

The Narrative Panorama of Men in the Sun: Negotiating Polyphony and Multiple Voices

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Abstract:

This paper explores Ghassan Kanafani's famous novel *Men* in the Sun to argue that the author incorporated a unique narrative structure to engage major thematic issues about war, refugees, resistance, and other topics integral to the text. On this basis, the theories of Mikhail Bakhtin and others on narratology and polyphony will be used to discuss the different attitudes of the multiple fictional voices in the novel toward the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. The paper points out that the vision of Kanafani regarding the Palestinian-Israeli conflict is presented by a variety of narrators constituting the four major characters in the novel in addition to a fifth narrator representing the authorial voice and mapping out the dominant perspective toward the central themes of the novel. The paper also demonstrated that Kanafani's novel was a turning point in the Palestinian literary Renaissance. The novel was published in the early 1960s as a commentary on the consequences of the Palestinian tragedy resulting from the Israeli occupation of most of the Palestinian territories in 1948. The novel, which raised a variety of themes about occupation, resistance, and displacement, was followed by a huge body of writing in fiction, drama, and poetry in the same vein constituting the Palestinian literary renaissance, which started in the 197.s and came to an end in the 199.s after the reconciliation accords between the Palestinian Authority and Israel in Oslo.

Keywords: Narrative Structure, Voices, Authority, Salvation, Discourse, Resistance.

Introduction

Kanafani¹ wrote his phenomenal novel Men in the Sun after the occupation of most of the Palestinian territories in the aftermath of the 1948 war between the Arab armies and Israel. The novel triggers existentialist topics regarding war, refugees, occupation, resistance, the Palestinian-Israeli conflict, and other pivotal issues crucial to the destiny of the Palestinian people. The novel was a turning point that led to a paradigmatic shift culminating in what was called the Palestinian literary renaissance, which covered the period between the 1960s and the 1990s. The Palestinian literary renaissance or the renaissance of resistance² came to an end in the 1990s after the Palestinian Authority signed a peace treaty (the Oslo Accord) with the Israeli government. Kanafani was the first Palestinian writer, who called for the literature of resistance against Israeli aggression and the hegemon of a Palestinian leadership partly responsible for the misery of the Palestinian people. In Men in the Sun, Kanafani wrote a text about the bleak destiny of the Palestinian refugees and the impact of war on the collective memory of his people. However, throughout his knowledge of the poetics of western modernism, and its origins in modern (science, philosophy, psychology, and avant-garde painting), Kanafani

¹ Ghassan Kanafani was born in 1936 in Acre, northern Palestine, and stayed in Jaffa. In addition to his career as the spokesman of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine and the editor of its weekly (*al-Hada*) Kanafani was a great novelist and a talented prose writer. After the 1948 war, his family escaped to Damascus where they sought exile. He worked as a teacher and journalist in Damascus and Kuwait. He went to Beirut and established *al-Hadaf* in 1969. He was an advocate and a member of the Arab Nationalist Movements, and he blamed the Palestinian leadership for the miserable destiny of their people. Ironically, Kanafani himself did not fight in his homeland and ended up being bombed in a car explosion resulting into his death, together with, his niece in 1972 in Beirut. However, he left behind him a widow from Eastern European origin and two children in addition to a huge literary legacy.

² See Kanafani's book: Literature of Resistance in Occupied Palestine 1948-1966 / *Adab al-Muqawama fi Filstin al-Muhtalah*, 1948-1966, Beirut: Institute for Arab Research, 1982.

abstracts his socio-political fictional concerns so that he appears to adhere to the aesthetician's concept of art for art's sake, while he never detaches his narrative from the praxis of Palestinian life.

