black (2004), the social role of metaphor in constructing ideology is motivated by a rhetorical purpose of evoking the emotions to persuade. This means that advertisers' use of certain metaphors has a role in constructing consumers' beliefs about beauty. This can be done through arousing consumers' desires and convincing them that what appear in advertisements are the ideal signs of beauty. For instance, describing THE SOFTNESS OF SKIN/HAIR in terms of LUXURIOUS FABRICS SUCH AS SILK OR VELVET could play a role in persuasion since these fabrics were associated with power and wealth. Thus, advertisers might intend to show that if ladies use such products, their skin/hair will become very soft and charming just like wearing silk or velvet. According to Negro-Alousque (2014), the persuasive effect of metaphors may be attributed to the links that such metaphors create between the target product and a desired feature.

The ways by which advertisers portray cosmetics in advertisements might also help in persuasion. According to Negro-Alousque (2014), one way by which metaphor contributes to the promotion of a product is by enhancing its qualities. Analyzing the collected advertisements showed that the use of the conceptual metaphor COSMETICS IS A CULTURAL ARTIFACT in the Arabic corpus could reflect the high qualities of the products advertised since it shows that these products are valuable,

authentic, and are transferred from one generation to the next. Advertisers possibly chose to use this metaphor to convince consumers since people usually valuate ancient things or materials. The use of this conceptual metaphor in Arabic advertisements could be explained in terms of the nature of Arabic societies who have the tendency to stick to the traditions and heritage. It shows how Arab women in the past used natural and traditional materials (e.g., herbs, henna, basil, jasmine, etc.) to care for their appearance and thus wanted to preserve the heritage by transferring it from one generation to the next. Moreover, the use of this source domain may convey the advertisers' intention of showing consumers that these products are pure and natural.

With regard to metaphors used in English advertisements, the use of the conceptual metaphor COSMETICS IS A GATEWAY could also evoke viewers' desire to purchase the target products. As people do not go to paradise, the tropics, the shores, and so on literally, using such metaphorical expressions might trigger viewers' interest to try out such products to cater for their desires (achieving the feeling of being in these places). The majority of the metaphorical expressions reflecting this conceptual metaphor include transporting the consumer to the tropics or helping him/her get the feeling of tropical vibes. Tropics or tropical vibes tend to be associated with freshness, relaxation, tranquility, warmness, and sunny atmosphere. It could also be that advertisers employ such metaphorical expressions to show consumers that the target products are made of tropical fruits (e.g., mango, avocado, pineapple, kiwi). Tropical fruits are known for being enriched with minerals and vitamins that are necessary for skin.

Construing THE ADVERTISED PRODUCTS as WEAPONS in both languages may also have a role in convincing consumers about the necessity of the target products. Metaphor helps in the promotion of products by presenting them as a necessity (Negro-Alousque, 2014). In a war, warriors or soldiers cannot fight enemies without weapons. In the same way, skin/hair cannot be protected and undesired problems (enemies of skin/hair) cannot be defeated without using cosmetics. The use of this conceptual metaphor shows how advertisers may intend for consumers to have negative attitudes towards dry skin, damaged hair, wrinkles, and so on. As a result, viewers are encouraged to recognize the necessity of THE PRODUCTS advertised since people cannot ignore an ENEMY.

After discussing the role of metaphors in persuasion from the viewpoints of pragmatics and cognitive linguistics, the data yielded from the informants show that the majority of consumers prefer presenting the functions and effects of the products via metaphors. For instance, they prefer being told that the advertised product will breathe life into their skin/hair rather than directly telling them that the product will repair skin/hair damage. This is consistent with Shuo and Xuanyi (2020) who argue that the use of direct expressions to promote products would not make consumers feel attracted.

Different researchers also emphasized the role of metaphor in attracting and persuading consumers e.g., Czerpa (2006), Agnes (2009), Kelly (2016), among others. Hence, metaphors employed in cosmetics advertisements positively valuate cosmetics, which could incite viewers to realize the good effects, high qualities and the necessity of the advertised products. Positive evaluation of metaphors probably achieves the effect of persuasion. According to Chupryakova *et al.* (2019), the use of numerous positive metaphors in advertising discourse highlights positive aspects of the advertised product (e.g., product as a helper and product as a protector).

5. Conclusion and recommendations

The current study has critically investigated conceptual metaphors used in Arabic cosmetics advertisements and compared them to those used in English advertisements by adopting CMA (Charteris-Black, 2004). The source domains in the rendered conceptual metaphors were mainly used to perform three different functions: (1) reflect the features of beauty that consumers will possess after using the advertised product (e.g., SILK/VELVET), (2) reflect the high value and the high effectiveness of the advertised products (e.g., GOLD), and (3) show the necessity of the products advertised (e.g., FOOD/DRINK). This may suggest that different source domains are required to inform viewers about the functions and effects of the products advertised. The findings demonstrated that cosmetics advertisements are construed metaphorically which gives rise to a number of cross-linguistic conceptual metaphors. The similarities found in the two languages could be attributed to the nature of cosmetics advertisements which may require using common conceptual metaphors regardless of the language/culture. On the other hand, the differences show that some metaphors tend to be salient in some cultures more than others.

Based on data analysis and the judgments of the respondents, it has been argued that using metaphors in cosmetics advertisements is more attractive and persuasive than using direct statements. Thus, it can be concluded that metaphor employed in this discourse type might enact two types of change:

1.   it may influence consumers' perception of beauty, and

2.   it may change or manipulate consumers' attitudes towards the products being advertised, and as a result, they may take action and make a purchase. Based on these findings, it is recommended that more studies need to be done to compare metaphors used in Arabic cosmetics advertisements with those used in languages other than English. This is in order to explore which conceptual metaphors are near-universal and which ones reflect cultural specificity.

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ʿArafāt's speech at the United Nations (1974)
A Perelmanian reading of the text rhetoric

Paola Comelli

On November 22nd, 1974, the United Nations General Assembly promulgated resolutions No. 3236 and No. 3237, recognizing the political, cultural, and socio-economic rights of the Palestinian people, and formalizing the PLO's participation in the General Assembly as an observer. These important resolutions were issued following the historic speech given by the President of the Palestine Liberation Organization, Yāsir ʿArafāt, on November 13th, 1974, before the United Nations General Assembly. This paper consists in the rhetorical and linguistic analysis of the main argumentative strategies employed by the Palestinian leader in his speech to achieve his perlocutionary goals. Specifically, the analysis is carried out on the basis of the methodological tools developed by Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca in *The New Rhetoric: A Treatise on Argumentation* (1969). The Perelmanian tools are applied to ʿArafāt's Arabic speech in order to determine the rhetorical techniques employed to build the audience's agreement and to persuade them about the necessity to accommodate his people's requests. From this research emerges the in-depth knowledge that the speaker has of his audience, addressing, from time to time, a particular or a universal audience, in an attempt to reach an agreement that is as broad as possible. For this reason, the speaker carefully chooses the language through which to convey his message, excluding the Islamic formulas and lexicon, which usually characterize his speeches. Furthermore, the agreement with the public is established through the repeated reference to universal values, which allow him to place the Palestinian question in a framework shared by the audience. Finally, the present study illustrates the copious argumentative strategies that ʿArafāt employs to generate a change of perspective on the Palestinian question, facilitating the process of persuasion.

1. Introduction

On 13ᵗʰ November 1974 Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ʿAbd al-Raʾūf ʿArafāt al-Qudwa al-Ḥusaynī, also known as Yāsir ʿArafāt, delivered a speech to the United Nations General Assembly as President of the Palestine Liberation Organization (*munaẓẓamat al-taḥrīr al-filasṭīniyya*, PLO). The speech, given entirely

in Arabic, constitutes a fundamental historical event for Palestine, as well as for the whole international community. Indeed, for the first time in history, not only was a non-governmental organization allowed to address the Assembly which, at that time, was formed exclusively by government representatives, but it also provided visibility to the Palestinian perspective before an international audience. The extraordinary importance of the occurrence is brought to light perfectly by the words of the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine magazine, *al-Ḥurriyya*, which stated that "Palestine has re-entered history" (Sayigh 1997: 344). Therefore, the occasion, already charged with meaning, takes on further prominence if we consider the effects achieved through the speech in regard to the speaker's intended purposes. As a matter of fact, the communicative event[1] marks the beginning of a series of changes that were to lead to the General Assembly resolutions n.3236 and n.3237,[2] which helped, at least partially, to achieve the aims pursued by ʿArafāt with his 1974 speech. These objectives, according to Nabīl Šaʿaṯ, Yāsir's foreign policy adviser and probable ghost writer[3] of the speech, were mainly two: "to cement the Palestine Liberation Organization's role as the legitimate representative of Palestinians, and to focus attention in the UN General Assembly on the Palestinian quest for independence" (Birzeit University 2019). Based upon these considerations, the primary purpose of this research consists in identifying, within the Palestine leader's speech, the main argumentative strategies employed by him to persuade his audience to support the cause of Palestinian independence and to recognize the PLO as the legitimate representative of its people. To do this, the methodological tools developed in *The New Rhetoric: A Treatise on Argumentation* (1969) of Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca were used. The *Treatise*, indeed, constitutes a wide theoretical set of argumentative schemes which aim to restore to classical rhetoric its former splendour, overcoming the Cartesian perspective. Thus, the argumentative techniques presented in the *New Rhetoric* turned out to be fundamental to examine the strategies used by ʿArafāt in order to obtain the agreement of his audience, as well as to analyse the rhetorical choices used to achieve his persuasive goals. The speech does in fact

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[1] Verbal expression of meanings by the speaker, addressed to multiple listeners. The event holds an important performative meaning, especially in political discourse, as an act pronounced to achieve precise aims (Avallone 2019: 10).

[2] Resolutions approved on 22nd November 1974 by the UN General Assembly, recognizing the political, cultural, and socio-economic rights of the Palestinian people. The complete texts can be found at the following link:

https://digitallibrary.un.org/record/189836?ln=en> (UNDL).

[3] Šaʿaṯ, during a lecture organized by the Political Science Department of Birzeit University on 16th May 2019, claimed that he had written the first draft of the speech to present it "to a committee of Palestinian politicians, thinkers, and intellectuals who revised it until they were satisfied that it had properly conveyed the Palestinian people's hopes and dreams" (Birzeit University 2019).

fit into a broader context of which the orator too is an essential part, and which needs to be briefly illustrated to bring about a proper understanding of the communicative strategies employed in it.

2. The speaker

According to Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca (1969: 317-318), "the person is the best context for evaluating the meaning and significance of an assertion [...]." Indeed, what is known about the author provides a reinterpretation of the text in a new context. This is particularly relevant in the case of Yāsir ʿArafāt, or ʾAbū ʿAmmār, for two main reasons: firstly, his significance to Palestinian people and the Palestinian issue; secondly, the persuasiveness of his non-verbal communication (for instance, his gestural expressiveness, the tone, and the rhythm of his voice, and so forth). These two aspects are often related as can be inferred from Klein's biography, where, on the one hand, the aura of mystery of the Palestinian leader and his limits are highlighted (such as gaffes in front of the public to get their attention, his distinctly Egyptian dialect, and the occasional lack of credibility), but, on the other hand, his communicative ability is valued (Klein 2019: 1-3). Indeed, ʿArafāt had managed to become a national symbol and an emblem of the Palestinian armed struggle by emphasizing his figure as a fighter and survivor. He conveyed to his people the image of a person willing to sacrifice his life for their cause through the military decorations he wore and the gun he always kept close for safety, his speeches "that stressed the motifs of jihad, self-sacrifice and martyrdom" (Klein 2019: 3), the ambiguous language and his tendency to tell the listener what he wanted to hear. As a matter of fact, his watch was emblematic of how the President himself played with his own image: it always showed the same time, five minutes to midnight, to symbolize a ceaseless state of threat. The steady creation of a sense of restlessness was a source of criticism, but also a way to justify his "status as a symbol" (Klein 2019: 3-8). ʾAbū ʿAmmār's rise to power, by means of his ability to merge his image with that of the Palestinian cause, is also successfully described in Aburish's biography. The Palestinian writer and journalist defines how ʿArafāt carefully arranged his famous *kūfiyya* every day to resemble the map of Palestine. This operation took about an hour each morning (Aburish 2012: 82-83). Furthermore, the detailed mention of Israeli attacks, combined with the exhibition of photographs of Israeli bombs, destroyed houses and mutilated bodies, contributed to elicit an intense *pathos*.[4] Likewise, as the PLO chairman

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[4] *Pathos* is conceived here in the Aristotelian acceptation of the term, i.e., the emotions, feelings, and passions that the speaker must be able to arouse in the audience. The Greek philosopher considered *pathos*, *ethos,* and *logos* as the main types of argumentations in the broad sense of means of persuasion. *Ethos* consists in the character that the speaker must attribute to himself to win the trust of his listeners (Aristotle 1984: 2194, *Rhet.* 1378a.)

described the sufferings of his people, his voice became lower, thicker, and even stuttering, associated with a sad smile, revealing his ability to arouse emotions (Aburish 2012: 91-93). Moreover, Aburish highlights Yāsir's precocious skills as a leader and speaker, who knew how to touch "his listeners in a very special and endearing way" (Aburish 2012: 25), but he also mentions how he was able to evade uncomfortable questions, to avoid clarifying his own personal story, and to disguise his lies (Aburish 2012: 91-93). Some of the above-mentioned features can be noticed also in 'Arafāt's speech at the UN General Assembly. For instance, the tone of his voice, the way he delivers the speech, with a rhythm recalling a *psalmody*, the pauses, and the repetitions, contribute to make his utterances more vivid, engaging, and intense. Along with these elements, the speaker's posture, the determination, and confidence with which he delivers the speech, and the fact that he showed himself before the Assembly wearing his military uniform and *kūfiyya*, reflect both the image of a survivor and fighter he had built up and the *ethos* he wanted to display. Indeed, we have to bear in mind ʾAbū ʿAmmār's complex position at the time of the speech when he had been recognized as President of the PLO by his people. Conversely, the legitimacy of this role, and of the PLO itself, was not taken for granted by the international community. Therefore, its achievement becomes one of the two main objectives that Yāsir intends to reach through this address. As a matter of fact, his very presence at the United Nations General Assembly, which caused the deliberate absence of Israel's representatives, is a significant step forward in the recognition of the PLO, but also of his person as the spokesperson of his people.

3. The historical framework

ʾAbū ʿAmmār's speech must be analysed within the framework of the main historical, political, and socio-economic events of the 1960s and the 1970s. Indeed, it was in 1964 that the Arab League, during its first Summit held in Cairo, approved the foundation of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO). However, the Organization was conditioned by the Arab League itself, whose choice to support the establishment of a Palestinian organization allowed the Arabs to show opposition to Israel, thus avoiding a direct conflict (Kimmerling and Migdal 2003: 248). At the head of the PLO was placed Šuqayrī, who was chosen by Nāṣir as he had already worked with the Arab states (Kimmerling and Migdal 2003: 248).

According to Brillanti (2009: 90), a turning point was the 1967 Six-Day War because it allowed the Palestinian resistance to acquire greater autonomy in its struggle. In fact, the notorious Arab defeat in 1967 caused Palestinians to lose faith in the pan-Arab Nassirian perspective of Arab unification as the first step towards Palestinian liberation (Kimmerling and Migdal 2003: 252-254). On the one hand, the Arab populations were discouraged by the loss of hope in Arab nationalism, on the other hand, they

were not willing to accept a total defeat (Aburish 2012: 70). Thus, a political vacuum was created, which was promptly filled by ʿArafāt (Aburish 2012: 70) and the movement that he had secretly contributed to establish in 1959 in Kuwait, namely *al-Fataḥ* (*Ḥarakat al-Taḥrīr al- Filasṭīniyya*, the Palestine National Liberation Movement). Furthermore, the 1967 war reunited the Palestinian majority under Israeli occupation, facilitating the spread of *Fataḥ* in Palestinian society and its growing financial and rhetorical support from the Arab states (Kimmerling and Migdal 2003: 252-254).

Consequently, in the 1960s, ʿArafāt and *al-Fataḥ* were able to move from "obscurity to overall leadership of the Palestinian people" (Kimmerling and Migdal 2003: 247). The effects of the war also affected the leadership of the PLO. As Kimmerling and Migdal (2003: 253) point out, Šuqayrī effectively had never succeeded in controlling the PLO, which underwent several splits. When, in 1967, Šuqayrī resigned and the PLO Executive Committee replaced him with the lawyer Yaḥyā Ḥammūda, the latter proposed that *Fataḥ* join the PLO for the sake of national unity. ʿArafāt accepted and, in return, the PLO offered *Fataḥ* thirty-three seats on the Palestinian National Council, the PLO's parliament. It was not until 1969 that ʾAbū ʿAmmār succeeded Ḥammūda as Chairman of the PLO (Aburish 2012: 77-90), which brought together the majority of Palestinian factions. According to Kimmerling and Migdal (2003: 255-265), what distinguished Yāsir's leadership in that historical period was his attention to Palestine and his intention to avoid meddling in internal Arab political affairs. Thus, the Chairman assured *Fataḥ* of the support of several Arab countries and managed to draw the attention of the international community to the Palestinian issue. In fact, the PLO won diplomatic recognition from over fifty states and obtained observer status at the United Nations General Assembly after ʿArafāt's 1974 speech. This also fits into the broader framework of international historical events.

As will be examined, Yāsir frequently mentions, especially in the first part of the speech, the peoples of Africa, Asia, and Latin America, to the point that the cause of his community is identified with the causes of the peoples of those continents. Indeed, the Palestinian leader states:

> The question of Palestine belongs, as a crucial element, to the just causes which are fought by the peoples suffering from colonialism and oppression [...]. Therefore, I am here on behalf of every human being struggling for freedom and for the right of peoples to self-determination. [...] For these reasons, I will present our cause within this framework and for this purpose.[5]

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[5] All the passages of ʿArafāt's speech in this paper have been translated by the author into English from the Arabic text taken from the website *Muʾassasa Yāsir ʿArafāt* (https://www.yaf.ps/) and integrated with the available audio recordings in the online archive of *(UN) Radio Classics*. However, an English translation of the speech was published by the *Journal of Palestine Studies* 4/2 (1975): 181-194.

What such different countries shared in that historical period was precisely the process of decolonization, the desire to oppose any form of colonialism and neo-colonialism, claiming their own self-determination. In order to realize these intents, the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) was formally established in 1961 in Belgrade. Further key aims of the Belgrade summit were the "economic development, [...] UN reform, apartheid, and Palestinian rights" (Morphet 2004: 525). It is noteworthy that the NAM's causes coincide with several lead argumentations that ʿArafāt employs during his speech, whose persuasive purposes will be examined in this study. Indeed, it is precisely within this historical context that the President of the PLO will gradually succeed in achieving an international visibility the Palestinian question. In this respect, the UN expert, Sally Morphet (2004: 527), states: "the NAM worked together globally and regionally in ways that fostered common interests. African concerns about apartheid were linked with Arab-Asian concerns about Palestine." The impact of the joint efforts was such that various resolutions (Morphet 2004: 526-527) in favour of Palestine were approved by the UN after 1967. The approval of these resolutions reflects the changing climate of the 1970s, thanks to which it was possible for the General Assembly of the United Nations to embrace, for the first time in history,[6] a representative of an entity different from a state member. The following paragraphs offer an analysis of the main communicative strategies employed by ʿArafāt to persuade his audience, whose knowledge is a fundamental condition to achieve this aim. Indeed, since argumentation is conceived as the ability to influence the adherence of minds, it is pertinent to listeners.

4. The audience

Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca (1969: 19) identify the audience "as the ensemble of those whom the speaker wishes to influence by his argumentation." In this sense, listeners not only represent those who are physically close to the speaker at the moment of the speech but are also envisaged as a mental construction of the speaker, which must get as close as possible to reality. This can be clearly inferred from ʿArafāt's speech, throughout which he gradually identifies different hearers: from single political figures to members of the Assembly, to different states, right up to an international audience. In the first place, Yāsir addresses the Algerian Minister of Foreign Affairs, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Būtiflīqa (who was also the President of the 29th Session (1974-1975) of the UN General Assembly), thanking and praising him as a "sincere and devoted defender of the causes of freedom, justice and peace." These values also

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[6] With the only exception of Pope Paul VI in 1965.

coincide with three of the ideals to be pursued in Palestine. Subsequently, on behalf of the PLO and of the Palestinian people, ʿArafāt turns to Kurt Waldheim (the then UN Secretary-General) and the members of the General Assembly, thanking them for the opportunity. Therefore, the introduction of the speech becomes deliberately formal through the use of terms (such as 'my sincerest thanks;' 'the valiant efforts made;' 'respectable members') which indicate awareness of the importance of the institutional context and of the political and historical act that the speaker is carrying out. In this regard, it is worth emphasizing that Yāsir does not resort to the usual Islamic opening and closing *formula* 'in the name of God the Merciful, the Compassionate,' *bi-smi llāhi al-raḥmani al-raḥīmi*, in contrast with what frequently occurs in some of his speeches.[7] This choice aims to shift the attention of the media and of government representatives from the religious problem to the Palestinian political and humanitarian one, as Yāsir will later explicitly declare in his speech:

> *wa-min hunā yabdaʾu ǧuḏūru al-muškilati al-filasṭīniyya, ʾinna haḏā yaʿnī ʾanna ʾasās al-muškila laysa ḫilāfan dīniyyan ʾaw qawmiyyan beyna dīnayni ʾaw qawmiyyatayn; wa-laysa nizāʿan ʿalā ḥudūd beyna al-duwali al-mutaǧāwira. ʾInna-hu qaḍiyyatu šaʿbin uġtuṣiba arda-h wa- waṭana-h wa-šurrida min ʾarḍi-h [...]*[8]

> The roots of the Palestine question lie here, and this means that the origin of the problem is not a religious or national conflict between two religions or nationalities, and neither is it a border conflict between neighbouring states. It is the problem of people whose land, whose homeland, has been usurped and who have been expelled from their land [...].

Furthermore, as Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca assert, an initial way to come close to the interlocutor's comprehension can consist in identifying his social group or the *milieu* he belongs to. The exclusion of the Islamic lexicon is consistent with the desire to persuade a vast and heterogeneous

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[7] Frisch (2005: 326) has analysed eleven speeches delivered by ʿArafāt between 1996 and 2001, noticing that the traditional salutation 'in the name of God the Merciful, the Compassionate,' *bi-smi llāhi al-raḥmani al-raḥīmi,* appears in the written version of all these speeches, followed by the opening verse of the Qurʾān. Furthermore, unlike ʿArafāt's speech of 1974, analysed in the present study, his rhetoric after the Oslo II Accords (1995) contains several references to Islam, to *ǧihād*, to Islamic history and *formulas*, and to *Allāh* as Raphael Israeli's contribution (2001) points out.

[8] Transliteration carried out on the basis of the oral production of ʿArafāt which differs, in some points, from the officially widespread written version, both for the pronunciation of some phonemes and for the nominal and verbal inflection and for the inclusion or exclusion of some lexemes. In this passage it is interesting to note: a verb-subject agreement error, since the verb *yabdaʾu* ('begins') is a masculine, while the subject *ǧuḏūru* 'roots' requires a feminine voice (being a plural), differently from what emerges from the written version where the singular *ǧiḏr* 'root' appears; the phoneme /ḏ/ commutes in /z/, a typical fact of dialectal realizations, just as the pronunciation [*beyna*] is dialectal instead of the standard one [*bayna*]; in the oral version it is said *arḍa-h wa-waṭana-h* 'his land and his homeland,' while in the written one the first term does not appear.

international audience to support the Palestinian cause, in a context of strong tension with Israel. This is why ʿArafāt, fully aware of the stakes and of the uncertainty of the result, seeks to develop a rhetoric based on argumentations that can be embraced by the aforementioned audience.

The leader's speech falls within the scenario theorized by Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca, in which the audience is divided into different factions which the speaker is called to consider in the argumentation. At the end of the speech, the continuous adaptation to the interlocutors and their values generates a change in the audience, which will no longer be "exactly as it was at the beginning" (Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca 1969: 17-23).[9] To bring about this change, the Palestinian leader addresses several *particular* audiences in the course of his speech. ʿArafāt directly addresses the United States of America as weapons suppliers to the Zionist movement, but, on the other hand, he constructs the image of American people as that of an empathetic audience, since they share with the Palestinians the experience of the struggle for their national unity and independence. Similarly, the entire speech is a condemnation of Zionism, but the Jews are invited to live with the Palestinians "in a framework of just peace in our democratic Palestine." Moreover, the international community is solicited to end colonial oppression and support the colonised peoples in their struggle for independence. This appeal to the international community undoubtedly broadens the audience to which it is addressed making it more *universal.* Nevertheless, as Reboul (1996: 103) states, the universal audience is conceivable as a "principle of overcoming"[10] through which the quality of an argumentation can be evaluated. This is why ʿArafāt comes to involve the rest of the world, depicting the need to make all possible efforts to achieve peace, development, equality, and justice, as if it were a need of the whole world. The construction of the *universal* audience by the leader is functional to ensure that the speech is adequate and convincing even for a wider audience, reachable through the media. In this regard, at the end of the speech he addresses the audience as 'you' which, in the first place, includes the UN, but which suggests that he wants to persuade as many people as possible:

> [...] I appeal to you to accompany our people in their struggle to attain their right to self-determination [...] I appeal to you, further, to make it possible for our people to return from their enforced exile [...] to live in our country, in our homes and in the shade of our trees and fields, free and sovereign, enjoying all of our national rights.

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[9] Perelman and Olbrecths-Tyteca (1969: 26-40) abstractly identify the *universal* audience with all reasonable beings. Conversely, the *particular* audience includes at least one interlocutor.

[10] Translated from the Italian expression "principio di superamento." Refer also to Bartocci (2010) for an interesting insight into the topic.

Despite the incessant construction of different audiences, ʿArafāt formally continues to keep the General Assembly's President, Būtiflīqa, as his main interlocutor, via the formula 'Mr. President.'

5. Objects of agreement

In order to succeed in his persuasive intent, the speaker will have to count on the agreement of the listeners on the premises, i.e., on assumptions shared by the audience and assumed by the speaker. In fact, the choice of premises and their statement have a strong argumentative power since they are the basis for the persuasive reasoning (Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca 1969: 65). In his speech, ʿArafāt insists on some objects of agreement which often coincide with the cornerstones of the Palestinian question. In fact, their controversial and problematic essence and the international and diversified audience's nature makes it necessary, from the very beginning of the speech, to establish a common ground of shareable elements, which foster the approval of the Palestinian position. Such an endeavour is achieved through the use of *facts*, *truths*, and *presumptions* (relating to the *real*) and of *values* and *loci* (concerning the *preferable*). The great heterogeneity of ʾAbū ʿAmmār's public makes it hard to present the Palestinian historical events as *facts* "which refer to an objective reality" (Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca 1969: 67). Nonetheless, it is possible to identify some of them with the Arab Israeli wars and their effects, and the *Nakba*, the 'catastrophe,' of 1948 and its consequences. Although the truthfulness of these events represents a real *fact*, it should be remembered that ʿArafāt includes them in his speech with the intention to persuade the audience about the legitimacy of his cause. For this reason, he corroborates the *facts* by several *loci of quantity,*[11] which enable the speaker to discredit Israel. At the same time, they demonstrate the progressive settlement of Jews in the Palestinian land and, therefore, the cause supported by the Palestinians:

> The population of Palestine, when the invasion began in 1881 and before the first wave of settlements, was about half a million people, all Arabs, Muslims, Christians and about twenty thousand Palestinian Jews, everyone living protected by religious tolerance, for which our civilization is known.

ʿArafāt goes on to argue that between 1882 and 1917 another 50,000 European Jews moved to Palestine. Furthermore, within thirty years after the Balfour Declaration, the number of Jewish immigrants in

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[11] This typology of *loci* makes it possible to enhance the superiority of an object for *quantitative* reasons. This prominence also applies to negative values (Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca 1969: 86).

Palestine had increased up to about 600,000 Jews overall in 1947. That part of the population had less than 6% of the fertile land, while the number of Arab residents amounted to about 1,250,000. Moreover, Yāsir uses the *quantity* to elicit an empathetic and emotional response from his audience when he states that 30,000 *šahīd*, Palestinian 'martyrs,'[12] had died by 1948. The number then reached thousands in the following years. In particular, the speaker leverages the pain suffered by the most fragile people:

> Thousands of our people's sons were massacred in their villages and towns, and tens of thousands were forced, under rifle fire and the bombing of cannons and aircraft, to leave their homes and what they had sown in the land of their ancestors. How many roads were women, children and elderly men forced to travel without any food or water, forced to climb mountains and wander in the desert?!

The *facts* are then further consolidated through recourse to *presumptions*, closely connected to the concept of *normal.*[13] The wars themselves (*facts*) are mentioned to demonstrate the cruelty of the enemy and the atrocity of their actions, which gave rise to the conflicts. The leader's words are based on the belief that the public considers it normal for every nation to live in peace and security, without suffering constant threats.

Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca (1969: 70) also point out "the presumption that the quality of an act reveals the quality of the person responsible for it." In various moments of his speech, ʿArafāt builds a negative image of *al-ʿaduww* 'the enemy,' through the reference to several acts of aggression and of *ʾirhāb*, 'terrorism,' committed by them. An example is provided below:

> Mister President:
>
> The small number of Palestinian Arabs who could not be expelled by the enemy in 1948 are now refugees in their own homeland. They were treated by Israeli law as second-class citizens, and even as third-class citizens since Oriental Jews are second-class citizens. All forms of racial discrimination and terrorism have been practiced against them, their lands and properties have been confiscated, they have been exposed to bloody massacres [...] For 26 years, our people have been living there under constant military rule and were denied the right to move from one place to another without the prior permission from the military governor.

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[12] In Arabic it is singular, 'martyr.'

[13] The meaning of what is *normal* reveals itself in relation to a reference group and, therefore, to concepts that can exceed or be lower than the average value of what the group considers *normal* (Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca 1969: 70-72).

This passage of the speech, that exemplifies others where the same representation is strengthened, clearly reveals the association between the quality of the Zionist actions and Zionism itself.

This negative correlation emerges also from the *truths*, namely "more complex systems relating to connections between facts" (Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca 1969: 69) that enable Yāsir to weave an understanding with the audience about the ideologies that are certainly shared by his interlocutors. Some *truths* can be considered *collective* because they concern the international community, while others are *specific*, concerning precise listeners. The first part of the speech is almost exclusively made up of *collective truths* to immediately build a common ground with the audience. The main *collective truths* can be summarized in the following points:

• trust in the United Nations as an institution capable of applying its Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights principles and able to eradicate colonialism, neo-colonialism, imperialism, racism, and Zionism to achieve peace, justice, equality, and freedom

• the need, shared with the countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America, but also with the rest of the world, to carry out the ideals stated in the previous point

• the need to eradicate hunger, poverty, diseases, and natural disasters, and to reduce the gap between developed and developing countries, also through a more equitable economic system

Once the audience's agreement with the more general truths has been achieved, they are applied to concrete situations:

• inclusion of the Palestinian question in the framework of the just causes of the Asian, African, and Latin American oppressed peoples with whom there is a commonality of interests and objectives

• pain and disasters caused by wars in Palestine and other Arab countries

Both general and particular *truths* are strengthened during the speech by repeating them. This allows the orator to increase adhesion, but also to maintain a logical and emotional thread in the development of the diverse themes. Furthermore, the discourse, applying the same basic *truths* from the general to the particular, becomes consequential and compact.

As emerges from the identified *truths*, ʿArafāt frequently recalls *values* such as freedom (*al-ḥurriyya*), independence (*al-istiqlāl*), justice (*al-ʿadl/al-ʿadāla*), peace (*al-salām*), equality (*al-musāwā*), development (*al-tanmiya*), progress (*al-taqaddum*), hopes (*al-ʾāmāl*), wishes/aspirations (*al-ʾamānī*) and democracy (*al-dīmūqrāṭiyya*). According to the *Treatise* authors, *values* are essential in the political field by virtue of their persuasive power. In fact, they not only induce listeners to act, but also provide the reasons to justify them and ensure they are also accepted by others. Therefore, the speaker can opt for

employing each *value* in a broad sense, thus trying to gather *universal* consensus (Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca 1969: 74-83). For this reason, in ʾAbū ʿAmmār's speech *values* are initially presented as aims pursued by the whole world: "We live in a world that aspires to peace, justice, equality and freedom [...] (*ʾinnanā naʿīšu fī ʾālamin yaṭmaḥu li-l-salāmi wa-li-l-ʿadl wa-li-l-musāwāti wa-li-l-ḥurriyya*)." This statement, expressed through a 'we' that includes all humanity, illustrates perfectly the leader's attempt to create unity of *values* for the benefit of the entire universe. And again:

> Mister President:
>
> The world needs to make the utmost effort to achieve its ideals of peace, freedom, justice, equality, and development, of fighting imperialism and neo-colonialism and racism in all its forms, including Zionism. This is the only way to realize the hopes of all peoples, including those of peoples whose states oppose this path. It is a way to enshrine the United Nations Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights principles.

As evinced from the excerpt, *values* and their recurring repetition serve the dual function of developing shared purposes with the audience and demonstrating how colonialism, racism, imperialism, and Zionism are in antithesis with them and with the United Nations' very principles. Even without explicitly mentioning the Palestinian question, the leader prepares the ground to develop the argumentation in this direction. Indeed, the *values* ʿArafāt frequently affirms in his speech also represent the *rationales*, which he claims to support and justify the 'legitimacy' of the Palestinian cause, as well as of the PLO, *bi-ṣifati-hā al-mumaṯṯila al-šarʿiyya al-waḥīda li-l-šaʿbi al-filasṭīniyy*, 'as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.' Hence, if the audience initially accepts the above-mentioned values, the speaker will probably succeed in persuading the listeners, or at least some of them, about the legitimacy of the Palestinian cause, since it pursues those same ideals.

6. Arguments in favour of Palestinian independence and recognition of the PLO's legitimacy

A complete and exhaustive taxonomy of each argument employed by the speaker would exceed the possibilities of the present study. Therefore, the analysis is concentrated on the most incisive arguments used by the leader to achieve his perlocutionary objectives. These, as illustrated in the introduction, have two main purposes: that of focusing the attention of the General Assembly on the search for Palestinian independence, and that of establishing the role of the PLO as the legitimate representative of the Palestinians. Hence, the following paragraph will consist in the study of the

arguments used respectively for the aforementioned objectives. Both *associative* and *dissociative* *arguments*[14] recur in ʿArafāt's speech.

To achieve his perlocutive aims, Yāsir must convince the audience of the good intentions and the correctness of the organization he represents and, conversely, of the illegitimacy of the enemy's actions. For this reason, in the speech, an ideological and value-based polarization is realised where Israeli and Palestinian actions and perspectives are placed at the extreme poles. These orientations are frequently reflected in the deictics, where the pronoun 'we' coincides with the Palestinians and, sometimes, is also extended to the peoples who are fighting against any form of colonialism and inequality. Conversely, the pronouns 'you' and 'they' are used in both positive and negative senses, respectively to address the General Assembly and Zionism with its allies.[15]

This polarization also emerges by the resort to the dissociative technique through which ʿArafāt clearly distinguishes the *reality*, which coincides with the Palestinian perspective, from the *appearance*, i.e., Israel's misrepresentation of *reality*. Indeed, while the *reality* is coherent, the *appearance*, which is a mere "manifestation of the real," can take on inconsistent multiple forms (Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca 1969: 415-417). *Appearances* can be recognized through the use of the verb 'claim' or terms such as 'errors,' 'illusions,' 'myths,' 'prejudices,' which "form a screen, a veil, a mask, an obstacle to knowledge of reality" (Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca 1969: 436-438).

The *dissociation* of some notions related to the origins of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict emerges from the following terms:

• 'claim' ("[...] we do so because present at this very moment in our midst are those who, as they occupy our homes [...] claim that we are ghosts that do not exist, have no inheritance or future")

• 'reality' ("[...] It is because there are among you those—I mean the United States of America and others—who [...] take hostile positions against us and aim to distort the reality of the problem")

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[14] According to Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca (1969: 190) *associative arguments* are "schemes which bring separate elements together and allow us to establish a unity among them, which aims either at organizing them or at evaluating them, positively or negatively, by means of one another." Differently, *dissociative arguments* "have the purpose of dissociating, separating, disuniting elements which are regarded as forming a whole or at least a unified group within some system of thought: dissociation modifies such a system by modifying certain concepts which make up its essential parts."

[15] Such a peculiar role of pronominals seems to be recurrent in the rhetoric of the Palestinian leader. Suleiman (1999), examining ʿArafāt's pronominal choices in the context of two English television interviews as an indicator of self-presentation to the public, identifies a contrast between 'we' and 'they.' The academic (1999: 110-112) infers that the first-person plural pronoun reflects the shared responsibility of the Palestinian struggle between Yāsir and his people, implying, at the same time, the need for a collective effort. On the other hand, the use of the pronoun 'they' "depicts his opponents as a group that is separated from him and the rest of the Palestinian people" (Suleiman 1999: 112).

• 'lies': ("Mr. President: Our people suffer intensely when they hear the propaganda which says that their lands were deserted until they were inhabited by foreign settlers, that their homeland was uninhabited, and that the foundation of this colonial entity caused no harm to any human being. No, no, Mr. President, you must refute these lies from this international forum […]")

• 'myths' ("We are defending the dream of the future, while he [the enemy] is defending the myths of the past")[16]

Furthermore, 'Arafāt illustrates the expansionist wars waged by Israel in 1956 and 1967, reiterating how the enemy has "exposed world peace to a real danger." The adjective 'real' suggests the distinction between a real danger, that of Israeli wars, which greatly compromised world security, and a false danger, attributed by Zionism to Palestinian actions.

Furthermore, Yāsir uses another *dissociative* technique, the *dissociation of concepts*, to establish a key element of his argument: the distinction between revolutionary and terrorist. In particular, the speaker resorts to the *definition* which aims to establish the true meaning of a notion with respect to its apparent use (Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca 1969: 444):

> Mr. President: Those who describe our revolution as terrorism are doing it to deceive world public opinion from seeing the truth, from seeing our face, which represents the side of justice and self-defence, and their face, which [instead] represents oppression, terrorism, and coercion. The side on which the owner of the weapons stands is the one that designates him as a revolutionary or terrorist. To those who take the side of a just cause and who fight for the freedom and independence of their homeland against invasion, occupation, and colonialism, cannot be applied in any case, cannot be applied in any case the terrorist status […]. As to those who take up arms against the just causes and who wage war to occupy, plunder, exploit and colonize other people's nations, then those are the real terrorists, those are the people whose actions must be condemned, and the epithet of war criminal falls on them, since the justice of the cause determines the justice of arms.[17]

In this excerpt, the *dissociation* between revolutionary and terrorist is based on the concept of justice of the cause, which condones the use of arms. In fact, although both the notions imply the usage of

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[16] In reality, the term 'myths,' *ʾasāṭīr*, is used only in the written version of 'Arafāt's speech, since in the oral one he uses the term *buṭlān*, i.e., 'lies,' which points out the presence of a *dissociation* anyway. Furthermore, considering the myth as a fantastic narration with symbolic value that does not correspond to reality, the terms 'myths' and 'lie' were considered interchangeable in the speech.

[17] Square bracket added to indicate an integration to the text.

arms and armed conflict, ʿArafāt dissociates those who resort to arms for self-defence, i.e., by virtue of the 'justice of the cause,' from those who exploit arms to oppress other peoples, namely the terrorists. Once again, this distinction is made necessary because of Israel's misleading representation of reality, which has deceived "world public opinion from seeing the truth" and the Palestinians' face. In this important passage other arguments can be identified, along with *dissociation,* that mutually reinforce their persuasive force. First of all, Yāsir resorts to the *implication*, which falls under the *arguments by transitivity* (Perelman and Olbrecths-Tyteca 1969: 229-231). Indeed, if it is agreed that those who fight for their freedom and independence cannot be defined as terrorists, then the Palestinians cannot be considered terrorists since they fight for these same reasons. Conversely, Zionism can be classified as a terrorist movement if one agrees in considering as such, anyone who uses weapons to colonize other peoples' territories. It is also interesting to observe that the speaker tries to place these concepts close to historical events which are known and important to his audience, so as to strengthen his argument. To be noted furthermore is the use of the *transitive relations* in the following excerpt, which follows the postulate that anyone who fights for their independence cannot be considered a terrorist:

> [...] otherwise, the American people, when they took up arms against British colonialism, would have been terrorists; the European resistance against Nazism would have been terrorism, the struggle of the Asian, African and Latin America peoples would have been terrorism, and many of you in this room would have been terrorists.

Clearly, the purpose is to lead to the *implication* that not even Palestinians can be called terrorists as they are fighting for their freedom. This distinction is reinforced during the speech, as Yāsir frequently refers to the Zionist actions with the term 'terrorism' and to the Palestinian ones with the word 'revolution.'

Another key element of ʿArafāt's argument is to demonstrate the closeness between Zionism and colonialism. Indeed, assuming that the audience has accepted the universal *values* and *truths* set by the speaker as common goals, they become attainable only after defeating colonialism (of which Zionism is one form). Thus, the speaker resorts to *the argument by comparison* (Perelman and Olbrecths-Tyteca 1969: 242-247) to state that Zionism has practiced forms of racism in Palestine "more than racists have done and do in South Africa [...]." Hence, trying to make the Palestinian vicissitudes with Zionism closer to facts both known to and poignant for the audience, he explicitly declares:

> As colonialism and the settlers used the concepts of "civilization and urbanization" to justify invasion, looting and aggression in Africa and elsewhere, these pretexts have also been used to invade our Palestine with waves of Zionist migrants.

The true essence of Zionism and its association with colonialism are then historically established through the *argument that links the act and the essence,* with which occurrences are related and illustrated by considering them the expression of an essence which is also manifested through other beings or events (Perelman and Olbrecths-Tyteca, 1969: 327). Hence, 'Arafāt refers to the Balfour Declaration and the 'close relationship' between Rhodes "while originating his settler-colonialism in southeast Africa, and Herzl, who began to plan and arrange his settler-colonialism in the land of our Palestine." If Rhodes embodies the essence of British colonialism and imperialism of the late 1800s and early 1900s, Herzl is elevated to the representative of colonialism in Palestine. Therefore, the actions and agreements of Herzl and Rhodes, prove the strong alliance between the essences they represent and their quality.

Equally important in the speech is the justification of the Palestinian struggle, which, in order to be accepted by the audience, must first be understood. The speaker skilfully attempts to strengthen the Palestinian position linking another historical event to an element which is dear to the audience:

> [...] this Assembly, at the beginning of its office, on November 29th, 1947, promulgated a proposal for the partition of our homeland Palestine, amid suspicious movements and intense pressure. So, it divided up what it was not allowed to divide: the land of a single nation. And when we rejected that decision, we did so because we are like the true mother of the child who prevented Solomon from cutting in two her child while another woman claimed him.

In this passage, 'Arafāt uses the biblical episode[18] of King Solomon, *Sulaymān* in Arabic, to elaborate an *analogy* (a *reasoning by analogy* argument) with the Palestinian land. Indeed, *analogy* is "a resemblance of structures, the most general formulation of which is: A is to B as C is to D," where A and B constitute the *theme* on which the conclusion rests, while C and D represent the *phoros* on which the reasoning develops (Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca 1969: 372). In this excerpt the real mother of the child (C) and her new-born (D) represent the *phoros*, i.e., the best-known elements on which the reasoning is based, while the Palestinians (A) and Palestinian land (B) constitute the *theme*. Through this analogy it is possible to draw the conclusion that the Palestinians are to the Palestinian land, as the real mother of the child is to her son. This rhetorical figure satisfies the needs of commonality and closeness to the

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[18] The episode referred to as "The Judgement of Solomon" is included in 1 Kgs 3: 16-28.

audience since the distance with it is shortened through the comparison with elements close to the public and meaningful for them.

For the same reason, the attention allocated to the damage inflicted by Israel on some religious *symbols* becomes important by employing *symbolic relation* (Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca 1969: 331-332): "[...] There is no need to linger by mentioning the *al-ʾAqṣā* Mosque, the theft of the riches of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre [...]." Mentioning the destruction of religious sites and monuments can have a strong impact on a large part of the audience, since Jerusalem contains places and *symbols* sacred to all three monotheistic religions. The city is repeatedly remembered and itself becomes a *symbol* of the sacredness of the land which, according to the Palestinians, is violated by the occupation and destruction practiced by Israel. Indeed, during the explanation of how Zionism has tried to change the nature of Jerusalem, which has always been characterized by religious tolerance and rich in sacred places for monotheistic religions, ʿArafāt affirms: "It is not strange, Mr. President, that its three celestial messages embrace each other in its heavens and exchange gifts among each other and in their own horizons [...]." This statement is based on a *metaphor*, i.e., "a condensed analogy, resulting from the fusion of an element from the *phoros* with an element from the theme" (Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca 1969: 399). 'Its three celestial messages' symbolize the three monotheistic religions[19] which, despite the changes brought about by Israel, continue to embrace each other in its heavens and to exchange gifts, almost as if they were resilient human beings who, in their diversity, persist in coexisting in the mutual respect and love.

Furthermore, in this part of the speech, Jerusalem is depicted with passion, referring to it as "the city of peace, the beloved [...]," which "[...] with its splendour and the scent of history that dominates it, witnesses our generations who have crossed it one after the other, leaving eternal traces in every corner, a delicate imprint, a civil touch and an impulse of humanity." The speaker thus manages to convey a patriotic message and, at the same time, one of hope for a future in which the city of Jerusalem

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[19] It is noteworthy that this *metaphor* is associated with the Islamic prophetic belief. Indeed, it is based on the idea that the divine message was revealed through prophets (Campanini 2016: 8). The word of God was first sent through Adam, followed by Noah, Abraham, Moses, and Jesus. Each lawgiver prophet was the bearer of a Book disposing of God's prescriptions (Campanini 2016: 8). Among them, the Torah, i.e., the Book of Moses, and the Gospel, the Book of Jesus, hold particular importance. Several verses of the *Qurʾān* emphasize the value of these revelations (see *Qurʾān* 2:285, 4:136, 4:164, 42:3 and 42:13). As an example, the following verse is quoted: "Say, ⌜O Prophet,⌝ "We believe in Allah and what has been revealed to us and what was revealed to Abraham, Ishmael, Isaac, Jacob, and his descendants; and what was given to Moses, Jesus, and other prophets from their Lord—we make no distinction between any of them, and to Him we ⌜fully⌝ submit" (Quran 3:84, https://quran.com/ali-imran/84). As Campanini (2016: 8-9) explains, according to Islamic tradition, the Jews and the Christians have falsified the Torah and the Gospel, betraying the divine message. For this reason, God sent Muhammad with a new Book, the *Qurʾān*.

can fully express its true essence, outside of any conflict. The result is an attempt to entice the audience to support those who have the city at heart and who wish to give it back the opportunity to flourish again as a place of peace and respect for every creed. This attempt is also promoted by means of the *pragmatic argument* that presents the success as a model of objectivity and the reality derived from it as a guarantee of future success (Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca 1969: 266-27). Indeed, Yāsir emphasizes the PLO's success in scientific progress, in agricultural, cultural and health development of its country, even "while immersed in armed struggle and facing the cruelty of Zionist terrorism." Hence, the *pragmatic argument* is used to convince the audience that Palestine could become an important cultural centre. These achievements are due to the broad consensus enjoyed by the PLO, given that its legitimacy derives from the Palestinian masses, as well as "from the representation of *each* group, *each* trade union, and *each* Palestinian jurisdiction, either in its own National Council or in its people's institutions"[20] and with "the support of the *entire* Arab community."[21] This excerpt represents *an inclusion of the parts in the whole* through which the quantitative aspect is emphasized (Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca 1969: 231). This argumentative tool is then employed once again to prove the positive intentions behind the leader's words and demands:

> [...] when we speak of our common hopes for the Palestine of tomorrow, we include in our aspirations all Jews now living in Palestine and who agree to live with us in peace and without discriminations on the land of Palestine.

An analogous function is also performed by the *arguments with unlimited development* (Perelman and Olbrecths-Tyteca 1969: 287-292) that attribute value to certain words through the rhetorical figures of *hyperbole* and *litotes*. These correspond respectively to: "an extreme form of expression" and "a manner of expression which seems to weaken the thought" (Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca 1969: 290-291). The following statements by Yāsir belong to the first typology of rhetorical figures: "[...] those who live inside the great prison in the *cage of occupation* [...];"[22] "[...] we do not want *a drop of blood* to be shed [...];"[23] "[...] neither do we delight in continuing the struggle *for a single minute.*"[24] The *hyperbole* thus produces a decidedly more intense impact on the audience, which will be induced to empathize with

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[20] Italics added to emphasize the *inclusion of the parts in the whole.*

[21] Italics added to emphasize the *inclusion of the parts in the whole.*

[22] Italics added to highlight *hyperbole.*

[23] Italics added to highlight *hyperbole.*

[24] Italics added to highlight *hyperbole.*

Palestinians and to recognize the goodness of their intentions. Some examples of *litotes* are found in the following excerpt:

> *We do not forget,* and *we will not forget,* the catastrophes that struck the inhabitants of hundreds of villages and towns of the plains and mountains in 1948, in Jerusalem, Jaffa, Lydda, Ramle, Galilee, and *we will not forget* those who suffered terror, moment by moment [...].[25]

The negation makes it possible to direct the thought in the opposite direction: to argue that the Palestinians will not forget the tragedies suffered in reality means that the memory of them will be everlasting. The pain suffered by the Palestinian people is frequently evoked to persuade the public and, at the same time, to show the atrocity of Israeli actions. An important example is constituted by the *argument by sacrifice,* i.e., a *quasi-logical argument,* which emphasizes the sacrifice that one is ready to make to pursue an objective (Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca 1969: 248-255). ʿArafāt devotes parts of his speech to extolling the sacrifice made by his people and by the PLO to defend themselves. Some examples follow: "How many roads were women, children and elderly men forced to travel without any food or water, forced to climb mountains and wander in the desert?!," "[...] our people paid in the blood and souls of their sons which cannot ever be refundable in terms of price." Furthermore, the speaker highlights the value of his own homeland that not only represents a territory to return to, but becomes an identity, a cultural and social mirror in which you can recognize yourself. These reasons make the object of sacrifice dense in value and the martyrs 'offered,' the destroyed villages, the souls of the children, the pain suffered by the most fragile subjects, as well as the exodus of the population, increase the prestige and the value of the Palestinians and of the PLO.

Moreover, it is noteworthy that almost every positive Palestinian action and every negative Zionist act illustrated in the speech also constitute *pragmatic arguments.* This argument "permits the evaluation of an act or an event in terms of its favourable or unfavourable consequences" (Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca 1969: 266). Hence the *pragmatic argument* is employed to persuade the public to negatively evaluate the consequences, but also the causes of Israel's actions. Among the numerous examples, a significant one is reported:

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[25] Italics added to highlight *litotes.*

[...] [Zionism][26] has blown up 19,000 houses over the past seven years (the equivalent of the complete destruction of two hundred other Palestinian villages). The huge number of [Palestinians] maimed by terrorism and torture and those who are in prisons [...].

Finally, Zionism's negative actions are efficaciously presented resorting to *metonymy,* which creates a *symbolic relation* (Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca 1969: 336-337), arousing an intense *pathos:*

[...] Their terrorism [of the Zionists][27] even went as far as hatred against the olive tree, the orange tree, the orange tree, and the olive tree in my country, which they considered a proud symbol that reminds them of the indigenous inhabitants of the country, which cries out that the land is Palestinian. So, they sought to uproot the olive tree or to destroy it by carelessness or by making it firewood.

In this passage, the *metonymy* discloses the fury with which the Palestinians are killed. They are symbolized by the olive tree, uprooted to be transformed into firewood with a certain 'carelessness.'

This rhetorical figure also allows Yāsir to spread the message with an emotional charge much greater than a speech that does not use figurative language.

7. Conclusion

The perlocutionary aims pursued by the speaker through the use of the several arguments examined are then made explicit at the end of the speech. ʿArafāt, indeed, concludes his argument in the first person singular, while making a series of requests "as President of the Organization for the Liberation of Palestine and leader of the Palestinian revolution." This formula allows him to consolidate the unity of his people and his Organization, but above all to underline his authority increasing his *ethos.* Thus, the requests to return from forced exile and to establish their national authority in Palestine are addressed to a 'you' which includes both the members of the General Assembly and the whole audience potentially achievable by his words. Therefore, Yāsir concludes his argument by taking up the initial theme of peace:

I have come to you, Mr. President, with an olive branch in my hand and a revolutionary rifle in my hand. So do not let the green branch fall from my hand. Do not let the green

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[26] Square brackets added to indicate integrations to the text.

[27] Square brackets added to indicate integrations to the text.

branch fall from my hand. Do not let the green branch fall from my hand. War flares up
from Palestine, and peace… peace begins from Palestine. Thank you.

The speech ends, in the rhetorical wake of the entire discourse, with another *metonymy.* This makes the
speaker's statements extremely intense, but also explicit, revealing his intention to achieve peace on
the sole condition that his requests are satisfied.

From the *New Rhetoric* (Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca 1969) perspective it was possible to
observe Yāsir's ability to use numerous objects of agreement and argumentative techniques in order
to position himself on the same value horizon as his audience. This allows him to place his people's
problem in the same context of the whole world problems and to situate the arguments on the
Palestinian question in a framework shared by his interlocutors, urging the international community
to address them jointly.

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Senses and sensuality
Synesthetic imagery in the Siculo-Arabic *ghazal* poems

Ilenia Licitra

Numerous examples of *ghazal* poems include metaphorical images describing the altered body of the lover. The yearning for love, passion, disappointment, languish: each stage of the love affair can change the lover appearance. Even more, the alteration can affect also his perception of the beloved body: due to the intensity of the love experience, his sensory perception could end to intertwine, by blending or intermingling his different sense modalities. The verbal transposition of such a visionary state often requires the poet to employ widely rhetorical devices, and particularly synesthesia, in order to enhance the multiple perception of his audience. This paper will focus on the use of this figure in the love poems from the Siculo-Arabic poetic repertoire (10th-12th centuries). In fact, these authors frequently combine the figurative use of words with synesthetic effects, thus involving the reader in a vivid experience: a multilayered text articulating a multisensory perception.

1. Introduction

The way we depict the world around us - both through images and words - always discloses a variety of choices. It is a subjective balance of lights and shadows that reflects our specific perspective on the surroundings, and corresponds to the way we feel and comprehend ourselves and our environment. Moreover, figurative and verbal representations of reality are never spontaneous. They always mediate between the domain of the sensorial experience and the intention of the author, firstly about how and how much to share with his audience, and besides, about the way to comply or not with the representational conventions of the selected genre (Balaban 2012; Isomaa *et al.* 2012: x).

This is even more true when the issue concerns the love experience.[1] Love could be chaste, melancholic, nostalgic, obscene as well as hedonistic: a complex perceptual phenomenology that reverberates in the social cognition and behavior (Bürgel 1979; Obiedat 2018). Moreover, the representation of love involves a wide range of sensations, thus engendering multifaceted forms of relations, firstly between the lover and the beloved, and secondly between them and their society. Both in literary as in other artistic representation, the author could enhance the communicative potential of his message by involving, at different levels, a codified system of symbolic referents. It allows him to condense, albeit in a synthetic depiction, specific traits and emotions that connote the different stages of falling in love and disaffection.

By reason of their cryptic and concise character, poetic texts often widely involve metaphorical images and symbolic references, in order to better express sensations and feelings related to the love affair. So, among the *ghazal* poems, numerous examples describe the altered body of the lover upset by the yearning for love, passion, disappointment or languish. As well as change the lover's appearance, at the same time, this alteration can also affect his cognition of the beloved body:[2] due to the intensity of the love experience, his sensory perception could end to intertwine, by blending or intermingling his different sense modalities. The research I am about to present concerns precisely this characteristic of love poems, focusing on several examples from the Siculo-Arabic repertoire, composed between the 10th and 12th centuries A.D.[3]

2. The authors and their environment

The poetic corpus of Siculo-Arab poets has been transmitted mainly thanks to several compendia of the famous anthology of Ibn al-Qaṭṭāʿ al-Ṣiqillī (d. 1121), *al-Durra al-khaṭīra fī shuʿarāʾ al-Ǧazīra* (The precious pearl on the poets of the Island). In fact, the well known *Qism shuʿarāʾ al-Maghrib wa-al-Andalus* of the *Kharīdat al-qaṣr wa-ǧarīdat al-ʿaṣr* (The Pearl of the Palace and the Annals of the Age) by ʿImād al-

[2] On the erotic representation of the beloved's body in the Arabic poetic tradition see Myrne (2018) and Serrano (2018).

[3] An updated overview of recent studies on Islamic Sicily is provided in Cassarino (2015a, 2019).

Dīn al-Iṣfahānī (d. 1201) incorporates a huge selection from that anthology, as well as the chapter that Ibn Saʿīd al-Maghribī (d. 1286) dedicated to Sicilian authors in his *al-Mughrib fī ḥulā al-Maghrib* (The wondrous work, on gems of the West). Moreover, there are also a selection by Ibn al-Ṣayrafī (d. 1147) entitled *al-Durra al-khaṭīra fī shuʿarāʾ al-Ǧazīra mā shamilahu ikhtiyār al-Ṣayrafī min al-shuʿarāʾ al-Ṣiqilliyyīn* and the *Mukhtaṣar min al-kitāb al-muntakha min al-Durra al-khaṭīra fī shuʿarāʾ al-Ǧazīra*, which is an undated abridgement by Abū al-Qāsim ʿAlī b. Ǧaʿfar b. ʿAlī al-Tamīmī al-Saʿdī from the selection made by Abū Isḥāq Ibn Aghlab.[4]

Both during the Arab domination of the island (827-1031) and in the Norman period (1031-1198) (Nef 2011), the cultural epicenter was the capital, Palermo, which welcomed scholars and poets from each part of Sicily and from the other countries of the Islamic world (Cassarino 2013). Meanwhile, as the literary sources document, the verses of Siculo-Arab poets widely circulated among their contemporaries in the other regions of the Arabic Mediterranean, thus participating in a vast intertextual network (Miller 2019, 2020).[5]

The four authors I am dealing with are all natives from Sicily and their literary experiences fall within the chronological arc between the 10th and 12th centuries. Two of them, Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ṭūbī and his brother ʿAlī, were working at the Kalbid court of Palermo (X-XI centuries),[6]

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[4] For a complete bibliography see Licitra (2021a: 2-5).

[5] Miller examines the interconnection between Sicilian poetry and the literary production of al-Andalus, North Africa and Egypt; he also attempts to investigate the uses and the interests of readers by analysing the main anthological collection including Siculo-Arab authors. A similar approach shows Brigitte Foulon (2015) in her research on the transmission of Ibn Ḥamdīs' repertoire, where she compares the reception of his poems in a contemporary source, *al-Dhakhīra fī mahāsin ahl al-Jazīra* (The treasure on the merits of the people of the Peninsula) by Ibn Bassām al-Shantarīnī (d. 1147), and in a later collection, *Nafḥ al-ṭīb min ghuṣn al-Andalus al-raṭīb* (The Breath of Perfume from the flourishing branch of al-Andalus) by al-Maqqarī (d. 1632). As the scholar points out, both anthologists paid little attention to the poet's Sicilian background and, instead, emphasized his full integration into the Andalusian literary scene. As regards al-Ballanūbī, we can assume that his literary experience has to be entirely based in Egypt (Licitra 2021a: 6-18; 125-133), where the poet was highly appreciated by his contemporaries. Indeed, his reputation as a master in descriptive poetry (*waṣf*) spreads widely, as testifies *al-Risāla al-miṣriyya* (The Epistle about Egypt) by the andalusian Abū al-Ṣalt Umayya (d. 1134) (Miller 2019: 187-188; Licitra 2021a:13, 185). Most of the anecdotes about these poets mainly concern descriptive verses and encomiastic odes, while not as well documented is the reception of their love poems. A rare and valuable evidence is provided by the epistolary exchange between the Sicilian Ibn al-Ṣabbāgh (XI c.) and his Andalusian friend and man of letter, Abū Ḥafṣ al-Qaʿīnī (Cassarino 2015b). Their letters cover various topics and also include verses and parts in rhymed prose. Some of them, firstly translated into Italian and studied by Mirella Cassarino (2021) concern the issue of yearning for love, also addressed in a parodic way.

