

Representation of Racism and Anti-blackness in African-American Proverbs

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Abstract

Proverbs have captivated researchers worldwide, since they mirror how cultures portrait folks' social lives. African American proverbs related to racism and anti-blackness, among them, are made use of to expose how the culture of the Western world in general and of America in particular view racial attitudes in these sayings. By exploiting four analytical tools of critical stylistics viewed in Jeffries' model, thirty proverbs will be examined (exemplified by five proverbs) regarding their stylistic features and racial-related ideologies. This paper schemes into how Indians are stereotyped in these proverbs. Through exploiting the selected critical stylistic tools, it concludes that the proverbs examined either implicitly or explicitly express how black people are treated racially and inhumanely in everyday settings and in proverbs as well.

Keywords: racism, anti-blackness, ideology, critical stylistics, proverbs

Introduction

The relationship between ideology and language has always been a subject of significant concern among scholars. Language cannot exist in nothingness; it is intrinsically tied to social and ideological contexts. This viewpoint aligns with the understanding that language is not just a neutral tool for communication, but it carries various implicit and explicit meanings shaped by the ideologies of the speakers and the society they belong to. The way people use language and the meanings they attribute to words are subjective to their shared beliefs, values, and ideologies. That is why language is considered to be a powerful tool for the dissemination and reinforcement of ideologies. Certain language choices and linguistic structures may reinforce existing power dynamics and social hierarchies, perpetuating dominant ideologies while marginalizing alternative perspectives. Even apparently neutral language use can have underlying ideological implications. Even the

dialects people use, and the accents they have can be indicators of their social, cultural, and ideological affiliations. Language can become a battleground for ideological conflicts, particularly in multicultural and multilingual societies. Different groups may use language to assert their identities and challenge dominant ideologies (Hasan, 2003, p. 439).

In addition to various types of folk sayings, such as saws, parables and riddles, proverbs can be utilized to convey certain social information and ideologies. Individuals resort to proverbs to reflect their identity and their conceptual conflicts. In fact, proverbs constitute one expressive means of showing people's ideological inclinations and nastiness towards societies. Being one of the most accustomed genres, proverbs are a sociolinguistic phenomenon that has attracted a lot of attention. The reason why scholars are charmed by proverbs is that proverbs are used to "pass on rich cultural traditions, transmit folklore, and communicate expected codes of behavior" (Kaplan, 2002, p.1).

Proverbs: Overview

A simple definition of the term "proverb" can be seen as "a famous phrase or sentence that gives you advice" (*Cambridge Essential English Dictionary*, 2012, p. 364). A proverb can also be referred to as a "linguistic unit" that gains popularity through repeated use in the discourses of a language community. Proverbs tend to be passed down through generations and become deeply embedded in the language and culture of a community. They are not just random phrases; they carry certain level of authority and resonance due to their widespread usage and acceptance. They often reflect the values, beliefs and experiences of a particular culture or society, providing practical guidance and moral lessons. Over time, the most commonly used proverbs become part of the collective knowledge and heritage of a community. Proverbs tend to recur in specific situations because they encapsulate practical knowledge and insights gained from collective human experiences. Thus, these linguistic units become ingrained in cultures and societies because they offer valuable lessons, guidance, and moral principles. When people encounter situations or challenges in life, they may turn to proverbs to find relevant wisdom or to share practical advice with others (Hrisztova-Gotthardt and Varga, 2014, p.7).

Indeed, a proverb is more than just a simple saying. It has distinct characteristics that set it apart from ordinary language and give it cultural

significance. Proverbs are typically short, concise to the point. They often consist of a single sentence or a short phrase, making them easy to remember and share. The brevity of proverbs contributes to their memorability and accessibility. They often use vivid imagery, figurative language, or clever wordplay. Their distinctiveness and memorability make them effective tools for communication and education (Hildebrandt, 2005, p. 4).

