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The Relationship of Language and Content

– pragmatic analysis and interpretation of Muḥammad az-Zafzāf’s language in
‘ash-Shajara al-Muqaddasa’

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Abstract

This thesis seeks to reveal the relationship of language and content in a Moroccan short story. These relationships are defined as such by pointing out single linguistic elements in the story's language which reproduce a certain component of the story's content. The main question hereby asks for the effect of the author's language on the message itself – for, as the carrier of information, language is undoubtedly the only tangent between author and reader, and therefore the author's sole tool to attract the reader's attention for his or her message.

The main premise of this thesis is thus that language is not a product of coincidence, but rather a deliberate construction due to an inherent purpose. To fulfill this purpose most conveniently, the author *chooses* every single word in accord with his intentions. In doing so, he or she takes advantage of various rhetorical and stylistical devices, which are not always evident to the reader's eyes; yet these linguistic choices influence how the reader perceives and interprets any kind of text.

Therefore this thesis wants to draw attention to the power of language by systematically demonstrating how the mechanisms of language in Muḥammad az-Zafzāf's 'ash-Shajara al-Muqaddasa' *reinforce* its content, and as a consequence inspire the reader's perception of the story.

‘The relationship between text and context has been the focus of research in modern European linguistics which highlights the universal fact that the text unfolds in its context and that style is a link between context and linguistic form.’

– Abdul Raof, (2006) p.294

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1. Introduction

1.1 Thesis

Language is a tool of expression. Especially the Arabic language with its rich lexicon offers a wide range of possibilities of expression. In literature, words are chosen consciously so as to suit the content – hence the content of a story is mirrored in the style of its language: words and sentences do not merely serve the purpose of conveying a message, they are *deliberately* chosen and constructed due to the author's intentions. In other words, they seek to achieve a 'perlocutionary effect'¹. Language itself thus constitutes an independent factor, which affects how the reader perceives a text and its message.

In my thesis, I will prove that the above statements are true for Muḥammad az-Zafzāf's short story 'ash-Shajara al-Muqaddasa'. In order to do so, az-Zafzāf's language – i.e. its stylistics and rhetoric – will be analysed pragmatically² by pointing out different linguistic elements and explaining how they correspond with the content. What are the reasons for choosing certain words or combinations of words over others?

To identify these particular relations between language and content, interpretation of the story is indispensable. Yet it is not the primary issue of this thesis.³

In short: How does az-Zafzāf's choice of language interact with (and thus influence) the content of his short story?

1.2 Methods

In the background chapter (2) I will supply the reader with general information on stylistics and rhetoric (2.1). In this framework I will present a comprehensive list of the linguistic features (2.2), which are to be investigated in chapter 3. In this listing I have deliberately refrained from revealing any functions (i.e. which effect the particular feature has on the content or, more precisely, on the reader's perception of the content), as it is purely intended to provide background knowledge about these features in general. (Functions will be discussed later in chapter 3, where the linguistic features are pointed out and examined in relation to the content.) Moreover I will refer to Russian linguist Roman Jakobson (2.3) to underscore my thesis with extant academic thought. Finally, a summary of the plot including a brief

interpretation of the main motifs of the short story (2.4) aim to make the following analysis more comprehensible.

The analysis itself (chapter 3) consists of two parts. The first part (3.1) examines three features, which are defined as such in a broader sense – they do not appear on the list in 2.2. Rather, they are elements which appear throughout the story, such as the narrator's criticism, lexical cohesion and the use of the passive tense. Hence this part applies a macroscopic focus.

The second part (3.2) is intended to give a chronological and gradual overview of the distinct stylistical and rhetorical traits. To this end, I have divided the story into 17 paragraphs.⁴ Each paragraph contains a brief summary of the respective content, a listing of the most palpable formal features and an explanation of the corresponding functions regarding the content. In other words, this part operates from a microscopic point of view.

Having considered different models of analysis I decided to apply the aforementioned structure because stylistics will be elaborated on gradually as the story unfolds. The fracturing of the text allows me to refer to language and content – within the respective paragraph – simultaneously, which serves my purpose of spotlighting their correlation.⁵

1.3 Delimitations

Despite the rhetorical and stylistic idiosyncracies that are generally specific for every language, my thesis treats Arabic material with mainly Western theories and backgrounds (e.g. the categorisation of the figures of speech). But having considered Arabic stylistics and rhetoric I am struck by the similarities: I conclude that differences chiefly concern categorisations and the structure of the field, rather than the field as a whole or definitions and functions of single elements.

However this analogy does not apply to an Arabic text and its English counterpart. Since stylistic and rhetorical traits can rarely be translated immaculately, one has to consider the Arabic source text in order to grasp all its peculiarities. In Abdul Raof's words, 'Arabic and English are linguistically and culturally incongruous languages.'⁶

One example is the range of any word's semantic denotations, which do not usually coexist in Arabic and English. For instance the Arabic word for 'voice' - 'ṣawt' can also be used for an

inanimate thing – such as a television – which is not, as one might think, a stylistical trait, because the word ‘ṣawt’ also translates to ‘sound’, ‘tone’ and ‘noise’. For that reason this thesis will not be restricted to one language, quotations will be given in Arabic and in English.

At times there can be reason to doubt whether the occurrence of a certain trait is truly intended or merely a product of coincidence. Therefore, the background chapters elaborate on both critical and “supportive” opinions of the validity of stylistics and rhetoric.

For now it will do to declare that the stylistic analysis will chiefly account for features which can be referred to the content. Accordingly, vague and ambiguous statements are to be avoided, however, alternative features can still be pointed out with suggestions.

What complicates this matter as well is that stylistic and rhetorical traits are perceived differently by different readers due to different ideological states.⁷ Yet this factor will not be dealt with as the analysis focusses on the author.

1.4 Material

Muḥammad az-Zafzāf was born 1942 in Morocco and died in Casablanca in 2001. After studying philosophy at the University of Rabat he worked as a secondary-school teacher in Casablanca. Besides short stories he also composed novels, plays and criticism of which some has been translated into French, Spanish and English. ‘ash-Shajara al-Muqaddasa’ was written in 1980 and consists of 1149 words (5 pages of the format A5). It is also part of a short story collection which goes by the same name. az-Zafzāf’s literature deals with topics surrounding social realism, consequently he sheds a light on the situation of ordinary Moroccans and their misery.⁸

Due to my interest in the Arabic diglossia⁹ I chose az-Zafzāf’s short story as it contains a few dialectal expressions embedded in the overall Modern Standard Arabic. Compliant with his realism, he uses common loanwords for modern items, as for instance „kāmīrā at-tilifizīūn“ (television camera) instead of its Arabic equivalent, which is less used in familiar language.

Furthermore his language is a poetic mixture of vivid dialogues, imaginative descriptions and different tones of voice depending on who is speaking, which makes this short story very suitable for a stylistic analysis.

The quoted examples of the story are taken either from the Arabic original (MZ), from Husni & Newman's English translation (HN) or from my own, more literal translation (KA). Quotation marks for my own translation are only used where it appears isolated from the Arabic original or Husni & Newman's translation.

But before dealing with the analysis of the material (chapter 3), let us first take a look at a few important fields of linguistics and, perhaps more importantly, at the content of 'ash-Shajara al-Muqaddasa'.

2. Background

2.1 Rhetoric, Style and Stylistics

Adhering to the early Aristotelian definition of rhetorical discourse as the art of persuading the reader by any existing means, ancient Roman and Greek orators already knew the importance of modifying their language so as to appeal to their listeners and attract their attention.¹⁰

But naturally, belonging to such a vast field as language, rhetoric was and is not limited to politics. Poets use rhetorical elements to conceal, to imitate and to deceive (rather than to argue)¹¹ and non-literary and everyday spoken language feature rhetorical elements as well.

The most palpable rhetorical features are the so-called figures of speech. They cover different linguistic oddities which can be due to various deviations, such as special syntactical arrangements, playing with a word's different connotations and denotations, figurative language or repetitions of similar letters.¹² All terms on the list in 2.2 are figures of speech. Yet I have chosen the word „features“ for the sake of uniformity, since the analysis will also include linguistic elements which are not clearly defined as a figure of speech.

By means of these figures or features language can be altered in many ways so as to convey the author's message as accurately as possible, for there are billions of different strategies to enhance a sentence rhetorically. The preceding sentence, for example, features a Hyperbole – ‘an exaggeration which has an emotive function.’¹³

The term “style” covers all these formal components of rhetoric, which depend on register, syntax, rhythm and figurative language.¹⁴

Stylistics however denotes a broader topic, which developed during the twentieth century¹⁵. According to Bradford, rhetoric ‘transformed into modern stylistics’. He views the ‘belief in the empirical difference between literature and other discourses’ as the common denominator of the two disciplines.¹⁶

Unlike rhetoric, stylistics is concerned with the social function of language and seeks to define a text as an act of communication.¹⁷ In his approach to stylistic analysis, H.G. Widdowson describes the purpose of stylistic analysis as ‘to investigate how the resources of a language code are put to use in the production of actual messages.’¹⁸ In this context he goes on to define literature as a ‘unique mode of language organization’ which creates ‘patterns out of deviations from normality.’¹⁹ These deviations, as for instance the use of a word in an unusual context or bizarre combinations of words, deliberately ‘create a different reality’.²⁰ Thus Widdowson finds that literature’s exceptional use of language conveys its message detached from a wider context: ‘ (...) so that everything necessary for its interpretation is to be found within the message itself.’²¹

Naturally, rhetorics permeates the Arabic language as well. Arabic rhetoric is an old and respectful art: it has its roots in pre-Islamic times²² and is involved in Quranic discourse.²³ Abdul Raof illustrates rhetoric (‘al-Balāgha’) as ‘the flesh and blood of the Arabic language.’ In his book ‘Arabic Rhetoric. A pragmatic analysis’ he gives a thorough account of the system of Arabic rhetoric.²⁴

Moreover he states in his preamble: ‘In rhetorical studies, a statement is pregnant with implicatures that echo the communicator’s state of mind or attitude towards his or her addressee.’²⁵ He also gives rhetoric the function of establishing a ‘bridge between text and context’ which ‘opens the channels of communication between the communicator and his or her addressee.’²⁶ Accordingly, rhetoric has a crucial influence on the reader and helps to convey the intended message. As Raof eventually concludes, stylistic diversity also prevents boredom and repetition.²⁷

Because we have not touched upon the subject of attributing functions to the single stylistic elements yet, the statements so far do not cause much controversy. But when it comes to interpretation of stylistic traits and their functions in reference to the content, objectivity starts to crumble. This depends on the complicated mechanisms of perception and interpretation, which are subject to individually biased processes. Accordingly, each reader generates

personal imaginary pictures of a story, just as every mind has its private associations to a story.

In his criticism, sociolinguist Roger Fowler tackles this matter by questioning the applicability of linguistic methods for the study of literature.²⁸ He acknowledges the objectivity of ‘linguistic descriptions’ but contrasts it with ‘the assignment of functions or significances’ which ‘is not an objective process, because of the noted lack of co-variation of form and function.’²⁹ He points to social and cultural factors which influence interpretation.³⁰

Conversely, Roman Jakobson and other Russian formalists³¹ consider literature isolated from subject matters and social values. As will be seen in 2.3, they concentrate on formal patterns and highlight the difference between literary and ordinary language.³² But let us first define the linguistic features which appear in ‘ash-Shajara al-Muqaddasa’.

2.2 Linguistic Features

Most of the linguistic features which will be examined in the gradual presentation of content and language (3.2) are described and exemplified below. I have deliberately refrained from including those elements, which have no particular rhetorical term (for instance “word order” or “length of sentences”) or which are simply grammatical or lexical observations (such as “imperatives” or a “vocabulary dealing with one specific topic”), since I consider them needless of any explanation. For literature references on the features listed below see footnote 12, for a listing of the Arabic terms of these features see Raof (2011) pages 278-290.

Alliteration:

Several words in a row start with the same first letter:

All Arabic alliterations are astonishing.

Asyndeton:

Sentences or parts of sentences do not have any conjunctions between each other:

I went out for a walk, the sun was shining. I did not know where to go.

Chiasmus:

A chiasmus describes a special word order within one sentence or two successive sentences.

Accordingly, related elements (one or several connected words) are syntactically arranged in a

cross-over position, which illustrates an X if the two sentences or parts of sentences are written on two lines and both pairs are connected with arrows. So if a and b mark two separate “associations” of words, the word order of a chiasmus would take the following shape a-b-b-a. If we apply this shape to the following example the word “Arabic” is a, whereas “Islam” takes the position of b:

Arabic was spread with Islam, Islam's message was revealed in Arabic.

