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Suite 3.17, Universal Square Business Centre,

Devonshire street, Manchester, M12 6JH, UK

Telephone: +44(0)79 1623 8487

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## Selected Hand Gestures in Sahih Muslim: A Semiotic Analysis

Muhammad Yahia Masoud

Lecturer, Deanship of Common First Year,

Jouf University, Saudi Arabia

Corresponding email: [yahyaosama1@yahoo.com](mailto:yahyaosama1@yahoo.com)

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icon, index, symbol

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### ABSTRACT

The present study aims mainly at the semiotic analysis of the hand gestures in the Prophetic Hadith. It is mainly concerned with interpreting the significance of hand gestures contextually in Sahih Muslim. It is based on the semiotic model of Charles Sanders Peirce. This model is tackled on two levels. Firstly, it analyzes each hand gesture to clarify the main three divisions of each sign; representamen, object, and interpretant. Secondly, this model offers another trichotomy, which is relevant to the study objectives. This trichotomy is the relation between the sign and its object, which classifies the hand gestures into three types; iconic, indexical, and symbolic. In a nutshell, an iconic gesture is the one that is similar to its object, an indexical one is the one that connects between the gesture and its object, and a symbolic gesture is the one which is understood conventionally. In addition, this study uses the English translation of Sahih Muslim, translated by Nasiruddin al-Khattab (2007), to clarify the meanings for Non-Arab readers. Some drawbacks of the corpus translations have been discussed, depending on the different Hadith interpretation books. Additionally, the study highlights the importance of comparing the hand gestures mentioned in the corpus in different contexts. This comparison is conducted on two levels; the narrower level within the selected hadiths from Sahih Muslim, and the wider level with other different cultures. On the narrower level, the repeated hand gestures with different meanings within the selected corpus are compared to each other, and this comparison has made the different significances clear. On the wider level, the hand gestures are compared to different cultures, which has confirmed the great importance of understanding the different significances of the hand gestures, since some gestures have positive significances within the corpus, while they have negative significances in other cultures. Findings showed that the semiotic analysis of the hand gestures in Sahih Muslim, and comparing these hand gestures of Hadith with different cultures has a great impact on understanding the exact meanings and avoids any misunderstandings in other cultures. For example, the different meanings of the V-shaped gesture, as discussed in the paper, compared to the significance of being close to the Prophet of the caretaker.

## 1. Introduction

It is believed that most of human communication is done through body language with its different forms such as hand gesture, facial expressions, and gaze behavior. Most of body language researchers, like Mehrabian, a pioneer researcher of body language, confirms that over two-thirds of communication is done nonverbally (qtd. in Pease & Pease, 2005, p. 9). Since *Hadith* is conducted through communication, including nonverbal communication, it is important to shed some light on it.

Briefly, *Prophetic Hadith* (Prophet Muhammad's speeches) is a corpus of statements articulated by the Prophet Muhammad inspired by Allah through the Archangel Jibril, the inspiration angel. In addition, it is considered to be a complement of the *Noble Qur'an* and the second source of Islamic legislation, clarifying some Islamic rules such as the prayer times. In regard to the Prophet's body language, it is important to elucidate the intended meanings to be delivered to all the people with no need to learn complex sciences, since most of the Arab people were unlettered then.

*Hadith* is conducted through communication, whether verbally or nonverbally, so the following part is an introduction of communication, considering its parts verbal or nonverbal. Communication is, simply, the exchange of information (Danesi, 2004, p. 276). Verbal communication is the articulated messages by means of words and sentences, while nonverbal communication (NVC for short) is "the process of sending and receiving wordless messages." (Givens, 2002). Morris et al. (1979) quotes "Humans convey over two-thirds of their messages through the body" (qtd. in Danesi, 2004, p. 45). Also, Birdwhistell (1970) points out that the "nonverbal channel of communication bears an estimated two thirds of the social meaning load, leaving only one third of all meaning carried via the spoken word" (qtd. in Gregersen, 2007, p.52). Fleifel (2012, p. 79) comments on this speech by mentioning whether numbers are accurate or not, it is apparent that nonverbal communication is essential in effective communication. Since the NVC is the most widely used form in communication, it is important to be considered.

The term 'sign' occupies the center of human communication; NVC is included. Since semiotics is concerned with everything that can be taken as a sign, and is, simply defined as the study of signs, nonverbal communication must be approached in the light of its common companion: semiotics. A sign can be defined as anything which stands for something else (Sebeok, 2001, p.1; Danesi, 2004, p. 4; Chandler, 2007, p. 2). Like communication, a sign can be verbal, such as the word tree which stands for a plant with green leaves; or nonverbal e.g. a gesture, a color, etc. There are many features for signs. One sign can stand for many meanings, usually affected by different factors such as age, sex, education, culture, etc. For example, Pease and Pease (2005, p. 21) observed that the word *dressing*, as a verbal sign, has at least ten meanings including the act of putting on clothing, a sauce for food, fertilizer, or grooming for a horse. The V-shaped hand gesture is a common nonverbal sign across different cultures with different meanings as clarified later in the cultural differences part.

Another feature of signs is that one meaning can be expressed by many different signs: synonymous words offer noticeable verbal examples such as the words *shut* and *close*, while the thumb up and the ring gesture are nonverbal examples asserting the significance of *everything is OK*. The following figure shows both gestures:

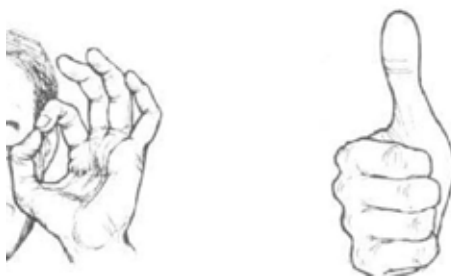


Figure 1. Two different ways expressing OK sign

Pease and Pease (2005, p. 119) clarify that the ring or 'OK' gesture is popularized in the USA and is common to all English-speaking countries. Like the ring gesture, the thumb up gesture in places that have strong Britain influence, such as Australia and New Zealand, is equal to the 'OK' signal meaning (ibid. p. 120).

After these guidelines, the current thesis investigates the semiotic analysis of meanings of hand gestures, being a part of nonverbal signs, in the *Prophetic Hadith*, and seeks to answer the following questions: (1) What do certain nonverbal signs mean? [meaning] (2) How do they mean what they mean? [context] (3) And why do they mean what they mean? [culture]. Answers to these questions shall fulfill the following objectives. This study attempts mainly to conduct a semiotic analysis of hand gestures in *Prophetic Hadith*. There are other sub-objectives. First, it clarifies the various meanings of signs in relation to the context. Second, it classifies signs, either indexical; iconic; or symbolic. Finally, it pins down the relationship between signs and culture.

The recent study is limited to the semiotic analysis, using the Peircean model, of the hand gestures mentioned in *Hadith*, specifically in Sahih Muslim. The importance of the Peircean model resulted from its main features; It is a triadic one which comprises three elements; the *representamen*, the *object*, and the *interpretant*. Moreover, Peirce offers other trichotomies. The second trichotomy is the relation between the sign and its object, which is subdivided into *icon*, *index*, and *symbol*. Thus, Peircean model has a wider range for explaining the sign components, and classifies the signs' types into three categories. Additionally, hand gestures are considered in Hadith because of having, to great extent, different meanings culturally.

The rest of this paper is divided as follows. Section II is a survey of related research on Hadith and semiotic studies. Section III offers the theoretical preliminaries upon which the current study is based. Section IV explains the methodology in terms of the procedures of data collection and data analysis. Section V is a semiotic analysis of the data. Section VI discusses the cultural differences of the hand gestures mentioned in the corpus. Section VII discusses findings and offers insights for further research. Finally, Section VIII is the conclusion of the study.

## 2. Literature Review

As mentioned earlier, the *Prophetic Hadith* is of great importance as a source of Islamic legislation. As an academic field of study, *Hadith* receives considerable attention of academic study such as the following dissertations.

First, Dina Abd El-Ghaffar (2010) discusses the translation problem of An-Nawawey's Forty *hadiths*. This study discusses four different translations: The first is a machine translation; the other three are human translations. The objective of this thesis is to compare between machine translation and human translation. This thesis concludes that machine translation could not replace the human translator till now. However, it can only help during the translation process.

Another study is the research submitted by Ibrahim (2012), which deals with Hadith obstacles that confront the translator, with respect to translating euphemism in the Prophetic speeches, in the light of Halliday's Functional Model and his model of transitivity system to reveal cross-genre and cross-cultural variations in the Prophetic speeches. The discussion shows that the translator in order to give an equivalent-effect of the source text, should have a good knowledge of both the source and target languages.

Omar (2013) presents an examination of three English translations of six Qudsi Hadiths; Dr. Ezzeddin Ibrahim and Denys Johnson Davis, Syed Maood-ul-Hasan and Ibrahim M. Kunna, and Muhammad M. Abdul-Fattah and Reima. This comparative study is concerned with the translation in the context of Eugene Nida's theory of equivalence. The findings of the study show that translators of the Qur'an encounter many translation problems upon rendering scientific items into English due to linguistic, scientific, and ideological reasons. It is recommended in this study to use Nord's (1997) documentary translation with its different strategies for rendering Qur'anic scientific lexical items into English.

For semiotic studies, Fleifel (2012) dealt with the analysis of some semiotic features and markers manipulated in three famous Egyptian cartoon animations: Detective Krombo, Bakaar, and Super Heneidi. She carried out a thorough analysis of three selected episodes of the above-mentioned cartoon animation series, and then various questions were asked to ten subjects (five boys and five girls) to elicit data about their understanding of the semiotic features used in the episodes. The elicited data were afterwards compared to the theory of cognitive development proposed by the psycholinguist Piaget. There were many findings. First, older



children comprehended and perceived more various semiotic features in cartoon animations than younger children did. Second, there were no significant differences between female and male subjects' observation of different semiotic features displayed in the cartoon animations, and thus both were more aware of the different social and cultural values conveyed in the cartoon animations under study via various semiotic modes. Finally, female subjects tended to use nonverbal more extensively when replying to questions concerning reactions on the investigated episodes. These findings corresponded with Piaget's concrete operations stage of cognitive development, where children understood relations among objects and events, and they became more proficient in inferring motives of others through observing others' behavioral and circumstantial occurrences.

It is obvious that most of the studies that dealt with Hadith focused on translation. Also, semiotic studies did not focus on Hadith. Hence, the present study aims at semiotic analysis of hand gestures in Hadith.

### 3. Theoretical Preliminaries

#### a. Semiotics

There are many definitions by different scholars. This study starts with the definitions put forward by the two founders of semiotics: Saussure and Peirce. Ragheb (2003, p. 365) and Danesi (2004, p. 328) consider Saussure and Peirce to be the leaders and the founders of semiotics, who worked separately although they were in the same era.

Starting with Ferdinand de Saussure, in his *Course in General Linguistics* (p. 16), he defines semiotics as "A science that studies the life of signs within society" (qtd. in Hawkes, 2003, p. 100). Also, he asserts that semiotics "studies the role of signs as part of social life" (Saussure 1983, 15–16) (qtd. in Chandler 2007, p. 2).

Saussure considers linguistics to be only a part of the general science of semiotics as mentioned in Hawkes (2003, p. 100). Since it cares about all sign systems including language, gestures, images, body postures, etc. Semiotics is considered to be more comprehensive than linguistics.

The second definition by Charles Sanders Peirce is "Logic, in its general sense is...only another name for *semiotic*, the quasi-necessary, or formal doctrine of signs" (qtd. in Hawkes, 2003, p. 100). Also, he defines semiotics as "the doctrine of the essential nature and fundamental varieties of possible semiosis" (CP, 5.488). Semiosis is another name for semiotics. Peirce's semiosis is "an action, or influence, which is or involves, a cooperation of *three* subjects, such as a sign (representamen), its object, and its interpretant, this tri-relative influence not being in any way resolvable into actions between pairs" (CP, 5.584). This means that semiosis involves the relation between the three subjects, and they are inseparable. Cunningham and Shank declare that "the Peircean definition remains all-time favorite one" (qtd. in Hassanein, 2009 p. 16).

Here are some definitions of semiotics by some other scholars. Chandler (2007, p. 1) and Finch (2005, p. 27) give the easiest and simplest definition of semiotics to be "*the study of signs.*" Hassanein (2009, p. 15) provides a figure which gives a general idea of some inter-disciplines covered.

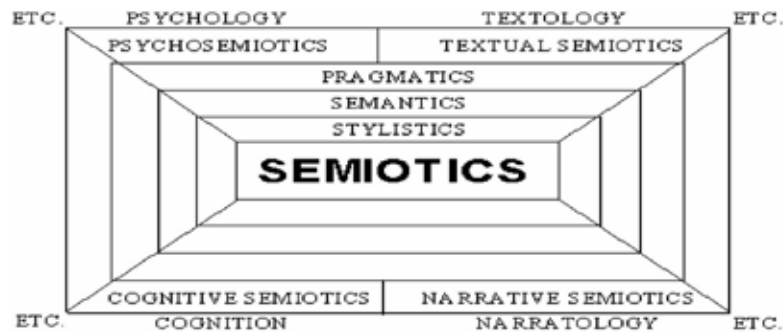


Figure 2. The scope of semiotics

Chandler (2007, p. 2) attests semiotics to include all what can be considered as a sign. According to him semiotics involves "the study not only of what we refer to as 'signs' in everyday speech, but of anything which 'stands for' something else". For instance, smoke stands for fire. In a semiotic sense, signs take the form of words, images, sounds, gestures and objects.

### b. Semiotic Models

There are numerous models of semiotics such as Morris, Frege, and Hjelmslev (among others), however the two leading models are those of Saussure and Peirce. According to Chandler (2007, p. 13) the two "dominant contemporary models of what constitutes a sign are those of the Swiss linguist Ferdinand de Saussure and the American philosopher Charles Sanders Peirce." The two models will be discussed in turn.

Saussure defines the sign as a "form made up (1) of something physical which he termed the *signifier*; and (2) of the image or concept to which the *signifier* refers - which he called the signified. He then called the relation that holds between the two *signification*." (qtd in Sebeok, 2001, p. 5 among others). For instance, the word *tree* consists of:

- a *signifier* (sound image): the word 'tree'; and
- a *signified* (concept): indicates a plant with thick wooden central trunk and branches on which leaves grow.

The relation between the *signifier* and the *signified*, the *signification*, refers to actual tree. Chandler (2007, p. 17) quotes "Saussure stressed that sound and thought (or the signifier and the signified) were as inseparable as the two sides of a piece of paper (Saussure 1983, 111)." Deledalle (2000, p. 111) agrees that what "Saussure means is that the signifier is nothing without the signified and *vice versa*". This means that Saussure's sign is dyadic as mentioned earlier.

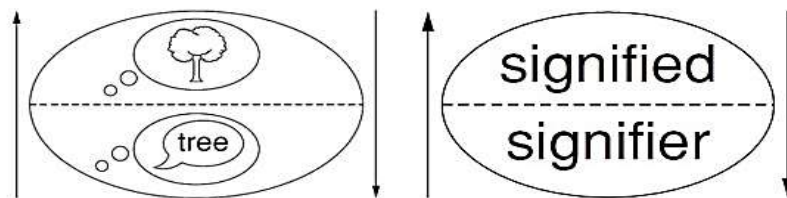


Figure 3. The Saussurean model (qtd. in Chandler, 2007, pp. 14-5)

Despite the previous consideration of Saussurean sign as a dyadic one, Finch (2005 p.27) mentions that the Saussurean model comprises two elements: a sound image, that is, a pronunciation (the term he called a *signifier*), such as the sound image /tri:/ for the word tree; and a meaning, or sense (the term he called a *signified*) indicating treeness, and the relation between them is called *signification*. He adds that both the signifier and signified form "the complete word, or sign, which is used by us as speakers of

the language to refer to actual trees. This yields two types of meaning which words are capable of: *signification* or *sense*, and *reference*." The following figure clarifies this view.

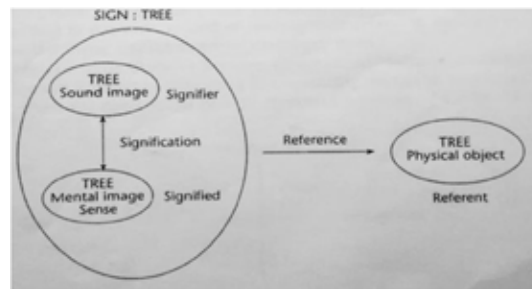


Figure 4. The Sausurean model according to Finch

According to this figure the sign is composed of two dyadic relations. The first one is between the *signifier* (sound image) /tri:/ and the *signified* (the concept) treeness, which is called *signification*. The second dyadic relation is between the whole sign (*signifier*, *signified*, and *signification*), and the referent which is the actual tree. Thus, this model can be considered as a binary model.

The Peircean model is discussed here. Short (2007, p. 18) declares "Sassure made the sign a dyad, a two-sided entity. Peirce on the contrary, made the *sign* just one relatum of a triadic relation, of which the other two relata are the sign's *object* and the sign's *interpretant*." Also, Danesi (2004, p. 16) and Chandler (2007, p. 29) clarify that Peirce offers a triadic sign of three components: the *representamen* (not necessarily material) is the form which the sign takes, the *object* which the sign stands for, and the *interpretant* which is the meaning we get from a sign. Peirce declares "that a sign is something that functions triadically" (qtd. in Bergman, 2009 p. 111). Short (2007, p. 18) agrees that "all three items are triadic in the sense that none is what it is – a *sign*, an *object* or an *interpretant* – except by virtue of its relation to the other two". Thus, the three parts of a sign are inseparable. Danesi (2004, p. 16) asserts that the Peircean sign consists of "the actual physical form of a representation, X, the *representamen*"; the *object* of the representation, Y, "to which it calls attention"; and "the meaning or meanings that can potentially be extracted from the representation (X = Y), the *interpretant*". He shows the Peircean model in the following diagram.

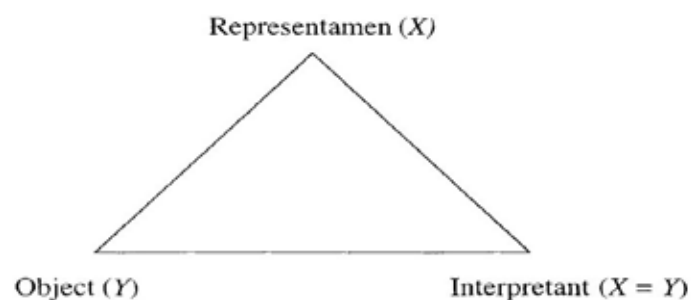


Figure 5. The Peircean sign

Deledalle (2000, p. 108) comments that Peirce "analyzes signs semiotically in three steps at three different levels of relation: (1) In reference to the representamen: the sign is analyzed as such in reference to itself; (2) in reference to its object; and (3) in reference to the sign-interpretant". This enables us to distinguish nine types of sub-signs. Deledalle distinguishes these nine types as follows: "for the representamen: the *qualisign*, the *sinsign*, and the *legisign*; for the object: the *icon*, the *index*, and the *symbol*; and for the interpretant: the *rhema*, the *dicisign*, and the *argument*" (ibid. p. 19). The following table shows the three main trichotomies of Peirce:

Table 1. The three main trichotomies of Peirce

Sign in Reference to Itself (Representamen):	Sign in Reference to its Object	Sign in Reference to its Interpretant
Qualisign	Icon	Rhema
Sinsign	Index	Dicisign
Legisign	Symbol	Argument

Only the second trichotomy (the sign in reference to its object) is discussed in the following section, since it is the one relevant to this study.

Peirce asserts that "According to the second trichotomy, a Sign may be termed an *Icon*, an *Index*, or a *Symbol*" (EP2:291) (qtd. in Short, 2007, p. 214). Also, Robinson (2010, p. 38) and Danesi (2004, p. 27), among others, consider *icons*, *indexes*, and *symbols* relations to be the most commonly used types in all kinds of semiotic work today. The icon, index, and symbol are clarified in turn.

Peirce regards iconic sign, or *likeness* as he called it, to have "no dynamical connection with the object it represents; it simply happens that its qualities resemble those of that object". (qtd. in Robinson, 2010, p. 39). In another definition Peirce mentions an *Icon* as "a sign which refers to the Object it denotes merely by virtue of characters of its own which it possesses, just the same, whether any such Object exists or not (EP2:291)." (qtd. in Short, 2007, p. 215). Simply, Danesi (2004, p. 27) comments "an icon is a sign that stands for a referent through some form of replication, simulation, imitation, or resemblance." Consequently, an icon is a sign which resembles its object whether the object exists e.g., a person in front of a mirror, or not e.g., an image of someone or something. Iconic signs can be verbal or nonverbal. Onomatopoeic words such as *splash*, *crunch*, *click*, *hiss*, etc. are verbal iconic signs, while the nonverbal example is the iconic hand gestures handled in this corpus, mentioned by the Prophet to tell about the barrier of Ya'juj and Ma'juj.

Peirce refers to indexical sign as the sign which is "physically connected with its object; they make an organic pair. But the interpreting mind has nothing to do with this connection, except remarking it after it is established" (qtd. in Robinson 2010, p. 39). Danesi (2004, p. 27) adds "an index is a sign that stands for a referent by pointing to it or by relating it (explicitly or implicitly) to other referents." Moreover, Hawkes (2003, p. 104) asserts that the *index* is "something which functions as a sign by virtue of some sort of factual or causal connection with its object".

Also, Danesi (2004, p. 30) provides three basic types of indexes, they are as follows:

- *Spatial Indexes*. These refer to the spatial locations of objects, beings, and events in relation to the sign-user. Manual signs like the pointing index finger, demonstrative words such as *this* or *that*, and adverbs like *here* or *there* are some examples.
- *Temporal Indexes*. These relate things to each other in terms of time. For example, adverbs such as *before*, *after*, *now*, or *then*.
- *Person Indexes*. These relate the participants taking part in a situation to each other. A personal pronoun such as *I*, *you*, *he*, *she* or an indefinite pronoun such as *the one*, *the other* are examples of person indexes.

Peirce refers to the symbol to be "connected with its object by virtue of the idea of the symbol-using mind, without which no such connection would exist. (EP 2.9)" (qtd. in Robinson, 2010, p. 39). The symbol-using mind means the recognition of the meaning the symbol signifies in its context. Besides, Danesi (2004, p. 27) defines it as "a sign that stands for its object by convention or agreement in specific contexts." In addition, Hawkes (2003, p. 104) clarifies it as "something which functions as





a sign because of some 'rule' of conventional or habitual association between itself and its object." Moreover, Martin and Ringham (2002, p. 128) agree with Hawkes that symbolic sign "denotes a sign (signifier) whose relationship to its object (signified) is entirely arbitrary or based on convention." Most words are verbal examples of symbolic signs, like the words man, and car. These words neither resemble their referents nor refer to them. Also, a scream is a non-verbal symbolic sign that signifies fear.

#### 4. Methodology

##### Data Collection

This study investigates a selected corpus of hadiths that contain hand gestures to be interpreted contextually to show how each sign is made and what significance each hadith offers. The corpus consists of 5 hadiths, which offer 4 hand gestures. Three hadiths offer the same gesture, as clarified in (1) in the following table, whereas one hadith offers more than one sign, such as (2 and 3) in the following table. The 4 hand gestures are elucidated in the following table.

Table 2. The hand gestures mentioned in the corpus

Serial	The Gesture Description	The Illustration	Hadiths Numbers
1	Holding the index and the middle fingers gesture.		1- (867) – 43 2- (2069) – 12 3- (2631) – 149 4- (2950) – 132 5- (2951) – 134 6- (2951) – 135
2	Making a circle with the thumb and the index finger, unfolding the other fingers.		1- (2880) – 1 2- (2880) – 2
3	Making a narrower circle than gesture number 2 with the thumb and the index finger, unfolding the other fingers.		1- (2881) – 3
4	The V-shaped hand gesture.		1- (2983) – 42

The reason beyond choosing this corpus is to investigate some hadiths containing hand gestures relevant to the study in Sahih Muslim. But some other sources are used to clarify some signs such as Al-Bukhari. Also, these hadiths are of the different types of the Peircean model; iconic, indexical, and symbolic.

##### Data Analysis

The procedures followed for collecting the data in this study are as follows. Each hadith in question is quoted in Arabic, revised with the 2006-edition of Sahih Muslim. Some hadiths include more than one subjoined hadith. These hadiths are mentioned in the study because some hadiths offer more than one gesture as in Hadith of Ya'juj and Ma'juj. After that the translation of al-

Khattab for each hadith is quoted. Then, the explanation of the hadith is handled according to different books of hadith explanations, based mainly on An-Nawawey (2001). The triadic Peircean model has been applied for each gesture indicated in the corpus of the study. Then, pinpointing the sign type for each gesture, according to the interpretation of each hadith. Some translations have drawbacks, so these drawbacks are clarified and another translation is suggested using the symbols of al-Khattab, which are clarified in appendix a.

There are some writing notes of the study. The word *Hadith* with capital *H* refers to the whole corpus of sayings of the Prophet, while the word *hadith* with small *h* refers to one unit of a saying by the Prophet, the plural form is *hadiths*. Also, a bibliographical note relevant to the quotes mentioned by Peirce is the abbreviation CP and EP. CP is the abbreviation to the Collected Papers of Peirce, whereas EP stands for the Essential papers of him. The quotes are written according to the volume number and the paragraph number between brackets for example (CP 2.228) refers to paragraph number 228 in the second volume of the Collected Papers of Peirce.

There are three translations of Sahih Muslim, according to the best knowledge of the researcher. They are the translations of Abdul Hamid Siddiqui (1977), Muhammad Muhsin Khan (n.d) from <http://www.salafipublications.com/sps/>, and Nasiruddin al-Khattab (2007). The translations of Siddiqui and Khan are mostly the same. They include many mistakes that make them inconvenient. Consequently, the translation of al-Khattab is the one used, since it has less mistakes than others.

There are some notes to be considered in the translation of al-Khattab; concerning the main narrator of the hadith, and the phonetic symbols used by him. Regarding the collection of Sahih Muslim hadiths, al-Khattab mentions only the first narrator who narrated the hadith from the Prophet for simplicity. This strategy is followed by the researcher in the Arabic text for simplicity as well. Furthermore, al-Khattab offers certain symbols for the Arabic letters, which are presented in appendix a.

Despite the translation of al-Khattab is the best translation of Sahih Muslim, it contains a phonetic problem of ابن and بن. In the Arabic text the word ابن and the word بن has the same meaning referring to the son of some one. For example ابن مسعود and سالم بن عبد الله. The word ابن is written before proper nouns and not preceded with any, or at the beginning of a line even if it is preceded with a proper noun in the previous line. However, the word بن is written between two proper nouns only. Al-Khattab has differentiated between both phonetically to be *Ibn* for ابن and *bin* for بن, but this differentiation is inaccurate and might cause misunderstanding, since the word *bin* is a container of waste in English. Thus, the correct form phonetically is *Ibn* for both. Thus, the word *bin* in the English translation is suggested to be *Ibn* after each hadith, if any.

## 5. Data Analysis

### The First Gesture

43- (867)... عَنْ جَابِرِ بْنِ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ قَالَ: كَانَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ ﷺ إِذَا خَطَبَ أَحْمَرَتْ عَيْنَاهُ، وَعَلَا صَوْتُهُ، وَاشْتَدَّ غَضَبُهُ. حَتَّى كَأَنَّهُ مُنْذِرُ جَيْشٍ، يَقُولُ: «صَبَّحَكُمْ وَمَسَاءَكُمْ». وَيَقُولُ: «بُعِثْتُ أَنَا وَالسَّاعَةَ كَهَاتَيْنِ» وَيَقْرَأُ بَيْنَ إِصْبَعَيْهِ السَّبَابَةَ وَالْوَسْطَى. وَيَقُولُ: «أَمَّا بَعْدُ. فَإِنَّ خَيْرَ الْحَدِيثِ كِتَابُ اللَّهِ. وَخَيْرَ الْهُدَى هُدَى مُحَمَّدٍ. وَشَرَّ الْأُمُورِ مُحَدَّثَاتُهَا. وَكُلُّ بِدْعَةٍ ضَالَّةٌ». ثُمَّ يَقُولُ: «أَنَا أَوْلَى بِكُلِّ مُؤْمِنٍ مِنْ نَفْسِهِ، مَنْ تَرَكَ مَالًا فَلْأَهْلِهِ. وَمَنْ تَرَكَ دِينًا أَوْ ضَيَاعًا فَلْيَ وَعَلَى».

[2005] 43 - (867) It was narrated that Jābir bin 'Abdullāh said: "When the Messenger of Allāh ﷺ delivered a *Khutbah*, his eyes would turn red, his voice would become loud, and his anger would increase, until it was as if he was warning of an attacking army, saying: 'The enemy will attack in the morning or in the evening.' He said: 'The Hour and I have been sent like these two,' and he held his index finger and middle finger up together. And he would say: 'The best of speech is the Book of Allāh, the best of guidance is the guidance of Muḥammad, and the worst of matters are those which are newly-invented, and every innovation is a going astray.' Then he would say: 'I am closer to every believer than his own self. Whoever leaves behind wealth, it is for his

family; whoever leaves behind a debt or dependents, then the responsibility of paying it off and of caring for them rests upon me." al-Khattab a (2007, pp. 384-5)

132 - (2950)...عَنْ سَهْلِ بْنِ سَعْدٍ، قَالَ: قَالَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ ﷺ، ح وَحَدَّثَنَا قُتَيْبَةُ بْنُ سَعِيدٍ (وَاللَّفْظُ لَهُ)، حَدَّثَنَا يَعْقُوبُ عَنْ أَبِي حَازِمٍ أَنَّهُ سَمِعَ سَهْلًا يَقُولُ: سَمِعْتُ النَّبِيَّ ﷺ يُشِيرُ بِإصْبَعِهِ الَّتِي تَلِي الإِبْهَامَ وَالْوَسْطَى، وَهُوَ يَقُولُ: «بُعِثْتُ أَنَا وَالسَّاعَةُ هَكَذَا».

[7403] 132 - (2950) Sahl said: "I heard the Prophet ﷺ pointing with his finger that is next to the thumb and his middle finger, saying: 'The Hour and I have been sent like this.'" al-Khattab d (2007, p. 356)

134 - (...) ...حَدَّثَنَا شُعْبَةُ قَالَ: سَمِعْتُ قَتَادَةَ وَأَبَا التَّيَّاحِ يُحَدِّثَانِ أَنَّهُمَا سَمِعَا أَنَسًا يُحَدِّثُ أَنَّ رَسُولَ اللَّهِ ﷺ قَالَ: «بُعِثْتُ أَنَا وَالسَّاعَةُ هَكَذَا» وَقَرَنَ شُعْبَةُ بَيْنَ إصْبَعَيْهِ الْمُسَبَّحَةِ وَالْوَسْطَى، بِحُكْيِهِ.

[7405] 134 - (...) Shu'bah said: "I heard Qatadah and Abû At-Tayyâh narrate that they heard Anas narrate, that the Messenger of Allâh ﷺ said: 'The Hour and I have been sent like this,'" and Shu'bah held his forefinger and middle finger up together.

(ibid. p. 357)

135 - (...) ...عَنْ أَنَسٍ قَالَ: قَالَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ ﷺ: «بُعِثْتُ أَنَا وَالسَّاعَةُ كَهَاتَيْنِ». قَالَ وَصَمَّ السَّبَابَةَ وَالْوَسْطَى.

[7408] 135 - (...) It was narrated that Anas said: "The Messenger of Allâh ﷺ, said: 'The Hour and I have been sent like these two,' and he held his forefinger and middle finger together." (ibid. p. 358)

First of all, Hadiths number (...) – 134 and (...) – 135 are subjoined hadiths to the main hadith number 2951. The hadiths in this part clarify the status of the Prophet when he delivered this Khutbah, a religious speech; his eyes became red, and spoke louder than usual. Then he warned here that the Doomsday is close, and he warns from following newly-invented matters. An-Nawawey a (2001, pp.166-7) asserts that the Prophet in the first hadith warns Muslims that the Hour (the Judgment Day) is getting closer. Also, An-Nawawey c (2001, p. 86) comments on the other hadiths clarifying that the period between the Prophet and the Doomsday is short like the difference of length between the two fingers. Abu hatim signifies that there is no Prophets between the Prophet Muhammad and the Doomsday, and he is the last Prophet before the Doomsday (qtd. in Al-Faresy 1991, p. 13). Ash-Shafe'ey (2008, p. 56) agrees with Al-Faresy that the Prophet Muhammad is the last prophet and after him the Doomsday comes. To sum it up, the meaning signified in the previous hadiths is that there is a short period between the Prophet and the Judgment Day. Also, confirming that the Prophet Muhammad is the last Prophet.

Regarding the gesture here, Al-Qadey mentions that the gesture is formed by putting the index and the middle fingers together (qtd. in An-Nawawey a, 2001, p. 167). Also, it implies that the Prophet Muhammad is the last one till the Judgment Day as there is no fingers between the index finger and the ring finger. The gesture is clarified in the following figure.