[6] The biographical information about these two poets is scarce, as well as about another poet from the same family, the father Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-Ṭūbī. We can assume that all three of them were in Sicily between the end of the X and the beginning of the XI centuries, linked with the governative *elites* of the island during the Kalbid period (see Rizzitano 1955: 72-73; Rizzitano 1958: 353, fn. 1, 365-366, fn. 4, 373-374, fn. 2).

while the other two, al-Ballanūbī (Licitra 2021a: 1-18; Licitra 2021b: 128-129) and Ibn Ḥamdīs (Granara 2000; Foulon 2015), migrated far from the Island during the *fitna* or at the beginning of the Norman period, the first one went to Egypt, the latter one to al-Andalus and North-Africa.

According to the authoritative models of *ghazal* poems then circulating in the courts of Baghdad, Egypt and al-Andalus (Jacobi 1985), their love poems are mostly based on a "relational triangle," defined by fixed and non-interchangeable roles. In the dialogic system that often structures these compositions, the poet plays exclusively the part of the *muḥibb* (the lover) while the male or female beloved (*maḥbūb*) is almost always relegated to the intrinsic passivity of its role in the sexual act and, therefore, he or she usually has no voice. Instead, a third figure, no less important than the other two, intervenes to speak with the lover, namely the Censor. It is the voice of the public, a fundamental element of this non-deformable relational triangle, guaranteeing the boundaries that keep the parts distinct (Rowson 1991: 65; Rosenthal 1997; Tolino 2021: 34-35). The following verses comply with these principles and depict the different phases of the love affair from two main perspective: the sensory interference could distort the perception of the beloved's body or, even, alter his self-perception.[7]

3. Sensory interference distorting the perception of the beloved's body

According to a recent contemporary sex research, conducted at the University of Amsterdam by Myra Bosman, Rachel Spronk and Giselinde Kuipers (2019), 'embodied experiences are strongly felt, but hard to communicate or verbalize,' due to a '"perceptual loop"' between embodied sensations, body-sensorial knowledge, and social meanings' (Bosman *et al.* 2019: 411, 413-416).[8] Therefore, in an attempt to bridge the gap between perception and verbal expression, human beings tend to transpose embodied experiences into words by 'using multi-interpretable sensory wordings; drawing comparisons between different sexual sensations; and referring to other sensory sensations.' In literary discourses, especially in poetic texts, the rhetorical device that corresponds to and better interprets this natural tendency is synesthesia.[9] This concept is here intended as the mutual reinforcement

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[7] An updated bibliography on this issue is provided in the "Introduction" of the recent study Jokha Alharthi dedicated on the literary representation of the body in the *'udhri* love poetry during the seventh and eighth centuries (Alharthi 2021: 1-31). Moreover, the author analyses "The Representation of the Beloved's Body" and "The Representation of the Lover's Body in the 'Udhri Tradition," focusing both on physically and allegorically representation (Alharthi 2021: 85-126, 189-225).

[8] On the concept of "perceptual loop," see also Spronk (2014: 7-9).

[9] For the purpose of my research, I will refer to the concept of synesthesia in literary and artistic terms, as the mutual reinforcement of the senses in the sensory experience, that result bigger than the mere sum of its parts, not in the narrow neurological meaning of one sense stimulating unintentionally another sense (Campen 2007: 101-102).

between two or more perceptive spheres, mostly through metaphors involving imagery and semantic fields pertinent to different senses, thus originating sensory interferences.

In most of the selected example, the sensory overlap involves vision and olfaction or vision and gustation. The scheme is generally the following: firstly, the author offers his audience the vision of a trait of the beloved body; then, he promptly intersects visual details with smelling or tasting stimuli, in order to anchor the sharing images to olfactory or gustatory memories, as we can observe in these two similar short poems, both by Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ṭūbī:

له خلعتُ عذاري	1 لما رأيتُ عذارًا
فما أخافُ اشتهاري	2 وبان للناس عُذري
خُطّتْ على جُلّنار	3 كأنه لامُ مسك
دِ خضرةٌ في احمرار	4 أو البنفسجُ في الور

1. When I saw one of his sideburns I lost all my restraints

2. and my self-defense was so clear to the people, that I am not afraid for my reputation

3. as if it were a *lām* of musk drawn on a pomegranate flower

4. or a violet blossom on a rose, green on a reddish.[10]

And

خُطّـهُ كـاتبٌ علـى جُلّـنار	1 وعذارٍ كأنـه لامُ مسكٍ
طاب في ذا العذار خَلْعُ العذار	2 عجبَ العاذلون منه وقالوا
نابـتًا في صحيفة من نضار	3 ما رأينا بنفسجًا قبل هذا

1. His sideburn is like a *lām* of musk that a scribe drawn on a pomegranate flower.

2. The censors were amazed and said: «What a pleasure to lust after a sideburn guy, free from all restraints!

3. We have never seen before a violet blossom blooming on a silver face».[11]

These poems belong to a specific subgenre of *ghazal mudhakkar* that Thomas Bauer has studied extensively. He has called them "beard epigrams," considering the centrality of the sideburns motive

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[10]Arabic text: ʿAbbās (1994: 196); Italian translation: Licitra (2022: 181). All the translations from Arabic into English are mine if not stated otherwise.

[11] Arabic text: ʿAbbās (1994: 196); Italian translation: Licitra (2022: 181).

in their thematic structure, based on the semantic field of the word ʿidhār (sideburn) (Bauer 2014; Bauer 2019).

As I have mentioned elsewhere (Licitra 2022), from the songbooks of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ṭūbī and of his brother ʿAlī, unfortunately lost, the choices of the anthologists have transmitted numerous fragments and epigrams dedicated to love themes. Among them, there are also several examples focused on the sideburn motif. According to the convention of the genre, both brothers represent the subject always through the perspective of the lover who, sometimes, sublimates the love experience through abstract or floral metaphors and similes; other times, instead, he provides a vivid account of his sensory enjoyment and indulges his own desire free from all repentance.

These two examples are particularly interesting because they display a complete summary of the aforementioned instances. The effectiveness of the synthesis rests mainly on the synesthetic relationships intertwining between the poetic images proposed by the author: the experience starts from the objective vision of the facial feature at issue, then the somatic trait of the young beloved undergoes a rapid transformation, thus turning into something abstract as an alphabet letter; simultaneously the author involves in the description smells and flavours recalling olfactory and tasting memories in order to amplify the sensory involvement of his audience; finally the perceptive loop closes, turning back to the visual sphere but, as a result of all the process, the vision has changed and the beloved face passes through a complete metamorphose, transfigured into flowers. At the end, just colours and perfumes matching one each other, exalting the perceptive aspects of the love affair rather than the intellective ones.

I think that such a complex transition results more authentic when the verbal transposition of the perceptive experience suggests a progressive increase of the physical proximity between the observer (the lover and, through his voice, the audience) and the observed (the beloved). It happens when the poetic text proceeds, step by step, according to a precise hierarchy of the five senses, determined by the distance specifically required for a stimulus to be sensed by his receptor: moving from the distal senses (sight and hearing) up to the proximal senses (taste and, sometimes, touch), passing through the intermediate position of the olfaction (Majid and Levinson 2011).

Therefore, in the lover's account the description of the scent the beloved exhales turns into a key element, as a kind of necessary step toward the sublimation of the love experience. Indeed, also among the Sicilian "beard epigrams," we can find many other examples employing this scheme, as in these verses by al-Ballanūbī:

<div dir="rtl">

فـوقَ وَرْدِ الوجنةِ المشتَعِلِ   3 فَوَريـحانِ العِذارِ الـخَـضِـلِ

حَلَّ بي منك عَدوّي رَقَّ لي   4 يا حبيبَ النفس لو أبصر ما

</div>

3. [I swear] on the pot-herbs of [your] sideburn, sweaty over the red burning cheek,

4. o beloved of my soul, even my enemy would have felt compassion for me, looking at what I suffered because of you![12]

Or, again, in this couplet by ʿAlī b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ṭūbī:

<div dir="rtl">

والـغـصـنُ فـي زنَّـرِهِ   1 الـبدرُ فـي أزرارِهِ

رُ على مَخَطِّ عذاره   2 وكأنما فُتَّ العبيرِ[13]

</div>

1. Full moon in his buttons, a tender sprout in his belt,

2. and like crumbled saffron the line of his sideburn.[14]

Also in the poems of *ghazal muʾannath* the involvement of the olfactory sphere activates synesthetic relationships that increase the eroticism of the description of female beauty. In particular, Ibn Ḥamdīs turns this composite strategy into a stylistic feature, as we can observe in this interesting example from his songbook, that inverts the order of senses: the sensory perception starts with the scent of the beloved that confuses the lover; then he comprehends that what at first seems to him an aromatic plant, is actually a graceful maiden:

<div dir="rtl">

لها نـفسٌ يُحْـيـي بِـنَـفْحَـتـه النفـسـا   1 ورَيْحانةٍ في النفس مَنْبِتُ غُصنِها

ومِشْيَـتَـها بالشمس تَستَّوْقِفُ الشمسا   2 إذا أقتَلَتْ كانتْ بِتَـقْـويم خَلْقِها

على الصَّبِّ أضْحى وهو مِن حَجَرٍ أقسا   3 فَـتـاةٌ إذا استعطفتَ باللين قَـلـبَها

سقَيْتَ حَديدًا فيهِ زاد بـه يُبْـسـا   4 ولا شَكَّ أنَّ الماءَ رَطْبٌ وكلَّما

</div>

1. Here is a basil plant, whose twig sprouts in the soul, and the exhaling scent enlivens it.

2. When it comes forward with the elegance of its shape and its gait, it makes the sun stop with the sun.

3. She is a girl whose heart you cannot bend towards her lover, not even with gentleness, because she is harder than stone.

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[12] Arabic text: ʿAbbās (1994: 114); Italian translation: Licitra (2021a: 252-253).

[13] In the edition I used, this word is cut between the first and the second hemistich of the verse.

[14] Arabic text: ʿAbbās (1994: 94); Italian translation: Licitra (2022: 179).

4. No one doubts that the water is moist, but the more you make the iron drink it, the harder it becomes.

With regard to the tactile sphere, it is more rarely involved, due to the full proximity required by this sensory perception. When it is represented, it usually concerns just the evocation of tactile sensations suggested by sensory stimuli pertinent to other perceptive areas, as in this example by al-Ballanūbī:

واخـتـضـبـتْ مـن دمـه وَجْنـتـاهْ   5 قـد قَدَّ قـلـبـي سـيـفُ أَلْـحـاظِـهِ

إلاَّ الـذي قـالـتـه لـي مـقـلـتـاهْ   6 ولـيـس فوق الـسحـر من بـابـلٍ

5. The sword of his glances had already chopped my heart, whose red blood had dyed his cheeks.

6. Nothing can overcome the Babel's curse, except the language of its pupils.[15]

Or still in this short poem by Ibn Ḥamdīs, that highlights the impracticability of a real contact with the beloved, thus confirming that the tactile stimulation (a gentle caress on her cheek) is just a reverie, not a memory:

تـرائِـبَـهـا بِـسَـحـيـقٍ الـعَـبـيـر   1 ونـاهِـدة تَـرَّبَـتْ كـفُّـهـا

مِـنَ النهْـدِ في غُـصْـنٍ بـانٍ نَـضـير   2 تصونُ على القَطْـفِ رُمّـانَةً

ونـاظِـرةٌ كُـحِـلَـتْ بـالفتـور   3 لَها وَجنَةٌ صُنْقِلَتْ بـالـنَّـعيم

1. Here is a bosomy beauty, whose full breasts are sprinkled with *ʿabīr* powder.

2. She is well aware that no one picks her pomes from the tender moringa branch.

3. Her cheek is of voluptuous velvet, and she has a sweet, languid eye.[16]

Sight, smell and touch in the first three verses and, again, in the next three ones:

على نَوْرِهِ الشمسُ إشراقَ نور   4 وتَـبْـسِـمُ عَـنْ أُقْـحُـوانٍ تُـريكَ

أسَـاوِدُ سـابِـحةٌ في غَـدير   5 كَـأَنَّ غَدائِـرها المُرسَلاتِ

كما رُمْتَ تأنيسَ ظبيٍّ نَفور   6 فَـبِـتُّ أُلاطِـفُ أَخْلاقَـها

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[15] Arabic text: ʿAbbās (1994: 121-122); Italian translation: Licitra (2021a: 147, 149).

[16] Arabic text: Ibn Ḥamdīs ed. (1898: 152); Italian translation: Ibn Ḥamdīs ed. (1998: 187), Borruso (1994: 78).

4. She smiles and discloses chamomile flowers, which even the brightness of the sun pales beside their splendor.

5. Her loose braids look like black snakes swimming in a pond.

6. I went ahead softening her temper, as if I would tame a wild gazelle.

However, in this second section, the transition from one sensory sphere to another is more immediate, thanks to the use of rhetorical devices that intervene simultaneously at a phonetic and a semantic level. In fact, in v. 5, the visual illusion conveyed by the similitude of the braids and the snakes is remarked by an acoustic resemblance, engendered by the words *ghadā'ir* 'braids' and *ghadīr* 'pond.' The author also enhances the vividness of the image, by combining the paronomasia (*tajnīs*) with a chromatic note: the elliptical presence of the black colour, evoked by the plural *'asāwīd* (snakes) that recalls the root S-W-D and all its semantic field.

A similar strategy occurs in the following verse: although the poet involves the wide semantic spectrum of the verb *lāṭafa*, that brings again to the audience's mind the idea of the caress, actually, the association with the plural noun *'akhlāq* (sing. *khulq*), 'temper, manners,' redirects towards the sense of 'flatter, sweeten, soften.' Therefore, as in the first three verses, the tactile sensations are here confined to a distal approach between the lover and the beloved.

In the absence of a real contact, the sense of taste intervenes in the verses 7 and 8 - tightly bounded together by an *enjambement* - thus marking the point of maximal proximity: the conventional metaphor of the wine cup blends together tactile, gustative, olfactory and visual sensations:

بِمِسْكٍ ذَكِيٍّ وشَهْدٍ مَـشور   7 وما قَهْوةٌ صُنِّقَتْ للصَّبوح

إذا بَرَدَ الدُّرُّ فَوقَ النُّـحور   8 بِأَطْيَبَ مِنْ فَمِها رِيقَةً

7. Never was poured a wine for the morning drinking, with intense musk and pure fresh honey,

8. more delicious than the saliva of her mouth, when cool pearls rest on her breasts.

Sometimes, however, the contact is not just a reverie but rather an unforgettable memory that leaves on the lover a lasting impression. The mere recollection of the tactile sensations, verbalized throughout vivid images and synesthetic metaphors, renews the perception of the beloved body and revives the desire, as in this epigram by Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ṭūbī, that even evokes the friction generated by the lover's silver beard over the tender sideburn of the young beloved:

<div dir="rtl">

1 قـام عذري بـعذاريـ¹⁷   ـه فمـا أعْظَمَ كربـي

2 قلتُ لما أن تبدَّى   نبثُهُ سبحانَ ربي

3 أحرقتْ فضةُ خدَّيـ¹⁸   ـكَ لكي يُحْرَقَ قلبـي

</div>

1. My sideburn rested on his one, thus my torment increased.

2. I said: "Why did his sprout appear? May God be praised!

3. The silver rubbed against your cheeks so that my heart would inflame."[19]

Despite the brevity of the text, the embodied sensations of this passionate love encounter are verbalized through a synesthetic account, by passing from the visual sphere of the colours up to the evocation of the movement and the repeated contact, with details that make tangible, physical, the corporeality of the involved subjects.

4. Sensory interference altering the self-perception of the lover's body

As we have observed, synesthesia interprets different perceptual stimuli interfering one another; therefore, the verbal transposition of this process necessarily involves mental images which simultaneously appeal to the different sensory areas. Along with the distorted perception of the beloved's body, an almost immediate side effect is the altered self-perception of the lover. His body, seat of the sensory receptors that register all the perceptual stimuli, is at the same time involved in the love encounter as a perceived object.

Obviously, the more intense the sensation experienced becomes, the more the verbal report of the poet tends towards an altered representation of his own corporeality. In fact, both when the lover is in the throes of passion, and when he is devastated by the sufferings of abandonment, his self-portrait takes shape by means of deep recovered sensations, mostly tactile, which depicts the intensity of his feelings. For example, these verses by al-Ballanūbī display a range of physical sensations in order to describe the pain of lost love:

<div dir="rtl">

3 تَوَقَّدُ نيران الجوى بين أضلُعي   إذا لاح من بَرْق العِشاء وميض

4 ولم تَبْقَ لي إلا جُفون قَريحةٌ   وعَظْمٌ بَراهُ الشَوْق فهو مَهيض

</div>

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[17] In the edition I used, this word is cut between the first and the second hemistich of the verse.

[18] In the edition I used, this word is cut between the first and the second hemistich of the verse.

[19] Arabic text: ʿAbbās (1994: 186); Italian translation: Licitra (2022: 180).

3. The flames of passion flare up between my ribs when, in the night, the lightning flashes.

4. Nothing else remains for me but wounded eyelids and bones, eroded and broken by the torment.[20]

Or in this other verse by the same author:

<div dir="rtl">

غُصنَ مَروح من الطِّرفاءِ مَهْضوبُ   4   كـأنّ أجفانَ عيني من تذكُّـرِهِ

</div>

4. As if the lids of my eyes, when I remember him, turn into branches of a tamarisk, trembling in the wind, dripping with rain.[21]

In both cases, al-Ballanūbī proposes complex synesthetic metaphors based on the comparison between inner and outer events. The first one exploits the similarity between two destructive forces - the fire and the thunderbolt - thus comparing the pain of the lover with a violent storm. The second example provides an interesting combination of rhetorical figures, since it involves different sense modalities in the anthropomorphization of the natural event, a transformation that takes place through a complex analogy (*tamthīl*) that makes use of a harmonious choice of images (*murāʿāt al-naẓīr*).

Indeed, the comparison between the passionate love and a blazing fire often recurs among the tactile sensations involved in the poetic account of the sexual intercourse. According to this tradition, Ibn Ḥamdīs develops an elegant synesthetic metaphor. As a result of the burning passion, the arms of the lovers melt together, thus creating a precious necklace, as we can observe in these verses from two similar short poems:

<div dir="rtl">

كَأنّ لَنا رُوحَينِ في جَسَدٍ فَرْدِ   3 خَلَعنا عَلى الأجيادِ أطواقَ أذرُع

بِريحٍ ونَارٍ من زَفيري وَمِن وَجدي   4 كَأنّ عناقَ الوَصلِ لاحَمَ بينَنـا

</div>

2. we made necklaces with our arms, as if we had two souls in the same body,

3. as if the intercourse welded us, by means of my burning love sighs.[22]

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[20] Arabic text: ʿAbbās (1994: 110); Italian translation: Licitra (2021a: 219-220).

[21] Arabc text: ʿAbbās (1994: 101-102); Italian translation: Licitra (2021a: 191-192).

[22] Arabic text: Ibn Ḥamdīs, ed. (1898: 110); Italian translation: Ibn Ḥamdīs ed. (1998: 155); Borruso (1994: 80-81).

and again

<div dir="rtl">

عَنِّي قِلادةَ ساعِدٍ غَيْلِ   7 نزَعتْ كَنزْعِ الروح مِنْ جَسَدي

شَرِقَ الفَضاءُ بِكَثْرةِ السَّيْلِ   8 فَنَهَضْتُ أَشْرَقُ بالدُّموعِ كما

</div>

7. she tore from me - and I felt my soul being torn out - the necklace of a plump hug,

8. and I went away, drenched in tears, flowing like streams in the plain.[23]

This refined metaphor, based on a metonymy, implies a chronological progression and depicts the flow of time through the current effects of a past event, the love encounter, and the harbinger of the future, the farewell.

The idea of time is also involved in the gradual transition from one sense to another, as we can observe in the following short poem by Ibn Ḥamdīs:

<div dir="rtl">

وَمَنْ واصلَتْهُ جَنَّةَ المُتَـنَـعِّمِ   1 وطيِّبةِ الأَنفاسِ تَحْسِبُ وَصلَـها

وَنَوَّرَ فيـهِ أَقْحُوانُ التبسُّمِ   2 تَفَنَّحَ وردُ الخدِّ في غُصنِ قَدِّها

بِلَـذَّةِ راحٍ واقـتِـراحِ تَـرَنُّـمِ   3 كَـأَنَّ استِماعَ اللَّفْظِ مِنْها نَعَلُّلٌ

فَيَسْمَعُ نَجْوى السِّرِّ مِنْ فَمِها فَمي   4 تُحَدِّثُني بالسِّرِّ في ثِنْي ساعِدي

لها في يَدِ الإصباحِ باقةُ أَنْجُمِ   5 إذا ما الثُّـرَيّا رَحَّلَ الليلُ شَمَّـهُ

تُعَلُّ بِمِسْكٍ في رَحيقٍ مُخَتَّمِ   6 وجَدتُ ثناياها العِذابَ كـأَنَّـما

</div>

1. What a fragrant breath! You believe the intercourse with her, and her joining you, are a Paradise of beatitude.

2. The rose of the cheek opens on her person's branch, and there blooms the chamomile of the smile.

3. Listening to her word is a pleasant amusement, like the wine's delight or of an improvised singing.

4. As I hold her close to me, she tells me her secrets and my mouth collects her intimate confidences.

5. When the Pleiades adorn the higher part of the night sky, [offering] a bunch of stars in the dawn's hands,

6. I find that her are teeth sweet as if they were infused with old wine blended with musk.[24]

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[23] Arabic text: Ibn Ḥamdīs, ed. (1898: 319); Italian translation: Ibn Ḥamdīs ed. (1998: 305); Borruso (1994: 79-80).

[24] Arabic text: Ibn Ḥamdīs, ed. (1898: 359); Italian translation: Ibn Ḥamdīs ed. 1998: 335); Borruso (1994: 81-82).

The use of synesthetic metaphors in this ode is paramount, as a strategic tool to gradually pass through the five sensory spheres: the transition starts at v. 1 with the scent of the beloved breath (smell) that turns into the image of blooming flowers in the v. 2 (sight and smell); sounds and flavours enrich the sensorial experience in the v. 3 (hearing and taste) shortening the distances between the two lovers, until reaching the embrace proximity and the share of whispered secrets in the v.4 (touch and hearing). The v. 5 determines a pause, as a temporal interlude that recounts the passing of time, without interfering with the lovers' intimacy, thus preparing the audience for the sensorial climax occurring in the v. 6 that resumes, in the depiction of a passionate kiss, a multi-sensorial weaving (touch, taste and smell).

5. Conclusions

As we have observed in all the aforementioned examples, synesthesia tells us how the interference among different sensory perceptions occurs in the love experience. These texts—narrating the yearning for love, the passion or the languish of the lover—reflect the sensory theories of the authors' times, strongly grounded on the Aristotelian doctrine *On Sense and What Is Sensed* (St. Thomas Aquinas, ed. 2005). Tracing the cultural history of senses in the Islamic world, Christian Lange recently pointed out that, in the classical period, both theologians and philosophers have pondered over the role of the 'inner senses' (*al-ḥawāss al-bāṭina*) of the soul in the sensorial perception (Lange 2022a: 2). For instance, the *Rasā'il al-Ikhwān al-Ṣafā'* (*Treatises of the Brethren of Purity*) analyses the process of perception of the *sensibilia* (*maḥsūsāt*), distinguishing between *al-ḥiss*, 'the change produced in the temperament of the senses by their contact with the *sensibilia*,' and *al-iḥsās*, 'the consciousness of the sensory faculties of these changes in the quality of the temperaments of the senses' (Mattock 1986).[25]

Also al-Ǧāḥiẓ (m. 869) focuses on the five senses and takes into account the concept of sensory cooperation as a specific feature of the way human beings perceive the world. Precisely, he speaks of *taʿāwun*, that means 'combining of forces and efforts.' In fact, according to his thought,

> perception tends to be based on the combined activity of the sensory organs, rather than resulting from a single sense [...] Furthermore, he stresses that sensory perception, regardless of the number of senses that are involved, is an integrated, unified experience [...] As al-Jāḥiẓ explains in the Book of the Living, "the senses cannot convey anything to

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[25] On the *Treatises of the Brethren of Purity* see also Baffioni (1998, 2008).

the soul in the way of sound, sight, taste, smell or touch, unless the intellect moves it to either accept or reject it" (al-Jāḥiẓ 1938-45, vol. 3, 288; 10-289. 2) (Lange 2022b: 29).

Therefore, if the basis of sensory learning is the interaction between each sense organ and its relevant external stimuli, the active involvement of the soul is ultimately responsible for the process' ability to convey complex sensations. As a result, it is the external world that induces a change in the perceiving subject, a transformation that starts in a specific receptor organ but may impact both his body and mind as a whole. As regards the love poetry, the matter becomes even more specific, since the object of perception coincides with the figure of the beloved. Passing through the doors of senses, the perception of the beloved's body induces great transformations in the lover, also affecting his capability to perceive the external world and, even, himself. In the poetic account, it is often expressed in a specular portrayal that puts together the beloved's body - fragmented in a series of sensorial stimuli - and the lover - depicted by means of the effects produced by such a sensorial experience. Hence, synesthesia often intervenes in these texts as a compositional strategy that allows the poets to convey, through their words, sensations and emotions weaving each other and gathering around the love experience.

The verses examined from the Siculo-Arabic repertoire seem to comply with this principle, since the verbal transposition of the love experience blends perceptions and reaction suggested by the different sensory stimuli. In fact, all the *ghazal* poems presented, provide a wide range of situations and text types from different authors and moments, all sharing this way to depict both the beloved and the lover appearance through synesthetic metaphors. In this respect, the extensive use of rhetorical devices acquires an additional function. Indeed, along with the figures of speech affecting the semantic level of the text, there are also assonances and rhymes, phonetic repetitions and rhythmic patterns that intervene in each act of reading and declaim. Therefore, the audience is attracted into a multi-sensorial experience:[26] reveries and memories recalled by a multi-layered text that entails symbolic references and interlaces the figurative use of words with sound effects, suggests sensation and, actually, turns the verbal transposition of the love encounter into a vivid experience.

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[26] For a theoretical framework on cognitive constructs and the reader's perception of a poetic text see Semino (1997).

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Al-dunya aǧmal min al-ǧanna by Ḫālid al-Birrī (2006)
A memoir and a journey through national imaginary

Maria Elena Paniconi

Al-dunyā aǧmal min al-ǧanna ("This world is more beautiful than paradise") by the Egyptian writer Ḫālid al-Birrī is a memoir—firstly serialized in 2001, and then republished as a volume in 2006—recounting the author's militancy in the fundamentalist group *al-ǧamāʿa al-islāmiyya,* for around five years.

While scholars have referred to this book, generally, as a historical source and as a documentary about the activities and strategies adopted by *al-ǧamāʿa al-islāmiyya,* I will attempt here an analysis of the text as a memoir, in dialogue with both the Twentieth Century life-writing tradition in Egypt, and the memoir global tradition. Under this perspective, I will discuss some tropes and discourses developed by the author. In particular, I will analyze how the author develops through this legitimizing genre themes as the quest for identity, the building of a new "self," the relationship between the self and the Nation, represented through a tight network of cultural and literary references.

Keywords: Arabic memoir, Ḫālid al-Birrī, *Al-Dunya aǧmal min al-ǧanna*, Egyptian contemporary life writing, jihadism.

1. Introduction

When it appeared in 2006, *Al-dunyā aǧmal min al-ǧanna* ("This world is more beautiful than paradise")[1] by the Egyptian author Ḫālid al-Birrī[2] caused a significant stir in the media, because of the sensitive content narrated in it. The book—a memoir written in first person—is the account of a period of militancy in the fundamentalist group *al-ǧamāʿa al-islāmiyya.* After having entered the group in 1986

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[1] Al-Birrī (2009). The book appeared in 2001 in a serialized version, in the periodical *al-Nahar*. The translation in French has been done from this serialized version, and the translation into Italian has been done from the French translation. The passages I quote in this article have been translated by myself, and the page numbers are referred to the Arabic re-edition by Dār al-Mīrit (Al-Birrī 2009). A translation of the book is available in English (2009): *Life is more beautiful than Paradise. A jihadist's own story*. Translated by Humphrey Davies, AUC Press.

[2] Al-Birrī (Khaled al-Berry) is an Egyptian novelist and journalist born in 1972. He studied medicine at Cairo University and moved to London after graduation. His second novel is *An Oriental Dance*, which was nominated for the Arabic Booker Prize.

when he was only fourteen, the author parted from it, following an experience of two months in jail in 1990, when he was in his second year at university.

The book follows a paradoxical structure, in that it is constructed like a slow and laborious initiation into a closed community with exclusive characteristics, the *ǧamāʿa islāmiyya*, to evolve in a reintegration into the external world, once the initiation was achieved. Such paradoxical trajectory is exemplified by the titles of the five chapters which make up the book, where "Paradise" (chapter 1) appears as the first one and "This world" (chapter 5) as the final one, going through the other chapters "A God just for me," "Revelation," "Sedition." The chapters are subdivided into minor units which have no titles.

Despite the great success among the readership, and the accuracy of the information reported in the book[3], little or no interest has been shown by literary critics or academics. Scholars indeed have referred to it as having little more than documentary value (Meijer 2014: 200-202), providing a personal account of the expansion of Islamic fundamentalist movements in the Egypt of the 80s and 90s (Maestro 2013: 117-154).

The purpose of this study is twofold: first, the book will be framed in the autobiographical subgenre of the memoir and the formal aspects that relate it to this genre will be highlighted. Secondly, it will be seen how this memoir can in turn be read as a personal journey into the 'Egyptian national imaginary,' expressed through a network of cultural and literary references. In this article, my understanding of "Egyptian national imaginary" is based on the studies of Richard Jacquemond (2008) and Samah Selim (2004), who have highlighted how, between the two world wars, Egyptian literary history was strictly intertwined with the political one. Literary forms such as the novel (*riwāya*) and the short story (*qiṣṣa qaṣīra*), in fact, have served in that time as a sounding board for ideas of political unity and national identity, while the literary space worked as a creative space for elaborating the national project.

In particular, as underscored by both Jacquemond and Selim, a specific form of literary realism, based on the representation of the Egyptian social landscape and of a variety of Egyptian characters helped the national *intelligentia* in spreading the idea of a "national literature." Therefore, a selected range of novels structured around these issues, following a long process of evaluation by critics and national cultural institutions, and considering readers' opinions, are then consecrated "canonical novels:" in this article I will show how Ḫālid al-Birrī succeeds in narrating a story of personal growth

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[3] The editorial story of the book is recounted by the author's "Preface" in the English translation (Al-Berry 2009: ix)

and emancipation from jihadist militance that also passes through the recovery of the national literary heritage and through the 'repossession' of these foundational literary works.

2. An Arabic *memoir*: global models, Egyptian ancestors, and the specificity of *Al-dunya aǧmal min al-ǧanna*

The term memoir indicates a form of life-writing, which owns a set of peculiarities, and must be considered as a different form from autobiography (Couser 2012: 8-10). Among the differences between memoir and autobiography according to Couser, there is that the first is less understood as a literary enterprise, and often is performed by non-professional writers. In particular, "contemporary memoir has been a *threshold genre* in which some previously silent populations have been given voice for the first time" (Couser 2012: 12). This is the case of Ḫālid al-Birrī, who became a journalist and a novelist after the publication of this first memoir.

Memoirs are generally written from the perspective of the author as an adult, who narrates his life in his own terms. Moreover, memoir can take the form of confession, apology or - as in the case under study here - of the coming-of-age narrative, focusing often on a period of life that has been perceived as difficult, or distressing by the author, instead of narrating the entire life story.

This form of life writing has been practiced intensively in the 20th century Egypt by intellectuals (such as Salāma Mūsa, who wrote *Tarbiyyat Salāma Mūsa*, 1947), politicians (as the politician, intellectual and writer Muḥammad Ḥusayn Haykal, who wrote *Muḏakkirāt fī l-siyāsa al-miṣriyya,* published posthumously in 1978),[4] artists (as the painter Inji Efflatoun, who recorded in a series of tapes her memoirs, posthumously published as *Muḏakkirāt Injī Aflaṭūn. Min al-ṭufūla ilā al-sijn* and published in 2014), men of faith (see for instance *Muḏakkirāt al-daʿwa wa-l-dāʿiya* by Ḥasan al-Bannā, 1950). A particular vein of the memoir in the Arab context is linked to the experience of traveling (Anishenkova 2014: 17), from post-*nahḍawī* authors (see for instance the last volume of Ṭāhā Ḥusayn's autobiographical project—*Muḏakkirāt*) to the authors of the Sixties vanguard (see for instance *Al riḥla. Muḏakkirāt ṭāliba fī Amrīka* by Raḍwā ʿĀšūr).

In his *memoir*, al-Birrī's bases himself on both the heritage of the memoir as a global genre, and on the Egyptian tradition of life narrative, quoting from *Les Confessions* by Rousseau, as well as from Muḥammad Ḥusayn Haykal, Ṭāhā Ḥusayn and Tawfīq al-Ḥakīm. The book is eclectic and erratic, it encompasses various registers and contents within the same section or the same page. Religious

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[4] On Haykal's *Muḏakkirāt* see Romano (2019).

precepts flowing from the teachings of the masters of the group, theoretical questions relative to the *ǧamāʿa*, autobiographical digressions on the most influential members follow each other uninterruptedly. Often, he proceeds using the technique of flashback or combining several parallel stories without any mediation. If it was not for the constant reference to the school years which mark the lifetime of the main character and which come one after the other, sometimes the reader would find it hard to understand. Even within the same narrative unit, the temporal element of the various situations recalled is incoherent, so much so that sometimes we find the verbal form devoted to expressing the past time (*māḍī*), sometimes we find the verbal form *muḍāri,'* which is the non-past mood.

In general, the descriptive parts[5] or those where the author especially intends to underline the emotional tension are for the vast majority in the present, whereas the interactions with others (members of the brotherhood, family members, etc.) and the dialogues are framed within a past time. To cite but one example: in the reconstructing of the frenzied moments which immediately precede the arrest of Ḫālid, the tense used is present. A vividness of language having the aim of leading the reader to fully enter the actions as they happen is associated with this choice of time. The narrator refers to the security men, who are waiting for him at the university exit, using the words "those dogs," as if wishing to render the thoughts of that time without any mediation. Another characterizing feature of the writing of al-Birrī is the tendency not to report annotations regarding the mood of the subject, consciously creating the effect of an almost anodyne chronicle of facts that happened in the past and which, no less, have marked his life in a most incisive way.

3. The historical context and the Jamāʿa Islāmiyya's way of working

The memoir begins in 1982 in Asyut, just one year after the assassination of Sadāt, within a still incandescent national context marked by riots and reprisals which involved the entire national territory. The narrator describes himself as a pre-adolescent who, day after day, is surprised by the changes in his own body and who turns towards society in search of reference points which are alternatives to those offered by his own family:

> I was fourteen. My voice was beginning to change, it was becoming deeper. There were other things in life that were beginning to change, I had abandoned the hug of my childhood by then, which allows us to be weak, which comforts us and lets us cry [...]. My consciousness and my relationship

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[5] See for instance the description of the Mosque *al-Raḥma* which is completely at the present tense. Al Birrī 2009: 59-60.

> with the world could no longer ignore the society I was living in. I was like that society, now. It too
> had a grave voice and a moustache. It too had no time for weak knees (Al Birrī 2009: 16).

It can be noted, ever since the initial pages, how early adolescence marks an opening up of the individual in relation to society and, in parallel, a closing up of the same person as regards the family environment. The conflict between generations, as several critical studies pointed out, represents an important *topos* of the Arab modern autobiography, and a shared feature among many Egyptian novels written in the early Twentieth century (Van Leeuwen 2000: 189-206).

In the case of Ḫālid, we can speak of a real process of transference (in psychoanalytic terms) of family functions to the group of brothers, as the same author will have the opportunity to observe many times during his narration. (Al Birrī 2009: 65). The family context where Ḫālid grew up may be defined as secular lower middle-class, judging both from the few observations the author addresses to the ideological context in which he grew up before meeting the *ǧamāʿa*, and from the concerns expressed by family members when the young man will decide to externalize, also by his physical looks, his militancy in the Islamist group (Al Birrī 2009: 21-22).[6] The course of the achievement of the self in the story of Ḫālid is, therefore, intimately tied to a history of hardening of his relationship with his own family and with the cultural, political, and ideological trends inherited from it.

The conflict with the family of origin is a leading *trope* with the Arab memoir and coming of age plot, both in the pre-modern autobiographical tradition (Reynolds 2001: 36-71) and in the modern Egyptian novel (Paniconi 2023: 47-51) the family is held up as a negative model to distance oneself from. Therefore, the account traced by al-Birrī is following a recognized and well-known narrative pattern when it shows how the youth is slowly but surely encouraged by his new community (the brothers of *al-ǧamāʿa al-islāmiyya*) to attend places and adopt the same language of the brotherhood. Some of these places, like the mosque, make up part of the previous experience of the subject, who nevertheless appears to rediscover its centrality both in reference to his own daily experience and in reference to the urban space.

The "recruitment" system and the creation of a sense of affiliation put into play by the group are carried out, according to the description that al-Birrī gives us, in three phases: initially, the youth involved in the activities and in militancy is surrounded by attention and human warmth, in such a way that he is persuaded to find the *šayḫ* as spiritual and human guides who will never leave him on

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[6] "I was used to repeat the slogans and the stereotyped expressions such as "the united Arab people," or "the Arabs are known for their pride, glory, and generosity.... I was used to listen to the speeches of Ǧamāl ʿAbd al-Nāṣir or the patriotic songs by ʿAbd al-Ḥalīm Ḥāfiẓ" (Al Birrī 2009: 21-22).

his own. The first contact the author forges with the members of the community goes via the Šayḫ Ṭāriq, a representative of the brotherhood who acts as a reference point in a society that, too, is overwhelmed by swirling change and for which the subject feels a new sense of belonging ("Šayḫ Ṭāriq was so affectionate and thoughtful towards the others that every word he spoke seemed pregnant with meaning, it led you to love him and with him every word he pronounced, every idea in which he believed" (Al-Birrī 2009: 29).

Further on, we will read how the Šayḫ used not to intervene directly with pieces of advice, injunctions or whatever to change the habits of the boy. Rather, he prefers to act in his everyday life proposing an active collaboration within the group:

> Sometimes I didn't go to Šayḫ Ṭāriq's lessons because of a film or a match on TV. Šayḫ Ṭāriq seemed to have understood and he asked me to prepare a report on what Islām says about playing music, and to explain it to my colleagues in class. In all sincerity, I answered the Šayḫ I would have found the work unpleasant since I loved music and I would never have been able to imagine giving it up. "Who asked you not to listen to it?" answered the Šayḫ. Just look for the aḥādīṯ and the verses of the Qur'an that speak of music and look at how the scholars have explained them and let us know. Then, in order to help me in the job, he gave me a copy of *Talbīs Iblīs* (Deceit of Iblis), a book which deals with the stratagems to which Iblis, Satan, went to tempt humanity [...]. Continuing to listen to the songs of Mayāda al-Ḥanāwī,[7] I was leafing through the pages of the book and making notes of the various sections on a piece of paper. Then, I prepared a summary wherein I held that listening to songs was *ḥarām*, and that whoever had listened to a woman singer, upon the Day of Judgment, would have been poured into his ear *al-ānuk*, which means molten lead [...]. After I had finished the report, the Šayḫ Ṭāriq complimented me for the goodness of my writing and he praised the effort I had put in. However, he warned me that now since I knew the topic I had greater responsibility, and the judgment of God would have been harder on me if I had continued in my disobedient ways on purpose (A- Birrī 2009: 29-30).

In a completely analogous way, the Šayḫ, makes the youth "aware" of the pronouncements of Islam against those who look at images (from real life, by photographic reproduction or by video) of half-dressed women. In this case, too, Ḫālid ends up by "making his decision" (Al-Birrī 2009: 31) and renounces watching his favorite TV shows. Later, the narrator tells us in various episodes how, at the end of this initial phase of the recruitment, he found himself fully involved in the activities of the group without even being aware of the fact ("The person doesn't know when he first laid step into the *ǧamā'a*. He doesn't know where the way begins and neither does he know when he's halfway along," Al-Birrī

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[7] Mayāda al-Ḥanāwī is a Syrian singer. Born in October the 8th, 1959 in Aleppo, she interpreted all kinds of traditional Arab songs and performed in several prestigious music halls all over the Arab world.

2009: 33). When he discusses his new habits and his acquired ritual practices, the narrator reiterates this fundamental unawareness:

> I pray, I fast, I learn the Qur'ān. Who can say the opposite? Even doing all this, I don't consider myself a member of *al-ǧamāʿa al-islāmiyya*. I never thought I had taken this path (Al-Birrī 2009: 35).

The second chapter, "A God just for me," opens with a wide-ranging description of the *Masǧid al-raḥma*, destined to become the cornerstone of the new life of the protagonist who starts by spending the intervals between one prayer and another there, reading and chatting with his brothers, and taking his afternoon siesta there. In this chapter, on the contrary, that which we may define "the second phase" of the involvement of Ḫālid within the group is to be found. This stage is characterized by the learning of the sources of the doctrine on the one hand, and on the other by the carrying out of a certain number of rituals which have the function of getting a role to play within the group for him (Al-Birrī 2009: 88).

As far as the first aspect is concerned, the protagonist develops the awareness of his own "ignorance," precisely within the frequent discussions with the brothers, with regard to, both the practices of the cult and the more general questions which are placed at his door by the spiritual leaders.[8] As for the progressive assumption of responsibility of the boy in the group, it must be noted how this goes in hand with a persistent sense of the inadequacy of the protagonist, which will last for the whole experience of militancy in the *ǧamāʿa*.[9] A fundamental moment in the path of the protagonist is when the young boy, as is the case every year, returns to the hometown of his father, in the Egyptian countryside, for a summer holiday. The usual holiday in the countryside and the cyclical finding there, during his growing up years, the places, the company, the games and the summer habits are another literary *topos* of twentieth-century Egyptian autobiographical and fictional literature, a motif that is deeply linked to the symbolic significance of the Egyptian countryside in the context of the raising modern Egyptian nationalism (Selim 2004: 91-126).

In al-Birrī's narrative, the summer holiday represents a chance for the youth to reflect on his new condition as a member from an "external" perspective compared to the context of the little town of Asyut. In the beginning, the return to the "childhood" habits, indeed, seems to tempt him to leave

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[8] See for instance Al-Birrī (2009: 61), where the author relates about the *šuyūḫ* lecturing him about the sources of the Islamic doctrine.

[9] About the structure, the mechanisms of recruitment and the way to enhance the involvement of the new elements in the group see for instance Zayyāt (2005: 129-140).

everything, making him think of "not wanting that life with his brothers" (Al-Birrī 2009: 67). Later, however, the young boy pauses, reflects and decides, on the contrary, to abandon the house in the countryside, as if, interrupting the reassuring routine of the seasonal holiday in the village of his father, he puts an end to all temptation or impatience as regards that "new" life made of overwhelming responsibility and interpersonal relations with which, probably, the distractions and the atmospheres of the countryside could no longer live in harmony.

> That which was going on inside my head had been the fruit of the action of the devil who suggests choosing transitory well-being to the detriment of eternal Grace in the afterlife. The vain pleasures of this world grow gigantic before our very eyes, so much so that we convince ourselves we cannot do without them. In a year I'll be sixteen, the same age as Usāma Ibn Zayd when he took the lead of the army of Muslims in the final battle which saw the Prophet himself take part in. And I am here thinking like the children playing football or going fishing.
>
> I decided to cut short my holiday and go back to Assyūt. There was no life without the brothers. That one which I loved most was Šayḫ Maḥmūd Šaʿīb who was just three years older than me when he went into prison for the assassination of Sadāt. Three consecutive years he spent there [...] When he was released, he was arrested on-and-off, never more than a month or so. Anyway, every time he came out, he was stronger, a real hero, who always managed to preserve his sense of modesty (Al-Birrī 2009: 68-69).

The passage illustrates how, within the protagonist, the trepidation for greater involvement begins to take shape and how, at the same time, he begins to select figures of reference among the leaders who surround him all the time trying to equate his own inabilities to their example. In the following passages, wanting to sanction the total overcoming of the little intolerance of this new life in the *ǧamāʿa* coming to the fore, the author asks himself what exactly is enriching about watching films, listening to the songs of ʿAbd al-Ḥalīm (a real icon of Egyptian national popular music and a much-loved artist in Ḫālid's family) whose love stories are but mirages (*wahm*) like fairy tales. The narration goes on to list the books of the exegetical tradition to which the young man will draw close in this phase of his journey (*al-kutub al-turāṯiyya*), all the time characterized by a "mnemonic" approach to the texts which were to be learned by heart. Some, remembers the author, are written in rhyming prose precisely so they may be easily assimilated by the students (Al-Birrī 2009: 72).

The third phase of the interaction between the protagonist and the group of Islamic extremists witnesses the expression of opinion, if not the displaying of that "new person," as the author himself refers to it, which for some time was finding form within him. The making of the self, as we see in the passage that follows, is reflected in the narration like an integrated and complimentary movement onto that of "objectification" of an external world (in this case, the family that tries to make a stand)

which will soon reveal itself to be too weak and which gradually will accentuate its total non-involvement in the new life of its adolescent son:

> Whenever I put on one of those perfumed oils that were sold outside the Mosques, my mother showed her face of disgust at the smell and my sister joked about it. Then, however, things continued to go on as usual and nobody expected me to take a bath and wash away that smell.
>
> The religious music cassettes, which I had a collection of by this stage, didn't meet with the tastes of anybody in the house. For my mother, they represented things belonging to an unknown period. Even if she had put on the veil after the birth of my brother (1980), the third child, she was never religiously observing, and she didn't pray. She had finished studying in 1979 and was twenty-eight years old, so, she lived during that time women students wore miniskirts. It was her who transmitted the idea to me that cinema was part of our life when she would go with us children to see shows. From her did I inherit my love for ʿAbd al-Ḥalīm Ḥāfiz.
>
> [...] My mother was never involved in this new world of mine and I never tried to involve her, except for those questions where religion intersected male pride of the adolescent I had become. So, I would have got angry if she went out onto the balcony wearing house clothes which might become transparent in the sunlight or if she took something off the washing line without first having covered her hair (Al Birrī 2009: 68-69).

Ḫālid, having by now entered into this third phase of affiliation and reciprocal acknowledgment with the militant group, decides to change his clothing and substitutes his clothes, of what we may call "Western" style with certain elements of style and clothing of the brotherhood: a light blue *ǧallabiyya* and white *sirwāl*.

> I decided to wear a short *ǧallabiyya* like those worn by the brothers [...]. My father got really upset at this. Wearing this was an answer to my relationship with the *ǧamāʿa* and with my brothers for me. I wanted to be like them. Some of them still marveled at why I hadn't yet fully adopted the Islam way of dressing – something which went together with a certain feeling of disgust of mine when we ate together with our hands all from the same dish (Al-Birrī 2009: 80).

The *ǧallabiyya* infuriates Ḫālid's father, for it displays this new identity the son has been building. Choosing to wear it, the boy would have accepted the risks of being recognized in the streets of Asyut, and even being detained or interrogated by police. Again, the weak complaints of the family are not enough to stop the youth who sanctions his new individuality with these exterior signs (the perfume, the beard that he decides to grow, the clothing). The process of integration in the new environment of *al-ǧamāʿa* is still a long one (as we can assume from the disgust that Ḫālid still feels in the act of sharing meals with brothers in the ritual way) but the wearing of traditional dress is, in the eyes of the protagonist, a sign to the external world, whose transmission cannot wait anymore.

4. Definitions and redefinitions of the subject: from the militancy in the ǧamāʿa to the experience of prison

The protagonist's process of individuation[10] through striking paradoxes: on the one hand the young man develops a new concept of *ruǧūla* (virility) and tries also to inform himself of that which might be a licit and acceptable ideal of femininity in Islam, through the study of cheap information material which bears titles like *Naṣāʾiḥ li-ʾl-marʾa al-muslima* (advice for the Muslim woman). At the same time, however, he does not give up the old habit of spying on the movements of the young girl in the next house from the balcony, who usually changes her clothes near the window, coming in and going out of her room in her underwear (Al-Birrī 2009: 79).

Participation in the actions of the *ǧamāʿa* is structured around principles and obligations which are more and more defined: a principle upon which Ḫālid often returns is *al-samʿu wa-ʾl ṭāʿa* (lit.: listening and obedience), a precept according to which the fellow-brother completely places himself at the will of his spiritual fathers and under whose scrutiny the youth begins to deeply investigate his every analysis where he always finds inadequacy at the base. Contextually, he begins to take exercises in pronouncing the *ḫuṭba*, i.e. the religious sermon pronounced by the imām at the *ẓuhr* (noon) congregation prayer on Friday, going up against various failures in front of the community of brothers, until such time as he is able to recite one before his principal point of reference, the Šayḫ Maḥmūd. The narration encompasses the current and most widespread precepts in the group and in many areas, he refers to the community of the *ǧamāʿa* as "us," which may leave today's reader surprised and disoriented about the real stance of the author on that fundamentalist organization.

The question of the stance of the author towards his own experience in this group is still an open question, if we consider that many translations of *Al-Dunya aǧmal min al-ǧanna* in foreign languages pursued their own agenda by manipulating, in certain cases, the text. These translations often indirectly and on an extra-textual level resorting to notes and introduction, have indeed transmitted a reading of the text as the document of a definitive separation from the whole system of radical Islam.[11] On the contrary, we believe the narration of al-Birrī, although it describes the process of final detachment from this extremist group, allows also a more complex reading. Sometimes a sense of

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[10] The "individuation" process in Jung's theory of personality is a broader process than that of coming of age. It concerns the detachment from the world of objective reality as the center of existence and the finding of a new dimension in which the subject can be contemplated. For a study on the uses of Jung's theory of personality in literary criticism see Sugg 1992: 9- 38.

[11] One example is the Italian translation. See Al Berry (2002), a shortened version from the French translation.

empathy arises with some aspects of the *ǧamāʿa*, as if his writing wanted to conserve that good this process of initiation gave him:

> The *ǧamāʿa* opened my eyes to new horizons of rebellion against middle-class education which I had known at school and at home allowing me to immerse myself into other social classes, placing myself into the logic of an annunciation that doesn't belong to any one social class in particular (Al-Birrī 2009: 144).[12]

On the one hand, the young man seems to be completely integrated in the ideological dimension of his new community, seeking the same models and pursuing common aims. In a private talk with a friend, for instance, the protagonist confesses that, in this phase, his desire to become, in the future, a *šahīd* "martyr" (Al-Birrī: 131). Notwithstanding the great caution that the *ǧamāʿa* places upon itself following the Gulf War, among those figures of reference to the young man increase those of other young *šuhadāʾ* whose biography and actions are curtly mentioned. On the other hand, however, the young author does but compare himself to these men and aspires to martyrdom only to be "disappointed" in his will (Al-Birrī 2009: 166-167):

> I wasn't completely detached from money yet, from the idea of health and from myself […]. I simply wasn't able to do without the world. [...]. Did this not mean that maybe a part of me did not believe in the afterlife? A boy who I knew who, from time to time, came to the Mosque of al-Raḥma, underwent great change during this time. All of a sudden, he began to fast and when he came to prayer started to cry as soon as he heard the Qurʾan. I felt an authenticity and a sort of profound incrimination in his voice. I wished for that voice, I wished it was mine, it would have raised me up from many things. I would have freed myself from the prison of my body, then would I have inflicted a mortal blow on this enemy of mine, turning him into a warrior exactly like what happened to the martyrs and the most active brothers (Al-Birrī 2009: 169-170).

It is during this phase of his militancy that he manages to be more directly involved in the actions pertaining to the university, in the services the group of the *ǧamāʿa* offered there and in the activities of propaganda aimed at the student body. Following a series of small actions perpetrated in the University of Asyut, at last, the chance for Ḫālid to distribute leaflets, while other brothers would have pronounced their sermons in sync. Ḫālid executes his duty till the security forces and the police begin to pour inside and at the doors of the university and a message from the same *ǧamāʿa* suggests that he flee in that the police were looking for exactly him. Strangely, the youth cannot take the warning

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[12] The author comes back to the relationship between the Islamic extremism's worldview and the social class they are from also later, in his memoir, see for instance Al-Birrī (2009: 216-217).

seriously and he is convinced that the police are not so determined to arrest him. After having waited for a few hours in a lecture hall and after having attempted to fake his exit from the building in a crowd of students, the young man is arrested and brought to jail (Al-Birrī 2009: 174-176).

The experience of prison is brief – he spends about two months there – but intense. Just as the experience of militancy for Ḫālid is passed under a certain sense of fundamental "inadequacy" when compared to the "mission," whose completion always seems a craved-for but unreachable objective, so too the experience of prison passes for the young man under a sense of frustration. In other words, Ḫālid has, in jail, glaring proof of his own "marginality," within the complicated architecture of the Islamic organization. Yet again, therefore, it is a paradoxical situation to go with the future re-definitions and changes in the subject, changes that only towards the final pages of the book, let us predict a complete separation from the group.

For all the experience of jail, the presence of other members of the *ǧamāʿa* in his cell as well as practicing the faith, reinforced with supererogatory prayers and fasts, are rather a precious support for the young man. The gradual and bitter coming to an awareness of his own marginality within the *ǧamāʿa* itself, therefore, does not draw him away from it, but it will become part of the experience of Islamic radicalism in all its complexity. The narration retraces the rhythm of an expanded timeframe, taking every breath for itself: the narrator passes on from the minute description of the ways meals are taken, to the description of the habits and ways of doing things of all the various cellmates, to the often exhausting chronicle of the continual movements to various prison institutions to be interrogated.

Among the moments of most emotional tension, there are the descriptions of those moments when the protagonist assists, even though he is blindfolded, at the torture of brothers during the interrogation and he gets ready to undergo the same treatment. Nevertheless, even though he is the subject of violent and degrading behavior (Al-Birrī 2009: 188, 191) by the guardians, the young man is never tortured. Torture, paradoxically, ends up representing, in his eyes, an ideal point, a moment of "recognition" where there is implicit a certain degree of merit and importance too, just like the sacrifice of the *šahīd* had meant the ideal performance in carrying out his militancy within the *ǧamāʿa*. Even in this case, though, "the wait" for the torture, the wait for a declaration of "recognition" by the police was disappointed ("when we pass on to important things, I am invisible") (Al-Birrī 2009: 187). Therefore, the story of militancy and apprenticeship included in *Al-dunyā aǧmal min al-ǧanna* takes the form of a cyclical paradox, where the young hero passes through the following phases: training - illusion - delusion and awareness of his own marginality.

Even in the extreme experience of psychological and physical pain, in the, at times, unbearable condition of the privation of freedom, privacy and dignity, prison is nevertheless a place where the process of individuation going on in the young man undergoes an acceleration. Certain dimensions and necessities of man that were before unthinkable are "revealed" to the consciousness of the protagonist: among which, for example, the need for the word and human contact through the word. Paradoxically, it is right after being brought to one of the most feared detention centers, the prison of Laẓuġlī (Lazogly), that he has occasion to weave the more interesting and "educational" relationships with some fellow brothers of the *ǧamāʿa*, even managing to take up his studies again in jail (Al-Birrī 2009: 210-211).

Release and reinsertion into the indifference of the world leave the youth bewildered. Taking up normal life again goes through some simple gestures and some logical and mental "exercises," like those of forcing himself to "find the right name to things," as if those few weeks spent in prison had created a rupture in the system of meanings normally adopted in everyday life. Even following release, the youth keeps in touch with the brothers right after his return, by way of visits and he continues to go to prayer and some of the brothers visit him regularly to support and sustain him in this phase (Al-Birrī 2009: 227-229). The first sign of "breaking away" from the group is the act of shaving his beard, even if this gesture answers more to a physical need for "freedom" on behalf of the main character and it is told as a gesture that is not premeditated, but simply as the result of an extemporaneous decision ("I didn't know what would have happened later, but I felt the need of tasting freedom;" Al-Birrī 2009: 233).

Just as during his time in prison, the protagonist does not bear any resentment towards the *ǧamāʿa* or any rethink concerning his activist past, so too following release, the reasons and the ideological aims for the acts of the *ǧamāʿa* are never called into question. Rather, it is his very own place within this project as well as his having, or not, earned a "merit" in his complicated operational context to be up for discussion. Affiliation to the brotherhood, as we have seen, has placed the young man in the condition of denying all cultural reference points which are the most familiar to him and amid which he grew up. Frequenting the *ǧamāʿa islāmiyya* has led him from listening to pop music or traditional Arabic music to listening to recorded sermons, from comic strips to reading the Qurʾān, Ibn al-Ǧawzī and Sayyid Quṭb. The latter, in particular, is very often quoted as one of the favorite authors in the text

as a pan-Islamist reference, and who seems to go step-by-step with bringing the youth closer to the brotherhood.[13]

In the period following prison, on the contrary, references to texts of religious content disappear and there is a gradual recovery of the texts of the twentieth-century Egyptian secular narrative tradition. This recovery also translates, even visually, into the scene where Ḫālid, about to move into the empty apartment of his sister, goes back to the house of his parents and recovers the novels of Maḥfūẓ, the diaries of Muḥammad Ḥusayn Haykal,[14] the dramas of Tawfīq al-Ḥakīm in the attic (Al-Birrī 2009: 248). All these books recovered by the hero belong to the national narrative canon, of which the young Ḫālid reappropriates to rebuild his identity and forget the phase of jihadist militancy.

5. In conclusion: why can *Al-dunya aǧmal min al-ǧanna* be read as a journey through national imaginary?

The separation from the Islamic extremism is described as a very gradual process, encouraged by the choice, taken by the family of the young man and not objected to by him, of his transfer to Cairo into the empty apartment which was his sister's. The narrator talks of a year marked by great solitude ("I found nobody with whom I shared anything") but he decides to spend the summer, anyway, in Cairo. In his brief return to Asyut, he meets two brothers along the road and he hides from their looks (Al-Birrī 2009: 245). He goes about with girls again and the places of everyday life in Cairo completely change and become the Corniche, the Maktabat Mubārak, opened in 1995 and near the university building, the British Council center in Cairo, where the protagonist hires out movies and books and finally the cinemas where he goes to frequently again also in order to cultivate some interests to share with the girls that he has the fortune to know ("I wanted to recuperate everything I had lost as regards worldly culture;" Al-Birrī 2009: 247).

