



FALL 2021
ISSUE 1

BRITISH JOURNAL OF TRANSLATION, LINGUISTICS AND LITERATURE

UK BRIGHT HORIZONS

Publishing House

UNIVERSAL SQUARE BUSINESS CENTRE

DEVONSHIRE ST., MANCHESTER, M12 6JH

British Journal of Translation, Linguistics and Literature (BJTLL), Vol. 1, No. 1, FALL 2021

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Email: bjtll@ukbrighthorizons.co.uk

Website: <https://journals.ukbrighthorizons.co.uk/index.php/bjtll>

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A Functional Approach to Linguistic Problems in Islamic Subtitling

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ARTICLE DATA

Received: 17 Sept. 2021
Accepted: 12 Nov. 2021
Volume: 1
Issue: FALL
DOI: 10.12345/bjttl.v1i1

KEYWORDS

Subtitling, constrained translation, Islamic TV programs, the Functional Approach, documentary/instrumental translation.

ABSTRACT

This study examines the linguistic challenges encountered in subtitling Islamic TV programs from Arabic to English. The formal and cultural discrepancies between the two languages cause some gaps in translation between them given their different lexical and grammatical systems. Linguistic features such as polysemy, semantic change, idioms as well as description of grammatical rules are common pitfalls that cause mistranslations in this area. These difficulties are further complicated by the space and time constraints which limit the amount of text shown on the screen and, thus, prevent the subtitler from clarifying ambiguous sections of the ST. Christian Nord's functional translation-oriented text analysis model is employed to analyze a sample of four real-life examples taken from programs broadcast on Al-Arabiya Channel and Iqraa TV. Findings show that documentary translation is suitable for the problems of lexical complexity while instrumental translation can overcome the difficulties of translating idioms and description of Arabic grammar to English-speaking viewers. Besides, the strategies of omission, condensation and compensation seem to be a necessity together with creative adaptations to maximize the communicativeness of the subtitles.

1. Introduction

This research explores the applicability of Nord's (1997) functional model to analyzing linguistic challenges in Islamic subtitles from Arabic into English. These challenges do not only emanate from the discrepancies between the two languages, but also from the space and time constraints imposed by the medium which restrict the translator's freedom to relay the ST effectively. Some Islamic TV channels e.g. Iqraa TV started to translate their Arabic programs into English to address the needs of Muslims abroad, especially in the West, and to acquaint Westerners with Islam in order to establish communication bridges between the two cultures. Translators encounter a wide range of difficulties including technical, cultural, rhetorical and informational challenges, but the current article investigates the linguistic pitfalls that complicate the work of the subtitler.

1.1 Statement of the research problem

Arabic and English belong to different language families which entails a considerable distance between them at the formal and cultural levels. This makes it more difficult to communicate ideas and meanings between them than between languages which are closer linguistically and culturally (English and German, for example). Normes (1999) argues that "The dissimilarity between languages creates differences that simply cannot be overcome, inevitably compromising the activity of translation" (p. 18). Linguistic phenomena such as polysemy, semantic change, idioms and special grammatical features are

among the most common pitfalls encountered by subtitlers of Islamic programs in translating from Arabic into English. While translation strategies like explication, paraphrase and footnotes can help the traditional translator to overcome such difficulties, many of these strategies seem to be impossible in subtitling due to the space and time limitations. This requires more creativity on the part of the subtitler who is expected to translate faithfully, produce meaningful subtitles which must also be concise, simple and clear to the target viewers and meet the technical limitations of the medium.

1.2 Research questions

- 1- What is the nature of linguistic pitfalls involved in subtitling Islamic TV programs from Arabic to English?
- 2- Which translation strategies are most appropriate to overcome these pitfalls?
- 3- How far do technical constraints affect the efficiency of subtitles and translation decisions?
- 4- To what extent is the Functional Approach effective in analyzing the problems of subtitling and offering solutions to them?

2. Theoretical background

2.1 Subtitling: A special form of translation

According to Gottlieb (1998), subtitling is a form of translation on the screen that has two features setting it apart from other forms of translation: "semiotic composition" and "time and duration" (p. 245). The first element refers to the shift of the channel of communication from "verbal auditory" (soundtrack of the original dialogue) to "verbal visual" (translated subtitles appearing on the screen). This shift leads to heavy loss in the semantic and cultural content of the original via translation, for no one can guarantee that "a film that is partly read can convey the same impression as the same film listened to" (ibid). The second element, i.e. time and duration, is one of the hardest challenges encountered by subtitlers. It refers to the duration of the subtitle on the screen, and this is a challenge because the subtitler has to convey as much as possible of the spoken dialogue in a written form, given the following considerations: First, the subtitle lasts for a few seconds on the screen (an average of 2-6 seconds). Second, it cannot exceed two lines (each line consists maximally of 37 characters, including spaces and punctuation marks). Third, it must be readable, in the sense that it should be concise enough for viewers to read during these few seconds regardless of the speed of the speaker(s). Gottlieb (1998) maintains that

Most television broadcasters demand a two-line subtitle of 60-70 characters to stay on the screen for 5-6 seconds, and presentation rates of more than 12 characters per second (cps) are not acceptable. Given that the speech tempo on the screen, as in normal conversation, is usually higher than the equivalent of 12 cps, a quantitative dialogue reduction is necessary. Due to lexical and syntactic differences between languages, this average measure of reduction may vary, but in television subtitling the text volume is typically reduced by one third (p. 247).

In fact, there are some variations to this reading speed. For example, at Iqraa TV (from which most of the current sample is taken), a reading speed of 13 cps is allowed, and this will serve as the standard in the current study. It is now clear that subtitling is different from traditional text translation in a number of ways. (1) It is a constrained type of translation (Titford, 1982) because subtitles cannot exceed a certain number of characters and duration on the screen. This means that it is (2) reductionist as it involves omission and condensation due to the space and time limitations. (3) Subtitling is also supplementary in the sense that subtitles (TT) do not replace the original soundtrack (ST), but they coexist to maximize the communicativeness of the audiovisual material for the target viewers. In this sense, subtitling is also described as (4) a multimodal and polysemiotic means of communication because it involves both written and spoken discourses as well as verbal and nonverbal elements that include the images, sound effects and other acoustic elements.

2.2 The role of pragmatics

Because of the technical limitations of the medium, subtitlers do not have enough space to write everything uttered by the speakers. Therefore, they have to translate the gist of the dialog, and the speaker's intention is more important than the actual words. Furthermore, the speaker's body language, gestures, tone of voice, even silence, can be pregnant with significant meaning that is not stated explicitly, and only the interlocutors can understand. In translating this information on the screen, the subtitler has to be aware of the deeper and covert pragmatic implications of these features in order to spill them out efficiently not only to a different language/culture, but also in a totally different mode of expression that has space and time constraints. Gottlieb (1998) asserts:

In subtitling, the speech act is always in focus; intentions and effects are more important than isolated lexical elements. This pragmatic dimension leaves the subtitler free to take certain linguistic liberties, bearing in mind that each subtitle must be phrased and cued as part of a larger polysemiotic whole aimed at unimpeded audience reception. (p. 247).

2.3 The functional approach

Translation, especially subtitling, is much more complex than simple inter-linguistic transfer: translation has intersections with pragmatics, cultural studies, communication studies and more. The purpose of translation, its place and time and the relationship between the source and target cultures all play a role in shaping the translation decisions. These dimensions have been taken into account in functionalist approaches to translation, especially Christiane Nord's (1997) Translation-Oriented Text Analysis Model which comprises the following components:

- i- The importance of the translation brief.** This component provides the following information: (1) the intended text function (informative, expressive, appellative or audio-medial); (2) the addressees (sender and receiver); (3) the time and place of text reception; (4) the medium (speech or writing) over which the text is transmitted; and (5) the motive (why the ST was written and why it is being translated) (Nord, 1997, p. 60; and Munday, 2001, p. 82).
- ii- The role of the ST analysis.** This includes the following elements: (1) subject matter; (2) content, including connotation and cohesion; (3) presuppositions (real-world factors of the communicative situation taken to form the participants' cultural background); (4) composition (including microstructure and macrostructure); (5) non-verbal elements, e.g. images, music and sound effects, italics, etc.; (6) lexical elements: including dialect, register and specific terminology; (7) sentence structure; (8) suprasegmental features, including stress, tone, rhythm, and 'stylistic punctuation', e.g. parentheses, brackets, dashes, ellipsis, etc. (Munday, 2001, p. 83).
- iii- The functional hierarchy of translation problems** consists of the following elements: (1) the appropriate type of translation (documentary or instrumental); (2) functional elements that will need to be adapted to the TT addressee's situation; (3) the translation style (source-culture or target-culture oriented); and (4) tackling the problems of the text at lower linguistic levels (as in the ST analysis in the second component above).

Nord highlights two major translation types that can be used to overcome different translation problems: documentary and instrumental. Examples of documentary translation include literal, word-for-word (interlinear), philological (exegetic, learned) and exoticizing translation strategies, where the ST form, content and/or situation are reproduced in the TT. These strategies focus on the morphological, lexical and syntactic ST features (Nord, 1997, pp. 47-48). On the other hand, instrumental translation includes freer translation strategies such as modulation, omission, equivalence, adaptation, transcreation,

euphemization and paraphrasing. This model is adopted to analyze the selected sample in this study due to its comprehensiveness and attention to the cultural and pragmatic aspects of subtitling.

3. Methodology

3.1 The sample

The sample consists of four real examples (utterances) and their translations which are taken from three different programs broadcast on Al-Arabiya Channel and Iqraa TV, namely *على خطى العرب* (In the Footsteps of the Arabs), *نساء خالداوات* (Immortal Women) and *دعوة للفرح* (A Call to Happiness)¹. These have been obtained by the kind permission of respective officials in both channels. The sample covers different topics (history, biographical information, monotheism, the Prophet's life, etc.), and they have been translated by different subtitlers. The aim of this is to find out different translation problems as well as the translation strategies used to overcome them.

3.2 Method of data analysis

Nord's translation-oriented text analysis model outlined above is used to analyze the selected sample due to its comprehensiveness and relevance to the research questions of the study. For example, the translation brief (first component of the model) gives information about the time and place of the ST and TT, the sender and receiver and their socio-cultural backgrounds which is crucial for the translation decisions and strategies which question 2 attempts to answer. The second component helps to answer the first question through the analysis of the ST. Moreover, the third component helps to answer the second question as it guides the subtitler to employ the most appropriate translation types and styles that are relevant to the communicative situation.

3.3 Procedures

- 1- The four examples are classified under four subcategories: polysemy, semantic change, idioms and explaining Arabic grammar.
- 2- Each example is presented along with background information about the context of the utterance, the episode and program it is taken from to facilitate full understanding of the utterance.
- 3- The original Arabic (ST), its first translation (TT-1) and a revised translation (TT-2) are cited in a three-column table. The first (leftmost) column contains the written script of the ST along with its duration onscreen by seconds [ST (Dur. 5.5 sec.)]. The second column contains the translation done by the first subtitler along with the number of characters and the reading rate (character per second or cps) explained earlier [TT-1 (132/ 24 cps)]. The last column cites the revised subtitle done by a more experienced translator/editor observing the technical restrictions and quality standards of the channel, as the following table illustrates:

ST (Dur. 5.5 sec.)	TT-1 (132/ 24 cps)	TT-2 (54/10 cps)
يقول الله عز وجل، بعد أعود بالله من الشيطان الرجيم بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم	God, the Almighty, said After seeking refuge in God from the cursed Satan In the name of God the Most Compassionate, the Most Merciful	God, exalted and glorified is He, says in this chapter:

¹ These are the names of the programs as translated by the broadcasters.

- 4- The ST and the two TTs are then analyzed in light of Christiane Nord's tri-partite model. Translation problems and strategies used to overcome them are identified. The TTs are compared and the more adequate/functional one is recommended.
- 5- In case none of the TTs is adequate or there is a better way to rephrase any of them, the researcher suggests his own version at the end of the analysis.

4. Analysis

4.1 Polysemous words

Arabic vocabulary items are so rich that a single word can carry a wide range of meanings, sometimes related (polysemous) and sometimes unrelated (homonymous), but they are described here as polysemous for simplification. One source of this multiplicity of meanings is the existence of 'technical', religious or specialized senses for words which also have 'general' senses. An example of this is the word **توحيد** which occurs in the following utterance taken from episode 29 of the program **على خطى العرب** (In the Footsteps of the Arabs), a documentary that relates the history of the Arabian Peninsula. In this particular episode, the presenter and the guest — who is a Saudi royal — speak about the unification of Saudi Arabia on religious bases.

ST (Dur. 6 sec.)	TT-1 (60/ 10 cps)	TT-2 (54/9 cps)
<p>إذا يا سمو الأمير هذا المكان شهد أعظم وحدة سياسية</p> <p>لبناء الدولة الوطنية تحت راية التوحيد</p> <p>والذي اتفق عليها الرجلين الرجلان العظيمان اللذان هم محمد بن سعود والإمام محمد بن عبد الوهاب</p>	<p>So this place witnessed the greatest political unity</p> <p>that built the national State under the banner of <u>unification</u></p> <p>by Imam Muhammad ibn Saud and Muhammad ibn Abd al-Wahhab.</p>	<p>So, this place witnessed the greatest political unity</p> <p>that built the national state under the banner of <u>Islam</u></p> <p>by Imam Muhammad ibn Saud and Muhammad ibn Abd al-Wahhab.</p>

As for the (i) translation brief, (1) the ST and TTs are equifunctional in the sense that all of them are informative (relating historical facts) and expressive (lauding the founders and judging the unity as "greatest", although the third subtitle is less expressive in TT-1 and TT-2 than the ST). (2) The ST sender is the program presenter who is hosting a Saudi prince to talk about the establishment of the Saudi Kingdom, and the receivers are Arab viewers. The TT-1 and TT-2 senders are freelancers (a translator and a reviewer, respectively) hired by Al-Arabiya TV to air this program to English-speaking viewers (3) in 2019 through satellite TV all over the world. (4) The ST is a spoken dialog while the TTs are written subtitles that supplement the original audiovisual material. (5) The ST and TTs' motive is to raise the viewers' awareness of the history and culture of the Arabian Peninsula, especially Saudi Arabia.

(ii) The ST analysis includes the following points: (1) The subject matter is historical accounts of the roots of the Saudi Kingdom, and how its rise led to Islamic revival in the Arabian Peninsula. (2) There are many historical connotations in this utterance. Referring to the city of Dir'iyya (the original home of the Saudi dynasty) earlier in the episode, the presenter is trying to stress the legitimacy of the Saudi regime by linking it to religious revivalism and the alliance between Muhammad ibn Saud (1685-1765), the progenitor of the current royal family, and Muhammad ibn Abdul-Wahhab (1703-1792), the founder of Wahhabism, a religious reform movement. This is also how cohesion works in the three subtitles cited in the table above, which

is symbolic of the claimed cohesion between religion and politics in the presenter's words. (3) Although this program can be watched and understood by all Arab viewers, the immediate audience addressed by the speakers are Saudis who are told to take pride in their national heritage by highlighting different archeological sites and cultural elements in the Saudi environment. Part of this culture is its allegedly strict version of Islam which is based on the so-called Wahhabism whose founder is also mentioned by name. It is usually equated with an uncompromising application of Islamic monotheism known in Arabic as *توحيد* i.e. oneness of God (Baalabaki, 1995, p. 388 and Wehr, 1976, p. 1055) which was the core of Imam Muhammad ibn Abdul-Wahhab's movement from which the Saudi regime derives its legitimacy. This is highlighted by the speakers to remind the (Saudi) viewers of this historical period, and maybe to urge them to trust their current government. (4) The composition of the subtitle in question can be problematic, and it has caused a mistranslation in TT-1. Microstructurally, it consists of two phrases which are parts of a longer sentence that runs over the three subtitles, and so it should be relocated within its macrostructure. That is why both the preceding and succeeding subtitles are also cited to provide more linguistic and cultural context. More macrostructure should even be taken into account, for what the TT-1 translator failed to do is to interpret this subtitle in light of the whole message of the episode. Three minutes earlier in the show, the guest speaker reiterated:

الدولة هذه قامت على هذا الأساس؛ قامت على أساس/ هذا التحالف الذي يعطي الإسلام القيمة الأولى في حياة الناس،/ يجمع شمل الناس تحت راية الإسلام بما تكونت جميع مكوناتها؛ العدل المساواة بين الناس، التناغم الشمل، القضاء على ما كان هنا من التشرذم والحروب...

This state was established on the basis of this alliance /that presented Islam as a prime value in people's life./ **It united the people under the banner of Islam** and its values:/ justice, equality, and reunification./ It ended the fragmentation and wars among the people ...

In other words, the guest speaker used the same collocation, *تحت راية* (under the banner of) previously, and it is used in the subtitle in question as well, but he made it explicit that this unification of Saudi Arabia was achieved “under the banner of *Islam*” whose central doctrine is monotheism — the technical sense of the problematic word *التوحيد*. However, the TT-1 translator opted for the general sense *unification*, confused by the talk about the *unification* of people in one nation-state by the two leaders mentioned above, thus producing the awkward collocation “under the banner of unification”. This mistranslation emanates from the translator's failure to ask himself: “*Do I know the exact meaning of the words in this context?*” (Gottlieb, 1994, p. 109). Di Giovanni also points to this problem, highlighting “the need to understand the context in order to bridge two cultures appropriately.” (2016, p. 3).

(5) Some non-verbal elements are present with the utterance on the screen (e.g. background music; the speakers' tour in the ruins of the old city of Dir'iyya, etc.). Therefore, the TTs have favorable cps rates (10 and 9 cps), enabling the viewers to watch the video and enjoy other filmic material. (6) The problematic lexical item here is the polysemous word *التوحيد* which has a general sense i.e. *unification* and a technical, religious, specialized one, i.e. *monotheism* which is a central Islamic doctrine and is sometimes taken to mean *Islam*, hence the collocation *دين التوحيد* (literally, the religion of monotheism). The TT-1 translator did not realize this complexity of the term and opted for the general meaning. But whether he made this mistake because of his unawareness of this semantic complexity or because of his heedlessness to the macrostructure of the episode is unknown. It is clear, however, that he was distracted by the mention of the literal ‘unification’ and ‘political unity’ (وحدة سياسية) of the kingdom under the Saudi dynasty. In addition to this problematic word, a few ST lexical items, i.e. *يا سمو الأمير* (your Royal Highness) are omitted from the TTs because the addressee is known onscreen and this form of address does not bear meanings very significant to the message. They are deleted to abridge the subtitle and to make it more readable. (7) The sentence structure is quiet simple and there is nothing difficult about it except that the analyzed subtitle does not stand alone. Both the TTs have managed to link it to the previous utterance, and, thus, they run smoothly although the next subtitle does not seem to run naturally after them, so

it needs to be reformulated. (8) There are no special suprasegmental features in these utterances perhaps due to the declarative tone which is typical of the informative function.

The third part of Nord's model is the (iii) functional hierarchy of translation problems detailed as follows: (1) The translation type applied in this subtitle is documentary translation because it is a simple statement of historical facts although the subtitles can be reformulated to run more fluently. (2) The functional elements adapted to the TT addressee's situation include deletion of redundant vocabulary in the last subtitle, namely "والذي اتفق عليها الرجلين الرجلان العظيمان واللي هم" as well as standardizing هم واللي into more formal English or deleting them to keep the same level of language. (3) The translation style is source-culture oriented; both TTs use the calque *under the banner of* as a translation of the original تحت راية. (4) Issues pertaining to lower linguistic levels include the morphological mistake the presenter made in mispronouncing the nominative الرجلان as if it were an accusative الرجلين before quickly correcting himself and code-switching from the formal to the informal اللي هم. These slips are characteristic of spoken discourse and are avoided in both translations.

Suggested reformulation: This city witnessed the political unification of Saudi Arabia/as a nation-state under the banner of Islam/ following the visions of Imams Muhammad ibn Saud and Muhammad ibn Abdul-Wahhab.

Semantic change

A polysemous word has different senses that function in modern day. However, there are some words which have undergone semantic change in the sense that they used to have one (or more) meaning(s) in the past, but it has been overshadowed by modern meanings. Because classical Arabic is still alive in religious discourse (Badawi, 1973, p. 126), these 'archaic' meanings pop up from time to time, escaping the attention of the inexperienced translator, and causing mistranslations. The following example is taken from the fixed introduction to the episodes of the series نساء خالدات (Immortal Women), a documentary commemorating famous and great female figures in Islamic history. This silent introduction shows visual signs at historical or archeological sites associated with those great figures, e.g. shrines, mosques, ancient madrassas or battlefields. The example here is a sign (a visual-verbal element) on a column inside the Prophet's Mosque in Medina named after his wife Aisha. The sign refers to the column thus: "هذه اسطوانة السيدة عائشة" and is clear on the screen.

ST (Dur. 2.7 sec.)	TT-1 (53/ 20.3 cps)	TT-2 (47/18 cps)
هذه اسطوانة السيدة عائشة (رضي الله عنها)	Here is a CD about Ayesha, a wife of prophet Muhamed	(The Column of Aisha, Wife of Prophet Muhammad.)

(i) The translation brief includes the following information. (1) The ST text functions are informative (name of the column) and expressive (showing veneration for the Prophet's wife Aisha through the supplication رضي الله عنها). The TTs' function is only informative, enhanced by *deleting* the expressive part and *adding* more information, namely "Wife of Prophet Muhammad". (2) The ST sender is the program producers (Iqraa TV), and the receivers are Muslim Arab viewers. The TTs' senders are Iqraa translators and the receivers are English-speaking audiences all over the globe, Muslim and non-Muslim. (3) This program was produced in 2012 and was watched over satellite TV. (4) The ST under analysis is a written sign on a column shown in a close-up on the screen. The TTs are written subtitles accompanying that visual element. (5) The ST is part of a TV documentary whose aim is to commemorate great Muslim women and to show the viewers the distinguished status of women in

Islam, which is also the motive of the translation although it is addressed to international audiences who have no access to the original Arabic ST.

(ii) The ST analysis is as follows. (1) The subject matter is historical and biographical accounts of great Muslim women. (2) In terms of content, the sign is written in beautiful Arabic calligraphy (in the *thuluth script*) which is typical of such religious contexts, and it is used here as a token of veneration for the Prophet's wife — which is also expressed in the common formula *رضي الله عنها* and the prefix *السيدة* both of which are deleted and compensated for as (iii-2) below demonstrates. The more significant part in terms of the informative function is *هذه اسطوانة السيدة عائشة* which is the central content for the TTs. In terms of cohesion, this part of the episode is self-contained semantically and syntactically although the translator should have also considered other parts of the episode to discern the intended meaning of the problematic word. (3) As for presuppositions, the ST viewers are aware of the person referred to in the sign, especially the name is preceded by the honorific prefix *السيدة* (Lady) and followed by the formulaic expression *رضي الله عنها* (May God be pleased with her). This background knowledge is most probably unknown to non-Muslims who may happen to be watching and reading the subtitles. Thus, the TTs have deleted these honorific parts and added more information about her — that she is the Prophet's wife. Pettit (2009) asserts that “The image situates the narrative within a specific geographical, historical, temporal and cultural context. Although cross-cultural codes might be present in the image, there will also be culture-specific visual signs which do not exist in the target culture” (p. 50). These culture-specific elements have been omitted and compensated for in the TTs. (4) The ST's artistic composition is significant in that it parallels the semantic, communicative value of its respective parts. In other words, the informative segment *هذه اسطوانة السيدة عائشة* is written in a font size much bigger than the expressive segment *رضي الله عنها* which anticipates the omission of this formula for technical and communicative reasons.

(5) The screen at this part of the episode abounds with many non-verbal elements: Besides the loud background music, it is so rich visually as it contains shots from inside the Prophet's Mosque in Medina with all its colorful decorations and calligraphies including the sign on the column under analysis. It is strange that the TT-1 translator did not pay attention to all this and opted for a very recent meaning of the word *اسطوانة* which resulted in an outright translation mistake as explained in the following point. (6) The honorific lexical elements have been explained in (2), (3) and (4) above. However, the problematic word which caused the mistranslation is *اسطوانة* rendered in TT-1 as *CD* and in TT-2 as *column*. Hans Wehr (1976, p. 16) and Baalbaki (1995, p. 105) give different meanings for this polysemous word including (a) column, (b) cylinder, (c) phonograph record, (d) roller, (e) drum, among others. It is clear that *CD* is not an original meaning of the word, but only an extension of (c) above. Baalbaki gives the meaning *disc*, a sense that outshined the others due to the proliferation of that technological device (the compact disc) that is simply referred to by its initials. Why the translator made this mistake is perhaps because she did not watch the video and was translating from the script only, and so she opted for the famous sense of the word. Or perhaps she was not aware that *اسطوانة* could have other meanings and thus did not look up this word in the dictionary to check its meanings. At any rate, the mistake resulted from a complete misunderstanding of the context in which this lexical item occurred. (7) The ST sentence structure is simple and unproblematic although the demonstrative article in the ST *هذه* has been replaced by *Here* in TT-1 due to the translator's misunderstanding of the context, and was deleted altogether from TT-2 perhaps due to its redundancy since it is self-evident that the sign refers to the column on which it is hung. Demonstrative articles are not normally used in signs which are kept succinct and concise. (8) There are no suprasegmental features in the sign since it is written, not spoken, although the different script sizes of the Arabic sign can function as ‘stylistic punctuation’ where words in bigger font are perceived as more semantically important than those in smaller font, as explained in (4) above.

(iii) The functional hierarchy of translation problems is detailed as follows. (1) Both documentary and instrumental translations are employed in this example: the former represented in the literal meaning of the complex word, and the latter represented in the compensation strategies applied to make up for the omission incurred. Therefore, grammar translation omission, addition and reformulation are adopted, as clear in the suggested solution below. (2) Functional elements that need to be adapted to the TT addressee's situation include considerable reduction due to the short presentation time (2.7 seconds). Both TT-1 and TT-2 are still too long and they need further condensation. Moreover, as mentioned above, honorific references to the Prophet's wife, e.g. السيدة الله عنها and رضي الله عنها have been deleted and replaced by "Wife of Prophet Muhammad" which is reckoned to be more informative to the TRs who, if they are not Muslim, would like to know who Aisha was, and what granted her the honor of having a pillar in the Prophet's Mosque named after her. Therefore, omission and addition occur in the same subtitle to provide information thought to be more relevant to the target viewers. (3) Therefore, the translation style is target-culture oriented. (4) Lower-level linguistic problems include the word اسطوانة whose modern meaning *CD* in TT-1 has been replaced by its archaic meaning *column* which is also 'more loyal' to the image on the screen. Furthermore, the TT-1 translator uses non-standard name spellings, e.g. *Aysha* and *Muhamed* and does not capitalize *prophet* before his name, all of which are unacceptable according to Iqraa quality standards. Hence, they have been replaced by the standardized *Aisha*, *Muhammad* and *Prophet*, respectively. Additionally, "wife" has been capitalized to add more veneration to this great Muslim figure who is often referred to as "Mother of the Believers". This particular example is a manifestation of Ramos Pinto's observation that adequate subtitles are not merely a written translation of the verbal input in films; rather, they are an attempt at conveying the interaction between different modes of communication on the screen, i.e., the dialog, images, sounds, setting and the sociocultural context (2018, pp. 19-20).

Although TT-2 above is more communicative for the target viewers, it is still longer than the ideal reading rate (13 cps), and viewers will thus find it difficult to read the entire 47-character subtitle in just 2.7 seconds. Therefore, a shorter version is suggested: "Column of Aisha, the Prophet's wife" (34 characters; 13 cps).

4.3 Arabic idioms

Linguistic challenges in translation are by no means confined to single words; they cover all aspects of linguistic analysis. Among these difficulties is the translation of idioms which lie at an intersection between language and culture and are sometimes regarded as culture-specific references (CSRs). The following example is excerpted from the 18th episode of the 2010 Ramadan series دعوة للفرح (A Call to Happiness) where the preacher relates a story involving the Prophet and some of his Companions.

ST (Dur. 5.2 sec.)	TT-1 (190/ 36.3 cps)	TT-2 (64/12.2 cps)
فأقبل عمرو بن العاص فلما رآه صلى الله عليه وسلم تهلل وجهه كأنه القمر ليلة 14 عليه الصلاة والسلام	So, Amr ibn Al-As came, and when the Prophet, peace and blessings of God be upon him, saw him, his face rejoiced as if it were the moon on the 14th night , peace and blessings be upon him.	When Prophet Muhammad saw Amr, his face radiated with happiness .

(i) The translation brief is detailed as follows: (1) The ST functions are basically informative (recounting the story of Amr ibn Al-As' conversion to Islam) and expressive (as clear in the simile comparing the Prophet's face to the full moon in its beauty). These two functions are replicated in TT-1 although the simile is replaced with a metaphor in TT-2 which is more

succinct. (2) The ST sender is the preacher while the receivers are his congregation in the mosque and Arab Muslims who are watching at home. The TT sender is a translator at Iqraa Subtitling Center and the receivers are international viewers around the world whose religious and cultural backgrounds are diverse. (3) This series was aired daily during the month of Ramadan in 2010 on Iqraa international satellite channels. (4) The ST medium is speech while the TT is written subtitles. (5) The motive behind the ST is to help Muslims (Arabs in this case) to lead a happier life through highlighting lessons from the Islamic tradition while the TT's purpose is to disseminate this message to the wider world by addressing English-speaking viewership who could be non-Muslims as well.

(ii) The ST analysis comprises the following elements: (1) The subject matter is biographical information about a Muslim figure. (2) The ST talks about two characters, i.e. Prophet Muhammad and his Companion Amr ibn Al-As. However, the preacher does not mention the Prophet's name, nor does he even say "the Prophet". Instead, he uses an honorific formula that is usually used to express devotion and reverence to him, namely *صلى الله عليه وسلم* and *عليه الصلاة والسلام* which are translated literally in TT-1 as "peace and blessings of God be upon him" and "peace and blessings be upon him", respectively. The two phrases under analysis are *تهلل وجهه* and *كانه القمر ليلة 14*, the former is an Arabic collocation denoting joy, while the latter is a famous idiom describing the beauty of a person's face. Both these elements are adapted to the TT's communicative situation as (iii-2) below explains. Moreover, the speaker uses *fa-* (then) as a cohesive marker twice in the ST to link the different clauses. However, there is no parallel use of *then* in the TTs which reformulate the message differently using *So* and *and* (TT-1) and only *When* (TT-2) adapting it to target language norms. (3) Two presuppositions might have been taken into consideration when the translation decisions were made. First, non-Muslim (non-Arab) viewers would not recognize the referent to whom the honorific formulas are made. Second, the image of the moon on the 14th night being a symbol of beauty might be specific to Arabic. Therefore, these two elements are adapted to the TRs' communicative situation. (4) With regards to the ST composition, the microstructure has two prominent features: redundancy as clear in the slightly varied repetition of *صلى الله عليه وسلم* and the ellipsis of the Prophet's name. This ellipsis is common in Arabic because the audience automatically knows that the Prophet is meant. This background knowledge is not possessed by non-Muslim viewers of the translated show, and thus the Prophet's name is prioritized in TT-2. Macrostructurally, this utterance is a digression from the main thread which is typical of that particular preacher. Therefore, it has been linked to the main theme of the episode and the series by referring to the concepts of happiness and joy, and this has been achieved in the TTs.

(5) Non-verbal elements are represented in the speaker's body language and smile which mirror the description of the Prophet's reaction when he saw Amr ibn Al-As. Therefore, TT-2 is abridged by almost two thirds (from 190 characters in TT-1 to only 64 in TT-2) to enable the viewers to observe this parallelism and to enhance the message in their heads. (6) Lexical elements are marked by redundancy in the ST: the formulaic expression *صلى الله عليه وسلم* is repeated twice with little variation, so it is deleted from TT-2 because it belongs to the Islamic religious register and has no equivalent in the TC. Additionally, *تهلل وجهه* and *كانه القمر ليلة 14* are two idiomatic expressions that are not translated literally in TT-2 where they are paraphrased and reformulated to give a more explicit meaning. (7) There is a great discrepancy between the sentence structures of the three versions: while TT-1 imitates the complex accumulation of clauses of the ST, TT-2 reduces the 6-clause utterance to only two clauses connected by the adverbial *when* at the beginning. This simplification makes it much easier for the target viewers to read and understand. (8) No suprasegmental features are present in this utterance which is articulated in a declarative tone that harmonizes with the dominant informative function.

The third component of Nord's model is (iii) the functional hierarchy of translation problems, described as follows: (1) Instrumental translation is adopted in TT-2 due to the adaptations made to align the message to TC norms as clear in: (2) (a) the simplification of the ST structure; (b) the reductive translation strategy, as clear in omitting two formulaic expressions due to both the space-time restrictions and the absence of an equivalent in the TL; (c) compensating for the omitted parts by adding the referent's name *Prophet Muhammad*; and (d) the two Arabic idiomatic expressions *تهلل وجهه* and *كانه القمر ليلة 14* have been merged into one English metaphor *radiated with happiness*, employing explicitation and reformulation at the same time. Despite this reduction to almost a third of what is actually said, the TT-2 is still faithful to the original because *his face radiated with happiness* reflects the meanings of both *تهلل وجهه* and *كانه القمر ليلة 14*. The collocation *تهلل وجهه* means to rejoice (Hans Wehr, 1976, p. 1030 and Baalbaki, 1995, p. 384), and this is reminiscent in *his face* and *with happiness*, while TT-2's *radiated* is so easy to associate with *القمر ليلة 14*. This analysis is in harmony with Kabara's (2015) emphasis that although subtitling is reductive in nature, condensation can preserve the essence of the original denotative meaning but in fewer words to comply with the time and space restrictions. That is, omitting language does not necessary entail "omitting meaning" (p. 169). (3) This also shows that the translation style is target-culture oriented. (4) Lower-level linguistic elements have been tackled in (ii-4, 6, 7 and iii-2) above. Finally, TT-2 is recommended owing to its functionality, fluency and communicativeness. @Neves (2004) asserts that

in audiovisual translation fidelity is particularly due to an audience that, like the receiver of simultaneous interpretation, is in need of communicative effectiveness, rather than in search of artistic effect — as is the case in literary translation — or of exact equivalence — as happens with technical translation (p. 135).

Description of Arabic grammar

Moving on to sentence structure, translation difficulties become more stubborn as the speaker explains the particularities of Arabic grammar which have no equivalent in English. This difficulty multiplies given the fleeting nature of subtitles and the very limited time and space available to explain the ST to the target viewers. The following example is taken from episode 12 of the Ramadan series *دعوة للفرح* (A Call to Happiness) where the preacher narrates a funny anecdote involving Al-Walid ibn Abdul-Malik, an Umayyad ruler and his cousin Umar ibn Abdul-Aziz, a notable scholar and a future Caliph. The former made a grammatical mistake as he was reciting a Qur'anic verse while delivering a Friday sermon that earned him the ridicule of the latter.

ST (Dur. sec.)	TT-1	TT-2
(3.5 sec.) اسمع بخطب الجمعة ويش يقول:	(57/ 16 cps) Listen to what he said while delivering the Friday sermon:	(48/13.7 cps) While Al-Walid was delivering the Friday sermon,
(5 sec.) قال: يقول العبد يوم القيامة: "يا ليتها كانت القاضية" هي القاضية	(97/19.4 cps) He said: "Some individuals will say on the Day of Resurrection: 'I wish that it would be my end!' "	(70/14 cps) he made a mistake in reciting the verse, "I wish that it'd be my end!"
(3.8 sec.) قال تأخذك وتريحنا منك!	(59/ 15.5 cps) Umar said: "May it be your end! It will be a relief for us!"	(35/9.2 cps) So, his cousin said, "Amen to that!"

(i) The translation brief includes the following points: (1) The ST text function is appellative (telling a funny story to make the congregation laugh). The subtitler tried to reproduce that function in the TT. (2) The ST sender is a famous preacher hired by Iqraa TV and the receivers are a congregation in the mosque and Iqraa Arab viewers. The TT sender is a subtitler working for Iqraa and the receivers are Western audiences who read the subtitles in English. (3) This program was aired in 2010

on satellite TV in the Arab World and globally. (4) The ST medium is speech while the TT medium is written subtitles fleeting on the screen. (5) The ST motive is to entertain the audience, a purpose that the translator tried to retain in the TT.

(ii) The ST analysis is broken down to the following points: (1) The subject matter of the whole episode is religious preaching aiming at boosting the viewers' morale. However, these particular utterances present a joke based on a witty comment on a grammatical mistake. (2) The content of the utterances is centered around the mispronunciation of a word in a famous Qur'anic verse [Q69:27] that depicts the regret, sorrow and horror that will be experienced by wicked people on the Day of Judgment. Because God will call them to account for their crimes and throw them into Hellfire, every one of them will cry: "I wish that it would be my end", asking for death but it will not be granted to him. The speaker here is saying that Al-Walid ibn Abdul-Malik, an Umayyad Caliph, recited this verse in his Friday sermon to admonish his congregation so that they might do good deeds and avoid that fate. However, he made a morphological mistake, pronouncing the word القاضية as *alqadiyatu* while it should be pronounced as *alqadiyata* according to Arabic grammar. That Caliph was not a very just ruler, a fact that enraged his pious cousin, Umar ibn Abdul-Aziz, who seized this opportunity to vent his anger and resentment by projecting the Qur'anic verse on him as a curse, meaning to say, "May your end come soon!" (3) Morphological inflection of words is known in Arabic, and words take different inflections in the form of suffixes, some of which are written in Arabic as the diacritics َ, ُ and ِ (pronounced as *-a*, *-u* and *-i*, respectively), depending on the case of the word and its function in the sentence. That is why the speaker explains this point to his Arab audience who learn the basics of Arabic grammar at school. However, because English does not use such case inflections, the subtitlers have presupposed that the TRs would not know them; therefore they omitted any reference to them in the TTs because they would not make any sense and would just consume more of the already limited space on the screen. However, the TT-2 subtitler compensated for this omission by stating that the original speaker made a grammatical mistake.