Men in the Sun is identified by Hilary Kilpatrick (1999) as "an expose of the Palestinian national paralysis after the 1948 war that culminated in the loss of homeland" (Kilpatrick: 3)³. For her, Men in the Sun laments and mourns the pathetic, fruitless, death of three Palestinians inside the tanker. Men in the Sun is the story of three Palestinians who struggled to reconstruct their own lives and futures seeking individual salvation, they embark on a journey to the rich Gulf state of Kuwait; they die miserably and silently in the broiling desert sun. They suffocate in an airless oil tanker and their lorry driver, a smuggler, throws their dead bodies into a garbage heap. The ending of Men in the Sun seems congruous with the Palestinian political history at that time. Moreover, the theme of death and birth/rebirth may be linked to the events in Men in the Sun which ends tragically with the death of the Palestinian refugees seeking harbor in the oil-producing country of Kuwait. Explicitly Kanafani punishes his characters because they escape from Palestine leaving their homeland to be dominated by hostile forces. Instead of resisting the invaders, they prefer personal salvation, therefore, they flee to the rich Arabian Gulf countries. Like other critics, Hilary Kilpatrick focused on the themes of resistance and the inevitability of armed struggle and ignored other aesthetic elements that distinguished Men in the Sun as an innovative text apart from its ideological agenda. The most distinguished part of Men in the Sun is its narrative structure which reflected Kanafani's talent as a novelist.

³ For more details on Kilpatrick's views on *Men in the Sum* see: Kilpatrick, Hilary. "Tradition and Innovation in the Fiction of Ghassān Kanafānī." *Journal of Arabic Literature* (1976): 53-64.

The Narrative Structure of Men in the Sun

Some critics have described Kanafani's novel -Men in the Sun- as a narrative of resistance. This approach, in some cases, is the result of a reductionist reading that misinterprets the novel ignoring its sophisticated/complex narrative technique, internal structure, and psychological overtones. Kanafani used the term (literature of resistance) ⁴ to describe the Palestinian literature before 1967, but the term later was applied to all Palestinian literary works that targeted the Palestinian question. Kanafani was a member of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP), nevertheless, he was never an ideologue (Harb: 66).

In her discussion of the novels of Kanafani, Radwa Ashour points out that fictional works that have emerged in Third World countries during eras of national liberation were not concerned with subjectivity and the personal affairs of the authors but were reflections of the collective pain of the people. Ashour added that in Kanafani's aesthetics "the tragedy of Palestine is embodied in the plight of its people particularly the poor classes in the Palestinian community" (Ashour: 177)⁵. Explicitly, and in light of the above-mentioned perspective, Kanafani's novels are viewed as narratives of resistance by some critics. Many critics concentrated on the resistance aspects of Kanafani's fiction and ignored other aesthetic and literary phenomena, that characterized his works, particularly his unique narrative devices, which were unprecedented in Arabic fiction at that time.

In "Linguistics, Poetics, and the Literary Genres", Edward Stankiewicz argues that each of the three literary genres (epic, drama, and lyric) assigns a different role to the narrated event and

⁴ Men in the Sun was considered a starting point for the Palestinian literary renaissance. Consequently, Kanafani wrote other novels and plays, then many Palestinian storytellers, poets, and playwrights followed him. In poetry, Mahmoud Darwish and Tawfiq Ziyad, and in theater, Mo'in Bseisu, Samih Al-Qasim, and others.

⁵ See Ashour: Al-Tariq Ela Al Khaymati Alokhra (The Way to the Other Tent; A Study of Ghassan Kanafani's Works).

the speech event". He points out that "the drama and the epic (including its modern variant the novel) can be characterized by the presence of two obligatory features: a narrated event. That is to say (a story or a plot that evolves in time and moves ineluctably towards a resolution) and a narrator or speech event that advances and comments on the narrative and its protagonists. To him, the difference between the two narrative genres lies in the presentation of the speech event. In drama, it appears through the speech and performance of the actors. In the epic "the narrator and narrative form separate though tightly interlocking realms. The lyric does away with the use of a narrative and consequently with the role of a distinctive narrator." (Stankiewicz: 171).

In locating drama and epic on one side of the narrative / non-narrative dichotomy, Stankiewicz points out that a narrator is not required to have a narrated "speech event". In drama, there is a "speech event" presented by means of the dialogue and performance of actors without narrators. In addition to what Stankiewicz mentioned, modern fictional texts such as Kanafani's Men in the Sun and others also have what were called "narrated and non-narrated stories" (Hartman: 166). In Men in the Sun, the narrated stories are told by the three major characters in the novel, and beneath the narrative surface lie the non-narrated stories of occupation, resistance, and the corruption of the Palestinian leadership. Explicitly, the narrated stories are introduced by the three pivotal characters (Abu-Qais, Asaad, and Marwan). At the same time, the non-narrated stories are articulated by an omnipresent narrator, who epitomizes the viewpoint of the author.