Relationally, Kerschen's (1998) perspective on proverbs focuses on their pragmatic use and social impression rather than merely defining them as linguistic expressions. According to her, the primary consideration when approaching proverbs should be their function—what they do within a society or culture. Proverbs are not just empty phrases; they serve a purpose in conveying lessons or practical advice to people. Kerschen highlights a potential danger in proverbs: the teachings or advice they contain might not always be morally upright. Proverbs have the power to influence people's beliefs and behavior, so if they promote harmful, unethical, or biased ideas, they can perpetuate negative social attitudes. Additionally, Kerschen makes a distinction between proverbs that contain "bitter humor" and those that are genuinely wise and moral. While proverbs with "bitter humor" may be part of a culture's traditional heritage, they might not necessarily convey wise or moral teachings. In other words, not all proverbs should be taken as unquestionably wise or ethical simply because they are part of a cultural tradition. Kerschen's approach calls for a critical examination of proverbs and their implications on society and individuals (Kerschen, 1998, p.3). Thus, via their words, structures and context, some proverbs implicitly or explicitly convey racial ideologies showing the superiority of certain group over others or vice versa.

Ideology

The term ideology has its roots in the eighteenth-century term "idéologie"; it was introduced by Destutt de Tracy. Since the 1970s, this term has sparked the interest of scholars and researchers from various fields. Despite the variations in the definitions, there is a common agreement that ideology is social in nature. This means that it is related to and shaped by society and its prevailing ideas. Ideology, then, can be understood as a "system of knowledge and beliefs or a set of assumptions used in the process of understanding and interpreting textual information," (Weber, 1992, p. 12). It is important to note that ideological representation in discourse can be quite

intricate and may not always be explicit or openly stated. Sometimes, ideologies are embedded in the language and structure of the texts, making them implicit or hidden. This requires a careful analysis of the context and the social background in which the discourse takes place. As a result, ideology has been comprehensively studied in disciplines such as critical linguistics, critical discourse analysis, stylistics, philosophy, and politics.

Approaches to understanding ideology in the above mentioned disciplines typically focus on three main aspects. The first one is the psychological aspect. This aspect investigates the psychological dimensions of ideology, discovering how individual beliefs, values, attitudes, and cognitive processes shape and are shaped by ideological frameworks. The second aspect is the sociological one. This sociological perspective looks at ideology in the context of society and social groups. The last one is the language and discourse aspect. This aspect emphasizes the role of language and discourse in the construction and dissemination of ideologies. It analyzes how language is used to convey ideological messages, influence public opinion, and maintain power structures. One of such ideological messages conveyed through language in general and proverbs particularly are racism and anti-blackness (van Dijk, 2012).

Racism

Language plays a significant role in maintaining and contributing to racism within society. Racism is not limited to individual racist beliefs or ideologies but is viewed as a broader societal system of ethnic or racial domination, resulting in inequality. Discourses often promote and perpetuate racial stereotypes, which oversimplify and dehumanize certain ethnic or racial groups. This can lead to prejudiced attitudes and discriminatory behaviors. Through discourse, certain racial or ethnic groups may be portrayed as outsiders who can be marginalized and excluded from mainstream society. Racism is then seen as a system consisting of social and cognitive subsystems stemming from various sociological and critical race theories. This perspective emphasizes that racism operates at multiple levels, influencing both individual perceptions and behavior (cognitive subsystem) and larger societal structures and institutions (social subsystem) (Banaji, Fiske & Massey, 2021).

More elaborately, the cognitive subsystem of racism refers to the individual beliefs, attitudes, stereotypes, and prejudices that people hold based on race

or ethnicity. These are often ingrained through socialization, cultural norms, media representation, and education. The social subsystem of racism, on the other hand, encompasses the systemic and institutional practices that perpetuate racial discrimination and inequality. At the macro level, institutions such as governments, corporations, educational systems, and law enforcement can contribute to systemic racism through policies, practices, and procedures that profit certain racial groups or reinforce racial stereotypes. It is essential to recognize that both the cognitive and social subsystems are interconnected and mutually reinforced. At the micro level, some proverbs are employed to dehumanize an ethnic group of people whose colour is black exposing what is known as anti –the blackness stream (van Dijk, 1993, p.145).

