Pragma-Discoursal Study of Turn-Taking in Arabic Conversations with Special Reference to the Glorious Quran

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Abstract

This paper focuses on the strategies of turn-taking in Arabic with reference to the Quranic Sura of Maryam . Generally, any conversation should be skillfully modeled by observing the patterns of opening and closing an exchange. A speaker who has poor management of turn-taking rules will lead to incoherent communication. If he doesn't contribute to a conversation rightfully, the conversation may end abruptly.

The study investigates the proper exchanges by pointing out who, when and how a speaker may hold the floor. The Glorious Quran adopts a strategy of starting a conversation with an opening sentence, developing exchanges between partners (two or three exchangers) and ending with a closing sentence. It has a unique technique of selecting three or more partners who exchange a turn interchangeably. Also, it manipulates all grammatical, lexical and rhetorical features in order to maintain the intended unity of conversation. Commentators of the Glorious Quran may resort to these techniques in giving their judgments.

The study is to answer the following questions; what are the possible patterns of turn-taking in the Glorious Quran? Are there any unique linguistic features of the Glorious Quran in this respect? It is hypothesized that the Glorious Quran, looking for eloquence, tends to adopt a procedure of involving three or more partners, which rarely exists in everyday speech. The study assumes a number of factors which may affect turn-taking in the Quranic conversation such as age, sex, psychology and the social rank of interlocutors.

المستخلص

تركز الدراسة الحالية حول ستراتيجيات الحوار في اللغة العربية بالاشارة الى بعض الايات القرانية في سورة مريم. لابد من ترتيب المحادثة من خلال معرفة بداية ونهاية الحديث. اي متحدث لايجيد اداراة الحديث سوف يودى الى غياب التناسق ما يجعل المحادثة سيئه و متقطعه.

توضح الدراسه الاساليب الصحيحة في المحادثة من خلال معرفة من هو؟ و متى ؟ وكيف يقوم المتحدث بدوره ؟ يحتوي القران الكريم اساليب صحيحة في هذا المجال مثل بدء المحادثة بجملة افتتاحية ومن ثم ديمومة الخطاب وبالتالي نهايته بجملة ختامية. ان الانتقال بين متحدث واخر يتطلب اعطاء بعض الاشارات النحوية و الدلالية و الصوتية. فاسلوب القران الكريم فريد من نوعه كونه يختار ثلاثة او اكثر من المتحدثين في ان واحد. كما انه يستخدم كل المميزات النحوية والدلالية والصوتية من اجل ديمومة المحادثة وبالتالي قد يلجا اليها المفسرون للنصوص القرانية.

تقدم الدراسه تساؤلات عدة منها: ما الصيغ المقبولة لتبادل الحديث في القران الكريم ؟ هل توجد هناك مميزات لغوية خاصة بالقران الكريم؟ تفترض الدراسة ان القران الكريم يستخدم اسلوب الخطاب الجماعي بصفته اسلوبا بلاغيا وهذا غير موجود في الحديث المتداول. كما تفترض الدراسة مجموعة عوامل توثر في اخذ الدور في القران الكريم منها العمر وجنس المتحدث ونفسيته والحاله الاجتماعيه.

1. Conversation: Definition and Procedures

A conversation refers to a set of "exchanges which are initiated and interpreted according to intuitively understood and socially acquired rules and norms of conversational cooperation" (Richards and Richard, 1983:122). It is a dynamic process of interaction where people communicate their thoughts, behaviours, etc. Successful communication requires a mutual response between participants who take the floor in a certain context of situation.

Conversational analysts regard a conversation as an art or a skill that can be polished and refined so that some native speakers are better in this respect than others (ibid: 42). Each community has its own conventions of speech and patterns of turn-taking which vary from one community into another. These patterns are binding conditions and must be respected during speech. So, participants are not allowed to speak in a haphazard way neglecting the normal procedures of turn-taking.

As mentioned above, the strategies of conversation vary from one culture into another and from one society into another. For example, the elderly people have the freedom to manage and lead a conversation without taking any loyal permission from other partners (mainly young partners). This idea is part of religious and social Arab traditions. Young people cannot start their role in front of elder people unless taking prior permission. According to the Quranic principles, Muslims are not allowed to start speech in the presence of the Prophet (PBUH) or elder people as shown in the following Aya';

O you who believe! Do not put (yourselves) forward before Allah and His Messenger (SAW), and fear Allah. Verily! Allah is All-Hearing, All-Knowing.

