

Semantic Parallelism and Repetition in the Discourse of the Holy Qur'an

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Abstract.

The book of *Allah, The Holy Qur'an*, prominently witnesses the manifestation of various altered rhetorical devices Almighty God uses for conveying his message to Man via his last prophet Mohammad (Peace Be Upon Him) and his descendants. Lexical Parallelism and Repetition, among many other variants, perform a vital part in communication as speakers generally adopt specific strategies in their choice to accomplish positive utilities in any discourse and *The Holly Qur'an* is no exception. This paper investigates the phenomena of semantic parallelism, as well as, repetition, their individualities, classifications, and the impact the exhibition of their unlike categories has in *Surah (55) (AL- Rahman-The Beneficent)* and *Surah(56)(Al- Waqiaa-The Great Event)*. Fabb (1997) and Rygiel (1994) models are selected for identifying lexical parallelism and repetition respectively in the sample as the researcher finds them applicable for such discourse. The researcher finds out that though the two *Surahs* are not alike in terms of the available kinds of repetition both share the presence of the same categories belong to semantic parallelism but with disparate spreading. The most common use of tautotessort of repetition and the synonymous parallelism in *Surah(55)* underline the incredulity of some unbelievers (*either the jinn and the man or the caliphs*) and how Almighty Allah retells Man of their denial to the bestowed blessings (*Mohammad and Ali Peace Be Upon Them and their Descendants*). Similarly, God, through the over use of the 'anaphora' repetition and antithesis parallelism in *Surah(56)*, glorifies the majesty of Imam Ali Ibn Abi Talib as the first leader after the Prophet Mohammad and reflects the discrepancy between the supporters of Ali Ibn Abi Talib and those who challenge.

Keywords. Parallelism, Repetition, Anaphora, Antithesis, The Holy Qur'an.

Received: 09 April 2020

Accepted: 10 May 2020

DOI: 10.36872/LEPI/V51I2/301138

INTRODUCTION

The existence of repetition and semantic parallelism as rhetorical devices is clearly noticed in *The Holly Qur'an* and this is due to their energetic power and significance; otherwise they will be redundant, destructing the rhetoric that is far from such discourse. Repetition, being one of the stylistic strategies that can occur at three altitudes of language, has its own vital role in implementing more than one task in any discourse and *The Holy Qur'an* is no exception. The noun "repetition" itself conveys two key senses: an affair that repeats the act of doing or performing again and the repeated use of the same word or word pattern as a rhetorical device (Sandell, 1977). Repetition can be used both constructively and destructively. The fruitful usage embraces utilities such as, setting emphasis on a point, approving a fact or an idea, cohesion, persuasion, shift, exhibiting objectivity, and unfolding a concept. The reproachful use of repetition, on the other hand, can flop the entire piece of writing as it implicates disparaging effects like disintegration, rejection, termination, and unremitting present. Cuddon (1998) confirms the constructive aspect and argues that repetition refers not only for repeating words but also sounds and ideas for the purpose of provoking rhythm, and fashioning emphasis.

Some Muslim scholars assert that despite the use of repeated words and ideas in *The Holy Qur'an*, there is not any redundant word used at all, and each repeated term carries a specific and crucial idea that cannot be considered as redundancy of any kind. Wherever it is needed, God repeats some ideas to convey vital messages and each one is different from the other in its implied philosophies to human beings (Makarem Shirazi, 1365). Through offering dissimilar kinds of repetition, 'Parallelism' which refers to the pairings or combination of constituents may be also displayed. This parallelism forms an equivalent relation either structurally or semantically and the equivalences can be established along different dimensions of language: phonological, syntactic, and semantic levels. An example of these two devices (repetition and parallelism) is shown clearly through the repeated term (Tasreef), for instance, which has been explicitly mentioned in two verses: (The Israelites/ Al- Israa Surah, Aaya: 41) "And certainly we have repeated (warnings) in this *Holy Qur'an* that they be mindful" and (The Sandhills/ Al- Ahqaf Surah, Aaya: 27) "And we repeat the communications that they might turn".

41. (و لقد صرفنا في هذا القرآن ليذكروا) (الإسراء, 41)

41. We have explained the Words of Revelation in various expressions in this Qur'an in order that the disbelievers may take admonition. (Saffarzadeh, 1383/ (2004), P. 596), *Al- Israa Surah, Aaya (41)*.