In Cairo, he totally regains the study dimension, he gets to know another reference figure, Ḥassan, who involves him in a "literary club" (Al-Birrī 2009: 67). and a worry about passing the exams comes out again. Inside the university context, Ḫālid will never again mention his militancy, even if this will

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[13] Sayyid Quṭb is quoted in several passages (Al-Birrī 2009: 73, 204) but the passage where the young hero is explicitly referring to him as a model is focused on the volume *Ma'ālim fī-'l ṭarīq* (The milestones) Qutb wrote in jail. Taking inspiration from him, the young protagonist, in jail, takes comfort in writing letters to his family and in writing commentaries and reports about the prison life, and encouraging the other prisoners to do the same (Al-Birrī 2009: 204).

[14] He refers explicitly to the juvenile memoir by Muḥammad Ḥusayn Haykal, *Muḏakkirāt al-šabāb*, published posthumously in 1996 (Paniconi 2014).

come to the surface from time to time in talks with his peers, often leaving him confused, and as if in a state of suspension:

> I said to my university friend that Maḥfūẓ was a genius writer but from an Islamic point of view he was outside the precepts of religion. And he didn't agree with me and asked "What does kāfir mean?" I didn't answer. In truth, I was sorry I spoke in that way. It was hard to explain a viewpoint without unveiling my knowledge, without making the most of it in this regard. The connection with religion had become a great, big question mark in my life (Al-Birrī 2009: 253-354).

Another big decision was developed during this time too. A decision that the narrator reports without giving any explanation, rather, underlining the effect that this had on everyday life, on a time which once was compressed (between demanding study and militancy) and now was expanding:

> my time expanded whenever I decided, at the beginning of the sixth and last year, that even if I had completed my studies, I would not have become a doctor. I started to work as an apprentice journalist in the sports section of al-Ahrām, thinking that journalism was the job that was closest to that which was my dream, to become a writer or an intellectual (Al-Birrī 2009: 251).

In this epilogue, there is a sort of revelation that allows us to think of a full "reverse gear" inside the making of the self, and of a definitive substitution of the behavioral and cultural models of the young man. In the rare expressions of opinion, the main character gives us his aspirations in the pre-activist phase it is never mentioned that his dream is that of being a writer. On the contrary, he speaks of himself as a rather weak reader. The idea gathers momentum following his release and appears to be intimately tied up with those new readings the author takes up thanks, also, to his new group of acquaintances: among others, we remember Sartre, considered by Ḫālid's new friends as an author out of fashion ("they told me I was 40 years late;" Al-Birrī 2009: 252), the essay *On Liberty* by Mill and the above mentioned *Les confessions* by Rousseau,

> which opened up the golden doors of the autobiography genre, that genre which encompasses the experiences of man, from the pain that wears him out to the joy that makes the heart sprout wings," but which condensates them between front and back covers. These two extremes open up right in front of me, managing to contain my own personal experience (Al-Birrī 2009: 256).

It is noteworthy to underscore how this memoir – notwithstanding its naïveté and tendency to progress by jumps and juxtapositions – knowingly places itself in continuation with a well-defined Egyptian autobiographical tradition. It can also be assumed that al-Birrī uses the form of the memoir and its recognized status inside literary tradition to legitimizing his own book.

In particular, one of the "recovered" texts picked up by the young man before moving to Cairo, it is said, are the juvenile diaries of Muḥammad Ḥusayn Haykal. Is noteworthy now to remember that among the first readings that the intellectual Aḥmad Luṭfī al-Sayyid, mentor of Haykal, suggested to the young man when he was still specializing in law in Paris, there was precisely the treatise of Mill *On Liberty,* together with *Heroes and Hero Worship* by Carlyle as well as the writings by Herbert Spencer (Paniconi 2014: 303-307). Not only: in his juvenile diaries Haykal mentions extensively *Les confessions* by Rousseau, who in the words of Haykal himself

> tells us of his life, day after day, and the story of his family. When faced with the beauty and the beautiful structure of this style, the reader feels a strange joy going through him, just as if he was pervaded by musicality and felt from time to time the need to read out loud in order to rock the ear with this melody (Haykal 1996: 102).

A particular point that Haykal (1996: 102) underlines is that "Rousseau was born poor and spent his youth as a vagabond. It would never have been possible for him, not even if he forced himself, to imagine the level he landed later. And this without ever considering himself to be superior, or better, than others." Like Haykal therefore, almost a century later, al-Birrī, takes Rousseau's *Confessions* as a point of reference for his own daily practice of writing, considering it not just as a record of past experience, but also as an initiation experience to the world of art and beauty. In recognition of his new aesthetical and cultural paradigms, the young man seems to wish to reformulate a renewed idea of the self which goes hand-in-glove with a "rediscovery" of a cultural context, which is secular, liberal, and national but strongly globalized as well and which had been put to the one side during the phase of Islamic militancy. Such a rediscovery, it has to be reaffirmed once more, does not present itself as the radical negation of the militancy experience and prison, rather, on the contrary, as the gradual elaboration of this experience, which is in a way "preserved" and highlighted by the genre of the memoir, felt as perfectly legitimate in its modern and Egyptian tradition.

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Allegory, trauma and an unfinished revolution in

Kitāb al-Naḥḥāt by Aḥmad ʿAbd al-Laṭīf

Naglaa Waly

After the Arab Uprisings and the dramatic consequences of the protests in Egypt, Egyptian novelists produced an abundant number of literary works that deal with the dynamic and complex reality after 2011. Most of these works chronicle complex back stories which reflect national and individuals' crises in the society of the last few decades. This article focuses on Kitāb al-Naḥḥāt (2013); "The Sculptor's Book") by Aḥmad ʿAbd al-Laṭīf and argues that, though it reads and feels like a surreal or fantastic narrative, its events point allegorically at the political and social reality of Egypt in a circuitous and urgent manner. Thus, this article looks at how allegory (Benjamin 1928, Jameson 1986) can help to shed light on the literary treatment of political violence, historical collective trauma and argues that reading ʿAbd al-Laṭīf 's novel through a lens of trauma theory enables us to perceive the profound critique of the political Egyptian arena post 2011 as proposed by the writer. The article points out three traumatic tropes: absence, indirection, and repetition. The analysis of literary devices such as fragmentations, alienations, and nightmares will highlight the persistent aching pain and the insidious trauma of the protagonists. Moreover, addressing the main formal and stylistic features of the novel offers a chance to study the changes that may reverberate in narrative forms and symbolic meanings in Egyptian literature post-2011.

1. Introduction

The revolutions known as the "Arab Spring" had an indelible impact on the collective consciousness in the Arab Region. Millions of people took to the streets and squares in many Arab countries for a liberal and civilised cause. They believed that these revolutions would put an end to social inequalities and authoritarianism and re-establish their leadership on a democratic model. Unfortunately, these protests had a dramatic consequence and turned into great dissipation of hopes. In Egypt, after the initial success of protests in toppling the Egyptian President on 11 February, 2011, the demonstrators

discovered that the dictator had gone but his regime continued to fight for survival[1] and the Muslim Brotherhood movement, that initially refused to support them, turned out, immediately after 2011, to be the party that had benefited the most from the revolution.[2]

In fact, later on, the leader of this movement's political party (the Freedom and Justice Party), Muḥammad Mursī, won the presidential elections and became the first elected president of Egypt.

Thus, the hopes for democracy and the promising political initiatives of the transition period vanished as the newly elected president's government, dominated by Muslim Brothers and Islamist politicians, had in mind a law which gave all powers to the president[3].

One year after his election as President, the anti-Mursī movement *Tamarrud* ("Rebellion") gained momentum and millions of Egyptians called for his removal and for new elections.

The situation worsened after Mursī was overthrown. The reinstatement of the military government of Egypt led to the suppression of political activism and the return of the perpetual state of emergency. Moreover, political activists continued to be persecuted by law enforcement.

Subsequently, the cultural field witnessed a continuous attempt to erase the revolution from national memory[4] and the government used some media to call it an external conspiracy. Such a distressful political environment, encouraged scholars to carry out research on the impact of those traumatic experiences on Egyptian activists (Matthies-Boon 2017; Matthies-Boon 2022; Miller-Graff *et al.* 2022).

On the literary front, the days of Tahrir Square and the rapid succession of political events in the months following January 2011, spurred on writers to tell their truths and give their accounts of what

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[1] When it announced that Mubarak had stepped down and suspended the Constitution on 11 February 2011, the Supreme Council of the Armed Forces (SCAF) assumed the position of interim president and also the authority to issue interim constitutions, promulgate laws, and appoint and dismiss ministers. From both a practical and a legal standpoint, the SCAF was the regime until a new president was elected and a new constitutional order was put in place. During that period, the SCAF had delegated the day- to- day business of government to Mubarak- era officials even after Mubarak had been deposed. This seemed to continue even after parliamentary elections in late 2011 and early 2012. Later on, the parliament that was seated in early 2012 discovered that the interim constitution issued by the military did not allow it to legislate without the military's approval or to oversee the cabinet in any substantial way (Brown, Shimaa and Adly 2021).

[2] The optimism of the early moments "turns to criticism of the Muslim Brotherhood as they began to play a larger role because of the transition's elections. In addition to arguing that the Muslim Brotherhood co-opted the revolution, some scholars expressed an affinity for simpler pre-Republican days. The Brotherhood's illiberal governing behaviour also becomes causal for explaining the military's forced reluctance to conduct a coup d'état" (Stacher 2020: 11).

[3] A Constitutional Declaration issued by Mursī earlier in August 2012 gave the president full legislative powers (Ketchley 2017).

[4] There is manipulation "of the revolution content in Egyptian schools' history textbooks and curricula by either distorting or entirely eliminating the role of the protesting masses and revolutionaries in generating political change" (Youssef 2021: 340).

was happening: literature became their tool to bear witness. As Felman, in her study on Camus's literature of testimony, explains:

> It is not an art of leisure but an art of urgency: it exists in time not just as a memorial but as an existential engagement, as an attempt to bring the backwardness of consciousness to the level of precipitant events (Felman1991:114).

Alison Gibbons (2019) has noted that during the uprisings in Egypt, novelists turned away from fiction toward nonfictional modes of writing: in the wake of the uprisings, it was as though fiction were no longer a sufficient means of representing and speaking out about and to the contemporary realities being experienced (2019: 318). Gibbons cites ʾAhdāf Suwayf's *al-Qāhirah: Madīnatī wa Ṯawratinā* ("Cairo: Memoir of a City Transformed, a Tahrir memoir;" 2012) as an example of a first-hand nonfictional account of the revolution.[5] Significantly, throughout the book Suwayf (b. 1950) uses the first person "I" and the collective "we," giving voice to the Egyptian collective. Likewise, El-Desouky (2013) explained that one of the obvious aesthetic achievements of the creative revolutionary energy consists of a wider narrative of the collective which revealed itself in a differing approach to narrative in the prose fiction, diaries and memoirs that appeared immediately after the events. Alongside the significant documentary trend, fiction continues to provide an essential tool to represent and discuss crucial political and social issues.

Moreover, departing from Andreas Pflitsch's thesis (2010) that there has never been a depoliticized period in modern Arabic literary history, Albers, Khalil, and Pannewick (2015) discuss the relationship between literature, society and politics in Arabic-speaking parts of the Middle East and North Africa and they argue the re-emergence of a new revolutionary iltizam[6] ("commitment") in the

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[5] The book is loosely structured in five sections. The first, "Revolution I: Eighteen Days," is dated "25 January–11 February 2011" and documents the initial wave of protests in Tahrir Square. The second section is titled "An Interruption: Eight Months Later, October 2011." The third section, "The Eighteen Days Resumed: 1 February–12 February 2011," begins where the first section left off. These first three sections document "Revolution I," while sections four and five deal with "Revolution II" (with entries dating from October 2011 to October 2012, during the Presidential elections) and "Revolution III" (a postscript written in July 2013 and documenting Souief's concerned reflections on the deposal of Muhammed Morsi (Gibbons 2019: 318, 319).

[6] Term translated by Ṭaha Ḥusayn who spoke about *engagement* in the literary magazine *al-Kātib al-Miṣrī* in three articles: *al-adab bayn al-itaṣāl wa al- infiṣāl* ("Literature between connection and separation;" no. 11 of August 1946), *Mulāḥẓāt* ("Remarks;" no. 21, August 1947), *Fi al-adab al-faransī* ("About French Literature;" no. 26, November 1947) the term gained immense prominence, and thus the idea of the politically and socially engaged author as a spokesperson of nations, political parties or ideologies became the all-embracing concept in the discourse of Arabic literary criticism in the mid-twentieth century and was expressed in the editorial note of the Lebanese periodical *al-adab* when it published its inaugural manifesto on literary commitment (*al-adab al- multazim*)Cf. https://al-adab.com/sites/default/files/aladab_1953_v01_01_0001_0002.

recent works of literature and art in the aftermath of 2011. One of the early novels that offers an illustrative example of how the political in literature was perceived and conceptualized in the 2011 aftermath is *Bāb al- Ḫurūǧ*, ("Exit door;" 2012) by 'Izz al-Dīn Šukrī Fašīr (b. 1966),[7] who foretells the Islamic domination and the failure of the democratic project in Egypt. From a different perspective, Aḥmad 'abd al-Laṭīf (b.1978) one year later, after the Brotherhood regime, published his third novel *Kitāb al-Naḥḥāt* ("The Sculptor's Book;" 2013) . This novel was written in the midst of the complex situation of post-revolutionary Egypt— from the Brotherhood regime, to the deposition of Mursī and the possible return of the military regime, a situation accompanied by violent turmoil and traumatic experiences.

This article focuses on *Kitāb al-Naḥḥāt* ("The Sculptor's Book") and argues that, though it reads and feels like a surreal or fantastic narrative, its events point allegorically at Egyptian political and social reality in a circuitous and urgent manner . Against this backdrop, this article looks at how allegory (Benjamin 1928, Jameson 1986) can help shed light on the literary treatment of political violence, historical collective trauma and argues that reading 'Abd al-Laṭīf 's novel through the lens of trauma theory enables us to perceive the profound critique of the political Egyptian arena post 2011 as proposed by the writer.

I also argue that the novelist is preoccupied by preserving the revolutionary principles of freedom and a secular democratic state. The novel could be read not only as a representation of revolution and its failure, but also as a portal to the sufferings of the Egyptians in the crackdown regime, as the following pages will show.

This study draws on both the first wave of literary trauma theory (Caruth 1995, 1996; Hartman 1995) and the studies related to decolonized trauma theory by Rothberg 2009; Craps 2013; Buelens, Vanheule, Craps 2014. The literary analysis of the novel draws on trauma studies in literature (Vickroy 2002; Whitehead 2004; Luckhurst 2008; Baleav 2008)

Before starting the novel's analyses, I wish to illustrate some key points on Trauma theory, the state of the art and research on Arabic literature.

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[7] The novel offers an imaginative account of the workings of power and the complex political forces that were unleashed by the revolution of 2011, scripting several possibilities that lead to two more revolutions up until 2020, through the memoirs of a translator who used to work in the President's office and who survived the subsequent regimes. The political imagination at work in the novelistic account is particularly illuminating in the way it seeks to script events out of political analysis of the different forces at play in a post-revolutionary Egypt. The analysis is sharp, historically informed and politically attuned, clearly drawing on Fichere's disciplinary expertise (El Desouqy 2013: 72).

2. Trauma theory and its state of art

Trauma theory is an area of cultural investigation that emerged in the early 1990s as a product of the so-called ethical turn affecting the humanities. It promised to infuse the study of literary and cultural texts with new relevance. First developed by the scholarship of Shoshana Felman, Dori Laub (1991), Geoffrey Hartman (1995), and Cathy Caruth (1996), these studies relied on Freud's theories on traumatic experience and memory in order to investigate the concept of trauma and its role in literature, and whether the trauma that is an extreme experience which challenges the limits of language and even ruptures meaning altogether, can be perceived with the help of literature. In Hartman's words, "A theory emerges focusing on the relationship of words and trauma, and helping us to "read the wound" with the aid of literature. Therefore, its analytical framework relies on the nexus between the historical, the literary and the psychological. As Caruth (1996: 3) explains in her seminal scholarship:

> If Freud turns to literature to describe traumatic experience, it is because literature, like psychoanalysis, is interested in the complex relation between knowing and not knowing. And it is, indeed at the specific point at which knowing and not knowing intersect that the language of literature and the psychoanalytic theory of traumatic experience precisely meet.

The second wave of trauma scholarship (Cvetokovich 2003; Mandel 2006; Forter 2007) showed interest in the relationship between individual experience and collective violence by emphasising the cultural dimensions of trauma and paid more attention to representations of extreme experiences such as rape, war, the Holocaust, the Gulag, American slavery, colonial oppression and racism.

According to Visser (2018), since its debut in the 1990s, trauma theorization in literary studies has aroused not only widespread scholarly approbation and enthusiasm but also resistance and opposition, and much of the latter has come from the side of postcolonial and non-Western literary criticism. Indeed, several scholars have pointed out the limits of trauma theory for postcolonial studies, such as it remained trapped within Euro-American conceptual and historical frameworks[8] (Cf. Buelens, Craps 2008; Rothberg 2008) and its depoliticizing and de-historicizing tendencies (Luckhurst 2008). Their research focuses on the rapprochement between trauma theory and postcolonial literary studies.[9]

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[8] According to Stef Craps, "Most attention within trauma theory has been devoted to events that took place in Europe or the United States, most prominently the Holocaust, and more recently" (Craps 2014: 46).

[9] Those scholars question whether trauma theory as conceptualized by Caruth and the aforementioned scholars« provides the best framework for thinking about the legacies of violence in the colonized/postcolonial world. For more on trauma research see: (Craps 2013; Buelens, Durrant and Eaglestone 2014; Baleav 2014; Kurtz 2018).

Although this response was slow to develop and has only become a strong factor in the debates on literary trauma theory in the past decade, its impact on the development of trauma theory has been significant, as noted by Visser (2018). Thus, the project of decolonizing trauma theory has involved a gradual process of moving away from the theory's Eurocentric tendencies towards an expansion of the theoretical field and towards a greater openness to culturally specific modes of addressing and negotiating trauma in global south.

Regarding the Middle East and Arabic region, it is something of a truism to observe that the violence and political crises in the present and in the past five decades have prompted several novelists to draw on traumatic events directly or indirectly for their books and to represent its impact. Notwithstanding, little scholarship has touched upon trauma theory (Moustafa 2009; Di Capua 2012; Gana 2014; Milich 2015; Lang 2015; Milich 2019; Greta 2021). All the above-mentioned scholars except for Di Capua 2012 and Milich 2019, discuss traumatic experiences and trauma in relation to traumas associated with the Lebanese civil war or the Syrian tragedy.

One of the seminal research on trauma in Egyptian novels has done by Di Capua 2012; based on Caruth and LaCapra, argues that in *Ḏāt* (1992) Ṣunʿ Allāh Ibrāhīm exposes an accumulative traumatic condition and he explains:

> This condition is not necessarily the outcome of a single historical event such as the 1967 war, but, rather, and more importantly, the ongoing trauma of the everyday: of struggling in poverty; of experiencing political coercion and state apathy; of living under a rigid patriarchal order; and of the daily effort to get by and survive (Di Capua 2012: 83).

Ibrāhīm wrote *Ḏāt* in 1992 and his surrounding reality[10] doesn't differ a greatly from ʿAbd al-Latīf 's one, despite the distance of twenty years there still the ongoing trauma of everyday in Egypt besides the political turmoil the country experienced during and aftermath 2011, specifically the escalating violence and instability in the streets.

3. *Kitāb al-Naḥḥāt*

Aḥmad ʿAbd al-Latīf was born in 1978 and received his degree in Spanish literature from al-Azhar University. He is a writer, literary translator, journalist and deputy editor-in-chief of the famous

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[10] For an overview of Ṣunʿ Allāh Ibrāhīm and his narrative world see Mehrez (1994) and Starkey (2016).

literary weekly *Aḫbār al-adab* ("The Literary News"), and was a disciple of the prominent writer Ğamāl al- Ġīṭānī (1945-2015).[11]

He made his debut in 2010, with the novel *Ṣānaʿ al-Mafātīḥ* ("The Keymaker"),[12] followed by six other novels[13] up to 2022. *Kitāb al-Naḥḥāt* ("The Sculptor's Book; 2013) is his third novel and it was awarded the Sawiris Literary Award in 2015.

Since his first novel, ʿAbd al-latīf has drawn on fantasy in his fictional works and shows a love for indirection and ambiguity. According to the Egyptian critic Fūʾād (2014), in ʿAbd al-latīf 's fictional work, realistic, social and historic threads merge in the structure of his imaginary world. Thus, the separation between the supernatural and the natural does not appear, but rather they interact with each other. One of the most obvious advantages of this kind of fantasy is that it allows readers to experience the world from various points of view.

In *Kitāb al-Naḥḥāt* I argue that he uses fantasy in the sense conceptualised by Rosemary Jackson, who proposes as explained by Atteberey (1992: 21): "first, fantasy is fundamentally a literature of desire and, second, that its ventures into the non-existent are really ways of challenging the existing political, social, and economic order." Atteberey points out that desire is not a simple psychological drive, but the tension produced by the social inhibition of such drives, "a lack resulting from cultural constraints." In a similar vein, scholars such as Kassem and Hashem 1985; Ḫalifī 1994; Avallone 2017, have shown the paramount importance of political crisis on the upsurge of the subgenre of the fantastic. The significance of reading the impact of political crises in these (un)realistic stories, is noted, for instance by Malak and Kassem in their edited collection *Flights of Fantasy: Arabic Short Stories* (1985: 10; Ghazoul 2004):

> The last few decades have been a period of unprecedented crisis for the Arab writer, particularly in the wake of the 1967 Arab-Israeli war. They have left him traumatized forcing him to give vent to

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[11] For an overview of Ğamāl al- Ġīṭānī and *Ğīl sittīnāt* see Kendall (2006).

[12] *Ṣānaʿ al-Mafātīḥ* ("The key maker"), the main character in the novel, decides one day, tired of hearing the tales of the people of his village about corruption that struck his heart, to make a key for his ears, with this key he can open them whenever he wants and close them whenever he wants. This key to hearing becomes, in a few days, very much in demand, as everyone wants to stop having to listen to all the bad things and corruption that are happening. The people of the village go further in their wishes after they experienced the calmness of not listening to what is going on, so they ask for keys for their sight and speech as well! At a certain point, the key maker decides that people have to face reality and he refuses to continue making the keys for hearing, as well as for the other senses.

[13] *ʿālam al-Mandal* ("The world of Tarot;" 2012), *Kitāb al-Naḥḥāt* ("The sculptor's book;" 2013*), Ilyās* (2014), *Ḥiṣn al-Turāb* ("Castle of dust;" 2017), *Sīqān taʿraf waḥdāh ṭarīq al- ḫurūğ* ("Legs that know alone their way out;" 2019), *ʿAṣūr Dānyal fī madīnat al- ḫuyūṭ* ("Dānyal's epochs in the city of threads;" 2022*).

hitherto untold fears and repressed desires. He has been threatened on all fronts by aggressive forces.

The political crises have had a similar impact in the case of 'Abd al-Latīf, who took an active part in the 25 January Revolution, and he gives an account of the violence during the eighteen days of the revolution and its aftermath.[14] Thus, this atmosphere of disillusionment and trauma has shaped his narrative in *Kitāb al-Naḥḥāt:*[15]

> The idea for 'The Sculptor's Book' arose from the questions raised by the Egyptian revolution, but it is not a novel about the revolution, but about its defeat, its dashed hopes and the pain it left behind. [...]The revolution born for a modern civil state returned with a bigger army and Islamist groups with more power. Here the idea revolved around the present, and the present was fear, and fear was accompanied by trauma.[16]

Moreover, his statements seem to align with the theses of (Matthies-Boon 2017, 2022),[17] which argue that Egyptian youth activists were profoundly traumatized during and after 2011.

3.1. Spatio-temporal settings and synopsis

The first thing we observe is that the novelistic space is not directly connected with a concrete geographically fixed place and there is a complete absence of temporal references.

The novel tells the story of a young man who leaves his world filled with blood, violence and ugliness for another fantastical and indefinite world. It is unclear whether it is on an island or on the bank of a river. He brought with him sculpture material, photos and pages with the life stories of his loved ones, mother, father, stepfather and other secondary characters from his former world. He modelled identical figures with clay collected from the riverbed, albeit smaller in size. After several unsuccessful attempts, he manages to improve the sculptures, then discovers that they have become real people, although they do not see him but only feel him. He finds himself alone and decides to create

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[14] For more information on the violence related to the revolution, see Stacher (2020).

[15] In e-mail correspondence with 'Abd al-Latīf on 22 June 2022.

[16] All quotations are translated from the Arabic by the author of this article.

[17] Matthies-Boon (2017) in her seminal study that examines the emotional impact of Egypt's post-revolutionary political developments on 40 young activists, consisting of 25 males and 15 females between the age of 18 and 35 years from Cairo, highlights the impact of the revolution on youth activism "[...] in Egypt's hierarchically structured society the destruction of their hopes and aspirations has been marginalised from internal political debates" (Matthies-Boon 2017: 620).

a wife according to his aesthetic criteria. He models other members of his family, neighbours as well as animals and birds. As the story progresses, the community grows, becoming a real society. And one of his characters, brought from the previous world, becomes the leader of the new community. Then the conflicts of the former world are repeated, and his wife and child, born of their union, are killed. At this point he is disappointed and abandons the community and decides to do it all over again. He repeats the plot.

In her book Trauma Fiction, Whitehead (2004: 4) explains that:

> Novelists have frequently found that the impact of trauma can only adequately be represented by mimicking its forms and symptoms, so that temporality and chronology collapse, and narratives are characterized by repetition and indirection.

Against this backdrop, the following analysis aims to demonstrate the narrative strategies employed by the novelist in order to reflect the impact of the Revolution's traumatic events and claim through allegory his individual and collective trauma.[18]

3.2. Narrative strategies and claiming trauma

The novel is written in the form of a diary with 24 entries, constructed in four chapters or *safr* (books). The narrative is interrupted three times: after the first chapter, with a section entitled *Ḥakāyāt Murāfaqah lil Tamāṯīl* ("Stories that accompanied the statues") and following the second and the third chapter where ʿAbd al-latīf breaks off from the main narrative by using a different typeface from that of the main text, with events recounted by a heterodiegetic narrator. Consequently, ʿAbd al-latīf employs a variety of differing narrative modes, using a deliberate pattern of alternation between, on the one hand first person narrative, on the other, a third-person, (omniscient narrator). Thus, the narrator relates the story in diary form in the first person, then four of his characters (mother, father, stepfather and the man in the barrel) relate fragments of their story in the first person.

He then switches to the omniscient narrator in a section entitled *Ḥāmiš* ("Margin") where he comments on the stories related by each character. The story of the last character, the man with the phallus, is related by the omniscient narrator. This strategy creates a fragmented and broken narrative

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[18] Kai Erikson distinguishes between individual trauma and collective trauma: By individual trauma I mean a blow to the psyche that breaks through one's defences so suddenly and with such brutal force that one cannot react to it effectively. By collective trauma on the other hand, I mean a blow to the basic tissues of social life that damages the bonds attaching people together and impairs the prevailing sense of communality (Erikson1995: 6).

that is a valid tool to depict the traumatized state of the protagonist and his characters, just as Whitehead (2004: 4), based on Caruth's thesis, explains that trauma for narrative fiction requires a literary form which departs from the conventional linear sequence. Lynee E. Angus and Leslie S. Greenberg (2011: 59) effectively characterize broken narratives as "states of narrative incoherence in which competing plotlines, and their accompanying emotions, block clients' efforts to achieve an integrated understanding of an emotionally unresolved or traumatic life-experience."

This fragmented writing is fostered by the letters that the author includes within the diary; one written by his stepfather and four passionate letters that the narrator exchanged with his bride. According to (Hamamsy 2010: 151–152):

> The epistolary writing affords the writer an opportunity to probe certain feelings and emotions that s/he would not be equally able to express in the case of first/third-person method of narration. The time one takes to write about her/his feelings allows the space needed to discover how one is really feeling at a given moment.

It is worth noting that inserting letters in a narrative is a distinctive feature of ʻAbd al-latīf 's novels. It is carried forward from his previous works and he continues to use it in his fiction. Those passionate letters full of strong emotions and love, in my opinion, form a clear juxtaposition with the detachment expressed later on by the narrator.

Another feature that reflects his state of anxiety is the beginning of the dairy in media res. In fact, the novel begins with *al-yawm al-ʻawāl baʻda al-sādas* ("the day one after six"); this in media res reflects a state of anxiety as pointed out by Martenas (1985: 3): '"[it] implies a state of turmoil or excitement, an inability to predict the future, an urge to master and purge overwhelming experiences or intense emotions."

Repetition is one of the key literary strategies in trauma narrative; Whitehead (2004: 86) explains that the device of repetition can act at the levels of language, imagery or plot. The repetition emerges from the literary devices used by ʻAbd al-latīf; he repeats the same actions of the first chapter in the fourth chapter in a temporal loop as if he were stuck in eternal repetitive events, as a sort of myth of Sisyphus. For instance, the first day in the first and in the fourth chapter starts:

وصلت إلى الجزيرة بواسطة قارب صغير بمجدافين، وضعت فيه ثيابا يليق بحياتي الجديدة التي ابحث عنها:برانس وجباب وعباءات، والبسة وسراويل، ونعالا مريحة.بعض الكتب والدفاتر والاوراق البيضاء، مع بعض الرسومات التي قد تصير في يوم ما منحوتات.

I arrived on the island in a small boat, with two oars and put on the clothes of my new life, which I would like to live. I brought dressing gowns, tunics, coats, dresses, trousers and comfortable slippers. Some books, notebooks, blank sheets of paper, with some drawings that could someday become sculptures (ʿAbd al-Laṭīf 2013: 19, 217).

This novel has also another particular feature: the novelist eschews conventional dialogue-paragraphs and blends dialogue, narrative and description, as in the following passage:

أنا أعرف أشياء كثيرة لا تزالين تجهلينها ما هي؟ تسأل بشغف. سأحكيها لك. متى؟ لا تتعجلي، فأجمل ما في الحياة أن يأتي كل شيء في موعده. و الآن موعد ماذا؟ موعد أن أقول لك إنني انتظرتك كثيراً وما ظننت أبداً أنك ستخرجين على هذه الصورة، إنك أجمل مما توقعت وأكثر حياة مما كنت أتمنى [...] لا أفهم بعض ما تقوله، غير أنني أراك جميلاً جداً، تقول وتقترب، في نظرتك سحر، وفي كلماتك فتنة. نتعانق، تصل بالكاد حتى صدري، فتسمع نبضات قلبي المتخالجة، وأشعر بأن الكون بين راحتي.

I know many things that you do not yet know, what are they? Ask eagerly. I will tell you. When? Don't rush, because the best thing in life is that everything comes on time. Now the time for what? It is time to tell you that I have waited so long for you, and I never thought you would come out like this, that you are more beautiful than I expected, and more alive than I wanted [...] I don't understand some of what you say, but I can see that you are very beautiful. She says and comes closer. In your magic gaze, and in your seductive words. We embrace and she barely reaches my chest, so she feels the beating of my heart and I feel that the universe is between my palms (ʿAbd al-Laṭīf 2013: 113).

It worth noting that this is the first work in which ʿAbd al-Latīf experiments this technique that bears an echo of Saramago (Preto-Rodas 1999).

3.2.1 The narrator's traumatic experiences

The events evolve on an island of fantasy. The writer, in sketching his characters, seems to draw on mythological Greek ones, however it is not hard to read the novel as an allegory of Egyptians' trauma and disillusion in the aftermath of 2011 as I will illustrate later in this paper. Here allegory fulfils two functions: first, it creates a distance between the writer and the situation, second, it creates an indirect narrative mode to represent this trauma. Creating an indirect relationship between the text and the traumas they filter, for Hartman, is a sort of authorial "coldness" that must be assumed if one is to approach psychic anguish on the personal or collective level:

I associated this coldness, leaning on the Greek myth, with Perseus' shield, which guarded him from the petrifying glance of the Medusa, and speculated that tradition functioned as

this shield"; with this protection absent, "the poet had to go against the real with the unshielded eye or the unshielded senses. This seemed to increase the risk and potential of trauma (Caruth and Hartman 1996: 632).

We can note this coldness in the emotional detachment of the protagonist; the narrator shows no emotions when his spouse and his son disappeared in the midst of the violence which broke out on the island, reflecting a perceived rootlessness and meaninglessness of life, which can indicate a sort of apathy associated with traumatic experience:

أتوجه صوب مسكن عروس النهر، فلا أجد المسكن ولا أعثر عليها. أبحث عنها في كل مكان، حتى أصل لبيتي فوق التبة، غير انها لم تكن هناك [...] اهبط من التبة وانتبه لاول مرة وبشكل حقيقي، أن الجزيرة صارت غارقة في الدماء وأن المقاصل تملأ جميع جوانبها [...]، فأقرر جمع كل متعلقاتي في حقيبة والرحيل.

I go towards the house of the river bride, but I can't find the house and I can't find her. I look for her everywhere until I reach my house on the hill, but she is not there [...]. I go down the hill and for the first time I realise that the island is flooded with blood, and that there are gallows everywhere[...]. So I decide to put everything in a suitcase and leave (ʿAbd al-Latīf 2013: 210).

The narrative contains almost a dozen nightmares. As per the narrator's description, those nightmares follow the same pattern of his walking through an empty large street, where he sees men hanging from gallows, deformed creatures, blood, men who are metamorphosed into animals, men with beards and huge bellies; in the description, the protagonist appears to be more emotionally engaged than in the passages relating to his present situation:

أرى شوارع واسعة جداً وخالية إلا من مقاصل وسلالم وبالوعات ۞ وشرفات، وبينما أسير وحدي من شارع لاخر، مرعوبا من المشهد الضبابي، تنشق الارض فجأة ويخرج منها رجال بطونهم منتفخة ويسيرون على ظهورهم، رجال كثيرون حد أنهم يملؤون الشارع العريض الذي ۞ أتوقف فيه [...] فيظهر في الشرفات رجال ضخام الجثة، ينزلون بأقدامهم على البطون المنتفخة ويسيرون فوقها بخطوات عسكرية،. أتسلق الحائط لاصل إلى شرفة، ومن هناك أرى رقابا معلقة بالمقاصل و رقاب أخرى تطير بالسيوف، أقرر الهرب أصل لشارع اخر انتبه إلى ان قدمي مكتسيتان بالدم .

I see empty, wide streets where there are gallows, ladders, manholes and balconies. While I wander alone from one street to the next, terrified by the foggy scene, the ground suddenly cracks and men with swollen stomachs emerge and walk on their backs. So many men fill the wide street where I stop [...] Men with big bodies appear on the balconies, putting their feet on their swollen bellies and stamping on them with military steps. I climb the wall to reach a balcony, and from there I see necks hanging from guillotines and

other necks flying with swords, I decide to run away, and when I get to another street, I realise that my feet are covered in blood ('Abd al-Laṭīf 2013: 21).

Those nightmares could be seen as remnants of having witnessed the original events of the Revolution.[19] Dreaming of bloody streets is a clear allusion to the unprecedented massacres the country witnessed during and after the Revolution.[20] Moreover, the author seems to draw on psychological notions in his depiction of those recurring nightmares, Kolk and Hart (1995: 164) write: "traumatic memories of the arousing events may return as physical sensations, horrific images or nightmares, behavioural re-enactments, or a combination of these."

Throughout the novel, the narrator describes frequent nightmares which depict brutal scenes and the next morning, he finds signs of wounds on his body:

أتذكر الاف المرات التي استيقظت فيها بعلامات على جسدي، ما بين قرصات وجروح، دون أن أفهم أبداً إن كانت آلام الروح تنعكس على الجسد.

I remember thousands of times when I woke up with marks on my body, between needles and wounds. I never realised whether the pain of the soul is reflected on the body. ('Abd al-Laṭīf 2013: 140).

The depiction of recurrent brutal scenes with somatic reactions suggests that the narrator/writer is haunted by the violence witnessed during the revolution and its aftermath and reveals a traumatic disturbance. Relying on Rainey *et al.* (1987), Van Der Kolk and Saporta (1991: 207) pointed that:

One of the hallmarks of Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder is the intrusive reexperiencing of elements of the trauma in nightmares, flashbacks, or somatic reactions. These traumatic memories are triggered by autonomic arousal.

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[19] According to Dori Laub's model of testimonial practices, the first level of witness is "that of being a witness to oneself" (1991:75).

[20] According to the Egyptian Health Ministry, 846 people were killed and 6,467 others were injured, though these figures are seen by civil society organizations to be extremely conservative and are highly debated. Some of those injured were deliberately shot in the eyes with rubber bullets, hospitals reported. Two of the bloodiest days were 28 January, when police attacked protesters assembled in central Cairo's iconic Tahrir Square after Friday prayers, and 2 February, during the so-called "battle of the camels" when hundreds of Mubarak sympathizers stormed into the square on camel- and horseback in a desperate bid to disperse the demonstrators. https://www.thenewhumanitarian.org/news/2013/02/11/call-investigation-post-revolution-deaths-egypt. For more information, see Abaza (2016).

3.2.2 Characters' traumatic experiences

While the narrator does not recount the sufferings of his past life that led him to leave his former world, described as a cruel place, for another, he seems more concerned about his characters' traumatic experiences. In a section which follows the first chapter, the characters relate of their life stories. Their accounts depict lives full of sufferings, traumatic experiences, violence, failures and disappointments. The narrative commences with the mother's voice who describes her sad life with her husband, who had completely broken down and disappeared, trapped in some kind of prosopagnosia. At a certain point in his life, he starts to see all faces similar and in the end he disappears. Subsequently, the story related by the father appears to affirm to some extent his wife's story. He recounts in an inner monologue how he fell into a sewer, a passage that can be an allegory of the failure of the Revolution:

المرة الوحيدة التي نظرت فيها إلى السماء، سقطت في البالوعة. كانت خطواتي بطيئة على عكس سقوطي الذي حدث في لمح البصر، وكانت رجفة الارض عند ارتطامي بها لايتناسب مع خفة وزني.

The only time I raised my eyes to the sky, I fell through the sewer. My footsteps were slow in contradiction with my fall, happened in the blink of an eye and the quake of the earth when I struck was not proportionate to the lightness of my body ('Abd al-Laṭīf 2013: 47).

His father describes in a sort of dream/hallucination with surreal dystopian elements what he has seen inside. This passage can be read as an allusion to how the dream of a utopian society inspired by the revolution turned quickly into a horrific and nonsense nightmare "Dystopias follow utopias the way thunder follows lightning," writes Lepore (2017). Inside the sewer he found many people in the nude and he describes sexual intercourse with different women, blood covering everything as he was cutting up bodies and human organs and then he found his wife and two children and all the faces looked similar.

His stepfather, in the form of a letter, relates his emotions and memories with the narrator. From the narrator's comments, we are informed about his unfortunate life marked by failure in his work as a theatre director. The fourth voice is the *Raǧul al -Barmīl* (He spent all his life in the barrel in the street) who relates people's different stories about him and his love with the mute woman who sells lottery tickets, then we are informed by the narrator that one day someone set fire to the *Raǧul al -Barmīl* and his barrel.

The last character in this section is *Raǧul al-qaḍīb al Muntaṣib dā'imān.* His story, on more pages than the other characters, is related in the third- person narrative and contains gothic elements. It begins by recounting a dream made by *Raǧul al-qaḍīb;* he dreamt that a great number of ants are

attached to his phallus. The narrator describes the torment of the man because of his exaggerated volume of his phallus. *Raǧul al-qaḍīb* seems withdrawn and alienated from the people around him. He lives alone as his wife and daughter have left him. Then, in a lively scene with the "camera's eye technique, the narrator portrays a physical relationship between *Raǧul al-qaḍīb* and his neighbour, a woman, that we see dead, hanging from the gallows near his bed the following moment. Although 'Abd al-latīf employs the method of multiple narration, we do not perceive a polyvocal perspective as their voices seem to highlight the main narrator's ideas, while *Raǧul al-qaḍīb al Muntaṣib dā'imān*; his anti-hero par excellence, who should give a different point of view has been related in third person.[21]

Furthermore, all those stories are shaped by absence[22] and disquiet. In this section of the novel, ᶜAbd al-Laṭīf draws a portrait of traumatised, disintegrated and alienated people. The narrator's family is broken apart under the strain of disappointment and hopelessness to manage their lives. Thus, all its members chose absence. The life of *Raǧul al -Barmīl* was conditioned by prejudice, the injustice of society and by the atrocities of the people. *Raǧul al-qaḍīb* has been alienated by his society. In this type of narrative, readers are engaged emotionally and cognitively as the author "signals for readers the effects of trauma on characters by engaging readers' cognitive and emotional responses in their depiction" (Vickroy 2014: 138).

While the events in the novel come to an end in the third chapter with the destruction of everything on the island, the author does not bring the novel to an end, but repeats the plot with the same actions. Thereby, the novel rhetorically resists any possibility of narrative closure through its textual form. By occluding narrative closure, the novel occludes at least by implication any corresponding emotional closure (Gana 2014: 79). The writer leaves us suspended, waiting for the resolution which suggests that this novel like the revolution, is still in progress (Hashamt 2015). As Samia Mehrez puts it, referencing Umberto Eco, "both the revolution and its translations remain 'open texts' at the literal and semiotic levels" (Mehrez 2012: 1).

To sum up, I argue that *Kitāb al-Naḥḥāt* as per narrative form, styles and plot, aptly conveys the traumatic impact of the Revolution 2011 by the intertwining of the three tropes of absence, indirection, and repetition (Pederson 2018: 100, 101).

Having addressed the main formal and stylistic features of the novel, I now aim to discuss the allegory deployed in the novel.

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[21] For more on multiple narration in Arabic novels see Meyer (2001).

[22] For LaCapra, absence represents a transhistorical or foundational loss, a structural trauma that is not related to a particular event and to which we are all subject. Cf. LaCapra (1999).

4. Kitāb al-Naḥḥāt as an allegory of Egyptian political and social post-2011 reality

In modern Egyptian fiction, there are several examples of writers who express their political views through allegory in order to circumvent official censorship or social pressures. We can find the most illustrative example of the deployment of allegory in Naǧīb Maḥfūẓ's fictional work, especially in *ʾAwlād Ḥāratinā* ("Children of Our Alley").[23] For al-Badawi, "it is the novel that introduces the allegory into modern Arabic fiction." (Badawi 1992: 254). Critics of Arabic literature (El-Gabalawy 1989; Badawi 1992; NAJJAR1998.) regard this novel as an early outcry of protest against oppression. as it was written in 1959, after parliamentary life had been brought to an end, the Constitution suspended, parties dissolved, and government censorship of the press imposed. According to (El-Desouky 2011; Greenberg 2013), *Children of Our Alley, b*y offering an anatomy of the failures of the 1952 Revolution, and placing it in a particular conception of historical process, anticipates in many ways the recent momentous People's Revolution of 25 January 2011. With a similar slant, ʿAbd al-Latif published his novel in the aftermath of 2011.

In my analysis of this novel, I argue that ʿAbd al-Laṭīf employs the allegory in the sense proposed by Walter Benjamin in *The origin of German tragic Drama* (1928), where he stresses that allegory is a focal point from which to look at things, "the allegorical way of seeing" (*Betrachtung*) and he vigorously asserts that allegory is not mere "illustrative technique" but rather "a form of expression" (Benjamin 1928, quoted in Cowan 1981: 112).

As I mentioned earlier, the writer draws his narrative from religious narrative and Greek mythology. On the one hand, the steps in the construction of the statutes and the division of the diary into chapters lasting six days each recall the traditional Biblical parable of the creation in six days and his name *al-Naḥḥāt* could allude to *al-Muṣwar* ("the flawless shaper"), one of the ninety-nine names of God in Islam. On the other, two of his characters are overtly drawn from mythological figures as in the cases of *Raǧul al-qaḍīb al Muntaṣib dāʾimān* ("the man with the phallus that was always erect") that recalls Priapus and the other is *Raǧul al Barmīl* ("the man of the Barrel") that recalls Diogenes.

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[23] Using the narrative framework of a Cairo alley, the work outlines the spiritual and social history of man from Genesis to the present day. The main characters represent God and Satan, Adam and Eve, Cain and Abel, Moses, Jesus and Muhammad. Thinly disguised, the prophets are portrayed as social reformers striving to save their peoples from tyranny and oppression. Mahfouz then boldly allegorizes the "death of God" in the modern world at the hands of a new prophet, the magician who personifies science (El-Gabalawy 1989: 91).

Indeed, in a television interview, ʿAbd al-Laṭīf said that the Book of Genesis and *Infinity in the Palm of Her Hand* by Gioconda Belli were a source of great inspiration for him in this book.[24]

Thus, I think that *Kitāb al-Naḥḥāt* is an attempt to recreate a new world with words, "sculpture and writing are two sides of the same coin" (ʿAbd al-Laṭīf 2013: 16) and the theme of Genesis, gives the author the opportunity to realise a dream, a desire to create a better world, "the desire for redemption and totality or, in Sartre's words, the desire to be in-oneself-for-oneself or God" (LaCapra 1999: 700).

ʿAbd al-Laṭīf sets his novel in an imaginary place, none of his characters in their new life has a memory, in order to deal with such collective amnesia, the narrator has brought with him texts with their history. Here the novelist evokes the figure of the nationalist intellectual who alone understands the nation's heritage and can act as the "conscience of the nation" or, as Tawfīq al-Ḥakīm puts it in his 1933 *ʿAwdat ar-Rūḥ* ("The Return of the spirit"): *Lisān al-Umma al nātiq* ("the nation's voice;" Jacquemond (2008).

A significant turning point in this plan occurred when *Raǧul al-qaḍīb* stole those texts and the narrator's garments. He rules the other characters by supplying them with food and clothes which represented their impelling needs and he convinced them that he has direct access to the truth via inspiration or revelation, in an explicit reference to the social work by the Muslim Brotherhood and religious fatwa:

<div dir="rtl">
سألته فيه عن الاقدار والمصائر، عن الموت والحياة، عن الامس والغد، فأخبرني بحكمته أننا مجرد عرائس تحركها يد عظيمة، توجهنا إلى الخير حتى وإن بدا الخير شراً.
</div>

I asked him about destinies and fates, about death and life, about yesterday and tomorrow, so he told me with his wisdom that we are merely puppets in the hands of fate, which directs us to the good even if the good seems to be evil (ʿAbd al-Laṭīf 2013: 127).

Here we find a significative example of how ʿAbd al-Laṭīf manages to intertwine his novel with elements taken from the present social reality of Egypt—what Wolfgang Iser called *Wirklichkeitssignale* (ISER 1991; quoted in Milich (2019: 150)—despite the novel fantastic setting. Furthermore, depicting *Raǧul al-qaḍīb* as a thief who has stolen the characters' written history alludes to the fact that the Muslim Brotherhood revealed themselves to be politically and religiously opportunistic and were therefore believed to have hijacked the identity of the people as a whole.

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[24] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8xG80UJp-2s

In the portrayal of the *Raǧul al-qaḍīb*, the author does not give a detailed description of his physical appearance. However, he does give him the features of a highly charismatic leader; He is represented with visible masculine power, *wasīm* (handsome), has good manners, a nice voice and he is the holder of occult knowledge as he can tell their past and their future. Thus, the people call him *al-ḫāriq* ("supernatural") ('Abd al-Laṭīf 2013: 105, 106). By depicting in details, the attitudes of *Raǧul al-qaḍīb* and his discourses addressed to the people, 'Abd al-Laṭīf pens a vivid portrait of the ruler in an authoritative regime and his strategies that lead to deep veneration by the majority of the people, best summed up, perhaps, in the author's description of the statue made by some artist per immortalize the dictator:

ألمح تمثال من بعيد، مقاما فوق قاعدة عالية. أقترب وأدقق النظر، يرتدي ثياب أهل الحكمة، بلحية طويلة وشعر مسترسل، وينظر إلى أعلى، نحو السماء، مبتهلا. أحدق. إنه رجل القضيب!

A statue seen remotely, standing on a high pedestal. I approached and looked closely, clothed in the garments of the wise, with a long beard and flowing hair, and looked up at the sky. I stare at him. I found out that he is *Raǧul al-qaḍīb* ('Abd al-Laṭīf 2023: 177).

It is worth noting how the author underlines the relationship between dictatorial power and super sexual power, echoing *the Feast of the Goat* by Vargas. This is a further reference to Latin American literature, which suggests that the author is greatly influenced by it.

On many pages, the writer addresses the theme of despotism, through the story of the *Raǧul al-qaḍīb*, which reflects his deep concern for political issues. A careful reading of the novel reveals that the characters in the novel represent the main groups of Egyptian society: ordinary people, the acculturated, marginalised people and politics.

Two other moments in the novel deserve our attention, reflecting the point of view of the author and allegorically representing political reality. The first one depicts the political system's strategy in dealing with dissenters: when *Raǧul al Barmīl* began to criticize *Raǧul al-qaḍīb* and cast mistrust on his supernatural power, *Raǧul al-qaḍīb* initially tried to corrupt him by promising him certain privileges. Albeit, when he insisted on his position, *Raǧul al-qaḍīb* ordered his fellows to beat *Raǧul al Barmīl* and left him paralysed. The second one is when *Raǧul al Barmīl* 's beloved accused *Raǧul al-qaḍīb* and spoke about what really happened, he cut off her tongue in an allegory of how a dictatorial regime suffocates the liberty of expression.

Interestingly, the subjective voice of the river- bride is the most foregrounded. 'Abd al-Laṭīf depicts her as a purposeful and independent young woman. She is endowed with the agency of desire

vis-à-vis her Pygmalion. The sexual element is quite substantial, involving as it does passages and sentences relating their passionate physical relationship. She has many initiatives and her words are pregnant with hope for a prosperous future for the island:

بعصا طويلة حددت عروسة النهر الارض التي ستزرعها،[...] حرثت الارض وحفرت قنوات بداخلها ورمت البذور التي ستصير يوما ثمرات طيبة. أنا سعيدة يا نحات لانني سأطعم نفسي بيدي وأطعم الجائعين.[...] أريد ان استخرج من هذه الثمار دواء وأضيف لمنح الحياة والحفاظ عليها.

With a long stick, the bride identified the land she was planting [...] ploughed the ground, dug channels inside and threw seeds that would become good fruits. I'm happy, sculptor! because I will feed with my hands and feed the people who are hungry [...] I want to extract medicines out of these fruits and I add: give and preserve life (ʿAbd al-Laṭīf 2023: 131).

The competition between *al-Naḥḥāt* and *Raǧul al-qaḍīb* for her possession – the one legitimate, the other illegitimate – alludes to the struggle for political legitimacy within the real nationalistic context. It is not hard to understand that ʿAbd al-Laṭīf constructs the heroine of his novel as an allegory of the nation, William Granara (2014: 3) writes: "The female protagonist has often been constructed or manipulated as an allegory of the nation in modern Arabic literature." Her tragic death with her son, murdered by the followers of *Raǧul al-qaḍīb* accentuates the pain and trauma of the revolutionaries in seeing their dreams of a free and democratic country fade away.

5. Conclusion

Through an attentive reading of *Kitāb al-Naḥḥāt*, I have illustrated how the textual strategies employed by Ahmad ʿAbd al-Laṭīf, on the one hand reflect the individual and collective trauma in the aftermath of 2011, on the other, convincingly convey the author's political criticism.

In this study, I argue that reading the *Kitāb al-Naḥḥāt* through the lens of trauma theory, gives a better tool to investigate national crises and their correlation with individual and collective trauma in Egypt post 2011. Stephan Milich (2015: 287) writes:

By re-contextualizing the political causes and social consequences of traumatization and placing them in hitherto unconsidered or silenced politically explosive interrelationships, this literature is one of the most relevant forms of literary political writing today in Mashriq and Maghreb societies.

Given that Kitāb al-Naḥḥāt was published in 2013 (written on 28 October 2012, as ʿAbd al-Laṭīf specifies at the end of the book), the novel can be considered a belated response to the traumatic event of the

Revolution (Caruth 1996). Moreover, in the months that followed the Presidential election of 2012, the Muslim Brotherhood revealed their lack of willingness to collaborate with those with whom it marched during the uprising or to reform or restructure state institutions to become more transparent and accountable.[25]

The situation was worsened by the Constitutional Declaration in August 2012. It became clear that Egypt was transferred to another kind of dictatorship.[26] In this way and in such despotic contexts, fiction becomes the safest, perhaps the only possible, mode of life writing. Thus, I contend that ʿAbd al-Latīf's work is an acknowledgment of his individual despair following 25th January a reflection of the stifling political atmosphere that had begun to envelop Egypt as the heady initial optimism of the 2011 Revolution wore thin, to be replaced by a mood of disillusion bordering on despair.

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[25] The Brotherhood also alienated those with whom it had marched during the uprising — liberals, leftists, and secularists — by allying with Salafis and former jihadis. Although Morsi made a bold decision to dismiss the Defence Minister, Field Marshal Muhammad Husayn Tantawi, and the Chief of Staff, Sami ʿAnan, in August 2012, this decision was linked mainly to internal arrangements and a "time-for-change" mentality within the military rather than serving as a sign of his "revolutionary" policy (Abaza 2013).

[26] In 2012, when the SCAF ruled after Mubarak was ousted, the artists painted a split portrait: one half depicted Mubarak, the other half portrayed the former military general Tantawi. While Mubarak's half-portrait remained, the half-portrait of Tantawi was repeatedly replaced over time by several presidential candidates. The first was Mohammed Shafiq, with a military background, who ran against former president Morsi. His half-portrait was followed by those of Ahmed Shafiq, Amr Moussa (a former Mubarak aide), and Tantawi. When the wall was painted over, the portrait reappeared in a smaller size, half Mubarak and half Muslim Brotherhood General Guide Mohamed Badie. These satirical portraits conveyed the message that nothing had changed and that the regime was only repeating the same gaffes (Abaza 2013).

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The representation of anti-black racism in Egyptian movies

Isra Al-Qudah, Ahmad S. Haider and *Susan Abu Tair*

With the flames of racial and ethnic discrimination glowing vehemently everywhere, the present study probes into the representation of color-based discrimination in Egyptian movies. It depicts the stereotypes and value judgments taken as norms characterizing black people in Egyptian movies. The paper's methodological approach is both qualitative and quantitative. Quantitatively, a structured questionnaire on Microsoft forms consisting of three questions that are related to Movie watching habits, stereotyping, and attitudes & future recommendations, was used to elicit 75 viewers' reactions toward the negative representation of black people in Egyptian movies. Qualitatively, the researchers analyzed some scenes that were extracted from six Egyptian movies. The quantitative findings showed that some of the participants have a typical stereotype about black people based on what they watch in the movies and recommended representing them in a better way in the future. The qualitative findings revealed inter-discoursal characteristics of racist discourse in Egyptian movies. The conclusions and recommendations call upon global media hubs and social media platforms to help combat and eradicate racism through banning the production of TV programs and shows that condone racist beliefs and practices.

Keywords: black people; discrimination; discourse; Egyptian movies.

1. Background of the study

Racism, which digs deep in history, reflects the deepest forms of dividedness, segregation, and difference between groups. It is associated with slavery, exploitation, low status, deprivation, and degradation. Racist political regimes are known to exercise apartheid, oppression, and persecution against other groups on the basis of a person's skin color. This results in gaps between people of different races and ethnicities in different domains, including educational achievement, job opportunities, human rights, health services, and so on. According to Blackburn (2008), such socially-imposed differences often result in inequalities. In view of the above, discriminatory practices are associated with a host of social, cultural, economic, and psychological factors which impact target groups. For example, negative racial stereotypes and traits are often strongly associated with blacks, and positive ones are associated with whites (Dovidio, Evans and Tyler 1986).

Racism in mass media and movies is typically identified as the misrepresentation of a certain race or ethnicity. It is manifested in various ways, either by promoting negative stereotypes of a certain race or ethnicity or by underrepresenting them in mass media or movies. While several races or ethnicities (e.g., Asian, Latin Americans, and Middle-Eastern) might be subject to racist representations in mass media and movies, in the context of this study, black people as a recognised race shall be the focus of the discussion.

In this regard, it is worth noting that racism against black people in mass media and movies is a long-dated practice. In such a long history of racism against black people, multiple racist practices, such as negative stereotypes of marking black characters as being violent, uneducated, and criminals, enforced the idea that black people are fundamentally dangerous or inferior to people of other races.

Unfortunately, as this particular race endured such racism in mainstream white media, the situation of portraying black people in mainstream Arab media was not different, disregarding the fact that a considerable proportion of Arabs are black. The impression that black people are unimportant or unworthy of attention is perpetuated by the fact that they are frequently not given prominent roles or are simply presented as supporting characters. Furthermore, instances of blackface, where non-black actors paint their faces in black, are featured in various 'comedy' Arab shows, a practice that once again perpetuates racism and mockery of a whole race that has its deep history.

The representation of black-skinned people in media has been a major concern in mainstream Arab media, especially Egyptian media. Several themes pertaining to black people in global media began to well up and be situated in normalized contexts. The myth of uncivilized, slow-witted, and sometimes intimidating black people is perhaps one of the most enduring themes that one might observe in the Egyptian media. These claims concur with what has been reported by Ferber (2004, 175) that the image of "the black is the cultural lens through which whites perceive blacks. This is an image that is apparent throughout white supremacist discourse."

It is noteworthy that mass media, including movies, have been a powerful medium for framing stereotypes (Dibas, Rabab'ah, and Haider 2022; Haider and Al-Abbas 2022). Not only do they reflect and shape prejudices, but they also construct and perpetuate distorted images of reality that can be erroneously taken for granted as clichés (Georges and Farghal 2013; Farghal 2006). Moreover, the creation of one group deliberately defines another group in relation to its category in a binary relationship (Banjo and Jennings 2017).

A 2019 report issued by Aljazeera news network, published on their official website, draws the readers' attention to the insinuated, subtle racism against dark-skinned people in a number of Egyptian movies. These practices have been long overlooked by censors as well as viewers. The significance of

this work derives from its being a pioneering study that addresses an important issue for researchers in different disciplines, including sociology, social anthropology, social media discourse, and Black studies, to mention but a few. Furthermore, the current study will help challenge the stereotypical images associated with black people everywhere. It aims to achieve two main objectives. First, to show how black people are normally portrayed in Egyptian movies and the types of stereotypes that are usually formed and acquired by these movie viewers. Second to shed light on the viewers' movie-watching habits, acquired stereotypes, and attitudes concerning the representations of black people in Egyptian movies.

Despite its possible influence on societal attitudes and the maintenance of discriminatory ideas, the portrayal of anti-black racism in Egyptian movies has received little academic attention. Furthermore, even though racism against black people is a global problem, the backdrop of Egypt provides a distinctive prism through which this phenomenon can be evaluated, given the nation's historical and cultural importance in Africa. In order to better understand how anti-black racism is portrayed in Egyptian cinema, this study examines its expressions, underlying narratives, and ramifications in relation to a wider societal context.

Understanding how anti-black racism is portrayed in Egyptian cinema is important for both intellectual and social reasons. This piece of research aims to enhance critical discussions on media representation, racism, and the influence of visual narrative on public views by examining the cinematic portrayal of anti-black racism. In addition, it can also reflect on the past and present dynamics of racial relations in Egyptian society. By so doing, it sets up the stage to explore the underlying societal attitudes, biases, and power structures that underlie such representations. This information can be of great value to politicians, activists, and media experts working to promote a more inclusive and fair society, as well as serving as a basis for future academic research.