(Al-Hilali and Khan, Al-Hujraat: 1)

Ibn Katheer (1999, vol.7: 340) comments on this point by saying that Allah Almighty teaches Muslims the proper behaviour. They should not start anything in the presence of the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) without taking permission. This strategy applies also for elderly people as part of Arab traditions.

2. Turn-Taking and Adjacency Pairs

Coates and Spence (2001: 510) define turn-taking as "A model to explain the orderly sequencing patterns found in many conversations whereby one speaker speaks at a time and speaker change recurs...". Turn-taking is a very significant procedure in conversational analysis since it accounts for the proper way of communication. It mainly accounts for the social patterns which allow people to communicate successfully avoiding any sense of embarrassment. Generally, it is a social action which operates in accord with the social conventions of a particular society (local management system). Turn-taking is socially constructed and may cause problems for non-native speakers attempting to engage in a conversation (Richards and Richard, 1983:142).

Sometimes, speakers may use some expressions as terminal clues at the end of a turn. Terminal clues are short turns which have a grammatical form of tag-question and positioned as address terms of endearment (ibid: 268). English people use words such as "okay", "alright" and "right" to serve this function. Arabs may use the short expressions "وبعدين ", and " ثم ماذا ؟ " (what else ?) as terminal clues.

3. Models of Turn Taking Construction

According to Sacks et al. (1974: 702-703), there are two separate, but interrelated components: a turn constructional component and a turn allocation component. In any turn, there are turn constructional units (henceforth: TCU) which can be either words, phrases, clauses or sentences In everyday conversation, there is only one person who speaks at a time and transition from one speaker into another occurs smoothly with few gaps and little overlap (ibid: 701).

Sacks et al. (1974: 722-23) propose a number of possible completions: grammatical completion, when there is a syntactically complete unit, and intonational completion, when there is an intonation contour which indicates the end of speech. Thirdly and most importantly, the TCU needs to be complete as an action (pragmatic completion) which accounts for things that need to be done in a conversation. For example, having asked a question requires an answer or to issue an invitation, etc.

Coates and Spence (2001: 511) recognize two models of language exchange one at a time and the collaborative model. The former refers to the state where a single speaker takes the floor with no interruption from other partners. The collaborative model takes place when the floor is potentially open to all participants. However, the application of these models differs from one culture to another. Arabs usually adopt one at a time model which implies respect and reverence to both interlocutors. Thus, people are not allowed to interrupt speech as this may bring threat to their positive face. However, the Glorious Quran relies on the collaborative model by involving three or more partners in one exchange.

4. Factors Affecting Turn Taking

Turn-taking is a socio-pragmatic phenomenon which has an important role in everyday communication. It is not a random process but a systematic one which encompasses patterns of successful interaction. Communication is not only uttering meaningful sentences but how to rule these sentences, how to participate in interaction and how to share the floor in a real context of situation. A speaker may not have the choice to enroll the turn because of some psychological and social factors.

4.1. The Rank of Interlocutor

Post-Expansion 1 (1st PP)

In sociolinguistics, the term rank designates the social status of the interlocutor. Mehrabian (1974: 89) comments on this point by saying there is mutual relation between the rank of the speaker and turn- taking. The high-rank person has more commitment in speech. Thus, he often interrupts the speech and creates long silences. (ibid: 90)

Just like the English People, Arabs have the same attitude of speaker-hearer relation. The following conversation holds between two partners: the Prophet Zakariya (the first pair part: 1st PP) and Allah Almighty (the second pair part: 2nd PP). The Glorious Quran has two important features of holding a conversation; a partner cannot start without an introductory statement (opening sentence). Secondly, the conversation has a closing sentence which initiates the next turn. Everyday conversations may not have the same techniques of sharing the floor. The Prophet Zakariya, in this exchange, pleads Allah for a boy to inherit him.

