

Nizar Qabbani and the Political Turmoil in the Middle East:  
A Critical Discourse Analysis of the Poem *Hawāmisī alā Daftar al-Naksah*

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### Abstract

On June 5, 1967, Israel attacked and destroyed the air forces of Egypt, Syria, and Iraq, thereby crippling the Arab nations. This defeat is known as the Six-Day War or the June 1967 War. This loss also transformed Nizar Qabbani from a poet who wrote passionate love poems into a poet who wrote with a knife. This study uses a descriptive-qualitative method based on a critical paradigm. The analytical tool employed is Teun A. Van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis from three dimensions: text, social cognition, and social context. This study reveals that the poem "*Hawamisy ala Daftar al-Naksah*" textually narrates the condition of the Arab nations post-Arab-Israeli War, where history had changed, and they had been defeated by Israel. In terms of social cognition, Nizar wrote the poem out of the grief experienced by his people. In terms of social context, the poem was written based on the reality of the Arab nations' defeat by Israel, which brought shame, disappointment, and despair to them. Particularly, it addresses the 50,000 new refugees, the leaders who could only engage in rhetoric, and the silencing of voices through his poems.

**Keywords:** *Nizar Qabbani, Poetry, al-Naksah, Critical Discourse Analysis*

## Introduction

On June 5, 1967, after three weeks of high political and military tension, the situation finally escalated into war in the early hours when Israel attacked and destroyed the air forces of Egypt, Syria, and Iraq, crippling the Arab nations. This defeat is known as the Six-Day War or the June 1967 War. This war was a decisive moment in Middle Eastern history, lasting six days (Fauziyah, 2014). Israel succeeded in capturing 20% of the remaining Palestinian land, which was still under Jordanian and Egyptian control at the time, including the West Bank, East Jerusalem, and Gaza. They also occupied the Sinai Peninsula and parts of Syrian territory known as the Golan Heights, which were annexed by the Likud government led by Menachem Begin in 1981, claiming this territory as a vital security zone (Fauziyah, 2014).

Gamal Abdel Nasser took full responsibility for this defeat and submitted his resignation as the president of Egypt. However, due to strong public pressure, he remained in power until his death in 1970 (Fauziyah, 2014). Historically, the 1967 war defeat shattered all Arab dreams of unity. All the promises made by Arab regimes to their people turned into illusions, and hopes of reclaiming Arab glory were dashed (A'yun, 2022). As a result, revolutionary poetic voices in the Arab world, especially Qabbani, expressed their frustration and questioned the policies that paved the way for this defeat. Conversely, he also condemned the Arab policies that led to the 1967 war, which revealed phenomena glorified by history for centuries (A'yun, 2022).

The impact of this war defeat crippled the spirit of an entire generation of Arab intellectuals. The 1967 war defeat also transformed Nizar Qabbani from a poet who dedicated his poetry to romance and sensuality into a poet who "wrote with a knife." Therefore, most of his poetry post-1967 was highly critical of Arab government policies and the Arab people's indifference to these policies (A'yun, 2022). One of his critical poems is "Hawamisy ala Daftar al-Naksah," which he wrote in response to the Arab nations' defeat by Israel in the June War (Naksah). The researcher is interested in dissecting this poem using Teun A. Van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis because, besides the text, this analysis also examines social cognition and social context in which the text was created, thus revealing the discourse the text's creator aimed to convey.

According to Eriyanto, as cited in Dewi Ratnaningsih, discourse is not just a text with a specific purpose. Critical discourse is seen as a multi-dimensional study object consisting of several aspects: action, context, history, power, and ideology. These aspects characterize critical discourse. Critical discourse or writing is motivated by the author's intentions and goals (Ratnaningsih, 2019). One way to determine the purpose and understand the overall meaning of a text is through critical discourse analysis. Critical discourse analysis is a model of discourse analysis that can be used

to answer whether the produced discourse has been influenced by specific objectives or not, and how this discourse impacts the reader community (Ratnaningsih, 2019).