In this simple example the two “relationships” (a and b) depend on the lexicon, so the Chiasmus is due to the repetition of the same words in a cross-over position. However the two “associations” in a Chiasmus can also be due to other relations, such as a verb and its corresponding object, or the same word class (subject-verb-verb-subject), as in the next example:

Sāmī dakhala fakharajat Farah. (Sami entered and Farah went out.)

Ellipsis:

This occurs when a word or several words are deliberately omitted:

My class starts at 5 o'clock and his starts at 6. (class and o'clock are omitted in the second part)

Euphemism:

This is a special kind of description which distorts a disgusting, unsettling or embarrassing truth towards a more pleasant conception:

My brother had an unruly stomach yesterday. (= this sounds more pleasant than ‘he had diarrhoea’)

Epizeuxis:

This is a very obvious kind of repetition, in which one word or an expression is repeated several times, usually in the same or in two adjacent sentences, so that it often governs word order and its emphasis:

Different languages are as different as they could be, they have different vocabularies, different pronunciations and even different letters and different alphabets.

Hendiadys:

A hendiadys describes a pair of synonyms or similar words, which often form an expression:

I want to live in peace and quiet.

Hyperbole:

This is a catch-all term for exaggerations of various forms. Descriptions, statements,

adjectives or word combinations can all be hyperbolic:

I am dying of hunger. (= I am very hungry but I am not actually going to die)

Metaphor:

A metaphor describes something with a different word and without referring to its actual semantic field. Instead it operates with general associations and pictorial language, thus the link between the metaphor and the word it seeks to describe lies in the picture expressed by the metaphor. Some metaphors have become so common that they have been included in our “normal” language:

The historical city of Petra and its ancient architecture are breathhtaking. (= amazing)

Metonymy:

A metonymy describes something using a different word. But unlike a metaphor, the substitution takes place within the same semantic field. In other words it describes something with an alternative name, whereas a metaphor requires the reader to grasp an association:

During the Abbasid revolts people were emphasising the demand for the Caliph to descend from the House of the Prophet. (= Muḥammad)

Onomatopoeia:

When pronounced loudly, onomatopoeic words or expressions make a sound similar to the thing they denote, as for example the following bird name:

Can you hear the cuckoo in the woods?

Parallelism:

A parallelism can be seen as the opposite of a chiasmus. It establishes a syntactical structure (within one sentence or two adjacent sentences) which is repeated, thus it adheres to the following: a-b-a-b. The perhaps most famous parallelism is attributed to Caesar:

‘veni, vidi vici.’ (i came, i saw, i won)

In most cases a parallelism also includes some kind of repetition, yet it does not have to be a very obvious one. In Caesar’s parallelism it is such a minor thing as the suffixed “i” in the end of the verbs, which stands for the first person singular in the past tense.

Parenthesis:

This stands for an insertion of one or several – yet not too many – words in a sentence, which are grammatically independent from the main clause. Typically surrounded by commas or

dashes, they do not have any effect on the sentence more than delivering additional information.

Pleonasm:

This is an expression with “superfluous” information. Omitting one part would thus not result in any significant change of meaning:

Some people keep little dwarves in their garden. (= dwarves are already little)

Polyptoton:

This occurs when one particular root is repeated in different patterns (different stem forms and word classes). In the example below the root k-t-b is repeated in three different forms:

kataba al-kātib kitāb. (The author wrote a book)

Polysyndeton:

This is the opposite of asyndeton, sentences or parts of sentences are linked to each other with conjunctions:

And he went out to see what people were doing in the streets, but they did not do anything, and he soon realised that there was nothing to see. So he went home again.

Rhetorical Question:

This is not a real question in the sense that it calls for an actual answer. Rather it contains irony or other emotions, which are intended to draw the reader’s attention to a certain circumstance. Accordingly the answer to the question is usually obvious and the author’s attitude towards it can be felt in the way he or she poses the question:

How can a state still call itself neutral if it provides weapons to aggressive states?

Simile:

A simile compares two things, often by using a comparative preposition such as “like” or “as”. It is similar to a metaphor in that it often associates things with pictures. But unlike a metaphor, it mentions both words, i.e. the word for the thing which is described and the description itself: The Red Sea is like one giant bath tub.

Synecdoche:

A Synecdoche is a metonymy with more specific requirements, it must include the association between a part and “the whole” of something, or conversely between “the whole” and a part.

Accordingly, a synecdoche is either a part of something or someone, which expresses the whole of it, or, it is the whole thing, but refers only to a part:

Ghengis Khan expanded the Mongol empire. (= GK is a part of the Mongols)

The muslims conquered Iraq, Syria and Egypt. (= a generalization for those who actually fought)

Zeugma:

A zeugma occurs when a word is used in an unusual combination, it enters a sphere that lies beyond its standard use, and which is often associated with figurative language:

Fear infected the whole area. (“to infect” is not usually used with fear)

2.3 Roman Jakobson and the Function of Language

As an influential linguist and literary critic, Roman Jakobson was one of the representatives of the Russian formalist movement. He viewed language as a code, which he described as ‘a system of interconnected subcodes’³³. In literature this code is moulded into a structure, which is composed of the single linguistic elements and their relations to each other.³⁴

Accordingly, the linguistics of literature has a purely self-centered function, which is based on relations amongst linguistic entities within a text. This ‘specialized mode of language’³⁵ clearly distinguishes literature from ordinary language and is termed ‘literariness’³⁶ or ‘literaturnost’³⁷ in Russian.

For Jakobson, language is a hierarchical composition of various functions.³⁸ Accordingly, he emphasised the importance of the literary text itself, i.e. the written letters on a paper, which have to be analysed objectively and with regard to their different functions. In doing so he created a scheme,³⁹ which contains all these functions in an abstract approach. As a result, any verbal message or act of communication can be analysed according to the scheme’s functions, which are further matched with factors that influence the functions. In this composition of functions, it is the predominant function, so Jakobson, which determines the verbal structure of a message. This predominant function depends on the predominant factor or aspect of the conversation.⁴⁰

From this scheme of communication I conclude that no word is chosen at random. This claim manifests itself most evidently in poetry, to which Jakobson devoted much of his work.

So, from a linguistical point of view, how does the poetic function reveal itself in a text or a poem?⁴¹

In order to answer this question, Jakobson first clarifies ‘the two basic modes of arrangement’ which are involved in forming a ‘speech chain’ (e.g. a sentence), namely ‘selection and combination’.⁴²

By selection he means the speaker’s possibility to choose a linguistic element (e.g. a word) for each link in the speech chain, whereas combination designates the manner (e.g. grammar and syntax) in which these are linked together, so as to form a ‘complex sequence’ of speech. Now for the sentence to be grammatically correct (in Jakobson’s words ‘conform to the code’) the speaker cannot select and combine without restrictions, because the selections made have an impact on the possible combinations and vice versa.⁴³

Jakobson, who elaborated on the motives of these two modes, (in other words the reasons for choosing certain words or word combinations over others) concluded that in general, selection depends on equivalence,⁴⁴ that is the equivalence of a set of similar or related words (eg. synonyms but also antonyms) which are equally applicable for one link in the speech chain; while combination is a result of contiguity, which is the successive accordance of the combined element with the former element in the speech chain, in other words its arrangement due to grammatical rules.⁴⁵

Now in poetic language, the principle of equivalence seizes absolute control over the composition (i.e. selection and combination)⁴⁶ and hence it determines the verbal structure of the message. Jakobson summarised this in his famous quote:

‘The poetic function projects the principle of equivalence from the axis of selection into the axis of combination.’⁴⁷

This is to say that words in a poetic sentence are not primarily combined due to the principle of contiguity, but rather due to the principle of equivalence. Equivalence does thus not only determine a group of words which can be chosen for a link in the speech chain (the selection), it also determines the speaker’s actual choice and arrangement of words.

Accordingly, poetry can be defined as ‘a system of internal relations’ based upon mutual correspondence between the different linguistical elements.⁴⁸

Therefore, the poetic text is full of parallelisms: all constituent parts (phonological units such as semantic units) pursue the ideal of equation.⁴⁹ In this context, parallelism does not only refer to syntactical equivalence. It is used in a wider sense, covering the technical dimension of sound, letters, words and structures on the one hand, and the semantic dimension of the created meaning and imagery on the other hand. In short, many stylistic features, including figures of speech, are parallelisms which aim for embellishment or emphasis.⁵⁰ Here is one trivial example: Equivalent first letters of sequenced words (a so-called alliteration) act as a connection and consequently suggest equivalence on a different level as well.⁵¹

To sum up, Jakobson's theories reinforce the notion of language and its content as one correlative entity.⁵² He even maintains that there cannot be any sustainable interpretation without a linguistic analysis.⁵³ Widdowson refers to this as follows: 'No purpose can be served in attempting to distinguish form from meaning.'⁵⁴ Before we proceed to the analysis of the 'form', the next chapter will summarise the 'meaning' (i.e. the content) of 'ash-Shajara al-Muqaddasa.'

2.4 Synopsis, Composition and Interpretation of the Story

Synopsis

az-Zafzāf describes how the government, by means of workers and security troops, violently enforces the cutting of a tree in spite of its sacredness and against the will of the people, who worship this tree as a relict of 'sīdī dāwūd'. These ordinary people are mesmerized by their respect and awe for Sidi Daud, therefore they gather behind the security troops, whereas more careful people and ignorant but curious youngsters watch the commotion from afar.

During the cutting of the tree, we witness two separate dialogues of youngsters and women who give us their different opinions about the tree and the government's conduct. After the tree is cut down, the crowd and the violence increase and subsequently the police chief and his men arrive. We are told about his maxime of smiling and remaining indifferent to the heat of the situation. The security troops' violent response to the protest provokes a chaotic situation and eventually the police chief gets hit by a rock, severely damaging his head. Consequently the story climaxes as the troops start firing into the crowd and more stones are thrown.

Eventually the crowd starts to dissolve as people take shelter in their homes. The story closes

with the scene of a deserted city and the wounded police chief, whose unimpaired smile expresses his total ignorance of the situation.

Composition

The story is composed in a third person singular narrative. Its omniscient narrator is however not totally indifferent, at times he switches from storytelling to commenting and criticising – both implicitly and explicitly – which classifies him as a compassionate observer rather than as a neutral narrator, who has no attitude of his own.

Interpretation

Much of the story's focus lies on the crowd of people, who gather because they are scared of the curse of 'sīdī dāwūd'.

'So, you're not afraid of the curse of Sidi Daud? Shut your mouth or he'll come to *you* when you're asleep tonight!' (HN) ⁵⁵

Mircea Eliade, Professor of the history of religion, has studied what he calls 'the ambivalence of the sacred', and highlights that this both holy and accursed status is common 'in the early Semitic world and among Egyptians'⁵⁶, which is close to Morocco. Moreover he states that 'no tree was ever adored for itself only, but always for what was revealed through it, for what it implied and signified.'⁵⁷ – in this case Sidi Daud.

Symbolism in general describes the tree as an ancient element, common in various civilizations and cultures, which is associated with the mother of life and reproduction. Thus cutting of the tree means death. In this short story I find the interpretation of the tree as a creature, which is divine and supernatural, yet earthly at the same time, most suitable: as a mediator it stands between heaven (branches reach up to heaven) and earth (roots reach down in the soil). ⁵⁸

From the little information given about this presumably saint-like figure (it is not clear whether Sidi Daud was a saint before his soul was transferred into a tree) and the ambiguous statements made about him, we can conclude that he is the mythical protagonist of the story, personified in the sacred tree.

‘People said he had planted the tree where his soul had migrated. It was also said that nobody had planted this tree, but that it had just appeared one day in the clearing, as though it had been there for years.’ (HN)⁵⁹

As the title of the story underlines, the tree also acts as the main symbol of the story, for it signifies two things: a tree that is cut down (1) and a spiritual curse that becomes true as the story unfolds (2).⁶⁰ For that reason it is also a kind of leitmotif, it guides the reader through the story. Throughout the story, the word tree ‘shajara’ is mentioned 14 times. Beside the succulent description in the beginning, the last reference seems most crucial to me:

‘Feelings of anger, fear, hatred, courage and cowardice enveloped the tree that lay lifeless on the ground.’ (HN)⁶¹

It reminds the reader of the correlation of the tree’s cutting with the people’s fatalities – the curse has become true. Yet the curse is also involved in other contextual parallelisms⁶², that is to say in its “revenge” on the police chief. Whereas other casualties and the tree fall to the ground, ‘al-’ard’, the police chief falls into the dust, ‘at-turāb’.

Dust, in its turn, is a symbolic harbinger, which is attributed to the police chief in order to foreshadow his downfall, in other words the release of the curse. The dust not only appears almost simultaneously with the police chief – that is after the tree has been cut down and the curse has been released – it also blocks his view and enables the stone thrower to act secretly. In its various synonyms and forms, the word dust is mentioned 8 times.