رَبِّ أَنَّى يَكُونُ لِي غُلُكُم وَكَانَتِ ٱمْرَأَتِي عَاقِرًا وَقَدْ بِلَغْتُ مِنَ ٱلْكِبْرِ عِبْيًا ۞

In (turn 1), Allah Almighty starts with an opening sentence narrating the story of Zakariya. The Prophet Zakariya manipulates all forms of politeness through opting for some pre-sequences of reverence. He observes the politeness strategies through private request to Allah. Ibn Katheer (1999: 187) comments on this point by saying that Allah loves pious hearts and listens to secret call. This idea is revealed when Zakariya says; "My Lord! Indeed my bones have grown feeble, and grey hair has spread on my head, And I have never been unblest in my invocation to You, O my Lord! (Al-Hilali and Khan, Maryam: 4). He uses exaggerated sense of request as reflected in the two expansions of piety. Ibn Katheer (1999: 189) shows that Allah (2nd PP) accepts his pleading through implicit statements.

In (turn 2), Zakariya (1st PP) adopts two post-expansions which show astonishment for having a child. He could not realize the situation because his wife was barren. For this reason, he asks Allah (2nd PP) to give him clear evidence. Allah replies that "Your sign is that you shall not speak unto mankind for three nights, though having no bodily defect." (Al-Hilali and Khan, Maryam: 10). Ibn Abbas says that his tongue was twisted from speech so he was able to praise Allah silently (Ibn Katheer, 1999: 191).

4.2. The Sex of Interlocutor

Giles et al (1979: 351) state that "it is evident that social categories of age, sex, ethnicity, social class, and situation can be clearly marked on the basis of speech". Arabs give male persons much dominance than females in holding the floor. There is some social and religious prejudice to forbid women from taking the floor in the presence of males. According to Sacks et al (1974: 709), this priority is systematically and culturally recognized and is involved under local monitoring of hearing and understanding. Generally, women are dispreferred to take the role in the presence of men as this degrades their modesty. Ibn Katheer (1999, vol. 6: 363) states that Muslim women should not talk freely with strangers as they do with their husbands because this may lead to obscene desire by others. This stems from the Glorious Quran when Allah Almighty says;

"O wives of the Prophet! You are not like any other women. If you keep your duty (to Allah), then be not soft in speech, lest he in whose heart is a disease (of hypocrisy, or evil desire for adultery, etc.) should be moved with desire, but speak in an honourable manner."

Thus, women are recommended to lower their voice and have an observing role if compared to the involving role of men. The following extract is an exchange between five partners: Maryam (1st PP), Gabriel (2nd PP), Jesus (3rd PP), the People (4th PP) and Allah Almighty (5th PP). As an ordinary procedure, the Glorious Quran starts with an introductory statement about the story of Maryam;