Anti-blackness

Anti-blackness is a deeply ingrained and pervasive form of prejudice that manifests in various ways, including discrimination, stereotypes, unequal opportunities, and violence directed at people of African descent. It has its roots in historical racism, colonialism, and the transatlantic slave trade, which created a system of dehumanization and oppression against Black individuals. Colorism is an additional layer of discrimination based on skin tone within Black communities and beyond. This phenomenon is connected to the legacy of white supremacy, where Eurocentric features and lighter skin have been historically favored and associated with beauty, desirability, and social privilege. This has led to a hierarchical structure within Black communities and other racial/ethnic groups, where individuals with lighter skin or features closer to whiteness often experience more favorable treatment and opportunities compared to those with darker skin or more Afrocentric features (Dumas, 2016).

Critical Stylistics

Critical stylistics is a relatively new branch that emerged from the integration of critical discourse analysis and stylistics. Stylistics, in return, is a linguistic approach that analyzes the style and language features of texts to gain insights into their meanings and effects. As a result of combining critical discourse analysis with stylistics, critical stylistics is seen as a method of finding ideology in texts. It allows exploring how linguistic devices, such as metaphors, word choices and sentence structures, reflect and reproduce certain ideologies and power structures. It seems, however, that critical

discourse analysis and critical stylistics share a common interest in how discourse carries and reflects ideologies, but they approach the analysis of discourse from different angles and focus on distinct aspects (Ibrahim, 2018). Critical discourse analysis is a theoretical approach to analyze language that aims to uncover the hidden power structures, social hierarchies, and ideological biases present in discourse. It looks beyond the surface level of language to explore how language is used to shape social reality, perpetuate inequality, and legitimize certain beliefs or values, (Norgaard et al., 2010, pp. 69-71). Critical Stylistics, on the other hand, is a branch of stylistics that applies critical methods to analyze the linguistic features of texts. While critical discourse analysis explores the broader sociopolitical implications of language use, critical stylistics primarily focuses on the aesthetic and stylistic aspects of discourse. It examines how linguistic choices and stylistic devices contribute to the overall meaning and impact of a text.

Critical stylistics delves into the linguistic choices made by the author, such as word selection, sentence structure, syntactic patterns, and figurative language, (Jeffries, 2010, p. 6). In critical stylistics, the concept of context is crucial for analyzing and interpreting texts. The linguistic context includes the words, phrases, and sentences that precede and follow the target word or passage, and it plays a crucial role in determining the meaning and interpretation of the text. By examining the co-text, critical stylists can uncover various linguistic features, such as lexical choices, grammatical structures, and rhetorical devices, which contribute to the overall meaning and effect of the text (Jeffries, 2014, p. 409).

Critical stylistics, accordingly, offers valuable tools to analyze texts critically (Burke, 2014: 410). Indeed, the analytical tools provided by critical stylistics can apply not only to political texts but also to various types of texts. Critical stylistics extends over different genres and text types, including folklore. For this reason, critical stylistics has been chosen to be the model of this study, which basically revolves around proverbs which are known to be a folklore genre (Kerschen, 1998, pp. 1).

Analytical Toolkit

The critical stylistics tools focus on various aspects of textual analysis, ranging from how texts name things to how they represent concepts like time and society. Here's a summary of the ten tools and their applications as suggested by Jeffries (2010).

1. Naming and Describing

Naming and describing is an analytical tool used to study how language is employed in English texts to name and describe people or things. It involves examining the linguistic resources utilized by the text's producer to achieve specific ideological goals. In essence, the text producer selects words purposefully, opting for one particular word from several available options to convey a specific ideology or perspective. In other words, the language used to name and describe individuals or objects is not neutral; it is imbued with the text producer's values, beliefs, and worldview (Jeffries, 2010, p.17).