The police chief’s fall is also foreshadowed by a contextual parallelism: Upon his arrival the narrator states that ‘any head of state is capable of receiving a slap in the face and still continue smiling in front of television cameras’ (HN). In paragraph 15, it turns out that the police chief is even capable of receiving a stone to his head and *still* continue smiling.

Needless to say, the antagonist is played by the state, represented by the police chief, his men and the security troops. Their ignorance towards the sacred tree indicates the authorities’ selfish interests. They are completely out of touch with ordinary people’s concerns and reality. Instead, they are keen on profiting from erecting new buildings where the sacred tree is standing. This is only one point of az-Zafzāf’s criticism, which is engaged on several dimensions and will be explained further in 3.1.

Accordingly, a more general view allows the interpretation of the cutting of the tree as an attack of greedy and arrogant secularism on traditional and humble spiritualism. At its climax, right after the police chief's downfall, this clash is even described as 'a real battle' – 'ma' raka ḥaqīqā fi 'l'⁶³.

Now in the end, who takes the winning side? In the story's first conversation, two youngsters argue about the consequences of the cutting of the tree. Whereas one of them wants 'this magical nonsense' to 'be rooted out'⁶⁴, the other one alleges that the people will not cease worshipping the tree after its cutting, instead they will worship it even more.

Even though the tree and the police chief perish equally, the government's plans will most probably not be frustrated by the loss of a police chief. In contrast, the people have suffered greater misery and sacrifices. However, the final paragraph suggests that spiritualism will prevail, for even though the sacred tree has been rooted out, there is still superstition in the streets:

'A few old women who sold henna, herbs, locally produced soap and various magic paraphernalia such as rats' tails, and crows' heads, scattered in every direction, abandoning their wares on the pavement.' (HN)⁶⁵

In the end the ignorant youngsters and the careful people, both who are observing the happenings from a distance, are the ones to get away unharmed. Whereas the careful people are only mentioned once, the youngsters and their education is mentioned twice in the beginning of the story. Though they are aware of the state's greedy plans, they do not seem to be interested in taking any resistance, perhaps because they have been disillusioned about the state's decisions. Instead they are described as curious on-lookers.

The story puts forward a repressive image of the state and its forces. Except for the stone throwing towards the end, no violence is ever mentioned from the side of the people. The mere word 'Iḥtijāj' (protest) is only used once, describing the voices in the crowd after the tree is cut. Generally the people are described as 'a crowd', which denotes a jam-packed assembly rather than an angry mob. Moreover the presence of children is mentioned twice. Because of this heterogenous character of the crowd, I suggest it be understood as a collective expression of az-Zafzāf's ordinary Moroccans' distress: The overcrowding, the poverty (some are barefooted and covered in rags), the fear of criticising the government (in other words the lack of freedom of speech), and most imminently the exposure to the security apparatus' well-

established (both security forces and police are involved) and indiscriminate (rifles are randomly fired at the crowd) violence. This interpretation would also explain the youngsters' absence in the crowd, for their education is supposed to spare them the ordinary Moroccan's misfortunes.

Last but not least, the origins of the violence – the cause and effect – require interpretation as well. The initial violence is undoubtedly provoked by the security forces, but as the violence climaxes and “the disastrous stone” is thrown, the descriptions become more ambiguous. At first one assumes that the stone was thrown by someone in the crowd, who remains unknown due to the blurring dust and the chaos. But on second thought, it is by all means imaginable that the stone was thrown from an aspiring policeman, who used the heat of the moment to challenge the police chief's position (!) .

The fact that *az-Zafzāf* provides insight in the police chief's thoughts – which are occupied with precisely this topic of promotion – supports this interpretation. Also, upon the first description of the police chief, the narrator states that ‘those who receive orders do not control themselves.’⁶⁶ Shortly afterwards, words such as ‘blood’ – ‘ad-damm’ and ‘bodies’ – ‘al-’ajsām’ are mentioned for the first time. This is repeated prior to the stone throwing:

‘(...) one of those receiving orders had lost his self-control. Thrown from God knows where, a large stone landed on the police chief's head, fracturing his skull.’ (HN)⁶⁷

Whether this means that a policeman provoked the crowd to throw the stone, or whether it was actually one of the police chief's men or even the narrator himself who threw the stone, remains unclear.

This chapter has given a succinct account and interpretation of the content of *az-Zafzāf*'s shortstory. The next chapter will tackle the main issue of this thesis: it will examine and interpret *az-Zafzāf*'s language in a more meticulous manner, so as to reveal the relationships of language and content.

3. Analysis

3.1 Omnipresent Features

Criticism

Critical elements can be found in paragraphs 4, 6, 10, 12, 13 and 16.

In paragraph 4 and 6 the author uses characters to speak out his criticism, 10 is an implicit criticism and 12 marks an open accusation.

Accordingly, the author's methods to express his criticism are synchronised with the plot, the nature of the criticism itself depends on the context. Initially the author cloaks his comments in irony and dialogues, but gradually his criticism of the government becomes clear. Below are two examples of his implicit (§10) and explicit (§12) criticism in chronological order.

Amidst describing how the protesting crowd is threatened with rifles so as not to prevent the cutting of the tree, he unexpectedly bursts out:

‘A government order must be enforced to the letter.’ (HN) ⁶⁸

A government order must be enforced without hesitation or weakness. (KA)

Whether one should classify this statement as irony, as sarcasm or as self defense, it is certain that the author is actually no supporter of the state. But apparently a situation as precarious as the current one calls for precaution – in my opinion this represents an implicit reference to the lack of freedom of speech.

The police chief's entrance changes the situation. As the increasing crowd quietly starts to curse him, so does the narrator: backed by the crowd, he now unmistakably expresses his disgust, which formally is underlined with an exclamation mark.

‘However, when the camera lights are not trained on him, that very same leader can just as easily give the order to destroy tens of cities. Afterwards he will hold grand speeches, cloaking himself in the innocence of one who respects his fellow man.’ (HN)⁶⁹

But in secret he can give the orders to destroy tens of cities. Because the television camera is not aimed at him in this moment. Afterwards he will hold a speech for the people, appearing like an innocent man facing his brother: the people. (KA)

This combination of neutral, ironical and affected storytelling is interspersed with short dialogues in direct speech which give an insight into different people's views on the situation. Hence the author uses characters of the story to utter his criticism in direct speech.

In paragraph 13, direct speech is also used to represent the police chief's thoughts, which is signified by the use of brackets:

(‘Stand firm! The hour of vengeance is near, and you will be able to destroy tens of cities.’) (HN)⁷⁰

This enables yet another method of criticism. Quite smoothly, the reader is allowed insight to the police chief's thoughts, which reveal his obvious wickedness. But instead of accusing the police chief of being wicked, the author uses the chief's thoughts to speak for themselves – it is thus the reader who concludes the criticism – which in turn attaches greater authenticity to the reader's negative judgement of the police chief.

To sum up, the author's choice of words correlates the frankness of his criticism with the content of his story – that is to say, with the circumstances concerning the narrator's own safety described in the current sentence. This kind of narrative, by means of the narrator's differing intonation and clarity, adds suspense to the story: Especially while first reading, one cannot immediately be sure of the narrator's disposition. But as the situation in the story heats up, so does the criticising. The result is a mixture of neutral and critical storytelling, commenting and dialogues in direct speech. This mixture is arranged parallelly to the story's content, which hints at the issue of freedom of speech.

Lexical Cohesion

The story is held together by repetitions of single words and roots, which have ‘a cohesive function’⁷¹ Besides the above mentioned words ‘shajara’ and ‘turāb’, there is one word which permeates the whole story: ‘ba‘d’ (some). Throughout the story, it is mentioned 18 times together with various nouns such as youngsters, rifles and batons, arms, workers, shopkeepers, policemen and people in the crowd.

In contrast, the root z-ḥ-m (to push, shove, hustle, jostle, crowd, press)⁷² is mentioned 10 times in 5 different forms:

As a verb in the VI form: ‘tazāḥama’ (to press together, to crowd), as an active participle (which in this context functions as an adjective) of that verb: ‘mutazāḥim’ (‘crowding’), as a

form III masdar ‘ziḥām’ (crush, jam, crowd, throng) , as a form VIII masdar ‘izdiḥām’ (crowd, crush, jam, overcrowdedness) and as a form VIII active participle ‘muzdaḥim’ („crowding“) (which in this context functions as a noun).

In terms of numbers of repetitions, ‘some’ is the dominant repetition, but ‘the crowd’ is described by different derivations of the root z-ḥ-m. On the semantic level, the notion of the crowd is predominant throughout the short story: with few exceptions, the people who worship the tree are continuously referred to as a crowd, hence they are treated as a collective rather than as individuals. Accordingly, there is little information on the people in the crowd and we are not given any names. The one woman who is introduced with some background information (yet still without a name) leaves the scene before the tree is cut. The sole thing the reader hears of the crowd is its voice of protest.

I suggest that these two roots are deliberately repeated so as to form a pervasive contrast. The word ‘some’ excludes and includes a certain amount of people or things, whereas the different forms for ‘crowd’ do not make such a distinction at all. As will be seen in 3.2, this is particularly evident in paragraph 11, where ‘some’ is mentioned 4 times, next to twofold reference to the root z-ḥ-m.

In my conception, these two contrastive repetitions do not only function as a cohesive factor; the repetition of ‘ba ‘ḍ’ acts like an antithesis to the root z-h-m which highlights the crowd’s collective misery. For the people in the crowd are equally mistreated: the stone which is thrown from the crowd basically justifies the slaughter of the whole crowd.

Passive tense

The passive voice is used in paragraphs 2, 3, 5, 7, 10, 11, 13, 14, 15 and 16.

In paragraphs 14 and 15 the passive is expressed by using verb form VII, the remaining verbs are passive by inflection.

As will be seen in the next chapter, the passive serves several purposes, yet the main purpose is to reproduce the story’s atmosphere as realistically as possible – as if the reader were standing in or next to the crowd – so as to facilitate the reader’s imagination of the story. For only an omniscient narrator can know the agents of all actions, whereas an observer, especially in a crowded and chaotical situation, cannot register all action’s origins.

3.2 Gradual Presentation of Content and Language in 17 Paragraphs

In the following, each paragraph's stylistical features, such as figures of speech, lexicon and syntax will be listed chronologically and then given a function. In this way, my attempt at objective linguistic analysis will be distinguished from the less objective attribution of functions by using different subtitles. To ensure the context, every paragraph is initiated by a short outline of the story's content, which naturally also serves as an objective for the paragraph's namings.

§1 The ignorant youth vs initiation of the tree

Content:

The story opens with a description of educated youngsters who are indifferent towards the cutting of a legendary tree in the middle of a clearing, instead their attention is caught by a crowd of ordinary Moroccans, who are gathering around the tree.

Formal features:

- The youngsters' smiles are described with two synonyms: 'as-sukhrīya waal-'istihzā' (derision and scorn)⁷³ Mentioning them both results in a so-called 'Hendiadys' (from Greek 'one through two').⁷⁴
- The story is initiated by a pair of rhetorical questions, which are parallelistic in their structures. Both are introduced with 'mādhā yahummuhum' (what does it matter to them). While the first governs only one subordinate clause, the second one operates four subordinate clauses.
- The first subordinate clause in the second question is a hypothetical conditional clause which is introduced by the particle 'ḥattā' (even) combined with the conjunction 'law' (if). In between stands the connector 'wa' (and), which according to Wehr is actually not required to state 'even if' because 'ḥattā law' or 'walaw' already means 'even if'.⁷⁵
- The latter sentence also features the affirmation particle 'qad'.
- The tree is described in a long sentence with several subordinate clauses and with pictorial language. Lexically it is surrounded by nature terms such as 'bustān' (garden), 'thimār

shahīa’ (delicious fruit), ‘naḍj aw fasād’ (ripe or rotten) and ‘al-furū’ waal-’aghṣān’ (branches and twigs).

- These nature terms feature two “pairs”, one antonymical: ‘naḍj aw fasād’ (ripe or rotten) and one synonymical ‘al-furū’ waal-’aghṣān’ (branches and twigs), which is a another Hendiadys.
- Though a verbal sentence⁷⁶, the first sentence is introduced by a noun: ‘ba’ḍu-sh-shubān’ (some youngsters), yet the paragraph closes with the word ‘shajara’ (tree).

Functions:

The Hendiadys is a semantic repetition which ‘provides a sense of emphasis (...) because they {the two words} are longer and therefore “heavier” in the sentence than only a single word would be.’⁷⁷ It thus functions as an intensification of the youngsters’ derision on the one hand, and of the description of the tree on the other hand. In the case of the youngsters, the use of the hendiadys is more subtle than describing the derision with an amplifying word such as “very”.