Figure 6. The gesture signifying the short period between the Prophet and the Doomsday

The three parts of the sign following the Model of Peirce are as follows; The representamen is holding the index and the middle fingers together as illustrated earlier in figure (6), The object is the close connection between the two fingers, which is used in reference to the short period between the Prophet and the Judgment Day, and the direct consequence between both is the interpretant of the gesture. The following figure shows the three parts.

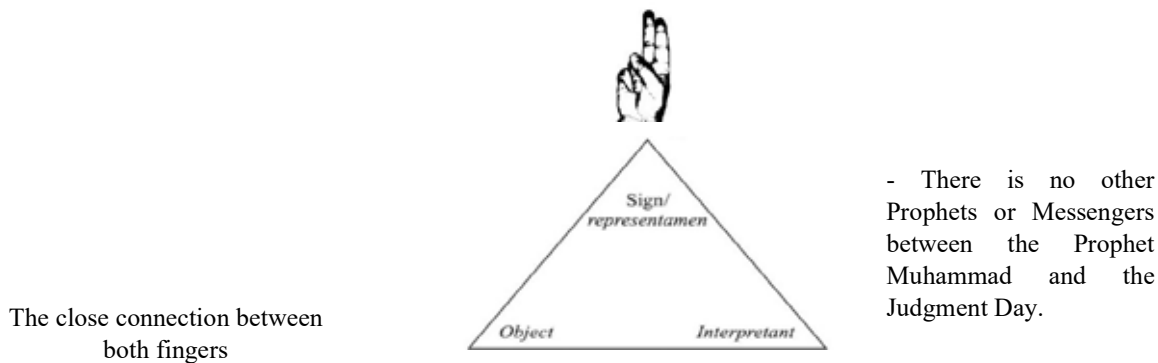


Figure 7. The Peircean triadic division of the short period between the Prophet and the Doomsday

The sign type varies in these hadiths according to the different interpretations: considering the gesture to imply the short period of time between the Prophet and the Doomsday, and no prophets after the Prophet Muhammad. Regarding the gesture significance of the short period between the Prophet and the Doomsday, the sign is temporal indexical: connecting two periods of time; the time of the Prophet and the time of the Doomsday. Also, the sign is symbolic considering the interpretation implies that no prophets after the Prophet Muhammad till the Doomsday. Similar to the index and the middle fingers, where no other fingers exist between both. The sign in hadith number (2951) – 134 is considered to be iconic to the Prophet as well, since it is an imitation of the Prophet by the narrator.

Regarding translation drawbacks in these hadiths, there is only one hadith which has the problem of the phonetic problem *bin* to be replaced with the word *Ibn*; hadith (867) – 34 as discussed earlier.

### The Second Gesture

12 - (...) عَنْ أَبِي عُمَانَ، قَالَ: كَتَبَ إِلَيْنَا عُمَرُ وَنَحْنُ بِأَذَرْبَيْجَانَ: يَا عَثْبَةُ بِنَ فَرَقْدٍ إِنَّهُ لَيْسَ مِنْ كَدِّكَ وَلَا مِنْ كَدِّ أَبِيكَ وَلَا مِنْ كَدِّ أُمَّكَ، فَاتَّبِعِ الْمُسْلِمِينَ فِي رَحَالِهِمْ، مِمَّا تَتَّبِعُ مِنْهُ فِي رَحْلِكَ، وَإِيَّاكُمْ وَالتَّعَمَّ، وَزِيَّ أَهْلِ الشَّرْكِ، وَلْيُوسِ الْحَرِيرَ فَإِنَّ رَسُولَ اللَّهِ ﷺ نَهَى عَنْ لُبُوسِ الْحَرِيرِ، قَالَ إِلَّا هَكَذَا، وَرَفَعَ لَنَا رَسُولُ اللَّهِ ﷺ إصْبَعَيْهِ الْوُسْطَى وَالسَّبَّابَةَ وَضَمَّهُمَا، قَالَ زُهَيْرٌ: قَالَ عَاصِمٌ: هَذَا فِي الْكِتَابِ قَالَ وَرَفَعَ زُهَيْرٌ إصْبَعَيْهِ.

[5411] 12 - (...) It was narrated that Abû 'Uthmân said: "Umar wrote to us when we were in Azerbaijan, (saying): 'O 'Utba bin Farqad, it is not by your efforts or by the efforts of your father or the efforts of your mother. Feed the Muslims in their places from that which you feed yourself in your place. Beware of luxury and the garments of the people of *Shirk* and garments of silk, for the Messenger of Allâh ﷺ forbade garments of silk and said except this much, and the Messenger of Allâh ﷺ held up his forefinger and middle finger, holding them together.'" Zuhair said: "Âşim said: 'It is in the book,'" and Zuhair held up his two fingers. al-Khattab b (2007, p.435)

This hadith is subjoined to the main hadith number (2069). According to An-Nawawey b (2001, p. 52) this hadith tells about a letter that has been written by the Companion 'Umar, the caliph of Muslims then, to the army when they were in Athrabijan, a province behind Iraq. The caliph asserts to 'Utba that the wealth he is responsible for belongs to all Muslims, and he has to give each one his own share. Then 'Umar prompts them to avoid luxury in life (here ends the comment of An-Nawawey). Then he warns the men not to wear silk except for a certain space mentioned by the Prophet.

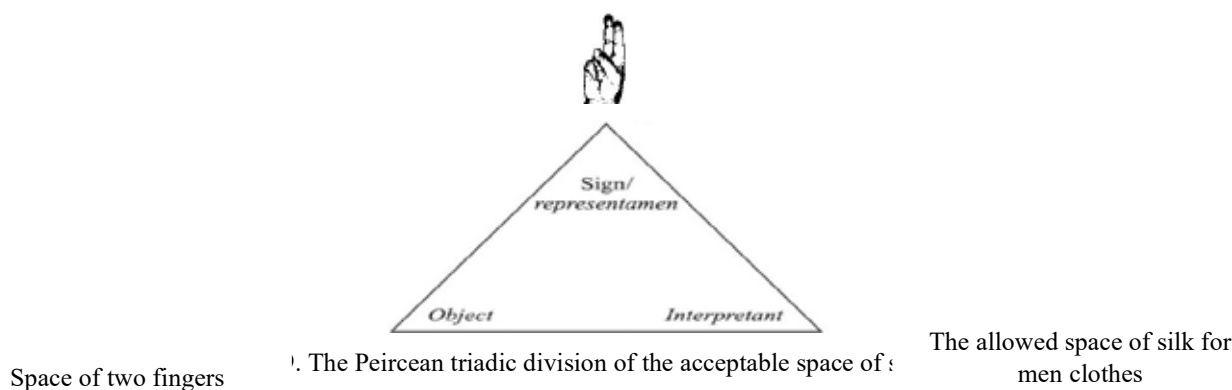
Regarding the gesture made by the Prophet to show the accepted space of silk, the Prophet held the middle finger and the index finger together, as the one in the following figure:





Figure 8. The acceptable space of silk gesture

The holding of the middle and index fingers together presents the first division of the Peircean Model, the representamen illustrated in figure (8). This gesture stands for a certain space to be its object. The interpretant is the permissible two-finger space of silk in clothes for men as maximum in clothes. The subsequent figure clarifies the three parts of the model:



This sign is considered to be of two types; indexical and iconic. The first type is a spatial indexical one when the Prophet clarifies the permissible space of silk in relation to the rest of the whole garment. The second one is regarding the gesture to be iconic, since the Companion in the hadith is imitating the Prophet.

The word *bin* here is the problem of the translation, as mentioned earlier, is the only translation drawback. Thus, the word *Ibn* is used to avoid any misunderstanding to the English reader.

### The Third Gesture

149 - (2631) ... عَنْ أَنَسِ بْنِ مَالِكٍ، قَالَ: قَالَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ ﷺ: «مَنْ عَالَ جَارِيَتَيْنِ حَتَّى تَبْلُغَا، جَاءَ يَوْمَ الْقِيَامَةِ أَنَا وَهُوَ» وَضَمَّ أَصَابِعَهُ.

[6695] 149 - (2631) It was narrated that Anas bin Mâlik said: "The Messenger of Allâh ﷺ said: 'Whoever takes care of two girls until they reach puberty, he and I will come like this on the Day of Resurrection' - and he held his two fingers together."

al-Khattab c (2007, pp. 491-2)

The Prophet here shows the great reward for caring of two or more daughters, or two or more sisters till they become adult; spending money on them and being patient with them. The caretaker will be rewarded to be with the Prophet in Paradise.

The narrator of this hadith declares that the Prophet has held his fingers, but this is not clear since it can be understood holding all the fingers. However, the Prophet articulates the Arabic word *كفَّاتين*, which is a dual word that implies only two fingers are used and one person is going to be with him. Additionally, another hadith mentioned in Ma'rouf, (et al., 1993, p. 181) clarifies the sign, as it specifies the fingers held as follows:

1015 - «أَشَارَ بِإِصْبَعَيْهِ السَّبَّابَةِ وَالْوَسْطَى». (معروف، 1993، ص 181)

"He pointed with his fingers; the index finger and the middle finger." (The researcher's translation)

Thus, the sign that the Prophet has used consists of the index finger and the middle finger held together as illustrated in the following figure.



Figure 10. The girls' caretaker gesture

After clarifying the gesture, the next part illustrates the three parts of the Peircean model; the representamen, the object, and the interpretant. The representamen is holding the middle and the index fingers together, illustrated in figure (10). The object for which the gesture stands is the close connection between the two fingers. The interpretant signifies that caretakers of two or three girls (daughters or sisters), till they become adult or they are separated by death, will be with the Prophet in Paradise, signified by the close connection between the two fingers. The following figure clarifies the three parts:

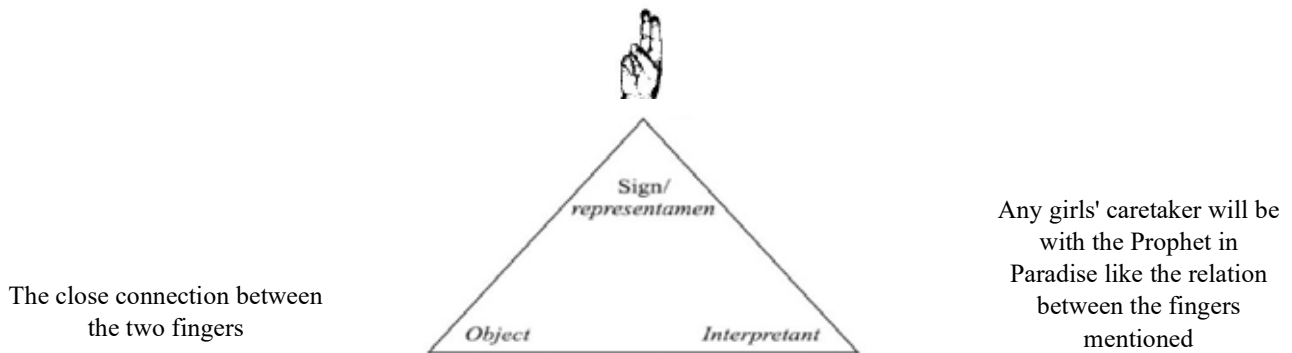


Figure 11. The Peircean triadic division of the girls' caretaker being with the Prophet

The sign here refers to the connection between the Prophet and the caretaker in Paradise to be together. Thus, this sign is indexical showing the connection between the Prophet and the girls' caretakers. This gesture is spatial indexical as it asserts connection between two places.

The word *bin* is the only problem of the translated text, so it is recommended to be changed with the word *Ibn* in an attempt to avoid confusion as discussed earlier.

#### The Fourth Gesture

1 - (2880) ... عَنْ زَيْنَب بِنْت جَحْشٍ أَنَّ النَّبِيَّ ﷺ اسْتَيْقَظَ مِنْ نَوْمِهِ وَهُوَ يَقُولُ: «لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ، وَيَلُّ لِلْعَرَبِ مِنْ شَرِّ قَدِ اقْتَرَبَ. فَفُتِحَ الْيَوْمَ مِنْ رَدْمِ يَأْجُوجَ وَمَأْجُوجَ مِثْلَ هَذِهِ» وَعَقَدَ سُبُحَانَ بِيَدِهِ عَشْرَةَ. قُلْتُ: يَا رَسُولَ اللَّهِ أَنَّهُلِكَ وَفِينَا الصَّالِحُونَ؟ قَالَ: «نَعَمْ، إِذَا كُنَّ الْخَبِيثُ».

[7235] 1 - (2880) It was narrated from Zainab bint Jaḥsh that the Prophet ﷺ awoke from sleep, saying: "None has the right to be worshipped but Allāh, woe to the Arabs from an evil that has approached. Today (a hole) like this has been opened in the barrier of Ya'jūj and Ma'jūj." And Sufyān gestured to indicate the size of the hole.

I said: "O Messenger of Allāh, will we be destroyed even though there are righteous people among us?" He said: "Yes, if evil prevails." al-Khattab d (2007, p. 271)

2 - (...) زَيْنَبُ بِنْتُ جَحْشٍ، زَوْجَ النَّبِيِّ ﷺ قَالَتْ: خَرَجَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ ﷺ يَوْمًا فَرَعَا، مُحْمَرًا وَجْهَهُ يَقُولُ: «لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ، وَيَلُّ لِلْعَرَبِ مِنْ شَرِّ قَدْ اقْتَرَبَ فُتْحُ الْيَوْمِ مِنْ رَدْمِ يَأْجُوجَ وَمَأْجُوجَ مِثْلَ هَذِهِ» وَحَلَّقَ بِإِصْبَعِهِ الْإِثْمَامَ وَالَّتِي تَلِيهَا. قَالَتْ: فَقُلْتُ: يَا رَسُولَ اللَّهِ، أَنَهْلِكُ وَفِينَا الصَّالِحُونَ؟ قَالَ: «نَعَمْ، إِذَا كَثُرَ الْخَبِيثُ».

[7237] 2 - (...) It was narrated that Zainab bint Jahsh, the wife of the Prophet ﷺ, said: "The Messenger of Allāh ﷺ, went out one day in a panic, red in the face, saying: 'None has the right to be worshipped but Allāh, woe to the Arabs from an evil that has approached. Today (a hole) like this has been opened in the barrier of Ya'jûj and Ma'jûj,' and he made a circle with his thumb and forefinger."

She said; "I said: 'O Messenger of Allāh! Will we be destroyed even though there are righteous people among us?' He said: 'Yes, if evil prevails.'" (ibid. p. 272)

3 - (2881) ... عَنْ أَبِي هُرَيْرَةَ، عَنِ النَّبِيِّ ﷺ قَالَ: «فُتِحَ الْيَوْمَ مِنْ رَدْمِ يَأْجُوجَ وَمَأْجُوجَ مِثْلَ هَذِهِ» وَعَقَدَ وَهَيْبُ بِيَدِهِ تِسْعِينَ.

[7239] 3 - (2881) It was narrated from Abû Hurairah that the Prophet ﷺ said: "Today (a hole) like this has been opened in the barrier of Ya'jûj and Ma'jûj." (ibid. p. 272)

The Prophet in these hadiths is panicked and telling about Ya'juj and Ma'juj, they are two evil empires that will appear before the Doomsday. The Prophet's wife Zainab tells about his status when he showed up after sleeping, and his face was red out of panic, asserting that the barrier of Ya'juj and Ma'juj has been opened with a hole like the gesture made by the Prophet to signify the hole size.

The first hadith narrated by the Companion Wuhaib includes a gesture of ten which follows the pattern used by the Arabs in the past to indicate numbers using their hands. This way is footnoted in Abaadey and Al-Jawzaiah (1990, pp.167-8). The ten-gesture is made by putting the top of the thumb on the top of the index finger. Regarding the gesture in the second hadith, the Prophet makes a circle putting the thumb on the index finger, the same like the ten gesture. The sign is illustrated in the following figure:



Figure 12. The ten-gesture

While the ninety gesture in the third hadith is made by putting the index at the bottom of the thumb as footnoted in Abaadey and Al-Jawzaiah (1990, p.168), as illustrated in figure (13).



Figure 13. The ninety-gesture

An-Nawawey c (2001, p. 6) comments that the first and the second hadiths have the same gesture, while the third one, narrated by Abu Hrairah, is a little bit different, since the ninety gesture is narrower than ten. Al-Qadey has two views regarding this point. Firstly, he considers the hadith of Abu Huraira to be earlier than the other two hadiths, so the hole is narrower, and then it has become wider. Secondly, the signified meaning is a reference to an approximate width.

The representamen is represented by the figures (12) and (13). The object of both gestures is the circle, whether narrow or wide. Finally, the interpretant is the Prophet's clarification of the hole, which is made in the barrier of Ya'juj and Ma'juj. The following figure shows the three parts of the sign including the gesture of ten, the circle, and ninety represented by two gestures.

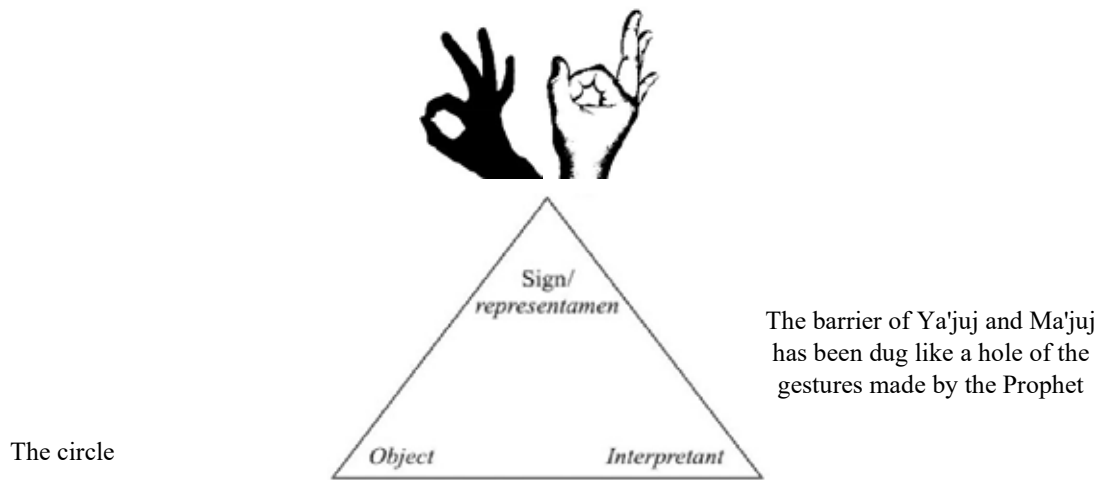


Figure 14. The Peircean triadic division of the ten, the circle, and the ninety gestures

The sign type here is tackled on two levels; the wider level and the narrower one. Concerning the wider level, the sign is regarded to be one of two kinds according to the difference between the ten and the ninety gestures relying on Al-Qadey explanation. Firstly, the sign signifies the approximate width of the hole, as a result the sign is considered to be symbolic. Secondly, the narration of the hadiths was in different times, which considers the hole to be wider after it was narrower. Thus, the sign is spatial indexical. On the narrower level, the gesture in the first and third hadiths are considered to be iconic ones to the Prophet, since these gestures are imitations of the Prophet's action. It can also be iconic if the size of the hole was changing and the Prophet was telling the exact size of the hole.

There are two problems to be tackled here. The translation of the gesture in the first hadith, and the third one. Regarding the translation of the first hadith, the translation does not clarify that it is a gesture of ten. The gesture is better translated to be *Sufyân made a gesture of ten to indicate the size of the hole*. Concerning the third hadith, al-Khattab has not translated the gesture part in it, so it is suggested to translate it to be *Wuhaib made a gesture of ninety with his hand to indicate the size of the hole*. The suggested translations are as follow:

1 - (2880) It was narrated from Zainab bint Jahsh that the Prophet ﷺ awoke from sleep, saying: "None has the right to be worshipped but Allâh, woe to the Arabs from an evil that has approached. Today (a hole) like this has been opened in the barrier of Ya'jûj and Ma'jûj." And **Sufyân made a gesture of ten to indicate the size of the hole.**

I said: "O Messenger of Allâh, will we be destroyed even though there are righteous people among us?" He said: "Yes, if evil prevails."

3 - (2881) It was narrated from Abû Hurairah that the Prophet ﷺ said: "Today (a hole) like this has been opened in the barrier of Ya'jûj and Ma'jûj." **And Wuhaib made a gesture of ninety with his hand to indicate the size of the hole.**

### The Fifth Gesture

42 - (2983) ... عَنْ أَبِي هُرَيْرَةَ، قَالَ: قَالَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ ﷺ: «كَافِلُ الْيَتِيمِ لَهُ أَوْ لِعِزِّهِ أَنَا وَهُوَ كَهَاتَيْنِ فِي الْجَنَّةِ» وَأَشَارَ مَالِكٌ بِالسَّبَّابَةِ وَالْوَسْطَى.

[7469] 42 - (2983) It was narrated that Abû Hurairah said: "The Messenger of Allâh ﷺ said: 'The one who sponsors an orphan, whether it is a relative of his or not, he and I will be like these two in Paradise,'" and Mâlik (a sub narrator) pointed with his forefinger and middle finger. al-Khattab d (2007, p. 384)

The orphan feels lonely and psychologically destructed. Thus, the Prophet here urges us to take care of the orphans, since they are deprived of the parents or one of them. The orphan needs some affection which he lacks. The reward is as great as the importance of the action. An-Nawawey c (2001, p. 106) asserts that the orphan caretaker is the one who cares for the orphan's life including expenditures, apparel, growing up, etc. Regarding the expenditures it might be from the supporter or the money of the orphan by custody. Also, to take care of an orphan who is a kin or an orphan the supporter does not know.

Regarding the gesture, the Prophet hold the index and middle fingers to show the close relation between him and the orphan caretaker. The gesture here is clarified with another hadith in Al-Bukhari, number 5304, in which he adds:

"وَأَشَارَ بِالسَّبَّابَةِ وَالْوَسْطَى، وَفَرَجَ بَيْنَهُمَا شَيْئًا" (البخارى، 2002، ص 1352)

And he pointed with the index finger and the middle finger and separated between them moderately.

(The researcher's translation)

Now the sign is clearer and it is made by the middle and the index fingers separating between them apart, like the following figure:



Figure 15. The Prophet's gesture for the orphan caretaker

The representamen, being the first division of the model, is the V-sign gesture made by the Prophet. The object of the representamen is the near connection between both fingers. The final part of the model is the interpretant, which is the Prophet and the orphan caretaker close connection in Paradise, like the connection between these index and middle fingers. The following figure shows the three parts of the sign according to the Peircean model.



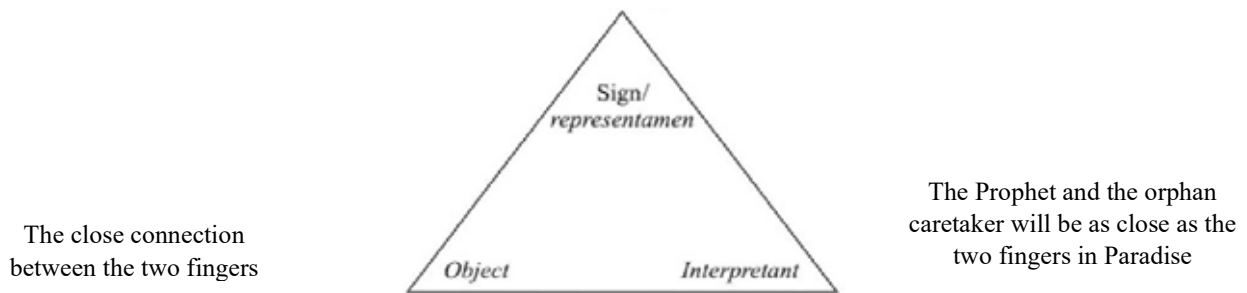


Figure 16. The Peircean triadic division of The Prophet's gesture for the orphan caretaker

The sign here is used in reference to the connection between the Prophet and the orphan caretaker, so it is indexical sign. More specifically, this one shows the connection between the Prophet and the orphan caretakers in place, so this is a spatial indexical sign. Also, this gesture here is considered to be iconic, since Malik (one of the narrators) is imitating the Prophet.


**6. Cultural Differences**

There are two major concerns of this division; comparing hand gestures internally, and externally. Firstly, comparing the hand gestures internally means comparing repeated hand gestures indicated in different hadiths in corpus providing different significances. Secondly, comparing the hand gestures externally in different cultures and contexts other than *Hadith*.

**The Comparison of Gestures Internally**

The major concern of this part is comparing hand gestures indicated in different hadiths in this corpus with different significances.

Table 3. The gesture with different significances within the corpus

The Gesture Description	The Illustration	Hadiths Numbers
Holding the index and the middle fingers		1- (867) – 43 2- (2069) – 12 3- (2631) – 149 4- (2950) – 132 5- (2950) – 134 6- (2950) – 135

The gesture in this part is holding the index and the middle fingers, while folding the rest as illustrated in table (3). This gesture is mentioned in many hadiths. The first hadith shows the period of time between the Prophet and the Doomsday in hadith number (867) – 43. Likewise, it has the same significance in hadith (2950) and its subjoined hadiths. Furthermore, this gesture has another significance mentioned in hadith (2069) – 12, which is the significance of the allowed space of silk. The final significance of this gesture in this corpus is the reference to the close connection between the Prophet and the caretaker of two or more daughters, or two or more sisters.

To sum it up, there are three significances of the gesture mentioned here; the short period between the Prophet and the Doomsday, specifying certain space of silk, and the close connection between the Prophet and the girls' caretaker.

### The Comparison of Gestures Externally

This part casts light on the comparison of the hand gestures made by the Prophet with some other external contexts or cultures other than the corpus.

#### The First Gesture

This section puts forward the gesture formed by holding the index finger and the middle finger, as in figure (17). It has various significances in the corpus as discussed earlier. Additionally, the next part highlights its different meanings in different contexts.



Figure 17. The gesture of holding the index and the middle fingers

Acredolo and Goodwyn (2009, p. 178) and Bauman et al. (2006, p. 39) assert this gesture to signify the letter U in ASL for teaching children, clarifying it in the following figure.



Figure 18. The U letter gesture in ASL

#### The Second Gesture

One of the most common gestures worldwide is the ring gesture tackled in this part. This gesture has different inter-cultural meanings, different meanings in different societies, and intra-cultural meanings, different meanings within the same society. They are discussed in sequence in the next part.



Figure 19. The ring gesture

This part discusses the inter-cultural meanings. Hill, et al. (2007, p. 131) clarify that this hand gesture has different meanings: "In Britain and the US this means 'OK' but in southern France it means 'worthless', in Malta it indicates a male homosexual while in Sardinia, Greece, Russia, Germany, Brazil and Bangladesh, for example, it is seen as an offensive gesture".

Pease and Pease (2005, p. 119) agree that the ring gesture has different meanings in different places: In Europe and North America it means OK, in Mediterranean region; Russia; Brazil; and Turkey it is an orifice signal; sexual insult; or means a gay man, in Tunisia; France; Belgium it signifies Zero; or worthless, and in Japan it refers to money or coins. Pease & Pease comment "if you are doing business in Japan and you make this sign for 'OK' a Japanese may think you're asking for a bribe" (ibid. p. 119). Calbris (2011, p. 20) comments "the circular form of the Ring configuration is used to refer to a round object, and thus to the idea of a coin".

Calbris (2011, p. 20) adds some other intra-cultural meanings within the French society. It "refers to the *perfect* gustatory qualities of the French camembert cheese" (a kind of cheese). The researcher confirms that this sign can be considered Intra-culturally as a *threat* or *everything is good* in Egypt.

In ASL, Acredolo and Goodwyn (2009, p. 174), and Bauman et al. (2006, p. 39) show that the previous ring finger is used to signify the letter F as illustrated in the following figure.



Figure 20. The gesture of the F letter in ASL

The gesture in figure (21) is the same like the previous one, but the circle is narrower. This gesture is considered to be the same in Egypt with the same two significances; threat, and everything is good. However, the researcher has not found any other sources to show other cultural differences for this gesture.



Figure 21. The OK gesture with a narrower circle

### The Third Gesture

The final gesture tackled in this study is the common V-shaped gesture. The V-shaped gesture made by the Prophet is the one facing the speaker. However, Pease and Pease (2005, pp. 109-11) give two V-shaped gestures; palm out, and palm facing the speaker. They are as follows:



Figure 22. The two V-shaped gestures discussed by Pease and Pease

Concerning the cultural comparison of the gesture mentioned in this corpus is the palm out gesture mentioned in figure (23), it is discussed first. Pease and Pease (2005, pp. 109-11) show the cultural differences of it. They confirm that in Greece it means 'Go to hell', while it means 'two' in the west. Also, Fast (1994, p. 76) asserts "In England, the V for victory sign, if made with the palm facing out, is a dire insult." Moreover, the V-sign is used to signify the letter V in the process of teaching letters for children in the American Sign Language as mentioned by Acredolo and Goodwyn (2009, p. 178), and Bauman et al. (2006, p. 39).



Figure 23. The V-shaped gesture palm out

Otherwise, there are other meanings of this gesture provided by the researcher. This gesture in Mansoura (a city in Egypt) refers to a certain area called Gedela, and it is used by passengers when they hail any public transportation. Also, it is used for the same purpose in Alexandria (a city in Egypt), but when going to Karmouz (an area in Alexandria). Likewise, in Cairo (the capital of Egypt) it refers to the seventh district used by passengers while hailing transportation vehicles. Also, in Egypt it is used in reference to number two. Additionally, it is used to mean victory.



The second gesture facing the speaker as illustrated in figure (24) is discussed by Pease and Pease (2005, pp.109-10) to clarify different meanings. Firstly, in Britain, Australia, New Zealand, Malta it means up yours. Secondly, it signifies number two in USA. Thirdly, the victory significance is the one intended in Germany. Fourthly, in France it signifies peace. Finally, for Ancient Rome it was used to signify that Julius Caesar ordering five beers.



Figure 24. The V-shaped gesture facing the speaker

## 7. Findings of the Study

Based on the results of the studies previously reviewed herein, this study aims to show the importance of recognizing the significance of hand gestures in different contexts, in an attempt to explain hadiths that include hand gestures correctly, avoiding misunderstanding in other cultures.

The corpus consists of five main hadiths with the whole amount of four different gestures. Each gesture has its own significance, even if the form is repeated within this study. The following are the main findings of the study:

- 1- According to *Hadith* interpretation books, some hand gestures in the corpus imply different meanings within the same hadith, depending on the different interpretations of the hadith. For instance, the gesture in hadith of Ya'juj and Ma'juj
- 2- Studying the hand gestures of *Hadith* in different cultures is of great importance, because the hand gestures have different significances in different contexts, which might cause misunderstanding of the meaning. For example, the different meanings of the V-shaped gesture, with the significance of being close to the Prophet of the caretaker. This gesture has many different meanings in different cultures, among them is being an insult in Britain. This might cause great misunderstanding of the gesture. Consequently, the message is not delivered, as well as the audience will get a negative impression.

For further future research, the fields of semiotics and body language are very rich. Researchers may analyze other body language divisions, such as facial expressions; or body postures in other religious texts (other books of *Hadith*; Al-Bukhari, or the Noble *Qur'an*).

## 8. Conclusion

Simply, this study has explored the semiotic analysis of hand gestures in *Hadith*, more specifically in Shaikh Muslim. The meanings of hand gestures are interpreted contextually, relying on the different books of *Hadith* interpretations. This clarification of the meanings of the gestures hopefully is of great importance, since the gestures might be of totally different meanings rather than the intended ones as explained in the data analysis, which contributes to better understanding of Hadith.