Based on the above background, the researcher is interested in conducting a study on Nizar Qabbani's poem "Hawamisy ala Daftar al-Naksah," which is part of an anthology of poems titled "Occupied Land." This book, translated by Musyfiqur Rahman, was published by Diva Press in 2021. The book's title is taken from one of Nizar Qabbani's poems titled "The Poets in the Occupied Land," which tells the story of poets in Palestine. Before delving further into Nizar Qabbani's poem "Hawamisy ala Daftar al-Naksah," the researcher has read several books and articles as research literature. The first book is by Ni Luh Nyoman Seri Malini, titled "Preaching Discourse in the Muslim Village of Bali," published by Cakra Press in 2016 (Malini, 2016). Ni Luh uses Teun A. van Dijk's Discourse Analysis, similar to this study, but the object of study is the Muslim community in Bali.

Second, a journal by Imro'atus Sholihah published in the journal Sastronesia, titled "Teun A. van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis Model on the Poem 'So You Bow Down' by Emha Ainun Najib" (Sholihah, 2018). This literature also uses Teun A. Van Dijk's CDA, and also uses poetry as the object of study, but the poem used is by Emha Ainun Najib. Third, a journal by Nur Roudhatul Jannah and Muhammad Ichsan Haikal (2022), titled "The Meaning of the Poem *Uhibbuki* by Nizar Qabbani: A Study of Riffaterre's Semiotics". This literature shares the same object, namely poetry by Nizar Qabbani. However, this study uses Semiotic Analysis, whereas the researcher will use Teun A. van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis. Therefore, this study is worth investigating as it differs from previous research.

## Methods

This study employs a descriptive-qualitative method based on a critical paradigm. According to Kriyantono, as cited by Desvira Jufanny and Lasmery Girsang, the critical paradigm posits that the reality being studied and the researcher are connected by certain values. Understanding a reality is referred to as value-mediated findings (Jufanny & Girsang, 2020). The critical paradigm also emphasizes comprehensive, contextual, and multilevel analysis, positioning itself as a participant in the process of social transformation. Additionally, the critical tradition views reality as a "semblance" shaped by historical processes, social forces, culture, and political economy (Jufanny & Girsang, 2020). This study utilizes Teun A. van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis as its analytical tool.

## Discussion

Critical discourse analysis is an effort to describe all phenomena expressed in writing. This description is intended to provide a complete picture of societal phenomena within a text. The activity of analysis is interpreted as breaking down the text to see whether the text produced by the author is influenced by certain cognition and environment. Additionally, the activity of critique is to evaluate the suitability and unsuitability of the text concerning the social life conditions of the community (Ratnaningsih, 2019). Discourse or writing with a critical tone is motivated by the intentions and purposes of its author. One way to ascertain the purpose and understand the overall meaning of a text is through critical discourse analysis. Critical discourse analysis is a model of discourse analysis that can be used to determine whether the discourse produced has been influenced by specific objectives and to understand the impact of that discourse on the reader community (Ratnaningsih, 2019).

According to Dewi Ratnaningsih, Teun A. van Dijk provides basic assumptions about discourse in conducting critical discourse analysis, namely discourse as social interaction, discourse as power and dominance, discourse as communication, discourse as a contextual situation, discourse as social semiotics, discourse as pure language, and discourse as forming layers and complexity. Van Dijk also states that critical discourse analysis is used to analyze critical discourses including those related to politics, race, gender, social class, hegemony, and more (Ratnaningsih, 2019).

Teun A. Van Dijk describes discourse as having three dimensions: text, social cognition, and social context. The essence of this analysis is to combine these three dimensions into a single unit of analysis. In the text dimension, the focus is on how the structure of the text and discourse strategies are used to emphasize a particular theme. He sees a text as consisting of several structures, each part supporting the others (Malini, 2016):

### 1. Macrostructures

Macrostructures are the global meaning or overall meaning of a text that can be observed by looking at the topic or theme emphasized in the text (Malini, 2016). This element is referred to as thematic, which is the theme/topic highlighted in a piece of news (Sholihah, 2018).

