

## Critical Discourse Analysis of Some Selected Iraqi Folk Proverbs

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### Abstract

This study delves into critical discourse analysis (CDA) of some selected Iraqi folk proverbs (henceforth IFPs). It aims at detecting the ideological themes embedded in IFPs referring to certain proverbial groups of people. The significance of the present study is to find out the different forms of prejudice against these groups of people in the Iraqi Arab culture. The proverbs referring to the proverbial groups of people have been collected from some important compilations and they have been analyzed depending on their interpretation in the compilations in which they occur. Moreover, for the sake of analysis, these proverbs have been selected on the basis that they have not been handled from CDA perspective. In addition, to discover the underlying ideologies in the selected proverbs, a qualitative approach has been used. Furthermore, twenty seven proverbs have been selected and only nine samples have been analyzed to uncover the forms of prejudice against the proverbial groups of people whether in the structure or the structure and the function of IFPs. The findings arrived at in this study involve the following forms of prejudice: discrimination against people with special needs, racism against the blacks, sexism, discrimination against certain households members of the same degree of kinship and tribal intolerance against *M'dān* tribe.

Keywords: critical discourse analysis (CDA), Iraqi folk proverbs, ideology, racism, sexism

### المخلص

تبحث الدراسة الحالية التحليل النصي النقدي لبعض الامثال الشعبية العراقية المختارة و تهدف الى كشف الافكار المؤدلجة التي تضمنتها تلك الامثال والتي تشير الى بعض الفئات التي اصبحت مضررا للامثال. تكمن اهمية الدراسة الحالية في كشف اشكال التعصب ضد الفئات التي اصبحت مضررا للامثال في الثقافة العربية العراقية وتم جمع الامثال من بعض الكتب المهمة في الامثال وتم تحليلها اعتمادا على تاويلها في تلك الكتب بالاضافة الى ذلك اختيرت تلك الامثال لتحليلها على اساس انها لم يتم تناولها من قبل من

منظور التحليل النصي النقدي وكذلك من اجل كشف الايديولوجيات التي تتضمنها تم استخدام المنهج النوعي اضافة الى ذلك تم اختيار سبعة وعشرين مثلا وتم تحليل فقد تسعة نماذج منها لكشف انواع التعصب ضد تلك الفئات سواء في تركيب تلك الامثال او التركيب والوظيفة معا اما النتائج التي توصلت لها الدراسة الحالية فقد تضمنت الانواع الاتية من التعصب: التمييز ضد ذوي الاحتياجات الخاصة و العنصرية ضد السود والتمييز الجنساني و التمييز ضد بعض افراد العائلة الذين لهم نفس درجة القرابة والتعصب القبلي ضد قبيلة المعدان.

الكلمات المفتاحية : التحليل النصي النقدي- الامثال الشعبية العراقية - الايديولوجية -العنصرية- التمييز الجنساني

## 1. Introduction

The present study tackles CDA of some selected IFPs. Proverbs convey society experience. They do not represent individuals' opinions, rather, they are a reflection of the whole society thought. Durkheim(1933,p. 170-71) defines proverbs as a "condensed statement of a collective idea or sentiment relative to a determined category of objects" (cited in Diabah & Amfo,2014, p. 4). The New Dictionary of Cultural Literacy (Third Edition, 2002 as cited in Rasul,2015, p.53) which focuses on the nature of proverbs as being culture-specific defines them as " short, pithy sayings that reflect the accumulated wisdom, prejudices, and superstitions of human race". The significance of the present study is to reveal the different forms of prejudice against the proverbial groups of people in the selected IFPs. This study has two objectives which are put in the form of questions as below :

- 1-What are the groups of people who are proverbial in the IFPs selected for the present study?
- 2- What are the ideologies embedded in the selected IFPs referring to these groups of people?

Since the present study deals with CDA, the proverbs selected are analyzed according to Van Dijk's sociocognitive model.

## 2. Literature Review

A critical examination of the related previous studies is presented in this part of the study. It is mainly concerned with the IFPs that convey ideological themes, Which Iraqi society often employs to negatively label certain groups of people, namely people with special needs, black people, women, certain family members and M'dān tribe.