Despite the importance of the subject under investigation, there is a dearth of research on how anti-black racism is represented in Egyptian cinema. Although there have been numerous studies on racism and media representation, only a few studies have specifically looked into how anti-black racism is portrayed in Egyptian cinema. Most previous studies focused on different facets of Egyptian cinema, like gender roles, political themes, or historical storylines. Thus, a thorough investigation of the particular dynamics and manifestations of anti-black racism in Egyptian movies is needed.

By addressing this research gap, the present study seeks to advance the field of scholarship and launch a larger conversation about racism in the Egyptian media. It also stresses the importance of fighting racist ideology in local and international contexts, encouraging more inclusive narratives, and engaging critically with how race and racism are represented.

2. Literature review and theoretical framework

This section provides a discussion of Kress and Van Leeuven's (2020) framework as well as the studies that examined the representations and stereotypes of black people in audiovisual content, such as movies, TV shows/series, and sitcoms.

Kress and Van Leeuwen's (2020) model hinges on the notion that communication is basically a multi-modal act where non-verbal communication is a key factor in understanding language, and the written language can only be understood when images, layout, typography, and color are taken into account. Aspects of non-verbal communication, including movies and television, have become multi-modal to influence writing, political life, popular culture, and mass media (Van Leeuwen 2011). The multi-modal framework is a true representation of the relationship between the macro-level, which represents the socio-political, ideological, and cultural aspects of multimodality, and the micro-level, which embraces the textual and discourse features of the multi-modal framework.

Kress (2009: 1) reported that "multimodality provides the framework necessary to bring all modes of meaning-making together under one unified theoretical roof. It locates communication in every day, covering topics and issues not usually discussed from traffic signs to mobile phones." Kress and Van Leeuwen (2020: 1) believe that "reading images in their contemporary multi-modal settings is a must for students and scholars of communication, linguistics, design studies, media studies, and the arts." By analogy, the multi-modal approach is compatible with Fairclough's (2001) Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) multidisciplinary approach, which views language as a form of social practice, and that textual features can only be interpreted through understanding the ideological context.

Kress and Van Leeuwen's (2020) theoretical framework shares its multi-modal features with Fairclough's (2009) social approach and Van Dijk's (2008) socio-cognitive approach to critical discourse analysis. This multi-modal framework of discourse analysis integrates different approaches from diverse theoretical backgrounds, including the social, socio-semiotic, socio-cognitive, and socio-cultural approaches. This comprehensive model of multi-modal analysis is flexible enough to accommodate spoken, written, audiovisual, graphic, and audiovisual discourse. It is this kind of model that the current study will utilize in identifying the discourse functions at the macro-level and micro-level in the six Egyptian movies targeted in this study.

In his review of Kress's Literacy in the New Media Age, Dobson (2005) refers to the modes in which Kress (2003, 45) communicates the signs where he addresses the "time-based modes of speech, dance, gesture, action, and music, together with the space-based modes, such as image, sculpture, layout in architecture and streetscapes." This combination of modes is at the core of Kress and Van Leeuwen's (2020) multi-modal framework. With the growing role of multi-media outlets, the multimodality

framework witnessed a boom through its applications in media-related studies. For example, TV satellite channels which have become accessible to large audiences globally, TV programs, talk shows, and movies have impacted people's ideological, socio-cultural, and political orientations. According to Gerbner *et al.* (2000), television was responsible for reflecting viewers' perception of one manifestation of social reality, namely racism. Despite the relentless efforts made to eradicate it or playdown its notorious effects on self, society, and the international community, racial and ethnic discrimination seem to be far from over. On the contrary, its manifestations are still markedly visible to often inflict damage and harm on black people's socio-economic status, self-esteem, ego, and psychological state.

Insomuch as globalization has been a blessing to make ends meet, eradicating physical boundaries through innovations in information and computer technology (ICT) and the Internet, news on color-based discrimination prejudice has been traveling so fast. This rapid exchange of information globally has led to staging waves of violence, resistance, rejection, and denunciation.

3. Racism in the Arab and Egyptian media

Racism in Egypt, notably racism directed towards black people, has longstanding origins and takes many different forms. The backdrop and experiences of racism in Egypt during the 1990s and 2000s were influenced by socio-cultural elements, colonial legacies, and Egypt's location as a North African nation with linkages to the Middle East and Africa.

In a number of contexts, including social interactions, employment, education, and media depictions, anti-black racism has been noted. There are many negative perceptions and prejudices about black people, and there have also been alleged discrimination and unfair treatment in terms of housing, job opportunities, and service access. Throughout Egypt's history, there have been instances of slavery and forced labor, which have fueled ongoing racial prejudices. Additionally, the idea of "colorism" has supported racist beliefs.

African refugees have experienced prejudice, including xenophobia and racial profiling. Activists, civil society groups, and individuals have tried to increase awareness of racism and combat anti-black racism over the years. It is noteworthy that depending on socio-economic class, and geographical region, black people's experiences in Egypt during the 1990s and 2000s may vary. It is important to look at scholarly writing, media reports, and first-hand stories in order to create a thorough understanding of racism towards black people in Egypt.

Historical, social, cultural, and political aspects can have an impact on the dissemination and approval of racist ideas, images, and tropes in Egypt and the Arab world. Racial stereotypes and hierarchies were spread by colonial powers, and they still have an impact on attitudes today. Racist

concepts and imagery from the colonial era, such as the presentation of white Europeans as superior and people of African origin as inferior, have had a long-lasting effect on racial perceptions.

Governments, institutions, and powerful individuals can either support or condemn racism depending on political and sociological circumstances. However, through policy adjustments, public awareness campaigns, and the establishment of legal frameworks, governments, activists, and organizations can fight to eradicate racism and promote equity and equality.

The spread of racial ideologies has been made possible by globalization, migration, and the tighter integration of cultures. It is high time to address the subject nuancedly and acknowledge that Egypt and the Arab world can have different views on racism.

Race, class, gender, and religion are just a few of the many aspects that overlap with power dynamics in Egypt. Whiteness interacts with various types of dominance and privilege, and historical and cultural contexts influence how whiteness and power are viewed. Egypt-specific elements, including socio-economic status, familial ties, and regional discrepancies, have an impact on power dynamics.

Al-Khamri (2018) stated that Afro/black Arabs and black African migrants are the targets of racial satire and disparaging language that reaches the TV screens of millions of Arab families. The media industry keeps injecting vile amounts of racism into its popular drama series, movies, and talk programs to produce degrading images of Afro/black-Arabs. Egyptian movies' depictions of black people mirror the racism and anti-black prejudice that are pervasive in Arabic-speaking countries. Al-Khamri (2018) also pointed out that black people are shown on television and in movies as having inferior jobs as doormen, housemaids, clowns, and servants to wealthy families. Black men and women are frequently portrayed as filthy and lethargic, and because of racism, their skin tone is ridiculed and thought to bring ill luck. Hassan (2020) attempted to characterize the language representation of the foreigner in traditional Egyptian movies from the 1920s to 1960s and assess the degree to which it is stereotypical. The researchers conducted a thorough analysis of dialogues involving actors and actresses who portray foreigners. The findings showed that stereotypes are not limited to linguistic representation but can also be observed in the foreign characters' names, occupations, and social standing.

Sabry (2021) acknowledged the lack of a phrase that describes racial discrimination and color prejudice in the Arab world and suggested the concept of anti-blackness to investigate prejudice based on race in Egypt. The researcher examined the historical, social, and cultural aspects that contributed to the emergence of anti-blackness by defining it as a multidimensional socio-cultural process. The study concludes that there is anti-blackness in Egyptian culture as a result of the historical

development of social stigma and cultural stereotypes around blackness. According to Al-Azraki (2021), in "white" Arab-dominated nations, black Arabs are underrepresented, mostly invisible, and barred from governmental, intellectual, and artistic organizations. In their study of Blackness in Arab transnational television comedy, Downing and Gamil (2021) came to the conclusion that while the region's TV comedy professionals do not actively promote anti-black agendas, they urgently need to reexamine established professional practices that 'dehumanize' Afro-Arabs.

4. Empirical studies

This research study investigates how black people are represented in Egyptian cinema and what features and qualities are attached to them. To the best of the researchers' knowledge, few research studies have addressed this topic from this particular perspective in the Arab world. However, representations of black people in specific audiovisual programs, including movies, have been investigated across the Americas and Europe (George 2002, Mouka, Saridakis, and Fotopoulou 2015).

In a study that examined the movie *Precious*, representations of black people were deconstructed by Griffin (2014), who, from the standpoint of a black female feminist spectator, argues that this movie had perpetuated some images and stereotypes of black women, in particular, despite being about the suffering of a black girl. In her deconstructive analysis, Griffin provided a critique for the fantasy scenes which the protagonist, Claireece Precious Jones, imagined throughout the movie to help herself escape her bitter-lived reality of the verbal, physical, and sexual abuse she endured from her parents. These images, representations, and stereotypes, Griffin argues, satisfy the White supremacist patriarchal gaze and perceptions of what acceptable femininity is and what feminine beauty standards are. In this deconstruction, Griffin draws both the readers' and the audience's attention to the fantasies that relieved Precious whenever she experienced a tragedy, whether at home, where she lived with her abusive mother, or in the street. In these fantasies, Precious imagined herself in a physical, social, and financial status that she did not possess.

Johnson (2016) argues that black entertainment can best be studied from a social perspective as it contributes largely to group distinctions through social comparison. To illustrate, Boskin (1997) notes that ethnic entertainment involves stereotyping of both the in-group (those similar in race) and an out-group (those different in race), drawing cultural distinctions that define both groups as socially distant from each other. Representations of black people were also investigated by Weaver Jr. (2016), who analyzed 60 episodes of 15 different shows streamed via three main non-linear distribution platforms: Netflix, Hulu Plus, and Amazon Prime. The purpose of the analysis was to examine the portrayals of black people in these non-linear streaming platforms in comparison with those shown on

traditional television by employing the cultivation theory. The main finding of this study suggests that similar to the misrepresentations of black people perpetuated on traditional television, content streamed via these online platforms has, in great part, included such misrepresentations of black people. Of the 60 episodes analyzed in this study, 18 episodes contained 11 stereotypes of black people represented by 106 characters portrayed in these episodes. The three main stereotypes of black people were portraying blacks as inarticulate, criminal, and angry black women, respectively. However, the researcher attributes the reason that only 18 out of 60 episodes contained stereotypical images of African American people to the lack of both black characters and the creators (i.e., writers and executive producers) in these shows.

Chaney (2018) examined the portrayals of black female teens in a number of American movies and sitcoms. In the analysis of these portrayals, she compared the portrayal of the main character in the movie *Precious*, which is also the name of the leading black female adolescent character, against the portrayals of the other black female adolescent characters in the rest of the movies and sitcoms examined in her study. The findings of Chaney's study argue that *Precious* depicted a number of stereotypes related to black people in general and women in particular, which are not necessarily consistent with how black people/women were represented in the other movies and sitcoms. Stereotypes, such as black female teens being subjected to child abuse in contrast to white children, black mothers' being more abusive towards their children, black fathers' being less caring and rather "dysfunctional," and lack of resilience in poor black urban families, to mention a few, were all present in *Precious.*

Considering anti-blackness as a multi-modal socio-cultural act, Sabry (2021) discusses the hybrid combination of the historical and socio-cultural factors which contributed to stereotyping and consequently stigmatizing black-skinned people in Egyptian media. Sabry's conclusions were reached through using the multi-modal CDA approach to analyze a sample of the Egyptian media.

The present study attempts to provide answers to the following questions:

1. How do viewers react towards the negative representation of black people in Egyptian movies?
2. What are the stereotypical features attached to black people in Egyptian movies?

5. Methodology

In this study, the researchers analyze the data qualitatively and quantitatively. In the quantitative part, the responses of 75 Egyptian viewers were analyzed to a structured open-ended questionnaire, which comprises three constructs:

1. movie-watching habits,

2.   stereotyping,

3.   attitude and future recommendations.

In the qualitative part, we analyzed some scenes that were extracted from six Egyptian movies.

5.1. Quantitative part

The researchers designed a structured questionnaire on Microsoft forms. The questionnaire used in this study consisted of three questions that are related to movie watching habits, stereotyping, attitudes, and recommendations for future actions. Before administering the questionnaire, the researcher consulted a jury of three experts in the field for their feedback, and their comments were implemented accordingly.

The three open-ended questions are as follows:

- What movie genres do you like to watch most, and in which language? Why?

- What is the stereotype of black people in movies?

- What are your attitudes and future recommendations concerning the representation of black people in movies?

The viewers' responses were combined into three thematic categories.

The sample of the study consisted of 75 viewers. The researchers shared links to the scenes that were investigated in this study with their friends and students via WhatsApp and asked them to fill in a Microsoft form questionnaire that consisted of the three open-ended questions outlined above. They were also asked to share links with their relatives and colleagues. For convenience, the questionnaire and instructions were written in Arabic.

5.2. Qualitative part

This study examines the representations, images, and stereotypes pertinent to black people in six Egyptian movies that were screened in cinemas across the Arab world between 1998 and 2008.

No.	Title	Genre	Year	Duration	Producer	Director	Scriptwriter	Revenues
1	صعيدي في الجامعة الأمريكية *Ṣaʿīdī fi-l-jāmiʿa al-amrīkiyya* ("Saʿeedi at the American University")	Comedy	1998	1h 58m	Medhat El-Adl	Saeed Hamed	Medhat El-Adl and Ahmad Sha'ban	27,000,000 EGP
2	أفريكانو *Afrīkānū* ("Africano")	Adventure/ Comedy	2001	1h 50m	Moonlighting Movies	Amro Arafa	Mohammad Amin	8,000,000 EGP
3	قلب جريء *Qalb jariʾ* ("Bold Heart")	Romance / Comedy	2002	1h 43m	Walid Al-Tabei	Mohamed El-Naggar	Ahmad Al-Bayyah	6,665,564 EGP
4	اللي بالي بالك *Allī bālī bālak* ("You Know Who")	Comedy/ Action	2003	1h 55m	El-Adl Production Company	Wael Ehsan	Sameh Ser Elkhatm and Nader Salaheddin	17,963,309 EGP
5	عيال حبّيبة *ʿiyāl ḥabībah* ("Young Lovers")	Comedy	2005	1h 56m	Unicorn/ Arab Screen	Magdy El-Hawary	Ahmed Abdullah	7,953,882 EGP
6	رمضان مبروك أبو العلمين حمودة *Ramaḍān Mabrūk Abu al-ʿalamīn ḥammūda* (a proper name)	Comedy/ Family	2008	1h 45m	Good News for Movies	Wael Ehsan	Youssef Maati	23,000,000 EGP

Table 1. The investigated movies

These six movies were selected based on reviews of various Egyptian movies portraying black people derogatorily. Different online articles and blogs, as well as news outlets, cast light on the multiple

images of black people as portrayed in Egyptian cinema from the late 20th century to the early 21st century. The six movies selected for this study are examined as case studies to provide a detailed analysis and categorization of these representations and stereotypes in Egyptian cinema.

The choice of the six movies in this study was mainly based on the presence and portrayal of black people and how they are negatively represented in these movies; the theme that sustains and demonstrates the main argument of this study, namely, black people are represented negatively in the Arab mass media and movies. Moreover, compared to other Egyptian televised shows, these movies have financially grossed the highest profits. Regarding the offensive depictions of black people in these six movies, many stereotypes and racist images were detected. Such images of degradation and dehumanization were perpetuated in the movies *Sa'eedi at the American University* (1998) and in *Africano* (2001). Blackface was used *in Bold Heart* (2002). The underrepresentation of black characters is depicted in *You Know Who* (2003). Additionally, several racist jokes and remarks were present throughout *Young Lovers* (2005). Other examples of racism, mockery, and ridicule of darker-skinned/black characters were found in *Ramadan Mabrouk Abul-Alamein Hamouda* (2008).

5.3. Visual and contextual contents

The selected Egyptian movies' visual and contextual content have been closely examined as part of the study's qualitative analysis to yield insightful information about the clues and signs of anti-black racism. The researchers have carefully examined scenes that had been taken out of the movies to look for visual signals, speech, and narrative components that supported unfavorable stereotypes and prejudices against people of color. The portrayal of black characters' physical characteristics, such as skin tone, facial features, and hairstyles, have been investigated by researchers. The focus was on occasions where black characters were portrayed in a derogatory or caricatured way. In order to pinpoint the underlying ideas and themes connected to black characters, the contextual content of the scenes was also examined. Black people's conversations and interactions were carefully examined for any instances of disparaging language, dehumanization, or marginalization.

Overall, key insights into how anti-black racism is maintained in Egyptian movies are provided through the analysis of visual and contextual components. Finding specific instances of conversation, visual clues, and scenarios that support harmful stereotypes and contribute to the derogatory portrayal of black people is helpful. Understanding these cues and signs makes it possible to provide specific solutions and suggestions for the sector to address and correct these harmful depictions.

6. Research findings and discussion

This section discusses the research findings based on the quantitative and qualitative analyses. These findings derive from the three-category questionnaire shared by the 75 participants. The researchers review the findings according to the multi-modal analysis of the scenes extracted from the six movies targeted in this study.

6.1. Quantitative analysis

The researchers examined the participants' responses to the three questions and listed similar responses under thematic categories. The demographic information of the participants is included in Table 2. below.

Variable	Category	Counts	Percent
Gender	Males	32	42.7%
	Females	43	57.3%
	Total	75	100%
Age	18-24	25	33.3%
	25-30	30	40%
	30+	20	26.7%
	Total	75	100%
Education	High school or less	8	10.6%
	BA/BSc	54	72%
	MA or above	13	17.4%
	Total	75	100%

Table 2. Descriptive statistics for the demographic variables

The demographic variables included three categories: gender, age, and education. The 75 participants were of different age groups; 33.3% of them were between 18 and 24 years old, 40% of the participants were between 25 and 30, and the rest, 26.7%, were 30 years old and above. Further, 42.7% of the participants were males, while 57.3% were females. In terms of education, only 10.6% of the study sample had only the Secondary Education Certificate or less, while the majority of 72% had an undergraduate degree, and 17.4% of them had a postgraduate degree.

6.1.1. Movie watching habits

Responses to the "Movie watching habits" question of the questionnaire shed light on the preferences and viewing practices of viewers, which can assist in contextualizing their views on how black people are portrayed in Egyptian movies. By examining the data, we found trends in genre preferences and linguistic preferences as well. Understanding these preferences can give us insights for analyzing the viewers' representational attitudes gathered from the questionnaire results outlined below.

This section aimed to collect responses about the participants' habits, whether they frequently watch Arabic or non-Arabic movies, and which movie genre they prefer watching most. In reply to the first question about their movie-watching habits, 90% of the participants stated that they watch movies and series in their free time. 65% of them stated that they watch Egyptian movies because they are accessible via different means of mass media. 80% of them reported that they prefer watching Egyptian comedy movies because they trigger humor. 35% of the participants stated that they like watching non-Arabic movies, especially English, with 60% of them watching action movies.

6.1.2. Stereotyping

The researchers found recurrent themes and patterns on how viewers see the representation of black people in Egyptian movies by examining the responses to the "stereotype" question. The classification and analysis of these preconceptions in the broader context of racial stereotypes in media would be helpful.

Question 2. aimed to elicit responses about whether the participants have a typical stereotype about black people based on what they watch in the movies. 30% of the participants stated that stereotyping black actors is featured in Egyptian movies. Egyptian movies seem to be subjective and not objective when addressing issues relating to black people compared to English movies. They claimed that watching movies has influenced how they act in some real-life situations. This claim that a number of participants made in relation to how such racist content might influence them confirms what Gerbner *et al.* (2002) discussed in terms of how what is shown on screen shapes and influences viewers' perceptions of reality. 50% of the participants stated that Egyptian Comedy movies do not take into consideration black people's feelings compared to English movies. The majority of the participants stated that stereotyping black actors is featured in Egyptian movies. 70 % of the participants said that black people do not take star roles in Egyptian movies and that black actors in Egyptian movies play the role of naive, uneducated, working-class people.

6.1.3. Attitudes and recommendations

The question on "attitude and future recommendations" gives viewers a chance to share their individual attitudes and thoughts about how black people are portrayed in Egyptian movies. The variety of attitudes ranging from favorable to negative, and the specific suggestions they provided can be determined by looking at their responses. These perceptions can help in understanding the demands of moviegoers for more inclusive and equitable representations in Egyptian cinema.

The third question aimed to collect data about the participants' attitudes towards the representation of black people in the movies and whether they recommend representing them more appropriately in the future. 50% of the participants said that they do not enjoy watching scenes that make fun of other people. 30% of them stated that teasing black people in Egyptian movies influenced their attitudes towards them. 40% of the participants think that teasing black people in some Egyptian movies diminished their sense of belonging and social inclusion.

Most participants suggested that decision-makers in the Arab world should urge stakeholders in the moviemaking industry in the Arab world to respect all groups in the society and enforce deterrent punishment on violators. They also suggested that Arab censorship commissions should remove the scenes which are offensive to black people before approving the movies for broadcast. They recommended that Arabic media and streaming platforms be more objective in selecting movies to air.

6.2. Quantitative analysis

This section examines the representations of black people in a multi-modal form of art—movies. In order to identify these representations, several scenes extracted from the six Egyptian movies under study were analysed in terms of the multiple modals at work in audiovisual material, namely movies. Therefore, the scenes have been analysed by considering the visual, verbal, and contextual aspects.

6.2.1. *Saʿeedi at the American University*

In the 1998 movie, *Saʿeedi at the American University*, the presence of black people is very small; however, the presence of harmful and offensive content is extreme. The representation of black people in the movie takes form in the character Samara, a prostitute who is mocked for her race. In a blatant hatred case, the movie's sole black woman is degraded, oversexualized, and dehumanized. The movie further spreads damaging stereotypes that affect the minority that is arguably the most susceptible to discrimination. The movie's main character belittles her through racism, colorism, and texturism. He

treats her racial features, such as her dark complexion and coarse 4-c hair, as flaws and a source of shame. He mocks and abuses her to reassure his sense of superiority over the others that he, his society and culture, view her as. The movie portrays these scenes as a lighthearted comedy as it does not see the affected group as deserving of sympathy and lacks the capacity to acknowledge the real-life consequences of its offenses. Table 3. shows some examples extracted from the movie.

No.	Time	Scene (original)	Translation
1	14:12	يقول محمد هنيدى لفتاة الليل السوداء وبتطفى النور ليه ما انتى مضلمة خلقة	Mohamed Henedi asks the black prostitute, "what are you switching the lights off for? You're already dark."
2	14:35	يقول محمد هنيدى لفتاة الليل السوداء أنا مش شايفلك ايد من رجل من راس يخربيتك	Mohamed Henedi tells the black prostitute, "I'm unable to see your hand, leg, or head...bloody woman."
3	14:41	يقول محمد هنيدى لفتاة الليل السوداء تصدقى يابت كل الناس شافت الليلة الحمرا, أنا الوحيد اللى شفت الليلة السودا	Mohamed Henedi tells the black prostitute, "Could you believe it, girl? Everyone lived a red night, except for me, who lived a black one."
4	15:00	يقول محمد هنيدى لفتاة الليل السوداء استغفر الله العظيم الولية ماتت من وشك الاسود	Mohamed Henedi tells the black prostitute, "I beg forgiveness from Allah. The woman died because of your black face."
5	1:28:03	يقول محمد هنيدى لفتاة الليل السوداء بقولك ايه ... هنا مفيش طفى نور ...انا مش شايفك وليلتك زى وشك بالظبط ... خلقة	Mohamed Henedi tells the black prostitute, "Listen, girl. Don't tell me to turn off the lights here. I can barely see you...or else your night will be as black/dark as your face."
6	1:28:45	يقول محمد هنيدى لفتاة الليل السوداء فى اشارة الى شعرها ايه يابت السلك ده هللا يخربيتك	Mohamed Henedi mocks the black prostitute's hair, "What is this? Steel wool? You bloody girl!"
7	1:29:00	يقول محمد هنيدى فى اشارة الى فتاة الليل السوداء طب والفحماية دى	Mohamed Henedi referring to the black prostitute, "How about this piece of charcoal?"

Table 3. Examples from Sa'eedi at the American University

(source: https://www.dailymotion.com/video/x8ggfik)

In 1., Henedi criticizes Samara's dark skin tone, berating her for turning off the lights when she "should know better" since she has dark skin. Colorism branches from racism and a white ideal. Unlike racism which discriminates between different races, colorism creates a hierarchy even within the same race where the closeness to whiteness equates with better perception and position. This bias is prominent in Egypt and its media. Black women are affected by racism and colorism in their daily lives, especially by the hands of men who have created a divide between darker skin tones and femininity and

desirability, creating a dehumanized and masculinized stereotype that also associates dark skin with uncleanliness and aggressiveness. The de-sexualization and dehumanization of black women continue in 2., where he claims her body is indistinguishable. In 3., he further drives this point of undesirability by proclaiming that it is impossible to find romance with a black woman, even in pretense; since most people do not expect or hope for true love when hiring a prostitute, Henedi still makes a point of the absurdity of a romance with someone of her complexion while implying the superiority of lighter-skinned woman. He connotes her black skin with the metaphorical negativity of a "black night." In the context of love, "red nights" can imply passion, intensity, and desire. The color red is often associated with strong emotions and a "red night" is here meant to be a romantic one.

In 4., Henedi shows that his dehumanization is more than just objectification; Samara's blackness does not only make her unattractive but is a source of harm and a bad omen. He states that her existence with black skin is so awful; it is deadly. He even pretends to consult God and beg for forgiveness; jokes involving religion are often seen as taboo in the Arab world but are still used to jab at this character's blackness.

Example 5. repeats the jokes and, in turn, repeats and emphasizes the racism and colorism they convey. In addition, in this example, Henedi makes the correlation between her skin tone and the negativity of the unromantic night explicit.

In 6., racism progresses past skin and into other features of Samara's race. Henedi criticizes her coarse hair. Texturism favors hair that is straight and soft above other textures; hair textures are labeled through 1A to 4c, with 1A being straight hair and 4C being the tightest curl type which is most often seen on black individuals. The preference for hair types at the beginning of the spectrum stems from racism and Eurocentric beauty standards. In addition to black women being historically shamed for their natural hair and protective styles, they have been stigmatized as unfeminine, dirty, and unprofessional. This has led black women to straighten their hair with heat and even chemical relaxers that can cause pain and irritate the scalp to fit society's biased ideals and standards. Furthermore, his insults progressively become more directly hostile and less jokey, and he curses at her above racism.

Example 7., once again, shows his dehumanization of this black woman as he compares her to an object, this object being a piece of coal nonetheless, which is looked down on as worthless and not attractive in any form, therefore, portraying black women as insignificant and unlovable for a final time.

The movie and character constantly rely on negative stereotypes to further bring down a minority group maintaining the status quo by cementing the gap between the main male character with lighter skin and proximity to whiteness and the group belittled due to race and gender, black women.

6.2.2. Africano

Moving on to the year 2001, with the movie *Africano* the North African Egyptians further distance themselves from South Africans. The movie revolves around two light-skinned Egyptian men moving to South Africa as they inherit a safari park. As soon as they arrive, the movie emphasizes the unsafety and uncivilization of the foreign land and its inhabitants; the characters do not feel secure until they reach a casino filled with white patrons. The characters do not waste a second upon seeing a group of black people before making sarcastic comments about their skin color. Racism in this movie is not limited to colorist remarks; once the duo reaches the park, they discover that the attractions do not include dangerous wild animals such as large felines, but it still contains other wildlife. The issue arises with the introduction of the non-animal attraction, a tribe of Africans dressed in more traditional garments in comparison to the outfits comprised of pants and shirts that have been shown so far in the movie. The duo's guide explains how this group, which is comprised of different ages and genders, making it seem more like a tribe or family than a group of employees, was hired by the main character's uncle (a light-skinned Egyptian) to provide hospitality and share their "foods" and "traditions." This exoticizes and commodifies these African people and their culture and is eerily similar to the concept of "human zoos." Table 4. shows some examples extracted from the movie.

No.	Time	Scene (original)	Translation
1	25:03	يكون احمد السقا واحمد عيد في ملهى ليلى بجنوب أفريقيا وعندما يمر مجموعة من أصحاب البشرة السمراء أحمد عيد: هي الكهربا قاطعة جوا وال ايه؟	Ahmad Al-Saqa and Ahmed Eid are hanging out at a night club in South Africa when they are passed by a group of colored/dark-skinned people at whom Eid comments, "is there a power cut/blackout inside or what?"
2	37:08	يدخل بكار على أحمد السقا وأحمد عيد كي يوقظهم بكار: د. بدر, سيد عصامwake up . أحمد عيد (باديا عليه علامات الهلع) : احنا هنصطبح بوشك ده كل يوم وال ايه؟	Bakar enters the bedroom to wake up Ahmad Al-Saqa and Ahmed Eid. Bakar says, "dr Badr, Mr Esam, wake up." Ahmed Eid responds panickingly, "are we going to start our mornings with a face like yours or what?"

Table 4. Examples from *Africano* (sources: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BDr5TGpXvls https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2DqPR38fTkw)

In 1., Eid and Al-Saqa pass by a group of black people in a club, the two do not interact directly with the group, nor does the group interact with them. Still, despite the lack of communication and interaction

between the Egyptian protagonists and these people, Eid jests, "Is there a power outage in here or what?" insinuating that their skin color is absurd, subhuman, and a basis for mockery. Additionally, these characters can hardly be classified as such; they have no lines, do not reappear later in the movie, and contribute nothing to the plot. Their existence in the movie is no more than a backdrop for this racist comment disguised as a joke.

Example 2. equates blackness to misfortune in a similar manner to the previous movie, where both protagonists criticize the black characters' faces simply due to their color. The character Bakar acts mainly as the protagonists' tour guide but also performs other services for them. The movie is set in South Africa, and yet black Africans are still given roles of servitude to the lighter Egyptians. This stems from deep-rooted stereotypes and prejudices against black people in Egyptian culture, which places Egyptians on a pedestal above what they have deemed the lower class of darker-skinned laborers.

Although the movie takes place in an African country, there are no significant roles for any African character.

6.2.3. *Bold Heart*

Despite moving forward in time to the year 2002, the content of the movie *Bold Heart* progresses backwards to the era of minstrel shows. Blackface is grossly common in Egyptian cinema, which is problematic on its own as blackface stemmed from slavery, racism, and segregation, and created ridiculing caricatures of black people that pushed cruel, harmful, and dehumanizing stereotypes and later stood as a barrier that blocked black people from representing themselves in movie and TV. Blackface helped push and create negative perceptions of black people that were used to justify their mistreatment since these generalizations portrayed them as a primitive and subhuman monolith. Table 5. shows an example extracted from the movie.

Time	Scene (original)	Translation
12:53	أحمد عيد يحقق حلمه ليعمل كممثل بالسينما. يختار المخرج ٤ ممثلين كي يعملوا معه منهم أحمد عيد. يخبره المخرج أنه عليه أن يدهن لون بشرته يرد عليه . باألسود كي يقوم بدور عبد أحمد عيد: عبيد ايه يا استاذ؟ طموحي اكبر المخرج: مالهم العبيد؟ . من كدة بكتير مش عاجبك تدهن أسود؟ طب ما أنا أسود أحمد عيد: ربنا يزيدك سواد يا أستاذ .	Ahmed Eid achieves his dream of becoming a movie actor. The director chooses four actors, including Eid, to perform in the movie. The director tells Eid that the latter needs to paint his face black to perform the character of a slave. Eid responds, "what? Slaves, sir? My ambition is way higher than this." The director replies, "what's wrong with slaves? You don't like painting your skin black? I am black!" Eid, "May Allah make you even blacker, sir?"

Table 5. Examples from *Bold Heart* (source: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FqI6QJ6oKSg)

The portrayal of blackface in this movie is particularly unsettling. The main character is shocked and disappointed when he is told he must do blackface for the role he would cast. However, his issue is not with the morality of this deed but stems from his belief that playing a black character is beneath him. The character in question being a slave who is meant to undergo gruesome torture. To make matters worse, the term "slave" is used interchangeably with the term "black person" in the scene.

The scene begins with the main character standing among other aspiring actors who are presented to a black movie director who is choosing the cast for his movie. At first, Eid is ecstatic when he hears he has been chosen for the part but quickly becomes disappointed and slighted upon learning what the role entails. The director exclaims that Eid and the other actors he selected are to be painted black to play the role of slaves who will be tortured. Aside from the promotion of blackface, it equates slavery to blackness by having the need for the slave characters to be black and not any other race. Despite many trying to deny the correlation between slavery and race in the history of Egypt and the Arab world, these connotations remain to this day, where it is common to hear black people referred to with the Arabic word for slaves. This equivalence is present in this same scene when the director replies, "What's wrong with slaves? You don't like painting your skin black? I am black!"

Aside from the movie and scene's approval of blackface, the sole black character actually played by a black actor is a caricature with exaggerated movement, body language, and speech style.

6.2.4. *You Know Who*

The 2003 movie *You Know Who* is yet another comedy movie that uses racist and colorist remarks and stereotypes in an attempt to spark humor. This movie, too, follows a lighter-skinned Egyptian cast with

minimal appearances of black characters who do not play a significant role in the movie. The most relevant contribution to their addition to the movie is being the butt of a joke based on their race and skin color. Table 6. shows an extract from the movie.

Time	Scene (original)	Translation
1:07:45	(محمد سعد ينتحل شخصية الضابط المتوفى ويعيش في منزله) محمد سعد بانتظار ابنته الصغيرة للقائها بعد غياب طويل. تدخل فتاة صغيرة سوداء وتجري باتجاه محمد سعد الذي يعانقها وهو يقول: "حبيبة بابا.. حبيبة بابا اللي كانت.. مضلمة الدنيا." وبينما يعانقها بقوة ويغمرها بقبلاته، يلاحظ استغراب الفتاة من تصرفه فيسأل زوجته: "هي ما بتردش ليه؟ خرسا ولا إيه؟" فترد زوجته قائلة: "دي مش بنتنا يا رياض؟" محمد سعد: "أومال بنت مين دي؟" زوجته: "دي بنت الشغالة بتاعة ماما." محمد سعد: "والله؟! معليش يعني.. ما أنا برضت قلت يعني إنت بيضا وأنا أبيض.. إزاي نخلف صباع العجوة ده؟"	(Mohamed Saad is impersonating Riyad, a dead officer, and lives in his house) Mohamed Saad is waiting to see his daughter, who has been away for a long time. A black girl enters the room running towards him; as he's hugging her, he says, "Daddy's lovely girl... daddy's lovely girl... who's darkened the place." While cuddling and showering her with his kisses, he notices her shock at his behavior, so he asks his wife, "why isn't she saying anything? Is she mute or what?" His wife responds, "this is not our daughter, Riyad." Mohamed Saad asks, "then whose daughter is she?" His wife answers, "this is my mother's servant's daughter." Mohamed Saad explains, "Oh really! It's alright... I actually pondered that you're fair, and I'm fair...how would we give birth to such a date (indicating that the girl is as dark as dates)."

Table 6. From *You Know Who*

(source: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wVhCv94MoV4&t=163s)

The comedy in this scene, like the rest of the movie, revolves around the imbecility of the main character, Saad, and his attempts to impersonate and pass as a serious and intimidating deceased officer, Riyad. In this scene, Saad fails to identify Riyad's daughter and mistakes a little black girl for her instead. The joke in this scene is that children inherit their race from their parents genetically, and since genes for darker skin are more dominant, it is very unlikely for lighter-skinned parents to have a darker child, let alone one of an entirely different race which they do not share DNA with. The problem with this joke comes from the nuances and context, as the joke in and of itself is not necessarily offensive. Similar jokes have even been made and enjoyed by black people. The phrase "the girl is as dark as dates" is a simile that compares the darkness of a girl's complexion to the color of dates. In this

context, "dark" refers to the girl's skin tone or complexion, while "dates" refers to the fruit of the palm trees, known for its dark brown color. It is important to note that describing someone's skin tone as "dark" can be subjective and culturally influenced. Different cultures may have varying perceptions and preferences regarding skin tones.

When Saad is under the false belief that the black girl is his pretend daughter, he hugs and smothers her, but this attitude changes when he is informed this is not his daughter. And even while he is showering the girl with kisses, he makes negative remarks regarding her color, saying she "darkened his world," a play on the phrase of endearment, "lighten my world," which simply means bringing joy to someone and is unrelated to appearance. But he still made the phrase revolve around skin color as if it is a negative reflection of emotion and spirit. The phrases "darkened his world" and "lighten my world" are contrasting metaphorical expressions that convey opposite emotional experiences. "Darkened his world" suggests that someone's world or life has become gloomy and miserable. On the other hand, "lighten my world" indicates hope and relief.

It is logical not to feel the same love for a stranger as you would with your daughter, but what is concerning is his warmth towards the girl vanishing and immediately being replaced with malice when he learns she is not his. This once again paints black people as outsiders or subhumans that only deserve respect and kindness if they are connected and related to the individual personally. This is especially hurtful as young black girls are often denied their right of having their girlhood and childness acknowledged.

Additionally, Saad refers to the girl's race by calling her a date in a disrespectful tone. Comparing black skin tones to foods has historically been used and seen as a form of objectification that limits black people, women particularly, to commodities that white and non-black people can use and enjoy.

Furthermore, the black characters in this movie once again play the role of servants fulfilling the stereotype that they cannot be more than that. The joke would have had the same effect if the girl had not been the daughter of the maid and, alternatively, the daughter of a friend or neighbor, but once again, black people are limited to the role of servitude.

6.2.5. Young Lovers

Yet another movie containing problematic and racist tropes passed off as comedy. The movie contains jokes that are made at the expense of black people through the use of stereotypes, objectification, racist and colorist remarks, and even black face as well. Table 7. shows some examples extracted from the movie.

No.	Time	Scene (original)	Translation
1	10:58	حمادة هلال يقابل سليمان عيد في الردهة بين شقتيهما. حمادة هلال: "أستاذ نصر..أهلاً.. إزيك يا أستاذ نصر؟ عامل إيه؟ (مستنشقاً رائحة عطر سليمان عيد) يا سلام يا أستاذ نصر، طول عمري بشم منك ريحة حلوة قوي." سليمان عيد (ضاحكاً): "هو يبقى سواد وريحة وحشة كمان!"	Hamada Helal runs into his neighbour Suleiman Eid in the lobby between their apartments. Hamada Helal greets Eid, "Mr. Nasr...hello...how are you, Mr. Nasr? How are you doing? (sniffing Mr. Nasr's perfume) Oh, Mr. Nasr, you always smell nice." Suleiman Eid (laughing), "I wouldn't tolerate blackness and a bad smell together."
2	57:10	يذهب حمادة هلال مع أصدقائه لمنزل جاره الأسود سليمان عيد، يقول أحد الأصدقاء: "هي الشقة اتحرقت ولا إيه؟" في إشارة منه إلى الصور المعلقة لأفراد عائلة سليمان عيد ذوو البشرة السوداء. وبعدها يسأل أحدهم سليمان عيد عا إذا كان قد حمض الصور قبل تعليقها ليرد سليمان عيد بأنه حمضها 3 مرات ولكنها لا تزال داكنة اللون في إشارة منهم على اللون الداكن لتلك الصور ومن فيها.	Hamadah Helal and his friends go to his black neighbor's house. One friend asks, "has this flat been on fire?" (Referring to the photos of Eid's black family members). Another one asks Eid if he has developed the photos before hanging them (referring to how dark the people in the photos look), to which Eid replied that he had developed them three times, but they are still dark.

Table 7. Examples from *Young Lovers*

(sources: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=647bZz-yBIY&t=2041s
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=647bZz-yBIY&t=2041s)

The examples given highlight instances of derogatory stereotypes and racial slurs directed at black people. It is critical to understand and accept the damage that such words can inflict. In an inclusive and fair community, racism promotes prejudice, dehumanization, and marginalization, all of which are unacceptable.

In 1., Helal's character runs into his "Sudanese" neighbor, "Mr. Nasr," played by the non-black Egyptian actor Soliman Eid wearing blackface. The role of the black character in this movie is made up of racist stereotypes and is the result of racist writing, casting, and directing, created by non-black Egyptians to intentionally mock the other.

In the scene, Helal compliments his neighbor Nasr's scent after invading his personal space, treating him like an object and sniffing him for some time. In response, Nasr replies, "I wouldn't tolerate blackness and a bad smell together." This is to suggest that having a good scent is a must because he cannot have too many "flaws;" as if having dark skin is a fault that one must compensate for in other areas. Associating unfavorable traits with blacks through the remark "I wouldn't tolerate

blackness and a bad smell together," is racist and discriminatory. It leads to the devaluation of black people based on their skin tone and fosters negative stereotypes.

Example 2. is another instance where noncharacters are the victims of ridicule for their race and color. Helal makes colorist remarks regarding a family photo in Nasr's house, disrespecting him and "his" race in his own house. The joke is once again the racist overused cliché insinuating black skin is its color due to being burnt. This example is of a racist joke spreading the offensive myth that black skin is either abnormal or the result of burning. Furthermore, the statement that the photo was edited implies that dark skin is not regarded as natural or acceptable. These ideas are extremely insulting and help stigmatize and marginalize those with a dark complexion.

In these movies, black people are constantly objectified, mocked, and ridiculed without ever being given a respectable, significant, nuanced, or fleshed-out role. Blackness is repeatedly treated as a defect. These perpetuations of stereotypes help deny black people of their individuality and depth. It is imperative to vehemently oppose and denounce such racist remarks, expressions, and stereotypes. A more tolerant and egalitarian society that celebrates the diversity and dignity of all people, regardless of their race or ethnicity, can be fostered by promoting inclusion, respect, and understanding.

The examples given highlight instances of derogatory stereotypes and racial slurs directed at black people. It is critical to understand and accept the damage that such words can inflict. In an inclusive and fair community, racism promotes prejudice, dehumanization, and marginalization, all of which are unacceptable.

6.2.6. *Ramadan Mabrouk Abul-Alamein Hamouda*

In the year 2008, a discussion in the movie, *Ramadan Mabrouk Abul-Alamein Hamouda,* shows how Egyptians still look down on black and darker-skinned people as lesser others. A character describes their shock and apparent dismay at the discovery that a Lebanese person could have dark skin. The characters go on to make jokes on how the person could have "acquired" his skin tone rationalizing it by saying he must have gotten burnt in the war as if having dark skin is unnatural and could only be caused by a tragic event. Table 8. shows an extract from the movie.

Time	Scene	Translation
1:17:49	- يدخل الي الشقة مدير اعمال زوجة رمضان المغنية برفقة فرقة موسيقية بحضور والدة رمضان. -يشعر رمضان بالارتباك ويحاول أن يتدارك الأمر عند سؤال أمه عن الرجل. -رمضان: ده الاستاذ أيمن اُلطرش. ابن خالك العروسة من لبنان - الأم: لبنان! هم هناك مش كلهم بيض؟ -رمضان: ايوا بس بعيد عنك يا أمي الراجل ده ساكن في الحتة اللي قامت فيها الحرب. -الأم: اتحرق يعني ايوا.-رمضان: اه اتحرق.	The agent and the musical band who work for Ramadan's wife enter Ramadan's apartment while his mother is present. Ramadan feels restless and tries to conceal the truth when his mother asks about the man with the band. Ramadan responds to his mother, "This is my wife's cousin from Lebanon." The mother, "Oh God, Lebanon! Aren't they all fair in Lebanon?!" Ramadan: "Yes, he is, but you can say he lives in the area affected by war." -The mother exclaims, "I suppose he was burnt!" — Ramadan responds, "Yes, he was burnt."

Table 8. From *Ramadan Mabrouk Abul-Alamein Hamouda*
(source: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xJis1a_Usrw)

This scene is a clear case of colorism in one racial group as lighter-skinned Arabs mock another with darker skin. This example of colorism shows how these remarks can be made casually without appearing antagonistic. Ramadan's mother makes the first colorist remark in a cheerful voice in a manner that could be perceived as an innocent question. Even if the colorist remark was not expressed as an attack or even if it was not intended to offend, the damage is still caused. This is because whiteness and proximity to it are treated as an ideal. Therefore, everything else is automatically inferior, which helps uphold biased Eurocentric beauty standards and white supremacy, negatively affecting anyone who does not fit these prejudiced ideals.

The mother and son continue their discussion by attempting to rationalize how a Lebanese person could have dark skin and come to the conclusion that being involved in a tragic accident is more believable than naturally possessing darker skin due to genetics. They do this by claiming he must have been burnt, this is supposed to be a comedic remark, but it is no more than an overdone racist cliché. This not only implies that having dark skin is abnormal but separates those who do have it as outsiders that do not come from or belong in their communities.

6.3. Connecting the qualitative and quantitative parts

A thorough and clear understanding of the representation of anti-black racism in Egyptian movies is realized by tying together the findings of the survey concerning moviegoers' attitudes toward racism and the analysis of the textual dialogic content of the six movies. The quantitative questionnaire results

provided insight into the opinions and reactions of viewers to the derogatory depictions of black people in movies. It was clear that some participants had preconceived notions about black people based on the media they consume, underscoring the role of media in forming beliefs. Participants strongly advocated for greater truthful and positive coverage of black people in the media going forward.

The qualitative examination of the textual dialogic content of the chosen Egyptian movies enhanced our understanding of the stereotypes and value judgments that characterize black people in movies, complementing the findings of the quantitative analysis. The analysis of the movie sequences provided a subtle exploration of the inter-discoursal elements of racial discourse that are pervasive in Egyptian cinema. The researchers were able to pinpoint the occasions in which black people were subjected to disparaging or stereotyped representations by studying dialogues, characterizations, and themes.

From the researchers' vantage point of view, the current study has created a more comprehensive picture of the representation of anti-black racism in Egyptian movies by fusing the results of the questionnaire with the examination of textual dialogic material. Not only does it show the opinions and responses of viewers, but it also gives specific examples of how these unfavorable portrayals appear in conversations and storylines in movies. The resulting conclusions highlight the critical need for a reform in the movie industry in order to dispel prejudice, fight discrimination, and advance more truthful and inclusive images of black people on the screen.

Furthermore, the relationship between viewer perceptions and textual analysis demonstrates how media consumption, audience reception, and the persistence of stereotypes are intertwined. It highlights the need for media professionals and filmmakers to critically assess their work, curb prejudice, and help build a more just and inclusive society. The results underscore the importance of media literacy, diversity in representation, and the influence of movies on viewers' attitudes and perceptions.

7. Conclusions and recommendations

This study examined how anti-black racism was portrayed in Egyptian movies with the goal of illuminating the stereotypes, value judgments, and disparaging depictions of people of color. The study evaluated scenes from six Egyptian movies and looked at viewer reactions using a mix of quantitative and qualitative methodologies. The results give implications for eradicating racism and fostering more inclusive portrayals in Egyptian cinema as well as insights into the prevalence of racial biases in the media.

Examining several scenes extracted from the six Egyptian movies by considering the visual, verbal, and contextual aspects revealed that bias is somehow prominent in Egypt and its media. Sometimes, the movies and characters constantly rely on negative stereotypes to bring down black people. The presence of black people in the movies is no more than a backdrop for this racist comment disguised as a joke. Sometimes, the protagonists criticize the black characters' faces simply due to their color.

In the quantitative part, and drawing on the results of the questionnaire, the researchers provided a thorough analysis of viewers' responses and insightful viewpoints on the unfavorable portrayal of black people in Egyptian movies. Understanding the genres and languages that viewers have experienced revealed information and insights about how they have been exposed to various cinematic influences. Insights into the main storylines and portrayals in the sector were gained by examining how audiences perceive stereotypes related to black people in Egyptian movies.

In view of the above, we can explain the prejudices and misunderstandings prevalent in movie depictions by pointing out typical stereotypes, such as roles restricted to slavery, criminality, or exoticization. Examining viewers' feelings about how black people are portrayed in movies revealed their level of sensitivity and understanding of racial issues in the media. A call for more inclusive and fair representations can be seen in the identification of positive attitudes and recommendations, such as supporting accurate and nuanced portrayals or increasing diversity. The possible influence of media representations on social attitudes and behaviors is suggested by viewers' perceptions of the influence of movies on real-life behavior. When these observations are put together and examined, they help to provide a thorough knowledge of how audiences interpret the derogatory portrayal of black people in Egyptian movies. They can contribute to broader conversations on overcoming racism and fostering diversity in the movie industry as well as providing novel ideas for future advancements in representation.

Responses to the three open-ended research questions on the movie watching habits, the stereotype of black people in movies, and their attitudes and future recommendations concerning the representation of black people in the investigated movies revealed some interesting findings. First, Egyptian movies, especially comedy series, are watched frequently by viewers since they are accessible via different mass media platforms. Second, Egyptian movies seem to be subjective and not objective when addressing issues relating to black people; this has relatively influenced how they act in some real-life situations. Third, it is recommended that decision-makers in the Arab world should warn stakeholders in the moviemaking industry in the Arab world to respect the rights of all groups in society and ban all scenes which are offensive to minority groups, including black people.

Responses to the questionnaire's three questions on the movie watching habits, the stereotype of black people in movies, and their attitudes and future recommendations concerning the representation of black people in the investigated movies have revealed some interesting findings. First, Egyptian movies, especially comedy, are watched heavily by viewers since they are accessible via different means of mass media. Second, Egyptian movies seem to be subjective and not objective when addressing issues relating to black people. Third, it is recommended that decision-makers warn stakeholders in the movie industry in the Arab world to respect the rights of all social and minority groups by officially banning scenes that are offensive to any of these groups.

The rationale for conducting this significant study is the rise of the global awareness of racial discrimination and how it is being officially combatted worldwide, on the one hand, and the rise of hate speech and multiple forms of discrimination, including that based on race, on the other. Furthermore, having selected and examined these six Egyptian movies from abundant Arabic audiovisual materials that portrayed black people in different ways and the scarcity of studies examining this issue in the Arab world indicate that there is still a long way to go in terms of racial discrimination in the Arab world. More awareness needs to be raised across various forms of media regarding the issue of discrimination based on skin color so that subtle discriminatory practices, such as a scene in a comedy movie, would not peacefully pass the censors' scissors nor the viewers' criticism and condemnation.

The responses to the questionnaire indicate that viewers of such movies, and whether they are aware of the seriousness of scenes that portray black people negatively or not, seem to be influenced to a certain extent by the discriminatory ideas and stereotypes in terms of their own impression of black people in their communities. However, having raised this issue (in the questionnaire) to the respondents has encouraged them to fathom the scale of the issue, the thing that led them to suggest solutions that would ultimately result in minimizing racist portrayals of black people in audiovisual content, particularly movies.

Although the international community has adopted and ratified a convention in 1965 that commits to eradicating all forms of racial discrimination, unfortunately, many people are still enduring various forms of racial discrimination worldwide. Despite the fact that the law per se, in several parts of the world, has been amended to eliminate the racial differences in various domains, it is evident that people of different and certain races are still enduring racism nowadays, yet in less formal situations. In other words, while the law may not be discriminatory, social practices and prejudices still are.

In the fight against racism that is practiced among people as social beings, various social movements have been launched worldwide. Such movements are launched in response to hate speech

and discrimination, which in some cases may lead to armed conflicts and wars. It goes without saying that although several races, ethnicities, and certain faiths or religious doctrines experience discrimination, black people are on top of the list of those subjected to racism based on skin colour – the long history of slavery might be the best evidence of the blatant discrimination that black people lived for centuries.

Given the limitations of the present study focusing on anti-black racism in Egyptian movies, its implications are far-reaching. However, as a pioneering study on this issue in the Arab world, the researchers believe that it will prove significant to researchers in social anthropology, sociolinguistics, and social media discourse.

Despite the useful knowledge and insights this study has provided, there are several restrictions that must be recognized. The study's emphasis on certain Egyptian movies may not adequately represent the range of movies made in the nation, and the sample size of 75 viewers may not be fully representative of the entire population. Furthermore, the use of self-reported impressions and responses includes a subjective component that may affect the accuracy of the results.

Several suggestions might be made to address the issue of anti-black racism in Egyptian movies in light of the study's findings. Prior to creating characters and plotlines, authors, directors, and filmmakers must critically assess their own prejudices and address prevalent stereotypes. Black people's views and experiences can be authentically portrayed in movies if there is greater diversity and inclusivity in the filmmaking community. In order to inform budding filmmakers about the implications of their work, movie schools and institutions should include courses or workshops on media literacy and cultural sensitivity.

The implications of this study go beyond Egyptian cinema. The inaccurate portrayal of black people in the media fosters negative stereotypes and contributes to the marginalization of black communities. Egyptian filmmakers may support a larger worldwide movement for inclusivity by addressing and correcting these stereotypes. The study also emphasizes the significance of media control and the function of social media platforms in eradicating racist attitudes and behaviors. Global media powerhouses should accept responsibility by enforcing rules and limitations on material that supports racial discrimination.

In conclusion, this study emphasizes the urgent need for a critical analysis of the portrayal of anti-black racism in Egyptian movies. The research findings demonstrate how the media contributes to shaping viewers' perspectives and calls for a change in how black people are portrayed. Egyptian filmmakers and international media platforms can help eradicate racism by spreading equity, combating stereotypes, supporting diversity, and arguing for more inclusive storylines.

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Identity salience, change and stability in Amman

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This study investigates identity salience of four types of identities; national, religious, cultural and global, for Ammani people in view of the post-structuralist perspective on identity (Baxter 2016). It also examines the extent to which age, gender and the social context affect identity change and stability in light of Communication Accommodation Theory (Giles *et al.* 2012). The analysis of the data reveals that the most salient identity for the participants is the religious identity for both genders and all age groups, except in certain circumstances namely traveling, where national identity was shown to be the most salient. Gender and age play an important role in the extent to which each group attaches itself to each type of identity and the way they view these attachments. The results suggest that Amman could be witnessing a change in its identity construction and the way its people express their identity.

1. Introduction

It is almost impossible to ignore the power of identity in shaping certain social images that construct specific ways of thinking in any society, in general, and in Jordanian society, in particular. This is because the latter is a multi-cultural society that exhibits diversity in its structure. Being attached to a certain group could grant people a sense of belonging, yet these attachments and identity references with certain attitudes can also result in communication obstacles among individuals and groups. These attachments might lead to the feeling of superiority over others which prompts categorizing, labeling and marginalizing, resulting in prejudice and racism. Besides that, identity is a double-edged sword concept, some people use it in a wrong way. They think that by being attached to a country and its traditions, or to a religion, that gives them the right to feel superior and make them blind of seeing others which leads to the idea of "othering". The latter results in discrimination, ethnocentrism and stereotyping. These concepts are the core of conflicts among individuals and even among countries. Realizing this can contribute to the general and broader debate on identity issues, not only in Amman but in the Arab world. The current study attempts to examine which identity (cultural, national, religious and global) is more salient to Jordanians and Ammanis in particular (taking into account age

and gender as social variables). The cultural identity is how individuals viewed and identified with a certain culture (Jandt 2013; Tucci 2019). The reason for choosing cultural identity is due to its impact on societies since culture reflects a country's history, power and improvement process (Li 2015). In addition, the influence of culture on individuals' life is major and it has a gradual effect on their motives and behavioral choices. National identity is the way a person identifies himself/herself as a part of a specific nation (Liu *et al.* 2011). It is important to study this identity especially in Jordan; since the majority of its people are Arabs with diverse origins, which resulted in a society with a mixture of cultural, national and economic backgrounds (Al Oudat and Alshboul 2010). Religious identity is the person's attachments to a certain religion and its group (Jackson 2014). It is important to study this identity type since an individual's attachment to a religion is a core element in identity construction (Jackson 2019).

Studies that investigated identities in Jordan are scarce, most of them focus only on one or two types of identity (e.g., Brand 1995; Abu-Ghazzeh 1997; Nanes 2003; Al Oudat and Alshboul 2010; Pilder 2011; Culcasi 2016; Darwish and Bader 2014; Salameh and El-Edwan 2016; Tweissi and Frehat 2016; Subheyyin *et al.* 2017; Qashmar 2018; Aboutorabi and Zalloom 2019; Melnik 2019; Alhusban and Alhusban 2020; and Wojnarowski 2021). The current study can help fill a gap in the relevant literature; it contributes to a better understanding of a concern that is essential in cultural studies by giving a broader understanding of identity constructions in Jordan. This study investigates how much Jordanians are attached to their cultural, national, religious and global identities, taking into consideration age and gender as social variables since they are identity indicators (Holmes 2008). It examines whether Jordanian people see themselves more as Jordanians, Muslims or individuals who belong to a global culture. The answer of this question will give more understanding of Jordanian identity negotiation especially in the recent time. Furthermore, it examines whether their identities shift based on the social context and if age and gender affect that. The study adopts the poststructuralist approach (Baxter 2016) in addition to Communication Accommodation Theory (CAT) (Giles *et al.* 2012). Adopting CAT as a framework reveal age and gender differences among people in communication, and whether such behavior make them act in a certain way due to their identity salience. This is because this theory provides a potential explanation by predicting when why and how individuals change their communication styles during an interaction, and accounts for the significance of these changes. Although the theory's essential focus was on speech, recently, "it may account for how people perceive, assume and express their identity in a boundless community" (Hordila-Vatamanescu and Pana 2010: 287).

In particular, the study seeks answers to the following research questions:

- Based on the social variables, age and gender, what type of the four identities(s) does each group of participants associate themselves with more?

- Taking the social variables age and gender into account and in light of Communication Accommodation Theory, to what extent does the social context affect the change and stability of identity for each group of participants?

2. Literature review

2.1. Communication Accommodation Theory (CAT)

Communication Accommodation Theory (CAT) proposes that language might be utilized as an identity marker that either leads to stronger or weaker bonds with individuals that have different cultural and linguistic background from others (Giles *et al.* 2012). Additionally, linguistic identities might affect people's attachments to a community making it stronger, or result in making them eliminated (Hozhabrossadat 2015). People who do not have a stable identity would start converging to the identity of the other group. Conversely, when we find ourselves in an environment where nearly everyone acts or believes differently from us, then our race, language, ethnic -or other identities, become more obvious and we may start diverging from the identity of the other group (Soliz and Giles 2014). Thus, CAT mainly focuses on two main processes: Convergence and divergence. Giles *et al.* (2005) define convergence as a technique by which people adapt their communication pattern in a way to be more similar to their speaker's behaviour. Divergence is the opposite of convergence. It leads to "an accentuation of differences between self and other" (Gallois *et al.* 2005: 123). Accommodative behaviours are largely based on the communicator's own features, their social identities, the context and the characteristics of the situation (Fisk and Vaarala 2017).

Code-switching is one of the means of accommodation and stating identity (Gourari 2019). When people interact, they change their language either by converging to or diverging from their speaker's language variety (Bissoonauth and Offord 2001). That is to say, people modify the code they use depending on the different contexts they come across in their daily lives. For example, the code used with a manager of a company differs from the code used with a family member.

This study explores the underlying motives behind speech accommodation behaviors and strategies such as code-switching, code-mixing and style-shifting and their influence on identity construction in Amman.

2.2. Language and identity

Earlier studies of language and identity was investigated from a variationist perception (Hazen 2002). Variationists examined the relationship among social factors namely gender and social class with regard to variation concerning the usage of linguistic variables such as the use of vernacular grammar (Drummond and Schleef 2016). More recently, applied linguistics offers a variety of approaches, both analytical and theoretical, to create an understanding of the relationship between identity and language; one of these is 'poststructuralist'. The poststructuralist perspective posits that identity is fluid, subject to change and in constant process (Baxter 2016). This proposes that identity is not fixed but rather it is constructed and discursively co-constructed by language, discourse or through interactions with others in different social contexts. Language use therefore acts as a force where people negotiate their identities (Noels *et al.* 2020). Through language and communicative behaviors, a person can convey various facets of his identity. Using mother tongue for instance may be an indicator of one's cultural identity. Another example, when someone travels to a new country, familiar language or dialect can grant him a feeling of relief and belonging.

