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A Contrastive Critical Discourse Analysis of the American Constitution and Imam Ali's (p.b.u.h.) Epistle to Malik Al-Ashter

A Thesis

Submitted to the Council of the College of Education for Human Sciences, University of Babylon as a Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements for the Degree of Masterin Education in English Language/ Language

BY

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بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

(يَا أَيُّهَا الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا كُونُوا قَوَّامِينَ بِالْقِسْطِ شُهَدَاءَ لِلَّهِ وَلَوْ عَلَى أَنفُسِكُمْ أَوِ الْوَالِدَيْنِ وَالْأَقْرَبِينَ)

(النساء:١٣٥)

صدق الله العلي العظيم

In the name of Allah, the Most Merciful, the Compassionate

(O ye who believe! stand out firmly for justice, as witnesses to Allah, even as against yourselves, or your parents, or your)

kin)

Almighty Allah, The Most High has told the truth (Ali, 1987: 44).

(Al-Nesaa, 135)

Supervisor's Certificate

I certify that this thesis entitled **(A Contrastive Critical Discourse Analysis of the American Constitution and Imam Ali's (p.b.u.h.) Epistle to Malik Al-Ashter)** written by **(Samah Abdul-Sattar Al-Kaabi**)has been prepared under my supervision atthe College of Education for Human Sciences, University of Babylon as a Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements for the Degree of Masterin Education in English Language/ Language.

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Date: /   /2018

In view of the available recommendations, I forward this thesis for debate by the Examining Committee.

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Date: / / 2018

Examining Committee's Certificate

We certify that we have read this thesis (**A Contrastive Critical Discourse Analysis of the American Constitution and Imam Ali's (p.b.u.h.) Epistle to Malik Al-Ashter**) written by**(Samah Abdul-Sattar Al-Kaabi**)and, as Examining Committee, examined the student in its content, and that in our opinion it is adequate as a thesis for the degree of Masterin Education in English Language/ Language.

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Dedication

To my spiritual father without whom I am nothing,

To my parents, sisters and brothers,

To my husband and daughters,

With love and gratitude

Acknowledgments

Abstract

The present study is an attempt to apply Critical Discourse Analysis (henceforth, CDA) to analyse two texts, namely, The American Constitution(henceforth, AC) and Imam Ali's (p.b.u.h.) Epistle to Malik Al-Ashter (henceforth, IAE). The main task of the present study is to analyse the two texts critically and contrastively. This analysis could be done by answering the following questions: (1)How are AC and IAE constructed linguistically? (2)What are the texts that AC and IAE draw on? And how? (3) How are ideologies expressed in AC and IAE depending on the linguistic and intertextual analyses?

The procedures adopted in the present study are: (1) presenting a theoretical account of critical discourse analysis as well as a brief account of the two texts under study. (2) Developing an eclectic model of analysis based on Van Dijk (1980 and 2013), Bazerman (2004), and Fairclough (1989). (3) Analysing the two textsqualitatively and quantitatively when possible. The syntactic analysis and part of semantic analysis are carried out by followingquantitative as well as qualitative methods whereas a quantitative method only is applied for lexical analysis.

The present study has concluded the following: (1) Linguistically, AC and IAE have different linguistic structures as shown by the analyses of the macro and micro structures. (2) Intertextually, AC and IAE have been influenced by different texts which help in revealing different ideologies embedded in the two texts. (3) Ideologically, ideologies upon which AC and IAE are built diverge between secular and religious respectively in addition to other ideologies such asliberalism, human rights, democracy, racism sexism, and anti-racism. These different ideologies are reflected linguistically in the construction of the two texts.

List of Abbreviations

Abbreviated Form	Full Form
AC	The American Constitution
CDA	Critical Discourse Analysis
CL	Corpus Linguistics
DA	Discourse Analysis
DHA	Discourse Historical Approach
DRMC	The Declaration of The Rights of Man and Citizen
IAE	Imam Ali's (p.b.u.h.) Epistle
MC	The Magna Carta
PC	The Constitution of Pennsylvania
RH	Risalat Al-Huquq
SR	Social Representations
UDHR	Universal Declaration of Human Rights

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Chapter One

Introduction

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA,henceforth) is defined as discourseanalyticalresearch whose main concern is studying spoken and written texts to find out how social-power abuse and discriminationare legislated, reproduced and struggled in the social and political situations (Van Dijk, 2015a:466).It is intended in the present study to apply CDA for the analysis of the two texts:The American Constitution andImam Ali's (p.b.u.h.) Epistle to Malik Al-Ashter. AC and IAE are considered two culturally, socially and politically valuable constitutions. Both are similar in dealing with issues of systematising people's lives by establishing some rules to organise society. They are created to delineate the relationships between governments and citizens. Issues of human rights are involved also within the construction of the two texts.

1.1 The Problem

The present study is an attempt to analyse these two texts since, to the researcher's best knowledge, they have not been investigated critically and contrastively yet. The following points show the construction of the present study which start from the following questions:

1. How are AC and IAE constructed linguistically, specifically atthe macro and micro levels?

2.What are the texts that AC and IAE draw on? And how?

3. How are ideologies expressed in AC and IAE depending on the linguistic and intertextual analyses?

1.2 The Aims

The present study aims at the following:

1. Identifying the similarities and differences between the macro and micro structures of the two texts under study. At the macro level, the thematic and schematic analyses will be done. At the micro level, the syntactic, semantic and lexical analyses will be done. The syntactic level deals with passivisation and transitivity whereas the semantic level consists of the strategies of modality and categorization. Finally, the lexical level includes the analysis of some expressions.

2. Tracing the prior texts that influence AC and IAE intertextually.

3. Finding out the ideologies andshowing the ways through which they are expressed in the two texts to achieve the aims of the two texts.

1.3 The Hypotheses

It is hypothesized that

1.The macro structures of the two texts differ thematically and schematically. At the micro level, the two texts are hypothesized to be different concerning syntactic, semantic and lexical levels.

2. At the intertextual analysis, AC draws heavily upon the Magna Carta and the states constitutions, whereas IAE focuses on the Quranic verses and the Prophet Mohammed's(p.b.u.h.) traditions.

3. The ideologies of AC are: secularism, liberalism, human rights, democracy, racism and sexism. On the other hand, the ideologies of IAE are: Islamic, human rights, anti-racism. In addition, the diverse ideologies adopted by the texts' producers are reflected in different linguistic ways.

1.4 The Procedure

In order to fulfil the aims, the following procedures are followed:

   1. Presenting a theoretical account ofCDA as well as a brief account of the two texts under study.

2. CDA will lead the study by following an eclectic model of analysis based on Van Dijk's(1980) and(2013), Bazerman's (2004), and Fairclough's (1989).

3. Analysing the two textsqualitatively and quantitatively when possible. The syntactic analysis will be carried out following a quantitative as well as qualitative method, whereas the quantitative method is applied in the semantic and lexical analyses.

1.5 The Limits

The present study limits itself to AC and IAE. Concerning IAE, the original (Arabic) text is analysed because it is a contrastive study so that the text is analysed in its source language without resorting to the translated version of the text as it might cause the text to lose its essence. It is a contrastive and critical analysis dealing with the schematic and thematic structure within the macro analysis. The micro analysis consists of three levels of analysis: syntactic, semantic, and lexical levels. The intertextual analysis will be done according to specific producers of analysis. The third point is concerned with the ideological analysis of the texts which reveals the hidden ideologies within the texts.

1.6 The Value

It is hoped that the present study could be of some significance to the individuals who are keen on studying CDA theoretically and practically. Theoretically, it tries to offer some contribution, though little, to linguistics. Practically, it is directed for addressees (listeners and readers) in order not to be misguided when listening or reading as well as addressers (writers and speakers) to be influencing people.

Chapter Two

Literature Review

2. Introduction

This chapter is of ninesections. The first ones are concerned with the theoretical background of CDA starting from its history,some concepts related to CDA, principles, theories, and previous studies. The second one gives a theoretical background of the two texts under study, namely,AC and IAE

2.1 Theoretical Background of CDA

2.1.1 History of DA

Van Dijk (1985b:1) states that the historical and general view of Discourse Analysis (henceforth DA) dates back to the beginning of linguistics since DA is one of the developments of linguistic theories. In other words, DA can be considered an old and new field. It is old in the sense that its roots belong to the study of language and literature 2000 years ago. So that, one of its sources is the classical rhetoric which is involved in the arrangement, organization, and performance of political and legal speech. In this way, classical rhetoric contributes to both contemporary stylistics and structural analyses of discourse. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, classical rhetoric missed much of its significance and a new discipline has emerged and replaced it; it is historical and comparative linguistics.

Van Dijk (ibid.:4) adds thatnew disciplines such as comparative linguistics, which emerged in the eighteenth century, and structural linguistics which, emerged in the nineteenth century, become the primary

discipline in humanities after the declination of the classical rhetoric. In addition to comparative and structural approaches, generative and functional approaches contribute also to developing language study. Such developments of the humanities and social sciences, then, help to the emergence of DA.The emergence of DA is considered   an outcome of the inquiry in many fields such as sociology, psychology, and anthropology in addition to the   linguistic research (Trappes-Lomax 2004:133).

The role of DA, according to Paltridge (2012:2) is to observe these patterns of language that are used in texts,then, to recognise the connection between language and the related social and cultural contexts. He(ibid.) suggests that the term DA was first introduced by Harris in 1952 as a manner to analyse connected speech and writing. His main interest is to study language beyond the level of the sentence and to examine the relationships between linguistic and non-linguistic behaviour.

Consequently, Gee (2014:n.p.) proposes that there are various approaches to DA, each one has a special concern. Some of these approaches deal with the content while others with the theme of the language. The structure of the language also constitutes main concern to some other approaches to DA. He(ibid.) mentions also two other approaches to DA, the first one is a descriptive approach which deals primarily with how language works with the aim of understanding it. The second approach is a critical one which is concerned with providing deep explanation and it deals with some issues such as social, political, institutional problems and even the arguments in the world.

Critical Linguistics (CL) or CDA has emanated as an objection to the neutral nature of DA because of its descriptive orientation. Within this development of DA, language can be used as a tool for non-linguistic ends. It is a problem-oriented, interdisciplinary approach that is interested in studying social phenomena which are necessarily complex.CDA could be considered a reaction to the formal discourse analysis of the 1960s and 1970s which is classified as neutral or descriptive or uncritical.

2.1.2 Definition of DA

Brown and Yule(1983:1) suggest that DA is not limited to the description of the linguistic forms; it goes to study the purposes and functions which can be implied in those forms to serve in human concerns. This implies that the person who does DA should investigate what a language is used for which differs from the investigation of the formal properties of a language. Moreover, Fairclough(1992:28), sees DA as more than just language use: it is seen as a type of social practice . Baker and Ellece (2011:31) suggest that DA can also refer to how humans use language to communicate. According to them the word discourse itself has numerous meanings, one of its meanings refers to any form of language in use, to spoken language or naturally occurring language (ibid.:30). As a result, discourse analysis has many different meanings that are changing over time with the changing of the world and issues around it. Many approaches have been presented in this field each of them fit different issues and answer different questions.The present studyis concerned with one of these approaches to DA that is CDA. CDA is considered one of the newest approaches to DA that has emerged between 1960-1970.

2.1.3 Definition of CDA

Since this term includes three elements, discourse, analysis, and criticality, it would be logical to define each element separately.

Beginning with 'discourse', Stubbs(1983:1)defines discourse as 'language above the sentence or above the clause which lends itself to the analysis of text structure and pragmatics'. Hence, according to him the analysis of any discourse attempts to study the structure of language beyond the sentence (the clause) which in turn effects in studying large linguistic units such as written texts or spoken interactions.Hoey (1991:266), on the other hand, states that discourse can be regarded as an umbrella term that covers all aspects of language above the level of grammar.

Phillips and Jørgensen (2002:6) assert that discourse is not only restricted to written or spoken language, but also extends to include visual images.Beaugrande (2006: 39) suggests seven principles which have to be satisfied to qualify either a written or spoken text as a discourse. These principles are called 'the seven principles or standards of textuality'. They are :

- **Cohesion** refers to the relations among the linguistic forms such as the connection among words or sentences in a text.

- **Coherence** refers to the connection in meaning among statements which relates one statement to others.
- **Intentionality**refers to the intended meaning that has to be conveyed by the speaker.
- **Acceptability** means tosustain what hearers engage to do.
- **Informativity**means that any speakers have to add new information to the discourse.

- **Situationality** means to progress the circumstances of the interaction.
- **Intertextuality** refers to the connection between one text and other texts. This occurs when one text has an influence on the other texts especially if they have the same form or 'text type'.

It is not necessary to coincide all these principles in a text, since they are not considered equally important criteria in discourse studies, in other words, some of them are effective only in certain methods of the research (Wiśniewski, 2006:n.p.).

Here are some definitions of CDA:

Fairclough (1993:135)considers CDA as an approach that tries to explain the relationships of connection and determination between discursive practice, events and texts on the one hand , and wider social and cultural structures, relations and processes on the other hand. It also tries to examine how such practices, events and texts are revealed and are ideologically formed by relations of power. Moreover, it investigates how the obscurity of these relationships between discourse and society is itself a factor obtaining control and authority.

CDA, as Wodak (1995:204) states, is concerned with analysing obscure as well as obvious structural relationships of power and control as revealed in language. It is not a single or specific theory; instead it includes a variety of theories and approaches that have different models, methods, as well as agenda (Wodak,2002:7). It basically means the study of discourse in its social context; it tries to link models and approaches of discourse analysis with a social theory of discourse (Wodak and Meyer, 2001).

Van Dijk(2001:352) defines CDA as follows:

> CDA is 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 contexts in order to reveal, and eventually resist social injustices.

This operational definition indicates that CDA deals with the matters of inequality of social and political power relationships between language users. The basic concern of CDA is to recognize and then resist the cases of inequality linguistically. It also deals with the production and reproduction of power and dominance on the one hand, and the resistance to the dominance, on the other hand through texts and talks, this helps in making a change in any society.

2.2 Political Discourse

Taiwo(2010:562) defines political discourse as one type of discourse practices which is used by politicians and other special institutions to be directed to the citizen. Such type of discourse is involved in political activities. It includes political speeches whether in parliaments or in other places such as interviews, propaganda, and slogans among others. Chilton(1990),Van Dijk(1998), and Obeng (1999), apply this concept to any spoken or written texts that may have political effects or that may impact the total interaction techniques politically (Hartford andObden,2002:20). He adds(ibid.) that there are no specific procedures to determine the texts as political discourse by its generic characteristics as its form or content, but we can judge this by its contexts only.

2.3 Legal Discourse

Legal discourse is a historically and rhetorically organised product. Goodrich(1987: xi) states that the reasons leading to consider this type of discourse a unitary language and separate scientific discipline is its

nature that helps to recognize the socio- historical and political attractions within its structure. He adds that critical studies deal with the concept of legal discourse as " a language of power, as the purist of control over meaning and as instrument and expression of domination".

2.4 Criticality in DA

One of the crucial questions that is raised by linguists is what makes DA critical? A distinctive character in CDA is its critical attitude. Unlike other non-critical approaches, CDA is concerned with demonstrating the way power and ideologies cooperate in order to shape discourse, and the way discourse affects the social identities which are normally not apparent to participants in addition to describing discursive practices (Fairclough,1992:12). CDA takes a critical perspective to show connections and causes that are hidden by decoding the operations of ideology, for the discursive patterns of ideology can conceal features of the social world (Weiss and Wodak,2003:37).

CDA is critical because it is rooted in a radical critique of social relations with the aim of changing them (Billig,2003:38). The critical aspect is that of directing its job to the explication of the way in which language is employed for exercising socio-political control (Widdowson,2004:89). According to Fairclough (2003:205), CDA has a critical attitude since it is mutually socially - as well as linguistically- oriented. This first feature (i,e. being socially –oriented) has prepared it to grasp what is known as 'social practices' or 'moments' which contain both 'socio-cultural practices' and 'discursive practices'.

Rogers (2004:3) gives three interpretations for the critical side of CDA. The first is that it denotes a refusal of various concepts like naturalism, neutrality, and rationality. In 'naturalism', social practices, labels, and programs are thought to present reality whereas rationality

assumes that the truth is the result of science and logic. Neutrality assumes that the truth does not reflect any particular interests. Where neutrality is strongly tried to be preserved by (uncritical) discourse analysts, the critical discourse analysts' intentions are deliberately not neutral. The second interpretation of the critical side of CDA is that CDA is concerned with describing, interpreting and explaining the relationship between the form and function in language. The third interpretation for the critical side of the CDA is that CDA overtly addresses and resolves social problems by analysing and accompanying actions whether they are social or political ones.

Morley (2004:20) asserts that viewing language from a critical opinion is important in two different points: first, it helps in exposing hidden connections between language, ideology and power . Second, it repels and converts unfair and dominating linguistic practices.

Wodak and Meyer (2009: 6) mention that a social theory is employed in criticising and changing society in order to raise its understanding by participating social sciences in producing knowledge that aids people to make self –reflection which in turn helps in releasing themselves from domination of others.

2.5 Main Concepts Related to CDA

2.5.1 Ideology

Ideology has a hard contact to CDA since it represents one of its typical notions. Similarly, various scholars give it different definitions.

It is defined as " a set of beliefs which are publicly expressed, with the manifest purpose of influencing the orientation and action of others"(Zentner,1973:75) .

Mayer (1982:15) defines ideology as some intentions which could be considered legal as they compose a set of beliefs of the individual adopting them. It can be used to direct action to identify the goal as well as the range of an acceptable course of actions to be taken. In addition, he mentions some of its characteristics.

1-Ideology is a set of values.

2- A quality of an organization that is set to affect others' actions.

3-It depends on the goals of the organization.

Other definitions of ideology are suggested by Fairclough (1989:94). He defines it as 'ideas which arise from a given set of material interests'. Ideology is alsoconsidered to him a kind of domination which is built on the following components: unions, the integration of subsidiary groups, and the consent. Ideologies are seen also as ''constructions of reality.... which are built into various dimensions of the forms/meanings of discursive practices, and which contribute to the production, reproduction or transformation of relations of domination'' Fairclough (1992: 87). He tries to highlight the idea that ideology is a representation of reality that could be reflected in the meaning as well as the forms of texts.

Van Dijk (1995b:139) mentions that ideologies should not be regarded as being negative only. On the contrary, there are ideologies for dominated groups alongside with those of dominant groups. The ideologies of the dominant groups are put to legitimize their power or dominance while the dominated ideologies are put to reach a change and resistance. Moreover, Van Dijk(1995a:19) asserts that ideologies have cognitive functions since they organize, observe, and control certain group opinions.They also dominate the construction and purpose of sociocultural awareness. He adds also,since ideologies are considered socially and cognitively, they basically link between "the cognitive representations and processes underlying discourse and action, on the one hand, and the societal position

and interests of social groups, on the other hand"(ibid.:18). Wodak(2001: 1) relates the notion of ideology to the explanation and interpretation of texts.

In sum, ideology is considered a crucial element of CDA since it refers to explicit or implicit ideas which form any given texts. These ideas may have a set of values. It is not necessary to be true or false, instead it is necessary to refer to a long struggle between two sides: what is already found and what should be dominated.

2.5.2 Power

Fairclough (1995:1) defines power as the way in which certain people access and control discourse through using various manners for producing, distributing and inspiring it.

Van Dijk (1996: 84) claims that power is seen as relations amongst social organizations, groups, and institutions. He distinguishes between two types of social power, namely, the one affecting others' action and the one concerned with their cognition. The first one is mainly based on force such as the military one. The other, on the other hand, is chiefly linked to professors, journalists and parents who depend on knowledge, authority, and information. He (1996:84) adds that the explanation of the relationship between discourse and social power and dominance is considered one of the major responsibilities of CDA. This type of analysis provides a description as well as an explanation of how dominant groups present and reproduce power by using text and talk. He ibid.:86) suggests that " access to discourse " is one of the crucial elements in the discursive reproduction of power and dominance. According to him "access to discourse" can reply the following inquiries:

Who may speak or write to whom, about what, when, and in what

context, or Who may participate in such communicative

events in various recipient roles, for instance as addressees, audience, bystanders and over hearers.

Holmes (2005:32) claims that power is a universal, transformative and non-static characteristic of communication which is legislated and questioned in any contact.

Hence, critical discourse analysts give emphasis to the way in which power is shaped and sustained in discourse by power abuse of the dominant groups, and resisted by the dominated ones.

Paltridge (2006:180) gives an overall definition to power describing it as the ability of a person or group to lead others by demonstrating their interests, and to perform in the interests of that group or individual. It is mainly about dissimilarity, and principally about the impact of such dissimilarities in peoples' lives.

Language is not powerful on its own; instead, it gains its power from being used by powerful people. Reisigl and Wodak (2009: 88) consider power as the possibility that an individual within a social relationship conveys his will regardless of the will of others. They also describe it as an unequal relationship among individuals who belong to various social groups. In short, according to discourse-historical approach(henceforth, DHA) and its proponents, language is the means of social power and discourses are sites of social struggles for dominance. The operational definition of 'power' that is adopted by the present study is the one suggested by Van Dijk(1996) where it is defined as the relations among social organizations, groups, and institutions.

2.5.3 Dominance

Dominance is another concept to be regarded here for its great contact to most CDA researches. Dominance could be described, according to Van Dijk (1993c: 255), as the social, cultural, racial, gender or political inequalities which result from the use of social power

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by groups, elites, and institutions. He (1996:85) also regards it as a form of power abuse which could be found in breaks of rules, principles, and laws of democracy, justice, and equality of powerful people. As such, it lacks any legitimate or acceptable basics. It might emerge mainly in advanced economic cultures that seek to establish variant means of justifying imbalanced distribution of resources in order to sustain social hierarchies of certain groups.

Dominant elites might persuade dominated people to the extent that they believe that their (i.e. dominants) status is natural and legitimate by blinding them from the true reality of their intentions. Also dominated people could accept their position since they receive some form of benefit from it (Baker and Ellece, 2011:55).Dominance is aboutclassifying society into two social groups, a dominated group and a dominant group.

2.5.4 Hegemony

Hegemony is an integral part of CDA, defined by Fairclough (1992: 92) as the power over society as a whole. It is about constructing unions, and incorporating rather than dominating minor classes, throughout businesses or throughout ideological ways, to win their agreement. He believes that it is never applied using an absolute or eternal force. However, it is continuously asserted that the mental control has the ability to influence people's attitudes.

Later on, Fairclough (2003:218) describes hegemony as a certain way of theorising power and the struggle for it in industrial societies, which emphasizes how power depends on agreement or acceptance rather than just force, and the importance of ideology. Discourse could be considered a tool for conveying hegemony and hegemonic struggle.
Bloomaert (2005:167)recognizes hegemony and oppression as dominant and determining factors in ideological processes anddetectsthe

reproduction of dominant culture as the 'coercive and disciplining system of education'.

Hegemony means to have the total authority over a certain society not only throughout ideologies, but also by controlling the life of the dominated group by the dominant one.

2.5.5 Racism

Racism is a social structure which has been operated as a legal instrument to overpower and abuse certain social sects, then to prevent them from their own resources, work, prosperity, home, and even their civil rights (Wodak et al,1999:176). It is clear that racism is considered a legal instrument that may constitute part of the higher legal documents of any society. Accordingly, such activity will be seenin the passage of time as an ordinary one by people. Similarly, White (2009: 471) defines racism as:

> any activity by individuals, groups, institutions, or cultures that
> treats human beings unjustly because of colour, physical features,
> and ethnicity and rationalize that treatment by attributing to them
> undesirable biological, physical, social, or cultural characteristics.

In his definition, a number of types of racism are identified. They occur in different societies whether they arise from an ordinary person (citizen) or from the supreme authority. Furthermore, racism may take a form of cultural attitude towards specific issues related to the other people with respect to their colour, appearance or ethnicity. Racism in this case is cultural rather than legal.

Van Dijk (2002:145) states that discourse is significant in reflecting what is there in the racist's mind. According to him, discourse is much more than words, it; actually, exceeds such limits and plays a chief role in the reproduction of racism.

Baker and Ellece (2011:550) see the performer of racism (racist) as someone who umpires his victim in a negative way just to justify his honoured position and his victim downgraded position. This implies a superiority of one race upon the other depending on a false belief of the racist who looks clearly as a biased judger.

2.6 Principles of CDA

Fairclough and Wodak (1997: 271-280) propose the following eight principles for CDA:

1. CDA addresses social problems

The critical understanding (interpretation and explanation) of social problems is what distinguishes CDA approaches from other linguistic approaches, including DA, pragmatics, sociolinguistics. Wodak and Meyer (2009: 19) state that CDA approaches have two ways of starting a critical study, either from a theoretical framework of analysis or from selecting a social problem to be investigated.

2. Power relations are discursive

Power relations are discursive since they emerge in the relational value of the formal features of the discourse. The reproduction of these relations could be gained through the contribution of discourse as a means of language use. The job of CDA is to indicate how social relations of power are exercised.

3. Discourse constitutes society and culture

Discourse contributes in reproducing society and culture. Since societies and cultures are variant, thisleads to severalinterpretations of one phenomenon following the societyin which it is investigated.

4. Discourse does ideological work

The hidden ideologies are the major concern of CDA since it searches for the deep implication behind discourse rather than the clear one. According to Fairclough (2003: 218), such ideologies enhance the creation, sustainment, control and manipulation of power affairs.

5. Discourse is historical

The historical background of discourse is important in doing CDA. So that, a reference to culture, society and ideology is needed in analysing a discourse along with its history or context.

6. The mediated link of text and society

In order to analyse a text accurately, it is needed to make a mediation between it and society. This is taken into consideration by Fairclough through his using of Halliday's multifunctional linguistic theory. Further, Wodak and Van Dijkapply the use of theories of social cognition in their analysis.

7. The interpretative and explanatory analysis

In any CDA, doing a linguistic analysis is not enough; it is necessary to include the interpretation and explanation. Such steps could be gained by making use of linguistic properties, social, political, and cultural practices.

8. Discourse is a form of social action

Discourse is a mirror to reflect people's beliefs, attitudes, opinions, and thinking. In other words, society controls discourse at the same time in which discourse leads it especially in the case of powerful speeches by powerful people.

2.7 Approaches of CDA

CDA branches from a critical theory of language which considers the use of language a form of social practice since all social practices are linked to particular historical contexts and they are regarded as instruments to reproduce and dispute the social relations. Many approaches, theories, and agendas contribute to the origination of the theories of CDA. Fairclough(1995:132) sees that CDA is a transdisciplinary field since it emerges from a collection of linguistic methods.According to him, CDA tries to find the dialectic obscure relation between language and social reality throughout an analysis of text, social practices and social structures. Van Dijk (2000a: 35) has combined between social practice and cognition.On the other hand, Wodak (1995:209)asserts that in the analysis as well as interpretation of anywritten or spoken text, it is crucial to incorporate systematically all accessible related background information. Finally, Van Leeuwen (2008: 23) emphasises on social actors and how they are signified in the discourse.

2.7.1 Fairclough's Approach

Fairclough's **three-dimensional approach**(1989) is considered one of the most influential approaches in CDA since it is based on the work of two significant theories: Foucaltian critical theory and Halliday's systemic-functional mode(Alazzany 2008:28).Fairclough (1989:1) suggests that he has used a critical approach in his analysis of discourse since it is concerned with the connection between language, power and ideology that may be implicit from people. Hence, in his approach to CDA, he attempts to observe language and power in diverse types of discourse to show the linguistic components and the buried factors in the system of social relationships. According to him, power relations have

essential interest particularly when the relationships of power delineate purposes of orders of discourse. The concept of power for him, is not limited to the description of class relations; instead it is used to describe any of these types of struggle (i.e. the power struggles between) racial groups, males and females, senior people and other social groups that are not limitedto certain organizations.

The analytical framework of Fairclough (1989: 109) has three stages: description, interpretation and explanation. The first stage represents an analysis of linguistic features such as vocabulary, grammar, and also textual structure. The interpretation stage represents the mediated step that connects the other two steps (text and society)which can be summarized as

> The values of textual features become real, socially operative, if they are embedded in interaction, where texts are produced and interpreted against background of common-sense assumptions (part of MR) give textual features their values. These discourse processes, their dependence on background assumptions, are the concern of the second stage of the procedure, interpretation" Fairclough (ibid.:140).

Fairclough (ibid.), in this stage, recognises six main domains of interpretation; two domains are related to the context and four to the text. The first two domains of text are: surface of utterance,meaning of
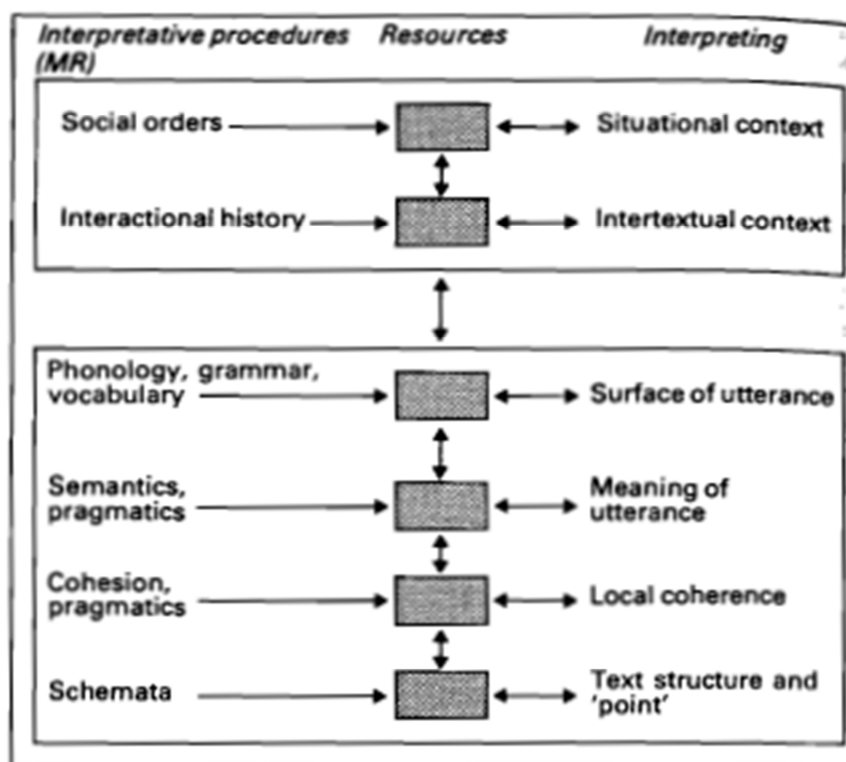
utterance, local coherence,and text structure and 'point', and the latter two ones that are related to context include: situational context and intertextual context. Along with these six domains, he has listedmajor elements of the members' resourceswhich function as interpretative procedures. Each element of members'resources is specifically associated with a certain level of interpretation as in figure(2-1). Finally, in the third stage, explanation, he sees discourse as a part of a social process as a social practice(ibid.:143).

(Figure 2-1) Domains of Interpretation According to Fairclough (1989:142).

Later on, Fairclough (1992: 63) sees the role of discourse within society as "historically variable"especially in current society when the discourse
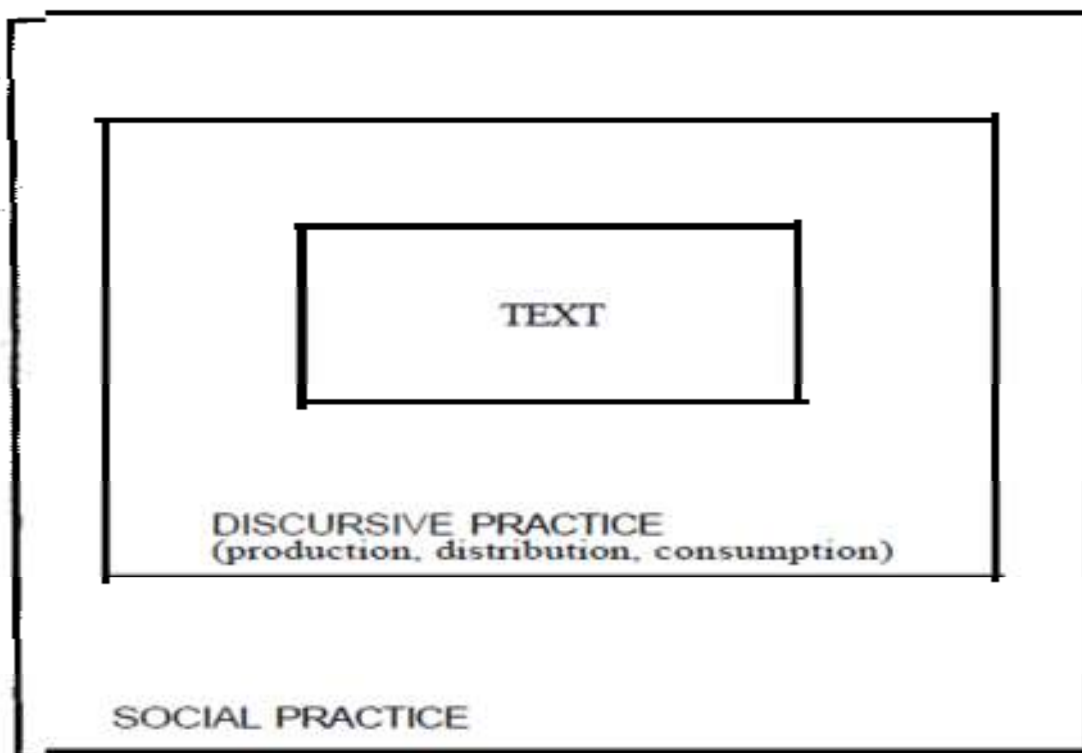
has been assigned a main part in sociocultural reproduction and change. This implies a sense of social practice instead of an individual action . It is both a way of acting as well as a way of representation. In other words, it isgenerally speaking a reflection of the world and the conditional variables particularly. He distinguishes three dimensions of analysis, the first and last are textual analysis and social analysis whereas the second isa mediator between the two and is called discursive analysis (Fairclough, 1992: 71).

Figure (2-2) Three-dimensional Conception of Discourse According to Fairclough (1992:73).

As a result of his work with sociological theorists on discourse, Fairclough (2003:23) asserts that the dialectical relation between language and social reality is realized through social events, social practices and social structures. Social events means (text) since our life is full of social events, so most of them involve texts. On the other hand, social structures are concert entities which can be defined as "a set of possibilities". These possibilities can be shown in the form of language

since language is considered abstract social structures which delineate particular possibilities and reject others. For example 'the constitution' is possible in English while 'constitution the' is not. Nevertheless, the connection between the possibilities of language and what really occurs needs a mediated link that connects the two. This represents social practices. Social practices operate as a controller which selects possible structures of language and neglect the other, hence, they work as "orders of discourse".

Reisigl and Wodak (2009: 27)callFairclough's approach of CDAas **Dialectical–relational approach**. They claim that Fairclough's approach is concerned with exploring the dialectic association between two basic poles; language and some other fundamentals of social exercises.

2.7.2Van Dijk's Approach

Another influential and prominent figure in CDA is Van Dijk. Van Dijk(1985a:10) sees that discourse analysis is not a simple activity since it includes different methods as well as stages of analysis of language, cognition, communication, society, among others.Therefore, in the analysis process, one needs to integrate many levels of analysis in order to select from different methods what serves one's aims and purposes of analysis.

Van Dijk(ibid.:11) adds that the traditional approaches of linguistics yield incomplete description of discourse structures whereas other features like overall patterns, style, schematic organization, and communicating aspects have been given less attention. Then, he stresses that it is very important to link discourse with context, because discourse cannot be analysed as an abstract object since it has to be analysed according to various contexts. Discourse analysis, then, should provide a study of "real language use…in real situation".

Van Dijk (1989: 164)hasconsidered the concept of discoursea certain form of language use and a certain form of social communication which has been interpreted as " a complete communicative event in a social situation". The meaning of discourse, according to him , is a cognitive structure which involves cognitive representations throughout the production and comprehension of discourse. In his framework, he asserts on the interaction between discourse and social cognition or in other words, social representations(SRs, henceforth) of group associates . SRs can be defined as socially common knowledge, which have been largely reproduced in society via discourse, for example, racial biases or stereotypes. Van Dijk (1989:165)adds that SRs need the social dimension of contact and social state which in turn have also discourse dimension, since SRs aregenerally taught, used and altered, over written texts or conversations. Thus, discourse analysis can be used as an influential tool to expose the implied contents, constructions and strategies of SRs.

Furthermore, Van Dijk (1993b:108) explains the role of social cognition as a manager that checks the production as well as interpretation of discourse. Consequently, if certain beliefs need to be presupposed and shared by group members, it is so important to make it obvious to be able to delineate how such presuppositions influence the construction of discourse.

Van Dijk (1993a:14) developed a socio-cognitive model which has helped in the interpretation and production of text and talk on the basis of specific mental models. These models are formed by social representations in individual's memory. Van Dijk(ibid.:35) suggests that there is a very solid connection between the strategies of text and talk, belief manipulation, and communicative interface which have been represented respectively by discourse strategies, mental strategies and social strategies.

His (1995a:20) theory of ideology depends on three levels of analysis: first, 'social analysis' refers to the total societal structures and it is context based. Second, 'discourse analysis' refers to the different structures of text or talk , and it tries to examine aspects such as syntax, lexicon, local semantics, topics; it is text based. Finally, 'cognitive analysis' examines both social cognition and personal cognition such as values, ideologies, and so on.

Van Dijk (1998:23), has developed a theory of ideology which contains three main components:

1- Social functions which state the main reason behind using ideologies by people, which can be summarized as follows:

> The main social function of ideologies is the coordination of the social practices of group members for the effective realization of the goals of a social group, and the protection of its interests. This applies both to group-internal social practices as well as to interaction with members of other groups.

2-Cognitive structures which explain the inside organization of ideologies and their links with other cognitive structures or SRs which can be represented by two ways: the socially shared (norms, attitudes, beliefs, views, and values), and individual and contextual models such as experiences, intentions, and plans. Hence , the theory gives a clear sight of " what ideologies look like, and how they observe social practices".

3-Discursive expression and reproduction which explain how people express, acquire, and reproduce their ideologies in text and talk. Text is simply "the tip of the iceberg" of the individuals' models that are expressed in their talk or text. Yet, people generally know much more than what has really been said or written.

Van Dijk (2000a:90) mentions that the analytical framework to study ideologies which are expressed through discourse contains several levels and dimensions of analysis, first, the meaning (semantic structure) which includes (topic, local coherence, implicitness, semantic moves (disclaimers), specificity and completeness, propositional structures, actor, modality, evidentially, hedging and vagueness, perspective, intertextuality, comparison, contrast, illustration, pronoun and style. Second, formal structures that refer to the form of a sentence, an argument, the order of a news story, and/or the size of a headline. The formal structure of any discourse includes schemata, argumentation (several discourse genres have argumentative structures) that differ according to the discourse genres, for example, editorials in the press, scholarly articles or parliamentary debates, sentence syntax (such as word order, passivation, and nominalization), and rhetoric (which emphasis on those features of style for instance hyperbolas, euphemisms, and so on).

Furthermore, Van Dijk(2000a:58) adds that discourse is described also by another component in addition to (meaning and form). It is (action and interaction) since any discourse may realise with more than one speech act of an assertion, of a question, accusation, promise or threat.

Table(2-1) The Analytical Framework of Ideologies According to VanDijk (2000a)

1-Semantic structure	Topic
	Local coherence
	Implicitness
	Semantic moves(disclaimers)
	Specificity and completeness
	Propositional structures
	Actor
	Modality
	Evidentially
	Hedging and vagueness
	Perspective
	Intertextuality
	Comparison
	Contrast
	Illustration
	Pronoun
	Style
2-Formal structure	Schemata
	Argumentation

	Sentence syntax Rhetorics
3-Action and Interaction	Speech act**(s)**

Van Dijk (2006:734)introduces a thorough model for political DA suggesting that there is a close connection among discourse, ideology, and politics. He raises the following question how are the political ideologies expressed and reproduced by the structures of text or talk? Then, he claims that not all the properties of political discourse are affected by the underlying ideologies; only the properties that are contextually variable are influenced such as using of different pronouns in text or talk, while much of syntactic structures are not variable such as the position of articles before nouns in English. Accordingly, he suggests that ideologies generally have a polarized structure, showing opposing group participants and classification in "in-groups and out-groups". Some of specific political attitudes and some prejudiced personal mental models of group associates can reflect these underlying structure, for example -racist attitudes about immigration. These mental models dominate the contents of discourse, then, according to them, discourse will also exhibit different types of polarization.

   He (ibid.) mentions that there are four strategies which could be called 'ideological square' appearing in any political discourse which can be applied to all levels of form, action, and meaning of text and talk. They:

- Emphasize Our good things .
- Emphasize Their bad things .
- De-emphasize Our bad things .

- De-emphasize Their good things.

Van Dijk (2013:177) proposes a sociocognitive and discourse analytical account of ideology and he explains how ideologies are discursively used and reproduced in communicative states and society.

Van Dijk(ibid.) sees ideologies as:

> Socially shared belief systems…. that are only shared by specific (ideological) groups of people , and are typically not shared and taken for granted by the whole sociocultural community. In other words, they embody beliefs about which there are differences of opinion, and that hence are typically persuasively attacked and defended among members of different ideological groups.

Ideologies are community based because they are based on communities' norms and values which in turn apply in various ways depending on the goals and interests of the group members. He (ibid.178) adds that in the analysis of the structure of ideologies, many categories may be composed together to offer a general schema that organizes the belief of any ideology, calling it "an ideology schema", which consists of the following:

• Identity : which delineates the members of our community and specifies people (who belong to us? and who can join?)

• Activities : which explains our duty in society?

• Goals : What is the aim of our activities?

• Norms and values : to identify what is good or bad for our group member by delineating the norms of our activities

• Group relations : Who are our friends and who are our enemies?

• Resources : What material or symbolic resources form the basis of our (lack of) power and our position in society?

Van Dijk (2015b:66) introduces an analytical framework which is based on his sociogonitive approach. He suggests that there are three levels of analysis, each has its own components. The cognitive levelmediates between the other two levels. It deals with: the mind, memory and cognitive processes and representations involved in the production as well as comprehension of discourse. Cognitive structure includes: first, memory which is divided into: Short Term Memory(STM) or Working Memory and Long Term Memory (LTM).Specific personal experiences and knowledge are stored in Episodic memory whereas general ideologies, socially shared knowledge and attitudes are stored in the semantic memory. Second, mental models that are represented by personal knowledge and experiences. They are unique, subjective and individual. Third, to the opposite of the personal mental models , there are general socially and cognitively beliefs which are shared by each member of the society such as generic knowledge of the world, shared attitudes, and ideologies. He(ibid.) calls it social cognition.

Discourse, as Van Dijk(ibid.:67) believes, is produced and comprehended according to these cognitive structures since discourse is processed in STM then controlled by the mental models and knowledge in LTM. Mental models are divided into two types: situation model,(or semantic models) and context models (or pragmatic models). The first type seeks for the meaningfulness and (local and global) kinds of coherence while the second type defines the appropriateness of discourse with regard to the communicative situation. The second level in Van Dijk(ibid.) approach is the social level. He states that CDA is not concerned only with the groups as well as organizations that control

discourse, but also with the account of discursive domination and resistance which has been originated in terms of social cognition.

Van Dijk (2015a:468) recognizes the relationship between two levels of analysis within social cognition, i.e. micro-level and macro-level. Language use, discourse, verbal interaction, and communication belong to the first level of the social order whereas the second level consists of power, dominance, and inequality between social groups. The task of CDA, then, is to bridge the gap between the two levels of analysis. For example, any racist speech that is supposed to be said by politicians is considered the micro level of the social structure of a debate, but simultaneously, it may construct a large portion of the reproduction of racism at the macro level when it is enacted as a part of the legislation.

Table (2-2) The Organization of the Sociocognitive Approach of Discourse According to Van Dijk (2015b)

Level of structure	Cognition	Society
Macro	Socially shared knowledge, attitudes, ideologies, norms, and values	Communities , groups and organizations
Micro	Personal mental models of(experiences of) social members	interaction/ discourse of social members

The third level is concerned with the structure of the discourse. Discourse components are the central concern of critical discourse analysts; they are interested in creating a relation among these three components. Critical discourse analysts do not aim to establish a specific theory for analysing the structure of discourse since such theories are already found and shared by other discourse analysts. Furthermore,

critical discourse analysts aim to go beyond such theories. They try to describe and explain how discourse contributes in the (re)production of power abuse, or against such domination, in society. Some discourse components are associated with giving an account of the semantic coherence while others deal with the higher unit of analysis such as schematic or thematic analysis which in turn are considered to be ideologically based since it is concerned with the (re)production of power abuse.Van Dijk(2015b: 72-73) mentions some of these ideological discourse structures such as polarization, pronoun, identification, positive self-description and negative self-description, activities, norm and values, and interest.

2.7.3 Wodak's Approach

DHA has been developed by Wodak and her colleagues who realize both written and spoken forms of language as forms of social practice. Hence, this approach tries "to integrate systematically all available background information in the analysis and interpretation of the many layers of a written or spoken text" (Wodak, 1995: 209).