Stankiewicz argues that in addition to a narrated event, there is a need for a narrator or speech event that advances and comments on the events. However, some literary texts need one or the other to either advance or comment but not necessarily both of them. In non-narrated stories as in drama, there are episodes in which the plot/theme advances for that matter without the need for narrative commentary. Applying Stankiewicz's definition with this modification, one can see the possibility of a modern fictional text

presenting a story that evolves in time with speech events that advance the plot without having to have a single or definable narrator. Unlike other novels, where stories are non-narrated but the characters advance the narrated event through speech and action Kanafani's *Men in the Sun* presents a story that is narrated from multiple points of view using changing narrators. In this context, *Men in the Sun* could be considered a contribution to the Arabic novel with specific regard to its unique narrative structure.

Discussing narratology in fiction, Mikhail Bakhtin in *The Dialogic Imagination* introduces what he calls "the dialogical method" (Bakhtin: 75). By dialogical, Bakhtin means that every utterance, oral or written, takes place as an act of communication between speeches in a given cultural environment. In his narrative theory, Bakhtin demonstrates that the meaning of the utterance in fiction is shared by the " utterer and listener" who in essence mutually interact for the duration of the interchange. As fiction is an utterance, its meaning is shared by the interaction of the author, reader, and text within a specific cultural environment and the meaning of the text alters as that environment alters.

For Bakhtin, the listener does not understand an utterance by only decoding it in terms of the system of the language. To understand an utterance means to formulate a reply to it, to evaluate it because understanding itself is a kind of dialogue. Thus, meaning does not belong to the speaker but to the interaction between speaker and listener because meaning is a shared territory. The same set of words can differ in meaning if they belong to different verbal interactions. Thus, the utterance contains within itself, as part of its shaping context, a recognition of the other and anticipation of a response. For Bakhtin, the constitutive mode of the novel is not epic narration but dialogue, the relationship that is established due to "the essentially dialogical nature of the novelistic word, among several autonomous discourses in respect to which the author himself takes the position of an interlocutor and not of a sovereign master" (Bakhtin: 238).

According to Bakhtin, this concept of dialogue or double-voiced discourses or multiple voices applies to fictional texts. Double-voiced discourse arises in literature through the combination of the words of the utterances always entering the text already loaded with meanings, and the appearance of polyphony, the presence of a variety of voices in a given text. Apparently, the "polyploidization" of prose texts is integral to Bakhtin's fascination with what he calls the "carnivalesque" in fictional literature. This aspect enables the characters, narrators, and implied authors to express viewpoints independent of the authorial presence. The protagonist/s can become a subject rather than an object able to speak in a double-voiced discourse through the multiple perspectives afforded by polyphonic discourses.

Bakhtin conceives of the polyphonic novel as having a hero (or heroes) who becomes the subject and enters into dialogue with the author and the reader rather than an object of authorial analysis or simply a spokesperson for the author's completed mono-logical worldview. In his book Problems of Dostoevsky's Poetics, which contains a collection of essays, Bakhtin argues: "The consciousness of character is given as someone else's consciousness, another consciousness, yet at the same time it is not turned. The author can create such a subject-character by representing the character not as an observed personality but as an observing and commenting consciousness: "We see not who he is but how he is conscious of The reader can experience such himself' (Bakhtin: 49). visualization only if the author lets the character speak (Bakhtin: 53). Although the author will no doubt inject his own voice, to some extent, in any literary work, s/he can present this incursion from overthrowing the dialogical character of the work's polyphony by giving up the last word on each character to the character.

In *Men in the Sun*, Kanafani presents a plot, composed of a series of narrated events and different voices with a unifying narrator embodying the authorial ideology toward the Israeli/Palestinian conflict, the problem of the refugees, occupation, resistance, and other related issues. This imperial voice interferes

with narration from time to time to criticize and comment on the attitudes of the other narrators/characters. The major theme of the novel focuses on the catastrophic consequences of personal salvation as Palestinian refugees leave their homeland to search for wealth in Kuwait. Seeking their interests, Palestinians from different generations escaped from their own country abandoning their territories to the conqueror. This phenomenal story is presented through a series of narrated and non-narrated episodes with different characters, sometimes disembodied voices, and sometimes vividly described individuals. The central plot of *Men in the Sun* develops toward a gradually unfolding, but indeterminate resolution by the end.