2. Representing Actions/Events/States

Representing Actions/Events/States is an approach used in linguistic analysis to categorize verbs based on their underlying semantic features and processes, rather than solely relying on their syntactic properties. This framework goes beyond these surface-level syntactic distinctions and aims to capture the dynamic aspects of actions, events, and states that verbs represent. These classes can include actions (e.g., run, eat, write), events (e.g., happen, occur, celebrate), and states (e.g., know, like, believe) (Jeffries, 2010, p.17).

3. Equating and Contrasting

By comparing and contrasting entities using semantic and syntactic means, the text reveals not only what is considered similar or equivalent in the world but also what is seen as opposite or in opposition. Analyzing why a text producer selects a particular word or phrase from a range of options, such as synonyms and antonyms, to describe an entity can be crucial in uncovering underlying ideologies (Jeffries, 2010, pp. 51-52).

4. Exemplifying and Numerating

When a speaker or writer exemplifies, they provide specific examples to support their point without giving an exhaustive list. The examples serve to illustrate the concept but are not intended to cover all possibilities. When a speaker or writer enumerates, they provide a comprehensive list, covering all the items in a category without leaving anything out. So, the key difference is that exemplifying offers a few examples to illustrate a point while leaving out other possibilities, whereas enumerating provides a complete and exhaustive list without leaving anything out (Jeffries, 2010, p.66).

5. *Prioritizing*

Prioritizing in language is a practice used by text producers to highlight the most important parts of a sentence or discourse. It helps guide the reader's or listener's attention to key information, making communication more efficient and effective. This prioritization can be achieved through various linguistic devices, including word order, intonation, emphasis, and syntactic structures. Syntactic structures can play a crucial role in prioritizing information within a sentence. For example, in English, the subject-verb-object word order is standard, but through transformations or different syntactic constructions, information can be reorganized and prioritized differently. Passive voice, cleft sentences, and fronting are some examples of transformational grammar that can be used to change the focus or emphasis within a sentence. Phonological features, such as stress, pitch, and rhythm, also contribute to prioritization and emphasis in spoken language. Certain words or syllables can be stressed or pronounced with a higher pitch or longer duration to draw attention and indicate importance. Furthermore, context and shared knowledge between the speaker and the listener play a significant role in how information is prioritized. The speaker may assume that the listener already knows certain background information, allowing them to focus on new or crucial details. After all, the ability to prioritize and manipulate language in different ways to convey information effectively is a fundamental aspect of communication and is closely related to linguistic aspects, including: syntax, semantics, pragmatics, and phonology of language study (Jeffries, 2010, p.77).

6. *Implying and Assuming*

Implying refers to indirectly suggesting or conveying information through language. It often relies on context and the listener's ability to infer the intended meaning. Implying is a prominent topic in pragmatics because understanding implied messages requires considering the situational context and the speaker's intentions. Assuming, on the other hand, involves readers/listeners making inferences or presuppositions about certain aspects of the discourse. It generally falls under the domain of semantics since it can be triggered by specific linguistic units, like certain words or constructions. A presupposition is the process by which a reader or listener assumes the truth or existence of certain information before encountering it in the discourse. It can be either existential (concerning the existence of an entity) or logical

(establishing a logical relationship in a sentence). On the contrary, implicature is the implied meaning or information conveyed by a speaker or writer through both language and context. There are two types of implicature: conventional implicature and conversational implicature. Conventional implicature relies on the conventional meanings of words and their arrangement in a sentence. The implied meaning can be inferred directly from the words used. Conversational implicature requires contextual knowledge to be understood. It involves deriving meaning beyond the literal interpretation of words based on the speaker's intention and the conversational context. In summary, pragmatics deals with implied meaning, context, and speaker intentions, whereas semantics focuses on meaning, presuppositions, and linguistic triggers that lead to certain assumptions. Both fields are essential for understanding language comprehension and communication (Jeffries, 2010, p.93).