The rhetorical questions address the reader and aim to arouse his or her interest for the main subject, namely the tree.⁷⁸ Simultaneously, they accentuate the youngsters’ ignorance towards the tree. This ignorance is further highlighted by the narrator’s hypothesis, which embellishes the tree without changing the youngsters’ attitude. It acts as a kind of simile: even these pleasant aspects would fail in catching the youngsters’ attention. Accordingly, the bountiful descriptions reinforce the shamefulness of the youngsters’ ignorance. The antonymical pair increases the length of this sequence of nature words, which contributes to its significance. Moreover, I suggest that ‘even if’, is highlighted in the conditional clause, for az-Zafzāf uses the longer version of ‘ḥattā wa law’ instead of ‘walaw’ or ‘ḥattā law’, which would actually suffice to state ‘even if’. The use of the affirmation particle ‘qad’ asserts the generous description of the tree.⁷⁹

The structure of this paragraph reflects the opposition between the youngsters and the tree. Despite the focus on the tree, the story is initiated by the youngsters, which again points towards the predominance of their ignorance. Yet the paragraph closes with the tree to remind the reader of the main symbol. Abdul Raof acknowledges this: ‘when the communicator wants to highlight a noun (phrase) this is placed sentence-initially.’⁸⁰ he concludes that ‘each word

order signals a distinct pragmatic signification and each individual order is context-sensitive.’⁸¹

§ 2 Modernisation & security forces

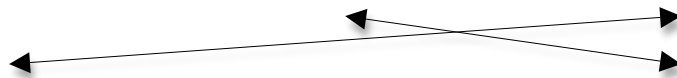
Content:

In this paragraph, modern civilisation and its governmental custody by security forces is introduced as an antagonist to the tree. New buildings are being built behind the tree while the security troops keep people from coming closer.

Formal features:

- This paragraph is initiated and finished by a reference to the tree.
- The lexicon deals with words acquainted with modern civilisation: ‘’alūāḥ min al-’ismant’ (panels of reinforced concrete), ‘’imārāt’ (buildings), the verb ‘rakkaba’ (to fit, construct, build), ‘ritājāt nawāfidh’ (window frames), ‘siyāj’ (fence).
- The newly built houses are matched with the adjective ‘dākina’ (dark) and with the verb ‘’imtadda’ (to be extended).
- The paragraph is dominated by verbal sentences.
- A simile describes the still empty window gaps of the new houses : ‘opened like the mouths of mythical animals’.
- The two first sentences are arranged in a chiasmus which has a parenthesis in the second part.⁸² In the first sentence the subject comes before the verb, whereas the second sentence is introduced by the verb and features its subject in the end. This syntactical crossover is clarified by the preposition ‘behind’, which in both cases is placed in the beginning. Having used ‘warā’’ in the first sentence the synonymical ‘khalfa’ is applied for the second sentence. If we connect the subjects and the verbs by arrows, the resulting structure is an X:

‘warā’ ash-shajara, hunāk ’alūāḥ min al-’ismanti-l-musallah turakkab bibuṭ’ wa’itiqān.



’imtaddat, khalfa tilka al-’alūāḥ, al-laṭī tartafi’ fī as-samā’, ’imārāt ukhrā dākina.’

- The literal translation of the Arabic term used for the security forces is ‘preventive forces’⁸³.
- The security forces’ tight formation is described with a metaphor: ‘a fence of security forces’.

Functions:

This paragraph focusses on modern civilisation. For just as the tree was initiated as the protagonist in the preceding paragraph, the extensive descriptions now target the antagonist. Still there is twofold reference to the main symbol, the tree, which enframes the paragraph.

Yet the language is not only a display of modernity’s evident predominance over the tree, it also serves the purpose of foreshadowing. Particularly the simile which involves mythical animals with open mouths is a threatening element, which points towards a nasty development. The same applies to the dark buildings. This prediction is matched with imminence due to the use of verbal sentences, which according to Abdul Raof convey the ‘semantic feature of continuity and progression’⁸⁴ – the prime example is ‘‘imtaddat’ which refers to the dark buildings.

The chiasmus results in a word order which illustrates the content of these two sentences, to be exact the situation of the tree, the panels and the buildings: on one side stands the tree (the beginning of the sentences), in between are the panels (subject of the first sentence), followed by the two verbs (to build for the panels and to extend for the buildings). To underpin the degree of the houses’ extension, they are preceded by a parenthesis⁸⁵, which renders them the last link of the chiasmus.

The literal description of the security forces as ‘preventive forces’ could hint at the violent developments as well, for the reader automatically asks him- or herself what there is to be prevented. By means of the metaphor, the security troops’ function (to keep away the people from the tree) is supported visually: they act as a fence. Dickins et al describe a metaphor’s function as follows: ‘Metaphor is typically used to describe something (whether concrete or abstract) more concisely, with greater emotional force, and more often more exactly, than is possible in literal language.’⁸⁶ The metaphor also contributes the word ‘fence’ to the civilisation-centered lexicon.

§ 3 The people

Content:

The focus switches over to the people of the gathering crowd, who are being maltreated by the security troops.

Formal features:

- The initial verbal sentence is introduced by the people, ‘an-nās’.
- The security forces are repeatedly described as ‘a fence of preventive forces’.
- The people are described with realism⁸⁷: ‘barefooted’, ‘torn clothes’, ‘laments’, ‘child being trampled underfoot’.
- The passive tense is used to describe what can be heard in the crowd: ‘one could hear laments’.
- The particle ‘qad’ is used with imperfect which suggests uncertainty.⁸⁸
- This paragraph consists of only one long sentence, which is held together by the conjunctions ‘fa’, ‘waqad’ and by an asyndeton⁸⁹ in the end.

Functions:

This paragraph’s focus corresponds with the first word of the paragraph, ‘an-nās’ - ‘the people’ which is presented in reference to the security troops and their violence. The realistic vocabulary seeks to describe the people’s misery as accurately and realistically as possible.⁹⁰

The use of the passive adds to this realistic description of the situation: actors of actions are unknown, the situation is confusing. The same goes for ‘qad’ which is translated with ‘perhaps’. On the other hand, identities are not very important –the crowd is treated as a collective. The passive also conveys the feeling of the narrator actually being in the crowd rather than omnisciently observing it from a distance.

This is the first paragraph to mention violence, which can be felt in the abrupt syntax after the beating is mentioned: the consequent miseries are initiated with ‘fa’ and ‘waqad’ and the next three segments are enumerated without conjunctions or particles which adds to the speed of the story.

§ 4 Dialogue I: the youngsters

Content:

Behind the crowd, youngsters continue to observe the happenings. Two of them argue about the state's decision to cut down the tree. The youngster in favour of the cutting thinks that 'this magical nonsense' has to come to an end, and that the protesting people will eventually forget about the tree. The more critical youngster does neither support the cutting nor care about it, since he won't profit from it in either way. This marks the first, slight criticism of the government (or literally of the state).

Formal features:

- Being a dialogue, this paragraph features Moroccan dialect.
- Except for in the beginning, the paragraph is entirely composed of direct speech.
- The paragraph is asyndetic, which means that it lacks conjunctions.
- The structure is less organised and features three parentheses.
- Both youngsters use the Arabic word 'dawla' - 'state' to describe the power which decided the cutting of the tree.

Functions:

This paragraph marks the story's first dialogue, accordingly the language takes on the shape of direct speech and Moroccan vernacular. The result is a realistic dialogue, which goes along with the realistic lexicon in the preceding paragraph. In addition, the asyndetons and parentheses make the dialogue seem more vivid, spontaneous and less organized: small breaks (commas and asyndetons) and emphases (parentheses) are characteristics of spoken language.

The word 'dawla' derives from the root d-w-l, which originally means to change periodically, to take turns, to alternate, to rotate. Accordingly, dawla means state, empire and power.⁹¹

I suggest that it has a more positive connotation than the Arabic word for government 'ḥukūma', which will be used by the participants of the next dialogue in paragraph 6. Hence the youngster's criticism is mild, perhaps due to their ignorance.

§ 5 Growing of the crowd

Content:

The crowd is increasing and security forces are repeatedly using violence. In other words, the intensity of the situation continues to swell. We are told about a concerned woman with a child who is trying to talk to another woman (see next paragraph).

Formal features:

- The first sentence is a parallelism⁹² with repetitions of the verb ‘kathara’ (to grow) and of the preposition ‘‘ilā’ (to, towards).
- The second sentence features the opposite: a chiasmus, which is held up by the reiteration of the word ‘some’. It adheres to the pattern of subject-verb-verb-object, where ‘some’ is placed prior to the subject and object.
- The woman’s snotty-nosed child is described onomatopoeically⁹³: ‘al-khaṭm al-mulaṭṭakh bi-l-mukhāt.’ (its nose was snotty with snot).

Functions:

The first sentence describes the jostling in the crowd, and so does its syntax, if we concentrate on its cohesion, which is achieved by the similar structure and the lexical reiterations: the parallelistic structure illustrates the stirring of the crowd, for it correlates with the jostling which is moving back and forth to an equal extent – i.e. the same equivalence due to which the words are arranged in the sentence.

This syntactical pattern is challenged in the next sentence: The violent conduct of the security troops against the crowd is described in a chiasmus.

‘Some rifles and some thick-ended batons were raised into the air

and swooped down on some arms or bodies.’ (HN)⁹⁴

On account of the chiasmus, the two verbs are linked to each other in an almost straight line, in other words in a logical cause and effect relationship. On the other hand, the subject and the object are connected to each other, which marks a relationship of offender (the rifles and batons) and victim (arms and bodies). In contrast to the preceding parallelism, this structure

illustrates a movement in only one direction – the batons are raised and unavoidably rushed down on the crowd. This latter part of the action is accelerated: it consists of only 6 Arabic words, whereas the former part requires 10 words to describe how the batons are raised. By means of all these traits, the chiasmus facilitates the reader’s personal conception of the scene. Moreover it emphasises the security forces’ brutality.

The onomatopoeical description of the child’s snotty nose leaves a poetical impression on the reader. Thanks to all the khā’s one can hear the child snuffling, which again adds to the realistic and naturalistic⁹⁵ character of az-Zafzāf’s language.

§ 6 Dialogue II: the women

Content:

The woman with the child addresses another woman, challenging the reason for protesting. Indirectly the reader learns about ‘the curse of Sidi Daud’, which according to her will take revenge on the government for cutting the tree. The other woman answers that the workmen will suffer from the curse, not the government. She is thus the first person to openly criticise the government.

Formal features:

- The women's language features Moroccan dialect.
- The first woman initiates the dialogue, asking about the tree using several formal emotionally loaded features:

‘mā lanā wamāl ash-shajara? hadhihi hukūma turīd ‘an yanzil bihā balā’ ,sīdī dāwūd’. wallāhi, lan yastafī ‘ahad minhum’ an yaghmad ‘aīnayhu al-layla ḥattā taḥṣil lahu muṣṭiba.’ (MZ)⁹⁶

What does this have to do with us and with the tree? This government wants that the curse of Sīdī Dawūd comes down on it. By God, not one of them will manage to close an eye tonight before harm hits them. (KA)

- She uses the emotive expression ‘wallāhi’ (by God)
- She also uses the conjunction ‘lan’ + subjunctive to negate the future, which expresses a stronger and more absolute negation than the combination of ‘lā’ and ‘saūfa’ or ‘sa’.
- She uses ‘to close one’s eyes’ for ‘to sleep’, which is a metonymy.⁹⁷

- Also in the same sentence, she replaces the subject ‘the government’ with ‘one of them’ (which combined with ‘lan’ results in ‘not one of them’).
- The second woman responds with a rhetorical counter question, asking about the government:

‘al-ḥukūma mālahā? aūla’ik ar-rijāl al-masākīn, alladhīn yaqt’ aūn ash-shajara, hum alladhīn sataṣībuhum al-la’na. (...)’innahum {al-maghzen} yadf’ aūn an-nās ’ila hatfihim dā’iman, wayabqaūn fī al-khalf.’ (MZ)⁹⁸

What does the government have to do with the tree? Those poor men who are cutting the tree, they are the ones the curse will target. They {the authorities} are indeed always pushing people into their death, while staying in the background. (KA)

- Although the subject of the second sentence (‘ar-rijāl al-masākīn’) does not change after the first verb (‘yaqt’ aūn’), it is mentioned a second time by means of a personal pronoun and a relative pronoun: ‘hum alladhīn’. This is grammatically superfluous.
- The criticism of the government is expressed by a pictorial expression: the government is accused of ‘pushing people into their death’. (KA)
- This criticism is combined with the affirmation tool ‘inna’.
- Unlike the youngsters in paragraph 4, both women use the word ‘ḥukūma’ (government) to describe the power that decided the cutting of the tree.
- The first woman even uses ‘hadhihi ḥukūma’ (this government).
- Both women start their arguments with a rhetorical question.