## Appendix A

Table of Symbols Used by Al-Khattab

The Arabic Sound	Khattab's Symbol	Example	Description of Khattab's Symbol
أ	The letter a	Allâh	The letter a
ب	The letter b	'Abdullâh	The letter b
ت	The letter t	Takbîr	The letter t
ث	The letters <u>th</u>	Ḥadî <u>th</u>	Underlined <u>th</u>
ج	The letter j	Jâbir	The letter j
ح	The symbol ḥ	Ḥadîḥ	The symbol ḥ
خ	The letters <u>kh</u>	<u>K</u> haibar	Underlined <u>kh</u>
د	The letter d	Ṣadaqah	The letter d
ذ	The letters <u>dh</u>	Ad <u>h</u> ân	Underlined <u>dh</u>
ر	The letter r	'Umar	The letter r
ز	The letter z	'Abdul-'Azîz	The letter z
س	The letter s	Mas'ûd	The letter s
ش	The letters <u>sh</u>	<u>S</u> haîṭân	Underlined <u>sh</u>
ص	The symbol ṣ	Al-'Âṣ	The symbol ṣ
ض	The symbol ḍ	Ramaḍân	The symbol ḍ
ع	Apostrophe	'Âmir	Apostrophe
غ	The letters <u>gh</u>	'Allâhum <u>gh</u> firli	Underlined <u>gh</u>
ط	The symbol ṭ	Ṣhaîṭân	The symbol ṭ
ظ	The symbol ḏ	Ḍuhr	The symbol ḏ
ف	The letter f	Al-Kûfah	The letter f
ق	The letter q	Qatâdah	The letter q
ك	The letter k	Mâlik	The letter k
ل	The letter l	Sâlim	The letter l
م	The letter m	'Umar	The letter m
ن	The letter n	Naṣr	The letter n
ه	The letter h	Sahl	The letter h
و	The letter w	Awfâ	The letter w
ى	The letter y	Yusair	The letter y
كسرة	The letter î	'Âmir	The letter î
(ى) ما قبلها مفتوح	The letters ai	<u>S</u> haîṭân	The letters ai
ألف مد	The symbol â	Ibrâhîm	The symbol â
(و) ممدودة	The symbol û	Abû	The symbol û
(ي) ممدودة	The symbol î	Ibrâhîm	The symbol î
شدة	Two repeated letters	Ad-Dajjâl	The repetition of the letter

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## A Pragmatic Study of Political Cartoons in Al-Ahram Weekly Newspaper<sup>1</sup>

Ahmad Abdel-Tawwab Sharaf Eldin  
Assistant Professor,  
Menoufia University, Egypt  
Corresponding email: [brave107@gmail.com](mailto:brave107@gmail.com)

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### ABSTRACT

During the past century, political cartoons were considered as the most extreme form of expression in newspapers, as they were not committed to any norm of journalistic objectivity, or even the domain of objective reality. Some cartoonists consider political cartoons as historical sources of satirical critique of the political status quo. Generally speaking, there are various forms of cartoons, such as political, social, and humorous cartoons. Each one has a different function.

The function of political cartoons lies in making a real change in a society in favor of suppressed classes through criticizing the status quo and unjust practices in political life. In addition, cartoons help newspapers and magazines look better by taking some space among columns of words which might be boring for the reader. At the same time, political cartoons have real contributions in affirming the role newspapers play as means of communication between a reader and a cartoonist. Political cartoons are also capable of bold dealing with different societal problems as they can escape different types of censorship. Thus, political cartoons have the mechanisms to correct the negatives of a society faster than written words, especially they are easily understood by readers.

As cartoons are viewed as methods of communication, pragmatics is also concerned with determining the elements of communicational content, which are essential to interpretation. It is quite common for an utterance to display a number of pragmatic features. Hence, it is clear that pragmatics plays a key role in the interpretation of the communication process represented by the cartoons' language. This communication process, whether verbal or non-verbal, includes expressions and recognition of intentions. From this perspective, pragmatic interpretation is simply an exercise in which a reader infers a cartoonist's intended meaning from his cartoon.

Within this framework, this study tries to discuss the aspects of the implicit meanings in the language of political cartoons. The importance of the study is obviously shown by shedding light on the role of the language that can be employed to convey explicit and also implicit meaning by pragmatic devices. This study, therefore, attempts to clarify the role of pragmatic devices in explaining the hidden meaning in political cartoons. In doing so, it tries to emphasize the importance of implicature in the language of political cartoons,

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<sup>1</sup> This study is part of an unpublished Ph.D. dissertation compiled by the author.

whether it abides or flouts Gricean's maxims with its effect to convey the meaning. Also, it attempts to figure out why cartoonists frequently use this aspect of pragmatics in writing the language. Another goal of this study is to explain the role of speech acts, whether used directly or indirectly, and why a cartoonist sometimes uses the literal and sometimes prefers to use non-literal speech acts.

Moreover, this study underscores the importance of the distinction between language use and linguistic meaning. Besides, it asserts a parallel distinction between speaker's reference and linguistic reference, which provokes the assumption to what extent linguistic expressions refer independently to speaker's use of them. In addition, this thesis attempts to consider the politeness phenomenon as a pragmatic device, and its role in understanding the meaning.

Given the distance between a cartoonist and his addressees, this study sheds light on how language users sometimes depart from the conditions of optimal information exchange which may cause confusion. In addition, this thesis emphasizes the function of deictic expressions and the role of presupposition with its relation to the implicature. In short, it shows the linguistic insights of implicit meanings employed in cartoons and attempts to discover whether or not cartoonists succeed in conveying the meaning to the addressees by employing pragmatic devices.

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## **Introduction**

Political cartoons play significant role in shaping public opinion about various issues on a daily basis. Such political cartoons seek to influence public opinion through their use of widely understood symbols, slogans and allusions. The most obvious aspect in political cartoons is their ability to simplify and crystallize the complex events of the day. They are designed to convey an opinion or meaning in a frame that is easily understood. The strength of cartoons, as forms of communication, derives from the fact that they are particularly visual modes of communication, even though they sometimes use texts for purposes of clarification.

While language is considered a complex form of communication, the visual forms of communication possess unique features that are clearly more persuasive than written language. Discussing the concept of cartoons requires shedding light on the differences between cartoons and caricatures. Although some artists do not differentiate between cartoons and caricatures, others believe that cartoons, as a form of communication, are the development of caricatures. Yousif (1993:15) argues that the term "cartoons" is currently used to reflect the dominant ideas, situations and actions of a given society.

Moreover, Al-Ahram Weekly's prominent cartoonist Abou Elezz (2006) suggests, during an interview with the researcher, that some artists in the Arab region make a distinction between caricatures and cartoons. While the former is related to exaggerations in drawings, and the latter is linked to animations, it is evident that cartoons, as used in the Western world, include caricatures, paintings, animations, and even movies.

In another interview with the researcher, Farahat (2006), another prominent cartoonist in Al-Ahram Weekly, suggests the term "cartoons" instead of "caricatures," as the most suitable and appropriate one to be used. That is because cartoons, which are remarkably used not only in United States but currently all over the world, are influenced by the U.S. overshadowing of the

media. This term can be used comprehensively to include different forms of paintings and animations. Given the fact that this term is commonly used, it will be adopted in this study.

Generally speaking, there are various forms of cartoons, such as political, social, and humorous cartoons. These different forms have different functions. The important roles of political cartoons lie in making real changes in the society in favor of suppressed classes through criticizing the status quo and unjust practices in political life.

At the same time, political cartoons make real contributions in affirming the role newspapers play as a means of communication between the reader and the cartoonist. Political cartoons are also capable of dealing with different social problems as they can escape various types of censorship. Thus, political cartoons have the mechanism to correct the negatives of a society faster than written words, and are easily more received by readers.

### 1. Political Cartoons in Al-Ahram Weekly

It seems from the previous overview that political cartoons can be used as tools through which to view and interpret political discourse. In other words, they attempt to face the problems in question within the context of everyday life and exploit universal signs as a mean of persuading readers to identify with images and their implicit views. Regarding these views, it seems that political cartoons are forms of symbolic interactions that serve as means of mirroring, reviewing, or remembering the dominant culture. Considering the branches of political cartoons in Al-Ahram Weekly Newspaper, they are classified into the three following categories;

#### A) Translated type

The first type is originally written in Arabic and published in an Arabic-language newspaper. It is adopted in Al-Ahram Weekly Newspaper and published in English translation. This type commonly consists of a dialogue between two persons; namely, there is a dialogue between the two, which this study aims to analyze.

#### B) Portrait type

The second type is called *Portrait* in which the cartoonist tries to portray the character with positive or negative description, using a specific style of writing to convey his ideas to the reader. The third type *Non-verbal* is drawn without any comment. In this type, the cartoonist attempts to convey his ideas to the addressee by drawing without using words. However, in all three types, the cartoonist tries to convey an implicit meaning, and he uses the language with a high level of humor and manipulation for achieving his particular objectives.

#### C) Non-verbal type

### 2. The Relationship Between Pragmatics and Political Cartoons

It is noteworthy that cartoons and pragmatics have common ground. As cartoons are methods of communication, pragmatics is also concerned with determining the elements of communicational contents that are essential for interpretation. While Levinson (1983:5) defines pragmatics as "the study of language usage" Blum Kulka (1997:38), in the same vein, explains that pragmatics is "the study of communication in relation to the context."

Leech (1983:1) views pragmatics as concerned with "language use and aims at helping understand how the user uses language in text and how the receiver interacts with language used in a text to interpret it." Leech's point of view is reinforced by Blum-Kulka's (1997:38) perspective of pragmatics' role in the context and the communication process. In this regard, Blum-Kulka (1997:38) observes the following:

In the broadest sense, pragmatics is the study of linguistic communication in context. Language is the chief means by which people communicate, yet simply knowing the words and grammar of a language does not ensure successful communication. Words can mean more or something other than what they say. Their

interpretation depends on a multiplicity of factors, including familiarity with the context and cultural assumptions. The same phrase may have different meanings on different occasions, and the same intention may be expressed by different linguistic means. Phenomena like these are the concern of pragmatics.

Mey's view (2001:5) that "pragmatics is the science of language seen in relation to its users" comes in agreement with Blum-Kulka's (1997) assumptions. She (1997:38) explains that "the focus of pragmatics is on both the processes and the products of communication, including its cultural embeddedness and social consequences." Therefore, the process of interpretation is not a simple straight operation. There are many intriguing aspects that characterize language use, and language interpretation. Some of the most prominent aspects of language use, that only pragmatics can handle, are implicit and explicit meanings, presupposition, speech acts, implicature, inference, politeness, and context.

The above-mentioned features do not operate separately. Rather, it is quite common for an utterance to display a number of these features. Hence, it is clear that pragmatics plays a key role in the interpretation of the communication process represented by the cartoon's language. This communication, whether verbal or non-verbal, is the expression and recognition of intentions. From this perspective, pragmatic interpretation is an exercise in which the reader infers the cartoonist's intended meaning from his cartoon.

DeSousa and Medhurst (1982:85), as explained by Speedling (2004:14), argue that "political cartoons are forms of symbolic interaction that serve as a means of mirroring, reviewing or remembering the dominant culture." From this definition, it becomes obvious that political cartoons are considered as a communication process whereby ideas are conveyed. This process consists of many elements such as the sender, the medium, the receiver, the political and cultural background, and the context that contains all these elements.

Asserting the role of context, Traugott and Pratt (1980:11) point out that "when language is used, it is always used in a context. What gets said and how it gets said, is always in part determined by a variety of contextual factors." In this regard, Mey (1998:41) agrees with this concept by contending that "context is more than just reference. Context is about understanding what things are for; it is also what gives our utterances their true pragmatic meaning and allows them to be counted as true pragmatic acts."

In his review of the basic idea of context, Van Dijk (1997:11) emphasizes that context seems to imply some kind of environment or circumstances for an event, action or discourse. He shows that context is something we need to know about in order to understand properly the event, action or discourse, which may function as background, setting, surrounding, conditions or consequences

Besides, he contends that the main distinction between abstract discourse analysis and social discourse analysis is that the latter takes the context into account. It was provisionally suggested that this context may involve such parameters as participants, their roles and purposes, as well as properties of a setting, such as time and place. Given the fact that there is a strong relation between political cartoons as a mass communication medium and pragmatics, this study attempts to clarify how pragmatic tools are employed in the language of political cartoons for achieving its targets.

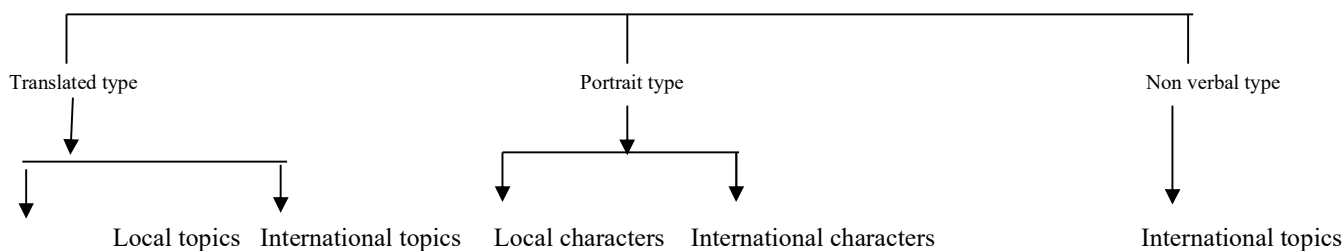
### **3. Methodology of the Analysis**

Taking the previous background into consideration, the approach adopted for analyzing the selected forms is that of pragmatic-oriented analysis as illuminated by Levinson (1983). The selected forms of political cartoon are divided into three branches: Translated, Portrait and Non-verbal. The first branch (Translated) is sorted out into two categories, the local and international-oriented political cartoon.



The first one is characterized as anti-regime form tackling, for instance, the scandal of rigging the elections in Egypt, the deterioration of the economic status, the hike of prices, the QIZ agreement, the ration card troubles, and the confidence crisis in the market. The latter handles international topics such as the UN weakness in the world crises, the repetition of holding Arab summits with no fruitful results, America's stance towards the crisis in Lebanon, and Hizbullah's victory against Israel. The second branch (Portrait) is classified into two main parts (Local characters and International characters). The third branch (Non-Verbal) tackles only international topics.

**A Model of Political Cartoons Classification in Al-Ahram Weekly**



In so doing, the study attempts to discuss the pragmatic devices that are employed by the cartoonist to convey his ideas to the reader. Deixis, implicature, presupposition, speech acts and politeness are among the pragmatic devices manipulated in analysis of the selected data. Besides, this study explores how the gap between the two levels of meaning can be connected by these devices. In this domain, this study discusses the ways for investigating the invisible meaning and raises the question of what determines the choice between what is said and what is unsaid.

#### 4. Significance of the Study

Over the past years, attention was critically lacking towards political cartoons. Many scholars depicted political cartoons as the neglected branch in political communication. In fact, different disciplines tackled the cartoons in journalism, communication, but not in linguistics. The problem seems to lie in this approach, through which historians, philosophers, journalists often view the political cartoons solely as works of art or expression of humor. They consider political cartoons as symbols of fun or humor, but not as processes of linguistic communication in which the cartoonist tries to convey his ideas to the addressee. From this perspective, this study tries to discuss the aspects of the implicit meanings in the language of political cartoons. The importance of the study is obviously shown by shedding light on the role of the language that can be employed to convey explicit and also implicit meaning by pragmatic devices. This study, therefore, attempts to clarify the role of pragmatic devices in explaining the hidden meaning in political cartoons.

#### 5. Objective of the Study

This study attempts to provide pragmatic analysis of the political cartoons in Al-Ahram Weekly Newspaper. In doing so, it tries to emphasize the importance of implicature in the language of political cartoons, whether it abides or flouts Gricean's maxims with its effect to convey the meaning. Also, it attempts to figure out why the cartoonist frequently uses this aspect of pragmatics in writing the language. Another goal of this study is to explain the role of speech acts, whether used directly or indirectly, and why the cartoonist sometimes uses the literal and sometimes prefers to use non literal speech acts.

Moreover, this study also underscores the importance of the distinction between language use and linguistic meaning. Besides, it asserts a parallel distinction between speaker reference and linguistic reference which provokes the assumption to what extent

linguistic expressions refer independently to speakers' use of them. In addition, this study attempts to consider the politeness phenomenon as a pragmatic device, and its role in understanding the meaning.

Given the distance between the cartoonist and his addressees, this study sheds light on how language users often depart from the conditions of optimal information exchange which may cause an amount of lost face. Moreover, it emphasizes the function of deictic expressions and the role of presupposition with its relation to the implicature. In short, it shows the linguistic insights of implicit meanings employed in cartoons and attempts to discover whether the cartoonist succeeds in conveying the meaning to the addressee or not.

## 6. The Analysis

In this section, political cartoons to be analyzed tackle only local topics inside the Egyptian society, such as the rigging of elections, price hikes and the confidence crisis in the market, the unemployment, etc. This type of political cartoons commonly consists of two persons, and there is a dialogue between them. The speech is written by a cartoonist inside the speech balloon. He sometimes prints his name in his cartoon and usually uses some words to indicate the context of a certain event that can help the reader to understand the purpose of such cartoons.

### A) The crisis of confidence in the Egyptian market



Al Ahram Weekly Newspaper, (8 -14 June 2006, issue 798), By Ezzeddin in the Egyptian magazine Sabah Al-Kheir  
"Master, I just heard there's a crisis in confidence. Then buy up all the confidence you can get your hands on and put in storage."

### Background

This above-mentioned cartoon marks the period, in which the Egyptian market suffered from the lack of confidence, price hikes, raising the rate of inflation and unemployment. In fact, many investors made their decisions to end their business in Egypt. Still, on the other hand, the government is trying hard to save the situation. Usually, it adds bonuses in civil servants' salaries, and sometimes launches campaigns to control prices in the market. In spite of the strict measures the government is trying to apply, the greedy merchants ignore them and seek for anything that may increase their profits.

### The analysis

In this cartoon, the cartoonist tries to reflect how serious the economic deterioration in Egyptian market has become. The cartoonist uses a sense of humor which aims at exploring the ignorance among many merchants and reflecting the level of monopoly in which those traders are manipulating. In fact, the cartoonist uses a dialogue inside speech balloon between the master and the apprentice which generally reflects the level of ignorance of a number of merchants and their thirst for monopolizing merchandise. It is filled up with a variety of pragmatic tools that are used to explain the implicit message of the cartoonist.

It seems from this dialogue that the cartoonist says something while intending to say something else. The question is how can an addressee or a reader understand the implicit meaning of such a cartoon? It seems just as if the Grice's Cooperative Principle entails cooperation between the addressor and the addressee to understand each other. As a result, there is a Cooperative Principle between the cartoonist and his reader, that is based on the interaction between the two sides vis-à-vis the four Gricean maxims. Hence, it can be understood from the previous dialogue that the maxim of quality is clearly violated.

The phrase, *a crisis in confidence*, does not hold any true value, nor does the sentence, *buy up all the confidence you can get your hands on and put it in storage*, indicate any truth in real life. Considering whether or not these words are informative, it seems that they are not, since they do not indicate the information required for understanding the causes of deterioration in Egypt. The master's response also flouts the maxim of quantity, since it is not informative to buy confidence and put it in storage. The maxim of manner is satisfied, as there is no ambiguity or obscurity putting in mind the economic deterioration in the market and the lack of confidence.

Therefore, on the basis of cooperation assumption, an addressee is able to realize that the cartoonist's words are irrelevant, as it seems at the face value. The cartoonist wants to convey his idea to an addressee; however, instead of expressing his meaning directly, he prefers to convey it indirectly. Regarding whether or not the implicature is bound to context, it seems that the implicit meaning is particularized to the context. If we consider the same speech that occurs in the context of the existence of confidence, instead of the crisis of confidence, the cartoonist will no longer criticize the government. Rather, he will praise the government for providing the confidence.

The strong relationship between implicature and presupposition in explaining implicit meaning clarifies the presupposed meaning of the dialogue. In fact, it provides another type of pragmatic inference or implication that is related to what is said rather than what is the meant. The sentence, *Master, I just heard that there is a crisis in confidence*, presupposes structurally that there is a lack of confidence in the market. The first part of the second sentence, *Then buy up all the confidence*, implies non-factive presupposition that the confidence can be bought up. The second part, *put it in storage*, provides the same presupposition.

The cartoonist uses speech acts indirectly whether in the dialogue or even in his drawing. In the first sentence, the cartoonist uses a direct speech act in the apprentice's words, *Master, I just heard there is a crisis in confidence*, which is assertive act, since the apprentice tries to explain or state the truth of the market. On the other hand, the master's reply uses a kind of indirect speech act that is a directive, as the Master just orders his apprentice to do this. It seems from this speech act that it has a force of ordering his apprentice.

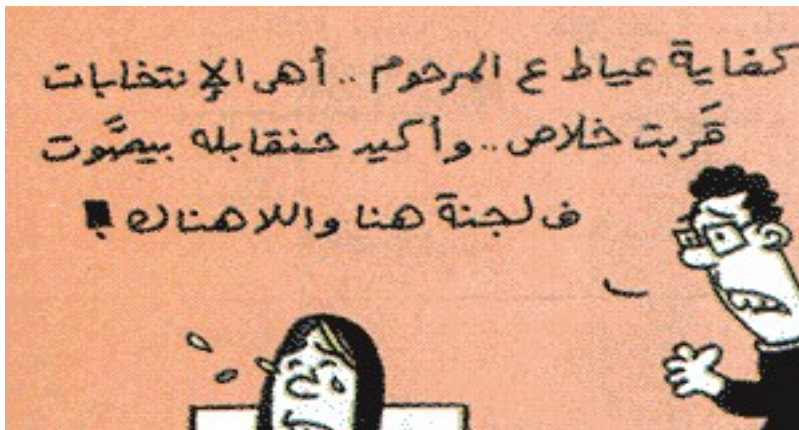
Clearly, this non-literal act of directive leads the utterance to be contradictory to one's background knowledge. How can this apprentice buy up all the confidence in the market! The cartoonist employs indirect speech act to avoid the contradictory truth of the utterance and to express his idea about the level of monopoly in the market. In his drawing, he reflects other acts, such as the drawing of the apprentice rushing towards his master, which is assertive speech act reflecting good news to his master. The drawing of the master with tummy, unkempt moustache with his unshaved beard illustrates the state of his low-educational level, perhaps his buckling down in business only.

In this dialogue, the cartoonist uses a variety of deictic expressions. Person deixis is used clearly through the vocative *Master*. The first person pronoun, *I*, refers to the apprentice, and the third person pronoun, *you*, refers to the apprentice. Time deixis is obviously used in the dialogue. The time adverb, *just*, refers to the recent action of hearing, while the past tense of the verb, *heard*, indicates this action occurred in the past. The master's reply employs two imperative verbs that indicate the power from the master to his apprentice.

Place deixis is applied through the motion verb, *put*, while the verb, *buy up*, refers to motion action. Discourse deixis involves the word, *then*, which connects the utterance of the apprentice with the utterance of the master, and confirms the meaning that there is a crisis in confidence. Social deixis can be clarified through the level of language, whether it is modern standard or colloquial. Regarding the social background of the characters, the language level employed in the above-mentioned cartoon reflects a colloquial variety of language of non-educated people.

The level of politeness in this speech is clearly Face Threatening Act (FTA) with positive face strategy, as the cartoonist's intention in this cartoon is to criticize the deterioration in the market and the greedy merchants. The cartoonist wants to convey his message that the government must interfere to stop the monopoly practices. For fear of offending the reader, the cartoonist indirectly expresses his ideas; hence, he resorts to indirectness so as to mitigate the aggressiveness of his message.

#### B) The scandal of rigging the elections in Egypt



Al Ahram Weekly Newspaper (25 – 31 August 2005, issue 757) By Amr Selim in the new Egyptian daily *Rose El-Youssef* alludes to rigged elections that use the names of dead people to pad up vote counts. "Enough tears for the deceased. The elections are near and for sure he'll be voting in one of the polling stations."

#### Background

The above-mentioned cartoon reflects the period in which Egypt witnessed a variety of elections, whether presidential or parliamentary, or even municipal elections. In this period, Egypt witnessed political opposition movements, such as Kifaya "enough" that raises the slogan "enough corruption, enough negativity, enough authoritarianism." The political awareness has increased and the interest of the people has become more focused. However, the Egyptian people were shocked by the same practices performed by the government as it was before Mubarak's announcement of amending the article 76 that was the cornerstone of the new political changes in Egypt.

The Egyptian people were upset by the same practices that were performed before. One of the clearest examples of such practices is using the violence against the opposition members and also using names of some dead persons in the polling station in order to increase the voters' counts. In fact, it was a scandal against the whole political system to have the same defects

that happened during the past eras. On the other hand, some pundits claim that although Egypt witnesses some troubles during these multi-candidate elections, it moves in the right direction. They assert that democratic concepts can not be practiced suddenly but only step by step, claiming that the Egyptian society now lives in the scope of democracy and freedom that was not available before.

These aspects of freedom can be found in the media, the street, or even inside working places. The obvious example of this is the above-mentioned cartoon drawn by Amr Selim in the new Egyptian daily Rose El-Youssef. Such drawing which may be offensive towards the government and its practices, it clarifies how much freedom the Egyptian people live. All in all, the cartoon embodies the period of Egypt's history with all its pros and cons and clarifies which level of democracy, freedom, and development the Egyptian society witnesses.

### *The analysis*

In this cartoon, the cartoonist tries to reflect the level of rigging the elections in Egypt. The cartoonist uses a sense of humor to draw the attention to the loosening system of the elections. The dialogue is between a lamented wife that lost her husband and a certain relative, who is condolencing her. The cartoonist does not exaggerate in his description, since this event happened more than once during the electoral process. It was discovered that some officials in Egypt use the names of the dead people to increase the number of the vote accounts in their favour which shows how much deterioration in the electoral system in Egypt.

On the basis of cooperation assumption, an addressee may realize that the cartoonist's words are relevant as it seems from the explicit meaning. The cartoonist resorts to indirectness to assert his ideas by using a sense of humour. The cooperative principle between the cartoonist and his reader is based on the interaction between the two sides. In the first clause, *Enough tears for the deceased*, it seems that the maxim of quality is violated since there is no real value on the tears for the deceased. Moreover, in the second clause, the maxim of quantity is violated. How can the reader interpret that there could be tears for the deceased!

The clause is not informative because it does not abide to the maxim of quantity, so this maxim is violated. How is a dead described as a voter in the elections. In the second sentence, *the elections are near and for sure he'll be voting in one of the polling stations*, the words may be informative which entails that the second sentence abides to the maxim of quantity. The maxim of relevance is satisfied in the first clause but not in second sentence, as the tears are always relevant to lament. Yet, in the second sentence, there is no relation between the dead man and voting in the polling station. The maxim of manner is satisfied in both the first clause and in the second sentence as there is not any kind of ambiguity.

Pragmatic inference enforces a reader to search for a presupposition, since the cartoonist depends on the reciprocal presupposition in large quantity of tears and limitless sadness on the deceased. In the second sentence, *the elections are near and for sure he'll be voting in one of the polling stations*, there is another structural presupposition that there will be election to be held in the future. In the second part of this sentence, *for sure he'll be voting in one of the polling stations*, this part gives non-factive presupposition that the dead can vote in polling stations.

In his cartoon, the cartoonist uses direct and indirect speech acts to convey his ideas to readers. The arrival at such an intended meaning depends on having mutual background knowledge about the electoral status in Egypt. On having this background knowledge, it seems clearly that the cartoonist aims at describing the given state of elections in Egypt through an assertive speech act. At the same time, the cartoonist tries to criticize the electoral system when he mentions that this deceased will vote in the following election. The cartoonist uses another indirect speech act that is commissive act which refers to his criticism to the government.

The cartoonist doesn't use only the verbal text to convey his concepts. He, as well, uses his specific style of drawing to reflect other acts. The drawing of the portrait of the deceased, hung on the wall reflects the simplicity of such family and the style of

their life. That kind of description can be described as an assertive act. In his drawing of the wife's tears, he reflects how sad she feels for her husband's passing away. Regarding deictic expressing, the cartoonist uses the words, *for sure*, as a discourse deixis for indicating the result of the deceased voting in one of the polling station. This kind of discourse deixis is used to link the previous texts with the following ones.

The verb, *will be voting*, is a place deixis, since the verb, *vote*, is a motion verb refers to a dynamic action. Considering the social deixis used, it is clear that the colloquial language is used between the two characters which refers to the social background of the characters. In other words, it shows that they belong to the middle or perhaps the lower class. The cartoonist uses Face Threatening Act with positive face strategy (criticism) that doesn't directly convey his message to the other side. So, he intends to use a mean of releasing the effect of an offensive message to back up the positive face of the addressee.

He could have written another direct message such as (the electoral system in Egypt is so deteriorated and terribly false so that the dead persons' names might be counted in the voting process). In this case, the cartoonist could have explained his position in a very aggressive way. Instead, he aims at using a strategy which is indirect criticism to minimize as much as possible the offensiveness of his FTA. Therefore, he uses the idea of the deceased man to vote in one of the polling stations.

### C) The corruption in the parliament



Al Ahram Weekly newspaper (8 - 14 December 2005, issue #772) Mustafa Hussein in the Egyptian daily Al-Akhbar. "I spent a lot of money to get into parliament. But the august parliament will make it up 100 times over."

### Background

The above-mentioned cartoon reflects how Egypt faces high levels of corruption, and many analysts say that official corruption, more than any other factors, represents the root cause of poverty. Corruption is rampant in many areas of Egyptian society, from young people's dependence on *wasta* 'connections in Arabic' in order to find jobs to wealthy businessmen buying political power through seats in parliament. Some claim that there is bribery on various levels. The obvious example is PM candidates pay their dues before being given a seat in parliament, while patients bribe doctors to get appointments on time.

Some argue that no one can get anything done without utilizing some form of financial corruption. Others, on the other hand, claim the rise of the private sector in the last decade has also bred its own form of corruption. The government protects corrupt businessmen from exposure, while businessmen fund officials' campaigns and lifestyles. One could describe the current atmosphere as one dominated by a Mafia, Egyptian-style. Allegations of this nature have put pressure on the Egyptian government to address the issue of corruption.

Nevertheless, the government exerts great efforts in an attempt to limit the trend, while newspapers are increasingly reporting high-level corruption cases. On the streets of Cairo, public opinion does not hold much faith in the government when it comes to corruption. Had the system been less corrupt, all Egyptians would have shared in this country's plentiful wealth.

#### *The analysis*

In drawing the businessman talking with his wife, it seems that their talking is expressive and revealing. The verbal language and the drawing have many symbols and signs that refer to specific points. The cartoonist reflects the period Egypt witnessed after the open door policy in the seventies of the last century. One can understand from the speech balloon that this businessman tries to get in the parliament by using all his powers whether by money or connections with higher officials in Egypt.

Further, the cartoonist draws this businessman with specific hints that refers to his status, such as the unprepared tie and his large tummy that refers to his buckling down in his business. Moreover, his facial features, his moustache with a few locks of hair refers to the style of this greedy character. Although the cartoonist's message from drawing the cartoon is probably clear. The cartoonist tends to the implicit meaning to help the reader guess or imagine his intended purpose.

The cartoonist draws the cartoon shown above in the period in which the concept of open economy becomes in a full swing, and it seems that businesses have important roles in the politics. It is obvious from such cartoon that parliament membership can be used to gain or increase the profits which means that the corruption levels reached the highest level in Egypt. Regarding the verbal language, the cartoonist uses in the speech balloon, *I spent a lot of many to get into the parliament*, which does not have any real meaning in our world. How can one get into the parliament by his money not by a voting system! Hence, the first clause does not have any truth.

The second clause, *But the august parliament will make it up 100 times over*, does not also have any true meaning, since it is incredible to make the parliament as a source for increasing the profits of anyone. Therefore, both clauses violates the maxim of quality. On the contrary, the informative sense is clear in both, which enables the reader to understand the context. It seems also that this speech is related to the topic that is the corruption in every aspect in the Egyptian society. The strong correlation between money, politics and the businessmen are clear-cut example of the corruption.

The maxim of manner is also abided, as there is no ambiguity or unclarity of the meaning whether explicitly or implicitly. The implicit meaning confirms a presupposed meaning in the words, *I spent a lot of money*, which means that spending money is a normal way and it gives a structural presupposition of spending the money. In the words, *to get into the parliament*, there is another structural presupposition that he did not get into the parliament before. The word, *august*, gives lexical presupposition that parliament has a respected impressive reputation. The clause, *But the august parliament will make it up 100 times over*, gives non-factive presupposition that the parliament is a set or a machine to generate the money.

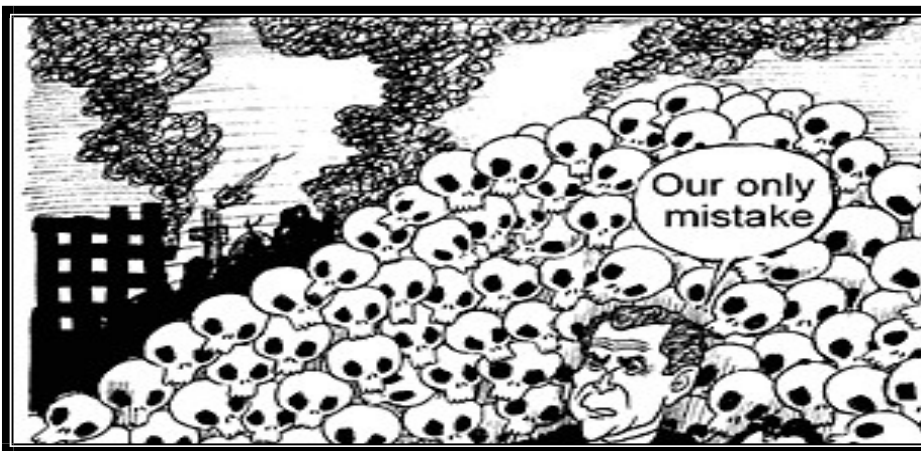
In the speech balloon, the cartoonist uses a direct speech act in the words, *I spent a lot of money to get into parliament*, in order to describe a given state, so the act is expressive. In the second sentence, *will make it up 100 times over*, the cartoonist uses indirect speech act which is the commissive, since this parliament will double the amount which is a future action. At the same time, this indirect act also includes another expressive act. One can feel from the speech that this businessman is praising the parliament for its role to increase the profits.