Fairclough and Wodak(1997,258)consider that "language as social practice"contains non-discursive as well as discursive social practices and it is simultaneously formed by them. Theyassumea dialectical connection between certain discursive practices and particular fields of action comprising (situations, institutional frames and social structures), where the first part of this connection, the discourse, affects the second one and in turn the second part, the situational, institutional and social setting, affects and shapes the first(discourse) (ibid.). Furthermore, in describing her approach in CDA Wodak (2000: 187) states that her approach tries to incorporate the historical sources and the background knowledge of the social and political topics or texts in order to

investigate and analyse the discursive events by analysing the historical changes of genres of discourse. It also introduces an explanation of the term 'context' by integrating different social theories.

According to Wodak (2001:65), CDA is associated not only with deciding rightness or wrongness; instead it is concerned with making differrent choices as well as making these choices clear in every point in the research. It is also interested in explaining the apropriateness of particular interpretation of discourse event than others.

This triangulatory approach is built on the notion of `context' which acquires four levels, the first level is descriptive whereas the otherthree levels are parts of Wodak's (1995) theory on context. These levels are: the linguistic co-text level, the intertextual level, the extralinguistic level, and the socio-political and historical context level (ibid.:67).

DHA links theoretical discourse studies with ethnographic investigation and interdisciplinarity. The development of this approach is to trace the constitution of an anti-Semitic stereotyped image which occurred in public discourse; therefore, it concentrates on some categories such as macro-structural categories and text-inherent categories which are developed by DHA. Accordingly, DHA is concerned with positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation (Wodak2008:281).

Later on, Resigel and Wodak (2009:94), developed five types of discursive strategies to achieve specific linguistic, political, social or psychological aims. These discursive strategies belong to various levels of linguistic organization. They are mainly:nomination, predication argumentation, perspectivization, framing or discourse representation intensification, and mitigation.

Generally speaking, Wodak's(1995) approach as put inHyland and Paltridge(2011:43), chiefly concentrates on aspects such as sexism,

identitypolitics, anti-Semitism, structural discourses and racism .

2.8 Previous Studies

This part of chapter two presentssome previous studies which employ CDA's theories and methods in their analysis of various samples.

2.8.1 Gjesdahl(2008)

Gjesdahl's (2008) thesis is entitled "News as a cultural product: A cross-cultural study of language use in British and Norwegian online newspapers". The researcher selected   the tsunami disaster which occurred in December 2004 as a sample for his linguistic analysis . He suggested that the tsunami disaster was chosen as a news event since it was occurred in South East Asia, that is, not in Norway or England or even in Europe.

The selected articles are analysed by using an eclectic model established chiefly according to   Wenche Vagle's (2003)and Norman Fairclough's (2005) frameworks, both belong to critical discourse analysis. Vagle's modelconsists of four stages: the first stage requires a primary understanding of the context whereas the last three stages   are concerned with   describtion, explanation, and interpretation of the text. Fariclough's view of how social actors are represented in any text is included within the four previous stages by examining the different linguistic varieties offered for representaing social actors in the text by describing them through using pronoun/noun, named /classified.

Gjesdahl (2008) concludes that the quantitative and qualitative data give somewhat differing results at the word level, so it is clear that the British and Norwegian newspapers differed in their language use at the word level, while at the grammatical level, the results are extremely similar.

The British papers have a more personalised emphasis which is conveyed over higher occurrences for civilian contributors in the central referent chains. Also, they have a wider use of personal pronouns and naming contrasted to the Norwegian papers. The language in the British papers appears to be more personalised and concrete than its Norwegian counterpart. The Norwegian newspapers reveal the high usage of such grammatical items as: nouns, classification, nominalisations and passive constructions.

2.8.2 Kandil(2009)

The Israeli-Palestinian Conflict in American, Arab, and British Media is the main concern of Kandil's study. He aims to bridge the gap between CDA and Corpus Linguistics (henceforth CL) by combining methods and analytical frameworks from CDA and CL to analyse the discursive representation of the Israeli-Palestinian struggle in American, Arab, and British media.

His study is limited to three media channels:CNN, Al-Jazeera Arabic, and BBC. CDA is used to study how power and ideology are legislated and attacked in social and political contexts through language use whereas CL is used to identify the topics that tend to be emphasized, downplayed, and/or left out in the coverage of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. This can take place by employing the corpus-based keyword technique. His study deals with topics like terrorism, occupation, and settlements which represent the major characteristics of the conflict.
Kandil uses Van Dijk's (1998) ideological square framework to interpret the corpus findings. He concludes that the Israeli-Palestinian conflict obtains different attentions by the two channels. Al-Jazeera gives the issue more attention whereas CNN gives it less space and attention.
Topics such as terrorism and occupation receive different emphases by the two channels. The first topic, terrorism, is emphasised by CNN but

received less attention by Al-Jazeera while the BBC is generally more careful about this theme . On the contrary, CNN gives the occupation less space whereas it get high emphasis by both Al-Jazeera and BBC.

2.8.3 Darweesh and Mirza(2014)

This study offers a pragma-rhetorical analysis of Imam Ali's(p.b.u.h.) letter to Malik Al-Ashter.The study is concerned with the Imam's rhetoric and with the pragmatic perspective of his rhetoric. Darweesh and Mirza (2014)aim at investigating the argumentative structure of Imam Ali's letter with the pragmatic texture of such a structure. They develop a model of analysis to achieve such purposes. To highlight the rhetorical aspects of the text, they employ Eemeren and Grootendorst's(1992) structure of argumentation model whereas for the pragmatic aspects they employ Al-Hindawi and Mirza's (2012) pragmatic model of analysis.

Some of the researchers' conclusions are the following: rhetorical devices are used with full percentage which indicates the obligatory use of them. The percentage of metaphor is 93%. This result points out that the cognition is very active in the text. Moreover, the frequent use of rhetorical devices clarifies that they are employed in the text for persuasion rather than aesthetic purposes.

2.8.4 Flaifel (2014)

Flaifel's (2014) thesis is concerned with the 2012 presidental eclection debate in the United States.He uses CDA especially an eclectic model proposed by Van Dijk (1995b, 2006d) to achieve his aims. Van Dijk framework of analysis consists of twenty-four ideological categories selected within the overall strategies of the ideological square according to the aims and hypotheses of this study. These categories are of three levels of discourse structure: (meaning, argumentation, and rhetoric). The aims of Flaifel's study are: investigating how racism has been

reproducing throughout the discourses of the 2012 American presidential candidates, identifying the strategies that are employed by the candidates to express their ideopolitical point of views against the others, and finally, indicating the points of similarity/difference in discourse structures as well as ideological strategies that are used by the candidates.

The analysis reveals that the overall strategy of all these political ideologies seem to be within the framework of the ideological square to emphasize the racist polarization and differentiation between positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation.

2.8.5Amer (2015)

Amer (2015) uses CDA to analyse war reporting of the Gaza war of (2008-2009) in four international newspapers they: The Guardian, The Times London, The New York Times and The Washington Post. He aims to analyse the representation of social actors in the reports of these four newspapers.

Amer depends on three analytical frameworks: the transitivity model by Halliday (1985/1994), the sociosemantic inventory by Van Leeuwen (1996), and the classification of quotation patterns by Richardson (2007).

The study shows that Israeli politicians and Palestinian civilians are the most frequently included and quoted actors across the four selected newspapers; there are similarities in representation patterns among the four newspapers; news reports on the Gaza war of 2008-09 are influenced by some factors such as political orientations of the newspapers, editorial policies, and journalistic practices.

2.8.6Abid(2016)

This study has examined the media representation of refugees in

online media news reports of host and non-host countries. The aims of this study are : comparing and contrasting the sociological categories that are used in the description of Syrian refugees in the selected online media news reports, comparing and contrasting the metaphors that are employed to describe Syrian refugees, and finally to expose the role of ideology and power in the selected online newspaper of the representation of Syrian refugees .

Abid adopts Van Leeuween's (2008) model of sociological categories of discourse. His model contains many items such as role allocation, genericisation, specification, assimilation, association, indetermination, and identification. He also uses Lakoff and Johnson's (2008) conceptual metaphor theory to investigate the representation of Syrian refugees in the online media news reports.

The overall findings of the study showed that the online media news reports of both the host and non-host countries employed nearly the same discoursal features to describe Syrian refugees. Commonly, they have been described as a load which is negatively influencing the society and economy of the host countries.

2.8.7 Al-Jiburi(2017)

Al-Jiburi's study (2017) has been concerned with the analysis of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and Risalat Al-Huquq "Treatise on Rights" of Imam Ali Al-Sajjad (p.b.u.h.). The aims of her study are: investigating the linguistic structure of UDHR and RH, exploring their interpretative procedures and explicating ideologies.

The theoretical framework adopted is, basically, Fairclough's (1989) model. This framework consists of three stages: description, interpretation, and explanation. Within each stage, she has analysed the

texts with respect to some parameters, including for example: transitivity, modality, situational context, speech acts, ideology, and some others.

Her study has come out with the following results: (1) Descriptively, the UDHR and the RH follow different classification schemes which involve the use of different process types and utilize the meaning of obligation through the models used. (2) Interpretatively, the UDHR and the RH have distinct purposes. Their schemata convey their composers' intention in the way they are framed since in the UDHR rights are of same importance so do not follow specific gradation while in the RH they are graded in a purposeful seriatim. (3) Explicatively, the ideologies upon which the UDHR and the RH are based vary between secular and religious respectively.

To sum up, the above - mentioned, like the present one,have dealt with variant topics within CDA. Furthermore, they have adopted different models among which Van Dijk's model (1980,2013) is one. However, they differ in the data and in the fact that this study is contrastive and cross-cultural.

The critical treatment of the texts selected in the present study is not found in the previous studies, as far as the researcher knows, and this study tries to fulfil this aim. Their data as well as the aims are diverse from one study to another. Some of them are news, broadcasting news, papers, documents, etc. Most of these studies stresson the representation of the social actors or political conflict among different poles and the way they are represented linguistically to reveal a specific ideology. What differentiates the present study from the previous ones is that it deals with two important documents from different cultures, both of them are written to encompass the same points, i.e.to regulate people's lives.

2.9 The Texts

This part of chapter two is concerned with giving a literature review of the two texts under study, AC and IAE. A constitution can be defined as a set of rules which are constructed to declare the rights and duties of both people and the government. It may consist of written texts as a single document or as a combination of many documents (Thomas,2008:6). Constitutions around the world differ in their shapes and contents.Moreover, some countries have no written constitution such as Britain.

However, a constitution is not just a document, it is described as a dynamic foundation that "ebb and flow" according to the political and social environment of any society(Breslin, 2009:n.p.). Van Maarseveenand Van Der Tang (1978:234) say that a constitution as a document is considered to have a political- legal nature but it has been given a certain name or special characters so as to make a distinction between it and other types of political-legal nature document. They add that a constitution as document does not mean that it should be written in a form of rules but it can be reduced in a form of recognizable documents. Thus, a constitution is a set of rules that are identified to regulate life of societies regardless of form. Although societies need constitutions to regulate life, they establish constitutions differently.

Societies are not similar in their identities, values, norms, and goals, this makes their ways in regulating their life also be different. Each needs to embrace special ideologies that have been constituted within a group of people and spread among others to give a general trait of that society. Accordingly, these factors affect the way of constructing the constitution.

Moreover, constitutions are governed by ideology. Van Dijk (1998:8) states that many analysts would concur that ideology is something like a common system of social convictions that arrange and - organize the social interpretations and performances of individuals, and specifically the different relations between group members. So, the word 'ideology' is not always associated with wrong beliefs or negative attitudes; on the contrary, in many cases it is associated with right beliefs and positive attitudes.

The American constitution is considered the uppermost law which comprises many articles that declare the national frame of the government. On the other hand, IAE is considered one of the earliest Islamic written instructions which try to regulate life by showing the role of the government, rights, duties, and establishing the relationships among society groups and the government. It was created when al-Ashter was appointed as the governor of Egypt and its provinces, so that there was a need for a constitution or a document to organize all aspects of people's life. Jordac (2000:176) points out that IAE is regarded as one of the most comprehensive and elaborative document that shows Imam Ali's(P.b.u.h.) own ideas and beliefs about the public administration. Kazemi (2006:61) mentions that " the epistle itself…..being read as an ideal constitution for Islamic governance". AC is yield to many political and legal studies and interpretations since Its foundation in 1789 after the war of independence from England.

On the other hand, IAE is considered one of the earlier Islamic political documents to regulate the ordinary lives of people. In 63 AH, Imam Ali(p.b.u.h.) sent Malik Al- Ashter to Egypt as a governor, then he provided him with this record to help him in his job, especially in political and social issues.

2.9.1 History of AC

The idea of constructing AC came after the war of independence. When American people in thirteen states were in need of such a document to regulate their lives since they had achieved their independence in 1776 from the British empire. These states were initially thirteen colonies that announced their independence from Great Britain. In 1781, the Articles of Confederation were ratified to declare that the American people were free of British law. In this case, it was the time of presenting a new union as the United States of America. But it was not enough to regard such a document as the constitution of the U.S. since the governmental rules of states were stronger than the national ones (i.e. the Articles of Confederation) of that union. In 1787, it became necessary to propose a new document to be the national constitution of the U.S. A special committee from different states met in Philadelphia for that purpose. Those delegates elected G.Washington to be the president of the convention which resulted in establishing the constitution (Ransom,2011:4-13). AC was then ratifiedin 1789. It consisted of seven Articles, which delineated the main lines for the governmental duties and the three branches. The first three articles in AC created the three powers in the U.S., namely: legislative, executive and judicial powers. The legislative power consisted of the House of Representatives and the Senates. The executive power consisted of the President of the U.S. whereas the Judicial power consisted of the Supreme Court of the U.S. Each of these three branches had its own duties which was represented in detail in AC(Harr et al, 2015: 16).

In 1791, there was a real need for amendments, since there were many issues were not treated by the first draft of the constitutions. Thousands of amendments were introduced by the Congress to be accepted by the two Houses. Some of these were related to equality between men and

women, others to enact a new law for allowing the prayer in public schools and others places. Only ten amendments were accepted by the Houses; they were called Bill of Rights. They consistedof some rightsof citizens, but AC still needs more amendments to enact some laws of equality between women and men, free persons and slaves and some other rules(Fruchtman, 2016:xv).Other amendments were approved in 1795, 1804, 1865, 1868, 1870, 1913,1919, 1920,1933, 1951,1961,1964, 1967,1971,and 1992.

Amendment No.13 was approved in 1865; this abolished slavery in America except as a punishment. Amendment No.15 which was approved in 1870 gave the black men the right to vote in the elections but women were not allowed to vote until amendment No.19 in 1920, which gave them the right to vote. The last amendment was proposed in 1992 under the heading of "Limiting Congressional Pay Increases".

2.9.2. History of IAE

IAE is considered an Islamic constitutionestablished for the administration of the Islamic states at that time. It was written by Imam Ali (p.b.u.h.) to Malik Al-Ashter when he was appointed as the governor of Egypt in 38 AH / 658 AD. IAE includes political, social, economic, cultural, administrative and military matters that the State requires. It is an ideal constitution for the administration of the Islamic State by describing the duties and the rights of the governor and citizens(Kazim,2017:7)(كاظم:٧,٢٠١٧).

He adds (ibid.) that Malik Al- Ashter was one of the heroes of Islam and was an eloquent speaker and a prominent knight in most battles. He fought with Imam Ali (p.b.u.h.) in the wars of the 'Jemal', 'safeen' and 'Al-Nahrawan'.He was qualified to lead Egypt because Imam Ali (p.b.u.h.) knew his administrative and military capabilities as well as

justice. In this way, he was appointed by Imam Ali (p.b.u.h.) as a ruler of Egypt.

IAE deals with many issues, e.g.the internal organization of the government and human rights. There are many other issues that are presented in IAE concerning economic, social, political, religious, and even personal issues. الجبوري والتميميAl Jabri and AL-Tememi (2017:113) point that IAE becomes a source of inspiration since it is considered an ideal constitution   for Islamic administration which is similar to the Islamic constitution that are written by the Prophet Mohammed(p.b.u.h.) in Al- Madyna. Moreover, they state that the issues which   are dealt with in the IAE exceed those traditionally established by the political or legal texts because they are linked to the ethical principles that are supposed to be applied globally.

Chapter Three

Methodology

3.Introduction

The main components that are considered throughout the analysis of the two texts under study are: methods of research analysis, data selection and collection, and the theoretical framework of the model adapted in the analysis with its analysis steps.

3.1 Methods of Research Analysis

There are three different methods of research analysis that may be followed when analysing any research. These methods are: the qualitative, quantitative, and mixed methods. A qualitative approach focuses on some aspects of texts such as entities, processes and meanings that cannot be investigated or even quantified according to their amount or frequency (Denzin and Lincoln, 2000: 8). The Quantitative method, on the other hand, "involves the collection of data so that information can be quantified and subjected to statistical treatment in order to support or refute "alternate knowledge claims" (Creswell, 2003:153). This method offering numbers and everything that is quantifiable in a systematic way to investigate a specific phenomenon. The third research method is the mixed method which combinesthe characteristics of both the qualitative and the quantitative methods. Johnson. R et al(2007:123) state that the mixedmethod is considered a type of research which includes collecting the elements of the first two methods(i,e. qualitative and quantitative methods) to reach a deep understanding and confirmation. Creswell (2014:32) adds that a

qualitative analysis applies the analysis in terms of words rather than numbers; it is concerned with analysing the text inductively, beginning with a specific theme until reaching the general one. By contrast a quantitative method is about "building in protections against bias, controlling for alternative explanations, and being able to generalize and replicate the findings".However, mixed methods use "the combination of qualitative and quantitative methods provide a more complete understanding of a research problem than either method alone".

Mixed methods will be used in analysing the data under study. Modality, transitivity, and passivisation are analysed according to the quantitative method, whereas the other levels will be analysed qualitatively.

3.2 Data Selection and Collection

The selection of data in the present study is based on some specific criteria that have been taken into consideration. CDA does not offer special methods for data selection and collection; instead, the selection depends on the aims of the study. Fairclough(2005), as cited in Ungar(2013:34), states that "the choice of appropriate methods (data selection, collection and analysis) depends upon the object of research. More precisely, certain aspects of method appertain to CDA while others are dependent upon the research project and the object of research". He (ibid.) addsthat CDA is interested in some details in textual analysis, linguistic analysis and other forms of semiotic analysis. Concerning the selection and collection of data, he suggests that this depends on the project and object of research. Many approaches of CDA have been concerned with highlighting different objectives depending on the language used (for example, political language, legal language and so on)

and the aims of the research. Wodak uses CDA to investigate the national identity of the Austrian public and the social problem concerning the attitudes of anti- Semitics. Van Dijk in his approaches adopts CDA to investigate   the reproduction of racist attitudes of social elites in news media reports.   Conducting the present study between two text contrastively is an attempt to offer some new points of significance since the two texts are regard as representative samples of political- legislative written discourse of two diverse cultures with different values, beliefs, norms and perspectives. Moreover,the importance of data can be shown by its representative value since the data chosen is an English text versus an Arabic one, non-Islamic versusIslamic, and modern versusold.

The   English data is taken   from the White House official website which is found as a single document consisting the preamble, the articles, and amendments. The second text is Imam Ali's (p.b.u.h.) Epistle to Malik Al-Ashter. It is taken from Nahjul Balaghah Vol.2 (Arabic-English) which consists of Imam Ali's (p.b.u.h.) sermons, letters, and short sayings that had been compiled by Sayyed Shareef ar-Razi and translated by Sayyed Ali Reza (2005).

3.3 Theoretical Framework

The present study conducts three types of analysis, namely, linguistic, intertextual, and ideological. It adopts an eclectic model which begins with the linguistic analysis adopting Van Dijk (1980) and (2013) model. Bazerman (2004) model is followed in the second step while the ideological analysis according to Fairclough's (1989) model represents the third step of analysis. The following figure represents the adopted model of analysis:
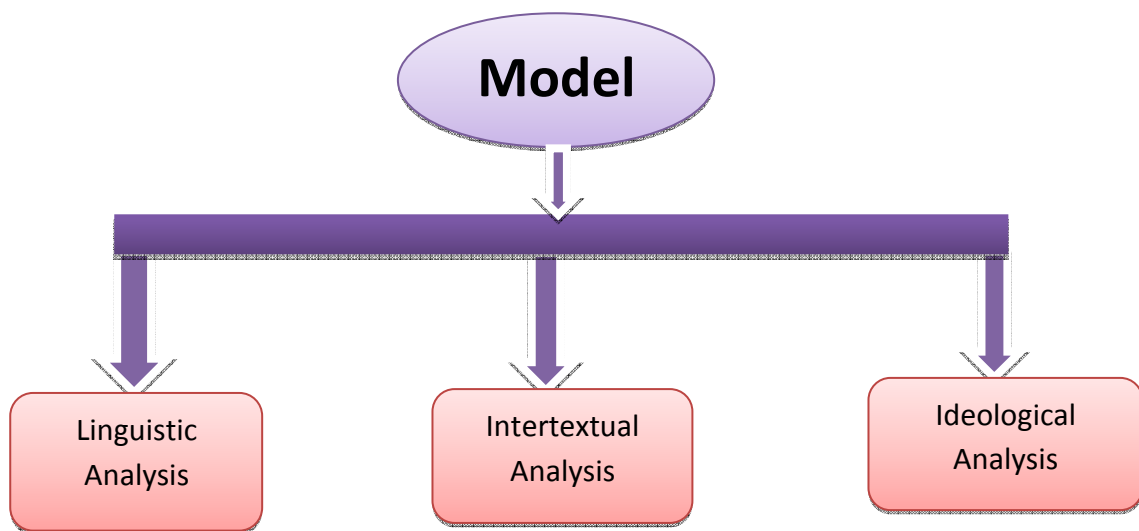
Figure (3-1) The Eclectic Model of Analysis FollowingVan Dijk's

(1980; 2013), Bazerman's (2004) and Fairclough's(1989)

3.3.1 Linguistic Analysis

The linguistic analysis of AC and IAE will be done following Van Dijk's framework of macrostructures which is proposed in (1980). In his framework he proposes a distinction between two levels of analysis, **global** and **local**. **Global analysis** is related to **macrostructures**which can be represented by **higher-level semantic or conceptual structure** that organize **the local microstructures** of discourse. The global or Macrostructures of discourse consists of two components, the semanticmacro structure in terms of theme or topic and the superstructure in terms of schematic structure.

Van Dijk (1980:27) defines semantic macrostructures(theme/topic) as the gist of speech which can be understood intuitively by the receivers when expressed in the talk or speech words and sentences or even in some parts of it such as summaries or conclusions. Another type of global structure is superstructures which refer to the schematic "global 'form' that organize the global meaning of the text (Van Dijk, 1980:27).

Terms such as "topic" or "theme" are used in the present study to refer to the semantic macrostructure of a text, while the term "schemata" refers to the schematic superstructure under the umbrella term 'macro analysis'.

The realisation of micro or local level of discourse is explained by Van Dijk (ibid.:3-4),as follows:

> One way of showing this point-of-view dimension of the local-global distinction appears in perceptual and cognitive distance. We tend to see an object as a whole when looking from farther away than when we look at its parts. The intuitive notion of detail plays a role here: Parts of the whole are distinguished as details when we have a closer look at the object, whereas from a more distant point of view individual details may no longer be perceptible. In the latter case only larger parts or outlines of the object may be visible

Macro and micro analyses offer two views to consider any text. The first view with the macro analysis works as a holistic view that exposes the external building of the text. This kind of view is concerned with the super organization of discourse in terms of the general them or schema. The second view is a detailed one which seeks for the way in which the internal building of text is organized. Micro analysis deals with other linguistic components such as syntactic, semantic, pragmatic, rhetoric and others which are regarded as the microstructures of discourse. Micro analysis is related to all structures of discourse at the local or short-range level, for example, words, phrases, clauses, sentences, and connections between sentences (ibid.29). Three levels of analysis within microstructure are dealt with in the study, namely syntactic, semantic, and lexical .In the first level, transitivity and passivisation are included. The semantic level also includes two strategies: categorization and actor description. Finally, the lexical level includes analysing some selected expressions in the texts.The analysis of the formal properties of language reveals the ideologies which can be expressed throughout these categories

by emphasising or de-emphasising certain ideology (Van Dijk, 2004: 87).
Figure(3-2) shows the items of the linguistic analysis:
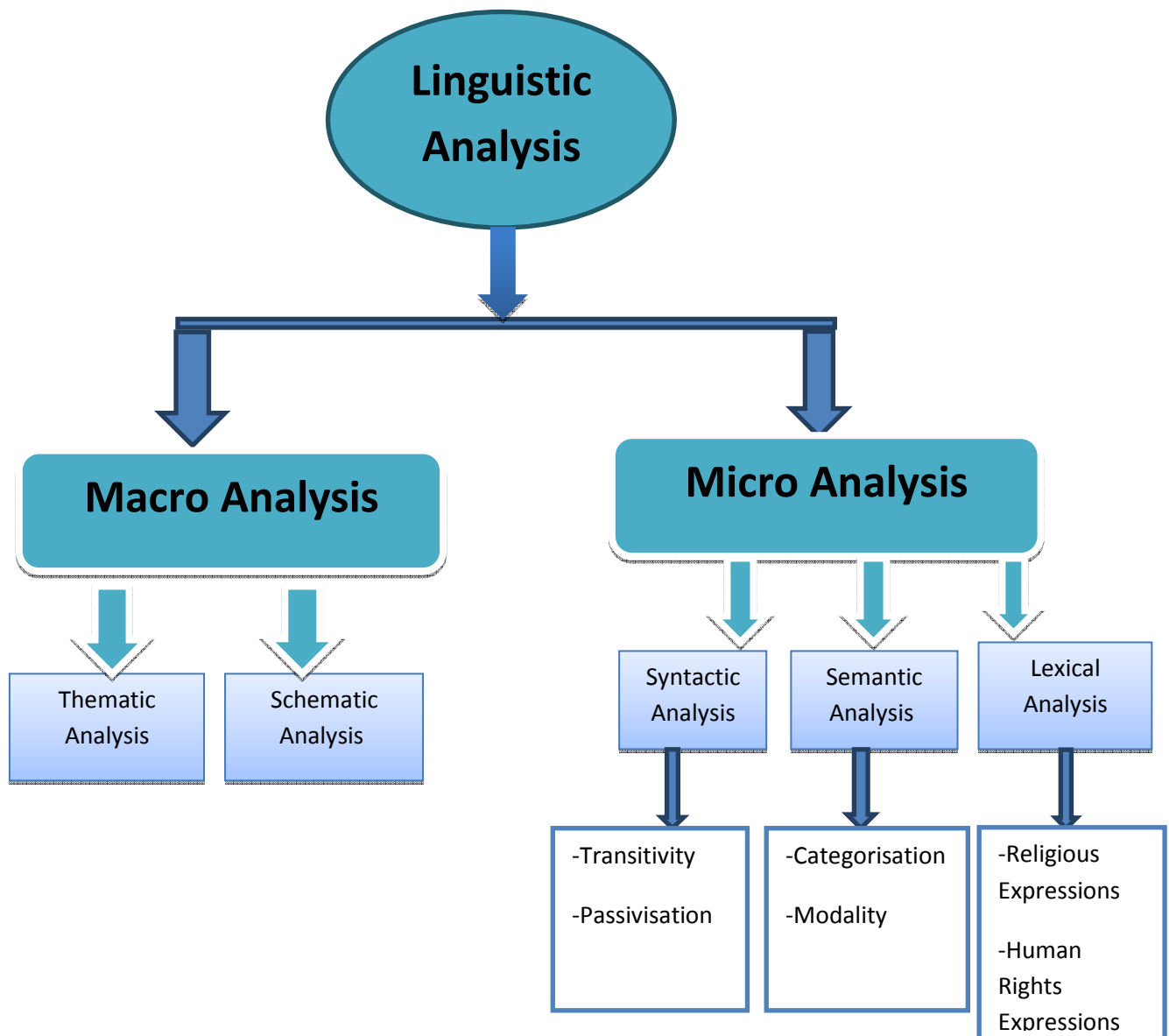
Figure (3-2) The Linguistic Analysis Model According to Van Dijk
(1980;2013)

3.3.1.1 Macro Analysis

At this level, two structures will be analysed: schematic structure and thematic structure.

3.3.1.1.1Schematic Structure

Schematic structure is defined by Van Dijk (1980:5) as an overall form that arranges the global content of any text. Accordingly, the global structure of discourse is not limited to the semantic macrostructure; rather, it has another type of global structure that is mainly concerned with organising the semantic macro structures of discourse. Van Dijk (1980) differentiates between these two types of global structure (thematic and schematic) where the former is semantic while the latter is schematic or structural . He(ibid.) suggests that "macrostructures necessarily characterize any kind of complex information processing, whereas superstructures have a more conventional nature"(p:12).

The role of schema is to form and organise the global meaning of a text. Moreover, there is a problem concerning the generality of superstructure (schemata) is that explained by Van Dijk (ibid.). He states that there are many types of discourse that have conventional schematic structures, but this does not mean that all discourses have the same superstructures(p:109).

Van Dijkand Kintsch(1983:16) states that there are many factors which affect the structure of any discourse type, e.g. the conventional or cultural variables. Stories, psychological reports, lectures and many other types of discourse may exhibit different schematic structures. So that such a superstructure task is to provide the overall syntax for the global meaning" macrostructure of the text. For instance, The study of news schemata is not limited to the understanding of the mass media discourse

only; it contributes to understanding the organisation of written discourse in general so that many discourse types play a role in the comprehension, memorisation and processes of production (Van Dijk:1986:156).

3.3.1.1.2 Thematic Structure

Van Dijk (1980:5) defines theme as theessence of the whole discourse which reveals the salient features of it. He(ibid.) suggests that while theme represents the upshot of the discourse, words and sentences are seen as parts of it. He exemplifies how theme is seen in discourse; people may talk about such a theme or topic, and they at the same time imply some details of discourse which may be disregarded or abstracted, for example:

- "I don't remember exactly what he said, but the upshot (his point) was..".

Accordingly, theme is seen as the core point in which discourse is organised and directed.

Theme /topic has two functions.The first one is to organise the information (micro information) of the discourse. In this way, it can serve to collect a large number of connections between information units at the local level to form a larger units which carry the whole meaning and function of the small pieces (Van Dijk:1980:13).The second function of theme is the reduction of complex information. As is mentioned in the first function, there are many complex information units in any discourse, so that one needs to reduce this information to get the more important, relevant, abstract, or more general information from a complex micro-level information unit. Then, the relation between micro level and macro level is subjected to various reduction rules which are known as "macro rules"(ibid.:14).

The theoretical notion that is used to describe topic or theme according to Van Dijk(1980) is   semantic macrostructures. According to Van Dijk(1988:31) theme/ topic is   the summary, gist, upshot, or most important information of an utterance so that it belongs to the global, macro level of discourse description. Macro structure then is defined by Van Dijk (1988:31) as "the smallest independent meanings constructs of language and thought…" or "the smallest semantic units that can be true or false. Propositions are typically expressed by single sentences or clauses".

Macrostructures (topic/theme) are formed by a set of propositions which are constituted by clauses or sentences so that a set of propositions is called a macro-proposition which in turn constitutes part of the macro structure of a text. So that each topic of a text can be represented by such a macro-proposition. The following figure illustrates the organisation of thematic structure of a text (ibid. p:32).

Semantic Macrostructures (Topic/theme)

Macroproposition1   Macroproposition2   Macroproposition3

Pro1   Pro2   Pro3 Pro4   Pro1 Pro2   Pro3 Pro4   Pro5   pro1   pro2   pro 3
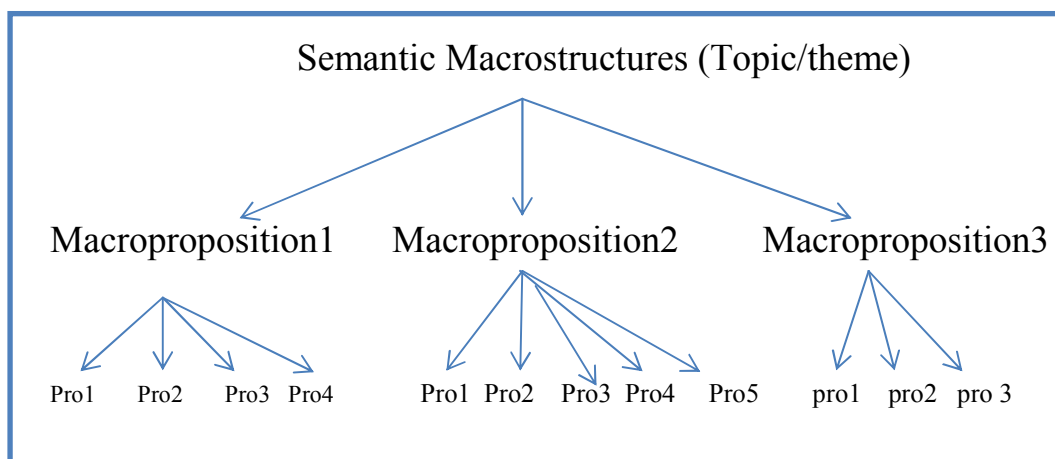
Figure(3-3) The Semantic Macrostructure Organisation of a Text

3.3.1.2 Micro Analysis

The second part of the linguistic analysis is concerned with analysing the structures of the two texts at the micro level. The micro

analysis is limited to the analysis of the structure of the texts into three levels: syntactic, semantic, and lexical. Each level deals with specific types of analysis. The following is a detailed explanation about the analysis of each one.

3.3.1.2.1 Syntactic Structure

Van Dijk (2000b:103) points out that some syntactic analyses cannot be applied in studying large corpora, instead it can be used selectively for studying smaller discourse fragments. He(ibid.54)also states that there are different types of discourse forms, for example, in sentence syntax one can find a large number of possible structural forms that may emphasise or de-emphasise meaning. Van Dijk (2000a: 55) explains the role of syntax in revealing the ideology beyond the text by pointing out that the standard arrangement in English and Spanish, for example, is to tie semantic agents and syntactic objects where they are normally located at the first place in the sentences. Sometimes, in order to reveal that the agents are less important to belittle their agency in a specific structure, we tend to change the position of the agents by turning the construction of the sentence into passive voice. For instance, 'the policeman shouted the terrorist' is turned into 'the terrorist was shouted by the policeman'. Such highlighting or lack of it has ideological implications.

He (ibid.) adds that some sentences are not variable and cannot be considered ideological marked sentences. Yet, others are considered to be more variable such as passive and active sentences, nominalization , cleft sentences, and others .

Within this step of analysis, two syntactic structures will be included, namely passivisation and transitivity.

3.3.1.2.1.1 Passivisation

Quirk et al (1985:159) define 'voice' as "a grammatical category which makes it possible to view the action of a sentence in either of two ways passive or active". They suggest that the structure of a passive voice clause is different from the structure of the active voice clause since the former has auxiliary and past participle while the latter does not have them.

Fairclough (1989: 125) states that some sentences can reveal the types of action processes that take place as active or passive by deleting the agent of the sentence. This occurs for many reasons either to avoid redundancy when information about the agent is given already, or it may be confusing of both agency and causality.

Khalil (1999:255-257) states that active and passive constructions can be found in English and Arabic. He suggests that "English passives are periphrastic whereas Arabic passives are morphological". This means, whereas an English passive construction has auxiliaries, it has also an active corresponding sentence, an Arabic passive construction does not have any auxiliaries and it is considered a basic sentence that has its passive form by changing the internal form of the active verb. In describing the type of the passive in both languages, Khalil (ibid.) mentions two major types and four minor ones for English. The major two types are Agentive and Agentless whereas the minor ones are: Get passive, Causative have passive, Pseudo passive, Adjectival /stative passive. Agentive and agentless passives differ in deleting the' *by* phrase'. Whereas in the former the agent is mentioned by adding a *by* phrase such as 'The glass was broken BY JHON', in the latter there is no reference to the agent such as 'The letter was mailed yesterday'. The first of the minor types is the Get passive which is mostly used in informal or colloquial style. In Causative have type, 'have' may be followed by a passive object

and a verb with a past participle form. A Pseudo passive has a different form in which there is no auxiliary or past participle; instead, it has a subject as a recipient of the action such as 'history repeats itself'. Finally, Adjectival/stative passive has no agent implied and it is formed by past participle as the predicate of the verb such as 'The door was broken'.

On the other hand, Arabic has three types of passive: regular passive, 'infa'ala انفعل'verb form and impersonal passive. The first one depends on the form of the verb by changing the internal vowel, the second type refers to the intransitive verbs which occur at the beginning of the verb phrase and take its passive form, they are, 'masdar' (verbal noun), time adverbial, place adverbial, and prepositional phrase (ibid.: 258-259).

3.3.1.2.1.2 Transitivity

Transitivity is chosen as one form of the syntactic structure in the analysis of the two texts under study to investigate ideology. Fairclough (1989:122) suggests that the analysis of grammatical processes and participant types of sentences is very important in revealing the hidden ideology, since it depends on specific choices from many other grammatical choices. Similarly, Halliday (1985) as cited in Nguyen(2012:86) points out that the ideational component of language is an essential property that permits humans to understand the reality and helps them to express their experience about themselves and what happens around them. This process can take place by the grammatical clause, especially through transitivity. Fairclough (1992:179) adds that such an analysis is also significant in recognising the political, social, and cultural factors that identify the role of processes in a particular type of discourse. Transitivity is an important property of language which allows humans to understand what happens in the real world and identify the political, social, cultural factors in a particular type of discourse.

CDA practitioners deal with the concept of transitivity in the same way as functionalists that differs from what formal studies do, in the sense that they consider its relation with the real world by relating it to its function not only by its form. In other words, CDA is concerned with transitivity for its role as a reflection of the processes that happen in the real world (Perez,2007:67).

Hart (2014:6) suggests that the most distinguished model of grammar appropriated in CDA is Halliday's Systemic Functional Grammar(SFG, henceforth). He points out that there are many similarities between CDA and SFG by saying:

> Both SFG and CDA… see language as a primary social resource. Both fields view the forms of language (at all levels) as well as the contents as meaningful. And both see the relation between language and social contexts as dialectical where linguistic 'choices' (register) are governed by the communicative situation (setting) but those choices at the same time define the nature of the communicative event (genre), including the interpersonal relationship between participants (ibid.).

Transitivity according to Halliday and Matthiessen (2014:220) comprises any kind of the complementation of the verb in a clause. Three components are included in the analysis of transitivity, namely process, participant, and circumstance. (i) the processes unfold through time (ii) the participants involved in the process (iii) the circumstances associated with the process. They point out that circumstantial elements are not obligatory, instead, they are constantly optionalargumentations of the clause. A participant element is obligatory; It is inherent in the process since every process type of clause may have one participant while some types have three participants(ibid.:221).

Accordingly, two of these components are central; they are; process and participant; besides, one is peripheral which is circumstance.

Example of the central components are represented in the following text which is taken from the American constitution *"the President shall nominatea Vice President who shall take office upon confirmation by a majority vote of both Houses of Congress"*

The participants are *the President*and*a Vice President* whereas the process is the verb *nominate.*

The transitivity analysis of the two texts under study will be restricted to the role of the president as a participant in the two texts and will also be constricted to the central elements of the clause (process and participant) for two reasons, first of all, circumstance is peripheral in the sense that it is involved indirectly in the process of the clause. Secondly, the two texts are constitutional texts which differ from other discourse such as novel or drama which make use of circumstances heavily in their contents.

Halliday and Matthiessen (2014:300) recognise six types of process, three of them are major and three minor. 'Material', 'mental',   and 'relational' are major whereas 'behavioural', 'verbal', and ' existential' are minor.

Table(3-1) illustrates the central components of clause in transitivity which is presented by Halliday and Matthiessen (2014) and will be adopted in analysing the role of participant (the president) in the two texts under study.

Table (3-1): Major and Minor Process Types According to Halliday and Matthiessen (2014).

No.	Process type	Major/minor	Category meaning	Participants, directly involved	Participants, obliquely involved
1	**Material**: Action Event	Major	'doing' 'doing' 'happening'	Actor, Goal	Recipient, Client; Scope; Initiator; Attribute
2	**Behavioural**	**Minor**	'behaving'	Behaver	Behaviour
3	**Mental**: Perception Cognition Desideration Emotion	Major	'sensing' 'seeing' 'thinking' 'wanting' 'feeling'	Senser, Phenomenon	Inducer
4	**Verbal**	**Minor**	'saying'	Sayer, Target	Receiver; Verbiage
5	**Relational**: Attribution Identification	Major	'being' 'attributing' 'identifying'	Carrier, Attribute Identified, Identifier; Token, Value	Attributor, Beneficiary Assigner
6	**Existential**	**Minor**	'existing'	Existent	

3.3.1.2.2 Semantic Structure

According to Van Dijk(2000a:45), ideology may appear all over in discourse. So, it is important to pay special attention to the semantics of ideological discourse that comprises the meaning of words, sentences and whole discourses.

It is previously mentioned that there are two levels within linguistic analysis: global and local. Concerning global meaning, it has been

explained throughout the explanation of theme/ topic that stands for the higher semantic level of discourse. Since the meaning of discourse is not limited to the higher semantic level(global). The researcher will deal with local semantics. Two semantic strategies are chosen in the analysis of the two texts under study, namely modality and categorization.

3.3.1.2.2.1 Modality

Downing and Locke (1992:379) define modality as a semantic group that enables speakers to convey various types of attitude about specific event. In one way, the speaker's attitude is concerned with judging the truth of the event such as giving certainty, possibility and so on which is called (epistemic or extrinsic modality).In another way, speakers intervene in the event in terms of giving permission or obligation which is called (deontic or intrinsic modality).

Furthermore, Van Dijk's (2000a)point of view about modality is very close to what is proposed by Downing and Locke (1992) since he regards modality as a part of semantic structure rather than only syntactic structure. Van Dijk (2013: 123), then, defines modality in terms of epistemic, deontic and other types of modalities that are controlled by hidden ideologies and attitudes. He suggests that facts may be shown as one of modality meaning such as possibility, probability, necessity, obligation, or permission (ibid.).

The model of analysis adopted is concerned with the analysis of modality markers which depends on Downing and Lock (1992) for English text and Khalil (1999) for the equivalent modal verbs in the Arabic text in order to investigate the meanings as well as their frequency of occurrence. The analysis is limited to analysing modal verbs only in terms of epistemic modality (which refers to the commitment to truth)

and deontic modality (which refers to the commitment to necessity and obligation). Epistemic modality includes modal certainty, probability and possibility while deontic modality includes volition, obligation, necessity, and permission. Table(3-2) below shows the analysis of the components of modality in the two texts under study.

Table (3-2): Modal Verbs According to Downing and Lock (1992) for English text and Khalil (1999) for the Equivalent Modal Verbs in Arabic

No.	Types of Modality		English modal verbs	Arabic Modal Verbs
1.	Epistemic Modality	Certainty	Will, would, shall, Must, have to	لابد ، لاشك
		Probability	Should, ought to, have to	قد ، ربما
		Possibility	May, might, can, could	يمكن، يقدر، يستطيع، قادر، قد، ربما، من الممكن، بإمكان
2.	Deontic Modality	Volition	Will, shall	لابد، لاشك، س، سوف
		Obligation	Must, have to, have got, shall, should, ought to	ينبغي، يلزم، يجب، عليك ان، لابد، لاداعي، لا يلزم
		Necessity	Had to, must	لابد، لاشك، من المستحيل ، استبعد، لايعقل
		Permission	Must, may, can,	يستطيع، يمكن، بامكان

3.3.1.2.2.2 Categorization

Categorization is defined according to social psychology as the manner in which people tend to recognize things as similar or different (McGarty: 1999: 7).Van Dijk (2005:735) states that "the categorization of people into ingroups and outgroups, and even the division between good and bad outgroups, is not value-free, but imbued with ideologically based applications of norms and values". He (ibid.:735)states that social psychology is concernd with how "people tend to categorize people", for

example, speakers in parliament talk about other people like (immigrants, refugees, or asylum seekers, etc. Accordingly, any group of people may be distinguished and attributed positively and negatively depending on some values and specific ideologies that are shared by any group members. So that, the division between good and bad group is not value-free, but imbued with ideologically based applications of norms and values .

3.3.1.2.3 Lexical Structure

The final part of the linguistic analysis will be limited to analysing lexical expressions in the two texts under study. There is no doubt that a large number of the lexical expressions that are used to make up the two texts are ideologically based expressions.

Hart (2011:39) states that the way lexical items in which ideas and meaning are conveyed is considered   the lowest line of all linguistic analysis. Moreover, choosing such ideas or meaning is based on two factors: the first one is related to the context which involves participants, aims and setting. The second one is based on the knowledge as well as the ideology of the dominant persons and their groups. Van Dijk (2013:189) describes the analysis of lexical variants as the most obvious level that expresses the underlying discourse meaning, especially the variety of words that are used to refer to the same meaning. He adds that much of the ideological discourse analysis goes beyond such an analysis of words. Two kinds of expressions will be included within the analysis of the two texts, religious expressions and expressions of rights.

3.3.2 Intertextual Analysis

The second step in the analysis of the two texts under study is the intertextual analysis. CDA   differs from   other methods of analysis in

using the concept of intertextuality, which refers to the relation between two texts, when it tries to comprise all factors that may affect the production of a text (Meyer, 2001:15). In the same way, Fairclough (2013:9) suggests that CDA is not limited to the analysis of individual texts; instead, it looks forward at 'globalist' discourse in this text by looking for intertextual relation of a text within large sets of texts.