For instance, Hussien & Khalaf (2002) have explored the IFPs in terms of the concept of translation equivalence between Arabic and English. The researchers have identified the areas of difficulties, such as syntactic, stylistic and cultural differences, that translators have often encountered in translating the concerned languages. They concluded that in spite of the differences referred to so far, FPs in English and Arabic almost express the same experience which makes it possible to find the approximate equivalence of the ST in the TT. In addition, Al-Ubaidi (2006) has examined symbolism, on the word and sentence level, in the Museli FPs. Based on the semantic studies, the researcher has touched upon certain FPs that are full of symbolism where women are negatively portrayed in some of them. He has arrived at the finding that FPs, in general, are loaded with high level of brevity and symbolism and rich with various connotations.

Similarly, Al-Ubaidi (2010) has conducted a comparative study between the Museli and Halabi FPs concerning the image of woman. Based on a semiotic approach, the researcher has investigated the extent to which the Museli and Halabi FPs are similar in the way woman are identified. The findings of the study revealed that, despite the differences they have, the selected proverbs mainly showed a great deal of similarity in the way they depict woman's image.

Further, Muhsin (2015) has investigated the psychological and educational dimension in IFPs. Having adopted the descriptive analytical approach, he has randomly selected thirty three samples that reflect psychological and educational dimensions. The researcher has concluded that the selected proverbs are replete with psychological connotations, mainly negative such as psychological disorder, selfishness, meanness, empty pride, superiority...etc., especially when it is relevant to man-woman relationship. Furthermore, the FPs under analysis convey a far more educational direction which aims at warning against sinful acts and enhances morality.

In the same context, Thanoon (2016) has randomly examined many IFPs, used in Musel, in which woman is severely offended. The researcher seems not to have followed any model in analyzing his data but she rather depends on her own interpretation. She has concluded that such discrimination against women is deep-rooted in the economical and socio-cultural background of the Museli people.

As discussed above, the literature reviewed shows that the studies on IFPs have never touched upon the ideological themes embedded in the IFPs. The significance of the present study stems from the fact that those studies, that tackled IFPs, have never addressed the said proverbs from a critical discourse analysis perceptive.

### 3. Theoretical Framework

#### 3.1. Critical Discourse Analysis: Definitions and Key Issues

Discourse is considered as "an opaque power object in modern societies" (Blommaert,2001,p.14). Accordingly, CDA stood out in the late 1980s in Europe. Many critical discourse analysts like Fairclough, Van Dijk and Ruth Wodak inspired approaches for analyzing discourse critically (Blommaert & Bulcaen, 2000). CDA is a field of study that places great emphasis on some key issues affecting society via discourse. According to Wodak (2007, p.209), CDA is concerned with "analyzing opaque as well as transparent structural relationships of dominance, discrimination, power and control, as they are manifested in language". CDA aims to detect representations and power relations which can be manifested in language use or communication practices when they are related to their contexts (Khosravinki, 2014). Van Dijk (2001, p.352) sees CDA as " a type of discourse analytical research that primarily studies the way social power abuse , dominance, and inequality are enacted, reproduced , and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context".

There are some key issues that are related to CDA; among them are power relations, ideology, racism and sexism. The relationship of social power to discourse is one of the tasks that CDA aims to achieve to give an explanation for legitimizing, enacting or reproducing power abuse when those in power practice it in text and talk. In practicing social power abuse, the dominant group control the dominated group to influence their cognition and limit their actions for their benefit. Such social power abuse results in dominance which in turn results in social inequality (Van Dijk,1995).Ideology is another issue which critical discourse analysts and scholars have investigated from different viewpoints. Zheng (2015) states that Fairclough touches ideology from a political standpoint. He (1995, p.44) says "ideology involves the representation of 'the world' from the perspective of a particular interest" ( cited in Zheng, 2015, p.44). Unlike other

scholars, Van Dijk (2006) gives a comprehensive understanding of ideology in which three core components which are cognition, society and discourse are combined.

Racism is another issue of interest to critical discourse analysts. Memmi (1992, p.103) sees that racism "refers to the generalized and absolute evaluation of real or fictitious differences that is advantageous to the accuser and detrimental to his or her victim" (cited in Wodak & Reisigl, 1999, p.178). Carlos (2012) considers racism as a form of prejudice in which one in advance adopts false beliefs about any member affiliating to a certain race. Sexism is also an important issue handled by different scholars, especially feminists to reveal and reduce forms of gender discrimination. Ruether (1993) states that sexism is a belief system in which physical differences between a man and a woman establish concepts that a woman is inferior to a man and determine gender roles. Such beliefs are perpetuated ideologically and legally by a man because they serve his interests (cited in Chen, 2016).