قَالَ تَعَالَىٰ: وَٱذَٰكُرُ فِي ٱلْكِئْبِ مَرْيَمَ إِذِ ٱنتَبَذَتْ مِنْ أَهْلِهَا مَكَانًا شُرْقِيًا **Opening Sentence** فَأَتَّخَذَتْ مِن دُونِهِمْ جِحَابًا فَأَرْسَلْنَا ٓ إِلَيْهَا رُوحَنَا فَتَمَثَّلَ لَهَا بَشَرًا سَويًا ٧٧ Pre –Expansion (Turn 1) 1st PP (Maryam) (Turn 1) قَالَتَ إِنِّي أَعُوذُ بِٱلرَّحْمَلِ مِنكَ إِن كُنتَ تَقِيُّا ﴿ ﴾ 2nd PP (the Angel) (Turn 1) قَالَ إِنَّمَآ أَنَّا رَسُولُ رَبِّكِ لِأَهَبَ لَكِ غُلَمًا زَكِيًا اللَّهِ قَالَتَ أَنَّى يَكُونُ لِي غُلَمُّ وَلَمْ يَمْسَسْنِي بَثَيٌّ وَلَمْ أَكُ يَغِيُّانَ 1st PP (Turn 2) قَالَ كَذَلِكِ قَالَ رَبُّكِ هُوَ عَلَى هَيْنٌ وَلِنَجْعَلَهُ وَاينةً لِلنَّاسِ وَرَحْمَةً مِّنَّا وَكَاكَ أَمْراً مَقْضِيًّا ١٠٠٠ 2nd PP (Turn 2) فَحَمَلَتُهُ فَأُنتَبَدُ تُ بهِ عَمَكَانًا قَصِيًّا ﴿ اللَّهُ اللَّا اللَّهُ اللَّاللَّا اللَّاللَّا اللَّالِمُ اللَّا اللَّهُ اللَّا اللَّاللَّا الللَّهُ اللَّهُ الل **Pre-Expansion** (1st PP)(Turn 3) فَأَجَاءَهَا ٱلْمَخَاضُ إِلَى جِذْعِ ٱلنَّخْلَةِ Pre – Expansion (Turn 3) قَالَتْ يَكَلَتْنَيْ مِثُ قَبْلَ هَلْدًا وَكُنتُ نَسْيًا مَنْسِيًّا اللَّهِ 1st PP (Turn 3) فَنَادَ لِهَا مِن تَعِنْهَا ٓ أَلَّا تَخَزَنِي قَدْ جَعَلَ رَبُّكِ تَحْذَكِ سَرِيَّاكَ ۗ 2nd PP (the Angel) or 3rd PP (Jesus) (Turn 3) وَهُزَى إِلَيْكِ بِعِذْعِ ٱلنَّخْلَةِ شُلْقِطْ عَلَيْكِ رُطَبًا جَنيًا ﴿ وَهُزَى إِلَيْكِ بِعِذْعِ ٱلنَّخْلَةِ شُلْقِطْ عَلَيْكِ رُطَبًا جَنيًا ﴾ Post –Expansion 1 (2nd PP or 3rd PP : Turn 3) فَكُلِي وَالشِّرَبِي وَقَرَى عَيْنَا فَإِمَّا تَرَينًا مِنَ ٱلْبَشَرِ أَحَدًا Post –Expansion 2 (2nd PP or 3rd PP : Turn 3) فَقُولِيَ إِنِي نَذَرْتُ لِلرَّمْ إِن صَوْمًا فَلَنْ أُكِلِم الْيَوْمَ إِنسِيًا ﴿ Post – Expansion 3 (2nd PP or 3rd PP : Turn 3) ﴿ الْيَوْمَ إِنسِينًا ﴿ اللهِ اللهِ عَلَى اللهُ اللهُ عَلَى اللّهُ عَلَى الللّهُ عَلَى اللّهُ عَلَى اللّهُ عَلَى اللّهُ عَلَى اللّهُ عَلَى اللّهُ عَلَى اللّهُ عَلَى الللّهُ عَلَى اللّهُ عَلَى الللّهُ عَلَى اللّهُ عَلَى اللّهُ عَلَى اللّهُ عَلَى اللّهُ عَلَى اللّ فَأَتَتُ بِهِ عَدُّ مَهَا تَحْمِلُهُ Pre -Expansion (Turn 4)(Non-Verbal Action) قَالُواْ يَكُمُ لِعَدُ لِقَدْ جِنْتِ شَيْحًا فَرِيًّا ١٠٠٠ 4th PP (her people) (Turn 4) Post –Expansion (4th PP Turn 4) يَتُأْخُتَ هَـُرُونَ مَاكَانَ أَنُوك آمَراً سَوْءٍ وَمَاكَانَتُ أُمُّك بَعْتًا (١٠)