Scholars such as Kristeva (1986) and Wang (2006) believethat the notion of intertextuality is traced back to Bakhtin, since they (1986), as cited in Wang (2006:73), mention the idea that "every text (or utterance) is dialogical in the sense that it gains its meaning in relation to other texts". Thibault (1994:1751), on the other hand, states his perspective towards the notion of intertextuality by saying "all texts, spoken and written, are constructed and have the meanings which text-users assign to them in and through their relations with other texts in some social formation".

According to Wang (2006:74), scholars deal with the notion of intertextuality from different perspectives, each one of them treats it according to his own purpose. Accordingly, these scholars can be divided into two groups: the first group is the scholars of literary semiotics whose concern is the literary works such as Kristeva (1981), Riffaterre (1978), Frow(1986), and others. The second group represents the scholars of CDA whose main concern is non-literary work such as Fairclough (1992,1995a, 1995b), Scollon (2004), Bazerman (1993 and 2004), Devitt (1991) and others. Thus, intertextuality, according to the second group, is not observed as a form through which texts are interrelated only, but also as a social practice that needs certain socially regulated manners to produce and interpret discourse.
Fairclough (1992: 84) uses intertextuality to indicate the productivity of texts, in the sense that the transformation of a prior text and the

reorientation of present conventions lead to the creation of other texts. He relates the concept of intertextuality to the concept of power and hegemony.This enables us to understand the process of struggle within the orders of discourse as part of a wide range of it that happens in the sense of hegemonic struggle. He (ibid.) defines 'intertextuality' as the process whereby the characteristics of one text are used to build another one. He (ibid.10) categorises intertextuality into two categories '**manifest intertextuality**' and '**constitutive intertextuality**'. The first type, namely manifest intertextuality, can be defined as the explicit or implicit reference to previous texts whereas the second type, namely constitutive intertextuality refers to the connection between two texts in a way that they have the same form, structure and/ or genre.

Ott and Walter (2000:430) state that the theory of intertextuality means that any text should be read in relation to another text or texts in a way that this relationship is not restricted to the form of a certain sign from one text to another, consequently, it is not necessary for readers to be aware of this relation. This indicates that the phenomenon of intertextuality consists of a large number of signs and positive or negative indications, but it is not necessary to include an awareness reading of such snips to reach the purpose behind using intertextuality.

Bazerman (2004:3), on the other hand, deals with the concept of intertextuality in a more general way by relating the advantage of such analysis to a variety of fields such as academic writing, research projects, policy documents and so on. He defines the concept of intertextuality as :

> "The explicit and implicit relations that a text or utterance has to prior, contemporary and potential future texts. Through such relations a text evokes a representation of the discourse situation, the textual resources that bear on the situation, and how the current text positions itself and draws on other texts. While this is now a widely recognized phenomenon, there is not a standard shared analytic

vocabulary for considering the elements and kinds of intertextuality"
.

Bazerman (ibid.3-6) identifies specific procedures for intertextual analysis of texts according to his model, which will be followed in the present study. These procedures are divided into four steps: levels of intertextuality, techniques of intertextual representation, intertextual distance or reach, and recontextualisation. Figure(3-3)points out the procedures for the explanation of each step

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┌─────────────┐
│ Intertextual│
│  Analysis   │
└─────────────┘
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Levels of Intertextuality

There are six levels of intertextual analysis in which the texts rely on other texts:

1. The text may draw on prior texts as a source of meanings to be used at face value.
2. The text may draw explicit social dramas of prior texts engaged in discussion
3. Text may also explicitly use other statements as background, support, and contrast.
4. Less explicitly the text may rely on beliefs, issues, ideas, statement as common knowledge
5. By using certain implicitly recognizable kinds of language, phrasing, and genres.
6. Just by using language and language forms, a text relies on the available resources of language without calling particular attention to the intertext.

Techniques of Intertextual Representation

The previous levels of intertextuality can be recognized through the following techniques:

1. Direct quotation.
2. Indirect quotation.
3. Mentioning of a person, document or statements.
4. Comment or evaluation on a statement, text, or otherwise invoked voice.
5. Using recognizable phrasing, terminology associated with specific people or groups of people or particular documents.
6. Using language and forms that seem to echo certain ways of communicating, discussions among other people, types of documents

IntertextualDistance or Reach

This step identifies the relation of specific texts to another texts in terms of distance in time, space, culture, or institution

Recontextuali-zation

Which refers to how the text uses the words or phrases in new context by giving them new meaning.

Figure (3-4) Intertextual Model of Analysis Following Bazerman (2004)

3.3.3 Ideological Analysis

Ideology, according to Fairclough (1989:93), has a number of meanings; he presents two interpretations for this concept. The first one belongs to the U.S. after the Second World War which refers to "any social policy which is in part or in whole derived from social theory in a conscious way'. The second interpretation is in the Marxist tradition which is to view ideologies as 'ideas which arise from a given set of material interests'.These ideas are suitable to particular group of people. Fairclough (1989: 92) believes that ideology might not appear explicitly in discourse; rather, it "works through disguising its nature". He (ibid.:164)relates the concept of ideology with the concept of power and sees them as two linked termssince ideology is seen as a chief formula of power and power as an ideologically rooted, or in other terms as 'ideological power' because there is no language in use that can be described as 'neutral' or 'objective' (Elsharkawy,2011:n.p.). The analysis of ideology in the present study will be carried out by investigating and explaining the ideas presented in the two texts. In other words, Fairclough's (1989) second interpretation will be followed.

The following figure is the model of analysis which is adapted by the researcher to be followed in the present study. The model has three main parts, linguistic analysis according to Van Dijk's (1980) and (2004), intertextual analysis according to Bazerman's (2004) model of analysis and finally ideological analysis following Fairclough's (1989).
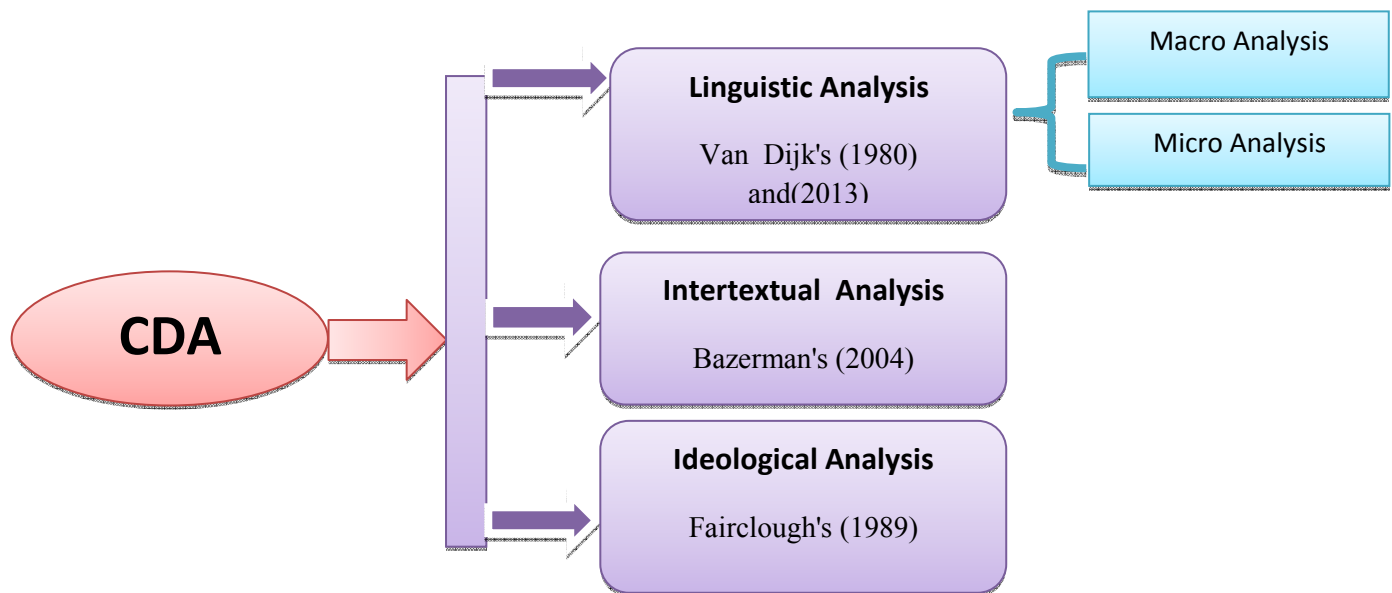
Figure (3-5) The adapted Model of Analysis following Van Dijk's
(1980; 2013), Bazerman's (2004) and Fairclough's (1989).

Chapter Four

Data Analysis

4. Introductory Remarks

Each stage in the adapted model will be analysed separately. AC will be analysed first then IAE in every single stage of the analysis. The analysis includes three stages according to the adapted model, namely linguistic, semantic, and lexical. The two texts under study are analysed within the linguistic stage according to two levels, the macro level and the micro level where each level comprises various components. Intertextual analysis follows; this comprises four levels of analysis. Finally, ideological analysis will be done according to the outcomes of the first two stages.

4.1 Analysis of AC

4.1.1 Linguistic Analysis

Two major levels of analysis are included here: macro and micro. The macro level deals with schematic structure and thematic structure while the micro level comprises three minor levels of analysis: syntactic level, semantic level, and lexical level. Syntactic level includes the analysis of passivisation and transitivity whereas in the semantic level, analysis of categorization, and modality are included. The third level (i. e. lexical level) deals with two types of expressions of religion and human rights.

4.1.1.1 Macro Analysis

The schematic structure analysis of AC is the first part of the analysis within macro analysis, followed by the thematic structure.

4.1.1.1.1 Schematic Analysis

The analysis of ACstructure consists of some parts expressing the superstructure organisation. These are three main parts, namely, a preamble, seven articles, and twenty-seven amendments. A preamble represents the introduction of the constitution which does not contain any reference to law; rather, it consists of a short paragraph forming an introductory statement. The second part is the articles which establisha federal system and divide power among three main branches — the executive, legislative, and judicial. The first branch is the executive which refers to the president whose task is to apply national laws.

The second branch is the legislative one which refers to the Congress which makes national laws. Finally, the judicial branch which refers to the Supreme Court and other federal courts where task is to apply and interpret laws when deciding legal disputes in federal courts.

The seven articles are also divided into sections, For example, Article I is divided into 10 sections, each section is about a specific issue, (see table 4-1).

Amendments are added to the constitution later on. Their task is to add some more human rights and to correct the earlier mistakes of the constitution. The number of amendments are twenty-seven and each one includes one or more sections.

Table (4-1) Text Structure of AC

The Preamble	Introductory Statement		
Articles	Article 1 The Legislative Branch	Section 1	The Legislature
		Section 2	The House of Representative
		Section 3	The Senate
		Section 4	Organization of Congress
		Section 5	Membership of Congress
		Section 6	Compensation
		Section 7	Revenue Bills, Legislative
		Section 8	Process, Presidential Veto
		Section 19	Powers of Congress
		Section 10	Limit of Congress
	Articles II The Executive Branch	Section 1	The President
		Section 2	Civilian Power over Military, Cabinet, Pardon Power, Appointments
		Section 3	State of the Union, Convening the Congress
		Section 4	Disqualification
	Article III Judicial Branch	Section 1	Judicial Power
		Section 2	Trial by Jury, Original Jurisdiction, Jury Trial

		Section 3	Treason
	Article IV The States	Section 1	Relation of the States to each other
		Section 2	State Citizen, Extradition
		Section 3	New States
		Section 4	Republican Government
	Article V	Amendments	
	Articles VI	Debts, Supremacy, Oaths	
	Article VII	Ratification	
The Amendments	Amendment1	Freedom of Religious, Press, Expression	
	Amendment2	Right to Bear Arms	
	Amendment 3	Quartering of Soldiers	
	Amendment 4	Search and Seizure	
	Amendment 5	Trial and Punishment, Compensation for Taking	
	Amendment 6	Right to Speedy Trial, Confrontation of Witnesses	
	Amendment 7	Trial by Jury in Civil Cases	
	Amendment 8	Cruel and Unusual Punishment	
	Amendment 9	Construction of Constitution	
	Amendment 10	Powers of the States and People	
	Amendment 11	Judicial Limits	
	Amendment 12	Choosing the President, Vice-President	
	Amendment 13	Slavery Abolished	
	Amendment 14	Citizenship Rights	
	Amendment 15	Race No Bar to Vote	

	Amendment 16	Status of Income Tax Clarified
	Amendment 17	Senators Elected by Popular Vote
	Amendment 18	Liquor Abolished
	Amendment 19	Women's Suffrage
	Amendment 20	Presidential, Congressional Terms
	Amendment 21	Amendment 18 Repealed
	Amendment 22	Presidential Term Limits
	Amendment 23	Presidential Vote for District of Columbia
	Amendment 24	Poll Tax Barred
	Amendment 25	Presidential Disability and Succession
	Amendment 26	Voting Age Set to 18 Years
	Amendment 27	Limiting Congressional Pay Increases

4.1.1.1.2 Thematic Analysis

AC is analysed here in relation to its structure at a higher level. Since the analysis of a text is not limited to its syntactic, semantic, morphological or phonological structure. The analysis should also cover more complex, higher-level stage of analysis, such as overall topics or thematic structures.

The analysis will be done according to the concept of topic/ theme introduced by Van Dijk (1980) and referred to as the summary, gist, upshot, or most important information of an utterance which belongs to the global, macro level of discourse description. He calls it semantic macrostructures. The present study will introduce some of these basic themes with reference to their positions in AC.

a- People Sovereignty

This theme is introduced in the very beginning of AC. It refers to the source of power of this constitution which comes from the people of the U.S.A. Such power is directly transformed from the people to the chosen persons in the government. Therefore, the power of government has been taken from and created by the people's harmony. The preamble shows this theme obviously in the following clause:

> 1.We the People of the United States, in order to form a more perfect Union, establish Justice, insure domestic Tranquility, provide for the common defence, promote the general Welfare, and secure the Blessings of Liberty to ourselves and our Posterity, ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America.

The pronoun 'we' here refers to the people of the U.S. who declare in this preamble that the purposes of writing this constitution are to form a perfect union, establish justice in addition to other purposes. But the most important points here are who decides the form of the union? Who establishes justice? Who insures domestic tranquility? The answer is pronounced explicitly by mentioning pronouns such as 'we', 'ourselves', and 'our'. This authority is transferred from people to their representatives.

b- Separation of Power

It means that the power that is transformed from the people to their representatives is divided into three branches, namely legislative, executive, and judicial. Each has its independent power and responsibilities. This division can be shown by the following extracts :

2. All legislative Powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives .

3. The executive Power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America.

4. The judicial Power of the United States, shall be vested in one supreme Court, and in such inferior Courts.

The legislative branch's job is creating the law while the executive branch's job is to apply the law and finally the interpretation of laws is assigned to the judicial branch. Separation of powers prevents the three branches from being too powerful. So that if any one of these three branches has power more than others this will lead to bad exploitations of that power. Thus, the system of checking and balancing allows one branch to be a monitor on others The balance among these three powers is not limited to the contents of the articles; it is also reflected in the use of the same tense, voice and even the verb to describe the power of the three branches. The construction of the sentences are into passive voice, using the same verb" vested" into three separate articles.

C- **Racial, ethnic and sexist discrimination of people**

Such theme is dominated in the first draft of AC and even in the first ten amendments. Racial and ethnic discriminations are explicitly expressed throughout the first article in different sections. For example, the representatives of the U.S. are counted according to the number of the free citizens excluding Indians and, of course, slaves, thus   they are not treated as ordinary citizens who are excluded from election. They are described as (three fifths) of all other persons, as follows:

5.Representatives and direct Taxes shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included within this Union, according to their respective Numbers, which shall be

> determined by adding to the whole Number of **free persons** ….**excluding Indians not taxed.**

Another example of such theme is related to the slaves trade, The Congress shall not prevent the migration or importation of such people (slaves) but they can impose ten dollars as a tax on each person of them. This is considered a slavery legislation. The article is as follows:

> 6.The migration or importation of such persons as any of the states now existing shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by the congress prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight, but a tax or duty may be imposed on such importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each person.

Women have a portion of some kind of abuse which is related to election and the system of election regulation. They are not allowed to elect until 1920 where amendment 19 states that the right of citizens of the US to vote shall not be denied on account of sex.

d-Human rights

This theme is established by the amendments since the constitution of 1789 give emphasis to the responsibilities and duties of the three branches without giving such issues much attention. The rights that are included within the first ten amendments come to express some rights such as free religion, press, speech, expressions, bearing arms, speedy trial and some other rights. Slaves trade, the rights of Indians, the rights of women in the election are not included in such list of amendments.

Here is an example of human rights in AC:

> 7.Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances .

Accordingly, secularism is adopted by AC since there is no adoption of a specific religion , neither preventing people from embracing a specific religion. Abolition of slavery and women's suffrage are established only in 1865 and 1920 by amendments 13 and19 respectively:

> 8.Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction .

> 9.The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.

e. Federalism

Law(2013:93) defines federalism as "the method of dividing powers so that the general and regional governments are each, within a sphere, co-ordinate and independent". In AC ,this is reflected by the separation of power between the national and state government of the U.S. Although, the concept Federalism is not discussed explicitly in the constitution, amendment 10 expresses this meaning as follows:

> 10. The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people.

The power which is granted to the states is not equal to the power of the national government, since there is no law allowed to enact against the laws in the national constitution.

The summary of the whole text represents the overall theme/ topic. AC is a secular unified federalist document which established to support the new nations to be independent of the British colonial. The founders of it concentrate on delineating the responsibilities of the three powers in

the first place. Issues such as human rights are added to it later. It is hardly to set rules of abolition of slavery and rights of blacks and women in the beginning of its creation since the bill of right is concerned with the white citizens only whereas the black citizens are regarded as citizens of the US only in 1865-1870 which means after 76 years.

4.1.1.2 Micro Analysis

The micro analysis consists of three levels: syntactic, semantic, and lexical.

4.1.1.2.1Syntactic Level

Within this level, two components are going to be investigated, namely passivation and transitivity.

4.1.1.2.1.1Passivisation

Passivisation has been tackled according to Khalil's (1999) model of analysis. It is mentioned earlier that passive or active processes can appear evidently throughout the structure of sentences. Khalil (1999) mentions many types of passivisation which are found in the texts. In English, there are six types, two are major and four are minor. These types are Agentive and Agentless, Get passive, Causative have passive, and Pseudo passive, Adjectival/ stative passive. The frequency of occurrence and percentage of active and passive sentences in ACare shown in table (4-2).

Table(4-2) The Frequency and Percentage ofActive and Passive Verbs in AC

Verb No.	Active		Passive		
	Frequency	Percentage	Types of verb	Frequency	Percentage
498			Agentive	39	22.0%
			Agentless	133	76.0%
			Adjectival	4	2.0%
	322	64.66%	Total	176	35.34%
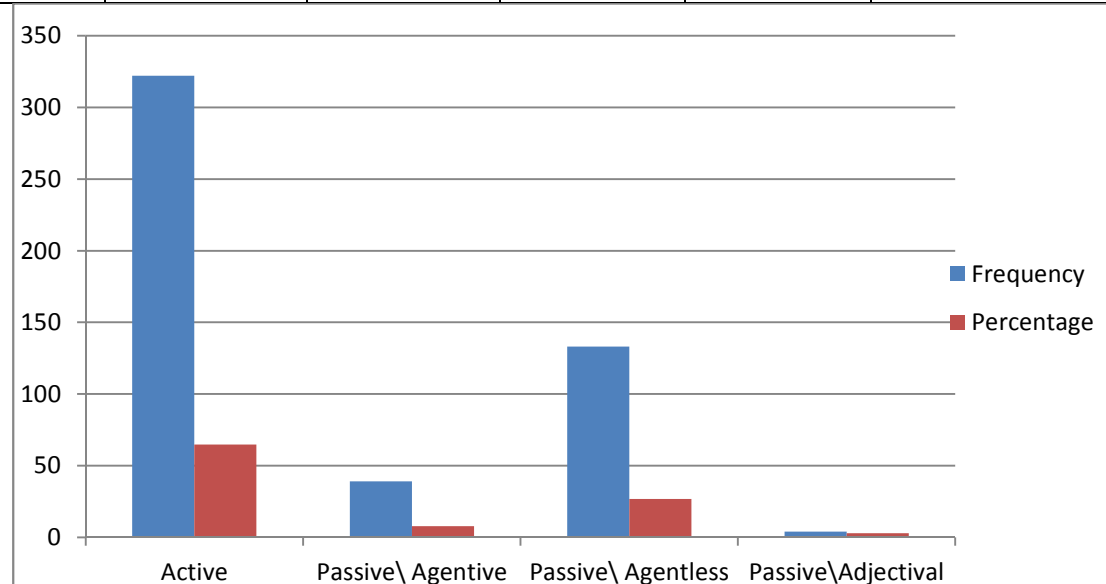
Figure (4-1) The Frequency and Percentage of Active and Passive Verbs in AC

Passivisation analysisof the text shows that the frequency of all verbs in the constitution are (498).Active verbs constitute (322) out of the total verbs (498) making (64.66%) whereas passive voice scores (176) times out of (498) making (35.34%). It is obvious that the results show that three types of passive verbs are used in the constitution, Agentive, Agentless, and Adjectival. Agentless marks the high frequency in the

analysis since it is used (133) times out of (176) making (76.0%) whereas Agentive is used (39) times out of (176) making (22.0%), and Adjectival is used only (4) times out of (176) making(2.0%).

The addressee in legal texts is less important than the contents, for example when the sentence talks about the election of the Senate, the passive voice is used to replace the subject by the object;

> 11. The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, elected by the people.

Here the Senators are more important than the electors themselves since the elector represents all of the people whereas the Senators are limited in number. The latter relates directly to the result of election which ends with delineating such persons as representatives of the United States in the Senate.

Examples of the three types of passive construction that are found in ACare as follows:

An Agentive Passive is used when the passive constructions are followed by a *byphrase* and the subject of the sentence, for example:

> 12. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged **by the United States** or by any State on account of sex.

The *-by* phrase functions as a complement of the sentence since the passive clause is not understandable without adding it so it comes as an explanation of the side that is responsible of the protection of the rights of the United States citizens. Additionally, passive constructions make the focus on the citizens in the first place to imply that they are more important than any other ones and their rights have to be protected by all other people who are responsible in the government.

An Agentless Passive is used in which there is no need to add a *by* phrase or refer to the agent in any way, for example:

> 13. Representatives **shall be apportioned** among the several
> States according to their respective numbers.

No agent is found in such sentences in ACsince the distribution of the representatives takes place according to law without referring to the side that is responsible of such process. Many sentences have agentless passive constructions which relate directly or indirectly to the three powers in AC; the Legislative power, Executive power or Judicial power.

An Adjectival Passiveis used in four sentences to imply the meaning of adjective rather than passive construction, for example:

> 14. No Person shall be a Representative who shall not have
> attained to the Age of twenty five Years, and been seven
> Years a Citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when
> elected, be an Inhabitant of that State in which **he shall be
> chosen**".

The sentence refers to the qualification of the members of the house of the representative. They shall be chosen by the electors (people). At the end of the sentence the past participle chosen is mentioned as an adjective of the representative without referring to the agent.

4.1.1.2.1.2Transitivity

The model of analysis which is followed here is Halliday and Matthiessen (2014). It refers to analysing the process unfolding through time and the participants involved in the process. The analysis is restricted to the **president** role which is involved directly or indirectly in the process. The frequency of occurrence and percentage of the process types and participant in AC are shown in table (4-3).

Table (4-3): Transitivity Analysis of the AC (Process Types for the President Role)

No.	Process type		Frequency	Percentage %
1.	Material	Event Action	50	66.7%
2.	Mental	Cognition	6	8 %
3.	Verbal		5	6.7%
4.	Relational	Attribution Identifying	14	18.6 %
Total			75	100 %
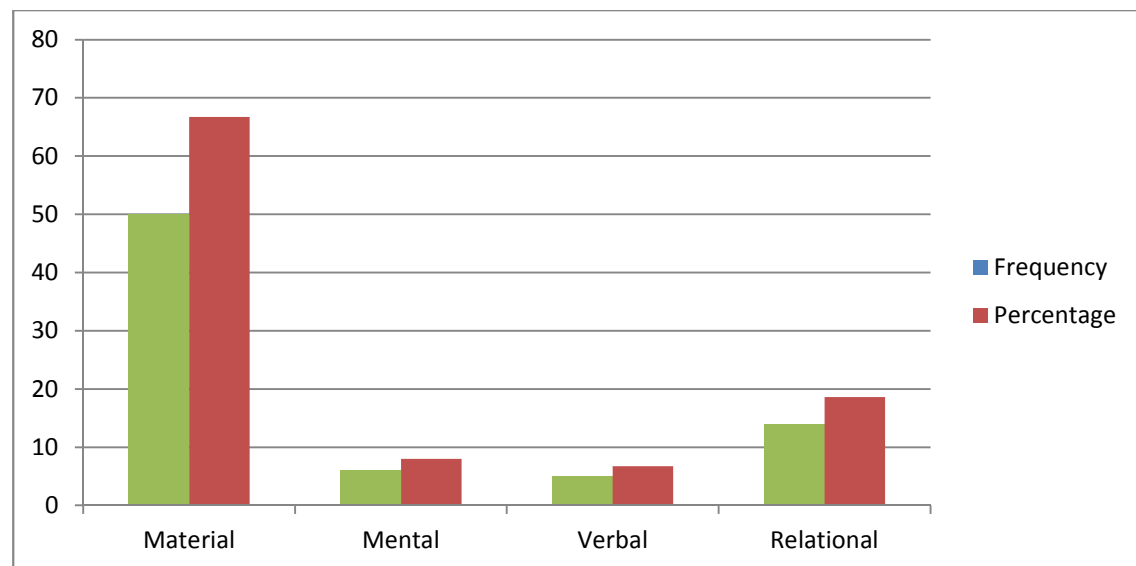
Figure (4-2) Transitivity Analysis of the AC (Process Types for the President Role)

Material process has the highest frequency and percentage since it is used fifty times out of seventy five making (66.7%). Similarly, relational processes have the second high frequency and percentage in the table after material process. It is repeated fourteen times out of the whole number making (18.6%). They together make (85.3%) of the whole percentage. Then, mental and verbal processes are used (8%) and (6.75%) respectively. After discussing transitivity in the president role through

table (4-3), it is the time to do the same analysis to the participant role as shown in table (4-4).

Table (4-4): Transitivity Analysis of the AC (participant role)

No.	Process type	Participants		Frequency	Percentage %
1.	Material	Directly involved	Actor	27	36%
			Goal	13	17.3%
		Obliquely involved	Client	2	2.7%
			Recipient	8	10.7%
2.	Mental	Directly involved	Senser	6	8 %
3.	Verbal	Directly involved	sayer	5	6.7%
4.	Relational	Directly involved	Carrier	6	8 %
			Identifier	4	5.3 %
			Identified	4	5.3 %
		Totals		75	100 %
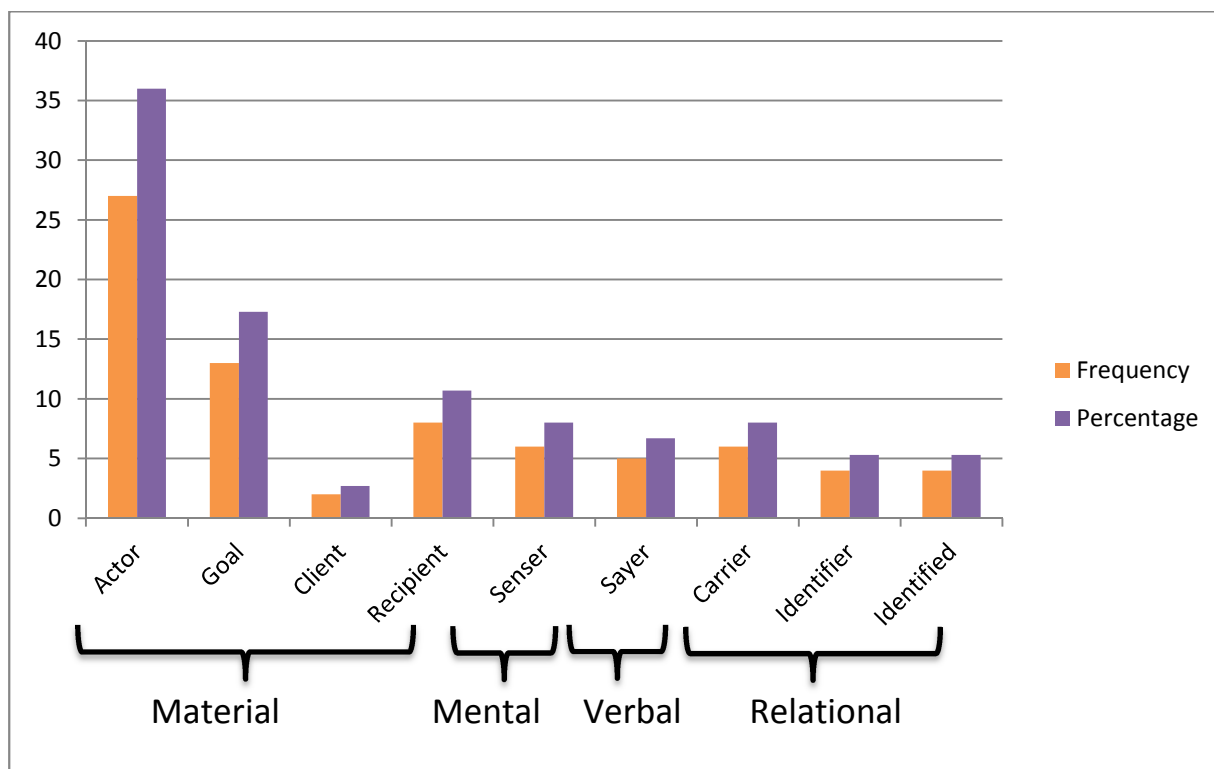
Figure (4-3) Transitivity Analysis of the AC (participant role)

The material process type prevailsthe other process types since it is repeated fifty times making (66.7%). According to Halliday andMatthiessen (2014:243) these process type clauses do not certainly signify concrete or physical events. Sometimes they may signify abstract doings and happenings in which they refer to the physical and abstract events of the participant *thepresident*. The role of actor in material clauses as an indirectly involved participant makes (36%) whereas the goal makes (17.3%). On the other hand, as an obliquely involved, client makes (2.7%) whereas recipient (10.7%). The following are examples of material clauses of the above mentioned roles that are represented respectively,:

> 15. He shall have Power, by and with the Advice and Consent of the Senate, to make Treaties, provided two thirds of the Senators present concur….. shall **appoint** Ambassadors.

16. The President, Vice President and all civil Officers of the United States, shall be **removed** from Office on Impeachment for, and Conviction of, Treason, Bribery, or other high Crimes and Misdemeanors .

17. The President shall, at stated Times, **receive** for his Services, a Compensation.

18. The Electors shall meet in their respective states, and **vote** by ballot for President.

The second type according to its frequency of occurrence in the analysis is the relational process which is repeated fourteen times making (18.6%) of the whole percentage. The participants role which are found within relational clauses are: carrier, identifier, and identified. Their percentages are: the carrier (8%) and both identifier and identified are (5.3%). Halliday and Matthiessen (2014:204) point out that relational clauses give the characterization and identification of the participant. Examples of these roles are as follows, respectively:

19. The President **is** unable to discharge the powers and duties of his office.

20. The Vice President elect shall **become** President.

21. The President **shall have** Power to fill up all Vacancies that may happen during the Recess of the Senate.

Mental clauses comes third in the analysis since it is repeated six times making (8%). Halliday and Matthiessen (2014:245) suggest that mental clauses are regarded as clauses of sensing since they are concerned with individual's experiences towards the world andexperience of his own awareness. Mental clauses are of four types, perception, cognition, desideration, and emotion. Only one type is found throughout the analysis of the text, that is cognition and the participant is 'senser'. Accordingly, there is noreference to the other types, especially the emotion, so it can be said that ACis devoid of any kind of emotion. It

deals with the practical and cognitive side of the people's lives, for example:

22. If he **approve**he shall sign it, but if not he shall return it.

Finally , verbal clauses make (6.75%). This type is repeated five times only out of the whole number. The participant in here is always the addresser. The following example is illustrative:

23. I do solemnly **swear** (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the Office of President of the United States .

4.1.1.2.2 Semantic Level

4.1.1.2.2.1 Modality

It has been mentioned that modality plays an important role in constructing personal or social identities that have a significant part in revealing what the speaker is(Fairclough,1995:166).The adopted model is based on Downing and Lock (1992) to investigate the two types of modality: epistemic and deontic in AC. Epistemic modality is concerned with indicating the speaker's confidence in the truth of the proposition expressed in the speech whereas deontic modality deals with the level of strength of modal verbs (Halliday,1985:339).

Table (4-5): Frequency of Occurrence of Modality Types in AC

No .	Types of Modality	Frequency	Percentage %
1.	Epistemic modality	93	26.1%
2.	Deontic modality	264	73.9%
	Total	357	100%
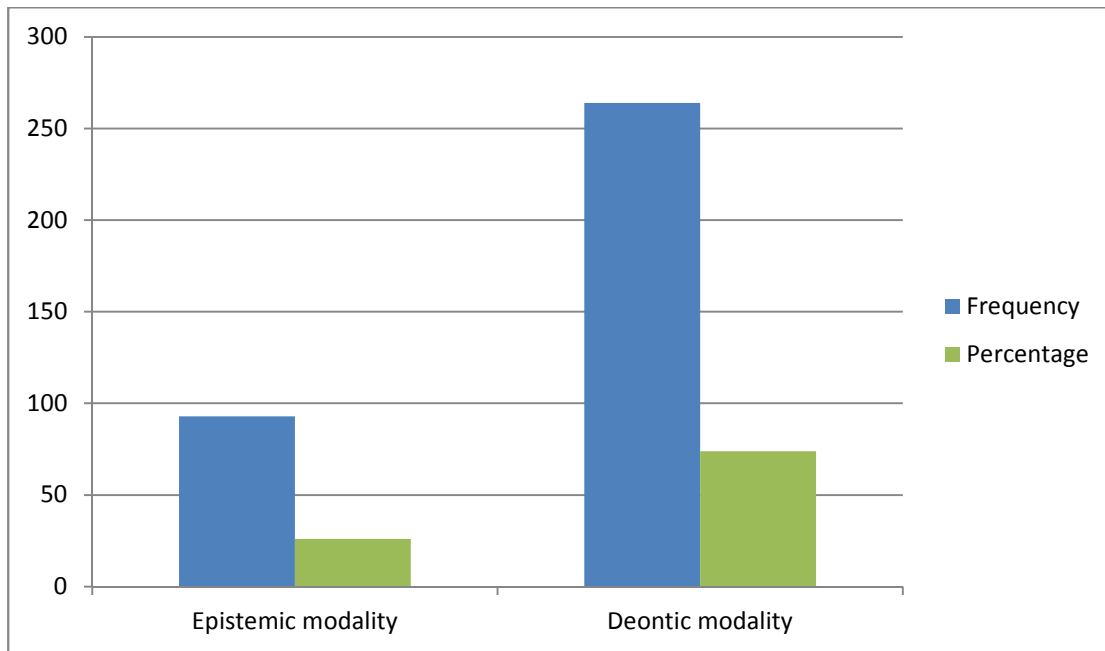
Figure (4-4) The Overall Frequency and Percentage of Modality Types in AC

Table (4-5)shows that the type of modality that prevails in the text is the epistemic modality which is repeated(93) times out of (357) making(26.1%) whereas deontic modality is repeated (264) times making (73.9%). The constitution as a legal discourse needs to express commitment to obligation/necessity rather than commitment to truth. In deontic modality three types are found in AC: volition, obligation and permission and three types of epistemic modality: certainty, possibility and probability. Table(4-6) illustrates in detail the frequency and percentage of modality types in AC.

Table (4-6): Modality in AC.

No.	Types of Modality		Frequency	Percentage %
1.	Epistemic Modality	Certainty	80	22.4%
		Possibility	12	3.4%
		Probability	1	0.3%
2.	Deontic Modality	Volition	13	3.6%
		Obligation	218	61.1%
		Permission	33	9.2%
	Total		357	100%
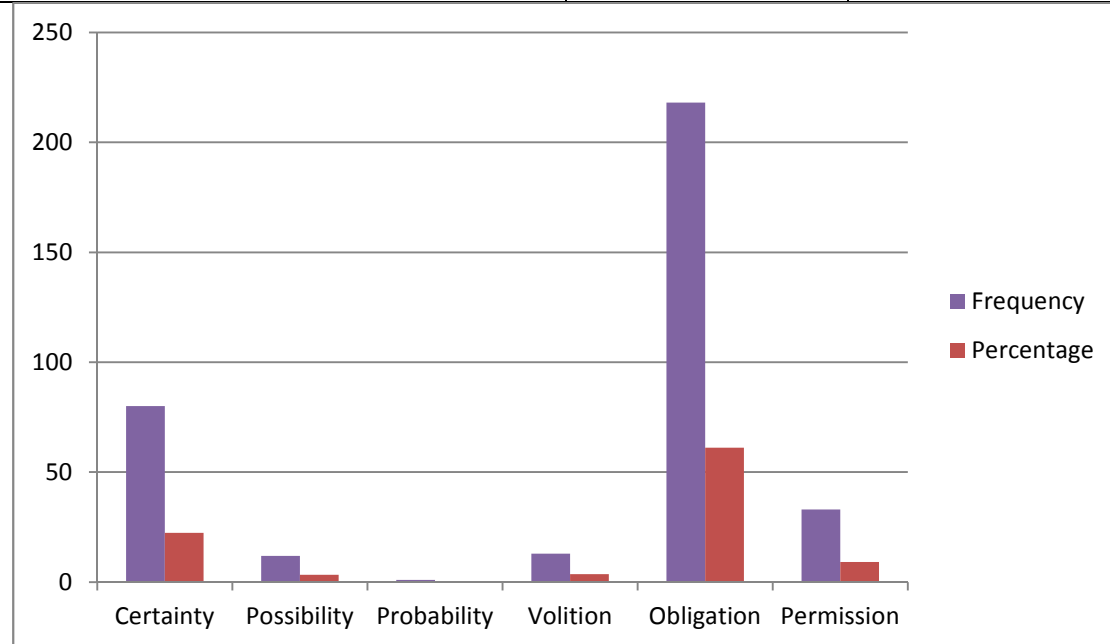
Figure (4-5) Modality in AC.

First of all, epistemic modality refers to the speaker's confidence in expressing the reality. Types of epistemic modality have different frequencies of occurrence in AC. Certainty is repeated eighty times out of the total number. The frequency of possibility is twelve times, whereas probability is found only one time . The following examples exemplify these three types respectively:

24. No State shall, without the Consent of Congress, lay any duty of Tonnage, keep Troops, or Ships of War in time of Peace, enter into any Agreement or Compact with another State, or with a foreign Power, or engage in War, unless actually invaded, or in such imminent Danger as **will not** admit of delay.

25. When this Article was proposed by the Congress, and shall not prevent any person who **may** be holding the office of President".

26. The Person having the greatest Number of Votes of the Electors shall be the Vice President. But if there **should** remain two or more who have equal Votes, the Senate shall chuse from them by Ballot the Vice-President.

Deontic modality represents the majority of modality in the text since legal texts are restricted to establish laws and instructions. AC, of course, has a wide number of sentences that express obligation, permission, necessity, certainty and volition.

The modal verb *shall* is repeated (306) times in ACwhere (216) of them is obligation, seventy seven are certainty and eleven only are volition. Accordingly, it comes with two meanings: epistemic and deontic, but since it is a constitution it does not deal with a specific tense in most cases . Rather, the use of *shall* is considered "totem to conjure up some flavour of the law"(Bowers as cited in Williams, 2007:119). The following examples express the meaning of *shall* as obligation, certainty as predication , and volition as willingness and intention, respectively.

27. No person **shall** be a Senator who **shall** not have attained to the Age of thirty Years, and been nine Years a Citizen of the United States.

28. If, at the time fixed for the beginning of the term of the President, the President elect **shall** have died, the Vice President elect **shall** become President.

29. The House of Representatives **shall** chuse their Speaker and other Officers; and **shall** have the sole Power of Impeachment.

30. Each House shall keep a Journal of its Proceedings, and from time to time publish the same, excepting such Parts as may in their Judgment require Secrecy; and the Yeas and Nays of the Members of either House on any question **shall**, at the Desire of one fifth of those Present, be entered on the Journal.

May, on the other hand, is the second most frequent modal in ACsince it is repeated forty-four times where thirty two of them is permission, and twelve are possibility. The two meanings, epistemic possibility and deontic permission are related because AC has given permission to do something that is considered possible. Here are examples of the two cases:

31.The Times, Places and Manner of holding Elections for Senators and Representatives, shall be prescribed in each State by the Legislature thereof; but the Congress **may** at any time by Law make or alter such Regulations".

32. Every Order, Resolution, or Vote to which the Concurrence of the Senate and House of Representatives **may** be necessary (except on a question of Adjournment).

4.1.1.2.2.2. Categorisation

Categorization in AC appears less clearly since the reference to different categories of people is not mentioned in one place but in different places. The constitution begins with the clause:

33. We the people of the United states.

This clause shows that the pronoun "we" refers to the whole citizens of the U.S with no subcategorisation. Then, in the Article I, especially in

the second section, there are references to categories of two classes. Article I, section 2:

> 34. Representatives and direct Taxes shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included within this Union, according to their respective Numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole Number of **free Persons**, including those bound to Service for a Term of Years, and excluding **Indians not taxed**.

It is proposed in the previous paragraph that AC is established by the people of the U.S without classification. However, now and as what has been shown in the previous example the word "people" basically does not refer to every person in the U.S since the word "people" itself is divided into two groups, "free persons" and "Indians not taxed".

The phrase **free persons** implies that there are other people who are not free, such as slaves or other black people.This paragraph is mainly concerned with the rate of the state representation and taxation. These are based basically on the number of **free persons**i.e. white plus "three fifths of all other persons" which refers to other people such as blacks and Indian tribes and so on. This indicates that they are treated as less than full human beings. Yet, there are many places where the word 'slaves' comes directly to refer to those people for example:

> 35. The Migration or **Importation of such Persons** as any of the States now existing shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to the Year one thousand eight hundred and eight, but a tax or duty may be imposed on such Importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each Person.

This category of citizens in the US cannot be considered part of the basic category "the people" that is mentioned in the beginning of AC. They actually have no rights, to be treated as ordinary citizens, yet, some states prevented slavery and were called 'free states', but no one"(i.e.

slave) is allowed to escape to the free states, in order to guarantee that this will not happen, Article IV, section 2 states the following:

> 36. No Person held to Service or Labour in one State, under the Laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in Consequence of any Law or Regulation therein, be discharged from such Service or Labour, But shall be delivered up on Claim of the Party to whom such Service or Labour may be due.

It would be significant to remark that this category of the American citizens (i, e. slaves) is no longer treated as slaves since 1865 when amendmentNo.13 comes to prevent such treatment as in the following clause:

> 37. Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

This decision took more than seventy years to delineate the rights of the whole citizens of the US, and to be as an opening gate to present what is meant by the citizen of the US when the fourteen amendments of the constitution in 1868 points out that:

> 38. All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside.

To sum up, yet, there are many examples of categorisation are found in the constitution. The analysis shows that the basic categorisation of people in the U.S, especially in the time of writing the constitution and more than one hundred years, (i,e from 1789 until 1868) depends on their race (Indian, African-Americans), colour (black and white), and also sex (male and female, see amendment No.14, section2 and amendment No. 19.

4.1.1.2.3 Lexical Level

The final part of the linguistic analysis is concerned with analysing lexical expressions. Two kinds of expressions are included here: religious expressions and expressions of rights.

4.1.1.2.3.1 Religious Expressions

AC in general is seen as a secular document since there is no reference to any religion. If one tries to account the number of religious expressions in AC, one will find no such items. Secularism can be defined as "an opposition to religious hegemony… the goal of secularism …is to ensure that the social and political order is free from institutionalized religious domination so that there is religious freedom, freedom to exit from religious, inter-religious.."(Berg-Sorensen, 2013: 20).The establishment clause in the first amendment of the constitution reveals the same meaning of secularism since it reveals the absence of religious expressions. It states that:

> 39. Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech.

In addition, the preamble of AC reveals that the source of the laws is the people themselves whereas we find that the Magna Carta begins with the name of God which showsits Christianity. This expresses the different between two societies; English and American, where the first one is controlled by the church and the king whereas the second tries to spilt completely from such domination.

4.1.1.2.3.2. Expressions of Rights

AC begins with articles and clauses about the three branches with their election regulations, compensations, power, limit of power and similar laws. The amendments include explicit or implicit references to rights. The following are the explicit ones:

-Peaceful sit-ins

> 40. The right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the government for a redress of grievances.

- Bear Arms

> 41. The right of the people to keep and bear Arms, shall not be infringed.

- Security

> 42. The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated.

-Speedy trial

> 43. In all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial.

- Voting

> 44. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

An example of the implicit reference to 'rights' is below:

> 45. No Soldier shall, in time of peace be quartered in any house, without the consent of the owner, nor in time of war, but in a manner to be prescribed by law.

Some of these rights will be explained in the following step of analysis (i. e. Intertextuality).