### 2. Superstructures

Superstructures are the discourse structures related to the framework of a text, how parts of the text are arranged into a complete discourse (Malini, 2016). Superstructures refer to the framework of a discourse or schematics, such as the customary structure of a conversation or writing that starts with an introduction, followed by the main content, a conclusion, and ends with a closing (Fauzan, 2014). In his writing titled

\*Structures of News in the Press\*, Van Dijk concludes that the structure of discourse must consider the aspect of global meaning, which is demonstrated in the analysis of macrostructure and superstructure, positioned far above the analysis of words and sentences, although microstructure analysis is also taken into account (Fauzan, 2014).

### 3. Microstructures

Microstructures are discourses that can be observed from the smaller parts of a text, namely from the semantic, syntactic, stylistic, and rhetorical aspects (Malini, 2016). The semantic aspect includes background, details, presuppositions, and nominalization. The syntactic aspect of a discourse pertains to how phrases and/or sentences are constructed to be presented. This includes sentence forms, coherence, and the choice of various pronouns (Fauzan, 2014).

The stylistic aspect relates to the choice of words and style used by the discourse actor. In terms of pronoun choice in a sentence, this lexical aspect is closely related to the syntactic aspect. The rhetorical aspect refers to the tactics and methods used to emphasize the elements that are to be highlighted. This includes graphics, writing forms, metaphors, and expressions (Fauzan, 2014).

**Social Cognition.** In this aspect, the focus is on the discourse production process that involves the individual cognition of the communicator. The perspective on a social reality of the communicator produces a particular text (Malini, 2016). Social cognition is the awareness, knowledge, prejudice, and specific knowledge of the text producer about an event. Social cognition is an essential and inseparable framework for understanding media texts (Jufanny & Girsang, 2020).

**Social Context.** This involves examining how the text is further connected with the social structure and knowledge that develop within a discourse (Malini, 2016). According to Eriyanto, discourse is about how to see the discourse that develops in society, so to study the text, an intertextual analysis is necessary by examining how the text is produced and constructed within society, as well as how the shared meaning is experienced (Jufanny & Girsang, 2020).

**Table 1. Text of the Poem "Hawamisy ala Daftar al-Naksah"**

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| 1/<br>Teman-teman<br>aku umumkan kematian<br>bahasa dan buku-buku<br>klasik<br>pada kalian<br><br>aku kabarkan pada kalian<br>kematian perkataan kita<br>yang berlubang | 2/<br>Di mulut kita sajak-sajak<br>terasa manis<br>sanggul para perempuan<br>terasa indah<br>malam, tudung, kursi<br>dan segala sesuatu menjadi<br>indah<br>di hadapan kita | 3/<br>Wahai negeriku yang duka<br>kau telah mengubah diriku<br>dengan sekejap mata<br>dari penyair yang menulis<br>puisi cinta dan renjana<br>menjadi penyair yang<br>menulis puisi dengan pisau |
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| <p>seperti sepatu lama<br/>                 kematian kata-kata penuh<br/>                 aniaya<br/>                 ejekan dan caci-maki</p> <p>aku kabarkan pada kalian<br/>                 aku kabarkan pada kalian<br/>                 kematian pemikiran yang<br/>                 berakhir<br/>                 digiring menuju kekalahan</p>   |   |  |
| <p>4/<br/>                 Karena apa yang kami<br/>                 rasakan<br/>                 jauh lebih besar dari catatan-<br/>                 catatan kita<br/>                 kita seharusnya malu pada<br/>                 puisi-puisi kita</p>  | <p>5/<br/>                 Tidaklah aneh<br/>                 kendati kita kalah dalam<br/>                 perang<br/>                 sebab kita sendiri yang<br/>                 mengobarkannya<br/>                 dengan seluruh kecakapan<br/>                 retorika<br/>                 yang dimiliki orang timur<br/>                 dengan keberanian antarah<br/>                 yang tak mampu<br/>                 membunuh lalat<br/>                 sebab kita sendiri yang<br/>                 memulainya<br/>                 dengan logika drum dan<br/>                 rebab</p> | <p>6/<br/>                 Ada rahasia dalam tragedi<br/>                 kami<br/>                 tangisan kami lebih lantang<br/>                 dari suara kami<br/>                 pedang kami<br/>                 lebih panjang dari postur<br/>                 tubuh kami</p> |
| <p>7/<br/>                 Kesimpulan problemnya<br/>                 dapat diringkas dalam<br/>                 sebuah ungkapan<br/>                 kita telah mengenakan kulit<br/>                 peradaban<br/>                 dan esensinya masih<br/>                 jahiliyah</p>   | <p>8/<br/>                 Dengan <i>ney</i> dan seruling<br/>                 tak akan terjadi<br/>                 kemenangan</p>   | <p>9/<br/>                 Kita terpaksa berjalan kaki<br/>                 menyusuri 50.000 tenda<br/>                 pengungsian baru</p>   |
| <p>10/<br/>                 Janganlah kalian mengutuk<br/>                 langit<br/>                 walau ia berpaling dari<br/>                 kalian<br/>                 jangan pula kalian<br/>                 mengutuk situasi<br/>                 sebab Tuhan akan<br/>                 mendatangkan kemenangan<br/>                 kepada siapa saja yang dia<br/>                 kehendaki<br/>                 karena kalian tidak punya<br/>                 pandai besi</p> | <p>11/<br/>                 Kepala jadi pening<br/>                 ketika mendengar berita<br/>                 pada suatu pagi<br/>                 kepala jadi pening<br/>                 saat mendengar lolongan<br/>                 anjing</p>   | <p>12/<br/>                 Orang-orang Yahudi tidak<br/>                 masuk<br/>                 melalui perbatasan kita<br/>                 hanya saja<br/>                 mereka menyusup dari aib<br/>                 kita<br/>                 seperti semut</p>              |