Versluys (2007) suggests that identity is the need of humans for belonging. In other words, identity, in many instances, can be explained as what, where, or who people see themselves belong to. People's sense of identity reflects their relations with other people as well as their relation to the place where they live. This suggests that the geographical residence area could intervene in the identity definition. For instance, when a person is in a place where most of people believe in a certain religion or speak a certain dialect or language, this might influence their identity construction in a direct way.

2.3. Previous studies on identity in Jordan

A considerable body of literature deals with Jordanian national identity (e.g., Tweissi and Frehat 2016; Subheyyin *et al.* 2017). The majority of them are mainly concerned with the national identity from a political frame of reference. The concept of nationalism in Arab countries has been continuously evolving, which paved the way to new forms of national identity (Albirini 2016). According to Pappi (1994, as cited in Culcasi 2016: 8), the national identity of Jordan is multifaceted; it has emerged from several discourses about Islam, Hashemite Dynasty and Bedouin culture in addition to "multi-scalar geopolitical issues" concerning Arab, Jordanian and Palestinian identity. To understand what is meant by national identity for Ammanis, it is important to realize three historical processes while contextualizing citizenship: the role of tribalism in shaping attachments to the nation, Jordan's vision of nationalism and the influence of Palestinian's crisis on Jordan (Smith 2019). According to Massad

(2001: 273), "many nationalists question the Jordanianness" of several other groups in Jordan, Syrians, Chechens, Christians and some of the Bedouin tribes.

Many of the studies focus on the question of identity among Jordanians and Palestinian-origin Jordanians (e.g., Brand 1995; Nanes 2003; Culcasi 2016, Salameh and El-Edwan 2016), while others explore topics related to Jordanian tribes (e.g., Al Oudat and Alshboul 2010; Wojnarowski 2021). The Jordanian archaeological as well as architectural influence on national identity has likewise received tremendous attention (e.g., Abu-Ghazzeh 1997; Pilder 2011; Al-Shanti 2014; Qashmar 2018; Aboutorabi and Zalloom 2019; Melnik 2019; Alhusban and Alhusban 2020). However, the researchers in the current study do not study national belonging based on purely national citizenship, but based on people affiliations towards their nationality. This usually appears in their acts of patriotism such as saluting the flag, love of national songs and in other national values.

In relation to the global identity, Albirini (2016) points out that one of the most recent challenges that the Arab parents and educators are facing is how to sow the seeds of the genuine Arab identity in Arab youth and children keeping in mind the fact that their daily social life, education and media are drastically using foreign languages. In this context, a study conducted by Al Musa and Smadi (2013) explores the influence of globalization on education and culture in Jordan. They argue that Jordanian people, due to the influence of globalization, changed their language style by using more English than before. This can be noted in the fact that English has become a prestigious language among Jordanians (Salem 2015). Al Musa and Smadi argue that this phenomenon has both positive and negative impacts; people get to know a new culture which provides them with more opportunities. However, they may gradually start giving up their own Jordanian culture as they look down upon it since language globalization causes culture globalization that means shared cultures with no specific sense of belonging. Eventually, the upcoming generation will lose their own original cultural identity. The solution for that, as they believe, lies not in preventing individuals from being exposed to the new culture, but by teaching people how to have balance which is indeed the main role of teachers. What differentiates the current study from these studies is that it studies the concept of global identity, not only globalization. Against this background, the current study provides further explanation of the construction of the Jordanian identity from a socio-cultural and sociolinguistic point of view. It examines four different types of identities and investigates the effect of the social context upon identity formation in Jordan, its types and stability.

3. Methodology

3.1. Sample

The researchers designed a short survey via Google forms in the form of a 5-point Likert scale about identity salience. They also conducted Oral Discourse Completion Tasks (ODCTs) followed by semi-structured interviews. The population of the study included all speakers of Ammani-Arabic living in Amman (approximately 2 million). The sample of the study included 100 Ammani-Arabic speakers; they all responded to the online survey and 30 of them answered the ODCTs and interviews.

The researchers divided the age groups into three groups in order to represent three different generations based on Lawton *et al.'s* (1992) classification: young adults (18-29), middle-aged (30-59) and older adults (60+). The researchers chose this classification since it was adopted in several research studies (e.g., Dubios *et al.* 2007; Lindqvist *et al.* 2000). Additionally, this classification reflects identity changes and stability in light of educational and work experiences.

All the 100 participants responded to the online survey question; males and females were divided equally for the purpose of the study (50 males and 50 females). Thirty four participants aged between 18 to 29, thirty three participants aged between 30 to 59, and thirty three participants aged above sixty took part in the study. The 30 participants who answered the ODCTs and the interviews included 16 females and 14 males. These participants were divided into the 3 age groups with only 10 participants from each group.

Concerning the sampling procedure, a 'friend-of-a-friend' technique (Milroy1987; Milroy and Gordon 2008) was used. By this technique, the researchers conducted the online survey, the ODCTs, interviews with friends and acquaintances which in their turn, introduced her to other potential candidates, taking into consideration that they are from Amman, the capital of Jordan and they speak Ammani Arabic. The researchers selected Amman since it is the capital city; and hence, has a more diverse population. It was also selected due to its heritage as well as the history behind it, the influence of refugee movements on its population and its quick development (Pilder 2011). Amman has become the place of jobs opportunities, seats of learning and wealth which has a number of spoken language varieties (Albirini 2016). This in turn, may influence identity salience. Religious identity for example, could become more or less salient with the exposure to new people and cultures. In addition to its influence on identity, it may raise the chance of divergence and convergence to take place among speakers of different varieties.

3.2. Data collection procedures

A 5-point Likert scale question (cf. Dollinger 2001) about identity salience was formulated as an online multiple-choice survey on Google forms as mentioned earlier (see Appendix C for the survey form). In the description box, the researchers introduced a definition for each type of identity (a. cultural/ b. national/c. religious/ d. global) identity. The survey contained seven questions. First question was to specify the age of the respondent from the three age categories. The second question was about specifying the gender of the respondent. The third question was about specifying the place of living to make sure that all participants are living in Amman. In the last four questions, the participants were asked to choose from a number 1 to 5 that represents his/her attachment to each type of identity (1= not important; 5=very important). The survey was distributed online via Whatsapp application to 100 individuals that are friends and friends of friends.

After that, the researchers asked 30 participants out of the 100 to respond to Discourse Completion Tasks (Blum-Kulka *et al.* 1989) orally, then they conducted semi-structured interviews with them to identify their attitudes towards the different types of identities (Zibin and Al-Tkhayneh 2019). To ensure the exactness and reliability of the results, the use of the online survey, the DCTs, and the interviews was meant to collect both quantitative and qualitative data. The quantitative data is concerned with numbers and statistics that exemplify the data numerically, whereas the qualitative data can provide explanations for these statistics (Gourari 2019).

The researchers also asked the participants to respond to an oral DCT (ODCT), where they provided them with some situations that resemble real life situations and examined how they responded in a way to show their most salient identity and if they converge or diverge from the other interlocutor that speaks differently. When they converge, this may indicate that their identity is not stable. When they diverge from the speaker, this may suggest that they have their own unique identity. They did not know what exactly the researchers are looking for so they provided more spontaneous answers. In scenarios 1 and 2, the participants were asked to choose a type of identity to represent themselves in an international conference and to help their children choose a specific identity for a presentation at school. In scenarios 3 and 4, they were asked to imagine themselves in situations where they to respond to a person who cod-switches between the Arabic and English when he\she speaks. The same applies to scenarios 5 and 6, but the addressee is code-mixing rather than switching. In scenarios 9 and 10, they were asked to imagine themselves in situations where they to respond to a person who shifts styles between Standard Arabic and colloquial.

Semi-structured interviews which ranged from 15 to 40 minutes in length were audio recorded to be thoroughly analyzed. The participants were promised full anonymity which helps in providing

honest responses. Furthermore, they were informed that the recordings will be kept confidential to make them feel more comfortable. The researchers started each session at first by asking the participants basic questions (e.g., age, if they have travelled, etc.). Secondly, they introduced the meaning of each type of identity of the four chosen identities of this study. They are: national, religious, cultural and global. Thirdly, the researchers read every DCT situation, the participant responded (orally) to the scenario. This continued until all the situations were done. After that, the researchers conducted semi-structured interviews that had several questions investigating identity salience, change and stability pertaining to the variables gender and age in order to compare the answers with the DCTs outcomes. The data was generally gathered over a period of two weeks.[1] The ODCTs and interviews were all done in family gatherings, the workplace, one of the Jordanian banks in Amman and the University of Jordan, except for three that were done online on Zoom because of difficulty in accessing the interviewees.

3.3. Data analysis procedure

Frequencies alongside Excel Pivot Tables were employed in this study and both are regarded as reliable statistical tools (Dierenfeld and Merceron 2012). More specifically, in the Likert scale question, the researchers extracted the cells with obtained data to create a Pivot Table. Then calculated the average for each type of identity (out of 5). It should be noted that the identity salience was measured relatively to the four chosen types of this study (cf. Uemura 2011). The obtained results were rounded to the nearest first decimal number. A table was created that has the four types of identities and the average rank for each one of them, then it was converted into a chart. The same steps were carried out, but the results were filtered according to two variables; gender and age each one at a time. The researchers created tables that represent the results of the pivot table and turned them into charts (Palocsay *et al.* 2010). Regarding the scenario questions (the ODCTs), each scenario had a separate sheet. In each sheet, the researchers extracted the cells with obtained data to create a Pivot Table. Then counted the answers by choosing "count" from the "summarize data by" option for each row. A table was created that has the frequency of each answer (count of each answer). After that, it was converted into a chart. The same steps were done, but with filtering the results according to two variables; gender and age each one at a time. The results were inserted into a table, then they were turned into charts (Palocsay *et al.* 2010). An Independent Sample t-Test and a One-way ANOVA test were conducted to determine whether there is a statistically significant effect of gender and age on identity salience and change (McCrum-Gardner 2008).

The ODCTs and interview questions were then analyzed qualitatively through thematic analysis, which is employed to analyze classifications and provide patterns that relate to the qualitative data (Alhojailan 2012). To avoid subjectivity of data analysis, the themes were evaluated by a linguist who is familiar with the study to validate data analysis. This process of validating themes in data analysis is fundamental, and the major goal of it is to increase data analysis reliability (Miles and Huberman 1994 as cited in Alhojailan 2012).

4. Results and discussion

4.1. Quantitative analysis of the 5-point Likert Scale

This section aims to provide an answer to the first research question. It was analyzed quantitatively. The results are reported in Figure 1 and Figure 2.

	National identity	Religious identity	Cultural identity	Global identity
Average	3,9	4,7	3,7	2,8
Males	4	4,7	3,8	2,5
Females	3,7	4,6	3,5	3
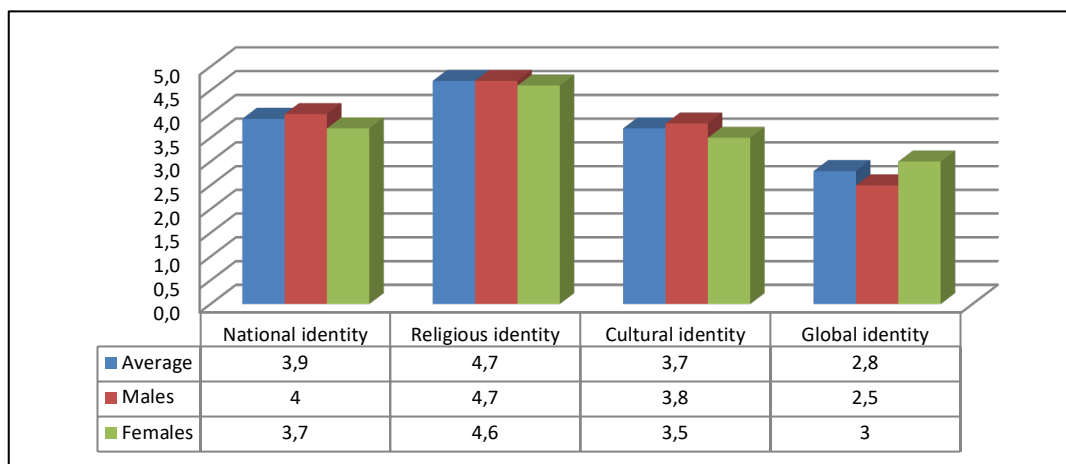
Figure 1. Identity salience based on gender

Figure 1 shows identity salience based on gender (males/females). The p-value of the conducted T-test was more than 0.05 for all the types which means that gender's effect was not statistically significant.

	National identity	Religious identity	Cultural identity	Global identity
Average	3,9	4,7	3,7	2,8
18-29	3,6	4,4	3,7	3,2
30-59	3,7	4,7	3,5	2,2
60+	4,4	4,8	3,8	3
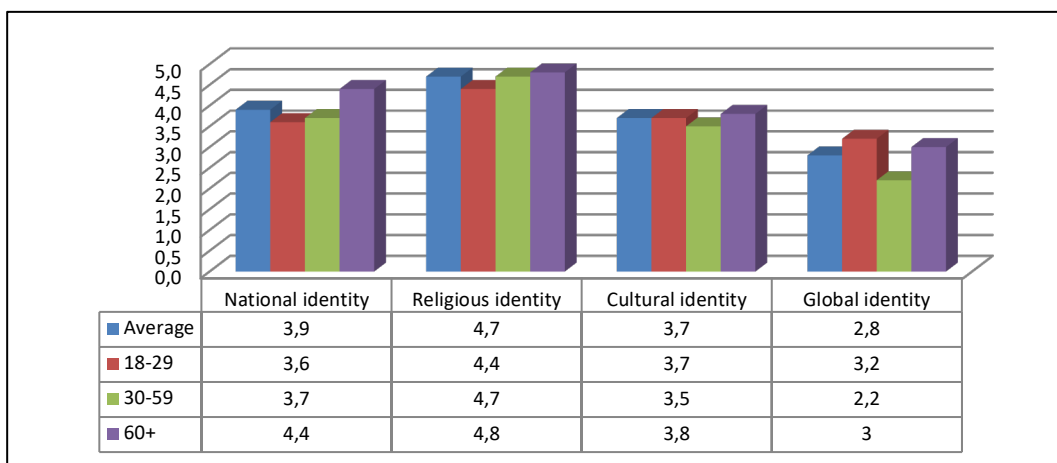
Figure 2. Identity salience based on age groups

Figure 2 presents identity salience based on the 3 age groups of the study (18-29/ 30-59/ 60+). Religious identity ranked 1st for all age groups and global identity ranked 4th. For the young adults (18-29), cultural identity ranked 2nd and national identity ranked 3rd with very similar ratings. For middle-aged (30-59), national identity ranked 2nd and cultural identity 3rd. For older adults (60+), national identity ranked 2nd and cultural identity ranked 3rd. The p-values –obtained by the One-way ANOVA test- for the religious identity and for the cultural identity were more than 0.05 which is not statistically insignificant. The p-values for the national identity (p=.017) and for the global identity (p=.005) were less than 0.05 which is regarded as statistically significant. This suggests that, in the current study, national identity was shown to be more salient for the older adults than the other two age groups, and the global identity was shown to be more salient for the young adults age group.

4.2. Analysis of the ODCTs

The purpose of the ODCTs was to examine how the participants respond to the first 2 scenarios in a way that reflects their most salient identity, and whether they converge to or diverge from their interlocutor who uses English, Standard Arabic and a different dialect than the participant in the other 6 scenarios. Although answers of the Likert scale question showed that religious identity is the most salient for Ammani people with a high record, followed by national and culture identities, none of the participants chose the cultural identity in the first scenario. This could be an indicator that identity salience varies due to different factors such as travelling or participating in an international event. For example, many people who chose religious identity as their most salient identity and chose 5 out of 5 score for the religious identity, when they were asked to choose an identity that represents them and that is the most important for them, and thus they were urged to capitalize it more in an international

conference or choose an identity for their child at school, they chose national identity instead. This appears to support the assumption that when identities are challenged, the attachment to a certain identity becomes more important.

With regard to scenarios of code-switching and taking gender as a variable, in scenario 3, more females mixed English words than males. In scenario 4, more females used a mix of Arabic and English than males. In terms of age, in both scenarios, young adults code-mixed more than other age groups. In the 18-29 age group, the participants did not feel uncomfortable towards scenario 3, and 3 of them code-switched except for one male participant who felt angry. The 30-59 age group participants seemed more annoyed if they were in the situation that the third scenario suggests. This is made clear by the fact that only one female chose to code-switch. The others responded in Arabic, while one of them responded in an angry tone that she will only respond to Ahmad's greeting and then she will not continue talking to him.

With respect to code-mixing, in scenarios 5 and 6 and taking gender as a variable, the results show that in scenario 5, females utilized English words in their responses more than males. In scenario 6, females also gave responses that have English words more than the males. If age is taken as a variable, it was revealed that young adults mixed English words in their responses (code-mixing) more than the other age groups.

Concerning style-shifting2, 19 participants accommodated their speech and converged to the presenter's speech style by switching to Standard Arabic instead of their colloquial (Amiyya), whereas 11 participants did not accommodate and they insisted on using their daily style of speech. Females showed more convergence than males. Middle-aged (30-59) and older adults (60+) showed more convergence to the presenter more than the young adults (18-29). The number of females that changed their dialect were more than the males although the dialect used in the scenario script is more similar to Ammani males than females since it used the /g/ sound. Thus, to provide an answer to the first research question, the quantitative data analysis of the 5-point Likert scale shows that the most salient identity for both genders and for all age groups of Ammani people is the religious identity. This is not the absolute result; taking into consideration the elicited first two ODCTs responses, quantitative and qualitative data analysis show that when their concept of identity is being challenged, or in particular circumstances, their national identity becomes the most salient one.

In order to investigate the reasons behind these results and to provide more insights, the following section discusses the qualitative data obtained from the interviews in addition to its implications in light of the poststructuralist perspective of identity and CAT.

4.3. Semi-structured interviews analysis

Data analysis of the 30 semi-structured interviews with the participants reveals the most salient identity for each group of the participants and the reasons behind their choices taking gender and age into consideration. This was the concern of the first part of questions, and it is presented in the next section. The second part was concerned with identity change, stability and accommodation. The data analysis of the semi-structured interviews also presents the reasons that drive Ammani people to change or refuse to change their speech style when communicating with their interlocutors in light of gender and age as social variables and referring to CAT.

With regard to the religious identity, males stressed the fact that the religious identity provided them with a set of values and practices they adhere to. These can be manifested mainly in their overall lifestyle, particularly as some participants has expressed; in the Islamic gatherings and events. For females, many of them expressed this attachment by the way they dress, the way they raise their children and also the events they attend:

> A9: I am proud of my Hijab and would love to visit other countries and show them my religious identity through my way of dressing.

Young adults (18-29) gave precedence on their feelings towards religion rather than the actual practices. Middle-aged (30-59) indicated that religious identity is the umbrella for national and cultural identities. Many of them clarified that being raised in a conservative society was the roots behind their love and attachment to religion. They expressed fear of the threat of social media on the new generation regarding the attachment to this identity.

The older adults (60+) asserted that they feel the same as the middle-aged group regarding the young adults (the new generation as they stated). They noted that the young generation is not strongly connected to their religion as the old generation. Although the quantitative data results showed that national identity had a high average for females (the average score was 3.7 out of 5), and the qualitative results showed that girls have strong affiliation for this identity and the way they express it, several male participants had a stereotype that females are not attached to this identity (translated from Arabic):

> A2: We (youth) have a strong affiliation towards national identity by feelings and deeds, and by deeds I mean real ones. For example, although some guys wear ʃmaːɣ [cloth worn on the head] to make them warm, the majority wears it to show a sense of nationality.

>However, I believe that females do not have belonging for this identity, it is only appearances, such as when they go to Petra and take photos with the ʃmaːɣ.

Such stereotypes stem from judgments and assumptions that may not be true. The difference of belonging to this type of identity does not necessarily vary based on gender. It could differ relying on social class, place of living and level of education among many other factors.

Based on the quantitative analysis, results revealed that older adults are more attached than other age groups to the national identity. The results obtained through discussing these concepts with the participants via semi-structured interviews confirmed the same, age also had an effect regarding the way each age group expresses this affiliation. The young adults stated that they believe that old people have more belonging to as well as more understanding of this identity. Several middle-aged participants clarified that at this age, they started teaching their children about the love of the country. Some of them argued that they started feeling more responsibility towards their country.

The middle-aged group talked about general traditions that are linked to societal traditions related to social events such as weddings and funerals, and the impact of technology and social media. The older adults group expressed that they love attending social events (weddings, funerals, etc.) but they also emphasized that cultural identity should raise national awareness, and decrease racism. Gender had no much influence on the participants' responses towards the discussion about global identity, except for some females' responses. They expressed that sometimes, using English with foreigners gives them a feeling of belonging:

>A17: I once used English with American people. I felt I am a part of the group and one of them.

With regard to age, the middle-aged group showed understanding and seemed less attached to the concept of global identity compared to the other age groups. Surprisingly, many older adults showed excitement towards this identity. Some of them expressed that they like the idea of interacting with people from different cultures, and learn languages as English:

>A27: I love global identity, I understand English, I love other cultures, but my love to this identity is only to an extent; I will not melt in that identity however.

The idea of using English by the participants' interlocutor seemed more acceptable by females - whether they converge or not/ and whether it is code-switching or code-mixing-- when compared to males. Young adults' viewpoints varied; a group of participants emphasized their use of Arabic even if

their interlocutor uses English (they diverge from their speech style). It seems likely they do so either for their inability to use English or for the purpose of reviving Arabic and keep it vital (as it represents a part of their identity).On the contrary, a second group of the young adults clarified that they use English (mostly they code-witch) frequently especially if their interlocutor uses it (they converge to his/her speech), whereas when they talk to people who use Arabic only, they keep using English (they diverge). They ascribed this to the fact that they can express themselves easily whenever they switch to English. Moreover, many of them indicated that using English, especially for the new generation, has nothing to do with identity stability, rather it is a matter of being used to it. A third group of the young adults age group emphasized that they use Arabic or Arabic and English (both code-mixing and code-switching). The decision of whether to accommodate their speech or not depends mainly on whom they are talking to.

The Middle-aged group seemed to use English less than the young adults, and more than the older adults. The majority of middle-aged group emphasized that using English (without necessity) is a sign of identity instability:

> A14: I use English in a few contexts. I believe that "ʕarabi:zi:"[3] is part of identity crisis and it causes class distinction.

Regarding shifting from colloquial to standard, males and females responses did not give a clear indication for a difference, whereas it did have an effect on their shifting from a dialect to another. Males showed more attachment to their own dialects and stated that they would not change (they diverge) their speech style. On the other hand, females showed more tendency towards changing their dialect (convergence) to sound like their interlocutor except for some females especially those who had Bedouin or Fallahi dialects. That is to say, males showed a more stable identity than females except in some cases. For example, some responses were:

> A23 (male): I never change my dialect, never. I love my Irbidi dialect. If I stayed years in Amman, I would never change my rural dialect. Changing my dialect is like changing my origins.
>
> A30 (female): I speak the Fallahi (rural) dialect of Palestine. Changing it is like changing my origins.

Regarding shifting from colloquial to standard based on age, the majority of young adults indicated that they do not feel ease when shifting to standard so they prefer not to, therefore, they usually diverge. Middle-aged speakers seemed to have a better command of standard Arabic. The majority of

them have the ability to converge, whereas some of them feel difficulty and choose to diverge. Older adults expressed their proud of Arabic and the love for using standard when needed. Moreover, they have more tendency towards converging to their interlocutor who uses standard.

4.4. Discussion

Regarding the study's first question, the results suggest that among the four identities, the most salient identity for Ammani people is the religious identity. However, a careful consideration of the data, the participants related to more than one single identity. Some participants stressed the importance of one identity (national, religious, cultural and global) over the others, while other participants expressed their attachment to all of the four types or to more than one type. This suggests that the results of this study support the poststructural approach where identities are viewed as dynamic rather than fixed and where the context and other factors can play a role in which identity an individual chooses to reveal based on the context. The participants' choices could be attributed to different factors:

- The participants' lack of understanding of the fact that one can have multiple identities and may choose to highlight one in certain contexts. Some may believe that having more than one identity is like having no identity at all. The conservative culture of Jordan also has its influence on Ammani people, even with the globalization impact and the call for a global citizenship. The vast majority of the young adults and a number of the middle-aged groups emphasized their own style of expressing their attachments to each type of identity. They stated their desire to have a more individualistic culture that does not allow people to judge each other easily. This represents a challenge to key social values and norms that are part of Jordan's identity and culture and could be a possible change in progress.

- Fear of being judged by others; if you are an atheist then you will be treated in a bad way. This possibly led many young adults and middle-aged groups of Amman society to act opposite to what they deeply believe. Sometimes, young adults fear expressing their beliefs or way of thinking so that they will not be excluded by their families or friends.

- The pressure to adhere to the religious identity that some individuals face by the Jordanian society, especially females (their clothes and behavior). This was clear in the female participants' responses where most of their discussion were about this.

However, religious identity is essential for the sense of "who I am" among Ammani people even for the ones who do not consider themselves religious. Referring to Uemura's (2011) study, religious identity is one of the least salient identities for Japanese people. This suggests that societies vary in their salient

identity, and thus their way of living, beliefs and style of communication. For this reason, while an individual's salient identity might be a source of empowerment since it provides meaning and purpose to one's life, in some cases, it can be an obstacle for intercultural communication. Thereby, minorities in the society might start feeling eliminated from the majority's religion or culture. In addition, people might turn out to be less tolerant and accepting of religious, national, or cultural practices and beliefs that differ from theirs (Jackson 2019). This is particularly evident in light of recent events where crises around the world, e.g., the Syrian civil war, the situation in Afghanistan and the Ukrainian war have shown that immigrants are only accepted in Europe and other Western counties if they have a more global identity compared to their own national identities. Thus, for people who are feeling persecution or war or seeking asylum in Europe, adopting a global identity may not be a choice anymore, but an absolute necessity for survival.

In addition, the results of this study are in agreement with the recent critical perspective of poststructuralist in another way, i.e. its view of notions of identity (e.g. Noels *et al.* 2012), which positions the concept of identity as fluid and subject to change. This perspective permits more opportunity for globalization influence and intercultural interactions as well as the emergence of new types of identities, namely the global identity. Around the world nowadays, institutions of education have been revising their role and responsibility in this issue. Meanwhile, there are several questions in this regard such as: how can these institutes train students to be global citizens, what plan can they prepare to facilitate students becoming bilingual or even multilingual and have intercultural competence (Jackson 2014).

Concerning the second research question, several linguists argue that identities are affected by language, cultural contexts, and the desire to be similar to others (Uemura 2011). Based on CAT, the desire to fit in or facilitating understanding is about constructing positive identities with the interlocutors and thus it influences one's own identity. There are different views as to whether the accommodation process varies according to gender as a social variable or not. Females are stereotyped as more convergent than men (Namy *et al.* 2002). This was shown to be true when examined in the current study; females showed more acceptance of converging to the speakers than males in general. One possible implication of this is the way males and females are treated in Jordan and how that affects females' identity stability. Some researchers (e.g. Tagliamonte 2011) argued that since females are usually exposed to more social scrutiny when compared to males, they converge to a more prestigious and polite linguistic behaviors. This also applies to females in Jordan. They are pressured to be more polite as they are under more pressure to use certain forms of language. In particular, Jordanian society expects females to behave more correctly than males as they are expected to preserve the family's

reputation *sumʕa* and have to be good models for their children. It can be argued that due to the nature of Jordanian society which leads some females to feel less secure than males, they develop various linguistic choices to state their identity. Whereas males preferred using English for a necessity such as in an academic discussion. This is also reported by other researchers (e.g. Yaseen and Hoon 2017), who suggested that males usually opt to use Arabic more than females who prefer to use English words. This suggests that males may have a more stable linguistic identity than females generally speaking, unless they communicate with females; the majority of participants (despite their gender and age), emphasized that in that case males show a high tendency for convergence.

Age also plays an integral role in an individual's personality, self-image, language choices and the communication process with others (Jackson 2019). According to the quantitative data analysis, and based on the participants discussion, each age group showed different ways of employing accommodative strategies. Young adults and middle-aged groups indicated that when they talk to old people, they converge their speech style based on their views about old people. As already stated, labeling the interaction with an elderly person as difficult and communicating based on perceived stereotypes, the old person may feel less respectful and does not know how to respond because of uncertainty and dissatisfaction regarding these stereotypes that are based on age and can be untrue (Fowler and Soliz 2010 as cited in Palomares *et al.* 2016). Overgeneralizations and stereotyping based on gender, age, beliefs, nationality, etc. might lead to inequality. Such images can result in prejudiced practices such as excluding women and older adults from certain social positions or jobs in Jordan. Another example is when the strong attachment for a Muslim leads him to socialize only with other Muslims and to be prejudiced towards any other person with different religion, or when a Jordanian who has a deep national belonging to Jordan prevents him from interacting with foreigners or people from different origins. People can be also prejudiced against people who speak a different language or dialect.

It is worth mentioning that there are various factors that the researchers noticed while conducting the semi-structured interviews other than the mentioned in the results section, including personal preferences, geographical differences [the individuals dialects and tendency for accommodation relies on his/her origin, where they were born, and the place of living: East or West Amman], the huge number of refugees in Jordan, travelling abroad, the social dimension of solidarity and distance, and the educational dimension. They seem to play an integral role in accommodative behaviours.

Concerning the educational dimension, the participants who majored in Arabic language mostly considered English as a threat or as an indicator of identity instability. Some male participants from

the middle-aged linked using Arabic without code-mixing to religious people, since using English leads to weaker Arabic which is the language of Quran. This can be attributed to the claim that defending Arabic is defending the language of Islamic religion and its history (Al-Abed Al-Haq and Lahad Al-Masaeid 2009). Whereas the participants who studied English at university, or their major was in English (which is the case of most of the fields of study in Jordanian universities), considered English as their second language and viewed it as a necessity for better job opportunities and better communication in general. The results revealed that Ammani people, mostly, use English favorably. English is not just a foreign language in Jordan; it is very important. Nevertheless, the more people accommodate their speech to a more prestigious language that is not the national language of the country, the more their identity is under threat (cf. Gourari 2019). The young adults ascribed their tendency for converging to the speech style of speakers who use English to their major at the university or to their international and private schools they have studied at. Young adults who studied in international schools since their childhood and mastered English as natives, preferred using English in all social contexts. As mentioned earlier in the current study, learning the speaker's language who belongs to a different social group can be considered as convergence. On the contrary, the failure to learn a language is an accomplishment to maintain in-group ties and can be considered divergence (Giles and Ogay 2007). The results revealed that young adults converge more than the other age groups when their interlocutors use English, whereas they are the ones who diverge more than the other age groups when it comes to shifting to Standard or to different dialect than theirs.

In view of all this, one may wonder about the means by which accommodation can influence identity in Amman. It might strengthen specific forms of a particular dialect assigned to specific group identity (mostly colloquial over Standard Arabic, the urban Ammani dialect over the rural and Bedouin, and the code-mixing and code-switching to English over using Arabic only). Therefore, it could result in dialect change or evolution (see Schneider 2008). That is to say, Amman could be witnessing a change in its identity construction and the way its people express their identity. The results may hint that the Jordanian society is changing from tribal and conservative to a more open society. For instance, the middle-aged group and the older adults emphasized their origins and showed pride towards their own dialects more than younger adults. Younger adults attached themselves more to "Ammani" dialect and the majority of them refused to change to another dialect. This may indicate that the young adults consider themselves as a native population of Amman despite their families' different origins and presume that their Ammani dialect is the most prestigious so they do not feel the need to change to another dialect.

5. Conclusion

The following can be concluded:

- The most salient identity for Ammani people (both genders and all age groups of the study) is religious identity, and the least salient one is the global identity.

- When individuals' identity is challenged in certain circumstances or while travelling, other identities than the religious will mostly appear as the most salient.

- The social context and other features can contribute to reveal certain identities for Ammanis; i.e., their identities are multiple and are most likely changeable over time.

- Amman has a substantial impact as a diverse city on identity salience of its people. This can be shown clearer in the young adults' viewpoint and their different viewpoint from other age groups.

- Females are shown to be more convergent than males in different contexts.

- Young adults are shown to be more convergent than the middle-aged and the older adults, when they switch to a more prestigious language (English in this context), whereas they are the least converging with linguistic behaviors in the same language (Standard Arabic or a different dialect).

- The conservative culture of Jordan is starting to change especially in Amman to a more open and globalized style which may be a result of identity instability among its individuals.

Further research on studying identity salience, change and stability in Jordan is needed. It is recommended that other cities in Jordan other than Amman need to be examined and to conduct comparative studies between Amman and other major cities. Research in this area provides insight into the direction to which societies are headed and what they may look like in the future. As a result, this can be valuable information for governments and decision-makers who are addressing issues related to societal change or matters such as women's empowerment. Finally, since the religious identity is the most salient for Ammanis, more effort is needed to find a moderate Islamic discourse that prevents youth from extremism.

Appendix A: Participants of the Google Form online survey (gender and age)

Serial Number	Gender	Age
A1	Male	18-29
A2	Male	18-29
A3	Male	18-29
A4	Male	18-29
A5	Male	18-29

Serial Number	Gender	Age
A6	Male	18-29
A7	Male	18-29
A8	Male	18-29
A9	Male	18-29
A10	Male	18-29
A11	Male	18-29
A12	Male	18-29
A13	Male	18-29
A14	Male	18-29
A15	Male	18-29
A16	Female	18-29
A17	Female	18-29
A18	Female	18-29
A19	Female	18-29
A20	Female	18-29
A21	Female	18-29
A22	Female	18-29
A23	Female	18-29
A24	Female	18-29
A25	Female	18-29
A26	Female	18-29
A27	Female	18-29
A28	Female	18-29
A29	Female	18-29
A30	Female	18-29
A31	Female	18-29
A32	Female	18-29
A33	Female	18-29
A34	Female	18-29
A35	Male	30-59
A36	Male	30-59
A37	Male	30-59
A38	Male	30-59
A39	Male	30-59
A40	Male	30-59
A41	Male	30-59
A42	Male	30-59
A43	Male	30-59
A44	Male	30-59
A45	Male	30-59
A46	Male	30-59

Serial Number	Gender	Age
A47	Male	30-59
A48	Male	30-59
A49	Male	30-59
A50	Male	30-59
A51	Male	30-59
A52	Male	30-59
A53	Male	30-59
A54	Female	30-59
A55	Female	30-59
A56	Female	30-59
A57	Female	30-59
A58	Female	30-59
A59	Female	30-59
A60	Female	30-59
A61	Female	30-59
A62	Female	30-59
A63	Female	30-59
A64	Female	30-59
A65	Female	30-59
A66	Female	30-59
A67	Female	30-59
A68	Male	60+
A69	Male	60+
A70	Male	60+
A71	Male	60+
A72	Male	60+
A73	Male	60+
A74	Male	60+
A75	Male	60+
A76	Male	60+
A77	Male	60+
A78	Male	60+
A79	Male	60+
A80	Male	60+
A81	Male	60+
A82	Male	60+
A83	Male	60+
A84	Female	60+
A85	Female	60+
A86	Female	60+
A87	Female	60+

Serial Number	Gender	Age
A88	Female	60+
A89	Female	60+
A90	Female	60+
A91	Female	60+
A92	Female	60+
A93	Female	60+
A94	Female	60+
A95	Female	60+
A96	Female	60+
A97	Female	60+
A98	Female	60+
A99	Female	60+
A100	Female	60+

Appendix B: Participants of the ODCTs and semi-structured interviews (gender and age)

Serial Number	Gender	Age
A1	Male	18-29
A2	Male	18-29
A3	Male	18-29
A4	Male	18-29
A5	Male	18-29
A6	Female	18-29
A7	Female	18-29
A8	Female	18-29
A9	Female	18-29
A10	Female	18-29
A11	Male	30-59
A12	Male	30-59
A13	Male	30-59
A14	Male	30-59
A15	Male	30-59
A16	Female	30-59
A17	Female	30-59
A18	Female	30-59
A19	Female	30-59
A20	Female	30-59
A21	Male	60+
A22	Male	60+
A23	Male	60+
A24	Male	60+

Serial Number	Gender	Age
A25	Female	60+
A26	Female	60+
A27	Female	60+
A28	Female	60+
A29	Female	60+
A30	Female	60+

Appendix C: The online survey on Google Forms (a translated version to English followed by the Arabic version)

Identities in Jordan

Question:
Choose a number (from 1 to 5) that represents your attachment to each type of the following identities:

National identity: the way an individual views oneself as a part of a certain nation or country (the affiliation towards Jordan)

Religious identity: the individual's affiliation to a specific religious group (the affiliation towards Islam)

Cultural identity: the way people are identified and recognized in a culture (certain traditions, clothes, food, etc.)

Global identity: the extent to which a person belongs to a universal culture.

Gender   *

◯ Male

◯ Female

Age *

○ 18-29

○ 30-59

○ 60+

Place of living *

○ Amman, Jodan

○ Another city

○ Out of Jordan

National *

	1	2	3	4	5	
Not important	○	○	○	○	○	Very important

Religious identity *

	1	2	3	4	5	
Not important	○	○	○	○	○	Very important

Cultural identity *

	1	2	3	4	5	
Not important	○	○	○	○	○	Very important

Global identity *

	1	2	3	4	5	
Not important	○	○	○	○	○	Very important

The Arabic version:

الهويات في الأردن

السؤال: من 1 إلى 5 كم انتماءك لكل هوية (وأهميتها لك) من الهويات الآتية:

الهوية الوطنية: مجموعة من القيم والأخلاق تنعكس أفعالاً بما تعنيه من استقرار في الوطن (الأردن خصوصاً) والدفاع عنه والتقيد بنظمه واحترام قوانينه.

الهوية الدينية: شعور عضوية المجموعة في الدين وأهمية عضوية هذه المجموعة (الدين الإسلامي).

الهوية الثقافية: القيم والتصورات التي يتميز بها مجتمع ما تبعًا لخصوصياته التاريخية والحضارية (مأكولات تقليدية/ لبس تقليدي/ عادات وتقاليد.. إلخ).

الهوية العالمية: درجة الانتماء لثقافة عالمية أو مجتمع عالمي "مواطن عالمي".

العمر *

○ 18-29

○ 30-59

○ 60 +

الجنس *

◯ ذكر

◯ أنثى

مكان السكن *

◯ عمان

◯ خارج عمان

◯ خارج الأردن

الهوية الوطنية *

	1	2	3	4	5	
غير مهمة	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	مهمة جدا

الهوية الدينية *

	1	2	3	4	5	
غير مهمة	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	مهمة جدا

Appendix D: The ODCTs Scenarios (a translated version from Arabic to English)

Identity salience scenarios:

1. You are invited to speak in an international conference in another country. They ask you to choose one type of identity to introduce yourself. You would say:

   a.   I would choose to reflect my Muslim identity.

   b.   I would choose to reflect my Jordanian identity.

   c.   I would choose to reflect my cultural identity (e.g. certain traditions, practices, food..etc.).

   d.   I would choose to reflect that I belong to more than one culture (global community).

2. You have a 7 –year-old son. His teacher at school asked them to prepare a presentation (that has one concept with lots of pictures) that best defines their identity. He asks for your help. You would recommend him to define his identity as:

   a.   An Arab

   b.   A Muslim

   c.   A Jordanian

   d.   Not sure.

Identity change and stability scenarios:

Code-switching:

3. You are invited to your friend's graduation party in Amman (Ahmad). After you have arrived, you meet a Jordanian there who introduces himself as follows:

Hi, my name is Khalid, ʔana sa:ħeb Ahmad.

I love this party, ʤad betʤannen. ʔinta mi:n?

(Hi, my name is Khalid and I am a friend of Ahmad. I love this party, it is really amazing. Who are you?).

You respond to him: --

4. While having a chat with your friends, one of them suggested to go to a restaurant next week:

Friend 1: ʃaba:b, itru:ħu ʕala: ʤabri:? next week I have one day off.

(Guys, would you like to go to Jabri, next week I have one day off).

Friend 2: Yes man, I am in for sure. zama:n ʕan matʕam maʕkom.

(Yes man, I am in for sure. It's been long time since we went to a restaurant together).

Friend 3: Nope, I am sorry. ma: bagdar ʔaru:ħ. (No, I am sorry. I cannot go.)

You: ---

Code-mixing:

5. You went with your friends to a restaurant in Amman. Your friends started ordering this way:

Friend 1: biddi: wa:ħad ʃa:y maʕ mint please

(I would like a cup of tea with mint, please)

Friend 2: ʔana wa:ħad ʔahwa sugar free

(I would like a cup of sugar free coffee).

Friend 3: wa:ħad orange juice law samahet

 (Orange juice, please)

You ordering your drink: ---

6. Your brother is going to the supermarket and he asked:

ʔana ra:yeħ ʕlal supermarket, biddi: ʔadʒi:b pepsi cans, biddak straw wella ʕadi: bidu:n?

 (I am going to the supermarket, I will bring Pepsi cans not a bottle. Do you need a straw?)

You: ---

Style shifting:

7. You have been invited to a TV interview to talk about a certain issue. The presenter started welcoming you (using Modern Standard Arabic –MSA-):

Presenter: ʔahlan wasahlan bika, kayfa ħa:luka?

(Welcome, how are you?)

You respond to him: ---

8. In a family road trip, you stopped by a restaurant in Irbid to have breakfast. The owner of the restaurant comes to your table, he says:

iʃlo:nku:? ga:lu: innku: men amman, winniʕem walla. badna indˤayyifku tˤabag ʕala ħsa:bel matˤʕam, ta:klu: 'galla:yet bando:ra willa be:dˤ magli:'?

 (How are you? I heard you are from Amman, nice to meet you. We want to offer you a free dish, would you like it to be "tomato pan fried" or "fried eggs"?)

You would respond: --

Appendix E: Interviews questions (a translated version from Arabic to English)

Identity salience questions:

- What are the factors that help in specifying the most salient identity for a person?
- Does your knowledge of English give you a feeling of attachment to a foreign culture?
- How do you show your national affiliation?
- Are there some traditions that you wish to erase from the Jordanian society? If yes, like what?
- If you have travelled to a non-Arab country, did you feel more or less attached to your (each type of identity)?
- Do you think of migration? Why?

Identity change and stability questions:

- Do you mix between English and Arabic when you speak? If yes, what are the reasons for mixing?
- To what extent does language determine "prestige" (a high standing achieved through success, influence, wealth, language.. etc.) for Ammani people?
- Do you change the dialect you use depending on the context? How?
- Do you change your speech style depending on the age of your speaker ?
- How does communication differ depending on the interlocutor's gender? Can you provide an example?

Wrap up:

I would like to thank you so much for taking the time and agreeing to participate in this study. Is there anything else you would like to add?

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Chinese Medieval chronicles in Song 宋 (960–1279) booklists
A survey

Maddalena Barenghi

By the Song period (960–1279), very few chronicles compiled before the tenth century were preserved in the imperial and private book collections. Early chronicles served as sources for the compilation of dynastic histories and comprehensive accounts; later, as their transmission was no longer valued, they were largely forgotten. As it is widely known, a great deal of these texts was neither transmitted nor fully lost, as fragments survived in Song institutional and literary compendia. Thanks to these compendia, we can glance at their content and form, and make hypotheses concerning their value, readership, and early transmission. Descriptive booklists of the Song -eleventh to the thirteenth century- imperial and private collections are another valuable source of information on the content, cataloging criteria, and later reception of medieval works of a historical nature. Through a reading of the synoptic descriptions of the items listed in the *biannian*, "accounts arranged chronologically," sections of book catalogs from the Song period, this article aims to cast some light on the features of these early chronicles.

Keywords: booklist, chronicle, *gushi, biannian, Chongwen zongmu*

1. Towards the definition of a rubric

Few of the medieval historical narratives written in the form of the chronicles and annals listed in the booklists of the imperial library holdings survived the Song 宋 (960–1279) period. As it is well known, most of these texts were transmitted to us only partially in fragments collected in later compendia and encyclopedia. We therefore know little of their value at the time of their production, circulation, and later transmission. Indeed, the interest of potential early modern readers shifted to works that best met their tastes and needs, and this led to the gradual abandonment of the transmission of works considered obsolete. An interest in chronologically arranged general histories of the empire from antiquity grew in the early eleventh century and flourished in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries and later periods. The most eminent example, and model for later historical works, is the *Zizhi tongjian* 資治通鑑 (Comprehensive mirror for the aid in governance), the comprehensive chronicle of pre-imperial and imperial history from the Warring States period to 959, compiled by the Song historian

Sima Guang 司馬光 (1019–1086) in the second half of the eleventh century. Even more relevant for the change in readers' taste, and for the significant enlargement of the readership, is the legacy of *tongjian* 通鑑 (comprehensive mirror)*,* or *gangjian* 綱鑑 (outline and mirror), texts that developed in the ensuing centuries, with its different branches and abridgments, and especially Zhu Xi's 朱熹 (1130–1200) *Tongjian gangmu* 通鑑綱目 (Outline and detail of the Comprehensive mirror for aid in governance), a digest of the *Zizhi tongjian* whose main purpose was didactic. Song to Qing *gangjian* aligned with the ancient annalistic tradition, presenting themselves as heirs and innovators of a normative genre.[1] The earlier chronicles and annals were almost entirely overshadowed by the new comprehensive histories, their fortunes entirely dependent on the antiquarian interest of private collectors. This was not enough to ensure transmission to the present day, and by the time of the Southern Song book collections we find mostly *tongjian* titles. Any survey of medieval chronicles necessarily deals with booklists and the information about book titles preserved in them. When we are lucky, these catalogues provide thorough synoptic descriptions of the books, but most often they offer just a few sketchy details. This article aims at providing a general overview of medieval - mostly Tang to early Song - chronicles and annals in Song imperial and private holdings. Through a reading of the synoptic descriptions of the *biannian* 編年, "accounts arranged chronologically," sections of the book catalogues of Song imperial and private collections, it describes some aspects of their content, format, and authorship.

Throughout the Chinese early medieval period, the ruling houses periodically commissioned the compilation of booklists that served the dual purpose of cataloguing the imperial collections and recovering and censoring texts in private holdings scattered around the empire. The seventh-century *Sui shu* 隋書 (Book of Sui) holds a rubric for booklists (*bulu pian* 簿錄篇) that lists thirty catalogues compiled between the Han 漢 (206 BC–220 AD) and the Sui 隋 (581–617) period (*Sui shu* 1973: 33.991). The system of book classification underwent significant changes in the early medieval period: the early six-part rubric devised by the Han scholars Liu Xiang 劉向 (77–6 BC) and his son Liu Xin 劉歆 (49 BC–23 AD), the *Qi lüe* 七略 (Seven summaries), [2] underwent modifications, and new sections were introduced in order to catalogue more accurately the enormous number of texts from the imperial libraries and to track down books from all over the empire. In the third century, a four-branches (*sibu*

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[1] For a comprehensive overview of Ming Qing *gangjian* histories see Standaert (2018) and Lee (2008).

[2] For recent in-depth discussions of the early imperial book collections see Fölster (2018); see also Hunter (2018).

四部) systematization was allegedly devised by the Western Jin 西晉 (266–316) officials Zheng Mo 鄭 默 (213–280), an assistant of the Director of the Palace Library (*Bishu jian* 秘書監), and Xun Xu 荀勖 (ca. 210–289), the Director of the same institution. The four-branches system was used to catalogue the holdings of the empire, a project commissioned by the early Jin court and undertaken in the years 281-83 (Yu 1963: 87ff, Goodman 2010: 305-312, and Dudbridge 2017: 150). This early four-branches catalogue included for the first time a rubric for "historical records, old [court] matters, registers of imperial digests, and miscellaneous matters" 史記、舊事、皇覽簿、雜事 (*Sui shu* 1973: 32.906).[3] Whereas in the Han bibliographic catalogue "Yiwenzhi" 藝文志 (Treatise on classics and literature) the rubric *chunqiu* 春秋 listed the exegetical commentaries and works of historical nature, in the new four-branches system *chunqiu* would become the exclusive rubric of the numerous commentarial and exegetical traditions linked to the Eastern Zhou chronicle of interstate relations traditionally ascribed to Confucius, the *Chunqiu* 春秋 (Annals), as canonized in Han times (Dudbridge 2020: 197).

The introduction of a rubric for historical texts clearly shows that there was an ever-increasing number and variety of texts of a historical and institutional nature that needed to be classified and catalogued. By separating "the growing body of historical records away from the Confucian scriptures into a section of its own" Xun Xu found "a rational way to redistribute bulky holdings" (Dudbridge 2017: 150). Even more significantly, the new history rubric testifies to the development of history writing—in the most general sense of the term that included all kind of archival and institutional material—towards an independent discipline, recognized for its autonomy from the tradition of the classics (*jing* 經).

During the fifth and sixth centuries, the southern courts commissioned the compilation of several lists of the imperial holdings. The compilers experimented and modified the existing rubrics based on cataloguing needs. During the Southern Qi 南齊 (479–502) and Southern Liang 南梁 (502–557) periods, Wang Jian 王儉 (452–489) compiled a *Qizhi* 七志 (Seven records), and Ruan Xiaoxu 阮孝緒 (479–536) a

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[3] On the compilation of the "Jingji zhi" see Twitchett (1992: 87ff). Recent studies focused on the compilation and meaning of single rubrics of the monograph: see Sung (2010) and Durrant (2017: 184-200) on the *shi* 史 (historiography) rubric, Blitstein (2019, 287-322) on the *ji* 集 (compilations) rubric; see also Dien (2012: 509-535, here 513-515). For a general discussion on the evolution of the bibliographic categories see Li (2017: 163-169). On book catalogues in the medieval period see, in the same volume, Dudbridge (2017: 149). As is the case for all the bibliographic monographs included in the dynastic histories, the "Jingji zhi" is not a descriptive catalogue, in that it does not include a synopsis for each item and provides only the name of the author (when the attribution is known). Qing scholars expanded the information concerning the works listed, see for instance Yao ([1955] 1998, 4: 5039-5904).

Qilu 七錄 (Seven registers). Both catalogues formally maintained Liu Xin's division into six compartments, yet with some changes: allegedly, Ruan Xiaoxu's rubric for historical works was called "register of records and accounts/biographies," *ji zhuan lu* 記傳錄 (*Sui shu* 1973: 33.907).

In the seventh century, the Wei-Jin system of classification into four branches would go on to be officially adopted for the compilation of the "Jingji zhi" 經籍志 (Treatise on classics and literature), the book catalogue of the Sui dynastic history (*Sui shu*). Like its earlier model, the "Jingji zhi" includes a rubric for historical and institutional works, and for the first time the term *shi* 史 (history) is used as an umbrella term for the category.[4] After the compilation of the "Jingji zhi," the sectional classification for historical works would remain relatively unchanged, with only minor modifications, throughout the medieval period until the thirteenth century, and all novelty in history writing would be assessed according to this scheme (Sung 2010: 3).

The impressive number of items listed in the rubric *shi* shows the popularity of the genre in the early medieval period.[5] Thirteen subsections form the monograph's history rubric, of which five list historical texts. The remaining eight rubrics include geographical works (*dili ji* 地理記), genealogies (*puxi* 譜系), and administrative compendia of archival documents from different imperial agencies; the last rubric is dedicated to "booklists" (*bulu* 簿錄). Chronicles and annals are classified as "ancient-style histories" (*gushi* 古史)[6] and occupy the second position after the "standard histories" (*zhengshi* 正史). Next are the "miscellaneous histories" (*zashi* 雜史), the "histories of usurpers" (*bashi* 霸史) and the "court diaries or notes on [daily] activities and repose" (*qiju zhu* 起居注). The latter, even if written in the form of a day-by-day chronicle, has a separate rubric for several reasons. For a start, it is plausible that the extremely high number of *qiju zhu* texts collected in the imperial holdings required a separate rubric. And second, by the fifth and sixth centuries, the production of *qiju zhu* had become the prerogative of specific offices, and hence the texts produced may have already been assigned such a

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[4] On the transformation of the meaning of the term *shi* see Hartman and De Blasi (2012: 17-37, here 21-22).

[5] The "Jingji zhi" contains 874 titles of historical works; its correspondent rubric *chunqiu* 春秋, a subsection of the "classics" (*jing* 經) in the bibliographic catalogue of the *Hanshu* 漢書, includes only eleven works (see Dien 2012: 509-35, here 511).

[6] Sung (2010: 10) translates *gushi* as "ancient historiography," meaning "historiography produced in antiquity and later historiographical works produced in a similar chronological style."

rubric in the governmental archives.[7] The cataloguing criteria were thus necessarily linked to the use and provenance of the texts.

Use and provenance were but one of the cataloguing criteria. The postface to the "ancient-style histories" (*gushi*) rubric begins with the assertion that chronicles such as Xun Yue's 荀悅 (148–209) *Hanji* 漢紀 (Annals of the [Former] Han) display a narrative in which "speeches are brief, and affairs are detailed" 言約而事詳 (*Sui shu* 1973: 33.959). As is well known, the *Hanji,* as a summary of Ban Gu's 班固 (32–92) *Hanshu* 漢書 (Book of [Former] Han), is generally praised for its substantial account of events, a much-appreciated quality in the historiographic practice that goes back to Confucius' idea of history.[8] The focus on narratives of events, arranged chronologically, is a necessary but not sufficient feature for chronicles to be classified as "ancient-style histories." Indeed, the designation refers to the value attached to the historical narratives listed therein, as histories of the deeds of rulers and their governments acting within their rights as legitimate sovereigns. These histories are not restricted to chronicles of court activity but deal also with interstate diplomatic relations and foreign exchanges. The designation "ancient-style histories" implicitly hints at the role of historians as having been derived from court officials in charge of compiling state chronicles in the Warring States period, before the creation of a unified empire under the Han.[9] Positioning itself in line with the pre-imperial "old" tradition, the genre responds to the urge to return to chronicling competing states. Freed of the rigid exegetical Han tradition, the genre still retains the moral authority to confer judgment on the work of legitimate sovereigns and their governments. The postface to the rubric reiterates the idea of a political and cultural continuity with the Wei-Jin legacy (of both the recent and ancient past) by linking the revival of interest in histories written in the chronological format to the archeological find of the Ji tomb annals (*Ji zhong jinian* 汲冢紀年),[10] the bamboo texts allegedly recovered from the tomb of King Xiang of Wei 魏襄王 (r. 318–296 BC) in the Ji 汲 Commandery in 280. The "Jingji zhi" treats the recovery of the Warring States Wei and Jin states' court annals as the main motive for early medieval historians' revival of annals, recognized as "the standard rule of the scribes' records in ancient times" 古史記之

[7] The number of texts included in the *qiju zhu* section is far larger than the *gushi* section (44 items, 1189 *juan* against 34 items, 666 *juan; Sui shu* 1973: 33.957ff). On the *qiju zhu* see Twitchett (1992: 35-42).

[8] The critique of Hanshu's verbosity is widely known; for an in-depth examination of the idea of substantiality as a positive quality of historiographic practice see Vogelsang (2005: 143-175).

[9] For a discussion on the role of chronicles in the Warring States period see Lewis (2012, 440-463).

[10] Also known as *Zhushu jinian* 竹書紀年 (Bamboo documents organized chronologically). See Shaughnessy (2006: 131ff) and Goodman (2010: 279ff).

正法. Beginning with the Ji tomb bamboo annal discovery, whenever scholars "had something to record and narrate, in most cases they would rely on the annal style" 有所著述，多依春秋之體 (*Sui shu* 1973: 33.959). This sentence also attests to the sense of nostalgia for an idealized past and the antiquarianism that characterized the revived interest in earlier annalistic writing.

The "ancient-style histories" rubric includes many works that were produced in the southern dynasties and that are not connected to the discovery of the bamboo annals. Many of these works served as primary sources for the compilation of dynastic histories in the ensuing decades and had already been lost by the Tang period. One of these is the *Qi Chunqiu* 齊春秋 (Annals of Qi), a chronicle of the Southern Qi dynasty (470–502) compiled by Wu Jun 吳均 (469–520). The history of its transmission is interesting because, despite the ban imposed by emperor Wu of Liang 梁武帝 (r. 502–549) on the circulation of the book and the subsequent destruction of the copy submitted to the court, an edition of the text survived well into the Tang period (Dien 2012: 527).[11] The title appears in the Tang and Song booklists and disappears thereafter.

Some of the works listed as "miscellaneous histories" (*zashi*) happen to be in chronological form. In a similar manner, the rubric "histories of usurpers" (*bashi*) for instance, clearly attests to the illegitimacy of the kingdoms whose history is told in the chronicles listed therein. The latter display different formats; some might have been written in the chronological form (for instance, the *Dunhuang shilu* 敦煌實錄, Veritable records of Dunhuang, now lost), while others are histories written in the annal-biography form. The latter group includes the *Huayang guozhi* 華陽國志 (Record on the states south of Mt. Hua) by Chang Qu 常璩 (ca. 291–361), a history of the southwestern states of modern-day Sichuan, Shu-Han 蜀漢 (221–263) and Cheng-Han 成漢 (304–347) (*Sui shu* 1973: 33.963).[12] By classifying the text as a "history of usurpers," the Sui catalogue does not say much about its format or content, but clarifies to the reader that the line of dynastic legitimacy of the Sui passed from the Wei 魏 (220–265) and Jin 晉 (265–420) dynasties.

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[11] On Wu Jun see also Klein (2019: 269-70).

[12] On the *Huayang guozhi* and Sichuan historiography see Farmer (2001: 39-77).

2. The rubric *biannian* and late medieval booklists

By the mid-tenth century, the more technically accurate term *biannian* 編年 "accounts arranged chronologically" substitutes for *gushi* in the classification of historical narratives in annal form.[13] The bibliographic catalogue of the tenth-century *Jiu Tang shu* 舊唐書 (Old book of Tang, 945) lists seventy-five items under this category, of which more than fifty are pre-Tang texts. Its counterpart, the eleventh-century catalogue included in the *Xin Tang shu* 新唐書 (New book of Tang, 1060), includes sixty-nine titles. As is well known, the two monographs are summaries of booklists of what may have been held in the imperial libraries in the seventh and early eighth centuries. Abridged versions of these lists were included in the Tang "state history," or "court-centered history" (*guoshi* 國史),[14] and then edited into the dynastic histories. As such, they hardly represent the real holdings of the Tang imperial libraries throughout the dynasty. Instead, they provide a snapshot of the imperial collections at the beginning of the eighth century, with some additions for the following centuries.[15]

It is notable that most of the titles listed in the *biannian* section of the Tang bibliographic monographs were already lost, either partially or entirely, by Song times. The Northern Song *Chongwen zongmu* 崇文總目 (General catalogue in honor of literature) records only thirty-six titles: from the late second-century *Hanji* to the early eleventh-century *Lidai junchen tu* 歷代君臣圖 (Chart of sovereigns and ministers from successive generations). With few exceptions, nearly no pre-Tang chronicles were preserved in the imperial libraries. Some medieval annals and chronicles recorded in the Tang

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[13] For an extensive discussion on the use of *biannian* see Sung (2010).

[14] I follow Michael Nylan's (2019: 187-213) translation of *guoshi* into "court-centered history." Clearly, later historians paid little attention to the suggestions of their colleague Liu Zhiji 劉知幾 (661–721), who advocated that the bibliographical treatise of a "court-centered history" lists only the works produced during the dynasty. For a discussion of Liu Zhiji's criticism to the *Sui shu* "Jingji zhi" and *Hanshu* "Yizhen zhi" see Chaussende (2019: 343-357, here 349-350).