(4) The macrostructural composition of the three utterances is interesting in that it juxtaposes formal and informal discourse varieties: the first one is informal because it is the speaker's own words. The second utterance is in classical Arabic where he cites the Caliph and the Qur'anic verse. The last utterance is rather a mix between informal and classical Arabic because the vocabulary items are basically formal but his pronunciation is close to his local accent. This code-switching between different levels of Arabic adds to the comic effect of the utterances, a feature that disappears from the standardized TT. (5) Non-verbal elements include the giggle of the speaker and his congregation in the mosque. This puts pressure on the subtitler to make the translation funny in order to help the viewers understand why the congregation is laughing. (6) Besides the different registers and linguistic levels used in the utterances as underlined in (ii-4) above, the second utterance is the most lexically complex in that it contains religious terminology such as العبد and يوم القيامة because they are part of a sermon. It also contains the problematic word القاضية which is pronounced twice, the first in the ungrammatical way as part of a quotation, and the second in its correct pronunciation, as shown in (ii-3) above. These lexical items have undergone linguistic and cultural adaptations as explained in (iii-2) below. (7) Sentence structure has also undergone some adaptation: while the first sentence starts with an imperative verb اسمع and the other two are declarative statements, TT-2 has changed the imperative to a declarative to simplify the message and shorten the lines, resulting in rhetorical loss in the target version. (8) The ST is also rich in suprasegmental features that consolidate the rhetorical effect of the joke. For example, the first utterance which is the speaker's own words is articulated at a pitch lower than the following two ones which are quotations from the two historical characters he is talking about. This difference of pitch marks the transition from direct to reported speech. Moreover, in the second utterance, the speaker pronounces the second occurrence of the problematic word القاضية in a rising tone to draw the audience's attention that this is the correct

pronunciation of the word. Again, all these features are missed in the TT due to the linguistic particularities of Arabic, a fact that endorses Nornes' claim that "The dissimilarity between languages creates differences that simply cannot be overcome, inevitably compromising the activity of translation" (1999, p. 18).

These idiosyncrasies necessitate a description of (iii) the functional hierarchy of translation problems which includes the following components: (1) The TT-2 employs instrumental translation due to the many (2) functional elements adapted to the TT addressee's situation. First, the imperative in the first utterance has been replaced with a declarative voice because it is shorter and simpler. Second, the TT-2 subtitle added the name of the person the speaker is quoting (Al-Walid) in order not to confuse the viewers as to who is saying what, especially there is another participant (Umar), and just saying *he* as in the ST could confuse the TRs. Third, the word العبد which literally means a *slave* is avoided in both TT-1 and TT-2 due to its negative connotations. In a religious context like this, this word simply means a *person* or an *individual* as TT-1 has put it since any individual is a slave of God in Islamic discourse even if he is a free person. Therefore, TT-1 has chosen a modern equivalent while TT-2 has deleted it altogether along with the whole context of who will say that quotation and when. TT-2 incurred a huge loss, but the translator felt it was necessary owing to the spatio-temporal restrictions according to which the TT-2 is still longer than the standard reading rate despite this reduction. Fourth, reference to the different inflections of the word الفاضية which occurs twice in the ST is also omitted from both TT-1 and TT-2 because English has no equivalent for such a morphological feature. The humor is reproduced through the second person's comment on the mistake made by the first person which takes the form of a curse against him. The subtitle has used addition and reformulation in the first subtitle; omission, compensation by explication in the second and transcreation, omission and adaptation in the third. Perhaps the TT-2 subtitle did not state the name of Umar ibn Abdul-Aziz in the last subtitle as he did with Al-Walid in the first because he did not want to associate that pious person (who is highly respected in Islamic history) with uttering a curse for fear that the TRs might have a negative impression about him, an effect completely different from, even contradictory to, the effect created by the mention of that name in the SC. In this case, omission is employed to retain a similar effect in the TC. These adaptations are justified by Gottlieb's assertion that

In films and other artefacts from nondominant cultures, almost all such items will be known only to their original audiences. With subtitled productions from such minor speech communities, foreign audiences have to rely almost entirely on the informational content in the subtitles.... [S]ubtitling 'against the current' ... would be expected to display more explicatory, adaptive and deletive strategies (2009, p. 27).

(3) It is obvious, therefore, that the TT-2 is target-culture oriented. (4) Lower level linguistic problems have been analyzed in (ii-2, 3, 6, 7, 8) and (iii-2) above. Finally, despite the functionality of TT-2 in the last subtitle, it is too far from the original. Therefore, because the time and space allotted to this subtitle allow more text to be inserted, I propose the following alternative translation which is more loyal to the ST: "Umar said: 'Your end will be a relief to us!'" (44/ 11.5 cps).

5. Findings and discussion

The detailed application of Nord's functional model has revealed a number of features typical of Islamic subtitling. First, the ST comprises both formal and informal utterances, the latter is sometimes used to explain or comment on the former. This code-switching is a common characteristic of spoken discourse. However, informalities are standardized in the subtitles which follow the conventions of written discourse. This is one source of the stylistic incongruence between the spoken ST and the written TT and the irreversibility of subtitling. Second, grammatical and morphological mistakes in the ST are corrected in the TT, for mistakes are not tolerated in written discourse. Third, one aspect of the reductive nature of subtitling is that the informative function is prioritized in the TT over other (expressive and/or appellative) functions both for subtitles to be

communicative and simpler and to align them with the space and time constraints. Fourth, imperatives and direct speech in the ST are changed into declaratives and reported speech in the TT to simplify the structure, shorten the lines, and make the message more direct to facilitate the viewers' comprehension, given the fleeting subtitles on the screen.

Furthermore, omission and deletion are used together sometimes; the former to delete redundancies, less important details and information irrelevant to the TC, the latter to contextualize the subtitles, compensate the losses incurred by omission and to add background information necessary for the viewers to understand the translation.

5.1 Answering the research questions of the study

1- What is the nature of linguistic pitfalls involved in subtitling Islamic TV programs from Arabic to English?

This study does not claim to be exhaustive, but analysis of the sample has shown some of the most common pitfalls in this area of translation. Lexical complexity is one of these problems, and it can take the form of polysemy or semantic change both of which imply multiplicity of meanings. The former occurs when a word has more than one meaning who are still functional in modern day. One meaning can be technical and the other can be general. This is a pitfall because the subtitler can opt for a meaning which is not intended due to his unawareness of the other meaning(s), or because of inattention to the larger context or macrostructure of the episode. Semantic change occurs to a word that acquires new meanings that overshadow its original or classical ones. Mistranslations may occur if the subtitler opts for the new common meanings alone due to unawareness of the classical meanings and incompetence in classical Arabic which is still alive in religious discourse (Badawi, 1973). Although visual elements on the screen can provide clues to the intended meanings, some subtitlers ignore the complex, polysemiotic nature of subtitling and miss these clues because they translate from the script without watching the video. Therefore, all filmic components must be taken into consideration in the translation decisions.

Idioms, especially culture-specific ones, can also be a source of mistakes. Subtitlers who translate *from* their native tongue may take them for granted and translate them literally thinking that they exist in the TL with the same denotations and connotations. The moon, for instance is a symbol of beauty in Arabic while it is a symbol of "changeability and moodiness" in English (Tawfik, 2020, p. 63). Therefore, a literal translation of the moon idiom in the third example above could have mystified the meaning because the overall meaning of an idiom cannot be deduced from the separate words. Likewise, describing SL-specific grammatical rules in the ST is a major problem because they do not have a TL equivalent. These are actually untranslatable and their omission is inevitable, leading to translation loss which can cause viewers' dissatisfaction, especially if they form the backdrop of a certain situation or a joke. All these challenges are further complicated by the limited space on the screen which requires considerable summarization and condensation, and prevents the subtitler from providing necessary background information.

2- Which translation strategies are most appropriate to overcome these pitfalls?

Documentary translation strategies (e.g. literal and grammar translations) are appropriate for the problems of lexical complexity (polysemy and lexical change) since accuracy of the intended meaning are the aim in light of the context and macrostructure of the episode/program. The subtitler should also look up polysemous words in authoritative technical dictionaries even if s/he knows some of their general meanings. For semantic change, competence in classical Arabic and good use of dictionaries and other resources are essential. Moreover, the subtitler should pay attention to the polysemiotic structure of the

audiovisual material and try to find clues to the intended meaning in the images as well as verbal and non-verbal elements in the video.

Instrumental translation strategies like explicitation and paraphrase can be an efficient solution for culture-specific idioms although condensation is required to cope with the limited space on the screen. For the description of language-specific grammatical rules, instrumental techniques such as omission, compensation and explicitation are also effective since these rules do not exist in the TL. However, they can be referred to or explained in case the form the background of a certain situation described by the speaker.

In general, omission is necessary in most cases to delete irrelevant and less significant information and to comply with technical restrictions. Concise additions are useful in many cases to provide background information and context for the subtitles as a means of compensation. Reformulation of subtitles is indispensable to make them idiomatic, simple, legible and easily comprehensible for viewers. The subtitler is also expected to be flexible and creative in employing adaptations that suit the communicative situation s/he is reproduce in the TL. In short, “it is up to the translator... to reach a compromise between a desire to translate faithfully and the necessity of making alterations due to technical limitations” (Polcz, 2008, p. 294).

3- How far do technical constraints affect the efficiency of subtitles and translation decisions?

In order to produce viewer-friendly subtitles that can be read comfortably, the subtitler is forced to delete a considerable part of the ST message from the TT which causes translation loss. Examples of this include the omission of the expressive function from the TT where the informative one is prioritized to make the subtitles meaningful to the target viewers. However, this causes loss at the semantic, cultural, rhetorical and aesthetic levels. Compensation is recommended through adding some background information, but this is not always possible due to the limited space. That is why creativity is a big asset to close this gap, although it cannot be ensured. As a result, “All of us have, at one time or another, left a movie theater wanting to kill the translator. Our motive: the movie's murder by ‘incompetent’ subtitle” (Nornes, 1999, p. 17).

4- To what extent is the Functional Approach effective in analyzing the problems of subtitling and offering solutions to them?

Nord’s translation-oriented text analysis model has three components: the first covers pragmatic aspects and highlights the functional elements in both the ST and TT (function, motive, participants, place and time, etc.). This is crucial for the subtitler to know at the beginning in order to compare both ST and TT audiences, identify the purpose of the translation and the adaptations that suit the target viewers. Identifying the place and time of reception helps the subtitler take the source and target cultures into account when making the translation decisions. The second part of the model analyzes smaller linguistic elements in the ST such as the subject matter, content, lexical elements, sentence structure and suprasegmental features. The analysis has shown that this is useful in finding solutions to the linguistic problems. Moreover, the model covers textual elements such as the composition with its microstructure and macrostructure which are crucial for understanding the intended meanings of complex lexis and to produce accurate translations. The third component of Nord’s model identifies the ST elements that need to be adapted to the TRs’ communicative situation. This enables the translator to make insightful decisions as to the translation type and style that are most appropriate for that situation. This comprehensive model provides the subtitler with a bird’s-eye view of the whole text as one unit of communication (Nord, 1997, p. 67).

6. Conclusion

This study has investigated the linguistic challenges of subtitling Islamic TV programs from Arabic into English from a functional point of view. Using Nord's model to analyze the selected sample, translation problems tend to arise from polysemy, semantic change (especially when traditional meanings of lexical items become archaic), idioms as well as references to language-specific grammatical features. These translation traps are further complicated by the limited time and space allotted for subtitles on the screen — a limitation that restricts the translator's ability to explain certain information or compensate for losses caused by the technical constraints. Documentary translation has been found to be appropriate for lexical complexity while instrumental translation can solve the problems of translating idioms and SL-specific grammatical features. Omission, condensation and reformulation must be employed along the other strategies in a creative and flexible way to adapt the SL elements to the TL communicative situation and overcome the limitations of the medium.

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Bilingual Dictionaries: From Theory to Computerization

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ARTICLE DATA

Received: 30 Sept. 2021

Accepted: 18 Nov. 2021

Volume: 1

Issue: FALL

DOI:

KEYWORDS

lexicography, bilingual

dictionaries, semantic

concordance, parallel corpus

ABSTRACT

This paper suggests a computationally-enhanced model of an English –Arabic dictionary based on a systematically empirical linguistic analysis of the source language and target language systems in contradistinction to the introspective intuitions of bilingual lexicographers. In this model, computerized text corpora and bilingual semantic concordances play a key role in turning out a reliable bilingual dictionary that does not only serve the purposes of all types of Bilingual Dictionary users but will also be a robust bilingual repertoire in bilingual Natural Language Processing systems such as rule-based Machine Translation.

1. Introduction

Notwithstanding the great advances in the fields of lexical semantics and computational lexicology, bilingual lexicography (BL) is still a far cry from being a scientific discipline per se. Bilingual comparative analysis of the source language and the target language has not yet built itself into the toolkit of the bilingual lexicographer. Computerization as far as bilingual lexicography is concerned is still restricted to such surface-level automation as can be sufficient to transform a book dictionary into a computerized form. This attitude is definitely oblivious to what potentialities artificial intelligence and smart computation can have for updating the linguistic content of bilingual dictionaries beyond what mere CD –Rom churning can. On the other hand, linguistic theories on bilingual lexicography have been governed-somewhat unconsciously-by commercial considerations. Still in the literature on bilingual dictionaries we can read something about the “purpose” of the dictionary and whether it is targeted for production of the TL by SL users or comprehension of an SL by certain TL users, depending on the direction of the SL-TL pair. This view has always governed such critical issues as sense discrimination in both the source language and target language, rendering the need for semantic disambiguation in a bilingual dictionary (BD) subject to the pre-determined purpose of the dictionary. This paper tries to expose the shortcomings of this view, adopting a different theoretical position which sees the unity of purpose as the basis of building the architecture of the bilingual dictionary so that it becomes suited to the needs of all users, be they average users ,specialized ones ,language learners or translators and be they native speakers of the source language or the target language. At the same time, it would be fair to argue that that eclectic view of the bilingual dictionary can be attributed to the limited space made available in paper dictionaries. However, such an argument, one can contend, is no longer valid once we have adopted full-fledged computerization- with its immense potential for storage and retrieval of large chunks of data- as an irrecoverable substitute for the paper dictionaries. In this way, an integrated bilingual dictionary which unifies purpose and content may well come into existence.

1.1 Theoretical Framework

Bilingual contrastive analysis can be done in two stages which can also be regarded as two paradigms for this type of analysis. The first stage is the preparatory stage, which involves a thoroughgoing comparative and contrastive analysis of the two language systems and the relative position syntactic categories occupy in both of them before embarking on the compilation work. The second stage is the compilation stage in which contrastive analysis focuses on the lexical transfer part of the process. In this part, the lexicographer will select lexicographical equivalents for SL words from a repertoire of translational equivalents provided by bilingual text corpora. Most existing BDs reflect a level of contrastive analysis based on either of the two stages just mentioned. This is why BD theorists classify bilingual dictionaries correspondingly into two broad categories which reflect either one or the other of these two paradigmatic stages. These two categories are: the segmental BD and the idiomatic BD (Piotrowski: 1994.p.148). A segmental BD contains decontextualized lexemic equivalents which are supposed to be substitutional forms to be used by bilingually competent users such as translators. An idiomatic dictionary contains highly contextualized lexemic equivalents together with preconstructed expressions. Thus, it is best suited for production of SL texts by non-native speakers of the TL or for comprehension of L1 by L1 learners when they are native speakers of L2. It can be suited also for communication based on comprehension by, say, tourists or businessmen, but not so much for translation. This is because translators need ready lexemic equivalents which they can substitute for the source words in the target text at hand rather than idiomatic paraphrases since they are supposed to be already aware of the semantic subtleties of both languages.

It seems, then, that segmental BDs are the most suitable for the purposes of translators. However, segmental BDs usually contain lexical equivalents which serve as contrastive lexical components in the TL system rather than "real" translational equivalents that can be substituted automatically for SL words. For example, all known French-English dictionaries supply the quantitative adjective *some* as a direct equivalent of *de*, despite the fact that a corpus-based statistical study conducted by Catford (1965) had found that the actual translational equivalent of *de* in English is (0), that is, it is not translated. Yet this equivalent was motivated by a belief that the two words occupy the same position in their respective language systems. At any rate, there is certainly a difference between using translation as a paradigm against which we model our BD and considering it the be-all and end-all target of the BD.

To use translation as a paradigm in BL is to consider it as a *tertium comparationis*, that is a third model against which the other two approaches of the segmental and idiomatic BD are compared with a view to integrating them into a single approach. This segmental-idiomatic approach assumes that translational equivalents can be included in a BD as lexicographical equivalents if they follow a regular pattern of occurrence. The pattern should be so regular that translation equivalents can be reduced to a definite and at the same time variegated number of lexicographical equivalents which represent this pattern in a balanced manner. At the same time, they are to be excluded by the lexicographer when they are irreducibly irregular or infrequent and randomly dispersed in TL stretches of discourse. We cannot hope that the successful lexicographical equivalents will be fit for substituting SL words in all relevant contexts, but we can expect them to be so for the greatest number of contexts in which SW is likely to occur. It should be also noted that this substitutability presupposes an unchanged SW status on the morphological and syntactical levels and that any change at these levels may affect this substitutability so that the one remaining constant will be: meaning.

This integrational approach cannot be fully realized in a paper dictionary because in such a case translational equivalent will stand as segmental equivalents which, due to considerations of space, will not be accompanied by a representative variety of expressions in which they occur in TL texts and thus will serve only one purpose, that of translation. However, in a corpus-based bilingual dictionary, these expressions will serve two purposes: to show the validity of the translational equivalents as lexicographical equivalents, account for their diversity and to be explanatory examples for unsophisticated users. The electronic

dictionary seems to be the optimum solution for implementing this view. It should be noted that this solution cannot come out in the form of an automatic acquisition of the lexicographical equivalence data provided by the lexicographer as an output from the compilation stage but rather in the form of this data linked to the natural contexts from which the equivalents were derived. This will require building bilingual semantic concordances, a possibility which will be discussed in section v.

1.2 Translation V.s Lexical Transfer

Before we start, a certain stumbling block has to be removed which has often stood in the way of compiling a bilingual dictionary based on a sound linguistic basis: that is lexicographers' inattention to the difference between lexical transfer involved in translation and that involved in bilingual dictionary-making. Bilingual dictionaries may go to extremes in stating what should remain implied, which results in an explanatory equivalent rather than a lexical one. Such a kind of equivalent will soon prove to be a fiasco once we encounter the SL word in a different context than that which the lexicographer had in mind while lexically transferring it into the TL. For example, the English noun abortionism is translated by Al-Nafees English-Arabic dictionary as *تأييد حرية الإجهاض* (literally: supporting the freedom of abortion). When this noun occurs in a sentence like: The US supports abortionism, it becomes easy to see how erratic such an equivalent is, due to the lexical tautology it causes when we use it in translating this sentence into Arabic. It transpires that the more terminological equivalent *حرية الإجهاض* "freedom of abortion" is the proper one, for it serves both the purpose of comprehension and that of production and would cover a wider spectrum of the contextual occurrence of the SL term than the explanatory equivalent.

2. Contrastive Semantic Analysis:

2.1 Polysemy in the source language

Perhaps the most important challenge for a bilingual dictionary user, be he a reader or a translator of a text written in the source language, is to figure out the meaning of the lexical unit for which he seeks a lexical equivalent from between the lines of the source language text. The next step is to spot the nearest equivalent to that meaning from the "map" of lexical equivalents listed by bilingual dictionaries for that lexical unit. If the reader or translator is already familiar with all the senses of the source word, he will not make a hard job of "recognizing" the proper TL equivalent as he goes through his bilingual checklist. Otherwise, the practiced user, say a translator or a specialized reader, will perhaps first resort to a SL monolingual dictionary, in order to compare the different meanings listed under the entry for the SL word with the contextualized lexical unit, as it occurs in the source text at hand, till he settles on a satisfactory sense mapping. Then he may consult a bilingual dictionary in search of an exact TL equivalent. As for the language learner or the general user, they may well dispense with the SL dictionary intermediation simply by browsing all the lexical equivalents catalogued by the bilingual dictionary for the source word. The browsing will continue till they find an approximation which they think is the closest thing to the meaning of the source word in the given text, which is an even harder task.

It is our contention that the bilingual dictionary should reduce these steps to a minimum and save its users all this trouble by stating the various meanings of the source language word. Most bilingual dictionary theorists argue that the bilingual dictionary should not state the different meanings of the SL polysemous word unless there is semantic ambiguity in both languages. That is, when there is a polysemous target word for each meaning of a polysemous source word.

The problem with such views is that they restrict comprehension and production to the limited area of temporary users such as language learners and general readers. What about advanced bilingual dictionary users like translators and academic writers? A

translator, for example, would want to use the dictionary for comprehension and production at the same moment: comprehension of the SL and production of the TL. Therefore, he would like to have a well-defined SL meaning linked to an accurate TL equivalent, regardless of whether he is a native or non-native speaker of the source language, and to the elimination of SL dictionary intermediation.

There are two models of the monolingual lexicon which the bilingual lexicographer can choose from when he sets about the task of incorporating the SL meanings into his dictionary. These two models are: the sense enumerative lexicon and the generative lexicon. The former assumes that a multi-sense word has a definite number of meanings which may be unified under one sense spectrum, a phenomenon which lexical semanticists call polysemy, or they may not be unified by the same sense spectrum, a phenomenon traditionally known as homonymy. A prototypical example of polysemy is that of the noun *bank*, which could mean a 'financial institution' or the 'building' used by that institution. The same word can also provide us with a typical example of homonymy when it means 'side of a river', a meaning which has nothing to do with the previous ones. As for the generative lexicon, it rejects the idea of a word having a pre-determined set of meanings on grounds that word meaning is affected by the context, the linguistic and the non-linguistic one, and is constantly subject to change in such a way that the sense enumerative lexicon cannot track.

Thus meaning, according to this model, is generated from usage. Let's take the example of an adjective like *fast*. According to the sense enumerative lexicon, three sense spectrums can be tracked of this word within which any subsequent usage of it has to be understood. The word *fast* may indicate the speed of an event or an action as in *fast trip*, or it can indicate the speed of an object when it is the initiator of the speed as in *fast runner* and *fast car*. Finally, it can indicate the speed of an object when this object, which is expressed by the noun the adjective qualifies, is the product of the speed rather than the producer or initiator of it as in *fast meal*. When an expression like *fast road* occurs, it is automatically mapped, according to the sense enumerative lexicon, to the second meaning. This will be rejected by the generative lexicon model on the grounds that what is being described as "fast" here is not the road, but, rather, the cars speeding on it, which is a new meaning generated from the context and other meanings can be generated from other contexts if we have a reliable corpus.

In order for the generative lexicon model to be implemented in a bilingual dictionary, this will require computerized bilingual text corpora where SL meanings are generated from the contextual co-occurrences of SWs and then mapped to their TL equivalents. The computational paradigm can provide us with a means to integrate the two models of the generative and sense enumerative lexicons. This comes about by extending the repertoire of the sense enumerative lexicon beyond a finite list through comparing the already given meanings against corpus sense-in-text and generating new meanings to be constantly added to the list of meanings.

2.2 Lexical Equivalents in the Target Language

One can argue that bilingual dictionary theories focus mainly on word-to-word equivalence and sense-to-word equivalence and don't give due attention to meaning-to-meaning equivalence. Before carrying the discussion, a step further, I would first like to make clear what I mean by these three terms. Word-to-word equivalence is the simplest form of lexical equivalence; it exists when there is a monosemous source word mapped to a monosemous target word. Sense-to-word equivalence occurs when there is a polysemous source word for each meaning of which there is a separate lexical item in the TL lexicon, which does not intersect semantically with it except in respect of that meaning. In other words, the target word in such a case could be monosemous or polysemous. If it is monosemous, there will naturally be semantic equivalence between it and the particular SW meaning for

which it was selected. If it is polysemous, the semantic equivalence will hold only between one of its meanings and the meaning of the SW for which it was selected, while other SW meanings will be covered by other, different TWs and so on.

Meaning-to-meaning equivalence, on the other hand, occurs when all the senses of a SW can be mapped to all the senses of a TW without need to go to different TWs to translate the different SW senses. From now onwards I will give a lexical equivalent resulting from meaning-to-meaning equivalence the term semantic equivalent while a lexical equivalent resulting from sense-to-word equivalence, or word-to-word equivalence will be assigned the term lexical-word equivalent.

2.2.1. Semantic Equivalents

A semantic equivalent in the sense just defined could be isomorphic or non-isomorphic, depending on the degree to which the meanings of both the source word and the target word are identical. An isomorphic semantic equivalent occurs when there is a source word which has a certain number of senses or semantic extensions, linked by the same semantic spectrum, and a corresponding target word, having the same number of senses and the same collocational range. Therefore, the TW is said to represent an isomorphic semantic equivalent of the SW if (1) the meanings of the TW are linked by the same semantic spectrum as that whereby the SW meanings are linked; (2) the TW is valid as a lexical equivalent of the SW in all of the latter's contextual co-occurrences (i.e. its immediate collocational range, which the lexicographer discovers through a thorough-going corpus investigation of the word). In such a case, the lexicographer, and often the translator as well, will not need, as we have noted, to go to a separate lexical item in the target language lexicon for each meaning of the source word and will use the same isomorphic TW for all meanings. For example, the English verb collapse has three meanings linked by the semantic spectrum of "falling down". This "falling down" could be literal, figurative or psychological, as illustrated below by 1. (a),(b) and (c) respectively:

1. (a) The building collapsed
- (b) Negotiations collapsed
- (c) The man collapsed

It is to be observed that the Arabic verb ينهار (collapse) has the same three meanings of the English verb and in this way, there will be no need to use a lexical-word equivalent pertaining to a different semantic spectrum or an explanatory equivalent which, in addition to being lexically clumsy, does not communicate the SW meaning precisely, as we find in Al-Mawrid English-Arabic dictionary. In this dictionary, we encounter the Arabic verb يخفق (fail), which means: to fail, as the equivalent of the second sense of collapse. For the third sense, the dictionary supplies a paraphrase: يصاب بضعف شديد (literally: to be affected by severe weakness). This means that the isomorphic semantic equivalent is the ideal lexical equivalent not only on account of its broad semantic coverage but also for its semantic exactitude. One can argue that behind this bilingual semantic isomorphism are macro-level universal principles underlying human cognition. To verify this claim no doubt requires detailed empirical research into many translational language pairs. It can be noticed that the second and third senses exemplified by 1(b) and (c) are a metaphoric extension of the first concrete sense exemplified by 1(a). The comparative corpus analysis of the Arabic translation of collapse in different texts where it occurs, in these three senses, reveals that translators favour the bilingual cognitive metaphor of falling down, lexically realized in the Arabic verb ينهار (collapse), over a lexical-word equivalent pertaining to a different semantic spectrum. This reveals that the semantic equivalent ينهار (collapse) is the absolute equivalent of the word due to its semantic comprehensiveness and the diversity of the SW contextual co-occurrences it covers (about 50 out of 50 occurrences found in one computerized bilingual corpus); it therefore qualifies as an isomorphic semantic equivalent.

By a non-isomorphic semantic equivalent is meant a polysemous target word semantically identical with a polysemous source word in respect of some senses only, or in respect of all senses, but not all contextual co-occurrences. According to this definition, a non-isomorphic semantic equivalent is produced in either of two cases:

(a) the source word and the target word are identical in respect of some of their senses, but not all of them. For example, the Arabic verb يكسر (yaksar) is fit as an equivalent of the English verb break in almost all its senses which are related by the sense spectrum of ‘splitting in a harsh manner’; yet it is not a correct equivalent for one of these senses – that of ‘cutting’ as it occurs in a sentence like: The dog broke the girl’s skin, in which case the proper TL equivalent is the Arabic verb يقطع (cut). (b) The source word and the target word are identical in respect of all their senses, yet the target word cannot cover all the collocational co-occurrences of the source word in one or more of these senses (in this case, it is sufficient for a target word to cover only one contextual co-occurrence of each sense of the source word in order to say that there is a non-isomorphic semantic equivalence between the source word and the target word). To illustrate this case, we can return to the example of the adjective fast we mentioned before with its three sense subspectra of event-speed, agent-speed and patient-speed in a sense enumerative lexicon as has been demonstrated before. We find that the English-Arabic lexicographer and/or translator will often use one Arabic word – سريع (fast) – to express the three broad meanings of the English fast. It so happens that the Arabic adjective سريع has these three major senses or, rather, sense subspectra: Arabic native speakers say: ولد سريع (a fast boy), جري سريع (fast run), قطار سريع (fast train).

Yet this Arabic semantic equivalent is still non-isomorphic because it does not cover all the contextual co-occurrences of the source word. For example, fast café will not be translated into standard Arabic as مقهى سريع (fast cafe), because سريع does not collocate with, مقهى, Standard Arabic for coffee shop, in this variety of the Arabic language. The translator or the lexicographer will therefore paraphrase the English NP rendering it as: مقهى للمشروبات السريعة (a café for fast drinks). Hits of the Arabic monolingual corpus for this Arabic adjective tell us that مقهى سريع (fast café) is mostly used informally to mean: a high-speed cybercafé!

2.2.2 Lexical-word Equivalents

The lexical-word equivalent is used in either of two cases: the first case occurs when the SW is polysemous; here it is used either to fill in inadequate coverage gaps left by a non-isomorphic semantic equivalent or as the sole type of equivalent when there is no semantic equivalent. The second case is encountered when the SW is monosemous, in which case the lexical-word equivalent is naturally the only choice available.

2.2.2.1 Lexical-word Equivalents When SW is Polysemous

When the SW is polysemous, the lexical-word equivalent is relevant only in either of two cases: a) when there is no semantic equivalent, isomorphic or non-isomorphic, for the source word. For example, the English adjective fat, has two senses related by the same sense spectrum, i.e., that of size. The first one falls within the semantic field of human body adjectives as in the nominal compound fat man, while the second one falls within the semantic field of adjectives that describe inanimate objects as in the nominal phrase: a fat book. In modern standard Arabic, there is no single adjective lexeme that combines these two senses precisely and so the lexicographer finds himself forced to resort to discrete lexical items as lexical-word equivalents in the target language: بدين, literally: large-bodied for the first sense and ضخم, (large-sized) for the second. b) There is only a non-isomorphic semantic equivalent for the source word and so either the semantic coverage gaps or the collocational coverage gaps have to be filled by lexical-word equivalents in the manner described before. For example, the Arabic verb يشق (split), could also be suggested as a possible lexical-word equivalent for that sense of break uncovered by the non-isomorphic equivalent يكسر (break),

i.e. break in the sense of breaking the skin, as illustrated above in the discussion of the non-isomorphic semantic equivalent. As for gaps resulting from the inadequacy of collocational coverage by a non-isomorphic equivalent, such gaps are also filled by lexical-word equivalents, as exemplified earlier.

2.2.2.2 Lexical-word Equivalents When SW is monosemous:

When the source word is monosemous, the dichotomy of the semantic equivalent and lexical-word equivalent disappears and only the second pole of it survives – i.e., the lexical-word equivalent. Strikingly enough, the relationship between the two poles is not one of binary opposition but rather one of complementarity: The lexical-word equivalent, when properly employed, fills in gaps left by a non-isomorphic semantic equivalent. For a monosemous source word, the situation is different: there is no scope for such gaps since the source word has a single meaning and the lexical-word equivalent is the only lexical equivalent possible. There are three cases for the lexical-word equivalent when the source word is monosemous:

a) The lexical-word equivalent is monosemous and its meaning is identical to that of the source word. Examples of this phenomenon abound in all language pairs, and it is indeed one of the reasons why lexical transfer between languages is possible. It can be observed among abstract lexical items as well as concrete lexical items. Nouns indicating plants and animals in English, for example, are mostly monosemous words for which there are equally monosemous nouns in Arabic. A word like bravery in English has many synonymous lexical-word equivalents in Arabic, all of which are single-meaning words.

b) The lexical-word equivalent is monosemous yet its meaning is not identical to that of the source word. The result is that the source word meaning is acquired by the target word and added to its already existing single meaning. For example, the Arabic noun أصالة ('aSāla), which originally meant antiquity or precedence of occurrence of something, came to acquire the meaning of 'creative thinking' when it was used as a translation of the English noun originality which means 'creative thinking' or 'newness based on creative thinking'. What happened is that the English source word extended the Arabic sense spectrum of the Arabic word-equivalent so that it means also 'precedence of thinking', a sense unfamiliar to the word before this translation came into existence.

c) The lexical-word equivalent for the monosemous source word is polysemous. Here the polysemy problem is transferred from the source language to the target language and in this case, it ceases to be a comparative problem of lexical equivalence between the source language and the target language, but rather one of comprehension related only to the target language. To explain this point, let us pick an example. The English noun science has a single meaning – i.e., that of 'experimental study of the natural world'. The Arabic target word علم (learning) has two meanings: the first one refers to knowledge in general and the noun in this sense behaves as a deverbal noun which inherits the argument structure of the verb from which it is derived – the Arabic verb يعلم (know). The second meaning refers to 'experimental science'. Having selected this Arabic equivalent, it will then be the task of the lexicographer to select from its two meanings the one which can be mapped to the source word science – in this case the second meaning, of course – since the target language speaker certainly needs this mapping in order to "comprehend" the meaning of the source word.

The common mistake which bilingual lexicographers inadvertently make is that they usually fail to recognize the significance of differentiating between the semantic equivalent and the lexical-word equivalent. They tend to introduce lexical-word equivalents for the different meanings of the source word without making sure that there is one lexical equivalent which can be suitable as a TL semantic equivalent to all or most of these senses, which could be the first lexical equivalent introduced. In this way, they bar the target language from revealing its semantic richness on the one hand and a considerable part of its expressive force is lost in the translation on the other hand, as we have seen in the case of collapse.

2.3 Grammar and Meaning in a BD

There is a systematic relationship between meaning and grammar which affects the choice of lexical equivalents in a BD. We will restrict the concept of grammar in this section to that common sense found in traditional textbooks which focuses on basic syntactic and grammatical properties of words. Substitutability of a given TL equivalent is not a given. It depends on many factors. One of these factors is the variability of the syntactico-semantic properties of the SL word. For example, the English noun *suicide* can be countable or uncountable. The conceptual lexical equivalent of this English noun is *انتحار* (*suicide*), which is lexically substitutable for the SL noun only when the latter is uncountable. When *suicide* behaves syntactically as a countable noun, this equivalent should be changed into *حالة انتحار* (*suicide case*).

The countable-uncountable alternations turn out to be responsible for many semantic alternations between an abstract concept and an abstract entity within the same lexical unit. As an example, there is the alternation between *abortion* (uncountable, abstract concept) and *an abortion* (particular event, countable). As we mentioned earlier, An English-Arabic dictionary has to provide two different equivalents for the two variants of the English noun, *إجهاض* (*abortion*) for the uncountable variant and *عملية إجهاض* (*An abortion operation*) for the countable one. It's only when such variations show a regular, systematic pattern that reflects on TW substitutability that they have to be tackled by a BD at all. One way to do this in a paper dictionary is to list them as subentries under their lemmatized forms and list the lexicographical equivalents in the opposite direction.

Shifting the focus to adjectives, we can say that, in some cases the syntactical position of the adjective either before or after the noun can have some bearing on its semantic interpretation in a way which affects the choice of lexical equivalents in Arabic. It should be noted first that we do not mean by the syntactic position of adjectives those cases in which the adjectives are grammatically fixed in one position only, either attributively or predicatively. This having been said, we can proceed. When a regular adjective is used attributively, its meaning may be slightly different than when it is used predicatively after a copulative verb. For example, in 2a and 2b below

2a He is a tense person

2b H is/looks tense

It is easy to notice that *tense* in 2a expresses a rather stable trait in the noun described by the adjective while in 2b it refers to a temporary state of affairs.

Generally speaking, lexical equivalents of adjectives will not be affected by their mobility. However, when the meaning alternation resulting from this mobility is not reflected by the corresponding position of the regular adjectival equivalent; the alternation has to be preserved in the target language with lexical means by introducing a semantically different adjective for each position. So, it seems that one Arabic equivalent for *tense* in both its syntactical positions is unlikely. The Arabic adjective *mutawatir*, supplied by three English-Arabic dictionaries, is a stative adjective and so will be fit to substitute for *tense* in the predicative position illustrated by 2b. For the attributive position exemplified by 2a, we suggest *قلوق* (*restless*), which is an inherent adjective in Arabic and is therefore more semantically felicitous in this position.

In order for the lexicographer to make precise predictions of this kind, he has to restrict his test criteria to two variables only: the syntactical position of the adjective and its meaning and neutralize any other variables that may influence his decision such as the communication situation in the texts he is examining. To achieve this end, test sentences of a simple structure like that of 11 and 12 above should be gleaned out of text and analyzed.

3. Contrastive Morphological Analysis

Arabic is often described as a non-concatenative language. This is because word formation in Arabic is based on the derivation of various morphological patterns from a single root rather than a concatenation of affixes to a stem. Each morphological pattern reflects a set of semantic patterns. But this does not mean that there is no affixation in Arabic morphology. In modern Arabic morphology, concatenation and affixation play a central role in word formation and coinage in order to cope with the terminological needs of the language in the different domains. However, progress in Arabic morphology has been very slow and random in terms of extending the semantic applicability of already existing morphological patterns.

Such slow and random progress has had negative influence on lexical transfer from foreign languages, especially English, into Arabic. This influence consists in using certain Arabic morphological patterns as equivalents to some derivational patterns in English without careful study based on contrastive analysis at the morpho-semantic level. For example, The Arabic nominal category known as artificial masdar (adjectival noun) is often used both in the translation of English "isms" and names of sciences which end with the suffix "ics". To give but a few examples, there is اشتراكية for socialism, معلوماتية and أسلوبية for informatics and stylistics, respectively.

A careful contrastive analysis of the Arabic artificial masdar and the equivalence patterns based on it reveals that it is not an accurate choice for translating science names which end in ics. The line of reasoning on which we base our argument is as follows. The artificial masdar in Arabic is semantically parallel to a relational adjective. A relational adjective is an adjective which indicates a relation to a noun and ascribes the attributes of this noun to the noun which it qualifies. It may be used as an inherent adjective as in معاملة إنسانية (human treatment) and هجمات وحشية (brutal attacks) wherein the attributes of a human and those of a (brute) are used to qualify the deverbal noun معاملة (treatment) and the plural noun هجمات (attacks), respectively. Or it may be used to indicate the mere existence of a relation as in اعتبارات سياسية (political considerations), that is, considerations related to politics. In this way this noun-related adjective in Arabic serves a twofold function: it can be used subjectively as an inherent adjective and objectively as a relational adjective. By analogy, the artificial masdar can be used to do these functions nominally.; For example, The nouns إنسانية (humaneness), وحشية (brutality) and همجية refer to subjective personal traits, while ألوهية (divinity) refers to a relation as in the phrase ألوهية المصدر (divinity of origin). However, the latter, relational use of the artificial masdar is very rare in Arabic.

In English, isms can also be used objectively as names of doctrines or subjectively to name individual intellectual attitudes. In this way there is semantic symmetry between the Arabic artificial masdar and an English ism, which makes the former a suitable pattern for translating such isms. On the other hand, names of sciences are characterized by a neutral degree of objectivity since they refer to disciplines of knowledge which are concerned with objective realities. Therefore, their lexical equivalents have to be as neutrally objective, which the artificial masdar is not for all intents and purposes.