Functions:

Both women use dialectal Moroccan language, which expresses their ordinary concerns – which is again characteristic of realistic literature. Except for the vernacular, they also pursue a similar type of language what concerns their tone of voice: due to the sensitive subject of the conversation, their language is not neutral; which naturally depends on their situation in the crowd. Expressions like ‘wallāhi’, the illustrative language, the absolute negation, the replacement of subjects and the affirmation tool ‘inna’ – all these peculiarities serve the purpose of emphasis, which produces an emphatic and thus emotive language, characteristic of

someone expressing concerns, anger, contempt or fear. In this context the rhetorical questions have a persuasive function, both women try to convince each other using questions.

In this manner, many of the formal features reinforce the criticism on a linguistic level: talking about the government, which will not be able to sleep, the description „not one of them will be able to close an eye“ is much stronger than ‘they will not be able to sleep’.

The other woman, who thinks that the workers will get hit by the curse, expresses her opinion just as strongly: by repeating the subject (the workers) by means of pronouns, it gains extra emphasis. So instead of saying ‘those poor workers, who are cutting the tree, they will get hit by the curse’ the literal translation goes: ‘those poor workers, who are cutting the tree, *they are the ones* who will get hit by the curse.’

I suggest that the women deliberately choose to direct their criticism at the government – al-ḥukūma – rather than at the state – ad-dawla – because of the semantics around the word. For the word ‘ḥukūma’ derives from the root ḥ-k-m, which originally means to judge, to decide, to pass a verdict, to impose and to rule.⁹⁹ Thus the term ‘ḥukūma’ might describe the women’s notion of the ruling power more precisely than the word ‘dawla’; rather than being something that rotates or takes turns (see § 4) the government is characterised by its power to decide. Even more so in the first woman’s declaration, which distinguishes itself from governments in general by emphasising *this* peculiar government – ‘hadhihi ḥukūma’ .

To sum up, the women’s evident criticism is mirrored in their language.

§ 7 The single mother

Content:

This paragraph is fully devoted to the mother with the child. Having talked to the other woman (who dares to accuse the government openly) the mother with the child is scared of being abducted by the police. We learn about the death of her husband and that she has three children to support.

Formal Features:

- This paragraph’s syntax is asyndetic, i.e. the rather short clauses are linked without conjunctions:

'irta 'dat min al-khaūf, 'iltafatat ḥawlahā.' (MZ)¹⁰⁰

She was trembling with fear, she turned around. (KA)

- The mother's fear of being mistreated by the police is depicted with a simile¹⁰¹: She is scared of being 'hung like a sheep from a butcher's hook.' (HN)¹⁰²
- This paragraph is exclusively made up of verbal sentences, which invariably start with a verb.
- The death of the mother's husband is described euphemistically: 'he moved (on) to where everybody goes.' (KA)

Functions:

This paragraph's language clearly displays the single mother's fear.

The first sentence deals with the origins of her fear, it is short and succinct: it describes her insight, perhaps a short shock, that her conversation might have been a mistake. Nervously, the next sentence follows without conjunction and describes how she is trembling with fear. Only a comma separates it from the next sentence, in which she is turning around. This abrupt transition from 'trembling' to 'turning around' portrays a rapid movement, which illustrates her paranoia.

Likewise, the simile is intended to reinforce the mother's fear,¹⁰³ for it invokes a very unpleasant image in the reader's head (a slaughtered sheep) which leaves a stronger mark than mere words. On top of that the simile symbolizes the mother's innocence: Sheep is not only common meat in Arabic countries, symbolism conceives sheep as harmless, obedient and stupid animals, which need protection. Moreover young sheep, lambs, stand for innocence.¹⁰⁴

The mother's innocence and righteousness is also hinted at in a more subtle way, namely in the nature of this paragraph's verbal sentences. Unlike their peers in other paragraphs, these verbal sentences all start with a verb. This grammatical flawlessness alludes to the mother's righteousness or moral immaculateness, which could explain why her fears do not become reality.

The euphemism¹⁰⁵ used for the dead husband signifies pragmatism and hope, which support the reader's impression of the mother as a good or positive character: Since the thoughts which design this euphemism are hers, the positive handling of a loved one's death – which

this euphemistic expression implies – is attributed to her. In this manner, the euphemistic use of language reflects the single mother’s perseverance and strength.¹⁰⁶

§ 8 Continuation of Dialogue II

Content:

Scared of the government, the single mother resumes the conversation with the other woman, now arguing that the government must know what it is doing. The other woman however seems to be more afraid of Sidi Daud than of the government, for she harshly warns her of speaking against Sidi Daud. In response, the single mother explicitly states her innocence and tells the woman about her unfortunate situation.

Formal features:

- In contrast to the preceding paragraph and albeit featuring a verbal sentence, the mother revives the conversation with a noun: ‘al-ḥukūma’.
- As in paragraph 6, the other woman answers with a counterquestion. Her language also contains a harsh imperative: ‘Shut your mouth!’ (HN)¹⁰⁷
- When telling the other woman about her misfortune, the single mother uses the affirmation tool ‘inna’ and the passive participle ‘mujarrad’ (only, merely, solely) to describe herself as a poor widow.

Functions:

The mother’s sudden change of opinion of the government is fortified syntactically by placing the term ‘al-ḥukūma’ sentence initially. The other woman answers with rather offensive language, which indicates her devotion to Sidi Daud.

Consistent with last paragraph’s findings, this paragraph’s language explicitly states the mother’s innocence by using the affirmation tool ‘inna’ along with the participle ‘mujarrad’ which acts as a twofold strengthening of her innocence.

§ 9 Sidi Daud

Content:

The widow is fed up with the situation: she wants to avoid problems and thus leaves the crowd. In the following we are told about Sidi Daud from her point of view. Except for the rumours about Sidi Daud, she does not seem to know very much about this mystical tree. She did however visit the tree once and pray for her husband's recuperation shortly before his death.

Formal features

- The widow's rejection of problems features an ellipsis: ¹⁰⁸

‘lā turīd mashākil ma‘ al-maqāt‘a, walā ma‘a sīdī dāwūd.’ (MZ) ¹⁰⁹

She does not want any problems with the police, and not with Sidi Daud. (KA)

Whereas ‘lā’ and ‘ma’ are repeated, ‘turīd mashākil’ is ellipted.

- The latter sentence also marks the beginning of a sequence of four negations, which is only interrupted by one sentence starting with ‘sīdī dāwūd’. This interruption is placed right after the second negation ‘walā ma’ sīdī dāwūd’.
- The information on Sidi Daud is twice introduced by the expression ‘qālū’ (people said, that...).
- The origins of the tree are not definitely known, the narrator presents two different rumours and in the last sentence Sidi Daud is even called by the alternative name of Sidi Larbi.
- The tree is described with a simile: az-Zafzāf compares the sudden appearance of the tree with ‘as if she was a daughter of years.’ (KA)
- The death of the widow's husband is repeatedly expressed euphemistically: ‘Sidi Larbi or Sidi Daud took the soul of her husband.’ (KA)

Functions:

The ellipsis reflects the widow's efforts to avoid further problems: as in the linguistic structure, the widow wants to ellip the problems likewise. The subsequent negations, or rather

the exceptive sentence position of Sidi Daud, suggests that the widow still pays a fair share of respect to him, yet her main concern is with her children. Alternatively, the sentence initial position could also intend to establish a link of lexical cohesion between the former and the current sentence.

The language Sidi Daud is described with acts as an “obscuring” agent, which adds to the mysteriousness the reader attributes to him: He is presented in folk tale style language and with ambiguous statements – nobody seems to know the definite origins of him or the tree. This uncertainty is also echoed in the sudden usage of his alternative name.

The simile and the euphemism both produce poetical expressions. I suggest that these enhance the mystification around Sidi Daud.

§ 10 The cutting of the tree

Content:

This paragraph plays a pivotal role in the short story since the tree is cut down and the author himself comments on the situation with a general statement. Prior to this, the chaos and the heat in the crowd are increasing. Protected by the security forces, the noisy bulldozer and the workmen finally manage to cut down the tree. They draw back to avoid getting hit by the falling tree.

Formal features:

- The lexicon in the first sentence is devoted to the heat: ‘ash-shams’ (the sun), ‘lafaḥa’ (to burn), ‘shidda’ (intensity), ‘‘ajsām’ (bodies), ‘ḥabbāt min al-‘araq ‘alā ’unūf’ (drops of sweat on noses).
- The aforementioned word combination ‘ḥabbāt min al-‘araq ‘alā ’unūf’ is a metaphor: According to Wehr, ‘ḥabba’ (the singular of ḥabbāt) translates into grain, seed, granule, bean, kernel, pill, pastile tablet etc. Thus the literal translation of this metaphor is “grains of sweat”.
- The second sentence starts with ‘hadīr al-kharāfa’ (the sound of the bulldozer) and ends with Moreover the combination of ‘mā zāla’ (is still going on) with the adverbial participle ‘mustamirr’ (continuous) forms a pleonasm.¹¹⁰

‘hadīr al-kharafa fī al-wasi‘a mā yazāl mustamirr...’ (MZ)¹¹¹

- This paragraph is dominated by verbal sentences. Along with the aforementioned bulldozer sentence, the description of the rifles, which are pointed at the crowd, marks the only exception.
- The author’s comment (see 3.1), ‘a government order must be enforced to the letter’ follows immediately after the sentence which describes how the rifles are pointed at the crowd.
- The tree’s fall is described onomatopoeically with the Arabic word ‘ṭaṭṭaqa’¹¹² which means ‘rattle.’
- As the workers and security forces run away so as not to get hit by the tree, the author’s explanation features semantical ambiguity: ‘None of them felt like having their eyes poked out by a falling branch.’ –Besides the literal meaning, ‘faqa’a ‘aīnahu’ (to poke out somebody’s eye) is an Arabic expression, with the figurative meaning of ‘to deal s.o. (an opponent/enemy) a heavy blow’ or ‘to ruin s.o.’¹¹³

Functions:

The lexicon conveys a crude realism which indicates the increasing heat and intensity in the crowd. The metaphor reinforces this, for it uses a dry and waterless word to describe the looks of the crowd’s sweaty noses.

The second sentence’s formal features highlight the noise of the bulldozer and especially its endlessness: the subject is placed in the beginning of a sequence without proper ending – instead three dots suggest continuity. The same function goes for the use of the verb ‘mā zāla’¹¹⁴, which belongs to the group of verbs that ‘describe states of existence’¹¹⁵: kāna and her sisters. Even though ‘mā zāla’ semantically already includes the adverbial ‘still’, it is matched with ‘mustamirr’, which additionally reinforces the aspect of continuity.

Likewise, the rifles are described with the verb ‘kāna’. Hence these two elements, the bulldozer and the rifles, are pointed out by the author as states or circumstances with prolonged duration – in contrast to the verbal sentences which usually describe actions with limited durations.

The author’s comment could initially be understood as to be supportive of the government, considering the circumstances however, one recognizes that this is either a matter of irony, or

a display of fear of the government – in other words a reminder of the unguaranteed freedom of speech. For just as the emerging fear suddenly changes the widow’s mind, the author posts this approving comment right after having mentioned how the troops are pointing their rifles at the crowd (see 3.1).

The two choices of ‘ṭaqṭaqa’ and ‘faqa’ ‘āīnahu’ are evidence of the author’s eloquence. These words manage to manifest the content most adequately for they have a function beyond denoting a meaning or a semantic field: The onomatopoeia reproduces the sound of its denotation (pronouncing ‘ṭaqṭaqa’ results in a sound similar to the one of a falling tree) and the semantical ambiguity of ‘faqa’ ‘āīnahu’ must be slightly perplexing for the Arabic reader. The literal meaning, ‘to poke out somebody’s eye’, is suitable, especially because the author adds the agent: the falling branch; on the other hand it is slightly ironical to assume that a falling branch would *only* damage an eye, therefore the figurative meaning, ‘to deal s.o. (an opponent/enemy) a heavy blow’ or ‘to ruin s.o.’ should be taken into consideration as well. The odds for the figurative meaning also increase if we take into account the opposition which it suggest, namely the opposition of the tree versus the workers and the security forces, which is indeed existent in the content.

§ 11 Reactions & Arrival of the police chief

Content:

The focus switches back from the tree to the crowd. We are at first told about the raising violence on the part of the security forces and then about the voices of protest. This includes short sequences of direct speech, which show the people’s frustration about the building of new houses on the resting place of Sidi Daud’s soul. Subsequently people leave their small stores to see what is happening and the crowd continues to grow. Eventually the police chief and his fellow men arrive in two cars and start spreading out among the crowd. The policemen start hitting people at random and the chief has some of his men pave a way for him through the shocked crowd.

Formal features:

- As in paragraph five, rifle butts and batons are raised ‘fī as-samā’ (in the air or sky), this time however the expression is used without a preceding ‘ba‘ḍ’ (some). This is the first sentence of the paragraph.