27. (و صرفنا الآيات لعلمهم يرجعون) (الأحقاف, آية: 27)

27. And we did variously explain the Words of Revelation that people may return to the Straight Path [But they did not]. (Saffarzadeh, 1383/ (2004), P. 1116), *Al- Ahqaf Surah, Aaya (27)*.

The current study explores how semantic parallelism is grasped through altered sorts of repetition and how their incidence in two *Surahs* (55 and 56) of the *Holly Qur'an* has its own noticeable impact on the listeners.

Syntactic and phonological forms of parallelism are ignored in this study and left for further study since the structures of the Arabic language cannot be tackled in few pages and phonological parallelism as well carries a high extent of blend and complication. Hence, this study is constrained to shade light on the semantic parallelism seized via exposition of repetition. The study seeks answers to the following questions:

1. Do both *Surahs* (55 and 56) parallel in terms of the surviving kinds of repetition and semantic parallelism? Why?
2. What are the motives behind the availability of repetition and parallelism in such discourse?

METHODOLOGY

1) The Material

The two *Surahs* from *The Holy Qur'an* preferred as a sample for this study. They are: The Beneficent (Al- Rahman) and The Great Event (Al- Waqiaa) which are elected for their rich exhibition of parallelism as well as repetition. Fabb (1997) and Rygiel (1994) models are embraced for detecting genera of repetition and semantic parallelism in the selected data as the researcher finds them more valid in such discourse.

2) Procedure

The two selected *Surahs* are examined qualitatively as well as quantitatively to identify the repetition and parallelism genres utilized in both *Surahs*. Tables are presented as are search tool illuminating the qualitative and quantitative circulation of repetition as well as parallelism in the sample under study.

KINDS OF SEMANTIC PARALLELISM AND REPETITION

Repetition displays the sensible prominence that is essential to captivate a reader's or listener's attention on the key-word or a key-phrase of the text or speech. It indicates repeating sounds, words, expressions, clauses and even sentences in a definite succession to deliver emphasis. Kane and Peter (1966) maintain that this notion is so common device used for emphasis, clarity, and persuasion that ancient rhetoricians carefully differentiated many varieties of them, each with its own name, depending on the position of the key words and the forms of the repeated words. When employed properly and deliberately, they can enforce the association of one idea with another to create a framework or focus on several ideas. According to Jakobson (1996), the linguistic realization of rhythmical function is through parallelism, or known as "principle of equivalence". Lexical parallelism in this study is reflected via various arrangements of lexical repetition, or the repetition of lexical items. Abdul- Raof (2006) mentions that parallelism in Arabic contains the reiteration of the structure of a lexical item or of a phrase. Rygiel (1994) mentions nine types of lexical repetition which are offered below with reference to instances from *The Holly Qur'an*:

1) Initial-Final (*Epanalepsis*)

The repeated word or phrase occurs in the initial as well as the final position of the same sentence.

8. "فأصحاب الميمنة ما أصحاب الميمنة" (الواقعة: آية- 8)

8. "Then (as to) *the companions of the right hand*; how happy are *the companions of the right hand*!" (The Great Event: Al- Waqiaa, Aaya: 8)

2) Initial and Final (*Symploce*)

The same expression is repeated in the initial and final position of two successive sentences.

(8) - (7) "فمن يعمل مثقال ذرة خيرا يره. و من يعمل مثقال ذرة شرا يره." (الزلزلة: آية: 7- 8)

(7) - (8) "So he who has done an atom's weight of good shall see it. And he who has done an atom's weight of evil shall see it." (The Shaking: Al- Zalzalah, Aaya: 7- 8)

3) Initial (*Anaphora*)

The same item is repeated initially in two successive sentences.

(15) - (14) "خلق الانسان من صلصال كالفخار. و خلق الجان من مارج من نار" (الرحمن: آية: 14- 15)

(14) - (15) "He created man from dry clay like earthen vessels. And he created the jinn of a flame of fire." (Al- Rahman, Aaya: 14- 15)

4) Medial

The repeated word occurs in medial position of the sentences that have place in the same text.

(78) - (85) "أطلع الغيب أم اتخذ عند الرحمن عهدا... يوم نحشر المتقين الى الرحمن وفدا" (مريم: آية: 78- 85)

(78) - (85) Has he gained the knowledge of the unseen, or made a covenant with the Beneficent God? ...