It is to be observed that using the artificial masdar in the translation of names of sciences, whether natural or human sciences, is a relatively new trend. The more established one is the use of a pluralized relational adjective on the grounds that the noun which it qualifies is elliptically slashed. On this assumption, a noun such as رياضيات (mathematics) is semantically a reduced form of أمور رياضية (mathematical matters) in such a way that the plural noun أمور (matters) is slashed and replaced by the plural morpheme ات. What has been said of mathematics can also be said of linguistics, which is often translated as لسانيات.

We conclude thus far that the pluralized relational adjective is more appropriate, from the semantic point of view, for the translation of science names since it is elliptically generated from a semantically neutral nominal compound. The artificial

masdar, on the contrary, is less appropriate due to the fact that it is often used to label personal traits or value-laden doctrines, which all runs counter to the objective nature of science. Shifting the focus again to the English-Arabic BD, we find that we cannot burden the bilingual lexicographer with finding solutions to such complicated problems in Arabic morphology. It is the role of Arabic-language academies to solve these problems. Then, lexicologists can receive the results of their research and use them in their arduous contrastive analysis which is essentially related to the preparatory stage. Later on, it will be the task of lexicographers to put such results into practical application in the compilation stage. Without parallel tagged text corpora, no such comparative morpho-semantic analysis of the lexical categories in both languages can be hoped for.

4. Contrastive Syntactic Analysis

In a corpus-linked bilingual dictionary syntax acquires a particular importance due to the interdependent relationship between syntax and semantics in general. There are already many theories which try to frame the relationship between syntax and semantics, the most important of which, in my view, as far as bilingual lexicography is concerned, is the valency grammar theory, which was developed by the French linguist Lucien Tesniere (1893-1954). The valency metaphor is derived from chemistry and refers to the tendency of an atom to acquire or lose a certain number of electrons while it forms a bond with the atom of another chemical element. In language, the atoms are the syntactic categories and electrons are the arguments which they acquire or lose in their interaction with other syntactic elements. Syntactic valencies represent the argument structures of the lexical items. The syntactic valencies of a verb are the subject, object or complement arguments and those of a noun or adjective are the phrasal complements which are attached to them and tied to their semantic representation.

Such quantitative specification of syntactic valencies suits the segmental nature of the lexicon and makes it easier for computers to deal with them as minimum coded units, such as V, which stands for a univalent (i.e. intransitive) verb, Vn which stands for a bivalent verb whose argument structure consists of a subject and a direct object, Vpr for a bivalent verb with a subject and a prepositional complement forming its argument structure and so on.

Semantic valencies represent the semantic content of the syntactic arguments in the form of semantic features and taxonomies, as we will see in the next section.

5. Implementation Mechanisms & The Role of Computers

In a semantically organized computerized English-Arabic dictionary, syntactic valency (SVL) is the 'blade' whereby a lexical entry is divided into lexemes and the conceptual content of each lexeme into lexical units. Each set of lexical units is unified by a semantic spectrum, which could be a semantic extension, a semantic field or a cognitive metaphor. Semantic extension is a method of relating senses of a polysemous word semantically rather than at a level of semantic organization. A set of senses unified by semantic extension of a core concept usually have a semantic equivalent in the target language. For example, love in the sense of 'strong liking' as in love of horses is a semantic extension of the primary sense of love as 'warm affection'. In Arabic both senses will have the semantic equivalent *حُب* (love). Semantic field is a broad term for taxonomy, a feature or a dimension. Senses grouped under a given syntactic valency can be divided into taxonomic subsets. For example, the noun *bed* has several senses that can be divided taxonomically. The first sense is assigned the taxonomy furniture while the other two senses are grouped by the taxonomy land surface (seabed, bed of roses, a bed of rock). Needless to say, it is sufficient to attach the taxonomy name to the first sense of the subset unified by the same taxonomy. However, when a semantic extension leads to a change of taxonomy the sense generated by extension should be assigned its own taxonomical label even if it happens to have the same

semantic equivalent in the TL. As an example, the first sense of bed is semantically extended to mean ‘a state of sleep’, as in the sentence: she put the child to bed. The latter sense has to be assigned the taxonomy state. A semantic feature can be used to group senses in a manner which shows a certain contrastive value. For example, the semantic feature ‘inchoative’ (i.e., gradual) can be assigned to the first three senses of the verb decline (decrease gradually, go into a worse condition and slope downwards). For these three senses there is an inchoative verbal equivalent in Arabic, that is, the semantic equivalent ينحدر (literally: slope down).

It is important to note that these levels of semantic organization are not mutually exclusive in theory. A feature, in principle, can well be combined with a taxonomy (e.g., to narrow down its applicability). Semantic extension, far from being a level – as we have just noted – is a technique which can permeate all levels. The message is that we use the single semantic spectrum which is most suitable to highlight contrastive properties of the two languages in so much as they affect our choice of lexicographical equivalents, and not to show the semantic features of each language separately. The taxonomy ‘decrease verbs’, for example, does not bring into focus the contrastive inchoative feature of the English verb decline and the Arabic verb ينحدر since ‘decrease verbs’ in English and Arabic could be inchoative or non-inchoative. This is why we use the semantic feature inchoative+ on its own for grouping the above-mentioned senses of decline into one set, rather than the taxonomy.

Unlike a feature, a dimension represents a concept on a scale of continuous, graded properties rather than a set of binaries, discrete ones. For example, in the semantic representation of the verb collapse as a univalent verb V, the dimension of movement grades from vertical downward movement to vertical inward movement. Between these two-dimensional spectra stands the cognitive metaphor of falling down. A cognitive metaphor is a semantic extension of a dimension or a dimensional spectrum. Senses unified by a cognitive metaphor will mostly have one isomorphic semantic equivalent while senses unified by a dimension could be covered by a non-isomorphic semantic equivalent and lexical-word equivalents that fill the non-isomorphic gaps (see below). Thus, a dimension is conceptually more comprehensive than a cognitive metaphor. The latter generates from the concept several metaphoric senses on the same point of the dimensional scale.

In our would-be **English–Arabic Bilingual Dictionary** there is a separate screen for each syntactic valency. Figures 1 and 2 show a semantic representation of the English verb collapse as a univalent verb (V) together with its Arabic equivalents in a linguistically based, corpus-based and corpus-linked electronic English-Arabic dictionary. To simulate the mouse shifts in the original prototype, the V screen of collapse is split here into two screens.

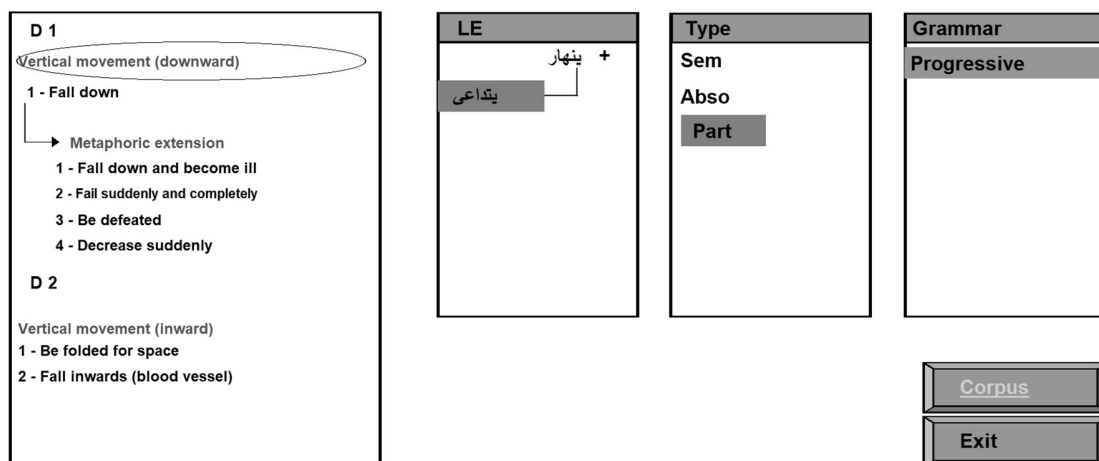


Fig 1: Dimension 1 (D1) of collapse-V (encircled): downward vertical movement

The first text box to the left in Fig 1 shows the first dimension of the verb collapse, which covers the concrete concept of falling down and is metaphorically extended to cover four other related senses, all of which are linked in the data set to their relevant semantic equivalents as shown in the first list box to the left (where LE stands for Lexicographical Equivalent). The next list box shows the type of equivalent. Also stands for absolute equivalent, i.e., an equivalent which covers a great number of contexts; Part is short for partial equivalent, i.e., an equivalent which covers a limited number of contexts. The partial equivalent *يتداعى* is linked to a special grammatical feature in the third list box which specifies that it can be used only as an equivalent of the source verb when the latter occurs in a progressive aspect. This is because *يتداعى* is an inchoative verb while collapse is a terminative verb and so it cannot be an equivalent for it when it occurs in the past or present simple tenses.

<p>D 1 Vertical movement (downward) 1 - Fall down</p> <p>Metaphoric 1 - Fall down and become ill 2 - Fall suddenly and completely 3 - Be defeated 4 - Decrease suddenly</p> <p>D 2 Vertical movement (inward) 1 - Be folded for space 2 - Fall inwards (blood vessel)</p>	<table border="1"> <thead> <tr> <th>LE</th> <th></th> </tr> </thead> <tbody> <tr> <td>ينطوي</td> <td>- 1</td> </tr> <tr> <td>يتقوض</td> <td>- 2</td> </tr> </tbody> </table>	LE		ينطوي	- 1	يتقوض	- 2	<table border="1"> <thead> <tr> <th>Type</th> </tr> </thead> <tbody> <tr> <td>Lword</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Lword</td> </tr> </tbody> </table>	Type	Lword	Lword	<table border="1"> <thead> <tr> <th>Grammar</th> </tr> </thead> <tbody> <tr> <td></td> </tr> </tbody> </table>	Grammar	
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Fig 2: Dimension 2 (D2) of collapse V: Vertical inward movement.

Fig 2 shows the second dimensional spectrum D2 which relates to downward vertical movement. It covers two senses which are completely different in meaning and register yet are related by the same dimension. They are linked to two different lexical-word equivalents in the second list box. L-word in the type box stands for Lexical-word equivalent.

To link a bilingual corpus properly to the bilingual database we need to build a bilingual semantic concordance (BSC). A semantic concordance (SC) is defined by Miller et al (1993,303) as "a textual corpus and a lexicon so combined that every substantive word in the text is linked to its appropriate sense in the lexicon". A bilingual semantic concordance can then be defined as "a bilingual textual corpus and a lexical database so combined that every substantive word in the SL text is linked to its appropriate sense in the SL lexicon and its TL equivalents in the parallel corpus and the TL lexicon"

Building a BSC as such from scratch is both costly and time-consuming. Using commercially available tools will make our job much easier and more cost-effective. These tools are a bilingual machine-readable dictionary, a part-of-speech-tagged bilingual corpus and a grammatically annotated computerized English dictionary.

Syntactic categories and their valencies in the form of V, Vpr, Adj:pr, V.to.inf. etc can be extracted from an English electronic dictionary which has such tags for each lexical unit. Then they can be mapped manually to their lexicographical equivalents in the electronic Bilingual Dictionary. The syntactic tags of the part-of-speech tagger are also to be mapped to the part of speech tags of the English lexicon (V, adj, N etc). In this way we can build a crude English parser which we can use to do an automatic syntactic tagging of the corpus texts. Then human syntactic and semantic taggers will have to improve automation results by manual bootstrapping. This will involve correcting errors of automatic syntactic tagging by linking corpus lexemes to their correct

syntactical valencies provided by the SL lexicon. It will involve also semantic tagging of corpus words by linking them to their proper senses of the SL lexicon. Thanks to the close relationship between semantics and syntax, we assume that most of the words that were correctly syntactically tagged by the parser are also semantically tagged in a correct way. Of course, if we had a semantically disambiguated parser, this would save a lot of manual tagging. Finally, the Arabic hits in the TL side of the bilingual corpus will appear with the SVL-linked lexicographical equivalents. Now that the bilingual corpus has been linked to a bilingual dictionary, the lexicographer becomes ready to embark on his arduous task of compiling his own linguistically based, corpus-based bilingual dictionary. Among the myriad tasks he will have to undertake is that of updating the lexicographical equivalents of the traditional Bilingual Dictionary, classifying them semantically and adding new ones based on extensive corpus research.

6. Conclusion

Lexicography needn't depend on only lexicology and lexical semantics for its methodology and metalanguage, and it has to develop its terminology and linguistic toolkit. This will inevitably lead to the birth of a new science of bilingual contrastive semantics as an applied subdiscipline of lexicography rather than as a branch of theoretical semantics.

The major points which we need to re-emphasize in conclusion are: First, the importance of selecting a computationally tractable model for a monolingual dictionary to be used as an input for the bilingual dictionary. Second, the need to focus on the semantic expansion of the Arabic lexicon not just its lexical word power so as to provide the lexicographer with a repertoire of word-senses that ultimately extend the applicability of already existing lexemes. This can be achieved through compiling an Arabic dictionary in which semantic generation is based on extensive corpus-based analysis not just on the intuitions of lexicographers. Third, the integrational approach to the BD suggested by the author cannot be achieved without a parallel computationally integrative approach. Such an approach certainly draws heavily on state-of-the-art techniques in Natural Language Processing and data mining as well as the traditional interface-oriented software mechanisms in revolutionizing the content and structure of the Electronic BD. In this way it exacts a radical change in the non-linguistically minded interface culture propagated by current computerized BDs.

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Translating Euphemisms of Sexual Taboos in the Qur'an: A Trans-Linguistic Approach¹

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ARTICLE DATA

Received: 6 Oct. 2021
Accepted: 20 Nov. 2021
Volume: 1
Issue: FALL
DOI:

KEYWORDS

euphemism, dysphemism,
taboo, politeness,
skopostheorie, functional
approach, domestication,
foreignization

ABSTRACT

Translating the Qur'an is an extremely challenging task because of the special nature and the distinctive style of the Book. The Qur'an has some unique characteristics that may hinder translators from rendering the intentional Qur'anic stylistic deviation, ambiguity, metonymy, and many other figurative images as well as euphemism and its intended meaning into English with high accuracy. This study tackles euphemism and dysphemism in religious discourse, namely the Qur'an. It is a trans-linguistic study that delves into the problems of translating euphemism and dysphemism in three translations of the meanings of the Qur'an. The study thoroughly examines and analyses nine Qur'anic verses of illegal sexual relations, i.e., adultery and lesbianism. The study finds that translators, especially of holy texts, should merge domestication and foreignization according to the skopos (i.e., purpose) of the translation. The impact of conveying euphemism adequately or inadequately seems to be identical for both Ali and Ghali, but it is discrepant in Pickthall, which indicates that the translators' background plays a pivotal role to render euphemism adequately into the TL culture.

1. Introduction

Euphemism is a linguistic tool that is universal in almost all languages in both spoken and written discourses. People tend to use euphemism to mitigate discourteous discourses, to hide unmannered ideas, to camouflage unpleasant thoughts, or to use any figure of speech such as metonymy, pun, metaphor and so on for replacing taboo words. Because the Qur'an is a further refined text, euphemism, in almost all sensitive issues, is extensively used especially in the field of illegal sexual relations, i.e., **adultery and lesbianism**. Consequently, it is vitally important to highlight the overlap that might result from rendering such euphemistic expressions into English. Sometimes dysphemism, the opposite of euphemism, is used to clearly underline specific objectives in the Qur'anic ordinances. Some scholars agree that the mission of translating the Qur'an is highly sophisticated since it is an 'inimitable' Book that covers meanings and images that might go beyond intellectual human capabilities; whereas other scholars believe in the human abilities that could convey and render most of the meanings of such holy books based on the trust interpreters and commentators' point of views.

If euphemism is rendered into the TL as it is, using the strategy of 'foreignization', without the translators' interference in the original text even through using paraphrase, marginal annotations, or footnotes, it may lead to ambiguity and vagueness in the

¹ This paper is part of an MA dissertation submitted to Faculty of Arts, Cairo University in 2008. Later in 2014, it is published as a book by LAP Lambert Academic Publishing, Germany.

TL text due to the foreignized term. However, if euphemism is rendered into the TL text domestically, i.e. using the strategy of 'domestication', without referring to the original term and putting it as the original one in the SL text, such as Khan and Al-Hilali's rendering of 'مُنْخَذِي أُحْدَان' into "girlfriend", it may lead to unreliability of the translation.

This study is intended to highlight how the three translations of Ali, Pickthall, and Ghali render euphemism and dysphemism into the TL text with a thorough evaluation of the Functional Approach, Skopostheorie, Politeness, and Domestication versus Foreignization. Additionally, Khan and Al-Hilali's *Interpretation of the Meanings of the Noble Qur'an* (1995) will be evaluated in some verses just to shed light on the dangers of insisting on one system in the translation process, namely domestication.

Religion is one of the topics that require decorum and decency when handling any of its issues, especially with socially tabooed topics. Taboo is "a Polynesian language... among Polynesian peoples, a sacred prohibition put upon certain people, things, or acts which makes them untouchable, unmentionable, etc." (Webster's, 1989: 1361). Originally, taboo comes from the Polynesian polysyllabic word, which /ta/ means 'mark', and /bu/ means 'adverb of intensity' (Ullmann, 1962: 204). Similarly, the term "euphemism" is derived from the Greek eu "good", and pHEME "speech" or "sayings", and thus it means literally "to speak with good words or in a pleasant manner" (Neaman & Silver, 1983: 1). Taboo expressions are found in many areas of human language, such as death, diseases, depression, as well as divorce, sexual issues, negative human qualities and women's private questions. In other words, many areas related to sex, religion, and death and other areas tend to require decorum both in formal and informal communication.

This study attempts to investigate the problems of translating euphemistic expressions, concerning adultery and lesbianism in highly selective Qur'anic verses in three translations of the meanings of the Qur'an, namely "Towards Understanding The Ever Glorious Qur'an", by Muhammad Mahmoud Ghali (1997); "The Holy Qur'an", by Yusuf Ali (1946); and "The Glorious Qur'an", by M. Pickthall (1930). Also, Khan and Al-Hilali's *Interpretation of the Meanings of the Noble Qur'an* (1995) will be evaluated in some verses just to shed light on the dangers of insisting on one system in the translation process, namely domestication.

It may be noticed at a close investigation of dysphemistic expressions that speakers always revolve around the same idea of being delicate, demure and polite in human interaction. Therefore, politeness strategies will be applied as a linguistic tool of social interaction saving the hearers' positive "face". Moreover, the approach to translation devised by Skopostheorie which "minimizes the importance of the source text and maximizes the significance of the cultural situation" (Nord, 1997: 18), will be adopted. Additionally, this study demonstrates how theories of 'politeness' and 'face saving' may be useful to the translator in rendering euphemism communicatively by offering strategies overcoming some problematic cases, in other word, how "face threatening acts" FTA's can be useful in translating such religious texts.

2. Statement research problem

This study attempts to tackle the translation of some euphemistic expressions related to extramarital sexual relations, i.e., adultery and lesbianism. Some translated texts of the meanings of the Qur'an fail to convey such euphemistic language into English. As the target reader is a non-Arab Muslim, the translator has not conveyed only literal meaning, in general, but the speaker's intention is the main target as well. Euphemisms in such religious texts should be translated by either 'foreignization' or 'domestication' so as to maintain the source language cultural input and to communicate with the target reader as well: foreignization is a term used to designate the type of translation in which a translated text deliberately breaks the target language conventions by keeping the flavour of the original text, moving the reader towards the source culture. Domestication, in contrast, refers to a translation

strategy in which a transparent fluent style is adopted in order to minimize the strangeness of the foreign text for the TL reader, in which the author moves towards the reader (Venuti, 1995). However, the foreignized version is to guarantee adequate understanding of euphemisms by the foreign term but to increase the alienation of the translated text.

Moreover, euphemisms of illegal sexual intercourse, i.e., verses dealing with adultery and lesbianism in the Qur'an are the main focus of this study. Therefore, the selected examples represent a real challenge to the translator and the issue is how s/he could offer a convincing text to the reader or find an adequate equivalent to "the spirit of TL, and more likely to win the readers' approval" (Enani, 2000: 9).

3. Research objectives and questions

The study aims to: (1) identify the translation techniques used by the translators, Ali, Pickthall, and Ghali, to handle and convey the euphemistic meanings of adultery and lesbianism into English for non-Arab target readers; and (2) measure the impact of cultural specificity on rendering such sensitive issues into the TL.

Accordingly, this article seeks to address two lines of enquiry:

1. How do translators of the Qur'an, namely Ali, Pickthall, and Ghali, handle and convey such euphemistic expressions into English for non-Arab target readers?
2. What is the impact of culture/specific contexts in using and rendering euphemism?

4. Literature review

In his "American Euphemisms for Dying, Death, and Burial", Louise Pound (1936) collects some expressions in a purely incidental fashion and examines their co-occurrences when death and its trappings are concerned. It appears that one of mankind's gravest problems is to avoid a straightforward mention of dying or burial. He discovers that the number and variety of such euphemisms are amazing and although a list of the expressions may not be of much value, a curious interest attaches to them.

In his "Al-Mahzurat Al-Lughawiyah" [Linguistic Taboos], K. Z. Husaam Eddiin (1985) attempts a linguistic study of Arabic taboos and euphemisms. This study falls in two chapters. The first one tackles the definitions and the reasons for linguistic taboos, and the second chapter investigates the semantic fields of taboos which occur in Ath-tha'aalibi's "Al-kinaaya wa-tta'riid" and Al-Jurajaani's "Al-Muntakhab min Kinaayaat al-'Udabaa' wa isharaat al-bulaghaa' " These two books represent the main corpus of Hussam Eddiin's study. He points out four semantic areas of taboo and euphemism in those two books, which are linguistic differences, beliefs and habits, disease, death and sexual issues.

Hijaazi (1986) focuses on 'kinaaya', metonymy, as a rhetorical feature of Prophetic Hadith as an Arabic text, with special application to Sahih Al-Bukhari in the Arabic version. Reference to sexual intercourse appeared in 12 Hadiths in Sahih Al-Bukhari which he mentions under the name Ahaadiith al-Wat', i.e., 'want intercourse Hadiths' (pp. 64-77). He asserts that the function of 'kinaaya' in Arabic as a euphemism for al-wat' is embarrassing or repugnant to mention. He concludes that such linguistic use in Prophetic Hadith attests to the prophet's decency and decorum and that Hadith is a source of politeness that teaches one how to improve his manners.

In their "Euphemism and Dysphemism", Keith Allan and Kate Burridge (1991) explore English euphemism and dysphemism (the opposite of euphemism) in the language used in wars, sex, and some abusive ways such as the taboo terms of insults, epithets,

and expletives. They analyze euphemism in addressing and naming, bodily effluvia, sex, and tabooed body parts. They thoroughly compiled a lexicon for the above euphemistic areas. Besides, they present a contrastive study of euphemism in the area of death titled *Never Say Die: Death, Dying and Killing*, to what extent such expressions are used in wars and how language is used as a veil, i.e., artful euphemism.

Farghal (1995) investigates categories of euphemism in Arabic and relates them to the politeness principles and Grice's Cooperative Maxims. He explains that euphemism is a pragmatic mechanism that reflects the interlocution between the politeness principles and conversational Maxims. Euphemism flouts one or more of the conversational Maxims, thus giving rise to particularized conversational implications or "floutings" (Farghal: 368). He adds that Arabic euphemisms are relevant to particularized rather than standardized "floutings". He focuses on main categories of euphemism: circumlocutions, figurative expressions and antonyms. Farghal's analysis deals with some dysphemistic issues from MSA (Modern Standard Arabic) and Jordanian Arabic such as death, defecation, sex and other taboo topics.

Shabana (2000) deals with euphemism in the Qur'an from a lexical semantic approach. He indicates that politeness and respect for sacred objects are the motive behind using euphemism, not fear or good omen in religious texts. He analyzes euphemisms in the Qur'an with special reference to man-woman relations, man's private parts, husband-wife relationship, among other things. Examples in this respect are discussed such as 'rafath' "to lie with one's wife", 'libaas' "garment" among others (pp. 81-83).

Abd-Ennabi (2001) discusses taboo words in Arabic with special reference to Hadith of Sahih Al-Bukhari. He focuses on sex, defecation, and names. He just lists the euphemistic expressions in the Hadith and provides a statistical account of their occurrence in Sahih Al-Bukhari, but he does not provide an in-depth analysis of each euphemistic expression as he is content with just identifying the taboo term and its euphemism based mainly on the dictionary meaning of each.

Trinch (2001) investigates euphemism used by women in expressing rape assaults. She reports that women use terminology that "palliates indecency and indelicacy in order to uphold decorum" in narrating their experiences to veil the offensiveness presumably produced by the referential rape (572). She asserts that although ambiguity flouts the Gricean Maxim of manner, euphemism can be expressed through ambiguity. It is a politeness strategy used to avoid loss of face or a way out of potentially offensive interpretation.

Mazid (2003) investigates euphemism and dysphemism in the war-on-Iraq discourse. He analyzes newspaper texts and on-line texts from news agencies following Allan and Burridge's (1991) metaphor of language as "a shield and weapon", with reference to the discourse of Bush and Saddam. He analyzes American euphemism and Iraqi dysphemism in referring to the war, such as Americans referring to the invasion of Iraq as "liberation", whereas Iraqis describing the invaders as "imperialist blood-suckers".

In his "Al-Mahzuur Al-Lughawi and Al-Muhassin Al-Lafzi", Abu-Zlail (2004) investigates the linguistic taboo and its euphemism with special focus on the Qur'an in its Arabic version. He analyzes four areas of euphemism: (I) 'Disasters' which include death, diseases, defeat, and divorce. (II) 'Sexual issues' that include sexual relations, sexual private parts, and sexual practices. (III) 'Human negative qualities' which include ignominy, arrogance, stinginess, waste, and treason, and (IV) 'Woman and other semantic fields' which include women, slaves, and human activities. He discusses the characteristics of taboo and euphemism, the factors that prevent taboo and encourage the use of euphemism, in addition to the definition of both taboo and euphemism. He explores the semantic relations between taboo and euphemism in the Qur'an. Finally, he concludes his study with the semantic change of taboo and euphemism in the Qur'an.

In a paper titled *Translating Euphemism in Prophetic Hadith*, Nagwa El-Zeiny (2005) thoroughly focuses on some euphemistic expressions selected from Prophetic Hadith, particularly in Sahih Al-Bukhari. She tackles certain euphemisms in Prophetic Hadith that deal with marriage, illicit sexual intercourse, and husband and wife relationship. In her study, she concludes that euphemisms are used neither in the sense of doublespeak nor in the sense of good omen, but rather in the more recent perspective which mainly aims to avoid taboos (p. 220). She analyzes some problems with the translation of Sahih Al-Bukhari by Khan (1997), such as

يدور على نسائه / حتى يذوق (الأخر) غسيلتك و تذوق غسيلته and "إذا أعجلت أو أقحطت فعليك الوضوء".

She adopts the politeness phenomenon and considers it as the main factor that motivates the use of euphemism.

5. Theoretical Background

5.1 Methodology

5.1.1 Domestication versus Foreignization

Zhao Ni sees that domestication refers to the target-culture-oriented translation in which unusual expressions to the target culture are used and turned into some familiar terms so as to make the translated text intelligible and easy for the target readers. Foreignization, on the contrary, is a source-culture-oriented translation which endeavours to preserve the foreign flavour as much as possible in order to transfer the source language and culture into the target one.

According to Venuti (1995: 20), foreignization is a term used to determine the type of translation in which a translated text deliberately breaks target conventions by retaining something of the foreignness of the original and which moves the reader towards the author "only by disturbing the cultural codes that prevail in the target language". Some translators prefer changing the SL values and making them readable for the TL audience using the strategy of domestication.

5.1.2 Politeness

Politeness is an interdisciplinary phenomenon. Brown and Levinson (1978/1987) model of politeness will be introduced and discussed in this study because its relevance to euphemism and decent speech. There is a "mammoth-like" literature on politeness in almost every culture now (Chen, 2001: 87). However, the number of studies of politeness in Arabic is very rare and hardly addresses the religious discourse. This study starts with notes on the politeness and cooperative principle.

It is virtually impossible to tackle politeness without mentioning Grice's Cooperative Principle (CP). Grice's theory has three components: natural meaning and non-natural meaning, the Cooperative principle (CP) and implicature. The CP covers four maxims and a number of sub-maxims which provide inference beyond the semantic content of the sentence (Grice, 1975: 45-46):

1. The maxim of QUANTITY relates to the quantity of information to be provided, and two sub-maxims:

-Make your contribution as informative as is required (for the current purpose of the exchange).

-Do not make your contribution more informative than is required.

2. The maxim of QUALITY—"Try to make your contribution one that is true"—and two more specific sub-maxims:

-Do not say what you believe to be false and do not say that for which you lack adequate evidence.

3. The maxim of RELATION "Be Relevant"

4. The maxim of MANNER —Be perspicuous" and "How what is said is to be said"—and other sub-maxims such as:

-Avoid obscurity of expression, avoid ambiguity, be brief (avoid unnecessary prolixity), be orderly.

These maxims might be violated, flouted or abandoned or they may clash together and remain meaningful (blatantly unfulfilled when the speaker is faced with a problem, such as flouting the maxim of quality in case of irony, quantity in the case of tautology, and manner in the case of prolixity). Maxims are "exploited" to give rise to implicatures. The interpretation then goes: "How can his saying what he said be reconciled with the supposition that he is observing the overall CP?" (Grice, 1975: 49).

5.1.3 Skopostheorie and functional approach

The core of Skopostheorie is that the translation purpose plays the most important role in a translational process, or the translation purpose justifies the translation actions. But problems arise when the translation purpose is not in line with the communicative intentions of the original text. Another member of the German School, Christiane Nord, proposes her "loyalty" principle, which commits the translator bilaterally to the source and the target sides. It refers to the responsibility the translator has toward the source text creator, the target receiver and other agents involved in a translational interaction. The term cannot be mixed up with fidelity or faithfulness concepts that usually refer to a relationship holding between the source text and the target text (Nord, 1988/91). Loyalty is an interpersonal category referring to a social relationship between people. Loyalty demands that the translator should be in charge of the target readers, but this does not mean that the translator is always obliged to do exactly what the readers expect. Yet in the same vein, the translator should also have a sense of moral responsibility not to deceive his readers (Nord, 1997: 125) especially in translating religious discourse.

In her *Translating as A purposeful Activity: Functional Approaches Explained*, Nord (1997) states that there are three main elements to the theory: purpose, coherence and culture. There are three kinds of purpose in the process of translating: the general purpose (skopos) "aimed at by the translator (perhaps to earn a living)" (27), the communicative purpose aimed at by the target text (perhaps to instruct the reader) and "the purpose aimed by a particular translation strategy (for example to translate literally to show the structural particularities of the source language)" (28). The second element of the skopostheorie is coherence with its two types: intratextual coherence (i.e., the translator has to produce a target text that matches the target reader's background; the target text should be coherent with the receivers' situation) and intertextual coherence (i.e., the translator should show faithfulness to the source text and the skopos of the original author). The third element of the skopostheorie is culture: each culture represents a system of values and modes of behaviour. What is acceptable in one culture may be rejected in another. The translator has to be aware of the specificity of certain cultural phenomena that will cause, if not properly handled, a cultural gap between the ST and TT. Thus, the translator is free to choose any strategy of translation as long as s/he preserves both the central message and its rhetorical effectiveness. This functional approach connected with purpose facilitates the translator's task to reach accuracy of the TT and to produce the intended impact on the reader.

This debate gives rise to the functional approach which is regarded as a quantum leap in the field of translating the meanings of the Qur'an. In this approach, the translator should specify the purpose of the translation and s/he should choose the appropriate translation method (whether literal or free or may be a mixture of both). It gives the translator the chance to adopt what s/he

judges to be the appropriate translation strategies, as long as they "produce a functionally adequate result" (Munday, 2001: 79). This theory is based on the idea that "the skopos of a particular translation task may require a 'free' or a 'faithful' translation, or anything between these two extremes, depending on the purpose for which the translation is needed" (Nord, 1997: 29). The functional approach also regards the reader as an active participant in the process of translation because the "audience [is an] ...important component of Skopos and is crucial to translation as communication" (162). The next step is to choose whether to leave "the text world as it is, explaining some details if necessary, or whether it is possible to neutralize or adopt the text world in order to keep the cultural distance invariant and thus achieve a particular function and effect" (Nord, 1997: 87).

5.2 Euphemism in Arabic:

Arguments about the equivalent of euphemism in Arabic have been translated differently by Arab translators and linguists. However, the five main translations as cited in Abd-Ennabi (2001) are:

Translation of euphemism	Documentation of the author
الكناية	(Add-Dawaakhly and Al-Qassaas 1950; Shabana 2000: 22)
لطف التعبير	(At-Tuuni, 1987, vol.1: 205; Al-Baa'labaki, 1990: 495)
حسن التعبير	(Bishr, 1992: 196)
التلطف في التعبير	(Umar, 1988: 295)
تحسين اللفظ	(Husam Eddin, 1985: 14)
كناية عما يستهجن	(Ath'aalibi, 1981:5)

Table 1: (Translation of euphemism)

Abd-Ennabi (2001: 8-20) argues that *حسن التعبير* ، *تحسين اللفظ* do not always refer to this phenomenon since they imply a rhetorical use of words and expressions regardless of whether or not they cover bad or embarrassing meanings. As for *لطف التعبير* ، *التلطف* ، *لطف التعبير* ، *التلطف في التعبير* ، *في التعبير* ، *تحسين اللفظ* they are not adequate as they are too general, which does not match the specificity indicated by the English term, although they are the closest terms to euphemism. He offers the example of using nice expressions by a doctor to a patient in order to alleviate his/her pains and to give him/her hope of speedy recovery, which he does not consider euphemistic though it is a kind of *لطف التعبير*. Therefore, Abd-Ennabi (2001) concludes that *كناية* is the closest equivalent term to euphemism. However, he prefers to use the participle *تكنية* in order to avoid overlapping with the Arabic rhetorical meaning of *كناية*, which makes it hardly acceptable as an equivalent of euphemism as a sociolinguistic term.

Nonetheless, the researcher agrees with Enani that *التلطف في التعبير* is the most suitable equivalent to the term "euphemism", since the other proposed equivalents, especially *تحسين اللفظ* result in confusion as they have shades of the meaning of the rhetorical term *محسن بديعي* 'figure of speech' such as *الطباق* 'antithesis' and *الجناس* 'homophony' in Arabic. Thus, *التلطف في التعبير* is the closest term that has the morphological pattern *تفعل*, derived from the verb *تَلَطَّفَ*, which implies a deliberate choice of a more decent and pleasant term, namely the closest to the definition of euphemism.

5.3 Motives for Euphemism

One of the main motives for euphemism is the desire to avoid harming the face of any party involved, in verbal or written interaction. For this reason, people should handle sensitive issues in softened language and demure expressions to draw attention away from any possible offence. This partly explains why euphemism helps to drive some words to camouflage, creating softer terms instead (Hasan, 2002: 391). For example, 'the big C' is a euphemism for 'Cancer' disease, and 'lingerie' is a euphemism for 'underwear' and so on.

According to Ath'aalibi, the great Arab linguist, there are several reasons for using euphemism:

"هذا الكتاب في الكنايات عما يستهجن ذكره، ويستقبح نشره، أو يستحيا من تسميته أو يتطير منه، أو يترفع ويتصون عنه بالفاظ مقبولة وتحسن القبيح مع العدول عما ينبو عنه السمع". (الثعالبي، 1981: 5)

Euphemisms are metonymies substituted for shamble or ugly issues and embarrassing or ominous topics. They are employed to avoid unpleasant words, displaying a tendency to mitigate blunt expressions which may cause loss of face by using more acceptable terms (Translation mine).

5.4 Forms of Euphemism

Euphemism can be achieved in various ways. Some of the basic strategies for achieving Euphemism in English are offered by William (1957), Warren (1992) and Ham (2001). Examples from Egyptian Arabic are provided.

5.4.1 Word formation devices

William (1957) examines five semantic processes through which euphemism is created:

5.4.1.1 Borrowing: (e.g., WC and toilet for lavatory).

5.4.1.2 Semantic expansion or innovation: in which the connotations of a word are expanded to widen the scope of meaning of that word to make it more appealing to the hearer (e.g., to sleep for sexual intercourse).

5.4.1.3 Semantic shift: a total change in the meaning of a word is created by inventing a new use for it (e.g., pass away for die).

5.4.1.4 Metaphorical transfer: in which an indirect expression replaces a harsh meaning or word, because of the embarrassment that may be caused in such case (e.g., watermelon for women's breasts).

5.4.1.5 Phonetic distortion: which is produced by using phonetic alternation to avoid uttering an embarrassing word (e.g., vamp for vampire). Also, in Arabic there are 'شوشو' for 'شيطان' and 'ديك' for 'دين', especially in informal or slang discourses. When we face names that we do not dare to utter, we shorten or omit the last syllable and reduplicate them (Neaman & Silver 1983: 11).
Phonetic distortion has the following forms:

5.4.1.5.1 Abbreviation is the shortening of the word ladies for ladies' room.

5.4.1.5.2 Apocoptation is another form of abbreviation apparently in the use of sperm for spermatozoon, (meaning "seed") and refers to the male reproductive cells. (<http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/sper>)

5.4.1.5.3 Initialing is the use of acronyms instead of their full forms, which "are formed from the initial letters of a set of other words, these can remain essentially 'alphabetisms' such as FFI for "free from infection", i.e. "not suffering from venerable disease" (Holder, 1995: 141).

5.4.1.5.4 Back-forming is the substitution of a part of speech for another as in certified and certifiable, which are derived from certify, as euphemism for mad, and changeling which is derived from change for idiot (Holder, 1995: 58,59).

Reduplication is the repetition of a syllable or a letter of a word. This phenomenon is common in children's bathroom vocabulary; it substitutes pee-pee for piss.

5.5 Tabooed words

Words are not only restricted to books or dictionaries, but people communicate with more speeches than mentioned in those dictionaries or books. These words have superior domination upon us, so we may utter some of them seeking for power and protection while we avoid other words to get rid of dread, in some cases, and tabooed words. Therefore, the study tries to shed light on the linguistic phenomenon "taboo" which depicts the approved and disapproved speech. This phenomenon covers two main parts: the first part is the tabooed words and the second part is the euphemistic words.