Deictic expressions are among the pragmatic devices used by the cartoonist to convey his ideas to his readers. The cartoonist employs a first person singular pronoun, *I*, to refer to the businessman. Pronoun, *it*, in the second clause, is a second person singular pronoun, refers to the wealth and fortunes of him. Time deixis is also used in this dialogue. The verb, *spent*, is in past simple tense, referring to the action that occurred in the past. The verb, *will make*, indicates the future event of making these profits.

The word, *But*, is used as discourse deixis for referring to the contradiction between losing or spending the money to get into the parliament and getting it back again from the parliament. Social deixis expresses the social background of the speakers that can be described as the new riches. This term is used for those who were suffering from penury and now become rich. The employed language variety is colloquial, reflecting the educational level of the speaker.

In the above-mentioned cartoon, the cartoonist uses FTA again with positive strategy to save the face of an addressee. Instead of slashing the government for its corruption and its malfeasance, he uses indirect criticism to government. The cartoonist's message is "the government must stop all the corrupted practices, particularly from those who are working inside the parliament" For fear of being aggressive towards the reader, he expresses his concepts indirectly, as it may be the best way to get his message understood.

### The State of Iraq after the U.S. occupation



AlAhram Weekly Newspaper (1 - 7 June 2006- Issue No. 797). Cartoon by Gommaa

### Background

It was known as Abu Ghraib Scandal, an incident involving acts of torture and abuse committed by United States military personnel against Iraqi prisoners held in Abu Ghraib prison, just west of Baghdad, Iraq, during the U.S.-Iraq War. The public phase of the scandal began in late April 2004 when the CBS News program *60 Minutes* broadcast photographs on television depicting some of these acts of torture. These images and others subsequently made public, such as those of a naked prisoner lying on the floor with a leash around his neck, a hooded prisoner standing on a box with wires attached to his hands and genitals. Such horrible scandals became infamous throughout the world.

The photographs and investigative reports sparked demands for an accounting of U.S. treatment of prisoners captured in the war on terror, which included the U.S. invasions of Afghanistan in 2001 and of Iraq in 2003. These military expeditions, which followed the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks on the United States, led to the detention of prisoners in Afghanistan, Iraq, and other nations, and at a U.S. Navy base in Guantanamo Bay, Cuba. The demands for a full accounting of prisoner treatment quickly led to the official and unofficial release of many documents. The most notable documents originated from the International Committee of the Red Cross and the U.S. military.

Subsequent reports explored general government policy on the treatment and interrogation of detainees taken in the war on terror. Still other documents offered a picture of how officials in the administration of the U.S. President George W. Bush, notably those



in the Department of Defense, the Department of Justice, and within the White House itself, had made decisions that altered the U.S. policies regarding the interrogation of wartime prisoners.

Thus, the Abu Ghraib scandal came to involve the legality, morality, and consequences of the use of extreme interrogation techniques on detainees during the U.S. war on terror. These techniques were used not only at Abu Ghraib, but also at U.S. military bases in Iraq, Afghanistan, and Guantanamo, among other places. Many observers believe the scandal encompasses not only the acts of abuse and torture depicted, but also the ways in which the U.S. government investigated and assigned responsibility for those acts. A number of enlisted soldiers and some officers faced criminal charges, and a few high-ranking officers were reprimanded. However, no senior administration officials, responsible for setting a policy that led to torture, were punished, removed from their position, or reprimanded.

### ***The analysis***

The cartoon above is a clear vision of gross mistakes the U.S. President "George Bush Jr" and the former British Prime Minister "Blair" made in their illegitimate war against Iraq. Before waging this war, the U.S. President announced that the U.S. army will do nothing but only liberating Iraq from tyranny and the Iraqi people will receive the invading forces with greetings and flowers. However, after invading Iraq, The Iraqi people face the most ferocious attacks by the occupying forces and culminated by Abu Gharib scandal.

The cartoonist draws this cartoon and attempts to blame Bush and Blair for their mistakes. In the sentence, *Our only mistake*, there is implicit meaning from this sentence and also from drawing such a cartoon. The maxim of quality is not satisfied as there is no true meaning in the sentence. The maxim of quantity is also not satisfied as there is no available information for understanding the meaning. Yet, the maxims of relevance and manner are satisfied as there is a strong relationship between the context of the speech and the cartoon.

The phrase, *our only mistake*, gives a structural presupposition that all the U.S. President and British prime minister did was nothing but only one mistake. The drawing of limitless number of skulls gives factive presupposition that Bush and Blair policies led to many horrific killings among the Iraqi people. The drawing of the covered hanged prisoner gives another factive presupposition that refers to the scandal of Abu Gharib prisoners. Smoking emissions from the building gives another factive presupposition about what Iraq witnesses of destruction and devastation.

Speech acts are clearly employed in this cartoon whether directly or indirectly. In the phrase, *our only mistake*, gives a direct speech act that is representative. The drawing of the hanged prisoner covered by a black gown reveals an indirect act that is expressive as the cartoonist tries to blame the U.S. President and British prime minister for their decision to wage this war. The drawing of skulls beyond both leaders reveals another indirect speech act that is expressive in which the cartoonist blame both leaders and holding them the responsibility for what happens in Iraq.

## 5.4. Iranian Topics

### A) Iran's indifference to the U.S. threats



Al Ahram Weekly Newspaper (20 - 26 April, 2006). Cartoon by Goma

#### **Background**

At the beginning of 2002, President George W. Bush tried to punish Iran for supporting anti-Israel militants, refusing to adopt a Western-style democracy, and for allegedly trying to produce weapons of mass destruction. He included Iran, along with Iraq and North Korea, in the "axis of evil." Among foreign diplomats and journalists in Tehran, it became fashionable to speak of the coming implosion of the Islamic Republic, Iran's revolutionary state. Weakened by a power struggle between reformists and conservative hard-liners, Iran was vulnerable to the sort of threat that the United States, whose forces had easily toppled the Taliban and scattered al-Qaeda, seemed to represent.

The fear of intervention by the U.S. in Iran became more urgent among Iran's leaders, when America invaded Iraq the following year. Indeed, it later became known that, in early 2003, the Iranian Foreign Ministry quietly sent Washington a detailed proposal for comprehensive negotiations, in which the Iranian government said it was prepared to make concessions about its nuclear program and to address concerns about its ties to groups such as Hezbollah and Islamic Jihad, in return for an agreement from the White House to refrain from destabilizing the Islamic Republic and start lifting long sanctions. The U.S. rejected this overture out of hand. It seemed that Bush didn't want to offer guarantees to a regime that he intended, at a later date, to try to destroy.

After the tragic events of the U.S. troops in Iraq, it is hard to imagine the Iranian government repeating this sort of offer. It is their apparent strength and good fortune that they take a provocatively long time to respond to diplomatic overtures, such as the proposal that the U.S., Britain, France, Germany, China, and Russia offered them before, and which they rejected. The six powers had offered a series of incentives including nuclear technology whose peaceful application can be verified. These incentives are like a very modest relaxation of the U.S. sanctions, and diplomatic support for Iran's bid to join the World Trade Organization as an inducement to Iran to suspend its uranium enrichment program.

Among American and Israeli government officials, and some of their allies, there is a fear that Iran is playing for time. Iran's technicians still have several years' work ahead of them before they can produce enough fuel to run a reactor and build a bomb. It seems likely that Iran's leaders have calculated that there is little appetite, even in the Security Council, for serious punitive action. Even if the U.S. and its allies manage to impose sanctions, these will very likely be limited to the transfer of some nuclear and non-nuclear military technology, travel restrictions on senior officials, and the freezing of Iranian assets abroad instead of the far more threatening possibility of restrictions on non-military trade or an oil embargo. Iran, Ahmadinejad "the Iranian President" asserts, will not give up its nuclear rights.

For many in the U.S., Europe, and Israel, Iran's determination to produce nuclear weapons in defiance of the world's significant powers seems clear. Some go further, suggesting that Iranian leaders, who have a bomb, will be temperamentally inclined to use it. In fact, Ahmadinejad, and every other Iranian politician and official, who speaks on this subject, takes care to reiterate Iran's longstanding claim that it has no intention of developing nuclear weapons, and such program is exclusively peaceful.

### ***The analysis***

Implicit meanings can be inferred indirectly from the drawing. The cartoonist tries to make a link between the brutality of the crocodile and the tragic events that occurs daily in Iraq. Although the communication is non-verbal, the cartoon is filled with signs and symbols that are used in human communication referring to, not only language, but also cultural and political concepts. Regarding Gricean's maxims, the maxim of quality in the words, *Iran-Iraq*, is flouted, since they don't indicate truth value. The maxim of quantity is flouted, as the two words don't convey any sufficient information. The maxim of relevance is satisfied in the word, *Iran*, however it is flouted in the word, *Iraq*, since there is no relevance between the state of Iraq and the drawing crocodile. The maxim of manner is satisfied, because there is no ambiguity involved in the meaning.

Regarding presupposition, there are three items. Iranian President, the U.S. President and the crocodile that represents the crisis in Iraq. The drawing of the President's leg between the crocodile's jaws presupposes that the U.S. President found himself in a quagmire through the U.S. occupation in Iraq. The drawing of President Bush holding a baton in one hand and waving his fist on the other hand presupposes that he is willing to fight his enemy in spite of the troubles he is still facing.

The word, *Iraq*, written on the crocodile, lexically presupposes that Iraq became a place of crisis for the U.S. forces. On the other hand, the drawing of Iran's President with his "V" sign on one hand and his high thumb finger referring back to the nuclear facilities on the other hand, presupposes that he is confident of his actions and his policies. The drawing of his tongue sticking out presupposes his indifference to the US threats.

Considering speech acts, there is no verbal speech in this cartoon. However, the drawing holds an act which encompasses an indirect non-literal one voicing criticism to the U.S. that suffers from its policies in the Middle East, specifically in Iraq. The drawing of Iranian President, showing his high thumb in one hand, and his "V" sign with the other hand, performs an indirect, non-literal commissive act, expressing a confidence of the Iranian stance against the U.S. Perhaps there is conformity between the drawing of crocodile and the explosive situation in Iraq.

The purpose of this study was to develop a pragmatic approach for analyzing the selected forms of political cartoons in Al Ahram Weekly Newspaper. Throughout the analysis, many aspects related to the implicit meaning were highlighted to show how political cartoons can function as mediators of meanings between the cartoonists and the receivers. In this respect, the analysis of the data in this thesis revealed the following findings:

First, political cartoons are messages which can be described in terms of content and complexity, but they also operate on a larger communication context. Within this larger framework, we can look at cartoonists and social factors which influence the message of cartoons. In addition, cartoons are forms that carry symbolism and exaggeration messages. These messages are supposed to come quicker than written editorials. The integration of language, visual art, and creativity into the production of cartoons enable the artists to communicate more effectively than they would do using only one style.

Second, characters in cartoons must be recognizable to the viewer, and the drawing must have a basis in reality even though it may contain a philosophical tendency. Also, a purpose is necessary in cartoons because without it, cartoons are not given any universal meaning. To achieve its communicative purpose, political cartoons, unlike other forms of the media, employ humor in an attempt to make a political statement. Cartoons are sometimes amusing, but can be emotionally devastating. That means that cartoons can generate anger and outrage as well as funny sensations.

Third, although political cartoons are often perceived as forms of amusement, they are also powerful media for political discourse. Since they act as a means of establishing and evaluating political situations, political cartoons can also establish political agendas by presenting judgements about politics that may affect reader's beliefs and attitudes. Moreover, simplicity is an important element in the communicative process of political cartoons. That means cartoonists are not committed to the rules of grammar or lexicography, and they are not compelled by the rules of sentence and paragraph formation.

Fourth, humor is a central element in conveying the meaning to the viewers. It plays a unique and central role in the way political cartoons communicate ideas. It also functions most often in cartoons as a vehicle for expressing the persuasive messages of cartoonists. The function of humor in the political messages is the release of tension it provides. Because political humor is often a reaction to the greatest concentration of power in society, it is considered as a safe release for aggressiveness against superior force.

Fifth, translated political cartoons reflect the local and international events that exist in our daily life. A cartoonist uses his talent in drawing to mirror the trends in the political life locally and internationally. On the other hand, the analysis of portrait political cartoons reflects the stance of the cartoonist over the character he portrays. In most cases, the cartoonist attempts to recover the main features of the character. Through a number of pragmatic devices, the cartoonist attempts to convey his implicit meaning to his readers.

Non-verbal cartoons are the third branch of the political cartoons that focuses on the international topics. This branch of cartoons does not contain a dialogue or a verbal description unlike the translated or the portrait cartoons. Yet, this branch of political cartoons contains only symbols and signs that indicate implicit meanings. Portrait and non-verbal cartoons play important roles in framing and determining the public feeling towards the current events. Cartoonists may be closer and simpler to explain the political situation than the political writers do.

In non-verbal cartoons, cartoonists may use few words that refer to their points. It is remarkable that in this type there is no usage of deixis or politeness strategies, but only speech acts, presupposition, and implicature. Cartoonists generally depend on indirectness to shape their concepts to the readers. Portrait cartoons depend on the description of the famous Egyptian cartoonist "George Bahgory" who is probably the only cartoonist specialized in drawing portrait cartoons with attached verbal description. The cartoonist expresses his personal perspective over the character. For a perfect understanding of the meaning, the readers should have a contextual aspects or background of the portrait to arrive at the intended meaning of the cartoonist.

Sixth, context plays an important role in explaining and interpreting cartoons. Probably, without a context, there will be no interaction between the cartoonist and the addressees, as a cartoonist may cause obscurity to his ideas, and readers could be confused about such unclarity. A cartoonist commonly tends to the indirectness in his speech acts, which means he explicitly uses a number of words, and he implicitly intends to convey another meaning. The most common sense in his writing is his criticism of the negative aspects in a society. The cartoonist uses this kind of indirect speech acts either to escape the censorship or to draw the attention of the readers to think carefully about his ideas over local and international topics.

Seventh, since cartoons tend to be excessive, visual satire is also among the various tools that are employed in cartoons. Visual satire differs from written satire in its use of depiction or the deliberate distortion of a particular individual's features for purposes of mockery. Agenda-setting and framing are central instruments for political cartoons in the political communication in society. Agenda-setting is responsible for spreading information to the public and organize them. Political cartoons contribute to the agenda-setting through providing readers with a sense of the most significant issues, events, or topics. Frames reduce complex issues or events to a simple metaphorical form. Therefore, political cartoons provide the reader with an allusion of understanding events or thoughts.

Finally, cartoons play important roles as effective ways of persuasion. That is because cartoons have an ability to simplify complex issues into forms, which are easily understood by the audience. Implicitness of visual meaning has also a major consequence for the persuasive use of visual image. Since a visual argument can not be entirely explicit, it may require a viewer to have a greater degree of mental participation. The analysis of political cartoons can be handled using other approaches in order to capture the various aspects of linguistic concepts in the visual discourse. This can be done from a semantic or semiotic perspective. The present study was an attempt in this direction from a pragmatic perspective.

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- 2- Farahat, G. An interview on October 4, 2006.



## The Representation of Muslims in CNN Talk Shows: A Critical Discourse Analysis<sup>1</sup>

Jabr Saad Abdel Wahab Ahmad  
Ph.D. Researcher, Helwan University  
Corresponding email: [jabr\\_saad@yahoo.com](mailto:jabr_saad@yahoo.com)

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### ABSTRACT

The current paper, that investigates representing Muslims in Western TV talk shows (particularly CNN) from 2014-2018, is a real challenge to tackle these controversial issues at the time of associating Muslims with most dangerous crimes all over the world. In the present study, van Leeuwen's framework of the representation of social actors (2008), ideological square of van Dijk (2004) and discursive strategies of Wodak (2009), powerful tools of enquiry within CDA, are adopted and adapted to analyzing data gleaned from CNN talk shows; Fareed Zakaria's GPS episode 'why they hate us'. It has found that Muslims who are negatively associated with crimes around the world are the most killed and injured group in such terror attacks that are unjustably associated with them because of their religion, Islam, and at the same time because of their inferiority.

### 1. Introduction

Media play an influential role in sharing and exchanging information about many important topics in the life of humans. Discourse analysis often examines how particular phenomena (people, concepts: events, etc.) are represented through language use. For example, prejudiced language is characterized by positive self-representation and negative „other“ representation (Reisigl and Wodak 2001), which can be achieved through stereotyping.

Tolson claims that talk shows are “crucial to the landscape of popular television” (Tolson, 2001, p.3). As Reza (2011) observed, representations and 'pictures in our heads' are primarily reflected in 'pseudo reality' from media coverage. Media practitioners in any capacity play a vital role in creating such mental pictures by converting social reality into mediated reality. Therefore, the media hold a dominant position in conveying, explaining and articulating specific discourses that help represent (and misrepresent) minority groups (Cottle, 2006).

In the same vein, van Dijk (2000) states that media discourse are the main source of people’s knowledge, attitudes and ideologies. Over the past decades, the Western stereotypical images of Arabs and Muslims in America and Western countries have been persistent and the main difference between the past and the present lies mainly in the means, reasons, degree and content of these stereotypical images. For instance, in the past, Arabs and Muslims were largely described as "erotic," "primitive," "ignorant," "slave traders," and other insulting terms. Nowadays, they are stereotyped as terrorists, fundamentalists, extremists and anti-west. The incident of September 11, 2001, changed the course of history. It was a catastrophic event, like the assassination of President Kennedy or the attack on Pearl Harbor (Glant, 2012). van Dijk (1991), Poole and Richardson (2006) and (Yenigun, 2004) the negative image of Islam in a post 11\9 world when they said that Islam and Muslims are often represented as problematic or as

<sup>1</sup> This paper is extracted from the first author’s unpublished Ph.D. thesis that is being conducted.

a threat. van Dijk (2003) asserts this image when he talks about the close and complete association of Muslims with violence and terrorism. Cottle argues that the media hold a powerful position in conveying, explaining and articulating specific discourses that help represent (and misrepresent) minority groups (see Cottle, 2006). It suggests that this misrepresentation can be linked to the development of "racism", namely Islamophobia that has its roots in cultural representations of the "other" (Saeed, 2007). What we know of society depends on how things are represented to us through media and that knowledge in turn informs what we do and what policies we are prepared to accept (Miller, 2002).

## **2. Aims of the paper**

This paper is an attempt to reveal hidden ideology about Muslims in some Western shows on CNN through highlighting some linguistic features associated with the portrayal of Muslims. It investigates the nature of the relationship between Muslims and terrorism as claimed by the participants of the talk shows through identifying and marking the concepts characterizing labeling of Muslims in the selected media after certain terrorist attacks. Another important object is to illustrate the role of the media in getting knowledge about the world around us and how it affects the ideologies and attitudes of people all over the globe to the extent of providing the public with misinformation which in turn leads to the (mis)representation of others being Muslims or minorities. Thus, it has sought answers to the following questions:

## **3. Questions of the study**

- 1- How the actors or institutions associated with Islam are represented in the gleaned data? What actions are attributed to these entities?
- 2- What is the relationship between the roles allocated to Muslims and their representation?
- 3- What are the linguistic tools that mark the discourse about Muslims in the talk shows of these four channels about Muslims?

## **4. Theoretical background**

Numerous scholars across disciplines have investigated media representation of Muslims from their perspectives and across varying geo- political contexts, which include: North America (Ibrahim, 2010; Kumar, 2010; Shaheen, 2009), Europe (Ehrkamp, 2010; Poole, 2002), Asia (Ahmed, 2010, 2012; Green, 2013), Latin America (Ahlin and Carler, 2011) and Oceanian countries (Ewart, 2012; Kabir, 2011; Patil, 2015). Most of these studies didn't tackle the stereotypes of Muslims in TV talk shows as an interesting genre and analyzing the data based on the representational strategies as well.

### **4.1- Why media discourse**

Representing social actors aim to clarify how people as social actors are depicted in the social communication. This depiction may hide certain identities and ideologies that are to be revealed in the analysis and interpretation sections.

### **4.2 Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)**

Critical discourse analysis (CDA), a branch of discourse analysis investigates social phenomena which are necessarily complex and thus require a multidisciplinary and multi-methodological approach, focused particularly on issues of inequality, sometimes keeping in mind the question "who benefits?" when carrying out analysis. Fairclough stated that "ideologies can't be simply read directly from the text unless we carefully consider patterns and variations in the social distribution, consumption, and interpretation of the text" (1992, p.28).

### **4.3 Tenets of CDA**

Many theorists in CDS present the general principles of CDS in their own terms (van Dijk, 1993b; Wodak, 1996; Fairclough & Wodak, 1997, p. 271-280; Meyer, 2001). van Dijk (2001) discusses the main tenets of CDS of Fairclough

& Wodak's (1997) as follows (1) CDS addresses social problems, (2) power relations are discursive, (3) discourse constitutes society and culture, (4) it does ideological work, (5) it is historical, the link between text and society is mediated (7) discourse analysis is interpretative and explanatory, and (8) discourse is a form of social action.

The first principle states that CDS addresses social and political problems such as racist discourse, anti-Semitic discourse and inequality practices. The objects under investigation do not have to be related to negative or exceptionally serious social or political experiences or events (Wodak & Meyer, 2009). The second tenet is that power relations are discursive in which CDA explains how social relations of power are exercised and negotiated in and through discourse (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997).

The next principle is that discourse constitutes society and culture in which every instance of language use makes its own contribution to reproducing and transforming society and culture, including relations of power (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997). The fourth principle is that discourse does ideological work. Ideologies are often produced through discourse. To understand how ideologies are produced, it isn't enough to analyze texts; the discursive practice (how texts are interpreted and received and what social effects they have) must also be considered (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997).

Another important tenet is that discourse is historical and therefore discourses can only be understood with reference to their historical context. In accordance with this, CDA refers to extra-linguistic factors such as culture, society and ideology in historical terms (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997; Wodak, 2001a). The next principle is that the link between text and society is mediated. CDA, thus, is concerned with making connections between socio-cultural processes and structures on the one hand, and properties of texts on the other (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997; Meyer 2001; Scollon, 2001).

The following tenet is that CDA is interpretative and explanatory. It is not only interpretative, but also explanatory in intent (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997; Wodak, 1996; 2001b). These interpretations and explanations are dynamic and open, and may be affected by new readings and new contextual information. The last tenet states that discourse is a form of social action.

#### **4.4 Aims of CDA**

Much work in CDA aims primarily at instigating current social problems, seeking to show the resistance against inequality. A crucial objective is that "CDA contributes to addressing the social 'wrongs' of the day (such as injustice, discrimination, marginalization and exclusion), by analyzing their sources and causes, resistance to them and possibilities of overcoming them" (Fairclough, 2009 p. 163).

CDA analysts should highlight the usage of such social inequalities and the tools used to maintain that power (Fairclough, 1995a). One of the tasks of CDA is to see how such language use confirms, reproduces or challenges the existing power relations of individuals and institutions alike. Another objective of CDA is to expose misrepresentation of and discrimination against powerless, be they minorities, people of the Third World and political enemies, and expose the manipulative strategies adopted by dominant groups to maintain social inequalities and injustices (van Dijk, 2006). Wodak and Meyer state "CDA seeks to produce and convey critical knowledge that enables human beings to emancipate themselves from forms of domination through self-reflection" (2009 p.7).

#### **4.5 Some major approaches of CDA**

There are several approaches to CDA. Fairclough and Wodak (1997) acknowledge up to eight different theoretical approaches within the field of CDA. They can be distinguished from one another by the various linguistic theories they apply. However, one theory in particular is recurrent where in most studies there is reference to Hallidayan linguistics indicating that an understanding of SFG is essential for a proper understanding of CDA (Wodak, 2001a). The main concern of SFG depends more on the function of language in the social structure (Hart, 2010).

As a research enterprise, CDA is diverse and interdisciplinary, comprising a number of methodological approaches directed towards a variety of data (Weiss and Wodak, 2003). The methodology of CDA can therefore only be presented with reference to particular approaches and with regard to their specific theoretical backgrounds (Titscher et al. 2000). Approaches of CDA are varied with common terms and features. CDA is used as an umbrella term of an approach that examines social problems of the day. Despite the diverse theoretical and philosophical orientations of CDA approaches, they all are concerned with analyzing how social and political inequalities as well as power relations are reproduced.

#### **4.5.1 The Socio-Cognitive Approach (SCA)**

van Dijk, a pioneering figure in the realm of CDA, labels his approach as the socio-cognitive model. In several studies from the late eighties and early nineties, he outlines a framework for analyzing news discourse that has been highly influential to CDA through highlighting the link between discourse, cognition and society.

The SCA assumes that there is a dialectic relationship between language and other elements of social life. It is a two-way relationship, in which language is influenced by society; on the other hand, society is shaped by language. In the Socio-cognitive approach, discourse is any kind of texts, written or spoken, and any genre, conversations, speeches or recipes. Van Dijk defines cognition as “the system of mental representations and processes of group members” (van Dijk, 2006a, p.125). He believes that those who control most dimensions of discourse (preparation, setting, participants, topics, style, rhetoric, interaction, etc) have the most power. He did remarkable works regarding racism in the news, representation minorities and defining the notion of 'Us and 'Them' or in-groups and out-groups, Self-glorification of our achievements and degenerating or dispraising actions of others are the key features of the ideological square.

In Van Dijk's own words, "CDA is a type of discourse analysis research that primarily studies the social power abuse, dominance and inequality which are enacted, reproduced and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context" (Van Dijk, 1998a, p.196). According to van Dijk "CDA is a kind of discourse analytical research that focuses on how the abuse of social power, dominance and inequality are executed, reproduced and resisted by text and talk in the social political realm" (2001a, p.102).

Van Dijk (1999) proposes a distinctly different toolkit from those used by the East Anglia Group and Fairclough for the critical analysis of these debates. This toolkit includes various features: phonological (e.g. stress, pitch), syntactic (e.g. active/passive, transitivity, and nominalization), rhetorical (e.g. metaphors, contrast, irony, hyperbole) and pragmatic (e.g. speech acts, among others).

One of the most potent forces at work in Van Dijk's discourse is the ideological square that consists of four moves that make the “ideological square”: emphasizing positive information about Us and negative about Them and de-emphasizing positive information about Them and negative about (Van Dijk, 1998b).

Van Dijk's (2004) framework consists of two main discursive strategies of 'positive self-representation' (semantic macro-strategy of in-group favouritism) and 'negative other-representation' (semantic macro-strategy of derogation of out-group) which are materialized through some other discursive moves such as presupposition, metaphor, Us-Them, and self-glorification. Local semantic analysis is the study of the many forms of indirect meanings such as implications, presuppositions, and allusions that aim to de-emphasize 'Our' bad things and 'Their' good things.

#### **4.5.2 The Discourse-Historical Approach (DHA)**

Wodak, a leading figure in the field of CDA, has published widely in the areas of racism and anti-Semitism, gender studies, political discourse, organizational discourse and the construction of Austrian and European identities. With Reisigl, she developed Discourse Historical Approach (DHA) to critical discourse analysis, which involves using triangulation and emphasizes combining textual analysis with the analysis of historical and political context (Reisigl & Wodak, 2001).



Her analytical framework makes use of argumentation theory, SFL and ethnography. DHA has been influenced by Halliday's CL and SFG, critical theory, Argumentation theory, German „politico-linguistics“ and forms of critical discourse analysis carried out by Fairclough (1989, 1995a). The most prominent notion regarding Wodak is the discourse historical method, which is the result of her researches in racism and anti-Semitism as long as her other various researches in different places and on various social issues.

In order to reduce the risk of biased politicizing, the discourse historical approach uses Triangulation, combining different methods and data together, placing emphasis on finding out as much about context as possible. Wodak and her associates have attempted to describe those cases where language and other semiotic practices are used by those in power to maintain domination (Resigil and Wodak, 2009).

#### **Discursive strategies of Wodak:**

- 1- Nomination or reference is a strategy that looks at how social actors, objects, phenomena and events are named and referred to linguistically.
- 2- Prediction examines which characteristics and features are attributed to the actors, objects and phenomena.
- 3- Argumentation justifies claims of truth and often relies on *topoi*, which are part of argument schemes and can connect the premise of an argument to its conclusion.
- 4- Perspectivization positions the point of view of the speaker or writer.
- 5- Intensification or mitigation is a discursive strategy that modifies the force and status of utterances.

#### **4.5.3 Representing social actors (van Leeuwen, 2008)**

van Leeuwen's framework of the representation of social actors (2008), as one powerful enquiry within CDA is adopted to analyze the gleaned data from CNN programs. The analysis of labeling examines what lexical choices are used to refer to the Muslims and the effect of these choices in terms of the theme of exclusion. van Leeuwen (2008) introduces a socio-semantic inventory of the ways in which social actors can be represented. He offers a new detailed model, morpho-syntactic inventory, for representing social actors as follows:

##### **Exclusion**

There are two ways of excluding social actors: partial and full. The full exclusion of social actors is called suppression and the partial exclusion of social actors is called backgrounding. For van Leeuwen, exclusion is an important aspect of CDA. The first subcategory means that the social actors and their activities are excluded.

##### **Suppression**

In the case of suppression, the social actors are excluded and not mentioned anywhere in the text. So the text includes only the action without its actor. As in Race Odyssey text analyzed by van Leeuwen (2008), "This Concern, the report noted, was reflected in surveys which showed that the level of support for stopping immigration altogether at a post-war high." In this example, one can't infer who did the survey, which company or institution. This is because the social actor is deleted. Suppression can be realized through agentless passive voice, nonfinite clauses, nominalization, process nouns and adjectives.

##### **Backgrounding**

It refers to the partial representation of social actor where the actor isn't mentioned in relation to the given action but is mentioned elsewhere in the text that makes it easy to the reader to infer who they are. In other words, the social actors are deemphasized for a particular purpose. Backgrounding that refers to mentioning the excluded social actors later in another part of the clause, sentence or the text, can result from simple ellipses in nonfinite clauses with -ing and -ed participles and in nonfinite clauses with to.

### **Inclusion (Role allocation)**

When social actors are visible in respect to the action they are articulated at different positions in respect to the action. Therefore, when analyzing a text, it is very important to determine who is the „agent“/ „actor“ and what is the „goal“ and whether the grammatical role given in the text is congruent to that of the social action. This manipulation of positions is meant to serve a particular purpose by giving more emphasis to one participant rather than the other (van Leeuwen, 2008). There are two types of inclusion: activation and passivation.

### **Activation and Passivation**

Another important aspect of the representation of actors is what roles are allocated to them, i.e. who the actors and the goals of the given action are. Representation 'can endow social actors with either active or passive roles' (van Leeuwen 1996, p.43) Activation can be realized through e.g. circumstantialization, premodification, postmodification, possessivation. Within passivation, subjected or beneficialized actors can be further distinguished.

When the social actor is activated, it is given the role of the grammatical (agent) and the doer who is responsible for the social practice in the talk show. On the other hand, when the participant is described as passivated, it is given the grammatical role of (goal) or "recipient" of the social practice in the text.

### **Genericization and specification**

These categories distinguish whether social actors are represented as classes or as specific, identifiable individuals. Genericization may be realized by the plural without article, singular noun with the definite article and mass nouns as follows respectively.

### **Assimilation**

Assimilation includes social actors that are referred to as groups, as opposed to individualization, where social actors are referred to as individuals. Assimilation includes aggregation, which quantifies the groups of participants and treats them as statistics, and collectivization, which does not.

### **Aggregation**

Aggregation is associated with statistics without giving the specific figures to be objective and also to be persuasive and effective. It is realized by the presence of definite or indefinite quantifiers which either function as the enumerative or as the head of the nominal group. In this example, the Egyptian government attempts to assure people that a huge figure of terrorists had been killed. This representation has two functions; to assure and persuade the Egyptians on the one hand and to make them support the war against terrorism on the second hand. It may weaken the capacity of the terrorists.

### **Personalization and impersonalization**

Personalized social actors are represented as human beings, whereas impersonalized are represented by other means, such as abstract nouns, or by concrete nouns whose meaning do not include the semantic feature „human“. Two types of impersonalization are distinguished - abstraction and objectivation. Impersonalization can “lend impersonal authority or force to an activity of quality of a social actor; and it can add positive or negative connotations to an activity or utterance of a social actor“ (van Leeuwen 1996, p.60).

### **Nomination and categorization**

Nomination is related to the already mentioned distinction between representation by name (nomination) or by category labels (categorization). Nomination is typically realized by proper names and can be further divided into formal, semi-formal and informal. The social actors can be nominated through use of their names that may include additional honorific titles such as professor. Categorization then concerns the functions and identities the social actor shares with others.

### **Indetermination and differentiation**

Indetermined social actors are unspecified or anonymous, whereas determination specifies the identity of the actors. Differentiation occurs when an individual actor is explicitly excluded or differentiated from a group. As for the use of

indetermination, it occurs when social actors are unspecified. Therefore, some words mark this category such as some, someone, many and some people.