The day on which We will gather those who guard (against evil) to the Beneficent God. (Maryam, Aaya: 78- 85)

5) Final (*Epistrophe*)

The word is repeated in the initial as well as the final position of the same sentence.

(3) - (2) "الحاقة مالحاقة. و ما أدراك مالحاقة" (الحاقة: آية: 2- 3).

(2) - (3) "What is the sure calamity! And what would make you realize what the sure calamity is?" (The Sure Calamity: Al- Haaqah, Aaya: 2- 3)

6) Final- Initial (*Anadiplosis*)

The expression arises in the last position of the sentence and at the start of the next one.

(16) - (15) " و يطاف عليهم بأنية من فضة و أكواب كانت قواريرا... قواريرا من فضة قدروها تقديرا " (الانسان: آية 15-16)

(15) - (16) "And there shall be made to go round about them vessels of silver and goblets which are of glass. (Transparent as), glass made of silver; they have measured them according to a measure." (Al- Insan, Aaya: 15- 16)

7) *Crossing Pattern (Chiasmus)*

Two juxtaposed patterns are exposed in the same sentence.

(3) – (4) ”و لا أنتم عابدون ما أعبُد. و لا أنا عابد ما عبَدتم.“ (الكافرون: آية: 3- 4)

(3) – (4) “Nor do you serve Him Whom I serve. Nor am I going to serve that which you serve.” (The Unbelievers: Al- Kaafiroon, Aaya: 3- 4)

8) *Total Immediate Repetition (Epizeuxis)*

The same word is repeated one after the other instantaneously.

(130) ”و اذا بطشتم بطشتم جبارين“ (الشعراء: آية: 130)

(130) “And when you lay hands (on men) you lay hands (like) tyrants.” (The Poets: Al- Shuaraa, Aaya: 130)

9) *Total Extended Repetition (Tautotes)*

The equivalent phrase or word is scattered here and there throughout the whole text.

(40) – (120) ”له ملك السماوات و الأرض... لله ملك السماوات و الأرض ما فيهن“ (المائدة: آية: 40- 120)

(40) – (120) “His is the kingdom of the heavens and the earth...Allah’s is the kingdom of the heavens and the earth and what is in them.” (The Food: Al- Maayida, Aaya: 40- 120)

As far as semantic parallelism is concerned, it acts when parings or groupings of elements “can be interpreted to have parallel meaning” (Fabb, 1997, p. 139). Parallel meaning covers range of possibilities with a couple of most public varieties being similarity of meaning and opposition of meaning. Such meanings can be summarized in the following two categories (Fabb, 1997):

1. **Synonymy:** it refers to the repetition of words that have related senses(Synonyms).

(3) ”الرحمن الرحيم“ (الفتاحة: آية: 3)

(3) “The Beneficent, the Merciful” (The Opening: Al- Fatiha, Aaya: 3)

2. **Antithesis:** it covers the juxtaposition of paralleled antonyms(Opposites).

(106) ”يوم تبيض وجوه و تسود وجوه“ (ال عمران: آية: 106)

(106) “On the day when (some) faces shall turn white and (some) faces shall turn black.” (The Family of Imran: Al- Imraan, Aaya: 106)

SIGNIFICANCE OF REPETITION

Repetition is the most distinctive rhetorical device of the fluent style and can fulfil fruitful taskslike persuasion, emphasis, attracting the attention of listeners and making speech more memorable. By repeating a phrase, clause, or sentence, one can highlight a vital thought(Kane &Peter, 1966).

1) *Significance of Repetition in English*

The motives behind the use of repetition in English discourse have been tackled by different scholars and the researcher lists them as follows:

- *Emphasis*

In their book “*A Comprehensive English Grammar for Foreign Students*,” Eckersley and Eckersley (1960) confirm the notion that repetition is primarily a device of emphasis; it is used with an entire clause or a word to emphasize the main idea.

- *Clarity*

Important words or phrases are repeated to give clarity of thought (Sled,1959).

- *Continuity and Multiplicity*

Two devices for continuity and multiplicity are the repetition of key words and the repetition of key ideas in synonymous words (Sled,1959).

- *Antithesis and Chiasmus*

Repetition may be used to indicate a clear contrast in an equivalent sentence (Kane & Peter, 1966).