7. Negating

Negation in language plays a significant role in shaping the way readers or hearers perceive and interpret the world. When a sentence is negated, it not only indicates the absence of a specific action or state but also prompts recipients to consider the positive version of that negated statement, creating an imaginary or alternative scenario. This phenomenon is known as "positive entailment" or "presupposition" (Jeffries, 2010, p.106).

8. Hypothesizing

Hypothesizing often involves employing various modalities to speculate about potential scenarios or outcomes. Modality is a linguistic term that refers to the expression of a speaker's attitude towards a proposition, indicating the likelihood, necessity, or possibility, to name but a few, of an event or situation. It is achieved through the use of modal verbs and other linguistic devices to present hypothetical situations and express their implications (Jeffries, 2010, p.114).

9. Presenting Others' Speech and Thoughts

Presenting others' speech and thoughts involves how language users convey someone else's viewpoints and words. When one person reports what another person has said or thought, there is often a gap between the exact words spoken or thought and how they are represented. This gap exists because a reporting individual might omit certain aspects while presenting the speech. The way someone presents others' speech and thoughts can have

ideological effects. By selectively choosing which words and nuances to include or exclude, the reporting individual can shape the perception of the original speaker's message. This selective reporting can potentially lead to misunderstandings or misinterpretations if not done with care and accuracy (Jeffries, 2010, p.131).

10. Representing Time, Space and Society

Deixis is a linguistic phenomenon used in communication to indicate specific references to temporal, spatial, and social aspects of a text. It involves expressions that rely on the context or co-text to be properly interpreted, as their meaning depends on the surrounding linguistic environment (Yule, 2010, p.128). Social deixis is one of the categories of deixis which focuses on expressions that convey various levels of social closeness or distance between the participants in a conversation or the hierarchical relationship between a speaker/writer and their audience. These expressions can help establish the social dynamics and power structures within a communication setting. By using deixis appropriately, writers and speakers can convey information about when and where events occur. Understanding and effectively using deixis can significantly improve the clarity and communicative power of a text, allowing the audience to grasp the intended meaning more accurately (Jeffries, 2010, p.148).

Methodology

Before examining the selected data, a brief description concerning the data, the nature of the analysis as well as the supplied model will be introduced. To start with, a dataset comprises thirty proverbs from various books that address racial-related topics. The data analysis will be qualitative, focusing on identifying stylistic choices within the proverbs and exploring their underlying ideologies. This will be attained by manipulating the critical stylistics domain which intends to analyze the proverbs and identify their stylistic choices.

Jeffries' model followed consists of ten analytical tools. This model will serve as the framework for examining the proverbs in terms of their stylistic choices and the ideologies they convey. This analysis will help uncover stylistic choices made by the authors and the ideologies embedded within the proverbs. The analysis process will be detailed in the data analysis section, where findings and insights derived from applying the critical stylistic tools are discussed. The conclusion will summarize the main

patterns, stylistic choices, and ideologies that are discovered through the analysis.

Data Analysis

This section is devoted to the critical stylistic analysis of the selected proverbs which are from various resources, dictionaries, books and web nets.

1. “An Indian, a snake, and a grackle, the law says they should be killed”

The construction of the analyzed proverb begins with listing three substances (*An Indian, a snake, and a grackle*) and then states what to do to them giving legislation to the action. Secondly, the structure of the proverb prioritizes the items: *an Indian, a snake, and a grackle*, with particular emphasis on the Indian. Nonetheless, the Indian is prioritized when he comes first and then the other animals. Perhaps, the initiator of the proverb prioritizes him because it is supposed that Indians are more dangerous than the other mentioned animals.

The naming picks (*An Indian, a snake, and a grackle*) in the proverb are not haphazard, particularly when it comes to a snake. The utilization of animals' names in addressing black people in proverbs is so common. That is, black people are customarily paralleled with living things and even with objects. Equating a human being with an animal is normally reflected as an offensive representation.