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| <p>yang sanggup membuatkan pedang</p>  |  |  |
| <p>13/<br/>       5.000 tahun<br/>       kita bersembunyi di bawah terowongan<br/>       dagu kita memanjang<br/>       uang kita tak ada<br/>       mata kita menjadi tempat lalat bertengger</p> <p>wahai kawan<br/>       cobalah hancurkan pintu-pintu<br/>       bersihkan pikiran-pikiran kalian<br/>       dan bersihkan pakaian kalian</p> <p>wahai kawan<br/>       cobalah kalian baca buku atau menulis buku<br/>       coba pula menanam huruf-huruf<br/>       buah delima<br/>       dan buah anggur<br/>       cobalah kamu berlayar ke negeri salju dan berkabut orang-orang tak mengenal kalian<br/>       di luar terowongan mereka mengira kalian bagian dari kawanan srigala</p> | <p>14/<br/>       Kulit kami mati rasa<br/>       ruh kami mengeluh karena terpuruk<br/>       hari-hari berputar di antara Zar<br/>       catur kantung<br/>       apakah (<i>kami umat terbaik yang diutus untuk manusia</i>)?</p>   | <p>15/<br/>       Dengan seluruh kekayaan minyak yang menyembur di padang sahara<br/>       menjelma belati dari gejolak api</p> <p>tetapi betapa malunya para pemuka Quraisy<br/>       betapa malunya orang-orang merdeka<br/>       dari kalangan Aus dan Nizar mereka dibasuh di bawah kaki para budak</p> |
| <p>16/<br/>       kita berlari di lorong-lorong sambil mengapit tali pada ketiak kita<br/>       melemparkan tali tanpa melihat menghancurkan kaca dan gembok</p> <p>kita memuji seperti kodok dan mencela seperti kodok kita menjadikan kaum hina sebagai pahlawan dan kita jadikan para pemuka sebagai kaum hina</p>   | <p>17/<br/>       Andaikan ada seseorang yang bisa memberiku rasa aman<br/>       andai aku bisa berjumpa dengan sultan akan aku katakan:<br/>       wahai tuan sultan anjing-anjingmu yang buas telah merobek-robek jubahku<br/>       para intelejenmu telah membuntutiku<br/>       mata mereka terus mengawasiku</p> | <p>18/<br/>       Andai kita tak mengubur kesedihan dalam tanah andai kita tak mencabik-cabik tubuh negeri yang subur ini dengan peperangan andai ia tetap utuh di mata niscaya tubuh kita tak akan jadi santapan kawanan anjing</p>   |