6. Application and data analysis

Figure (1) shows the semantic areas of most of the dysphemistic and euphemistic expressions in the Qur'an, focusing on the sexual field. This field is a very broad one in the Qur'an and it has some scopes that have not yet been thoroughly tackled, namely illegal sexual relations (the main focus of the present study). Therefore, this study divides the sexual area of dysphemism and euphemism in the Qur'an into three main categories. The first category is sexual relations, which cover two sub-categories, i.e. the legitimate and the illegitimate sexual relations. The legitimate sexual relations include marriage and sexual intercourse, and the illegitimate sexual relations (the scope of the study) include adultery, sodomy, and lesbianism. The second category focuses on the private parts of the human body. The third category concerns the sexual habits which cover four different scopes, namely menses, wet-dreams, post discharge state, and sperm drop.

In translating the meaning of the Qur'an, translators may face some challenges related to euphemism. Thus, a translator may fail to find an accurate equivalent of the Qur'anic euphemistic expression. If a translator fails to distinguish, for instance, between *تقربوهن* or *باشروهن* or *لامستم* and *انتوهن/تغشاها* and *يطمئنهن*, s/he may fail to find an informative euphemistic equivalent in the TL. Dictionaries are sources of "sense" i.e., semantics. Communicative meaning is a different matter; it is pragmatic. In this respect, a dictionary distinction must be shown, in the analysis, so as to distinguish between the different terms rendered for the same notion in the SL and to evaluate which is the nearest equivalent term to the SL one. The following Figure (1) shows the map of illegal relations mentioned in the Qur'an. Only two types of them, i.e., adultery and lesbianism, will be demonstrated in this study.

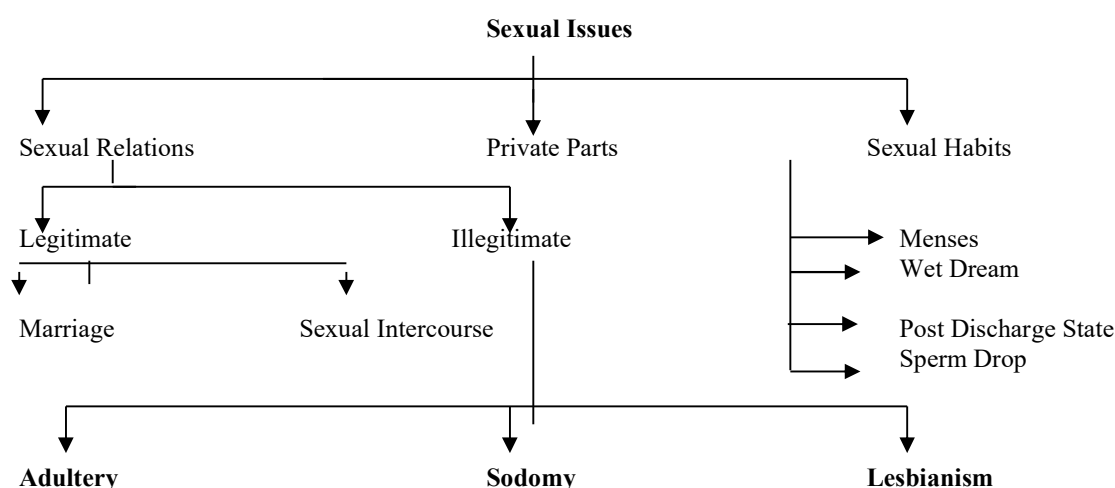


Figure 1 (Sexual Issues)

6.1 Procedure of data analysis

Data of this study is collected from the three translations of the Qur'an. In the following analysis section, each translated verse in question is presented and analyzed, the euphemistic expression is extracted, then an assessment of the three translations, in question, is attempted, to mark some translational pitfalls that might confront translators, and finally a suggested translation is proposed. A comparison is held between the three translations of the meanings of the Qur'an, pointing out some euphemistic expressions, and determining some problems of translating euphemism in such verses. All examples of euphemistic expressions are going to be identified, analyzed and evaluated in the analysis section.

6.2 Illegal Sexual Relations

6.2.1 Adultery

In the following lines, 14 euphemistic Qur'anic verses and their problems in translation, concerning the issue of adultery, are discussed and evaluated. At the beginning, the original Arabic version of the verse is mentioned followed by the three translations in question, i.e., Ali, Pickthall and Ghali. After that some commentaries of different commentators are presented, followed by extracting the euphemistic expressions of the translated texts and carrying out an assessment of these translations. Then, a suggested translation comes to produce another alternative and a possibility of translating euphemism in those verses.

Example 1

{وَلَا تُكْرَهُوا قَنَائِكُمْ عَلَى الْبِغَاءِ إِنْ أَرَدْتُمْ تَحَصُّنًا لِنَبْتِغُوا عَرَضَ الْحَيَاةِ الدُّنْيَا}. النور (33)

"But force not your maids to prostitution when they desire chastity in order that ye May make again in the goods of this life"

(Yusuf Ali: 906)

"Force not your slave girls to whoredom that ye may seek enjoyment of the life of the world, if they would preserve their chastity"

(Pickthall: 363)

"And do not compel your handmaids to prostitution, in case they are willing to be chaste, that you may inequitably seek the advantages of the present life" (Ghali: 354)

In this verse, people are strictly exhorted to keep away of prostitution and nor to compel their maids (slave girls) to copulation. In the pre-Islamic time (i.e., jahilyia) people who owned slave girls were forcing them to go for prostitution for two reasons; the

first reason is for collecting taxes, and the second reason is for seeking sons to be theirs. However, prostitution became completely forbidden after Islam (Ibn-katheer: 266). The term prostitution is bluntly used as a dysphemistic word in Ali's and Ghali's translations, which may embarrass target readers. 'بغاء' is an Arabic euphemistic term which means to take prostitution as a profession or sinful commerce, so slave women were forced to have sex and copulation with men for money in the pre-Islamic time. Euphemism is lost as the dysphemistic words "prostitution" and "whoredom" are used instead. A prostitute is "a person who has sex for money...but that other people do not respect because you are not capable of doing something better" (Oxford: 1060) and "whore" carries the same meaning, but is old fashioned, i.e., too classical. Thus, the three translations may render the right meaning, but not the right style of the original.

Translators may use a lot of euphemistic expressions and terms written in parenthesis to refer to prostitution, such as "AMW, accost, filth, besom, sinful commerce, hawk your mutton, and tramp" (Holder 1995), then paraphrase the meaning in a marginal footnote or annotation. The three translators selected to do the FTA off-record without redressive action, baldly. They did not preserve the hearer's positive face in order to convey the intended meaning of the lexical word, at the expense of producing a rhetorical effect in the mind of h. It is rather inclined to render the euphemistic term as is and the intended meaning in a parenthesis as shown in the suggested translation. The suggested translation is 'And do not force your slave maids to sinful commerce (prostitution) when they seek to be chaste...'

Example 2

{الْيَوْمَ أَجَلٌ لَكُمْ الطَّيِّبَاتِ وَطَعَامُ الَّذِينَ أُوتُوا الْكِتَابَ جُلٌّ لَكُمْ وَطَعَامُكُمْ جُلٌّ لَهُمْ وَالْمُحْصَنَاتُ مِنَ الْمُؤْمِنَاتِ وَالْمُحْصَنَاتُ مِنَ الَّذِينَ أُوتُوا الْكِتَابَ مِنْ قَبْلِكُمْ إِذَا آتَيْتُمُوهُنَّ أَجُورَهُنَّ مُحْصِنِينَ غَيْرَ مُسَافِحِينَ وَلَا مُتَّخِذِي أَخْدَانٍ} المائدة (5)

"... (lawful unto marriage) are (not only) chaste women who are believers, but chaste women among ... When ye give them their due dowers, and desire chastity, not lewdness, nor *secret intrigues*" (Yusuf Ali: 241).

"... And so are the virtuous women of the believers and the virtuous women of those who received the Scripture before you (lawful for you) when ye give them their marriage portions and live with them in honour, not in fornication, nor taking them as *secret concubines*" (Pickthall: 102).

"... And (so) are believing women in wedlock, and in wedlock women of (the ones) to whom the Book was brought even before you when you have brought them their rewards in wedlock, other than in fornication, neither *taking* them to yourselves as *mates*" (Ghali: 107).

Ibn Abbas, Ash-shabi, Ad-dhaak and other scholars mention that متخذات أخدان are those prostitute women who were committing an illegal sexual intercourse secretly in the pre-Islamic time. They were secretly copulating (having adultery) and calling men one by one during that time (Abu-hyan). After Islam, all forms of adultery were forbidden.

In the rendering of this verse, euphemism is retained but the meaning is not clear. Intrigue is "a secret plan or relationship, especially one which involves somebody else being deceived" (Oxford: 417). Concubine is a classical term that means "a woman who lives with a man, often in addition to his wife or wives, but who is less important than they are" (269). However, the word 'mate' has 8 different meanings; the fifth meaning refers to a "sexual partner" and each meaning has different connotations.

Thus, none of these renderings conveys the meaning of secret illegal sexual intercourse, i.e., adultery, as richly as it is in the Arabic composition. In Yusuf Ali's and Pickthall's translations, euphemism is retained through the strategy of domestication, but

referring to different notions of the original. They sacrifice the lexical and cultural meanings at the expense of the style. However, Ghali's translation seems to follow the strategy of foreignization which results in losing euphemism and retaining an informal term 'mate'. Yusuf Ali and Pickthall give hints of the intended meaning, which is relatively clear but not maximally efficient, using the off-record politeness strategy. They seem to be vague and threaten the hearer's positive face. However, Ghali overgeneralizes the meaning and uses tautologies (i.e., neither taking them to yourselves as mates) to explain the intended meaning which is not clear in the three translations. Off-record politeness euphemism is based on flouting Grice's maxim of manner (be clear) which results in ambiguity regarding the FTA. Thus, the three translations violate the manner maxim due to their vagueness.

Although Khan and Al-Hilali dysphemistically render a domesticating term "girl-friend" (1995: 175) in an attempt to retain the idea as original as it is, the term refers to a different concept which implies a usual and lawful romantic relationship without referring to any sexual intercourse. Thus, (متخذي أخدان) is an Arabic expression that should be paraphrased in annotation or footnote to make it clear for non-native readers. The suggested translation is '... nor taking them as secret concubine (for an evil act)'.

Example 3

{الْخَبِيثَاتُ لِلْخَبِيثِينَ وَالْخَبِيثُونَ لِلْخَبِيثَاتِ} النور (26)

"Women impure are for men impure, and men impure for women impure" (Yusuf Ali: 902).

"Vile women are for vile men, and vile men are for vile women" (Pickthall: 362).

"Wicked women (are) for wicked men, and wicked men (are) for wicked women" (Ghali: 352).

Al-qortobi says that this verse is based on verse number 3 (Surat An-nur): "the fornicator shall marry none except a female fornicator or a female associate; and the female fornicator, none shall marry her except a fornicator or a (male) associate; and that is prohibited for the believers" (Ghali: 350). /xabiiθaat/ /xaboθa/ 'خَبِيثَاتُ'

Abu-Hyan adds that impure men tend to impure women, in addition to the impure words and the impure actions which are accepted only by impure people, namely prostitutes. /xabiiθaat/ 'خبائث' is the plural form of /xabiiθah/ 'خبیثة' referring to females, whereas /xabaa'θ/ 'خبائث' is a plural form denoting bad words, deeds, things... etc. In Arabic, it is not allowed to say 'قطط كثيرات', but we rather say 'قطط كثيرة'. Although 'قطط' can be either a masculine or feminine plural form, it does not take a plural adjective 'كثيرات' as it is an irrational object. In the same vein, the prophetic Hadith people should say before entering the bathroom "أعوذ بأعوذ الخبائث والخبائث" confirms that 'خبائث' in this context denotes deeds, words or any irrational object.

Impure is a classical written word which means the "thoughts or feelings, morally bad, especially because they are connected with sex" (Oxford: 682), vile is "(formal) wicked: completely unacceptable" (1502), and wicked is "morally bad synonym to evil" (1539). So, impure, vile, and wicked are calling up less disagreeable images in the mind, namely they are used as euphemistic expressions.

Ali's and Ghali's translations conveyed the euphemistic expressions without referring to the essence or the implied meaning of impure or wicked, i.e., prostitute. However, Pickthall conveys the euphemistic expression but ignores the intended meaning (i.e. prostitute). For non-Arab readers, it is too difficult to anticipate the meaning of prostitute from these euphemistic terms, as they are ambiguous. So, it is preferable to use euphemism followed by a paraphrase in a parenthetical statement or to use an annotation.

The three translations use off-record politeness to camouflage the intended meaning of prostitutes, so they are ambiguous. Flouting the maxim of manner is a direct result to the use of ambiguity which carries multiple interpretations of these euphemistic terms. The suggested translation is ‘...and impure men (i.e., prostitutes) for impure women’.

Example 4

{وَالَّذِينَ يَرْمُونَ الْمُحْصَنَاتِ ثُمَّ لَمْ يَأْتُوا بِأَرْبَعَةِ شُهَدَاءَ فَاجْلِدُوهُمْ ثَمَانِينَ جَلْدَةً وَلَا تَقْبَلُوا لَهُمْ شَهَادَةً أَبَدًا وَأُولَئِكَ هُمُ الْفَاسِقُونَ} النور (4)

"And those who launch a charge against *chaste women*, and produce not four witnesses (To support their allegations), - Flog them with eighty stripes; and reject their evidence ever after: for such men are wicked transgressors" (Yusuf Ali: 897).

"And who accused *honourable women* but bring not four witnesses, scourge them (with) eighty stripes and never (afterward) accept their testimony- they indeed are evil-doers-" (Pickthall: 359).

"And the ones who throw (accusations) upon (*women*) in *wedlock*, (and) thereafter they do not come up with four witnesses, then lash them with eighty lashes and do not accept any testimony of theirs at all; and those are they (who are) immoral," (Ghali: 350).

In interpreting this verse, Abu-hyan says that ‘القذف’ or slander is to charge someone with adultery, and what is meant by ‘رَمَى الْمُحْصَنَاتِ’ here is the false accusations against chaste women, because of the four witnesses who are needed to be sure of such accusation in the rest of the verse. Chaste women are those who have sex only with their husbands. It is not restricted to women, but it also applies to men. However, ‘slander’ against women is more odious. In any case except adultery, two witnesses are sufficient in the Islamic law ‘Sharia’. But in case of adultery, four witnesses are required to assure that they have really watched the accident with their naked eyes. Chaste women may be married or not; if they are not married, they will be virgin and if they are married, they will be chaste by their husbands. They should be honourable women, and they are supposed to have sex with none, except with their husbands (if they are married). Those who throw accusations upon such honourable women and do not come up with four witnesses must be lashed with eighty lashes.

Chaste is a classical word which means “not having sex with anyone; only having sex with a person that you are married to” (Oxford: 211). Honourable is “deserving respect and admiration (and) showing high moral standards” (653). Wedlock is an old fashioned term which means “the state of being married” (1527).

The three translators sacrifice the meaning at the expense of the euphemistic expressions, i.e. Chaste women, Honourable women, and women in wedlock, which represents a lexical gap between English and Arabic. Chaste may be acceptable in connection with married women only (women in wedlock) and honourable is a very common and broad term which does not render any reference to married or unmarried women. So, it would be better to transliterate the euphemistic Arabic term ‘محصنات’ and to provide the original term as is, i.e. using the strategy of foreignization, in parentheses or annotations, so as to ascertain the reader’s understanding of the intended meaning that might be unclear enough as it stands. According to the functional approach, foreignization is more appropriate than domestication. The intended meaning is not clear as the three translators flout the sub-maxim of manner "avoid ambiguity" and use the off-record indirect politeness to take the pressure off the hearer and to preserve the hearer's positive face. The suggested translation is ‘And those who launch a charge against *muhSanaat* (chaste women or vestal virgin women)’.

Example 5

{وَرَأَوْنَاهُ الَّتِي هُوَ فِي بَيْتِهَا عَنْ نَفْسِهِ وَغَلَّقَتِ الْأَبْوَابَ وَقَالَتْ هَيْتَ لَكَ قَالَ مَعَاذَ اللَّهِ} يوسف (23)

"But she in whose house he was, *sought to seduce him from his (true) self*: she fastened the doors, and said: "Now come, thou (dear one)!" He said: God forbid!" (Yusuf Ali: 558).

"And she, in whose house he was, *asked of him an evil act*. She bolted the doors and said: Come! He said: I seek refuge in Allah!" (Pickthall: 229).

"And she in whose home he was *solicited him*, and bolted the doors (on them), and said, "Come! Everything is ready for you." He said, "Allah be my refuge!" (Ghali: 238).

At-Tabary mentions that Abu-Ga'far says that the king's wife, i.e. Zulaikha, tried to seduce the prophet 'Joseph' while he was staying in their house but he refused.

Linguistically, 'زَاوَدَ' means that someone attempts to have illegal intercourse with another person. In this verse, euphemism is realized in two places, the allusion of the verb 'زَاوَدَ', i.e. to have illegal intercourse with 'Joseph', and the second part of euphemism is realized through at-ta'riid, i.e. 'hedging' (indirect hint) by using the possessive pronoun 'himself' which refers to 'Joseph's private parts'. As such, it leaves the reader to infer from the context and to draw the conclusion that the king's wife tried to commit adultery, but she failed.

Seduce is "(often passive) to persuade someone to have sex with you, especially someone who is younger than you or in a weaker position than you" (Oxford: 1203). Solicit is "to offer to have sex with people in return for money" (1278).

Although Ali and Ghali render euphemism as rich as it is in the Arabic composition and refer to the intended meaning in footnotes, Yusuf Ali's translation is more accurate than Ghali's, although the woman, i.e. the king's wife 'Zulaikha', did not ask Joseph for money, he was still in the weakest in position in the king's house, he was a slave. However, the Arabic term carries both the implied meaning of sexual intercourse and the image of seduction in one picture; the English translation is not as rich as the SL text. Pickthall's translation does not render the meaning nor the figurative image. He uses the transitive verb 'ask' which indicates 'demand' and the noun phrase 'evil act' that refers to any bad deed or behaviour, and both expressions, do not convey the image of seduction. The three rendered expressions are ambiguous, as the translators use the off-record politeness to preserve the hearer's positive face. The vagueness violates the maxim of manner.

In their translation, Khan and Al-Hilali render the exact meaning of the term 'راودته' and the euphemistic expression as rich as the original in a parenthetical sentence: "... sought to seduce him (to do an evil act)" (Khan and Al-Hilali, 1995: 340). The suggested translation is '.... seduced him (to have illegal intercourse)'.

Example 6

{ وَاسْتَبَقَا الْبَابَ وَقَدَّتْ قَمِيصَهُ مِنْ دُبُرٍ وَأَلْفَيَا سَيِّدَهَا لَدَى الْبَابِ قَالَتْ مَا جَزَاءُ مَنْ أَرَادَ بِأَهْلِكَ سُوءًا إِلَّا أَنْ يُسْجَنَ أَوْ عَذَابٌ أَلِيمٌ } يوسف (25)

"So they both raced each other to the door, and she tore his shirt from the back: they both found their lord near the door. She said: "what is the (fitting) punishment for one who *formed an evil design* against thy wife, but prison or a grievous chastisement?" (Yusuf Ali: 559).

"And they raced with one another to the door, and she tore his shirt, from behind, and they met her lord and master at the door. She said: What shall be his reward, who *wisheth evil* to thy folk, save prison or a painful doom?" (Pickthall: 229).

"And they raced with one another to the door, and she ripped his shirt from the rear. And they come upon her master close to the door. She said, "What is the recompense of him who was willing to (commit) *an odious (deed)* to your family except that he should be imprisoned or (receive) a painful torment?" (Ghali: 238).

Az-zamakhshary says that 'سوء' is one of the preambles which may lead to adultery and all evils, and it covers all faces of fornication, i.e., a kiss and an insatiable sexual look. Al-qorTobi asserts that 'سوء' means "lust" as an introduction to commit illegal intercourse. Zulaikha was furious with Joseph as he scorned her love and mad passion when he rejected to fulfill her demands, i.e., to have illegal sexual intercourse with her, and when her husband 'Al-Aziz' saw her in such an awful situation, she was embarrassed, thus "One guilt leads to another" (Yusuf Ali: 559). She fabricated a charge against him to have her revenge on Joseph, saying that he seduced her to commit adultery with her and she totally refused. She had to resort to this lie for two reasons; the first is to justify and acquit herself before her husband, and the second is to get her revenge on the man who had scorned her love and to coax him to rethink about her passionate offer after a while.

The term 'سوء' is considered euphemistic as it is a metonymy referring to adultery. Evil is "having a harmful effect on people" (Oxford: 452), so it is morally bad or unpleasant. Odious is "extremely unpleasant" (914).

The three translations use foreignization without referring to the domestic meaning of 'سوء' in this verse which carries the meaning of adultery, even in Yusuf Ali's translation that tends to refer to the interpretation in the annotation. The three translators sacrifice the meaning at the expense of the euphemistic image. Evil and Odious do not refer to adultery, which is implicitly meant in this verse, they use umbrella terms that cover a meaning of a lot of bad aspects. Therefore, the target non-Arab reader cannot draw a conclusion about the intended meaning based on these euphemistic adjectives. It would be more adequate to use one of these terms, then refer to the intended meaning in a marginal footnote or in parentheses.

Ghali's translation successfully attempts to convey the verb commit in parentheses which refers to having an illegal action, but odious is not a quite equivalent to the euphemistic term 'سوء'. On the other hand, he renders the literal meaning of the word 'أهل' as family which is another kind of euphemism too. Arab people prefer not to call their wives neither by their first names nor by surnames as they consider them taboo words. They tend to call them euphemistically by any reference for fear of hurting them from foreigners. In this verse, the word 'أهل' euphemistically refers to wife in classical Arabic (Ibn-Manzur). The three terms rendered by the translators are not clear enough for non-Arab target readers, as they follow an off-record politeness strategy in order not to threaten the hearer's positive face. They also flout the sub-maxim of manner, i.e., avoid ambiguity, since the intended meaning is vague. The suggested translation is 'What is the penalty for one who was willing to (commit) a sin (cheat) against your wife ...'

Example 7

{وَلَقَدْ هَمَّتْ بِهِ وَهَمَّ بِهَا لَوْلَا أَنْ رَأَى بُرْهَانَ رَبِّهِ} يوسف (24)

"And (with passion) *did* she *desire* him, and he would have desired her, but that he saw the evidence of his Lord." (Yusuf Ali: 558).

"She *verily desired* him, and he would have desired her if it had not been that he saw the argument of his lord." (Pickthall: 229).

"And indeed she *already designed on* him, and he (would have) designed on her, had he not seen the proof of his Lord." (Ghali: 238).

At-tabari says that 'الهِمَمُ' means the interior monologue to do something, but not really doing it. Interior monologue is "a representation of a character's unspoken thoughts" (Baldick, 2001: 161). In the prophetic Hadith no. 19027 in At-tabari's commentary, he explains that she lay down over him and he (would have) put off his clothes between her legs (At-tabari: 279). Ibn-Katheer asserts that commentators have differed in the interpretation of the term "desire" in connection with Joseph's and Zulaikha's desire: Zulaikha's desire is to have illegal sexual intercourse, whereas Joseph's desire is merely an interior monologue about unlawful or evil act.

Desire for someone is "a strong wish to have sex" (Oxford: 359). To have designs on someone is a formal idiom that means "to want to start a sexual relationship with somebody" (Oxford: 358). The term 'هَمَّتْ بِهِ' is a metonymy that is a euphemism for an extramarital sexual relation motivated by a sense of propriety to avoid mentioning an embarrassing term, namely illegal sexual intercourse. The meaning is thus reduced and became vague than the direct term, aimed at hiding the unpleasant denotative referent. It is worth mentioning that ambiguity is one of the tools of euphemism.

The three translations succeeded in conveying the original style and meaning. Both expressions (i.e., desire for someone and design on someone) are slightly equivalent to the original term 'الهِمَمُ بِالشَّيْءِ'. Yusuf Ali's translation is more convincing than the other two translations, as he adds a parenthetical phrase (i.e., with passion) to show the difference between her desire and his, which are completely different as many scholars and interpreters have stated. The three translations seem to select ambiguous expressions which result in flouting the sub-maxim of manner, in an attempt to preserve the hearer's positive face.

Example 8

{وَلَا تَقْرُبُوا الزِّنَىٰ إِنَّهُ كَانَ فَاحِشَةً وَسَاءَ سَبِيلًا} الإسراء (32)

"Nor come nigh to *adultery*: For it is a shameful (deed) and an evil, opening the road (to other evils)" (Yusuf Ali: 703).

"And come not near unto *adultery*. Lo! it is an abomination and an evil way" (Pickthall: 281).

"And do not come near to *adultery*; surely it has been an obscenity and odious as a way." (Ghali: 285).

Abu-Hayan says that when Allah prohibited killing children, He also prohibited getting these children in an illegal way. Therefore, Allah prohibited any approach or temptation to the way of adultery rather than committing adultery. Adultery refers to a great obscenity, so how awful this route of adultery is which results in hell. Yusuf Ali (1946: 703) states that "Adultery is not only shameful in itself and inconsistent with any self-respect or respect for others, but it opens the road to many evils. It destroys the basis of the family; it works against the interests of children born or to be born; it may cause murders and feuds and loss of reputation and property and loosen permanently the bonds of society. Not only should it be avoided as a sin, but any approach or temptation to it should be avoided." The term adultery and its derivatives are intentionally and dysphemistically mentioned nine times in five verses in the Qur'an to represent one of the main Islamic ordinances, i.e. punishments 'حد'. These are verse no.68 (Surat Al-Furqan) verse no.12 (Surat Al-Mumtahanah) verse no.32 (Surat Al-Isra), verse no.2 and 3 (Surat An-Nur), and the verse in question.

Literally, adultery is "sex between a married person and somebody who is not their husband or wife" (Oxford: 18). In Arabic, it is originally the 'adversity' or the difficult situation. In the original Qur'anic verse, it is not euphemized, but the dysphemistic term 'زنا' or 'adultery' is mentioned overtly to indicate one of the most important punishments stipulated in the Qur'an and make

it crystal clear for all people. So, euphemism is intentionally avoided in the original text due to the importance of the Qur'anic punishment and not to open the door sheepishly for commentators to interpret and differ around one of the clearest verses.

The term has been rendered into the three translations and the dysphemism adultery is retained as it is in the original. The direct meaning is meant to ascertain the readers' understanding of the Islamic ordinance, i.e., the Qur'anic punishment for adultery. Hence, the translators have successfully rendered this instance of dysphemism through bald on-record politeness strategy to guarantee maximally efficient communication with the hearers and readers as well. It is worth mentioning that they did not flout any of Grice's maxims, as the three translations are informative, true, relevant, brief and clear, following the four maxims of quantity, quality, relation and manner respectively.

On the contrary, Khan and Al-Hilali render the translation of this verse as "And come not near to the unlawful sexual intercourse" (405). They committed what Massoud called 'too little respect for the source text' as they imposed their own interpretations and views on "what they translate and have no scruples about twisting the actual words of a text" (Massoud, 1988: 38). Too much knowledge of the topic, i.e., the Qur'anic punishment of the crime of adultery motivates them, as highly trained and professional translators, to euphemize what Qur'anically is intentionally and originally dysphemized for the sake of style and using elegant terms. The strategy of domestication or the politeness principles are not the reason beyond using this euphemistic expression, since the concept of 'adultery' exists in English. It is not tolerable of a translator to grant him/herself a license to interpret, comment, re-emphasize, or substitute the SL terms for other terms, especially if they are enough clear expressions in a religious discourse. Hence, in this verse the 'meaning' of the term is not the point, because the message has been sent, but methodologically unreliable. Competent professional translators should not put on the hat of the author's editors but should always be after a TL text equivalent in meaning to the SL. Khan and Al-Hilali flouted the maxim of quantity as they rendered more informative rhetorical images than is required. They attempt to preserve the hearer's negative face using the on-record politeness strategy in order not to impinge on the hearer's face.

6.2.2 Lesbianism

In the following lines, only one euphemistic Qur'anic verse and its problem in translation, concerning the issue of lesbianism, will be tackled and evaluated, by means of mentioning the Arabic translation, commentaries, euphemism, assessment and suggested translation.

Example 1

{وَالَّذِي يَأْتِيَنَّ الْفَاحِشَةَ مِنْ نِسَائِكُمْ فَاسْتَشْهِدُوا عَلَيْهِنَّ أَرْبَعَةً مِنْكُمْ} النساء (15)

"If any of your women are guilty of lewdness, take the evidence of four (reliable) witnesses from amongst you against them." (Yusuf Ali: 183).

"As for those of your women who are guilty of lewdness, call to witness four of you against them." (Pickthall: 76).

"And (as for) the ones of your women who come up with the obscenity, so, call four of you to witness against them." (Ghali: 80).

Most commentators of the Qur'an say that 'الفاحشة' in this verse refers to adultery. However, Muhammad Rashid Reda's Al-Manar commentary, Mujahed's commentary and Abu-Muslim assert that 'الفاحشة' here is lesbianism which is a homosexual attraction between one woman and another woman. According to the above interpreters, 'الفاحشة' refers either to "sodomy" or to "lesbianism". The penalties on the three kinds of 'فاحشة' (adultery, sodomy and lesbianism) are strictly mentioned in the Qur'an. So, in this verse, it is most likely to be lesbianism from a semantic and lexical point of view (Reda, 1947: 483). It is worth mentioning that this verse is abrogated in verse no. 2 (Surat An-Nur) to set a new punishment 'حد' for adulterers and adulteresses.

Yusuf Ali asserts in the footnote no. 523 in the annotation that "it refers to unnatural crime between women, analogous to unnatural crime between men in verse no.16" in the same Surah (Yusuf Ali: 183).

'الْفَاحِشَةُ' is derived from the lemma 'فَحَشُنْ' which refers to any kind of abominable actions, sayings or sins, such as adultery. That is why 'الْفَاحِشَةُ' is the euphemistic expression of the dysphemistic term 'زنا' or adultery. The verse is addressing females, i.e. adulteresses, because of using the feminine plural pronoun 'اللاتي' which support the interpretation of lesbianism.

Both Yusuf Ali's and Ghali's translations succeeded in conveying the euphemistic expressions as it is in the original verse and in referring to the intended meaning in the annotation, i.e., "adultery or fornication" and "illegal sexual intercourse; abomination" respectively. But Pickthall's translation sacrifices the meaning of the term and the euphemism involved. The three translations flout the sub-maxim of manner due to the several potential interpretations of these ambiguous terms. They preserve the hearer's positive face using the off-record politeness strategy. The translation of this verse could be more comprehensible had the translators referred to the three potential meanings of 'الْفَاحِشَةُ' in the annotation, i.e., adultery, sodomy or lesbianism.

Khan and Al-Hilali render this verse as "And those of your women who commit illegal sexual intercourse, take the evidence of four witnesses ..." (141). They strictly insist upon one strategy, i.e., domestication, to convey the intended meaning and the finest style. They made praiseworthy effort to put domestication in practice, as they render one of the potential meanings as mentioned above. This translation flouts the maxim of quantity as produces a combination between interpretation and translation into the TL without referring to these explanations in a parenthetical statement. It uses the on-record politeness strategy to preserve the hearer's positive face using these expressions, i.e., illegal sexual intercourse.

7. Conclusion

In answering the questions of the study, the three translations of the Qur'an in question, i.e., Ali, Pickthall, and Ghali attempted to translate and communicate semantically with the TL as much as possible, but at the expense of conveying euphemism adequately into the target culture. The first two translations of the Qur'an, i.e., Ali and Pickthall, are selected because they follow the original Qur'anic order of Suaras and they communicate domestically with the TL. The third translation of Ghali was selected as it represents an example of a recent translation written by an Arabic native speaker. Whereas Khan and Al-Hilali's translations are adopted just to shed light on the dangers of insisting on one system in the translating process, namely domestication. This translation is very popular and is widely published around the world and in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia.

Skopostheorie and the functional approach place emphasis on the function of target texts and translation. Therefore, domestication and foreignization are highly compatible and well complement each other. They represent two different systems of translation that translators should keep in a state of balance and not bring them to extremes. Choosing one of them does not negate the application and importance of the other. However, insisting on one method and completely ignoring the other may render the translation methodologically unreliable. Even if the translators use domestication as a dominating strategy to facilitate the foreign concepts and ideas to the target recipients, exactly as Khan and Al-Hilali did, they can also retain the flavour of the original images concerning culture-specific expressions. Nevertheless, if the translators consider foreignization as the only comprehensive strategy in order to preserve all the exotic concepts and to convey the culture-specificity concepts into the TL, the translation might be turned into extremes, since the translated text might be quite unnatural or even unacceptable to the target readers. Therefore, translators should follow both domestication and foreignization on the basis of skopos and the functional

approach. It is incumbent to say that no one strategy is better than the other, both strategies have their central roles in the translating process.

Euphemism, as an off-record polite linguistic tool, is indirectly used to save the hearers' face and to hint at some embarrassing issues they mean to communicate. In the same vein, the off-record FTAs cannot be held accountable and any inferred meanings are deniable, as the "linguistic realizations of off-record strategies include metaphor and irony, rhetorical questions, understatement, tautologies, all kinds of hints as to what a speaker wants or means to communicate, without doing so directly, so that the meaning is to some degree negotiable" (Brown and Levinson: 69). This is done to avoid awkwardness or loss of face between the addresser and the addressee in the give and take interactions.

If translators ignore the euphemistic terms in the translation process, they will delude the target receivers, especially those of a different culture or non-Arab Muslims. As a result of ignoring euphemism in the translation action, the target receivers may relatively misunderstand the whole context in which the text is produced. Experienced translators are those who mention the euphemistic expression followed by a paraphrase or a footnote to facilitate its understanding to the target readers.

It is highly recommended in translating euphemistic terms to use some strategies to render the intended meaning to the TL, especially in religious discourses, for example, paraphrasing, using parenthesis, using footnote or marginal annotation (or even transliteration as a last resort) to convey the intended SL meaning as rich as it is in the original composition. Other linguistic tools and other fields and discourses may reveal more about the integration of the Qur'an and of euphemism and dysphemism as sociolinguistic phenomena since euphemism is "not rule teachable" (Hasan, 2002: 415). Thus, translators' cross-culture knowledge and language awareness tools are highly recommended.

This study still leaves much to be done on the Qur'an. Euphemism and dysphemism are not the only rhetorical features or fields of research in the above studied verses. Further studies may tackle the other illegal sexual relations or other fields, such as disasters, death, diseases, defeat, divorce, humiliation, arrogance, stinginess, extravagance, betrayal, slavery, etc.

8. Appendices

Symbols Used in the Phonemic Transcription of Arabic

A. Consonant			
Symbol		Description	Example
/b/	ب	voiced bilabial stop	/baab/ "door"
/t/	ت	voiceless alveolar stop	/kitaab/ "book"
/T/	ط	voiceless velarized alveolar stop	/Taalib/ "student"
/d/	د	voiced alveolar stop	/diin/ "religion"
/D/	ض	voiced velarized alveolar stop	/Dariit/ "blind"
/k/	ك	voiceless velar stop	/kaatib/ "writer"
/g/	ج	voiced velar stop	/gwatimala/ "Guatemala"
/q/	ق	voiceless uvular stop	/qalam/ "pen"
/ʔ/	ء	glottal stop	/ʔahmar/ "red"
/j/	ح	voiced palatal affricate	/jamal/ "camel"

/c/	ع	voiced pharyngeal fricative	/culuum/ "science"
/f/	ف	voiceless labio-dental fricative	/filfil/ "pepper"
/θ/	ث	voiceless dental fricative	/θaman/ "price"
/ð/	ذ	voiced dental fricative	/ðaalik/ "that"
/Z/	ظ	voiced velarized dental fricative	/Zalaam/ "darkness"
/s/	س	voiceless alveolar fricative	/sacaada/ "happiness"
/S/	ص	voiceless velarized alveolar fricative	/Saaboun/ "soap"
/z/	ز	voiced alveolar fricative	/zaaʔir/ "visitor"
/ʃ/	ش	voiceless palato-alveolar fricative	/ʃaacir/ "poet"
/x/	خ	voiceless velar fricative	/xaadim/ "servant"
/ǧ/	غ	voiced uvular fricative	/ǧariib/ "strange"
/h/	هـ	voiceless laryngeal fricative	/haadiʔ/ "calm"
/ħ/	ح	voiceless pharyngeal fricative	/baħr/ "sea"
/r/	ر	flap/trill	/rajul/ "man"
/l/	ل	Lateral	/laacib/ "player"
/m/	م	bilabial nasal	/mudarris/ "teacher"
/n/	ن	alveolar nasal	/hinnaaʔ/ "henna"
/w/	و	bilabial glide	/walad/ "boy"
/y/	ى	palatal glide	/yawm/ "day"
B. Vowels			
/i/	ي	short close front vowel	/θiyaab/ "clothes"
/a/	ا	short half-close central vowel	/naħr/ "river"
/u/	و	short close back vowel	/qul/ "say"

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Translating Figurative Language in the Chapter of Taha: A Study of Two Translations

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ARTICLE DATA

Received: 30 Oct. 2021
Accepted: 28 Nov. 2021
Volume: 1
Issue: FALL
DOI:

KEYWORDS

translation, Qur'an,
acceptability, figure of speech

ABSTRACT

This paper is concerned with reviewing the difficulties faced by translators rendering figurative language in the Chapter of Taha and raises the question of whether the translation choices suggested by the two selected translators to express the intended meaning of the figure of speech in question are appropriate ones or not. Hence the major concern of this paper is acceptability: do the suggested choices achieve the level of acceptability targeted by the two translators or not?

1. Introduction

Translating the Holy Qur'an poses a serious challenge for translators for different reasons the most important of these is that any mistake or distortion, whether intentional or unintentional, is not forgiven by those who believe in that Holy Book. Mistakes, however, translation loss, semantic inaccuracy, absence of an accurate equivalent, etc. are all to be expected in rendering a linguistically rich and figuratively-loaded book like the Holy Qur'an. This is why "translators should not agonize over the loss, but should concentrate on reducing it" (Dickens, Hervey and Higgins: 21).

A simple definition of the translation process is that it is crossing barriers; in other words, during the translation process, the translator tries to fill in many gaps: semantic, figurative, cultural, syntactic, etc. to win the target reader's approval. These gaps represent the obstacles or the barriers that the translator has to overcome. Rich texts are the ones that contain more barriers. Under rich texts definitely come Holy Books in general and the Holy Qur'an in particular. The Qur'an provides readers with distinctive and unique realms of meanings, connotations, interpretations, insights, etc. that really overwhelm them even those who are non-Muslims or non-Arabs.