### 3.2. Van Dijk's Sociocognitive Approach

Van Dijk is one of the pioneers in the domain of CDA. He (1993) inspired a triadic model of three dimensions which are discourse, cognition and society. No direct relationship available between discourse and society and what mediates between them is social cognition. Society comprises a micro structure and political, social and universal macro structures which are characterized by groups and their relationships like dominance and inequality. The powerful group(members) may exercise social power over the less powerful group(members) through having access to different resources of which discourse is the most important one that helps reproduce dominance due to its big influence on the public mind. Thus, dominance and social inequality resulting from social power abuse will be enacted and reproduced at the macro level of society( which includes groups and institutional control) and the micro level(that involves members affiliating to the most powerful groups) (Van Dijk, 1993).

Van Dijk (1993) explains that social cognition is the most important component that affects both social structure and discourse structure and mediates between the two. He (1993, p.18) defines social cognition as "the system of mental representations and processes of group members". Most traditional approaches of ideology do not place emphasis on this important component (Van Dijk, 2006). Social cognition should be taken into account as the interface between discourse and society for some reasons. First, individuals can produce and interpret discourse depending on socially shared mental representations. Second, discourse has its influence on social structures through socially shared



mental representations. Third, social structures influence discourse structures through social cognition. Moreover, cognition is at two levels: personal and social. Individuals develop personal beliefs depending on their personal experience and in this case, cognition is personal. As members of society, they share knowledge, attitude or other representations and in this case, cognition is social (Van Dijk, 1993).

Van Dijk (2006) proposes many categories to analyze ideological discourse. Only some of them are mentioned in this section for their relevance to the analysis of data. They are as follows:

- 1- Actor description: actors are described either positively or negatively according to whether they are members of ingroup or out-group and it is ideology that determines the way they are described.
- 2- Comparison: a category in which the ingroup and the out-group are compared to reveal the positive characteristics of the former and the negative characteristics of the latter.
- 3- Generalization: negative features of certain members of the out-group may be generalized to the whole group in ideological discourse to create prejudices against them.
- 4- Lexicalization: a category used to mainly present others negatively to the public opinion. Offensive and negative words employed to refer to out-group members or their actions depend on individual's opinion, goal, stance and position.
- 5- Negative other-presentation: a strategy that can be found at all levels of discourse and in which members categorized as the out-group are assigned negative properties. Employing this strategy is not value free. Rather, it completely depends on one's ideology.
- 6- Positive self-presentation: it is essentially ideological and can be used at all levels of discourse. It has either an individual form or a collective form. A person may emphasize his/her own positive characteristics or s/he emphasizes the positive features of his/her group whether they are his/her party or country.
- 7- Categorization: people are categorized into ingroup and out-group to be then described as being good or bad (Van Dijk, 2005).
- 8- Metaphor: it is a semantic- rhetorical tool which is employed to persuade others. Van Dijk (2006, p.738) states that in the use of metaphor, "abstract,

complex, unfamiliar, new or emotional meaning may thus be made more familiar and more concrete".

## 4. Methodology

### 4.1. Approach of the Study

This study is mainly qualitative since its main concern is to describe the behavior of the IFPs and the ideological themes they entail. This approach deals with CDA of textual material.

### 4.2. Data Collection

For collecting the data, the researchers are required to probe three main references on the IFPs, namely Aldileeshy (1968), Al-Ghulami(1964), Al-Hanafi (1962) and Al- Hanafi(1964). First, they have read the said three references in full focusing on certain groups of people the IFPs address ideologically. Second, after collecting the data, the examples are sorted out according to the ideological themes, viz. people with special needs, the blacks, certain family members of the same degree of kinship, women and *M'dān* tribe. Third, the explanation and interpretation of the selected IFPs are presented alongside every single proverb to provide the related linguistic and socio-cultural content.

### 4.3. Data Selection Criteria

The data on IFPs are selected according to the following criteria:

- 1- The selected IFPs imply a great deal of sensitive topics such as racism, sexism and discrimination against certain proverbial groups of people.
- 2-The aforementioned issues that IFPs include seem to have not been examined in the light of CDA.