- *Developing Idea*

James (1970) explains that repetition is used to enforce the relatedness of one idea with another or create a frame for unifying the relationships of several ideas.

- *Cohesion*

To Hoey (1991), the importance of repetition in the construction of a text is the key instrument of cohesion in a text and the most dominant type of cohesion in English is called lexical cohesion.

2) *Significance of Repetition in the Holy Qur'an*

Concerning the significance of repetition in the Arabic literature including *The Holy Qur'an*, seven objectives are mentioned and as follows:

- *Reminding important ideas*

Some verses are repeated to remind people of important issues (Zerekshy, 1415 AH).

- *Guiding*

JavadiAmali(1378)mentions that since Satan is continuously misleading people, Allah repeats his leading verses in order to keep human beings away from Satan's temptation.

- *Sympathy*

Allah repeats some verses to sympathize with the prophet in order to be hopeful in his required mission. (Makarem Shirazi, 1365)

- *Warning*

According to Kermani (1418 AH), Allah repeatedly states some verses to warn the pagans.

- *Emphasis*

Some verses are restated to emphasize some noticeable ideas. (Keleini, 1375); (Kashani, 1344)

- *Glorification*

Kashani (1344) confirms the concept that some events or people are glorified via repetition in the *Holy Qur'an*.

- *To Give Hope*

In some stressful and exhausting situations, Allah delivers hope to his prophet. (Tabtabaee Tafseer Almeezan app).

DATA COLLECTION AND ANALYSIS

The two selected *Surahs* (55 and 56; The Beneficent and The Great Event; سورتي الرحمن و الواقعة) are independently scanned both quantitatively and qualitatively in relation to the parallelism and repetition varieties. Then, a discrepancy is made between the two *Surahs* to reveal the apparent goals behind the availability of semantic parallelism and repetition. While Tables (2) and (3) below quantitatively clarify the spreading of parallelism sorts in the selected sample, Tables (1) and (4) quantitatively depict the manifestation rate of repetition genres in the mentioned *Surahs*.

1) *Surha(55) (The Beneficent- Al- Rahman)*

Table 1. Kinds and Frequency of Repetition in Surah (55)

Surah(55)	Anaphora	Tautotes	Epistrophe	Total
Frequency	4	39	2	45
Count %	8.88 %	86.66 %	4.44 %	100%

Merely three sorts of repetition are noticed in *Surah55* namely: *anaphora, tautotes and epistrophe* but with un-matching scattering. Below are some instances for the existent genres of repetition in *Surah(55)*:

- **Initial (Anaphora):**

"خلق الانسان من صلصال كالفخار"

"He created man from dries clay like earthen vessels"

"و خلق الجن من مارح من نار"

"And he creates the jinn of the flame of fire"

"فيهما عينان نضاختان"

"In both of them are two springs gushing forth"

"فيهما فاكهة و نخل و رمان"

"In both are fruits and palms and pomegranates"

• Total Extended Repetition (Tautotes):

"فبأي آلاء ربكما تكذبان"

"Which then of the bounties of your Lord will you deny?"

"خلق الانسان"

"He created man"

"خلق الانسان من صلصال كالفخار"

"He created man from dries clay like earthen vessels"

"ويبقى وجه ربك ذو الجلال والاکرام"

"And there will endure forever the person of your Lord, the Lord of glory and honor"

"تبارك اسم ربك ذي الجلال والاکرام"

"Blessed is the name of your Lord, the Lord of glory and honor"

• Final (Epistrophe):

"والسمااء رفعها ووضع الميزان"

"And the heaven, he raised it high, and He made the balance"

"الاتطفوا في الميزان"

"But they are not in the balance"