Translators of the Qur'an in their introductions or prefaces admit that rendering the Qur'an is really a hard task that involves an expected amount of loss on the different levels: semantic, cultural, figurative, etc. In the introduction to his translation, Arthur J. Arberry (1955) writes that translating the Qur'an is similar to measuring "the ocean of prophetic eloquence with the thimble of pedestrian analysis" (Introduction: XI).

2. Theoretical background

The use of language has been divided in the theories of meaning into two types: literal and figurative. Literal use of language means using the actual, denotative meaning of words, that is, literal use refers to solid facts and statements, e.g. the language of science and law. Metaphorical or figurative use of language refers to the "flowery" use of words to convey meanings and symbolic values beyond the literal meaning of words. Writers and authors usually use figurative language to have more insight

into a character or situation. For example, a metaphor like “time is money” is expected to instil the idea of the preciousness and importance of time in its reader’s head than the literal sentence “time is important”.

Figures of speech are so deeply rooted in daily usage that users of language are hardly aware of their metaphorical origin or nature e.g. ‘running water’, ‘vicious circle’, ‘leg of the table’, ‘heart of the matter’, ‘flow of electricity’, etc. The same fact applies to Arabic like, وجه الماء، كيد الحقيقة، قلب الموضوع، عين الحق لا تنام، الوقت من ذهب، etc.

People use figures of speech in daily communications because they may be more effective than literal expressions without being aware of this fact. People become aware of the metaphorical nature of figurative expressions when the violation of selection restriction is obvious. To put it more clearly, figures of speech combine elements used figuratively (although in normal situations, such elements are not likely to occur in the same context or structure) to signify something beyond the literal meanings of words. A metaphor is usually used either to convey meanings and connotations beyond the literal meanings of words, or because the literal meaning alone cannot convey what the speaker wants to express. It is an integral part of human language: man’s language contains metaphorical expressions beside the solid facts of daily life. It is metaphor that adds beauty and sublimity to human language and creates new rhetorical horizons for the human mind. Even the language of science, supposedly ‘precise’ and ‘dry’, contains metaphorical structures, e.g., "gold is the master of all metals".

Theorists differed amongst themselves about how metaphor is structured and how it functions in a given situation to communicate the intended meaning. Some of them studied metaphor from a psychological point of view trying to pinpoint the interrelationship between metaphor and man’s cognitive processes. Others tried to relate metaphor to the culture in which it is “born” pointing out that a full understanding of the content of metaphor can never be separated from its cultural and social habitat.

Semanticists looked at metaphors as a kind of semantic anomaly as metaphor usually relates two unrelated subjects in a new and unique manner. For example, in “Tom is a lion”, the metaphor here not only tells that Tom is brave, but it creates a picture or an image of Tom that remains at the back of the reader’s mind (based on the anomaly that combines ‘Tom’ and ‘lion’). The Qur’anic metaphor "والصبح إذا تنفس"، which compares "الصبح" to a human being, creates a beautiful image of freshness, newness and vitality.

This means that figures of speech are not simply ornamental substitutes for literal expressions: they are usually used when they express more than the literal meaning of words can do, or to express an abstraction in a comprehensible way. In other words, figurative language is not purely a decorative substitution or rhetorical models for literal and ideational meaning. It (figurative language) is productive of meaning within a metaphorical framework that addresses both the heart and mind of the readers as metaphor creates a being-in-the-world atmosphere that increases the emotional response of the reader and increases the effect of the illocutionary force. It also “has the virtue of clothing tired literal expression in attractive new garbs of alleviating boredom” (Soskice: 24).

Figurative language is vital in talking about God with his infinite power, dominance and glory: it simply “guides our thought about God and is in some sense descriptive and explanatory” (ibid: 104-105) e.g. "يد الله فوق أيديهم"، "مثل نوره كمشكاة". Such metaphors not only “retain their metaphorical nature, but they have become more than simpler metaphor, they are almost emblematic” (ibid: 158). This is why part of the beauty of Qur’an consists in its figurative language which the reader must master to fully understand the Qur’an and enjoy its rhetorical excellence (1). Issa J. Boullata (1988) comments on the role of figurative language in the Qur’an:

The Qur’anic style imparts vividness, immediacy, and dynamism to its images so that abstract ideas take on shape or movement; psychological states become perceptible tableaux or spectacles; events and scenes, and stories turn into actual and dramatic appearances; human types are fleshed out as present and living beings; and human nature becomes embodied and visible. (15)

3. Problem statement

The problem of figurative meaning is one of the problems that lie at the heart of translation. When translating a text, the translator should do his/her best to convey figurative language in the target language. When it comes to the Qur'an, a translator must definitely consult more than one interpretation of the Qur'an to opt for the most accurate meaning of each figure of speech. This is special for the Qur'an and other rich texts where figurative meaning needs certain linguistic knowledge to be understood; that is why "in most of the English interpretations of the Qur'an, cases of non-equivalence and untranslatability will be more frequent with plenty of scope for ambiguities, obscurities and fuzzy boundaries." (Al-Qinani, 2012: 83).

4. Objective of the research

The present study hopefully sheds more light on the difficulties encountered by translators in rendering examples of figurative language in the Qur'an, more specifically in the Chapter of Taha with the aim of providing suggestions that will assist in decreasing translation loss. In addition, it is supposed to answer the question about the most appropriate trouble shooter to be used in rendering such examples. It also presents an analysis of the choices made by the two translators and how each of them tries to keep the effect of figurative language and reduce the amount of loss.

5. Research methodology

This study is an attempt to study and analyze the translation of figures of speech in the Chapter of Taha in two translations of the meanings of the Qur'an; namely, Arthur J. Arberry's *The Koran Interpreted* (1955) and Muhammad Mahmud Ghali's *Towards Understanding the Ever Glorious Qur'an* (1997). This in turn implies a comparative, rhetorical approach to Arabic and English which represent the source language (SL) and the target language (TL).

The choices made by the two translators are judged according to the two approaches to translation suggested by Peter Newmark in his book, *About Translation* (1988): the semantic approach and communicative one pointing out their merits and demerits and how adopting the functional approach suggested by many translation scholars including Katherine Reiss is highly required in translating figurative language the Qur'an. The functional approach implies faithfulness to the source text content and how to transfer this content to the target reader in a style and form s/he finds familiar and acceptable. This in turn reveals the importance of adopting the functional approach in the translation of figures of speech especially culture-specific images. The steps of analysis include the following:

- 1- Comparing the choices offered by Arberry and Ghali.
- 2- Searching for the meaning of the selected verse in authorized exegeses
- 3- Looking up the meaning of words in reliable Arabic and English dictionaries
- 4- Consulting a third translation when needed to see how other translators approached the same figure of speech.

6. Context and data

For this study, two translations have been selected, namely, those of Arthur J. Arberry's *The Koran Interpreted* published in 1955 (edition used is that of 1983 and Muhammad Mahmud Ghali's *Towards Understanding the Ever Glorious Qur'an* published in 1997, but my selection was not haphazard for the following reasons:

1-The linguistic backgrounds of the two translators represent an area of interest: Arberry is a native speaker of English and learnt Arabic and Ghali is a native speaker of Arabic who learnt English. Thus, they differ in their innate sense of the source language, Arabic, and the target language, English.

2- The religious backgrounds of the two translators are of equal interest to any researcher: Arberry is a Christian and Ghali is a Muslim.

3- Their translations display a high level of objectivity as both try to present, through their translations, the closest version of the original.

4- Both translators differ in their use of trouble shooters (i.e., introduction, footnotes, bracketing and endnotes) that help to explain, clarify or comment on the verses: they provide the reader with a lengthy introduction in which many Islam-related and Qur'an-bound features are explained in detail to fill in cultural, theological and historical gaps between the Qur'an and the target reader. Ghali uses footnotes and bracketing to disambiguate in-text gaps whereas Arberry ignores them. These trouble shooters are undoubtedly meant to help the target reader have a better understanding of the Qur'an.

The figures of speech selected for this study are divided into two types: non-problematic and problematic. The non-problematic ones are those figures of speech whose meaning is a universal one and their translation does not pose any problem for the translator. The problematic ones are sub-categorized into four types: 1- Culture-specific Figures of Speech 2- Figures of Speech Involving a Word Having Two Opposite Meanings 3- Anthropomorphic Images 4- Figures of Speech Involving a Special Use of Prepositions.

7. Research questions

1-What are the types of figures of speech in the Chapter of Taha?

2- What are the problematic types?

3- What are the strategies followed by Arberry and Ghali in rendering figurative language?

4- How far did they succeed in rendering figurative language in the Chapter of Taha?

5- How far trouble shooters are important in rendering figurative language?

8. Translating non-Problematic Examples

Images with universal significance represent no problem to the translator. Such images are understood by the target reader due to their commonly-accepted meaning. Such figures of speech are not expected to represent any translation problem if there are adequate equivalents in the target language capable of conveying the message with the same rhetorical force. The following example drives the whole idea home:

"واحلل عقدة من لساني يفقهوا قولي" (27)

Arberry's Translation:

"Unloose the knot upon my tongue"

Ghali's Translation:

"And loosen the knot from my tongue"

It is clear that both translators feel satisfied to translate the image almost literally. This simply means that they seem to have found no difficulty in finding an English equivalent that conveys the message and keeps the rhetorical effectiveness of the original image. The target reader feels at home with the translation. The Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary mentions

a metaphorical idiom under the entry 'loosen': "to loosen sb's tongue make sb talk freely" (661). This simply means that the same image is idiomatically used in English confirming its universal significance and non-problematic nature.

To sum up, as long as the image is universal and its propositional content can be understood by any reader, the translator is not expected to find any problem in rendering it. Roger Bell (1993) stresses the same fact: "The fact that the proposition is universal (not tied to a specific language but underlying all languages) gives it central position in communication and provides us with a major clue in our attempt at making sense of the process of translation (109).

9. Translating Problematic Examples

9.1 Culture-specific Figures of Speech

Translating is not a process of transferring meaning from one language to another. It involves transferring one culture (or frame of thought) to another. This simply means that the translator's job is not confined to the search for semantic equivalents, but s/he should try to find functional equivalents and cultural substitutes that would help to maximally convey the message of the source text and bridge the gap between the source text and the target reader, especially if they belong to two completely cultural backgrounds.

The translator, as Enani (2000) puts it, "is a cultural medium: no translator can hope to evade the cultural implications of his or her translated text" (36). This emphasizes the importance of the fact that the translator should be well-acquainted with the cultural background of both the source and target texts. The difficulty of translating culture-specific images stems from the fact that they describe "a culture remote from the second reader's experience, which the translator wants to introduce to him, not the original reader who took or takes it for granted, but as something strange with its own special interest" (Newmark: 11).

Let's take a detailed example from the Chapter of Taha, namely, the translation of "تقر". "القر" in Arabic means "البرد", 'coldness', and "القرور" means "الماء البارد" 'cold water'. Out of this literal meaning, a metaphorical expression has been created, that is "تقر العين" as stated by Ibn Manzour and Al-Asfahani (2). The two definitions mentioned by them (Ibn Mazour and Al-Asfahani) refer to one of the Arabs' beliefs: the Arab, who suffers from a hot environment, finds coldness nice and pleasant and this is why s/he believes that the happy tears are cold and the tears of pain and agony are hot: a belief created by the effect of his/her environment. The English man, who lives in freezing conditions, finds the above fact odd, weird or at least irrelevant to his cultural context. Thus, what is normal and common to an Arab seems totally abnormal to the English man. Eugene Nida (1966) comments that "what is quite implicitly understood in one language is not so understood in another, especially in those instances where the cultural context is very different" (24).

The root-cognates, words derived from the same stem, of "تقر", namely, "قرى", and "قرة" are metaphorically used in the Qur'an in seven different contexts to refer to a state of happiness, satisfaction and contentment. The following verse from the Chapter of Taha is one of them:

"فرجعناك إلى أمك كي تقر عينها ولا تحزن"

Arberry's Translation:

"We returned thee to thy mother that she might rejoice, and not sorrow."

Ghali's Translation:

"So, We returned you to your mother so that she might comfort her eye."

What is noticeable is that "تقر" is associated with "عين" to indicate the metaphorical origin. It is clear that the image is confounding to the translators: rendering it literally will not achieve the aim of their translations. Also the metaphorical

meaning of "الفر" is a cultureme: a common phenomenon in the Arabian Peninsula which will be irrelevant to the members of the other cultures as previously stated.

Arberry solves this problem by reducing the image to its sense: he prefers to opt for a communicative choice, namely, 'rejoice' to avoid the cultural specificity of the image. Ghali, a native speaker of Arabic and seems quite aware of the cultural background of the image, prefers to choose "comfort" and "eyes" to reach a kind of middle ground: keeping the spirit and origin of the image in choosing "eye" and combining it with "comfort" aiming at reaching a functional translation that keeps the meaning-formulation process active and preserves, partly, the spirit of the image in question.

He also resorts to footnotes in an attempt to remove any communication barriers that might be created by the cultural specificity of the image: he writes in his footnote that "تقر عينها" "literally: that her eye might settle down" (314). This footnote activates the communication between the source-text image and the target reader. Yet, it does not help to convey the origin of the image or its interrelationship with the culture in which it is born.

To sum up, it can be concluded that semantic translation, if adopted by the translator, in translating the root-cognates of "تقر" will not achieve the required degree of communication and interaction between the source text and the target reader. Opting for a functional choice will achieve the function of the target text i.e. communication, and achieves the required level of intratextual coherence. A good functional translation of the image in question is provided by Enani (2000) in his translation of Hafez Ibrahim's poetry in which he praises Omar Ibn El Khattab, the second caliph, for his justice.

أمنت لما أقمت العدل بينهم فنمت نوم قرير العين هانئها

You feel safe, having established justice among your people. And now sleep with an easy conscience and a happy heart.

9.2 Figures of Speech Involving auto-antonyms

This type of ambiguous words has three distinctive features: firstly, it is peculiar not to Arabic (English also has words that have two opposite and functional meanings at the same time, e.g. "spouse" and "let"). Secondly, it represents no problem to translators who have to be decisive in this case: choosing one meaning and forsaking another. Yet, this deprives the target reader of one of the distinctive features of Qur'anic Arabic, that is, the figurative richness and multi-layered nature of words; this is why a translation of the Qur'an "is only scratching the surface of the multi-layered Qur'anic meanings" (Abdul-raof: 180). Thirdly, in many cases, the context itself plays no role in guiding or helping the translator to opt for one choice, i.e. preferring one choice to the other (3).

On the level of semantic loss, this kind of ambiguity, as mentioned before, compels the translators to opt for one of the two opposite senses which represents a kind of lexical and/or semantic loss that can be minimized by the use of trouble shooters representing the exegetic element palliating, to some extent, the expected loss. The following verse reveals this fact:

"واجعل لي وزيراً من أهلي، هارون أخي، أشدد به أزري." (Taha: 29- 31)

The word أزر (4) in Arabic has two opposite meanings: "weakness" and "strength" (there is also a third uncommon meaning, namely, "back"). In the above verse, authorized exegeses of the Qur'an mention that Moses, peace be upon him, is praying to Allah to make his brother, Aaron, a prophet to increase his (Moses') strength or help him get rid of his weakness. Thus both meanings can be functional. Here the translator is free to opt for one of the two meanings provided that s/he should provide the reader with the other meaning in a trouble shooter. In other words, the translator in such a case should realize that "every act of translating involves first recognizing the potential equivalents, and then selecting from them the one best adapted to the particular context" (Reiss: 51). Arberry and Ghali follow different strategies:

Arberry's Translation:

“Appoint for me of my folk a familiar, Aaron, my brother; by him confirm my **strength**.”

Ghali's Translation:

“And make for me a counsellor of my family, Harun, my brother, uphold my **back** by him”

Arberry and Ghali seem decisive about one of the denotative meanings of أزر in this verse: they render it as “strength” and “back” respectively; the meanings mentioned in authorized exegeses and reliable Arabic dictionaries. However, neither of them provides the target reader with the other sense of the word, i.e., weakness by using any of the trouble shooters mentioned before. They seem to be satisfied with the translation provided, not trying to bother the reader with the third meaning of the word; a strategy that can be accepted but still causes figurative (and semantic) loss! This, however, might not be seen as “a betrayal of the ST effects, and therefore count as a serious translation loss” (Dickens, Hervey and Higgins: 40).

I consulted another translation of the Qur'an to see how other translators rendered the same problematic figure of speech. The one I consulted is the one published by Rodwell entitled *The Koran* and found the following choice:

Rodwell's Translation:

“And give me a counsellor from among my family, Aaron my brother; by him gird up my **loins**.”

In contrast to Arberry and Ghali, Rodwell seems to opt for an idiomatic choice, “gird up my loins”, which is “biblical or humorous to get ready to do something” (Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English: 596). He seems to believe that this functional strategy, i.e. the use of this Biblical idiom “preserves the idiomaticity and essential message content” (Dickens, Hervey and Higgins: 46). To put it differently, he, like Ghali, chooses the uncommon meanings of the word, namely, 'back', more specifically, the lower part of the back as “loins” is “the part or parts of the human being or quadruped situated on both sides of the vertebral column, between the ribs and the pelvis” (The New Shorter Oxford: vol. I, 1621). This choice is emphasized by his comment in his endnotes, that is, “or strengthens my back” (463). This means that his translation “gird up my loins” is idiomatic and “Biblical” to win the target reader's approval. However, his choice is not common as that of Arberry, or even Ghali, as revealed in authorized exegeses and reliable Arabic dictionaries.

9.3 Translating Anthropomorphic Images

One of the risky and quicksand areas in the Qur'an is translating anthropomorphic images, that is, images that describe God in terms of human qualities. Such images are difficult to translate because the translator, in this case, is torn between two choices: translating the image literally (out of faithfulness to the original, or for fear of making a translational mistake) or opting for a communicative choice that might not communicate the meaning or significance of the source-text image because what such images name “may transcend human understanding so that our language cannot capture it” (Harries: 74). The translator has also to realize that “It is God himself who communicates his image. The diminished image ensures an imperfect and inadequate representation of the divine exemplar, half-way between fusion in a single form and radical heterogeneity” (Ricoeur: 274). A good example is verse No 5 in sura Taha:

"الرحمن على العرش استوى"

Arberry's Translation:

“The All-compassionate sat himself upon the Throne.”

Ghali's Translation:

“The All-Merciful has upon the Throne levelled Himself.”

Both Arberry and Ghali, for fear of opting for an unsuitable, less communicative choice, are satisfied to opt for a semantic, literal choice. Their literal, semantic choices make them avoid problems of ta'wil (different interpretations) (5). What affirms this view is the fact that Ghali in his footnote comments "the 'how' is known only to Him".

I also consulted another translation of the Qur'an, namely, that of Abdullah Yusuf Ali (1999) entitled *The Holy Qur'an: Text, Translation and Commentary* and found the following choice:

"(God) most Gracious is firmly established on the throne (of authority)."

In contrast to Arberry and Ghali, Yusuf Ali adds a prepositional phrase 'of authority' which might communicate the upshot of the image. Furthermore, he comments on this image, in his footnote, to fully convey the upshot of the image to the target reader:

If things seem to be wrong in our imperfect vision on this earth, we must remember that God, who encompasses all Creation and sits on the throne of Grace and Mercy, is in command, and our Faith tells us that all must be right. God's authority is not like an authority on earth, which may be questioned, or which may not last. His authority is firmly established. (790)

9.4 Figures of Speech involving a Special Use of Prepositions

Prepositions have similar roles or functions in both Arabic and English: typical and common usages involve referring to place (e.g., She put the cake **on** the table), tool (e.g., He killed the old lady **with** a knife), direction (e.g. He went **to** school), etc. Arabic almost has the same semantic functions of prepositions and thus translators face no problem in such cases. However, problems arise when prepositions are used to convey a more subtle figurative meaning or deeper connotations, different from those associated with the common usage of non- problematic ones.

The Holy Qur'an abounds with examples of the second usage of prepositions. This notion leads us to a more important one, that is, a deep understanding of the Qur'an requires a lot of tools on the part of the readers or the listener, the most important of which is to read between the lines to reach the multi-layered messages of the Qur'anic verses. In this process, prepositions are not passive participants, that is to say, they are key players in this meaning-formulation process. The following example is indicative of this fact:

"ولأصلبكنم في جذوع النخل" (Taha:71)

Arberry's Translation:

"Then I shall crucify you **upon** the trunks of the palm-trees."

Ghali's Translation:

"And indeed I shall definitely crucify you **upon** the trunks of the palm-trees."

The speaker in the above verse is the Pharaoh who threatens the sorcerers (the addressee) that he will punish them for believing in Allah and Moses and leaving worshipping him (the Pharaoh). One aspect of this punishment or torture is to crucify them 'on' the trunks of the palm-trees. Interpreters of the Qur'an almost agree that Allah uses the preposition "في" (literally 'in') to indicate that the palm-trees will become the graves of the sorcerers. Shawky Deif (1994) indicates that Allah "uses 'in' and not 'on' to indicate that their bodies will remain there for a long time"(translation is mine: 522) (6). The same interpretation is supported by Az-Zamakhshari and Ath-Thacalibi who indicate the same fact (7).

Arberry and Ghali seem to ignore the original preposition and the comments of authorized exegeses and opt for 'upon' which deprives the target reader of the figurative meaning indicated. However, it should be mentioned that the target reader will easily understand the meaning, but a rhetorical figurative feature will be lost in the translation process.

10. Reflections on the Nature of the Problem

It has become obvious that figurative language usually represents a quicksand area to the translator because it sometimes implies certain features or phenomena in the source language that might have no equivalents in the target language. In other words, figures of speech reflect the mentality, attitude, philosophy and frame of thought of a certain people. The same image, when translated, may not evoke the same atmosphere in the target language or cannot evoke the same emotive response from the target reader. Thus, cultural considerations have to be taken into account when a figure of speech is translated.

The translator's role is not just a mediator between the source text and the target reader: s/he acts as a creator of new target-language figurative structures that do not sound odd to the target reader and preserve the rhetorical effect and metaphorical content of the message of the source text. This is due to the fact that the effectiveness and the communicativeness of the image depend largely on the shared knowledge of the hearer (or target reader) and the speaker (or source text).

The problem occurs when there is a discrepancy between the cultural background of the source text and that of the target reader. For example, the common image "أنتج صدري", which is part of daily usage, represents an example of culture-specific images. The cultural equivalent of this idiomatic expression is "it warmed my heart". Paradoxically "أنتج" in Arabic is rendered as "warm" in English due to cultural differences. To make this point clearer, the Arab who lives in hot atmosphere, as previously stated, believes that "النتج" is something pleasing and this is why "أنتج صدري" refers to something pleasing to the speaker. In contrast, the English man who lives in a cold atmosphere considers warmth one of the pleasures of life and this is why s/he says, "it warmed my heart".

Another revealing example is Shakespeare's famous line of verse "shall I compare thee to a summer's day". The beauty of the line is highly appreciated by an English man who considers summer one of the pleasures of life, but to an Arab, to whom summer is totally unpleasant, the comparison will be strange and alien. A good translator will be satisfied to translate summer here as "نسيم صيف" (the breeze of summer) which is a good functional choice. Similarly, the image "جميلة كالقمر" (She is as beautiful as the moon) in Arabic is functionally translated into English as "she is as beautiful as a rose". The beauty of the moon is felt by people, Arabs, who live in the desert where the moon is the only source of light at night: it represents light, romance and love. The English man who lives in a foggy climate will hardly appreciate the image in question. In the English culture, the moon is metaphorically used in some idioms to refer to a person's changeability and moodiness e.g., "Jane is as changeable as the moon". This is why Howard Nemerov (1985) points out this fact: "metaphor depends upon a compound of likeness and difference not always stable in the fashions of thought: one man's metaphor may be another man's foolishness" (115).

Mona Baker (1992) points out that a culture-specific concept "may be abstract or concrete; it may relate to a religious belief, a social custom, or even a type of food" (21). She mentions the word "privacy" as a difficult example to translate. The English concept of privacy "is rarely understood by people from other cultures" (ibid: 21). Another illustrating example is the English weather idioms: the English people are famous for using expressions related the weather which are very difficult to translate such as "come rain", "come shine", etc. Another interesting example is the word "owl", "البومة", and its different connotations in both Arabic and English. In Arabic, the word "بومة" is associated with ill-omen, gloom and jinx (8). In the English culture the owl is associated with wisdom and respectability: in Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English, the adjective "owlish" is defined as "serious and clever" e.g. "Professor Jay looked owlish in his horn-rimmed spectacles" (1014) meaning respectable and solemn. This meaning will be odd to the Arab reader who has totally different connotations of the same adjective, 'owlish'.

Such examples reveal the cultural differences between languages: what is common and acceptable in one language or culture may be abnormal and weird in another. Roger Bell (1993) mentions the word 'dog' as an example emphasizing cultural differences:

For example, the denotative meaning of the item *dog* in English is straightforward and common property (so to speak). The connotations vary from person to person, extending, no doubt, from servile dedication to the well-being of the species to the abhorrence and from society to society; the connotations of *kelb* for Arabs are likely to be more negative than those for dog for English speakers, even though the denotation of the two words is identical. (99)

11. Conclusion

The analysis attempted in this study has encouraged me to make the following suggestions and recommendations:

1- To translate Qur'anic figures of speech, whether problematic or non-problematic one, properly, the translator has not only to comprehend the image in question, but also to find a cultural equivalent that wins the reader's approval, e.g. "loosen my tongue".

2- Using trouble shooters is of prime importance to provide the reader with the background information s/he needs to fully understand figure of speech used in the Qur'an. Newmark comments that "if the SL text is entirely bound up with the culture of the SL community ... the translator has to decide whether or not the reader requires, or is entitled to, supplementary information and explanation" (21). They are vitally important if the translator resorts to transliteration or reproducing the same image in the target language.

3- Adopting the functional approach enables the translator to avoid inappropriate and unacceptable choices. In other words, the translator, who adopts functional translation properly, will end up with producing a translation that presents "a new offer of information in the target culture about some information offered in the source culture and language" (Nord: 26).

4- In the case of translating culture-specific images, the translator has to first opt for a cultural equivalent that sounds familiar to the target reader. If s/he fails to do so, s/he may resort to other strategies such as transliteration, paraphrase, reducing the image to its sense, etc. But before making his/her decision, s/he has to decide which strategy will help to achieve the skopos of his translation. For example, a strategy like paraphrase "is only justified when an item of terminology (technical, institutional, cultural, ecological, scientific) cannot be handled in any other way" (Newmark: 130). For example, an image like "تقر عينها" can be paraphrased "so that she may rejoice".

5- Translating the image as a separate unit is a wrong strategy and negatively affects the translator's choice. The translator has to realize and comprehend the function that the image performs in the source-text context and opt for an equivalent that performs the same function in the target language.

12. Endnotes

1. Abdul Quadir Hussein adds that:

كل لفظ عربي له معنى محدد وضع له من أول الأمر، بحيث يشير هذا اللفظ إلى ذلك المعنى دون أن يتعداه إلى سواه، فكلمات مثل الأكل والشرب والنوم والعمل قد وضعها واضع اللغة لتدل على معناها المحدد، فإذا استعملت اللفظة في هذا المعنى المحدد أطلق عليها كلمة (حقيقة) لأنها استعملت في معناها الحقيقي الذي وضعت له. فإذا تجاوز اللفظ معناه الموضوع إلى معنى آخر، ولم يستعمل في معناه الأصلي، بل استعمل في معنى فرعي، لا يعد حقيقة، وإنما يسمى مجازاً؛ لأنه اجتاز المعنى الأول وتخطاه إلى المعنى الثاني؛ فإذا وصفنا المقاتل بأنه أسد، والمعروف أن المقاتل إنسان، والأسد حيوان؛ نكون قد تجاوزنا في التعبير؛ وانتقلنا من الإنسانية إلى الحيوانية، أي عبرنا من هذا المعنى إلى ذلك حين لاحظنا وصفاً مشتركاً بينهما وهو الشجاعة. (156)

2-Ibn Manzour reveals this fact:

أقر الله عينه من القورور وهو الماء البارد مثل قولنا أبرد الله دمة عينيه لأن دمة الفرح باردة. (Vol II: 100)

Similarly, Al-Asfahani in his *القرآن في غريب القرآن* points out:

أصله من القر أي البرد ... ففرت عينها (أي أم موسى) لأن للسرور دمة باردة قارة وللحزن دمة حارة، ولذلك يقال فيمن يدعى عليها أسخن الله عينه. (398)

3- The following table gives other examples of auto-antonyms used in the Qur'an:

Word	Sense	Opposite sense
القرء	menstruation	cleansing from menstruation
ند	friend or peer	enemy or opposite
ظن	to be sure of something	to be unsure of something
بيع	buying	selling
مولى	master	slave
شرى	to buy	to sell
حميم	cold	hot
أخفى	to conceal	to reveal
قسط	justice	Injustice

4- The original reads:

"اشدد به أزي، أي اشدد به قوتي، ومن جعله الظهر قال شد به ظهري، ومن جعله الضعف قال شد به ضعفي وقو به ضعفي." (Ibn Manzour: vol. I: 132)

5- Ibn Kathir interprets this verse as:

فلناس في هذا المقام مقالات كثيرة جداً ليس هذا موضع بسطها وإنما نسلك في هذا المقام مذهب السلف الصالح ... وغيرهم من أئمة المسلمين قديماً وحديثاً وهو إمرارها كما جاءت من غير تكليف ولا تشبيه ولا تعطيل والظاهر المتبادر إلى أذهان المشبهين منفي عن الله فإن الله لا يشبهه شيء من خلقه (وليس كمثل شيء وهو السميع البصير). (Vol. II: 211)

El Qurtuby also comments:

هذه مسألة الاستواء؛ وللعلماء فيها كلام وإجراء ... ولم ينكر أحد من السلف الصالح أنه استوى على عرشه حقيقة. وخص العرش بذلك لأنه أعظم مخلوقاته، وإنما جهلوا كيفية الاستواء فإنه لا تعلم حقيقته. قال مالك رحمه الله: الاستواء معلوم - يعني في اللغة - والكيف مجهول، والسؤال عنه بدعة. (Vol. IV: 159)

6- The original reads:

"واستعمل في بدلاً من على للدلالة على بقائهم واستقرارهم على الجذوع طويلاً" (522)

7 -Az-Zamkhshari says:

"شبه تمكن المصلوب في الجذع بتمكن الشيء الموعى في وعائه فلذلك قيل في جذوع النخل"(441)

8- This is pointed out by Ibn Manzour in لسان العرب when he mentions "ينعق كاليوم"

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Selections from the aesthetics of ascetic prose in the Islamic era: Early Islam and the Umayyads

فصول من جماليات نثر الزهاد في العصر الإسلامي (صدر الإسلام وبني أمية)

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ARTICLE DATA

Received: 7 Oct. 2021
Accepted: 29 Nov. 2021
Volume: 1
Issue: FALL
DOI:

KEYWORDS

asceticism,
ascetic literature,
ascetic prose,
ascetic aesthetics,
moral literature

ABSTRACT

The ascetic literature in the early Islam and the Umayyad era represents a previous stage of Sufi literature, which recognizes that its language goes beyond direct connotations and includes meaningful signs and symbols. This is what the Sufi literary experience has in common with the good artistic experience that moves away from direct meaning and make use of hints, hedges and images. The literature of asceticism in the period in question has been linked to the function of thinning, so it has been said, "Asceticism and softening,". Hearts and souls cannot be softened and/or elevated except via the effect of this literature in a way or another in its time or after. This article tackles to uncover the aesthetics in the prose of the ascetics of this period, whose techniques were diverse, and consequently the forms and methods of its influence varied. The research also seeks to confirm that the expression of religious value is inseparable in many models for a clear aesthetic value.

ملخص:

يمثل أدب الزهاد في عصر صدر الإسلام والعصر الأموي مرحلة سابقة للأدب الصوفي الذي يعترف له بالأدبية من حيث تتجاوز لغته الدلالة المباشرة وتنطوي على إشارات ورموز دالة، وهو ما تشترك فيه التجربة الصوفية الأدبية مع التجربة الفنية الجيدة التي تبعد عن الدلالة المباشرة وتؤثر باللمح والإيحاء والصورة. غير أن أدب الزهد في الفترة محل البحث قد ارتبط بوظيفة الترفيق، فقيل: "الزهد والرفائق"، ولا يرق القلب وتسمو النفس إلا بتأثير أحدثه هذا الأدب بصورة أو بأخرى في عصره وبعد عصره. ومن ثم يسعى البحث -فيما يلي من مباحثه- أن يكشف جماليات في نثر زهاد هذه الفترة الذي تعددت فنونه وتعددت بالتالي أشكال تأثيره وأساليب هذا التأثير. كما يسعى البحث إلى تأكيد أن التعبير عن القيمة الدينية لا ينفك في نماذج كثيرة عن قيمة جمالية واضحة.

الكلمات المفتاحية: الزهد، أدب الزهد، نثر الزهاد، جماليات الزهد، الأدب الأخلاقي

1. مقدمة

تمثلت آثار نزعة الزهد منذ نشأتها وعبر مراحل تطورها في مظهرين: عملي وقولي، وحظي الجانب العملي السلوكي للزهد ومظاهر تطوره إلى التصوف وما يتعلق به -حظي بالعناية قديما وحديثا في مؤلفات تجل عن الحصر. أما جانبه القولي فلم يحظ بالعناية نفسها، وربما فقد الحديث عنه غير كثير من الموضوعية بين المتحمسين له وبين المتحمسين ضده الذين يرون في الاتجاهات الأدبية الدينية ضعفا ومنافاة للإبداع الفني الحقيقي الذي يروق ويعجب.

وقد تعددت الدراسات التي تناولت الزهد بوصفه فنا أدبيا أبعده الحياة الروحية الإسلامية، غير أن جلها وجه إلى العصر العباسي من حيث هو العصر الذي أتم فيه أدب الزهد استقلاله الموضوعي ونضجه الفني على نحو واضح، فضلا عن اختصاصه بالتعبير الأدبي عن التصوف ومعانيه على نحو رمزي غير مباشر جعل له تحقفا فنيا لا يختلف عليه. وقد عني غالبها بالشعر أكثر من النثر. ولم يحظ أدب الزهد في صدر الإسلام وبني أمية بالعناية نفسها إلا قليلا.

إن الحياة الروحية لدي الصدر الأول من المسلمين ومن تلاهم قد تعمقت من خلال نماذج عدة:

أولها: القرآن الكريم الذي جمع في توجيهاته بين طريق الروح وطريق المادة، ومهدت آياته الطريق للزهاد والمتعلقين بسمو الروح.

ثانيها: السنة النبوية، وهي كالقرآن أصل من أصول الإسلام كما هي أصل من أصول الزهد والتصوف، حيث امتلأت الأحاديث بما يربي الروح ويزكي النفس.

ثالثها: سيرة الرسول وحياة أصحابه من الزاهدين حملة القرآن وأهل الصفة المجاهدين الفقراء ثم غيرهم من العابدين والنسائك الذين تعد حياتهم مشاهد ودروسا في حسن الصلة بالله.

وغير خاف ما للقرآن الكريم ونصوص السنة المطهرة من مكان معجز في عالم البيان العربي، وكذلك عرف جمهرة من الزهاد في كتب الأدب فيمن امتلكوا ناصية البيان وحسن العبارة نثرا وشعرا.

وقد شكل هذا كله موضوعا جديدا من موضوعات الأدب العربي أضاف إلى نماذج السلوك والقنوة صورا من البيان العربي حملها ما اشتهر من كتب الأدب والتصوف جيلا وراء جيل، ولا ينتقص من جنته ما سبق الإسلام من حكم نظمها الجاهليون وعبرت عن شيء من معاني هذا الباب، فقد اكتسب هذا الغرض بظهور الإسلام بعدا وجدانيا واضحا جعله أعلق بحياة الروح وبالتعبير عنها، وأصبح له أثر لا ينكر في إحياء الوجدان الديني وتقويته على مر العصور.

وقد أظهرت الدراسة الموضوعية لنثر الزهاد في العصر الإسلامي مدي خصوبة موضوعات الزهد وتنوع محتواها، هذا المحتوى الذي تميز في عدة أشكال فنية نثرية عبر الزهاد من خلالها عن معاني الزهد، هي: الخطب، والرسائل، والحكم، والقصص، والسير. ونباتنا فيما يلي جماليات فنون: الحكم، والقصص، والسير في نثر زهاد العصر الإسلامي، إذ غلبت عنابة الدارسين بالخطابة الدينية والرسائل الدينية عنايتهم بهذه الفنون في بيئة الزهاد.

أولاً: الحكمة الزهدية:

معني الحكمة في المعاجم اللغوية العربية كلسان العرب، والقاموس المحيط، وأساس البلاغة، يجعل اللفظة شاملة للمعرفة الدقيقة بكل ما يتصل بأمر الدنيا والدين من معارف وتفصيل.¹ وهي معرفة تتسع بانتساع معارف الإنسان وقدراته، وهي قدرات تتفاوت من إنسان إلى آخر. "ولعلمهم من أجل هذا جعلوا الحكمة اسما للعقل لأنه يمنع صاحبه من الجهل، فهي قمة المعرفة"².

وغايتها التبصر في الأمور واستقراء الحوادث ودراستها لاستخراج التجارب منها والحكم بموجبها، فهي غاية عملية تأديبية.

" وترتبط الحكمة في جانبها المتصل بالدين بوظيفة الرسل، وما كلفهم الله عز وجل من تعليم البشر أصول العقائد والعبادات، وما ينظم أمورهم في دنياهم وبيصرتهم بأخراهم³، يقول الله تعالى: " رَبَّنَا وَابْعَثْ فِيهِمْ رَسُولًا مِنْهُمْ يَتْلُو عَلَيْهِمْ آيَاتِكَ وَيُعَلِّمُهُمُ الْكِتَابَ وَالْحِكْمَةَ وَيُزَكِّيهِمْ⁴ إِنَّكَ أَنْتَ الْعَزِيزُ الْحَكِيمُ"⁵.

والحكمة لهذا منحة غالبية يهبها الله عز وجل لمن يشاء، " يُؤْتِي الْحِكْمَةَ مَنْ يَشَاءُ"⁶، ومن يسوغ الله عليه نعمة الحكمة فإنه يُؤهب خيرا ونعمة، " وَمَنْ يُؤْتَ الْحِكْمَةَ فَقَدْ أُوتِيَ خَيْرًا كَثِيرًا"⁷.