### 4.4. Data Analysis

For analyzing ideological discourse, Van Dijk (2006) proposes many categories of which only positive self-presentation, negative other-presentation, metaphor, categorization, generalization, lexicalization and comparison are selected in this study for their relevance to the analysis of data. Actor description is also selected to analyze some data in the Appendix. According to the data

collected, it has been noticed that certain groups of people are proverbial in IFPs. They are as follows:

- 1- People with special needs.
- 2- The blacks.
- 3- Certain household members of the same degree of kinship.
- 4-Women.
- 5-A certain tribe called *M'dān* in the southern Iraq.

The selected IFPs are organized into categories according to the aforementioned groups of people to facilitate the analysis of data. It is worth mentioning that some proverbs are analyzed under more than one category of ideological discourse analysis. Additionally, the proverbs selected are analyzed according to their interpretation in the compilations in which they occur. The total number of the proverbs collected for this study is (27), but only nine samples are analyzed and for other proverbs, (see the Appendix). All the proverbs selected in the present study are offensive to the aforementioned groups of people and a few of them glorify some of them. So, all the categories employed to analyze IFPs fall within the macro strategies of negative other- presentation and positive self- presentation. In addition, some of the selected proverbs are offensive in both the structure and the function and others in the structure only when the proverbial groups of people are used as symbols in a pejorative way to convey different meanings away from the concepts that offend them. Moreover, the proverbs are translated by the researchers. Furthermore, symbols used in the transliteration of some words in this study are taken from Al- Saidi (2016, p. xviii).

## 4.5.Results and Discussions

### 4.5.1.Proverbs Humiliating People with Special Needs

In the Iraqi Arab culture, there are some proverbs that derogate people with special needs. These people are the deaf, the blind and the crazy ( see the Appendix). In the data collected, there are four proverbs humiliating this group of people, making up 14% out of the total(27). Some of them occur with different words but the meaning is still the same. The following is a good example:

Negative other- presentation

Metaphor



No.	ST	Literal Trans.	Reference
1.	"اطـرش بالزفة"	As deaf in a wedding party.	(Aldileeshy,1968,p.71;AlGhulami,1964, p.139)

This proverb talks about the deaf attending a wedding party in which he never hears, understands or enjoys anything because of his deafness. It is used to refer to the stupid who cannot notice his surroundings because of his stupidity (Aldileeshy,1968; Al-Ghulami,1964). Based on Van Dijk, the deaf in this proverb is presented negatively. This proverb is very offensive because it assigns negative features to the deaf when his disability is used to symbolize stupidity. The proverb above reveals that people with special needs like the deaf are humiliated just because of their disability.

#### 4.5.2.Proverbs Indicating a Prejudice towards a Certain Race

IFPs have a reference to race to convey different meanings. In the present study, only four proverbs occur, forming 14% out of the total (27). Consider the following example:

Negative other- presentation

Metaphor, lexicalization and generalization

No.	ST	Literal Trans.	Reference
2.	"ادهن وياه العبيد ولا تعشيه"	Paint the black slave's face but never dine him.	(Aldileeshy,1968, p.37)

The literal meaning of this proverb is painting the black slave's face to shine and tempt free people to buy him. Money is therefore saved instead of being spent buying dinner for him. It is used for cheating people by painting the outside of old things to look new and good and seduce people to buy them (Aldileeshy,1968). Based on Van Dijk's model, black slaves are presented negatively in the proverb above. They are derogated when their skin color is used metaphorically to represent an old ugly thing that needs improvements so that people can accept and buy it. Also in the proverb above, a certain lexical term which is *'bīd* (slaves) occurs and it is very offensive. In present-day use, this term has a negative connotation because it derogates black people in general. Previously, it refers to black slaves only and although the age of slavery is over in Iraq, this term is generalized and still used to pejoratively refer to all black people whether free or

slaves. This indicates that there is a sort of racism against black people for their skin color.

#### 4.5.3. Proverbs Discriminating against Household Members of the Same Degree of Kinship

In IFPs, there is a discrimination against certain family members of the same degree of kinship for the following reasons:

1-Conflict within the family.