The horrible death of the three major characters at the end of the novel does not provide any resolution or solution to the Palestinian dilemma. Kanafani killed the three characters who willingly preferred their salvation and neglected resistance against the occupier of their land. Ironically, the character who personified the Palestinian leadership and who participated in the death of the Palestinian victims was the only character who survived the ordeal. Kanafani argues in an undercurrent note that as long as the current Palestinian leadership exists more Palestinians will be victimized. The novel's narrated fragments are tied together through the contiguous relationship of thematically motivated episodes and the extrinsic unity of the implied narrators particularly the underpinning voice of the author. This is a unifying pattern toward which the author directs the reader from the very beginning of the novel.

In describing the voices of utterances in fiction, Dominick La Capra refers to them as either homophonic or polyphonic. While homophonic voice means a single, uniform language throughout, polyphonic means multiple languages throughout. A line of demarcation should be drawn here between homophonic/polyphonic nomological/ dichotomy and the dialogical paradigm because the latter is reserved for the distinction between authoritative and internally persuasive or absolute and

relative utterances (La Capra: 313). The imperative represents the simplest example of monological discourse, it elicits no reply except that of compliance.

Kanafani attempts to overturn this conception of language in his writing of a new type of novel - *Men in the Sun*. Other Arab novelists could not write in such an authoritative voice because they were neither willing to assume such a role nor did they believe in the unquestioned authority of the words they wielded. The nomological literary work is one in which the author's word controls the interpretation of the work, as in a simplistic one-level allegory or one in which all the characters speak only to represent the moral or political position of the author. The issue is not whether the modern Arabic novel can succeed in being totally dialogical. It is whether or not the Arabic novel trends in the direction of the dialogical and the internally persuasive. Does it continue to be monological and authoritative speaking in a language that does not doubt itself and does not allow any polyphony to encroach upon its borders?

Kanafani, in Men in the Sun, succeeds in liberating the Arabic novel from the restraints of traditional historical requirements no longer appropriate for the production of new friction. By advancing the dialogic component of the novel into the foreground, he enables the reader to become a participant in dialogue rather than merely a recipient of information/events. His novel has less narrative redundancy than traditional Arabic novels in both phrasal repetition and informational repetition. Discussing the concept of thematic content in the novel/novella genres, Bakhtin in Problems of Dostoevsky's Poetics points out: "The theme of the work is the theme of the whole utterance as a definite sociohistorical act". To him "the forms essentially determine the theme" and "the thematic unity of the work is inseparable from its primary orientation in its environment, inseparable, that is to say from the circumstances of place and time (Bakhtin: 132). To Bakhtin, the work, in terms of length, must have a sustained duration and intensity of the reading experience with line length, a contributing but not a determining factor to this. In terms of structure, it may have a variety of structural shapes from continuous narratives to a fragmented sequence of units of varying lengths, but it must have an underlying plotted narrative involving characters and events occurring in time.

The Voices of the Narrators in Men in the Sun

The central themes of the novel such as occupation, the Palestinian-Israeli conflict, and the refugees' issue were aesthetically articulated through a subtle narrative construction involving five narrators. The four voices of the major characters introduced four narratives that fully covered the Palestinian dilemma in the aftermath of the 1948 war from different perspectives. The fifth voice in the novel reflects the viewpoint of the author on the Palestinian question and provides comments on the other voices and it unifies the narrative structure of the text. The three major characters/narrators - Abu Qays, Asa'ad, and Marwanare three Palestinian refugees who escaped from Palestine and crossed the borders with Jordan arriving in Iraq after a journey of suffering and pain. In Basra, they met with another Palestinian- Abu al- Khaizuran- an ex-fighter who became impotent after he was fatally injured in a battle with the enemies. Now, he works as a smuggler (in collaboration with an Iraqi friend) who helps Palestinian refugees to escape to Kuwait.