والحكمة في فنون القول غرض موضوعي لا شكل فني، فقد يأتي في بيت من الشعر، أو عبارة من النثر، تُطلق مفردة، أو تُوشى بها خطبة أو رسالة. وعبارة الحكمة مع ذلك لا تكون إلا مركزة المعاني قليلة المباني مختارة الألفاظ، تقيد بها الخواطر الروحية والتأملات الفكرية، وتنتج التجارب الحياتية، وقد علا لهذا شأن الحكمة الصوفية التي أتت لأصحابها حسن البيان، ورهافة الحس، وعمق التجربة الروحية، فاجتمع لها مع المضمون العالي حسن التعبير وبراعة التصوير، ولذلك عُرف الصوفية بأنهم " أهل الوجدان والعبارة "⁸.

وكذلك كل فرب من الله، يفتح عين البصيرة فتدرك الأشياء وما وراءها، وتجمع أشئاتها، وتنشع باليقين الذي يهون مصائب الدنيا، وبالتأمل الواعي الذي يصل به الإنسان إلى جوهر الأشياء.

والزهد في الدنيا باب من أبواب الفرب، يفتح ينبوع الحكمة في نفس الزاهد، ويُجري بها لسانه، ولذلك قالوا:

" مَنْ زُهد في الدنيا أربعين يوما أجرى الله تعالى ينابيع الحكمة في قلبه، وأنطق بها لسانه"⁸.

وفي خبر آخر: " إذا رأيتم العبد قد أعطي صمنا وزهدا في الدنيا، فاقتربوا منه فإن يُلقى الحكمة"⁹.

وقد أثمرت عن زهاد صدر الإسلام وعصر بني أمية، حكم هي عصاراة التجربة الزهدية التي خاضوها، عبروا فيها عن رؤيتهم للدنيا، وللآخرة، ولحال الإنسان بينهما، في نفسه، وفي تعاملاته مع الآخرين، وحال علاقته بالله.

وأسوق فيما يلي بعضاً من الحكم التي ضمت هذه المعاني لتبين خصائصها الفنية:

قال أبو الدرداء: " من هوان الدنيا على الله أنه لا يُعصي إلا فيها، ولا يُنال ما عنده إلا بتركها "10.

قال علي بن أبي طالب " مثل الدنيا كمثل الحية لينةً مسّها، والسم النافع في جوفها، يهوي إليها الغرّ الجاهل، ويحذرّها ذو اللبّ العاقل "11.

وقال أبو حازم الأعرج: " الدنيا دار ممر لا دار مقر، والناس فيها رجالان: رجل باع نفسه فأوبقها، ورجل ابتاع نفسه فأعتقها "12.

وقال: " ما مضى من الدنيا فحلم وما بقي فأمانى "13.

وقال: " ما في الدنيا شيء يسرّك إلا وقد ألق به شيء يسوؤك "14.

وقال: " وجدت الدنيا شيبين: شينا هو لي لن أعجله دون أجله، ولو طلبته بقوة السموات والأرض، وشينا هو لغيري لم أئله فيما مضى ولا أناله فيما بقي، يُمنع الذي لي من غيري، كما مُنِع الذي لغيري مني، ففي أي هذين أفني عمري، وأهلك نفسي؟ "15.

وقال: " إن بضاعة الآخرة كاسدة فاستكثروا منها في أوان كسادها، فإنه لو جاء يوم نفاقها، لم تُصل منها إلى قليل ولا إلى كثير "16.

وقال بكر بن عبد الله المزني: " اطفئوا نار الغضب بذكر نار جهنم "17.

وقال أبو الدرداء: " أضحكني ثلاث وأبكاني ثلاث: أضحكني مؤمل الدنيا والموت يطلبه، وغافل ولا يُغفل عنه، وضاحك ملء فيه ولا يدري أساخر ربه أم راضٍ. وأبكاني هول المُطلّع¹⁸، وانقطاع العمل، وموقفي بين يدي الله لا أدري أيا أمر بي إلى الجنة أم إلى النار "19

ومن الحكم المتأملّة في أحوال البشر:

قول عمر بن الخطاب: " لو أن الصبر والشكر بغيران ما باليت أيهما أركبُ "20.

وقوله: " إذا أسأت فأحسِن، فإني لم أر شيئا أشد طلبا ولا أسرع ذرّكا من حسنة حديثة لذنب قديم "21.

وقال علي بن أبي طالب: " من جري في عَنان أمّله عَنَرٌ بأجله "22.

وعنه أيضا: " ما أحسن تواضع الأغنياء للفقراء طلبا لما عند الله، وأحسن منه تيه الفقراء على الأغنياء اتكالا على الله "23.

وقال أبو حازم الأعرج: " إن وُقينا شرما أعطينا لم نُبال ما فاتنا "24.

وكان مالك بن دينار يقول: " لو كانت الصحف من عندنا لأقلنا الكلام "25.

وقال مورو العجلي: " ضاحك معترف بذنبه خير من باكٍ مُدِلّ على ربه "26.

وقال الحسن البصري: " من خاف الله أخاف الله منه كل شيء، ومن خاف الناس أخافه الله من كل شيء "27.

وقال أيضا: " إن امرأ ليس بينه وبين آدم إلا أب ميت لمُعرق في الموت "28.

وقال أيضا: " ما رأيت يقينا لا شك فيه أشبه بشك لا يقين فيه من أمر نحن فيه "29.

وقال: " إنك ناظر إلى عملك يوزن خيره وشره، فلا تحقّر شيئا من الخير، وإن صغُر، فإنك إذا رأيت سرّك مكانه. ولا تحقّر شيئا من الشر وإن صغر، فإنك إذا رأيت ساءك مكانه "30.

وقال: "لا يستحق أحد حقيقة الإيمان حتى لا يعيب الناس بعيب هو فيه، ولا يأمر بإصلاح عيوبهم حتى يبدأ بإصلاح ذلك من نفسه، فإنه إذا فعل ذلك لم يصلح عيبا إلا وجد في نفسه عيبا آخر ينبغي له أن يصلحه، فإذا فعل ذلك شغل بخاصة نفسه عن عيب غيره"³¹.

وقال أبو حازم الأعرج:

"إن العبد ليعمل الحسنه تُسْرَه حين يعملها وما خلق الله من سيئة هي عليه أضرّ منها، وإن العبد ليعمل السيئة ثم تسوؤه حين يعملها، وما خلق الله عز وجل من حسنة أنفع له منها، وذلك أن العبد حين يعمل الحسنه يتجبر بها، ويرى أن له فضلا على غيره، ولعل الله عز وجل يحبطها ويحبط معها عملا كثيرا، وإن العبد ليعمل السيئة تسوؤه ولعل الله عز وجل يحدث له فيها وجلا فيلقى الله وإن خوفها لفي جوفه باقي"³².

والحكم الزهدية من حيث خصائصها الفنية تختلف عن الحكم الصوفية القائمة على منهج صوفي مبني على التصوير العاطفي واستخدام الرموز والإشارات، والإكثار من أساليب الخيال في التعبير، إذ تبدو حكم الزهاد نتاج العقل المتأمل لا الوجدان المحلّق، ونتاج التجربة الواقعية المشاهدة، لا التجارب الباطنية الخفية، ولهذا فهي تقوم على المنهج العقلي الذي يُعنى بالتحليل، والتكريب والاستنتاج، ولهذا يكثر استخدام أسلوب الإجمال والتفصيل والتقسيم، مثل قولهم "أضحكني ثلاث، وأبكاني ثلاث.."، "وجدت الدنيا شيئين.."، "الناس في الدنيا رجلان.. إلخ.

وعبارات الحكم الزهدية تتميز بما تميزت به الخطب والرسائل الزهدية من توازن موسيقي يتحقق بالازدواج والسجع والجناس، وكذلك اللجوء إلى المقابلات في تكوين العبارة، ولعل المحسنات اللفظية بشكل خاص لها أهميتها في بناء عبارات الحكم لما يفترض فيها من حفظها وتداولها.

ولا يظهر التصوير في حكم الزهاد على نحو مطرد، ولكنه وارد في بعض الحكم كما في قوله عمر "لو كان الصبر والشكر بعيرين ما باليت أيهما أركب".

ففي هذه الصورة المجسدة للمعنويات إيجاز في بيان التساوي بين شكر النعمة والصبر على البلاء.

ومن التصوير قول علي بن أبي طالب: "من جري في عنان أمله عثر بأجله"، وهي استعارة بديعة في تجسيد العلاقة بين الأمل والأجل في حياة الإنسان.

وقول بكر بن عبد الله المزني: "أطفئوا نار الغضب بذكر نار جهنم".

وفيها تشبيه للغضب بالنار، واستعارة الإطفاء للذكر، وفيها مفارقة بإطفاء النار بالنار.

وقول عمر بن الخطاب: "لم أر شيئا أشد طلبا ولا أسرع دركا من حسنة حديثة لذنوب قديم" فقد أضافت الاستعارة المشخصة للحسنة والذنوب، مشاعر الشغف والترقب والترصد فكأنهما غريمان، وهي تضيف في العبارة حركة وحيوية.

وقول علي بن أبي طالب: مثل الدنيا كمثل الحية، لين مسها، والسم الناقع في جوفها، يهوي إليها الغرّ الجاهل، ويحذرها ذو اللب العاقل"، وهو تشبيه مرسل مفصل مستوفي الأركان، وقد شاع استخدامه في وصف الزهاد للدنيا.

ومن التصوير البياني قول أبي حازم الأعرج: "إن بضاعة الآخرة كاسدة فاستكثروا منها في أوان كسادها، فإنه لو جاء يوم نفاقها لم تصل منها إلى قليل ولا إلى كثير". والتصوير فيها يجعل الدنيا سوقا لتجارات الآخرة التي هي كل عمل صالح ينمي الثواب، ويستعير مفردات المعاملات التجارية في الترويج والدعاية لما يدعو له.

ومن السهل رد بعض العبارات في حكمة الزهاد إلى اقتباسات قرآنية.

كما في قول الحسن: "إنك ناظر إلى عملك يوزن خيره وشره.. إلخ"

فقد نظر فيه إلى قول الله تعالى "فَمَنْ يَعْمَلْ مِثْقَالَ ذَرَّةٍ خَيْرًا يَرَهُ. وَمَنْ يَعْمَلْ مِثْقَالَ ذَرَّةٍ شَرًّا يَرَهُ"³³.

وفي قول عمر "لم أر شيئا أشد طلبا ولا أسرع دركا من حسنة حديثة لذنوب قديم". نظر إلى قوله تعالى "إن الحسنات يذهبن السيئات"³⁴.

إن النماذج السابقة للحكمة الزهدية التي من السهل وضعها في سياق الخطب والرسائل الوعظية لشبهها الواضح بسماتها الفنية، أو نظم معانيها شعرا تعكس بوضوح كيف سعي الزهاد من خلال الحكم إلى تربية الفرد والمجتمع بطبقاته المختلفة بعرض رؤية زهدية إيجابية تقبل على الحياة والمشاركة فيها بزيادة من القناعة والتوكل والجد وحسن المعاملة للأخريين انتظارا للموت والحساب بنفس مطمئنة راضية مؤمنة.

ثانياً: القصة الوعظية:

القصة لون من ألوان الأدب يتسم باتساع أغراضه وجمال أسلوبه وحفته على النفوس وتأثيره في العواطف الإنسانية لما يتميز به من عوامل الاستثارة، ذلك " أن القصة التمسست كنوع فني لتقر في النفس أرسالا من المعاني في لغة غير مباشرة، لأن اللغة المباشرة لا تفعل في النفس ما تصنعه اللغة القصصية، فالحدث في ذاته أفوي من كل حجة كلامية"³⁵، ولذلك فهي وسيلة فنية تربوية في أن معا تحقق المنفعة والمتعة، ومن ثم اتخذ الزهاد من القالب القصصي وسيلة لإيصال مواضعهم إلى القلوب ولاستمالة الناس إلى مجالسهم. وكان لهذا اللون من الفن القولي دوره في إذكاء جذوة الشعور الديني لدي المسلمين على مر العصور.

وقد اتجهت عناية الزهاد في مجالس الذكر أو مجالس التفسير إلى لونين من القصة الوعظية، أولهما القصة القرآنية، فقد خاطب القرآن الكريم العرب بالقصة لما لها من تأثير على العقول والقلوب، يضرب من خلالها المثل والعبرة بما تعرضه من صور ونتائج الصراع الأزلي الأبدي بين الإيمان والكفر والهدى والضلال، وفيها – لو تأملنا – نجد الدافع الأساسي لعناد المعاندين وإصرار المكابرين على تنكب طريق الحق هو حب الدنيا والطمع في أعراضها الزائلة. وللقصة القرآنية أسر خاص، " فالعبر القرائية يتناول القصة بريشة التصوير المبدعة التي يتناول بها جميع المشاهد والمناظر التي يعرضها فتستحيل القصة حادثا يقع ومشهدا يجري، لا قصة تُروي ولا حادثا قد مضى"³⁶. ولم يكن الإبداع في القصص القرائية حاصلا من قيم الجمال الشكلي فقط، بل هو في سحره البياني ومنهجه الفريد، وتأثيره النفسي وبما يحمل من قيم روحية ومثل عليا. " وإذا كان هناك ملامح مشتركة بين بناء القصص القرائية وسائر القصص البشري من حيث إن كليهما يستخدم عناصر القصة المعروفة من أحداث وشخصيات وحوار والبناء الفني الذي يعرف بالحبكة، فإن الأسلوب القرائي الذي صيغت به القصة هو من النوع المعجز الذي يرفض التمسك بضرب واحد من الصياغة تتوافر فيه عناصر بعينها حتى إذا انعدم عنصر أو أكثر اختل توازن القصة ". وقد اكتفت القصة القرآنية بمناط العظة والعبرة. بعيدا عن التفصيلات التي تبعد الذهن عن الهدف المنشود، وكثيرا ما نشعر في مشاهد القصص ببعض الفجوات التي تتيح الفرصة للخيال أن ينطلق، ومن ثم كان عمل الفُصَّاص في مجالس التفسير والذكر، فجزيا على طبيعة المتلقين الإنسانية الفضولية المولعة بالمستتر والمغيب خاضت هذه المجالس في بعض التفاصيل التي عمد النص القرائي إلى إغفالها لعدم الحاجة إليها في تحقيق الغاية من القصة، وكان ما حمله بعض أهل الكتاب الذين أسلموا – من علم الأولين هو المصدر الذي وفي بهذه الغاية لطالبيها من المفسرين، وكان استخدامها في نطاق ضيق متحفظ في بادئ الأمر، واختص به ابن عباس ومدرسته، وكان من أصحاب مجالس الذكر والتفسير الأوائل.

وسرعان ما تخلي الفُصَّاص عن هذا التحفظ حين تحول القص إلى غير العلماء من الفُصَّاص بعد جيل الحسن البصري وابن سيرين وأضرابهما، وجيلاً فجيلاً اشتط القص في دروب الخيال باستخدام الإسرائيليات وإعمال الخيال الخاص معها في أحيان كثيرة حيث نجد الإفاضة في قصص لم ترد أصلاً في القرآن الكريم كقصة عوج بن عنق التي وردت عند المفسرين في سياق الحديث عن عصر موسي عليه السلام وصدامه بالجبارين أهل كنعان.³⁷ وقد استقر ذلك في المدونات التاريخية والدينية ككتب التاريخ والتفسير والكتب التي تُعنى بقصص الأنبياء، ومنها مروج الذهب للمسعودي، وعجائب المخلوقات وخرائب الموجودات للقرظيني، وآثار البلاد وأخبار العباد له أيضاً، وتفسير الطبري وتفسير ابن كثير، وكتاب قصص الأنبياء المسمى بعرائس المجالس للشعلبي، وغيرها وبهذا تسلتت الغايات الفنية التي تقصد إلى الإمتاع والتسلية والترفيه إلى القصة في مقام التفسير حتى أصبح ذلك مطلباً توارثت به عناصر التعليم والتذكير والاعتبار. وبقدر اقتراب القصة بالقدرة على الاختلاق والتخييل من خصائص الفن وغاياته بقدر ما ابتعدت عن الحقائق التي ثبتت بالنص القرائي والحديث النبوي.

ولعلنا نلمس- في فترة البحث – بذور هذه الخيالات المستفيضة في مرويات كعب الأحبار بوصفه أشهر من حُمِلت عنهم الإسرائيليات، وأسوق على ذلك أمثلة يمكن تصنيفها بسهولة في باب الخرافات والأساطير. من ذلك خبر في وصف يأجوج ومأجوج، قال فيه:

" خُلق يأجوج ومأجوج على ثلاثة أصناف، صنف أجسامهم كالأورز، وصنف أربعة أذرع طولاً وأربعة أذرع عرضاً، وصنف يفترون أذانهم ويلتحفون الأخرى ويأكلون مشاييم نسانهم"³⁸.

ويسوق قصة أخرى عن الخضر بن عاميل، وهو اسم الخضر صاحب موسي

(عليه السلام)، إلا أننا لا نجد فيما رواه كعب ما يربط بينه وبين شخصية الخضر القرآنية، حيث نجده في قصة كعب ممتزجا بماء الأسطورة التي تُفسر من خلالها بعض ظواهر الطبيعة تفسيراً بدائياً، ويبدو فيها امتزاج عناصر الكون وتداخل العوالم المختلفة، يقول:

"إن الخضر بن عاميل ركب في نفر من أصحابه حتى بلغ بحر الصركند وهو بحر الصين، فقال لأصحابه: دلوني، فدلوه أياماً وليالي، ثم صعد فقالوا له: ياخضر، ما رأيت؟ فقد أكرمك الله وحفظ لك نفسك في لجة هذا البحر، فقال: استقبلني ملك من الملائكة فقال لي: أيها الأدمي الخطاء إلى أين ومن أين؟ فقلت:

أردت أن أنظر عمق هذا البحر، فقال لي: فكيف وقد هوي رجل من زمان داود النبي عليه السلام، ولم يبلغ ثلث قعره حتى الساعة، وذلك منذ ثلاثمائة سنة. فقلت: فأخبرني عن الممّ والجزر، فقال الملك: إن الحوت الذي الأرض على ظهره يتنفس فيصير الماء في منخره فذلك الجزر ثم يتنفس فيخرجه من منخره فذلك المد. فقلت فأخبرني من

أين جنت؟ قال: من عند الحوت بعثني الله إليه أعذبه لأن حيتان البحر شكّت إلى الله كثرة ما يأكل منها. فقلت: فأخبرني علام قرار الأرض؟ قال: الأرضون السبع على صخرة والصخرة على كف ملك والملك على جناح الحوت في الماء والماء على الريح، والريح في الهواء عقيم لا تلتفح، وأن قرونها معلقة بالعرش³⁹.

أما اللون الثاني للقصة الوعظية التي شاعت في مجالس الزهاد فهو الإسرائيليات التي عُنيت بالمواقف السلوكية، فقد كثر استخدامها في مجالس الزهاد وجرت على لسان كثيرين منهم، وشجع على انتشار هذا اللون من القصص – فيما أرى – في الدعوة إلى الغايات التربوية السلوكية المهدية للنفس الإنسانية – ورود نماذج منها في الحديث النبوي مفرقة في أبواب مختلفة ومنها باب الزهد، حيث كانت المادة التي شكلت هذا اللون من القصص حكايات عُباد الأمم السالفة وبخاصة بني إسرائيل.

غير أن هناك فرقا أساسيا لاحظته بين القصص المروري على لسان النبي صلي الله عليه وسلم – والقصص المروري على لسان الزهاد، وهو أن القصة النبوية تحسن اختيار النموذج الذي تتعدد من خلاله الفوائد والمعاني التي ينبغي إقرارها في النفس بشكل غير مباشر، فضلا عن ميزة الصياغة النبوية الأرقى والأكثر فنية والمعجزة، بينما نجد الزهاد يسوقون القصة فلا تصلح إلا لمعني واحد.

وقد سبق أن عرضت لنماذج من هذا اللون القصصي في الدراسة الموضوعية،⁴⁰ وأحاول هنا أن أجلي بعض خصائصه الفنية من خلال العناصر الأساسية المكونة لفن القصة والممثلة في الحدث والشخصيات والزمان والمكان والحبكة والصياغة اللغوية، حيث يمكن تبين الخصائص الآتية:

لعبت البيئة الزمانية في القصص الوعظية دورا مهما في تشكيل الحدث، والزمن في القصص يأتي على سبيل الإشارة التي تنقل المتلقي من الواقع إلى الماضي بمثل قول الراوي " كان فيمن كان قبلكم " أو ذكر بني إسرائيل أو أنبياء بني إسرائيل أو الرهبان وما إلى ذلك. وأجد لهذه النقلة الزمنية أهمية في تشكيل الحدث، إذ هو معتمد في الإثارة والتشويق

على لون من المعجزات أو الكرامات الحسية التي شاعت عند الأمم السابقة ومع أنبيائهم، وكانت عماد التصديق والإقناع وقد انقطع دور مثلها في إقناع المسلمين بصديق النبوة والرسالة بوفاء الرسول صلي الله عليه وسلم – بحيث لم يبق دليلا شاهدا أبديا سوي معجزة الإسلام العقلية وهي القرآن الكريم. واستخدام مثل هذه الأحداث في القصة يحقق عنصرا فنيا هو الغرابة التي لا بد أن تتوافر للحدث القصصي بتقديم وقائع لم يعهدها جمهور المتلقين، وهي تلعب دورها فيهم عن طريق تصويرها الحي للاستجابة المباشرة بين السماء والأرض في إيقاع الثواب أو العقاب وفق تحول السلوك البشري، وهي بهذا من ناحية أخرى تقرّب المسافة بين المقدمات والنتائج على نحو يناسب ما يرمي إليه هذا النوع من غايات تعليمية وعظمية.

وتحويلات السلوك في القصة من المعصية إلى الطاعة، ومن الصورة المنبوذة إلى صورة الولاية، تشير إلى عنصر واضح في بناء الحدث هو بناؤه باستخدام المفارقات والمقابلات بين المقدمات والنتائج وظواهر الشكل وبواطن النفس، وعن طريق ذلك تهدف إلى إثارة الوعي الفكري والخلقي العام بجوهر الصراع بين الخير والشر والطاعة والمعصية في النفس البشرية العامة. والعمومية هنا لا تجعل للبيئة المكانية دورا في بناء أي حدث أو في إثارة دوافع الشخصيات، ولذلك لا نجد في هذه القصص نوعا من التحديد المكاني أو خصوصية لبيئة ما.

أما الشخصيات في القصص فهي مسطحة لا تُقدّم على نحو يتعمق أغوارها من خلال الوصف أو السرد، وهي على اختلاف المواقف في الحكايات تمثل نمطا واحدا متكررا (حتى وإن بدا بعض الاختلاف بكون الشخصية لصا أو قصابا أو راهبا..... الخ)- يعرض صورة من صور الضعف البشري المُفضي إلى الخطيئة والفضل الإلهي المُفضي إلى يقظة الضمير، واستحقاق الرحمة وقبول التوبة، ومن ثم نستطيع أن نقول إنها قصة الشخصية الواحدة وإن وُجد بجانبها شخصيات مساعدة في إيجاد التحول الإيجابي نحو الله، وهي النتيجة التي يرمي إليها الأدب الزهدي بعامه.

ويغلب على القصص الوعظية استخدام الحوار وسيلة فنية للتعبير عن المضمون القصصي، وهو يدل على براعة القصاص في تحويل الحدث أو الخبر – في بعض الأحيان من مجرد سرد أو وصف إلى حالة حية تبعث على متابعة التلقي، بما يصاحب الحوار عادة من أداء تمثيلي لا تنفك عنه حكاية القصة.

ولا تكتفي القصة الوعظية باصطناع الحوار الخارجي بين الشخصيات، بل نجد أيضا حوارا داخليا فيما يسمي بالمونولوج الداخلي أو تيار الوعي.

وإصطناع الحوار في الخبر مثاله قول وهيب بن الورد: " بلغني أن موسى عليه السلام قال: يا رب أخبرني عن آية رضاك عن عبدك. فأوحى الله تعالى إليه: إذا رأيتني أهيبُ له طاعتي وأصرفه عن معصيتي فذاك آية رضاي عنه". ومثل قول ابن عباس: "لما ضرب الدينار والدرهم، أخذ إبليس فوضعه على عينيه، وقال: أنت ثمرة قلبي وقرّة عيني، بك أطعمي، وبك أكفر، وبك أدخل الناس النار، رضيثُ من ابن آدم بحب الدنيا أن يعبدني ". وكذلك مثل الحوار الذي كان بين إبليس وزكريا عليه السلام يصف له أصناف الخلق وكيف يعوهم.

ومثل هذا العرض الحوارى للخبر محاولة للبعد عن التوجيه بالخبر التقريرى إلى إطار فنى يبدو أكثر عمقا وتأثيرا، حيث يتوارى فيه الراوى بوصفه وسيطا فى النقل، وتقرب المسافة بين المتلقى والمصدر الأول الذى ينطق الراوى عن لسانه، وهو إلى ذلك نوع من التنوع فى عرض المضامين يضيف لونا من الحيوية وبيتعد عن الجمود والإملال، ويمكننا أن نقول مثل ذلك فى النموذج القصصى الذى يحذر فيه الحسن البصرى من الموت، وبيت وجوب الاستعداد للأخرة.

ولا نلاحظ فى القصص التى بين أيدينا ذلك التفصيل والتعقيد الذى يقتضى حبكة فنية قوية جامعة ومنظمة، إذ الأمر فى ذلك مرجعه إلى براعة القصاص نفسه فى ترتيب الأحداث - بصفة خاصة - ترتيبا مثيرا موحيا، وهو ما يمكن تسميته " بالحبكة الفضفاضة"، ويمكن ملاحظتها فى القصة العربية القديمة بشكل عام⁴¹.

وذلك لأن " المادة القصصية القديمة تعتمد فى جملتها على التشكيل الحدى.. وهو أضعف أنواع الفن القصصى الحدى، إلا أنه كان قديما أكبر ركن من أركان البناء الفنى"⁴².

ولغة هذا القصص الوعظى بشكل عام تتراوح بين السهولة والبسر والقوة والجزالة بلا تغر أو غرابة أو استعمال للسجع والمحسنات، بعيدة عن العامية وسوقية التعبير.

ثالثا: السير الغيرية الوعظية:

السير الغيرية أداة من أدوات الوعظ فى مجالس الزهاد، ولا يراد بالسيره فى هذا المجال فن السيره من حيث استوى على سوقه وأصبحت له خصائصه وشروطه الأدبية المميزة، وإنما أريدُ به مجموعة الأخبار الخاصة التى تُساق عن أحوال الزهاد على ألسنة معاصريهم، حيث يصورون جهادهم فى قمع شهوات النفس ولذات الدنيا، وسوق النفس طوعا وكرها إلى ألوان العبادات المشروعة على نحو قد لا يطيقه الكثيرون، وذلك طلبا للقرب من الله، وهربا من سوء العاقبة، وتضيف الأخبار إليهم كذلك لونا من الروايات القصصية التى تكشف عن كرامات تتناسب مع مكانتهم فى دنيا العباد والزهاد.

وقد شكلت هذه الروايات مع ما ينسب إليهم من أقوال مجموعة من المناقب التى يراد بها الفائدة العامة حيث يتأدب بها المتأدبون ويستعملها الواعظون فى استمالة القلوب إلى الخير.

وزهاد القرنين الأولين الذين سيقنت عنهم هذه الأخبار كثرة كثيرة، تشمل جبل الصحابة ثم جبل التابعين، وسبق أن عرضت فى الدراسة الموضوعية لبعض النماذج من السير الغيرية التى رواها زهاد العصر عن بعضهم البعض، ومنها نكتشف التباين فى أسلوب عرض هذه الاتجاهات السلوكية، حيث أمكن تصنيفها فى شكلين مختلفين:

الخبر الوصفى أو التقريرى:

يبتعد الخبر بشكل عام عن الطبيعة الأدبية من حيث هو " تفصيل لحادثة لها دلالة فى حياة الجماعة، وفيها قيمة وأثر، وهو رواية تاريخية لوقائع سلوكية أو مواقف عملية كان على راويها تحري الصدق فيما يسوقه من خبر إلى حد بعيد لأن مقصده فيه الإعلام بحادثة لا التأثير بها"⁴³.

ولكنه فى مجال الزهد يُصنم إلى الأشكال الأدبية المعبرة عنه من حيث إنه يحقق الغاية الأدبية بقدرته على الإيحاء والتأثير، أو عن طريق التأثير الإيحائى. هذا القدر من الإيحاء يمكن إرجاعه إلى المضمون الذى يُعرض فى سياقات معينة كسياق المقارنة بين الماضى والحاضر، الماضى الممثل للنموذج المثالى فى الانتصار على شهوات الدنيا، والحاضر المتلذخ بهذه الشهوات. ونموذج السير الغيرية التى قدمها الحسن البصرى عن عاصره من الصحابة، مثال على ذلك - وقد سبق ذكره⁴⁴ - حيث يشكل فيه سياق المقارنة المعتمد على المدح والذم - يشكل لونا من القوة الدافعة للتغيير بالتماس أفعال السلف قريبي العهد بالنبوة والكتاب.

أو يرجع الإيحاء فى الخبر إلى إشعار المتلقى بتقصيره فى حق الله بتقديم جهد مبالغ فيه فى العبادة أو الورع أو الخوف من النار، مثل ما روى عن عامر بن عبد قيس، قال الراوى: " كان عامر بن عبد الله قد فرض على نفسه فى كل يوم ألف ركعة، وكان إذا صلى العصر جلس وقد انتفخت ساقاه من طول القيام فيقول: يا نفس، بهذا أمرت ولهذا خلقت، يوشك أن يذهب العناء،..."⁴⁵.

وما يحكى عن الربيع بن خثيم أنه كان شديد الخوف من النار حتى ليصعق من رؤية نار الحدادين لأنها تذكره بنار جهنم⁴⁶.

وما رواه بكر بن عبد الله المزنى قال: " من أراد أن ينظر إلى أعبد أهل زمانه فليُنظر إلى ثابت البناني، فما أدركنا الذى هو أعبد منه"⁴⁷، وهو من يروون عنه أنه ظل يقوم الليل خمسين سنة⁴⁸.

-وما ينحو هذا النحو من الأخبار التى تذكر عبادات الزهاد:

وهذه الأخبار تُؤدي بلغة عادية هي لغة الخطاب اليومي المباشر البعيد عن الابتذال في الآن نفسه، وقد نجد من الأخبار ما يرتدي الحُلة الأدبية في الصياغة، كقول مالك بن دينار يذكر نفرا من شيوخه وتأثيرهم في الناس: " إن الصدق يبدو في القلب ضعيفا كما يبدو نبات النخلة، يبدو غصنا واحدا فإذا تنفها صبي ذهب أصلها، وإن أكلتها عنز ذهب أصلها، فسُقي فتشتر، وتسقي فتنتشر حتى يكون لها أصل أصيل يوطأ وظل يُستظل به، وثمره يُؤكل منها، كذلك الصدق يبدو في القلب ضعيفا فيتفقد صاحبه ويزيده الله تعالى، ويتفقد صاحبه فيزيده الله تعالى حتى يجعله الله بركة على نفسه، ويكون كلامه دواءً للخطائين، أما رأيتموهم؟ بلي والله لقد رأيناهم الحسن وسعيد بن جببر وأشباهم، الرجل منهم، يحيي الله بكلامه الغنم من الناس" ⁴⁹.

حيث نراه لا يقدم مضمونه بشكل تقليدي كأن يقول: إن الحسن وسعيد وأشباهم بلغوا من الصدق مبلغا شعر به الناس فاستجابوا لهم جماعات متأثرين بصدقهم، ولكنه يمهّد لبيان هذا الأثر بصورة من التشبيه التمثيلي يتناول الصدق بوصفه فضيلة عامة ويشرح مراحل تناميها في النفس بمراحل نمو نبات النخلة، حيث يبدأ ضعيفا مفردا، فإذا ترك للعاديات ذوي واختفي وإذا تعهد صاحبه بالرعاية والحياطة نما وترعرع وتشعبت فروعه وأغصانه وبان فضله وفائدته، فكأنه ينقل بهذا التشبيه الفضيلة النفسية المجردة إلى حيز البصر والعيان لتكون أرسخ في النفس وأعمق في الوجدان. ثم بين أثر هذا الصدق في النفوس بطريق الاستعارة، فالكلام الصادق يشفي النفوس المريضة بالخطيئة كما يشفي الدواء مرض الأجساد. والمتكلم الصادق رسول الشارع بما يبلغه عن الله ورسوله فكأنه ينقل الناس مرة أخرى من الظلمات إلى النور، ومن الموت إلى الحياة على طريق الاستعارة القرآنية.

الخبر القصصي:

الطريق الثاني لعرض السير الغيرية هو الخبر القصصي، وهو يُعرض لما يُصوّر من الشخصية الزائدة من خصال، ويفصح عنها بشكل غير مباشر من خلال موقف ما يعرضه في صورة قصصية مستغلا عنصر السرد والحوار في تنمية الموقف لرسم ملامح الشخصية، ومثاله ما يرويه مالك بن دينار عن هرم بن حيان قال: " استُعْمِلَ هرم بن حيان فظن أن قومه سيأتونه، فأمر بنار فأوقدت بينه وبين من يأتيه من القوم، فجاء قومه يُسلمون عليه من بعيد، فقال مرحبا بقومي، ادنوا، قالوا: والله ما نستطيع أن ندنو لقد حالت النار بيننا وبينك، قال: " وأنتم تريدون أن تلقوني في نار أعظم منها، في نار جهنم، قال: فرجعوا " ⁵⁰. والرواية تؤدي إلى إدراك القارئ لشدة ورع هرم وتقواه، وخوفه من مكامن الضعف الإنساني، وهي تبين من وجه آخر مستوي من مستويات الإقناع لدي الزهاد يتجاوز العبارة عن المعنى بشكل مباشر أو مصوّر إلى أدائه بفعل تمثيلي يصور المعنى أحداثا حية في الوجود، " وهذا المستوي أعلى وأقدر على بث المعاني وإقناع النفوس بها " ⁵¹.

ومثال آخر يحكي عن مالك بن دينار، قال الراوي: " كان رجل من الأغنياء بالبصرة، وكانت له ابنة نفيسة فأنفة الجمال، فقال لها أبوها: قد خطبك بنو هاشم والعرب والموالي فأبييت، أراك تريدان مالك بن دينار وأصحابه؟ فقالت: هو والله غايبي، فقال الأب لأخ له: انت مالك بن دينار فأخبره بمكان ابنتي وهاواها له، قال فأتاه، فقال له: فلان يُقرئك السلام، ويقول لك: إنك تعلم أنني أكثر أهل هذه المدينة مالا وأشاهم ضيعة، ولي ابنة نفيسة وقد هويتك فشانك وهي، فقال مالك للرجل: عجا لك يا فلان، أو ما تعلم أنني طَلّقت الدنيا ثلاثا؟ " ⁵².

فمؤدّي القصة الخبر أن مالك بن دينار راغب عن كل ما يُرغب فيه من الدنيا المال والجاه والنساء، ولعله قد بلغ من شهرته في التمتع على الدنيا أن صار هدفا لإثبات الذات عن طريق التحدي والإغراء، والشخصية الرئيسية في القصة هي تلك المرأة بارة الجمال، التي تتأزر جمل الحوار في رسم صورة لها كاملة الأوصاف، فهي المنظر البيهي، والمال الوفير والجاه العالي، تخذل الساعين إليها وتسعي إلى المعرضين عنها، هي الفتنة بكل معانيها، وكأني بالراوي يختلق من وحي خياله رمزا مجسدا للدنيا الفاتنة، فكانت هذه العروس كاملة الأوصاف التي ما فتئ الزهاد يُشبهون بها دنياهم حينما بعد حين والتي لا تلبث أن تنقلب غولا يسلب الحياة أو شيطاننا يورد المهالك، ولكن ابن دينار وأمثاله كانوا لها بالمرصاد.

ولعل في اختيار رمز المرأة الجميلة هنا في القصة نوعا من التشويق والجذب باستخدام العواطف الإنسانية القريبة من النفس البشرية.

وهناك لون آخر من الأخبار القصصية تحشد فيه الروايات التي دارت حول بعض الشخصيات أخبارا تحقّقها الكرامات والنبوءات وإضفاء سمات شبه خارقة، من ذلك ما رُوي عن عامر بن قيس أنه لا يهاب إلا الله، فلا يروعه إنسان أو حيوان مقترس، وقد تعددت الروايات التي تُصنّف كيف كان يقدر على الأسد فيمسك بأذنيه ينحيه عن الطريق حتى تجوز القافلة، وكيف تحيط به السباع ويأتيه واحد منها فينب عليه من خلفه معتليا منكبيه وعامر يصلي ويتابع القراءة غير مكترث بالأسد، حتى إذا رآه السبع غير مكترث له ذهب وانصرف، وكيف يختصه الله في المعركة بلون من الغنائم يخالف بقية الغنائم حتى لكأنها أُلقيت عليه من السماء. ⁵³

ومنها ما رُوي أن هرم بن حيان اختصّ بغمامة في يوم شديد الحر روت قبره فلم تجاوزه ثم انصرفت. وأن صلة بن أسيم يُوتي بالطعام حين يندم الطعام ويأخذ منه الجرع - (يُوتي) (هكذا بالبناء للمجهول زيادة في الغموض والإثارة) - بطعام ملفوفا في سب (أي خمار)، فيجده رطبا في زمان ليس في الأرض رطبة، أو يكلم السبع فيستجيب لأمره. ⁵⁴

أو أن ثابت البناني قام يُصَلِّي في قبره بعد تمام دفنه لأنه كان يسأل الله مدة خمسين عاما أن يمنحه هذا الفضل، وأن الصدفة قد هيات لدافنيه أن يروه على هذه الحال حين وقع حجر من غطاء القبر.⁵⁵

ومثل هذه الروايات لا تجوز على العقل مشفوعة بالاطمئنان إلى صحتها، فعمل الخيال فيها ظاهر، وإن استترت وراء شكل علمي ممثل في سلسلة السند على طريقة المحدثين. ولعلها من عمل القرون التالية التي شهدت تدوين هذه المرويات في وقت " كان للكرامة الصوفية سطوتها على خيال ومشاعر العامة بما تمثله من أفعال خارقة لحدود العقل ونواميس الطبيعة، ويرأها الوسط الصوفي نحو من إعادة الإنتاج للمعجزة النبوية بفعل قناعتهم الماثورة بأن كل ما كان معجزة لنبي يجوز أن يكون كرامة لولي"⁵⁶.