[15] Commissioned by Xuanzong 玄宗 (r. 712–756) in 715, the bibliographic monograph of the *Jiu Tang shu* is a summary of the extensive list of the books stored in the imperial library; it thus represents the holdings of the imperial library at the beginning of the eighth century. Among the compilers are the historians Wei Shu 韋述 (d.757) and Wu Jiong 毋煚 (d. 722). The extensive catalogue in 200 *juan,* called *Qunshu sibu* 群書四部 ([Catalogue of] books of the four branches), was submitted to the court in 723. Afterwards, Wu Jiong wrote a shorter version in 40 juan, entitled *Gujin shulu* 古今書錄 (Register of past and present books). A summary of the latter, providing only the title, number of *juan* and author of each item, was included in the "court-centered history" (*guoshi*) and from there was copied into the *Jiu Tang shu* (Jiang 1935: 231ff). The bibliographical monograph of the *Xin Tang shu* is mainly based on Wu Jiong's Gujin shulu, which was still existing in the eleventh century and catalogued with the title *Kaiyuan siku shumu* 開元四庫書目 (Catalogue of the four branches [of the Imperial Library] from the Kaiyuan era). It also lists titles of texts that were probably derived from biographies and other accounts in the *Xin Tang shu* (van der Loon 1984: 9). This is the case, for instance, of two chronicles written by Wu Jing 吳競 (670–749) and Wei Shu 韋述 (d.757), both entitled *Tang Chunqiu* 唐春秋 (Tang annals; *Xin Tang shu* 1975: 58.1461).

monographs were not fully lost, however, and fragments have survived in Song institutional, literary, and geographical compendia, as well as in Sima Guang's critical apparatus *Zizhi tongjian kaoyi* 資治通鑑 考異 (Critical commentary to the *Comprehensive mirror for aid in government*).[16]

Some Tang chronicles were structured into diagrams and purported to serve as digests or summaries for didactic purposes; thus, they may not have needed to be published and were soon lost. This is the case for instance of Liu Ke's 劉軻 (ca. 835) *Diwang li shuge* 帝王歷數歌 (Songs on the history of kings and emperors), a chronicle of emperors from high antiquity to the early Tang period, structured into four speeches and reportedly meant to serve as a textbook for children's education (*Xin Tang shu* 58.1461, *Chongwen zongmu* 1939: 50, *Junzhai dushu zhi jiaozheng* 1990: 203, *Zhizhai shulu jieti* 1986: 112). The early censorship of Song Taizu 太祖 (r. 960–976) on texts dealing with the history of the late Tang and Five Dynasties periods would also feasibly have affected the transmission of medieval chronicles. This is the case of the *Xu Tongli* 續通曆 (Continuation of the comprehensive calendar), attributed to Sun Guangxian 孫光憲 (900–968), a text that is (purportedly) not mentioned in the *Chongwen zongmu*.

3. Chronicles and annals in Song imperial and private book holdings

Completed under the auspices of Renzong 仁宗 (r. 1023–63) and presented to the court in 1042, the *Chongwen zongmu* provides a picture of the imperial library holdings by the 1040s. It was compiled by a board of officials that included Wang Yaochen 王堯臣 (1001–1056), Wang Zhu 王洙 (997–1057), Ouyang Xiu 歐陽修 (1007–1072) and others. The history of its transmission, which came to us in a shortened edition without the original synopses, is rather complex. During the reign of Huizong 徽宗 (r. 1101–1125), it was renamed *Bishu zongmu* 祕書總目 (General catalogue of the Palace Library), its original name being subsequently restored during Gaozong's 高宗 (r. 1162–1187) time, when a version of the catalogue without synopses was used as a search list to retrieve lost books in the empire (*Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao* 1933: 1775ff; Winkelman 1974: 27-32; Barenghi 2014: 265-86, here 271-72).

The catalogue's history section is divided into fourteen subsections, of which the first five are dedicated to "standard histories" (*zhengshi* 正史), "accounts arranged chronologically" (*biannian* 編年),

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[16] This is the case of Qiu Yue's 丘悅 (early 8th century) chronicle *Sanguo dianlüe* 三國典略 (Outline of the affairs of the Three Kingdoms), which has been partially reconstructed by Dudbridge and Zhao Chao (1998: 27ff).

"veritable records" or "factual records" (*shilu* 實錄),[17] "historical miscellanies" (*zashi* 雜史), and "histories of hegemonies" (*weishi* 偽史). The only difference from previous catalogues is the substitution of the "court diaries" rubric with "veritable records." This choice was presumably dictated by the fact that the latter genre reached its maturity in the Tang period, when "veritable records" were systematically compiled for each ruling period. As a result, the imperial archives collected a substantial number of such books that needed to be catalogued. The change also implies that the limited number of "court diaries" preserved justified the removal of the rubric.

Although the *Chongwen zongmu* was compiled by a team of officials, the prefaces to the bibliographic sections are ascribed solemnly to Ouyang Xiu. The preface to the *biannian* section provides a definition of the genre:

> It is the intention of the Annals of the Springs and Autumns to be most careful in recording the beginnings; wherever there are no affairs in one [period of] time, [the Annals] record the first month all the same, as they say that if the four seasons are not complete, a year cannot be considered fulfilled. [The Annals] thus respect the heavenly chronology as well as rectify human affairs. When Xun Yue compiled the Hanji, he returned to the chronological form for the first time, and the scholars praised him. Among the following generations of authors, [the genre] was as popular as the standard histories.
> 《春秋》之義，書元最謹，一時無事，猶空書其首月，以謂四時不具則不足成年，所以上尊天紀，下正人事。自晉荀悅為《漢紀》，始復編年之體，學徒稱之。後世作者，皆與正史並行云 (*Ouyang Xiu quanji* 2001, v. 5: 1885)

Ouyang Xiu emphasizes the importance of the calendar as a unified timeline that dominates the chronicle and on which to place the unfolding of events. The phrase "recording the beginnings" (*shu yuan* 書元) refers to the practice of opening the chronicle with a ruler's primal act in the exercise of his authority in the spring's first month of the first year (*yuannian chun Wang zhengyue* 元年春王正月). The correspondence of the ruler's ordinances with the seasonal subdivisions represents the link between human affairs and heavenly manifestations.

Ouyang Xiu's preface rather addresses the traditional idea of what chronicles and annals ought to be then provides a description of the works included in the rubric. Indeed, the list of titles provided by the *Chongwen zongmu* attests to a rather diversified range of texts. Although the transmission of most of them was after a certain time no longer carried forward, pieces of information can be gathered from

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[17] On the ambiguity of the meaning of the term *shi* 實 see Vogelsang (2005: 143-175, here 153-158). On the shilu see also Twitchett (1992: 119-159).

the synopses preserved in the two extant Southern Song private holdings' booklists, Chao Gongwu's 晁 公武 (1105–1180) *Junzhai dushu zhi* 郡齋讀書志 (Record of [My] Readings of the Prefectural Studio [Collection]) and Chen Zhensun's 陳振孫 (ca. 1186–ca. 1262) *Zhizhai shulu jieti* 直齋書錄解題 (Annotated Record of the Books of the Zhizhai Studio [Collection]). Based on the description of their form and content, I tentatively grouped the titles into three typologies: chronicles limited to reign periods, historical narratives organized chronologically and covering more than a dynasty, and terse annals mostly arranged into tables and covering long periods of time (from high antiquity to the Song). Works written in roughly the same period, or in the same century, show similar formal features. It is notable, for instance, that most of the early Song historical works are comprehensive chronicles from high antiquity to modern times.

3.1. Chronicles limited to reign periods

It is widely understood that Tang historians were greatly inspired by the early examples of history in chronological form of the *Zuozhuan* and the *Hanji*. Scholars such as Wu Jing 吳競 (670–749), Wei Shu 韋 述 (d.757) and Liu Fang 柳芳 (*jinshi* ca. 741), officially engaged as compilers of the "court-centered histories" (*guoshi*) in annal-biography form, in their private capacity preferred to write historical accounts in chronological form. The preference for the chronological form is undoubtedly to be linked to the development of studies on the *Chunqiu* annals in the Tang period. Private chronicles were often compiled based on the same administrative and archival material that the historians used for the compilation of the official histories. However, in the privacy of their studios the authors did not suffer the political pressure and agenda of their superiors, and consequently enjoyed a certain degree of freedom of authorship (Twitchett 1992: 171-172, 177 and 1996: 63-64). The official sources testify of the production of these chronicles, unfortunately not passed down to us. The only example of which we have considerable knowledge, and which was of enormous importance to early modern historians is Liu Fang's *Tang li* 唐曆 (Tang calendar). As Denis Twitchett explains, the word *li* 曆 "calendar" in the title recalls the genre of "daily calendars" (*rili* 日曆), a type of monthly report that developed in the late Tang period. Since the early ninth century the court promoted the compilation of "daily calendars" by the compilers of the Historiographical Office (*shi guan* 史館). "Daily calendars" were conceived as preliminary monthly summaries of the various types of documentation ("court diaries" and other administrative reports) produced daily at court meetings and aimed at the drafting of the "veritable records" (*shilu*) and subsequently of the national history. As Twitchett says, one of the reasons why the

court recommended the officials of the Historiographical Office to compile such monthly accounts was to keep them from compiling stories privately at home, and to prevent such works from escaping the control of the court. Indeed, the court aimed to exert a strong control over such reports, which had to be delivered to the Historiographical Office, duly edited, and archived. None of these documents have been transmitted to us, but the bibliographical catalogues contain several titles of chronicles written privately which contain the term "calendar." To Twitchett, these could be private copies of the originals submitted to the Historiographical Office that circulated among historians and scholars (Twitchett 1992: 57-9). The *Tang li*, however, differs from the "daily calendars" for several reasons. Firstly, it consists in a chronicle of events from the foundation of the Tang to 778. Moreover, it is not entirely based on official documents: a great part of the information used by Liu Fang to compile his chronological history is based on the oral testimony collected from a former member of Xuanzong's 玄 宗 (r. 713–756) entourage, the eunuch Gao Lishi 高力士 (684–762). Liu Fang and Gao Lishi met on their way to the southern frontier provinces, where they had been sent in exile by Suzong 肅宗 (r. 756–762). On the road, Gao Lishi allegedly revealed to Liu Fang aspects of the administrative and political affairs of Xuanzong's court. Liu Fang "made verbatim notes" and later transcribed them in chronological form in his historical account (Pulleyblank 1950: 460; Twitchett 1992: 59,182 and 1996: 66-68; *Jiu Tang shu* 1975: 149.4030; *Xin Tang shu* 1975: 132.4536).

Despite being harshly criticized by contemporary and later historians, the *Tang li* became popular in the following decades and in the Song period. Over the ninth century the court ordered the compilation of its sequel, the *Xu Tang li* 續唐曆 (Continuation of the Tang calendar), a chronicle of events from 778 to 820 redacted by Wei Ao 韋澳 (*jinshi* 832), Cui Guicong 崔龜從 (*jinshi* 817) and others (Twitchett 1996: 68-69). The *Xu Tang li* is missing from the *Chongwen zongmu*, whereas in the two bibliographical catalogues of the old and new standard histories of the Tang, it is recorded with discrepancies in the number of chapters.[18] Both the *Tang li* and the *Xu Tang li* were already badly damaged by the second half of the eleventh century, and in the early 1070s the historian Liu Shu 劉恕 (1032–1078) lamented that the extant editions presented discrepancies in the number of chapters. According to the historian, this was because Liu Fang had disseminated an incomplete draft of his book (*Sima Guang ji* 2010, v.3: 1353). On the other hand, Li Tao 李燾 (1115–1184) maintained that the original

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[18] The biography of Cui Guicong in the *Jiu Tang shu* (1975: 176.9713) refers to a *Xu Tang li* in thirty *juan* presented to the throne in 851, while the catalogue of the *Xin Tang shu* (1975: 58.5518) records a text in twenty-two *juan.*

edition of the *Tang li* closed with the year 783 and was probably wrongly copied by later editors: He argued that Liu Shu had possessed an incomplete edition of the chronicle and that the text was probably already partially missing when the *Xu Tang li* was redacted in the second half of the eighth century. This would explain why Wei Ao and Cui Guicong open the record with the year 778 (*Wenxian tongkao* 1936: 193.1631).

3.2. Collections of historical narratives organized chronologically and encompassing dynastic limits

The rubric *biannian* includes several titles of comprehensive histories. Two of these are the *Tongli* 通曆 (Comprehensive calendar) by Ma Zong 馬摠 (d. 823), followed by the already mentioned *Xu Tongli* 續 通曆 (Continuation to the comprehensive calendar), compiled in the tenth century and attributed to Sun Guangxian. Despite the similarity in the name, these are quite different from the early Tang "daily calendars" too. The *Tongli* covers the empire's history from high antiquity to the Sui dynasty. Ma Zong includes in the text his comments (*an* 按) and thirty-eight discussions (*lun* 論) from the *Diwang ge lun* 帝王略論 (Summary discussions on sovereigns), compiled by the early Tang scholar Yu Shinan 虞世南 (558–638), who is mostly renown for the compilation of the compendium *Beitang shuchao* 北堂書鈔 (Excerpts from the books of the Northern Hall) (*Junzhai dushu zhi jiaozheng* 1990: 202).[19]

The *Tongli* and *Xu Tongli* are also recorded as *Tongji* 通紀 (Comprehensive records) and *Xu Tongji* 續通紀 (Continuation to the comprehensive records) in some booklists after the Song period. The two texts were passed on in a single edition and several hand-copies circulated among book collectors in the late imperial period. The modern edition is based on a copy preserved in Ruan Yuan's 阮元 (1764–1849) collection that was later included in the *Xuxiu siku quanshu* ([1995] 2002: 336.55-167). Several hand-copies of the book circulated in the Ming and Qing periods among book collectors, until Ye Dehui's 葉德輝 (1864–1927) printed edition (Zhang 1985: 94-6). The first three *juan* are lost, and the fourth to the tenth consist of accounts concerning emperors from the Six Dynasties to the Sui (fifth and sixth centuries). The *Xu Tongli* runs from *juan* ten to fifteen of the modern edition, and it consists of historical accounts from the beginning of the Tang through the tenth-century Five Dynasties period (*Tongli* 1992: 5-6).[20] Despite the title, neither text is a chronicle or annal in the strict sense: each consists

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[19] A current edition of the *Diwang beilun* is a reconstruction of fragments recovered in Dunhuang (Qu 1999: 359; Rong 2013: 374).

[20] For more information see also Qu (1989: 291-305), Fang (2005: 27-38), Lu (2009: 49).

of collections of narrative accounts concerning the sovereigns and their court. The stories narrated differ substantially in length, some of them occupying only a few lines. They address political aspects of rulers' deeds. In content and structure, they resemble historical miscellanies, a genre that flourished from the ninth to the eleventh centuries. We can thus presume that the single events were selected and ranked with respect to their value for those members of the literati committed to rewriting their own history. Rather than an ideal reader, the prospective audience was assumedly a specific group that shared the author's perspective of the true nature of the events narrated. Based on the available sources, it is difficult to determine why Song bibliographers listed the two texts in the *biannian* rubric. Most likely it is because the title "calendar" recalls the *rili* "daily calendar" genre.

As mentioned above, the *Xu Tongli* is missing from the *Chongwen zongmu,* conceivably because of the censorship imposed on the book by Song Taizu. The *Junzhai dushu zhi jiaozheng* (1990: 203) reports that "Taizu's court issued the order to destroy the book, as most of what it recorded was not reality" 太祖朝詔毀其書，以所紀多非實也. Censorship notwithstanding, copies of it presumably still existed in the eleventh century, as Sima Guang could dispose of the book for the compilation of the *Zizhi tongjian* (*Zizhi tongjian* 264.8603).

3.3. Terse comprehensive annals topically arranged into tables

Most of the works dating to the early Song times listed in the *biannian* section are comprehensive and terse chronicles. The titles contain terms that define their character as concise chronologies of events: "chart" (*tu* 圖), "chronological record" (*nianpu* 年譜), "comprehensive record" (*tongpu* 通譜), "record" or "collection" (*lu* 錄, *mulu* 目錄). Although most of these texts are lost, based on the synoptic descriptions we can say that they mainly consisted of chronological surveys arranged into tables. The *Chongwen zongmu* registers a dozen similar titles (some of author unknown), of which only a few survived into the Southern Song period. Three of these titles are the *Nianli tu* 年歷圖 (Chronological chart of the past, *Chongwen zongmu* 1939: 51, or *Yunli tu* 運曆圖, *Junzhai dushu zhi jiaozheng* 1990: 204)[21] by Gong Ying 龔穎 (*fl.* 11th cent.), the *Jinian tongpu* 紀年通譜 (Comprehensive record of the annals) by Song Xiang 宋庠 (996–1066), and the *Biannian tongzai* 編年通載 (Comprehensive chronicle) by Zhang Heng 章衡 (*fl.* 11th cent.).

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[21] By Chao Gongwu's time, two *juan* of the text had already gone missing.

Of the three comprehensive chronicles, only a partial edition of the *Biannian tongzai* has been transmitted to us. The text consists of a comprehensive historical survey from the legendary ruler Yao 堯 to the Zhiping 至平 era (1064–1067) of the Song dynasty, more than three thousand years in all, of which only four *juan* are still extant (*Biannian tongzai* 1966, v. 31; *Junzhai dushu zhi jiaozheng* 1990: 206-208; *Zhizhai shulu jieti* 1986: 112; *Song shi* 1977: 203.5093).

A court diarist and academician of the Jixian Academy during the era of Shenzong 神宗 (1067–85), according to his biography Zhang Heng "lamented that scholars did not know history, so he compiled a chronology of successive emperors and titled it *Biannian tongzai*" 患學者不知古今，纂歷代帝系，名曰編年通載. Shenzong 神宗 (r. 1067–1085), who apparently could be very generous in positive assessments and rewards, read the work and praised it by saying that it was greater in quality than any other history (*Song shi* 1977: 347.11008).

The *Yunli tu* by Gong Ying reportedly was a chronological chart of events beginning in 256 BC, the year in which King Zhaoxiang 昭襄王 (325–251 BC) of Qin 秦 invaded the Zhou 周 territories and continuing into the Yongxi 雍熙 era (984–987) of the Song period. The text, now lost, consisted of an account of the major events that led to the rise and fall of successive dynasties, and it was arranged into two charts. It was submitted to the court of Song Taizong 太宗 (r. 976–997) in 987. As in the case of the *Biannian tongzai,* the synopsis describes how the sovereign liked the work and generously rewarded its author (*Junzhai dushu zhi jiaozheng* 1990: 204). The chronicle was reportedly also praised by the historian Ouyang Xiu, who drew on it for the compilation of his *Jigu mulu* 集古目錄 (General register of collected antiquities) and for the chapter "Shiguo shijia nianpu" 十國世家年譜 (Genealogy of the hereditary houses of the Ten Kingdoms) of his new history of the Five dynasties period (*Xin Wudai shi* 71.883).

The Song sources tell us little about the *Jinian tongpu.* Its author, Song Xiang, is better remembered for his poetry and his career at court than as a historian, an occupation his brother, Song Qi 宋祁 (998–1061), was famous for. Song Xiang submitted the *Jinian tongpu* to the court between roughly 1043 and 1044 (*Xu Zizhi tongjian changpian* 1993: 159.3840). The sources indicate that the text was still circulating among scholars by the fourteenth century. By the late Ming, however, it was lost. The *Jinian tongpu* is not recorded in the *Chongwen zongmu,* and most of the information we have on its form and content is gathered from synopses found in Song private catalogues. Despite its title, which literally means "comprehensive genealogy" (*tongpu*), Song Xiang's chronicle is not a genealogical record: it consists of an account of events chronologically arranged from Han to Song times, in which the historical time

calculated according to reign titles is unified under a single calendar. The text is further divided topically into two sections. The first part, titled *Tongyuan* 統元 (Unified beginnings), has nine chapters covering events from Han Wendi 漢文帝 (195–188 BC) to the year 959, and a chapter covering events from 960 to the Qingli 慶曆 era (1041–48). A second part, titled *Leiyuan* 類元 (Categorized beginnings) is divided into five headings: "legitimate" (*zheng* 正), "illegitimate" (*run* 閏), "usurpers" (*wei* 偽), "bandits" (*zei* 賊), and "Man and Yi" (*manyi* 蠻夷) (*Junzhai dushu zhi jiaozheng* 1990: 206).

As is the case with other lost works, Sima Guang's *Kaoyi* preserves a dozen excerpts from the *Jinian tongpu*. Sima Guang compares it with other sources mostly in cases of basic data discrepancies, for instance, to ascertain the date the Kitan 契丹-led Liao 遼 (916–1125) dynasty was founded, an event that was much discussed by eleventh-century historians (Kane 2013: 27-50). Song Xiang mentions a "Qidan *rili*" 契丹日曆 (Kitan calendar) that he allegedly got in the winter of 1036, on his journey as a court envoy to Youji 幽薊, a shortened name for the sixteen southern prefectures of the Liao empire, as well as a discussion concerning the reconstruction of the date of the first year of reign of the Liao sovereign Taizu 遼太祖 (r. 916–26), a date that is now widely acknowledged as the first year of reign of Abaoji-阿保機 as emperor of the Liao dynasty (*Zizhi tongjian* 269.8809). This excerpt, as well as others preserved in the *Kaoyi,* shows Song Xiang's interest - shared with many of his contemporaries - in calendrical calculations to establish reliable comprehensive chronologies based on a unified calendar. By that time, Sima Guang, Liu Shu 劉恕 (1032–1078), and others had begun working on the skeleton structure of what was to become the *Zizhi tongjian*: the well-known *Linian tu* 歷年圖 (Charts of the past), the chronological digest of the major events concerning the rise and fall of rulers from the interregnum of Gong bo He 共伯和 (841 BC) to 959, structured into five diagrams and sixty sections (Chan 1974-1975: 5).

4. Concluding remarks

The synoptic descriptions of items listed under the *biannian* rubric in Song booklists offer glimpses of a broad array of texts whose formal features vary significantly. The immense and articulated production of administrative reports and archival material by the Tang Historiographical Office benefitted some of these chronicles and is an example of the professionalization of the role of the historian in the Tang period. Copies of the texts probably circulated outside the control of the court, to be used and referred to by a readership consisting mainly of officials or aspiring officials. While the

chronicles varied in their level of detail and chronological accuracy, they were essentially collections of precedents of the legitimate exercise of the court, the sovereign, and the government. The late medieval historical narratives, on the other hand, display different formal features in which time's role appears to be subordinated to deploying anecdotal stories arranged chronologically, narratives in which the moralistic and censorial function plays little role. The stories collected in the *Xu Tongli* are remarkably similar in structure and content to those collected in miscellanies such as the *Wudai shi quewen* 五代史闕文 (Missing texts from th*e Five Dynasties history)* and the *Wudai shi bu* 五代史補 (Supplements to the Five Dynasty history). Like these other two collections, the *Xu Tongli* consists of brief and unlinked records providing variations on the official narratives of the dynastic histories. One could therefore suppose that the production of these later narratives moved away from the circle of the official historians and compilers of the historiographical office, and that the authors had little or no access to the imperial archives. During the late imperial period, these texts were mainly transmitted in handwritten form through private literary networks, and they attracted the antiquarian interest of Ming and Qing book collectors. Finally, the early Song chronicles show the keen interest of late tenth- and early eleventh-century historians in experimenting forms of unified chronicles that went beyond the limits of the temporal breakdown measured in terms of dynastic periods and reign years. These comprehensive chronicles from high antiquity demonstrate an evolution in the primary role of normative categories and of time over narrative, in the form of comprehensive chronologies.

Appendix: Medieval chronicles included (V) or missing (X) in Song booklists (eleventh to thirteenth century)

Chongwen zongmu (1040s)	*Junzhai dushu zhi* (1150s)	*Zhizhai shulu jieti* (13th cent.)
Xun Yue 荀悅 (148–209), *Qian Hanji* 前漢紀	V	V
Yuan Hong 袁宏 (330–378), *Hou Hanji* 後漢紀	V	V
X	X	Wang Tong 王通 (584–617), *Yuan jing Xue shi zhuan* 元經薛氏傳
Hu Dan 胡旦 (955–1034), *Han chunqiu* 漢春秋	X	X
Hu Dan, *Han chunqiu wenda* 漢春秋問答	X	X

Xiao Fangdeng 蕭方等 (528–549), *Sanshi guo chunqiu* 三十國春秋	X	X
Du Yanye 杜延業, *Jin chunqiu lüe* 晉春秋略	X	V
Wang Shao 王韶 (526–593), *Taiqing ji* 太清紀	X	X
Yuan Xingchong 元行沖 (653–729), *Wei dian* 魏典	X	X
Qiu Yue 邱悅, *Sanguo dianlüe* 三國典略	X	X
Cao Gui 曹圭, *Wuyun lu* 五運錄.	X	X
Liu Fang 柳芳 (*jinshi* end of the Kaiyuan era, 713–741), *Tang li* 唐曆	V	V
X	X	Cui Guicong 崔龜從 (*jinshi* 817), *Xu Tangli* 續唐曆
Chen Yue 陈嶽 (8th cent.), *Tang tongji* 唐統紀	X	*Da Tang tongji* 大唐統紀
X	Liu Rengui 劉仁軌 (601–685), *Heluo xingnian ji* 河洛行年記.	X
See under *zashi*	Wen Daya 溫大雅 (575–637), *Da Tang chuangye qiju zhu* 大唐創業起居注	See under *qiju zhu*
Miao Tai 苗台, *Gujin tongyao* 古今通要	X	X
Cui Ling 崔令, *Tang li mulu* 唐曆目錄	X	X
Ma Zong 馬摠 (?–823), *Tongli* 通曆	V	V
X	Sun Guangxian 孫光憲 (900–968), *Xu tongli* 續通曆	X
X	X	Jia Wei 賈緯 (fl. mid-10th cent.), *Tang nian bulu* 唐年補錄

Fang Zhi 范質 (911–964), *Wudai tonglu* 五代通錄	V	V
Zheng Xiang 鄭向 (?–1038), *Kaihuang ji* 開皇紀	X	X
Jiao Lu 焦璐, *Tang chao niandai ji* 唐朝年代紀	X	X
Liu Can 柳璨 (d. 906), *Zheng run wei li* 正閏位曆	X	X
Zhang Dunsu 张敦素, *Jianyuan li* 建元曆	X	X
Feng Yan 封演, *Gujin nianhao lu* 古今年號錄	X	X
Wei Mei 韋美, *Jia hao lu* 嘉號錄	X	X
Shen Fen 沈汾, *Yuan lei* 元類	X	X
Wang Qi 王起, *Wangshi wuwei tu* 王氏五位圖	X	X
Liu Ke 劉軻 (ca. 835), *Di wang li shu ge* 帝王曆數歌	*Di wang jing lüe* 帝王鏡略	*Di wang zhaolüe* 帝王照略
Li Fang 李昉 (925–996), *Lidai nianhao* 歷代年號	X	X
Li Kuangyi 李匡乂, *Xi Han zhi Tang nianji* 西漢至唐年紀	X	X
Jia Qin 賈欽, *Gujin niandai li* 古今年代歷	X	X
Gong Ying 龔穎, *Nianli tu* 年歷圖	*Yunli tu* 運曆圖	X
Wu Mi 武密, *Dihuang xingfei niandai lu* 帝皇興廢年代錄	X	X
Zheng Boyong 鄭伯邕, *Dihuang niandai tu* 帝皇年代圖	X	X
Du Guangting 杜光庭 (850–933). *Gujin julei nianhao tu* 古今聚類年號圖	X	X
Nian hao li 年號歷	X	X

Lidai di wang zhengrun wuyun tu 歷代帝王正閏五運圖	X	X
Nianji lu 年紀錄	X	X
Tang zhi Wudai jinian ji 唐至五代紀年記	X	X
Lidai junchen tu 歷代君臣圖	X	X
X	Song Xiang 宋庠 (996–1066), *Jinian tongpu* 紀年通譜	V
X	Zhang Heng 章衡 (1025–1099), *Biannian tongzai* 編年通載	V
	[...]	[...]

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Christianity in Kim Hyun-seung's poetry

Hyub Lee and *Cheol-soo Kim*

This article attempts to analyze how Kim Hyun-seung's thoughts about Christianity have changed throughout his poetic works. Considered to be a Puritan-like-figure, Kim Hyun-seung is regarded as the most representative Christian poet in Korea. His works, often written in a solemn mood, are characterized by prayer and devotion to God. In Autumn, the significant season for Kim, he gets immersed in religious contemplation. As a solely wandering bird in his works, the raven symbolizes his religious soul. However, Kim was skeptical about the religion during his middle period due to the limitations of Christianity. His frustration was accompanied by solid solitude with the loss of God, which is in opposition to Kierkegaardian solitude. After suffering from a crisis of death, he returned to Christianity with absolute faith in his final years. His oscillation between the religious faith and the recognition of reality reflects his persistent pursuit of religious ethics, which cannot be fully satiated.

1. Introduction

Since its introduction during the late Joseon dynasty, Christianity has had considerable influence on Korean culture. In the sphere of Korean literature, its influence was rather late, and references can be found from the early 20th century. Before then, its presence was so scarce that it is not easy to discover specific influences upon literary works. As for genres, the religious influences were greater in fictions than poetry. Christianity could not be easily infused with the Korean poetry tradition. It was incompatible with the indigenous culture, for shamanism and Buddhism had been deeply embedded in the Korean poetic world. It was predominantly the Chinese tradition, including especially Buddhism and Taoism, that influenced the pre-modern Korean literature.

Among major Korean poets, some wrote significantly Christian poems worthy of attention. Among them, Kim Hyun-seung (김 현승 Gim Hyeonseung)[1] (1913-1975) is generally regarded as the most

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[1] While 'Gim Hyeonseung' is the spelling based on the official Romanization system at present, 'Kim Hyun-seung' is the one that has been actually used for the past decades. It is desirable to adopt Revised Romanization of Korean in order to represent Korean pronunciations. However, there is a severe limitation in the usage in this paper. The spellings of the poet and other Korean names and titles referred to in this paper as well as other texts are not based on the established systems. They were

significant. As one of the major modern poets, his religious presentation is most highly evaluated among those who embodied Christian ideas in poetic forms. Although there were other poets or fictional writers who drew on Christianity into works, few writers, especially poets, rival Kim in terms of devotion to Christianity and subsequent contribution to Christianizing Korean poetry.[2] Under the influences of especially T.S. Eliot, Ezra Pound, and Rainer Maria Rilke, he is evaluated as significantly Westernized among the early generation of modern Korean poets. Kim himself recollects that he learned various features of modern poetry from T.S. Eliot (1985: 296-297). As Kim Hyun indicates, he is exceptional in Korea where a majority of poets elicit poetic origin from the Buddhist tradition (2014: 25).

Among his approximately 500 poems written for 4 decades, many works, especially major ones, are related to Christianity, explicitly or implicitly. As Christianity arguably pervades his corpus, the study of his poetry has been focused on his relation to Christian ideas. He frequently alludes to the Bible and ancient texts. As Kim In-seob notes, no other Korean poets used Biblical expressions more frequently than Kim (2014: 16). It is not surprising considering that the most dominant influence on his life itself as well as his poetic world was Christianity. Born as a son of a Christian minister, he lived in a Christian milieu throughout his life. Even his elder brother and son became Christian ministers. His father was the 5th minister of Yangrim Church, which was founded in 1905 by Eugene Bell (1868-1925), a missionary sent by the Southern Presbyterian Church in the United States. Led by the faithful father, he was educated in Presbyterian mission schools, entirely from elementary to university levels. He retrospectively accounts for childhood:

> Fundamentally, it is probably the Bible that influences my poems, knowingly or not . . . . I prefer the New Testament [to the Old Testament], especially the four Gospels. It is because the four Gospels present Jesus' actions and words. Jesus' words are all specific and poetic . . . . How can He be so noble, humanitarian, solitary, mild, and considerate? I have read

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written in some conventional methods that have been used by Koreans unaware of the rules of Romanization systems. As such spellings have long been used, mainly in English abstracts of Korean articles, they cannot but be used for referencing purposes. For this reason, the authors use the conventional spellings for the names and titles.

[2] Besides Kim, Yun Dong-ju, Park Mok-wol, Chung Ji-yong and Park Du-jin are regarded as poets representatively concerned with Christianity. However, in their works and lives, Christianity is not so central as in Kim's poetic world. No poet wrote religious poems so profoundly as Kim. Yun wrote merely about ten religious poems during a limited period of career. Park Mok-wol became a Christian only in his later days (Lee 2006: 199). Meanwhile, Chung took anxieties of youth as religious faith (Kim 2007: 96).

> Jesus' words and acts since childhood. So I can reassure you that the wonderful poems
> [that is Jesus' words] affected the life of my poems (Kim 1985: 297-298).[3]

As he confesses, he has been greatly inspired by Christianity since childhood. Arguably, the image of Jesus contributed to the formation of his poetic world. As he regards Jesus' words as "the wonderful poem," the Biblical messages' influences upon his poems can be reaffirmed. Actually, the four Gospels are abundant with metaphors, which the poet probably felt to be poetically appealing (Shin 1996: 325). It needs to be noted that Kim's viewpoint upon Jesus is different from the orthodox conception in Christianity. As Kim Yoonjeong discusses, he regards Jesus as a human rather than a transcendental being equivalent to God (2010: 130). It was the humanitarian aspects of Jesus rather than the Divine that attracted Kim. Actually, his thought about Jesus is against the core idea of Christianity. In Christianity, Jesus as the Messiah occupies the second position in Trinity. However, Kim overemphasizes the human aspects of Jesus. It needs to be noted that Kim's religious ideas, from the early period, have not fully conformed to the orthodox ideas. The liminality of his early religious stance foreshadows his deviance in later years. Despite his image as a Christian poet, Kim did not always hold on to Christian ideas throughout his career. Two major shifts in his perspective upon Christianity can be found, which serves as a criterion for dividing his career into a few periods. Kim's poems can be generally divided into three phases: the early, middle, and later phases. Some critics divide it rather differently, into 4 or 5 periods. Such opinions, however, are not generally accepted.

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[3] The original reads as follows: 기본적으로 내 시에 아는 듯 모르는 듯 세력을 미치고 있는 것은 기독교의 성경일 것이다....나는 그보다 신약을 더 좋아하고 그 중에서도 특히 사복음(四福音)을 좋아한다. 그 이유는 사복음에는 예수의 행동과 말이 적혀져 있기 때문이다. 예수의 말은 모두가 구체적이며 시적이다....그렇게 고결하고 인정많고 고독하고 부드러우면서도 자상할 수가 있을까. 나는 이 예수의 언행(言行)을 어려서부터 읽었다. 그러므로 이 훌륭한 시가 내 시의 일생에 영향을 미치지 않았다고 내가 어떻게 장담할 수 있을 것인가.

Kim occasionally inserts Chinese characters, probably in order to emphasize the significance of words or clarify the meanings of Sino-Korean words. For a Chinese rooted pronunciation may refer to several meanings. He tends to use Chinese characters instead of Korean characters also in poems as well as prose works. Unlike the above citation using the brackets, Korean letters are frequently not written without bracket. Chinese characters were used even for the titles of anthologies and poems when first published. In such cases, the authors wrote them in the original forms. Nowadays Chinese characters are rarely found in printed poems. However, during the mid-20th century, Chinese letters were used much more frequently, or habitually, in the daily lives of Koreans, especially in newspapers.

As for the translations in this article, all translations of Korean prose works are the authors' unless otherwise stated. In translating the poems, however, we partly relied on pre-existing translations. There are some English and French translations of his main poems, for example *Kim Hyeonseung La Solitude Absolue* (Circé and Oxymoron 2010). We examined how his poems were translated, and then took them into account: we did not merely copy, but partly modified them.

As his numerous poems were collected in several books, it is convenient to classify the works by anthologies. *Kim Hyun-seung Sicho* (金顯承 時抄 "Kim Hyun-seung Poems Collection," 1957) and *Onghojaui Norae* (擁護者의 노래 "Song of Advocate," 1963) can be classified as early collections. *Gyeongohan Godok* (堅固한 고독 "Solid Solitude," 1968) and *Jeoldae Godok* (絶對 고독 "Absolute Solitude," 1970) belong to the middle period. The later period works include *Nalgae* (날개 "Wings," 1973), *Kim Hyun-seung Si Jeonjip* (金顯承 詩 全集 "Kim Hyun-seung Complete Anthology of Poems," 1974) and *Majimak Jisang-eseo* (마지막 地上에서 "On the Last Ground," 1975).

It is evident that he averted from Christianity during the middle period, approximately from the mid-1960s to 1972. Significantly, the aversion was accompanied by his immersion into solitude. In the later period, however, he returned to Christianity. His deviation is not exceptional in the Korean literary tradition. In Korea, Christian literature mirrored the conflict between the Christian culture and preexisting indigenous culture, and its various efforts to overcome the struggle (Kim 2005: 245).

In order to analyze how his works underwent the religious turns, I will focus on representative works of each period. The poems to be mainly analyzed include *Gaeului Gido* (가을의 祈禱 "A Prayer in Autumn," 1956) and *Nunmul* (눈물 "Tears," 1956) among the early works, while *Jemok* (題目 "Title," 1965) and *Jeoldae Godok* (絶對 고독 "Absolute Solitude,"1968) are chosen for the middle period. Finally, *Majimak Jisang-eseo* (마지막 地上에서 "On the Last Ground,"1975) in the later period will be analyzed. Also as the titles of collections, *Jeoldae Godok* and *Majimak Jisang-eseo* are explicitly representative works. Actually, this paper is mainly intended to systemize the preexisting research on his corpus. Thus, the chosen representative works might serve that purpose.

2. Christianity in early poems

Probably his most known poem is *Gaeului Gido* included in *Kim Hyun-seung Sicho*. It has been beloved by general readers who favor solemn mood, for which he is evaluated as a sort of Puritan poet by some critics (Choi 2014: 372). It seems that Korean critics, as well as general readers, do not precisely use the term Puritan. They tend to use it to emphasize his religious purity. By nature, Kim liked such a mood, often with a tea or coffee. This is why he came to be called *dahyeong* 茶兄[4] by his younger acquaintances. The poet himself notes that he has written poems with a Puritan mind until the middle period (Kim

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[4] *Da* means 'tea' and *hyeong* 'elderly brother.' As a senior, he is known to have often enjoyed teas with visitors.

1985: 273). Throughout his life, he sincerely pursued personal and social morality in works and life, which is characteristic of Puritanism. He was deeply concerned with how to put into practice the Puritan ideals. However, it does not mean that he followed the original doctrines of Puritanism in the 18th century. Thus, no critic associates him with any specific religious movement of Puritans. Then there remains a question as to what Puritanism means for Kim. He associates Puritanism with his sincere pursuit of conscience and morality. This stems from his observation as he describes what he saw in his middle school days. He would visit some missionaries' houses, which became a historical site in Yangrim-dong, Gwangju. He saw a Puritan missionary make a spoken promise to buy firewood at a price from a seller. A few days later, another seller suggested a much lower price for firewood. However, the missionary declined his suggestion as he conscientiously valued the promise (Kim 2021: 19-20). Kim remarks that he highly evaluates this kind of conscience. He seems to address Puritanism as the most representative case of keeping conscience for the religious faith. This is why Kim Woochang highly evaluates him as a rare moralist (2014: 99-101).

Generally, Koreans feel more emotional in autumn. In Korea, autumn has multi-faceted images, especially in literature. It is not easy to characterize autumn with a few words. However, it is undeniable that it has often been associated with depression and loneliness.[5] In other aspects, it is also mainly regarded as the season of harvest and fertility. Kim is one of the numerous Korean writers who are deeply concerned with autumn. Kim wrote many poems including 'autumn' in the titles, not other seasons, especially during his early period. As many critics agree, autumn is obviously the most important season for him. He explains what autumn means for himself:

> It was my pleasure to achieve the deepest poems in autumn. So I have lived without feeling the loneliness or sorrow of autumn. Where there was loneliness, there was a prayer in autumn, and that became a poem with added rhythm (Kim 1985: 415).[6]

Autumn is the season most suitable for his religious contemplation. During the season, he does not banally feel melancholy, but solitarily gets immersed in solemn moods. This state of mind far from common sentimentality leads to the ripening of his religious spirit. As manifested in the title, *Gaeului Gido* representatively illustrates such a solemn mood:

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[5] Some representative poems showing such depressed feeling are Kim Gwang-gyun's *Chuilseojeong* [추일서정 "Autumn Day's Emotion"], Park Jaesam's *Ureumi Taneun Gang* [울음이 타는 강 "A River with Burning Cry"] and Lee Seongbu's *Byeo* [벼 "Rice"].
[6] 가을에는 가장 깊은 시를 얻는 것이 나의 기쁨이었다. 이리하여 나는 일생 동안 가을의 외로움이나 슬픔을 모르고 살아왔다. 외로움이 있는 곳엔 가을마다 기도가 있었고 그 기도에 리듬을 붙이면 시가 되었다.

가을에는
기도하게 하소서......
落葉들이 지는 때를 기다려 내게 주신
謙虛한 母國語로 나를 채우소서.

가을에는
사랑하게 하소서......

오직 한 사람을 택하게 하소서,
가장 아름다운 열매를 위하여 이 肥沃한
時間을 가꾸게 하소서.

가을에는
호올로 있게 하소서......
나의 영혼,
굽이치는 바다와
百合의 골짜기를 지나,
마른 나뭇가지 위에 다다른 까마귀같이.

In autumn, Lord
Let me pray . . . .
Fill me with the humble mother tongue you gave me
waiting for the time when autumn leaves fall.

In autumn, Lord
Let me love . . . .

Let me choose only one,
for the most beautiful fruit
Let me manage this time in fertility.

In autumn, Lord
Let me be all alone . . . .
My soul,
passing through the meandering sea
and the valley of lilies,

Reaches a dry branch like that raven did.

Autumn renders a solemn mood for him to pursue his religious ideal through prayer. In the sedate time, his confessional wish for prayer shows his religious will. The poem's literary style is similar to that of Lord's Prayer. The style and tone of the original Korean poem are similar to those of Lord's Prayer translated into Korean. The prayer shows his piety to God as the absolute being. The act of prayer determines the relationship between God and him. He establishes a relationship with God in a hierarchical relationship (Choi 1996). His purified spirit can be sincerely represented by the mother tongue. There are linguistic and historical reasons. In his opinion, Korean has a phonetic system that can effectively represent various pronunciations. Additionally, he thinks Korean has a profound vocabulary of adjectives, especially ones expressing the feeling of stimuli called *gamgageo* (感覺語). Thus, he found the capacity of Korean to express ideas and feeling more delicately than in other languages (Kim 1985: 27). Also in the historical context, he seems to feel freed when he was using Korean after the emancipation from the Japanese colonization. Probably, he is free from the trauma of the Japanese colonization Koreans suffered from. Kim's writing activity was far from being vigorous during the colonial period, with only 16 poems until 1945 in the anthology published by Kim Hyun-seung Memorial Association.

In the third stanza, autumn offers profound fertility, which is characteristic of Korean culture. With this profundity, he expresses an aspiration to love God, in continuance of the second stanza's affectionate mood. The time for harvest is also the time for attaining religious maturity. The seasonal metaphor of nature is pronounced in this stanza. The poet "discovers God through nature, and shows a humble attitude of subordinating himself" (Yu 2007: 108).

In the final stanza, he desires to be solitary for the religious purpose. His aspiration to be solitary, especially in autumn can be understood from his remark upon Rilke's "Autumn Days": "In autumn, I too often have an impulse to wander solely far away from home like in Rilke's poems . . . . I want to leave home, for I wish to solely reach the spiritual height that nobody knows" (Kim 1985: 364).[7] Feeling identified with Rilke (Shin 2019: 131), he wishes to pursue the spiritual essence alone without being disrupted by secular matters. What the solitude implies in this context can be comprehended by appreciating the significant religious symbols, which might seem merely natural objects in lyrical poems.

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[7] 나도 가을에는 릴케의 시와 같이 집을 떠난 먼 속에서 호올로 방황하고 싶은 마음의 충동을 종종 경험한다.....그러면서도 내가 집을 떠나고 싶어하는 것은 나 혼자 아무도 모를 정신의 고지(高地)를 점유하고 싶은 때문이다.

The most conspicuous symbol is the raven as an objective correlative (Moon 2014: 601), the bird almost solely found in his works.[8] It is a significant symbol the poet uses throughout the long span of his career. He came to endow the black bird with the significant implications through personal experiences, rather than through the influences of Oriental literary traditions.[9] As he confesses in his short prose *Gyeoul Kkamagwi* (겨울 까마귀 "Winter Raven," 1974), he was deeply impressed by the sight of ravens flying near his house at Yangnim-dong in Gwangju, where he lived from 1919 to 1926. Ravens would fly towards Mudeung mountain, located around the eastern part of Gwangju, from a nearby bamboo forest in the morning and return to the forest in the evening. He could hear even the fluttering sounds of ravens flying right above his house. Sometimes he saw a few ravens sitting silently on branches of a royal foxglove tree (Kim 1985: 397-9). The birds left such a deep impression that he later wanted to spend his final years listening to the cry of ravens flying southwards toward his home (Kim 2021: 14-15). He explains what the dark bird means for himself:

> During that period, I expressed raven as an image of wandering poet in the sky, or a bird of silence . . . . It seemed to the eyes of my mind like a bird that embodied human solitude and heavenly punishment intensively through its color and sound (Kim 1985: 397).[10]

As a bird solely wandering, it is a symbol of his religious spirit. This symbolization is manifest as it is called *Yeonghonui sae* (영혼의 새 "Bird of soul") in the poem *Gyeoul Kkamagwi* (겨울 까마귀 "Winter Raven," 1965). Besides this poem, other numerous poems feature the raven, from the very early one *Kkamagwi* (까마귀 "Raven," 1935) to the ones written during his final period. The solitude it symbolizes

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[8] In his very early poems, some other birds like sparrow, nightingale and rooster are found. However, unlike the raven, these birds are not considered to be important. They are represented rather as examples of some ideas he conveys.

[9] Like in many other cultures including the Western one, the raven is an important symbol in Korean culture, remarkably in Korean literary tradition. There are a large number of stories, especially folktales, or verses that feature the raven. It harbors multi-faceted implications, which are partly similar to those in other cultures in some aspects. Although its traits are partly shared by other cultures, its differences are worthy of attention in order to comprehend the cultural background. In Korea, the raven has both positive and negative implications. Traditionally, it was mainly regarded as positive rather than negative, which is contrasted with the Western tradition. Its negative images appeared rather recently. An aspect of its traditional implications seems to be similar to Kim's thought about it. It has been regarded as related to death, insofar as it was thought to bring food to ancestors in the afterlife. It is supposed to link between the present and afterlife (Maximova and Kim 2017). Although its role of transgressing the borderline between life and death might be similar to that of the raven in Kim's poetry, there is no evidence that this idea had a direct influence upon Kim. The poetic image of the deadly bird seems to have been formulated through his personal observation and impression.

[10] 그 때 나는 까마귀를 하늘의 유랑시인이라는 이미지로 표현하거나 또는 침묵의 새라고 표현하였다.... 인간의 고독과 인간들의 천형을 자기 한 몸에 그 빛깔과 그 소리로 집중하여 형상화한 듯한 새라고 나의 마음의 눈에는 보였기 때문이다.

is what he was occupied with for his whole career. This is why he is called 'the poet of solitude,' though its implications are varied by period. Its way of flight reflects the path his soul treaded. The "meandering sea" supposedly symbolizes the present secular world filled with adversities. By contrast, "the valley of lilies" arguably symbolizes a peaceful state of mind, as it is connected with "the lily of the valleys" (Carrol and Prickett 1997: 761) in Song of Solomon 2:1 in the Bible (Song and Yoon 2001: 22). The final destination is the dry branch. The dry branch is an important symbol associated with Christianity often found especially in Kim's early poems. Trees including dry branches often appearing in his poems are the main objects he feels identified with (Kim 2009: 68; Park 2011: 264). As many critics generally agree, the withered dry branch often symbolizes the old poet himself with a weakened body. Physically weakened, he can be in a state better to pursue a religious spirit. The more solitary and weakened he is, the more the absolute God is worshipped. The raven oriented toward the heaven may symbolize transcendence and salvation.

As another early representative work, *Nunmul* evinces his devotion to Christian ideas:

더러는
沃土에 떨어지는 작은 生命이고저......

흠도 티도,
금가지 않은
나의 全體는 오직 이뿐!

더욱 값진 것으로
들이라 하올제,

나의 가장 나아종 지니인 것도 오직 이뿐!

아름다운 나무의 꽃이 시듦을 보시고
열매를 맺게하신 당신은,

나의 웃음을 만드신 후에
새로이 나의 눈물을 지어 주시다.

Often
I wish to be a small seed falling to the fertile ground. . . .

These are all I have!
flawless, spotless,
unbroken.

When I am asked to offer
what is most precious,

These are the only ones I have left!

You saw the flowers of a beautiful tree withering
and made it bear fruit,

After giving me laughter,
You have renewed my tears.

This poem at a glance might seem to be one that expresses the speaker's emotion about nature. However, the poetic words that refer to the objects of nature are endowed with Christian implications. The Christian spirit is deeply rooted in his early poems that appear to portray the world as merely lyrical. "Through clear images, he presented the poetic world in which he pursued religious ethics" (Nam 2005: 1). His lyricism in the early period is combined with Christianity. The poet appropriates the poetic world, often seemingly merely emotional, from a Christian viewpoint. This interpretation can be substantiated by his own explanation:

> The Christian spirit underlies this poem. This poem suddenly hit upon me one day while grieving over the loss of my beloved young son.
>
> I tried to appease the wounds of my heart by faith, and wrote this poem with that mind.
>
> "If humans have something to devote to God, what is it? It is not laughter that is easily changeable. If there is one that does not corrupt on earth, it may be only tears shed in front of God." This might be the poem's main subject (Kim 1985: 262-3).[11]

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[11] 이 시의 기저에는 기독교 정신이 깔려있다. 이 시는 내가 그렇게도 아끼던 나의 어린 아들을 잃고 나서 애통해 하던 중 어느 날 문득 얻어진 시다.

  내 가슴의 상처를 믿음으로 달래려 하였었고, 그러한 심정으로 이 시를 썼었다.

  "인간이 신 앞에 드릴 것이 있다면 그 무엇이겠는가. 그것은 변하기 쉬운 웃음이 아니다. 이 지상에 오직 썩지 않는 것이 있다면 그것은 신 앞에서 흘리는 눈물 뿐일 것이다."라는 것이 이 시의 주제라고 할 수 있을 것이다.

He clarifies that the Christian spirit is embedded in the poem. Explaining what motivated him to write it, he states the main theme. By this account, we can grasp what the poetic words imply. The fall of a small seed symbolizes the death of his son (Kim 1986: 202). Although the sorrow remains unavoidable, the speaker retains a religious stance. The tears suggest a way of surmounting the sorrow through the religion. His thought of surmounting through tears is similar to that in the Bible, which can be found in Psalm 126:5, "They that sow with tears will reap in joy" (Carrol and Prickett 1997: 713). This is a facet of the religious influences upon his consciousness. If a common man had lost his son, he would not have had positive feelings about God. However, the poet tries to overcome the bitterness through the affirmation of God. For this reason, the speaker's tears are renewed, that is endowed with religious significance. His sorrow for the lost son was sublimated into a spiritual divinity. He endeavors to seek a path toward eternity by accepting the sorrow positively. For this reason, it can be evaluated as the poem of purification, surmounting, and wish (Kim 1996: 204).

3. Aversion from Christianity in the middle period

The middle period is the phase most discussed by critics. In this period, his skepticism about Christianity surfaced, though it had been latent in the earlier period. As he confesses, he was frustrated at the limitations of Christianity in reforming the present society (Kim 1985: 276-278). He noticed that Puritan ideas were not practiced by hypocritical church-goers. In terms of religious skepticism, Kim was not an exceptional case. There was a controversy over the secularization of Christianity in Korea during the 1960s when his skepticism grew. "The reflection on Christianity found in the works of contemporary writers tends to sharply express the contradictions and conflicts created in the space between Christian ideals and the ethics of real lives" (Bang 2017). As one of such oscillating cases, the poet himself confesses the change in his religious viewpoint in his poems:

> Initiated by the poem "Title," significant changes occurred in my poetic world. I left the simple world of lyricism that had been maintained until the middle period, and stepped into the world of ideas associated with the rectification of God and religious faith. . . . In my mental problems, as a human being, I came to be faced with a new solitude. This is differentiated from the solitude caused by the social reason mentioned before. In a word, it is the solitude with lost God (Kim 1977: 208-209).[12]

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[12] 시 『제목』을 계기로 하여 나의 시세계에는 적지 않은 변화가 일어났다 나는 중기까지 유지하여 오던 단순한 서정의 세계를 떠나, 신과 신앙에 대한 변혁을 내용으로 한 관념의 세계에 발을 들여놓았다...정신상의 문제로는 나는

Insofar as he speculates on the religion from a viewpoint of reason and morality, his stance is considered, in some aspects, to be similar to that of Deism (Kim 2010). It can be admitted that Kim shares some aspects of Deism, since he thinks about Christianity from a rational viewpoint and emphasizes morality, as Kim Yoonjeong points to the similar aspects. However, she does not sufficiently discuss the other aspects of Deism, including natural theology. It needs to be noted that there is a limitation in Kim's assimilation to Deists. As Kim himself has never mentioned Deism, he seems not to have been interested in Deism. The "middle period," to which the poet refers, is actually the early period by the division of periods in this paper. The poet remarks that the content of his poems until then was simply lyrical, but it would be improper to undervalue them as merely lyrical. In order to emphasize his intensified concern with the religion during the following period, and to differentiate the later poems from the previous ones, the poet seems to exaggerate the early lyrical aspects. What is significant is that his religious change was not an abrupt transition. What was latent in his inner mind began to surface in *Jemok.* His poem *Inganeun Godokhada* (人間은 孤獨하다 "Human is Solitary," 1957) published 8 years earlier bears witness to it (Moon 1984: 182). *Jemok* marks the borderline he is to transgress further towards the religious negation. It shows the inner struggle of the poet at the threshold:

떠날 것인가
남을 것인가.

나아가 화목할 것인가
쫓김을 당할 것인가.

어떻게 할 것인가,
나는 네게로 흐르는가
너를 거슬러 내게로 오르는가.

두 손에 고삐를 잡을 것인가
품안에 안길 것인가.

허물을 지고 갈 것인가

인간으로서 새로운 고독에 직면해야 하였다. 이것은 앞서 말한 사회적인 이유로서의 고독과도 그 성질이 다르다. 그것은 한마디로 신을 잃은 고독이다.

허물을 물을 것인가.

어떻게 할 것인가
눈이 밝을 것인가
마음이 착할 것인가.

어떻게 할 것인가
알아야 할 것인가
살고 볼 것인가.

필 것인가
빛을 뿌릴 것인가.

간직할 것인가
바람을 일으킬 것인가.

하나인가
그 중에 하나인가.

어떻게 할 것인가
뛰어 들 것인가
뛰어 넘을 것인가.

波濤가 될 것인가
가라앉아 眞珠의 눈이 될 것인가.

어떻게 할 것인가,
끝장을 볼 것인가
죽을 때 죽을 것인가.

무덤에 들 것인가
무덤 밖에서 뒹굴 것인가.

To leave

or to stay.

To go on harmonious

or to be chased.

What to do,
I flow towards you
or to rise towards self against you.

To hold reins in two hands
or to be embraced.

To go on with defects
or to question defects.

What to do
To have bright eyes
or be good-minded.

What to do
To perceive
or to survive.

To bloom
or to shed light.

To bear in mind
or to raise wind.

One
or one among them.

What to do
To plunge into
or to cross over.

To be waves
or to sink down to be an eye of pearl.

What to do,
To go to the end
or to die when dying.

To be in a tomb
or to roll outside the tomb.

There is an array of pairs in binary opposition. Though no question marks are used, the lines in contrast actually form questions. Although all the pairs are different from each other, what underlies and subsequently constitutes the opposition is one factor: the inner struggle between the pro-Christianity and anti-Christianity. There is a continuing struggle between the gravity to retain the pre-existing devotion to God and the resistant will to proclaim self-subjectivity against Christianity. His undetermined state persists throughout the poem. From the first stanza, he cannot make a choice between the two opposite ways. Leaving implies his departure from his prior state, that is his poetic world devoted to God. By contrast, remaining means adhering to the existing poetic world. This can be substantiated by the poet's explanation of the poem above. Taking this into account, Lee Seung-ha persuasively points out that it can be read as "To leave from God/ to remain within God" (2006: 208). In this light, Oh Hyung-jung argues, "As an expression of the question that emerges within him, we can see the state of anguish to leave God for a moment and take a step toward the value of self-existence" (2001: 16).

The second stanza seems to be vaguer. It can be conjectured, however, that its undetermined state is also associated with his relationship with God (Moon 1984: 182). "To go on harmonious" may imply maintaining his affirmative relationship with God. This is contrasted with "to be chased." This contradictory tension appears more clearly in the next stanza. The relationship between the speaker and "you" can be regarded as that between the poet and God. The contrast between the directions of flow reflects the struggle between centripetal and centrifugal impulses: one towards God and the other away from it (Yu 1996: 455). This inner contradiction runs parallel to that between the plunge and crossing in the fourth stanza from the end. "To plunge" might be read as 'To plunge into God,' which implies staying in subordination to God; "to cross over" also can be read as 'to cross over God,' that is surmounting and further negating God. The struggle in the attitude to God is intertwined with the inner conflict of subjectivity in the following stanza. Taking hold of the reins, in this light, can be interpreted as the pursuit of self-subjectivity; while being embraced in arms might imply the subordination to divinity.

What underlies the inner struggle in the dilemma is the poet's perception of religious defects. The next pairs of opposition are constructed around it. "To go on with defects" may mean not raising questions to the limitations and defects of religious tenets. This runs parallel to the next. Lightening eyes probably means opening eyes to new reason and will. Goodness, on the other hand, means continuing to practice religious virtues without the awareness of religious defects.

Besides this interconnection between the stanzas, the following waves are equated with the wind above, while "the eye of pearl" is contrasted with it. The shining pearl in the revised version of his poem *I Eodumi Naege Waseo* (이 어둠이 내게 와서 "This Darkness Comes to Me," 1973) hints at the implications of the pearl's eye. The pearl in the sea mud symbolizes the religious spirit or faith in the troubled world. Jewelry generally symbolizes the permanency of religious faith for its concreteness in Kim's writings (Shin 1996: 340).

The inner struggle persists towards the final stanza that deals with the borderline between life and death. It is possible to interpret that entering the grave means dying, whereas rolling over outside the grave means being cast away (Yu 1996: 455). Dying implies entering the afterlife, that is returning to the spiritual sphere. Thus, it indicates following the normal path of Christians. Kim thought that a religion is meaningful when it pursues eternity beyond the present world (Kim 1985: 430-431). By contrast, not entering the place of death implies deviating from it. In the long run, he cannot find an answer to the questions he raised. As compared to Hamlet (Yu 1996: 454), Kim is trapped in a dilemma.