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| <p>kita bersegera meraih kemenangan<br/>         duduk di berbagai masjid<br/>         merasa bangga sambil bermalas-malasan</p> <p>kita merangkai bait-bait puisi<br/>         atau mengarang pepatah dan memastikan bahwa kita akan mengalahkan musuh-musuh kita dengan pertolongan Tuhan Yang Mahakuasa</p> | <p>penciuman mereka terus membauiku<br/>         kaki mereka terus mengejarku<br/>         mereka mengintimidasi istriku<br/>         dan menuliskan nama-nama kolegaku dalam catatan mereka</p> <p>wahai yang mulia, tuan sultan<br/>         aku mendekati gelang perhiasanmu yang tuli<br/>         aku berusaha menghapus kesedihanku dan kesedihan negeriku<br/>         namun aku malah dipukuli dengan sepatu<br/>         tentaramu memaksaku untuk menelan bagian dari sepatuku</p> <p>wahai tuan, wahai tuan sultan<br/>         kau dua kali kalah dalam perang<br/>         sebab separuh dari bangsa kita tak punya mulut<br/>         lalu apa nilainya bangsa yang tak punya mulut?<br/>         sebab separuh dari bangsa kita seperti semut dan tikus yang dikurung di dalam dinding</p> <p>andaikan ada seseorang yang memberiku rasa aman dari pasukan sultan<br/>         kukatakan padanya:<br/>         wahai yang mulia sultan<br/>         kau dua kali kalah dalam perang<br/>         sebab kau telah memisahkan diri dari urusan kemanusiaan</p> |  |
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| <p>19/<br/>         Kami menginginkan generasi yang murka kami menginginkan generasi yang mampu menembus cakrawala yang mampu menggali sejarah hingga ke akar-akarnya dan mampu menggali pemikiran dari dasar paling dalam</p> <p>kami mengimpikan generasi baru dengan raut wajah yang beragam yang tak punya belas kasihan yang tak bisa mengampuni kesalahan tidak mudah membungkuk tidak hipokrit kami mengimpikan generasi para pelopor dan para pemberani</p> | <p>20/<br/>         wahai anak-anak dari samudera hingga ke teluk kalian adalah bulir-bulir harapan kalian adalah generasi yang akan menghancurkan belunggu akan menghabiskan opium di kepala-kepala kami akan memusnahkan khayalan</p> <p>wahai anak-anak kelak kalian akan menjadi orang-orang baik orang-orang yang suci seperti bening embun dan salju</p> <p>maka janganlah kalian baca sejarah kami yang kalah karena kami telah gagal kami ini seperti kulit semangka tak berarti kami semakin terkikis terkikis terkikis seperti sendal</p> <p>jangan kalian baca cerita-cerita kami jangan kalian terima pemikiran kami jangan kalian ikuti jejak-jejak kami kami adalah generasi muntahan mengidap syphilis dan batuk kami adalah generasi pembohong menari-nari di atas tali</p> <p>wahai anak-anak wahai hujan musim semi wahai bulir-bulir impian</p> |  |
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|  | kalian adalah benih-benih<br>subur<br>dalam kehidupan kami<br>yang gersang<br>kalianlah generasi yang<br>mampu<br>menaklukkan kekalahan |  |
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In the textual dimension, the focus is on how the structure of the text and discourse strategies are used to emphasize a particular theme. Van Dijk views a text as consisting of several structures, each part supporting the others. To delve deeper, three structures are analyzed as follows:

### 1. Macrostructure

Macrostructure refers to the overall meaning of a text, observable by examining the topic or theme highlighted within it. This element is also known as thematic. In terms of the title, Nizar Qabbani's poem "Hawamisy ala Daftar al-Naksah" aims to convey notes on the defeat of the Arab Nation in the Arab-Israeli War of 1967.