4.1.2 Intertextual Analysis of AC

The second step in the analysis of AC examines the relationship between AC and other texts. The analysis follows Bazerman (2004) which consists of four steps. Some illustrative examples of intertextuality will be presented here by applying this model. Many documents are proved to be affecting the constitution intertextually, namely, the Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen,(henceforth DRMC) 1789, Magna Carta, (henceforth, MC)1215 and the constitutions of different American states that have direct effects on ACsuch as, The Constitution of Massachusetts 1780 and the Constitution of Pennsylvania 1776(henceforth, PC), the Constitution of New Jersey 1776and others . The following example in AC is based on DRMC:

> 46. No person shall be held to answer for a capital, or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a Grand Jury.

This amendment No. 5 is grounded on Article VII of the DRMC:

> "No person shall be accused, arrested, or imprisoned except in the cases and according to the forms prescribed by law".

The previous example can be analysed regarding its levels, techniques, distance, and recontextualisation as follows:

Its level belongs to Bazerman (2004) who states that " Text may also explicitly use other statements as background, support, and contrast" . The technique used in AC is based on mentioning the statement. The distance in time between the two texts is two years. This implies that such a case might be international to enact and legislate law for it. AC

was newborn so it was in need of including some global issues, in addition, it was in need of using the contents of some other documents since it was not based on the rule of the Bible or the church. Concerning the distance of place and culture, both of them are written in their countries America and France and consequently follow these nationalities in regard to their cultures. Finally, concerning distance of institution, whereas the bill of rights in AC was presented by a special committee and passed by the Congressof U.S, the DRMC was passed by France's National Constituent Assembly. For the last step, namely, recontextualisation, the two extracts 'mentioned above'(AC and DRMC) are different in their application . DRMC can be considered a conventionwhile the bill of rights is part of ACwhich is obligatory.

There are also other documents which have an influence on AC. These are the constitutions of the states which constitute part of the new union at the time of writing AC. The next extract is from PC :

> 47. All legislative Powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives.

The first article in AC is based on section 2 in PC:

> "The supreme legislative power shall be vested in a house of representatives of the freemen of the commonwealth or state of Pennsylvania".

According to the first step of analysis,this article of AC is based explicitly on PC by using such statement as background and support. Pennsylvania is considered one of the basic states that helps in establishing and ratifying AC. Moreover, it has a written constitution which was established in 1776. This means that the distance between the two constitution is about thirteen years. The technique which is used in

AC is the indirect quotation. The two extracts are written within the same place and the same culture. This makes the ideas, beliefs, issues similar, since both texts are produced to the same situations beginning from the British colonials throughout the Declaration of Independence to the time of Adoption of AC. Regarding the distance of institution, both of them are written by the representatives of the citizens to be the higher constitution so that they are regarded to belong to the same context.

MC is considered one of the most influential documents that affects AC. Moore and Camden (2003:9) state that "the effect of the Magna Carta was so profound that, over 500 years later, the U.S. Constitution and Bill of rights were modelled on it". AC, then, is grounded on this document explicitly or implicitly, as is shown throughout the following:

> 48. In all criminal prosecutions, **the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the State** and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law, and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnessesagainst him; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor, and to have the Assistance of Counsel for his defence .

Amendment No.6 is taken from Article 29 of the MC which states:

> No freeman is to be taken or imprisoned or disseised of his free tenement or of his liberties or free customs, or outlawed or exiled or in any way ruined, nor will we go against such a man or send against him save by lawful judgement of his peers or by the law of the land. **To no-one will we sell or deny of delay right or justice.**

Criminal trials threat the life of people because they take a long time which cause the loss of freedom of the accused people.This law was

createdby King John who promised the public in MC to keep their rights in a speedy trial without imprisoning them without trial. The founders of ACusedthis law as a part of the U.S. constitution to ensure that people should have a speedy and fair trial by jury.

According to the first step of analysis, the level of intertextuality, AC is based on the statement of MC (mentioned earlier) for its value as background and support statement. In spite of the long time between the establishment of the two texts which is 547 years, the American founders were affected by this document. This may be due to their new experiences of how to build a valuable constitution and because of the close similarities in context and culture which leads to include some ideas from MC in their constitution.

The technique used in ACis based on mentioning statements from MC. MC was written 574 years before AC, whereas in concern with the distance of place and culture, both of them were written in their countries America and England which put their laws to be suitable to their nationalities in respect to their cultures. For the distance in institution, the MC is written by Stephen Langtonby ordered of the king of England, John, whereas AC was written by a special committee.

The final step of analysis is related to recontextualisation. The two extracts have the same context, AC and MC which are written to be obligation documents and the high law in their countries.

On the other hand, there are other extracts in AC that are based on AC:

> 49.The Congress shall have Power to lay and collect Taxes, Duties, Imposts and Excises, to pay the Debts and provide for the common Defence and general Welfare of the United States.

Article No.1, Section 8 is based on article No. 12 of the MC:

"No scutage nor aid…shall be imposed on our kingdom, unless by common counsel of our kingdom".

50.nor shall private property be taken for public use, without just compensation.

Amendment 5 is based on Article No. 28 oftheMC

"No constable or other bailiff…shall take corn or other provisions from anyone without immediately tendering money".

4.1.3 Ideological Analysis of AC

The final step in the analysis of AC is the ideological analysis. AC, from the beginning of its creation   until the final version, has been changed a number of times. And in each, additional ideas have been included within it. These new ideas are found to be suitable to the development of life, specially social and political changes. Since ideology is defined by Fairclough (1998) as a group of 'ideas', these ideas may be of different types; political, social, economic, religious and so on.

One of the dominant ideologies in the 18[th]century is**liberalism**. It is a Latin term which came from **liber** meaning**free**. It refers to the philosophy of freedom (Mises, 1985: iv). Liberalism is defined by Chau (2009:2) as a political and moral philosophy which depends on two major principles; individualism and liberty. American classical liberalism is considered one type of liberalism that appeared within the creation of this union and was established in its constitution. Classical liberalism refers to the one originated by the writings of John Locke. The key concepts of classical liberalism are: liberty, equality, toleration, neutrality and others (Azam ,2014:24). Moreover, one of the most noticeable characteristics of

liberalism is that the law of legislation is not limited to the church, Bible or any kind of divine rules, instead it is found and derived from people to people. This pointis shown in the preamble of the constitution as follows:

> 51.We the people of the united states, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, ordain and establish this constitution for the united states of America.

AC, when compared with MC, which has a great influence on its formulation, begins with a similar paragraph without refereeing to God, church, religion and so on. This indicates one feature of liberalism that is 'no reference to any religion'. Thus, AC can be described as a secular liberalistic document since secularism is one of the many concepts included within the ideology of liberalism. Secularism as an ideology which is less than liberalism since it is described by Berlinerblau (2012:167) as "something of a specialist. Its beat is religious and religion's relation to government.. yet when it comes to foreign policy, or the economy, or international trade, secularism's opinion..are far less substantive". Another example of secularism in ACis the following:

> 52.The Senators and Representatives before mentioned, and the Members of the several State Legislatures, and all executive and judicial officers, both of the United States and of the several States, shall be bound by oath or Affirmation, to support this Constitution; but **no religious** Test shall ever be required as a Qualification to any Office or public Trust under the United States .

As is established in AC,the election of the Senators, Representatives, the state legislators, and executive and Judicial officers, their election shall be regardless of religion. In another place, the secular ideology appears so

clearly in the first amendment in 1791 three years following the first ratification of AC. This amendment refers to the prevention of putting any law respecting any religion but at the same time it does not prevent any person from exercising his religion freely.

> 53. Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of **religion**, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof.

During these three years, secularism in AC was altered from implied secularism because initially it referred only to the election of the officers in the U.S. since it should not be with respect to their religion, then a clear clause has been created in the first amendment to refer to the final form of ACas a secular one.

Furthermore, Butler (2015) states that the term liberalism in America is associated also with the term Democratic (p:xiii). **Democracy** is derived from Greek which means "Government of the People or Government of the Majority". One of the most familiar definitions of democracy is the one introduced by Abraham Lincoln as 'the government of the people, by the people and for the people' (Becker and Raveloson,2008:4). They (ibid.) add that democracy has a number of key concepts which ought be included within any democratic system. Some of these are human rights, separation of powers, public opinion and freedom of the media, the government and the opponents, etc. AC deals with each of these components in different ways. For the first component, human rights, AC deals with this in the amendments after three years of the ratification of the constitution. The first ten amendments are called the Bill of Rights which consist of different rights. These rights are personal, social, political and so on, such as freedom of speech, religion, press, speedy trial, bearing arms and security. Examples of these are the following:

54. The right of the people to keep and bear Arms, shall not be infringed .

55. The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects.

56. The accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial.

It is important to mention that some citizens of the U.S. are not included within these points such as Indians and the slaves. For example, The three –fifth clause remained effective for seventy nine years after the constitution was adopted, then it was changed by amendment No.13 as follows:

57.Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime.

For the right of election, particular citizens are allowed to vote excluding Indians, slaves, and women. Black people were allowed to elect in 1870, after the amendment No.15 was introduced:

58.The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

Whereas women were allowed to vote only in 1920 in amendment No.19 :

59.The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.

Democratic ideology also appears in the separation of powers to prevent the appearance of dictatorship. AC makes balance between three main powers, legislative, executive and judicial. Here are some extracts to show this process.

60. All legislative powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives .

61. The executive Power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America.

62. The judicial Power of the United States, shall be vested in one supreme Court.

63. Full faith and credit shall be given in each state to the public acts, records, and judicial proceedings of every other state.

The freedom of speech, press, and peaceful demonstration is included within amendment No.1. of the constitution:

64.Congress shall make no ….abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances .

Another ideology which can be found in the first draft of AC before it was amended is **racism**.Wodak et al (1999:176) define 'racism' as a social structure which has operated as a legal instrument to overpower and abuse certain social sects, then to prevent them from their own resources, work, prosperity, home, and even their civil rights. The founders of AC compriseno law concerning the abolition of slavery in 1789 because there was not any agreement between the thirteen American. Five of the southern states declared that slavery was permissible in their constitution without any limitation of the national constitution of the U.S. This law was not found due to the fact that slavery is rooted within such societies, sometimes, it was for the economic survival. AC, on the other hand, gave some support to such laws when it stipulated the right of states to demand fugitive slaves. This was written in 1789 in Article IV:

65.No Person held to Service or Labour in one State, under the Laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in Consequence of any Law or Regulation therein, be discharged from such Service or Labour, But shall be delivered up on Claim of the Party to whom such Service or Labour may be due.

Yet, amendment No. 13 of 1856 abolished slavery partly except for some cases as a punishment for crime, but generally, racism was established in the constitution of the U.S. about seventy years. The following amendment abolished slavery:

66. Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction .

In addition, **sexism** is an ideology that is found in AC for a while; it depends on sex discrimination rather than race. Sexism is defined by Fenton (2005:135) as a set of attitudes and behaviors towards people that judge or belittle them on the basis of their gender. Sexism in general is characterized by a range of experiences including statements made about gender stereotypes of behaviuor, comments, and behaviours that are demeaning, discrimination in the workplace, rape and sexual assault , abuse by male partners, general sexual discrimination, and sexual objectification . Mills(2008:10) states that sexist language refers to language that expresses bias in favour of one sex and uses a discriminatory manner when treating the other sex, in many cases the bias is in favouring men against women.

One feature of Democracy is the right of election. AC does not mention such right to be equally applied among American people. For instance, in amendment No.13, it is mentioned that the right of election is restricted to **male** citizens:

67.Representatives shall be apportioned among the several States according to their respective numbers, counting the whole number of persons in each State, excluding Indians not taxed. But when the right to vote at any election for the choice of electors for President and Vice-President of the United States, Representatives in Congress, the Executive and Judicial officers of a State, or the members of the Legislature thereof, is denied to any of **the male** inhabitants of such State, being twenty-one years of age, and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion, or other crime, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such **male** citizens shall bear to the whole number of **male** citizens twenty-one years of age in such State.

Only in 1920, women were allowed to vote when amendment No.19 since states that:

68.The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of **sex.**

Briefly, the final draft of the American constitution tries to delete some items having ideas that are considered unacceptable and unsuitable for the development of life. The last amendments especially in the last fifty years, have tended to regulate the political and electoral situation rather than human rights and other issues.

4.2 Analysis of IAE

IAE will, too, be analysed in terms of three levels; linguistic, intertextual, and ideological.

4.2.1 Linguistic Analysis

At this level, two types of analysis are involved:macro and micro.

4.2.1.1 Macro Analysis

4.2.1.1.1 Schematic Analysis

The orginisation of IAE's structure consists of many paragraphs dealing with specific issues that regulating people's lives. Each paragraph represents one or more parts that deal directly or indirectly with one of these issues.

The first motion of the IAE is the introduction which consists of the opening that begins witha conventional part of most Islamic speech; i.e.

<div dir="rtl">

١. بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

</div>

1.In the Name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful.

The second part of IAE is the body of the text. It contains all the whole issues that are expressed throughout the text starting from (the appointment order) when Imam Ali(p.b.u.h.) appoints Malik as an official ruler of Egypt saying :

<div dir="rtl">

٢. هَذَا مَا أَمَرَ بِهِ عَبْدُ اللَّهِ عَلِيٌّ أَمِيرُ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ مَالِكَ بْنَ الْحَارِثِ الْأَشْتَرِ فِي عَهْدِهِ إِلَيْهِ حِينَ وَلَّاهُ مِصْرَ.

</div>

2.This is what Allah's servant ʾAli , Amir al-muʾminin , has ordered Mālik ibn al-Hārith al-Ashtar in his instrument (of appointment)For him when he made him Governor of Egypt.

After that, IAE reveals many issues beginning with the personal qualifications of rulers, counsellors, ministers and so on. In another part of the epistle, people are classified according to the role they occupy in Islamic society.This paragraph is followed by other detailed paragraphs that help to illustrate the role of each person .

The pre final paragraphs of the body is about some personal pieces of advice to Malik Al-Ashter concerning his communication with Allah

(Glorified and Exalted be He) and some of them are about his behaviour and action as a ruler.

The final part functions as a concluding remark of the epistle whereImam Ali (p.b.u.h.) reminds Malik of the previous good governments, the prophet Mohammed's (p.b.u.h.) great traditions, and the Holly Quran to be the guide in his duty. Finally,a closing remark indicates the end of IAE.

٣. وَالسَّلَامُ عَلَى رَسُولِ اللهِ صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَآلِهِ وَسَلَّمَ الطَّيِّبِينَ الطَّاهِرِينَ وَسَلَّمَ تَسْلِيماً كَثِيراً وَالسَّلَامُ .

3. Peace be on the Messenger of Allah-may Allah show His blessings and plentiful salutation on him and his pure and chaste descendants; and that is an end to the matter.

The main parts within the epistle can be shown in table(4-7).

Table (4-7) The Text Structure of IAE

The motion	Heading	The paragraph
Introduction	The opening	بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
	The official Appointment of Malik Al-Ashter as a ruler of Egypt.	هَذَا مَا أَمَرَ بِهِ عَبْدُ اللهِ عَلِيٌّ أَمِيرُ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ مَالِكَ بْنَ الْحَارِثِ الْأَشْتَرَ فِي عَهْدِهِ إِلَّيْهِ حِينَ وَلَّاهُ مِصْرَ
Body	Orders	أَمَرَهُ بِتَقْوَى اللهِ وَإِيْثَارِ طَاعَتِهِ وَاتِّبَاعِ مَا أَمَرَ بِهِ فِي كِتَابِهِ مِنْ فَرَائِضِهِ وَسُنَنِهِ
	Prohibition	وَلَا تَنْصِبَنَّ نَفْسَكَ لِحَرْبِ اللهِ فَإِنَّهُ لَا يَدَ لَكَ بِنِقْمَتِهِ
	The equality	فَإِنَّهُمْ صِنْفَانِ إِمَّا أَخٌ لَكَ فِي الدِّينِ وَإِمَّا نَظِيرٌ لَكَ
	Evaluation of the Councellors	وَلَا تُدْخِلَنَّ فِي مَشُورَتِكَ بَخِيلاً يَعْدِلُ بِكَ عَنِ الْفَضْلِ

	Members' classes
	  1. The Army
	  2. The secretarial worker
	  3. The chiefs
	  4. The Dispenser of justice
	  5. The payer of head tax and land tax.
	  6. Common Muslims
	  7. The traders
	  8. The men of industry
	  9. The lowest class
		وَاعْلَمْ أَنَّ الرَّعِيَّةَ طَبَقَاتٌ لَا يَصْلُحُ بَعْضُهَا إِلَّا بِبَعْضٍ وَلَا غِنَى بِبَعْضِهَا عَنْ بَعْضٍ فَمِنْهَا جُنُودُ اللهِ وَمِنْهَا كُتَّابُ الْعَامَّةِ وَالْخَاصَّةِ وَمِنْهَا قُضَاةُ الْعَدْلِ وَمِنْهَا عُمَّالُ الْإِنْصَافِ وَالرِّفْقِ وَمِنْهَا أَهْلُ الْجِزْيَةِ وَالْخَرَاجِ مِنْ أَهْلِ الذِّمَّةِ وَمُسْلِمَةِ النَّاسِ وَمِنْهَا التُّجَّارُ وَأَهْلُ الصِّنَاعَاتِ وَمِنْهَا الطَّبَقَةُ السُّفْلَى مِنْ ذَوِي الْحَاجَةِ وَالْمَسْكَنَةِ

	The qualifications of the chief	ثُمَّ اخْتَرْ لِلْحُكْمِ بَيْنَ النَّاسِ أَفْضَلَ رَعِيَّتِكَ فِي نَفْسِكَ

	judge.	
	The executive officers	ثُمَّ انْظُرْ فِي أُمُورِ عُمَّالِكَ فَاسْتَعْمِلْهُمُ اخْتِبَارا
	The ministers	إِنَّ شَرَّ وُزَرَائِكَ مَنْ كَانَ لِلْأَشْرَارِ قَبْلَكَ وَزِيراً وَمَنْ شَرِكَهُمْ فِي الْآثَام
	The administration of revenues	وَتَفَقَّدْ أَمْرَ الْخَرَاجِ بِمَا يُصْلِحُ أَهْلَهُ
	Clerical establishment	ثُمَّ انْظُرْ فِي حَالِ كُتَّابِكَ فَوَلِّ عَلَى أُمُورِكَ خَيْرَهُمْ
	Trades and industries	ثُمَّ اسْتَوْصِ بِالتُّجَّارِ وَذَوِي الصِّنَاعَاتِ وَأَوْصِ بِهِمْ خَيْراً
	The poor people	ثُمَّ اللَّهَ اللَّهَ فِي الطَّبَقَةِ السُّفْلَى مِنَ الَّذِينَ لَا حِيلَةَ لَهُمْ مِنَ الْمَسَاكِينِ وَالْمُحْتَاجِينَ وَأَهْلِ الْبُوسَى وَالزَّمْنَى
	Communication with God	وَلْيَكُنْ فِي خَاصَّةِ مَا تُخْلِصُ بِهِ لِلَّهِ دِينَكَ إِقَامَةُ فَرَائِضِهِ
	The behavior and action of the ruler.	فَلَا تُطَوِّلَنَّ احْتِجَابَكَ عَنْ رَعِيَّتِكَ فَإِنَّ احْتِجَابَ الْوُلَاةِ عَنِ الرَّعِيَّةِ شُعْبَةٌ مِنَ الضِّيقِ وَقِلَّةُ عِلْمٍ بِالْأُمُورِ
Concluding remark		وَالْوَاجِبُ عَلَيْكَ أَنْ تَتَذَكَّرَ مَا مَضَى لِمَنْ تَقَدَّمَكَ مِنْ حُكُومَةٍ عَادِلَةٍ أَوْ سُنَّةٍ فَاضِلَةٍ أَوْ أَثَرٍ عَنْ نَبِيِّنَا (صلى الله عليه وآله) أَوْ فَرِيضَةٍ فِي كِتَابِ اللَّهِ فَتَقْتَدِيَ بِمَا شَاهَدْتَ

IAE represents a constitution for people during that time, the three authorities, namely, the legislative,the executive, andthe judicial are found in it, though not explicitly presented. They are mentioned within the details that is why they have not appeared in the table above which is concerned with the major parts mostly. These three authorities comprise: the legislative which is represented by The Holy Quran and Prophet Mohammed's (p.b.u.h.) traditions, the executive which is represented by the leader, counselors, minsters, officers and so on, and the judicial which is represented by the judge and the chief judge.

4.2.1.1.2 Thematic Analysis

Thematic analysis constitutes the second linguistic component in the macro analysis of the model followed. IAE consists of (3620) words. These words are into paragraphs which differ in their length. Some paragraph are of two or three lines whereas others comprise more than ten lines. IAE consists of many themes, some of them will be presented as follows:

a. Powers Separation

Imam Ali (p.b.u.h.) includes this theme within this document. He (p.b.u.h.) refers to three powers; the legislative, the executive, the judicial in different places in the epistle. The legislative power is represented by the Holy Quran and the Prophet Mohammed's (p.b.u.h.) traditions which are considered the source of Islamic legislation. The reference to these two sources are expressed explicitly in many positions in the IAE, for instance:

> ٤. وَارْدُدْ إِلَى اللَّهِ وَرَسُولِهِ مَا يُضْلِعُكَ مِنَ الْخُطُوبِ وَيَشْتَبِهُ عَلَيْكَ مِنَ الْأُمُورِ فَقَدْ قَالَ اللَّهُ تَعَالَى لِقَوْمٍ أَحَبَّ إِرْشَادَهُمْ يَا أَيُّهَا الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا أَطِيعُوا اللَّهَ وَأَطِيعُوا الرَّسُولَ وَأُولِي الْأَمْرِ مِنْكُمْ فَإِنْ تَنَازَعْتُمْ فِي شَيْءٍ فَرُدُّوهُ إِلَى اللَّهِ وَالرَّسُولِ فَالرَّدُّ إِلَى اللَّهِ الْأَخْذُ بِمُحْكَمِ كِتَابِهِ وَالرَّدُّ إِلَى الرَّسُولِ الْأَخْذُ بِسُنَّتِهِ الْجَامِعَةِ غَيْرِ الْمُفَرِّقَةِ
>
> 4. Refer to Allah and His Prophet the affairs which worry you and matters which appears confusing to you, because, addressing the people whom Allah the Sublime, wishes to guide, He said: (O' you who believe! Obey Allah and obey the Prophet and those vested with authority from among you; and then if you quarrel about anything refer it to Allah and the Prophet if you believe in Allah and in the Last Day (of Judgment)Referring to Allah means to act according to what is clear in His Book and referring to the Prophet means to follow his unanimously agreed sunnah in regard to which there are no differences.

This extract is a direct reference to order Malik Al-Ashter to obey the Holy Quran and the Prophet Mohammed's (p.b.u.h.) traditions. Moreover, there are other kinds of legislative sources, which in reality depend on the main two sources of legislation. The following extracts show some of these other legislative foundations:

> ٥. وَالْوَاجِبُ عَلَيْكَ أَنْ تَتَذَكَّرَ مَا مَضَى لِمَنْ تَقَدَّمَكَ مِنْ حُكُومَةٍ عَادِلَةٍ أَوْ سُنَّةٍ فَاضِلَةٍ أَوْ أَثَرٍ عَنْ نَبِيِّنَا (صلى الله عليه وآله) أَوْ فَرِيضَةٍ فِي كِتَابِ اللَّهِ فَتَقْتَدِيَ بِمَا شَاهَدْتَ مِمَّا عَمِلْنَا بِهِ فِيهَا وَتَجْتَهِدَ لِنَفْسِكَ فِي اتِّبَاعِ مَا عَهِدْتُ إِلَيْكَ فِي عَهْدِي هَذَا

وَاسْتَوْثَقْتُ بِهِ مِنَ الْحُجَّةِ لِنَفْسِي عَلَيْكَ لِكَيْلَا تَكُونَ لَكَ عِلَّةٌ عِنْدَ تَسَرُّعِ نَفْسِكَ إِلَى هَوَاهَا

5.It is necessary for you to recall how matters went with those who preceded you, be it a government or a great tradition or a precedent of our Prophet (may Allah bless him and his descendants) or the obligatory commands contained in the Book of Allah. Then you should follow them as you have seen us acting upon them and should exert yourself in following that I have enjoined upon you in this document in which I have exhausted my pleas on you, so that if your heart advances towards its passions you may have no plea in its support.

The executive power is represented by the governor, minsters, counsellors, soldiers, and other officers who are responsible for providing citizens with living necessities,providing protection for them, organizing their internal lives and building a strong army. The initial part of IAE begins with issuing the appointment order of Malik who is responsible to select the rest of the governmental officers.

٦. هَذَا مَا أَمَرَ بِهِ عَبْدُ اللهِ عَلِيٌّ أَمِيرُ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ مَالِكَ بْنَ الْحَارِثِ الْأَشْتَرَ فِي عَهْدِهِ إِلَيْهِ حِينَ وَلَّاهُ مِصْرَ.

6.This is what Allah's servant ʿAli , Amir al-muʾminin , has ordered Malik ibn al-Hārith al-Ashtar in his instrument of appointment(For him when he made him Governor of Egypt).

The third branch is the judicial power which is represented by judges and the chief judges.

٧. ثُمَّ اخْتَرْ لِلْحُكْمِ بَيْنَ النَّاسِ أَفْضَلَ رَعِيَّتِكَ فِي نَفْسِكَ مِمَّنْ لَا تَضِيقُ بِهِ الْأُمُورُ وَلَا تُمَحِّكُهُ الْخُصُومُ وَلَا يَتَمَادَى فِي الزَّلَّةِ وَلَا يَحْصَرُ مِنَ الْفَيْءِ إِلَى الْحَقِّ إِذَا عَرَفَهُ

7. For the settlement of disputes among people select him who is the most distinguished of your subjects in your view. The cases (coming before him) should not vex him, disputation should not enrage him, he should not insist on any wrong point, and should not grudge accepting the truth when he perceives it.

b. Theme of Religion

This is the most prevailing theme in IAE since each point depends on it. The reference to the Islamic religion is widely expressed in the Epistle by mentioning the Holy Quran and the Prophet Mohammed's(p.b.u.h.) traditions. Imam Ali(p.b.u.h.) uses many Ayats and speeches from both sources. The previous extract No.4 shows such reference.

c. Rights

Many examples of human rights are found in IAE. 'Human rights' is considered the basis for the social relationship among people on the one hand and between the people and Allah on the other hand. IAE exposes many types of rights, namely, rights of Allah, of Muslims, of non-Muslims, of selves and of everybody within the Islamic region. The first group of rights that has been mentioned in IAE is the right of Allah. Thus, if he gives the rights of Allah, he will respect the rights of others.

٨. أَمَرَهُ بِتَقْوَى اللهِ وَإِيْثَارِ طَاعَتِهِ وَاتِّبَاعِ مَا أَمَرَ بِهِ فِي كِتَابِهِ.

8. He has ordered him to fear Allah ,to prefer obedience to him, and to follow what He has commanded in His Book(Quran).

Other rights which are mentioned in IAE the rights of people. He orders him to protect people's rights regardless of their social or religious belongings. IAE is full of rights of human. One recognizable instance may be expressive, as follows:

٩. وَأَشْعِرْ قَلْبَكَ الرَّحْمَةَ لِلرَّعِيَّةِ وَالْمَحَبَّةَ وَاللُّطْفَ لَهُمْ وَلَا تَكُونَنَّ عَلَيْهِمْ سَبُعاً ضَارِياً تَغْتَنِمُ أَكْلَهُمْ فَإِنَّهُمْ صِنْفَانِ إِمَّا أَخٌ لَكَ فِي الدِّينِ وَإِمَّا نَظِيرٌ لَكَ فِي الْخَلْقِ.

9.Habituate your heart to mercy for the subjects and to affection and kindness for them. Do not stand over them like greedy beasts who feel it is enough to devour them, since they

are of two kinds, either your brother in religion or one like you in creation.

Equality among people is the first right that they should have. This leads to build very solid bases for the social connection,especially between the governor and his subjects.

d. Anti -Racism

There is no reference to any classification of people according to their colours, religions, races, languages and so on. All classifications which appear in IAE depend on social classification of people according to their status levels and fields of work.

١٠.فَإِنَّهُمْ صِنْفَانِ إِمَّا أَخٌ لَكَ فِي الدِّينِ وَإِمَّا نَظِيرٌ لَكَ فِي الْخَلْقِ.

10. They are of two kinds, either your brother in religion or one like you in creation.

This statement is considered a symbol of the Islamic culture in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of the United Nations, which has adopted a slogan from each culture to be its symbol.

e. Morality

This theme is connected with Imam Ali's (p.b.u.h.) speeches. IAE consists of everything that may be in touch with performing the duties and responsibilities of the governor. A moral lesson is not less important than other lessons. In one place, Imam Ali (p.b.u.h.) in IAE tries to remind Malik Al-Ashter of the preceding bad and good governments to ensure that they (only good)will be good examples for him. Such a theme has been introduced into two types, one is related with praising the respectable moral action another with dispraising the unrespectable moral action. Some kinds of moral behaviours that are respected are related with kindness, justice, mercy, patience, truth, brotherhood, Modesty, compassion, and many other moral vocabularies are found in IAE. The second type of disrespected moral

behaviours are prohibited such as treason, injustice, hatred, humiliation, murder, deception, violence and fraud, etc. Examples of good and bad moral behaviour respectively are given below: Saturday

١١.وَإِنَّ أَفْضَلَ قُرَّةِ عَيْنِ الْوُلَاةِ اسْتِقَامَةُ الْعَدْلِ فِي الْبِلَادِ وَظُهُورُ مَوَدَّةِ الرَّعِيَّةِ

11.The most pleasant thing for the rulers is the establishment of justice in their areas and the manifestation of the love of their subjects.

١٢.وَلَا تَنْدَمَنَّ عَلَى عَفْوٍ وَلَا تَبْجَحَنَّ بِعُقُوبَةٍ وَلَا تُسْرِعَنَّ إِلَى بَادِرَةٍ وَجَدْتَ مِنْهَا مَنْدُوحَةً.

12.Do not repent of forgiving or be merciful in punishing. Do not act hastily during anger if you can find way out of it.

In sum, the semantic macro-propositions (theme/ topic) of the texts, can be summarised as follows: IAE is an Islamic document that deals with a large number of issues that are found as main parts of it. Three branches of power are introduced to be the basis for regulating people's lives. Morality, modesty, compassion and human rights constitute portion of its construction. Its foundation is based mainly on the Holy Quran and the Prophet Mohammed's (p.b.u.h.) traditions.

4.2.1.2 Micro Analysis

Micro- analysis of IAE consists of three levels; syntactic, semantic, and lexical.

4.2.1.2.1 Syntactic Level

The first level within the micro analysis of IAE is the syntactic level, which includes two components: passivisation and transitivity.

4.2.1.2.1.1Passivisation Analysis

Khalil (1999:225) mentions that Arabic has a system of passivisation different from the English one. It depends on the internal change of the active verbs. Three types of passive are recognised according to Khalil (1999), regular passive,انفعل Infa'ala verb form, and impersonal passive.The following table illustrates the frequency of occurrence of passive and active verbs in IAE .

Table (4-8): Passivisation in IAE

No	Voice	Frequency	Percentage %
1-	Active	494	95.9%
2-	Passive	21	4.1%
	Total	515	100%
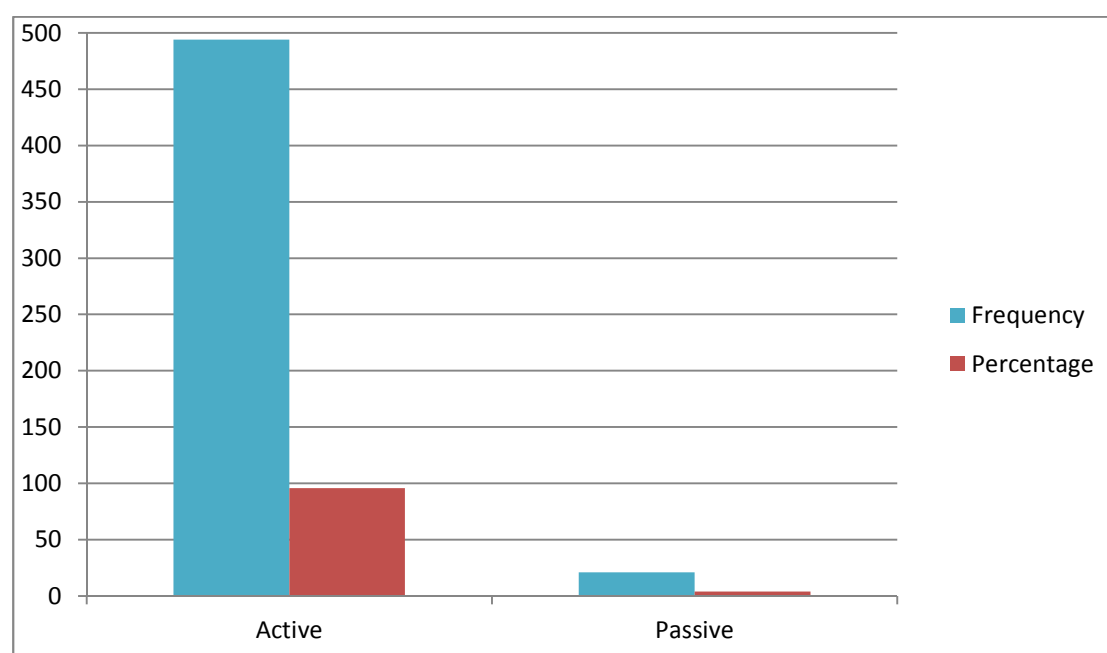
Figure (4-6) Passivisation Analysis of IAE

The analysis of IAE shows that the active verbs are the dominant since they constitute (494) out of (515) making (95.9%) whereas passive verbs are used twenty one times making (4.1%). The Passive voice is used in

Arabic for two reasons, as is mentioned by Khalil (1999:263); when the agent is not known, or when the speaker chooses to hide his (i.e. agent's) identity because he is afraid for him or wants to protect him. Since none of these cases are found in the IAE, the active voice has been the prevailing one.

In the few occurrences of passive, Imam Ali (p.b.u.h.) uses passive verbs to avoid redundancy, as he starts with declare things then hinting them, for example:

<div dir="rtl">

١٣.فَإِنَّ هَذَا الدِّينَ قَدْ كَانَ أَسِيراً فِي أَيْدِي الْأَشْرَارِ يُعْمَلُ فِيهِ بِالْهَوَى وَتُطْلَبُ بِهِ الدُّنْيَا.

</div>

13.This religion has formerly been a prisoner in the hand of
vicious person when action was taken according to passion,
and worldly wealth was sought.

Regular passive is the only type that is found in IAE and most of them are related with describing some actions that are not really found in the time of speaking but to predict something that may happen at the future, for example,

<div dir="rtl">

١٤.وَلَا تَقُولَنَّ إِنِّي مُؤَمَّرٌ آمُرُ **فَأُطَاعُ**.

</div>

14. Do not say:" I have been given authority, I should be
obeyed when I order"

<div dir="rtl">

١٥. وَكُلٌّ قَدِ **اسْتُرْعِيتَ** حَقَّهُ وَلَا يَشْغَلَنَّكَ عَنْهُمْ بَطَرٌ فَإِنَّكَ لَا **تُعْذَرُ** بِتَضْيِيعِكَ التَّافِهَ لِإِحْكَامِكَ.

</div>

15. All these people are those whose rights have been placed in
your charge. Therefore, a luxurious life shouldn't keep you away
from them You cannot be excused for ignoring small matter.

It can be proposed that the epistle has two addressees, one is the direct receiver and the indirect one, the former is Malik Al-Ashter and the latter is everyone who may benefit from IAE. This allowing to hypothesize that the reason behind the few frequencies of the passive voice is that the addressee is known and nothing need to be absent except the hypothesized issues that may face Malik in his duty. Furthermore, eight

out of the passive occurrences have been connected to Malik Al- Ashter as their doer.

١٦.وَإِنِ **ابْتُلِيتَ** بِخَطَإٍ وَأَفْرَطَ عَلَيْكَ سَوْطُكَ أَوْ سَيْفُكَ أَوْ يَدُكَ بِالْعُقُوبَةِ.

16. If you are involved in it be error and you exceed in the use
of your whip or sword

4.2.1.2.1.2Transitivity Analysis

In the transitivity analysis, Malik Al -Ashter is regarded as the participant in the analysis of IAE. Accordingly, the processes that are included in the analysis are related directly or indirectly to him whether as subject or object. It is mentioned earlier that the selection of diverse grammatical processes type are ideologically significant. The table below illustrates the frequency of occurrence of participants and processes type according to the analysis of IAE.

Table (4-9) Transitivity Analysis of Process Type of IAE

No.	Process type		Frequency	Percentage %
1.	Material		190	80.2%
2.	Mental	Cognition 15 Perception 2 Emotion 15 Desideration 4	36	15.2%
3.	Relational		3	1.3%
4.	Verbal		6	2.5%
5.	Behavioural		2	0.8%
	Total		237	100 %
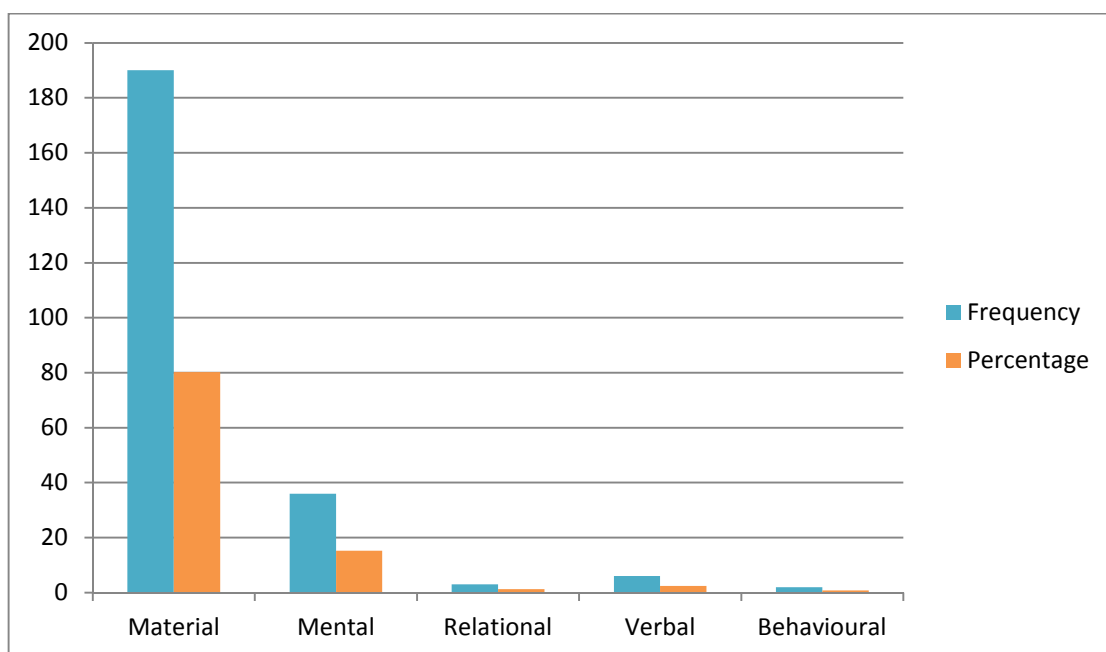
Figure (4-7) Transitivity Analysis of Process Type of IAE

Table(4-9) above illustrates the frequency of occurrence of the role of the**ruler**,Malik Al-Ashter,ruler of Egypt. The frequency of the participant as 'president' is repeated (237) in the text. This number is distributed among many processes type. First, Material processes constitute (80.2%) out of the full percentage. Second, the mental type constitutes (15.3%), then, the other process types namely verbal, relational and behavioural constitute (2.5%), (1.3%), and (0,8%), respectively.

The role of the participant has a connection with the processes type since each one of them has a certain type of participants. Table(4-10) illustrates the frequency of occurrence of 'ruler' as a participant with process type.

Table (4-10): Transitivity Analysis of IAE (participant role)

No.	Process type	Participants		Frequency	Percentage %
1.	Material	Directly involved	Actor	146	61.6%
			Goal	29	12.24%
		Obliquely involved	Client	4	1.69%
			Recipient	11	4.64%
2.	Mental	Directly involved	Senser	32	13.5%
			Phenomena	4	1.69%
٣.	Relational	Directly involved	Carrier	3	1.2%
4.	Verbal	Directly involved	Sayer	4	1.69%
		Obliquely involved	Receiver	2	0.84%
5.	Behavioural	Directly involved	Behaver	2	0.84%
	Totals			237	100 %
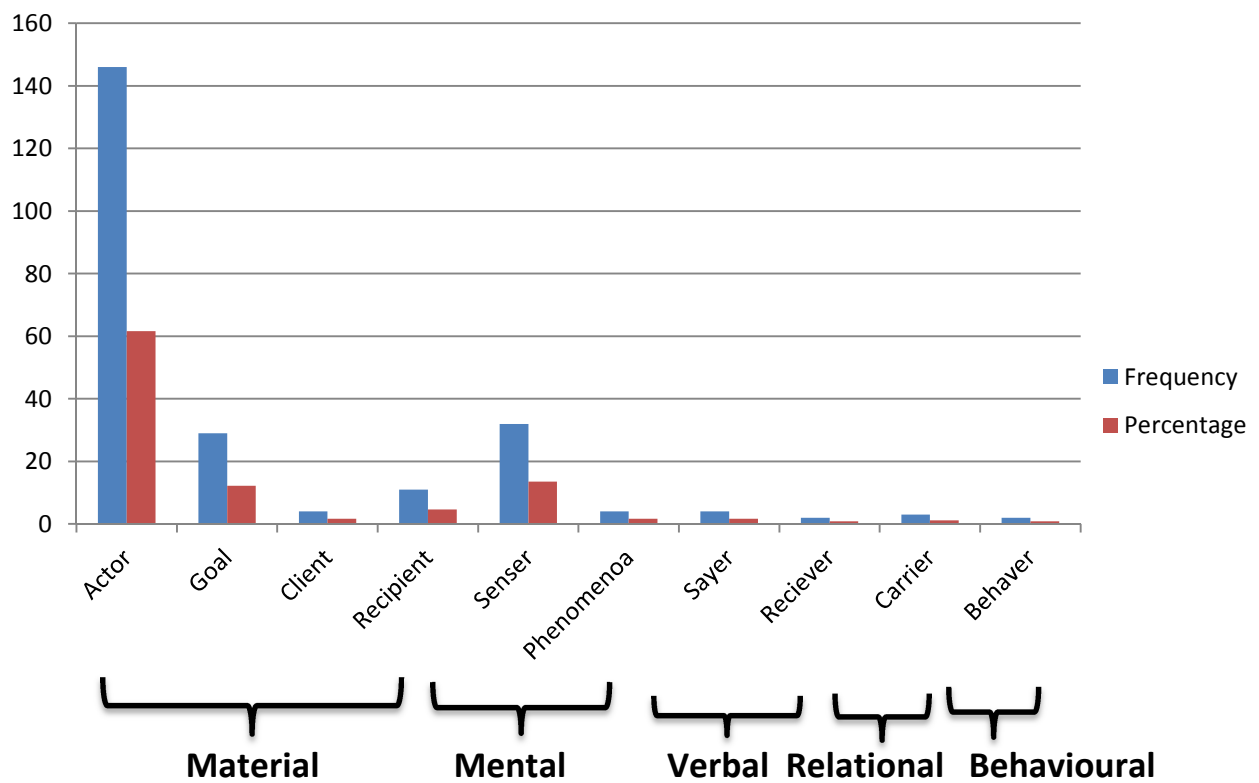
Figure (4-8) Transitivity Analysis of IAE

AMaterial process indicates either the physical action or event and it needs the participant to be one of many types as directly involved such as actor and goal, and obliquely involved such as recipient and client. The role of participant as actor constitutes (146) out of (237) making (61.6%). This percentage emphasises the important role of the participant as a person in charge to do his responsibilities and duties which are mentioned in the Epistle. The following example is illustrative:

١٧.**وَاجْعَلْ** لِذَوِي الْحَاجَاتِ مِنْكَ قِسْماً **تُفَرِّغُ** لَهُمْ فِيهِ شَخْصَكَ وَتَجْلِسُ لَهُمْ مَجْلِساً عَامّاً **فَتَتَوَاضَعُ** فِيهِ لِلَّهِ الَّذِي خَلَقَكَ.

17. And fix a time for complainants wherein you make yourself free for them, and sit for them in common audience and feel humble therein for the sake of Allah who created you.

On the contrary, the role of the participant in the material process as goal, recipient and client has few frequencies as compared with actor participant. The participant as goal constitutes twenty nine making12.24% out of the whole percentage, for example:

١٨.أَنِّي قَدْ **وَجَّهْتُكَ** إِلَى بِلَادٍ قَدْ جَرَتْ عَلَيْهَا دُوَلٌ قَبْلَكَ مِنْ عَدْلٍ وَجَوْرٍ.

18. I have sent you to an area where there have been governments before you, both just as well as oppressive.

The participant as recipient is repeated eleven times and constitutes(4.64%) out of the whole percentage, for example:

١٩.فَأَعْطِهِمْ مِنْ عَفْوِكَ وَصَفْحِكَ مِثْلِ الَّذِي تُحِبُّ وَتَرْضَى أَنْ **يُعْطِيَكَ** اللَّهُ مِنْ عَفْوِهِ وَصَفْحِهِ.

19. So, extend to them your forgiveness and pardon, in the same way as you would like Allah to extent his forgiveness and pardon to you.

The participant as client is repeated four times making (1.69%).