As Table (1) illustrates that the 'Tautotes' kind is the most prominent one with the spreading (86.66%). The total extended type reoccurs (39) times in the whole *Surah*, and surprisingly (31) times of that is allocated to the verse "which then of the bounties of your Lord will you deny!" "فبأي آلاء ربكما تكذبان". Altered interpretations for this highly used verse are presented like, Tabtabae and Saffarzadeh, 1383/ (2004). In Tafseer Almeezan, he mentions that the extensive repetition of this verse and its interrogative form indicates how *Allah* reproaches gently both the man and the jinn for their denial of His blessings through life as well as Day of Judgment. Ghomi (1313 AH, P. 345), on the other hand, remarks that the pronoun *you* in the verse "which then of the bounties of your Lord will you deny!" "فبأي آلاء ربكما تكذبان" clearly refers to *the man and the jinn* explicitly while it designates *the caliphs* implicitly. That verse is mentioned not only after referring to bounties but also following verses including punishment by Lord. According to Alamu Al-Huda (1325), even threats given by Allah are regarded as blessing since they remind human beings of the painful punishment in the Day of Judgment for their committing

sins; consequently they avoid disobeying God’s rules. The repetition of this verse (31) times in this *Surah* reflects obviously the extent of Allah’s mercy to people and glorifies his bestowed blessings. One can say that the vital significance of repetition is embodied in displaying the extent of Allah’s blessings to man and jinn and that Prophet Mohammad and his predecessor, Ali, is one of these blessings.

Table (2) below displays the regularity of semantic parallelism embodied through the types antithesis and synonymy. The former allocates (77%) and the latter (15%) of the total percentage. Here are some examples of these accessible categories in *Surah55*:

• **Synonymy**

فيهن خيراتحسان

In them are goodly things, beautiful ones

و يبقى وجه ربك ذو الجلال و الاكرام

And there will endure forever the person of your Lord, the Lord of glory and honor

• **Antithesis**

رب المشرقين و رب المغربين

Lord of the East and lord of the West

و السماء رفعها و وضع الميزان

And the heaven, he raised it high, and He made the balance

Table 2. Categories of Semantic Parallelism in Surah(55)

Surah (55)	Antithesis Parallelism	Synonymous Parallelism	Total Parallelism
Frequency	10	2	13
Count %	77%	15%	100%

Antithesis designates how Allah is the creator as well as the controller of everything; the Lord of east and west ;the creator of high heaven and the producer of steadiness. The semantic parallelism expressed via antithesis and synonymous expressions such as “goodly – beautiful” or “glory –honor” highlights Allah’s elevation and glorification. Through this variability of parallelism, Allah actually not only highlights the denial of the disbelievers to his bounties but also He reminds us of the fact that we are all guided and directed by Him.

2) *Surah(56) (The Great Event- Al- Waqiaa)*

Table 3. Frequency of Parallelism Types in Surah(56)

Surah(56)	Antithesis Parallelism	Synonymous Parallelism	Total Parallelism
Frequency	4	1	5
Count %	80%	20%	100%

Table (3) indicates that the highest frequency is related to the antithesis kind (80%) while the synonymous genre represents the lowest rate (20%). Below are instances of semantic parallelism accessible in *Surah(56)*:

• **Synonymy:**

فنزل من حميم

He shall have an entertainment of boiling water

و تصلية جحيم

And burning in hell

• **Antithesis:**

خافضة رافعة

Abasing (one party), exalting (the other)

ثلة من الاولين وثلة من الاخرين

A goodly number from those of old and a (goodly) number from those of later times

قل ان الاولين والاخرين

Say: "Yea, those of old and those of later times"

It is apparent that there is a close connection among the last two pairs of antitheses used in *The Great Event- Al- Waqiaa Surah* as they both carry the denotation to “the first and the last,” “الأوليين و الآخرين” and how this refers to “*the first and the last companies*”; “*the first and the last companies*” expression, according to Tabtabaee Tafseer Almeezan, specifies the first nations following the prophet and the last nation who truly follow prophet Mohammad (Peace Be Upon Him) and his descendants.

Table 4. Frequency of Repetition Types in Surah (56) (Al- Waqiaa)

Sura(56)	Epanalepsis	Anaphora	Medial	Epistrophe	Epizeuxis	Tautotes	Total Repetition
Frequency	6	9	1	2	3	1	22
Count %	27.27%	40.90 %	4.54%	9.09 %	13.63%	4.54%	100%

• **Initial-Final (Epanalepsis):**

و أصحاب الشمال ما أصحاب الشمال

And those of the left hand, how wretched are those of the left hand

و أصحاب اليمين ما أصحاب اليمين

And the companions of the right hand, how happy are the companions of the right hand

• **Initial (Anaphora):**

فشاربون عليه من الحميم، فشاربون شرب الهيم

Then drink over it of boiling water, and drink as drinks the thirsty camel

فأمان كان من المقربين،...و اما ان كان من اصحاب اليمين

Then if he is one of those drawn nigh (to Allah),...and if he is one of those on the right hand