Nizar mentions, "In our mouths, poems taste sweet, women's hair feels beautiful, night, headscarves, chairs, and everything looks beautiful before us." He wants to inform everyone that defeat is treated as something ordinary, as if nothing has happened, so one can still enjoy poetry, women, food, and sitting in chairs. However, he continues, "Oh my grieving country, in the blink of an eye, you have transformed me from a poet who writes love and reverie poems into a poet who writes with a knife." In the following stanza, Nizar explains that his country mourns because of the war's loss. It is this defeat that turns him into a poet who writes with a knife, dissecting his own nation.

Nizar is not surprised by the Arab Nation's defeat, as they themselves instigated it against Israel. He also criticizes the Arab society's habit of being eloquent but lacking courage, unable even to kill a fly. Nizar also mentions a secret in the tragedy of the Arab Nation's defeat, where there are more daydreams, depicting a sword longer than one's own body posture.

Nizar's further critique is that they are wearing the skin of civilization, yet their essence remains ignorant because they enjoy fighting, rhetoric, and scandals. Another note due to the war is their need to walk through 50,000 new refugee tents. As a result, many complain and even curse God, whom he describes as the sky. Then, Nizar mentions that God will grant victory to those He wills, but they lack iron, meaning Arab military equipment lost to Israel because they lacked iron or weapon production facilities. Finally, he states that this defeat is a shame for them, which entered the body, not through the borders, but with embarrassment.

Nizar also mentions that the Arab Nation has oil wealth, but how ashamed they are of that wealth cannot be utilized effectively, so they were conquered by Israel. He illustrates with the diction how ashamed the Quraysh leaders are, how ashamed the free people are from the Aus and Nizar groups, they are washed under the feet of the slaves. Furthermore, Nizar criticizes Arab sultans or leaders who cannot provide security to their people, so he fantasizes if there is someone who can give him a sense of security. Then he provides his analysis with the diction oh noble sultan you lose twice in war because you have separated from humanitarian affairs. Nizar is also very sorry for the 1967 war, so he wonders if there is no war, then their fertile country will remain intact and there will be no sadness and misery for the Arab Nation.

Especially because of that war, Israel was able to capture most of their bodies, namely the Golan Heights, Sinai Peninsula, Gaza, and the West Bank. Lastly, Nizar hopes that future generations of the Arab Nation can conquer defeat in their generation. He advises them not to follow in the footsteps of what he calls the vomiting generation, suffering from syphilis, and the lying generation. He says that children are seeds of dreams and fertile seeds that must not be polluted by the history of their generation.

## 2. Superstructure

Superstructure is the discourse structure related to the framework of a text, examining how the parts of the text are organized into a cohesive discourse. Superstructure refers to the framework or schema of a discourse, such as the common structure of a conversation or writing that begins with an introduction, continues with the main content, followed by a conclusion, and ends with a closing statement. To elaborate further:

### a. Beginning

In the beginning, Nizar Qabbani mentions that he announces the death of language and classical books to his readers. The implication is that history has changed; what was written and represented in language and recorded in classical books has perished. What caused this demise? The defeat of the Arab Nation by Israel.

### b. Conflict/Body

In the body section, Nizar starts by stating that his grief-stricken homeland has transformed him from a poet who writes love and reverie poems into a poet who writes with a knife that will dissect the political elites and his own people. He writes this out of concern for the suffering of society due to war. There are 50,000 refugee tents, abandoned homes, deceased relatives, destroyed houses, dozens of lifelong injury and disability victims. All of this is due to war. The war was started by their own people. However, they must lose, despite their abundant natural resources, fertile land, and oil extending across the Sahara.

### c. Conclusion

In the conclusion, Nizar writes with his hopes for the future of the Arab world, representing the hopes of his people for the future of their children. He hopes their children do not witness the dark history of defeat experienced in their time. He hopes these innocent children grow up thriving, spirited, free of suffering, and capable of avenging their defeat.