2-Gender affinity

In the proverbs under scrutiny, there are three proverbs discriminating against certain family members, making up 11% out of the total (27). The following illustrates this discrimination:

##### 1. Conflict within the Family

There are some IFPs in which paternal half siblings are discriminated against. Only one proverb discriminating against paternal half siblings occurs in the proverbs under analysis, forming 3% out of the total (27). The following is a good example that occurs with different words but it still has the same meaning:

Negative other-presentation

Metaphor

No.	ST	Literal Trans.	Reference
3.	اخوك من ابوك مثل كوم الرافكوك"	Your paternal half sibling is like a stranger you meet somewhere (he is not a true brother).	(Aldileeshy, 1968, p.34; Al Ghulami, 1964, p.10; Al-Hanafi, 1962, p.10)

This proverb is used to refer to paternal half siblings and describe their relationship to other siblings from different mothers as being devoid of compassion, unlike maternal half siblings who are considered true siblings, because of the conflict that may arise between their mothers (Aldileeshy, 1968; Al-Ghulami, 1964; Al-Hanafi, 1962). In the light of Van Dijk's model, paternal half siblings are presented negatively in the proverb above. The conflict within the family resulting from the conflict between mothers which in turn is conveyed to their children creates negative attitudes towards paternal half siblings in

general. The figurative expression above which is (كوم الرافكوك *gwm 'rrāfgwk*) is used in a very offensive way to refer to them. It depicts them as being little compassionate and as being like strangers one may meet somewhere in which no affection or care or solidarity is shown and the relationship soon ends. The proverb above indicates a discrimination against paternal half siblings and a bias towards full siblings and maternal half siblings.

## 2. Gender Affinity

There are two proverbs showing a discrimination against certain family members from the distaff side like the daughter's children and the maternal uncles(see the Appendix), forming 7%out of the total (27). The following example illustrates a discrimination against the daughter's children.

Negative other- presentation and positive self- presentation

Categorization

No.	ST	Literal Trans.	Reference
4.	"ابن ابنك ابنك , ابن بنتك لع"	Your son's child is your son, but your daughter's is none.	(Aldileeshy,1968,p.16; Al Hanafi,1962, p.18)

This proverb means that in Iraq, seniors of the family (grandparents) consider their son's children their descendants unlike their daughter's children who are deemed strangers unless their daughter's husband has a kinship tie(paternal uncle's son)with them (Aldileeshy,1968;Al-Hanafi,1962). Based on Van Dijk's model, in the proverb above, a categorization is made between the grandchildren within a family. The son's children are presented positively and considered the offspring of the family unlike the daughter's children who are presented negatively and are regarded as strangers. This categorization is attributable to the fact that Iraqi society is patrilineal. It also emphasizes the concept that the son's children are considered the heirs who safeguard the family and carry its name. That's why, they are favored. But the daughter's children are viewed as strangers belonging to an outsider (the father), so, they have no status compared with the son's children in the family of their grandparents from their mother's side. The previously mentioned proverb tells about the Iraqi society culture in which there is a bias towards the relatives from the spear side and a discrimination against the relatives from the distaff side because of gender discrimination.

#### 4.5.4. Proverbs Discriminating against a Woman

A woman is discriminated against in the Iraqi Arab culture. In the proverbs under analysis, discrimination against a woman has the following forms:

1. Marital status.
2. Beauty.
3. Man primacy.

In the present study, thirteen proverbs occur (see the Appendix), forming 48% out of the total (27). Only four proverbs indicating the aforementioned forms of discrimination against a woman are analyzed in this section.

##### 1. Marital Status

Only one proverb in which a woman is discriminated against according to marital status occurs in the proverbs under study, making up 3% out of the total (27). Consider the following example:

Negative other-presentation and positive presentation

Categorization and generalization

No.	ST	Literal Trans.	Reference
5.	"أخذ مطلقات البين ولا تاخذ مطلقات الرجال"	Marry a widow not a divorced woman.	(Aldileeshy,1968, p.33)