As for differentiation, social actors are to be explicitly differentiated as individuals or a group of social actors from a similar actor or group, creating the difference between the self and other.

#### 4.5.5 CNN

The CNN is one of most formidable international sources of packaged TV news delivered to viewers worldwide with a global perspective. According to Reynolds and Barnett (2003) in the first 12 hours of CNN's coverage after the incident of 9/11, the word war was used to describe the attacks 234 times. CNN was the most-watched TV channel immediately after the terrorist attacks on 9/11. The mass media in America have played a significant role in influencing the whole world to morally support the US in protesting against terrorism.

There is misinformation about the image of Muslims in the Western media coverage after the terrorist attacks on 9/11. The result of such misinformation and projection of stereotyped images is that the opinion of non-Muslims about Islam and Muslims has become negative. After an eventful one decade passed since the incident of 9/11, it is now significant to investigate that how the Western media is portraying Islam and Muslims. Being the leading news channels in the world, it is also important to examine how CNN is framing Islam and Muslims through the discussions of talk shows.

#### 4.6 Previous studies

Most of the recent and academic written endeavors identifying correlating themes between Islam and the West are to be found in studies of Albakry (2006), Lemmouh (2008), Shaheen (2009), Ahlin & Carler (2011), Poorebrahim & Zarei (2013), Hussain (2014) and Reynolds (2015).

Albakry conducts a study (2006) on the representation of Islam and Muslims in the editorials of American and German newspapers, namely, the Times, the Post, the Monitor, die Zeit, die SDZ and die Welt. In his study, Albakry finds that the editorials in these newspapers fall into the trap of misinterpreting Islam with its own peculiar culture (2006).

In her thesis Eltantawy (2007) affirms the negative representation of Islam and Muslims in the Western media to the selection of certain materials that serve biased orientations. She argues that the Western media exaggerates exceptional problems in the Muslim societies in a way that make them to be perceived as the only features that dominate the region. For instance, the Western media continuously focus on issues like female genital mutilation, honour crimes and forced marriages.

There is a study based on recurring lexical and syntactic features that contribute to a stereotyped image of out-groups (Muslims) in newspapers. The focus of the study is on articles relating to Muslims in The New York Times in 1990, 1995 and 2000. The analysis is based on the analytic paradigm of Critical Linguistics (CL) and Corpus Semantics (CS). The results show that the linguistic features analyzed point to a systematic „othering“ and stereotyping of Muslims as compared to other participants. The study concludes that the grammatical features examined reveal a stereotyped image of Muslims in which Muslims are presented negatively in the NYT newspapers (Lemmouh, 2008).

Ahlin & Carler (2011) use quantitative and qualitative text analyses to investigate media coverage of representing Islam and Muslims in Argentina newspapers; El Clarin, La Nacion and Pagina 12. In the analysis of the written online database from 2000-2010, there is a classification of cultural others, religious others and political others. The results show the levels of priming and framing in relation to earlier research. They state that "their findings suggest, however, that this is not the case in Argentina; on the contrary, Argentinean media lack the frames which make Muslims "others".

Using a synthesis of Edward Said's notion of "Orientalism" and van Dijk's notion of "ideological square", Poorebrahim & Zarei (2013) try to critically unravel the way Islam is represented in western discourse through establishing the relationship between language and ideology, the forms it takes and its potential effect. To that end, headlines from widely

circulated print media of the west including the Independent, the New York Times, the Herald Tribune, and The Times from January 1, 2008 to December 30, 2012 were selected and Islam and Muslim reproductions were studied therein. Throughout the lexical choices and presuppositions, it's found out that Muslims are associated with adjectives such as radical, extremist, terrorist, fundamentalist and violent. All these modifiers indicate a negative representation of Muslims. There is study examined TV coverage of terrorism from Al-Jazeera and Al- Arabiya using media framing analysis that was based on a framing approach to examine a number of framing devices based on past literature such as types of news frames, framing perspective, geographical location of terrorism coverage, sources used, perpetrators of terrorism, victims of terrorism, episodic versus thematic frame, and responsibility frames (Abdullah, 2014). It was found that the majority of terrorism victims are Muslims. In addition, the findings reveal that too much media focus was placed on disseminating and supporting official positions and decisions, and that humanitarian suffering from terrorism is seldom brought to the attention of the public.

Another study tackles British media representation of Islam and Muslims in the Manchester Evening News from a critical discourse perspective (Hussain, 2014). The researcher uses the MEN online of data collection to investigate the Manchester Evening News, the daily newspaper in Manchester. This study is based on a qualitative method to analyze the data. The findings pinpoint that Islam and Muslims are negatively framed and described in this newspaper.

Another significant study is Reynolds's thesis on media representation of Islam and Muslims in Southern Appalachia (2015) in which he uses content analysis to investigate reporting of two years of Islam in a country of more than 80% of the population are protestant Christian. The reports were selected from the Associated Press, New York Times, Washington press and Reuters.

The results of this thesis, show that Islam and Muslims are negatively depicted because they are associated with negative adjectives such as terrorists, killers, attackers, extremists and radicals describing them, reflects the nature of using media to defend Muslims.

There is a study that tackles a critical investigation of the Obama's political speeches on the Iranian nuclear problem 2008-2011 (Saad, 2016). This thesis examines five of Obama's speeches from a pragma-syntactic analysis. The analysis of SFG and pragmatic presuppositions shows that Iran and its program are misrepresented and marginalized.

## **5. Methodology**

This section covers the data collection of the study. It demonstrates how the data are selected, their period and their significance for the analysis section. It also presents some linguistic features that are related to investigating media data linguistically. These linguistic tools are to be prominent in the data to the extent they lead to the construction of this genre associated with daily life situations.

### **5.1 Data collection**

The current research is mainly based on investigating the language of talk shows in the West and particularly CNN. The TV talk shows, focused on the issues of Islam, Muslims, terrorism and immigration, are to be paid more attention to this study. They are to be analyzed linguistically to shed light on the prominent features of this type of discourse. About five programs are selected randomly to investigate representing Muslims in TV talk shows on CNN. All of these programs focus mainly on certain attacks and actions all over the world that are associated with Islam and Muslims.

The researcher selected CNN because of its large outreach to the millions of viewers in the whole world. As a TV genre, talk shows are certainly generating awareness and giving knowledge to the viewers and help them to build up their perception about the changing political, religious, social and cultural trends in the world (Sattar, 2013).

The rationale for selecting 'Fareed Zakaria GPS' is that these talk shows focus on international issues and engage the public with different perspectives. These talk shows bring people in-depth interviews with world leaders, international

thinkers, newsmakers and analysts who enlighten the audience with their expert opinion. Fareed Zakaria GPS (Global Public Square) is 60 minutes in length program that takes a comprehensive look at foreign affairs and the decisions affecting our lives. Every week it brings in-depth interviews with world leaders, newsmakers, and analysts breaking down the world's toughest issues. The show emphasizes on global issues and foreign affairs.

The current study is based on selecting five different talk shows from CNN from 2014-2017. In essence, these talk shows are focusing primary on discussing the issues of Islam, Muslims, immigration, terrorism and fundamentalism as controversial topics in the West. The image of others (Muslims) is to be investigated in the discourse of talk shows.

Five programs about five different issues on CNN are to be analyzed linguistically to make the readers concentrate on analyzing social actors as a network. The researcher selects the following talk shows: Donald Trump calling for a ban of all Muslims entering the U.S.A Dec 7, 2015, why they hate us; a TV show on CNN May 23, 2016 and June 20, 2016, horrifying truth about ISIS; terrorism behind the masks, 31 March 2017 and third terror attack in U.K in less than three months, June 5, 2017.

## 6. Analysis

Based on the comprehensive classification of Van Leeuwen (2008), the analysis section aims to demonstrate how the participants in the TV talk shows in the West represent Muslims; an image that is associated with terrorism and other negative abstract terms.

### Representing Muslims on CNN (why they hate us)

From the title of the program on CNN, one can notice that Muslims are presented as 'they' who hate Americans in general. To facilitate the analysis process, the researcher suggests listing all examples associated with each category of classification and then to interpret, explain and comment on them to the extent that readers know how Muslims are represented in the Western media linguistically.

#### - Exclusion

**Americans** are asking, why **they** hate **us**?

Why do **Islamic terrorists** hate **Americans**?

**Young children** are being taught how to kill **us**.

It is an act of terror on our soil.

**We** have training camps growing where **they** want to kill **us**.

The use of the 'us' and 'them' is prominent in this talk show on CNN. From the title of this program, why they hate us? A listener can recognize a comparison between two groups, they and us. The pronoun 'they' is associated with the verb 'hate' that indicates misrepresentation of the other. The pronoun 'us' always comes at the end of the sentences to tell the audience that the Americans, us, are the victims of the dangerous acts of Muslims. Placing the pronoun 'us' in the place of the object is to help the Americans get sympathy and above all this to present Muslims negatively through drawing the attention of the audience to their negative acts.

The participants make use of the nouns to give the same meaning. They wonder why **Islamic terrorists** hate **Americans**. In this example, they classify Muslims saying Islamic terrorists to identify that these terrorists are Muslims and they represent Islam. One can say that ordinary Muslim people are totally excluded in these examples to suit an ideological purpose that not all Muslims are terrorists. It includes all terrorists who in some cases are related to Islam. Therefore, the modifier Islamic indicates a negative representation because it is associated with terrorists that have negative connotations.

Other examples give the same connotation that Muslims are the source of hatred against Americans. Young children in the Muslim world are being taught to kill Americans as stated in the talk show. The participants state that '**young children** are being taught how to kill **us**'. This sentence makes clear that the traditions, customs and teachings of Muslims promote this hatred against Americans from the birth of kids. It is a systematic process because people teach their students to kill Americans.

The speakers assume that older people teach young children in the Muslim world to kill Americans. Those children are being taught in schools, in mosques, in streets, at home and in all possible places to kill Americans. This sentence emphasizes the negative portrayal of Muslims in the minds of the audience. All examples of this classification are to represent Muslims negatively. In this example, the actor is not mentioned so it's an agentless clause. The actors are passivized to highlight the importance of their actions on children and therefore on their relations with the Americans. The speaker omits the actors but the action and beneficiaries are still obvious. The social actors are to be stated elsewhere in the talk shows. This example indicates even implicitly a new attitude misunderstood in the U.S.A that Muslims are teaching their young children from the very beginning of their life hatred, killing and terrifying others (Americans).

#### - Personalization and impersonalization

It drove **Omar Mateen** to slaughter dozens of Americans on a dance floor in Orlando.

**Americans** are asking, why they hate us?

Why do **Islamic terrorists** hate **Americans**?

If the goal of **ISIS propaganda** is to terrify America, it is worked.

**Donald Trump** is calling for a total and complete shutdown of **Muslims** entering the USA until our country's representatives can figure out what the hell is going on.

**Trump's** message has let some Americans to say, who cares why they hate us, we hate them.

It's the **Muslims** (who are bombing buildings and airplanes).

**Americans** are understandably angry and afraid.

When you ask the **scholars** deep into the subject like **Columbia Rashid Khalidi**, he makes an important distinction.

The speakers make use of this type of classifying social actors to determine who is responsible for saying and doing all these dangerous actions. For example, Omar Mateen, is personally responsible for slaughtering this huge number of people. He is accused of doing this because they think he is a Muslim. For Americans, Muslims are killers and criminals. This implies a negative representation of Muslims. This personalization that shows the audience that Ommar as a Muslim person killed this number of Americans on a dance floor illustrates that he didn't kill soldiers or pirates but he slaughtered ordinary people.

It is noticed that Trump personally and as a presidential nominee states that "**Donald Trump** is calling for a total and complete shutdown of **Muslims** entering the USA until our country's representatives can figure out what the hell is going on." This statement is a personal point of view of Trump towards Muslims. He promises his audience and supporters that he'll prevent Muslims from entering the USA. He' talking about Muslims and no other groups of people who are living in the USA. This is an obvious discrimination against All Muslims. Therefore, he implies hatred and hostility against Muslims even before taking the office.

Another example that asserts this negative image of Muslims is: It's the **Muslims** (who are bombing buildings and airplanes). The participants accuse Muslims personally and specifically of committing these dangerous crimes. They said that they are not Christians, they are not Jews, but they are Muslims who are bombing buildings are airplanes. Muslims are responsible for committing all crimes all over the world. Unlike Muslims who are associated with most negative actions, Americans and their representatives are portrayed positively to reveal hidden and implied ideology towards Muslims.

In most of these examples, it's found out that personalization is prominent. The speakers state directly Muslims, scholars and other words related to persons who do some negative activities. There is no reference to impersonalized words because speakers aim to highlight the great roles played by these social actors upon the Americans, the recipients. This emphasizes the negative roles that are associated with Muslims.

#### - Genericization and specification

Why **do Islamic terrorists** hate **Americans**?

It's the **Muslims** (who are bombing buildings and airplanes).

**Americans** are understandably angry and afraid.

In the real world, **the people in Afghanistan** hate the **Americans**.

If you take "**they**" as being **Muslims**, they don't hate us.

If you talk about "**they**" as being a narrow, a **very small group of radicals**, that's an entirely different question.

**Choudary** has been charged with supporting ISIS.

**Choudary** faces prison for his support of ISIS.

We got a better picture of the **man** accused of that murdering **13 people**.

But the USA intervened in Bosnia to protect **Muslims**.

In the fifth example, the speaker assumes that not all Muslims hate Americans. He advises his partners to categorize people and for him those who are radicals are the source of hatred. This kind of specification is important because most of the public in the USA talk about Muslims in general. To assert this meaning, he adds some details in the second example. Radical Muslims hate Americans as he stated in the second case. This is a new approach but it is the point of view of one speaker who rejects generalizations. Highlighting the generic group "Muslims" makes clear that Muslims in general are the source of threat to the Americans. To that end, Muslims are misrepresented.

In the other examples, the participants concentrate on Choudary, a man who is associated with the ISIS; that organization that commits all violent acts as the Americans think. The specification of this person and his connection with this organization without evidences imply social discrimination. They think he will be in the prison because of his support to this organization or group of people.

In the last sentence, one participant explains the America intervened in Bosnia to protect Muslims. The speaker tries to emphasize that America involves in Bosnia and other countries to protect Muslims. The man is unknown to exclude him and deemphasize this act. While talking about Muslims as killers, they are well defined and presented negatively to the audience. It is a kind of paradox because the USA accuses Muslims of committing all crimes all over the world and then it broke war in Bosnia to protect those killers and terrorists.

#### Nomination and categorization

When you ask the **scholars** deep into the subject like **Columbia Rashid Khalidi**, he makes an important distinction.

**Donald Trump** is calling for a total and complete shutdown of Muslims entering the USA until our country's representatives can figure out what the hell is going on.

**George Bush** flushed those down the toilet. (because we're talking about terrorism).

As for the use of nomination, the interviewer draws on it to assert close and personal relations. He talks about scholars like Khalidi who has another point of view about Muslims. For this scholar not all Muslims are terrorists. He categorizes them and he thinks that radicals hate Americans. However, the term 'scholars' that refers to functionalization sounds more official. Scholars always have a different attitude due to their education, experience and deep thinking about certain issues. In the other examples, Bush, an ex-president of the USA and Trump, a presidential nominee are referred to them as a nomination. The speaker didn't say that Bush was the ex-president of America because Bush flushed those people down

the toilets. This process is a negative act because too many people were killed and too many people were injured. He aims to get the audience focus on this negative and dangerous act personally and not institutionally.

While talking about Trump, the president of America, the speaker said Trump personally. Trump calls for preventing Muslims from entering the American land. He thinks that Muslims are killers, terrorists and violent promoters who aim to make America as hell. The use of nomination reduces the effect of Trump's negative presentation of Muslims. In these examples, the participants talk about both of Bush and Trump personally through the use of nominations.

#### - **Indetermination and differentiation**

It is impossible to understand, impossible to get into the mind of **a terrorist**.

In this example, the speaker doesn't identify who is this terrorist. Even if he intends to call him a Muslim man he dehumanizes him. Speakers sometimes use circulating expressions to avoid being frank and to affect their audience well. For the speakers it is difficult to address a terrorist cognitively. A terrorist, a social actor, can't be understood because his method of thinking is different and at the same time deemphasizes specific people. In this case the terrorist isn't defined, but in most cases in the talk show he is a Muslim. This kind of partial exclusion implies negative representation of Muslims. This example makes clear that a Muslim, a terrorist, is unconscious person who does most bad actions that hurt the Americans.

#### -**Assimilation**

It drove Omar Mateen to slaughter **dozens of Americans** on a dance floor in Orlando.

Why do so **many millions of Muslims** hate the USA?

We got a better picture of the **man** accused of that murdering **13 people**.

Donald Trump is calling for a **total and complete shutdown of Muslims** entering the USA until our country's representatives can figure out what the hell is going on.

**15 years** after 9\11, we are no longer surprised when they tell us they want to kill us.

Despite documented evidence of **tens of thousands of people** desperately fleeing ISIS, Choudary claims there are actually more arriving.

As for the use of aggregation, it is obvious that this show is full of this type of classification. For example, Omar Matten slaughtered dozens of Americans emphasizes that this Muslim man didn't kill a man, but he slaughtered more than twenty persons on a dance floor in Orlando. This is not an ordinary process of killing because of the huge figures of the killed men and the nature of the place where they were slaughtered as well. Highlighting this crime is a kind of negative presentation of Muslims and at the same time makes the speakers get the sympathy and support of people all over the world in their war against terrorism. It presents Omar, a Muslim person, negatively through making him the actor of a very severe action in the U.S.A. However, those dozens of people have passive roles in this process of killing. Therefore, the action of slaughtering is emphasized to assure that this process is a legitimate action.

The second example, why **so many millions of Muslims** hate the USA, supports this negative presentation. This question is directed not only to specific category of Muslims but also many millions of Muslims. These huge figures have the same approach towards the Americans. The speaker addresses these millions of Muslims why they as Muslims hate the Americans. This classification of Muslims enhances the negative representation of Muslims. This highlight of the huge number indicates explicitly negative representation of Muslims who are the only persons to hate Americans. They are included in this process while other people all over the world are excluded. Therefore, only Muslims are responsible for this negative approach towards the Americans.



## 7. Findings and discussion

After the linguistic analysis of the image of Muslims in CNN *Why they hate us* presented by Fareed Zakaria, it's found out that there is a correspondence between the title of the episode "why they hate us" and the depiction of Muslims. Fareed wonders why they (Muslims) hate us (Americans) and the replies of his guests support this portrayal. Muslims are associated with negative actions that are problematic to the Americans and the West in general. There is an agreement between this image and what has said by van Dijk (1991) and Poole and Richardson (2007).

The results of most previously investigated studies have shown that media in the USA associate Muslims with violence and terrorism in a post 11\9 incident. The roles allocated to Muslims indicate that they have done most if not all bad action and thus their negative actions are marked and highlighted and their good actions have never mentioned or even referred to them. According to the discursive strategies of Wodak, van Leewuen's model and van Dijk's ideological square, Muslims are presented in a negative spot since they support terrorism and violent attacks in the USA. To that end, this result may lead to other linguistics features; misinformation, misrepresentation and marginalization that in turn lead to much clash between Muslims and the West.

The analysis of CNN episodes about the representation of Muslims after some terror attacks in the USA and Europe showed that the Western media (particularly CNN) portrayed Muslims negatively. It has been found out that only Muslims are associated with terror attacks in the USA and Europe. This kind of representation arises some questions; who is responsible for it? Are Muslims represented in this way because of their religion? And to what extent such an image does affect the attitudes of the public? And who benefits from such portrayal of Muslims?

In most investigated examples Muslims; persons and agencies or organizations are accused of committing attacks that kill, injure innocents and at the same time make them feel terrified. Therefore, for the Westerns all reactions and approaches are applicable and acceptable to defend themselves and their innocent people. For the Americans, Muslims are killers and terrorists and these attributes are the same of those in the past with a difference in the terms used to depict Muslims.

## 8. Conclusion

By conducting van Leewuen's model representing social actors, van Dijk's ideological square and Wodak's discursive strategies on CNN talk shows, it is found out Muslims are negatively portrayed in these shows regarding the periods after terror attacks. Muslims, as outgroups, are depicted in a way that makes them marginalized, discriminated against them and at the same time their actions and verbiages are misconceptualized. However, the question here is why Muslims are depicted in this way, who benefits from this portrait and how Muslims can challenge such a depiction that has never reflected the real teachings of Islam and Muslims. These questions may arouse another question about the effective role of media on the public not only in the USA but also on the public in the Islamic world. The media is considered the main source of information of the majority of the public all over the globe. Therefore, those who have access to media may exert great influence of the minds of others and thence may change their ideologies and identities.

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## Translation Studies Quadrant-Petal Map: An Analytical Retrospect on Intellectual Translation Turns

Reem Ali Mahmoud<sup>1</sup>  
Assistant Lecturer, Department of English,  
Helwan University, Egypt.  
Corresponding email: reem\_ali@arts.helwan.edu.eg

Nahwat Al Arousy<sup>2</sup>  
Professor of Linguistics,  
Helwan University, Egypt.

Mona Attia<sup>3</sup>  
Professor of Linguistics,  
Helwan University, Egypt.

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### ABSTRACT1

The history of translation studies is swarming with tenth of categorizations of the hierarchal epochs of translation studies since the arousal of early translation views in the 16th century and till the 21st century. This study opens a window on the significant translation turns in the history of translation studies; it historically categories significant translation theories conducted across the above-mentioned period under four translation turns, namely: Early views on Translation, The Linguistic-Equivalence turn, The Cultural-Purpose turn and The Interdisciplinarity turn. Such categorization provides a better understanding for the most significant translation theories and models in the history of translation studies and their eminent impact on the translation field in specific and the society in general—generally represented in the recipients of the translation service. Translation Theories under each turn accomplish a major translation aim namely the *Nationalistic translation aim*\*. This nationalistic translation aim represents the translation requirements in its functional, ethical, and social sense as generally required by translation service receivers, labeled in the current study as a Translation Petal; it is further implicitly addressed to the society to positively improve the society's opinion towards translation. The current study fulfills a threefold aim: First, it sheds light on the significant translation turns across the history of translation studies and highlights the main features of each translation turn. Second, it renames the reviewed translation turns according to the translation function of the significant translation theories under each turn. Third, it elucidates the link between each translation turn and the nationalistic translation aim (i.e. translation petal) it urges for through a precise mind-map entitled as the Translation Studies Quadrant Petal Map [TSQPM] that presents the new naming of the four reviewed turns and clarifies the nationalistic translation aim (i.e. translation petal) implemented under each intellectual translation turn.

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### KEYWORDS

Translation Studies, Translation Turns, Linguistic-Equivalence turn, Cultural-Purpose turn, Interdisciplinarity turn, Translation Petal\*, Translation studies Quartet-Petal map [TSQPM]

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\* Nationalistic Translation aim [referred to in this study as Translation Petal\*]: is the general translation aim formulated across a specific translation epoch via the practical and academic contributions of translators and translation scholars based on the society's needs from the practical translation end product.

<sup>1</sup> This study is part of an unpublished Ph.D. dissertation compiled by the first author.

## Introduction

### 1. A birds-eye view of Translation Studies: Early views and Intellectual Translation Turns

As an interdisciplinary research field, Translation studies have always been an illuminant research gate for researchers of all types: Academics, linguists, language philosophers, translators, and translation scholars. As an academic discipline, translation studies started to be recognized as a standalone discipline among translation scholars of various backgrounds in the 1960's. Since the Renaissance age till our present time, translation has undergone several colossal changes and intellectual conflicts. Translation studies encompass many definitions for the notion of "Translation"; the definition of translation fundamentally changes according to which translation paradigm it is presented in, which approach the translation scholar adopts and the constraints prescribes by both language and time. Nida (1964) opts that "live languages are constantly changing, and stylistic preferences undergo continual modification. Thus, a translation acceptable in one period is often quite unacceptable at a later time" (p.161). Early translators, for instance, used to define translation in a systematic way, in terms of defining the requirements of a good translation. George Campbell (1789), an early translation scholar who was specialized in translating the New Testament, defines translation in terms of requirements of a good translating as follows:

The translated text should provide a "just representation of the sense of the original work"

"The style and the manner of writing" of the TT should maintain the "same character" of the original.

"The translation should have all the ease of the original composition"; The TT should encompass the same writing flow as the ST. (as cited in Nida, 1964, pp.18,19)

By the 20th century, translation scholars were able to theorize their translation framework into comprehensible translation theories and models; they furthermore adopt exquisitely selected linguistic, cultural, and communicative approaches. Catford (1965), for instance, adopting a purely linguistic translation approach, defines translation as "The replacement of textual material in one language (SL) by equivalent textual material in another language (TL). A central task of translation theory is that of defining the nature and conditions of translation equivalence" (p.20,21). In his definition, he highlights the importance of seeking naturalness in equivalence on the textual level of translation. Adopting a more communicative approach, Bell (1991) defines translation as "the replacement of a representation of a text in one language by a representation of an equivalent text in a second language" (p.6); by defining the TT as a "representation of an equivalent text in a second language", he stresses on the importance of preserving both the semantic and stylistic nature of the ST in the TT through providing functional equivalences that preserves the communicative message of the ST. By the 21st century, translation studies are clearly seen as interdisciplinary field due to the miscellaneous links implementations established across time between translation and the various linguistic branches; this interdisciplinary is obviously seen in Hatim and Munday (2004)'s definition of translation. They address translation from a wider scope by defining the "ambit of translation" as:

1. The process of transferring a written text from SL to TL, conducted by a translator, or translators, in a specific socio-cultural context.
2. The written product, or TT, which results from that process and which functions in the socio-cultural context of the TL.
3. The cognitive, linguistic, visual, cultural, and ideological phenomena which are an integral part of 1 and (p.6)

Before jumping into the wavy sea of the history of translation studies, and as a means of avoiding confusion, it is important to differentiate between three essential translation operative terms. These terms are translation *paradigm*, translation *turn* and translation *approach*. Generally, a *paradigm* is a one set of theories that shares the same scientific departure point and the same general ideas, relations, and principles with slight changes in the components of each theory within the same paradigm that mark

the natural progress of theories sharing the same theme (Pym, 2014, p.3). Pertaining to translation studies, Pym (2014) provided a comprehensive example that identifies the nature of a *translation paradigm*; he describes it as

one set of theories uses the terms “source,” “target,” and “equivalence.” They agree that the term “equivalence” names a substantial relation between the “source” and the “target”; their shared point of departure is the comparison of start and target texts. People using those theories can discuss translation with each other fairly well; they share the same vague concepts and general ideas about the aims of a translation; they can even reach consensus about various kinds of equivalence. They are theorizing within the one paradigm. (p.3)

Accordingly, translation theories which are based on the notion of equivalence, i.e., theories that introduce Binary translation equivalent types, like Nida’s (1964) dynamic versus formal equivalence and Larson’s (1984) literal versus idiomatic translation are considered as a part the equivalence-oriented translation paradigm, i.e., translation paradigm that supports naturalness in equivalence.

As for the term *Turn*, it was first introduced by Snell-Hornby (2006) in her book *The Turns in translation studies: New paradigms or shifting new points*. The translation *turn* is as a bundle of translation models and theories that shares the same translation scope but varies in their internal design and adopts various approaches. In her book, Snell-Hornby (2006) discusses major turns in both linguistics and translation; she reviews the pragmatic turn which includes the contribution of Austin (1975) and Searle (1969) and how their academic contribution through the speech act theory shifted the translation scholars’ attention towards a deeper scope of meaning in language. Furthermore, Snell-Hornby (2006) highlights how such a major turn in the scope of linguistic studies affected the scope of the translation studies at that time and turned the translation scholars’ attention to base their translation theories on a linguistic approach. The established link between linguistics and translation studies is explained as follows:

As in most areas of linguistics, some approaches were more applicable to translation than others. From today’s perspective it seems that in the English-speaking community M.A.K. Halliday was the main driving force – his systemic functional grammar, for example (1976, cf. Munday 2001: 90–91), and his study on cohesion (Halliday and Hasan 1976) – while in the German-speaking world the outstanding text-linguists were Robert de Beaugrande and Wolfgang Dressler. (Snell-Hornby, 2006, p.39)

In most publications that provides a historical view of translation studies, the terms “*turn*”, and “*paradigm*” are used interchangeably to refer to the same entity. For example, Snell-Hornby (2006), Bassnett (2004), Lefereve (1992) use the term “*turn*”; whereas, Pym (2014) uses the term *paradigm*, and both refers to a set of theories that shares the same scope and departure points but varies in their internal design and the adopted approach. Snell-Hornby (2006), for instance, summed up translation theories across the history of translation under four major turns: the pragmatic turn in linguistics, the cultural turn, the interdisciplinarity of the 1990’s and the turn of the Millennium.

Similarly, Pym (2014), in his book *Exploring Translation Theories*, categorizes translation theories, starting from the 1960’s and till the 21<sup>st</sup> century, under six paradigms namely: equivalence paradigm, purpose-based paradigm, descriptive paradigm, uncertainty paradigm and localization paradigm and cultural translation paradigm. Each paradigm encompasses a set of theories that shares the same departure point, same aim and same concepts; but varies in their approach and application. For instance, theories under the purpose-based paradigm all share the same departure point which asserts that “translation is designed to achieve a purpose” (p.43), but every theory approaches this translation purpose differently.

The term “*approach*” is defined as “the means or procedure for doing something” in Meriam Webster’s thesaurus. Pertaining to translation, a translation approach is the basis on which a translation theory or model is build; the approach defines the direction where the theory moves. For example, under the equivalence paradigm, both Vinay and Darbelnet (1958/1995) and

Nida (1964) introduce a list of translation solutions that tackles problems of translation equivalences, but each theory adopts a different approach. Vinay and Darbelnet (1958/1995) adopts a more natural approach that maintains equivalence at the sentence level; their main aim was transferring the same value of the ST in the TT. They supported their point of view through comparing French texts to their English translations. Nida (1964)'s theory is based on the same idea of equivalence as introduced by Vinay and Darbelnet (1958/1995), but Nida (1964) introduces translation equivalence in a binary setting represented in two types of equivalences formal and dynamic equivalence that allows more translation options within various contexts.

Translation studies that present, categorize, and illustrate the history of translation theories in a simplified form are of a great assistance for translators and translation scholars; it seamlessly guides translators to the translation theories, models, and procedures that can perfectly fit into their translation tasks so as to help them produce a translation outcome that meets the requirements of the translation market. Translation studies that review the history of translation can be categorized under two types. The first type reviews the history of translation or certain academic contributions in the translation field with the purpose of highlighting its significance and shifting the translation scholar's attention to the hidden potentialities of the reviewed translation approaches and theories. For example, in '*The Germanic Review*' journal, Schnitzer (2000) reviews the significant translation contributions of Schleiermacher, Plato and the University of Berlin to direct the translation scholar's attention to the wide range of translation capabilities introduced through Schleiermacher's translation binarism criterion along with Plato's psychological views on translation. Moving on the similar route, Panou (2013) reviews translation theories that adopts an equivalence-based approach such as Vinay and Darbelnet (1958/ 1995), Jakobson (1959), Nida and Taber (1969), Catford (1965), House (1997), Koller (1979), Newmark (1981), Baker (1992) and Pym (2014) with the purpose of providing "a better understanding of how the concept of equivalence evolved" (p.1).

On the other hand, the second type focuses on reviewing the history of translation theories with the purpose of establishing a link between theory and practice in translation and showing how can translators benefit from the theoretical academic contributions in translation in the practical setting of the translation market. This is in addition to recategorizing translation theories within certain translation epochs under newly renamed translation turns. A clear example of this type is seen in Ming and Xianbiao (2007) study, '*Two Turns in Translation Studies*', in which they critically investigate the 'Cultural Turn' introduced by Lefevere and Bassnett (1990) with the purpose of showing its significance on the Chinese cultural translation studies. Based on the findings of their investigation, they propose a new translation turn namely '*The Translation Turn*' that brings together the translation possibilities introduced under the Cultural turn and the translation requirements of the Chinese culture. Moving on the same research lane, Bachmann-Medick (2009) introduces '*The Translational Turn*' under which he highlights the interfaces between translation studies and other humanities disciplines with the purpose of facilitating the translation process allowing translation to enter new ignored disciplines.