## 3. Microstructure

Microstructure is the local meaning found within a text. In this discourse analysis, the observed small parts of a text include semantic, syntactic, stylistic, and rhetorical aspects. To elaborate:

### a. Semantic

Semantics is the linguistic study of meaning. In brief, it is the study of meaning; in semantics, the sought-after meaning is something established in the text and seen from the relationships between sentences, perceptions that build specific meanings in a text. (Sholihah, 2018)

#### i) Setting

The setting in the poem "Hawamisy ala Daftar al-Naksah" is in the Middle East. From the title's perspective, it is clear that Nizar intends to narrate the condition of the Arab Nation post the Six-Day War, or known as the June War (Naksah) in 1967, where the war occurred, including Egypt, Syria, Lebanon, and Palestine against Israel.

#### ii) Detail

In detail, this poem tells of the suffering of the Arab Nation after the war, including 50,000 new refugee tents, hunger, and death. The leaders described by Nizar have a secret about this tragedy – a scandal. Then, his critique of the rhetoric of his leaders who wanted to unite the Arab world, but their rhetoric couldn't even kill a fly.

#### iii) Purpose

Implicitly, Nizar regrets the occurrence of the 1967 war. Where the war was sown by them, and in the end, they themselves reaped their defeat, as expressed in the verse "If we hadn't torn apart the body of this fertile land with war, if it had remained whole in our eyes."

### b. Syntax

Syntax is the second element of microstructure, which involves discussing language within a sentence. Syntax is a part of language science that discusses the intricacies of discourse, sentences, clauses, and phrases. Syntax explains how a word or sentence is

structured as a unit of meaning. The syntactic elements include coherence in sentence structure and pronouns (Sholihah, 2018).

#### a) Coherence

Coherence is typically observed with the use of prepositions and conjunctions: "dan" (and), "akibat" (because of), "tetapi" (but), "lalu" (then), "karena" (because), "meskipun" (although), and so on. In this poem, there are 13 instances of the preposition "di" (at/in) all referring to places, such as "di mulut" (in the mouth), "di terowongan" (in the tunnel), and "di masjid" (in the mosque). The word "yang" (which/that) is found 35 times. However, the word "akibat" (because of) is not found in this poem. The word "tetapi" (but) appears once to indicate how embarrassed the Arabs were because of their defeat in the war. The word "lalu" (then) is used once in this poem. Then, the word "karena" (because) is used four times to indicate the meaning as a result. And the word "meskipun" (although) is not used in this poem.

#### b) Sentence Structure

Nizar Qabbani uses a combination of passive and active sentence structures. Some make someone a subject, for example, in the verse, "Friends, I announce the death of language and classic books to you." While being an object is found in the verse, "We are forced to walk through 50,000 new refugee tents."

#### c) Pronouns

Nizar also uses pronouns a lot in his poetry, for example, in the verse, "We have put on the skin of civilization and its essence is still Jahiliyyah." Then, "with the courage that cannot kill flies." And in the verse, "The Jews did not enter through our borders, but they infiltrated our disgrace like ants."

#### c. Stylistics

Stylistics is the way an author uses to express meaning through the choice of poetic sentences. In presenting poetry, the author uses simple language. (Sholihah, 2018) Even though the researcher has some words and terms that have not been able to be interpreted because of the use of language and the use of the pronouns of Nizar Qabbani, but generally the meaning of this poem is about the Naksah War.

#### d. Rhetoric

The last element observed in the text is rhetoric, which has a persuasive or influencing function. In this case, Van Dijk divides rhetoric into three elements: Graphics, Metaphor, and Expression. To clarify further:

a) Graphics

Researchers found graphics in this poem, including the phrase "50,000 new refugee tents." Nizar intends to convey that the impact of war causes suffering for the Arab nation, resulting in its people enduring displacement, hunger, disease, and inevitable death in refugee camps. Therefore, Nizar's words suggest that their cries are louder than their voices.

b) Metaphor

Metaphor is a figure of speech or expression that can serve as a basis for reasoning or opinion to the public. In this poem, Nizar expresses in the verse, "O my grieving country, you have changed me in the blink of an eye from a poet who writes love and romance poems to a poet who writes with a knife." What he writes is what his country feels. The defeat in war, the cries and displacement, hunger, leaders who silence humanity, and silence voices. That's why he writes poetry with a knife, not with words anymore. The knife he used to dissect the leaders of the Arab Nation.