This proverb is used to give advice to a man who desires to marry a divorced woman or to a man who is married to a divorced woman who does not make him a good wife and behaves badly with him. It emphasizes that if a man want to marry a non-virgin woman, he should choose a widow rather than a divorced woman because she usually gets divorced for her bad behavior with her husband (Aldileeshy,1968). In the light of Van Dijk's model, a widow is shown positively unlike a divorced woman who is presented negatively in the proverb above and a categorization is made between them according to their marital status. In this categorization, a widow is seen as a victim to destiny and, therefore, she is still qualified to marry after her husband's death while a divorced woman is considered faulty and her divorce is always ascribable to her bad actions and

behavior with her husband. Hence, she is not qualified to marry again. In the proverb above, divorced woman's bad actions and behavior that might be a reason for divorce in some cases are generalized to every divorced woman without considering the real cause of her divorce to relieve the man of responsibility of divorce and reject the idea of marrying her again. This shows the society intolerance towards every divorced woman regardless of the real reason behind her divorce.

## 2.Beauty

Discrimination against a woman based on beauty standards in the Iraqi Arab culture is expressed in four proverbs in the data collected, forming 14% out of the total (27). Consider following example, of which, only the part referring to a brunette is translated and concentrated on for its relevance to the issue of discrimination against a woman according to beauty:

Negative other- presentation

Metaphor

No.	ST	Literal Trans.	Reference
6.	"ثلاث مالهـن نظرة: الفانوس بالكمرة, والدكاك على السمرة, والجاي بالثمرة"	Three things are with no use: lantern in a full-moon night, tattoo on a brunette's body...	(Aldileeshy,1968,p.197)

The literal meaning of the proverb above is that tattoo on a brunette's body that cannot be noticed because of her skin color is unbeautiful and is of no use, unlike a white woman. This proverb is used to refer to doing things not in the right time (Aldileeshy,1968). Based on Van Dijk, the above proverb describes a brunette in a negative way. In the Iraqi society, there is a belief that fair skin is favored and regarded as something defining beauty whereas dark skin is seen as an ugly thing. Based on such a belief, the structure of the proverb above that occurs in the form of metaphor (*الدكاك على السمرة* 'ddggāg 'ssamrah\*) which conveys a meaning away from the concept referred to by the function is offensive to a brunette because it discriminates between her and a white woman and conveys the meaning that her body tattoo which cannot be recognized easily

because of her dark skin is ugly. This proves that there is a discrimination against a brunette in terms of beauty in which skin color is considered one of feminine beauty ideals in the Iraqi Arab culture.

Standards of woman beauty in the Iraqi society are not confined to skin color. There are other standards of which having thick hair is a symbol of beauty. In the proverbs under analysis, there are two proverbs indicating a discrimination against a woman who loses her hair, making up 7% out of the total (27) . Consider the following example below:

Negative other –presentation and positive presentation

Metaphor and comparison

No.	ST	Literal Trans.	Reference
7.	"تساوت الكرعة وام الشعر"	A bald woman and the one with thick hair become equal !	(Aldileeshy,1968,p.172; Al Hanafi,1962, p.117)

This proverb shows that a bald woman and a woman with thick hair are not equal in beauty and they are equal only in situations where things get scrambled. The above proverb is used to convey the meaning that things get mixed up to the extent that no difference can be made between good or bad things or good or bad persons. There are two proverbs that occur with a difference in only one word but they both convey the same meaning mentioned above (Aldileeshy,1968;Al-Hanafi,1962).In the light of Van Dijk's model, in the proverb above, a bald woman is presented negatively whereas a woman with thick hair is presented positively, reflecting the society perception in which things they favor are shown in a positive way. Although the function of the proverb above occurring as a metaphor indicates a meaning away from the concept of discrimination against women in terms of beauty, its structure conveys such a meaning by making a comparison between them. In this comparison, a bald woman is shown as ugly and unwanted while a woman with thick hair is shown as beautiful and favorable. This is an indication of a discrimination against women with physical problems in the body, considering such problems as a symbol of ugliness.