ومما يرشّح لتدخل الخيال في الرواية على نحو تتباعد به حدود الحقيقة أن " الكرامة في الأصل مفهوم من مفاهيم التصوف حكمها ألا يُتَلَفَّظ بها أصلا، وإنما أن تبقى سرا بين الولي وربّه، ولئن جاز البوح بها ففي دائرة الخاصة من خاصة المتصوفة، فهنا يتبين أهمية مقام القص الشعبي وغير الشعبي في إنتاج هذا الجنس القصصي عبر تليظ هذا المفهوم السري نفسه وسرده في تواسج وتفاعل مع مقامات أخرى وطقوس تنزل في صميم الحياة اليومية، مما له باختصار صلة باللامرئي والمقدس: الدعاء والصلاة والاستخارة والرقي والتبرك، وغيرها"⁵⁷.

وعلى هذا النحو " حولت الكرامة الصوفية التصوف من علم لخاصة الخاصة إلى أحاديث وحكايات وقصص ومناقب ونوادير أيضا شاملة للجميع الخاصة والعامة على اختلاف المراتب هنا وهناك"⁵⁸، وأصبحت أدخل في باب الآداب الشعبية المطبوعة بطوابع الشعب ولغته وألفاظه.⁵⁹

وختاما فإن ما ينطوي عليه أدب الزهد والزهاد بشكل عام من قيم روحية وإنسانية وفنية تجعل من الضروري أن ينظر إليه نظرة موضوعية لا تعتبره ضربا من المواعظ الفارغة الخالية من أية تجارب قيّمة والخالية من أساليب فنية مميزة.

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المترجم بين النقل والنقد: كتاب الترجمة بوصفها نشاطاً هادفاً مداخل نظرية مشروحة (أنموذجاً)

To Be Torn Between Approximation and Critique: A Case Study of Christiane Nord's *Translating as a Purposeful Activity: Functionalist Approaches Explained*

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ARTICLE DATA

Received: 27 Oct. 2021

Accepted: 30 Nov. 2021

Volume: 1

Issue: FALL

DOI:

KEYWORDS

translation;
translation theories;
solutions and strategies;
functional approach;
assignment; translational act;
Skopostheorie

ABSTRACT

This paper aims at introducing the experiment of rendering one of the most remarkable books of Christiane Nord, who is regarded as one of the most prominent translation scholars and a salient professor of applied linguistics in Germany, into Arabic, under the title of «الترجمة بوصفها نشاطاً هادفاً: مداخل نظرية مشروحة». In her book, she dealt with the functional approaches to translation, including new concepts, in theory, which require re-adaptation matching the other culture, i.e., the target Arabic, trying to find a full equivalent or a near-equivalent thereof. The novelty in this field lies in the theorization of translation studies and its theories and concepts as well, except for some cases. It is commonly acknowledged that translation, as a branch of knowledge, is early practiced; it bridged the gap between civilizations and some branches of knowledge among the peoples of the world over ages. However, it was basically based on the axiomatic practice, devoid of any theoretical and interpretative restrictions and criteria indicating the various approaches to translation, not to mention its multiple forms adopted more or less by the translator. Thus, this paper attempts particularly to 1) investigate the obstacles faced by the translator on the onset process of translation, such as the theoretical terms and concepts, including **assignment**, **translational act**, **translation proper**, etc.; 2) analyze Nord's style, which is characterized sometimes with flexibility and sometimes with contrast, representing an arduous task for the translator, especially when decomposing the codes of the original. Additionally, she uses too long sentences, embedded with other parenthetical clauses, which are challenging for either the reader or the translator, whose task is to put things back together and to re-connect the scattered elements of the image; 3) demonstrate some solutions and strategies adopted in translation, such as glosses, especially in cases of ambiguity or inconsistency, consulting other references for the purpose of documentation and authenticity. Last but not least, it attempts to answer a set of questions represented in the challenges of rendering such a book, including the following:

- 1- Why did Nord create sometimes inappropriate compound technical terms in German?
- 2- Why did not she adopt an appropriate equivalent to German words?

- 3- What is the purpose behind both the excessive use of details and the concise statements or explanations?
- 4- What is the purpose behind the ambiguous explanations and unnecessary lengthy phrases adopted by Nord in her book?
- 5- What are the possible strategies and solutions the translator adopted to render the meaning adequately and honestly with no excess or negligence?

ملخص:

تتناول هذه الورقة البحثية تجربة ترجمة أحد أبرز كتب كريستيان نورد Christiane Nord، وهي من رواد الباحثين المشتغلين بدراسات مبحث الترجمة، وأستاذة اللغويات التطبيقية بألمانيا، في الترجمة إلى العربية بعنوان «الترجمة بوصفها نشاطا هادفا: مداخل نظرية مشروحة»، حيث تناولت فيه مداخل الترجمة الوظيفية، وما تتضمنه من مفاهيم جديدة -من الناحية النظرية- تحتاج إلى إعادة صياغة بما يتوافق مع الثقافة الأخرى، المنقول إليها، وهي العربية، ومحاولة البحث عن مقابل تام لها، أو مقابل قريب أو شبه مرادف لها. وينحصر وجه الحداثة في هذا المبحث في التنظير لدراسات الترجمة، ونظرياتها ومفاهيمها بطريقة نظرية بحتة، إلا النزر اليسير منها. فالترجمة تُمارَس منذ القدم، وشكلت جسراً هاماً في تواصل الحضارات والمعارف بين شعوب العالم على مر الزمان، ولكنها كانت تقوم على الممارسة البديهية التي لا تحكمها ضوابط ومعايير نظرية تفسيرية تبيّن مداخل الترجمة المختلفة وأشكالها المتعددة التي تبناها المترجم بطريقة ما دون الأخرى. ومن ثمّ؛ تستعرض هذه الورقة. أولاً؛ الصعوبات التي واجهها المترجم عند الشروع في هذا العمل، مثل المصطلحات والمفاهيم النظرية، ومنها «assignment» بمعنى «المهمة»، «translational act» بمعنى «فعل الترجمة»، «translation proper» بمعنى «الترجمة الحقة»، وكذلك. ثانياً؛ تحليل أسلوب نورد الذي يتسم بالسهل الممتنع أحياناً، والتناقض أحياناً أخرى، فرغم أسلوبها السهل، إلا أنها تفرط في سهولته وتيسيره بطريقة ترهق المترجم في فك شفرات النص الأصلي، فضلاً عن استخدامها جملاً طويلة تتخللها جملاً أخرى اعتراضية هنا وهناك، وعلى القارئ أو المترجم لم الشتات وتجميع الصورة المتناثرة. وثالثاً؛ استعراض بعض الحلول والاستراتيجيات المتبعة في الترجمة، ومنها استخدام الحواشي للتنبيه أو الإيضاح أحياناً، وخاصة في مواطن الإيجاز المُخلّ، وللاستدراك أحياناً أخرى، وكذلك الاستعانة بالمراجع الخارجية للتوثيق والتدليل على ترجيح الآراء. وأخيراً؛ محاولة الإجابة عن بعض الأسئلة التي تطرحها تحديات التصدي لترجمة مثل هذه الأعمال، ومنها:

- 6- لماذا استحدثت نورد مصطلحات فنية مركبة باللغة الألمانية غير دقيقة أحياناً؟
- 7- لماذا لم تتبنى نورد مقابل إنجليزي مناسب للكلمات الألمانية تعبير عما تعنيه؟
- 8- ما الهدف من التفصيل الممل في بعض المواطن والإيجاز المخل في بعض المواطن الأخرى؟
- 9- ما الهدف من الشروح الغامضة والجمال المطوّلة التي تستعين بها نورد في كتابها؟
- 10- ما هي الاستراتيجيات والحلول الممكنة التي تبناها المترجم لنقل المعنى بسلاسة وأمانة دون إفراط أو تفريط؟

الكلمات المفتاحية:

الترجمة- نظريات الترجمة- الحلول والاستراتيجيات- الترجمة الوظيفية- مداخل الترجمة

1. مقدمة

ويعد هذا الكتاب من أبرز كتب كريستيان نورد، وهي من رواد الباحثين المشتغلين بدراسات مبحث الترجمة، وأستاذة اللغويات التطبيقية بجامعة ماجدبيرج Magdeburg بألمانيا، حيث تناولت فيه مداخل الترجمة الوظيفية، التي ساهمت بدورها في ارتقاء مهارات المترجم المدرب، والنهوض بمستواه الفكري، وتسليحه بمقومات الترجمة ومعاييرها الصحيحة والدقيقة، والإقبال على ممارسة الترجمة، وجعبته مليئة بالحلول للمشكلات التي قد تعوق طريقه أو قد تحول بينه وبين الترجمة. أسباب اختيار هذا الكتاب لترجمته ترجع أسباب اختياري لترجمة هذا الكتاب إلى اعتمادي عليه كمرجع أساسي في رسالتي للماستير (2008)، والتي تدور حول ترجمة معاني القرآن الكريم، وتناولت فيها مشكلات ترجمة المترادفات القرآنية إلى اللغة الإنجليزية، بعنوان: «ترجمة عينة منتقاة من المترادفات في ثلاث ترجمات معروفة لمعاني القرآن الكريم: مدخل دلالي»، والعنوان باللغة الإنجليزية، هو:

“The Rendering of a Selected Sample of Synonyms in Three Major Translations of the Meanings of the Glorious Qur'an: A Semantic Approach”

لأنني تناولت أيضا في رسالتي النظرية الغرضية Skopostheorie وقمت بتحليلها وعرض عناصرها الأساسية، وهي: «الغرض»، و«الوظيفة» و«الثقافة» و«التعادل/الكفاية»، و«نمط النص»، وبينت أهميتها في تحقيق التماسك الداخلي للنص، وتحديد ضوابط الثقافة المُشترَعة لإنتاج نص هدف يتسق مع النص الأصلي، الأمر الذي حفزني على المضي قُدُما في ترجمة هذا البحث الجديد في أفكاره ومفاهيمه، الثري في مضمونه ومحتواه، بهدف الاستفادة منه لشخصي في المقام الأول- متزامنا مع إفادة غيري- إن شاء الله تعالى. والأمر الثاني الذي شدَّ من أزراري وحفزني على ترجمة هذا الكتاب سبَّق الدكتور عناني وتناوله لمضمونه في فصل مستقل تحت عنوان: «نظريات الترجمة الوظيفية»، في كتاب له بعنوان: «نظرية الترجمة الحديثة: مدخل إلى مبحث دراسات الترجمة» (2003). وهذا عهدنا بالدكتور عناني الذي يطالعنا بالجديد دائما في الترجمة، وينقل إلينا أحدث النظريات والدراسات الغربية بأسلوبه العربي الأصيل وموهبته الفذة التي أثلقتها القراءة والاطلاع الدؤوب الذي لمسناه في محاضراته عن كُتُب وطالعتنا به كُتبه.. وأدين بالفضل له- بعد الله سبحانه وتعالى- في فك طلاسم كثيرة وفتت أمامي، فضلا عن مهارته في الترجمة إلى الثقافة الهدف دون إخلال بالمعنى أو المزايدة عليه وإضفاء طابع محلي domestication وجو من الألفة familiarity بين القاريء والنص، وأمانته العلمية في النقل والاستشهاد.

نُبذة موجزة عن الكتاب وفصوله

سأورد فيما يلي نبذة موجزة عن الكتاب الذي نحن بصدد، والذي يحتوي على مقدمة وتسعة فصول ومسرد وقائمة بالمراجع. وتعتبر المقدمة مدخلا تمهيدياً هاماً للقاريء تحاول من خلاله كريستيان نورد طرح رؤيتها الشاملة لمحتوى الكتاب شاملا العنوان الرئيسي والفرعي مع التركيز على الوظيفية functionalism باعتبارها المعيار الأساسي في الترجمة، والنظرية الغرضية/الوظيفية Skopostheorie ونظرية الترجمة theory of translation، فضلا عن أركان عملية التواصل الرئيسية، وهي المرسل sender، والمتلقي receiver، والرسالة message، والوسيط medium، والفاعل agent، والموقف المقيد بزمان ومكان معين.

ويتناول الفصل الأول إطلالة تاريخية تتضمن التتبع التاريخي لتطور مبحث الترجمة، والآراء الأولية حول نشأة نظرية الترجمة الوظيفية، ومنهم، على سبيل المثال، كاترينا رايس Katharina Reiss صاحبة نقد الترجمة الوظيفية functionalist translation criticism؛ وهانز ج. فيرمير Hans J. Vermeer صاحب النظرية الغرضية Skopostheorie وفروعها؛ ويوستا هولتس-مانتاري Justa Holz-Mänttari صاحبة نظرية فعل الترجمة theory of translational action.

ويتناول الفصل الثاني الحواجز اللغوية التي تعوق عملية التواصل بين أطرافها، والتي ترجع إلى اختلاف الثقافات وتباينها، الأمر الذي يتطلب وجود وسيط mediator، لفك الشفرة decoding بين أطراف الثقافتين وإقامة جسر من التواصل بينهما، مع استعراض عملية الترجمة وربطها بنظرية الفعل theory of action، وإلقاء الضوء على الترجمة بوصفها شكلا من أشكال تفاعل الترجمة، وبوصفها فعلا من أفعال التواصل، وكذلك الترجمة بوصفها تفاعلا هادفاً ومقصوداً، فضلا عن تناول أدوار صاحب المبادرة ومصدر التكليف.

ويتناول الفصل الثالث المفاهيم الرئيسية للنظرية الغرضية، وهي: الغرض skopos، والقصد intention، والوظيفة function، وملخص مهمة الترجمة translation brief، ثم ترابط المعاني داخليا وخارجيا أي تماسك النص intertextual & intratextual coherence، ومفهوم الثقافة، والخصوصية الثقافية، ومفهومي الكفاية والتعادل، ودور تصنيفات النص وفقاً لوظيفة التواصل السائدة، ومنها الإخبارية informative والتعبيرية expressive والداعية إلى العمل operative (أي وظيفة الأسلوب الانشائي عند العرب).

ويتناول الفصل الرابع الوظيفية في تدريب المترجم functionalism in translator training، ونماذج من وظائف النصوص المنوطة بالترجمة، والتصنيف النوعي لأنماط النصوص text typology، وتعريف الوظيفة الإحالية referential function، بجانب المعايير والتقاليد المثبعة في الترجمة الوظيفية، وتحليل النصوص المصدر وملخصات مهمة الترجمة وتحديد المشكلات التي تعوق المترجم عن أداء المهام المنوطة به، وتقييم الترجمة ومعايير الحكم عليها والكشف عن الأخطاء الواردة فيها.

ويتناول الفصل الخامس الترجمة الأدبية، ومظاهر التواصل الأدبي عبر الحواجز الثقافية culture barriers، مع الإشارة إلى العلاقات الأساسية الأربع الكامنة في التواصل الأدبي عبر الثقافات، وهي: (أ) العلاقة بين قصد المرسل والنص، (ب) العلاقة بين قصد المرسل وتوقع المتلقي، (ج) العلاقة بين المحال إليه referent والمتلقي، (د) العلاقة بين المتلقي والنص، فضلا عن متطلبات التعادل الأساسية، وهي:

1- التماثل بين تأويل المترجم وقصد المرسل؛

2- يتعين على المترجم التعبير بالألفاظ عن قصد المرسل في النص الهدف لأداء نفس وظيفة النص المصدر في الثقافة المصدر وبطريقة مماثلة؛

3- يتعين على المتلقي الهدف فهم عالم نص الترجمة واستيعابه بنفس طريقة استيعاب المتلقي المصدر لعالم النص المصدر؛

4- تعادل تأثير الترجمة على قرائها مع تأثير النص المصدر على قرائه.

ويتناول الفصل السادس المداخل الوظيفية للترجمة الشفوية *functionalist approaches to interpreting*، وإلقاء الضوء على أوجه الشبه بين الترجمة التحريرية *translating* والشفوية *interpreting*، والتي تتمثل باختصار فيما يلي: أولاً؛ أن لكل منهما هدفاً تواصلياً. ثانياً؛ أنهما عبارة عن عرض للمعلومات *offer of information*. ثالثاً؛ أنهما يتطلبان تماسك النصوص الداخلي. رابعاً؛ النقل الأمين، ثم تتطرق نورد إلى الحديث عن أنواع الترجمة الشفوية *interpreting* المختلفة، ومنها المترجمة *simultaneous*، والتتبعية *consecutive*، ثم تنتقل إلى إطار بوشهاكر *Pöchhacker* التحليلي متعدد المستويات للترجمة الشفوية المترجمة. ويتناول الفصل السابع الانتقادات التي وجهت للنظرية الغرضية والمداخل الوظيفية، ومنها التشكيك في أصالتها، والحيولة دون تطبيقها في عملية الترجمة، وانتفاء المقصودية *intentionality* من بعض أفعال الترجمة، ومنها ليست كل الترجمات هادفة، بجانب بعض الادعاءات الأخرى المتعلقة بخلو ذهن المترجم من الغرض أو الهدف أثناء تكليفه بعملية الترجمة؛ لأنه سيقيد من حرية استخدامه للإجراءات والاستراتيجيات المتاحة أمامه، ولا يضع في اعتباره مخاطباً معيناً، بالإضافة إلى أن الوظيفية مفهوم أو مذهب نظري لا يستند إلى النتائج التجريبية *empirical*، ولا تسفر إلا عن تخريج مرتزقة *mercenary* لديهم استعداد للقيام بعمل أي شيء مقابل الأجر، وأن الوظيفية تتعدى على حرمة الأصل، فضلاً عن استنكار نيومارك لفكرة «التبسيط المفرط» *oversimplification* الكامن في الوظيفية. ويتناول الفصل الثامن مفهومي الوظيفة *function* الإخلاص/الأمانة *loyalty* باعتبارهما من المتطلبات الأساسية لنجاح عملية الترجمة، ومحاولة التمييز بين مفهوم «الإخلاص» الذي يعنى مدى توافق غرض النص الهدف مع مقاصد مؤلف الأصل و«الأمانة» الذي يشير إلى العلاقة القائمة بين النصوص المصدر والهدف. ويتناول الفصل التاسع الرؤى المستقبلية للمداخل الوظيفية في السياقات المهنية المختلفة، بجانب استعراض آراء وتطلعات لغيف من خبراء الترجمة فيما يتعلق بغرض الترجمات وعملية تطويع النصوص، ومفهوم القبول اللغوي *linguistic acceptability* في أدب الأطفال المترجم. ويختتم الكتاب بمسرد يضم أهم المفاهيم والمصطلحات الواردة في ثناياه، وشرح موجز لها مع الإشارة إلى أماكنها في الكتاب. وفيما يلي، سأذكر بعض الصعوبات والمعوقات التي صادفتني في ترجمة هذا الكتاب القيم، وبعض المآخذ القليلة التي لا تقلل من شأن مؤلفه ولا تنتقص من قدرها أو مكانتها أو قيمة العمل الخلاق الذي نحن بصده، ولكنها من منطلق أن «لكل جواد كبوة، ولكل عالم هفوة» (Homer sometimes nods). كما أنها لا تعدو عن كونها مجرد جولة قصيرة أصطحب فيها القاريء معي قلباً وقلوباً لا اطلاعه على المتاعب والمشاق التي يواجهها المترجم، ولكن بإيجاز غير مخل.

أولاً- الصعوبات والمشكلات التي واجهتها في ترجمة هذا الكتاب:

1- الطلاسم:

عندما بدأت ترجمة الكتاب وتصفحته أوراها الأولى وفصوله وفقراته وعباراته وجملة وألفاظه، انتابني شعور بالخوف من المصطلحات المركبة والنسق اللفظي الغير مباشر، وأحسست بأنني كما لو كنت أترجم لأول مرة، وهذا إحساس يتسلل إلى قلبي مع كل عمل جديد، رغم حوضي تجارب عديدة والوقوف على ترجمات تقنية معقدة، فقررت البدء في الترجمة بشكل حرفي كخطوة أولية ضمن سلسلة هرمية تنتهي بقدر كاف من الرضا والقناعة الذاتية عن العمل ولكنها لا ترقى بالتأكيد إلى الكمال؛ لأن الكمال لله وحده. فوجدت أن سبب خوفي ربما يكمن في عظم مصدر التكليف، وسمو المهمة المنوطة بالعمل، فضلاً عن أهمية الكتاب وقيمتها في الأوساط العلمية.. ورويداً ورويدا، بدأت تتكشف وتتبدد هذه الطلاسم المتمثلة فيما يلي:

2- المصطلحات والمفاهيم النظرية:

بالطبع، يتناول هذا الكتاب دراسة جديدة على مجتمعنا، بما فيها من مفاهيم جديدة –أقصد من الناحية التنظيرية- ويحتاج إلى إعادة صياغة بما يتوافق مع هذه الثقافة الجديدة، والبحث عن مقابل تام لها، وإن تعذر ذلك، نحاول إيجاد مقابل قريب أو شبه مرادف لها. وينحصر وجه الحداثة في هذا البحث في التنظير لدراسات الترجمة، وتناول نظرياتها ومفاهيمها بطريقة نظرية بحتة، إلا النزر اليسير منها. فالترجمة تُمارَس منذ القدم، وشكلت جسراً هاماً في تواصل الحضارات والمعارف بين شعوب العالم على مر الزمان، ولكنها كانت تقوم على الممارسة البدئية التي لا تحكمها ضوابط ومعايير نظرية تفسيرية تبين مداخل الترجمة المختلفة وأشكالها المتعددة التي تبناها المترجم بطريقة ما دون الأخرى. وبالتالي؛ فإني أرى -وقد يختلف معي غيري في هذا- أن أفضل دراسات الترجمة هي ما تستند في تنظيرها إلى الممارسة التي تمثل لبّ وجوهر عملية الترجمة (المنتج النهائي الحقيقي). وهناك قول مأثور في الإنجليزية، هو: «Practice makes perfect» أي «الاتقان من الممارسة» أو – كما ترجمها الدكتور وهبة في النفيش- «التدريب سبيل الاتقان». فإذا صاحبت هذه الممارسة دراسة نظرية تدعمها وتساند الجانب التطبيقي فيها، ستأتي بنتائج مثمرة. ومن جملة هذه المصطلحات والمفاهيم التي أوقفنتي قليلاً حتى أستسيغها وأهضمها حقاً، منها «equivalence» بمعنى «التعادل»، «adequacy» بمعنى «الكفاية»، «adaptation» بمعنى «التطويع»، «assignment» بمعنى «المهمة»، «translational act» بمعنى «فعل الترجمة»، «translation proper» بمعنى «الترجمة الحقة»، «extralinguistic communicative effect» بمعنى «تأثير العناصر اللغوية الخارجية في التواصل»، «communicative purposes»

بمعنى «أغراض التواصل»، «intertextual coherence» بمعنى «التماسك التناصي»، «intratextual coherence» بمعنى «تماسك النص الداخلي»، «linguistic kernel structures» بمعنى «تراكيب لغوية أساسية (نوبية)»، «translation brief» بمعنى «ملخص مهمة الترجمة»، وهذا على سبيل المثال لا الحصر.

3- الأسلوب:

تتبنى كريستيان نورد أسلوب يتسم بالسهل الممتنع *challenging ease*، فرغم استخدامها لأسلوب سهل، إلا أنها تفرط في سهولته وتيسيره *oversimplification* بطريقة ترهق المترجم في فك شفرات النص، فضلا عن استخدامها جمل طويلة أو ما يطلق عليه بالإنجليزية *run-on-sentence* تتخللها جمل أخرى اعتراضية مبعثرة هنا وهناك، وعلى القارئ أو المترجم لم الشتات وتركيب الصورة المتناثرة. وإليك هذا المثال على سبيل التذليل:

“Not only did it account for different strategies in different translation situations, in which source texts are not the only factor involved, but it also coincided with a change of paradigm in quite a few disciplines, among them linguistics, which had developed a stronger focus on communication as a social, culture-bound occurrence, on the individuals involved, on the spatiotemporal conditions of communication, and on communicative intentions and functions.” (p. 123)

انظر إلى طول هذه الجملة التي شغلت فقرة كاملة وكذلك الجمل الاعتراضية التي تتخلل الجمل الرئيسية، وكم الأفعال المستخدمة في الجمل الرئيسية والفرعية، فضلا عن تداخل المعاني، مما يجهد القارئ في فهمها، فاجتهدت في ترجمتها كما يلي:

«فهي ليست مسنولة فقط عن شتى الاستراتيجيات المستخدمة في مواقف الترجمة المختلفة، والتي لا تكون النصوص المصدر العامل الوحيد فيها، ولكنها تزامنت أيضا مع تغيير جدول التصريف (1) *paradigm* في بعض فروع المعرفة، ومن بينها علم اللغة *linguistics* الذي سلب الأضواء على التواصل *communication* بوصفه حدث اجتماعي وثيق الصلة بالثقافة، وبالأفراد المشاركين في هذه العملية، وبظروف التواصل الزمانية والمكانية *spatiotemporal conditions*، وبمقاصد التواصل ووظائفه».

4- التناقض:

يوجي أسلوب نورد في مواضع قليلة- بالتناقض الظاهري الناشيء عن عدم أصالة لغتها. وفي هذا الصدد، أستشهد برأي أحد الباحثين، وهو يدعى بيلي أوشيه Billy O'Shea، في بحث له بعنوان: «حول المعلومات والثقافة والترجمة» (2)، حيث يعلّق على مثال ذكرته نورد في ثنايا كتابها الذي نحن بصددده، وهو:

“Speaking the same language does not prevent you from culturally putting your foot in your mouth every second time you open it.” (134)

يقول معلقاً: «إن اللغة التي تعرفها (نورد) لا تساهم في توصيل المعنى الذي تود نقله؛ لأن الاستخدام (اللغوي) النمساوي يختلف عن ذلك الذي عهدته أو ألفتته» (76). وهذا الرأي يستند إلى اعتراف نورد نفسها في ثنايا الكتاب (ص134) بأنها عاشت في النمسا قرابة عام ونصف، مما يفسر سبب الغموض أو الإبهام الذي ينتاب القارئ من حين لآخر في بعض المواضع بسبب استخدامها لغة، وهي الإنجليزية، غير لغتها الأم، وهي الألمانية. فاجتهدت وترجمت المثال الذي ذكرته نورد كما يلي: «واكتشفت أن تحدّثك بلسان قومك لا يمنعك من التعرض لبعض المواقف الثقافية المحرجة». اضطررت هنا عند ترجمة هذه الجملة إلى ترجمة معناها دون التقيد بألفاظها مخافة تشويه المعنى وركاكته أو سوء الفهم، حيث إن المقابل العامي المصري لعبارة “putting your foot in your mouth” هو «يحط جزمة في بؤه» أي يتمتع الشخص عن الكلام إذا حاول تبرير فعل مشين أو سلوك غير لائق صدر منه.

ومن صور التناقض أيضا تعريفها للخصوصية الثقافية، وهو:

“Culture specificity: A culture-specific phenomenon is one that is found to exist- in this form or function- in only one of the two cultures being compared in the translation process. it [sic] does not mean that the phenomenon exists only in that particular culture.” (pp. 137-8)

¹ يُستعمل جدول التصريف عادة لسرد الصيغ المختلفة لتصريف الفعل كما نجد في اللغة العربية حين يسند الفعل (كَنَبَ) مثلا إلى الضمائر المختلفة: أَكَنَبُ نَكَنَبُ... (معجم اللسانيات الحديثة، كريم حسام الدين وآخرون، مكتبة لبنان، 1997، ص98).

² انظر:

O'Shea, Billy (1999), *On Information, Culture and Translation*, Prize essay, Univ. of Copenhagen, p. 76.

ويمكنك الاطلاع على هذا البحث وتحميله من شبكة الانترنت من خلال الرابط التالي:

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فاجتهدت وترجمتها كما يلي:

«الخصوصية الثقافية: والظاهرة الخاصة بالثقافة هي إحدى الظواهر التي تتبنى شكل أو وظيفة معينة فقط في إحدى الثقافتين موضع المقارنة في عملية الترجمة. ولا يعني هذا اقتصار وجودها على هذه الثقافة الخاصة فقط.»
وقد يلاحظ القارئ هنا وجود تناقض بين الجزء الأول من التعريف والجزء الختامي له الذي لا يستقيم مع تعريفها للخصوصية الثقافية، وربما يكون قد خانها التعبير (أقصد المؤلف)، حيث كانت تقصد أن تقول: «وهذا يعني أنها تقتصر فقط على هذه الثقافة الخاصة.»

ثانياً- الحلول والاستراتيجيات المتبعة في الترجمة:

1- الحواشي:

حاولت الالتزام بالمعنى المقصود والمنشود من قبل المؤلف حتى إذا ارتأيت خطأ أشرت إليه في الحاشية للتبني والاستدراك؛ لأن الترجمة أمانة كما أن الكلمة أمانة، والخطأ أو النسيان أمر وارد، ولكن تعدد الخطأ هو أمر غير مقبول تمامًا.
استعنتُ أيضًا بالحواشي للتفصيل أو التوضيح البعيد عن التطويل الممل أو الإيجاز المُخلّ، ومنها، على سبيل المثال، عندما أوردت نورد مصطلح "phatic communication"، فوجدتُ تعريفًا له شافيًا كافيًا ذكره الدكتور تَمّام حسان، في كتابه الرائع «اللغة العربية معناها ومبناها» (ص343)، وهو:
«نوع من المقامات الاجتماعية يمكن أن نسميه مقامات اللغو الاجتماعي أو كما يسميه مالبينوسكي phatic communication يتبادل الناس فيها الكلام ولكنهم لا يقصدون به أكثر من شغل الوقت وحلّ موقف اجتماعي لولا هذا اللغو لكان فيه حرج. والكلام الذي يقال في هذا المقام ليس مقصوداً لذاته، فقد يكون موضوعه الطقس أو السياسة أو أيّ موضوع عام آخر.»

وهذا التعريف مناسباً تماماً؛ لأن من أحد معاني كلمة «اللغو» هو «النطق»، وهو ما يوافق كلمة phatic، حيث ورد في لسان العرب (مادة لَغَا) ما يلي: «واللغو: النطق. يقال: هذه لغتهم التي يُلغون بها أي يُنطِقون». وقد ترجمها الدكتور عناني بـ«إقامة الصلة» (نظرية الترجمة الحديثة، ص126)، إلا أن الترجمة أوسع وأشمل من المصطلح ذاته، ولا تحدد وسيط إقامة الصلة الذي قد يكون وسط كتابي أو كلامي، ولكن المصطلح phatic يعني «استخدام الكلام (speech) بهدف التفاعل الاجتماعي بوجه عام دون الاقتصار على معني بعينه» (قاموس أكسفورد الوجيز)؛ فضلاً عن أن أصلها الاشتقاقي يرجع إلى الكلمة اليونانية phatos، والتي تعني «المنطوق» (spoken).

واستعنتُ أيضًا بالحواشي بهدف الإيضاح، خاصة في مواطن الإيجاز المُخلّ، ومنها، على سبيل المثال، عندما أوردتُ نورد مصطلح **belles infidèles** بإيجاز دون شرح معناه، واكتفتُ فقط بالتأريخ له وظهوره في القرن الثامن عشر؛ فأضفتُ ما بين قوسين في ثنايا النص ذاته تعريفاً موجزاً للمصطلح، وهو «مفهوم يقوم على فكرة استحالة الجمع بين الجمال والأمانة»، حتى يستطيع القارئ الربط بين مفهوم المصطلح وسياق النص المطروح، ثم تتبعتُ أصل المصطلح ونشأته، وذكرته في الحاشية لإحاطة القارئ علماً بمزيد من التفاصيل، كما يلي:

Gilles Ménage (1613-92), French philosopher and writer, commented on translations by humanist Perrot Nicolas d'Abblancourt (1606-64): "Elles me rappellent une femme que j'ai beaucoup aimé à Tours, et qui était belle mais infidèle." ("They remind me of a woman whom I greatly loved in Tours, who was beautiful but unfaithful.") (As quoted in Amparo Hurtado Albir, La notion de fidélité en traduction, (The Idea of Fidelity in Translation), Paris, Didier Érudition, 1990, p. 231.

كما استعنتُ بالحواشي لتصحيح ترجمة بعض المفاهيم، ومنها، على سبيل المثال، مصطلح pragmatics، والذي يُترجمه «بعض المشتغلين بالدرس اللساني الحديث بالتداولية تارة والذرائعية تارة ثانية والنفعية تارة ثالثة، وهي ترجمات لا تعطي للقارئ - من وجهة نظرنا - دلالة واضحة لمفهوم المصطلح» الذي يعني «تفسير نص ما تفسيراً شاملاً يجمع إلى جانب المكونات اللغوية الداخلية له القران الخارجية المصاحبة التي تؤثر تأثيراً واضحاً في تحديد دلالاته الدقيقة، ونجد أن المقاميات بهذا التصور تقترب من القول المأثور في البلاغة العربية «لكل مقام مقال»» (معجم اللسانيات الحديثة، كريم حسام الدين وأسخرون، مكتبة لبنان، 1997، ص111).

2- المراجع الخارجية:

كما استعنتُ أيضاً بالمراجع الخارجية لتوثيق كلامي والتدليل عليه، ومنها معجم لسان العرب عندما حاولتُ التدليل على عدم وجود فرق بين ترجمة punctuation marks إلى «علامات ترقيم» أو «علامات ترفيق». لقد أثار الدكتور عناني فضولي عندما ترجم punctuation marks إلى «الترقين» (3) بدلا من «الترقيم»، وعندما طالعت لسان العرب (مادة رَقَمَ و رَقَنَ)، لم أجد فرقا يذكر، إن لم يكن بينهما ترادف شبه تام. وسأورد بعض أوجه الشبه، ولكن بإيجاز غير مُخلّ:

³ انظر: نظرية الترجمة الحديثة، ص130.

أولاً، الترقيم «الرَّفْمُ والتَّرْفِيمُ: تَعْجِيمُ الكتاب. وَرَقَمَ الكتاب يَرْفُمُهُ رَفْماً: أَعْجَمَهُ وَبَيَّنَّهُ. وَكُتِبَ مَرْفُومٌ أَي قَدْ بَيَّنَّتْ حُرُوفُهُ بَعْلَامَاتِهَا مِنَ التَّنْفِيطِ. وَقَوْلُهُ عَزَّ وَجَلَّ: «كُتِبَ مَرْفُومٌ»؛ أَي كُتِبَ مَكْتُوبٌ... وَالمُرَقَّمُ وَالمُرَقَّنُ: الكَاتِبُ... وَالمُرَقَّمُ: الكِتَابَةُ وَالمُرَقَّمُ: الخِتْمُ... وَرَقَمَ الثَّوبَ يَرْفُمُهُ رَفْماً وَرَقَمَهُ: خَطَطَهُ... وَفِي الْحَدِيثِ: كَانَ يَسُوي بَيْنَ الصَّفُوفِ حَتَّى يَدَعَا مِثْلَ الفُدْحِ أَوْ الرِّقِيمِ، الرِّقِيمُ: الكِتَابُ، أَي حَتَّى لَا تَرَى فِيهَا عَوْجاً كَمَا يُقَوِّمُ الكَاتِبُ سَطُورَهُ». ثَانِيًا؛ التَّرْقِينُ «وَرَقَّنَ الكِتَابُ: قَارَبَ بَيْنَ سَطُورِهِ، وَقِيلَ: رَقَّنَهُ نَقَطَهُ وَأَعْجَمَهُ لِيَتَبَيَّنَ... اللَّيْثُ: التَّرْقِينُ تَرْقِينُ الكِتَابِ وَهُوَ تَرْبِيئُهُ... وَالمُرَقَّنُ: الكَاتِبُ، وَقِيلَ: المُرَقَّنُ الَّذِي يُحَلِّقُ حَلْقاً بَيْنَ السُّطُورِ كَتَرْقِينِ الخَضَابِ». وَبِالتَّالِي؛ فَكِلَاهُمَا صَحِيحٌ، وَلَا يُخَطُّ مَنْ اسْتَعْمَلَ أَحَدُهُمَا دُونَ الأُخَرَ وَفَقَ مَا وَجَدْتُهُ فِي لِسَانِ العَرَبِ، وَاللَّهُ أَعْلَمُ.

وذلك استعنتُ بمعجم اللسانيات الحديثة لكريم حسام الدين وآخرون كلما صادفني لفظ أو مصطلح يكتنفه الغموض أو يحتاج إلى مزيد من الشرح، مثل مصطلح Voice Quality أي «ونعني بنوع الصوت الخاصّة أو الصّفة التي تستطيع الأذن أن تميّز بها الأصوات المختلفة الإنسانية وغير الإنسانية... إننا نستطيع، على سبيل المثال، أن نميّر بين أصوات الآلات الموسيقية النّفخية كالنّاي والمزمار، والآلات الفرعية مثل الطبلّة والرّق، والآلات الوترية مثل العود والكمان» (117). وأيضاً مصطلح Frequency أي «التواتر اللغوي» فاستعنت بالمعجم-أعني هنا معجم اللسانيات- بالقدر الذي يسمح للقارئ فهم معناه، كما يلي: «يعني المصطلح عدد المرات التي (يتواتر أو يتكرر) فيها عنصر لغوي في نص أو مجموعة من النصوص، وتختلف العناصر اللغوية عدداً من حيث تكرار حدوثها في الكلام أو الكتابة» (48).

وهناك مصادر أخرى اعتمدت عليها، منها كتب الدكتور عناني التي تزخر بموضوع بحث دراسات الترجمة، وأخصُّ بالذكر كتابه «نظرية الترجمة الحديثة» الذي ذكرته في حواشي الكتاب، بالإضافة إلى كتاب «معجم دراسات الترجمة» لشتولبرث وكوي Shuttleworth & Cowie الذي ترجمه الدكتور جمال الجزيري ضمن إصدارات المركز القومي للترجمة، والذي بذل فيه جهد طيب، يُظهر ملكته الخاصة وأسلوبه المتميز، فضلاً عن «معجم النّفس» للدكتور مجدي وهبة، وهو اسم على مسمّى، لأنه يجمع بين الأصالة والمعاصرة، وأيضاً شبكة الانترنت، الصرح التقني وتسامي tsunami المعرفة الحديثة.

الخاتمة

وفي هذه الدراسة -كما ورد أعلاه- حاولت تحليل أسلوب نورد الذي يتسم بالسهل الممتنع أحياناً، والتناقض أحياناً أخرى، فرغم أسلوبها السهل، إلا أنها تفرط في سهولته وتيسيره بطريقة ترهق المترجم في فك شفرات النص الأصلي، فضلاً عن استخدامها جملاً طويلة تتخللها جملاً أخرى اعتراضية هنا وهناك، وعلى القارئ أو المترجم لمّ الشتات وتجميع الصورة المتناثرة. كما استعرضت بعض الحلول والاستراتيجيات المثبتة في الترجمة، ومنها استخدام الحواشي للتنبيه أو الإيضاح أحياناً، وخاصة في مواطن الإيجاز المُجَلِّ، وللاستدراك أحياناً أخرى، وكذلك الاستعانة بالمراجع الخارجية للتوثيق والتدليل على ترجيح الآراء.