٢٠.وَتَفَقَّدْ أُمُورَ مَنْ لَا يَصِلُ إِلَيْكَ مِنْهُمْ مِمَّنْ تَقْتَحِمُهُ الْعُيُونُ وَتَحْقِرُهُ الرِّجَالُ فَفَرِّغْ لِأُولَئِكَ ثِقَتَكَ مِنْ أَهْلِ الْخَشْيَةِ وَالتَّوَاضُعِ **فَلْيَرْفَعْ** إِلَيْكَ أُمُورَهُمْ.

20. Take care of the affairs of those of them who do not approach you because they are of unsightly appearance or those whom people regard as low. Appoint for them some trusted people who are God-fearing and humble. They should inform you of these people's condition.

This in fact indicates that the participant supposes to do and give rather than to take or receive.Mental processes are divided into four types, namely, cognition, perception, emotion, and desideration. These four types are found in IAE with different frequencies; cognition and emotion have the same frequency and percentage, each one of them is repeated (15) times out of (237); perception is repeated only (2)times and desideration is repeated (4)times . It is obvious that Imam Ali (p.b.u.h.) focuses on both cognitive side and the emotive one. The first one is needed to control and judge everything related to power and authority whereas the second one is needed to ensure the continuity of the first one. The participant in this type is either senser or phenomena. The percentage as senser constitutes (13.5%) and as phenomena constitutes (1.69%). The role of participant as senser imposes such hard duties beside the role as actor, so that he has to be diligent physically and mentally. Here are examples of mental processes when the participant as senser in cognitive process in one place and as senser in emotion process in another.

٢١ . وَاعْلَمْ أَنَّ الرَّعِيَّةَ طَبَقَاتٌ لَا يَصْلُحُ بَعْضُهَا إِلَّا بِبَعْضٍ.

21. Know that the people consist of classes who prosper only with the help of one another.

٢٢. وَأَشْعِرْ قَلْبَكَ الرَّحْمَةَ لِلرَّعِيَّةِ وَالْمَحَبَّةَ لَهُمْ وَاللُّطْفَ بِهِمْ.

22. Habituate your heart to mercy for the subjects and to affection and kindness for them.

Process types as verbal, relational and behavioural have few frequencies as compared with other types of process. The verbal process is used six times out of the total number making (2.5%) , in four of them the participant is the speaker and in two is the receiver. Relational type is repeated three times where the participant is carrier, finally the behavioural process is repeated two times only and the role of the participant is behaver.

4.2.1.2.2 Semantic Level

Semantic analysis of IAE consists of two components: modality and categorisation.

4.2.1.2.2.1 Modality

Modality is the first component that is included in the analysis of semantic level of IAE at the micro analysis stage. Modality has a crucial role in constructing personal or social identities on one the hand and in revealing the status of power and authority on the other hand. The analysis of IAE is based basically on Downing and Lock (1992). They

suggest that there are two main types of modality, epistemic and deontic modality which can be classified into subtypes. Epistemic modality sense refers to the commitment to truth whereas deontic modality sense refers to commitment to necessity or obligation which indicates that the addresser is superior to the addressee. Khalil(1999:215) model of analysis is applied also to identify the equivalent Arabic modal types which can be realised by lexical verbs like يستطيع(can); phrases such as من الواجب (should) or particles such as قد(may). The analysis of Modality of IAE is shown in table(4-11).

Table (4-11): Frequency of Occurrence   and Percentage of Modality Types in IAE According to Downing and Lock(1992) and Khalil(1999).

No .	Types of Modality	Frequency	Percentage %
1.	Epistemic modality	15	65.2%
2.	Deontic modality	8	34.8%
Total		23	100%
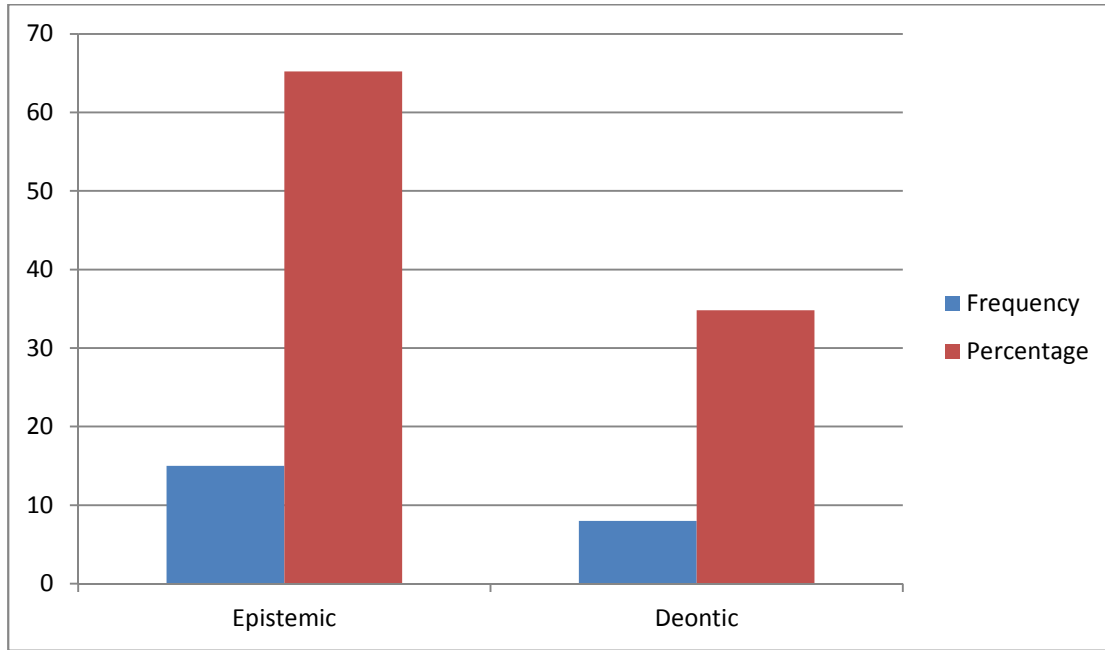
Figure (4-9) Frequency of Occurrence and Percentage of Modality Types in IAE.

Table (4-12): Modality in the IAE

No.	Types of Modality		Frequency	Percentage %
1-	Epistemic	Possibility	12	52.2%
		Probability	3	13.0%
2-	Deontic	Obligation	7	30.4%
		Necessity	1	4.4%
	Total		23	100%
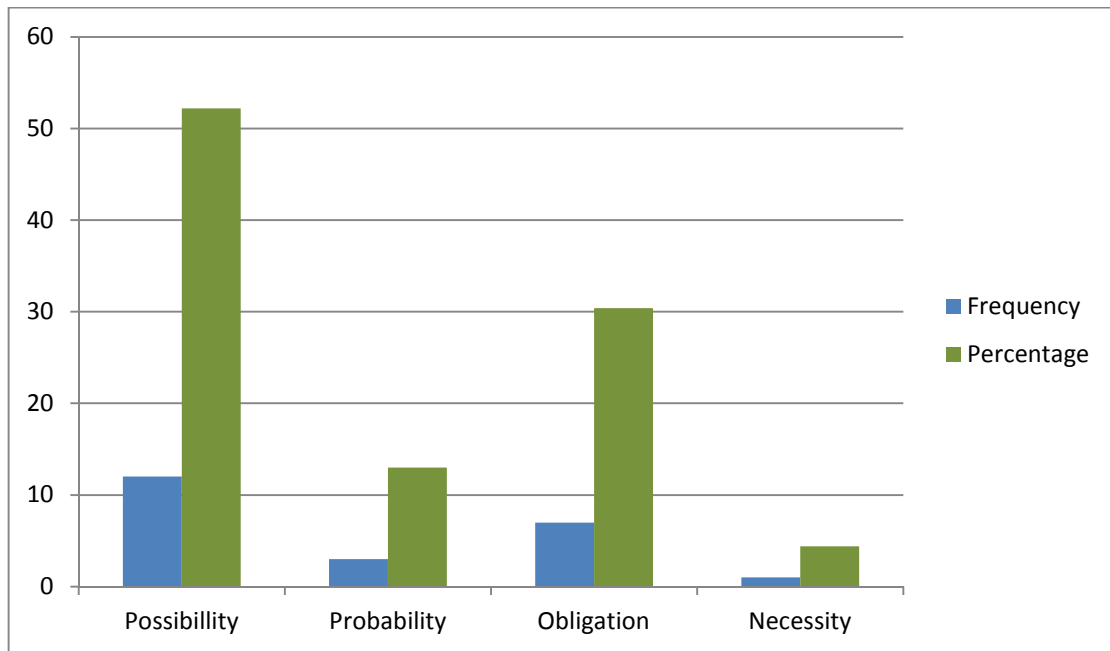
Figure (4-10) Frequency and percentage of modality types in IAE

Tables (4-11) and (4-12) show that two types of modality are found in IAE. Epistemic modality is repeated fifteen times making (65.2%) out of the whole percentage whereas deontic modality is repeated eight times making (34.8%) out of the full percentage. This indicates that epistemic modality which represents the commitment to truth is more prevailing. Imam Ali (p.b.u.h.) does not need obligation; rather he needs to convince Malik who is in turn to convince people. Epistemic (possibility) constitutes (52.2%) of the whole percentage. This high percentage indicates the tight link between the actions required and the possibility of their fulfillment. Similarly, Malik's roles as an actor are mostly possible. Yet, in addition to these actions, there are some which are obligatory. Examples of the 'possibility' and 'obligatory' are given below:

٢٣.وَالْحَقُّ كُلُّهُ ثَقِيلٌ **وَقَدْ** يُخَفِّفُهُ اللَّهُ عَلَى أَقْوَامٍ طَلَبُوا الْعَاقِبَةَ فَصَبَّرُوا أَنْفُسَهُمْ وَوَثِقُوا بِصِدْقِ مَوْعُودِ اللَّهِ لَهُمْ.

23. This is heavy on the officers; in fact, every right is heavy.
Allah lightens it for those who seek the next world and so they

endure (hardships) upon themselves and trust on the truthfulness of Allah's promise to them.

<div dir="rtl">

٢٤. وَلَا يَكُونَنَّ الْمُحْسِنُ وَالْمُسِيءُ عِنْدَكَ بِمَنْزِلَةٍ سَوَاءٍ فَإِنَّ فِي ذَلِكَ تَزْهِيداً لِأَهْلِ الْإِحْسَانِ فِي الْإِحْسَانِ وَتَدْرِيباً لِأَهْلِ الْإِسَاءَةِ عَلَى الْإِسَاءَةِ وَأَلْزِمْ كُلًّا مِنْهُمْ مَا أَلْزَمَ نَفْسَهُ.

</div>

24.The virtuous and the vicious should not be in equal position before you because this means dissuasion of the virtuous from virtue and persuasion of the vicious to vice. Keep everyone in the position which is his.

4.2.1.2.2.2 Categorisation

Van Dijk (2005:735) states that the categorisation of people into groups is not value-free, but imbued with ideologically based applications of norms and values. Accordingly, any group of people may be distinguished and attributed positively and negatively depending on some values and specific ideologies that are shared by any group member.

When analysing IAE within the semantic level, many examples of categorisation appeared. Imam Ali (p.b.u.h.) introduces his ideas in the form of a list when he categorises everything, ordinary people, ministers, soldiers, even duties and tasks. He (p.b.u.h.) tends to identify each category by collecting them together in one place then move to give more explanation about them.Here are some examples of categorizationconcerning how he (p.b.u.h.) deals with categorizing people in the epistle:

<div dir="rtl">

٢٥. فَإِنَّهُمْ صِنْفَانِ إِمَّا أَخٌّ لَكَ فِي الدِّينِ وَإِمَّا نَظِيرٌ لَكَ فِي الْخَلْقِ.

</div>

25. Since they are of two kinds, either your brother in religion or one like you in creation

The idea of "equality" is expressed obviously in the example above. If we look deeply into the meaning of categorisation in these sentences we will find that the two classes or categories of people mentioned here

belong to one side or to the same category, both of them, according to Van Dijk's (2000a)point of views belong to the in-group. In IAE there is an explicit categorisation adopted by the text producers. That categorisation is socially based on the status levels and fields of work. This kind of categorisation is objective since it based on the actual structure of societies levels. However, Van Dijk(2005) has another way of categorisation based on ideology. He has adopted the ideological square classifying discourse participants into in-groups and out-groups. The reason behind this categorization is that he(ibid.) intends to make the intended social change which is targeted by the CDA through transmitting his ideology to the addressees. Thus, he classifies participants into two classes or groups, those who are with him, i.e., in-group and those who are not, i. e., out-group.

In the Epistle, there is a special distribution of roles for participants. It is not a matter of conflict between in-groups and out- groups. It is rather a matter of cooperation between in-groups and out- groups to establis a successful social change in the life of the ruled people on the one hand and the ruler on the other hand. Instead of having two participants, i.e. in-group and out-group, there are those participants, namely, Imam Ali(p.b.u.h.), Malik Al-Ashter and the people of Egypt. The social change intended by applying ideology within the discourse, Epistle, is established in a specific way as follows:

Imam Ali(p.b.u.h.) intends to make a social change in Egypt by sending them a well- qualified leader to deal with them righteously following the ideology in which the text producer believes. So, the in-group in this case includes the following participants: Imam Ali (p.b.u.h.) as the text producer, Malik Al- Ashter as the direct addressee to follow the instructions of the addresser and finally the people of Egypt. They

will be on the side of the text producer(Imam Ali (p.b.u.h.)) and addressee (Malik Al- Ashter) when they have Malik as their new ruler who commits himself to the instructions of Imam Ali (p.b.u.h.). However, there is still a need to identify the out- group. The out -group members according to Van Dijk(2000a) are those people whom the addresser intends to make direct the intended social change against their will. This Epistle, the out -group members are the bad past rulers, as well as their bad ministers, assistants, followers, etc. In addition to the new ruler as well as his followers if he decides to act negatively and be bad.

4.2.1.2.3 Lexical Level

Similarly to what is done in the lexical analysis of AC, here the religious and human rights expressions will be analysed since the two texts under study are full of expressions which have different indications. The two texts belong to different cultures and beliefs. Expressions of religion will illustrate how much religion contributes in constructing the ideologies of the two texts. The advocators of the two texts claim that they carry the most prominent value of rights. AC is considered one of the earliest documents that deal with human rights under the label 'Bill of Rights' whereas IAE is created to be full of rights expressions.

4.2.1.2.3.1Religious Expressions

In IAE, religious expressions have been used variously including:

- References to Allah

٢٦.أَمَرَهُ بِتَقْوَى اللَّهِ وَإِيْثَارِ طَاعَتِهِ وَاتِّبَاعِ مَا أَمَرَ بِهِ فِي كِتَابِهِ.

26.He has ordered him to fear Allah,to prefer obedience to him , and to follow what He has commanded in His Book(Quran).

- Reference to Islam and Muslims.

٢٧.وَتَوَخَّ مِنْهُمْ أَهْلَ التَّجْرِبَةِ وَالْحَيَاءِ مِنْ أَهْلِ الْبُيُوتَاتِ الصَّالِحَةِ وَالْقَدَمِ فِي الْإِسْلَامِ الْمُتَقَدِّمَةِ.

27. Select from among them virtuous houses, having been previously in Islam, because such persons possess high maners and untarnished honour.

- Reference to the Holy Quran

٢٨.وَارْدُدْ إِلَى اللهِ وَرَسُولِهِ مَا يُضْلِعُكَ مِنَ الْخُطُوبِ وَيَشْتَبِهُ عَلَيْكَ مِنَ الْأُمُورِ فَقَدْ قَالَ اللهُ تَعَالَى لِقَوْمٍ أَحَبَّ إِرْشَادَهُمْ يا أَيُّهَا الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا أَطِيعُوا اللهَ وَأَطِيعُوا الرَّسُولَ وَأُولِي الْأَمْرِ مِنْكُمْ فَإِنْ تَنازَعْتُمْ فِي شَيْءٍ فَرُدُّوهُ إِلَى اللهِ وَالرَّسُولِ فَالرَّدُّ إِلَى اللهِ الْأَخْذُ بِمُحْكَمِ كِتَابِهِ وَالرَّدُّ إِلَى الرَّسُولِ الْأَخْذُ بِسُنَّتِهِ الْجَامِعَةِ غَيْرِ الْمُفَرِّقَةِ.

28.Refer to Allah and His Prophet the affairs which worry you and matters which appears confusing to you, because, addressing the people whom Allah the Sublime, wishes to guide, He said: (O' you who believe! Obey Allah and obey the Prophet and those vested with authority from among you; and then if you quarrel about anything refer it to Allah and the Prophet if you believe in Allah and in the Last Day (of Judgment)Referring to Allah means to act according to what is clear in His Book and referring to the Prophet means to follow his unanimously agreed sunnah in regard to which there are no differences.

-Reference to the Tradition of the Prophet Mohammed (p.b.u.h.)

٢٩.صَلِّ بِهِمْ كَصَلَاةِ أَضْعَفِهِمْ وَكُنْ بِالْمُؤْمِنِينَ رَحِيماً.

29. Do the prayers as the weakest of them would say, and be considerate to the believers.

4.2.1.2.3.2 Expressions of Rights

The following are some expressions of rights in the IAE:

-Rights of Allah

٣٠.وَلْيَكُنْ فِي خَاصَّةِ مَا تُخْلِصُ بِهِ لِلَّهِ دِينَكَ إِقَامَةُ فَرَائِضِهِ الَّتِي هِيَ لَهُ خَاصَّةً فَأَعْطِ اللَّهَ مِنْ بَدَنِكَ فِي لَيْلِكَ وَنَهَارِكَ وَوَفِّ مَا تَقَرَّبْتَ بِهِ إِلَى اللَّهِ مِنْ ذَلِكَ كَامِلًا غَيْرَ مَثْلُومٍ وَلَا مَنْقُوصٍ بَالِغاً مِنْ بَدَنِكَ مَا بَلَغَ.

30. The particular thing by which you should purify your religion for Allāh should be the fulfillment of those obligations which are especially for Him. Therefore, devote to Allāh some of your physical activity during the night and the day, and whatever (worship) you perform for seeking nearness to Allāh should be complete, without defect or deficiency, whatsoever physical exertion it may involve.

-Rights of the Prophet Mohammed and Imam Ali (p.b.u.h.)

٣١.وَالْوَاجِبُ عَلَيْكَ أَنْ تَتَذَكَّرَ مَا مَضَى لِمَنْ تَقَدَّمَكَ مِنْ حُكُومَةٍ عَادِلَةٍ أَوْ سُنَّةٍ فَاضِلَةٍ أَوْ أَثَرٍ عَنْ نَبِيِّنَا (صلى الله عليه وآله) أَوْ فَرِيضَةٍ فِي كِتَابِ اللَّهِ فَتَقْتَدِيَ بِمَا شَاهَدْتَ مِمَّا عَمِلْنَا بِهِ فِيهَا وَتَجْتَهِدَ لِنَفْسِكَ فِي اتِّبَاعِ مَا عَهِدْتُ إِلَيْكَ فِي عَهْدِي هَذَا وَاسْتَوْثَقْتُ بِهِ مِنَ الْحُجَّةِ لِنَفْسِي عَلَيْكَ لِكَيْلَا تَكُونَ لَكَ عِلَّةٌ عِنْدَ تَسَرُّعِ نَفْسِكَ إِلَى هَوَاهَا.

31.It is necessary for you to recall how matters went with those who preceded you, be it a government or a great tradition or a precedent of our Prophet (may Allāh bless him and his descendants) or the obligatory commands contained in the Book of Allāh. Then you should follow them as you have seen us acting upon them and should exert yourself in following that I have enjoined upon you in this document in which I have exhausted my pleas on you, so that if your heart advances towards its passions you may have no plea in its support.

- Rights of Subjects

٣٢.ثُمَّ اللَّهَ اللَّهَ فِي الطَّبَقَةِ السُّفْلَى مِنَ الَّذِينَ لَا حِيلَةَ لَهُمْ مِنَ الْمَسَاكِينِ وَالْمُحْتَاجِينَ وَأَهْلِ الْبُوسَى وَالزَّمْنَى فَإِنَّ فِي هَذِهِ الطَّبَقَةِ قَانِعاً وَمُعْتَرّاً وَاحْفَظِ لِلَّهِ مَا اسْتَحْفَظَكَ

مِنْ حَقِّهِ فِيهِمْ وَاجْعَلْ لَهُمْ قِسْماً مِنْ بَيْتِ مَالِكِ وَقِسْماً مِنْ غَلَّاتِ صَوَافِي الْإِسْلَامِ فِي كُلِّ بَلَدٍ فَإِنَّ لِلْأَقْصَى مِنْهُمْ مِثْلَ الَّذِي لِلْأَدْنَى وَكُلٌّ قَدِ اسْتُرْعِيتَ حَقَّهُ.

32. (Fear) Allāh and keep Allāh in view in respect of the lowest class, consisting of those who have few means: the poor, the destitute, the penniless and the disabled; because in this class are both the discontented and those who beg. Take care for the sake of Allāh of His obligations towards them for which He has made you responsible.

- Rights of victims

٣٣. وَإِنِ ابْتُلِيتَ بِخَطَإٍ وَأَفْرَطَ عَلَيْكَ سَوْطُكَ أَوْ سَيْفُكَ أَوْ يَدُكَ بِالْعُقُوبَةِ فَإِنَّ فِي الْوَكْزَةِ فَمَا فَوْقَهَا مَقْتَلَةً فَلَا تَطْمَحَنَّ بِكَ نَخْوَةُ سُلْطَانِكَ عَنْ أَنْ تُؤَدِّيَ إِلَى أَوْلِيَاءِ الْمَقْتُولِ حَقَّهُمْ.

33. If you are involved in it error and you exceed in the use of your whip or sword, or are hard in inflicting punishment, as sometimes even a blow by the first or a smaller stroke causes death, then the haughtiness of your authority should not prevent you from paying the blood price to the successors of the killed person.

- Rights of people to meet the governor

٣٤. وَأَمَّا بَعْدُ فَلَا تُطَوِّلَنَّ احْتِجَابَكَ عَنْ رَعِيَّتِكَ فَإِنَّ احْتِجَابَ الْوُلَاةِ عَنِ الرَّعِيَّةِ شُعْبَةٌ مِنَ الضِّيقِ وَقِلَّةُ عِلْمٍ بِالْأُمُورِ وَالِاحْتِجَابُ مِنْهُمْ يَقْطَعُ عَنْهُمْ عِلْمَ مَا احْتَجَبُوا دُونَهُ فَيَصْغُرُ عِنْدَهُمُ الْكَبِيرُ وَيَعْظُمُ الصَّغِيرُ وَيَقْبُحُ الْحَسَنُ وَيَحْسُنُ الْقَبِيحُ وَيُشَابُ الْحَقُّ بِالْبَاطِلِ وَإِنَّمَا الْوَالِي بَشَرٌ لَا يَعْرِفُ مَا تَوَارَى عَنْهُ النَّاسُ بِهِ مِنَ الْأُمُورِ وَلَيْسَتْ عَلَى الْحَقِّ سِمَاتٌ تُعْرَفُ بِهَا ضُرُوبُ الصِّدْقِ مِنَ الْكَذِبِ وَإِنَّمَا أَنْتَ أَحَدُ رَجُلَيْنِ إِمَّا امْرُؤٌ سَخَتْ نَفْسُكَ بِالْبَذْلِ فِي الْحَقِّ فَفِيمَ احْتِجَابُكَ مِنْ وَاجِبِ حَقٍّ تُعْطِيهِ أَوْ فِعْلٍ كَرِيمٍ تُسْدِيهِ أَوْ مُبْتَلًى بِالْمَنْعِ.

34. Then, do not keep yourself secluded from the people for a long time, because the seclusion of those in authority from the subjects is a kind of narrow-sightedness and causes ignorance about their affairs. Seclusion from them also prevents them from the knowledge of those things which they do not know and as a result they begin to regard big matters as small and small matters as big, good matters as bad and bad matters as good, while the truth becomes confused with falsehood. After

all, a governor is a human being and cannot have knowledge of things which people keep hidden from him.No writ is big on the face of truth to differentiate its various expressions from falsehood. Then you can be one of two kinds of men. Either you may be generous in granting rights; and then why this hiding in spite of (your) discharging the obligations and good acts that you perform? Or you are a victim of stinginess.

Many other examples of the implicit reference to rights are also found in the IAE, e.g.

٣٥.ثُمَّ اسْتَوْصِ بِالتُّجَّارِ وَذَوِي الصِّنَاعَاتِ وَأَوْصِ بِهِمْ خَيْراً الْمُقِيمِ مِنْهُمْ وَالْمُضْطَرِبِ بِمَالِهِ وَالْمُتَرَفِّقِ بِبَدَنِهِ فَإِنَّهُمْ مَوَادُّ الْمَنَافِعِ وَأَسْبَابُ الْمَرَافِقِ وَجُلَّابُهَا.

35. Now take some advice about traders and industrialists. Give them good counsel whether they be settled(shop-keepers) or traders or physical labourers because they are sources of profit and the means of the provision of useful articles

٣٦.وَلْيَكُنْ آثَرُ رُءُوسِ جُنْدِكَ عِنْدَكَ مَنْ وَاسَاهُمْ فِي مَعُونَتِهِ وَأَفْضَلَ عَلَيْهِمْ مِنْ جِدَتِهِ بِمَا يَسَعُهُمْ وَيَسَعُ مَنْ وَرَاءَهُمْ مِنْ خُلُوفِ أَهْلِيهِمْ حَتَّى يَكُونَ هَمُّهُمْ هَمّاً وَاحِداً فِي جِهَادِ الْعَدُوِّ فَإِنَّ عَطْفَكَ عَلَيْهِمْ يَعْطِفُ قُلُوبَهُمْ عَلَيْكَ.

36.That commander of the army should have such a position before you that he renders help to them equitably and spends from his money on them and on those of their families who remain behind so that all their worries converge on the one worry for fighting the enemy. Your kindness to themwill turn their hearts to you

At this point, the linguistic analysis has reached its end; next, intertextuality will be analysed.

4.2.2 Intertextual Analysis of IAE

Four steps of analysis will be followed in the analysis of IAE according to Bazerman's (2004) model of analysis. IAE resorts to The Holy Quran and the Prophet Mohammed's (p.b.u.h.) traditions either through mentioning explicit or implicit references. An example of

explicit instance from Surat Al-Nasaa' (Al-Nesaa,59)from The Holy Quran is given below:

٣٧."يا أيها الذين آمنوا أطيعوا الله و أطيعوا الرسول و أولي الأمر منكم فان تنازعتم في شيء فردوه إلى الله و الرسول"

37 ."O ye who believe! Obey Allah, and obey the Messenger, and those charged with authority among you If ye differ in anything among yourselves, refer it to Allah and His Messenger".(Ali, 1987: 38).

The level of intertextuality of the previous example is that IAE explicitly uses other statements as background and support whereas the technique is a direct quotation. Concerning distance, the time is about 40 years between the Ayah and IAE . The Ayah was revealed to the Prophet Mohammed (p.b.u.h.) in Al-Madynah whereas the IAE was written in Kufa. They belong to the same culture, i,e. the Islamic one. The institution in which the two extracts are specialised is concerned with managing people's lives. One of the purposes behind Allah's (Glorified and Exalted be He) sending The Holy Quran is for the sake of managing man's life. Similarly, Imam Ali (p.b.u.h.) wrote IAE for Malik to assist him in ruling Egypt. Finally, the contexts of these extracts are the same; consequently, no recontextualisation is found.

The Holy Quran is used implicitly as in the following examples:

٣٨.وَأَنْ يَنْصُرَ اللَّهَ سُبْحَانَهُ بِقَلْبِهِ وَيَدِهِ وَلِسَانِهِ فَإِنَّهُ جَلَّ اسْمُهُ قَدْ تَكَفَّلَ بِنَصْرِ مَنْ نَصَرَهُ وَإِعْزَازِ مَنْ أَعَزَّهُ.

38. and to help Allah whose name is Sublime takes the responsibility for helping him who helps Him, and for protecting him who gives Him support.

The above represents an indirect reference to the following Ayah from Surat Mohammed(Muhammad,7).

"يَا أَيُّهَا الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا إِن تَنصُرُوا اللَّهَ يَنصُرْكُمْ وَيُثَبِّتْ أَقْدَامَكُمْ "

(O ye who believe! If ye will aid (the cause of) Allah, He will aid
you, and plant your feet firmly)(Ali, 1987: 257)

This extract uses implicit recognisable kinds of language and phrasing
from The Holy Quran by using such form of language that echos
certain types of documents as a technique. Regarding the other two steps
of analysis, they assimilate the previous example.

On the other hand, the Prophet Mohammed's (p.b.u.h.) traditions also
effect IAE. Explicit mentioning of one of these traditions is given
below:

٣٩."لَنْ تُقَدَّسَ أُمَّةٌ لَا يُؤْخَذُ لِلضَّعِيفِ فِيهَا حَقُّهُ مِنَ الْقَوِيِّ غَيْرَ مُتَتَعْتِعٍ"

39. The people among whom the right of the weak is not
secured from the strong without fear will never achieve purity.

The previous extract is used directly within IAE as a support and
background statement. This takes place by using a direct quotation as a
technique. For the distance in all of its sides, it is similar to example 32
as they assimilate each other in time, place and culture. Concerning the
institution, the prophet Mohammed (p.b.u.h.) is the author of this
tradition, and Imam Ali (p.b.u.h.) is the author of the IAE. The extracts
have the same context.

The same steps except the technique are used in the following example.
The technique is mentioning statement from the prophet Mohammed's
(p.b.u.h.) traditions in the IAE:

٤٠.وَلْيَكُنِ الْبَيْعُ بَيْعاً سَمْحاً بِمَوَازِينِ عَدْلٍ وَأَسْعَارٍ لَا تُجْحِفُ بِالْفَرِيقَيْنِ مِنَ الْبَائِعِ
وَالْمُبْتَاعِ.

40.The sale should be smooth, with correct weights and prices,
not harmful to either party, the seller or the purchaser).

"رَحِمَ اللَّهُ عَبْدًا سَمْحًا إِذَا بَاعَ، سَمْحًا إِذَا اشْتَرَى، سَمْحًا إِذَا قضى "

"May Allah have mercy upon the man who is generous while selling, and also generous in buyingand demandinghis balance from people."(Alfahim,1988:135)

4.2.3. Ideological Analysis of IAE

Fairclough (1989) has not introduced the concept of ideology as an isolated one. He makes a connection between ideology and power, considering them two joined concepts in CDA.

Concerning power analysis, Imam Ali (p.b.u.h.) believes that power belongs to Allah rather than of human beings. Allah should be obeyed, his prophet, and those charged with authority among people. This is what makes it as a distinct religious system among other ones. An illustrative example is as follows:

٤١.(يا أيها الذين آمنوا أطيعوا الله و أطيعوا الرسول و أولي الأمر منكم فان تنازعتم في شيء فردوه إلى الله و الرسول).

41. 'O ye who believe! Obey Allah, and obey the Messenger, and those charged with authority among you. If ye differ in anything among yourselves, refer it to Allah and His Messenger'

Imam Ali (p.b.u.h.) in mentioning the previous Ayah, asserts that the divine rather than the human authority. Such power has been given to him by Allah in the Holly Quran since he is the Caliph who should be obeyed. The source of his power has a divine rather than a human origin as in the secular systems.

Concerning ideologies of IAE, many ideologies has been embedded within the text. **Religious ideology**prevails the other ideologies in IAE.

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So, the dominant ideology is that of **Islam**. IAE is a religious document since it relies mostly on the Holy Quran and the prophetMohammed's (p.b.u.h.) traditions through either explicit or implicit references. Its reliance is mostly on the Holy Quran which is considered a main source of Islamic rules that should be followed in the first place. This is clear through exposing the following:

٤٢.أَمَرَهُ بِتَقْوَى اللَّهِ وَإِيْثَارِ طَاعَتِهِ وَاتِّبَاعِ مَا أَمَرَ بِهِ فِي كِتَابِهِ مِنْ فَرَائِضِهِ وَسُنَنِهِ.

> 42. He has ordered him to fear Allah ,to prefer obedience to him,
>
> and to follow what He has commanded in His Book(Quran) out
>
> of Hisobligatory and elective commands.

Another religious reference is mentionedbelow, which refers to the prophet Mohammed's (p.b.u.h.) traditions; as follows:

٤٣.وَقَدْ سَأَلْتُ رَسُولَ اللَّهِ (صلى الله عليه وآله) حينَ وَجَّهَنِي إِلَى الْيَمَنِ كَيْفَ أُصَلِّي بِهِمْ فَقَالَ صَلِّ بِهِمْ كَصَلَاةِ أَضْعَفِهِمْ وَكُنْ بِالْمُؤْمِنِينَ رَحِيماً.

> 43.When the Messenger of Allāh (p.b.u.h.a.h.p.) sent me to
> Yemen I enquired how I should offer prayers with them and he
> replied, ''Perform the prayers as the weakest of them would
> perform, and be considerate to the believers.''

Praying is one   of the Islamic Rituals, Imam Ali (p.b.u.h.) has concentrated on this ritual for its importance and effect on people's lives.

Human rightsis another dominant ideology of IAE . It is highly focused on in IAE and hasgreat importance.Human rights are introduced through IAE as a fundamental part which is included within most if not all of its major parts. They include   political, economic, military, of leaders, of officers, of poor people,   of the self –right and others.

An example of the economic rights that are revealed in IAE is as follows:

٤٤. وَتَفَقَّدْ أَمْرَ الْخَرَاجِ بِمَا يُصْلِحُ أَهْلَهُ فَإِنَّ فِي صَلَاحِهِ وَصَلَاحِهِمْ صَلَاحاً لِمَنْ سِوَاهُمْ وَلَا صَلَاحَ لِمَنْ سِوَاهُمْ إِلَّا بِهِمْ لِأَنَّ النَّاسَ كُلَّهُمْ عِيَالٌ عَلَى الْخَرَاجِ وَأَهْلِهِ وَلْيَكُنْ نَظَرُكَ فِي عِمَارَةِ الْأَرْضِ أَبْلَغَ مِنْ نَظَرِكَ فِي اسْتِجْلَابِ الْخَرَاجِ لِأَنَّ ذَلِكَ لَا يُدْرَكُ إِلَّا بِالْعِمَارَةِ.

44.Look after the revenue (*kharāj* or land tax) affairs in such a way that those engaged in it remain prosperous because in their prosperity lies the prosperity of all others. The others cannot prosper without them, because all people are dependent on revenue and its payers. You should also keep an eye on the cultivation of the land more than on the collection of revenuebecause revenue cannot be had without cultivation.

Here are examples that reveal the right of the chief judge and officers, respectively:

٤٥. ثُمَّ أَكْثِرْ تَعَاهُدَ قَضَائِهِ وَافْسَحْ لَهُ فِي الْبَذْلِ مَا يُزِيلُ عِلَّتَهُ وَتَقِلُّ مَعَهُ حَاجَتُهُ إِلَى النَّاسِ وَأَعْطِهِ مِنَ الْمَنْزِلَةِ لَدَيْكَ مَا لَا يَطْمَعُ فِيهِ غَيْرُهُ مِنْ خَاصَّتِكَ لِيَأْمَنَ بِذَلِكَ اغْتِيَالَ الرِّجَالِ لَهُ عِنْدَكَ.

45. Then, very often check his decisions and allow him so much money (as remuneration) that he has no excuse worth hearing (for not being honest) and there remains no occasion for him to go to others for his needs. Give him that rank in your audience for which no one else among your chiefs aspires, so that he remains safe from the harm of those around you.

٤٦. ثُمَّ أَسْبِغْ عَلَيْهِمُ الْأَرْزَاقَ فَإِنَّ ذَلِكَ قُوَّةٌ لَهُمْ عَلَى اسْتِصْلَاحِ أَنْفُسِهِمْ وَغِنًى لَهُمْ عَنْ تَنَاوُلِ مَا تَحْتَ أَيْدِيهِمْ وَحُجَّةٌ عَلَيْهِمْ إِنْ خَالَفُوا أَمْرَكَ أَوْ ثَلَمُوا أَمَانَتَكَ.

46. Give them an abundant livelihood (by way of salary) because this gives them the strength to maintain themselves in order and not to have an eye upon the funds in their custody, and it would be an argument against them if they disobeyed your orders or misappropriated your trust.

The rights of the poor are mentioned in IAE.These are to be obtained regardless oftheir religion, tribe, race and so on.

٤٧. ثُمَّ اللَّهَ اللَّهَ فِي الطَّبَقَةِ السُّفْلَى مِنَ الَّذِينَ لَا حِيلَةَ لَهُمْ مِنَ الْمَسَاكِينِ وَالْمُحْتَاجِينَ وَأَهْلِ الْبُؤْسَى وَالزَّمْنَى فَإِنَّ فِي هَذِهِ الطَّبَقَةِ قَانِعاً وَمُعْتَرّاً وَاحْفَظْ لِلَّهِ مَا اسْتَحْفَظَكَ مِنْ حَقِّهِ فِيهِمْ وَاجْعَلْ لَهُمْ قِسْماً مِنْ بَيْتِ مَالِكَ وَقِسْماً مِنْ غَلَّاتِ صَوَافِي الْإِسْلَامِ فِي كُلِّ بَلَدٍ فَإِنَّ لِلْأَقْصَى مِنْهُمْ مِثْلَ الَّذِي لِلْأَدْنَى وَكُلٌّ قَدِ اسْتُرْعِيتَ حَقَّهُ وَلَا يَشْغَلَنَّكَ عَنْهُمْ بَطَرٌ فَإِنَّكَ لَا تُعْذَرُ بِتَضْيِيعِكَ التَّافِهَ لِإِحْكَامِكَ الْكَثِيرَ الْمُهِمَّ.

47.(Fear) Allah and keep Allah in view in respect of the lowest class, consisting of those who have few means: the poor, the destitute, the penniless and the disabled; because in this class are both the discontented and those who beg. Take care for the sake of Allah of His obligations towards them for which He has made you responsible. Fix for them a share from the public funds and a share from the crops of lands taken over as booty for Islam in every area, because in it the remote ones have the same shares as the near ones. All these people are those whose rights have been placed in your charge. Therefore, a luxurious life should not keep you away from them you cannot be excused for ignoring small matters because you were deciding big problems.

Self- rights have occupied a place in IAE because Imam Ali(p.b.u.h.) has recommended Malik to take care of himself in order to be able to obtain the rights of others. In the syntactic analysis of transitivity, the role of Malik Al-Ashter as an actor obtains (61.6%). This implies the high duties that need to be achieved by him. Imam Ali (p.b.u.h.) takes this point into consideration and keeps reminding Malik to be a virtual leader.

٤٨.وَاجْعَلْ لِنَفْسِكَ فِيمَا بَيْنَكَ وَبَيْنَ اللهِ أَفْضَلَ تِلْكَ الْمَوَاقِيتِ وَأَجْزَلَ تِلْكَ الْأَقْسَامِ وَإِنْ كَانَتْ كُلُّهَا لِلَّهِ إِذَا صَلَحَتْ فِيهَا النِّيَّةُ وَسَلِمَتْ مِنْهَا الرَّعِيَّةُ.

48.Keep for the worship of Allāh, although all these items arefor Allāh provided the intention is pure and the subjects prosper thereby.

٤٩.وَإِنْ ظَنَّتِ الرَّعِيَّةُ بِكَ حَيْفاً فَأَصْحِرْ لَهُمْ بِعُذْرِكَ وَاعْدِلْ عَنْكَ ظُنُونَهُمْ بِإِصْحَارِكَ فَإِنَّ فِي ذَلِكَ رِيَاضَةً مِنْكَ لِنَفْسِكَ وَرِفْقاً بِرَعِيَّتِكَ وَإِعْذَاراً تَبْلُغُ بِهِ حَاجَتَكَ مِنْ تَقْوِيمِهِمْ عَلَى الْحَقِّ.

49.If the subjects suspect you of high-handedness, explain to them your position openly and remove their suspicion with your explanation, because this would mean exercise for your soul and consideration to the subjects while this explanation will secure your aim of keeping them firm in truth.

٥٠.وَلْيَكُنْ فِي خَاصَّةِ مَا تُخْلِصُ بِهِ لِلَّهِ دِينَكَ إِقَامَةُ فَرَائِضِهِ الَّتِي هِيَ لَهُ خَاصَّةً فَأَعْطِ اللَّهَ مِنْ بَدَنِكَ فِي لَيْلِكَ وَنَهَارِكَ وَوَفِّ مَا تَقَرَّبْتَ بِهِ إِلَى اللهِ.

50.Therefore, devote to Allāh some of your physical activity during the night and the day, and whatever (worship) you perform for seeking nearness to Allāh should be complete, without defect or deficiency, whatsoever physical exertion it may involve.

IAE calls also for freedom of opinion and opposition and the need to get people obtain their freedom in exposing their ideas or opinionsin addition to their opposition. These points are found in the following examples, respectively:

٥١.وَاجْعَلْ لِذَوِي الْحَاجَاتِ مِنْكَ قِسْماً تُفَرِّغُ لَهُمْ فِيهِ شَخْصَكَ وَتَجْلِسُ لَهُمْ مَجْلِساً عَامّاً فَتَتَوَاضَعُ فِيهِ لِلَّهِ الَّذِي خَلَقَكَ وَتُقْعِدُ عَنْهُمْ جُنْدَكَ وَأَعْوَانَكَ مِنْ أَحْرَاسِكَ وَشُرَطِكَ حَتَّى يُكَلِّمَكَ مُتَكَلِّمُهُمْ غَيْرَ مُتَتَعْتِع فَإِنِّي سَمِعْتُ رَسُولَ اللَّهِ (صلى الله عليه وآله) يَقُولُ فِي غَيْرِ مَوْطِنٍ لَنْ تُقَدَّسَ أُمَّةٌ لَا يُؤْخَذُ لِلضَّعِيفِ فِيهَا حَقُّهُ مِنَ الْقَوِيِّ غَيْرَ مُتَتَعْتِعٍ.

51. And fix a time for complainants wherein you make yourself free for them, and sit for them in common audience and feel humble therein for the sake of Allāh who created you. (On that occasion) you should keep away your army and your assistants such as the guards and the police so that anyone who like to speak may speak to you without fear, because I have heard the Messenger of Allāh (p.b.u.h.a.h.p.) say in more than one place, ''The people among whom the right of the weak is not secured from the strong without fear will never achieve purity

٥٢.ثُمَّ احْتَمِلِ الْخُرْقَ مِنْهُمْ وَالْعِيَّ وَنَحِّ عَنْهُمُ الضِّيقَ وَالْأَنَفَ يَبْسُطِ اللَّهُ عَلَيْكَ بِذَلِكَ أَكْنَافَ رَحْمَتِهِ وَيُوجِبْ لَكَ ثَوَابَ طَاعَتِهِ.

52. Tolerate their awkwardness and inability to speak. Keep away from you narrowness and haughtiness; Allāh would, on this account, spread over you the skirts of His mercy and assign the reward of His obedience for you.

Anti-racism, the final ideology to be discussed in IAE, is known as an opposition to racial discrimination. This ideology marks almost the beginning of the epistle in which Imam Ali(p.b.u.h.) emphasizes the equality between human beings. Here, people are regarded as brothers

regardless of their religion, language, race, colour, tribe, social rank, and geographical base, as in the following extract:

٥٣.وَأَشْعِرْ قَلْبَكَ الرَّحْمَةَ لِلرَّعِيَّةِ وَالْمَحَبَّةَ لَهُمْ وَاللُّطْفَ بِهِمْ وَلَا تَكُونَنَّ عَلَيْهِمْ سَبُعاً ضَارِياً تَغْتَنِمُ أَكْلَهُمْ فَإِنَّهُمْ صِنْفَانِ إِمَّا أَخٌ لَكَ فِي الدِّينِ وَإِمَّا نَظِيرٌ لَكَ فِي الْخَلْقِ.

> 53.Habituate your heart to mercy for the subjects and to affection and kindness for them. Do not stand over them like greedy beasts who feel it is enough to devour them, since they are of two kinds, either your brother in religion or one like you in creation.

4.3 Contrastive Analysis of AC and IAE

The outcomes of the analysis of the two texts are contrasted according to three levels of analysis, namely, linguistic, intertextual and ideological.

4.3.1. Contrastive Analysis of the Linguistic Level of AC and IAE

The analysis of linguistic structures of the two texts under study comprises two types of analysis macro and micro.

4.3.1.1. Macro Analysis

The Macro structure includes the analysis of two components: schematic and thematic structures. **The schematic analysis** of the two texts shows the differences between them in their formal structures. ACappears in the form of a legal document which consists of a preamble, seven articles, and twenty seven amendments. IAE, on the other hand, has the formula of essays which begin with an introduction followed by a body, and finally a concluding remark. The preamble ensures the secular ideology of ACsince it consists of an explicit reference to the human sovereignty as a source of law. The articles consist of some rules to delineate the three powers with their authorities and duties. They consist of laws for citizenship and new states. Finally, the first ten amendments

are called 'the Bill of Rights' which consists of a set of rights that abolish some previous racist laws.

The introduction of IAE reveals the spring of the texts as an Islamic one because it is given from the Holy Quran. The body of IAE is composed of two parts: the order of employment and the rest of laws including an enormous set of rights. Finally, the last paragraph of IAE functions as a concluding remark.

The second part of the macro analysis is **the thematic analysis**. It shows similarities and differences in themes. Some of them such as separation of power and human rights are found in both, but other themes such as racism, sexism, secularism are found in AC only. IAE consists of other themes such as themes of religion and morality.