1st PP (Turn 4) (Non-Verbal Action by Signing) فَأَشَارَتَ إِلَيْهِ قَالُواْ كَيْفَ نُكِيِّمُ مَن كَانَ فِ ٱلْمَهْدِ صَيِيًّا ﴿ 4th PP (Turn 4) قَالَ إِنِّي عَبْدُ ٱللَّهِ ءَاتَىٰنَى ٱلْكِنْبَ وَجَعَلَنِي بَيْتًا اللَّهِ 3rd PP (Jesus) (Turn 4) وَجَعَلَنِي مُبَارَكًا أَيْنَ مَاكُنتُ Expansion 1 (3rd PP: Turn 4) وَأَوْصَانِي بِٱلصَّلَوْةِ وَٱلرَّكَوْةِ مَا ذُمْتُ حَيًّا ﴿ ﴾ Expansion 2 (3rd PP 1: Turn 4) وَبَرُّ اللَّهِ بَوْلِدَتِي وَلَمْ يَجْعَلْنِي جَبَّارًا شَقِيًّا ﴿ اللَّهِ اللَّهِ اللَّهِ اللَّهُ Expansion 3 (3rd PP: Turn 4) وَالسَّلَامُ عَلَيَّ بَوْمَ وُلِدتُّ وَنَوْمَ أَمُوتُ وَبَوْمَ أَبْعَثُ حَيًّا ﴿ اللَّهُ اللَّهُ عَلَيْ بَعْثُ حَيًّا Expansion 4 (3rd PP: Turn 4) ذَلِكَ عِيسَى ٱبْنُ مَرْيَمُ قُولِكَ ٱلْحَقِّ ٱلَّذِي فِيدِ يَمْتَرُونَ اللهُ 5th PP (Allah Almighty) (Turn 4) مَا كَانَ لِلَّهِ أَن نَنْجُذَ مِن وَلَدِ سَبِحَنَهُ وَ إِذَا قَضَى آمُرا فَإِنَّما يَقُولُ لَهُ. كُن فَيكُونُ اللهِ أَن نَنْجُذَ مِن وَلَدِ سَبِحَنَهُ وَإِذَا قَضَى آمُرا فَإِنَّما يَقُولُ لَهُ. كُن فَيكُونُ اللهِ أَن نَنْجُذَ مِن وَلَدِ سَبِحَنَهُ وَإِذَا قَضَى آمُرا فَإِنَّما يَقُولُ لَهُ. كُن فَيكُونُ اللهِ أَن وَإِنَّ اللَّهُ رَبِّي وَرَئِكُمْ فَأَعْبُدُوهُ هَٰذَا صِرَطٌ مُّسْتَقِيمٌ ﴿ اللَّهُ اللَّهُ مُسْتَقِيمٌ Post –Expansion (3rd PP: Turn 4) (سورة مريم: الآيات 16-36)

Generally, the preceding exchange has five partners talking about the creation of Jesus (PBUH). According to Sacks et al. (1974:712), turn-taking " favours, by virtue of its design, smaller numbers of participants." In the Glorious Quran, the rule seems to be unworkable because the normal procedure involves more than two partners. All partners talk interchangeably without interruption.

In conversational analysis, there are three types of expansion (pre-expansion, expansion and post-expansion). Both speaker and hearer may resort to expansion in order to clarify the turn. For example, pre-expansions are designed to elaborate on base sequences and are treated as preludes to some other actions (Liddicoat,

2007: 136). Pre-sequences come in the form of generic pre-sequences or type-specific pre-sequences. Allah Almighty starts this exchange with a generic pre-sequence about the story of Maraym. The following extract (turn 3) has two interpretations because Maryam (1st PP) was unmarried and people accused her of adultery after Jesus' birth. For this reason, she says "Would that I had died before this, and had been forgotten and out of sight!" (Al-Hilali and Khan, Maryam : 23). The second interlocutor could be either the Gabriel (2nd PP) or Jesus (3rd PP) who replied to her by saying:

Then (the babe Iesa (Jesus) or Jibrael (Gabriel)) cried unto her from below her, saying: "Grieve not! Your Lord has provided a water stream under you;

The statement ' فناداها من تحتها ' (cried unto her from below her) could be either an adverbial expression referring to Gabriel or a nominal sentence indicating Jesus. Both interpretations are accepted in terms of linguistic and religious texts. Ibn Katheer (1999, Vol. 5:198) comments on this Aya' by saying that ' من تحتها ' (from underneath) refers either to Jesus or Gabriel.

In (turn 4), there are four partners (Allah Almighty, Maryam, the People, and Jesus) who emphasize the idea of worshiping Allah. Maryam (1st PP) uses signs instead of speech according to the order of Allah (5th PP) because Jesus will defend her against disbelievers in a marvelous and miraculous way. Generally, both linguistic and extra-linguistic factors are important in turn-taking and a speaker may express his intention through non-linguistic acts as facial expressions, intonation patterns and gestures. Mehrabian (1974: 88) states that "non-verbal behavior is …used to communicate feelings, likings and preferences and it customarily reinforces…the feelings that are communicated verbally".