From this undetermined state, he turns towards skepticism about Christianity. The significant symptom that surfaces in conjunction with his inner change is solitude. As the poet himself emphasizes, solitude is the key concept throughout his career. However, this solitude is differentiated from the solitude found in his earlier works. The poet himself offers an explanation for his own solitude:

> It is, in a word, a solitude deprived of God. It is a solitude felt in the void when the faith I had rested on collapsed. Thus my solitude is deeply related to Christianity, yet differentiated from Kierkegaardian solitude. Kierkegaard defined humans as a being of solitude. However, in order to escape from the solitude, he endeavored to grasp Christ with open arms. Thus, the Kierkegaardian solitude is the means by which one ultimately gains salvation. . . . However, my solitude is not the solitude that leads to salvation, but that deprived of salvation, surrendering it. It is pure solitude in itself, not as a tool. Therefore, my solitude is the most genuine solitude in the world (Kim 1977: 507).[13]

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[13] 그것은 한 마디로 신을 잃은 고독이다. 내가 지금까지 의지해 왔던 거대한 믿음이 무너졌을 때에 공허에서 느끼는 고독이었다. 그러므로 나의 고독은 기독교와 밀접한 관련이 있는 고독이면서도 키에르케고르 등의 고독과도 다르다.

His solitude at this point is not the commonsensical solitude interchangeable with loneliness. To clarify the solitude, he posits it in opposition to Kierkegaardian solitude. The Kierkegaardian solitude is a prerequisite for one to become a true Christian. For Kierkegaard, one must become "so introverted, that one is, quite literally, entirely alone in the world, alone before God" (Amir 2014: 4). Opposite to this solitude is his own one since it results from the loss of God. His solitude results from being faced with the limitations in the divinity he was seeking. The result of this inner conflict of self is solitude. This solitude is existential solitude, which is especially opposed to the solitude in *Gaeului Gido.* The solitude in the early poem was a prerequisite for the pursuit of Christianity. He associates this existential solitude with his poems. The solitude allows him to be freed from outer distraction. In the solitude, he can get a pure state of mind, in which he can perceive what is genuinely worthy in reality. As he emphasizes his social duty, social morality is really worthy for him. This substantiates several critics' opinion that Kim's change is a turn to reality from Christianity. Embodying this recognition in poetic form is a task through which he finds pleasure. Such solitude culminates in *Jeoldae Godok,* which marks the development of *Gyeongohan Godok.* In this representative work of the later middle period, he expresses his perception of the absolute state of solitude:

> 나는 이제야 내가 생각하던
> 영원의 먼 끝을 만지게 되었다.
>
> 그 끝에서 나는 눈을 비비고
> 비로소 나의 오랜 잠을 깬다.
>
> 내가 만지는 손끝에서
> 영원의 별들은 흩어져 빛을 잃지만,
> 내가 만지는 손끝에서
> 나는 내게로 오히려 더 가까이 다가오는
> 따뜻한 체온을 새로이 느낀다.
> 이 체온으로 나는 내게서 끝나는
> 나의 영원을 외로이 내 가슴에 품어 준다.

키에르케고르는 인간을 고독한 존재로 규정하였지만, 이 고독을 벗어나기 위하여 팔을 벌리고 그리스도를 붙잡으려 하였다. 그러므로 키에르케고르의 고독은 궁극적으로 구원에 이르기 위한 수단으로서의 고독이었다....그러나 나의 고독은 구원에 이르는 고독이 아니라, 구원을 잃어버리는, 구원을 포기하는 고독이다. 수단으로서의 고독이 아니라 나의 고독은 순수한 고독 자체일 뿐이다. 그러므로 나의 고독이야말로 이 세상에서 가장 진정한 고독이다.

꿈으로 고이 안을 받친
내 언어의 날개들을
내 손끝에서 이제는 티끌처럼 날려 보내고 만다.

나는 내게서 끝나는
아름다운 영원을
내 주름 잡힌 손으로 어루만지며 어루만지며,
더 나아갈 수 없는 그 끝에서
드디어 입을 다문다--나의 詩와 함께.

I finally touched the far end of eternity
I had been thinking of.

At the end, I rub my eyes
and awake from my long sleep.

At the end of my touching hands
though the stars of eternity are scattered losing light,
At the end of my touching hands
I freshly feel the bodily temperature
coming towards me more closely.
With this bodily temperature, I solely embrace
in my bosom my eternity that ends within me.

And the wings of my language
beautifully stuffed with a dream
I now drop with the tips of my fingers, like dust.

Caressing the beautiful eternity
that ends for me
touching and touching with my creased hands,
at the end where I cannot advance more
I finally close my mouth – with my poem.

It portrays the absolute state of solitude towards which he has been progressing, unnoticeably or obscurely, for many years. The germs of his skepticism that can be slightly detected in his earlier works are fully developed in this poem. From the beginning, his negation of Christianity is implied. The "far

end of eternity" reflects his state of mind driven to the extreme. The eternity means eternal life, the nucleus of Christian ideas. Thus, ironically mentioning the end of eternity signifies the negation of the core idea of Christianity (Lee 2013: 160).

At this point, Kim perceives reality by awakening from the dreamy illusion. Such recognition is expressed through the symbolic contrast in the following. The "stars of eternity" are contrasted with "the bodily temperature." The lights of stars are representative of heaven. Thus, the lost light of the stars implies the loss of religious faith. In contrast, the bodily temperature represents worldly matter. He has upset the hierarchical relation between the sacred and secular, that is the religious value system. Taking this stance, he further says that he casts away his language filled with the dream, which is a futile wish or illusion. This proclaims his willingness to escape from the illusionary words of former poems. Though his language has constructed the poet himself, it is merely dust now. Finally, unable to advance anymore, he declares silence. The poet's proclamation of the emancipation from God culminates in this work (Lee 2013: 160).

4. Return to Christianity

The later period poems manifest Kim's return to Christianity. The final four years of his career prior to death are marked by his return to the religious faith. There was an accident through which he reversed his mind. At the wedding ceremony of his second son, he lost consciousness due to a high blood pressure. It was on March 1973, three years after the publication of *Absolute Solitude*. Without consciousness, he was at the threshold of death for 2 months. Awakening from this deadly state, he returned to God. "Through the indirect experience of death, Kim turns from the 'absolute solitude' to 'absolute unsolitude'" (Lee 2006: 220). In an interview with Kim Jooyoun 2 years after suffering from the deadly state, he confesses:

> Since recovering from the fall the year before last year, I have been constantly living in a religious redemption. I have been anxiously concerned with how to juxtapose literature and religion for a quite long time . . . . Now I'm not in a struggle. I'm determined to become a faithful son to God (Kim 2014: 88).[14]

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[14] 재작년에 쓰러졌다 일어나고 난 다음부터 나는 주욱 종교적인 반성의 생활입니다. 문학과 신앙을 어떻게 양립시킬 것인가 하는 고민을 무척 오래 해왔습니다만....지금은 아무 고민이 없어요. 하나님의 충실한 아들이 되려는 다짐뿐입니다요.

Since Kim returned to Christianity after surviving the crisis of death, he is considered to be similar to Jonah by some critics. Several critics including Park Min-young regard Kim Hyun-seung's life as similar to that of Jonah. The identification of Kim with Jonah can be substantiated by his poem *I Eodumi Naege Waseo.* It was originally written in 1967, but revised after his suffering. In the revised version, a mention of Jonah is added, "This darkness comes to me/ blocks me/ inside the fish of Jonah."[15] Manifestly feeling identified with Jonah, he abandoned his skepticism about Christianity. Kim's identification with Jonah does not mean that he feels identified with Jesus whom Jonah is considered to symbolize. Jonah represents one who repented and thus was forgiven. Korean critics' notion of Jonah is similar to that in Judaism.[16] Korean literary critics in many cases tend to employ religious terms as common-sensical concepts in ways mainly known to the Korean public.

Kim feels identified with Jonah in this aspect. In the fear of death, he gave up his inner will of resistance against the religion. The changes in his thought become more apparent in his repentance: "But Heavenly Father has awakened me again to give me a chance to repent of my past, so that I have now restored my faith, better than before suffering from the high blood pressure, and making effort to make advances in faith with the awareness of my sin" (Kim 1985: 394).[17] This underlies his drastic turn to the absolute dependence, as he retrospectively remarks, "my remaining life may be an absolute dependence" (Kim 1985: 240). The absolute dependence is starkly opposite to the absolute solitude. Since the absolute solitude was conspicuous in the middle period, the expression "absolute dependence" was deliberately used to revert his skeptical stance.

The poem that epitomizes his return to Christianity prior to his impending death is *Majimak Jisang-eseo,* also the title of the final anthology. Written two months before his death, it is regarded as "a poem of testament" (Moon 2014: 610). It presents a metaphorical image of his mind:

산까마귀
긴 울음을 남기고
地平線을 넘어간다.

---

[15] 이 어둠이 내게 와서/ 요나의 고기 속에/ 나를 가둔다.

[16] In Judaism, the story of Jonah represents the teaching of *teshuva*, also spelled *teshuvah*, which means the ability to repent and be forgiven by God. "It has long been recognized that *teshuvah* represents a central religious-moral category in Judaism. It is through repentance that we acknowledge our moral failings, repair our relationships with others, become reconciled to God, and return to proper path" (Newman 2010: 1).

[17] 그러나 하나님 아버지께서는 나를 다시 깨어나게 하시어 나의 과거를 회개할 기회를 주시고, 그리하여 나는 고혈압 증세를 앓기 전보다 신앙을 회복하고 나 자신의 죄과를 깨닫고 신앙에 전진하려고 노력하고 있다.

四方은 고요하다!
오늘 하루 아무 일도 일어나지 않았다.

넋이여, 그 나라의 무덤은 평안한가.

Mountain raven
leaving a long cry
crosses the horizon.

Silence everywhere!
Nothing occurred today.

My soul, is the tomb of that country peaceful?

As many critics agree, the raven, like in other poems, represents the religious soul of the poet. As Park Min-young indicates, "since its first appearance in his debut poem *Eorin Saebyeogeun Urireul Chajaonda Hamnida* [어린 새벽은 우리를 찾아온다 합니다 "Early Dawn Visits Us," 1934], the raven has sung in representing the poet in *Sankkamagwi Ureumsori* [산까마귀 울음소리 "Cry of Mountain Raven," 1972], *Gyeoul Kkamagwi* [겨울 까마귀 "Winter Raven," 1965] and so on" (2013: 94). Its role as the poet's soul was also mentioned in discussing *Gaeului Gido.* Like in the early poem, the poet is identified with the raven. The reappearance of the raven, with its spiritual role equivalent to those in his former poems, signals his return to Christianity. The long cry it leaves implies the poems he wrote, the achievement of a lifelong effort. For the poet, writing poems constituted the core of his life. As the boundary between earth and heaven, the horizon implies the border between life and death. Crossing the horizon symbolizes entering into the sphere of eternal spirit.

In the second stanza, the speaker implicitly hints at what lies deep inside his mind. At present, silence is ambient without noise. It is so as he is emancipated from secular matters on the ground: the present world he lives in. What the speaker says in the following is unexpected or even striking. The reason why he says nothing occurred is that he returns to heaven as the original home (Moon 2014: 610). As he once mentioned, he had learned that the afterlife is more important than the present world (Kim 1985: 271). Thus, he seeks peace in the heaven symbolized by "that country." Heaven is the destination where he desires to reach the religious ideal that he has been struggling to attain throughout his life. He thought that religion is indeed meaningful when eternity is attained beyond the present life (Kim 2010: 117).

The final question marks the end of not only this poem but also his corpus and further entire life. His later works can be considered to conclude his corpus in the process of oscillation. There was an attempt to overcome and surmount the limitations of Christianity in the middle period. The attempt was not wholly unsuccessful. However, he eventually returned to God.

5. Conclusion

Retracing the way Kim has treaded throughout his life, we could see how he profoundly embodied his religious thoughts in various poetic expressions. His religious shifts might seem to be self-contradictory at a surface level. However, his oscillation between the religious devotion and concern with reality is not merely an abrupt impulsive deviance. Although seemingly self-contradictory or paradoxical, it is the result of his persistent pursuit of conscience and its practice. Like many other Christians, Kim sought salvation by resting on God. He sincerely kept the religious faith, maintaining a respectable moral life. However, he could not but be faced and thus baffled by the limitations of Christianity in reality. His aversion to God does not mean the abandonment of faith he had kept, but reflects his faithful will to moral achievements uncompromising with secular matters. This elucidates what Christianity signifies for the poet, beyond selfish hope for salvation. It is significant that Kim did not avert forever, but returned to the religion in the end. Despite the frustration, he came to be reattached to it in the fear of impending death. It can be conjectured that he could not endure the loss of Christianity. Although limited undeniably, the religion was the sole haven where his soul could find rest. Therefore, his denial of Christianity for the limited period does not suffice to entirely negate or redefine his religious identity.

By profoundly creating the Christian poems, Kim has greatly contributed to the development of Christian poetry in Korea (Tsutomu 1996: 148-149). As his main works were reviewed, we can place them in the trends of Christian poems in Korea. As the leading figure among Christian poets during the mid-20th century, he exemplifies some main ways Christian poems were created in Korea. It was after the Korean War that Christian poems began to be significantly developed. Beyond the narrow range of scanty works in the early 20th century, Christian poems came to be more diversified in the 1950s, with their main concern with the prayer of redemption and criticism of society. Following this, Christian poems proliferated and settled as a trend in the 60s. In the 1970s, with the rise of Minjung theology, Christian poems turned to concern with the salvation of oppressed have-nots (Kang 1992: 48). Thus, Kim's works share much in common with the contemporary trends of Christian poems.

Kim demonstrates Christianity has contributed to the diversification of Korean poetry, and Korean literature and culture in a larger context. The novel ideas and virtues of Christianity were quite

different from those of the traditional religions and the cultural backdrop. Christianity opened a new realm, extending the horizon of Korean poetry. Korean poets could create works from different viewpoints beyond the cultural boundary. The Christian ideas of prayer, redemption and salvation, exemplified by Kim, could not be found in the pre-Christian period. As cultural as well as religious products, Kim's works reflect how Christianity influenced the collective consciousness of Koreans.

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The Kanji game

An online word recognition application for SL Italian learners of Japanese

Alessandro Mantelli

Aim of this study is to investigate the impact of an online word recognition application on the reading skills of Italian Japanese learners. The application is designed to enhance learners' automatic word recognition abilities by incorporating principles of reaction time research and gamification. Japanese being a complex writing system that requires mastery of orthography and phonology, automatic word recognition is a crucial aspect of fluent reading. Reaction time research has demonstrated that the faster a person can recognize a word, the more fluent their reading becomes. Moreover, gamification has been found to be an effective means of motivating learners and improving their performance. The implementation and evaluation of this online word recognition application represents a novel approach to enhancing Italian Japanese learners' reading proficiency.

1. Introduction

The present study stems from an attempt to use reaction time research and gamification logic to create an online application for learning terms in Japanese.

The educational need for such a tool emerged from the difficulties in learning Japanese vocabulary related to a specific semantic area experienced by students of the LT003N Japanese Course at the Department of North African and Asian Studies of the Ca' Foscari University of Venice. This course is intended for students pursuing a curriculum that primarily focuses on a language other than Japanese (Chinese, Korean, Arabic) or from other departments with no previous experience in Japanese. Unlike in other Japanese courses, moreover, in this course all the teaching activities are carried out by the main teacher, since it does not include support from native-speaker lecturers.

In such a context, the use of online language-learning applications may prove very helpful to lighten the lecturer's teaching load and help the students to consolidate their knowledge.

The tool presented in this study is primarily oriented toward the consolidation of Japanese vocabulary. As a first case study, it has been tested in relation to 18 Japanese words for the days of the month. The Japanese language uses specific terminology to denote the days of the month, typically employing *kun*-like[1] readings for numbers up to ten, such as *futsuka* （２日 similar to the *kun* reading of *futatsu* for the second day of the month) or *mikka* （３日 similar to *mittsu* for the third day of the month). For days beyond ten, it uses a combination of the *On* reading and a Japanese counter, such as *jūichinichi* （１１日 *jūichi*, meaning 'eleven,' with the counter 日 *nichi*) or *jūninichi* （１２日 *jūni*, meaning 'twelve,' with the counter 日 *nichi*). In addition, certain numbers, such as 1, 14, 20, and 24, have alternative readings: *tsuitachi* （１日) from 月たち *tsukitachi* for the 1st, *jūyokka* （１４日) for the 14th, *nijūyokka* （２４日) for the 24th, and *hatsuka* （２０日) for the 20th. Students face two challenges: first, they must memorize the characters for numbers 1 to 10; second, they cannot rely only on a pattern of *On*-reading number + counter for numbers greater than 10, as there are exceptions to this rule.

This case served as the basis for the designing of a web application to aid students in memorizing Japanese terms. The current implementation of the application only features the fundamental Japanese words for the days of the month; however, it can effortlessly be expanded to encompass additional terms, including ones not related to the Japanese language.

The design of the online application has been significantly influenced by theories regarding the development of automaticity and research on reaction time. The application presents students with a single question and a selection of five possible answers, each with a time limit of five seconds. Elements of gamification theory have been incorporated into the design of the user interface and user experience in order to increase engagement. Furthermore, the application is connected to a database that tracks user activity and records all answers, including both correct and incorrect ones, as well as the corresponding reaction times.

Since this application has been development as an extension of the Edukanji 2 project, an E-learning tool developed to aid kanji learning within a Moodle integrated environment (Mantelli 2021), It has been called it the Kanji Game. The term "Kanji" refers to the Chinese characters adopted in the Japanese writing system even if in the context of this study, the words presented to students through the application are composed of both numerical parts in the form of Arabic numerals and kanji

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[1] *On*-readings and *kun*-readings are the two main systems used to read and pronounce kanji (Chinese characters) in the Japanese language. *On*-readings are the Sino Japanese readings of kanji, while *kun*-readings are the native Japanese readings. The reading of a kanji may differ depending on the context and the specific word in which it is used.

characters. The term "game" highlights the fact that this online application was created using gamification strategies, particularly as regards the layout and graphic user interface. Gamification is a process whereby video-games logic is applied to non-game applications. More specifically, Deterding defines gamification as "[t]he use of game design elements in non-game contexts" (Deterding *et al.* 2011). However, as Lander has pointed out, "definitions of gamification may vary by person, both in industry and within academia" (Landers *et al.* 2018). While some criticism of gamification has also been expressed—Klabber, for instance, reduces it to a marketing term or business practice – it has been proved that, as a design process, gamification can ensure specific improvements in learning (Landers and Landers 2014) and health (Pyky *et al.* 2017).

Gamification is often seen as a set of behavioral design techniques, involving badges, rewards, and lives. However, it can also be approached as a method for creating a simple yet engaging design that incorporates familiar gaming elements to make the experience more intuitive, reassuring, and contextual. For example, using science-fiction digital objects in learning contexts, where learners must "shoot" for the correct answer, can evoke the imagery of classic coin-op space video games, which are still popular today. As Landers suggests, gamification is a "family of design methodologies" (Landers *et al.* 2018: 327) that can strengthen the relationship between a predictor and outcome through the implementation of gaming elements in an application. "For example, if a gamification designer designs a leaderboard (predictor) to increase engagement (psychological state), attitudes toward leaderboards (design-relevant person context) may change the strength of that effect" (Landers *et al.* 2018: 325). Thus, specific intervention may also be non-particular invasive and take, for instance, the form of a scoreboard, a counter, or specific graphics and sounds effects, among other elements.

2. Application design

The Kanji Game has been developed as a web application within the Edukanji 2 project (Mantelli 2021) through a set of technologies called the MEVN stack, an acronym indicating a group of new technologies used to develop web applications: MongoDB, Express, VueJs, and Nodejs.[2] To develop the graphic interface, The Vuetify[3] user interface framework was used to develop the graphic interface, which enabled the adoption of pre-made graphic components without the need to build the entire interface from scratch.

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[2] For details on this technology stack see Hautaviita (2018).

[3] For details consult the official page of the project: https://vuetify.cn/en/.

Usually, to develop a web application, three key components must be considered. The first is the database, which serves as a storage area for the data. The second component is a server-side language, which connects to the database, retrieve data for presentation or customization and generate HTML pages on-the-fly. The third component is the front-end language (i.e., the part of the application that users see and access), which is executed by the browser and is responsible for displaying and arranging the content returned by the server. To create the front-end of a web application, three primary technologies are typically used: HTML, which is a markup language that tags text files to produce graphic and hyperlink effects on web pages; CSS, which is a language used to style HTML documents and describe how HTML elements should be displayed (such as position, font type, size, and color); and JavaScript, a language that enables the creation and arrangement of HTML elements in real-time, without the need to reload the browser page to retrieve new information from the server.

In recent trends in web development, the primary function of JavaScript has become to create dynamic and interactive content for web pages. The server-side language, on the other hand, became mainly responsible for checking user credentials and providing the client (web browser) with data to display.

This approach, known as a single-page application (SPA), allows a web application or website to dynamically update its content without the need for the web browser to reload the pages.

To simplify the use of JavaScript in building SPAs, several frameworks and libraries have been developed. The technologies of the MEVN stack allow users to create SPA pages easily and efficiently, especially through Vue.js for the front-end development and MongoDB as a database. The former, developed by a former Google engineer, is faster in execution and easier to learn compared, for example, to the Google-supported Angular Framework (Novac *et al.* 2021); the latter (MongoDB) is a database that uses document-based structures instead of traditional SQL tables.

This new data architecture permits the handling of parent-child data in a single document, offering improved readability and management compared to SQL-based databases (MongoDB 2020).

The purpose of this study is not to discuss in detail the technical advantages of this approach to development, but more generally to illustrate how the usage of the technologies listed is functional to the creation of a gamified environment, insofar as they enable the web application to run continuously without interruption due to page reloads or slowdowns. This allows the user to maintain a relaxed state of concentration that ensures an optimal experience, i.e. flow (Csikszentmihalyi 2009). As Kiili (2005: 15) suggests, "[b]ad usability decreases the likelihood of experiencing task based flow because the player has to sacrifice attention and other cognitive resources to inappropriate activity." Indeed, given the limited capacity of working memory (Miller 1956), it is advantageous for individuals to direct their

cognitive resources toward completing the task at hand rather than allocating them to the usage of an external artifact.

The design of the application is inspired by the classic 8-bit video games of the 1980s. This design was developed by using a specific pixelated font that recalls the iconic look and feel of those games. It is possible to click on [music on] to play the soundtrack, which will accompany the player during the game and the list of achievements. To ensure the acquisition of reliable data from distinct individuals (i.e., the subjects who test the application), access to the Kanji Game is currently restricted to Ca' Foscari users who must provide valid user credentials.

The process is relatively time-consuming, as it redirects the subjects[4] to the login page of Ca' Foscari University, where they are required to provide their login credentials and, if configured, an OTP token. It would have been feasible to design a separate login interface that differs from the official one of Ca' Foscari, which would have enabled users to always remain within the game window. However, it was deemed that the collection of authentic data and the unique identification of subjects, while also avoiding the creation of duplicate accounts, was of paramount importance in order to acquire more valid data. The QR Code located at the bottom of the page enables the instructor to also display the application in a classroom setting via a projector, allowing subjects to capture the code with their smartphones and to access the game URL directly, without the hassle of typing.

The interface was developed with a responsive design through the Vuetify framework functionalities, thanks to which it automatically adapts to various types of screens, from desktop to smartphone ones.

The following figure shows the initial screen of the application.

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[4] In the present case study, the term "subjects" is used to refer to the students who participated in the test. Refer to the appendix at the end of the document for further terminology.

Figure 1. Kanji Game opening screen. * The subject name has been pixelized.

3. Research question

The goal of this study is to explore the potential of a prototype that incorporates basic gamification techniques and reaction time theories to improve the memorization of complex Japanese vocabulary, ultimately aiming to enhance fluency in the use of such terms. In line with Segalowitz's definition, fluency is characterized by the development of rapid, accurate, and effortless language skills (Segalowitz *et al.* 1998). The present case study is in accordance with these characteristics, as the application is designed to promote the rapid and accurate recognition of Japanese words in a manner that is both engaging and effortless. Segalowitz identifies various processes involved in second language word recognition, some of which require more time for decision-making and verification, while others involved in letter recognition are faster. However, the benefits of training and practice lie in "their effects in shifting the blend toward increased automaticity by eliminating or reducing reliance on some of the controlled processes" (Segalowitz 1998: 54).

Through an analysis of the results and responses obtained through a survey carried out among the students who have used the application, it will be determined whether this prototype can serve as a foundation for the development of a more advanced learning system, incorporating additional gamification elements such as badges and levels, as well as more sophisticated performance analysis systems.

4. Method[5]

4.1. Subjects

Subjects were selected from among students in the Japanese language course (Japanese as a second language), as they were taking a beginner course that did not include support from native speakers. Hence, it was not possible to devote too much time to supporting the learning of terms. In this context, it was decided that the application could provide valuable support to the students for independent learning. Access, therefore, was not restricted to a limited number of students, but was granted to all students in the course.

4.2. Materials

As already explained, even if the software can support a limitless set of words, this first prototype has been configured with 18 Japanese terms for the days of the month:

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[5] For further definitions and clarification on the terms used in this study, including 'subject,' 'experiment,' 'trial,' and others, please refer to Appendix A located at the end of this document.

Reading in kanji	Reading in Hiragana	Reading in Latin script	Meaning	Reading Pattern
１日	ついたち	Tsuitachi	The 1st	○
２日	ふつか	Futsuka	The 2nd	○
３日	みっか	Mikka	The 3rd	○
４日	よっか	Yokka	The 4th	○
５日	いつか	Itsuka	The 5th	○
６日	むいか	Muika	The 6th	○
７日	なのか	Nanoka	The 7th	○
８日	ようか	Yōka	The 8th	○
９日	ここのか	Kokonoka	The 9th	○
１０日	とおか	Tōka	The 10th	○
１４日	じゅうよっか	Jūyokka	The 14th	○
１６日	じゅうろくにち	Jūrokunichi	The 16th	▲
１７日	じゅうしちにち	Jūshichinichi	The 17th	▲
１９日	じゅうくにち	Jūkunichi	The 19th	▲
２０日	はつか	Hatsuka	The 20th	○
２１日	にじゅういちにち	Nijūichinichi	The 21st	▲
２４日	にじゅうよっか	Nijūyokka	The 24th	○
３１日	さんじゅういちにち	Sanjūichinichi	The 31st	○

Table 1. Materials of the experiment.

Modern readings of the days of the month in Japanese are the result of various approaches. For example, the reading of the first day of the month, *tsuitachi,* is derived from the archaic reading of tsukitatchi, which literally means "the beginning of the month." The readings of the eighth day, *yōka,* and the twentieth day, *hatsuka,* are also derived from archaic ones (respectively *yaka* and *hataka*). However, two distinct patterns can be identified in these readings. The first pattern is the use of *wago,*[6]

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[6] The term refers to Japanese terms with *kun* readings.

the second one is the use of Sino-Japanese number readings in conjunction with the counter suffix for days, *nichi.* The second pattern, as denoted by the ▲ mark, is relatively simple to acquire and implement as it only requires an understanding of the appropriate numerical notation. Conversely, the first pattern, as denoted by the ◯ mark, requires a significant memorization effort, as it must be committed to memory. This explains the greater prevalence of questions utilizing the first pattern.

4.3. Operation design

Access to the game is restricted to logged-in students. However, even if in this case a specific link has been provided exclusively to the test subjects, the game remains virtually accessible to any registered user of Ca' Foscari.

Figure 2. a. Mobile rendering of the main screen (the subject name has been pixelized). b. 3000ms pause screen, c. Trial with selections.

Upon pressing the start button, the subject is provided with a 3000 ms interval to psychologically prepare for the commencement of the test. A sequence of trials, one for each question, are then presented. Each trial is displayed for a duration of 5000 ms. An overt stopwatch displays the remaining time. As depicted in the figure, each trial consists of a kanji term displayed in red and, below it, five

options, only one of which is the correct answer. The incorrect answers are randomly selected from the list of the terms to be presented. The subject is required to select the correct answer within the time constraint. The selection of the correct answer results in the displaying of a success message, as illustrated in the figure below. Conversely, the selection of an incorrect answer or the expiration of the time limit results in the displaying of an error message. The correct or incorrect answer and the time taken to answer are recorded on the database. Upon completion of all trials, a summary screen is presented, where the subjects can review their answers and response times. The subjects may return to the main screen and repeat the test, if they so choose.

Your answer	Right Answer		Time
ふつか	ふつか	🏆	1.96
じゅうろくにち	ついたち	⊘	0.71
さんじゅういちにち	ここのか	⊘	0.69
さんじゅういちにち	さんじゅういちにち	🏆	3.31
むいか	むいか	🏆	1.52
にじゅういちにち	にじゅういちにち	🏆	2.34
なのか	なのか	🏆	1.94
じゅうくにち	じゅうくにち	🏆	2.03
みっか	みっか	🏆	2.56
	とおか	⊘	5
じゅうよっか	じゅうよっか	🏆	3.72

Figure 3. Summary screen that appears at the end of the experiment.

4.4. Stimuli presentation design

The workflow and interface of the Kanji Game have been created by taking account of some of the standard protocols outlined in Jiang's study (Jiang 2013: 62) on the presentation of stimuli in reaction time research. In particular:

- Modality: The stimulus is presented visually by displaying a question and five possible answers that can be selected within a given time. Music and sound effects during the trial are not essential to correctly identify the answer, but they contribute to the gamification of the product.

- Target display duration: A predetermined display duration may be set for a target; alternatively, a target may remain visible until an answer is given. In the case of the Kanji Game, the target display duration is of 5000 ms. The remaining time for each sheet is always visually displayed at the top of the page in the form of a countdown from 5 to 0 seconds.

- Response deadline: If the subject waits more than 5000 ms, the system automatically moves on to the next card, the answer is marked as wrong and is recorded on the database with the value of the maximum available time (5000 ms).

- Feedback: The application's feedback mechanism displays an icon indicating whether the user's answer is correct or incorrect immediately after the answer is given, along with a sound effect related to the correctness of the answer. All the possible choices remain visible for 1000 milliseconds from the time in which the answer is given or until the end of the time limit. If the user's answer is incorrect, it is highlighted (in violet), along with the correct response (in green).

- Continuous or self-paced mode: The experiment is conducted in a continuous mode, meaning the participant does not have control over the pace and cannot choose when to move on to the next card. It is not a self-paced experience.

- Single list or blocked presentation: The trials in the experiment are presented as a series of questions, each followed by the next. The wrong answers are randomly selected from other questions and their positions are also randomized.

- Interstimulus interval: An interstimulus interval (ISI) is the time that elapses between the presentation of two stimuli in a psychological or physiological experiment. In this case the time between each trial is set to 3000 ms.

- Target display duration: This refers to the maximum time a given task is displayed. Target display durations may vary according to the difficulty of the task and the type of studies, As Jiang suggests (Jiang 2013), in a lexical decision task this duration can be 200ms (Brown, Hagoort and Chwilla 1998), 500 ms (Forster and Davis 1984), 2000 ms (Morrison and Ellis 2000), or 3250 ms (Balota and Paul 1996). However, those studies are alphabet-based and do not involve L2 learners. In the case of this study, the lexical task requires the SL Italian participants to process kanji compounds. This process usually entails a considerable cognitive process, as kanji "primarily involves whole-word lexical processing and follows a semantics-to-phonology route" (Dylman and Kikutani 2018: 1). It is true that, in this case, the pattern is always the same (numeric quantity + kanji for days), which certainly limits the cognitive effort of decoding the semantics of the characters; nevertheless, the test still requires one to derive the phonetic reading, as pointed out by Wydell and Kondo (Wydell and Kondo 2015: 240): "Kanji may require a greater weighting for the whole-word level

contribution in the computation of phonology from orthography, as the relationship between orthography (kanji) and phonology (pronunciation) is opaque." Participants, moreover, must choose the correct reading in hiragana, and this involves the additional cognitive effort of deciphering the phonetic reading and comparing it with the reading of the kanji compound provided. Therefore, by taking account of the higher cognitive load for the participants in this experiment, while at the same time aiming to make the task challenging, it has been opted for a target display duration of 5000 ms.

5. Data collection

Two sets of information are collected from each subject: the experimental data (RT and accuracy) and the data from the exit interviews, based on a survey described in the respective chapter.

- RT and accuracy: The data is stored on a non-relational database to allow for the easy collection of an activity log report, without the need for any linkage of data tables. A relational database would require unique student IDs, tables for quiz questions, and the tracking of attempts, answer times, the answers given, and the results. By using a document-based data management approach, instead, all data is stored in a single document with a parent-child relationship in a JSON[7]-like model that is easier to visualize and convert into a manageable format, such as an Excel sheet. For further information, refer to the Statistical Analysis section below.

- Survey: The study participants are requested to complete a survey aimed at assessing the user experience, ease of use, and effectiveness of the Kanji Game application for learning kanji words. The analysis of the survey responses is detailed in the Survey Analysis section.

6. Statistical analysis

The data for this analysis, extracted from the raw data registered in the MongoDB database, was obtained from a sample of 58 subjects, who utilized the Kanji Game until 24/01/2023. To gain an initial understanding of the results, the data was organized as an Excel spreadsheet with the following columns:[8]

1. a unique progressive identifier for each subject,
2. the date of the test,

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[7] JSON (JavaScript Object Notation) is a lightweight data-interchange format commonly used in web applications.

[8] Each column corresponds to a statistically analyzed variable.

3. time differences between the experiments, and

4. the mean response time for each experiment, with a recorded time of 5000 ms in the case of incorrect answers, which is the maximum available time for all trials.[9]

The other columns, not shown in the sample, contain the individual results of each experiment.

User Id	Experiment time	Time differences between experiments in the format days: hours: minutes: seconds	Mean time
1	14/12/22 18:07:12		4.16278
1	14/12/22 18:09:18	00 00:02:06	3.37167
1	16/12/22 18:00:10	01 23:50:52	3.91222
1	16/12/22 18:01:56	00 00:01:46	3.48056
1	04/01/23 13:49:38	18 19:47:42	4.07222
1	04/01/23 13:51:30	00 00:01:52	3.56944
1	04/01/23 13:53:23	00 00:01:53	3.68944
1	04/01/23 13:55:13	00 00:01:50	3.44278
1	10/01/23 17:01:14	06 03:06:01	3.86333
1	10/01/23 17:03:32	00 00:02:18	3.76278
1	13/01/23 13:00:39	02 19:57:07	3.63167
1	13/01/23 13:00:40	00 00:00:01	3.47778
1	13/01/23 13:00:41	00 00:00:01	3.05778
2	13/01/23 13:00:42		3.9
2	13/01/23 13:00:43	00 00:00:01	3.69
3	16/12/22 12:17:26		4.70111
3	17/12/22 10:03:51	00 21:46:25	4.40167
3	17/12/22 10:06:48	00 00:02:57	4.33222
3	17/12/22 10:08:55	00 00:02:07	3.90389
3	13/01/23 13:00:44	27 02:51:49	3.47833
3	13/01/23 13:00:45	00 00:00:01	3.88667
4	18/01/23 16:16:57	05 03:16:12	3.35
5	09/01/23 15:32:30		4.11778
6	16/12/22 11:47:40		3.53611
6	16/12/22 12:16:58	00 00:29:18	2.54722
7	16/12/22 11:48:30		3.87222

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[9] By imposing a penalty for each wrong answer by restricting the maximum time available, the app motivates participants to think carefully before making a selection, and to avoid making hasty or impulsive choices. This approach may also be useful in minimizing the impact of guessing or random selection, as it discourages participants from simply clicking on an answer in the hope of getting lucky.

7	16/12/22 12:17:08	00 00:28:38	3.05944
7	22/12/22 10:39:39	05 22:22:31	3.27944
7	27/12/22 11:10:14	05 00:30:35	2.63444
7	27/12/22 11:10:15	00 00:00:01	2.88111
7	27/12/22 11:10:16	00 00:00:01	2.63611
7	27/12/22 11:10:17	00 00:00:01	2.69111
7	27/12/22 11:10:18	00 00:00:01	2.62667
8	16/12/22 11:48:44		3.59722
8	16/12/22 12:17:25	00 00:28:41	3.00722
8	17/12/22 10:03:16	00 21:45:51	2.55444
8	17/12/22 10:05:36	00 00:02:20	2.92556
8	17/12/22 10:07:35	00 00:01:59	2.53778
9	16/12/22 11:48:44		4.16056
10	11/01/23 10:53:12	25 23:04:28	4.39222
11	30/12/22 08:42:57		2.77444
12	21/01/23 16:31:16	22 07:48:19	4.03111
12	21/01/23 16:33:10	00 00:01:54	3.29222

Table 2. Excerpt of the Raw Data in Excel format. This does not include individual trial results due to limitations in presentation size.

These results provide empirical evidence for the system's efficacy in aiding language learners in improving their retention and recalling of Japanese words. However, it may be observed that in some instances the mean response time increases instead of decreasing for certain subjects (shaded in the table), but this occurrence tends to be associated with an increased time difference between experiments. This phenomenon can be attributed to a concept known as the forgetting curve (Roediger and Karpicke 2006), which is well established in the field of memory research. The forgetting curve describes the tendency for memories to fade over time if they are not rehearsed or used. This suggests that as the time between tests increases, the subjects' memories of the words may begin to fade, leading to an increase in response time.

Indeed, it could also be that the subject is facing some difficulty in learning the words, leading to an increase in response time, in which case there is probably the need for some extra help or a different approach to the memorization of the words. As we know, second language acquisition is a complex process and not all students learn languages in the same way or at the same pace.

To address this problem, it is surely beneficial to implement a review or reinforcement program for the subjects, to help them maintain their knowledge of words over time. This can include activities

such as spaced repetition (Cepeda *et al.* 2006), where material is presented at increasing intervals, or elaborative rehearsal, where learners actively engage with the material to make it more meaningful and memorable. However, the results of empirical analysis may not necessarily be sufficient to quantify the relation between different variables – as far as the present case study is concerned, the relation between performance and the forgetting curve, and between performance and experience. To better understand the relation between variables, the dataset has thus been analyzed with statistical methods.

6.1. Descriptive statistics

The dataset is summarized in the following table, where both the dependent variable (Mean Time) and the independent ones (Experience and Forgetting) are represented through their sample size

	Mean	Standard deviation	N
Mean TIME	3.49245942	.565953444	206
EXP	3.51	2.802	206
FORGET	301291.07	752045.722	206

Table 3. Descriptive Statistics of the dataset

6.2. Pearson correlation

The Pearson Correlation results show the relationship between Mean Time, Experience, and the Forgetting Curve. The correlation between Mean Time and Experience is significant, while the correlation between Mean Time and the Forgetting Curve is weak (not significant). This is shown by a correlation coefficient of 0.147, indicating that there is a tendency for Mean Time to increase, but the relationship is not strong.

The significance (1-tailed) values in the table show how likely the correlation coefficients are to occur by chance. If the value is less than 0.05, it means that the correlation is statistically significant. Conversely, if the value is greater than 0.05, it means that the correlation is not statistically significant. In this case, the correlation between performance and the forgetting curve and that between experience and the forgetting curve are not statistically significant.

		MeanTIME	EXP	FORGET
Pearson Correlation	MeanTIME	1.000	-.422	.147
	EXP	-.422	1.000	-.055
	FORGET	.147	-.055	1.000
Sig. (1-tailed)	MeanTIME	.	.000	.017
	EXP	.000	.	.215
	FORGET	.017	.215	.
N	MeanTIME	206	206	206
	EXP	206	206	206
	FORGET	206	206	206

Table 4. Pearson Correlation

6.3. ANOVA

The following table represents the results of an Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) test. The test is used to assess the relationship between the dependent variable: MeanTIME, and the two independent variables: EXP and FORGET.

   The table contains the following columns:

- Model: the type of model used in the analysis.
- Sum of Squares: a measure of the total variation in the dependent variable.
- DF (degrees of freedom): the number of values that can be adjusted or changed during the calculation of the mean, while still meeting the specific criteria of the statistical test being used.
- Mean Square: the average sum of squares for each source of variation in the model.
- F: the ratio of the mean square regression to the mean square residual.
- Sig.: the significance level of the F-statistic, which represents the probability that the results occurred by chance.

The results show that the regression model explains a significant degree of the variation in the dependent variable (MeanTIME). A significance level (Sig.) of 0.000 is less than 0.05, indicating that the relationship between the dependent variable and the independent variables is statistically significant.

Model	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Regression	12.679	2	6.340	24.289	000
Residual	52.983	203	.261		
Total	65.662	205			

Dependent Variable: MeanTime

Predictors: FORGET, EXP

Table 5. Analysis of Variance (ANOVA)

6.4. Regression analysis

The table below shows the results of a regression analysis examining the relationship between the mean time of the experiments (dependent variable: MeanTIME) and two predictor variables: experience (EXP) and the forgetting curve (FORGET).

The "B" coefficients describe how much the dependent variable (MeanTIME) changes when the corresponding independent variable (EXP or FORGET) changes, while holding all other variables constant. In this case, for every additional experience unit (EXP), the MeanTIME is expected to decrease by 0.084 units. On the other hand, FORGET has a much smaller expected effect on MeanTIME, with a change of only $0.348 * 10^{-8}$ units.

The "Beta" coefficients are a standardized version of the "B" coefficients, adjusted to better understand the effects of the different variables.

The "t-value" and "Sig." (significance) level indicate whether the effects observed are statistically significant or due to random chance. A significance level of less than 0.05 is typically considered statistically significant. In this analysis, both EXP and FORGET show statistically significant effects on MeanTIME.

The collinearity statistics section indicates whether the independent variables exhibit any relationship with one another, which could lead to issues in interpreting the results. Two measures, tolerance and variance inflation factor (VIF) are used to evaluate the potential for collinearity. Tolerance values close to zero and VIF values exceeding 10 suggest high collinearity. In this analysis, both EXP and FORGET show relatively high tolerance and low VIF values, indicating that they are not highly correlated.

Model	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.	Collinearity Statistics	
	B	Std. Error	Beta			Tolerance	VIF
(Constant)	3.758	0.60		63.110	.000		
EXP	-.084	.013	-.415	-6.568	.000	.997	1.003
FORGET	0.348E-008	.000	.124	1.967	.051	.997	1.003

Dependent Variable: MeanTime

Predictors: FORGET, EXP

Table 6. Coefficients of the regression analysis

7. Survey analysis

A survey was conducted to assess the effectiveness of the tool for memorizing Japanese grammar words and to gather feedback on the usability and potential improvements of the application. The end test survey contains two types of questions: a) a selection of questions that are useful for gathering quantitative data, as they enable an easy comparison and analysis of the answers and 2) a set of open-ended questions that allow participants to provide their own responses.

The survey was answered by 22 students out of the 58 who participated in the test between December 1, 2022, and January 24, 2023. Below is a summary of the survey responses.

No.	Question	Type	Answers		
1	Did you enjoy playing the Kanji Game?	Y-N	No 0%	Yes 100%	
2	On what device did you use it?	Select	Questions	Num.	Perc.
			Smartphone or tablet	10	45.5
			Notebook or PC	12	54.5
3	Do you think this method is useful for memorizing Japanese grammatical terms?	Y-N	No 4.5%	Yes 95.5%	
4	Did you perceive a decrease in vocabulary recognition time the more you repeated the game?	Y-N	No 4.5%	Yes 95.5%	
5	How do you evaluate authentication through Ca' Foscari University's single sign-on?	Select	Questions	Num	Perc.
			No problem with it.	19	86,4
			The process takes time but is necessary.	2	9,1

			The process is too long, I would prefer a simpler authentication method, like a traditional username.	1	4,5
			I would prefer not having any kind of authentication, even if this would mean not being able to save my progress.	0	0

| 6 | Would you also use this method to learn other vocabulary in Japanese? | Y-N | No
0 | Yes
100% | |

| 7 | Would you also use this method to learn vocabulary in other languages? | Y-N | No
0 | Yes
100% | |

8	Do you think gamification elements (video-game-like graphics and modes of use) can be useful to boost motivation to study with software of this kind?	Single	Questions	Num	Perc.
			Yes	19	86.4
			No	0	0
			I do not know	4	13.6

9	Would you like it if other gamification elements were added, such as badges or levels (as in Duolingo)?	Single	Questions	Num	Perc.
			Yes	19	86.4
			No	0	0
			I do not know	4	13.6

| 10 | Do you have other comments? | Open | 2 answers

At first, I found it a little difficult to choose the correct answer in the given time frame. But as I went on, it got easier and easier, until I learned all the names and then I didn't use the game anymore. Still, it was very helpful.

It would be helpful if before you begin playing you could choose how long it takes for the game to change the question, because initially it was very difficult to answer within the given time. | | |

Overall, the majority of participants (20 out of 22) reported that they enjoyed playing the Kanji Game and found it useful for memorizing Japanese grammar words. Additionally, a large number of participants (18 out of 22) reported that they personally learned the vocabulary that appeared during the game, and a similar number (17 out of 22) reported that their word recognition times decreased as they replayed the game.

When asked about the method of authentication via Ca' Foscari's platform, the majority of participants (17 out of 22) reported that it did not cause any problems. However, two participants found the process to be too long, and one participant would have preferred a simpler authentication method.

Most participants (18 out of 22) indicated that they would also use this method to learn vocabulary in other languages, suggesting that the Kanji Game could be adapted to other languages. Finally, all but one participant believed that gamification elements, such as graphics and methods of use similar to those of a video-game, can be useful to increase people's motivation to study with the application. Many participants also expressed interest in the addition of other gamification elements such as badges or levels, similar to those used by the popular language-learning app Duolingo. Overall, these findings suggest that the Kanji Game is a useful and effective tool for learning Japanese vocabulary, and that similar methods could be applied to other languages as well.

8. Conclusions

In conclusion, based on the data collected from both the measurement of response times and the survey results, it can be concluded that the Kanji Game application provides an effective and enjoyable method for memorizing unknown words. The application's ability to improve response times and the high level of satisfaction reported by the subjects in the survey demonstrate its effectiveness as a language learning tool.

The results show that the response times were short, with a mean response time of less than one second. Additionally, most of the surveyed users reported high levels of satisfaction with the application and felt that it was effective in helping them memorize new Japanese terms. The statistical data analysis shows that the forgetting curve with the actual dataset is a negligible parameter; however, the case study's sample size of 58 subjects is relatively small, so the results should be interpreted with caution. Further research with a larger sample size would be needed to confirm these findings. This would enable researchers to better understand the impact of the Kanji Game application and to identify any potential limitations or areas for improvement.

From a practical pedagogical standpoint, the Kanji Game application can be integrated into classroom activities or as a supplementary resource for self-study. Teachers can use the application to

reinforce the vocabulary taught in class and encourage students to practice in a fun and engaging way. Moreover, the game can be adapted to different proficiency levels, making it suitable for a wide range of learners.

Regarding the effectiveness of the Kanji Game application when dealing with longer texts, it is important to consider that vocabulary knowledge is a crucial aspect of reading comprehension (Laufer and Ravenhorst-Kalovski 2010; Nation 2001). As learners become more familiar with Japanese grammar words and other vocabulary through the application, they will likely experience increased ease and fluency when reading longer texts in Japanese. The application can serve as a foundation for building vocabulary, which can then be expanded and reinforced through more traditional reading and writing exercises in the classroom or during self-study sessions.

It would also be beneficial to further explore the potential of gamification strategies such as the implementation of points, levels, and rewards, in light of the research suggesting that gamification can increase motivation and engagement in language learning (e.g., Kapp 2012). Moreover, to ensure the sustainability of the learning process, it would be good to insert a spaced repetition system to refresh learners' memory with regard to the vocabulary they have already acquired.

Overall, the results of this study suggest that the Kanji Game application is a promising tool for memorizing unknown words and a valuable resource for language learners.

One potential development for a trial-center application like Kanji Game would be to transform it into a more complex game-based platform. This development might involve two main interventions. Firstly, the creation of a personal area where students can access their individual results and track their progress. Secondly, the integration of more sophisticated functionalities, such as badges and level-based pathways, to enhance the game's appeal and increase its focus on the player. Especially this latter point may prove important as a way to keep the student in a state of flow, as the results of the data analysis show an increase of expertise in the subjects: "[i]n order to keep a player in a flow state game designers should ensure that while a player's skill level increases the challenges also should become more difficult" (Kiili 2005: 16). The improvement of gameplay, which can be defined as "one or more series of challenges in a simulated environment that are causally linked" (Rollings and Adams 2003, p. 503), is a critical aspect that could lead to a transition from the current trial-center application to a more robust game-based platform. Such a shift could have a more significant positive impact on learning outcomes and players' attitudes.

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Appendix: Terminology

Experiment: A sequence of trials within the Kanji Game.

Experience: The number of times a subject repeats the experiment.

Forgetting curve: The change in a subject's performance over multiple experiments.

JSON: Acronym of JavaScript Object Notation. It is a lightweight data interchange format commonly used in web applications.

Kanji: A Japanese writing system that uses Chinese characters.

Kanji Game: The web application studied in this research.

Kun-reading: A Japanese reading of a kanji character based on its pronunciation by native Japanese speakers.

Materials (or content): The content provided in the experiment.

MEVN: An acronym indicating a group of technologies used to develop the Kanji Game.

On-reading: A Japanese reading of a kanji character based on its Chinese pronunciation.

Participant: The subject participating in the experiment.

Performance: The average reaction time for each trial and the overall experiment.

SPA (Single Page Application): a web application or website that interacts with the user by dynamically rewriting the current web page with new data, instead of loading entire new pages.

Trial: A question with one correct answer and four incorrect alternatives that must be answered as quickly as possible.

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The collapse of social capital
A lesson from Madura, Indonesia

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This qualitative research tried to look at the failure of the smallholder sugarcane development in Madura. To understand this issue, the approach used was social capital analysis by looking at trust as an important factor. The objective of this research was to understand and explore why the sugarcane development failed in Madura. This research used a qualitative method with a case study approach. The informants were recruited from three regencies in Madura: Bangkalan, Sampang, and Pamekasan) using purposive sampling. The results showed that the failure of the sugarcane development in Madura was due to distrust of farmers and investors as the two actors of sugarcane farming. This distrust arose as they were suspicious of one another and there was no honesty among them. Thus, trust as social capital is needed to develop a sugarcane business in Madura.

Keywords: smallholder; sugarcane; Madura; distrust; failure; trust.

1. Introduction

Indonesia currently still lacks a supply of 3.4 million tons of sugar, especially to meet the needs of the refined and food-beverage industry. This condition requires Indonesia to import raw sugar, raw material for refined crystal sugar or known as Refined Crystal Sugar (RCS). According to the Indonesian Sugar Association (ISA), the areas of sugarcane land in 2015 decreased from 476,000 hectares to 460,000 hectares. The sugar production in 2015 was estimated at 2.54 million tons, down from 2.58 million in the last year. Indonesia can only produce 2.5 million tons of sugar per year with 476,000 hectares of sugarcane land, 52 sugar factories owned by state-owned enterprises (BUMN), and ten private sugar factories. This total production is still far from the total national demand for sugar, which is 5.9 million tons per year. In fact, the Indonesian Food and Beverage Business Association estimated that the need for RCS for the food-beverage and pharmaceutical industry in 2015 was 3.2 million tons. This need increased by 8 percent from 2014 of 2.9 million tons (Kompas, 20 January 2015).

There should be an appropriate solution for this condition so that Indonesia can get out of the situation of continued sugar imports. One way to solve this is by expanding sugarcane fields across

Indonesia. The mobilization of sugarcane farmers in Indonesia will open up new opportunities for a national sugarcane planting movement that can minimize sugar imports in the long run.

Amid the high demand for sugar consumption, however, the farmers' interest in sugarcane planting decreased considerably. This indicates that the sugar industry problem is a national issue that must be resolved immediately. Otherwise, Indonesia will become a sugar importing country and the farmers will suffer from economic hardship indefinitely. Therefore, a movement for sugarcane planting is required as a response to this situation.

Soemarno (2011) states that sugarcane is a plant grown for sugar raw material. This plant can only grow well in tropical climates. Sugarcane planting can be used as an alternative economic movement in improving people's welfare. Sugar is one of the strategic commodities in the Indonesian economy. With an area of about 400,000 hectares in the 2007-2009 period, the sugarcane-based industry constitutes an income source for around 900 thousand farmers with a total workforce of around 1.3 million people.

Departing from this situation, PT. Perkebunan Nusantara X (PTPN X) as one of the state-owned enterprises (BUMN) has been trying to develop sugar factories on Madura Island through the smallholder sugarcane development by a partnership program since 2011. Sugarcane farmers provide their land and energy while the company provides a capital loan of 18 million per hectare. The local people are also enthusiastic.

It takes approximately 12,000 hectares of land to establish a sugar factory. The assumption is that for a sugar factory with a capacity of 5,000 TCD with a milling season of 160 days, the demand for sugarcane will reach 800,000 tons per year. If sugarcane productivity is 60-70 tons/hectares, the total areas required will reach 12,000 hectares (Kuntari: 2014).

However, efforts to grow sugarcane plants on 12 hectares of agricultural land in Madura have not been realized yet. Tens of Madurese farmers who had joined this project left; they stopped cooperating with PTPN X. The development of the smallholder sugarcane project has stalled and it has failed. This research was carried out to understand and reveal why and how the project failed.

Soemarno (2011) explained that improvement of the sugar industry in Indonesia could be carried out by expanding sugarcane plantations in Indonesia. This is because sugarcane cultivation can be done on irrigated and rain-fed land as well as on dry land with own sugarcane or smallholder sugarcane systems. Sugarcane development areas are still focused on Java, including East Java, Central Java, Yogyakarta, and West Java provinces, which are cultivated in rice fields and moorland. Meanwhile, the development of sugarcane in moorland is focused outside Java, such as in North Sumatra, South Sumatra, Lampung, South Sulawesi, and Gorontalo provinces. The government has also launched a

development plan for other provinces by opening up investment opportunities for the development of integrated sugarcane-based sugar industry in several provinces such as Southeast Sulawesi, West Kalimantan, and West Nusa Tenggara. The study also found that the development of the potential sugar industry is still open in other provinces as well, such as Papua, Maluku, East Nusa Tenggara, East Kalimantan, and Central Sulawesi (Soemarno: 2011).

The study explained that sugarcane plantations could be carried out both in Java and areas outside Java whose land is usually dry. This can also be seen from the research conducted by the Indonesian Sugarcane Plantation Research Center (P3GI) and PTN X in 2014. To meet the sugar needs of the Indonesian people, PTPN X is expanding the establishment of a sugar factory by seeking places outside Java. To support this plan, it is expanding sugarcane plantations in Madura based on the research findings that sugarcane cultivation can be done in dry and rocky areas including Madura (P3GI, 2014).

The current study was designed to understand the failure of the smallholder sugarcane project development in Madura. The study conducted by Soemarno (2011) investigated the development of smallholder sugarcane plantations from an agribusiness perspective. Other research by P3GI emphasized the success of the smallholder sugarcane development in Madura or other areas across Indonesia in terms of technical aspects.

Therefore, this research tried to see, understand, and analyze how the smallholder sugarcane program developed by PTPN X undergoes a failure due to the problem of distrust of sugarcane farmers in Madura towards the company and vice versa. This study hypothesised that one of the factors for the failure of the smallholder sugarcane development in Madura is the waning of the most important social capital, which is the trust of sugarcane farmers in Madura toward PTPN X. This study aims to know, understand, and analyze the failure of the smallholder sugarcane development in Madura using the social capital approach (trust and distrust) proposed by Fukuyama (1999).

This research used a qualitative method since it particularly emphasizes process and meaning rather than measurement and causal relationship between some variables (Denzim 2009). Thus, qualitative research provides an in-depth description of social facts. Meanwhile, the approach of qualitative research used was a case study. This research was carried out in the three regencies in Madura: Bangkalan, Sampang, and Pamekasan for 6 months. The subjects of this study were sugarcane farmers and PTPN X in Madura. The subjects were selected using a purposive sampling method based on certain criteria. The data were collected using literature studies and in-depth interviews with sugarcane farming communities in Madura and PTPN X. Triangulation was conducted to ensure the validity of the data. Concerning the code of ethics, adequate explanations were given to the research subjects about the aims and objectives of the study, voluntary participation (no coercion) in the

research, and their rights and obligations during the research process where information of the subjects would not be disclosed to any parties. Evidence of the informants' willingness to participate in the research was signed with informed consent.

2. Sugarcane, trust, and social capital

Talking about smallholder sugarcane plantations means placing sugarcane farmers as an inseparable entity. Smallholder sugarcane farmers as written by Ratna and Sumardjono (2011) are those who grow sugarcane on their own land with their capital or loans. Capital is one of the key factors in the sugar industry. For smallholder sugarcane farmers, capital may come from their own capital or loans. However, in practice, farmers rely more on moneylenders' loans or credit because the capital cost in sugarcane farming is high. Indeed, this is one of the problems faced in the smallholder sugarcane development.

The people's sugarcane plantation places local people as essential actors in the development of sugarcane plantation. The word *people* attached to the phrase *sugarcane plantation* affirms that the people are an important element in developing plantations in the community. This means that it is the people who have full *power* in determining their sugarcane. It is not only a matter of plantation but also a matter of their livelihood. It is they who determine it (Kuntowijoyo 1993).

Thus, discussing the people sugarcane plantation, we place the people as the main objective in efforts to improve people's welfare. This also means that the people's sugarcane plantation is intended to improve their lives so that people can get out of the poverty line. In Sukarno's language as stated by the Indonesian Sugar Expert Association (1975), one of the aims and objectives of planting sugarcane is to increase the income of Indonesian farmers, ensure the stability of sugar production, and avoid annual land rent.

Thus, it is understood that the people's sugarcane plantation is a part of the empowerment and development of civil society, particularly their socio-economic empowerment. With these people sugarcane plantation, the farming communities are expected to be empowered and developed. The community development in this framework represents a process of restructuring communities by offering them self-help-participatory patterns and strategies in managing and coordinating socio-economic life so that they can independently meet their own needs (Jim 1997).

Even though the development of the sugarcane farmer community depends on themselves, an outreach method is still needed in its implementation. This method refers to an organizational activity intended to provide contacts, services, and assistance to the community. Services and assistance need to be provided because the problems faced by poor communities such as sugarcane farmers still need

third parties to obtain necessary capital. When Indonesia became independent, the people sugarcane developed independently without any intervention from the government. However, the development of the people's sugarcane also encountered some obstacles as the cultivation of their sugarcane needs much capital, making it difficult for farmers to obtain capital. It is at this point that there was an initiative to assist smallholder sugarcane farmers, such as Yatra (People Sugarcane Foundation) and sugar factories that care for sugarcane farmers provide loans to farmers with low-interest rates (Ratna and Sumardjono 2011).

Meanwhile, the birth of social capital theory cannot be separated from the concept of social networks that a person has in society. It is assumed that persons with social networks can achieve their goals. In simple terms, it can also be said that social capital is a concept about networks and the importance of social relationships originated in certain norms or trust that can be used to achieve goals. Fukuyama (2000: 37) states that social capital constitutes a capability that arises from the prevalence of trust in a society or in a certain part of it. Thus, social capital is a force resulting from the trust. In other words, the essence of social capital is trust. With trust, one can achieve goals at a small cost. Thus, trust represents a very essential side effect of cooperative social norms that give rise to social capital (Fukuyama 2014).

If the people who work together in a company trust each other and work concerning a shared set of ethical norms, doing business will cost little. These society members will be more able to innovate organizationally owing to their high level of trust. On the other hand, people who do not trust each other will immediately end their cooperation because the existing distrust may undermine all forms of economic activity (Fukuyama 2000). In a society with a high level of trust, there is a strong tendency towards spontaneous sociability, which then leads to the birth of several large organizations. On the other hand, people with a low level of trust will tend to develop family-based business ventures (Fukuyama 2000).