4.3.1.2 Micro Analysis

Micro analysis consists of three levels, syntactic, semantic, and lexical. Within the syntactic analysis, there are two components: passivisation andtransitivity.

Passivisation analysis of the two texts shows that both of them tend to use active verbs heavily. The difference is between the frequency of occurrence of active and passive verbs. IAE has the high percentage in using active verbs since it constitutes (95.9%) whereas active verbs in AC constitutes (64%.66). This means that passive verbs constitute only (4.1%)in IAE and (35.34%)in AC.

The following table and figure show the percentage of using active and passive in the two texts:

Table (4-13) Passivisation in AC and IAE

Texts / Voice	AC	IAE
Active	64.66 %	95.9 %
Passive	35.34%	4.1 %
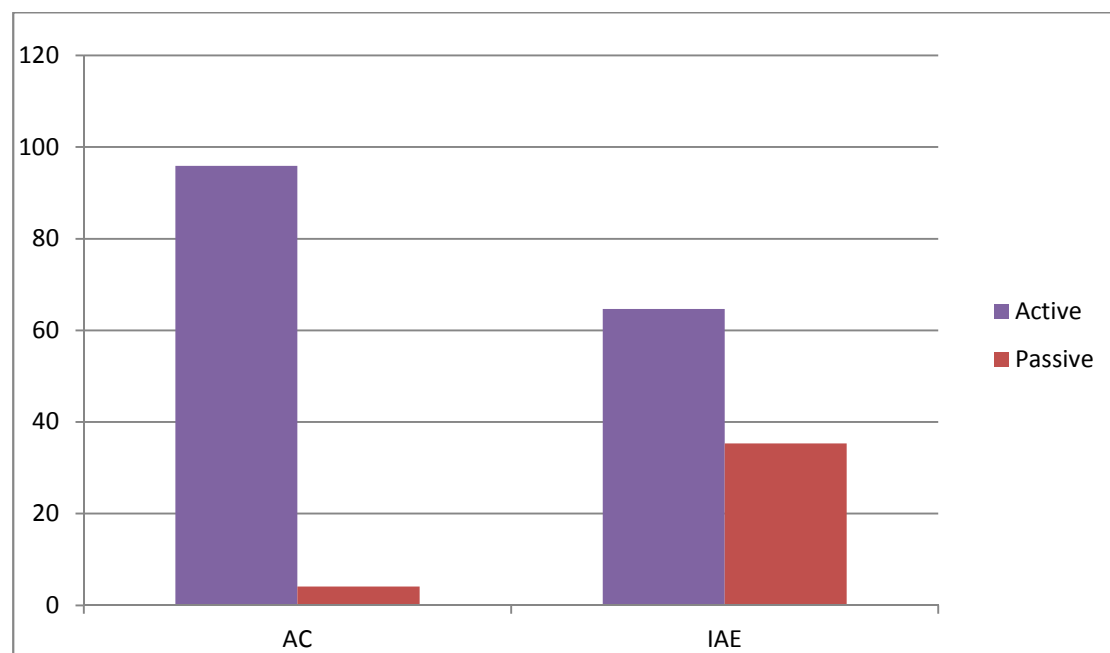
Figure (4-11) Passivisation in AC and IAE

Concerning **passivisation** in AC,the high use of passive verbs as compared with IAE may indicate a sense of generalisation or the importance of the actions mentioned here rather than the actors.On the other hand,The high percentage of the active verb in IAE refers to the superior and inferior relationship, IAE is written by the Caliph who is considered a representative of the laws of Allah and he has a superior power, so there is no need to use passivisation.

Concerning **transitivity**, the two texts introduce the participant (the ruler) differently. The ruler, Malik Al-Ashter, has been referred to as a

participant in different process types. In both texts AC and IAE, the participant takes the role of an 'actor' who is in charge of some duties and responsibilities. In AC the participant as 'an actor' constitutes (36%) whereas in IAE (61%). Table (4-14) and figure(4-12) below show the frequency of occurrence:

Table (4-14) Transitivity in AC and IAE

Role	AC	IAE
Actor	36%	61%
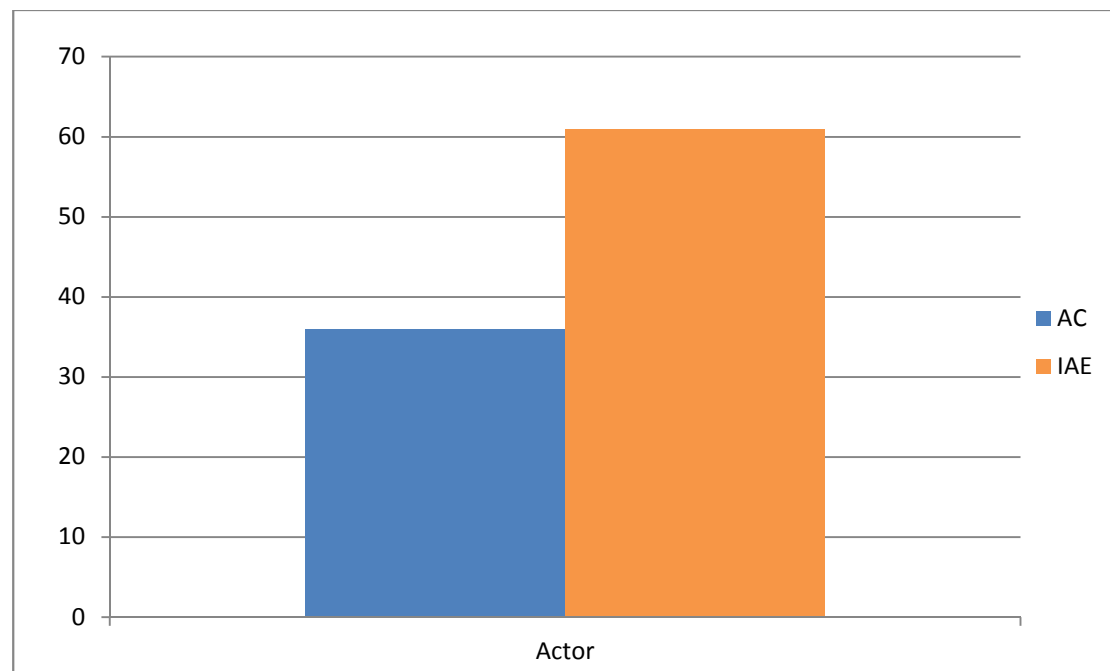
Figure (4-12) Transitivity in AC and IAE

This percentage means that the duties that are entrusted to the ruler in ACare less than those in IAE. These duties are either towards Allah, himself, his subjects, officers, and others.

The second level of the micro analysis is the semantic analysis which consists of modality and categorisation. Modality shows

differences in applying epistemic and deontic meaning. Deontic meaning prevails in AC whereas epistemic meaning prevails in IAE. The meaning of epistemic (**possibility)** comes first in IAE while the meaning of deontic **(obligation**) comes first in AC, as shown in table(4-15) below:

Table (4-15) Modality of AC and IAE

Meaning	AC		IAE	
Prevailing meaning of modality	Possibility	52.2 %	Obligation	30.4%

Finally, lexical analysis consists of two kinds of expressions referring to religion and rights. The analysis shows that while AC consists of expressions of human rights IAE have expressions of rights and expressions of religion.

4.3.2. Contrastive Analysis of the Intertextual Level of AC and IAE

The intertextual analysis of the two texts shows that they draw upon other texts directly and indirectly. AC draws upon MC, the constitutions of states and the DRMC. These all represent political or legal governmental documents and most of which are concerned with the issue of laws and human rights. IAE draws upon the Holy Quran and the Prophet Mohammed's(p.b.u.h.) traditions.

4.3.3. Contrastive Analysis of the ideological   Level of AC and IAE

The last step of analysis is directed to the ideological analysis of the two texts since one of the aims of the present study is exhibiting the ideologies implied inthe two texts and how they are expressed in them.

Table(4-16) The Ideological Analysis of AC and IAE

No.	Items		AC	IAE
1	Major Ideology		Secularism	Religion
2	Power		Human	Divine
3	Other Ideologies	Democracy	Available	Not available
		Liberalism	Available	Not available
		Human rights	Available	Available
		Sexism	Available	Not available
		Racism	Available	Anti- racism

Some ideologies are found in the two texts. The overall ideology is that of religion and non-religion. For example, Secularism is the dominant ideology in AC whereas Islamic ideology or religion is dominant in IAE.

Concerning power, AC analysis shows that power is human while of IAE shows that power is divine. Moreover, the producers of the two texts tend to use their special linguistic ways to embrace their own ideology. Beginning from the macro and micro analyses which express directly or indirectly the source of the two texts which identifies to which ideology they belong. For example, schematic analysis structure of the two texts exposes directly the direction of the texts. Since the preamble to AC and the opening of the IAE both expose the source of the law as divine origin or human nature. This point is supported by the syntactic analysis, especially passivisation, when the percentage of using active verb in IAE is(95.9%) whereas in AC (64.66%). Intertextual analysis functions as a historical advocator which reveals also much about which texts are used as background, supports, contrast, source of meaning or others.

Democracy shapes the overall organization of the system of the political life in the US. It has been revealed in ACas the form of government since it means the"Government of the People or Government of the Majority" . On the one hand, such ideology is not expressed in IAE, since it represents the opposite side of the Islamic regime which depends mostly on (khalafa).

Liberalism is expressed throughout the linguistic expressions in AC whereas such ideology is not found in IAE. Human rights as an ideology that expresses the meaning of freedom of speech and press, self- rights, and others is found in IAE. In addition, while sexism and racism are expressed in the beginning construction of ACand are abolished later, there is no reference to such ideologies in the IAE, instead, IAE calls for anti- racism ideology which is based on equality among people regardless oftheir race.

Chapter Five

Conclusions Recommendations and Suggestions for Further Research

5.1. Conclusions

The following conclusions are the outcomes of the present study. They can be put within three points:

5.1.1 Linguistic Analysis

1. Concerning the macro structure:

(i) AC and IAE have different schematic structures since AC follows the formal shape of the current constitution which consists of three parts: preamble, seven articles, and twenty seven amendments. IAE includes: introduction, body and conclusive remarks.

(ii) Thematic analysis shows similarities and differences in the themes that are expressed in the two texts. They are similar in revealing the themes of separation of powers and human rights, but they are different in themes of religion, racist attitudes and morality.

2.Concerning the micro structure:

(i) Syntactic Analysis

-The analysis of syntactic levels of passivisation shows that in the two texts AC and IAE, active verbs have a high frequency of occurrence whereas the passive verbs showa low frequency of occurrence. The differences are found in employing the types of passive voice. In AC, three types are used, namely, agentless, agentive, and adjectival. IAE uses only regular passive voice.

- Transitivity analysis shows that the material and relational processes are the more prevailing types in AC whereas the processes type of material and mental are the more prevailing type in IAE. The participant role of a

president in both texts shows that the participant as an actor and goal is dominant in AC whereas the participant as an actor and senser is more prevailing in IAE

(ii)Semantic Analysis

- The analysis of modality shows different results. Epistemic modality is dominant in IAE whereas deontic modality is dominant in AC.
- Categorisation analysis shows that AC categorises people according to racial basis whereas IAE categorises people according to the social status or field of work.

(iii)Lexical Analysis

The analysis of lexical expressions shows that the two texts include expressions of human rights, expressions of religion are found only in IAE.

5.1.2 Intertextual Analysis

Intertextual analysis reveals that AC draws upon MC, DRMC and the states' constitutions, whereas IAE focuses on the Quranic verses and Prophet Mohammed's(p.b.u.h.) traditions.

5.1.3.Ideological Analysis

The different ideologies adopted by the texts producers are reflected in different linguistic ways. The recognisable ideologies of AC are ideologies of liberalism, democracy, secularism, human rights, racism and sexism whereas the ideologies of IAE are the ideology of Islam, human rights and anti–racism. These ideologies are expressed throughout using different linguistic ways in terms of macro and micro structures.

5.2. Recommendations

The recommendations of the present study include:

1. The present study deals with analysing two constitutional discourses critically. Concerning the constitutional discourse, it could be recommended to shed more light on the IAE linguistically, critically, and even legally and legislatively.

2. Human rights could be dealt with deeply through studying the constitutional discourses especially IAE, within different fields like CDA and pragmatics.

3. To develop CDA, some historical studies could be conducted critically to identify the development of some important ideologies like power, racism, democracy, etc. This kind of studies could be done by considering some paramount constitutions such as the two texts of the present study.

5.3. Suggestions

1. Doing a contrastive critical discourse analysis of the actors representation in AC and IAE.

2. Applying Wodak's approach for the analysis of AC as well as Imam Ali's(p.b.u.h.) Epistle to Malik Al-Ashter to focus on the historical sides of the two texts.

3. A contrastive critical discourse analysis of the representation of power in AC, MC and IAE.

4. The representation of human rights in AC and IAE.

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Appendices

Appendix 1

The Constitution of the United Statesof America

Preamble

We the People of the United States, in Order to form a more perfect Union, establish Justice, insure domestic Tranquility, provide for the common defence, promote the general Welfare, and secure the Blessings of Liberty to ourselves and our Posterity, ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America .

Article. I. - The Legislative Branch

Section 1 - The Legislature

All legislative Powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives .

Section 2 - The House

The House of Representatives shall be composed of Members chosen every second Year by the People of the several States, and the Electors in each State shall have the Qualifications requisite for Electors of the most numerous Branch of the State Legislature .

No Person shall be a Representative who shall not have attained to the Age of twenty five Years, and been seven Years a Citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an Inhabitant of that State in which he shall be chosen) .(Representatives and direct Taxes shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included within this Union, according to their respective Numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole Number of free Persons, including those bound to Service for a Term of Years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three fifths

of all other Persons.) (The previous sentence in parentheses was modified by the 14th Amendment, section 2.) The actual Enumeration shall be made within three Years after the first Meeting of the Congress of the United States, and within every subsequent Term of ten Years, in such Manner as they shall by Law direct. The Number of Representatives shall not exceed one for every thirty Thousand, but each State shall have at Least one Representative; and until such enumeration shall be made, the rabic and Bulgarian don't have infinitives. Verbs are always inflected.State of New Hampshire shall be entitled to chuse three, Massachusetts eight, Rhode Island and Providence Plantations one, Connecticut five, New York six, New Jersey four, Pennsylvania eight, Delaware one, Maryland six, Virginia ten, North Carolina five, South Carolina five and Georgia three .

When vacancies happen in the Representation from any State, the Executive Authority thereof shall issue Writs of Election to fill such Vacancies .

The House of Representatives shall chuse their Speaker and other Officers; and shall have the sole Power of Impeachment .

Section 3 - The Senate

The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, (chosen by the Legislature thereof,) (The preceding words in parentheses supersededby 17th Amendment, section 1.) for six Years; and each Senator shall have one Vote .

Immediately after they shall be assembled in Consequence of the first Election, they shall be divided as equally as may be into three Classes. The Seats of the Senators of the first Class shall be vacated at the Expiration of the second Year, of the second Class at the Expiration of

the fourth Year, and of the third Class at the Expiration of the sixth Year, so that one third may be chosen every second Year; (and if Vacancies happen by Resignation, or otherwise, during the Recess of the Legislature of any State, the Executive thereof may make temporary Appointments until the next Meeting of the Legislature, which shall then fill such Vacancies.) (The preceding words in parentheses were superseded by the 17th Amendment, section2).

No person shall be a Senator who shall not have attained to the Age of thirty Years, and been nine Years a Citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an Inhabitant of that State for which he shall be chosen .

The Vice President of the United States shall be President of the Senate, but shall have no Vote, unless they be equally divided .

The Senate shall chuse their other Officers, and also a President pro tempore, in the absence of the Vice President, or when he shall exercise the Office of President of the United States .

The Senate shall have the sole Power to try all Impeachments. When sitting for that Purpose, they shall be on Oath or Affirmation. When the President of the United States is tried, the Chief Justice shall preside: And no Person shall be convicted without the Concurrence of two thirds of the Members present .

Judgment in Cases of Impeachment shall not extend further than to removal from Office, and disqualification to hold and enjoy any Office of honor, Trust or Profit under the United States: but the Party convicted shall nevertheless be liable and subject to Indictment, Trial, Judgment and Punishment, according to Law .

Section 4 - Elections, Meetings

The Times, Places and Manner of holding Elections for Senators and Representatives, shall be prescribed in each State by the Legislature thereof; but the Congress may at any time by Law make or alter such Regulations, except as to the Place of Chusing Senators .

The Congress shall assemble at least once in every Year, and such Meeting shall (be on the first Monday in December,) (The preceding words in parentheses were superseded by the 20th Amendment, section 2.) unless they shall by Law appoint a different Day .

Section 5 - Membership, Rules, Journals, Adjournment

Each House shall be the Judge of the Elections, Returns and Qualifications of its own Members, and a Majority of each shall constitute a Quorum to do Business; but a smaller number may adjourn from day to day, and may be authorized to compel the Attendance of absent Members, in such Manner, and under such Penalties as each House may provide .

Each House may determine the Rules of its Proceedings, punish its Members for disorderly Behavior, and, with the Concurrence of two-thirds, expel a Member .

Each House shall keep a Journal of its Proceedings, and from time to time publish the same, excepting such Parts as may in their Judgment require Secrecy; and the Yeas and Nays of the Members of either House on any question shall, at the Desire of one fifth of those Present, be entered on the Journal .

Neither House, during the Session of Congress, shall, without the Consent of the other, adjourn for more than three days, nor to any other Place than that in which the two Houses shall be sitting .

Section 6 - Compensation

)The Senators and Representatives shall receive a Compensation for their Services, to be ascertained by Law, and paid out of the Treasury of the United States.) (The preceding words in parentheses were modified by the 27th Amendment.) They shall in all Cases, except Treason, Felony and Breach of the Peace, be privileged from Arrest during their Attendance at the Session of their respective Houses, and in going to and returning from the same; and for any Speech or Debate in either House, they shall not be questioned in any other Place .

No Senator or Representative shall, during the Time for which he was elected, be appointed to any civil Office under the Authority of the United States which shall have been created, or the Emoluments whereof shall have been increased during such time; and no Person holding any Office under the United States, shall be a Member of either House during his Continuance in Office .

Section 7 - Revenue Bills, Legislative Process, Presidential Veto

All bills for raising Revenue shall originate in the House of Representatives; but the Senate may propose or concur with Amendments as on other Bills .

Every Bill which shall have passed the House of Representatives and the Senate, shall, before it become a Law, be presented to the President of the United States; If he approve he shall sign it, but if not he shall return it, with his Objections to that House in which it shall have originated, who

shall enter the Objections at large on their Journal, and proceed to reconsider it. If after such Reconsideration two thirds of that House shall agree to pass the Bill, it shall be sent, together with the Objections, to the other House, by which it shall likewise be reconsidered, and if approved by two thirds of that House, it shall become a Law. But in all such Cases the Votes of both Houses shall be determined by Yeas and Nays, and the Names of the Persons voting for and against the Bill shall be entered on the Journal of each House respectively. If any Bill shall not be returned by the President within ten Days (Sundays excepted) after it shall have been presented to him, the Same shall be a Law, in like Manner as if he had signed it, unless the Congress by their Adjournment prevent its Return, in which Case Every Order, Resolution, or Vote to which the Concurrence of the Senate and House of Representatives may be necessary (except on a question of Adjournment) shall be presented to the President of the United States; and before the Same shall take Effect, shall be approved by him, or being disapproved by him, shall be repassed by two thirds of the Senate and House of Representatives, according to the Rules and Limitations prescribed in the Case of a Bill .

Section 8 - Powers of Congress

The Congress shall have Power To lay and collect Taxes, Duties, Imposts and Excises, to pay the Debts and provide for the common Defence and general Welfare of the United States; but all Duties, Imposts and Excises shall be uniform throughout the United States ؛

To borrow money on the credit of the United States ؛

To regulate Commerce with foreign Nations, and among the several States, and with the Indian Tribes ؛

To establish an uniform Rule of Naturalization, and uniform Laws on the subject of Bankruptcies throughout the United States；

To coin Money, regulate the Value thereof, and of foreign Coin, and fix the Standard of Weights and Measures；

To provide for the Punishment of counterfeiting the Securities and current Coin of the United States；

To establish Post Offices and Post Roads；

To promote the Progress of Science and useful Arts, by securing for limited Times to Authors and Inventors the exclusive Right to their respective Writings and Discoveries；

To constitute Tribunals inferior to the supreme Court；

To define and punish Piracies and Felonies committed on the high Seas, and Offenses against the Law of Nations；

To declare War, grant Letters of Marque and Reprisal, and make Rules concerning Captures on Land and Water；

To raise and support Armies, but no Appropriation of Money to that Use shall be for a longer Term than two Years；

To provide and maintain a Navy；

To make Rules for the Government and Regulation of the land and naval Forces；

To provide for calling forth the Militia to execute the Laws of the Union, suppress Insurrections and repel Invasions；

To provide for organizing, arming, and disciplining the Militia, and for governing such Part of them as may be employed in the Service of the

United States, reserving to the States respectively, the Appointment of the Officers, and the Authority of training the Militia according to the discipline prescribed by Congress ؛

To exercise exclusive Legislation in all Cases whatsoever, over such District (not exceeding ten Miles square) as may, by Cession of particular States, and the acceptance of Congress, become the Seat of the Government of the United States, and to exercise like Authority over all Places purchased by the Consent of the Legislature of the State in which the Same shall be, for the Erection of Forts, Magazines, Arsenals, dock-Yards, and other needful Buildings; And

To make all Laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into Execution the foregoing Powers, and all other Powers vested by this Constitution in the Government of the United States, or in any Department or Officer thereof .

Section 9 - Limits on Congress

The Migration or Importation of such Persons as any of the States now existing shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to the Year one thousand eight hundred and eight, but a tax or duty may be imposed on such Importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each Person .

The privilege of the Writ of Habeas Corpus shall not be suspended, unless when in Cases of Rebellion or Invasion the public Safety may require it .

No Bill of Attainder or ex post facto Law shall be passed .

No capitation, or other direct, Tax shall be laid, unless in Proportion to the Census or Enumeration herein before directed to be taken.) (Section in parentheses clarified by the 16th Amendment .

No Tax or Duty shall be laid on Articles exported from any State .

No Preference shall be given by any Regulation of Commerce or Revenue to the Ports of one State over those of another: nor shall Vessels bound to, or from, one State, be obliged to enter, clear, or pay Duties in another .

No Money shall be drawn from the Treasury, but in Consequence of Appropriations made by Law; and a regular Statement and Account of the Receipts and Expenditures of all public Money shall be published from time to time .

No Title of Nobility shall be granted by the United States: And no Person holding any Office of Profit or Trust under them, shall, without the Consent of the Congress, accept of any present, Emolument, Office, or Title, of any kind whatever, from any King, Prince or foreign State .

Section 10 - Powers prohibited of States

No State shall enter into any Treaty, Alliance, or Confederation; grant Letters of Marque and Reprisal; coin Money; emit Bills of Credit; make any Thing but gold and silver Coin a Tender in Payment of Debts; pass any Bill of Attainder, ex post facto Law, or Law impairing the Obligation of Contracts, or grant any Title of Nobility .

No State shall, without the Consent of the Congress, lay any Imposts or Duties on Imports or Exports, except what may be absolutely necessary for executing it's inspection Laws: and the net Produce of all Duties and Imposts, laid by any State on Imports or Exports, shall be for the Use of

the Treasury of the United States; and all such Laws shall be subject to the Revision and Controul of the Congress .

No State shall, without the Consent of Congress, lay any duty of Tonnage, keep Troops, or Ships of War in time of Peace, enter into any Agreement or Compact with another State, or with a foreign Power, or engage in War, unless actually invaded, or in such imminent Danger as will not admit of delay .

Article. II. - The Executive Branch

Section 1 - The President

The executive Power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America. He shall hold his Office during the Term of four Years, and, together with the Vice-President chosen for the same Term, be elected, as follows :

Each State shall appoint, in such Manner as the Legislature thereof may direct, a Number of Electors, equal to the whole Number of Senators and Representatives to which the State may be entitled in the Congress: but no Senator or Representative, or Person holding an Office of Trust or Profit under the United States, shall be appointed an Elector .

)The Electors shall meet in their respective States, and vote by Ballot for two persons, of whom one at least shall not lie an Inhabitant of the same State with themselves. And they shall make a List of all the Persons voted for, and of the Number of Votes for each; which List they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the Seat of the Government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate. The President of the Senate shall, in the Presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the Certificates, and the Votes shall then be counted. The Person

having the greatest Number of Votes shall be the President, if such Number be a Majority of the whole Number of Electors appointed; and if there be more than one who have such Majority, and have an equal Number of Votes, then the House of Representatives shall immediately chuse by Ballot one of them for President; and if no Person have a Majority, then from the five highest on the List the said House shall in like Manner chuse the President. But in chusing the President, the Votes shall be taken by States, the Representation from each State having one Vote; a quorum for this Purpose shall consist of a Member or Members from two-thirds of the States, and a Majority of all the States shall be necessary to a Choice. In every Case, after the Choice of the President, the Person having the greatest Number of Votes of the Electors shall be the Vice President. But if there should remain two or more who have equal Votes, the Senate shall chuse from them by Ballot the Vice-President.) (This clause in parentheses was superseded by the 12th Amendment (.

The Congress may determine the Time of chusing the Electors, and the Day on which they shall give their Votes; which Day shall be the same throughout the United States .

No person except a natural born Citizen, or a Citizen of the United States, at the time of the Adoption of this Constitution, shall be eligible to the Office of President; neither shall any Person be eligible to that Office who shall not have attained to the Age of thirty-five Years, and been fourteen Years a Resident within the United States .

)In Case of the Removal of the President from Office, or of his Death, Resignation, or Inability to discharge the Powers and Duties of the said Office, the same shall devolve on the Vice President, and the Congress

may by Law provide for the Case of Removal, Death, Resignation or Inability, both of the President and Vice President, declaring what Officer shall then act as President, and such Officer shall act accordingly, until the Disability be removed, or a President shall be elected.) (This clause in parentheses has been modified by the 20th and 25th Amendments (.

The President shall, at stated Times, receive for his Services, a Compensation, which shall neither be increased nor diminished during the Period for which he shall have been elected, and he shall not receive within that Period any other Emolument from the United States, or any of them .

Before he enter on the Execution of his Office, he shall take the following Oath or Affirmation :

"I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the Office of President of the United States, and will to the best of my Ability, preserve, protect and defend the Constitution of the United States ".

Section 2 - Civilian Power over Military, Cabinet, Pardon Power, Appointments

The President shall be Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States, and of the Militia of the several States, when called into the actual Service of the United States; he may require the Opinion, in writing, of the principal Officer in each of the executive Departments, upon any subject relating to the Duties of their respective Offices, and he shall have Power to Grant Reprieves and Pardons for Offenses against the United States, except in Cases of Impeachment .

He shall have Power, by and with the Advice and Consent of the Senate, to make Treaties, provided two thirds of the Senators present concur; and

he shall nominate, and by and with the Advice and Consent of the Senate, shall appoint Ambassadors, other public Ministers and Consuls, Judges of the supreme Court, and all other Officers of the United States, whose Appointments are not herein otherwise provided for, and which shall be established by Law: but the Congress may by Law vest the Appointment of such inferior Officers, as they think proper, in the President alone, in the Courts of Law, or in the Heads of Departments .

The President shall have Power to fill up all Vacancies that may happen during the Recess of the Senate, by granting Commissions which shall expire at the End of their next Session .

Section 3 - State of the Union, Convening Congress

He shall from time to time give to the Congress Information of the State of the Union, and recommend to their Consideration such Measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient; he may, on extraordinary Occasions, convene both Houses, or either of them, and in Case of Disagreement between them, with Respect to the Time of Adjournment, he may adjourn them to such Time as he shall think proper; he shall receive Ambassadors and other public Ministers; he shall take Care that the Laws be faithfully executed, and shall Commission all the Officers of the United States .

Section 4 - Disqualification

The President, Vice President and all civil Officers of the United States, shall be removed from Office on Impeachment for, and Conviction of, Treason, Bribery, or other high Crimes and Misdemeanors .

Article III. - The Judicial Branch

Section 1 - Judicial powers

The judicial Power of the United States, shall be vested in one supreme Court, and in such inferior Courts as the Congress may from time to time ordain and establish. The Judges, both of the supreme and inferior Courts, shall hold their Offices during good Behavior, and shall, at stated Times, receive for their Services a Compensation which shall not be diminished during their Continuance in Office .

Section 2 - Trial by Jury, Original Jurisdiction, Jury Trials

(The judicial Power shall extend to all Cases, in Law and Equity, arising under this Constitution, the Laws of the United States, and Treaties made, or which shall be made, under their Authority; to all Cases affecting Ambassadors, other public Ministers and Consuls; to all Cases of admiralty and maritime Jurisdiction; to Controversies to which the United States shall be a Party; to Controversies between two or more States; between a State and Citizens of another State; between Citizens of different States; between Citizens of the same State claiming Lands under Grants of different States, and between a State, or the Citizens thereof, and foreign States, Citizens or Subjects.) (This section in parentheses is modified by the 11th Amendment).

In all Cases affecting Ambassadors, other public Ministers and Consuls, and those in which a State shall be Party, the supreme Court shall have original Jurisdiction. In all the other Cases before mentioned, the supreme Court shall have appellate Jurisdiction, both as to Law and Fact, with such Exceptions, and under such Regulations as the Congress shall make .

The Trial of all Crimes, except in Cases of Impeachment, shall be by Jury; and such Trial shall be held in the State where the said Crimes shall have been committed; but when not committed within any State, the Trial shall be at such Place or Places as the Congress may by Law have directed.

Section 3 - Treason

Treason against the United States, shall consist only in levying War against them, or in adhering to their Enemies, giving them Aid and Comfort. No Person shall be convicted of Treason unless on the Testimony of two Witnesses to the same overt Act, or on Confession in open Court .

The Congress shall have power to declare the Punishment of Treason, but no Attainder of Treason shall work Corruption of Blood, or Forfeiture except during the Life of the Person attainted .

Article. IV. - The States

Section 1 - Each State to Honor all others

Full Faith and Credit shall be given in each State to the public Acts, Records, and judicial Proceedings of every other State. And the Congress may by general Laws prescribe the Manner in which such Acts, Records and Proceedings shall be proved, and the Effect thereof .

Section 2 - State citizens, Extradition

The Citizens of each State shall be entitled to all Privileges and Immunities of Citizens in the several States .

A Person charged in any State with Treason, Felony, or other Crime, who shall flee from Justice, and be found in another State, shall on demand of the executive Authority of the State from which he fled, be delivered up, to be removed to the State having Jurisdiction of the Crime .

)No Person held to Service or Labour in one State, under the Laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in Consequence of any Law or Regulation therein, be discharged from such Service or Labour, But shall be delivered up on Claim of the Party to whom such Service or Labour may be due.) (This clause in parentheses is superseded by the 13th Amendment (.

Section 3 - New States

New States may be admitted by the Congress into this Union; but no new States shall be formed or erected within the Jurisdiction of any other State; nor any State be formed by the Junction of two or more States, or parts of States, without the Consent of the Legislatures of the States concerned as well as of the Congress .

The Congress shall have Power to dispose of and make all needful Rules and Regulations respecting the Territory or other Property belonging to the United States; and nothing in this Constitution shall be so construed as to Prejudice any Claims of the United States, or of any particular State .

Section 4 - Republican government

The United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a Republican Form of Government, and shall protect each of them against Invasion; and on Application of the Legislature, or of the Executive (when the Legislature cannot be convened) against domestic Violence .

Article. V. - Amendment

The Congress, whenever two thirds of both Houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose Amendments to this Constitution, or, on the Application of the Legislatures of two thirds of the several States, shall call a Convention for proposing Amendments, which, in either Case, shall be valid to all Intents and Purposes, as part of this Constitution, when ratified by the Legislatures of three fourths of the several States, or by Conventions in three fourths thereof, as the one or the other Mode of Ratification may be proposed by the Congress; Provided that no Amendment which may be made prior to the Year One thousand eight hundred and eight shall in any Manner affect the first and fourth Clauses in the Ninth Section of the first Article; and that no State, without its Consent, shall be deprived of its equal Suffrage in the Senate .

Article. VI. - Debts, Supremacy, Oaths

All Debts contracted and Engagements entered into, before the Adoption of this Constitution, shall be as valid against the United States under this Constitution, as under the Confederation .

This Constitution, and the Laws of the United States which shall be made in Pursuance thereof; and all Treaties made, or which shall be made, under the Authority of the United States, shall be the supreme Law of the Land; and the Judges in every State shall be bound thereby, any Thing in the Constitution or Laws of any State to the Contrary notwithstanding .

The Senators and Representatives before mentioned, and the Members of the several State Legislatures, and all executive and judicial Officers, both of the United States and of the several States, shall be bound by Oath or Affirmation, to support this Constitution; but no religious Test

shall ever be required as a Qualification to any Office or public Trust under the United States.

Article. VII. - Ratification

The Ratification of the Conventions of nine States, shall be sufficient for the Establishment of this Constitution between the States so ratifying the Same .

Done in Convention by the Unanimous Consent of the States present the Seventeenth Day of September in the Year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and Eighty seven and of the Independence of the United States of America the Twelfth. In Witness whereof We have hereunto subscribed our Names .

Go Washington - President and deputy from Virginia

New Hampshire - John Langdon, Nicholas Gilman

Massachusetts - Nathaniel Gorham, Rufus King

Connecticut - Wm Saml Johnson, Roger Sherman

New York - Alexander Hamilton

New Jersey - Wil Livingston, David Brearley, Wm Paterson, Jona. Dayton

Pensylvania - B Franklin, Thomas Mifflin, Robt Morris, Geo. Clymer, Thos FitzSimons, Jared Ingersoll, James Wilson, Gouv Morris

Delaware - Geo. Read, Gunning Bedford jun, John Dickinson, Richard Bassett, Jaco. Broom

Maryland - James McHenry, Dan of St Tho Jenifer, Danl Carroll

Virginia - John Blair, James Madison Jr .

North Carolina - Wm Blount, Richd Dobbs Spaight, Hu Williamson

South Carolina - J. Rutledge, Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, Charles Pinckney, Pierce Butler

Georgia - William Few, Abr Baldwin

Attest: William Jackson, Secretary

The Amendments

The following are the Amendments to the Constitution. The first ten Amendments collectively are commonly known as the Bill of Rights .

Amendment 1 - Freedom of Religion, Press, Expression. Ratified 12/15/1791 .

Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances .

Amendment 2 - Right to Bear Arms. Ratified 12/15/1791 .

A well-regulated Militia, being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear Arms, shall not be infringed .

Amendment 3 - Quartering of Soldiers. Ratified 12/15/1791 .

No Soldier shall, in time of peace be quartered in any house, without the consent of the Owner, nor in time of war, but in a manner to be prescribed by law .

Amendment 4 - Search and Seizure. Ratified 12/15/1791 .

The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, and no Warrants shall issue, but upon probable cause, supported by Oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized .

Amendment 5 - Trial and Punishment, Compensation for Takings. Ratified 12/15/1791 .

No person shall be held to answer for a capital, or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a Grand Jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the Militia, when in actual service in time of War or public danger; nor shall any person be subject for the same offense to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb; nor shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself, nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use, without just compensation .

Amendment 6 - Right to Speedy Trial, Confrontation of Witnesses. Ratified 12/15/1791 .

In all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the State and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law, and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnessesagainst him; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor, and to have the Assistance of Counsel for his defence .

Amendment 7 - Trial by Jury in Civil Cases. Ratified 12/15/1791 .

In Suits at common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved, and no fact tried by a jury, shall be otherwise reexamined in any Court of the United States, than according to the rules of the common law .

Amendment 8 - Cruel and Unusual Punishment. Ratified 12/15/1791 .

Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted .

Amendment 9 - Construction of Constitution. Ratified 12/15/1791 .

The enumeration in the Constitution, of certain rights, shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people .

Amendment 10 - Powers of the States and People. Ratified 12/15/1791 .

The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people .

Amendment 11 - Judicial Limits. Ratified 2/7/1795 .

The Judicial power of the United States shall not be construed to extend to any suit in law or equity, commenced or prosecuted against one of the United States by Citizens of another State, or by Citizens or Subjects of any Foreign State .

Amendment 12 - Choosing the President, Vice-President. Ratified 6/15/1804 .

The Electors shall meet in their respective states, and vote by ballot for President and Vice-President, one of whom, at least, shall not be an inhabitant of the same state with themselves; they shall name in their ballots the person voted for as President, and in distinct ballots the person

voted for as Vice-President, and they shall make distinct lists of all persons voted for as President, and of all persons voted for as Vice-President and of the number of votes for each, which lists they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of the government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate ؛

The President of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates and the votes shall then be counted؛

The person having the greatest Number of votes for President, shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of Electors appointed; and if no person have such majority, then from the persons having the highest numbers not exceeding three on the list of those voted for as President, the House of Representatives shall choose immediately, by ballot, the President. But in choosing the President, the votes shall be taken by states, the representation from each state having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two-thirds of the states, and a majority of all the states shall be necessary to a choice. And if the House of Representatives shall not choose a President whenever the right of choice shall devolve upon them, before the fourth day of March next following, then the Vice-President shall act as President, as in the case of the death or other constitutional disability of the President .

The person having the greatest number of votes as Vice-President, shall be the Vice President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of Electors appointed, and if no person have a majority, then from the two highest numbers on the list, the Senate shall choose the Vice-President; a quorum for the purpose shall consist of two-thirds of the whole number of

Senators, and a majority of the whole number shall be necessary to a choice. But no person constitutionally ineligible to the office of President shall be eligible to that of Vice-President of the United States .

Amendment 13 - Slavery Abolished. Ratified 12/6/1865 .

1.Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction .

2.Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation .

Amendment 14 - Citizenship Rights. Ratified 7/9/1868 .

1.All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws .

2.Representatives shall be apportioned among the several States according to their respective numbers, counting the whole number of persons in each State, excluding Indians not taxed. But when the right to vote at any election for the choice of electors for President and Vice-President of the United States, Representatives in Congress, the Executive and Judicial officers of a State, or the members of the Legislature thereof, is denied to any of the male inhabitants of such State, being twenty-one years of age, and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion, or other crime, the

basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such State.

3 .No person shall be a Senator or Representative in Congress, or elector of President and Vice-President, or hold any office, civil or military, under the United States, or under any State, who, having previously taken an oath, as a member of Congress, or as an officer of the United States, or as a member of any State legislature, or as an executive or judicial officer of any State, to support the Constitution of the United States, shall have engaged in insurrection or rebellion against the same, or given aid or comfort to the enemies thereof. But Congress may by a vote of two-thirds of each House, remove such disability .

4.The validity of the public debt of the United States, authorized by law, including debts incurred for payment of pensions and bounties for services in suppressing insurrection or rebellion, shall not be questioned. But neither the United States nor any State shall assume or pay any debt or obligation incurred in aid of insurrection or rebellion against the United States, or any claim for the loss or emancipation of any slave; but all such debts, obligations and claims shall be held illegal and void .

5.The Congress shall have power to enforce, by appropriate legislation, the provisions of this article .

Amendment 15 - Race No Bar to Vote. Ratified 2/3/1870 .

1.The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude .

2.The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation .

Amendment 16 - Status of Income Tax Clarified. Ratified 2/3/1913 .

The Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes on incomes, from whatever source derived, without apportionment among the several States, and without regard to any census or enumeration .

Amendment 17 - Senators Elected by Popular Vote. Ratified 4/8/1913 .

The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, elected by the people thereof, for six years; and each Senator shall have one vote. The electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State legislatures .

When vacancies happen in the representation of any State in the Senate, the executive authority of such State shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies: Provided, That the legislature of any State may empower the executive thereof to make temporary appointments until the people fill the vacancies by election as the legislature may direct .

This amendment shall not be so construed as to affect the election or term of any Senator chosen before it becomes valid as part of the Constitution .

Amendment 18 - Liquor Abolished. Ratified 1/16/1919. Repealed by Amendment 21, 12/5/1933 .

1.After one year from the ratification of this article the manufacture, sale, or transportation of intoxicating liquors within, the importation thereof into, or the exportation thereof from the United States and all territory

subject to the jurisdiction thereof for beverage purposes is hereby prohibited .

2.The Congress and the several States shall have concurrent power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation .

3.This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by the legislatures of the several States, as provided in the Constitution, within seven years from the date of the submission hereof to the States by the Congress .

Amendment 19 - Women's Suffrage. Ratified 8/18/1920 .

The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex .

Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation .

Amendment 20 - Presidential, Congressional Terms. Ratified 1/23/1933 .

3.The terms of the President and Vice President shall end at noon on the 20th day of January, and the terms of Senators and Representatives at noon on the 3d day of January, of the years in which such terms would have ended if this article had not been ratified; and the terms of their successors shall then begin .

2.The Congress shall assemble at least once in every year, and such meeting shall begin at noon on the 3d day of January, unless they shall by law appoint a different day .

3.If, at the time fixed for the beginning of the term of the President, the President elect shall have died, the Vice President elect shall become President. If a President shall not have been chosen before the time fixed

for the beginning of his term, or if the President elect shall have failed to qualify, then the Vice President elect shall act as President until a President shall have qualified; and the Congress may by law provide for the case wherein neither a President elect nor a Vice President elect shall have qualified, declaring who shall then act as President, or the manner in which one who is to act shall be selected, and such person shall act accordingly until a President or Vice President shall have qualified .

4.The Congress may by law provide for the case of the death of any of the persons from whom the House of Representatives may choose a President whenever the right of choice shall have devolved upon them, and for the case of the death of any of the persons from whom the Senate may choose a Vice President whenever the right of choice shall have devolved upon them .

5.Sections 1 and 2 shall take effect on the 15th day of October following the ratification of this article .

6.This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several States within seven years from the date of its submission .

Amendment 21 - Amendment 18 Repealed. Ratified 12/5/1933 .

1 .The eighteenth article of amendment to the Constitution of the United States is hereby repealed .

2 .The transportation or importation into any State, Territory, or possession of the United States for delivery or use therein of intoxicating liquors, in violation of the laws thereof, is hereby prohibited .

3.The article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by conventions in the several States, as

provided in the Constitution, within seven years from the date of the submission hereof to the States by the Congress .

Amendment 22 - Presidential Term Limits. Ratified 2/27/1951 .

1 .No person shall be elected to the office of the President more than twice, and no person who has held the office of President, or acted as President, for more than two years of a term to which some other person was elected President shall be elected to the office of the President more than once. But this Article shall not apply to any person holding the office of President, when this Article was proposed by the Congress, and shall not prevent any person who may be holding the office of President, or acting as President, during the term within which this Article becomes operative from holding the office of President or acting as President during the remainder of such term .

2.This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several States within seven years from the date of its submission to the States by the Congress .

Amendment 23 - Presidential Vote for District of Columbia. Ratified 3/29/1961 .

1.The District constituting the seat of Government of the United States shall appoint in such manner as the Congress may direct: A number of electors of President and Vice President equal to the whole number of Senators and Representatives in Congress to which the District would be entitled if it were a State, but in no event more than the least populous State; they shall be in addition to those appointed by the States, but they shall be considered, for the purposes of the election of President and Vice President, to be electors appointed by a State; and they shall meet in the

District and perform such duties as provided by the twelfth article of amendment .

2.The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation .

Amendment 24 - Poll Tax Barred. Ratified 1/23/1964 .

1 .The right of citizens of the United States to vote in any primary or other election for President or Vice President, for electors for President or Vice President, or for Senator orRepresentative in Congress, shall not be denied or abridged

 by the United States or any State by reason of failure to pay any poll tax or other tax .

2 .The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation .

Amendment 25 - Presidential Disability and Succession. Ratified 2/10/1967 .

1 .In case of the removal of the President from office or of his death or resignation, the Vice President shall become President .

2 .Whenever there is a vacancy in the office of the Vice President, the President shall nominate a Vice President who shall take office upon confirmation by a majority vote of both Houses of Congress .

3.Whenever the President transmits to the President pro tempore of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives his written declaration that he is unable to discharge the powers and duties of his office, and until he transmits to them a written declaration to the contrary,

such powers and duties shall be discharged by the Vice President as Acting President .

4.Whenever the Vice President and a majority of either the principal officers of the executive departments or of such other body as Congress may by law provide, transmit to the President pro tempore of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives their written declaration that the President is unable to discharge the powers and duties of his office, the Vice President shall immediately assume the powers and duties of the office as Acting President .

Thereafter, when the President transmits to the President pro tempore of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives his written declaration that no inability exists, he shall resume the powers and duties of his office unless the Vice President and a majority of either the principal officers of the executive department or of such other body as Congress may by law provide, transmit within four days to the President pro tempore of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives their written declaration that the President is unable to discharge the powers and duties of his office. Thereupon Congress shall decide the issue, assembling within forty eight hours for that purpose if not in session. If the Congress, within twenty one days after receipt of the latter written declaration, or, if Congress is not in session, within twenty one days after Congress is required to assemble, determines by two thirds vote of both Houses that the President is unable to discharge the powers and duties of his office, the Vice President shall continue to discharge the same as Acting President; otherwise, the President shall resume the powers and duties of his office .

Amendment 26 - Voting Age Set to 18 Years. Ratified 7/1/1971 .