The predicator (be killed) which is employed in this proverb is a material intentional action. Utilizing a material intentional action designates an action that happens tangibly. The second look is the grammatical phase of the sentence's verb in the passive form. The predicate (be killed) in the passive form once shows the absence of the doer and/ or the doer could be anyone. Over and above, even the syntactic cleft structure used in this proverb emphasizes the importance of the first prioritized elements in the proverb. Following the hypothesizing tool, the modal utilized in the proverb may be exploited to give advice or show necessity. In this circumstance, the proverb creates a hypothetical situation in which the intention of the proverb maker plays a vital role.

The proverb utilizes the concept of enumerating and exemplifying. The probability that the list only covers some examples of dangerous entities raises the notion of exemplifying. Yet, a three-part list usually recalls to speakers/listeners the idea of completeness. However, the list is an illustration of exemplifying rather than enumerating since there are numerous

numbers of dangerous animals scattered in the world. Again, concerning *an Indian, a snake, and a grackle*, a notion of equivalence can be triggered here. An Indian is equated with a snake and a grackle. The use of snake and grackle implies that an Indian is as dangerous as a snake and a grackle. It is obvious in the use of the deictic expression (i.e. pronoun) they. This deictic expression is used in the proverb postulating the themes of the Actor (the objects of the action).

2. "Don't trust a bearded Indian, a beardless Spaniard, a woman who talks like a man, or a man who talks like a child"

The proverb holds stereotypes associated with appearance, gender, and communication style. The naming of specific races (Indian, Spaniard) may be rooted in historical contexts, possibly reflecting colonial attitudes and biases dominant during the time of origin of the proverb. The use of specific descriptors like "bearded Indian" and "beardless Spaniard" proposes a concentration on physical characteristics related to certain groups. The use of an indefinite noun (a beard Indian) raises the idea that any Indian and/or all Indians are untrustful.

The proverb tracks a parallel construction, offering a list of groups with similar cautionary advice. This structure emphasizes the uniformity of the warning across different categories, reinforcing a general sense of skepticism. The repetition of the phrase "Don't trust" creates a strong, emphatic tone, underlining the importance of the advice. Besides, the use of the stative verb (trust) gives the matter a sense of being permanent and true.

The parallel structure, more and over, not only equalizes Indians with other untrustful groups of people regarding their appearance, gender, and communication style but also exemplified him with these underestimated groups of people. Worth mentioning, the list in the proverb serves more as an exemplification rather than an enumeration with a particular emphasis on the concept of equivalence.

The proverb highlights the prioritization of the Indian and explores the potential implications of comparing him to other groups of people stressing potential offense. The state of being untrustful is also assumed when triggered by a negative, imperative linguistic unit rather than being implied. The negation used in the imperative sentence severs not only the absence of confidence of the mentioned groups but also the possibility of the presence of trust in their divergences.

3. "An Indian, a bird, and a rabbit— [don't have them] in your house, even in old age"

The proverb appears to be a cautionary statement advising against having certain creatures or individuals in one's household. The proverb commences by listing three entities an Indian, a bird, and a rabbit followed by prescribing actions to be taken towards them. These three elements represent specific qualities or characteristics rather than literal individuals or animals. They could symbolize certain traits, behaviors, or situations that are undesirable or problematic.

The use of the name "Indian" carries cultural connotations depending on the context and cultural background. The use of indefinite nouns particularly (an Indian) also involves some level of generalization. It suggests a broad and timeless piece of advice that may be applicable in various situations. The addition of "even in old age" adds a layer of significance. It implies that the warning is particularly urgent, suggesting that certain things should be avoided even in that place.

The syntactic cleft structure used in the proverb emphasizes the significance of the first-prioritized elements. Additionally, the use of "don't have them" implies a negative connotation, suggesting that the presence of an Indian, a bird, and a rabbit in the house is something to be avoided. Furthermore, employing the stative verb "have" imbues the statement with a sense of permanence and truth.

The proverb's structure places priority on the entities in a specific order (*an Indian, a bird, and a rabbit*), with particular emphasis on the Indian. Notably, the Indian takes precedence, especially when mentioned first before the other animals. This prioritization might stem from the perception that Indians are considered more unappreciative than the other mentioned creatures. The practice of using animal names in proverbs to refer to black individuals is commonplace. Such comparisons, equating humans with animals, are generally viewed as offensive representations.