3.Man Primacy

Discrimination against a woman in terms of male primacy has also a share in IFPs. In the proverbs under investigation, eight proverbs occur, making up 29% out of the total (27). See the following example which involves a reference to three opposites of people, of which, only a man and a woman are focused on, in addition, only the part related to them is translated for its relevance to the issue of gender discrimination:

Negative other- presentation

Metaphor

No.	ST	Literal Trans.	Reference
8.	"ثلاثة من الهبال: رفقة المرءة ويا الريال, والماشى ويا الخيال والخالى ويا الحمال"	Three are so foolish of a man to do: to go out with a woman ... .	(Aldileeshy,1968,p.196)

This proverb considers that it is foolish of a man to go out with a woman for some reasons. He may feel embarrassed when people gaze at her in public places, besides, walking with a woman who is not one of his relatives can cause scandal because a man accompanying a strange woman anywhere may raise suspicions about their chastity. The proverb above is used to refer to unlike things (Aldileeshy,1968). Based on Van Dijk, a woman in the company of a man in public is presented negatively in the proverb above. The metaphorical expression in the aforementioned proverb (*rifgat 'ilmarah\* wyārryāl*) (رفقة المرءة ويا الريال) is offensive to a woman in its own right even if figuratively conveying a concept far from the issue of sexism. It emphasizes a sexist belief in which a man going out with a woman who is his relative in public places, especially when people look at her, is seen as a shame and hurts his dignity and damages his honor in front of society, so, it is jealous of him not to accompany her in public. In addition, the relationship between a man and a woman who have no ties of kinship and who appear together in public places for any reason is subject to doubts about their chastity, especially a woman, because of rejecting the idea of gender-desegregation in the Iraqi society. The proverb above conveying the idea that a man who gets further away from a woman saves his dignity and maintains his honor indicates gender discrimination.

#### 4.5.5.Proverbs Indicating Tribalism

Mocking at a certain tribe called *M'dān* in the southern Iraq is reflected in IFPs used in everyday life. In the data collected, there are three proverbs that offend this tribe, forming 11% out of the total(27). Consider the following example:

Negative other- presentation

Generalization

No.	ST	Literal Trans.	Reference
9.	"بعي دك معيدي"	You are still M'adī ( from a tribe that lives in marshes in the south of Iraq).	(Aldileeshy,1968,p.141)

This proverb talks about *M'dān* which is a tribe that live in marshes and raise buffaloes and have an uncivilized life pattern. They are said to belong to 'M'ad bin 'adnān'(one of the prophet Muhammed's grandparents) but some historians state that they originated in India and displaced and inhabited in 'lbaṭā'ḥ, which is an area between Wasit and Basrah. Many Arab tribes never marry them or give them leadership due to their origin. The proverb above, means that whatever status *M'dān* reach, they are still those who are ignorant, barbaric, uncivilized and keep bad qualities(Aldileeshy,1968).In the light of Van Dijk's model, *M'adī*'s (singular) character is presented negatively in the proverb above. There is a popular belief in the Iraqi society that *M'dān* is a barbaric tribe that will remain backward in its thinking and lifestyle whatever position its members hold or status they have. For this reason, urbanized people reject and look down on them. Based on such a belief, the nickname *M'adī* referring to any member affiliating to that tribe is generalized to refer to every individual in case they develop primitive habits or say or do something uncivilized to derogate them and criticize their behavior. Despising *M'dān* and its life style and using its nickname to pejoratively refer to others not belonging to that tribe to mock at them indicates a sort of tribal intolerance against it in the Iraqi society.

## 5.Conclusion

From the previous analysis of the data collected, the following conclusion can be drawn:

1- In IFPs, there are certain groups of people who are presented positively or negatively depending on what matches the mood of the Iraqi society.



2- The ideological themes about the proverbial groups of people in IFPs are as follows:

- a. Derogating people with special needs.
- b. Racism against the blacks.
- c. Discrimination against male and female members of the family due to the conflict within it or due to gender discrimination.
- d. Gender discrimination based on marital status, beauty and male primacy.
- e. Tribal intolerance against *M'dān* due to their origin and their life style.

3- The selected IFPs are offensive to the aforementioned proverbial groups of people either in the structure or in the structure and the function. Although most of them occurring as metaphors represent a concept far from offending the said groups of people, the structure disparages them when they are used as symbols in a pejorative way.