- The first two sentences are constructed in roughly the same syntactical patterns: verb - subject - conjunction - verb - (subject)* - preposition 'fi' - object.
- The difference lies in their length: Unlike the second one, the first sentence features two different subjects for its verbs, hence a new subject* is inserted after the second verb. Moreover it is prolonged by an adverb in the end of the sentence, which in comparison renders the second sentence considerably shorter.
- The voices of protest are described with passive tense and with a pair of antonyms: 'muffled and loud'.
 - Subsequently, the reader is given an example of three complaints in direct speech. Except for a short introduction, 'and one of them {referring to the voices of protest} said:', there is no more information on the individuals behind these complaints.
 - The increasing of the crowd is described with a combination of d and z: 'Izdāda al-'izdiḥām' (the crowd grew). Moreover both roots, z-ī-d (to grow) and z-ḥ-m (crowd) are used in form VIII, in which the usual infix 't' morphs into 'd' because of the initial radical 'z', which in Arabic does not accord with 't'.
 - This paragraph features mainly short sentences, particularly the police chief's arrival is surrounded by short sentences.
 - This paragraph is asyndetic: Except for one 'wa' it lacks inter-sentential conjunctions.
 - This paragraph is entirely made up of verbal sentences.
 - The word for 'some' – 'ba'd' is mentioned four times and the root z-ḥ-m is used twice in different shapes, which is a polyptoton.

Functions:

The repetition of the raising batons and rifle butts marks an intensification, and the ellipsis of the Arabic word for 'some' suggest that the violence is increasing. Moreover adding 'fi as-samā' to the raised rifle butts and batons has an emphasising effect – they are raised high up in the sky – which again intensifies the violence on behalf of the troops. The resulting consequences for the crowd are described in the second sentence, which is arranged in almost the same syntactical pattern as the former, though a bit shortened. This relation on the

syntactical level suggests a contextual relation, which in this case is a relation of cause and effect: the former sentence describes the violence of the security troops and the latter depicts the bent arms of protesters that are being pushed around. So the connection of the security forces' violence and the crowd's misery are underscored by the similar syntax of these two sentences.

After their reference by the narrator, the voices of protest are presented in direct speech and without specification of the speaker. This deficit of individual representation of the crowd highlights the notion of the crowd as a collective. The use of the passive tense reinforces this: The focus lies not on the people in the crowd, but rather on their concerns and actions, in this case on the voices of protest. This is acknowledged by the policemen's behaviour, who hit the crowd indiscriminately (see also 3.1).

The matching and repeating of adjacent words' letters in an elegant way, such as 'izdāda al-'izdiḥām', draw the reader's attention, which in its turn gives emphasis to these words.

The short and unconnected sentences could be intended to reproduce the reaction of the crowd upon the police chief's arrival. They are stupefied and confused. On the other hand the short sentences could illustrate the pokiness, both of the small stores and of the growing crowd – there is no more space for more words.

Like in paragraph 2, the dominance of verbal sentences conveys a growing pace of the plot, yet the story is still descriptive thanks to the author's eloquence, which enables him to describe things without using equational sentences.

§ 12 The rulers performance and police violence

Content:

The first part of this paragraph describes how the police chief pretends to take no interest in the precarious situation. According to him it is crucial to remain calm, so as not to cause more chaos. But in spite of his persistent indifference, the reader is repeatedly told about screams, batons and rifle butts. This is the last straw that breaks the camel's back: the narrator steps forward and comments on the conduct of the police chief and his men and on their ideology. Above all he criticises the ruler of false-faced behaviour.

Formal features:

- The paragraph starts with the words ‘taṭāīr al-ghubār’ (dust flew around). A few sentences later the expression is repeated in the present tense and with reversed word order. Moreover the verb is repeated with new subjects:

‘al-ghubār yataṭāīr, wa aṣ-ṣurākh wa al-‘aṣī wa ‘aqābu-l-banādiq tataṭāīr.’ (MZ) ¹¹⁶

‘taṭāīr’ is now also used for screams (‘aṣ-ṣurākh’), batons (‘al-‘aṣī’) and rifle butts (‘aqābu-l-banādiq’), which results in a zeugma ¹¹⁷ and a parallelistic structure.

- Similarly, the narrator’s criticism features two different kinds of repetitions, which both centre on the superlative ‘akbar’ – the greatest.

‘mā ‘alā ‘akbar ra’ iīs dawla fī al-‘ālam ‘ila ‘an yatamālak ‘a ‘ṣābahu. mā ‘alā ‘akbar ra’ iīs ḥukūma , ‘akbar wazīr, ‘akbar wāl, ‘akbar ‘umda, ‘akbar qā’id maqāṭa ‘a, ‘akbaru fulān ‘illā ‘an yatamālak nafsahu.’ (MZ) ¹¹⁸

The greatest ruler in the world does not have to do anything except for controlling his nerves. There is not anything to do for the greatest minister of state, the greatest minister, the greatest governor, the greatest police chief, the greatest so and so, except for controlling himself. (KA)

In the first set of repetition, the words ‘mā ‘alā ‘akbar’ are repeated sentence initially.

Secondly, the word ‘akbar’ forms an epizeuxis ¹¹⁹: it takes part in an enumeration in which only the word ‘akbar’ is repeated in association with different ranks of office. The resulting structure is a parallelism.

- It is worth to notice that this enumeration adheres to an anticlimactic hierarchy, starting with the president and ending with the police chief. Yet they are all equally attributed with the superlative ‘akbar’. The hyperbolic and sarcastical element of this arrangement grows evident in the final repetition: ‘akbar fulān’ (the greatest so and so).
- The paragraph closes with an exclamation mark.

Functions:

The paragraph’s first reiteration does not merely serve the purpose of emphasis. As the reiteration of the flying dust is slightly modified regarding tense and syntax, it seeks to reflect the developments in the story, i.e. the worsening conditions for the people in the crowd. In

other words the nature of this repetition acts as a simile for this paragraph's happenings. Lexically the words stay the same, but their shape and arrangement have changed. Therefore, they are repeated immediately after we are told about the police chief's concerns about the possible chaos that the present situation *could* generate. Hence the author's language suggests that this aforementioned chaos is about to become reality.

This is also confirmed by the other stylistical peculiarities. The use of the present tense, which indicates currency, the breach of the standard syntax of a verbal sentence and the zeugma, which are both linguistic anomalies –they all point towards a development, namely the impending chaos which is mentioned in the content.

The zeugma also links the symbolic dust to the violence (the rifle butts and batons), because they share the same verb. Moreover the use of the verb 'taṭāīr' for the rifle butts and batons represents an intensification of these instruments. In paragraph 5 and 11 they were described with the verb 'irtafa'a' (to rise, lift), which conveys a more controlled movement than 'taṭāīr'. Now they seem to have gone out of control.

In his criticism, the narrator uses rhetorical finesse to persuade the reader of the police chief's hypocrisy. First of all, the extensive repetition of the word 'akbar' is clearly fishing for attention and cannot go unnoticed. Secondly, this enumeration is a subtle way to undermine the police chief's power: his position is relativised to a larger scale of offices, which makes him the lowest among the mentioned ranks. Still his rank precedes 'the greatest so and so', which ridicules this whole listing and invariably accuses all parts of moral defection. The impartiality of 'akbar' is underscored by the parallelistic structure.

Since the enumeration also depicts a "job ladder", it hints at the police chief's thoughts, which are occupied with the topic of promotion, and which hence reveal his egoism and abuse of his position. Yet the content does not deal with this until in the next paragraph.

The concluding exclamation mark illustrates the urgency of the narrators feelings towards this matter.

§ 13 Increasing violence versus ignorance of the police chief

Content:

The situation gets bloody and people start falling to the ground. Still the police chief does not move a muscle, instead he is thinking of his future as a minister.

Formal features:

Most palpable in this part are three parallelisms and their irregularities:

- In the first parallelism, all three constituents are verbal sentences, which are initiated by a plural noun, 'arms', 'voices' and 'rifle butts' respectively. In the first and the second component, the nouns are even matched with the same verb 'turtif'a', which is used literally for arms in the former and figuratively for voices in the latter sentence.
- Unlike in paragraph 5 and 11, the rifle butts are not combined with the verb 'irtafa'a'. Instead, az-Zafzāf employs the Moroccan dialectal word 'tatarāshaqa', which complies with Modern Standard Arabic 'turshaqa' and means 'are thrown'¹²⁰. Yet he does not refrain from adding 'fī as-samā'.
- The next parallelism consists of two constituents and only one verb which is ellipsed in the second part. Instead the subject, the plural word for head 'r'ūs', is repeated with different meanings, denoting first the figurative meaning 'the head of a baton' and then the literal meaning 'the head of a human' - 'skull'. Besides 'r'ūs' this parallelism is lexically also sustained by the repetition of the word 'ahiyānan' (sometimes).
- The last parallelism differs from the former two. It lacks lexical reiteration and the three constituents seem more independent regarding their content:

'taṣriḫ al-'afuwāh watanizz al-wujūh damm, watasquṭ al-'ajsām 'arḍ.' (MZ)¹²¹

Mouths were screaming and faces were oozing with blood, and bodies were falling to the ground.

(KA)

- In exchange, the entire last parallelism is synecdochical:¹²² the words 'mouths', 'faces' and 'bodies' are used for the people in the crowd.

- Moreover, these three constituents are arranged climactically: The synecdochical subject develops from a small body part (the mouth) to the whole human body and the number of words and characters is elongated with every constituent.
- After these three parallelisms, the shift of the focus to the police chief is initiated by the word ‘lakinna’ (but). In the next sentence, the description of the chief’s thoughts are initiated with the affirmation tool ‘inna’.
- The paragraph closes with the police chief’s thoughts in direct speech and brackets.

Functions:

Due to their similarities regarding structure, lexicon or other rhetorical devices, parallelisms connect their constituents formally. Hence they are intended to link the constituents’ subject matter as well.

In this context, the parallelisms emphasise the bloody outcome of the police violence. Whereas the first two parallelisms explicitly mention the ‘rifle butts’ and the ‘batons’, the third one is solely devoted to the people’s misery and the first casualties.

In the first two parallelisms, the author additionally links the police violence and the people’s misery by having the two sides share words. Accordingly, he chooses words which are fit to denote several things: ‘turtif’ and ‘r’ūs’ are equally used with nouns, which contextually either belong to the crowd or to the security forces.

The rifle butts are deliberately matched with yet another verb (cf paragraphs 5, 11 and 12) while ‘fī as-samā’ makes its third appearance in the story (already in paragraphs 5 and 11). This is yet another emphasis of police brutality and hints at the approaching climax.

The last parallelism depicts a gradual escalation: Starting with screams, it is followed by bloody faces and ends with people dying.¹²³ In this manner, the misery’s worsening towards the atrocity of death is highlighted linguistically.

I suggest that the synecdoche underpins “the collectiveness” of the crowd, that is the lack of individuation (see 3.1). A synecdoche is a kind of metonymy¹²⁴ with more specific requirements: In principle, both figures account for the substitution of a word by another, closely related word. Even though the mentioned synecdoches belong to the category of pars pro toto¹²⁵ which means that a part of something stands for the whole and not vice versa, the

use of this element does not highlight any particular part, rather it summarises the people in the crowd by describing the happenings by means of something they all have in common – human body parts. Abdul Raof states the following about metonymy, which in my opinion applies to this paragraph’s synecdoche: ‘Rhetorically, metonymy signifies the allusion to someone or something without specifically referring to his or her or its identity.’¹²⁶

The use of ‘lakinna’ and ‘inna’ aim to highlight the police chief’s inappropriate thoughts and his emotional disconnectedness from the people’s suffering. The presentation of his thoughts in direct speech reveals his evil character even more, for the stylistical distinctions suggest that these are his genuine, *unedited* thoughts. On the other hand, the chief’s imperative which is directed at himself carries a ridiculous element. Despite the horrible circumstances, az-Zafzāf allows himself a modicum of mockery.¹²⁷ (see also 3.1)

§ 14 Indifference of the police chief

Content:

This paragraph goes on to describe the police chief’s disinterest. Although affected by the hitting rifle butts and the omnipresent dust, he still keeps smiling. Yet the narrator tells us that one of the policemen is not in control of himself.

Formal features:

- The fact that there is no intention to affect the police chief with rifle butts is expressed in a parenthesis.
- The police chief’s imperturbable smile is described in an equational sentence and with two synonymical words: ‘šārim’ (sharp, harsh, hard, severe, stern) and ‘jādd’ (earnest, serious) which on top of that also share the same word pattern and hence form an elaborate hendiadys.
- The policeman who has lost control of himself is described as ‘one of those receiving orders’.

Functions:

Language acknowledges the accidental contact of the rifle butts with the police chief:

A parenthesis is an additional phrase which is grammatically and syntactically dispensable, it

can be added after the sentence was composed. Thus it is reminiscent of something that was not intended in the first place, but which came about as a consequence of something else.