The proverb employs exemplification rather than enumeration, with the focus that the listed entities are only representative examples of ungrateful entities. Once again, the comparison of an Indian with a bird and a rabbit implies equivalence, suggesting that an Indian is considered as unappreciated as a bird and a rabbit. It is important to note that the list in the proverb serves

more as an illustration rather than a specific enumeration, emphasizing the idea of equivalence.

4. "The Indian and the stone curlew, as soon as they grow wings, they leave "

The proverb is initiated by listing two entities (*an Indian, and a stone curlew*) and then prescribes what they do when they have something. Still, the structure of the proverb places emphasis on the order of the items: *an Indian and a stone curlew* with a particular focus on the Indian. This prioritization suggests that the initiator of the proverb may view Indians as untrustier than the other mentioned animal.

The syntactic cleft structure used in the proverb underscores the significance of the first-prioritized elements. The inclusion of the definite temporal clause "as soon as they grow wings" adds significance, emphasizing the rapid feedback taken by the Indian. The use of the transformational verb (grow) gives the idea of change in behavior, attitude, etc. The use of the present simple structure for the main clause (they leave) raises the factual consequence that is referred to.

Above and beyond, it is common to use animal references when addressing black individuals in proverbs, equating them with living beings or even objects. Such comparisons are often considered offensive as they reduce human beings to the level of animals. Further, this proverb suggests a correspondence between the behavior of an Indian and a Stone Curlew, when they acquire wings. Proverbs sometimes intentionally leave room for interpretation allowing for a range of insights. Symbols such as wings may carry specific cultural or universal meanings. They could imply freedom or the ability to move on (.....)

The proverb employs the technique of exemplification, suggesting that the examples provided (an Indian, and a stone curlew) may not cover all potentially churlish entities, as this bird. This equivalence is evident in the use of the deictic expression "they", referring to them correspondingly.

5. "If you want to know who the Indian [really] is, give him some small position [of authority] "

The proverb invites readers to reflect on the relationships between identity, authority, and societal expectations, particularly within the context of the Indian experience. The use of the name "Indian" without any articles

whether definite or indefinite implies a broad and possibly stereotypical categorization.

The inclusion of "[really]" in brackets suggests a questioning or skeptical tone, inviting the reader to consider whether the perceived identity aligns with reality. The phrase "some small position [of authority]" conveys the idea of limited power or influence. The choice of words like "small" might imply that the authority granted is symbolic or insufficient. The use of the name "authority" hints at a hierarchical structure where individuals are granted varying degrees of control or influence.

The use of complex sentences in the form of zero conditional suggests the factual result attained when the condition is met. In other words, the statement implies a correlation between one's true identity and the behavior or actions when given a position of authority. This suggests that individuals may reveal aspects of their character or identity when placed in a position of power. The use of stative verbs "wants and know" adds to the scene's realistic atmosphere.

Conclusion

Generally, there is no human language that is devoid of ideology, among which the language employed in proverbs is used to reflect various view points and ideologies. In terms of the analysis of the anti-blackness in African-American proverbs, it can be observed that language used in these proverbs is overloaded ideologically. Owing to the ideologies presented in these proverbs, language can be said to evince various offensive and spiteful images attached to the black. Through the application of the critical-stylistic toolkit, African-American proverbs intend to create a world in which Blackman is compared to inauspicious creatures, such as curlew, snake, Spaniard, feeble rabbit and inferior bird.