Though (turn 4) has five interlocutors, the transition relevance point has no interruption because all speakers share exchange without interruption. The preceding text reflects a female exchange because Maryam does not share speech continuously. She uses only four turns if compared to her son 'Jesus 'who uses nine turns and expansions. This emphasizes the idea of male dominance in Islam. Also, Maryam retains to sign language in her speech by asking her people (4th PP) to talk with the early born child. Jesus (3rd PP) starts his speech by saying "Verily! I am a slave of Allah...." (Al-Hilali and Khan , Maryam: 30). In return, Allah Almighty (5th PP) ends this exchange ascertaining the idea of creation of Jesus.

4.3. The Age of Interlocutor

There is mutual correspondence between the age of the person and turn-taking because elder people have more freedom to take the floor. Arab elderly people have the legibility to break down the rules of turn-taking. Moreover, they can interfere in a conversation without any prerequisite permission. They also run the floor through altering turns in a conversation. Moreover, they are allowed to manipulate their roles by adding, changing, starting or closing their turns. This is highly emphasized in the Glorious Quran and prophetic traditions as part of politeness strategy.

In non-verbal communication, Arabs usually resort to eye-avoidance as part of social respect to mature people. It is more frequent among people of approximately the same age to maintain eye-contact. However, it is not acceptable when dealing with elders or young women, in which case polite deference is required (Nydell, 2006: 99). In the West, the point is different because there is a common tradition to observe speakers during speech. Indirect observation of a speaker may be interpreted as disrespect. The following exchange has two partners; the Prophet Ibrahim (1st PP) and his father (2nd PP). In this context of situation, the Prophet Ibrahim requests his father to accept faith in Allah Almighty;

This exchange has a basic sequence (turn1) and other three expansions made by Ibrahim. He reminds his father of rewarding and punishment of Allah. These expansions occupy a common position after the first pair part and supply an underlying structure to the coherence of a text. A sequence operates either retrospectively on the first pair part or prospectively on the second pair part (Schegloff, 2007: 114).

The preceding turn expresses the typical son-father relation. Ibrahim was completely polite in his speech by using well-chosen lexical and grammatical structures. He said, "O my father! Verily! I fear lest a torment from the Most Beneficent (Allah) overtake you, so that you become a companion of Shaitan (Satan) (in the Hell-fire)" (Al-Hilali and Khan, Maryam: 45). However, his father was arrogant and disobedient to Allah's teachings because he wanted to punish

Ibrahim "If you stop not (this), I will indeed stone you. So get away from me safely before I punish you" (ibid; 46). Though, this speech is a threat to Ibrahim (1st PP), it corresponds to the principles of father's respect. Allah Almighty orders sons to highly respect their parents even when sons are mistreated. Moreover, they should use the utmost respectable expressions when talking to their parents as mentioned in the following Aya';

And your Lord has decreed that you worship none but Him. And that you be dutiful to your parents. If one of them or both of them attain old age in your life, say not to them a word of disrespect, nor shout at them but address them in terms of honour.

Ibrahim replies to his father's warning with two respectable post-expansions by saying," Peace be upon you and I will ask Allah's forgiveness to you being my father." This exchange expresses the real son-father relation which presumably is based on respect. Ibn Katheer (1999, Vol. 5 : 209) states that the statement (peace be upon you) means that" I have no hatred against you for the sake of the mercy of paternity."

Conclusions

The present study is a pragma-discoursal analysis of turn-taking in the Glorious Qur'an with reference to Maryam Sura. It has come out with crucial understanding about the language of Glorious Quran;

- 1. The Glorious Quran resorts to some techniques of eloquence in taking the floor and exchanging turns between speakers. This concerns the involvement of two or more partners in a conversation. However, an ordinary conversation may not exceed two partners.
- 3. It adopts non-verbal communication to express the intention of the speaker when Maryam signs to Jesus meaning "You can talk to him." Though, this technique is adopted only in spoken language, the Glorious Quran has manipulated this idea appropriately.
- 4. It highly respects the norms of politeness especially in terms of son-father relation. This idea is observed by Ibrahim (PBUH) in talking with his father very politely.

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