The format of the police chief's smile reinforces its seriousness and the effect on the reader: The equational sentence designates permanency¹²⁸, the synonymical use bestows extra force upon the adjective 'serious' and the repetition of the long alif, which is part of both words, attracts the reader's attention.

The designation of the out of control policeman is chosen solely in regard to his function: he is subject to the police chief. This in its turn alludes to the police chief and suggests that he is responsible for what is happening.

§ 15 Fall of the police chief

Content:

Somebody throws a stone which hits the police chief's head so severely that he collapses to the ground. Yet he remains smiling. The security troops respond by firing their rifles and more stones are thrown. The protesters are shot to the ground or escape –in short: the chaos has reached its peak.

Formal features:

- This paragraph starts with an alliteration:¹²⁹ 'min makān mā' (from any place)
- The police chief's downfall is depicted symbolically and with two metaphors: the police chief falls into the dust 'at-turāb' and his smile is 'painted' (metaphor) on his lips which 'are swimming' (metaphor) in a 'pool of blood and dust' (symbols).
- Whereas bullets are described with the verbs 'aṭlaqa' (to fire) and 'inṭalaqa' (to be fired), the stones are associated with the verb 'taṭāir', which was already used in paragraph 12.
- The word for bullets, 'ar-raṣāṣ' is mentioned three times and the root ṭ-l-q is also repeated three times in the forms IV and VII. This figure of speech is called Polyptoton.¹³⁰
- Besides the word 'turāb' (dust) which is used three times, its synonym 'ghubār' is repeated in the form of 'mughabbir', which marks another polyptoton.
- The crowd's response to the shootings are described with five successive verbs:

‘akhadhat al-’ajsād tasqut, tahrub watatashattat, watatafarraq watastadim biba‘dihā.’ (MZ)¹³¹

Bodies started to fall, to escape and to disperse and to scatter and to bump into each other. (KA)

- The chaos is expressed explicitly:

‘ma‘raka ḥaqīqiya fi‘l. lam ya‘id hunā nizām li‘aī shā’.’ (MZ)¹³²

It was indeed a real battle. There was no more order whatsoever. (KA)

- The subsequent sentence is initiated by a polysyndetical¹³³ enumeration of feelings, where the preposition ‘min’ (of) is ellipited:

‘Feelings of anger and fear and hatred and bravery and cowardice, they all circle around the cut down tree’ (KA)

- The enumeration has its verb in the end, which is a zeugma: the feelings are described with the verb ‘hāma’ (to circle, hover, glide)¹³⁴: they ‘circle’ around the cut down tree.

- The confusion too is mentioned explicitly:

‘Everything was confused/ got all mixed up. The lamenting and the crying and the groaning of a late death.’ (KA)

- This second sentence contains nothing but polysyndetically arranged nouns and conjunctions. Thus it is no independently complete sentence, however the nouns are congruent with the verb of the former sentence.
- Throughout the paragraph there are many repetitions, besides the above mentioned, the words ‘makān’ and ‘kull’ are each repeated four times.
- Even the metaphor of the smile ‘painted’ on the chief’s lips is repeated in the last sentence, also the ‘blood and dust’ he is covered with.
- This paragraph’s syntax is a heterogenous mixture of short and long sentences. The shortest sentence is made up of only two words, the longest on the other hand accounts for 20 words.

Functions:

This paragraph marks the story’s climax, accordingly the language is climactical and features many stylistical highlights, which mainly serve the purpose of intensification.

The metaphors and symbolisms surrounding the police chief's collapse succeed in conveying an intense and explicative image of the fallen police chief: he is lying in his own blood on a dusty ground. In spite of the pain and humiliation, he retains his stubborn smile. The second metaphor elaborates on this by revealing its true nature: the smile is not real, it is as if someone painted it, therefore it cannot be disrupted.

'Taṭāir' (to fly around) , is a more mild and imprecise verb than 'atlaqa' or 'inṭalaqa'. More importantly, it does not convey any information about where the stones were thrown from, thus it draws the reader's attention to the same fact as the alliteration in the beginning of this paragraph 'min makān mā' : It is unknown where the first stone was thrown from. Accordingly, the first stone is described with the verb hawā (to drop, fall (down), collapse), whose semantics focus entirely on the falling and pay no attention to the throwing.

'Taṭāir' also marks a reference to paragraph 12, of which the incumbent paragraph constitutes an intensification: In the former paragraph, the use of 'taṭāir' served the purpose of highlighting the chaos. It was repeatedly used for dust, screams, arms and rifle butts. Currently its use is extended to stones, which seem to have a more minatory outcome for the police chief. Unsurprisingly both paragraphs describe the police chief's ignorance: In paragraph 12, the police chief remained indifferent towards the dust, rifle butts and screams. Presently he is still smiling, despite the dust and his own blood.

The polyptoton of the root ṭ-l-q and the repetition of 'raṣāṣ' (bullets), illustrates the predominance of the firing bullets over the flying rocks. Furthermore the polyptotons and the synonyms reproduce the chaotical content: The same roots are repeated in different shapes and the same meanings are expressed with different words, i.e. synonyms (e.g. 'turāb' and 'ghubār').

The reaction of the crowd is reflected most accurately in its language: five verbs in a row express the swift reaction of those who are not hit by bullets (the first verb: 'tasquṭ') – they flee without delay: there is only a comma between 'tasquṭ' and 'tahrub' and the next verbs are polysyndetically enumerated which convey the speed of the panic reaction of the people.

The chaos and the confusion are each separately exemplified in the author's language, yet he uses the same figure of speech on both occasions. Both situations are reflected with a polysyndeton, following their respective reference by the narrator.

The first polysyndeton, which denotes chaos, displays a lack of orderliness due to an unusual syntax: the sentence starts with an enumeration of subjects, which are detached from their corresponding verb by means of a comma.

Following the narrator's indication of confusion, the second polysyndeton accounts for an even more unusual phrase, which is not even a real sentence. The congruent verb is to be found in the preceding sentence, thus the two sentences should rather be separated by a colon than by a full stop. In addition to the language's syntactical confusion, this polysyndeton also features synonyms, which suggest a lexical confusion as well.

In my opinion, the polysyndetons amplify the effect an enumeration has on its reader. Accordingly, the plethora of feelings (or of the different utterings of misery respectively) obtains additional emphasis. By adding the conjunction 'and' to every link in the chain of enumerations, not only the length of the sequence increases, but also the conspicuity of the enumerating effect, because 'and' is repeated with every new link of the sequence. Also, it adds rhythm to longer enumerations. When verbs are linked polysyndetically, the polysyndeton also conveys an increasing speed, for many actions are described with few words.

In contrast to the longer sentences, the few short and abrupt sentences or word arrangements embody the urgency and the tension of this paragraph. Similarly, the many repetitions of words or expressions portray the narrator's reinforcements. Overall, the language of this paragraph is emotive, the narrator is not neutral or ignorant towards the happenings, hence the many stylistical highlights. At times his language touches upon characteristics of spoken speech –for example the two polysyndetons –which give more credibility to the narrator as a real person, who expresses his concerns and disgust for the situation.

§ 16 Scattering of the crowd, description of the troops

Content:

The crowd dissolves and people take shelter in their homes, wherefrom they peek at the security troops, still sprawling across the clearing.

Formal features:

- This paragraph is made up of no more than two long sentences.

- The sentences are held up by the additive conjunction ‘wa’, the restrictive conjunction ‘lakinna’ and the relative pronoun ‘al-latī’, which are combined with several asyndetic transitions, in order to maintain clarity in these two long sentences.
- The language features simple repetitions and synonymical words such as ‘judrān’ and ‘hītān’ for walls, and the two similar words ‘thuqūb’ (thuqb = hole, puncture)¹³⁵ and ‘shuqūq’ (shaqq = narrow opening, crack, fissure, gap)¹³⁶ for the peepholes.
- The troops are described with the negated adjective ‘ghair muntazimūn’ (not regular, even, uniform, steady, orderly)¹³⁷ and they are standing in ‘al-’azziqati-l-qadhira’ (the dirty alleys), where the sewage and garbage has accumulated.

Functions:

Compared to last chapter’s brisk and hasty language, the pace is now plummeting: Due to elements such as simple repetitions, synonyms and descriptions, this paragraph’s two sentences are prolonged. These elements are of a descriptive kind and focus on conveying the changing atmosphere.

An implicit simile compares the troops with the sewage and garbage in the entrance of the alleyways, it criticises the troops and their continued presence.

§ 17 The End

Content

Various wares and goods are left on the streets as vendors and shopkeepers seek protection. Among them are elderly women who sell magic supplies. The police chief demands help and his men carry him to the car. We are told about his impact on one of his men, who is impressed by the fact that the chief is still smiling.

Formal features:

- In this last paragraph the focus is divided among the tradesmen and streetvendors in the two initial sentences and the police chief and his men in the last three sentences.
- The two first sentences are not parallel to each other, yet they are similar: Both are verbal sentences which start with the subject. Moreover they are both quite long and contain a rather detailed enumeration – of different tradesmens and products respectively. Lexically,

both sentences share the word ‘ba‘d’ (some) and the verb ‘taraka’ (to leave) combined with the object ‘sil’ (wares or goods).

- The old women’s wares include magical supplies, such as rats’ tails and crows’ heads.

Functions:

The two initial sentences’ similar content (shopkeepers leave their stores and old women leave their goods on the streets) is reflected in the similar linguistical structure and composition. The detailed enumerations of different stores and different goods that are sold emphasize the impact of the violent incident on the people: even traders are influenced.

I suggest that the rats’ tails and crows’ heads have symbolical meanings. First of all, they are both parts of animal cadavers, which symbolizes nature’s defeat against modern civilisation. However, the fact that they are staying behind on the pavement, while people flee, could allude to nature’s eternity or even to nature’s upcoming “revenge”. Especially so because the crow and the rat are both tough animal symbols:

Though the rat is usually interpreted as a negative animal,¹³⁸ it is also said to embody vitality: It is an active and prolific creature which has mastered to survive under harsh conditions. If met by any resistance, the rat can quickly turn into an aggressive and harmful opponent.¹³⁹ Symbolism does not distinguish crows from ravens: They both count as harbingers of death or calamity. Thanks to their creativity and ability to organise themselves they belong to mother nature’s most intelligent animals. Furthermore they are brave and ready to go on attack at any time.¹⁴⁰

Though mythology and symbolism contain many more meanings for and stories of the rat and the crow, the above mentioned interpretations highlight the aspect of perpetuality and resistance. The tree has been cut but, the reader is only left to assume what will happen next.

This long chapter (3.2) has thoroughly scrutinized az-Zafzāf’s linguistic peculiarities in regard to the respective paragraphs’ contents. What remains is the demand for a more general presentation of the results.

4. Results

The following table aims to summarise the features that have been examined in the single paragraphs of the previous chapter (3.2) . Note that the table does not include *the functions* attributed to the single features in the respective paragraphs.

Although these functions constitute a vital part of this thesis, it does not make sense to present them detached from their context, since the functions have to be attributed in regards to their respective content. Yet, for the reader who is interested in the function(s) of one specific feature, this table provides a reference to the necessary paragraph(s) where the feature of interest is investigated more precisely.

Note also that the character in brackets indicates the quantity of the particular feature, provided that there are more than one. Unless there is a reference to another paragraph, the term “repetition” refers to a repetition *within* the particular paragraph.