c) Expression

The expression the researcher sees in this poem is disappointment and despair from Nizar Qabbani and also what happens in society. This expression is represented in the verse, "If we do not bury the sadness in the ground, if we do not mutilate the body of this fertile country with war, if it remains intact in the eyes, then our body will not become a prey to a pack of dogs." Then the anger reflected in the verse, "then do not read our history that loses, because we have failed, we are like the skin of watermelon, meaningless, we are increasingly eroded, eroded, eroded like slippers. Do not read our stories, do not accept our thoughts, do not follow our footsteps, we are a generation of vomit, syphilis and cough, we are a generation of liars."

### **Social Cognition**

Social cognition analysis refers to the writer's mental awareness that shapes the text. The cognitive approach is based on the assumption that texts do not inherently have meaning; rather, meaning is attributed by language users, necessitating analysis to understand how the writer's representation is produced in the text. Social cognition is based on the embedded general assumption used to perceive events.

Socially, the basis of Nizar Qabbani's writing in this poem is represented by its title, "Hawamisy ala Daftar al-Naksah." What he sees and feels is then captured in this poem. He also mentions that his reason for writing critically-toned poems that dissect his nation is due to the grief-stricken state of his country after losing the war and its leaders who are adept only at rhetoric.

## Social Context

Social context analysis is intended to examine the context or background in which the text is formed. This also relates to the situational conditions that occur in writing or texts. Seen from the title's perspective, the context of this poem's defeat refers to the 1967 Arab-Israeli War, also known as the Six-Day War or the June War (Naksah). As Nizar stated, history has changed due to this defeat. As a result of this defeat, Palestine had to lose over 20% of its territory in the West Bank and Gaza. Additionally, Egypt had to lose the Sinai Peninsula, and in return, it had to establish diplomatic relations with Israel to regain the Sinai Peninsula. Syria also had to lose the Golan Heights.

This defeat also changed Nizar Qabbani's life from a poet of love and longing to a poet who writes with a knife. He criticizes Arab leaders who are only adept at rhetoric; even to kill a fly, they are incapable. This is evidenced by the fact that four countries—Egypt, Syria, Iraq, and Palestine—that advocated Arab unity and supported their brother Palestine's independence lost to Israel, which he metaphorically compares to ants.

In addition to this defeat, we can see the context in which the leaders silenced mouths in the diction when Nizar Qabbani's poems were banned in the Arab world for being too vulgar and sensual. Then his criticism of the Syrian government was also banned by the Syrian Council for exposing his country's disgrace, so he was closely monitored by intelligence. Then, Nizar mentioned that the defeat of the Arab nation by Israel was because the leaders were avoiding humanity. Nothing dehumanizes humans except war. The impact of war is poverty, death, and tragedy, and it all started with its leaders, where 50,000 new evacuations felt the pain for their own people.

Furthermore, he and the Arab world are ashamed of losing, although abundant resources, where the Arabian Peninsula has one of the largest oil reserves in the world, cannot be well managed by its leaders. One of them is the lack of unity and coordination in war. As a result of the war, fertile countries are torn apart by enemies he describes as dogs. Finally, Nizar and the Arab world as a whole hope that future generations can avenge their ancestors. Because their generation has failed, and their minds are only adorned with opium—hallucinations of Arab unity and Palestinian independence, but minimal real action. They hope that future generations do not see their history as a generation of liars.

## Conclusion

The poem "Hawamisy ala Daftar al-Naksah," in this study, textually narrates the condition of the Arab Nation post the Arab-Israeli War, where history has changed, and they have been defeated by Israel. From a social cognition perspective, Nizar writes poetry out of the grief experienced by his people, which also transforms

him into a poet who writes with a knife. In the social context, the poem is written based on the reality of the Arab Nation's defeat by Israel, causing shame, disappointment, and despair among them. Particularly poignant are the 50,000 new displacements and the leaders who only excel in rhetoric and silence voices through his verses.

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