Our current study imitates the second type of translation studies that reviews translation history as it establishes a link between the reviewed translation theories and the ethical requirements of the translation market for the purpose of establishing an influential link between theory and practice in translation on one hand and shifting the translation scholar's attention to the mutual effect between translation and society. The following subsections provide a clear precise picture of the major translational turns across the dense history of translation studies starting from early translators' trails for establishing practical translation guidelines in the 16<sup>th</sup> century till the 21<sup>st</sup> century receptiveness of the translation studies that allowed the translation field to encompass a wide range of interdisciplinary approaches. The researcher historically categories significant translation theories conducted across the above-mentioned period under four translation turns, namely: Early views on Translation, The Linguistic-Equivalence turn, The Cultural-Purpose turn and The Interdisciplinarity turn. Such categorization provides a better understanding for the most

significant translation theories in the history of translation and their eminent impact on the translation field in specific and the society in general—generally represented in the recipients of the translation service. Translation Theories under each turn accomplish two types of translation scopes a general *nationalistic translation aim\** represented in either an ethical or a functional translation scope, labeled in the current study as a Translation Petal, implicitly addressed to the society to support the society's opinion towards translation alongside with another *singular translation aim\** that fulfills the aim of the adopted translation theory in use—whether to produce either a source-oriented TT or a target-oriented TT aiming for a translation outcome with an excellent quality. The categorizing process involves highlighting and sorting significant translation theories which shares the same departure point, aim (nationalistic and singular subjective) in the variant translation epochs across through five successive centuries; translation theories under each translation turn are proposed with the aim of revealing how the general nationalistic translation aim of the whole turn is successfully fulfilled through the convergence of the singular translation aims of translation theories under the same turn.

## 2. Early views on Translation: Systematic approach to translation

*Translation is as old as language itself. The first traces of translation date from 3000 BC in the old kingdom of Egypt in which the discovery of the Rosetta stone is considered to be the turning point in the history of translation. Later on, in the ninth century, the West contacted Islam through Arabs in Muslim Spain where a continuous contact between Arabic and Indo-European languages was born.* (Elmegrab,2002/2003, p.1)

The 18<sup>th</sup> century witnessed a very interesting translation discovery which proves the existence of the translation as an activity in ancient times. The discovery of the Rosetta stone in 1799, an ancient Egyptian stone that dates to the 2<sup>nd</sup> century B.C, was like hitting a jackpot. The stone “provided the key to unlock the secrets of ancient Egypt”; it gives an evidence of the existence of formal translations in the ancient world as it includes “a bicult, a text in two forms of writing: Egyptian hieroglyphic and later demotic characters and a translation of them in Greek” (Nida, 1964, p.11). In the middle ages, early views on translation as a field of study is limited to the opinions of early translators formulated in the form of rules and principles that answers the question of *How to translate*. According to Luzzatto (1957), the act of translating was only confined to translating “religious essays into stiff ecclesiastical Latin” (p.63); word-for word rendering used to dominate the translating act at that time as translators was afraid of being accused of ethical betrayal if they changed a single structure in the original text. However, translators, in the Middle Ages, was somehow aware of the essential principles of translations: they knew that word-for-word rendering would result in a confusable weak translation. For instance, Maimonides, an early translator in the Middle Ages, insisted on the importance of moving away from the literal translation techniques and try to use other translation techniques that preserve the meaning of the original text. For a whole century, from the 9<sup>th</sup> till the 10<sup>th</sup> century, Baghdad was a focal point for “the translation of the Greek classics into Arabic” (Nida, 1964, pp.13,14).

Then comes the Renaissance age with all its enlightenment of the translation. At that time, the focal area of translation was translating the old religious scriptures, the Bible (the old and New Testament) from Greek to several Western European languages like German, French and English. Martin Luther (1483-1546), a German priest, author and professor of theology, Etienne Dolet (1509- 1546), a French translator, John Dryden (1631-1760) an English poet, literary critic and a translator and Alexander Fraser Tytler (1748-1813) a Scottish lawyer and translation scholar are some of the early translators who left a significant imprint in the early stage of translation studies (Snell-Hornby, 1995, p.19).

One of the most influential translators at that time is Martin Luther whose contribution to translation was an imprint in the translation of religious scriptures and the New Testament. Working on the translation of the Bible, Luther shattered the “word-



for -word” translation boundaries when he urged for intelligibly preserving the meaning of the original texts. He got all the credit for sensing the importance of preserving the meaning even if it was on the expense of changing the structure. In 1522, Luther introduced the first easy understandable German translation of the New Testament; he got all the credit for being the first translator in the renaissance age to call for a meaningful translating for the old religious scriptures. His translating principles formed a new thinking criterion about how to translate religious text types. His principles explain how translators can introduce a meaningful translation and preserve the stylistic structure as much as possible; they are summed up as follows:

- a. Shifts of word order
- b. Employment of Modal auxiliaries
- c. Introduction of connectives when these were required
- d. Suppression of Greek or Hebrew terms which had no acceptable equivalent in German
- e. Use of phrases where necessary to translate single words in the original
- f. Shifts of metaphors to nonmetaphors and vice versa
- g. Careful attention to exegetical accuracy and textual variants. (as cited in Nida, 1964, p.15)

Following Luther, Etienne Dolet (1509- 1546), a French translator who was indulged in politics, in the humanistic movement, deviated from the literal translation towards a more understandable vernacular TT. He was involved in many political conflicts that evidently led him to be sentenced to death. Apart from the fact that he himself intentionally mistranslated the dialogues of Plato to change Plato’s spiritual belief of mortality to immortality, in 1509, he published a seminal statement of fundamental principles of translation. these principles are summarized under the following headings:

1. The translator must understand perfectly the content and intention of the author whom he is translating.
2. The translator should have a perfect knowledge of the language from which he is translating and equally excellent knowledge of the language into which he is translating.
3. The translator should avoid the tendency to translate word for word, for to do so is to destroy the meaning of the original and ruin the beauty of the expression.
4. The translator should employ the forms of speech in common usage.
5. Through his choice and order of words the translator should produce a total overall effect with appropriate tone.

(as cited in Nida, 1964, pp.15,16)

Translation principles of both Luther (1522) and Dolet (1509) formulated the translation framework at that time. A main difference between Luther and Dolet’s viewpoint of translation is that Dolet stresses the necessity of the translator’s knowledge about “the spirit and intent of the original author” and translate with respect to the author’s intent whether the translator agrees with the author’s ideas or not (as cited in Nida, 1964, p.16). On other hand, Luther stresses that the translator should have the same beliefs as the author in order to produce a faithful translation; this idea is reflected in his statement: “I contend that a false Christian or a person with a sectarian spirit cannot faithfully translate the [Scriptures]” (Amos,1920, p.60).

Both Luther and Dolet’s translation principles of translations nearly summed up the translation principles implemented in most translation theories whether old or contemporary ones. However, Nida (1964) opted that “the credit for the first formulation of a theory of translation must go to Etienne Dolet (1509-1546)” who “published a brief but unsurpassed statement of translation principles” (p.15).

The 17<sup>th</sup> century witnessed the significant contribution of John Dryden (1631-1700), a dignified English poet, literary critic, and translator whose works left a remarkable imprint in both the English literature and the translation field to the extent that the

period from 1660 to 1700 was named the “Age of Dryden”. Dryden (1680) was famous for his verse translations. His contribution as a translator scholar is seen in the translation categorizations that he proposed in the preface to Ovid’s *Epistles* (1680); he believes that translation is divided into three types: metaphrase, paraphrase and imitation, illustrated as follows:

1. Metaphrase: A translation type that adopts word-for-word and line-for-line rendering.
2. Paraphrase: A translation type in which the translator gives the priority to preserve the ST sense on the expense of preserving the ST words; the TT will preserve the ST meaning and change its words.
3. Imitation: A translation type in which the translator has the option of changing both the words and the sense of ST “if the spirit of the original seems to require”. (as cited in Nida, 1964, pp.17,18)

Dryden (1680), however, argues that “it is impossible to translate verbally and well at the same time”. Hence, he stresses on the effectiveness of the “paraphrase” translation technique when he describes “Imitation” and “metaphrase” as being “two extremes” that should be avoided (as cited in Nida, 1964, pp.17,18).

Another remarkable translation figure is Alexander Fraser Tytler (1748-1813), a Scottish translation Scholar and translator, who changed the translation scope in the late period of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Tytler (1791) highlighted the importance of preserving the ST function in the TT; he was one of the pioneers who called for a functional approach to translation. He argues that the translator “is not allowed to copy the touches of his own, to produce a perfect resemblance ..... He must adopt the very soul of his another, which must speak through his own organs”. The translator is not supposed to use the “same colors with the original but is required to give his picture the same force and effect” (Tyler, 1791, pp.113,114). Like his predecessors, he introduced a set of three translation principles that emphasizes his functional approach to translation, as follows:

1. The translation should give a complete transcript of the idea of the original work.
2. The Style and manner of writing should be of the same character with that of the original.
3. The translation should have all the ease of the original composition. (as cited in Nida, 1964, p.19)

In the first principle, Tytler (1791) stresses on the ethic of *Faithfulness* in translation through insisting on transferring the whole idea of the original without skipping any part of it. In the second principle, he highlights the importance of trying to maintain as much as possible the writing style of the ST in the TT to create the same flow of writing to the target reader. As for the third principle, he focuses on the ethic of *Readability* in translation; he stresses that the TT is supposed to be reader friendly in the sense that the TT reader can be able to enjoy the same reading experience as the ST reader.

Tytler’s contribution at that time “marked the close of one period of translation and the beginning of another” (Nida, 1964, p.19). Due to the wide spread of the translation of Bible, old scriptures and the classics in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century, the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century witnessed the arousal of a new translation trend which emphasized the idea that “nothing worth translating can be translated” (Young, 1941, p.209). There was a type of “super sophistication” in selecting the works to be translated (Nida, 1964, p.20).

As seen in, Dolet (1509), Campbell (1789) and Tytler’s (1791) work, they all stressed on producing a TT that is close as possible to the ST, in order to change the crowd’s negative view of translation. Establishing a bridge of trust between translators, representing the translation profession, and the readers was the domination aim during this period, i.e., the early age of translation where translators were described as language traitors and the community was hardly accepting translation as a profession as they consider it a forced intrusion that can change their cultural identity. Translators were seeking for a community that unquestionably trusts translators and accepts translation as a trustworthy profession in their community that they can undoubtedly deal with.

During this translation epoch, **Trust was indeed the ethical petal that translators and translation scholars was trying to deeply implant** in the community, and they highly succeeded in establishing a well-built bridge of trust between translators and translation service recipients.

Then comes the 20<sup>th</sup> century with all its “radical changes in translation principles”. “A new mode of communication” has dominated the scope in translation studies. Psychologists, semanticists, linguists, translation scholars and translators all agreed on the importance of communication as a translation activity. They insist that “a message which does not communicated is useless” (Nida, 1964, p.21). In the following subsections, a light is shed on the major academic contribution in the field of translation studies represented in three significant translation turns that took place in the 20<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> centuries.

### 3. The Linguistic- Equivalence Turn

By the mid of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, translation scholars started to merge some linguistic approaches into translation studies. The epoch in which translation scholars adopt a linguistic approach to translation was not referred to by a special naming; there is no academic record for a specific name that marks this epoch. This epoch marks the end of a period that encompasses a systemic approach followed by early translators and was mainly concerned with introducing systemic principles for producing good translations and the beginning of a new period that encompasses a linguistic approach to translation. Thus, naming this epoch as “*The Linguistic-Equivalence Turn*” imprints its significance in the field of translation studies. It is worth mentioning that it was not until the Millennium when Pym (2014) named the set of theories based on the notion of equivalence as “*the equivalence paradigm*” which encompasses theories that bases its groundwork on finding either natural or direct equivalences for the ST in the TL. He opts out that the theories that shares the idea that “The relation between the start text and the translation is then one of equivalence (“equal value”), where “value” can be on the level of form, function, or anything in between” (p.6).

Starting from the late 50<sup>s</sup> and till the 70<sup>s</sup>, variant linguistic approaches start to appear within the horizon of translation studies. Translation scholars and theorists started to implement the concept of equivalence as a departure point for their translation theories and models. Within this specific period, translation scholars shared the same intellectual trend of starting their translation theories with a departure point that is based on the concept of equivalence and a framework that encompasses a comparative analysis between an SL and TL selected by the theorist. the concept of equivalence plays an important role in shaping the translation scope of this period; theorists urged translators for finding direct equivalences for the SL in the TL as a means of achieving the highest level of accuracy. ‘Equivalence’ in translation is that “static, result-oriented concept describing a relationship of equal communicative value between two texts or, no lower ranks, between words, phrases, sentences, syntactic structures and so on” (Nord, 1997, pp.35,36). The notion of equivalence was “the key issue in translation throughout the 1970’s and beyond” (Munday,2001, p.49). During that period, translation scholars proposed a recognizable number of binary equivalence types, i.e., translation equivalence binaries, that tackle a wide range of translation problems. Vinay and Darbelnet (1958) introduce two translation strategies: direct translation and oblique translation under which each type, Nida (1964) and Catford (1965) all moved on the same path of translating by finding equivalences for the SL in the TL; but each one overlooked equivalence by using a different linguistic approach. Under the Linguistic-Equivalence turn, linguistic approaches to translation refer to two trends of studies:

1. Theoretical translation models that views translation and interpreting as a primarily linguistic process and therefore are mainly aimed as a linguistic theory; for example, Nida (1964); Catford (1965). Although Baker’s translation model (1992) is mainly based on a mixture of culture studies and literary theory, it is still considered as a linguistic approach, as cultural approaches to

translation “should logically be seen as complementary to linguistic approaches rather than being seen as an opposed paradigm” (Baker & Saldanha, 1998, p.148).

2. A various range of studies that apply “findings, concepts, and methods from linguistics on an ad hoc basis to explain specific aspects of the phenomenon of translation and/or interpreting” (Baker & Saldanha, 1998, p.148).

Linguistic approaches to translation have a starting point signaled by Vinay and Darbelnet’s (1958/1995) work but doesn’t have an end point as the linguistic approach proceeds to be implemented in the translation studies in various ways. In her article “Linguistic Approaches to Translation”, Malmkajaer (2012) highlights the variations in the linguistic approaches to translation by seemingly reviewing the most significant translation theories that adopt variant linguistic approach as follows:

1. **The Saussurean translation approach** embodied in Vinay and Darbelnet’s linguistic model (1958/1995). They adopt “Saussure’s concept of “Value” to account for the fact that corresponding terms in different languages can have different extensions” (p.2).

2. **The Systemic functional approach to translation** presented by Catford (1965) who bases his translation model on “the contemporary version of systemic functional grammar (Halliday 1961)” (p.3).

3. **The generative ‘dynamic’ approach to translation** introduced by Nida (1964) who bases his work on “Chomsky’s (1957) early generative grammar” (p.4).

4. **The Psycholinguistic approach to translation** formulated by Roger T. Bell. Bell (1991) adopts a psycholinguistic approach in addressing “those parts of the translating process that translators would be unable to introspect about”. In addition, he provides a detailed outline for the various types of knowledge and skills that should be attained by translators.

5. **The cognitive linguistic approach to translation** established by Sandra Halverson. In a sequence of studies, Halverson (2003, 2007, 2010) adopts a cognitive linguistic approach to translation. She argues that “a cognitive theory of translation must integrate a cognitive theory of bilingualism” (2010, p.7); her approach is referred to as ‘Cognitive Translation Studies’.

6. **The relevance theoretic approach to translation** introduced by Gutt (1990) who bases his work on Sperber and Wilson’s relevance theory of communication. (Malmkajaer, 2012, pp.2-10)

In that sense, the *linguistic-equivalence turn* does not only encompass translation theories that bases its groundwork on the concept of equivalence, but also theories that take equivalence as their departure point but adopts various linguistic approaches. One of the most significant equivalence-based set of translation parameters that seeks for a source-oriented translation outcome is that of Savory (1968) who stress that

1. A translation must give the words of the original.
2. A translation must give the ideas of the original.
3. A translation should read like an original work.
4. A translation should read like a translation.
5. A translation should reflect the style of the original.
6. A translation should possess the style of the translation.
7. A translation should read as a contemporary of the original.
8. A translation should read as a contemporary of the translation.
9. A translation may add to or omit from the original.
10. A translation may never add to or omit from the original.
11. A translation of verse should be in prose.
12. A translation of verse should be in verse. (p. 54)

An interesting example that illustrates the essentiality of adapting a source-oriented translation approach in specific translation stances is seen in the translation of metaphorical images created for a specific purpose in the author's mind. Consider the following English-Arabic translation of a title of a Self-help text in Dale Carnegie's book "How to Win Friends & Influence People":

ST: If You Want to Gather Honey, Don't Kick Over the Beehive

(Carnegie, 2010, p.3)

TT: إذا أردت جمع العسل، فلا تهدم خلية النحل

(كارنيجي، ترجمة مكتبة جرير، 2011، ص.21)

The ST's title is loaded with implicit thoughts hidden within the folds of the created metaphorical image. Readers can interpret such metaphorical image differently based on their viewpoints towards the metaphor in the title. One reader can interpret it as an implicit advice that urges the readers not to behave badly in stressful daily interactions. Another reader, after reading the whole text, can interpret it as a way for handling harsh criticism and complaints. However, the title is intended to create an atmosphere of vagueness to motivate readers to read the text with the interest of finding out the author's intent from using such metaphorical title. Thus, translating the title by using the paraphrasing method would result in the loss of both the pragmatic and the semantic meaning of the title. Accordingly, to preserve both the pragmatic meaning of the title and the metaphorical image it creates, the translator used a literal translation method—a translation method that depends on word-for-word translation introduced by Vinay and Darbelnet (1958/1955), that produced a successful source-oriented translation.

Furthermore, it is clearly noticed that with every translation turn, translation undergoes radical changes that improves it as a profession and enhances its social and global role. The general scope of translation changes with across time. The main aim for most translation theories the Linguistic-Equivalence turn, during the late 50<sup>th</sup> and till the early 70's, is to produce an accurate translation that is as close as possible to the source text. Translation theories in this epoch work within a source-oriented framework and the main translation scope for translation scholars and translators is accuracy, i.e., to produce a highly accurate source-oriented translation. However, it is worth noting that in the 70's epoch the general translation scope starts to gradually move away from the equivalence-based framework like Newmark's binary translation types (1977)—*Semantic* versus *Communicative* translation which was an introduction for Newmark's set of translation procedures (1988) that adopts a functional-equivalence translation criterion which would be discussed under the cultural-purpose turn in the current study. Accordingly, the nationalistic translation scope translators achieved under that turn is producing the closest accurate translations they can achieve, i.e., the implanted translation petal within this turn is the petal of "Accuracy".

#### 4. The Cultural-Purpose Turn

Linguistic translation theories acted as the starting point for a sequence of intellectual developments in the nature of translation theories and the whole translation discipline. With the beginning of the 70's, translation theories start to progressively move away from the systematic equivalence approach adapted within the Linguistic-equivalence turn. Translation scholars start to direct their attention to *the function of translation* as a new essential translation scope; besides, translation scholars and translators start to adopt a target-oriented translation approach rather than the source-oriented approach that was adopted earlier under the Linguistic-equivalence turn. Functional translation studies under this turn proposes a variety of senses for the function of translation like: *the function of the texts whether ST or TT* (i.e. the linguistic and pragmatic function of the text, 'the aim of the text' message), *the function of the translation process itself* (i.e. describing how the translation process is conducted depending

on the linguistic and cultural factors imposed by SL and TL) and *the function of the translation product TT in the TL* (i.e. the function of the TT in the TL ).

In the Linguistic-equivalence turn, the core question was how to productively achieve the highest level of equivalence in translation; however, in this turn, namely *Cultural-Purpose* turn, the question rather became how translators can achieve a successful cross-cultural communication process through translation and “what kind of equivalence can be achieved, and in what contexts” (Baker, 1993, p. 236). Translation theories under the Cultural- Purpose turn start from one departure point which is *the function of the target text in the target culture*, and this is the reason for naming this turn the Cultural-Purpose turn as it focuses on the purpose of the target text in the target language and its cultural effect on the target reader. The translation scope under this turn is directed to achieve a purposeful communication through the various translation activities. The dominating translation aim under the Cultural-Purpose turn is bridging the cultural gap through effective communication. The innate human urge to communicate directs the translators and translation scholar’s attention to focus on the communicative aspect of translation, i.e., to deal with translation as a tool of effective human communication rather than an information transfer tool.

Over three consecutive decades, from the 70’s and till the 90’s, a series of significant developments in translation studies markedly enhanced the translation field with remarkable theories and models which highly participated in functionally improving the translation quality of the final translation outcome. Translation functionalism was the dominating translation trend of that time. Under the linguistic turn, the translation process is viewed as a process of transcoding which involves transmitting information from one language to the other through finding textual equivalences without considering the communicative effect of the final translation product on the TT recipients. On the other hand, under the cultural-purpose turn, the translation process is viewed as a human cross cultural-communicative process that takes into consideration the prospective function of the TT in the target culture based on the commissioner’s needs or in some situations the original author’s needs; this is in addition to the original function of the ST set by the author which cannot be overlooked under any circumstances.

The *Cultural-Purpose turn* witnessed Three significant translation developments:

1. The distinguished arousal of the *Functional approach to translation and* The Overt recognition of *translation quality assessment [TQA]* as an effective translation-oriented translation approach that aims at improving the translation quality.
2. *Functional translation binarism* and the emergence of *Functional-Equivalence*—a translation criterion that merge between the functional translation approach and the equivalence-based translation mode.
3. The arousal of the *Cultural turn* by the hands of Bassnett and Lefevere (1990) which emphasizes the recognition of the cultural aspect as an essential translation factor in the translating process.

The 70’s epoch witnessed the outburst of the functional twist in the nationalistic translation aim. The rise of the functional translation approach was established by the hands of Reiss (1971/2000) when she proposes the “special function of a translation” as a new thoughtful translation function to be consider in the process of translation assessment (p.92); her model focuses on the special translation cases where “the function of the target text was intended for a purpose different from that of the source text” (Pym,2014, p.39). Reiss (1971) introduces the first academic attempt to produce a translation quality assessment model that adopts a functional translation approach. In 1971, Reiss (1971/2000) starts her academic functional translation criticism route by introducing a binary form of translation instructions that assist in assessing the adequacy of the target texts. She introduces the intralinguistic and extralinguistic translation criterion:

- A. The intralinguistic translation criterion urges for preserving the semantic, lexical, grammatical, and stylistic features of the source text.
- B. The extra linguistic translation criterion urges the translator to pay attention to the situation, subject, field, time, place, receiver, sender, and various linguistic features that holds ‘affective implications’ like humour, irony, emotions, etc...

(pp.54-88)

Following that in 1976, Reiss proposes a methodological criterion that presents suggested translation solutions for a variety of text types. The following table summarises the translation method suggested for each text type (Reiss, 1976, p.20):

Text type	Suggested translation method
Informative text type	Plain prose: the conceptual content of the ST should be accurately transferred to the TT.
Expressive text type	Identifying translation method: a method that adapts a source-oriented translation approach that allows that that guarantee the honest transmission of the ST author point of view.
Operative text type	Adaptive translation method: a target-oriented translation approach that produces a TT that creates an equivalent effect among the TT readers.
Audio-media text type	Supplementary translation method: a translation method that involves supplementing the written lexicon with visual images.

A year later, Reiss (1977) proposes a precise linguistic description for the text type presented above for a clearer view of its linguistic components. Such academic contribution aided the translator in his/her decision-making process concerning the selection of the suitable translation procedures that would produce the desired translation output. In addition, Reiss’ (1977) linguistic description of the textual nature of various text types acts as a ground base that translation scholars use as judgment factors in the translation quality assessment process TQA (cf. Reiss (1977)).

Moving on the similar route of functional translation criticism, House (1977) introduces a translation criticism model that is based on Hallidayan systematic functional linguistics (1978). She proposes a three-step translation assessment criterion that encompasses a linguistic analysis for the ST and TT, a comparison of the two texts and an assessment for their relative matches (p.81). In 1986, House supported her translation criticism model by introducing binary translation modes, i.e., Covert versus Overt translation, that allows the translator to choose between a source-oriented translation mode ‘Covert translation’ or a target-oriented translation mode ‘Overt translation’ (cf. House,1977, 1986,1997, 2002, 2015).

Another important functional translation model that highly participated in shaping translation functionalism as an intercultural communicative translation approach is Holz-Manttari’s Translational action model (1984). Holz-Mantarrri (1984) introduces a functional target-oriented translation model, namely the translational action model. Her model deals with the translation process as an interactive communicative Commission; she presents the translation process as “intercultural cooperation” between the source text and the target text (p.17). In her translational action model, she stresses on the importance of conducting a functional textual analysis for the source text which she calls an “analysis of construction and function” (Nord, 2005, p.30). Her model focuses on “producing a TT that is functionally communicative for the receiver” (Munday, 2001, p.77). Holz-Manttari’s conceptual idea about translation shows that the translator is fully committed to the purpose of the translation in the target language. Her model argues that both the genre and the structural format of the target text must be based upon “what is functionally suitable in the TT rather than by merely copying the ST profile” (Munday,2001, p.77). However, any translation process cannot be conducted without considering the purpose of the source text; Nord (2005) argues that

Translation is the production of a functional target text maintaining a relationship with a given source text that is specified according to the intended or demanded function of the target text (translation skopos). Translation allows a communicative act to take place which because of existing linguistic and cultural barriers would not have been possible without it. (p. 32)

The academic contributions in translation functionalism represented in the work of Reiss (1971,1976,1977), Newmark (1977,1988, 1991), Holz-Mantarri (1984) and House (1977, 1986,1997, 2002, 2015) formulated a new translation trend at that time via introducing translation criticism in a functional pattern namely translation quality assessment that introduces various translation methods and modes in binary forms along with effective translation procedures under effectively adoptable translation quality assessment criteria that aptly handle challenging translation tasks that involves challenging communicative and cultural-oriented challenges.

It is thus can be concluded that the Translation criticism criteria [TQA models] presented under the cultural-purpose turn by the functionalist translation theorists shares the following hierarchal components:

1. **Binary Translation Methods:** Introducing binary translation methods/modes to allow more translational options that can cover a wide range of genres.
2. **ST-TT Comparison:** Conducting an analytical linguistic comparison between the source text and the target text for the purpose of revealing the translation pitfalls and gaps in the target text.
3. **Suggested Translation Procedures:** Some translation theorists like Reiss (1971) and Newmark (1988) added a third step that proposes a number of translation procedures suggested for tackling the translation problems detected through the comparison step. Other translation theorists like House (1977) stopped at the second step leaving the floor for the translator to solve the translation problems he/she faces with the procedure that is applicable to the problem found.

In an academic conversation between Chesterman and Wagner (2002) about the significance of translation quality assessment as a theoretical criterion on the practical translation practices, Emma Wagner encounters for how to measure translation quality from all views—as a product, as a process, as a service and as translation task, in a practical translation context:

1. Translation is a product just grade the end product good bad or indifferent
2. Translation is a process quality depends on carrying out the process correctly
3. Translation is a service intangible but wholly dependent on customer satisfaction just measure customer satisfaction
4. Translations are an adjunct of the original texts. Just measure the accuracy the faithfulness to the original the equivalence of meaning and effect. (pp.80,81)

Translation studies under the cultural-purpose turn does not only introduce translation functionalism from various perspectives but also introduces the first systematic criteria for translation criticism ‘Translation Quality Assessment’ as an evaluative functional criterion that assess the translation quality for the purpose of improving the quality of the translation outcome. Reiss, Newmark, House, Nord all introduced versatile criteria for translation criticism.

A dominating translation criterion that distinguished translation theories that adopts a functional translation approach is *translation binarism*—a translation criterion which introduces two modes of translation that allows more translation options for translators and directs the translator’s attention to the importance of paying attention to the TT readership parameters in order to produce a more communicative reader friendly TT; a Target text that makes the TT reader feels as if the TT is originally written in the TL and is not a translation at all. Translation Binarism dates back to Schleiermacher (1813/1992) who argues that “Either the translator leaves the author in peace, as much as possible, and moves the reader towards him; or he leaves the reader in peace, as much as possible, and move the author towards him” (pp.41,42). Kittel and Polterman (1997) argues that “practically every



modern translation theory responds, in one way or another, to Schleiermacher's hypotheses" (p.424). Newmark's (1977) semantic vs. communicative translation, Larson's (1984) literal vs. idiomatic translation, House's (1977) overt vs. covert translation mode, Lefevere's (1977) reader-oriented vs. text-oriented translation and Nord's (1988) documentary vs. instrumental translation type are all examples of binary translation modes which allows the translator to choose from two options of translation methods according to the genre of the ST and the function of translation (i.e. Skopos)—considering both the ST function and the function of the TT in the TL.

The versatile translation goals of such binary modes of translation highly participated in developing a "unified theory of translation" that practically served the translation field (Nida, 1976, p.78). Translation binarism criteria allowed translation theorists to smoothly move away from the unitary systematic equivalence-based criterion adapted under the linguistic-Equivalence turn to a binary communicative functional-based criterion that introduces a variety of translation procedures, methods and solutions that cover a wide range of genres and allows translation to enter every aspect of life.

An influential translation criterion that starts to gradually appear within the period of the cultural-purpose paradigm is the **Functional-equivalence translation criterion**—a functional translation approach with an "equivalence" framework. The functional-equivalence translation criterion starts from a purely functional departure point that seeks for a target-oriented translation but, at the same time, holds in its folds an equivalence nature that is seen in the comparative analysis held between the ST and TT for the sake of revealing the cultural-equivalence translation problems. In translation, the complexity of the idea of equivalence lies in the difficulty of finding easy direct equivalences on the cultural level. For instance, the symbol of insult in the Arabic culture is the "Shoe"; whereas in the American culture, "tomatoes" and/or "eggs" are the symbol of insult. Newmark (1977), for instance, adopts a functional-equivalence translation criterion as he urges translators to seek for a target-oriented translation through identifying the function of the source text in the target language, (i.e., why the target readers need a translation for the ST). Besides, he introduces a list of translation procedures that addresses translation equivalence problems on the structural level (cf. Newmark, 1988). Likewise, a decade and more after, Baker (1992) introduces a linguistic approach to translation that adopts the same functional-equivalence criterion but with a special attention to the cultural aspect; she urges for determining the translation function with respect to the function of the TT in the TL as a departure point for the translation process. Besides, she bases her translation model on an equivalence setting as she addresses translation equivalence problems at word level and above word level through comparing Arabic examples to their English translations while scoping her attention on the cultural variants between the SL and the TL (cf. Baker, 1992).

A very important point that cannot be disregarded is the significant focus on the cultural aspect in the translation process that is covertly crystalized under the cultural-purpose turn. In the 1970's, the translation discipline witnessed a gradual change through the implementation of various translation scopes within the mechanism of the translation process with the purpose of spotting and highlighting the interaction between cultures. Bassnett and Lefevere (1998) highlight that

In the 1970s, translation was seen, as it undoubtedly is, as vital to the interaction between cultures. What we have done is to take this statement and stand it on its head: if translation is, indeed, as everybody believes vital to the interaction between cultures, why not take the next step and study translation, not just to train translators, but precisely to study cultural interaction. (p.6)

In the 90's, Bassnett and Lefevere (1990) called upon paying special attention to the cultural aspect in translation. They opt out that

Once upon a time the questions that were always being asked were 'How can translation be taught' and 'How can translation be studied?' Those who regarded themselves as translators were often contemptuous of any attempts to teach translation, while those who claimed to teach often did not translate and so had to resort to the old evaluative method of setting one

translation alongside another and examining both in a formalist vacuum. Now, the questions have been changed. The object of study has been redefined; what is studied is text embedded within its network of both source and target cultural signs. (pp. 11,12)

Based on Bassnett and Lefevere's (1990) point of view, under the Cultural-Purpose turn, the translation scope changed from seeking source-oriented translations that adopts an equivalence-based approach to seeking target-oriented translations that adopts a functional translation approach which aims at fulfilling a cultural communicative translation gap. The translation process is no longer a rewriting of the original, it rather involves a clear implementation of "the tools of cultural history and cultural studies" (Bassnett, 2007, pp.13,14). The cultural manifestation of the source culture and the target culture through the translation process became the dominating translation trend of that time and since then the cultural aspect works as an eminent translation factor, that should not be overlooked, in any translation task. Translation became a process that reflects the "intercultural awareness" in the whole world (Bassnett, 2007, p.23).

With the sweeping penetration of the functional translation approach in translation studies, the translation scholars' view towards the nationalistic translation aim radically changed. Translation scholars start to ask fundamental questions about the whether the old nationalistic translation aims, *trust* and *Accuracy*, still totally fulfil the public's needs towards the translation field. The implicit answer was that translation always needs to be linked to the social ongoing life activities to fulfil the society's needs from translation. Accordingly, the translation nationalistic aim under the Cultural-purpose turn is **Cross-Cultural Communication**.