In the beginning, the reader is introduced to the first character narrator Abu Qays, a middle-aged man who witnessed the Palestinian tragedy in 1948 and who suffered from the miserable consequences of war together with his wife and son. As a poor refugee, Abu Qays found salvation in escaping to Kuwait in order to earn enough money to secure a better future for his family. Abu Qays was preoccupied with the sad memories of his friend Salim who bravely fought the conquerors until his death in 1943. Abu Qays envied Salim who died in war and therefore did not suffer from displacement and dispersion like other Palestinians: "In the

last ten years you have done nothing but wait. You have needed ten big hungry years to be convinced that you have lost your trees, your house, your youth, and your whole village. People have been making their own way during these long years, while you have been squatting like an old dog in a miserable hut. What do you think you were waiting for? Wealth to come through the roof of your house? Your house? It is not your house" ⁶(Kanafani: 13).

The second character narrator is Assad, a young man in his twenties. Unlike Abu Qays, he did not experience or witness the Palestinian tragedy in 1948. Nevertheless, he was a rootless refugee who suffered from the consequences of the 1948 war and the occupation of Palestine. Assad was pursued by the Jordanian police because he had no legal residency papers. He was also chased by his uncle in Jordan who wanted him to marry his daughter against his wishes. Assad decided to go to Kuwait to escape from the persecution of his uncle and the Jordanian police: "I will be able to return the amount to my uncle in less than a month. A man can collect money in the twinkling of an eye there in Kuwait" (Kanafani: 19). What the fat smuggler says to Asa'ad is important: "[b]ut take care the rats don't eat you before you set out" (Kanafani: 22). What Asa'ad said sums up everything: "[p]ersonally, I'm interested in reaching Kuwait. I'm not concerned with anything else. That is why I shall travel with Abu al-Khaizuran" (Kanafani: 36).

The third character narrator is Marwan, a young man under twenty who did not recall the bitter memories of the Palestinian tragedy due to his age, but he also suffered from its aftermath. The conditions of Marwan's family, in the refugee camp, compelled him to look for alternatives and options. His father, due to poverty, deserted the family and married a rich deformed woman who

⁶ All citations from the text are extracted from: Kanafani. Ghassan. *Men in the Sun and Other Palestinian Stories*. Trans. Hilary Kilpatrick. Lynne Rienner Pub, 1998.

owned a house. His brother, in Kuwait, refrained from sending money to the family, particularly after his marriage. He sent a letter to Marwan asking him to leave school and find a way to earn money to support the family: "Marwan has to leave his school, a world of innocence, and look for a job; he has to "plunge into the frying pan forever"; "in Kuwait [he'll] find and learn everything [...] school teaches nothing. It only teaches laziness" (Kanafani: 47).

The fourth Character narrator is Abu al-Khayzaran, a smuggler and human trafficker who regularly drives a water tank truck between Kuwait and Basra. In return for money, Abu al-Khayzaran decides to smuggle the three refugees out of southern Iraq to Kuwait. He plans to drive the three men to a point close to each border checkpoint, hide them inside the empty water tank until he gets the papers signed, then drive away from the checkpoint and stop later to let them out of the tank. He successfully passes the first checkpoint inside Iraqi territory. While completing the paperwork at the Kuwaiti checkpoint, the local employees ask him to share details of his recent sexual encounters with Iraqi prostitutes in Basra. Due to his physical injury (which symbolizes the weakness of the Palestinian political leadership), Abu al-Khayzaran exaggerated his interactions with Iraqi entertainers and dancers. He spent a considerable time recounting his fabricated stories to the Kuwaiti officials. When Abu al-Khayzaran returned to the car he discovered that the three men inside the tank were suffocated due to unbearable heat since it was summertime. Inside Kuwait, he dumped them in a rubbish heap. Before leaving, Abu al-Khayzaran turned back to the bodies once more, taking whatever money they had, including Marwan's treasured watch crying: "Why didn't you knock on the sides of the truck? Why didn't you say anything? Why? Why?" (Kanafani: 56).

The fifth narrator in the novel is the implied (hidden) narrator who represents the voice of the author and plays different functions such as commenting on other voices/narrators and criticizing the attitudes of other narrators toward the conflict and it persuades the

readers to accept his vision of different issues such as resistance, occupation, and the refugees' problem.

The fifth narrative perspective does not exclude minute and even ugly naturalistic details: Abu al-Khayzaran tries to open the cover of the tank, "A drop of sweat from his forehead fell onto the metal roof of the tank and immediately dried" (Kanafani: 71). As for the dead bodies inside, one is "cold and still" with "damp gray hair" (Kanafani: 71). In another shocking visceral image, another body "is still holding onto the metal support inside the tank with a mouth wide open" (Kanafani: 72). Abu al-Khayzaran sweats and trembles, but "he couldn't tell whether he was trembling because of this oil covering his chest and back or whether it was caused by fear because the merciless sun kills them (Kanafani: 71).