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## Appendix

### Abbreviations used:

PWSNs= people with special needs, Discrim. = discrimination, N.O.P. = negative other- presentation, P.S.P. =positive self-presentation , Aldil = Aldileeshy, Hanafi = Al-Hanafi

Proverbs	Analysis Category	Groups of People	Ideological Themes
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			Proverbs Refer to		
ST	Literal. Trans.	Reference			
1. "اعمى ولكى خرزة"	As blind who finds a bead!	(Aldil,1968, p.76)	N.O.P. (Metaphor)	PWSNs	Discrim. Against PWSNs (derogating the blind and the crazy).
2. "ثلاث مايبردون الطفل, والوجه والمجنون"	Three are senseless: a child, a face and a mad person.	(Aldil,1968, p.76)			
3. "اعمى يكود بصير, من جلة التدبير"	How foolish it is that a blind guides a clear-eyed one!	(Hanafi,1962, p.46)			

4. "حرار ماجبروا كليبي عبيد اهل الفسا؟"	Free-men have never touched my heart, how could farting black slaves have?	(Aldil.,1968, p.265)			
5. "دليلكم عبد المبرطم , شاف السراب وكام يلطم".	Your guide is a black slave with a big mouth who starts lapping his chest.	(Hanafi,196 2, p.177).	N.O.P. (Metaphor and generalizatio n)	The blacks	Racism (generalizing the word 'slaves' to all the blacks to offend them).
6. "مثل جوزات العبد مخليهن بجرايه ويخرخش بيهن"	Like black slave's nuts( not for eating) just for rattles!	(Hanafi,196 4, p.66)			
7. "الخال خلي والعم ولي"	(Maternal) uncle is a stranger, whereas (paternal) uncle is a patron.	(Aldil.,1968, p.292)	N.O.P. and P.S.P. (Categorizati on).	Househol d members of the same degree of kinship	Discrim. against maternal uncles and bias towards paternal uncles (gender affinity).
8. "تتباهي الكرعة بشعر اختها"	A bald woman glories herself in her sister's hair!	(Hanafi,196 2, p.113)	N.O.P. (Metaphor)	Woman	Gender discrim. based on beauty (preferring a woman with thick hair and insulting

					a bald woman).
"الرجال. 9. يريد الغوية, والعيال يريدون القوية"	A man wants the attractive woman, but the household needs the strong one.	(Hanafi, 1964, p.243)	N.O.P. (Actor description)	Woman	Gender discrim. based on beauty (choosing only a beautiful woman as a wife and considering her a servant to her husband's family).
"ولد 10. مجنون ولا بنت خاتون"	A mad boy is better than a highly disciplined girl!	(Hanafi,1964, p.160)	P.S.P. and N.O.P. (Comparison)	Woman	Gender discrim.
"السؤال 11. نثية ,"	A question is a female and	(Hanafi,1962, p.198)	N.O.P. and P.S.P. (Metaphor)	Woman	Gender discrim.



والجواب "ذكر"	an answer is a male!				
12. "النسوان عسكر الشيطان"	Women are Satan's army!	(Hanafi,196 4,p.141)	N.O.P. (Actor Description and metaphor)	Woman	Sexism (vilifying a woman).
13. "بيناتهم بيناتهم جنه كطب رحاتهم"	It is so bad of a man to keep sitting with women(as if an axis for them).	(Aldil.,1968, p.152)	N.O.P. (Metaphor)	Woman	Sexism (vilifying a woman).
14. "البنت غم ولو مريم"	A girl is an anguish even if she is the Virgin Mary.	(Hanafi,196 2, p.98)	N.O.P. (Actor description)	Woman	Sexism (vilifying a woman).
15. "جد المره مايبه ثمره"	A women's labor is of no use!	(Hanafi,196 2, p.163)	N.O.P. (Actor description)	Woman	Sexism (vilifying a woman).

<p>16. " البنت مزبلة بالعجل تكبر "</p>	<p>A girl is as garbage heap, both grow so quickly!</p>	<p>(Hanafi,1962, p.100)</p>	<p>N.O.P. (Actor description and metaphor)</p>	<p>Woman</p>	<p>Sexism (vilifying a woman).</p>
<p>17. " معيدي شرابي طلايب "</p>	<p>M'adī is often a troublemaker.</p>	<p>(Hanafi,1964, p.98)</p>	<p>N.O.P. (Actor description and generalization)</p>	<p>M'dān tribe</p>	<p>Tribal intolerance</p>
<p>18. " المعيدي ينكتل ويأدي الخاوة "</p>	<p>M'adī is both beaten and he offers a bribe.</p>	<p>(Hanafi, 1964, p.83)</p>	<p>N.O.P. (metaphor)</p>		