If public trust has eroded, the personal trust as a side effect of the cooperative relationships of citizens who belong to each other also goes down (Fukuyama, 2014). Trust should be remembered in itself; it is not a moral virtue. Trust may arise from the norms of honesty and willingness to help each other; thereby, they are able to work together. Trust is destroyed by excessive and opportunistic selfishness (Fukuyama 2014).

The important thing to note in this information and technology era is that a fundamental factor in an organization, society or community in building and realizing goals is trust. Their existences are greatly dependent on mutual trust. This feeling of mutual trust does not come out of the blue or spontaneously (Fukuyama 1995). Thus, a company or an organization can grow successfully in the

community depending on the level of trust and social capital (Fukuyama 1995). Trust is, therefore, an expectation that arises in a community that behaves normally, honestly, and cooperatively based on a set of shared norms for the common interest of the community or society. Otherwise, there will be a deficit of trust (Fukuyama 1995).

Meanwhile, social capital is a capability that arises from the prevalence of trust in a society or a certain part of it. Social capital can be developed in the smallest social group or in the largest group such as the state. Thus, social capital does not require a legal contractual mechanism but requires habituation to moral norms by adopting social virtues such as loyalty, honesty, and mutual dependence or giving. Therefore, it is impossible that social capital can be acquired among selfish people (Fukuyama 1995).

If people who are working together in a company trust each other and work according to shared ethical norms, doing business will only cost a small amount (Fukuyama 1995). People who trust each other will be able to innovate and permit a wide variety of social relationships to emerge. Meanwhile, people who do not trust each other will soon or later end their cooperation, which is merely built under a system of rules and formal policies, and which must be negotiated, agreed upon, executed, and disputed sometimes in a coercive way. The legal apparatus is considered a substitute for trust, which thus can incur transaction costs. Widespread distrust in a society will impose a kind of tax on all forms of economic activities in society (Fukuyama 1995). Indeed, social capital constitutes an important factor and contributes to building the world economy (Munir 2000).

3. Sugarcane and economic alternatives in Madura

The development of smallholder sugarcane plantations in Madura began in 2011. Until recently, the land that has been successfully developed in Madura is around 1,000 hectares. So far, the land that can be developed with regard to the smallholder sugarcane plantations until 2014 was approximately 1,099 hectares. Initially, it was only 175 hectares with the details of approximately 459 hectares in the Bangkalan Regency. The TSKP (own sugarcane for pilot plantation) belonging to Semen Gresik accounted for approximately 175 hectares and PTRI (Indonesian Sugar Cane Farmers) 992 hectares. There was around 499 hectares in Sampang Regency, 97 hectares in Pamekasan Regency and 37 hectares in Sumenep Regency. Sugarcane development in Madura in 2014 was targeted for around 2,500 hectares.

For the Madurese community, the presence of smallholder sugarcane plantations is a new hope. Madurese people used to only know rice and corn farming. For this reason, the presence of sugarcane

farming becomes a new breath of fresh air for them to improve their socio-economic welfare. Indeed, it is a sweet hope within the life of the Madurese people which is usually dry and salty.

As a note, according to PTPN X for the Madura region, the development of smallholder sugarcane plantations in Madura began around 2011. Until recently, the land successfully developed in the Madura region was around 1,000 hectares. According to the Head of PTPN X for the Madura region, the land that could be developed in connection with smallholder sugarcane plantations until 2014 was approximately 1,099 hectares. Initially, it was only 175 hectares. Specifically, there were 459 hectares in Bangkalan Regency, TSKP belonging to Semen Gresik of around 175 hectares and PTRI of 992 hectares. Furthermore, there were approximately 499 hectares in Sampang Regency, 97 hectares in Pamekasan Regency, and 37 hectares in Sumenep Regency. The target of sugarcane development in Madura for 2014 was around 2,500 hectares, but due to losses, PTPN did not push for it.

Apart from the records received from PTPN X, the community recorded that the expansion of land associated with the smallholder sugarcane plantations in Madura, especially in Bangkalan and Sampang, varied greatly. For example, in the Kedungdung district of Sampang Regency, the land area planted with sugarcane by farmers from PTPN was approximately 50 hectares, while that in Camplong district was more than 100 hectares. Each farmer group had approximately 30 hectares. Meanwhile, there were approximately 23 hectares and 10 hectares in Burneh and Bangkalan districts, respectively. In Trageh, it was around 30 hectares. Therefore, throughout Bangkalan Regency, it was more than 30 hectares. Furthermore, in Sepulu district, it was approximately 50 hectares, Klampis 50-60 hectares, and Geger 50 hectares. Moreover, in the Ketapang district, there were about 100 hectares managed by PTPN X. In the Banyuates district, there were approximately 50 hectares and there were around 10-20 hectares of smallholder sugarcane land in Robatal Subdistrict.

The smallholder sugarcane plantation development achieved in Madura can actually be developed further. According to one informant, the idle area that can be used for sugarcane plantations in Bangkalan was very large. Thus, it is easy to get only 5,000 hectares. Furthermore, it is said that, of the idle land in Bangkalan Regency, 15% was the *parcaton* land (village customary land managed by a village head). On average, a village head owns the *parcaton* land. A village head has the authority over *parcaton* land which is given to farmers and divided in two. On average, each village head owns 5 hectares of *parcaton* land. An area of 5 hectares multiplied by 281 village heads is 1,405 hectares. This excludes those in Sampang, Pamekasan, and Sumenep. This means that if PTPN X needs 12,000 hectares of land, it is very likely that it can be fulfilled only from the so-called idle land.

According to another informant, PTPN X should only concentrate on idle land to develop smallholder sugarcane plantations. The productive land should not be touched for the time being since

it is feared that it would reduce rice production. PTPN X can just take it off. It can activate the idle land; for example, in Konang District of Durin Timur village, the idle land alone constitutes 80 hectares. Overall, the idle land in Madura, especially in Bangkalan and Sampang, is around 40,000,000-70,000,000 hectares.

However, according to Teguh and Fauzi from PTPN X of Madura development area, the Madurese sugarcane development was not significant and even it declined, not to say it failed. This is evidenced by the land area available. In 2016, only 700 hectares of land were planted. In 2017, it was only 500 hectares and in 2018 it even decreased to 200 hectares.

4. Cooperation between sugarcane farmers and PTPN X

With such a large area of idle land available, PTPN X made Madura as one of its areas of smallholder sugarcane development. After going through research on suitable sugarcane varieties in Madura and business calculation, the state-owned company began developing sugarcane crops in Madura in 2011 with a plan to establish a sugar mill in Bangkalan and Sampang. For the plan to be feasible, this requires a minimum of 12,000 hectares of sugarcane in Madura.

This plan, of course, needs the support of the local governments and, most importantly, the prospective sugarcane farmers in Madura. Therefore, PTPN X established and offered a cooperation scheme for sugarcane farmers to join PTPN X in developing sugarcane plantations in Madura. For this purpose, PTPN X offered cooperation, among which was through a partnership between PTPN X and sugarcane farmers. It is hoped that the cooperation would be equally beneficial for both parties. The scheme is simply described as follows: farmers provide their land and manpower while PTPN X provides financing (loans) and transfer of knowledge and technology to sugarcane farmers.

All loans were provided by PTPN X under the following agreement. The agreement sets out funds, land tenure, guarantees, profit sharing of 10% pure sugar for farmers, and payment of 0.6% interest yearly of the loan. Farmer groups are formed by the farmers themselves. When they have land, farmers can directly apply to PTPN without having to go through the farmer groups or leaders.

According to an informant, farmer groups can even be formed directly through PTRI (Indonesian Sugar Cane Farmers). Sometimes, in direct coordination PTRI informs how much land area available and PTPN immediately sends tractors to plough the fields. With regard to the coordination between PTPN and farmers or farmer groups, PTPN has an SKW (Sinder Regional Gardens) to monitor plant conditions.

The model of cooperation is that PTPN lends funds to the farmers. The agreement is made using profit sharing. In the past, it was 34%-66%, 34% for PTPN and 66% for the farmers; after deducting costs.

Meanwhile, the agreement is written in the work agreement, or in an agreement which contains funds, profit sharing, and if it is not paid off in the first year it will be borne in the following year.

According to another informant, a farmer from the Ketapang district of Sampang Regency, the process of cooperation with PTPN is relatively easy. The role of PTPN with farmer groups is by having land and applying it to PTPN to be surveyed. The funds are disbursed after the stages of capital application, the first tillage, the second tillage, and the third tillage. After that, seedlings are given for land that is ready for planting. Because most farmers are still unfamiliar with the seedlings, PTPN provides them at 78 thousand/quintal; it comes directly from PTPN. For fertilizers, farmers can prepare themselves but PTPN can also manage them. When the farmers are ready, they can manage them themselves.

Furthermore, the distribution of PTPN funds is called PKBL (partnerships and community development program) and it is channelled in the form of funds and technical assistance from start to maintenance. This cooperation is written in a contract. Meanwhile, it is not for APBN (State Revenue Expenditure Budget). The sugarcane farmer groups are formed by the farmers themselves and submitted to PTPN. So far, the meeting between farmers and PTPN in Sampang which is held every three months is only a formality, but formal meetings are rare. They are most often held in the fields. It is PTRI who often holds meetings. What PTRI does is usually a matter of maintenance, which is done sometimes once a week.

According to Fauzi, the head of PTPN X for the Madura region, PTPN X provides guidance and does visits to sugarcane farmers. We provide capital of 15-17 million per hectare for farmers according to the land worked on. This concerns the costs of tilling, planting, fertilizers, seedlings, harvesting, and transporting sugarcane to the mill. There are loans of up to 30 million per hectare. Loans are given to farmers and then repaid and deducted later for-profit sharing after the sugar is sold. However, PTPN X does not cover the cost of the land lease because it does not use a land rental system.

With regard to SHU (surplus), the head of PTPN X for the Madura region explained that according to government regulations, farmers get 66% and PTPN 34% progressively in accordance with the sucrose contents. If 10% is out of 100%, 90% is cashed, 10% is pure sugar directly for farmers. For example, for 100 quintals, the farmer gets 10 quintals of pure sugar and 90 quintals are cashed out.

5. From capital to the broken trust

If there is no problem with land and if sugarcane farming can still be expected to be an alternative economy for the welfare of the Madurese people, what are the problems or obstacles to the development of smallholder sugarcane plantations in Madura? When this question is asked to the head

of PTPN X for the Madura region, Teguh and Fauzi, then the obstacles to the development of smallholder sugarcane plantations in Madura are as follows. First, there is a distinct culture of the Madurese people. An even more complex culture is that no workers are skilled and familiar with sugarcane farming in Madura, so PTPN X brings workers from Java. Second, the *lokean* (bunds) within the Madurese community cannot be taken apart. This is not good since it affects productivity. For example, during the rainy season, the water cannot run off so the plants are inundated, automatically leading to low sucrose contents. Third, there is no irrigation, only waiting for the rain. If the land can be taken apart, water can flow and the costs will not increase (as it is now).

However, according to Teguh and Fauzi from PTPN X, apart from these obstacles, the biggest obstacle is the patron-client culture. Thus, if PTPN X wants to make an entry, it has to go through the figures concerned first, such as *blater* ("rogue character"), *kiai* ("religious figure"), *and the* village head. The biggest problem was that many local leaders disapproved of and prohibited the presence of several new things, including the establishment of the factory.

In addition, the most common constraint is related to the size of the contracted land. The study found that if the contracted land area is too large, it will cause problems because the planting and harvesting periods of each contract are not the same. If the first crop has already been harvested, everyone has to wait until the last contract gets its turn to harvest. The impression that arises when dividing the results is the long waiting time for the harvest. For this reason, the easiest way is to contract a small area of land, such as 4-5 hectares, only for 1-2 people. If there are more than 10 people, the waiting time problem will occur as described earlier.

Local figures play an important role in the entire life system of local communities in Indonesia (Dasion and Nugroho 2020). According to the community, the prominence of a person in Madura determines whether an activity is carried out smoothly or not. For this reason, every activity must get permission from local figures. The community believes that by getting the blessing and permission of local figures, what they do will be successful and not constrained by problems.

Although money is not everything, capital for sugarcane farmers is one of the obstacles to developing sugarcane plantations in Madura. People feel that the cost of labor in Madura is more expensive than in Java. The loan of 18 million/hectare provided by PTPN is still considered too low. In addition, the soil structure in Madura is very different from other regions because the processing rarely uses tractors. People often use oxen to plow the land. Thus, the community needs greater costs in renting a tractor in order to get maximum results in sugarcane farming.

Facts on the ground show the high cost of sugarcane development in Madura. Some farmers even explained the details of costs such as land treatment costs of 2 million/hectare, planting costs of 1.5

million/hectare, and fertilizer costs (ponska, urna, Za) can reach 9 quintals per hectare. Furthermore, the farmers also explained that sugarcane plants cannot be overwatered and water shortage is another problem. There are two patterns of sugarcane planting, namely pattern A and pattern B. Pattern A is used if the land has a borehole and pattern B is used for land planted in the rainy season, so the costs incurred for pattern A are greater because farmers still have to buy water. Pattern A can be harvested in about six months and pattern B in about 8-10 months. In addition to these issues, another problem is related to the current unfavourable climate conditions.

Delays in the disbursement of funds for capital are a serious problem for sugarcane farmers. For the farmers, the availability of capital was initially not a problem because PTPN was always on time in disbursing funds. But the delay in disbursement is now a problem. Farmers have to seek loans to be able to pay for planting costs. Another obstacle that is often complained about is the poor road access that makes the cost even greater.

One farmer (AT) explained that until now his 420 tons of sugarcane have not received certainty. Farmers have been asked to plant sugarcane but the funds have not been provided. When the contract was made, farmers only provided land and all funds came from PTPN with a loan system. For the farmers, the first and second contracts are still running according to the applicable rules, but for the third contract, PTPN has not carried out their obligations, without any further explanation. This often causes conflict between the farmers and PTPN.

Meanwhile, according to some farmers, the constraint to the development of sugarcane plantations in Madura is the size of the land. For Madurese people, the amount of land is not calculated in hectares but in local units called *petak-petak.* In addition, for farmers, socialization about sugarcane farming is still lacking, so people tend not to be interested in planting sugarcane.

On the other hand, people feel lied to and forced to become sugarcane farmers. Some farmers even explained that they initially did not believe in sugarcane farming in Madura. However, they were forced to do so because they had no other option to earn money for their family's economic needs. Now some of them feel disappointed because they even have debts even though they have earned money from the sugarcane farm.

6. Distrust and failure of the smallholder sugarcane project in Madura

Among the problems and obstacles discussed above, the most crucial one is the issue of distrust. Trust is not easy to define, as evidenced by the recent spate of books and articles on the concept (Barber 1983; Baier 1986; Gambetta 1988; Hardin 1991), as described by Newton (2001). Trust is one of the most important synthetic forces within society. In Fukuyama's (2002) term, there has been a deficit in trust that has

occurred between the Madurese farmers and PTPN X. Whereas, in Fukuyama's study, one thing that makes a business collaboration successful is when each actor can use trust as their social capital. Further, social capital can be defined as the social construction of social interaction of individuals in building social forces collectively to solve various social problems. Social capital can be in the form of tools constructed by individuals for a common goal (Jumadi 2016).

The development of sugarcane plantations in Madura by PTPN X began in 2011. For about two years since then, there were around 1,099 hectares. The previous target was that the land developed for smallholder plantations in Madura was around 12,000 hectares. The previous target for 2014 or 2015 should have been 5,000 hectares. However, until the beginning of 2014, it was only 1,099 hectares. Even in 2017, many farmers chose to withdraw from cooperation. This shows that the development of smallholder sugarcane plantations in Madura has problems in terms of land if it is not to say a failure.

Over time, many of the farmers withdrew. The peak was in 2016 when the land that was still in cooperation with PTPN X was only 700 hectares, and then in 2017 it was only 500 hectares, and in 2018 only 200 hectares was left with 70 farmers joining. Even then, with an independent scheme development, the farmers finance it themselves. Meanwhile, PTPN X only provided assistance. The problem of this expansion is more social and societal since the land in Bangkalan and Sampang is large. Moreover, the idle land in the two regencies is used for a land requirement of 12,000 hectares as targeted by PTPN X.

The present study found several problems related to the land expansion faced by PTPN X: the issue of *tabun* (land boundaries), the farmers' short way of thinking, the farmers' tradition of burning land during the dry season, road infrastructure, irrigation, manpower importation from Java, hard soil, patron-clients (personage)/ community culture, lack of socialization (counselling), capital and farmers' distrust in PTPN X. Of those problems, the latter problem, namely trust, is the most serious problem faced by PTPN X in developing smallholder sugarcane plantations in Bangkalan and Sampang.

According to Fukuyama (1999), trust is the most important social capital that can determine whether individuals or companies can develop and achieve their goals. The more trust a person, a community or company has, the greater is the social capital to achieve success. Conversely, the less trust a person or company has, the less successful is to achieve goals.

With regard to land development, when it first came to Madura, PTPN X had a large social capital. The community warmly welcomed PTPN X's good intention to develop smallholder sugarcane plantations, especially when there was a sugar mill in Madura. The Madurese community has been saturated with poverty and underdevelopment. The presence of PTPN X in 2011 was seen as giving new hope for a better life for them. That was why many of them joined PTPN X at that time.

However, over time, the sugarcane farmers who joined PTPN X felt being cheated by PTPN X. Probably, PTPN X never felt cheating. In the farmers' words, there were PTPN X's personnel who were fraudulent. Credit delays in the second planting season, incompatibility of the number of fertilizers purchased with the scales, miscalculations, no transparency in harvesting results, sluggish provision of information on harvesting results, no clear information, no maximum service when the farmers came to the PTPN X office in Socah, and no response of PTPN's employees to the farmers' phone calls are among the farmers' experiences which lead to a conclusion: they felt they had been cheated by PTPN X.

The farmers feel being hurt and they no longer believe in PTPN. This leads the farmers, who were initially excited to develop their fields, to withdraw. For the last two years, the sugarcane they planted has not provided any profits. On the contrary, two years of planting sugarcane left them in a deep debt gap. Sugarcane for them turned bitter, rather than sweet.

These feelings discourage them to motivate other farmers to plant sugarcane and join PTPN X. They prefer tasting the bitterness of sugarcane alone. They are waiting to see how to unleash the debt that wraps around them before they open and expand the land.

The farmers' frustration story is denied by PTPN X. They feel that they have been transparent, open, providing the best and maximum services. The problems are that the proceeds from the sugar mill have not been received, the decrease in sucrose contents, and the delay from the central management. On these grounds, PTPN X does not want to be blamed.

Despite the profitability of planting sugarcane on a calculated basis, the fact of the last two years leads the farmers to conclude that planting sugarcane does not bring prosperity. Even though the period of two years was still relatively short for sugarcane planting, the profits are not yet clear. However, Madurese people consider sugarcane farming a choice.

In the development, there was a problem of trust between sugarcane farmers and PTPN X. There were several issues that make these two sides distrust each other. It started with the farmers' suspicion of PTPN X's non-transparency, frequently withheld loans, unsuitable fertilizers, and no direct access to the sugar mill. The accumulated suspicion led the farmers to choose to sell their crops outside PTPN X. Additionally, in several cases, they abandoned their sugarcane fields and burned them. This was done because they no longer trusted PTPN X.

Meanwhile, PTPN X also identified the problems with the farmers in Madura. These problems led to the farmers' distrust. It ranged from the problems of not using the loans for the purpose of planting sugarcane, selling the crops to other mills, to not paying the loans extended by PTPN X. Under Fukuyama's approach, what happened between the sugarcane farmers and PTPN X is a phenomenon

of social distrust. In fact, trust is the biggest resource in developing the economy, including the smallholder sugarcane plantation in Madura. Thus, trust is an important asset in the sugarcane farming development in Madura. However, due to a trust deficit, a distrust emerges that leads to obstacles to and even a failure of sugarcane farming development in Madura.

This is in line with Fukuyama's ideas that people who work together in a company trust each other and work according to a set of shared ethical norms, thus requiring only a small amount of money in doing business. Such a community would be more able to innovate organizationally due to its high level of trust. On the other hand, people who do not trust each other would immediately end their cooperation since the distrust would burden all forms of economic activity (Fukuyama 2000).

It is this analysis that provides guidance for us to analyze why sugarcane farmers and PTPN X decided to end their eight-year cooperation. It is due to the distrust between the two of them. A community with a high level of trust would tend to have spontaneous sociability which leads to the birth of several large organizations (companies). On the contrary, a community with a low level of trust tend to develop business ventures that are family in nature (Fukuyama 2000).

Therefore, PTPN X and the sugarcane farmers tend to have a low level of trust. This can be proven by the initial cooperation between the two sides which was established through an agreement document that mutually assumed that there would be irregularities in the future. When there are problems, it would affect the sustainability of the designed cooperation. This occurs because all actors are more concerned about their interests. This is what makes them lose their honesty to their partners. This is what Fukuyama (2014) says that their trusts are destroyed by excessive and opportunistic selfishness.

7. Conclusion

Results of the present study demonstrate that sugarcane development in Madura is not as easy as it is imagined. Despite the extraordinary agricultural and land potential of Madura, the issues of culture, mindset, technology, trust, and capital have made the development of sugarcane in Madura a failure.

One of the main factors of this failure is the issue of trust between the sugarcane farmers and PTPN X. Early in the sugarcane development in Madura, the sugarcane farmers were so enthusiastic and fully confident that sugarcane farming could bring prosperity to Madurese people. Likewise, PTPN X also believed that Madura was the right area to develop sugarcane farming after the agricultural land in the Java region has started to run out by the conversion to non-agricultural functions.

This mutual trust constitutes an important asset of PTPN X and the Madurese sugarcane farmers to develop smallholder sugarcane projects in Madura. Therefore, at the beginning of the project, it

seems to be running well and smoothly. However, in its development, after eight years of running, the sugarcane development project finally suffered a setback, if it is not to say a failure at all. The number of sugarcane farmers was progressively reduced, which in 2018 there were only 70 farmers who joined PTPN X with a land area of only 200 hectares throughout Madura. Even then it was with a new scheme, called independent sugarcane farming.

The collapse of trust occurs due to mutual suspicions between the two actors and the perception of being cheated by each other. This suspicion creates distrust that makes them ultimately end their cooperation. Therefore, in the future, it is recommended to build trust between the actors involved in any development project, including sugarcane farming, especially in Madura. This is because trust is of utmost importance to achieve goals, including the Madurese sugarcane farming development.

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Notes and Squibs

The oblation abuser will have the fate of the thirsty buffalo
A brief note on Ṛgveda 10.28.10cd-11ab

Krishna Del Toso

The primary aim of this article is to provide a case study of textual hermeneutics in the context of Vedic literature. It will be shown how some interpretative pitfalls, into which contemporary translators have fallen, can be avoided if we broaden the perspective beyond the semantics of words and apply a principle of plausibility. The case study concerns the analysis of *Ṛgveda* 10.28, with special reference to the wildlife episodes depicted in verses 10cd-11ab. A few modern translations in Western languages of 10cd are here considered. Some of them show that a principle of plausibility has been actually taken into account by their authors while approaching the text, albeit the result does not seem always entirely satisfactory. Some other translations seem not to carefully consider the broader context, therefore failing to convincingly make sense of the original text. After an introduction on the general subject of the hymn as it emerges from verses 1-9, i.e., the Vedic sacrifice and the subsequent consumption of the sacrificial offerings, arguments and textual evidence are provided in order to show how the reading of 10cd acquires a cogent and very plausible meaning if regarded in light of verse 11ab.

The reader who approaches the *Ṛgveda* (hereafter RV) is bound to encounter numerous passages that in the eyes of a contemporary person are difficult to understand when they do not remain completely obscure. This is quite natural whenever we are confronted with such ancient and dense texts, which preserve cultural elements of a society historically so distant from ours and primordial, to the point that part of its customs and beliefs are lost in the mists of time. To make the interpretative work even more tricky is the lyrical and often allusive, lateral, transversal style, typical of the Vedic hymns. The result is that the reader finds him/herself thrown into an intricate semantic maze, made up of several superimposed layers of meaning, inside which it is difficult to move and from which it is sometimes hard to get out. The researcher's job, complex and challenging as it is, is to map this maze while walking through it, avoiding ending up at dead ends, and trying to unearth as much as possible its plausible sense(s) out of all the possible ones.

The present note focuses on the definition of the meaning of RV 10.28.10cd-11ab. In this attempt I will also consider how some modern translations prove to be adequate, while others fail to convincingly make sense of the original text since they apparently remain too faithful to the letter instead of observing the broader context.

RV 10.28 is a short dialogue in 12 verses between a person, allegedly a sacrificer, and the powerful god Indra. The subject-matter of the conversation is the Vedic sacrifice. In verse 1cd Indra's interlocutor makes indeed reference to eating the baked grains (*jakṣīyắd dhānắ*) and drinking the *soma* (*sómam papīyāt*), which are two typical ritual oblations.[1] In 2cd Indra himself grants strength or protection to the *soma*-maker who fills the two parts of his, i.e., Indra's, belly with *soma* (*víśveṣv enaṃ vṛjáneṣu pāmi yó me kukṣī́ sutásomaḥ pṛṇắti*)[2] and in 3bc the sacrificer recalls that those who press the *soma* (*sunvánti sómān*) and cook the sacrificial victim, in this case a bull (*pácanti [...] vṛṣabhắm̐*), should offer them to Indra first, who drinks (*píbasi tvám*) and eat (*átsi*) the oblation. The first three verses, hence, revolve mainly around the idea of feeding on sacrificial food.

After that, in *pāda* 4a Indra demands his interlocutor's attention: "Understand well this [speech] of mine, O invoker!" (*idáṃ sú me jaritar ắ cikiddhi*), and in 4cd he portrays two short wildlife episodes, in both of which a less powerful animal comes close to, or attacks, a more powerful one. The first episode narrates of a fox who stealthily approached a lion that comes from behind or moves in the opposite direction (*lopāśáḥ siṃhám pratyáñcam atsāḥ*).[3] The second episode depicts a jackal who rushed in front of a boar from a hiding-place (*kroṣṭā́ varāháṃ nír atakta kákṣāt*). These scenes no doubt have a metaphorical meaning, which we are not sure Indra's interlocutor grasps, since he remains so confused and puzzled to the point that in *pāda*s 5ab he openly asks Indra how he can understand them (*kathā́ ta etád ahám ắ ciketaṃ*). In verses 6-7 Indra replies by reminding that he is so powerful and strong to have succeeded in slaying the cosmic serpent Vṛtra. Then, in verse 8 he narrates how the gods cut down trees with their axes in order to feed the sacrificial fire, in which—we add, thus closing a sort of narrative circularity that can be guessed in perspective here—the oblations must be thrown in order to provide nourishment for Indra and keep him strong and powerful. With verse 9 Indra slips again into the discourse other short scenes with animals that depict quite weird situations—for instance, the

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[1] RV 10.28.1 is discussed in Palihawadana (2017: 143-145).

[2] For a textual analysis of 2c see Hale (2018: 1935-1936). On the dual term *kukṣī́*, which indicates the two parts of an animal belly and in the RV is used to refer to Indra's stomach (which is described as "doubled" perhaps to imply his voracity), see Bodewitz (1992).

[3] The term *pratyáñc* can be interpreted here in several manners: also "western, gone, averted" can be taken into consideration.

sentence *śaśáḥ kṣurám pratiáñcaṃ jagārá°* in 9a describes a hare devouring a razor—[4] and emphasizes once more his own strength and ability—in 9b Indra tells he was able to split a rock from afar with a lump of clay: *°ádriṃ logéna ví abhedam ārát*.[5]

We have now reached verse 10, which contains other episodes involving animals:

> *suparṇá itthā́ nakhám ā́ siṣāyā́varuddhaḥ paripádaṃ ná siṃháḥ* |
> *niruddháś cin mahiṣás tarṣiyā́vān godhā́ tásmā ayáthaṃ karṣad etát* ||

Several modern translations in Western languages have been provided.[6] Let us read here just a few of them:[7]

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[4] The scene appears less picturesque if we consider that in certain special occasions, like ritual tonsure, the use of (Parpola 2019: 13) "a razor made of the wood of the udumbara fig (*audumbaraḥ kṣuraḥ*)" was prescribed. Even though a hare gnawing on the handle of a razor is certainly an unusual event, yet it is not unimaginable. The episode, however, seems to definitely have an allegorical meaning, which remains quite hard to unravel. On the "hare" (*śaśa*), see Wada (2007: 417), who resorts to the couple *śaśin-śaśa*, "Moon-hare," to exemplify the denotative (direct) and the indicative (indirect) functions of words: accordingly, *śaśa* could occasionally indicate the Moon. Following this interpretation, Smith (2017: 162, note 272) suggests that "the image of the hare and the razor from RV X.28.9a may covertly refer to the waxing phases of the Moon." On the "razor," we do not have much clues in the RV. The *Atharvaveda* (*Śaunaka* 6.68.1-3; *Paippalāda* 19.17.13-15) however tells us that the razor is the attribute of the solar god Savitṛ (*ā́yám agant savitā́ kṣuréṇo°*), who used it to ritually shave king Soma (*yénā́vapat savitā́ kṣuréṇa sómasya rā́jño*). According to Sakamoto-Gotō (2014: 4), who discusses this *Atharvaveda* passage, the tonsure of king Soma "implies waxing and waning of the moon and might suggest the custom of shaving at the new and full moon**.**" The *Śatapathabrāhmaṇa* 2.6.4.5 mentions a red copper razor, which is equated to Agni, who metaphorically stands for both the sacrificial (red) fire and the brahmin's power (*lohaḥ kṣuro brahmaṇo rūpam agnir hi brahma lohita iva*). As Heesterman (1957: 111 and note 30) noticed, the *Atharvaveda* and the *Śatapathabrāhmaṇa*, by directly identifying the razor with, respectively, the Sun (Savitṛ) and Agni, allow us to indirectly link it also to the *soma* and consequently to the sacrifice. Coming back to the hare devouring or swallowing a razor, in the light of the considerations just pointed out the scene could allude to the ritual tonsure (the razor) performed on some specific days of the lunar calendar (the hare), especially for the *soma dīkṣā*. The hare's act of swallowing could hence adumbrate the Sun > Agni > fire > brahmin feeding on the sacrificial offering, which must take place only after the ritual shaving, i.e., when the function of the razor has been fully consumed (devoured/swallowed).

[5] The act of breaking a rock occurs *passim* in the RV, sometimes it is related to the liberation of cows (or cows and horses) trapped in a cave whose entrance is blocked by a large boulder (RV 1.7.3cd, 1.62.3c, 4.3.11ab, 6.17.5cd, 10.68.11d) and sometimes to obtaining a prize (RV 4.2.15d; the prize however may consist in cows and horses) or to releasing the waters (RV 4.16.8a, 10.113.4c). Because in some of these cases, though not in all, it is Indra who splits the rock, our verse 9b may allude to this. See Srinivasan (1973).

[6] For a list of the major full and partial translations of the RV in Western languages and resources for RV studies, see Jamison and Brereton (2014: 19-22).

[7] I leave aside here many older translations, such as those by Horace Hayman Wilson (published between 1850 and 1888) or by Ralph Thomas Hotchkin Griffith (published between 1889 and 1892), which mix the work of translation with textual exegesis in a critically unacceptable way by modern standards. In particular, concerning Griffith's work Jamison and Brereton (2014:

- Geldner (1951: 173): 'Ein Adler hat auf diese Weise seine Kralle verstrickt, gefangen wie ein in die Fußschlinge (geratener) Löwe. Eingefangen wurde selbst der Büffel, da er Durst hatte. Ein Krokodil wind ihm dann das Bein wegschleppen.'[8]

- Doniger (1981: 147): 'That is the way the eagle caught his talon and was trapped, like a lion caught in a foot-snare. Even the buffalo was caught when he got thirsty: a crocodile dragged him away by the foot.'

- Jamison and Brereton (2014: 1420): 'The eagle caught its talon just so, like a lion entrapped into a snare. The buffalo also got trapped, when it was thirsty. The monitor-lizard plowed this way for him.'

- Smith (2017: 162): 'Like so, the one of good feather is bound at the talon. Likewise, the lion caught at the foot. Trapped is the thirsty buffalo, the monitor lizard digs this foot.'

In *pāda*s ab it occurs the term *suparṇá*, which usually indicates a bird "with beautiful feathers/wings."[9] In some RV passages *suparṇa* stands figuratively for the Sun,[10] which flies with fiery feathers in the sky. By extension it also alludes to the altar of the yajurvedic *agnicayana* ritual, which has indeed the shape of a big eagle or falcon (*suparṇa*, *śyena*)[11] made of bricks and harboring the sacrificial fire, in whose flames, as recalled above, the offerings are thrown as nourishment for the gods.[12] The couple of terms *itthā́* and *ná* indicate a parallelism between *pāda* a and *pāda* b, so that the sentence conveys the following meaning: the *suparṇa* ended up tied by its claw like a lion trapped in a snare.

The question now arises as to why the *suparṇa* got tied (*siṣāyá*). A possible answer can be found considering RV 4.26-27, where it is narrated the myth of the theft of the *soma* by a bird of prey, which

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20) underscore that: "[i]ts philology was already dated when it was published, and the English style of the translation is cloying and almost unreadable. Now, well over a century later, it should have long since been superseded."

[8] Although this is an old translation, completed between 1907 and 1920, but published posthumously in 1951, I am considering it here because, as Jamison and Brereton (2014: 19) point out "[t]he standard scholarly translation remains that of Karl Friedrich Geldner into German."

[9] On *suparṇa* see Norelius (2016: 7-8): "In classical Sanskrit, the word means 'eagle', and it has usually been so translated also in the Veda. While it clearly denotes some kind of bird of prey already in the RV, it is however not certain that it has the meaning 'eagle' here; nor can it be excluded that it may be used to designate a number of birds, rather than a single species."

[10] See Norelius (2016: 17-18).

[11] For more details I refer the reader to Freedman (2012: 327).

[12] The offerings to gods thrown in this fire-altar have a specific aim, as recalled by Converse (1974: 83): "The immediate practical purpose of the Agnicayana rite is to build up for the sacrificer an immortal body that is permanently beyond the reach of the transitoriness, suffering, and death that, according to this rite, characterize man's mortal existence."

in RV 4.26.4 is indifferently referred to as both *śyenáḥ* and *suparṇó*.[13] The story goes as follows: the archer Kṛśānu held captive the *soma* in the fortress of Śambara located in the lofty heavens, *śyena/suparṇa* stole the *soma* and brought it to "Indra's followers" (RV 4.27.4a: *índrāvato*) because "Indra shall put [it] to the lips in order to drink [of it] up to inebriation" (RV 4.27.5d: *índro mádāya práti dhat píbadhyai*).[14] Accordingly, the image of the tied up *suparṇa* in 10a could allude to the necessity to tame and keep the bird close after its return among the gods. In the yajurvedic context this same image may metaphorically indicate the need to keep under control the eagle/falcon-shaped fire-altar in order to prevent it from consuming entirely and too quickly the oblation,[15] giving thus Indra time to receive all the food thrown in its flames and to feed abundantly on it,[16] since he is the prime recipient of the sacrificial offerings, as underscored in 2cd and 3bc. In the wake of these considerations, we can even push our imagination a little further and picture that it was Indra himself the one who tied the *suparṇa* claw for his own interest.[17]

As far as 10cd is concerned, we observe that Geldner and Doniger offer similar interpretations, which are considerably different from Jamison-Brereton's and Smith's. About the latter two, in Jamison-Brereton's translation I cannot figure out how a monitor-lizard (*godhā́*) could possibly plow a way, unless we assume that the sentence is describing the groove left behind on the sand by the animal's tail. In Smith's translation, on the other hand, it is unclear how is a monitor-lizard capable of digging a foot and whose foot is this. I think that these odd interpretations are due to the fact that both Jamison-Brereton and Smith consider *pāda*s c and d as narrating two separate short episodes, like in *pāda*s a and b, whereas they should instead be taken as depicting just one scene, as Geldner seems to do, followed by Doniger. The particle *cin* < *cid* ("like, as well as, also") in 10c suggests that this scene sketches another incident of entrapment of a limb of an animal, which recalls those described in 10ab, albeit it has a much worse outcome than the previous ones. Yet, although Geldner's and Doniger's

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[13] The myth was first analyzed by Roth (1882).

[14] On the interpretation of *práti dhat* as *pratidhā* see Lubotsky (2002: 44).

[15] Consider for instance RV 1.174.3c, which defines the fire (*agním*) as voracious (*aśúṣaṃ*) and quick-moving (*tū́rvayāṇaṃ*).

[16] Although, as underscored by Converse (1974: 88-94), the primary deity involved in the *agnicayana* ritual is Prajāpati and not Indra, nonetheless we owe for instance to Amano (2022: 1040-1041) a selection of yajurvedic passages that either directly or indirectly assimilate Prajāpati to Indra. Among those that directly identify the two gods, we find the explicit *Taittirīyasaṃhitā* 5.7.1.3: *asáu vā́ ādityá índra eṣá prajā́patiḥ* ("That Sun is indeed Indra, this [*scil.* Indra] is Prajāpati").

[17] In 10a a sort of play on words is detectable, since *siṣāyá*, which in this case refers to *suparṇá* and is therefore the third-person singular of the perfect tense of √*si* ("to tie, fetter, bind"), is identical to one of the variants of the first-person singular of the perfect tense, which can be spelled as both *siṣayá* and *siṣāyá*. The homophony and partial homography between the first and third person lead us to suspect that Indra (first person *siṣāyá*) is somehow involved in the scene he is recounting.

translations prove to be interpretatively adequate, unlike them and in light of the structure of verse 11ab, discussed hereunder, I suggest to construe 10cd as one single sentence:

> Withheld (*niruddháś*) is also (*cin*) the thirsty (*tarṣiyávān*) buffalo (*mahiṣás*), from it (*tásmā*) the alligator (*godhā́ = gosāpa*) is tearing off (*karṣad*) this (*etát*) foot (*ayátham*).

This is a very plausible and natural reading of the text: there is a thirsty buffalo that, in order to quench its thirst, goes to a bank of a river or a pond where an alligator comes out of the water and bites and rips off one of its limbs. It is a hunting scene that must not have been so uncommon in the Indian subcontinent during the epoch of the compilation of the RV, as it is not uncommon even today in wilderness. Both Geldner and Doniger prove to have applied a principle of plausibility that gives contextual meaning to the letter, thus avoiding to fall in improbable readings like those of Jamison-Brereton and Smith.

The interpretation just proposed is corroborated by the following verse 11ab, which takes on the episode depicted in 10cd and concludes the narration:

> *tébhyo godhā́ ayátham karṣad etád yé brahmáṇaḥ pratipī́yanti ánnaiḥ |*

These words sound like a curse. As a matter of fact, the text points out that the same unfortunate fate that awaits the thirsty buffalo of 10cd will strike also those who abuse the nourishment intended for the brahmins.[18] My translation is:

> [As happens to the buffalo,] the alligator (*godhā́*) is tearing off (*karṣad*) this (*etád*) foot (*ayátham*) to those (*tébhyo*) who (*yé*) abuse (*pratipī́yanty*) the brahmin's (*brahmáṇaḥ*) foods (*ánnaiḥ*).

The plural "foods" with all probability alludes here to the oblation, a part of which is to be left for the brahmins at the end of the sacrifice, and conceptually links this verse to the first three verses of the hymn, which we have seen insist on the act of eating the sacrificial offerings. RV 10.28.10-11 seem hence to stress the necessity to supervise the sacrifice and prevent any abuse of food by cursing anyone guilty of such an act. This explains why 11cd concludes by telling us that those who eat (*simá* [...] *adanti*) the bull thrown (*ukṣṇó'vasṛṣṭā́m̐*), rend by themselves (*svayám* [...] *śṛṇānā́ḥ*) their own powers and bodies

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[18] For a different interpretation of 11ab see Palihawadana (2017: 144).

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(*bálāni tanváḥ*). Noteworthy is here the occurrence, again, of the "bull" (*ukṣṇó*)—which reminds us of verse 3bc, where the cooked meat of the bull is said to be the sacrificial offering[19] for Indra—that is qualified by the adjective *avasṛṣṭáǎ*—compounded by the verbal prefix *ava-* ("off, down") and the root √*sṛj*, which among its meanings counts "to throw, cast, hurl"—, suggesting the act of tossing the oblation down (in the sacrificial fire).[20]

At this point, RV 10.12 closes the hymn by praising those who sing the ritual verses during the *soma* sacrifice (*sóma ukthaíḥ*) and by asking Indra, who is known in heaven as "hero," for weighing well the rewards for the oblations received (*nṛvád vádann úpa no māhi vā́jān diví śrávo dadhiṣe nā́ma vīráḥ*).

To conclude, we can now go back to verse 9, take the razor from the hare's mouth and use it to prune all the overly picturesque aspects of the several possible interpretations of RV 10.28.10cd. What remains is a natural scene involving a buffalo and an alligator. The buffalo is thirsty and looks for water but cannot refrain from drinking where it would be better not to. As a result, one of the buffalo's legs ends up clamped in the jaws of an alligator and ripped off, therefore the vigor and body of the ungulate is destroyed by the reptile. From verse 11 we understand that this scene illustrates also the fate occurring to those who are "thirsty" of undeservedly consuming the sacrificial offering not destined to them but to Indra and the brahmins: for this reason the fire-altar must be tied tightly (10a) in order to prevent that the oblation ends up in the hands of intemperate people, whose vigor and bodies, should they inappropriately eat the offering, would be destroyed. As last observation, it must not escape our attention that this fate of decline and destruction had actually already been overshadowed by Indra in verse 4cd, where he described two weak or petty animals, such as the fox and the jackal, attacking two more powerful animals, namely the lion and the boar. Indra's interlocutor, at that moment, had been confused by these metaphors, whose sense he could not grasp, but now everything is clearer: what can happen to a fox that attacks a lion or to a jackal that crosses the path of a wild boar, if not the same fate of defeat and decline that awaits the thirsty buffalo and, therefore, anyone who abuses the sacrificial offering?

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[19] For an analysis of the ingestion verbs occurring in RV 10.28.3c and 11a see Dahl (2009: 37).

[20] Doniger (1981: 147) offers a different translation of *avasṛṣṭáǎ* as "set free," yet, it is quite difficult to imagine, at least in the present context, people eating bulls set free (what this means remains indeed obscure), whereas it seems more natural to assume that one can eat the (cooked meat of) bulls thrown (on the fire).

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Reviews

The publication to be discussed here is based on the author´s dissertation, written at the Institute of Fine Arts at New York University. The subject of the study are the ancient Egyptian papyri and ostraca with anthropomorphized animals. The aim of the book is to examine the purpose of ancient Egyptian animal fables. The book is comprised of six chapters, in addition to a catalogue, index, and a bibliography.

In Chapter 1 an introduction to the materials is given. Ancient Egyptian ostraca can be divided in a "textual" type, including literary texts, and a "figured" type, consisting of illustrations and images (1). The figured type contains images of anthropomorphized animals, often performing activities such as banqueting or music playing (3). The drawings, which date to the 19th or 20th dynasty, can be observed on at least 79 ostraca and 4 papyri. The most often anthropomorphized animals in the imagery are cats, mice, canines, and caprides (4). None of the figured ostraca illustrating anthropomorphized animals can be linked to a specific findspot (5). The lack of archaeological context apart, the papyri and ostraca are usually associated with the New Kingdom village of Deir el-Medina (5).

In Chapter 2 Deir el-Medina and its inhabitants are tackled. The figured ostraca with anthropomorphized animals often refer to elite, non-royal themes (12). The vignette in Turin Papyrus 55001 with the such called "The Cat and the Mouse War" exhibits iconographical parallels to the monumental reliefs and chariot battles from Medinat Habu and the Ramesseum (13). The imagery might be understood satirically (13).

In Chapter 3 the ancient Egyptian aesthetic value is investigated. According to some contracts, prices of products depend on the skill and fame of the artist being commissioned (32). Craftmanship alone could apperently be evaluated, while an object´s cost was measured on a sliding scale (35). The anthropomorphic animal images were more valued for their content and the quality of illustration, rather than the material on which these depictions were drawn (37). Common motifs in the animal iconography of the figured ostraca taken from imagery of elite mortuary contexts are elite mice being seated bevor an offering table, game playing, pastoral scenes and musicians in banquet settings (41). As for the composition, the vignettes in pTurin 55001 belong to the most complex examples (49). In terms of artistic style or detail of content, the majority of the ostraca images do not exactly match any of the vignettes found on the papyri (52).

In Chapter 4 narratives in ancient Egypt are discussed. The persistent repetition of themes and figures in the anthropomorphizing ostraca suggest that the images refer to characters and moments in a story (66). The stock set of characters and motifs may point to lost narratives (67). The clearest indication to the narrative function of the ostraca is seen by the author in three ostraca, showing a young boy, cat and elite mouse (73). The proposed parallel between these ostraca and the Ramesside scribal papyri (74) remains rather speculative.

In Chapter 5 the purpose of fables is analyzed. The beast fable is as the most well-known fable type most relevant to the anthropomorphized animal imagery from Deir el-Medina (86). Most images from the Deir el-Medina corpus focus on the reversed roles of cats and mice (92).

In Chapter 6 concluding thoughts are formulated (101-103).

In the Appendix, a catalogue of the papyri (105-109) and ostraca (110-189) is prepared. The objects are partly colored, partly in black and white drawings. The illustrations are briefly described. The catalogue makes nevertheless an unfinished impression. The dimensions of the pieces should have been i. a. stated more clearly. The book ends with the bibliography (190-201), and index (202-204).

The reviewer´s opinion of the book can be summarized as follows: The author's core thesis regarding the literary genre behind the depictions of animals can certainly be defended, but it is not entirely new. The author sometimes contradicts herself, e. g. with the costs of papyrus (35-36). In some cases she gets to busy with trivia, e. g. in the relationship of the genetival ny and the name for Thebes (24), comparison between the Amarna village and Deir el-Medina (24-26), tombs of Deir el-Medina´s cemetery (40), circumcision scene in the tomb of Anchmahor (62), Book of the Heavenly Cow (77), and Song of the Orchard (84-86). In other cases she slips into secondary theaters of war, e. g. in Thomas of Aquinas (32), Hollywood films (34), and medieval Renaissance depictions of the Annunciation (68). The book constitutes nonetheless a good launchpad for students who wish to have an overview of the topic.

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Thomas Schneider. 2023. *Language Contact in Ancient Egypt* ("Einführungen und Quellentexte zur Ägyptologie," Volume 16). Berlin: LIT Verlag. 248 pages. Hardcover, € 29.90, ISBN: 978-3-643-91507-8

The book to be discussed here presents the first comprehensive introduction to language contact and multilingualism in ancient Egypt. The historical evidence of linguistic interferences of Egyptian with African, Near Eastern and Mediterranean languages is elaborated. The book is structured as follows:

In Chapter 1 background information is given. The volume aims to follow the language contact from the late 4th millenium BCE to the Late Period (2).

In Chapter 2 language contact within the African continent is scrutinized. The term *ṯḥnw* "Libya" occurs for the first time towards the end of the 4th millenium on the lower part of the "Libyan palette" (8). In sources around 2300 BCE the term *ṯḥnw* becomes conflated with *ṯmḥw* as a different expression for Libyans, the oldest mention of which being found in the expedition report of Weni (10-11). Only in the Ramesside era do Libyans play a larger role in the Egyptian textual and pictorial documentation (13). The ethnonym *nḥśi* is used as a generic Egyptian term for people from beyond the southern border since the 2nd dynasty (19). The root *nḥśi* may be linked etymologically with North Cushitic *nehas* "clean, pure" (19). The word *mḏ3i* as another term for Nubians can be traced back to a toponym *mḏ3* which in the 6th dynasty designates a territory on the Eastern desert of Lower Nubia (21). The vocabulary of Napatan is mostly related to that of younger Egyptian, the actual borrowings from local languages being very limited (28). The most distinctive feature of Napatan grammar consists of the loss of gender distinction for inanimate nouns (30). The comparison between the situation of Napatan and Old Persian regarding the use for royal representation (30) is poorly founded. The existence of earlier stages of the Meroitic language can be deduced from foreign names in Egyptian transcriptions of the 2nd millenium (33). The only securely identified Proto-Meroitic word in texts of the New Kingdom is *qore* "king" (35). A number of Egyptian loan words in Old Nubian exhibit a Paleo-Coptic vocalization (39). The explanation of Eastern Saharan **jerbo* "elephant" as a possible etymology for Egyptian *3bw* "elephant" (41) appears to be promising. The names of some members of the Kushite 25th dynasty may possess a (Proto-)Old Bedawiye (i.e., Beja) origin (44; for etymological connections between Egyptian and the Beja language as the modern heir of Old Bedawiye cf. Blazek 2021, 42/46/47/49/50/51). The Omotic word **dongor* "elephant" work as a possible late loan word in Demotic *tnhr* and Ptolemaic *dnhr,* both "elephant" (46). The clearest example for Egyptian-Proto-Berber language contact is *(t3) mrt* "chin, beard" which can be linked with Berber **(ta) mart* "beard" (55). The explanation of the name *Š3-š3-n-ḳ* with the Proto-Berber root *šišiw* "hatchling, chick" plus the suffixed possessive pronoun of the 1st person Plural, resulting in the meaning "our hatchling, chick" (57), remains doubtful, as does its

reference to the young Horus as a falcon hatchling. The name would sound strange at the latest when the recipient has reached adulthood. The Egyptian-Libyan connections during the Theban 11th dynasty are elucidated most famously by the "Dog Stele" of king Antef II (61).

In Chapter 3 the languge contact with the Near East is treated. The clay tablets from the Egyptian western oasis residence of Balat/6th dynasty point indirectly to the knowledge of Cuneiform tablets in Egypt (75). The best-documented case for Egyptian-Near Eastern language contact is the lexical transfer in the Egyptian New Kingdom (85). In Egyptian New Kingdom texts, c. 350 loan words of probably or possibly Semitic origin are preserved, the majority of which being Nort-West Semitic (86-87). The Egyptian *Myth of the Weather God´s Battle with the Sea* ("Astarte Papyrus") was adapted from Anatolian and Levantine originals (102; for the "Astarte Papyrus" cf. Ayali-Darshan 2020: 16-27). The text delivers the first attestations of the divine names Teššob and Yam (103). The alleged calques between the Egyptian *Tale of the Two Brothers* and the Ugaritic myth and water ritual about Baal and his elder brother KTU 1.12 (103) must be strongly doubted, because they are to unspecific. The alleged Aramaic loanword for the 1st cataract on the Ptolemaic famine stele – *grf* must be meant – (106) has to be deleted, the required Semitic root does not exist in Aramaic of all places (Bojowald 2017: 29-34)

In Chapter 4 the language contact with ancient Mediterranean languages is discussed.

The alleged connections between Egyptian Indo-Europaean (114-115) are probably only based on so-called "Kling-Klang-Etymologien." The rendering of "Persepolis" by Egyptian *prs-nw.t* on Darius I´s canal stele from Tell el-Maskhuta deserves special mention as an intriguing case of a Greek/Egyptian calque (121). The Egyptian word *ḳ-3-r-m-ti* "ashes" may be related to Latin *cremare* "to burn" and *carbo* "coal" (124; for further interferences between Egyptian and Latin cf. Hoffmann 2021: 158-159; Shisha-Halevy 2007: 47).

In Chapter 5 the phenomena of language contact are analyzed. Attestations of loanwords prior to the New Kingdom are rare (125). The largest group of loanwords is that of military language (128). In the Amarna and Ramesside Periods evidence exist for the training of specialists in the languages of the Near East (135).

In Chapter 6 foreign language communities in the Egyptian military are investigated. The military slang, involving technical terms, is poorly documented (141). The land register of Papyrus Wilbour from c. 1150 BCE presents a unique source for the question of the Sherden in Egypt (147). In the Egyptian administration, since the 20th dynasty an increase of officials of Libyan descent can be noted (148).

In Chapter 7 conclusions are drawn and in Chapter 8 the bibliography (157-204) is added. In Chapter 9 an index of words and phrases from individual languages is prepared, followed by a subject index. The book concludes in the appendix with the maps (1-4).

The book fulfilles its purpose as an introduction. Most of the arguments are understandable. The otherwise good impression is somewhat marred by the unnecessary redundancies, e. g. the remarks on Hurrian loan words (87/97/128), 1100 lexemes of Pre-Greek origin (116/ 119), borrowings from Hebrew into Egyptian from before the Persian Period (105/ 130), a Carian title (107/132), and a pidgin language for the merchants of the Greek trade emporium of Naukratis (136/149), to name a few.

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Liz England, Lía D. Kamhi-Stein and Georgios Kormpas. 2023. *English Language Teacher Education in Changing Times: Perspectives, Strategies, and New Ways of Teaching and Learning.* New York, NY: Routledge. 258 pages. ISBN 9781003295723 (eBook). £33.29 (eBook), £120.00 (Hardback).

"English Language Teacher Education in Changing Times: Perspectives, Strategies, and New Ways of Teaching and Learning" is an essential tool for educators and administrators attempting to navigate the rapidly evolving field of language education. This comprehensive book, divided into three sections and comprising 15 informative chapters, explores the profound impact of the COVID-19 pandemic on the training of English language teachers. With its examination of the challenges faced by instructors, presentation of innovative approaches and solutions, and inclusion of real-world examples and case studies, this book serves as a valuable resource for enhancing teaching methods and fostering imaginative thinking in response to changing circumstances. It offers readers a range of perspectives, practical ideas, and creative techniques to enhance their professional development and teaching endeavors.

The first part of this book, 'Learning in English Language Teacher Education in Changing Times,' examines the effects of the COVID-19 pandemic on English Language Teaching (ELT) and the opportunities for innovation and professional growth it presented. The book covers a variety of subjects, including leadership, translanguaging, 21st-century teaching techniques, innovation in EMI contexts, and online professional development.

This book's value comes from its timely focus on the difficulties experienced by ELT practitioners during the epidemic and the solutions they found. The chapters offer insights, suggestions, and tactics for instructors to modify their pedagogical approaches in a setting where education is rapidly evolving. One of the main takeaways from the book is its emphasis on professional growth and the need for ongoing education.

Generally, this book highlights translanguaging as a way to effectively utilize students' home language repertoires (: 9). It emphasizes the critical role of strong political leadership during a crisis like the COVID-19 epidemic, serving as a reminder of leadership's significant impact on public health and education. This issue is also explained by Whitehead and Greenier (2019), where teacher leadership has gained increased recognition in general education to empower teachers as professionals and improve educational outcomes. The book discusses the qualities that 21st-century English language teachers should possess and introduces the "Verify Information for Education" (VerifyInfoED) program, which addresses the need for innovation in EMI environments. Furthermore, it focuses on

transforming teacher professional development (PD) during the pandemic, providing teachers with a valuable opportunity to leverage students' home language repertoires for English language learning.

The second part of this book thoroughly investigates the revolutionary effects of the COVID-19 pandemic on teacher preparation. It highlights the fortitude and flexibility of teacher educators as they overcome extraordinary challenges and seize opportunities for innovation, particularly in the shift from face-to-face (F2F) education to emergency remote instruction (ERI) (: 79). The pandemic compelled English teachers to find practical solutions in the teaching process.

This part emphasizes how the pandemic has caused a paradigm shift in teacher education. Each chapter offers distinct viewpoints and valuable insights into the evolving landscape of English language teacher preparation. For instance, the first chapter introduces a research-based framework for online distance education in language teacher preparation. The second chapter explores the attitudes and beliefs of teacher educators and their students regarding team teaching. The third chapter discusses the permanent integration of improvements into the teacher preparation course curriculum. Lastly, the fourth chapter focuses on integrating technology into the classroom.

"English Language Teacher Preparation in Changing Times" offers a diverse range of contemporary methods and procedures for teacher preparation. Transforming challenges into chances for growth, it showcases the resilience and adaptability of teacher educators. The book addresses the pandemic's impact and establishes a solid foundation for future English teacher training programs. It provides insightful analysis and motivation for educators in the years ahead.

The third chapter of this book discusses the management and leadership of English teacher preparation and professional programs during the COVID-19 epidemic. This section comprises five chapters that delve into the challenges of managing English teacher education programs in challenging situations. Each chapter outlines the initiatives taken by US, Turkey, and Uzbekistan administrators. Furthermore, they provide insights into professional association leaders' and program directors' experiences and strategies to address the COVID-19 epidemic, explicitly focusing on English teacher preparation programs.

There are distinctions and commonalities among the five chapters covered in the third part. One obvious contrast is the country context feature. The three countries also influenced differences in the challenges, policies, and strategies employed. Another distinction is the program and its approach to dealing with pandemic challenges. For example, two chapters discuss in-service teacher professional development programs in Uzbekistan (: 159) and Turkey (: 201), while others focus on TESOL teacher preparation programs in the United States. These disparities reveal variations in the strategies adopted by program leaders. Another difference lies in terms of local conditions. The varying situations

examined in each chapter also influence the approach taken. For instance, chapter 12 (: 175) addresses how enrolment in TESOL teacher preparation programs in the United States is declining for both domestic and international students, which may have different consequences for experiences abroad. However, based on several differences mentioned above, all the cases presented are responses to the same situation: leadership and management skills in dealing with pandemic challenges. Each chapter also highlights creativity and innovation in facing these challenges. Program leaders discover new ways to achieve their goals, adapt programs, and develop effective strategies to handle unexpected situations. Furthermore, all chapters emphasize the significance of professional development and continuous learning for English teachers.

The benefits of the book can be seen from its description, which discusses actual and relevant issues in the current context with various topics and points of view. It provides a variety of viewpoints from academics worldwide, enabling readers to learn about diverse contexts and methods for instruction and professional development. The book offers vast and varied perspectives on handling the same challenges in different contexts. Furthermore, the existence of different approaches and strategies in dealing with a pandemic provides inspiration and insight for readers regarding creative ways to achieve goals. Another benefit is that the structure of each part is presented thematically. It provides detailed explanations regarding the program, challenges, and steps taken to overcome them in each chapter. Additionally, the book offers useful tips and case studies that can be applied in classroom settings. It assists teachers and administrators in navigating difficulties and modifying their procedures as necessary. The book also provides comprehensive information on topics related to the ELT profession.

However, despite the existing advantages, one point of criticism is the limitations regarding the potential long-term implications of the pandemic for English teacher education. Although the book discusses numerous facets of English language teacher education throughout the epidemic, it may not delve deeply into certain subjects that readers may find particularly interesting. The book also acknowledges that future teacher education programs must rethink and conceptualize the changes taking place. Additionally, there may not be enough data or research to substantiate the efficacy of the tactics and practices suggested in the book, depending on its subject matter. It could make it more challenging for readers to assess the trustworthiness and validity of the proposed techniques. Furthermore, rather than providing scientific facts, this book focuses more on practical experience and strategies for overcoming pandemic issues.

Overall, this book provides insightful information for English practitioners and educators, especially those interested in the changes and challenges resulting from the COVID-19 pandemic in the

context of learning. It also caters to researchers, curriculum developers, and teacher education program developers, offering valuable insights into innovative approaches and strategies in English teacher education. Furthermore, education policymakers will find this book helpful in comprehending the pandemic's impact on teacher education and devising appropriate plans. Moreover, the book serves as a practical tool for improving teaching techniques and adapting to evolving conditions by presenting real-world examples and case studies that encourage readers to think creatively and adjust their teaching approaches accordingly.

Acknowledgement

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