• **Medial:**

اذا وقعت الواقعة، ليس لوقعتها كاذبة

When the great event comes to pass, there is no belying its coming to pass

• **Final (Epistrophe):**

و اما ان كان من اصحاب اليمين، فسلام لك من اصحاب اليمين

And if he is one of those in the right hand, then peace to you from those on the right hand

• **Total Immediate Repetition (Epizeuxis):**

الا قليلا سلاما سلاما

Except the word, peace, peace

انا انشأتهنانشاء

Surely, We have made them to grow into a (new) growth

• **Total Extended Repetition (Tautotes):**

ثلة من الاولين و ثلة من الآخرين

A goodly number of them are from the old and a good number from the later generations of the last religion.

The Great Event (Al- Waqiaa) witnesses the presence of six kinds of repetition but with inconsistency in distribution. As it is illustrated in Table (4), the anaphora sort is the most prominent one among others (40.90%). Six of repeated anaphora genre refers to “**those on the right hand, اصحاب اليمين**” who signify the first believers and Imam Ali Ibn Abi Talib (Peace Be Upon Him) is the supreme conspicuous one. Repetition of a word, a phrase, and even a sentence at the beginning (anaphora) enriches sound harmony of speech and adds to rhythmic blending of speech due to development of intonation and sound distinctiveness; Consequently a specific concept will be more memorable and here that concept is Imam Ali Ibn Abi Talib and his descendants (Peace Be Upon Them). Thus, it is clear that the motive behind the over manifestation of anaphora repetition is the Lord’s exaltation of Imam Ali. Such claim is further confirmed by Al- Sheikh Sadoq. In his tha wabo Al-Amalwa Eqabo Al- Amal (p. 273), he cites that Abo Baseer conveys a speech by Al-Imam Al-Sadiq (Peace Be Upon Him) that (The Great Event- Al- Waqiaa) is specially descended in honor of the first Imam, Ali, praising his dignity.

”مَنْ قَرَأَ فِي كُلِّ لَيْلَةٍ جُمُعَةَ الْوَأَقِيعَةِ أَحَبَّهُ اللَّهُ وَ أَحَبَّهُ إِلَى النَّاسِ أَجْمَعِينَ وَ لَمْ يَرِ فِي الدُّنْيَا بُؤْسًا أَبَدًا وَ لَا فُقْرًا وَ لَا فَاقَةً وَ لَا آفَةً مِنْ آفَاتِ الدُّنْيَا وَ كَانَ مِنْ رُفَقَاءِ أَمِيرِ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ (عليه السلام) وَ هَذِهِ السُّورَةُ لِأَمِيرِ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ (عليه السلام) خَاصَّةٌ لَا يَشْرِكُهَا فِيهَا أَحَدٌ ” شيخ الصدوق, ثواب الأعمال و عقاب الأعمال, ص(273)

"Whoever recites every Friday night, the Great Event Surah indicates that God loved him and loved him to all people and never let him see misery, poverty, privation, and lesion from the lesions of this life, and he was one of the companions of the Commander of the all Mumins (fundamentalists)- Imam Ali (Peace Be Upon Him)." Sheikh Sadooq, thawabo Al-Amalwa Eqabo Al- Amal, (p.273)

CONCLUSION

Both The Beneficent (*Al-- Rahman*) and The Great Event (*Al- Waqiaa*) *Surahs* share the presence of genera of disparate repetition and semantic parallelism symbolized by synonymy and antithesis but with altered scattering. Such lack of correspondence in terms of repetition may be due to the fact that each *Surah* is descended in diverse setting or condition. Through the over use of tautoteset of repetition as well as semantic parallelism in *Surah (55), The Almighty Allah* underlines the incredulity of some unbelievers (*either the jinn and the man or the caliphs*). Sharing such practice in this *Surah*, in turn, has avital power in reminding the human being of their repudiation to the bestowed blessings (*Mohammad and Ali Peace Be Upon Them and Their Descendants*). In *Surah (56)*, the frequent availability of anaphora and antithesis sort sechoes how God glorifies the majesty of Imam Ali as the first believer and leader after the Prophet Mohammad Peace Be Upon Him and expose the distinction between the followers of Ali and those who defy him.

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