§ 1	Hendiadys (2), Rhetorical Question (2), Parallelism, hypothetical conditional clause, affirmation particle ‘qad’, lexicon: nature, pair of antonyms, verbal sentence introduced by noun
§ 2	Chiasmus, Metaphor, Simile, lexicon: civilization, verbal sentences dominate
§ 3	Asyndeton, verbal sentence introduced by noun, repetition of Metaphor from §2, lexicon: realism, passive tense, ‘qad’ + imperfect, long sentence
§ 4	Asyndeton, Parenthesis (3), dialogue: direct speech & Moroccan dialect, use of ‘dawla’ for government
§ 5	Parallelism, Chiasmus, Onomatopoeia, rifle butts are used with the verb ‘irtafa’a’, first appearance of ‘fī as-samā’
§ 6	Metonymy, Rhetorical Question (2), dialogue: direct speech & Moroccan dialect, emotive and pictorial language, affirmation tool ‘inna’, use of ‘ḥukūma’ for government
§ 7	Asyndeton, Simile, Euphemism, only verbal sentences

§ 8	Verbal sentence introduced by noun, imperative, affirmation tool ‘inna’, passive participle ‘mujarrad’
§ 9	Ellipsis, Simile, Euphemism, negations in a row (4), folk tale expression (2), “obscuring language”
§ 10	Metaphor, Pleonasm, Onomatopoeia, lexicon: heat, verbal sentences dominate, comment by the author, semantical ambiguity
§ 11	Asyndeton, Polyptoton, repetition, syntactical pattern, pair of antonyms, direct speech, combination of two similar roots in form VIII, short sentences, only verbal sentences, rifle butts are for the second time used with the verb ‘irtafa’a’, second appearance of ‘fī as-samā’
§ 12	Zeugma, Epizeuxis with anticlimactic hierarchy, repetition, modified repetition, exclamation mark, first appearance of the verb ‘taṭāīr’, rifle butts are now used with the verb ‘taṭāīr’
§ 13	Parallelism (3), Synecdoche (3) with climactical arrangement, word with literal meaning is repeated with its figurative meaning and vice versa (2), affirmation tool ‘inna’, direct speech in brackets designates thoughts, rifle butts are now used with the verb ‘tatarāshaqa’, third appearance of ‘fī as-samā’
§ 14	Parenthesis, Hendiadys, designation of a police man according to his function
§ 15	Alliteration, Metaphor (2), Polyptoton (2), Polysyndeton (2), Zeugma, Symbol (2), 5 verbs in a row, repetition (2), repetition of a metaphor, heterogenous mixture of short and long sentences, the verb ‘taṭāīr’ is used for rocks
§ 16	Asyndeton, synonym (2), repetition, two long sentences, implicit simile
§ 17	Enumeration (2), similar sentence structure, repetition (3), symbol (2)

5. Conclusion

The preceding chapters have shown how az-Zafzāf's deliberate choice of lexicon, syntax and grammar establish a relationship between the content of his story and his language per se. His language is marked by rhetorical features – such as figures of speech – by which he draws the reader's attention to certain aspects, in order for him or her to grasp the author's message.

Thus, rhetoric helps to strengthen the text's impact upon the reader – the perlocutionary effect – which in turn determines whether the reader will keep thinking about the story or whether he will forget about it. In short, what influence did the story have on the reader?

Abdul Raof mentions this 'psychological impact' and 'exquisite ideological power'¹⁴¹ of rhetoric and refers to Thomas McLaughlin, who in his essay on figurative language asserts the 'powerful role for figures in the unconscious' which exert 'a more than rational influence on the readers.'¹⁴² He focusses on metaphors and metonymies and states that 'figurative activity is deeply rooted in all our mental life and that poetic figures can bring us into contact with powerful psychological forces.'¹⁴³ He concludes that 'the power in the act of perception and understanding seems to lie in language.'¹⁴⁴

Accordingly the reader's perception (and thus his judgement) of for instance the police chief, depends on the language the police chief is described with. Therefore, a writer does not choose his words at random. Even if he or she is not aware of the power of language, subconsciously no choice is made at random.¹⁴⁵

Yet every stylistical element must not have a specific or even substantial function, some also serve the purpose of embellishment. On the other hand, functions are not always evident, they require interpretation which depends on the reader's socio-cultural background: 'Language is not an independent, all-powerful entity. (...) It shapes our perceptions, but it also is shaped by its social context.'¹⁴⁶

In the case of 'ash-Shajara al-muqaddasa', the author's language clearly invokes despicable feelings towards the police chief and the government on the one hand, and compassion for the ordinary Moroccans on the other hand.

6. References & Notes

1. Raof (2011) p. 294
2. *ibid* p. 291
3. 'Interpretation is not the mainfunction of a stylistic analysis' Melin & Lange (2000) p. 162
4. In most cases the structuring complies with the author's original structuring.
5. This arrangement might seem controversial and non conventional. Yet I feel that the material itself, a non-western short story, in combination with my intentions (see 1.1) calls for a treatment customised for its kind. I consider this composition suitable for my thesis because the relationship of language and content is evident at all time.
6. Raof (2011) p. 293
7. *ibid* see p. 26
8. Husni & Newman (2008) p. 56f
9. For more information on the Arabic diglossia see Versteegh, chapter 12 (1997)
10. Abrams (1993) p. 180
11. Bradford (1997) p.9
12. For listings of the different figures see Alm-Arvius (1993), Raof (2001) p.138-150 or Melin & Lange (2000) 78-80
13. Raof (2001) p. 142
14. Abrams (1993) p. 180
15. Bradford (1997) p. 3
16. *ibid* p. 13
17. Widdowson (1996) p. 138
18. *ibid*
19. *ibid* p. 144
20. *ibid*
21. *ibid* p. 139
22. Raof (2011) p. 32
23. Hatim (2010) p. 10f
24. Raof (2011) p. 1. For an overview of Arabic rhetoric ('al-Balāgha') and its three major disciplines, 'Word order' ('ilm al-mā'āni'), 'Figures of speech' ('ilm al-bayān') and

‘Embellishments’ (‘ilm al-badī’) see *ibid* p. 93. In Raof’s following chapters 4, 5 and 6 respectively, every discipline is described thoroughly and with examples.

25. Raof (2011) p. 13
26. *ibid* p. 24
27. *ibid* p. 273
28. Fowler (1996) p. 196
29. *ibid* p. 204
30. *ibid*
31. Russian formalism is ‘a type of literary theory and analysis which originated in Moscow and Petrograd in the second decade of this century’ – i.e. the 20th century. Abrams (1993) p. 273
31. Abrams (1993) p. 273
32. *ibid*
33. Jakobson (1996) p. 12
34. Boström Kruckenberg (1979) p. 12
35. also Widdowson (1996) p. 138
36. Abrams (1993) p. 273
37. Boström Kruckenberg (1979) p. 13
38. Jakobson (1996) p. 12
39. Boström Kruckenberg (1979) p. 37f
40. *ibid* p. 37 & Jakobson (1996) p. 13
41. Jakobson focussed much of his work on the poetic language, which deviates from ordinary language (Jakobson (1996) p. 11). Nevertheless his theories are applicable for prose for they concern language in general. (*ibid* p. 15) Moreover the boundaries between prose and poetry are not absolute, they do not manifest themselves in fixed or clear-cut line. (Boström Kruckenberg (1979) p. 12)
42. Jakobson (1996) p. 17
43. Bradford (1997) p. 37
44. Equivalence or similarity can be expressed in many ways, for example by means of synonyms, syntactical position, grammatical class, similar letters, sound and so forth. Boström Kruchenberg (1979) p. 46
45. Jakobson (1996) p. 17
46. *ibid*

47. *ibid*
48. Boström Kruckenberg (1979) p. 48
49. Jakobson (1996) p. 28 & Boström Kruckenberg (1979) p. 49f
50. Jakobson (1996) p. 26 & Boström Kruckenberg (1979) p. 50
51. Boström Kruckenberg (1979) p. 50
52. *ibid* p. 40
53. *ibid* p. 12
54. Widdowson (1996) p. 144f
55. Husni & Newman (2008) p. 60
56. Eliade (1971) p. 15
57. *ibid* p. 268
58. See Biedermann (1991) p. 430ff
59. Husni & Newman (2008) p. 62
60. For a definition of the word 'symbol' see Melin & Lange (2000) p. 79
61. Husni & Newman (2008) p. 66
62. Apart from denoting the repetition of a structural pattern, a parallelism can also denote a contextual repetition of for instance a thought. (Melin & Lange (2000) p. 80) On the other hand a parallelism can also be achieved by combining differences, so as to highlight a contrast. (Boström Kruckenberg (1979) p. 49) 'Parallelisms are held together by means of equivalence and the resulting system of text internal relations, which form the structural entity of a text.' (*ibid* p. 51)
63. Husni & Newman (2008) p. 67
64. *ibid* p. 58
65. *ibid* p. 66
66. *ibid* p. 64
67. *ibid* p. 66
68. *ibid* p. 62
69. *ibid* p. 64
70. *ibid*
71. 'We define cohesion as the transparent linking of sentences (and larger sections of text) by explicit discourse connectives like ,then', ,so', ,however', and so on. These act as signposts pointing out the thread of discourse running through the text. Additionally,

features such as root repetition and lexical item repetition may have a cohesive function (...) .’ Dickins et al (2002) p. 128

72. Wehr (1994) p. 434
73. ‘Sukhriya’ = Scorn, derision, mockery, irony & ‘‘istihzā’’ = Mockery, ridicule, derision, scorn. Wehr (1994) p. 467 & p. 1204
74. Dold 2004 (p. 19)
75. ‘ḥatta law’ = even if. (Wehr (1994) p. 183) ‘wa law’ = although, though, even if (Wehr (1994) p. 1034)
76. By ‘verbal sentence’ I mean any sentence containing a genuine verb (kāna and her sisters do not count as such), regardless of its position in the sentence. See Ryding (2005) p. 58f for the differing definitions of a verbal sentence and p. 634 for more on kāna and her sisters.
77. Dickins et al (2002) p. 60
78. Raof (2011) p. 256
79. ibid p. 109
80. ibid p. 24
81. ibid p. 273
82. See Raof (2011) p. 247f and cf Dold (2004) p. 22
83. ‘‘iḥtiyāṭī’’ = precautionary, prophylactic, preventive. Wehr (1994) p. 250
84. Raof (2011) p. 11
85. Raof (2001) p. 146
86. Dickins et al (2002) p. 146. See also Raof (2011) p. 218
87. Melin & Lange (2000) p. 158f
88. Wehr (1994) p. 872
89. Raof (2001) p. 139f
90. Abrams (1993) p. 174
91. Wehr (1994) p. 348f
92. Raof (2011) p. 268
93. ibid p. 267
94. Husni & Newman (2008) p. 60
95. Melin & Lange (2000) p. 159

96. Husni & Newman (2008) p. 61. For the modern standard Arabic version of the dialectal expression „māl“ see ibid. p. 68, item 4.
97. Raof (2011) p. 233
98. Husni & Newman (2008) p. 61
99. Wehr (1994) p. 228
100. Husni & Newman (2008) p. 61
101. Raof (2011) p. 198
102. Husni & Newman (2008) p. 60
103. Raof (2011) p. 208
104. Biedermann (1989) p. 378
105. Raof (2001) p. 141
106. cf Raof (2011) p. 251
107. Husni & Newman (2008) p. 60
108. Raof (2001) p. 69ff
109. Husni & Newman (2008) p. 61
110. Dold (2004) p. 21
111. Husni & Newman (2008) p. 63
112. for a description of „ṭaqṭaqa“ as an onomatopoeia see Dickins et al (2002) p. 85
113. Wehr (1994) p. 845
114. Ryding (2005) p. 638
115. ibid p. 634
116. Husni & Newman (2008) p. 65
117. Raof (2001) p. 150
118. Husni & Newman (2008) p. 65
119. Raof (2011) p. 250f
120. Husni & Newman (2008) p. 69
121. ibid p. 65
122. Raof (2001) p. 149f
123. According to Wehr (1994) p. 483, ‘saqāṭa’ denotes a lethal outcome: ‘to be killed in action’.

124. Raof (2001) p. 144
125. pars pro toto is Latin for ‘a part for the whole’, Dold (2004) p. 19
126. Raof (2011) p. 233
127. See Husni & Newman (2008) p. 57: ‘It {az-Zafzāf’s literature} is fiction with a social conscience, drawn from real-life events; the realism is palpable and the narrative enthralling, with tragedy often commingled with comedy.’
128. Raof (2011) p. 11ff
129. Raof (2001) p. 138
130. ibid p.147f
131. Husni & Newman (2008) p. 67
132. ibid
133. Raof (2001) p. 148
134. Wehr (1994) p. 255
135. ibid p. 124
136. ibid p. 560
137. ibid p. 1148
138. Biedermann (1989) p. 353
139. Zerling (2003) p. 242f
140. ibid p. 165f
141. Raof (2011) p. 273
142. McLaughlin (1990) p. 87
143. ibid
144. ibid
145. See Roman Jakobson in 2.2
146. McLaughlin (1990) p. 87

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8. Transliteration Key

Since my aim for the English transliteration has been to imitate the Arabic pronunciation as accurately as possible, I have chosen to distinguish between sun and moon letters in the definite article "al". Therefore I have also chosen to leave out the final case endings, except for when the final case ending is merged with the following word, and except for in imperfect verb forms (e.g. taraka). Also I have refrained from using capital letters, even in names, because they simply do not exist in Arabic.

The table below shows the English equivalents of the Arabic letters:

ا = ā	د = d	ض = ḍ	ك = k	ء = ' (hamza)
ب = b	ذ = dh	ط = ṭ	ل = l	ة = a (fatha)
ت = t	ر = r	ظ = ḏ	م = m	ى = ā (yā)
ث = th	ز = z	ع = ' (ayn)	ن = n	
ج = j	س = s	غ = gh	ه = h	

ح = ḥ	ش = sh	ف = f	و = w / ū	
خ = kh	ص = ṣ	ق = q	ي = y / ī	

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I want to express my gratitude to Prof. Lena Ambjörn for her literary suggestions and encouragement.