When you functionally translate, you are trying to solve a very complicated cultural equation; before the cultural turn, the translator was left in a state of bewilderment; what type of translation should he adhere to: a source-oriented translation that preserves the source culture in the TT but may result in major translation loss or a target-oriented translation that takes into consideration the cultural constraints of the target culture and functionally translate the ST, i.e. faithfully transfer the message of the original. The functional approach ended up this argumentation about defining the translation function (i.e., the function of the TT in the TL) as a decisive aspect that determines which type of translation to use. Gentzler (2001) highlights this idea when he asserts that the 80's and 90's encompassed an important "theoretical development in translation theory" which involves:

1. A shift from source-oriented theories to target-oriented theories, and
2. A shift to include cultural factors as well as linguistic elements in the translation training models. (p.70)

A translation example that highlights such distinguished shift in translation theories and models, under the *cultural-purpose* turn, is seen in the implementation of *target-oriented* translation approaches rather than *source-oriented* translation approaches in translating cultural-bound fixed expressions. Consider for instance, the Arabic fixed expression "البقاء لله" – an Arabic fixed expression used for offering condolences; if this expression is translated into English by using a source-oriented translation method like *Literalism*, i.e. a word-for-word translation method that highly preserves the syntactic structure of the ST introduced by Robinson (1997), it would produce a translation like 'God is the survival' (my translation). Such source-oriented translation is a faithful one yet produces an "Alien feel" in the TT, as it is a "painfully evident" translation (Robinson, 1997, p.10). Besides, it results in a highly noticed translation loss due to the cultural constraints of the target language. Such word-for-word translation results in the loss of the cultural function of the fixed expression as an expression used for condolences and introduces an alien expression to the target reader. On the contrary, using a target-oriented translation method like *Adaptation*, i.e. a translation method introduced by Robinson (1997) that aims for finding an equivalent fixed expression in the TL that has the same function of the expression in the SL, would produce a reasonable target-oriented English translation like 'My Condolences', 'May his/her

*soul rest in peace*, or *'Sorry for your loss'* (my translation). Such target-oriented translation instances perfectly fit into the target language as it is well-recognized by the target readers and has the same function of the Arabic fixed expression but in a different syntactic form that suits the nature of the TL.

According to Pym (2010), The points of strength that distinguishes the Cultural-Purpose turn from the Linguistic-Equivalence turn are summed up as follows:

1. It recognizes that the translator works in a professional situation, with complex obligations to people as well as to texts.
2. It frees the translator from theories that would try to formulate linguistic rules governing every decision.
3. It forces us to see translation as involving many factors, rather than as work on just one text.
4. It can address ethical issues in terms of free choice. (p.55)

In conclusion, functional theories and models under the Cultural-purpose turn altogether formulated the complete picture of the translation discipline as a unique interaction between cultures and influentially implanted the **cross-cultural communication** **petal** as a significant nationalistic translation aim at that period.

##### 5. The Interdisciplinarity Turn [Stylistic approach to translation]

*The injection of ideas and paradigms from a basket of disciplines (discourse analysis, cultural, colonial, postcolonial, gender, conflict studies, etc.) into the exploration of translation and translating has contributed a great deal to the enlargement of the discipline, including the manners in which it is deployed to investigate a plethora of areas. (Faiq,2021, p.17)*

By the beginning of the Millennium, interdisciplinarity in translation studies is brought to the fore (Cf. Wilss (1999), Baker (2000), Boase-Beier (2002), Herbrechter (2002)). Once the link between communication and translation proved its thriving efficiency in the translation field during the epoch of the cultural-purpose turn, translation studies start to accept interdisciplinary linguistic approaches to enter the translation medium. Unlike the preceding translation turns, this turn does not have one departure point or translation concept that gathers a set of theories underneath. It rather encompasses a variety of translation themes either taken from preceding translation paradigms or new translation approaches that have not been tackled before. Interdisciplinarity in translation highly participates in making variant cultural and communicative values globally conversant to all nations. the implementation of various disciplines and sub-discipline within the folds of translation studies and the translation profession as such remarkably participated in giving the translation field a rather dynamic influential sense worldwide. What is clearly noticed throughout the history of translation starting from the 50's and till the 90's is that the fear of engaging translation in various fields gradually disappeared; translation is no more limited to translating the *Bible*, literature, and history. As such, translation entered nearly every aspect in life: advertising, politics, social matters, culture and history, medicine, engineering, etc. With translation entering every aspect in our life, translators start to seek perfectionism in their final product. The translation aim is no more limited to preserving the ST's message or the function of the ST in the TL, it is rather widened to take into consideration the stylistic aspect of both the SL and the TL. From a translation viewpoint, stylistic is the linguistic study of the style of language. Since the style of language controls the translator's stylistic choices in the TT, a big deal of translation studies under the three translation turns discussed above approach the style of language from a source-oriented viewpoint through analyzing the author's stylistic choices which helps the translator to detect the most appropriate translation equivalences in the TT. Stylistic features are already addressed earlier in most translation theories under the step of ST's text analysis like in Nida

(1964), Catford (1965), Nord (1991). However, it was addressed on a smaller scale; importance was only given to translation problems of non-equivalent stylistic features at word and sentence level, like collocations phrasal verbs and idiomatic expressions, ignoring the importance of restoring the form, effect, and the overall organization of the stylistic features of the ST in the TT. Others adopt a comparative approach that subtly compare the author's stylistic choices to the translator's stylistic choices to see whether the translator's stylistic choices were adequate or not as in Vinay and Darbelnet (1958/1995), Newmark (1977) and Baker (1992); however, these studies are still source-oriented and look at style from a limited perspective either at word level or at sentence level.

By the rearousal of the stylistic approaches to translation in the millennium, stylistic translation studies began to take a noticed divergent turn. Translation studies addressing style start to be target-oriented through investigating the translator's stylistic choices in the TT and evaluate it. Studies that make a stylistic analysis to translated texts are not numerous yet significant and open new perspectives to other translation scholars. Millan-Varela (2004), Thomson (2004), and Malmkjaer (2004) are all target-oriented translation studies that investigate the translator's stylistic choices in the TT. Malmkjaer (2004), for instance, investigates the style of the target text with the purpose of aiding scholars to reconstruct the translator's faulty stylistic choices (p.14). Based on Leech's (1969) definition of Stylistics where he defines it as 'the study of the use language in Literature' (p.1), Malmkjaer (2004) claims that, in case of translation studies, conducting a typical stylistic analysis than only focuses on investigating stylistic patterns that reflects the overall meaning of the original text is not enough; doing the typical stylisticians' work won't serve well in translation studies context. Thus, she introduces a methodology called *Translational Stylistics* that investigates style in translation context, i.e., in both ST and TT. But before introducing the work criteria of *Translational Stylistics*, Malmkjaer (2004) sheds light on a set of distinctions on the orientation of stylistic analysis handled in translation studies that adopts a stylistic approach to clarify the difference between the standard stylistic analysis and the translational stylistic analysis. She differentiates between three types of stylistic analysis conducted in translation studies:

*Reader-oriented stylistics analysis, Writer-oriented stylistics analysis and Text-oriented translation analysis.*

Text-oriented stylistic studies approach style from a textual point of view; such studies analyze the textual stylistic features without highlighting the writer's motivations for his/her stylistic choices or the effect of specific stylistic choices on the reader. As for studies that involves a reader-oriented stylistic analysis are mainly concerned with answering the question of how certain stylistic features of a text affect the readers' mind. Reader-oriented stylistic analysis traces the stylistic features that embarks on certain emotions and values on the reader's mind; the analyst in this kind of studies takes up the role of the reader to sense the effect of the stylistic features on the reading mind and extract the ideological values implied in the way certain stylistic features are employed. For instance, the excessive use of repetition of a certain topic directs the readers' mind to its unusual importance. Semino and Culpeper (2002)'s *Cognitive Stylistic* volume is full of reader-oriented stylistic studies that aim at 'explaining how interpretations are arrived at, rather than proposing new interpretations of texts' (p. x). Both Werth (1999) and Toolan (1998)'s books are considered as essential reference books that manifests basic concepts about stylistic analysis in general and different types of stylistic analysis in specific. In short, reader-oriented stylistic studies seek to answers *how* the readers are affected by the textual stylistic features not *why* the text is formulated in certain stylistic way. Furthermore, reader-oriented studies that addresses style of translated texts are mainly concerned with investigating the effect of the translator's style on the TT readers, as the translator's stylistic choices are usually different from the writer's choices due to the language constraints.

On the other hand, writer-oriented stylistic studies are concerned with answering the question of "why a writer may have chosen to shape the text in a particular way to make it mean in the way that it does" (Malamkajear, 2004, p. 13). Studies of that kind analyse style with the purpose of highlighting the writer's motivations for his/her stylistic selections. Subsequently, writer-

oriented stylistic studies analyze style with the aim of highlighting the writer's motivations and reader-oriented stylistic studies investigates style with the aim of elucidating the effect of style on the reader. (pp.13-15, my emphasis)

Based on these distinctions, Malmkjaer (2004) concludes that the standard stylistic analysis is conducted with the purpose of highlighting stylistic patterns that clearly participates in showing the total meaning of the text, whether implied or overtly stated; whereas the translational stylistic analysis is held with the aim of highlighting stylistic patterns that reflect the relationship between the translated text (TT) and the original text (ST) (pp.19,20). Translational Stylistics can thus be defined as a stylistic translation quality assessment methodology which evaluates translations within a stylistic framework; a framework that allows assessing the translated stylistic patterns through comparing them to their original counterparts in the source text to see whether the translator succeeded in reflecting the effect of the source text style sensed by the original reader in the translation (TT) or not. Moving on nearly the same translational stylistic concept, Thomson (2004) explores literary texts for style constructions that represents ethnicity and investigates how the ethnic identity of the ST can be affected or may be lost in translation.

It is thus worth highlighting that, under the interdisciplinary turn, translation studies that investigate style dominated the translation research floor and shifted the researchers' attention to the significance of stylistic analysis in tackling various translation problems. On the translational level, investigation of style of both the ST and the TT in a descriptive comparative mode clarifies a great deal of linguistic aspects that help translators to overcome lots of anticipated translation pitfalls on the stylistic level like ST's cultural specific stylistic structures, implied pragmatic messages hidden within the folds of the ST's stylistic structures, visibility of the translator's voice in some stylistic structures of the TT, the author's stylistic choices and the translator's stylistic choices,...etc.

Translation scholars, [cf. Boase-Beier (2004,2006,2011), Malmkjaer (2004); Ghazala (1994,1999,2011); Almana (2013,2016); Farghal and Almana (2015)], then, start to direct their attention to exploring translation from a wider stylistic viewpoint and even more annotating the how to skillfully transfer the form, meaning and effect of the ST's stylistic features into the TT taking into consideration the stylistic norms of the target language. Speaking of the effect of Style on the TT readers, Boase-Beier (2006), adopting a stylistic approach to translation, urges translators to investigate two essential stylistic aspects: the intended meaning of the author's stylistic choices and the effect of the author's stylistic choices on the readers (p.5); by identifying these two aspects the translator would be able to preserve the intended meaning of the ST's stylistic choices in the TT. Consider the following hypothetical Arabic- English example that highlights the importance of preserving the stylistic form of *Foregrounding* to preserve its effect in the TT:

**ST:**

الحل الجذري لمشكلة القلق يكمن في تجنب التفكير الزائد في المستقبل.

**TT1:**

Anxiety can be solved by avoiding thinking of the future. (my translation)

**TT2:**

The ultimate solution for Anxiety is to avert overthinking future. (my translation)

is deliberately foregrounded at the beginning of the sentence to assert "الحل الجذري لمشكلة القلق" In the Arabic ST, that there is a guaranteed solution for Anxiety and create an emotional soothing effect on the readers' side. Furthermore, foregrounding the solution over the problem gives the reader a boost to continue reading with interest to find the ultimate solution that the foregrounded structure promises to propose. Thus, the effect created by the foregrounded form in the ST should be transferred to the TT. In TT1, the semantic meaning of the sentence is preserved, but the syntactic order of the sentence is changed and in turn changes the position of the foregrounded form. Such syntactical amendment results in the loss of the effect intended

from Foregrounding. Thus, the second translation (TT2) is the most adequate translation as it preserves both the semantic meaning and the effect of the foregrounded form through preserving the syntactic sequence of the words which by default preserves the ST's style in the TT.

Abudul Qaher Al.Jurjani, a famous Arab linguist and semanticist, defines *Style* in a way that emphasizes the importance of *foregrounding* and *backgrounding* in preserving the syntactic sequence and choice of words as a means of preserving the ST's stylistic effect in the TT. He defines style as "a type of syntactic sequence and the choices of word order of foregrounding and backgrounding, using definite or non-definite articles, etc" (as cited in Ghazala, 2011, p.30). Al Jurjani focuses on the syntactic composition of style; on the other hand, Boase-Beier (2004) focuses on the cognitive perception of style on the TT readers. She argues that it is not easy for the translator to recreate the ST's 'mind style' in the TT; however, a TT can have a similar cognitive stylistic effect of the ST once the translator mimics 'the reading experience in allowing access to a similar cognitive state to that of the original and thus creating similar effects" (p.282).

Nevertheless, under the interdisciplinarity turn, translation scholars shed the light on the direct proportionality of style to the TT readership experience; A variety of approaches are adapted in the translation processes only for the sake of perfectly reforming the ST style in the TT according to the TL stylistic norms to produce the same enjoyable reading experience for the TT reader as it is with the ST reader. Scarifying the stylistic format for the sake of preserving the meaning or the message of the ST is no more the only accessible solution for the stylistic translation problems; it rather became the translator's final resort due to the availability of more credible solutions for the stylistic translation problems proposed along the dense history of translation studies. Another Cognitive rendering for style in translation is found in Ghazala's (2011) book entitled '*Cognitive Stylistics and the Translator*' in which he comprehensively presents the various types of stylistics under two main categories: classical stylistics and contemporary stylistics. In addition, he discusses the relevance of style to translation through conducting a comparative stylistic analysis between selected Arabic stylistic forms and their English translations to show intended meanings and hidden ideologies.

Owing to the excessive attention given to style and stylistic aspects in translation studies during the past twenty years, the *Style* translation petal is successfully implanted in the translation society as a nationalistic translation aim.

## 6. Translation Studies Quadrant Petal Map [TSQPM]

After reviewing the influential streams of translation studies represented in the varied translation Turns, it is worth noting that every translation turn seeks to fill a specific gap in translation restricted to a specific text type, in a particular time and under specific conditions. Hence, there will be always a gap to be filled in translation studies as translation, in general, is always subject to fundamental changes due to the various constraints imposed on it: time constraints, cultural, social, and environmental constraints. The close investigation of the chronological turns in the history of translation studies interestingly revealed that every turn added a significant translation scope to the translation field, mainly based on the needs of the translation market within the period of every translational turn.

In the early translation epoch, starting from the 16<sup>th</sup> century and till the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the nationalistic translation aim that translators and translation scholars was trying to fulfill and implement in the society is *Trust*; their main aim is to change the crowd's negative opinion about the translation as a field and build a trust bridge between translators and society as people at that time see translation as a negative intrusion into their cultural and social roots. Starting from the 16<sup>th</sup> century till the 18<sup>th</sup> century, highly faithful accuracy in translation is clearly seen in the translations of both the old and new Testament from Latin to Greek, from Latin to German and from Latin to English; the translators' accurate religious translations captured the public's attention

to the importance of translation in spreading all divine religions; Alexander Pope (1715), John Wiseley (1755) and George Campbell (1789) all produced remarkable translations of the New Testament. Furthermore, as a means of sustain the established global attention and contentment towards the translation field, translators start to indulge into translating literary works that attracted the public's attention at that time. The English classics got the lion's share of the public interest in the 17<sup>th</sup> century and the lion's share of the translator's interest too; translators translated the English classics into more than one language: German, French, Spanish ...etc. for example, the remarkable translation of the *Pindar's Odes* by Abraham Cowley (1656) and Herder's and Schlegel's German translations of Shakespeare's work (Nida, 1964, pp16,17). The translators' main concern at that period was to produce an accurate translation with the effect and spirit of the original. Accordingly, they perfectly implanted the **Trust** petal in the translation society.

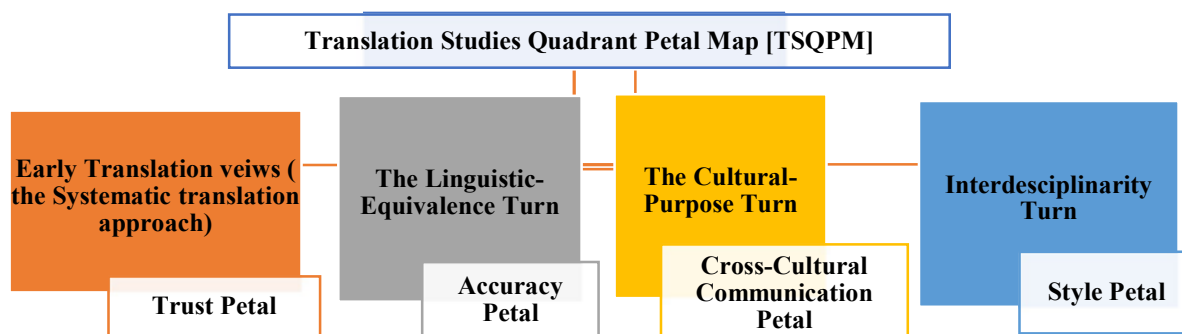
Then comes the twentieth century which encompassed two significant turns in translation: The Linguistic-Equivalence turn and the Cultural-Purpose turn. Under the Linguistic-Equivalence turn, translators and translation scholars focus on producing accurate translations to support the 'Trust' translation petal implemented in the earlier translation ages. The nationalistic translation aim of this turn is 'Accuracy', but 'accuracy' accomplished with a mode of communication not in a word for word translation mode. Equivalence was the dominating theme of that turn; translation scholars were racing to introduce various types of equivalences that covers a wide range of translation problems. Translation scholars like Vinay and Darbelnet (1985/1995), Nida (1964) and Catford (1965) all introduced various equivalence criteria that massively helped in solving lots of translation problems; owing to their significant translation theories, models, and procedures, the **Accuracy** translation petal is successfully implanted in the translation society.

Thereafter, in the late 90's, a global cultural motive lured in the horizon of the translation society; a significant twist in the nationalistic translation scope appears under the 'Cultural-Purpose' turn; the translation scope under this turn changed to be a more culturally communicative scope on the hands of Bassnett and Lefevere (1992) who introduced the cultural translation turn. Newmark (1977,1988), Vermeer (1989/2000), Basil and Hatim (1990,1997), Baker (1992,1993) all participate in spreading the notion of functional translation. Translating based on the purpose of the ST, in a cultural communicative mode. By the work of translators and translation scholars under this turn, Global public knowledge was made accessible to the whole world; translation literary entered every aspect in like: politics, advertising, Tourism, Arts ...etc. By the end of the Millennium, Translation as field became on the top of the heap, as it is globally recognized as an essential route of universal communication. Accordingly, the **Cross-Cultural Communication** petal is successfully implanted in the Global translation society.

As for the interdisciplinarity turn, it is seen as the final touch which beautifies the translation field's painting. The major translation scope of this turn is the reformation of style. After the successful implantation of *Trust*, *Accuracy* and *Cross-Cultural Communication* petals through the three preceding translation turns, translators and translation scholars start to seek ultimate perfection in the final translation product (TT) through giving importance to style. In any translation process, there are three essential translation factors that should be given attention: meaning, message (whether implied or clearly stated) and style, but the degree of importance of each factor differs according to the text type of the ST. For instance, in an informative text, attention is priorly given to meaning and message over style; on the other hand, in a literary text (a poem, a novel or a short story), attention is equally distributed on meaning, message and style as any negligence in preserving one of the three factors in the TT would negatively affect the quality of the final translation outcome. Under the Interdisciplinary turn, emphasis is equally given to meaning, message and style under in nearly all text types, exceptions go to medical and legal text type which mostly have standardized stylistic forms. Stylistic Translation studies conducted by Boase-Beier (2004,2006,2011), Malmkjaer (2004), Thomson (2004) and others highly participated in shifting the translator's attention to an important fact about Style which is its

significant effect in creating an enjoyable reading experience. Hence, preserving the Style of the ST as much as possible either through maintaining or reforming the ST's textual stylistic features as much as the stylistic norms of the TL allows would create an enjoyable reading experience for the TT reader. Thanks to the emphasis given to style in translation studies over the past two decades, the *Style* translation petal is successfully implanted in the translation society as a major nationalistic translation aim. By and Large, the four major nationalistic translation aims (i.e. translation petals); namely *Trust*, *Accuracy*, *Cross-Cultural Communication* and *Style* together formulated the remarkable global status of Translation studies as an effective academic field. The current study, thus, introduces a map entitled the *Translation Studies Quadrant Petal Map (TSQPM)* that manifests the nationalistic translation aim of the four translation turns investigated above and the significant translation studies, theories, and models under each turn. The *TSQPM* contains two diagrams: a basic diagram that illustrates the various nationalistic translation aims across the four translation turns, referred to as the four translation petals and a complementary diagram that manifests the influential translation studies, theories, and models that highly participated in fulfilling the various nationalistic translation aims under each intellectual translation turn. The Translation Studies Quadrant Petal Map is visualized as a four-petal flower; the flower is the Translation studies field, and the petals represent the translation scopes implanted under the four significant translation epochs (i.e., turns) that shaped the success of the translation field academically and practically. The *TSQPM* is illustrated as follows:

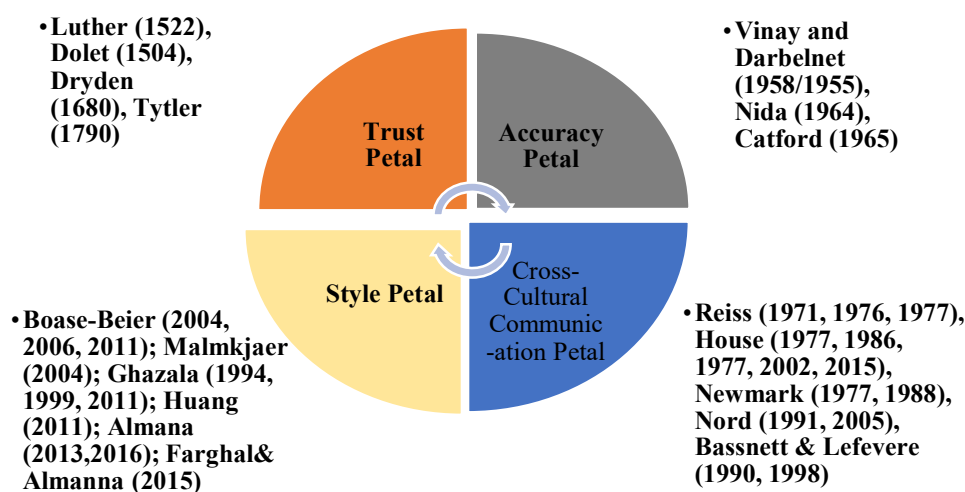
### 1. The TSQPM Diagram



**Fig.1:** Translation Studies Quadrant Petal Map (TSQPM)'s Basic diagram



## 2. The Complementary TSQPM Diagram



**Fig .2:** Translation Studies Quadrant Petal Map (TSQPM)'s Complementary diagram

### Concluding Remarks

The question arises now is how the proposed Translation Studies Quadrant Petal Map [TSQPM] can be of a practical benefit to translators, i.e., how can translators use it. In the translation market, translators are of various backgrounds: some translators are translators and linguists at the same time, others are translators with academic translation background and others are translators by practice with no academic background whether linguistically or translationally. The TSPM is designed to guide translators of various backgrounds to the adequate theoretical translation groundwork, i.e., translation theories, that can aid them in solving the translation problems they face during their work in the translation market.

There is no doubt that the main aim from studying and investigating various translation theories across the history of translation studies is to benefit from the scholars' contributions in the TS field and see how it positively affected the translating process. Establishing a link between theory and practice is the core aim of most translation studies; theories are mainly conducted for the purpose of facilitating the translation process and solving current translation problems at the time of conducting the theory. Thus, the significance of studies that reviewing the history of TS either by investigating its turning points, significance theories and approaches or lies in the important information it provides that help translators once applied practically, within the range of the translation market, would improve the translation quality in general.

Hence, the conventional categorization of Translation Studies provided by the current study and the manifestation of the translation nationalistic aims of the four introduced translation turns consequently provide translators with a precise elaboration on the established links between theory and practice in translation. Any translation task raises a number of translation problems; solving them by solely using the translator's instinct will not produce a professional outcome (TT). Applying one or more wisely chosen translation theory in the translation process would definitely make a noticed distinction in the quality of the final translation outcome (TT). Based on the typical translation features of the ST in hand (i.e. text type, target reader/audience, purpose/function, the translation problem), the translator can use the TSQP map to guide himself/herself to the translation turn where he/she can find a solution for the raised translation problem in one the previously introduced translation studies under that

specific turn. For instance, if the translator is facing a translation problem on the equivalence level and the core translation scope of his/her task is achieving accuracy, the TSQP map would guide him/her to the translation theories under the Linguistic-Equivalence turn that can be of a great assistance in his/her translation task.

Furthermore, the close investigation of the chronological turns in the history of translation studies interestingly revealed that every turn added a significant translation scope to the translation field each translation turn is linked to society through a translation ethical knot that, in a way or another, improves the public's viewpoint towards the translation field. It is observed that the nationalistic translation aim of each translation turn proportionally changes with respect to the translation requisites required by the society.

Presenting the significant translation theories and models under four intellectual turns in a precise mind map diagram form facilitates the translation scholars' typical searching process helps the translators in finding the applicable translation method, procedure or strategy that would help them in fulfilling their challenging translation tasks. It is a time saver map that saves a lot of time previously wasted in haphazardly searching for translation models, procedures, and strategies via any internet-based search engine like Google and which usually proposes ill-considered results. In conclusion, the current study succeeded in covertly revealing the connection between the translation theories and the translation requirement coveted by the society namely—trust, accuracy, cross-cultural communication, and style through tracing the development course of translation studies across four translation turns.

As for the limitations of this study, it is summed up as follows:

1. After reviewing the influential streams of translation studies represented in the varied translation turns, it is worth noting that every translation turn seeks to fill a specific gap in translation restricted to a specific text type, in a particular time and under specific conditions. Hence, there will always be a gap to be filled in translation studies as translation, in general, is always subject to fundamental changes due to the various constraints imposed on it—time constraints, cultural constraints, social constraints, and environmental constraints.
2. Clearly, there is still much work to be done to establish practical linkage routes between theory and practices through applying various translation theories and models on translation corpus that represents a public interest either nationally or internationally. However, getting information about the various translation theories, models, and procedures through studies that reviews the history of translation guides translation scholars and translators to new uninvestigated disciplines which translation can participate in highlighting and sharing it with the whole globe.

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## Travelling theories: Said's theorizing of power and representation and his Arab interlocutors<sup>1</sup>

Mahmoud Abdel-Hamid Khalifa  
Associate Professor,  
South Valley University, Egypt.  
Corresponding email: [mahmoud.abdelhamid@hu-edu.svu.edu.eg](mailto:mahmoud.abdelhamid@hu-edu.svu.edu.eg)

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### ABSTRACT

Edward Said's theorization of power, Knowledge and representation travelled to a troubled land in an atmosphere of ideological polarization that persists to the present which made most interpretations and readings of his book *Orientalism* and its main thesis measured by how far they fit into an already existing ideological and intellectual map with the minor exception of Hassan Hanafi's intervention which expanded Said's thesis about knowledge and power in an inventive way.

## 1. Introduction

In the "Afterword" to the 1995 edition of *Orientalism*, Edward Said states that, "*Orientalism* now seems to me a collective book that I think supersedes me as its author more than I could have expected when I wrote it" (330). Said is quite right in his remark. *Orientalism* provoked different responses from different interpretive communities such as Marxists, liberals and Islamists who made different interpretive decisions that were not foreseen by the author himself. The notion of an 'interpretive community' as explained by Stanley Fish will be used here to group those who followed similar interpretive strategies in reading Edward Said's *Orientalism*. In an article entitled, "Interpreting the Variorum" (1976), Stanley Fish explains the notion of an interpretive community in the following manner:

Interpretive communities are made up of those who share interpretive strategies not for reading (in the conventional sense) but for writing texts, for constituting properties and assigning their intentions. In other words, *these strategies exist prior to the act of reading* and therefore determine the shape of what is being read... (Emphasis added) (*Twentieth Century Literary Theory* 238 ).

This will be coupled with Said's notion of travelling theory. According to Edward Said:

Like people and schools of criticism, ideas and theories travel, from person to person, from situation to situation, from one period to another. Cultural and intellectual life are usually nourished and often sustained by the circulation of ideas.... Having said that, however, one should go to specify the kinds of movement that are possible in order to ask whether by virtue of having moved from one place and time to another an idea or a theory gains or loses in the process in strength and whether a theory in one historical period and national culture becomes altogether different for another period or situation (226)

My purpose in this paper is to see how the idea of power and knowledge discussed in Edward Said's *Orientalism* has travelled

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<sup>1</sup> This paper is a reworking of a chapter in my M A Thesis: Mahmoud Abdel-Hamid Mahmoud Ahmed Khalifa (2005) The Arab Reception of Edward W. Said with Particular Emphasis on *Orientalism* (MA Diss.) Cairo University.

among Arab critics who adapted it to their own different purposes of critique of the West or attempt to encourage the production of non-dominative knowledge: knowledge divorced from power. So, I will be in the curious position of using Said's travel theory to discuss- as well as the notion of interpretive communities- how Said's ideas regarding the nexus between knowledge and power fared when they travelled to the Arab world which was so ideologically and politically polarized.

Said's controversial book *Orientalism* has provoked a heated debate in the Arab world. It was published in 1978 and was translated into Arabic in 1981 by Kamal Abu Deeb. The debate triggered by the book took place in book reviews, articles and books in which writers put forth their opinion concerning the theses advanced by Edward Said. Said's arguments about the relationship of knowledge and power, his study of Orientalism as a discourse of power and his treatment of Marx as well as other topics received extensive critiques that extended over a period of more than twenty five years.

The Marxist reading of *Orientalism* has used strategies that wrote its Marxist priority into Edward Said's book. In a review article entitled "*Al-Istishraq wa Al-Istishraq Ma'kusa*" (1981) (*Orientalism and Orientalism in reverse*", partially translated in *Orientalism: A Reader*) Sadiq Jalal Al-'Azm, a student of Arab culture educated at Yale, offers a reading of *Orientalism*. The interpretive strategy that marks his reading which would mark almost all Marxist readings is that of looking at Orientalism as an ideology that formed the superstructure of material developments in the West; the argument being that if economic activities underlie all other human activities including the discursive practices of society, then Said has failed to indicate this in his study of Orientalism. This interpretive strategy reads Said against the backdrop of Marx's theory of the primacy of the material over the discursive. To put it more clearly, it is not the intellectual production in the West that made the West misrepresent the East, rather the West's need for new markets.

On the other hand, Said's main inspiration in *Orientalism* is Foucault's discourse theory to which he makes some alterations: he acknowledges the role of individual authors in the formation of discourse (*Orientalism* 23). Al-Azm's reading ignores Foucauldian influences on Edward Said. Al-Azm views Orientalist scholarship as a product of Western imperialism at a certain stage in the development of Western societies. According to this view, Orientalism coincided with the rise of Western imperial expansion in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Therefore, Al-Azm's basic disagreement with Said's view is that Al-Azm supports a material explanation of colonialism in which the economic base defines the superstructure: the intellectual output of Orientalist scholarship. However, Said, much influenced by discourse theory, regards Orientalism as the cause of imperialism and not the result. Here the epistemological framework through which the West represented Islam is taken by Said to be no less important than the Marxist economic in giving rise to imperialism. This point was made clear by Robert Young in his book *Colonial Desire: Hybridity in Theory, Culture and Race* (1995):

*Orientalism* thus challenged the traditional self-devaluation in deference to the economic of orthodox Marxist cultural criticism. And though doubtless the Western expansion into the East was determined by economic factors, Said argued that the enabling cultural construction of Orientalism was not simply determined by them (159).

Essam Fawzi, another Marxist critic, makes a slightly different reading of *Orientalism*. He takes Said to task for ignoring the concept of ideology in his critique of Orientalist scholarship. Very much like Al-Azm, Fawzi views Orientalism as an ideology that justifies imperialism. He explains that, "The imperial West did not produce scientific knowledge about Oriental societies. The reason for this is that it had no need for this kind of knowledge in the process of the exploitation of dependent societies"

(*Al-Maddiyyah At-Tarikhiyyah bayn Al-Istishraq wa Ta'wil An-Nusus*) Historical Materialism between Orientalism and the Interpretation of Texts 479). According to Althusser, the main purpose of ideology is in “‘constituting’ concrete individuals as subjects” (*Lenin and Philosophy* 116). Drawing on this concept, Essam Fawzi sees Orientalism as an ideology that is directed to the Western citizen in order “to justify the domination of other societies and the creation of conflicts between him and the Eastern citizen with a view to hiding class conflict in the West and obliterating the liberating tenor of the struggle of Eastern societies” (*al-Maddiyyah At-Tarikhiyyah* 485). According to Fawzi this is achieved via a system of interpellation through which the ideology of Orientalism turns Western individuals into subjects who can recognize the following: (1)- The difference between us and them. (2)-What is good, right and just: the colonisation of the East. (3) What is available for the execution of the plan of subjugation and justification of the politics of imperialism at each stage of aggression on the East (*al-Maddiyyah At-Tarikhiyyah* 485).