1.The right of citizens of the United States, who are eighteen years of age or older, to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of age .

2.The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation .

Amendment 27 - Limiting Congressional Pay Increases. Ratified 5/7/1992 .

No law, varying the compensation for the services of the Senators and Representatives, shall take effect, until an election of Representatives shall have intervened .

Appendix 2

A\ The Original Text

عهد الامام علي (عليه السلام) للأشتر النخعي

بِسْمِ اللهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

هَذَا مَا أَمَرَ بِهِ عَبْدُ اللهِ عَلِيٌّ أَمِيرُ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ مَالِكَ بْنَ الْحَارِثِ الْأَشْتَرَ فِي عَهْدِهِ إِلَيْهِ حِينَ وَلَّاهُ مِصْرَ جِبَايَةَ خَرَاجِهَا وَجِهَادَ عَدُوِّهَا وَاسْتِصْلَاحَ أَهْلِهَا وَعِمَارَةَ بِلَادِهَا أَمَرَهُ بِتَقْوَى اللهِ وَإِيثَارِ طَاعَتِهِ وَاتِّبَاعِ مَا أَمَرَ بِهِ فِي كِتَابِهِ مِنْ فَرَائِضِهِ وَسُنَنِهِ الَّتِي لَا يَسْعَدُ أَحَدٌ إِلَّا بِاتِّبَاعِهَا وَلَا يَشْقَى إِلَّا مَعَ جُحُودِهَا وَإِضَاعَتِهَا وَأَنْ يَنْصُرَ اللهَ سُبْحَانَهُ بِقَلْبِهِ وَيَدِهِ وَلِسَانِهِ فَإِنَّهُ جَلَّ اسْمُهُ قَدْ تَكَفَّلَ بِنَصْرِ مَنْ نَصَرَهُ وَإِعْزَازِ مَنْ أَعَزَّهُ وَأَمَرَهُ أَنْ يَكْسِرَ نَفْسَهُ مِنَ الشَّهَوَاتِ وَيَزَعَهَا عِنْدَ الْجَمَحَاتِ فَإِنَّ النَّفْسَ أَمَّارَةٌ بِالسُّوءِ إِلَّا مَا رَحِمَ اللهُ ثُمَّ اعْلَمْ يَا مَالِكُ أَنِّي قَدْ وَجَّهْتُكَ إِلَى بِلَادٍ قَدْ جَرَتْ عَلَيْهَا دُوَلٌ قَبْلَكَ مِنْ عَدْلٍ وَجَوْرٍ وَأَنَّ النَّاسَ يَنْظُرُونَ مِنْ أُمُورِكَ فِي مِثْلِ مَا كُنْتَ تَنْظُرُ فِيهِ مِنْ أُمُورِ الْوُلَاةِ قَبْلَكَ وَيَقُولُونَ فِيكَ مَا كُنْتَ تَقُولُ فِيهِمْ وَإِنَّمَا يُسْتَدَلُّ عَلَى الصَّالِحِينَ بِمَا يُجْرِي اللهُ لَهُمْ عَلَى أَلْسُنِ عِبَادِهِ فَلْيَكُنْ أَحَبَّ الذَّخَائِرِ إِلَيْكَ ذَخِيرَةُ الْعَمَلِ الصَّالِحِ فَامْلِكْ هَوَاكَ وَشُحَّ بِنَفْسِكَ عَمَّا لَا يَحِلُّ لَكَ فَإِنَّ الشُّحَّ بِالنَّفْسِ الْإِنْصَافُ مِنْهَا فِيمَا أَحَبَّتْ أَوْ كَرِهَتْ وَأَشْعِرْ قَلْبَكَ الرَّحْمَةَ لِلرَّعِيَّةِ وَالْمَحَبَّةَ لَهُمْ وَاللُّطْفَ بِهِمْ وَلَا تَكُونَنَّ عَلَيْهِمْ سَبُعاً ضَارِياً تَغْتَنِمُ أَكْلَهُمْ فَإِنَّهُمْ صِنْفَانِ إِمَّا أَخٌ لَكَ فِي الدِّينِ وَإِمَّا نَظِيرٌ لَكَ فِي الْخَلْقِ يَفْرُطُ مِنْهُمُ الزَّلَلُ وَتَعْرِضُ لَهُمُ الْعِلَلُ وَيُؤْتَى عَلَى أَيْدِيهِمْ فِي الْعَمْدِ وَالْخَطَإِ فَأَعْطِهِمْ مِنْ عَفْوِكَ وَصَفْحِكَ مِثْلِ الَّذِي تُحِبُّ وَتَرْضَى أَنْ يُعْطِيَكَ اللهُ مِنْ عَفْوِهِ وَصَفْحِهِ فَإِنَّكَ فَوْقَهُمْ وَوَالِي الْأَمْرِ عَلَيْكَ فَوْقَكَ وَاللهُ فَوْقَ مَنْ وَلَّاكَ وَقَدِ اسْتَكْفَاكَ أَمْرَهُمْ وَابْتَلَاكَ بِهِمْ وَلَا تَنْصِبَنَّ نَفْسَكَ لِحَرْبِ اللهِ فَإِنَّهُ لَا يَدَ لَكَ بِنِقْمَتِهِ وَلَا غِنَى بِكَ عَنْ عَفْوِهِ وَرَحْمَتِهِ وَلَا تَنْدَمَنَّ عَلَى عَفْوٍ وَلَا تَبْجَحَنَّ بِعُقُوبَةٍ وَلَا تُسْرِعَنَّ إِلَى بَادِرَةٍ وَجَدْتَ مِنْهَا مَنْدُوحَةً وَلَا تَقُولَنَّ إِنِّي مُؤَمَّرٌ آمُرُ فَأُطَاعُ فَإِنَّ ذَلِكَ إِدْغَالٌ فِي الْقَلْبِ وَمَنْهَكَةٌ لِلدِّينِ وَتَقَرُّبٌ مِنَ الْغِيَرِ وَإِذَا أَحْدَثَ لَكَ مَا أَنْتَ فِيهِ مِنْ سُلْطَانِكَ أُبَّهَةً أَوْ مَخِيلَةً فَانْظُرْ إِلَى عِظَمِ مُلْكِ اللهِ فَوْقَكَ وَقُدْرَتِهِ مِنْكَ عَلَى مَا لَا تَقْدِرُ عَلَيْهِ مِنْ نَفْسِكَ فَإِنَّ ذَلِكَ يُطَامِنُ إِلَيْكَ مِنْ طِمَاحِكَ وَيَكُفُّ عَنْكَ مِنْ غَرْبِكَ وَيَفِيءُ إِلَيْكَ بِمَا عَزَبَ عَنْكَ مِنْ عَقْلِكَ إِيَّاكَ وَمُسَامَاةَ اللهِ فِي عَظَمَتِهِ وَالتَّشَبُّهَ بِهِ فِي جَبَرُوتِهِ فَإِنَّ اللهَ يُذِلُّ كُلَّ جَبَّارٍ وَيُهِينُ كُلَّ مُخْتَالٍ أَنْصِفِ اللهَ وَأَنْصِفِ النَّاسَ مِنْ نَفْسِكَ وَمِنْ خَاصَّةِ أَهْلِكَ وَمَنْ لَكَ فِيهِ هَوًى مِنْ رَعِيَّتِكَ فَإِنَّكَ إِلَّا تَفْعَلْ تَظْلِمْ وَمَنْ ظَلَمَ عِبَادَ اللهِ كَانَ اللهُ خَصْمَهُ دُونَ عِبَادِهِ وَمَنْ خَاصَمَهُ اللهُ أَدْحَضَ حُجَّتَهُ وَكَانَ لِلَّهِ حَرْباً حَتَّى يَنْزِعَ أَوْ يَتُوبَ وَلَيْسَ شَيْءٌ أَدْعَى إِلَى تَغْيِيرِ نِعْمَةِ اللهِ وَتَعْجِيلِ نِقْمَتِهِ مِنْ إِقَامَةٍ عَلَى ظُلْمٍ فَإِنَّ اللهَ سَمِيعٌ دَعْوَةَ الْمُضْطَهَدِينَ وَهُوَ لِلظَّالِمِينَ بِالْمِرْصَادِ وَلْيَكُنْ أَحَبَّ الْأُمُورِ إِلَيْكَ أَوْسَطُهَا فِي الْحَقِّ وَأَعَمُّهَا فِي الْعَدْلِ وَأَجْمَعُهَا لِرِضَى الرَّعِيَّةِ فَإِنَّ سُخْطَ الْعَامَّةِ يُجْحِفُ بِرِضَى الْخَاصَّةِ وَإِنَّ سُخْطَ الْخَاصَّةِ يُغْتَفَرُ مَعَ رِضَى الْعَامَّةِ وَلَيْسَ أَحَدٌ مِنَ الرَّعِيَّةِ أَثْقَلَ عَلَى الْوَالِي مَئُونَةً فِي الرَّخَاءِ وَأَقَلَّ مَعُونَةً لَهُ فِي الْبَلَاءِ وَأَكْرَهَ لِلْإِنْصَافِ وَأَسْأَلَ بِالْإِلْحَافِ وَأَقَلَّ شُكْراً عِنْدَ الْإِعْطَاءِ وَأَبْطَأَ عُذْراً عِنْدَ الْمَنْعِ وَأَضْعَفَ صَبْراً عِنْدَ مُلِمَّاتِالدَّهْرِ مِنْ أَهْلِ الْخَاصَّةِ وَإِنَّمَا عِمَادُ الدِّينِ وَجِمَاعُ الْمُسْلِمِينَ وَالْعُدَّةُ لِلْأَعْدَاءِ الْعَامَّةُ مِنَ الْأُمَّةِ فَلْيَكُنْ صِغْوُكَ لَهُمْ وَمَيْلُكَ مَعَهُمْ وَلْيَكُنْ أَبْعَدَ رَعِيَّتِكَ مِنْكَ وَأَشْنَأَهُمْ عِنْدَكَ أَطْلَبُهُمْ لِمَعَايِبِ النَّاسِ فَإِنَّ فِي النَّاسِ عُيُوباً الْوَالِي أَحَقُّ مَنْ سَتَرَهَا فَلَا تَكْشِفَنَّ عَمَّا غَابَ عَنْكَ مِنْهَا فَإِنَّمَا عَلَيْكَ تَطْهِيرُ مَا ظَهَرَ

لَكَ وَاللَّهُ يَحْكُمُ عَلَى مَا غَابَ عَنْكَ فَاسْتُرِ الْعَوْرَةَ مَا اسْتَطَعْتَ يَسْتُرِ اللَّهُ مِنْكَ مَا تُحِبُّ سَتْرَهُ مِنْ رَعِيَّتِكَ أَطْلِقْ عَنِ النَّاسِ عُقْدَةَ كُلِّ حِقْدٍ وَاقْطَعْ عَنْكَ سَبَبَ كُلِّ وِتْرٍ وَتَغَابَ عَنْ كُلِّ مَا لَا يَضِحُ لَكَ وَلَا تَعْجَلَنَّ إِلَى تَصْدِيقِ سَاعٍ فَإِنَّ السَّاعِيَ غَاشٌّ وَإِنْ تَشَبَّهَ بِالنَّاصِحِينَ وَلَا تُدْخِلَنَّ فِي مَشُورَتِكَ بَخِيلًا يَعْدِلُ بِكَ عَنِ الْفَضْلِ وَيَعِدُكَ الْفَقْرَ وَلَا جَبَاناً يُضْعِفُكَ عَنِ الْأُمُورِ وَلَا حَرِيصاً يُزَيِّنُ لَكَ الشَّرَهَ بِالْجَوْرِ فَإِنَّ الْبُخْلَ وَالْجُبْنَ وَالْحِرْصَ غَرَائِزُ شَتَّى يَجْمَعُهَا سُوءُ الظَّنِّ بِاللَّهِ إِنَّ شَرَّ وُزَرَائِكَ مَنْ كَانَ لِلْأَشْرَارِ قَبْلَكَ وَزِيراً وَمَنْ شَرِكَهُمْ فِي الْآثَامِ فَلَا يَكُونَنَّ لَكَ بِطَانَةً فَإِنَّهُمْ أَعْوَانُ الْأَئِمَّةِ وَإِخْوَانُ الظَّلَمَةِ وَأَنْتَ وَاجِدٌ مِنْهُمْ خَيْرَ الْخَلَفِ مِمَّنْ لَهُ مِثْلُ آرَائِهِمْ وَنَفَاذِهِمْ وَلَيْسَ عَلَيْهِ مِثْلُ آصَارِهِمْ وَأَوْزَارِهِمْ وَآثَامِهِمْ مِمَّنْ لَمْ يُعَاوِنْ ظَالِماً عَلَى ظُلْمِهِ وَلَا آثِماً عَلَى إِثْمِهِ أُولَئِكَ أَخَفُّ عَلَيْكَ مَئُونَةً وَأَحْسَنُ لَكَ مَعُونَةً وَأَحْنَى عَلَيْكَ عَطْفاً وَأَقَلُّ لِغَيْرِكَ إِلْفاً فَاتَّخِذْ أُولَئِكَ خَاصَّةً لِخَلَوَاتِكَ وَحَفَلَاتِكَ ثُمَّ لْيَكُنْ آثَرُهُمْ عِنْدَكَ أَقْوَلَهُمْ بِمُرِّ الْحَقِّ لَكَ وَأَقَلَّهُمْ مُسَاعَدَةً فِيمَا يَكُونُ مِنْكَ مِمَّا كَرِهَ اللَّهُ لِأَوْلِيَائِهِ وَاقِعاً ذَلِكَ مِنْ هَوَاكَ حَيْثُ وَقَعَ وَالْصَقْ بِأَهْلِ الْوَرَعِ وَالصِّدْقِ ثُمَّ رُضْهُمْ عَلَى أَلَّا يُطْرُوكَ وَلَا يَبْجَحُوكَ بِبَاطِلٍ لَمْ تَفْعَلْهُ فَإِنَّ كَثْرَةَ الْإِطْرَاءِ تُحْدِثُ الزَّهْوَ وَتُدْنِي مِنَ الْعِزَّةِ وَلَا يَكُونَنَّ الْمُحْسِنُ وَالْمُسِيءُ عِنْدَكَ بِمَنْزِلَةٍ سَوَاءٍ فَإِنَّ فِي ذَلِكَ تَزْهِيداً لِأَهْلِ الْإِحْسَانِ فِي الْإِحْسَانِ وَتَدْرِيباً لِأَهْلِ الْإِسَاءَةِ عَلَى الْإِسَاءَةِ وَأَلْزِمْ كُلًّا مِنْهُمْ مَا أَلْزَمَ نَفْسَهُ وَاعْلَمْ أَنَّهُ لَيْسَ شَيْءٌ بِأَدْعَى إِلَى حُسْنِ ظَنِّ رَاعٍ بِرَعِيَّتِهِ مِنْ إِحْسَانِهِ إِلَيْهِمْ وَتَخْفِيفِهِ الْمَئُونَاتِ عَلَيْهِمْ وَتَرْكِ اسْتِكْرَاهِهِ إِيَّاهُمْ عَلَى مَا لَيْسَ لَهُ قِبَلَهُمْ فَلْيَكُنْ مِنْكَ فِي ذَلِكَ أَمْرٌ يَجْتَمِعُ لَكَ بِهِ حُسْنُ الظَّنِّ بِرَعِيَّتِكَ فَإِنَّ حُسْنَ الظَّنِّ يَقْطَعُ عَنْكَ نَصَباً طَوِيلًا وَإِنَّ أَحَقَّ مَنْ حَسُنَ ظَنُّكَ بِهِ لَمَنْ حَسُنَ بَلَاؤُكَ عِنْدَهُ وَإِنَّ أَحَقَّ مَنْ سَاءَ ظَنُّكَ بِهِ لَمَنْ سَاءَ بَلَاؤُكَ عِنْدَهُ وَلَا تَنْقُضْ سُنَّةً صَالِحَةً عَمِلَ بِهَا صُدُورُ هَذِهِ الْأُمَّةِ وَاجْتَمَعَتْ بِهَا الْأُلْفَةُ وَصَلَحَتْ عَلَيْهَا الرَّعِيَّةُ وَلَا تُحْدِثَنَّ سُنَّةً تَضُرُّ بِشَيْءٍ مِنْ مَاضِي تِلْكَ السُّنَنِ فَيَكُونَ الْأَجْرُ لِمَنْ سَنَّهَا وَالْوِزْرُ عَلَيْكَ بِمَا نَقَضْتَ مِنْهَا وَأَكْثِرْ مُدَارَسَةَ الْعُلَمَاءِ وَمُنَاقَشَةَ الْحُكَمَاءِ فِي تَثْبِيتِ مَا صَلَحَ عَلَيْهِ أَمْرُ بِلَادِكَ وَإِقَامَةِ مَا اسْتَقَامَ بِهِ النَّاسُ قَبْلَكَ وَاعْلَمْ أَنَّ الرَّعِيَّةَ طَبَقَاتٌ لَا يَصْلُحُ بَعْضُهَا إِلَّا بِبَعْضٍ وَلَا غِنَى بِبَعْضِهَا عَنْ بَعْضٍ فَمِنْهَا جُنُودُ اللَّهِ وَمِنْهَا كُتَّابُ الْعَامَّةِ وَالْخَاصَّةِ وَمِنْهَا قُضَاةُ الْعَدْلِ وَمِنْهَا عُمَّالُ الْإِنْصَافِ وَالرِّفْقِ وَمِنْهَا أَهْلُ الْجِزْيَةِ وَالْخَرَاجِ مِنْ أَهْلِ الذِّمَّةِ وَمُسْلِمَةِ النَّاسِ وَمِنْهَا التُّجَّارُ وَأَهْلُ الصِّنَاعَاتِ وَمِنْهَا الطَّبَقَةُ السُّفْلَى مِنْ ذَوِي الْحَاجَةِ وَالْمَسْكَنَةِ وَكُلٌّ قَدْ سَمَّى اللَّهُ لَهُ سَهْمَهُ وَوَضَعَ عَلَى حَدِّهِ فَرِيضَةً فِي كِتَابِهِ أَوْ سُنَّةِ نَبِيِّهِ (صلى الله عليه وآله)عَهْداً مِنْهُ عِنْدَنَا مَحْفُوظاً فَالْجُنُودُ بِإِذْنِ اللَّهِ حُصُونُ الرَّعِيَّةِ وَزِينُ الْوُلَاةِ وَعِزُّ الدِّينِ وَسُبُلُ الْأَمْنِ وَلَيْسَ تَقُومُ الرَّعِيَّةُ إِلَّا بِهِمْ ثُمَّ لَا قِوَامَ لِلْجُنُودِ إِلَّا بِمَا يُخْرِجُ اللَّهُ لَهُمْ مِنَ الْخَرَاجِ الَّذِي يَقْوَوْنَ بِهِ عَلَى جِهَادِ عَدُوِّهِمْ وَيَعْتَمِدُونَ عَلَيْهِ فِيمَا يُصْلِحُهُمْ وَيَكُونُ مِنْ وَرَاءِ حَاجَتِهِمْ ثُمَّ لَا قِوَامَ لِهَذَيْنِ الصِّنْفَيْنِ إِلَّا بِالصِّنْفِ الثَّالِثِ مِنَ الْقُضَاةِ وَالْعُمَّالِ وَالْكُتَّابِ لِمَا يُحْكِمُونَ مِنَ الْمَعَاقِدِ وَيَجْمَعُونَ مِنَ الْمَنَافِعِ وَيُؤْتَمَنُونَ عَلَيْهِ مِنْ خَوَاصِّ الْأُمُورِ وَعَوَامِّهَا وَلَا قِوَامَ لَهُمْ جَمِيعاً إِلَّا بِالتُّجَّارِ وَذَوِي الصِّنَاعَاتِ فِيمَا يَجْتَمِعُونَ عَلَيْهِ مِنْ مَرَافِقِهِمْ وَيُقِيمُونَهُ مِنْ أَسْوَاقِهِمْ وَيَكْفُونَهُمْ مِنَ التَّرَفُّقِ بِأَيْدِيهِمْ مَا لَا يَبْلُغُهُ رِفْقُ غَيْرِهِمْ ثُمَّ الطَّبَقَةُ السُّفْلَى مِنْ أَهْلِ الْحَاجَةِ وَالْمَسْكَنَةِ الَّذِينَ يَحِقُّ رِفْدُهُمْ وَمَعُونَتُهُمْ وَفِي اللَّهِ لِكُلٍّ سَعَةٌ وَلِكُلٍّ عَلَى الْوَالِي حَقٌّ بِقَدْرِ مَا يُصْلِحُهُ وَلَيْسَ يَخْرُجُ الْوَالِي مِنْ حَقِيقَةِ مَا أَلْزَمَهُ اللَّهُ مِنْ ذَلِكَ إِلَّا بِالِاهْتِمَامِ وَالِاسْتِعَانَةِ بِاللَّهِ وَتَوْطِينِ نَفْسِهِ عَلَى لُزُومِ الْحَقِّ وَالصَّبْرِ عَلَيْهِ فِيمَا خَفَّ عَلَيْهِ أَوْ ثَقُلَ فَوَلِّ مِنْ جُنُودِكَ أَنْصَحَهُمْ فِي نَفْسِكَ لِلَّهِ وَلِرَسُولِهِ وَلِإِمَامِكَ وَأَنْقَاهُمْ جَيْباً وَأَفْضَلَهُمْ حِلْماًمِمَّنْ يُبْطِئُ عَنِ الْغَضَبِ وَيَسْتَرِيحُ إِلَى الْعُذْرِ وَيَرْأَفُ بِالضُّعَفَاءِ وَيَنْبُو عَلَى الْأَقْوِيَاءِ وَمِمَّنْ لَا يُثِيرُهُ الْعُنْفُ وَلَا يَقْعُدُ بِهِ الضَّعْفُ ثُمَّ الْصَقْ بِذَوِي الْمُرُوءَاتِ وَالْأَحْسَابِ وَأَهْلِ الْبُيُوتَاتِ الصَّالِحَةِ وَالسَّوَابِقِ الْحَسَنَةِ ثُمَّ أَهْلِ النَّجْدَةِ وَالشَّجَاعَةِ

وَالسَّخَاءِ وَالسَّمَاحَةِ فَإِنَّهُمْ جِمَاعٌ مِنَ الْكَرَمِ وَشُعَبٌ مِنَ الْعُرْفِ ثُمَّ تَفَقَّدْ مِنْ أُمُورِهِمْ مَا يَتَفَقَّدُ الْوَالِدَانِ مِنْ وَلَدِهِمَا وَلَا يَتَفَاقَمَنَّ فِي نَفْسِكَ شَيْءٌ قَوَّيْتَهُمْ بِهِ وَلَا تَحْقِرَنَّ لُطْفاً تَعَاهَدْتَهُمْ بِهِ وَإِنْ قَلَّ فَإِنَّهُ دَاعِيَةٌ لَهُمْ إِلَى بَذْلِ النَّصِيحَةِ لَكَ وَحُسْنِ الظَّنِّ بِكَ وَلَا تَدَعْ تَفَقُّدَ لَطِيفِ أُمُورِهِمُ اتِّكَالًا عَلَى جَسِيمِهَا فَإِنَّ لِلْيَسِيرِ مِنْ لُطْفِكَ مَوْضِعاً يَنْتَفِعُونَ بِهِ وَلِلْجَسِيمِ مَوْقِعاً لَا يَسْتَغْنُونَ عَنْهُ وَلْيَكُنْ آثَرُ رُءُوسِ جُنْدِكَ عِنْدَكَ مَنْ وَاسَاهُمْ فِي مَعُونَتِهِ وَأَفْضَلَ عَلَيْهِمْ مِنْ جِدَتِهِ بِمَا يَسَعُهُمْ وَيَسَعُ مَنْ وَرَاءَهُمْ مِنْ خُلُوفِ أَهْلِيهِمْ حَتَّى يَكُونَ هَمُّهُمْ هَمّاً وَاحِداً فِي جِهَادِ الْعَدُوِّ فَإِنَّ عَطْفَكَ عَلَيْهِمْ يَعْطِفُ قُلُوبَهُمْ عَلَيْكَ وَإِنَّ أَفْضَلَ قُرَّةِ عَيْنِ الْوُلَاةِ اسْتِقَامَةُ الْعَدْلِ فِي الْبِلَادِ وَظُهُورُ مَوَدَّةِ الرَّعِيَّةِ و إِنَّهُ لَا تَظْهَرُ مَوَدَّتُهُمْ إِلَّا بِسَلَامَةِ صُدُورِهِمْ وَلَا تَصِحُّ نَصِيحَتُهُمْ إِلَّا بِحِيطَتِهِمْ عَلَى وُلَاةِ الْأُمُورِ وَقِلَّةِ اسْتِثْقَالِ دُوَلِهِمْ وَتَرْكِ اسْتِبْطَاءِ انْقِطَاعِ مُدَّتِهِمْ فَافْسَحْ فِي آمَالِهِمْ وَوَاصِلْ فِي حُسْنِ الثَّنَاءِ عَلَيْهِمْ وَتَعْدِيدِ مَا أَبْلَى ذَوُو الْبَلَاءِ مِنْهُمْ فَإِنَّ كَثْرَةَ الذِّكْرِ لِحُسْنِ أَفْعَالِهِمْ تَهُزُّ الشُّجَاعَ وَتُحَرِّضُ النَّاكِلَ إِنْ شَاءَ اللَّهُ ثُمَّ اعْرِفْ لِكُلِّ امْرِئٍ مِنْهُمْ مَا أَبْلَى وَلَا تَضُمَّنَّ بَلَاءَ امْرِئٍ إِلَى غَيْرِهِ وَلَا تُقَصِّرَنَّ بِهِ دُونَ غَايَةِ بَلَائِهِ وَلَا يَدْعُوَنَّكَ شَرَفُ امْرِئٍ إِلَى أَنْ تُعْظِمَ مِنْ بَلَائِهِ مَا كَانَ صَغِيراً وَلَا ضَعَةُ امْرِئٍ إِلَى أَنْ تَسْتَصْغِرَ مِنْ بَلَائِهِ مَا كَانَ عَظِيماً وَارْدُدْ إِلَى اللَّهِ وَرَسُولِهِ مَا يُضْلِعُكَ مِنَ الْخُطُوبِ وَيَشْتَبِهُ عَلَيْكَ مِنَ الْأُمُورِ فَقَدْ قَالَ اللَّهُ تَعَالَى لِقَوْمٍ أَحَبَّ إِرْشَادَهُمْ يَا أَيُّهَا الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا أَطِيعُوا اللَّهَ وَأَطِيعُوا الرَّسُولَ وَأُولِي الْأَمْرِ مِنْكُمْ فَإِنْ تَنَازَعْتُمْ فِي شَيْءٍ فَرُدُّوهُ إِلَى اللَّهِ وَالرَّسُولِ فَالرَّدُّ إِلَى اللَّهِ الْأَخْذُ بِمُحْكَمِ كِتَابِهِ وَالرَّدُّ إِلَى الرَّسُولِ الْأَخْذُ بِسُنَّتِهِ الْجَامِعَةِ غَيْرِ الْمُفَرِّقَةِ ثُمَّ اخْتَرْ لِلْحُكْمِ بَيْنَ النَّاسِ أَفْضَلَ رَعِيَّتِكَ فِي نَفْسِكَ مِمَّنْ لَا تَضِيقُ بِهِ الْأُمُورُ وَلَا تُمَحِّكُهُ الْخُصُومُ وَلَا يَتَمَادَى فِي الزَّلَّةِ وَلَا يَحْصَرُ مِنَ الْفَيْءِ إِلَى الْحَقِّ إِذَا عَرَفَهُ وَلَا تُشْرِفُ نَفْسُهُ عَلَى طَمَعٍ وَلَا يَكْتَفِي بِأَدْنَى فَهْمٍ دُونَ أَقْصَاهُ وَأَوْقَفَهُمْ فِي الشُّبُهَاتِ وَآخَذَهُمْ بِالْحُجَجِ وَأَقَلَّهُمْ تَبَرُّماً بِمُرَاجَعَةِ الْخَصْمِ وَأَصْبَرَهُمْ عَلَى تَكَشُّفِ الْأُمُورِ وَأَصْرَمَهُمْ عِنْدَ اتِّضَاحِ الْحُكْمِ مِمَّنْ لَا يَزْدَهِيهِ إِطْرَاءٌ وَلَا يَسْتَمِيلُهُ إِغْرَاءٌ وَأُولَئِكَ قَلِيلٌ ثُمَّ أَكْثِرْ تَعَاهُدَ قَضَائِهِ وَافْسَحْ لَهُ فِي الْبَذْلِ مَا يُزِيلُ عِلَّتَهُ وَتَقِلُّ مَعَهُ حَاجَتُهُ إِلَى النَّاسِ وَأَعْطِهِ مِنَ الْمَنْزِلَةِ لَدَيْكَ مَا لَا يَطْمَعُ فِيهِ غَيْرُهُ مِنْ خَاصَّتِكَ لِيَأْمَنَ بِذَلِكَ اغْتِيَالَ الرِّجَالِ لَهُ عِنْدَكَ فَانْظُرْ فِي ذَلِكَ نَظَراً بَلِيغاً فَإِنَّ هَذَا الدِّينَ قَدْ كَانَ أَسِيراً فِي أَيْدِي الْأَشْرَارِ يُعْمَلُ فِيهِ بِالْهَوَى وَتُطْلَبُ بِهِ الدُّنْيَا ثُمَّ انْظُرْ فِي أُمُورِ عُمَّالِكَ فَاسْتَعْمِلْهُمُ اخْتِبَاراً وَلَا تُوَلِّهِمْ مُحَابَاةً وَأَثَرَةً فَإِنَّهُمَا جِمَاعٌ مِنْ شُعَبِ الْجَوْرِ وَالْخِيَانَةِ وَتَوَخَّ مِنْهُمْ أَهْلَ التَّجْرِبَةِ وَالْحَيَاءِ مِنْ أَهْلِ الْبُيُوتَاتِ الصَّالِحَةِ وَالْقَدَمِ فِي الْإِسْلَامِ الْمُتَقَدِّمَةِ فَإِنَّهُمْ أَكْرَمُ أَخْلَاقاً وَأَصَحُّ أَعْرَاضاً وَأَقَلُّ فِي الْمَطَامِعِ إِشْرَاقاً وَأَبْلَغُ فِي عَوَاقِبِ الْأُمُورِ نَظَراً ثُمَّ أَسْبِغْ عَلَيْهِمُ الْأَرْزَاقَ فَإِنَّ ذَلِكَ قُوَّةٌ لَهُمْ عَلَى اسْتِصْلَاحِ أَنْفُسِهِمْ وَغِنًى لَهُمْ عَنْ تَنَاوُلِ مَا تَحْتَ أَيْدِيهِمْ وَحُجَّةٌ عَلَيْهِمْ إِنْ خَالَفُوا أَمْرَكَ أَوْ ثَلَمُوا أَمَانَتَكَ ثُمَّ تَفَقَّدْ أَعْمَالَهُمْ وَابْعَثِ الْعُيُونَ مِنْ أَهْلِ الصِّدْقِ وَالْوَفَاءِ عَلَيْهِمْ فَإِنَّ تَعَاهُدَكَ فِي السِّرِّ لِأُمُورِهِمْ حَدْوَةٌ لَهُمْ عَلَى اسْتِعْمَالِ الْأَمَانَةِ وَالرِّفْقِ بِالرَّعِيَّةِ وَتَحَفَّظْ مِنَ الْأَعْوَانِ فَإِنْ أَحَدٌ مِنْهُمْ بَسَطَ يَدَهُ إِلَى خِيَانَةٍ اجْتَمَعَتْ بِهَا عَلَيْهِ عِنْدَكَ أَخْبَارُ عُيُونِكَ اكْتَفَيْتَ بِذَلِكَ شَاهِداً فَبَسَطْتَ عَلَيْهِ الْعُقُوبَةَ فِي بَدَنِهِ وَأَخَذْتَهُ بِمَا أَصَابَ مِنْ عَمَلِهِ ثُمَّ نَصَبْتَهُ بِمَقَامِ الْمَذَلَّةِ وَوَسَمْتَهُ بِالْخِيَانَةِ وَقَلَّدْتَهُ عَارَ التُّهَمَةِ وَتَفَقَّدْ أَمْرَ الْخَرَاجِ بِمَا يُصْلِحُ أَهْلَهُ فَإِنَّ فِي صَلَاحِهِ وَصَلَاحِهِمْ صَلَاحاً لِمَنْ سِوَاهُمْ وَلَا صَلَاحَ لِمَنْ سِوَاهُمْ إِلَّا بِهِمْ لِأَنَّ النَّاسَ كُلَّهُمْ عِيَالٌ عَلَى الْخَرَاجِ وَأَهْلِهِ وَلْيَكُنْ نَظَرُكَ فِي عِمَارَةِ الْأَرْضِ أَبْلَغَ مِنْ نَظَرِكَ فِي اسْتِجْلَابِ الْخَرَاجِ لِأَنَّ ذَلِكَ لَا يُدْرَكُ إِلَّا بِالْعِمَارَةِ وَمَنْ طَلَبَ الْخَرَاجَ بِغَيْرِ عِمَارَةٍ أَخْرَبَ الْبِلَادَ وَأَهْلَكَ الْعِبَادَ وَلَمْ يَسْتَقِمْ أَمْرُهُ إِلَّا قَلِيلًا فَإِنْ شَكَوْا ثِقَلًا أَوْ عِلَّةً أَوِ انْقِطَاعَ شِرْبٍ أَوْ بَالَّةٍ أَوْ إِحَالَةَ أَرْضٍ اغْتَمَرَهَا غَرَقٌ أَوْ أَجْحَفَ بِهَا عَطَشٌ خَفَّفْتَ عَنْهُمْ بِمَا تَرْجُو أَنْ يَصْلُحَ بِهِ أَمْرُهُمْ وَلَا يَثْقُلَنَّ عَلَيْكَ شَيْءٌ خَفَّفْتَ بِهِ الْمَئُونَةَ عَنْهُمْ فَإِنَّهُ ذُخْرٌ يَعُودُونَ بِهِ عَلَيْكَ فِي عِمَارَةِ بِلَادِكَ وَتَزْيِينِ وِلَايَتِكَ

مَعَ اسْتِجْلَابِكَ حُسْنَ ثَنَائِهِمْ وَتَبَجُّحِكَ بِاسْتِفَاضَةِ الْعَدْلِ فِيهِمْ مُعْتَمِداً فَضْلَ قُوَّتِهِمْ بِمَا ذَخَرْتَ عِنْدَهُمْ مِنْ إِجْمَامِكَ لَهُمْ وَالثِّقَةَ مِنْهُمْ بِمَا عَوَّدْتَهُمْ مِنْ عَدْلِكَ عَلَيْهِمْ وَرِفْقِكَ بِهِمْ فَرُبَّمَا حَدَثَ مِنَ الْأُمُورِ مَا إِذَا عَوَّلْتَ فِيهِ عَلَيْهِمْ مِنْ بَعْدُ احْتَمَلُوهُ طَيِّبَةً أَنْفُسُهُمْ بِهِ فَإِنَّ الْعُمْرَانَ مُحْتَمِلٌ مَا حَمَّلْتَهُ وَإِنَّمَا يُؤْتَى خَرَابُ الْأَرْضِ مِنْ إِعْوَازِ أَهْلِهَا وَإِنَّمَا يُعْوِزُ أَهْلُهَا لِإِشْرَافِ أَنْفُسِ الْوُلَاةِ عَلَى الْجَمْعِ وَسُوءِ ظَنِّهِمْ بِالْبَقَاءِ وَقِلَّةِ انْتِفَاعِهِمْ بِالْعِبَرِ ثُمَّ انْظُرْ فِي حَالِ كُتَّابِكَ فَوَلِّ عَلَى أُمُورِكَ خَيْرَهُمْ وَاخْصُصْ رَسَائِلَكَ الَّتِي تُدْخِلُ فِيهَا مَكَايِدَكَ وَأَسْرَارَكَ بِأَجْمَعِهِمْ لِوُجُوهِ صَالِحِ الْأَخْلَاقِ مِمَّنْ لَا تُبْطِرُهُ الْكَرَامَةُ فَيَجْتَرِئَ بِهَا عَلَيْكَ فِي خِلَافٍ لَكَ بِحَضْرَةِ مَلَإٍ وَلَا تَقْصُرُ بِهِ الْغَفْلَةُ عَنْ إِيرَادِ مُكَاتَبَاتِ عُمَّالِكَ عَلَيْكَ وَإِصْدَارِ جَوَابَاتِهَا عَلَى الصَّوَابِ عَنْكَ فِيمَا يَأْخُذُ لَكَ وَيُعْطِي مِنْكَ وَلَا يُضْعِفُ عَقْداً اعْتَقَدَهُ لَكَ وَلَا يَعْجِزُ عَنْ إِطْلَاقِ مَا عُقِدَ عَلَيْكَ وَلَا يَجْهَلُ مَبْلَغَ قَدْرِ نَفْسِهِ فِي الْأُمُورِ فَإِنَّ الْجَاهِلَ بِقَدْرِ نَفْسِهِ يَكُونُ بِقَدْرِ غَيْرِهِ أَجْهَلَ ثُمَّ لَا يَكُنِ اخْتِيَارُكَ إِيَّاهُمْ عَلَى فِرَاسَتِكَ وَاسْتِنَامَتِكَ وَحُسْنِ الظَّنِّ مِنْكَ فَإِنَّ الرِّجَالَ يَتَعَرَّضُونَ لِفِرَاسَاتِ الْوُلَاةِ بِتَصَنُّعِهِمْ وَحُسْنِ خِدْمَتِهِمْ وَلَيْسَ وَرَاءَ ذَلِكَ مِنَ النَّصِيحَةِ وَالْأَمَانَةِ شَيْءٌ وَلَكِنِ اخْتَبِرْهُمْ بِمَا وُلُّوا لِلصَّالِحِينَ قَبْلَكَ فَاعْمِدْ لِأَحْسَنِهِمْ كَانَ فِي الْعَامَّةِ أَثَراً وَأَعْرَفِهِمْ بِالْأَمَانَةِ وَجْهاً فَإِنَّ ذَلِكَ دَلِيلٌ عَلَى نَصِيحَتِكَ لِلَّهِ وَلِمَنْ وُلِّيتَ أَمْرَهُ وَاجْعَلْ لِرَأْسِ كُلِّ أَمْرٍ مِنْ أُمُورِكَ رَأْساً مِنْهُمْ لَا يَقْهَرُهُ كَبِيرُهَا وَلَا يَتَشَتَّتُ عَلَيْهِ كَثِيرُهَا وَمَهْمَا كَانَ فِي كُتَّابِكَ مِنْ عَيْبٍ فَتَغَابَيْتَ عَنْهُ أَلْزِمْتَهُ ثُمَّ اسْتَوْصِ بِالتُّجَّارِ وَذَوِي الصِّنَاعَاتِ وَأَوْصِ بِهِمْ خَيْراً الْمُقِيمِ مِنْهُمْ وَالْمُضْطَرِبِ بِمَالِهِ وَالْمُتَرَفِّقِ بِبَدَنِهِ فَإِنَّهُمْ مَوَادُّ الْمَنَافِعِ وَأَسْبَابُ الْمَرَافِقِ وَجُلَّابُهَا مِنَ الْمَبَاعِدِ وَالْمَطَارِحِ فِي بَرِّكَ وَبَحْرِكَ وَسَهْلِكَ وَجَبَلِكَ وَحَيْثُ لَا يَلْتَئِمُ النَّاسُ لِمَوَاضِعِهَا وَلَا يَجْتَرِئُونَ عَلَيْهَا فَإِنَّهُمْ سِلْمٌ لَا تُخَافُ بَائِقَتُهُ وَصُلْحٌ لَا تُخْشَى غَائِلَتُهُ وَتَفَقَّدْ أُمُورَهُمْ بِحَضْرَتِكَ وَفِي حَوَاشِي بِلَادِكَ وَاعْلَمْ مَعَ ذَلِكَ أَنَّ فِي كَثِيرٍ مِنْهُمْ ضِيقاً فَاحِشاً وَشُحّاً قَبِيحاً وَاحْتِكَاراً لِلْمَنَافِعِ وَتَحَكُّماً فِي الْبِيَاعَاتِ وَذَلِكَ بَابُ مَضَرَّةٍ لِلْعَامَّةِ وَعَيْبٌ عَلَى الْوُلَاةِ فَامْنَعْ مِنَ الِاحْتِكَارِ فَإِنَّ رَسُولَ اللَّهِ (صلى الله عليه وآله) مَنَعَ مِنْهُ وَلْيَكُنِ الْبَيْعُ بَيْعاً سَمْحاً بِمَوَازِينِ عَدْلٍ وَأَسْعَارٍ لَا تُجْحِفُ بِالْفَرِيقَيْنِ مِنَ الْبَائِعِ وَالْمُبْتَاعِ فَمَنْ قَارَفَ حُكْرَةً بَعْدَ نَهْيِكَ إِيَّاهُ فَنَكِّلْ بِهِ وَعَاقِبْهُ فِي غَيْرِ إِسْرَافٍ ثُمَّ اللَّهَ اللَّهَ فِي الطَّبَقَةِ السُّفْلَى مِنَ الَّذِينَ لَا حِيلَةَ لَهُمْ مِنَ الْمَسَاكِينِ وَالْمُحْتَاجِينَ وَأَهْلِ الْبُؤْسَى وَالزَّمْنَى فَإِنَّ فِي هَذِهِ الطَّبَقَةِ قَانِعاً وَمُعْتَرّاً وَاحْفَظْ لِلَّهِ مَا اسْتَحْفَظَكَ مِنْ حَقِّهِ فِيهِمْ وَاجْعَلْ لَهُمْ قِسْماً مِنْ بَيْتِ مَالِكَ وَقِسْماً مِنْ غَلَّاتِ صَوَافِي الْإِسْلَامِ فِي كُلِّ بَلَدٍ فَإِنَّ لِلْأَقْصَى مِنْهُمْ مِثْلَ الَّذِي لِلْأَدْنَى وَكُلٌّ قَدِ اسْتُرْعِيتَ حَقَّهُ وَلَا يَشْغَلَنَّكَ عَنْهُمْ بَطَرٌ فَإِنَّكَ لَا تُعْذَرُ بِتَضْيِيعِكَ التَّافِهَ لِإِحْكَامِكَ الْكَثِيرَ الْمُهِمَّ فَلَا تُشْخِصْ هَمَّكَ عَنْهُمْ وَلَا تُصَعِّرْ خَدَّكَ لَهُمْ وَتَفَقَّدْ أُمُورَ مَنْ لَا يَصِلُ إِلَيْكَ مِنْهُمْ مِمَّنْ تَقْتَحِمُهُ الْعُيُونُ وَتَحْقِرُهُ الرِّجَالُ فَفَرِّغْ لِأُولَئِكَ ثِقَتَكَ مِنْ أَهْلِ الْخَشْيَةِ وَالتَّوَاضُعِ فَلْيَرْفَعْ إِلَيْكَ أُمُورَهُمْ ثُمَّ اعْمَلْ فِيهِمْ بِالْإِعْذَارِ إِلَى اللَّهِ يَوْمَ تَلْقَاهُ فَإِنَّ هَؤُلَاءِ مِنْ بَيْنِ الرَّعِيَّةِ أَحْوَجُ إِلَى الْإِنْصَافِ مِنْ غَيْرِهِمْ وَكُلٌّ فَأَعْذِرْ إِلَى اللَّهِ فِي تَأْدِيَةِ حَقِّهِ إِلَيْهِ وَتَعَهَّدْ أَهْلَ الْيُتْمِ وَذَوِي الرِّقَّةِ فِي السِّنِّ مِمَّنْ لَا حِيلَةَ لَهُ وَلَا يَنْصِبُ لِلْمَسْأَلَةِ نَفْسَهُ وَذَلِكَ عَلَى الْوُلَاةِ ثَقِيلٌ وَالْحَقُّ كُلُّهُ ثَقِيلٌ وَقَدْ يُخَفِّفُهُ اللَّهُ عَلَى أَقْوَامٍ طَلَبُوا الْعَاقِبَةَ فَصَبَّرُوا أَنْفُسَهُمْ وَوَثِقُوا بِصِدْقِ مَوْعُودِ اللَّهِ لَهُمْ وَاجْعَلْ لِذَوِي الْحَاجَاتِ مِنْكَ قِسْماً تُفَرِّغُ لَهُمْ فِيهِ شَخْصَكَ وَتَجْلِسُ لَهُمْ مَجْلِساً عَامّاً فَتَتَوَاضَعُ فِيهِ لِلَّهِ الَّذِي خَلَقَكَ وَتُقْعِدُ عَنْهُمْ جُنْدَكَ وَأَعْوَانَكَ مِنْ أَحْرَاسِكَ وَشُرَطِكَ حَتَّى يُكَلِّمَكَ مُتَكَلِّمُهُمْ غَيْرَ مُتَتَعْتِعٍ فَإِنِّي سَمِعْتُ رَسُولَ اللَّهِ (صلى الله عليه وآله) يَقُولُ فِي غَيْرِ مَوْطِنٍ لَنْ تُقَدَّسَ أُمَّةٌ لَا يُؤْخَذُ لِلضَّعِيفِ فِيهَا حَقُّهُ مِنَ الْقَوِيِّ غَيْرَ مُتَتَعْتِعٍ ثُمَّ احْتَمِلِ الْخُرْقَ مِنْهُمْ وَالْعِيَّ وَنَحِّ عَنْهُمُ الضِّيقَ وَالْأَنَفَ يَبْسُطِ اللَّهُ عَلَيْكَ بِذَلِكَ أَكْنَافَ رَحْمَتِهِ وَيُوجِبْ لَكَ ثَوَابَ طَاعَتِهِ وَأَعْطِ مَا أَعْطَيْتَ هَنِيئاً وَامْنَعْ فِي إِجْمَالٍ وَإِعْذَارٍ ثُمَّ أُمُورٌ مِنْ أُمُورِكَ لَا بُدَّ لَكَ مِنْ مُبَاشَرَتِهَا مِنْهَا إِجَابَةُ عُمَّالِكَ بِمَا يَعْيَا عَنْهُ كُتَّابُكَ وَمِنْهَا إِصْدَارُ