Though it is the imperial voice of the author, the fifth narrator does not end the narrative, but it lets the voice of Abu al-Khuzaran dominate the closing scene, which introduces neither conclusion nor resolution nor solution to the plot. The text has an open ending, which reflects the author's perspective about a conflict, which has no end until today. Moreover, the implied narrator comments on the horrible destiny of those who betrayed the case of their people and sought personal redemption. The underpinning voice of the author criticizes and castigates the Palestinians who submitted their land to the enemy and escaped from confrontations with the invaders. The voice of the author condemned them and considered them cowards and traitors.

According to the authorial voice, Abu al-Khayzaran was explicitly a profiteer and an opportunist, a symbol of irresponsible leadership that participated in the loss of Palestine. The four characters in the novel come from four different generations as if the author made them all responsible for the defeat and the tragedy of the Palestinian people. However, all of them suffered from poverty and humiliation and they were persecuted by the regimes of neighboring Arab countries.

All the characters including Abu Qays, Assad, and Marwan only seek money as a solution to their domestic problems. But, their attempts toward personal salvation will inevitably end in death in the desert. These attempts destroyed the collective dream of regaining the homeland and liberating the occupied territories. The liberation of the usurped land can only be achieved through collective and systematic resistance according to the author/narrator.

Conclusion

Briefly, the discussion in this paper utilized a new critical approach, which is different from previous treatments of Kanafani's novel. The paper argues that some critics have neglected the aesthetic aspects of the novel and concentrated on the themes of resistance and the consequences of occupation approaching the novel from a one-sided angle as a landmark within the Palestinian literary renaissance. Contrary to these traditional critical approaches this paper used the narrative theories of Bakhtin and others as a purely new perspective to reveal the uniqueness of the text's narrative structure, and the originality of the presentation of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict.

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البانوراما السردية في رواية "رجال في الشمس": مناقشة تعدد الأصوات وتعدد الرواة

الملخص:

يتناول هذا البحث رواية "رجال في الشمس" لغسان كنفاني، وأن المؤلف اعتمد بنية سردية فريدة لمعالجة قضايا محورية تتعلق بالحرب، واللجوء، والمقاومة، وموضوعات أخرى جوهرية في النص. ويستعرض هذا البحث البناء السردي للرواية، بهدف ربط محتوى الرواية بشكلها الفني.

استنادًا إلى ذلك، سيتم توظيف نظريات ميخائيل باختين وآخرين حول السردية وتعدد الأصوات، لمناقشة المواقف المختلفة التي تتبناها الأصوات الروائية المتعددة في الرواية تجاه الصراع الفلسطيني-الإسرائيلي. ويشير البحث إلى أن رؤية كنفاني لهذا الصراع تُقدَّم من خلال مجموعة متنوعة من الرواة، يمثلون الشخصيات الأربع الرئيسية في الرواية، بالإضافة إلى راوٍ خامس يعكس صوت المؤلف، ويوجه المنظور المهيمن نحو القضايا المركزية في النص.

كما يبرز البحث أن رواية كنفاني شكلت نقطة تحول في النهضة الأدبية الفلسطينية. فقد نُشرت الرواية في أوائل ستينيات القرن العشرين، تعليقًا على تداعيات النكبة الفلسطينية الناجمة عن الاحتلال الإسرائيلي لمعظم الأراضي الفلسطينية عام ١٩٤٨. وقد أثارت الرواية، التي ناقشت قضايا الاحتلال، والمقاومة، والتهجير، موجة واسعة من الإنتاج الأدبي في مجالات الرواية، والمسرح، والشعر، مما أسهم في تشكيل النهضة الأدبية الفلسطينية، التي بدأت في الستينيات واستمرت حتى تسعينيات القرن العشرين، حينما انتهت بعد اتفاقيات المصالحة بين السلطة الفلسطينية وإسرائيل في أوسلو.

الكلمات المفتاحية: البنية السردية، الأصوات، السلطة، الخلاص، الخطاب، المقاومة.