In the estimation of Fawzi, ideological interpellation is considered a frontline defence of imperialism. The Western economic expansion outside its borders has placed new demands on the ideological apparatus. Thus, it needs to qualify individuals to enter the process of imperial production and occupy subject positions in subjugating the colonised countries and convincing them of the legality of imperialism. This Orientalist discourse is used as well to manipulate the Orientals themselves by convincing them of their inferiority and their need to imitate Europe, which further asserts the centre-periphery relationship between a dependant Orient and an imperial West (485). Furthermore, Fawzi opines that the absence of the concept of class struggle as an analytical tool in Edward Said’s study of Orientalism made him view all Western texts as Orientalist and thus presented Europe as one homogenous whole. For Fawzi, Said found no problem in lumping writers such as Gibb, Massingnon and Marx in the basket of Orientalism ignoring that these people belong to different classes which were in conflict with each others. The main interpretive strategy used here prioritizes the Marxist class conflict concept over the discursive of Orientalism. That is why Said’s *Orientalism* is criticised for what it denies more than for what it asserts.

For Said, though, Orientalism did not *just* justify imperialism and colonialism but, in a way, made them possible in the first place. Thus before planning to invade Egypt Napoleon read Comte de Volney’s *Voyage en Egypte et Syrie* (1787). De Volney explained that any military campaign against Egypt would have to get over three obstacles: the British, the Ottoman Porte and the Muslims themselves. According to Said, Bonaparte clearly refers to De Volney in his reflections on the Egyptian Expedition (*Orientalism* 81). The point is that Orientalism has sort of provided a clear plan as to how to deal with these three problems and thus enabled colonialism. According to Said, “The point in all this is that for Napoleon Egypt was a project that acquired reality in his mind, and later in his preparation for its conquest, through experiences that belong to *the realm of ideas and myths culled from texts*” (Emphasis added) (*Orientalism* 80). Thus the Orientalist scholarship has been essential to conducting the military campaign against Egypt.

Another important issue is that of Said’s critique of Marx. Although Said tackled Marx in about only three pages in passing, Marxists fixed on them. For the Marxist interpretive community defending Marx seems to have been a priority that made them challenge Said’s reading of Marx and offer a reading that sought to defend Marx.

First, Said’s reading of Marx: Perhaps Said is the first critic to accuse Marx of falling a prey to Orientalist conceptions of the Orient. At first, says Said, Marx condemned England’s destruction of the old Indian subsistence economy in favour of market



economy which played havoc with the old Indian social system and brought misery and destitution to millions. But then Marx changed his attitude as he came under the ‘police action’ of Orientalism. Said puts it as follows:

The vocabulary of emotion dissipated as it submitted to the lexicographical police action of Orientalist science and even Orientalist art. *An experience was dislodged by a dictionary definition* (Emphasis added) (*Orientalism* 155).

Thus Marx’s human sympathy with the Indians’ plight was displaced as it encountered the Orientalist limitation on what can be said about the Orient. Marx saw England’s move as necessary for the final transformation towards Marxist socialist economy, the despair it brought about notwithstanding. Marx argued that,

England, it is true, in causing a social revolution in Hindustan, was actuated only by the vilest interests, and was stupid in her manner of enforcing them. But that is not the question. The question is, can mankind fulfil its destiny without a fundamental revolution in the state of Asia? If not, whatever may have been the crimes of England she was *the unconscious tool of history* in bringing about that revolution (Emphasis added) (Karl Marx “The British Rule in India” (1853) quoted in *Orientalism*, 153).

According to Marx, by destroying the old tribal system in India, which supported despotism, England’s move has had the effect of delivering the Indians from despotism. Such a reading of Marx as having been influenced by Orientalism has touched off counter readings that sought to defend Marx. Al-Azm takes Marx’s view to be totally ‘theoretically consistent’ with his theory:

... Marx always tended to explain historical processes in terms of social agencies, economic struggles, political movements, and great personalities, which simultaneously played the role of destroyers and creators. ... There is nothing specific to either Asia or the Orient in Marx’s broad theoretical interpretations of the past, present and future. On this score his sources are thoroughly ‘European’ in reference and owe nothing to Orientalist learning (“Orientalism and Orientalism in reverse” 227).

In a review article entitled “*Al-Istishraq ‘Ariya*” (Orientalism Exposed) (*al-Karmel* 1985), Hadi Al-‘Alawi who was among the early reviewers of Said offers a different reading of Marx’s position. According to Al-‘Alawi, “Marx spoke in the name of international proletariat purging his discourse of its Western vocabulary in favour of an international comprehensive logic” (188). By presenting Marx in this way, Al-‘Alawi tries to exonerate him from accusations of being Eurocentric and of being influenced by Orientalism which is a European tradition.

In *Marx fi Istishraq Edward Sa‘id* (1986) (Marx in Edward Said’s *Orientalism*), Mahdi ‘Amel, a Marxist critic, accuses Said of distorting Marx’s text by interpreting Marx’s conception of the Orient as influenced by messianic and romantic ideas (117). ‘Amel observes that Said ignored the fact that Marx’s ideas work according to dialectical materialism which is not concerned with the individual dimension but with dialectics of history. Said’s *Orientalism* is apparently an occasion for ‘Amel to assert the validity of Marxist theory. The destruction of the old Indian way of life by England was according to Marx a necessary step towards the socialist transformation in spite of the human suffering it involved. This is why ‘Amel accuses Said of criticising Marx according to moral criteria which ‘Amel sees as irrelevant in this context.

Essam Fawzi, a fellow Marxist offers a less dogmatic reading. He seems to be the only Arab Marxist who admits that in dealing with the Orient, Marx was influenced by Orientalist writings:

not because he was yet another Orientalist as some European intellectuals but because until that moment and concerning that subject in particular, Marx did not break free from his Hegelian past. An evolutionary historicist Hegelianism that classify human societies within an ascending civilizational ladder...has dominated Marx's [thinking] (*Al-Maddiyyah At-Tarikhiyyah* 487).

This evolutionary hierarchy placed capitalist Western societies at the top of the ladder and the Oriental societies at its bottom: primitive, barbaric, and inferior. In this way, Fawzi blames Marx's Orientalist statements on his Hegelian past and therefore exonerates him from Said's criticism in a subtle way.

In a long review essay, 'Afif Farrag, finds a problem with Edward Said's treatment of Marx. He states that whenever Marx is mentioned in *Orientalism* he is there to be criticised. He notices that, "in spite of the revisions he made to *Orientalism*, his hypercritical position towards Marx and Marxism remained the same starting from *Orientalism* to *Culture and Imperialism*" ("*Al-Maqhur Yousadim Jush Al-Kalimat*" 73) (*The Oppressed Fights Armies of Words*). He argues that "By insisting on turning Marxism into yet another episode in the chain of Western cultural hegemony, Said leaves no great hope of the possibility of the rise of an anti- imperial culture in the West" (73). The Marxist reading of Said's interpretation of Marxism tries to suggest that Said may not be well acquainted with Marxism. Here, the interpretive strategy followed focuses on relaying instances of Marx's critique and condemnation of Western exploitation of other Non-Western peoples such as the Red Indians in America and British slave trade in an attempt to exonerate him. Farrag follows that ad hominem strategy of accusing Said of ignorance of Marxism. He puts questions to Said which are meant to reveal Said's inadequate knowledge of Marxism and thus undermine his critique of Marx: "Is Said ignorant of Marx's condemnation of the Christian Puritanical hypocrisy which accompanied the accumulation of capital in America?" The answer is presumably in the positive. This reading has followed the same interpretive strategy which sought to interpret Said's *Orientalism* against the grain of Marxist theory. It has succeeded largely to consolidate the contention that Said's treatment of Marx and Marxism is reductive and reflects a blatant ignorance of Marxism. What is at stake here is the rescuing of Marx and Marxism from the severe criticism of Said. That is where critiquing Said turns into an ideological campaign to defend Marxism. This reading simply denies Said's disclaimer that:

In part, of course, Marx was concerned with vindicating his own theses on socioeconomic revolution; but in part also he seems to have had easy resource to a massed body of writing, both internally consolidated by Orientalism and put forward by it beyond the field that controlled any statement made about the Orient (*Orientalism* 155).

The important point is that there is a misunderstanding of Said's notion of the function of criticism. Said has espoused what he termed 'critical consciousness'. This critical consciousness which epitomises his concept of criticism is sceptical of any totalitarian theory and of all orthodoxies. For Said, Marxism was no exception. True to his poststructuralist influences, Said suspected all grand narratives and put everything in question. If Marxism demanded "solidarity before criticism", Said took criticism so seriously as to demand criticism before everything else:

But on the important matter of a critical position, its relationship to Marxism, liberalism, even anarchism, it needs to be said that criticism modified in advance by labels like "Marxism" or "liberalism" is, in my view, an oxymoron. The history of thought, to say nothing of political movements, is extravagantly illustrative of how the dictum "solidarity before criticism" means the end of criticism (*The World, the Text and the Critic* 28).

In "*Aqliyyah Ta'amuriyyah*" (*Nizwa* January, 1999) (*Paranoid Mentality*), Turki 'Ali Ar-Rabi'u launches a counter attack against the Marxist reading of Edward Said's *Orientalism*. First, he considers the Marxist discourse around Edward Said as issuing from

a paranoid mentality. He argues that, “by making a connection between Orientalism and Marxism in its homogenizing view of the Orient, Said has dared break the taboo and went so far as to prevent others from the pleasure of applying Marxism to Arab reality”(4). According to Ar-Rabi’u, these Marxists -he mentions Sadiq Al-‘Azm, Mahdi ‘Amel and Nadim Al-Bitar - aimed at: (1) justifying Marx’s authoritarian attitude towards the Orient by accusing others of being ignorant of Marxism. (2) accusing Said of being subjective and unscientific:

The representatives of this discourse have stood up against the viewpoint that connects between Orientalism and Marx’s authoritarian attitude for fear that the Arab reader would be drawn to these kinds of writings (1).

The Marxist misreading of Said did not stop at that: at the end of section one of his long review article, Sadik J. Al-Azm quotes a passage from *Orientalism* on which he builds his rather vitriolic attack on Said:

The Arab world today is an intellectual, political, and cultural satellite of the United States. This is not in itself something to be lamented; the specific form of the satellite relationship, however, is (*Orientalism* 322).

Al-Azm interprets Said’s passage as though Said was giving advice to American policy makers and therefore accepts the satellite relationship between America and the Arab world but rejects the form of that relationship. A very superficial reading will definitely reach that conclusion; but given Said’s general anti-imperialist attitude and his condemnation of the intellectuals’ keeping too close a relationship with policy makers (*Orientalism* 326), it is absurd to suggest that Said was giving advice to policy makers in order to enable them to dominate and subordinate more efficiently the Arab world. Given Said’s search for non-coercive and non-dominative knowledge, i.e. which does not seek to dominate others, it is a total misreading to suggest that Said’s statement was meant as a piece of advice to American policy makers.

In another instance, Al-Azm tries to defend Orientalism. In *Orientalism* Said explains that Orientalism tends to view the Orientals in great collectivities about whom it issues “unarguable declaratives” (*Orientalism* 276). He gives examples from contemporary Orientalism:

And so it is throughout the work of the contemporary Orientalist: assertions of the most bizarre sort dot his or her pages, whether it is a Manfred Halper arguing that even though all human thought processes can be reduced to eight, the Islamic mind is capable only of four, or a Morroe Berger presuming that since the Arabic language is much given to rhetoric Arabs are consequently incapable of true thought (*Orientalism* 310).

Said makes similar comments on Duncan Black Macdonald, an American Orientalist, who argued that “the conception of the Unseen is much more immediate and real to the Oriental than to the western peoples.” (qtd. in *Orientalism* 276). Al-Azm however, disagrees with this saying that these are generalisations that hide behind them broad directives “on how Occidentals should go about dealing with and handling the Orient and the Oriental here and now” (“Orientalism and Orientalism in Reverse” 224). To make his point, he himself makes a few generalisations about the Muslim mind. He explains that “In fact one can argue convincingly that in a certain very insignificant sense”,

- (1) It is true that in general, the Unseen is much more immediate and real to the common citizens of Cairo and Damascus than it is to the present inhabitants of New York and Paris;
- (2) It is true that religion ‘means everything’ to the life of Moroccan peasants in a way which must remain incomprehensible to present day American farmers;

(3) It is true that the idea of an independent inviolable lawful order of nature is in many respects much more real, concrete and firmly established to the minds of the students of Moscow University than it is to the minds of the students of al-Azhar University (or any university in the Islamic world) (224).

Yet Al-Azm volunteers no evidence or statistics for his assertions. The truth of one assertion or another in this situation is the function of the Orientalist's power vis-à-vis the Oriental and does not derive from any claims to truth or evidence. In this case, it is convincingly argued that:

In any case, to assert the truth of Orientalist descriptions is to sidestep the central theme of the book which calls into suspicion any 'fact' about the Orient given the conditions under which knowledge was produced. (Lata Mani 13).

The Arab Liberals' Reading:

The Arab liberals read Said's critique of Orientalism as an attack on an ideal West from which they derive most of their ideas about progress and enlightenment which they see as the way out of the stagnation of the Arab reality at the present time. That is why the interpretive strategies they followed sought to reassert what they considered to be 'Western values' like academic objectivity. One argument they used is that knowledge in general is moving towards improvement and therefore Said's characterisation of Orientalism as inert and blind to the human reality of the societies it studied cast doubt on the contention that with the passage of time, Orientalism – a science in their view- will redress its wrongs. This becomes clear in their consolidated attempts to exonerate Orientalist scholarship from its imperial connections. For starters, the question of the association of knowledge or particularly Orientalist scholarship with political power is a major theme in Edward Said's *Orientalism*. Let Said speak for himself,

I myself believe that Orientalism is more particularly valuable as a sign of European-Atlantic power over the Orient than it is as a verdict discourse about the Orient (which is what, in its academic or scholarly form it claims to be) (*Orientalism* 6).

The interpretive strategy followed by two Arab liberal critics namely, Fouad Zakaria and Hazem Saghiya disagrees with Said's emphasis on the relationship of knowledge and power in the production of Western discourse on the Orient. From the start, both critics pursue the aim of undermining Said's thesis sometimes by arguing that Said was reductive in his treatment of Orientalism. Some other times by simply using ad hominem arguments that question their opponents' motives.

In a lengthy article entitled, "*Naqd Al-Istishraq wa Azmat Ath-Thaqafah Al-'Arabiyyah* (the Critique of Orientalism and the Crisis of Arab Culture) (1986) four years after the publication of the Arabic translation of *Orientalism*, Zakaria poses an interesting question: "Why do contemporary secular Arab critics fix their critique of the West on its use of distortion of the Orient for the sake of domination?" (61)

For an answer to this question, Zakaria resorts to "a kind of sociological and psychological analysis of the movement of contemporary critics of Orientalism." This analysis in his view deserves to be called "A Pathological Study of Contemporary Critique of Orientalism." This pathological study attempts a sociological and psychological analysis of the Arab intellectual who has a life-long familiarity with the West. Here he singles out two secular critics of Orientalism: Edward Said and Anouar Abdel-Malek. According to Zakaria, these critics in their enthusiasm to defend their origins and resist their belated affiliation to their societies and as a result of their being away from their homeland for long, present an "illusionary Orient." They espouse a

romantic and exotic vision of it (69). This “psychological analysis” is based on an impressionistic approach rather than analytical and therefore Zakaria is not obliged to give evidence for his impressions.

In 1995, Hazim Saghiya devoted a whole book entitled *Thaqafat al-Khuminiyyah* (Khomeinist Cultures) that deals not only with Said’s *Orientalism* but also with others who attack the Orientalist tradition. He overtly relays critical positions by Orientalists. He charges that:

The opponents [of Orientalism] in this way exaggerate what is related to power in knowledge in return for absorbing what is related to knowledge in power. Thus, they reduce the ability of knowledge to form the moral world in which power is exercised. They reduce what history can effect including the history of knowledge itself (16).

Very much like Zakaria, Saghiya lumps under the anti-Orientalist camp, all the critics of Orientalism with Edward Said as a figurehead. His reading of Said basically seeks to undermine *Orientalism*’s major thesis of the association of Orientalist scholarship and Western imperial venture. Saghiya sees Western knowledge as normative. He writes, “[we] should learn from Europe the way a student learns from his teacher” (40). This statement more than any other reveals Saghiya’s frame of reference which is the West. For him, it seems, to attack Orientalist scholarship is to attack the West which is the source of ‘true’ knowledge. The West for Saghiya stands for the norm, the standard by which the advance or lack thereof of Muslims is measured. This is clear in Saghiya’s enumeration of the virtues of colonialism as against the claims of the natives. For him, “European colonialism has introduced to its colonies besides its many wrongdoings and transgressions, the knowledge and tools which these peoples used in fighting and undermining it [colonialism]” (28). Saghiya’s critique rises mainly out of a desire to exonerate Orientalism which has formed his intellectual atmosphere. In an attempt to discredit Said’s critique of Orientalism, Saghiya associates Said’s *Orientalism* with Iran’s Islamic Revolution:

It was not without significance that Edward Said’s *Orientalism* stunned the region [the Arab region] as though it was part of the Islamic revolution [in Iran].... From its specific field of study and its outstanding academic efforts, *Orientalism* shares the Khomeinist Revolution’s blaming of everything on the Other [i.e. The West] (*Thaqafat al-Khuminiyyah* 67).

Hazim Saghiya’s reception of *Orientalism* tows the line set by Western critiques of Said and, to say the truth, he is a good example of how the spreading influence of Orientalism among some Arab scholars affected negatively the reception of Said in the Arab world.

On the other hand, Fouad Zakaria, uses another strategy, that of trying to elevate Orientalist knowledge to the status of an objective science. He draws an analogy between the development of space science in the atmosphere of cold war rivalry between the USA and Russia and the development of Orientalist scholarship. Space science was no less factual for its development in an atmosphere of rivalry. Likewise, Zakaria seems to suggest, Orientalist scholarship is no less factual because it aims at domination (51). Yet disciplines of knowledge advance and revise their assumptions concerning their subject sometimes giving up unverified and indefensible theses. Not Orientalism. Orientalism has a history of enduring hostility to its subject-matter as well as enduring distortion of the history of the Arabs and Muslims. Aziz Al-Azmeh, professor of philosophy at Kuwait University, gives credence to this view of Orientalism:

Orientalist scholarship has produced much writings of which by far the greatest amount is, conceptually, so systematically misleading and misdirected as to be worthless. The contribution of Orientalist scholarship to learning is very meagre in relation to the relatively long time

it has existed....Orientalist discourse, we have seen, is a repetition of motifs and their constant rediscovery through the simple techniques of Oriental scholarship....("The Articulation of Orientalism" 398).

If one pushes Zakaria's analogy to its logical conclusion, one would normally expect Orientalist scholarship to have improved to a great extent the image of the Arab and Muslim in the West. Yet this is not the case. According to Said, "Of itself, in itself, as a set of beliefs, as a method of analysis, Orientalism cannot develop. Indeed, it is the doctrinal antithesis of development. Its central argument is the myth of the arrested development of the Semites" (*Orientalism* 307).

According to Zakaria, Edward Said is selective in dealing with Orientalism. Said, contends Zakaria, applies his thesis about the relationship between Orientalist scholarship and imperial expansion to British, French and later American Orientalism to the exclusion of German, Italian and Russian Orientalism. Zakaria raises the question: How was European civilization able to produce a different type of Orientalism where expansionist ambitions and academic considerations were not mixed up? This, according to Zakaria, means that there can be an Orientalism that is free of hegemony which casts shadows of doubt on Edward Said's thesis. Hegemony is not then a defining feature of Orientalism (Zakaria 49). However, this can be countered on two accounts: the first is that Said did not claim that he would attempt an encyclopaedic work of every Orientalist utterance. Said explains, "It seemed to me foolish to attempt an encyclopaedic narrative history of Orientalism" (*Orientalism* 16). The second point is that Edward Said's thesis about the relationship of knowledge and power can still hold true of German and other Orientalist traditions. In an excellent article entitled, "Orientalism in the Arab Context" As'ad Abu Khalil, Professor of political science at California University, argues this point well:

What Said about classical Orientalism applies to writers in different countries and cultures, and some German and Dutch Orientalists were as tied to colonial projects and administrations as were the authors featured in *Orientalism*. The Dutch scholar-administrator Snouk Hurgronje and Carl Heinrich Becker are two examples. Becker was an enthusiastic preacher of German colonization of Africa who believed in the "undeniable inferiority of the black races" (Van Ess 47).

He further elaborates,

Confirming the thesis of Said, Becker urged that "we must put up with the fact that there is an eternal difference between East and West. Hurgronje and A. J. Wensinck (another Dutch scholar) were at pains to deny any originality to Muhammad's mission (102).

The same can be said of Russian Orientalism which is a derivative of European Orientalist tradition:

Russian Orientalism appeared as the theoretical explanation and justification of colonial politics of the Russian empire in Central Asia. The positive contribution of Russian Orientalism to Islamic studies cannot be denied.... But it is clear that Russian Orientalism from the beginning was planned to be the theoretical basis of the politics of the assimilation and Christianization of the Muslim peoples of the Russian empire (Goulmara Baltanova "Western Orientalism and Islamology on the way to understanding Islam" 64).

It can be added that the Russian Orientalist Barthold who established the *Mir Islama* magazine was assigned the task of doing research that serves the interests of Russia in Central Asia by the Russian government.( Mahmoud Zaquzuq, *Al-Istishraq wa Al-Khalfiyyah Al-Fikriyyah Lil-Sira' Al-Hadhari* (Orientalism and the intellectual background of civilisational conflict 45)).

This characterisation of Orientalism absolves it of its political and colonial connections. The reason for this is that Zakaria presents it as a passive reflection of an already present distortion in the Islamic world not as an active enterprise on behalf of Western expansionism. That is where the real misunderstanding of *Orientalism* starts. Zakaria views the question of Orientalist knowledge and image-making as separate from the question of power.

Even if we admit, for the sake of argument, that the distinction between *dar al-Harb* and *dar al-islam* colours Muslims view of the Other, they lack the power to put their view into effect which is not the case with Orientalism. Orientalism assisted by imperial power and state institutions could disseminate its distorted discourse of the Other. This point is made clear by Lata Mani and Ruth Frankenberg:

Importantly, it is within the context of a specific set of unequal economic social and political relationships between the West and East that Western descriptions are produced. It is these relationships that lend them strength and endurance. Until this world-historical context changes it does not make sense to speak of a “reverse Orientalism” (“The Challenge of Orientalism” 13 ).

This focus on Said’s characterisation of Marx as influenced by Orientalism tended to distract reviewers from the main issues dealt with by Said Such as the critical consciousness which he has preached and of which his critique of Orientalism has been a brilliant model. The Arab left’s reception reflected as well a misreading of discourse theory on which Edward depended in his study of Orientalism. They often dealt with the issue of knowledge as separate from that of power. Sadiq Jalal Al-Azm’s and Fouad Zakaria’s contributions to the debate over *Orientalism* were leading in that they raised questions that were to be raised again and again by other leftist critics of Said.

In an article commemorating Mahdi ‘Amel, a critic of Said’s *Orientalism*, Hassan Hanafi –after offering a staunch defence of Said- proposes the establishment of a new science called ‘Occidentalism’. He refers to Said’s *Orientalism* and credits it with being the starting point of his project:

Edward Said’s *Orientalism* is one of the starting points of the “science of Occidentalism in which the old dialectic is reversed: the West is studied from the perspective of the Orient, and the West is returned to its normal borders and is turned into an object of study after it had been a studying subject. (*An-Nazariyya wa Al-Mumarasah fi Fikr Mahdi ‘Amil*, 424)

This project found its clearest expression two years later in his book *Muquaddima fi I’lm Al-Istighrab* (1991) (Introduction to the science of ‘Occidentalism’). This book constitutes one of the positive responses to Edward Said’s *Orientalism*. For Hanafi, ‘Occidentalism’ is the only antidote against Westernisation, which threatens to sweep us off our feet. ‘Occidentalism’ aims at the study of the West by the East, turning the West into an object of study instead of being the subject of study. It aims as well to reverse the old order whereby the West was a subject of study and the East an object of study. ‘Occidentalism’ should be seen as part of the decolonisation process by which the colonised countries surmount their inferiority complex towards the West.

Moreover, ‘Occidentalism’ appears as we read further into the book to be one way of keeping Westernisation at bay. According to Hanafi, Westernisation is equal to ‘alienation’ from the self. Using western history and culture as the theoretical and referential framework to understand Arab-Islamic character is a kind of theoretical and methodological Westernisation. In this vein, he attacks Hichem Djait’s study of Arab and Islamic character by continually referring to Western culture and history (44).

To pre-empt accusations of ‘Orientalism in Reverse’ made earlier by Sadiq J. Al-Azm, Hanafi makes distinctions between ‘Occidentalism’ and Orientalism: firstly Orientalism developed at a time of colonial expansionism of a victorious West whereas ‘Occidentalism’ comes at a time when Arab peoples are defeated and at the stage of self-defence. This reveals the real difference between ‘Occidentalism’ and Orientalism. Orientalism is associated with power and serves a hegemonic and a dominant West. Orientalism is a will-to-power. ‘Occidentalism’, on the other hand, lacks this attachment to power and therefore serves no dominative purposes similar to those served by Orientalism. It serves as a kind of self-defence. Moreover, “Orientalism appeared in the past laden with the ideologies of scientific research methodologies or political trends dominant during the nineteenth century” whereas “Occidentalism” appears within different scientific methodologies such as linguistic methodologies, analysis of lived experience and ideologies of national decolonisation” (30).

Besides, Orientalism was not neutral but was replete with methodologies expressing the European consciousness whereas the consciousness of the ‘Occidentalists’ now is closer to being neutral because they do not seek to dominate others but seek to be set free from the captivity of the other (31).

Hanafi criticises the West’s attitude towards culture; it claims that its culture is universal and it encourages what it calls acculturation, which is a way of cultural exchange but in reality intends, as Hanafi puts it, to eliminate indigenous cultures in order to replace them with Western culture. This sets Western culture as a universal model to be imitated by other civilisations. If the natives want to achieve ‘progress’, they must follow in the footsteps of the West. This led to the elimination of the specificity of the non-European peoples and their independent experiences and led to the West’s monopoly on creating new experiments and other patterns of progress (36).

The task of ‘Occidentalism’ is, according to Hanafi, to end the centre-periphery binarism on the level of culture and civilisation. As long as Western culture is the centre and non-western cultures are the periphery the relationship will go in a one-way direction with non-Western cultures at the receiving end. The West is the eternal teacher and the non-West is the eternal pupil. That is why one aim of ‘Occidentalism’ is to redress the balance between the West and ‘the rest’. Hanafi comments that this is not wishful thinking. ‘Occidentalism’ as a new science attempts to find an alternative vision different from that of the Western consciousness through a revisionist attitude towards Western concepts and attitudes. Here Hanafi gives examples of these concepts and his revisionary rethinking of them (38). The first such an example is ‘geographical discoveries’ or ‘geographical explorations’. According to Hanafi, this concept reflects a racist and subjective view of the world. It is as if the world is explored into existence by the West which means that it does not ‘exist’ until it is ‘discovered’ by Europe whereas in fact the non-West exists whether it was discovered or not by Europe (39). It is clear now that Hanafi’s ‘Occidentalism’ aims at decentring Europe and marks his rejection of the West as a model to be imitated, hence his advocacy of the new science of ‘Occidentalism’. Overall, does ‘Occidentalism’ propose an epistemological break with the West?

Furthermore, Hanafi deplores the fact that some outstanding Arab scholars study the self from the perspective of the other where European history and Western culture are the only theoretical and referential frameworks, as if the self can only understand itself through invoking the other as a standard of judgement. Hanafi reiterates his position which aims at studying the other from the perspective of the self and thus effecting what can be called a paradigm shift in the study of the self and of the Other. “The end of Orientalism and the beginning of Occidentalism” says Hanafi, “means exchanging roles for a third time in the subject-object relationship between the Self and the Other” (“From Orientalism to Occidentalism” (396)). Yet this exchange of roles is



inevitably connected to a shift in power. Hanafi seems to subscribe to the view that knowledge and power are interrelated and that the politicisation of knowledge is inevitable. In other words, 'Occidentalism' is a will-to-freedom from the presence of the Other in the self. Instead of always seeing ourselves reflected in the mirror of the Other we should study the Self by referring to earlier Selves. A reference here to Edward Said's travelling theory maybe useful in understanding Hassan Hanafi's reading of *Orientalism*. Said's thesis on the relationship of knowledge and power goes through a kind of degradation through Hanafi's espousal of a discourse of power reminiscent of that of Orientalism. Said, of course, was trying in *Orientalism* to lay bare the dialectic of power and knowledge which is at the core of Orientalist scholarship. Yet he did not preach Occidentalism. Despite the many disclaimers by Hassan Hanafi, Occidentalism threatens to turn itself into yet another 'Orientalism'. Hanafi explains that, "the passage from Orientalism to Occidentalism is in fact a shift in the balance of power" (406). He relates knowledge and power in an inevitable union that changes hands only and thus rules out the possibility of knowledge "outside power". This can be accounted for through the concept of travelling theory. When theory travels to distant lands and is embedded in a tradition different from its lands of origin it goes through a kind of degradation that is "a theory can move down, so to speak, become a dogmatic reduction of its original version" (*The World, the Critic, and the Text* 239). The difference between Said's New York and Hanafi's Cairo or between Said the humanist and Hanafi the nationalist accounts for this. Whereas Said is the quintessential humanist who looks for non-dominative and non-coercive knowledge, Hanafi is a committed nationalist who lives in a Middle East that is still largely under American hegemony and is thus espousing a more militant discourse that aims at decolonisation. Hanafi explains:

Occidentalism is a discipline constituted in the Third World in order to complete the process of decolonisation. Military, economic and political decolonisation would be incomplete without scientific and cultural decolonisation In so far as colonised countries before or after liberation are objects of study, decolonisation will be incomplete ("From Orientalism to Occidentalism" 396).

One of the results of Eurocentrism which 'Occidentalism' aims at combating is that Europe has annexed all civilisations to its history. It has as well denied the roles played by ancient civilisations such as Chinese, Indian, Persian and ancient Egyptian civilisations (41).

Hanafi stresses the fact that, for Arabs, Islamic civilisation is not the Middle Ages. Islamic civilization follows a trajectory of its own spanning fifteen centuries. The Middle Ages in Europe were the Golden Ages in the Islamic world and vice versa: the Modern Ages in Europe are the Middle Ages in the Islamic world.

Hanafi explains that Europe has destroyed local cultures after learning and collecting data about them, then implanted European culture as a substitute culture, which is called 'acculturation' in anthropology. The intentional distortion of the 'discovered' peoples' cultures and the classification of peoples into primitive and civilised, advanced and backward, found its justification and based itself in theories of race prevalent during the nineteenth century in Europe. The plundering of the wealth of non-European peoples and the transportation of its peoples to the Americas constitute the biggest plunder in world history whereby African 'slaves' were transported to America. The science of 'Occidentalism' aims at putting an end to the myth that the West represents humanity whereby Western history becomes world history. One more interesting aspect of 'Occidentalism' is that it aims at contributing to general humanistic study by studying the West.

“It is high time that rejection of Orientalism goes beyond the level of rhetoric and simple enmity to an accurate science”, says Hanafi. This proves, albeit indirectly, that Edward Said’s Orientalism was a rallying cry which encouraged more critics to attack Orientalism. From this, we sense the influence of *Orientalism*. Hanafi’s drive to develop a new science of “Occidentalism” comes as an attempt to move criticism of Orientalism into the realm of active scholarship. (*Muqaddima fi ilm al-Istighrab*, 54)

Hanafi’s Occidentalism is different from Orientalism; it is not ‘Orientalism in reverse’ because it lacks the power that made Orientalism spread itself. It differs from Orientalism in two substantial aspects: the first is that Occidentalism according to Hanafi will study Europe in its historical context not as inert object which means that Occidentalism doesn’t essentialise the West. The second is that it acknowledges the contribution of Western civilisation. Yet there is no guarantee that Occidentalism will not go through the seductive degradation of knowledge which Said warned against. The status of both writers is different: Said was an exiled professor interested in a deconstructive attempt to dislodge Western skewed representations of Arabs and Muslims. Said is more discursive and Hanafi is a left-leaning professor who is closer to concepts of revolution than Said who is far more interested in the discursive world of power betraying his Foucauldian affiliations. Hanafi is more interested in constructing a new anti-colonial discourse that would help decolonization through the production of counter knowledge. A less radical interpretation of Said follows.

As I have tried to show in this paper, Edward Said’s theorization of power, Knowledge and representation travelled to a troubled land in an atmosphere of ideological polarization that persists to the present which made most interpretations and readings of his book *Orientalism* and its main thesis measured by how far they fit into an already existing ideological and intellectual map with the minor exception of Hassan Hanafi’s intervention which expanded Said’s thesis about knowledge and power in an inventive way. Yet, that is exactly what Said discussed in travelling theory and how “having moved from one place and time to another an idea or a theory gains or loses in the process in strength and whether a theory in one historical period and national culture becomes altogether different for another period or situation (226).

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