Specifically, African-American proverbs consistently use naming with a negative connotation for either Indians or the entities being compared. This suggests a deliberate choice of language to convey a certain sentiment. Clef sentences are purposefully used to add a sense of impotence to the preceding sentence. This technique likely enhances the impact of the proverbs by creating a more emphatic or memorable expression. Proverbs employ verbs from all categories, signifying a diverse range of actions or states. This could contribute to the richness and tone of the expressions. The interplay between

the contextual co-text of the proverbs and the conventional connotations of the linguistic items used plays a crucial role in conveying meanings beyond surface assumptions. Equivalence is used to equate Indians with various entities, such as animals. This toolkit probably serves to convey advice, warnings, or emphasize necessity. Prioritizing is identified as a common toolkit used in all analyzed proverbs. This tool highlights specific aspects, possibly contributing to the overall impact and significance of the proverbs. Finally, lists in the analyzed proverbs tend to be exemplifying rather than enumerating, indicating a focus on providing examples rather than just listing items.

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Appendix: Proverbs Selected

1. *Are we Indians?*
2. *Indian is known by his lance*
3. *Indian giver*
4. *For a fallen Indian, a great thrust of the lance*
5. *An Indian, a snake, and a grackle, the law says they should be killed*
6. *"If you give a nigger an inch, he will take an ell"*
7. *The only good Indian is a dead Indian*
8. *It looks like an Indian massacre*
9. *An Indian, a bird, and rabbit--[don't have them] in your house, even in old age*
10. *The Indian and the stone curlew, as soon as they grow wings, they leave*
11. *An Indian, a tree duck, and a stone curlew, don't raise them*
12. *An Indian, a bird, and a rabbit, don't take them into your house even if you are dying of old age*
13. *An Indian, a bird, and a rabbit know nothing of gratitude*
14. *it's not the fault of the Indian, but of the one who makes him a compadre*
15. *An Indian, a mule and a woman, if they haven't done it to you yet, they will*
16. *An Indian and a cat, ungrateful animals*
17. *Once the Indian has eaten, he's gone*
18. *I'm like the Indian, now I've eaten; now I'm leaving*
19. *The Indian finally gives a kick*
20. *There's nothing worse than putting an Indian to dole out chichi*

21. *He who travels with an Indian travels alone*
22. *The Indian always spills the broth*
23. *God save us from an Indian who wears shoes and a mulato who has become a 'gentleman'*
24. *There's nothing worse than having an Indian eat from a china plate,*
25. *A falsetto-voiced man, a deep-voiced woman, a snub-nosed Indian, a large-nosed Negro are four devils*
26. *like an Indian off the trail*
27. *An Indian, a snake, and a grackle, the law says they should be killed*
28. *If you want to know who the Indian [really] is, give him some small position [of authority]*
29. *Don't trust a bearded Indian, a beardless Spaniard, a woman who talks like a man, or a man who talks like a child*
30. *When the Indian becomes refined, he goes haywire*

تمثيل التمييز العرقي و معاداة ذوي البشرة السوداء في الامثال الافرو-امريكية

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مستخلص البحث:

لقد جذبت الأمثال الشعبية الباحثين في جميع أرجاء العالم كونها تعكس الفلكلور و الحياة الاجتماعية للشعوب. لقد تم استخدام تلك الأمثال و المرتبطة بالتمييز العرقي و معاداة ذوي البشرة السوداء للتعبير عن وجهات النظر المتبناة في المجتمع الغربي بشكل عام و المجتمع الأمريكي بشكل خاص. استخدمت أربع وسائل تحليلية مستسقة من علم الأسلوبية النقدي في أنموذج جيفري Jeffery و تم اختيار 30 مثل و تم تحليل و عرض نتائج 5 منها فيما يتعلق بالسلمات الأسلوبية و الأيديولوجيات العرقية. تهدف الدراسة الحالية لمعرفة الصورة النمطية للهنود من أصول أمريكية و التي تعكسها تلك الأمثال. و من خلال تحليل النتائج استنتجت هذه الدراسة بأن تلك الأمثال تعبر بشكل واضح او ضمني عن كيفية معاملة المواطنين السود بشكل مهين و عرقي. الكلمات المفتاحية: التمييز العرقي - معاداة ذوي البشرة السوداء -ايديولوجية- الاسلوبية النقدية- الامثال