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حَاجَاتِ النَّاسِ يَوْمَ وُرُودِهَا عَلَيْكَ بِمَا تَخْرَجُ بِهِ صُدُورُ أَعْوَانِكَ وَأَمْضِ لِكُلِّيَوْمٍ عَمَلَهُ فَإِنَّ لِكُلِّ يَوْمٍ مَا فِيهِ وَاجْعَلْ لِنَفْسِكَ فِيمَا بَيْنَكَ وَبَيْنَ اللَّهِ أَفْضَلَ تِلْكَ الْمَوَاقِيتِ وَأَجْزَلَ تِلْكَ الْأَقْسَامِ وَإِنْ كَانَتْ كُلُّهَا لِلَّهِ إِذَا صَلَحَتْ فِيهَا النِّيَّةُ وَسَلِمَتْ مِنْهَا الرَّعِيَّةُ وَلْيَكُنْ فِي خَاصَّةِ مَا تُخْلِصُ بِهِ لِلَّهِ دِينَكَ إِقَامَةُ فَرَائِضِهِ الَّتِي هِيَ لَهُ خَاصَّةً فَأَعْطِ اللَّهَ مِنْ بَدَنِكَ فِي لَيْلِكَ وَنَهَارِكَ وَوَفِّ مَا تَقَرَّبْتَ بِهِ إِلَى اللَّهِ مِنْ ذَلِكَ كَامِلًا غَيْرَ مَثْلُومٍ وَلَا مَنْقُوصٍ بَالِغاً مَا بَلَغَ مِنْ بَدَنِكَ وَإِذَا قُمْتَ فِي صَلَاتِكَ لِلنَّاسِ فَلَا تَكُونَنَّ مُنَفِّراً وَلَا مُضَيِّعاً فَإِنَّ فِي النَّاسِ مَنْ بِهِ الْعِلَّةُ وَلَهُ الْحَاجَةُ وَقَدْ سَأَلْتُ رَسُولَ اللَّهِ (صلى الله عليه وآله) حِينَ وَجَّهَنِي إِلَى الْيَمَنِ كَيْفَ أُصَلِّي بِهِمْ فَقَالَ صَلِّ بِهِمْ كَصَلَاةِ أَضْعَفِهِمْ وَكُنْ بِالْمُؤْمِنِينَ رَحِيماًوَأَمَّا بَعْدُ فَلَا تُطَوِّلَنَّ احْتِجَابَكَ عَنْ رَعِيَّتِكَ فَإِنَّ احْتِجَابَ الْوُلَاةِ عَنِ الرَّعِيَّةِ شُعْبَةٌ مِنَ الضِّيقِ وَقِلَّةُ عِلْمٍ بِالْأُمُورِ وَالِاحْتِجَابُ مِنْهُمْ يَقْطَعُ عَنْهُمْ عِلْمَ مَا احْتَجَبُوا دُونَهُ فَيَصْغُرُ عِنْدَهُمُ الْكَبِيرُ وَيَعْظُمُ الصَّغِيرُ وَيَقْبُحُ الْحَسَنُ وَيَحْسُنُ الْقَبِيحُ وَيُشَابُ الْحَقُّ بِالْبَاطِلِ وَإِنَّمَا الْوَالِي بَشَرٌ لَا يَعْرِفُ مَا تَوَارَى عَنْهُ النَّاسُ بِهِ مِنَ الْأُمُورِ وَلَيْسَتْ عَلَى الْحَقِّ سِمَاتٌ تُعْرَفُ بِهَا ضُرُوبُ الصِّدْقِ مِنَ الْكَذِبِ وَإِنَّمَا أَنْتَ أَحَدُ رَجُلَيْنِ إِمَّا امْرُؤٌ سَخَتْ نَفْسُكَ بِالْبَذْلِ فِي الْحَقِّ فَفِيمَ احْتِجَابُكَ مِنْ وَاجِبِ حَقٍّ تُعْطِيهِ أَوْ فِعْلٍ كَرِيمٍ تُسْدِيهِ أَوْ مُبْتَلًى بِالْمَنْعِ فَمَا أَسْرَعَ كَفَّ النَّاسِ عَنْ مَسْأَلَتِكَ إِذَا أَيِسُوا مِنْ بَذْلِكَ مَعَ أَنَّ أَكْثَرَ حَاجَاتِ النَّاسِ إِلَيْكَ مِمَّا لَا مَؤُونَةَ فِيهِ عَلَيْكَ مِنْ شَكَاةِ مَظْلِمَةٍ أَوْ طَلَبِ إِنْصَافٍ فِي مُعَامَلَةٍ ثُمَّ إِنَّ لِلْوَالِي خَاصَّةً وَبِطَانَةً فِيهِمُ اسْتِئْثَارٌ وَتَطَاوُلٌ وَقِلَّةُ إِنْصَافٍ فِي مُعَامَلَةٍ فَاحْسِمْ مَادَّةَ أُولَئِكَ بِقَطْعِ أَسْبَابِ تِلْكَ الْأَحْوَالِ وَلَا تُقْطِعَنَّ لِأَحَدٍ مِنْ حَاشِيَتِكَ وَحَامَّتِكَ قَطِيعَةً وَلَا يَطْمَعَنَّ مِنْكَ فِي اعْتِقَادِ عُقْدَةٍ تَضُرُّ بِمَنْ يَلِيهَا مِنَ النَّاسِ فِي شِرْبٍ أَوْ عَمَلٍ مُشْتَرَكٍ يَحْمِلُونَ مَؤُونَتَهُ عَلَى غَيْرِهِمْ فَيَكُونَ مَهْنَأُ ذَلِكَ لَهُمْ دُونَكَ وَعَيْبُهُ عَلَيْكَ فِي الدُّنْيَا وَالْآخِرَةِ وَأَلْزِمِ الْحَقَّ مَنْ لَزِمَهُ مِنَ الْقَرِيبِ وَالْبَعِيدِ وَكُنْ فِي ذَلِكَ صَابِراً مُحْتَسِباً وَاقِعاً ذَلِكَ مِنْ قَرَابَتِكَ وَخَاصَّتِكَ حَيْثُ وَقَعَ وَابْتَغِ عَاقِبَتَهُ بِمَا يَثْقُلُ عَلَيْكَ مِنْهُ فَإِنَّ مَغَبَّةَ ذَلِكَ مَحْمُودَةٌ وَإِنْ ظَنَّتِ الرَّعِيَّةُ بِكَ حَيْفاً فَأَصْحِرْ لَهُمْ بِعُذْرِكَ وَاعْدِلْ عَنْكَ ظُنُونَهُمْ بِإِصْحَارِكَ فَإِنَّ فِي ذَلِكَ رِيَاضَةً مِنْكَ لِنَفْسِكَ وَرِفْقاً بِرَعِيَّتِكَ وَإِعْذَاراً تَبْلُغُ بِهِ حَاجَتَكَ مِنْ تَقْوِيمِهِمْ عَلَى الْحَقِّ وَلَا تَدْفَعَنَّ صُلْحاً دَعَاكَ إِلَيْهِ عَدُوُّكَ و لِلَّهِ فِيهِ رِضًا فَإِنَّ فِي الصُّلْحِ دَعَةً لِجُنُودِكَ وَرَاحَةً مِنْ هُمُومِكَ وَأَمْناً لِبِلَادِكَ وَلَكِنِ الْحَذَرَ كُلَّ الْحَذَرِ مِنْ عَدُوِّكَ بَعْدَ صُلْحِهِ فَإِنَّ الْعَدُوَّ رُبَّمَا قَارَبَ لِيَتَغَفَّلَ فَخُذْ بِالْحَزْمِ وَاتَّهِمْ فِي ذَلِكَ حُسْنَ الظَّنِّ وَإِنْ عَقَدْتَ بَيْنَكَ وَبَيْنَ عَدُوِّكَ عُقْدَةً أَوْ أَلْبَسْتَهُ مِنْكَ ذِمَّةً فَحُطْ عَهْدَكَ بِالْوَفَاءِ وَارْعَ ذِمَّتَكَ بِالْأَمَانَةِ وَاجْعَلْ نَفْسَكَ جُنَّةً دُونَ مَا أَعْطَيْتَ فَإِنَّهُ لَيْسَ مِنْ فَرَائِضِ اللَّهِ شَيْءٌ النَّاسُ أَشَدُّ عَلَيْهِ اجْتِمَاعاً مَعَ تَفَرُّقِ أَهْوَائِهِمْ وَتَشَتُّتِ آرَائِهِمْ مِنْ تَعْظِيمِ الْوَفَاءِ بِالْعُهُودِ وَقَدْ لَزِمَ ذَلِكَ الْمُشْرِكُونَ فِيمَا بَيْنَهُمْ دُونَ الْمُسْلِمِينَ لِمَا اسْتَوْبَلُوا مِنْ عَوَاقِبِ الْغَدْرِ فَلَا تَغْدِرَنَّ بِذِمَّتِكَ وَلَا تَخِيسَنَّ بِعَهْدِكَ وَلَا تَخْتِلَنَّ عَدُوَّكَ فَإِنَّهُ لَا يَجْتَرِئُ عَلَى اللَّهِ إِلَّا جَاهِلٌ شَقِيٌّ وَقَدْ جَعَلَ اللَّهُ عَهْدَهُ وَذِمَّتَهُ أَمْناً أَفْضَاهُ بَيْنَ الْعِبَادِ بِرَحْمَتِهِ وَحَرِيماً يَسْكُنُونَ إِلَى مَنَعَتِهِ وَيَسْتَفِيضُونَ إِلَى جِوَارِهِ فَلَا إِدْغَالَ وَلَا مُدَالَسَةَ وَلَا خِدَاعَ فِيهِ وَلَا تَعْقِدْ عَقْداً تُجَوِّزُ فِيهِ الْعِلَلَ وَلَا تُعَوِّلَنَّ عَلَى لَحْنِ قَوْلٍ بَعْدَ التَّأْكِيدِ وَالتَّوْثِقَةِ وَلَا يَدْعُوَنَّكَ ضِيقُ أَمْرٍ لَزِمَكَ فِيهِ عَهْدُ اللَّهِ إِلَى طَلَبِ انْفِسَاخِهِ بِغَيْرِ الْحَقِّ فَإِنَّ صَبْرَكَ عَلَى ضِيقِ أَمْرٍ تَرْجُو انْفِرَاجَهُ وَفَضْلَ عَاقِبَتِهِ خَيْرٌ مِنْ غَدْرٍ تَخَافُ تَبِعَتَهُ وَأَنْ تُحِيطَ بِكَ مِنَ اللَّهِ فِيهِ طِلْبَةٌ لَا تَسْتَقْبِلُ فِيهَا دُنْيَاكَ وَلَا آخِرَتَكَ إِيَّاكَ وَالدِّمَاءَ وَسَفْكَهَا بِغَيْرِ حِلِّهَا فَإِنَّهُ لَيْسَ شَيْءٌ أَدْعَى لِنِقْمَةٍ وَلَا أَعْظَمَ لِتَبِعَةٍ وَلَا أَحْرَى بِزَوَالِ نِعْمَةٍ وَانْقِطَاعِ مُدَّةٍ مِنْ سَفْكِ الدِّمَاءِ بِغَيْرِ حَقِّهَا وَاللَّهُ سُبْحَانَهُ مُبْتَدِئٌ بِالْحُكْمِ بَيْنَ الْعِبَادِ فِيمَا تَسَافَكُوا مِنَ الدِّمَاءِ يَوْمَ الْقِيَامَةِ فَلَا تُقَوِّيَنَّ سُلْطَانَكَ بِسَفْكِ دَمٍ حَرَامٍ فَإِنَّ ذَلِكَ مِمَّا يُضْعِفُهُ وَيُوهِنُهُ بَلْ يُزِيلُهُ وَيَنْقُلُهُ وَلَا عُذْرَ لَكَ عِنْدَ اللَّهِ وَلَا عِنْدِي فِي قَتْلِ الْعَمْدِ لِأَنَّ فِيهِ قَوَدَ الْبَدَنِ وَإِنِ ابْتُلِيتَ بِخَطَإٍ وَأَفْرَطَ عَلَيْكَ سَوْطُكَ أَوْ سَيْفُكَ أَوْ يَدُكَ بِالْعُقُوبَةِ فَإِنَّ فِي الْوَكْزَةِ فَمَا فَوْقَهَا

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مَقْتَلَةً فَلَا تَطْمَحَنَّ بِكَ نَخْوَةُ سُلْطَانِكَ عَنْ أَنْ تُؤَدِّيَ إِلَى أَوْلِيَاءِ الْمَقْتُولِ حَقَّهُمْ وَإِيَّاكَ وَالْإِعْجَابَ بِنَفْسِكَ وَالثِّقَةَ بِمَا يُعْجِبُكَ مِنْهَا وَحُبَّ الْإِطْرَاءِ فَإِنَّ ذَلِكَ مِنْ أَوْثَقِ فُرَصِ الشَّيْطَانِ فِي نَفْسِهِ لِيَمْحَقَ مَا يَكُونُ مِنْ إِحْسَانِ الْمُحْسِنِينَ وَإِيَّاكَ وَالْمَنَّ عَلَى رَعِيَّتِكَ بِإِحْسَانِكَ أَوِ التَّزَيُّدَ فِيمَا كَانَ مِنْ فِعْلِكَ أَوْ أَنْ تَعِدَهُمْ فَتُتْبِعَ مَوْعِدَكَ بِخُلْفِكَ فَإِنَّ الْمَنَّ يُبْطِلُ الْإِحْسَانَ وَالتَّزَيُّدَ يَذْهَبُ بِنُورِ الْحَقِّ وَالْخُلْفَ يُوجِبُ الْمَقْتَ عِنْدَ اللَّهِ وَالنَّاسِ قَالَ اللَّهُ تَعَالَى كَبُرَ مَقْتاً عِنْدَ اللَّهِ أَنْ تَقُولُوا مَا لَا تَفْعَلُونَ وَإِيَّاكَ وَالْعَجَلَةَ بِالْأُمُورِ قَبْلَ أَوَانِهَا أَوِ التَّسَقُّطَ فِيهَا عِنْدَ إِمْكَانِهَا أَوِ اللَّجَاجَةَ فِيهَا إِذَا تَنَكَّرَتْ أَوِ الْوَهْنَ عَنْهَا إِذَا اسْتَوْضَحَتْ فَضَعْ كُلَّ أَمْرٍ مَوْضِعَهُ وَأَوْقِعْ كُلَّ أَمْرٍ مَوْقِعَهُ وَإِيَّاكَ وَالِاسْتِئْثَارَ بِمَا النَّاسُ فِيهِ أُسْوَةٌ وَالتَّغَابِيَ عَمَّا تُعْنَى بِهِ مِمَّا قَدْ وَضَحَ لِلْعُيُونِ فَإِنَّهُ مَأْخُوذٌ مِنْكَ لِغَيْرِكَ وَعَمَّا قَلِيلٍ تَنْكَشِفُ عَنْكَ أَغْطِيَةُ الْأُمُورِ وَيُنْتَصَفُ مِنْكَ لِلْمَظْلُومِ امْلِكْ حَمِيَّةَ أَنْفِكَ وَسَوْرَةَ حَدِّكَ وَسَطْوَةَ يَدِكَ وَغَرْبَ لِسَانِكَ وَاحْتَرِسْ مِنْ كُلِّ ذَلِكَ بِكَفِّ الْبَادِرَةِ وَتَأْخِيرِ السَّطْوَةِ حَتَّى يَسْكُنَ غَضَبُكَ فَتَمْلِكَ الِاخْتِيَارَ وَلَنْ تَحْكُمَ ذَلِكَ مِنْ نَفْسِكَ حَتَّى تُكْثِرَ هُمُومَكَ بِذِكْرِ الْمَعَادِ إِلَى رَبِّكَ وَالْوَاجِبُ عَلَيْكَ أَنْ تَتَذَكَّرَ مَا مَضَى لِمَنْ تَقَدَّمَكَ مِنْ حُكُومَةٍ عَادِلَةٍ أَوْ سُنَّةٍ فَاضِلَةٍ أَوْ أَثَرٍ عَنْ نَبِيِّنَا (صلى الله عليه وآله) أَوْ فَرِيضَةٍ فِي كِتَابِ اللَّهِ فَتَقْتَدِيَ بِمَا شَاهَدْتَ مِمَّا عَمِلْنَا بِهِ فِيهَا وَتَجْتَهِدَ لِنَفْسِكَ فِي اتِّبَاعِ مَا عَهِدْتُ إِلَيْكَ فِي عَهْدِي هَذَا وَاسْتَوْثَقْتُ بِهِ مِنَ الْحُجَّةِ لِنَفْسِي عَلَيْكَ لِكَيْلَا تَكُونَ لَكَ عِلَّةٌ عِنْدَ تَسَرُّعِ نَفْسِكَ إِلَى هَوَاهَا وَأَنَا أَسْأَلُ اللَّهَ بِسَعَةِ رَحْمَتِهِ وَعَظِيمِ قُدْرَتِهِ عَلَى إِعْطَاءِ كُلِّ رَغْبَةٍ أَنْ يُوَفِّقَنِي وَإِيَّاكَ لِمَا فِيهِ رِضَاهُ مِنَ الْإِقَامَةِ عَلَى الْعُذْرِ الْوَاضِحِ إِلَيْهِ وَإِلَى خَلْقِهِ مَعَ حُسْنِ الثَّنَاءِ فِي الْعِبَادِ وَجَمِيلِ الْأَثَرِ فِي الْبِلَادِ وَتَمَامِ النِّعْمَةِ وَتَضْعِيفِ الْكَرَامَةِ وَأَنْ يَخْتِمَ لِي وَلَكَ بِالسَّعَادَةِ وَالشَّهَادَةِ إِنَّا إِلَيْهِ رَاجِعُونَ وَالسَّلَامُ عَلَى رَسُولِ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَآلِهِ وَسَلَّمَ الطَّيِّبِينَ الطَّاهِرِينَ وَسَلَّمَ تَسْلِيماً كَثِيراً وَالسَّلَامُ .

B/ Translated Text

In the Name of Allah , the compassionate , the Merciful

This is what Allah's servant ʿAli , Amir al-muʾminin , has ordered

Mālik ibn al-Hārith al-Ashtar in his instrument (of appointment)

For him when he made him Governor of Egypt for the collection of its revenues ,fighting against its enemies, seeking the good of its people and making its cities prosperous.

He has ordered him to fear Allah ,to prefer obedience to him , and to follow what He has commanded in His Book(Quran) out of His obligatory and elective commands , without following which one cannot achieve virtue , nor (can one) be evil save by opposing them and ignoring them, and to help Allah whose name is Sublime takes the responsibility for helping him who helps Him, and for protecting him who gives Him support.

He also orders him to break his heart off from passions , and to restrain it at the time of their increase , because the heart leads towards evil unless Allah has mercy.

The qualifications of a governor and his responsibilities

Then , know Oʾ Mālik that I have sent you to an area where

There have been governments before you , both just as well as oppressive . People will now watch your dealing as you used to watch the dealings of the rules before you, and they (people) will criticise you criticised them (rulers). Surely, the virtuous are known by the reputation that Allah circulates for them through the tongues of His creatures. Therefore , the best collection with you should be the collection of good deeds. So, control your passions and checkyour heart from doing what is not lawful for you, because checking the heart means detaining it just half way between what it likes and dislikes.

Habituate your heart to mercy for the subjects and to affection and kindness for them. Do not stand over them like greedy beasts who feel it is enough to devour them, since they are of two kinds, either your brother in religion or one like you in creation.

They will commit slips and encounter mistakes. They may act wrongly, willfully or by neglect. So, extend to them your forgiveness and pardon, in the same way as you would like Allah to extend His forgiveness and pardon to you, because you are over them and your responsible Commander (Imam) is over you while Allah is over him who has appointed you. He (Allah) has sought you to manage their affairs and has tried you through them.

Do not set yourself to fight Allah because you have no power before His power and you cannot do without His pardon and mercy. Do not repent of forgiving or be merciful in punishing. Do not act hastily during anger if you can find way out of it. Do not say:"I have been given authority, I should be obeyed when I order," because it engenders confusion in the heart, weakens the religion and takes one near ruin. If the authority in which you are placed produces pride or vanity in you then look at the greatness of the realm of Allah over you and His might the like of which might you do not even possess over yourself. This will curb your haughtiness, cure you of your high temper and bring back to you your wisdom which had gone away from you.

Beware of comparing yourself to Allah in His greatness or likening yourself to Him in His power, for Allah humiliates every claimant of power and disgraces everyone who is haughty.

Do justice for Allah and do justice towards the people, as against yourself, your near ones and those of your subjects for whom you have a liking, because if you do not do so you will be oppressive, and when a person oppresses the creatures of Allah then, instead of His creatures,

Allah becomes his opponent, and when Allah is the opponent of a person He tramples his plea; and he will remain in the position of being at war with Allah until he gives it up and repents. Nothing is more inductive of the reversal of Allah's bounty or for the hastening of His retribution than continuance in oppression, because Allah hears the prayer of the oppressed and is on the lookout for the oppressors.

Ruling should be in favour of the people as a whole

The way most coveted by you should be that which is the most equitable for the right, the most universal by way of justice, and the most comprehensive with regard to the agreement among those under you, because the disagreement among the common people sweeps away the arguments of the chiefs while the disagreement among the chiefs can be disregarded when compared with the agreement of the common people. No one among those under you is more burdensome to the ruler in the comfort of life, less helpful in distress, more disliking of equitable treatment, more tricky in asking favours, less thankful at the time of giving, less appreciative of reasons at the time of refusal, and weaker in endurance at the time of the discomforts of life than the chiefs. It is the common people of the community who are the pillars of the religion, the power of the Muslims and the defence against the enemies. Your leanings should therefore be towards them and your inclination with them.

The one among the people under you who is furthest from you and the worst of them in your view should be he who is the most inquisitive of the shortcomings and the ruler is the most appropriate person to cover them. Do not disclose whatever of it is hidden from you because your obligation is to correct what is manifest to you, while Allāh will deal with whatever is hidden from you.

Therefore, cover shortcomings so far as you can; Allāh would cover those of your shortcomings which you would like to remain under cover from

your subjects. Unfasten every knot of hatred in the people and cut away from yourself the cause of every enmity.

Feign ignorance from what is not clear to you. Do not hasten to second a backbiter, because a backbiter is a cheat although he looks like those who wish well.

About counselors

Do not include among those you consult a miser who would keep you back from being generous and caution you against destitution, nor a coward who would make you feel too weak for your affairs, nor a greedy person who would make beautiful to you the collection of wealth by evil ways. This is because although miserliness, cowardice and greed are different qualities, yet they are common in having an incorrect idea about Allāh.

The worst minister for you is he who has been a minister for mischievous persons before you, and who joined them in sins.

Therefore, he should not be your chief man, because they are abettors of sinners and brothers of the oppressors. You can find good substitutes for them who will be like them in their views and influence, while not being like them in sins and vices. They have never assisted an oppressor in his oppression or a sinner in his sin.

They will give you the least trouble and the best support. They will be most considerate towards you and the least inclined towards others. Therefore, make them your chief companions in privacy as well as in public.

Then, more preferable among them for you should be those who openly speak better truths before you and who support you least in those of your actions which Allah does not approve in His friends, even though they may be according to your wishes.

Associate yourself with God-fearing and truthful people; then educate them, so that they should not praise you or please you by reason of an action you did not perform, because an excess of praise produces pride and drives you near haughtiness.

The virtuous and the vicious should not be in equal position before you because this means dissuasion of the virtuous from virtue and persuasion of the vicious to vice. Keep everyone in the position which is his. You should know that the most conducive thing for the good impression of the ruler on his subjects is that he should extend good behaviour towards them, lighten their hardships, and avoid putting them to unbearable troubles. You should therefore, in this way follow a course by which you will leave a good impression with your subjects, because such good ideas will relieve you of great worries. Certainly, the most appropriate for good impression of you is he to whom your behaviour has not been good.

Do not discontinue the good lives in which the earlier people of this community had been acting, by virtue of which there was general unity and through which the subjects prospered. Do not innovate any line of action which injures these earlier ways because (in that case) the reward for those who had established those ways will continue, but the burden for discontinuing them will be on you. Keep on increasing your conversations with the scholars and discussions with the wise to stabilize the prosperity of the areas under you, and to continue with that in which the earlier people had remained steadfast.

The different classes of people

know that the people consist of classes who prosper only with the help of one another, and they are not independent of one another. Among them are the army of Allah, then the secretarial workers of the common people and the chiefs, then the dispensers of justice, then those engaged in law and order, then the payers of head tax (jizyah) and land tax (kharāj) from

the protected unbelievers and the common Muslims, then there are the traders and the men of industry and then the lowest class of the needy and the destitute. Allah has fixed the share of every one of them and laid down His precepts about the limits of each in His Book(Qur' ān) and the sunnah of His Prophet by way of a settlement which is preserved with us.

Now the army is, by the will of Allah, the fortress of the subjects, the ornament of the ruler, the strength of the religion and the means of peace. The subjects cannot exist without them while the army can be maintained only by the funds fixed by Allah in the revenues, through which they acquire the strength to fight the enemies, on which they depend for their prosperity, and with which they meet their needs. These two classes cannot exist without the third class namely the judges, the executives and the secretaries who pass judgements about contracts, collect revenues and are depended upon in special and general matters.

And these classes cannot exist except with the traders and men of industry, who provide necessities for them, establish markets and make it possible for others not to do all this with their own hands. Then is the lowest class of the needy and the destitute support of and every one of them has (a share in) livelihood in the name of Allah.

Every one of them has a right on the ruler according to what is needed for his prosperity. The ruler cannot acquit himself of the obligations laid on him by Allah in this matter except by striving and seeking help from Allah and by training himself to adhere to the right and by enduring on that account all that is light or hard.

1. The Army

Put in command of your forces the man who in your view is the best well-wisher of Allah, His Prophet and your Imam.

The chastest of them in heart and the highest of them in endurance is he who is slow in getting enraged, accepts excuses, is kind to the weak and

is strict with the strong; violence should not raise his temper and weakness should not keep him sitting.

Also associate with considerate people from high families, virtuous houses and decent traditions, then people of courage, valour, generosity and benevolence, because they are repositories of honour and springs of virtues. Strive for their matters as the parents strive for their child . Do not regard anything that you do to strengthen them as big nor consider anything that you have agreed to do for them as little(so as to give it up) , even though it may be small, because this will make them your well-wishers and create a good impression of you. Do not neglect to attend to their small matters, confining yourself to their important matters, because your small favours will also be of benefit to them while the important ones are such that they cannot ignore them.

That commander of the army should have such a position before you that he renders help to them equitably and spends from his money on them and on those of their families who remain behind so that all their worries converge on the one worry for fighting the enemy. Your kindness to them will turn their hearts to you. The most pleasant thing for the rulers is the establishment of justice in their areas and the manifestation of the love of their subjects, but the subjects' love manifests itself only when their hearts are clean. Their good wishes prove correct only when they surround their commanders (to protect them). Do not regard their position to be a burden over them and do not keep watching for the end of their tenure. Therefore, be broad-minded in regard to their desires, continue praising them and recounting the good deeds of those who have shown such deeds, because the mention of good actions shakes the brave and rouses the weak, if Allāh so wills.

Appreciate the performance of every one of them, do not attribute the performance of one to the other, and do not minimize the reward below the level of the performance. The high position of a man should not lead you to regard his small deeds as big, nor should the low position of a man make you regard his big deeds as small.

Refer to Allāh and His Prophet the affairs which worry you and matters which appears confusing to you, because, addressing the people whom Allāh the Sublime, wishes to guide, He said:

O' you who believe! Obey Allāh and obey the Prophet and those vested with authority from among you; and then if you quarrel about anything refer it to Allāh and the Prophet if you believe in Allāh and in the Last Day (of Judgement) . . . (Qur 'ān, 4:59)

Referring to Allāh means to act according to what is clear in His Book and referring to the Prophet means to follow his unanimously agreed *sunnah* in regard to which there are no differences.

2. The Chief Judge

For the settlement of disputes among people select him who is the most distinguished of your subjects in your view. The cases (coming before him) should not vex him, disputation should not enrage him, he should not insist on any wrong point, and should not grudge accepting the truth when he perceives it; he should not lean towards greed and should not content himself with a cursory understanding (of a matter) without going thoroughly into it. He should be most ready to stop (to ponder) on doubtful points, most regardful of arguments, least disgusted at the quarrel of litigants, most patient at probing into matters and most fearless at the time of passing judgment. Praise should not make him vain and elation should not make him lean (to any side). Such people are very few.

Then, very often check his decisions and allow him so much money (as remuneration) that he has no excuse worth hearing (for not being honest) and there remains no occasion for him to go to others for his needs. Give him that rank in your audience for which no one else among your chiefs aspires, so that he remains safe from the harm of those around you. You should have a piercing eye in this matter because this religion has formerly been a prisoner in the hands of vicious persons when action was taken according to passion, and worldly wealth was sought.

3. Executive Officers

Thereafter, look into the affairs of your executives. Give them appointment after tests and do not appoint them according to partiality or favouritism, because these two things constitute sources of injustice and unfairness. Select from among them virtuous houses, having been previously in Islam, because such persons possess high manners and untarnished honour. They are the least inclined towards greed and always have their eyes on the ends of matters.

Give them an abundant livelihood (by way of salary) because this gives them the strength to maintain themselves in order and not to have an eye upon the funds in their custody, and it would be an argument against them if they disobeyed your orders or misappropriated your trust. You should also check their activities and have people who report on them who should be truthful and faithful, because your watching their actions secretly will urge them to preserve trust with and to be kind to the people. Be careful of assistants. If any one of them extends his hands towards misappropriation and the reports of your reports of your reporters reaching you confirm it, that should be regarded enough evidence. You should then inflict corporal punishment on him and recover what he has misappropriated. You should put him in a place of disgrace, black-list

him with (the charge of) misappropriation and make him wear the necklace of shame for his offfence.

4. The Administration of Revenues

Look after the revenue (*kharāj* or land tax) affairs in such a way that those engaged in it remain prosperous because in their prosperity lies the prosperity of all others. The others cannot prosper without them, because all people are dependent on revenue and its payers. You should also keep an eye on the cultivation of the land more than on the collection of revenue because revenue cannot be had without cultivation and whoever asks for revenue without cultivation, ruins the area and brings death to the people. His rule will not last only a moment.

If they complain of the heaviness (of the revenue) or of diseases, or dearth of water, or excess of water or of a change in the condition of the land either due to flood or to drought, you should remit the revenue to the extent that you hope will improve their position. The remission granted by you for the removal of distress from them should not be grudged by you, because it is an investment which they will return to you in the shape of the prosperity of your country and the progress of your domain in addition to earning their praise and happiness for meeting out justice to them. You can depend upon their strength because of the investment made by you in them through catering to their convenience, and can have confidence in them because of the justice extended to them by being kind to them. After that, circumstances may so turn that you may have to ask for their assistance, when they will bear it happily, for prosperity is capable of bearing whatever you load on it. The ruin of the land is caused by the poverty of the cultivators, while the cultivators become poor when the officers concentrate on the collection(of money), having little hope for continuance (in their posts) and deriving no benefit from objects of warning.

5. The Clerical Establishment

Then you should take care of your secretarial workers. Put the best of them in charge of your affairs. Entrust those of your letters which contain your policies and secrets to him who possesses the best character, who is not elated by honours, lest he dates speak against you in common audiences. He should also not be negligent in presenting the communications of your officers before you and issuing correct replies to them on your behalf and in matters of your receipts and payments. He should not fail in repudiating an agreement against you. He should not be ignorant of the extent of his own position in matters because he who is ignorant of his own position is (even) more ignorant of the position of others.

Your selection of these people should not be on the basis of your understanding (of them), confidence and your good impression, because people catch the ideas of the officers through affectation and personal service and there is nothing in it which is like well-wishing or trustfulness. You should rather test them by what they did under the virtuous people before you. Take a decision in favour of one who has a good name among the common people and is the most renowned in trustworthiness, because this will be a proof of your regard for Allah and for him on whose behalf you have been appointed to this position (namely your Imām). Establish one chief for every department of work. He should not be incapable of big matters, and a rush of work should not perplex him. Whenever there is a defect in your secretaries which you overlook, then you will be held responsible for it.

6. Traders and Industrialists

Now take some advice about traders and industrialists. Give them good counsel whether they be settled(shop-keepers) or traders or physical labourers because they are sources of profit and the means of the

provision of useful articles. They bring them from distant and far-flung areas throughout the land and sea, plains or mountains, from them, and they are quite without fear of treason.

Look after their affairs before yourself or wherever they may be in your area. Know, along with this, that most of them are very narrow-minded, and awfully avaricious. They hoard goods for profiteering and fix high prices for goods. This is a source of harm to the people and a blot on the officers in charge. Stop people from hoarding, because the Messenger of Allah (p.b.u.h.a.h.p.) has prohibited it.

The sale should be smooth, with correct weights and prices, not harmful to either party, the seller or the purchaser; whoever commits hoarding after you prohibit it, give him exemplary but not excessive punishment.

7. The Lowest Class

(Fear) Allah and keep Allah in view in respect of the lowest class, consisting of those who have few means: the poor, the destitute, the penniless and the disabled; because in this class are both the discontented and those who beg. Take care for the sake of Allah of His obligations towards them for which He has made you responsible. Fix for them a share from the public funds and a share from the crops of lands taken over as booty for Islam in every area, because in it the remote ones have the same shares as the near ones. All these people are those whose rights have been placed in your charge. Therefore, a luxurious life should not keep you away from them you cannot be excused for ignoring small matters because you were deciding big problems. Consequently, do not be unmindful of them , nor turn your face from them out of vanity.

Take care of the affairs of those of them who do approach you because they are of unsightly appearance or those whom people regard as low. Appoint for them some trusted people who are God-fearing and humble. They should inform you of these people's conditions. Then deal with

them with a sense of responsibility to Allah on the day you will meet Him, because of all the subjects these people are the most deserving of equitable treatment, while for others also you should fulfill their rights so as to render account to Allah.

Take care of the orphans and the aged who have no means (for livelihood) nor are they ready for begging. This is heavy on the officers; in fact, every right is heavy. Allah lightens it for those who seek the next world and so they endure (hardships) upon themselves and trust on the truthfulness of Allah's promise to them. And fix a time for complainants wherein you make yourself free for them, and sit for them in common audience and feel humble therein for the sake of Allāh who created you. (On that occasion) you should keep away your army and your assistants such as the guards and the police so that anyone who like to speak may speak to you without fear, because I have heard the Messenger of Allah (p.b.u.h.a.h.p.) say in more than one place, ''The people among whom the right of the weak is not secured from the strong without fear will never achieve purity .'' Tolerate their awkwardness and inability to speak. Keep away from you narrowness and haughtiness; Allāh would, on this account, spread over you the skirts of His mercy and assign the reward of His obedience for you. Whatever you give, give it joyfully, but when you refuse, do it handsomely and with excuses.

Then there are certain matters which you cannot avoid performing yourself. For example, replying to your officers when your secretaries are unable to do so, or disposing of the complaints of the people when your assistants shirk them. Finish every day the work meant for it, because every day has its own work. Keep for the worship of Allah, although all these items are for Allah provided the intention is pure and the subjects prosper thereby.

The particular thing by which you should purify your religion for Allah should be the fulfillment of those obligations which are especially for Him. Therefore, devote to Allah some of your physical activity during the night and the day, and whatever (worship) you perform for seeking nearness to Allah should be complete, without defect or deficiency, whatsoever physical exertion it may involve. When you lead the prayers for the people it should be neither (too long as to be) boring nor (too short as to be) wasteful, because among the people there are the sick as well as those who have needs of their own. When the Messenger of Allah (p.b.u.h.a.h.p.) sent me to Yemen I enquired how I should offer prayers with them and he replied, ''Say the prayers as the weakest of them would say, and be considerate to the believers. ''

On the behaviour and action of a Ruler

Then, do not keep yourself secluded from the people for a long time, because the seclusion of those in authority from the subjects is a kind of narrow-sightedness and causes ignorance about their affairs. Seclusion from them also prevents them from the knowledge of those things which they do not know and as a result they begin to regard big matters as small and small matters as big, good matters as bad and had matters as good, while the truth becomes confused with falsehood. After all, a governor is a human being and cannot have knowledge of things which people keep hidden from him.

No writ is big on the face of truth to differentiate its various expressions from falsehood. Then you can be one of two kinds of men. Either you may be generous in granting rights; and then why this hiding in spite of (your) discharging the obligations and good acts that you perform? Or you are a victim of stinginess; in that case people will soon give up asking you since they will lose hope of generous treatment from you. In spite of that there are many needs of the people towards you which do not

involve any hardship on you, such as the complaint against oppression or the request for justice in a matter.

Further, a governor has favourites and people of easy access to him. They misappropriate things, are high-handed and do not observe justice in matters. You should destroy the root of evil in the people by cutting away the causes of these defects. Do not make any land grants to your hangers on or supporters. They should not expect from you the possession of land which may cause harm to adjoining people over the question of irrigation or common services whose burden the grantees place on others. In this way, the benefit will be rather theirs than yours, and the blame will lie on you in this world and next.

Allow rights to whomsoever it is due, whether near you or far from you. In this matter, you should be enduring and watchful even though it may involve your relations and favourites, and keep in view the reward of that which appears burdensome on you because its reward is handsome.

If the subjects suspect you of high-handedness, explain to them your position openly and remove their suspicion with your explanation, because this would mean exercise for your soul and consideration to the subjects while this explanation will secure your aim of keeping them firm in truth.

Do not reject peace to which your enemy may call you and wherein there is the pleasure of Allah, because peace brings rest to your army and relief from your worries and safety for your country. But after peace there is great apprehension from the enemy because often the enemy offers peace to benefit your negligence. Therefore, be cautions and act by wishfulness in this matter.

If you conclude an agreement between yourself and your enemy or enter into a pledge with him then fulfill your agreement and discharge your pledge faithfully. Place yourself as a shield against whatever you have

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pledge because among the obligations of Allah there is nothing on which people are more strongly united despite the difference of their ideas and variation of their views than respect for fulfilling pledges. Besides Muslims, even unbelievers have abided by agreements because they realized the dangers which would come in the wake of violation(thereof). Therefore, do not deceive your enemy, because no one can offend Allah save the ignorant and the wicked. Allah made His agreement and pledged the sign of security which He has spread over His creatures through His mercy and an asylum in which they stay in His protection and seek the benefit of nearness to Him. Therefore, there should be no deceit, cunning or duplicity in it.

Do not enter into an agreement which may admit of different interpretations and do not change the interpretation of vague words after the conclusion and confirmation (of the agreement). If an agreement of Allah involves you in hardship do not seek its repudiation without justification, because the bearing of hard ships through which you expect relief and a handsome result is better than a violation whose consequence you fear, and that you fear that you will be called upon by Allah to account for it and you will not be able to seek forgiveness for it in this world or the next.

You should avoid shedding blood without justification, because nothing is more inviting of Divine retribution, greater in(evil) consequence, and more effective in the decline of prosperity and cutting short of life than the shedding of blood without justification. On the day of judgment Allah the Glorified, would commence giving His judgment among the people with the cases of bloodshed committed by them. Therefore, do not strengthen your authority by shedding prohibited blood because this will weaken and lower the authority, moreover destroy it and shift it. You cannot offer any excuse before Allah or before me for willful killing

because there must be the question or revenge in it. If you are involved in it error and you exceed in the use of your whip or sword, or are hard in inflicting punishment, as sometimes even a blow by the first or a smaller stroke causes death, then the haughtiness of your authority should not prevent you from paying the blood price to the successors of the killed person.

You should avoid self-admiration, having reliance in what appears good in yourself and love of exaggerated praise because this is one of the most reliable opportunities for Satan to obliterate the good deeds of the virtuous.

Avoid showing (the existence of) obligation on your subjects for having done good to them or praising your own actions or making promises and then breaking them, because showing(the existence of)

Obligation destroys good, self-praise takes away the light of truth, and breaking promises earns the hatred of Allah and of the people. Allah the Glorified, says:

*Most hateful is it unto Allah that say what you(*your selves*) do*(it)*not.*
(Qur'ān, 61:3)

Avoid haste in matters before their time, slowness at their proper time, insistence on them when the propriety of action is not known or weakens when it becomes clear. Assign every matter its proper place and do every job at the appropriate time.

Do not appropriate to yourself that in which the people have an equal share, nor be regardless of matters which have come to light with the excuse that you are accountable for others. Shortly, the curtains of all matters will be raised from your view and you will be required to render redress to the oppressed. Have control over (your) sense of prestige, any outburst of anger, the might of your arm and the sharpness of your tongue. Guard against all this by avoiding haste and by delaying severe

action till your anger subsides and you regain your self-control. You cannot withhold yourself from this unless you bear in mind that you have to return to Allah.

It is necessary for you to recall how matters went with those who preceded you, be it a government or a great tradition or a precedent of our Prophet (may Allah bless him and his descendants) or the obligatory commands contained in the Book of Allah.

Then you should follow them as you have seen us acting upon them and should exert yourself in following that I have enjoined upon you in this document in which I have exhausted my pleas on you, so that if your heart advances towards its passions you may have no plea in its support.

I ask Allah through the extent of His mercy and the greatness of His power of giving a good inclination that He may prompt me and you to advance a clear plea before Him and His creatures in a manner that may attract His pleasure along with handsome praise among the people, good effect in the country, an increase in prosperity and a heightening of honour; and that He may allow me and you to die a death of virtue and martyrdom. Surely, we have to return to Him. Peace be on the Messenger of Allah __ may Allah shower His blessings and plentyful salutation on him and his pure and chaste descendants; and that is an end to the matter.

المستخلص

تعد هذه الدراسة محاولةً لاستخدام تحليل الخطاب النقدي لمعالجة نصين هما الدستور الامريكي وعهد الامام علي (عليه السلام) لمالك الاشتر. المهمة الرئيسية للدراسة هي تحليل النصين نقديا وتقابليا. يمكن لهذا التحليل ان يتم من خلال اجابة الاسئلة الاتية: ١) كيف رُكّب النصان لغويا؟ ٢) ما النصوص الي التجأ اليها النصان؟ وكيف؟ ٣) كيف جُسّدتْ الايديولوجيات في النصين اعتماداً على التحليل اللغوي والتناصّي؟

الاجراءات المتبعة لهذه الدراسة كالتالي: ١) تقديم وصف نظري عن تحليل الخطاب النقدي ووصف مختصر حول النصين. ٢) تطوير نموذج تحليل انتقائي يعتمد على نموذج فانديك (١٩٨٠) و (٢٠١٣) و بزرمان (٢٠١٤) و فيركلوف (١٩٨٩). ٣) تحليل النصين نوعياً وكمياً في بعض الاحيان قدر الامكان. التحليل النحوي وجزء من تحليل المعنى ستؤدى بأتباع طرق كمية ونوعية في حين ان الطريقة النوعية ستطبق وحدها في تحليل المعنى وتحليل المفردات.

النتائج التي توصلت اليها الرسالة كالتالي: ١) لغويا، الدستور الامريكي وعهد الامام علي (عليه السلام) لمالك الاشتر يمتلكان تركيبين لغويين مختلفين واللذين ظهرا من خلال تحليل المعنى العام والدقيق.٢) تناصيا،تأثر الدستور الامريكي وعهد الاشتر بنصوص مختلفة والتي ساعدت في كشف مختلف الايديولوجيات المضمنة في النصين.٣) ايديولوجيا: الايديولوجيات التي بني عليها النصان تختلف بين الايديولوجية العلمانية والدينيةتباعاً بالاضافة الى ايديولوجيات اخرى كالأيديولوجية الليبرالية وحقوق الانسان والديمقراطية والعنصرية والتميز على اساس الجنس ومكافحة العنصرية. وهذه الايديولوجيات المختلفة انعكست من خلال التركيب اللغويللنصين.

جمهورية العراق

وزارة التعليم العالي والبحث العلمي

جامعة بابل

كلية التربية للعلوم الانسانية

قسم اللغة الانجليزية

تحليل خطاب نقدي مقارن للدستور الاميركي و عهد الامام علي (عليه السلام) لمالك الاشتر

رسالةٌ

قُدِمتْ إلى مَجْلِسٍ كُلِّيةِ التَربيّة للعلومِالإنسانية/ جامعة بابل جُزءاً مِنْ مُتَطَّلّباتِ نِيلِ دَرَجَةِالماجِستير فيالتربية/اللغةالانجليزية/اللغة

من قبل

سماح عبد الستار الكعبي

بإشراف

أ.م. فراس عبد المنعم جواد

شعبان، ١٤٣٩   حزيران، ٢٠١٨