لقد حاولت قدر جهدي المتواضع محاولة التقريب لا التغريب بين النص الأصلي والنص المترجم، والتصحيح لا التجريح، والرتق لا الفتح، فبالرغم من صفحاته التي لا تتجاوز المائتين إلا أنه يحوي كلاماً مجملاً لو فُصِّل لأفردت له كتب كثيرة؛ فهو كتاب متخصص في دراسات الترجمة ونظرياتها وتطبيقاتها وممارساتها وعلاقتها بالعلوم الأخرى.

وما ادخرتُ جهداً في محاولة البحث والتحري في الترجمة والوقوف على المعاني والمصطلحات قدر استطاعتي خشية الخطأ الوارد بحكم طبيعتنا كيشر أو تضليل القارئ أو تشويه المعنى الأصلي، لكنني دعوتُ الله ألا يخذلني وأن يوفّقني في هذا العمل. فما كان من توفيقٍ فمن الله وحده، وما كان من عجزٍ، أو نقصٍ أو تشويهٍ أو خطأٍ أو نسيانٍ فمَنِّي ومن الشيطان، والله ورسوله منه براء، متمثلاً في ذلك بقول العماد الأصفهاني: «إني رأيت أنه لا يكتب إنساناً كتاباً في يومه إلا قال في غده: «لو غيّر هذا لكان أحسن، ولو زاد كذا لكان يستحسن، ولو قُدِّم هذا لكان أفضل، ولو تُرِكَ هذا لكان أجمل. وهذا من أعظم العجز، وهو دليل على استيلاء النقص على جملة البشر».

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Phonetic Phenomena in the "Yanbu" Dialect and its Linguistic Origins

الظواهر الصوتية في لهجة "ينبع" وأصولها اللغوية

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ARTICLE DATA

Received: 27 Oct. 2021

Accepted: 30 Nov. 2021

Volume: 1

Issue: FALL

DOI:

KEYWORDS

acoustic, language
phenomena, dialect
substitution, Yanbu

ABSTRACT

This study deals with the dialect of Yanbu region and its acoustic behavior that constitute special landmarks in the wide local dialect range and trying to provide historical analysis for the Acoustic phenomena of this supported dialect. In order to stand on an important side of the historical linguistic lesson, showing a form of language movement and evolutionary use, dating for a temporal and spatial period of time of its extended history.

In order to achieving this scientific purpose, the study highlights the most exciting scientific interesting acoustic phenomenon in this dialect. This treatment included the following dialect phenomenon: emphasis of (A), phonetic substitution of (s) to (S*), (ð) to (d), (h) to (w), (q) to (γ), (γ) to (q) and (θ) to (t), simplification and other substitutions.

ملخص:

تتناول هذه الدراسة لهجة منطقة ينبع وما فيها من التصرفات الصوتية التي تشكل معالم ذات خصوصية داخل المحيط اللغوي المحلي الواسع، وتحاول أن تقدم تحليلاً تاريخياً لهذه الظواهر الصوتية اللهجية المانزة، من أجل الوقوف على جانب مهم من جوانب الدرس اللغوي التاريخي، نستجلي فيه صورة من صور حركة اللغة وتطورها الاستعمالي ونورخ لحقبة زمانية ومكانية من تاريخها الممتد.

وفي سبيل تحقيق هذه الغاية العلمية تُسلط الدراسة الضوء على أهم الظواهر الصوتية المثيرة للاهتمام العلمي في هذه اللهجة، وقد شملت المعالجة الظواهر اللهجية الخاصة الآتية: أطراد تفخيم الألف، وإبدال السين صاداً، وإبدال الذال دالاً، وإبدال هاء الضمير واوا، وإبدال القاف غيئاً والغين قافاً، وإبدال الثاء تاء، وإبدال التضعيف حرفاً، بالإضافة إلى عدد من الإبدالات المتفرقة.

وانتهت الدراسة إلى جملة من النتائج من أهمها: أن التصرف اللغوي لا يتبع قاعدة "طلب الأخت" دائماً، بل ربما نشأ عنه إغناءً وتثقيب – كطرد تفخيم الألف وكقلب السين صاداً -، وهذا يدل على أن تكون اللهجات مرتبط بـ عوامل كثيرة مركبة ومعقدة منها اللغوي وغير اللغوي.

الكلمات المفتاحية:

اللغة – الظواهر – الأصوات – اللهجة – ينبع – الإبدال.

1. مقدمة

تتناول هذه الدراسة لهجة منطقة ينبع، وما فيها من التصرفات الصوتية التي تشكل معالم ذات خصوصية داخل المحيط اللغوي المحلي الواسع، وتحاول أن تقدم تحليلاً تاريخياً لهذه الظواهر الصوتية اللهجية المانزة.

ودراسة اللهجات العربية الحديثة حلقة مهمة من حلقات الدرس اللغوي التاريخي، نستجلي فيها جانباً من حركة اللغة وتطورها الاستعمالي، ونورخ لحقبة زمانية ومكانية من تاريخها الممتد.

ودراسة اللهجات باب مهم – كذلك – لفقه اللغة، والوقوف على أصولها، وفهم تصرّفاتنا وخصائصها على كافة المستويات اللغوية، ومحاولة تصوّر أطوارها الأولى وروابطها المرئية، والمنطق والمختلف بين متحدثيها، وتأثير العوامل الحضارية المتنوعة عليها.

أسباب اختيار الموضوع والدراسات السابقة له:

يأتي اختيار لهجة منطقة "ينبع" محلاً للدراسة استجابة للعوامل الآتية:

أولاً: وقوعها في نطاق منطقة الحجاز، وهي موطن عربية القرآن، وبها تسكن القبائل الحجازية العتيقة ذات الحضور الواضح في السجل اللغوي العربي، ومنها قبيلة (جهينة) التي تشكّل المكوّن الرئيس لسكان المنطقة.

ثانياً: موقعها على ساحل البحر الأحمر قبالة الحدود المصرية السودانية، وعلى طريق سفرٍ وتجارة تاريخي قديم، كما كانت طريقاً لرحلة الحج المصري الكبيرة (1)، وهذا كله أتاح لها زخماً ثقافياً وتنوعاً لغوياً يشبه ما نعرفه عن أسواق العرب الحجازية القديمة.

ثالثاً: خصوصيتها الديموغرافية؛ فعلى الرغم من كون غالبية السكان من قبيلة جهينة تضم المنطقة كثيراً "من الأسر العربية التي انتقلت من صعيد مصر واستوطنت هذه المدينة" (2)، ومثل هذا التنوع أكسب لهجة المنطقة خصوصية منتزعة من اختلاط أهل القبائل الأصلية بغيرهم من الوافدين الذين استوطن كثير منهم المنطقة.

رابعاً: رغبة الباحثين والجامعة في تقديم عمل أكاديمي يمثل خدمةً للمجتمع المحلي، وإضافةً إلى موروثه الثقافي الخاص، وجسراً يقطع العزلة الكبيرة بين مؤسسات التعليم ومحيطها الاجتماعي والجغرافي.

خامساً: يضاف إلى ما سبق عدم وجود دراسة سابقة تتناول موضوع البحث في ما أتيت للباحثين الاطلاع عليه.

خطة الدراسة:

سنتناول في هذا البحث بالدراسة والتحليل ما لوحظ من الظواهر الصوتية في لهجة منطقة "ينبع" من خلال المباحث التفصيلية الآتية:

أولاً: طرد تفخيم الألف.

ثانياً: إبدال السين صاداً.

ثالثاً: إبدال الذال دالاً.

رابعاً: إبدال هاء الضمير واوا.

خامساً: إبدال القاف غيناً والغين قافاً.

سادساً: إبدال الناء تاء.

سابعاً: إبدال أحد المثلين المدغمين حرفاً مختلفاً.

ثامناً: إبدالات متفرقة.

وقد أثرت الدراسة هذه الطريقة التفصيلية لعرض الظواهر الملاحظة لأن طبيعة الدراسة تمنع وجود أطر تقسيمية عامة للظواهر، ذلك أنّ العمل يقوم على التنوع الحر من دون ارتباط بتصنيفات صوتية أو صيغية معينة.

منهج التناول:

ستتبع هذه الدراسة منهجاً وصفيّاً تأصيلياً؛ فهي تبدأ بوصف الظاهرة من خلال الملاحظة المباشرة ومن خلال عيّنات متنوعة من شرائح المتحدثين، ثم تقوم بتأصيل الظواهر الصوتية اللهجية بصورة علمية اعتماداً على ثلاثة روافد منهجية (3)؛ هي: الروايات اللغوية في المعاجم وكتب اللغة المتضمنة لظواهر اللهجات العربية القديمة، ووجوه القراءات القرآنية، والنظائر في اللهجات العربية الحديثة، وقد أضفنا إليها النظر في بعض الأصول السامية القديمة لبعض الظواهر، على ما يأتي.

وإنّا لنرجو – بعدُ – أن نصيب توفيقاً في معالجة موضوع الدراسة، وإلا فحسبنا توجّها صادقاً ورغبةً كاملةً في استجلاء الحقيقة العلمية.

وعلى الله قصد السبيل

(1) بلاد ينبع لحمد الجاسر ص 8 و 10.

(2) بلاد ينبع لحمد الجاسر ص 128.

(3) انظر عن هذه الأسس العلمية لدراسة اللهجات: في اللهجات العربية لإبراهيم أنيس ص 9 وما بعدها.

أولاً: طرد تفخيم الألف

تتوزع صفتا التفخيم والترقيق على مختلف الأصوات "إلا الألف المدية فإنها تابعة لما قبلها فإذا وقعت بعد الحرف المفخم تَفَخَّم وإذا وقعت بعد الحرف المرقق تَرَقَّق، لأن الألف ليس فيه عمل عضو أصلاً حتى يوصف بالتفخيم أو الترقيق" (4)، أو كما قال ابن الجزري "لا يعتمد اللسان عند النطق بها إلى موضع من الفم" (5). والتفخيم أثر سمعي ينشأ بسبب حركات عضوية للسان باتجاه الطباق (الحنك اللين)، هذه الحركات تتغير من شكل حركات الرنين في الفم فيخرج الصوت مصبوغاً بهذه القيمة الصوتية. (6)

وقد لوحظ في لهجة ينبع أطراد تفخيم صائت الفتحة الطويلة (ألف المد)، بحيث لا يخضع لنظام الفصحى في الاقتصار على ذلك بعد الصوامت المفخمة فحسب تبعاً للقاعدة التوزيعية المتقدمة آنفاً.

وبإجراء تجربة ميدانية أعدت قائمة من المفردات متحدة الصيغة (اختيرت صيغة "فاعل" عشوائية)، شملت ثمانياً وعشرين كلمة رُوح في فانها (لأنها الحرف السابق للألف والمؤثر على تفخيمه وترقيقه في الفصحى كما تقدم) بين كافة حروف المعجم، ثم طُرحت القائمة على مجموعة من طلاب قسم اللغة العربية بكلية الآداب والعلوم الإنسانية بنبع، وكانت النتيجة معضدة للملاحظات الأولية للبحث؛ فقد سُجِّلَ أطراداً تام لتفخيم صائت الفتحة الطويلة (ألف المد)، بحيث يتحوّل من كونه صائتاً متسعا أمامياً قريب الشبه بالمقياس الذي يرمز إليه بالرمز (a) (7) إلى كونه صائتاً خلفياً نصف متسع قريب الشبه بالمقياس الذي يرمز إليه بالرمز (b) (8). ولعل وجود هذه الظاهرة يرجع إلى ميل أهل الحجاز إلى التفخيم عموماً، والبعد عن الإمالة (الاقتراب بالفتحة إلى الكسرة) والترقيق (بالإبقاء على الفتحة متسعة)، قال الزبيدي عن التفخيم "وهو لأهل الحجاز، كما أنّ الإمالة لبني تميم" (9)، وقد اشتهر عن الحجازيين تفخيم الألف بخاصة حتى لقد جعل سيبويه من فروع حروف الهجاء "ألف التفخيم، يعنى بلغة أهل الحجاز، في قولهم: الصلاة والزكاة والحياة" (10)، وقال إنّ هذه الألف "يؤخذ بها وتستحسن في قراءة القرآن والأشعار" (11). وهذا الوجه من التفخيم له حضور في القراءات القرآنية؛ ففي بعض القراءات تُفخَّم الألف (الفتحة الطويلة) بعد غير الصوامت المفخمة، كاللام المسبوقة بمقطع فيه صامت مفخم، فقد قرأها ورش بالتفخيم دائماً (12) مثل (الصلاة، الطلاق، ظلام، يصلى، مفصلاً...)، بل لقد روي "عن أبي السمال: أنه كان يقرأ: "ما بقي من الرُّبُو" مضمومة الباء ساكنة الواو"، وعلل ابن جنّي ذلك بأنه "فخَّم الألف انتحاء بها إلى الواو التي الألف بدّل منها، على حد قولهم: الصلاة والزكاة وكمشكاة، وكقولهم: عالم وسالم وسالف وأنف، وكأنه بين التفخيم فقوي الصوت فكان الواو أو كاد" (13). وهذا النص - فوق إشارته إلى شيوع تفخيم الألف في صيغ متنوعة - يطرح تفسيراً فيزيائياً لافتاً لدينامية حدوث التفخيم وما قد ينشأ عن المبالغة في تحقيقه.

ولا يقتصر الحضور التاريخي لظاهرة طرد تفخيم الألف على ذلك؛ فهذه الظاهرة لها وجود واضح في بعض الساميات كاللغة العبرية التي تميل إلى تفخيم الألف بعد غير الصوامت المطبقة، كما في نحو: שָׁלוֹם (سلام) פְּרוֹת (أبقار) מְדֻרֹת (مدرسات) גְּדֻרֹת (سيدات) ... وهكذا. ضمة عبرية طويلة ممالاة חִזְלוֹם מְלוֹא.

ولغلبة ميل العبرية إلى طرد تفخيم الألف نجد أنّ علامة جمع المونث السالم فيها (التي تقابل الألف والتاء في العربية) هي תּוּم باستخدام الضمة الطويلة الممالاة الأنفة الذكر (תּוּ) بدلاً من الألف، فيقولون: בְּנוֹת (بنات) פְּרוֹת (أبقار) מְדֻרֹת (مدرسات) גְּדֻרֹת (سيدات) ... وهكذا. وأيضاً في بعض اللهجات العربية المعاصرة يشيع طرد تفخيم الألف، كما نجد في لهجة منطقة "الوحدات البحرية" بصحراء مصر الغربية (14) حيث يميل أهلها إلى تفخيم الألف ولو كان حقه التفخيم، فيفخّمونه في مختلف المواقع والصيغ الصرفية، نحو: عاد ومات ويسافر ويشارك وكامل وعابد وبارد ووالي ودائم وشباب وعيال وأمام وعبادة وعمليات وخرجات وقبائل وملاحق

(4) نهاية القول المفيد للشيخ محمد مكي نصر الجريسي ص128 وهداية القاري لعبد الفتاح المرصفي 1/118.

(5) التمهيد في علم التجويد ص92.

(6) انظر مناهج البحث في اللغة لتمام حسان ص90.

(7) انظر الأصوات اللغوية لإبراهيم أنيس ص43.

(8) <http://www.internationalphoneticalphabet.org/ipa-sounds/ipa-chart-with-sounds>

(9) تاج العروس: فخم، وانظر: أساس البلاغة للزمخشري: فخم.

(10) الكتاب 4/432.

(11) السابق، الصفحة نفسها.

(12) انظر: التمهيد لابن الجزري ص93 وإتحاف فضلاء البشر 1/133.

(13) المحتسب في تبيين وجوه شواذ القراءات والإيضاح عنها 1/142.

(14) المعتمد هنا هو الملاحظة المباشرة من الباحث.

ثانياً: إبدال السين صاداً

السين والصاد حرفان أسليان يخرجان بالتقاء طرف اللسان بالثنايا العيا أو السفلى بحيث يكون المجرى ضيقاً جداً فيخرج الهواء محدثاً الصفير العالي (15)، ولا يميز الصاد عن السين إلا ارتفاع مؤخر اللسان نحو الطبق، قال ابن جني "لولا لإطباق في الصاد لكانت سينا" (16).

ويكثر في لهجة ينبع إبدال السين صاداً، ويكون هذا مع السين غير المكسورة. ومن أمثلة هذا قولهم: صَيَّارَة (سَيَّارَة) – صَوْرَني (=سَوْرَني) في عاميات أخرى، قلت: ولعلها: ساوَرَني، أي واثنيني وأفزعني) – متصربع (متسرع)، غير أنّ الأكثر في هذا الوجه من الإبدال أن يكون فيما وقع فيه بعد السين في كلمتها حرفت استعلاء (وإن لم يكن تالياً لها) نحو: صاطع (ساطع) – صطر (سطر) – بصط (بسط) – صطح (سطح) – صخط (سخط) – صلخ (سلخ) – صاخن (ساخن) – يصخر (يسخر) ... وقد يقع هذا الإبدال أحياناً مع عدم تلؤ حرف استعلاء بل بمجرد وجود صوت له صفات قوية تناسب سمت الاستعلاء كما في نحو: صكر (سكر) – مصنكر (مسكر: مغلق)، حيث تقع الكاف الانفجارية بعد السين، والكاف مقاربة جداً للقاف في الصفات والمخرج (17).

وقد عقد سيبويه باباً لـ "ما تقلب فيه السين صاداً في بعض اللغات"، وأوضح أنّ السين تقلب إذا كان بعدها فاقاً لأنّ القاف "معتمداً على الحنك الأعلى، فلما كانت كذلك أبدلوا من موضع السين أشبه الحروف بالقاف، ليكون العمل من وجه واحد، وهي الصاد، لأن الصاد تصعد إلى الحنك الأعلى للإطباق" (18) أي أنّ هذا الإبدال سببه تخفيف العمل على الجهاز النطقي للمتكلم، وقد ألحق سيبويه بالقاف من الحروف المستعلية الخاء والغين لأنهما "بمنزلة القاف" (19) والطاء "لأنها في التصعد مثل القاف، وهي أولى بذا من القاف، لقرب المخرجين والإطباق" (20)، قال ابن مجاهد معللاً الإبدال مع الطاء "ليقربوها من الطاء لأن الطاء لها تصعد في الحنك وهي مطبقة والسين مهموسة وهي من حروف الصفير، فتقل عليهما أن يعمل اللسان منخفضاً ومستعلياً في كلمة واجدة، فقلبوها السين إلى الصاد لأنّها مواخبة للطاء في الإطباق ومناسبة للسين في الصفير، ليعمل اللسان فيهما متصعداً في الحنك عملاً واجداً" (21).

ويوجز المبرد هذه النكتة بأنّ السين إنما تقلب صاداً "للتقريب ممّا بعدها فإذا لقيها حرف من الحروف المستعلية قلبت معه ليكون تناولهما من وجه واحد" (22)، وهو بمعنى كلام سيبويه المتقدّم.

وقد كان قلب السين صاداً استعمالاً لهجياً قائماً عند قوم من بني تميم؛ قال سيبويه "وإنما يقولها من العرب بنو العنبر" (23) وقال الفراء "العرب جميعاً تقول: سَاق وسُوق وسُوق، بالسين، إلا نقرأ من بني العنبر من تميم؛ فإنهم يقولون: سَاق وصُوق وذهبُ الصُوق، إذا دخلت القاف مع السين صيروا السين صاداً" (24). ونقل ابن منظور عن الفراء أنّ قرينها كانت قديماً ربما تؤثر الصاد على السين "فمن ذلك قولهم الصراط والسراط، قال: وهي بالصاد لغة قرين الأولى التي جاء بها الكتاب، قال: وعامة العرب تجعلها سيناً" (25)، وجاء في اللسان أيضاً "قال محمد بن المستنير فطرب إن قوماً من بني تميم يقال لهم بلعنبر يقلبون السين صاداً عند أربعة أحرف؛ عند الطاء والقاف والغين والحاء إذا كُن بعد السين، ولا يُبالون أثنائية كُن أم ثالثة أم رابعة بعد أن يكُن بعدها" (26).

ويبدو أنّ جانباً من هذا الاستعمال اللهجي شاع في العربية حتى صرنا نجد في المعاجم تبادلاً مستقراً بين السين والصاد في كثير من الكلمات؛ مثل: القسطاس والقسطاس (الميزان)، والسحرة والصحرة (لون)، والسعوط والصعوط (دواء)، والسعتر والصعتر (نبات)، والمسطار والمصطار (الخمير الحامض)، ومن الأفعال: سَفَق وصَفَق (كثف)، وسلغت الدابة وصلغت (تمت أسناتها)، وسخب وصخب (صاخ)، وسغسغ وصغسغ رأسه بالدهن (رواه وشربه) ... (27)، حتى لقد قال ابن منظور "والصاد والسين بجوز في كل كلمة فيها خاء" (28).

(15) انظر الأصوات اللغوية لإبراهيم أنيس ص 68.

(16) سر صناعة الإعراب 254/1.

(17) انظر الكلام عن اشتباك مخرجي الكاف والقاف والناقش حوله في: علم الأصوات. د. كمال بشر ص 273 وما بعدها.

(18) الكتاب 480/4.

(19) السابق، الصفحة نفسها.

(20) السابق، الصفحة نفسها.

(21) السبعة لابن مجاهد ص 107.

(22) المقتضب 225/1.

(23) الكتاب 480/4.

(24) كتاب في لغات القرآن ص 142، وانظر لسان العرب: سطر.

(25) لسان العرب: سطر.

(26) لسان العرب: صدغ.

(27) انظر: الإبدال للزجاجي ص 60 وما بعدها والإبدال لأبي الطيب اللغوي 2 / 172 وما بعدها.

(28) اللسان: سخب.

وهذا الاستعمال له حضور قويٌّ أيضًا في القراءات القرآنية؛ فقد قرئ قوله تعالى جثَّ ثُجَّ الفاتحة: ٦٠ بالسين وبالصاد وبإشمام الصاد زايا(29) وقرئ قوله تعالى ج نوئُجُ البقرة: ٢٤٥ بالسين وبالصاد وبالوجهين(30)، وكذلك قرئ قوله تعالى ج ق ف ق ف ق ف الأعراف: ٦٩ (31)، وقرئ قوله تعالى ج ج ج ج الطور: ٣٧ ، بالصاد وبالسين وبالوجهين وبإشمام الصاد زايا(32)، وكذلك قرئ قوله تعالى ج ي ي ج الغاشية: ٢٢ (33).

ثالثاً: إبدال الذال دالا

الذال والذال حرفان متقاربان؛ فكلاهما مجهور غير أن الذال أسناني احتكاكي، أما الدال فحرفٌ أسناني لثوي انفجاري. ومن الظواهر الصوتية الملاحظة في لهجة ينبع شيوخ إبدال الذال دالا، بالمخالفة لنسق الفصحى وللسنق الغالب على اللهجات السعودية، ولا يختص حصول هذا الإبدال بموقع معين من الكلمة، فمن وقوعه في أول الكلمة قولهم: درة (ذرة) - ذهب (ذهب) - نحين (نحِين = هذا الحين) - دولا (دولا = هؤلاء) - ديب/دياب (ديب/ذياب) - دقن (دقن) - ديل (ذيل) - دراع (ذراع) - ذكر (ذكر) - دبان (ذبان). ومن إبدال الذال دالا في وسط الكلمة قولهم: هادا (هذا) - هادي (هذه) - أدبح (أذبح) - أهدر (أهدر "من الهذر") - يدوب (يدوب) - يدوق (يدوق). ومن إبدالها في آخر الكلمة قولهم: أخذ (أخذ) - فخذ (فخذ) - قنفذ (قنفذ). والتبادل بين الدال والذال له أمثلة كثيرة في المعجم العربي؛ من ذلك قول العرب: ما ذاق عدوفا/ عدوفا: أي ما ذاق شبيهاً، وادر عقت الخيل/ ادر عقت: أسرع، ورجلٌ حداح/ حداح: قصير، وذبر الكتاب/ ذبره: كتبه، والقنفذ/ القنفذ: الحيوان المعروف، وذهلٌ من الليل/ ذهل: قطعة، وذفت عليه/ ذفت: أجهز عليه، والمجداف/ المجداف: آلة السفينة المعروفة، ودحج الرجل/ دحجه: سحبه، وجدل الغلام/ جدل: ترعرع ... (34) وإبدال الذال دالا يطرد جوازه في بعض الأبنية الصرفية، قال ابن عصفور "وأما الدال فأبدلت من التاء والذال"(35)، وذلك مثل: اذكر وأخر؛ حيث يقول الصرفيون إن فاء الكلمة الأصلية (الذال) قد قلبت دالا وأدغمت في الدال المنقلبة عن تاء الافتعال، وكان الأصل: انتكر/ انتخر، ثم صارت: اذدكر/ اذدخر، ثم تحوّلت أخيراً بإبدال الذال دالا إلى: اذكر وأدخر. ويسمى هذا الوجه من الإبدال إبدال الإدغام (36). ومما وقع من هذا الوجه في القراءات القرآنية إبدال الذال دالا مع إدغامها في الدال التالية في قوله تعالى ج د د ثُج الكهف: ٣٩ وقوله جل شأنه ج و ج الذاريات: ٢٥ في قراءة أبي عمرو وابن عامر وهشام وحمزة والكسائي وخلف وبلاد وابن ذكوان وغيرهم(37). وبهذا الوجه قرئت دال "صاد" من قوله تعالى ج آ ب ب ب ج مريم: ١-٢ فالحرميان وأبو جعفر ويعقوب وعاصم يُظهرون ذال الهجاء عند الذال، والباقيون يقرءونها دالا مدغمة في الذال التي بعدها(38)، وكذلك الدال في قوله تعالى ج آ ب ج الأعراف: ١٧٩ قرئت بالوجهين؛ دالا وذالا مدغمة(39). وإبدال الذال دالا في لهجة ينبع ليس بدعاً، فهو - على الرغم من قلته في اللهجات المحلية - كثيرٌ في الخارطة العامة للهجات العربية المعاصرة، ودونك مثلاً اللهجة المصرية القاهرية - إحدى أشهر اللهجات العربية وأكثرها إلغاً وحضورا إعلامياً - يشيع فيها هذا النوع من الإبدال شيوعاً يختفي معه صوت "الذال" الفصيحة بصورة تامة لصالح صوتي الدال - غالباً - والزاي - أحياناً - "وقد أطرد هذا أطراداً يدعو إلى الدهشة"(40).

(29) انظر: السبعة لابن مجاهد ص105 والتيسير للداني ص19 والحجة لابن خالويه ص62.
(30) انظر: السبعة لابن مجاهد ص185-186 والتيسير للداني ص81 والنشر لابن الجزري 228/2 وما بعدها وإتحاف فضلاء البشر ص206.
(31) انظر: السبعة لابن مجاهد ص185-186 والنشر 228/2 وما بعدها وإتحاف فضلاء البشر ص285.
(32) انظر: السبعة لابن مجاهد ص613 والتيسير للداني ص204 والحجة لان خالويه ص335 والنشر 378/2.
(33) انظر: السبعة لابن مجاهد ص682 والتيسير للداني ص222 والنشر 378/2 وإتحاف فضلاء البشر ص519.
(34) انظر كتاب الإبدال لأبي الطيب اللغوي 1/353 وما بعدها.
(35) الممتع الكبير في التصريف ص236.
(36) سر صناعة الإعراب لابن جني 199/1 وانظر الممتع الكبير في التصريف ص237.
(37) انظر: السبعة لابن مجاهد ص119 و124، وإتحاف فضلاء البشر ص51 و712، وغيث النفع ص373 و565.
(38) انظر: السبعة لابن مجاهد ص406 والتيسير للداني ص148 وتحرير التيسير لابن الجوزي ص452 وإتحاف ص527.
(39) انظر: السبعة لابن مجاهد ص119 وتحرير التيسير ص231 وإتحاف ص51 وغيث النفع ص259.
(40) في اللهجات العربية لإبراهيم أنيس ص195.

رابعاً: إبدال هاء الضمير واوا

يشيع في لهجة ينبع - وبخاصة بين سكان "ينبع البحر"؛ قلب المنطقه - إبدال هاء الضمير واوا فيقال: قابلتُو (قابلته) - فينُو (فيه= أين هو؟) - قلمُو (قلمه) - أحترمُو (أحترمه) - كتبُو (كتبته) - قم لُو (قم له) - ناولُو (ناولته) - اضربُو (اضربه) - جلدُو (جلده) - في غيابو (في غيابه) - عند سيارتُو (عند سيارته) ... وهذا اللون من الإبدال شائع جدا في اللهجات العربية الحديثة - على الرغم من قلته في اللهجات السعودية - ومألوف السماع إعلاميا، وهو من السمات الصوتية البارزة في اللهجة القاهرية المصرية واللهجات الشامية واليمينية والمغربية، حتى إنه طغى على أي صورة لهجية أخرى لنطق هاء الضمير بله الصورة الأصلية الفصيحة. ومما تنبغى الإشارة إليه أن هذا الإبدال ليس تصرُّفا لهجيا وليد اللهجات الحديثة، بل لقد ظهر في اللهجات العربية من وقت متقدم، ونراه ظاهرا بكثرة في بعض الخرجات العامية لموشحات القرون الوسطى؛ مما جاء منه في الموشحات الأندلسية قول الأعمى التطيلي (ت525)(41):

يا ربّ ما أصبرني
لو كان يكون سنّة
نرى حبيب قلبي ونعشّو
فيمن لقي جُلُو يعشّو

ومن موشحات العصر الأيوبي قول ابن سناء الملك (ت606)(42):

مضى حبيبي وأين نصيبُو
من يحفظ الصبحة وأين نصيبُو
يمضي يجيبُو

ومن موشحات العصر المملوكي قول صلاح الدين الصفدي (ت764)(43):

ويلاه على من قتلُو
أو كان لها مئُو نصيبُو

ويثير النظر هاهنا أن محاولة عزو إبدال الهاء واوا - برغم قدم حضوره اللهجي نسبيا - إلى العربية الفصيحة لا تستقيم؛ فلم يكن هذا النوع من الإبدال سمنا للعربية الأولى ولهجاتها، ولم أعثر مما يدخل تحته على سوى ما أورده أبو الطيب اللغوي من أنه كان "يقال: رجل أجله وأجلى، للذي ينحسر الشَّعرُ عن مُقدّم رأسه، والجميغُ جُلُو وجُلّة. والوجيلُ والهجيلُ حفرةٌ يُستنقَعُ فيها الماء"(44).

لكن وجهها من التفسير ارتبأته قد يكون مريضاً؛ هو أن يكون أصل هذا الاستعمال اللهجي تلك اللغة الفصيحة التي أشار إليها بعض العلماء بأنها كانت تُشيع هاء الضمير حتى تتولد عنها واو كاملة؛ فقد ذكر الكسائي أن العرب تقول: فيه وفيه، ورؤي عن أبي الهيثم أن في هاء الضمير لغاتٍ منها أنه يقال: مررت به وبهؤ وكذلك يَصْرُبُهُ ويَصْرُبُهُؤ(45). وقد يجوز لنا أن نفترض أن الأصل كان انفراد هاء الضمير، ثم ظهرت الواو متصلة بها في بعض الاستعمالات اللهجية، ثم تُخَفِّف لاحقا من الهاء وبقيت الواو فقط مع ضمّ ما قبلها ممثلةً لضمير المفرد الغائب - في اللهجات العربية الحديثة - على نحو ما مثلنا من لهجة ينبع في أول الكلام، وفق التسلسل التطوري الآتي:

يضربُهُ ← يضربُهُ ← يضربُو
كتب له ← كتب لهُ ← كتب لُو
مررت به ← مررت بهُ ← مررت بُو

وثمة وجه آخر من التفسير أقل عملا؛ هو أن يكون إبدال هاء الضمير واوا تطورا طبيعيا طفيفا لوجه من نقل الحركة ورد به الشعر القديم، من مثل قول الراجز(46):

ما زال شيبان شديداً هَبَّصُهُ

حتى أتاه قرئُهُ فـوَقَّصُهُ

قال الفارابي "أراد فَوَقَّصَهُ فلما وقف على الهاء نقل حركتها وهي الضمة إلى الصاد قبلها فحركها بحركتها"(47). ومثله ما نُسب إلى أعشى همدان (48):

مَنْ دعا لي غزَّيْلِي أربح الله تجارئُهُ

ويبدو أن نقل هذه الحركة قد أصاب شيوعا استعماليا؛ يقول خالد الأزهرى "تقول في ضربته: ضربته في الشعر، وقد استعملته العامة في النثر"(49).

(41) جيش التوشيح لابن الخطيب ص45.

(42) ديوان الموشحات الفاطمية والأيوبية ص139.

(43) ديوان الموشحات المملوكية ص314.

(44) الإبدال لأبي الطيب اللغوي 462/2.

(45) اللسان: مادة ها.

(46) انظر: ديوان الأدب للفارابي 252/3، والصاح للجوهري: وقص، واللسان والتاج: وقص، وضرائر الشعر لابن عصفور ص187، وشرح التصريح على

التوضيح للشيخ خالد الأزهرى 628/2.

(47) ديوان الأدب 252/3، وانظر الصاح للجوهري: وقص.

(48) انظر: ضرائر الشعر لابن عصفور ص188.

(49) شرح التصريح على التوضيح 628/2.

وأطرادُ تحرك ما قبل هاء الضمير بالضمّ منطقيٌّ أن ينشأ عنه اختفاءً للماء واستطالةً للضمّة المنقولة حتى تصير واوا محتلةً موقع الضمير، وهنا يصبح إبدال هاء الضمير واوا – على افتراض وقوع نقل لضمّة الضمير – تطورا صوتيا سلسا مقبول التفسير، وفق المتواليّة الآتية:

ضربُه ← ضربُه ← ضربُو
كتبُه ← كتبُه ← كتبُ لو
عند سيارته ← عند سيارته ← عند سيارتُو

خامسا: إبدال القاف غينا والغين قافا

القاف صوت لهوي انفجاري مهموس، يتصل في نطقه أدنى الحلق (بما فيه اللهاة) بأقصى اللسان. (50) والغين صوت احتكاكي مجهور يخرج من الطبق أو أقصى الحنك، أو ما أطلق عليه سيبويه أدنى الحلق (51). فنجد التقارب بينهما في المخرج كبيرا. ولأجل هذا التقارب الواضح بين الصوتين وقع تبادلٌ بينهما في المعجم العربي؛ فيقال: غمسه في الماء وقمسه، وصلخت الدابة وصلقت إذا أتمت أسنانها، وقدم وغدم إذا أكثر عطاء المال، والغلفة والغلفة ما يقطع الخائن، ونشق ونشغ أي استعط سعوطا، وتزيقت المرأة وتزيغت أي تجملت وتزيّنت، والوقب والوغب هو الرجل الأحمق، والغمر والغمر من الناس الرذل الذي لا خير فيه، وغلغل في الأرض وقلقل إذا ذهب. (52).

ومن الظواهر الصوتية الموجودة في لهجة ينبع إبدال القاف غينا والغين قافا، وينتشر هذا الإبدال بصورة خاصة بين أبناء قبيلة "الصبوح" – والنسب إليها "صبيحي" –، وهم مكوّن كبير من المكوّنات الديمغرافية لنبع، وهم فرع من قبيلة "حرب" الكبرى المنتشرة في محافظات منطقة المدينة المنورة وما حولها (53). ومن الأمثلة التي جمعناها لإبدال القاف غينا: غددير (قديري) – غليل (قليل) – غديم (قديم) – غلب (قلب) – غايم (قايم) – غفاز (قفاز) – غشّ (قش) – غم (قلم) – غلغة (قلقة) – غران (قرآن) – عبد الغادر (عبد القادر) – غيلولة (قيلولة) – غمر (قمر) – الغوم (قوم) – الغرية (القرية).

وهذا النوع من الإبدال شائع أيضا في بعض لهجات السودان وجنوب العراق والخليج (54)، ويرجح د. إبراهيم أنيس أنّ هذا النطق – نُطق القاف مشوبةً بالغين – أصدق تمثيلا للقاف العربية الفصيحة المجهورة من النطق الذي ينطق به قراء القرآن ونحوهم من مستعملي الفصحى حيث ينطق هؤلاء القاف مهموسة (55)، فمن خلال وصف القدماء للقاف بأنها شديدة مجهورة "نفترض أنّ القاف الأصلية كانت تشبه ذلك الصوت المجهور الذي نسمعه الآن من بعض القبائل السودانية ثم هُمس مع توالي الزمن فأدّى إلى ما نعهده في قراءتنا" (56).

وإذا كان إبدال القاف غينا بهذه المنزلة من السواغ والمقبولية فإنّ عكسه – إبدال الغين قافا – يكاد يكون تصرفا لهجيا خالصا لا وجود له في العربية الفصيحة. ولغرابية الظاهرة وندرتهما نسجل لها هاهنا مما جمعنا من اللهجة محلّ الدراسة أمثلة كثيرة: قراب (غراب) – فُترة (غُترة) – قيث (غِيث) – قنم (غنم) – قبي (غبي) – قازي (غازي) – قُبار (غبار) – قلط (غلط) – قالي (غالي) – قرفة (غرفة) – قربل (غربل) – قرق (غرق) – قرام (غرام) – قزوت (غزوت) – قروب (غروب) – قداء (غداء) – قناء (غناء) – قطس (غطس) – قصن (غصن) – قيم (غيم) – قيب (غيب) – قرية (غُربة) – قامدي (غامدي) – قُرفة (غُرفة) – قلا (غلا) – قائم (غانم) – تقبير (تغيير) – قيط (غيظ).

وهذا الوجه من الإبدال نادرٌ في اللهجات العربية "نجده في بعض لهجات اليمن وجنوب العراق وعند قبائل الدليم في محافظة الأنبار العراقية" (57)، وقد عزا د. هادي العلوي وجود هذا الإبدال في لهجات عراقية إلى تأثير الهجرات اليمنية (58).

وهذا التعليل الأخير يمكننا استنساخه في دراستنا هذه إذا صحّ أنّ قبيلة "حرب" – التي ينحدر عنها "الصبوح" أكثر من يظهر لديهم هذا الإبدال النادر – هي في الأصل قبيلة يمنية خولانية قحطانية تنسب إلى حرب بن سعد بن خولان، كانت منازلهم في صعدة في اليمن ثم نزحوا إلى الحجاز إثر خلاف بينهم وبين أبناء عمّهم الربيعة بن سعد سنة 131هـ. (59)

(50) انظر: الأصوات العربية لإبراهيم أنيس ص72.

(51) انظر: الأصوات العربية لإبراهيم أنيس ص72، وانظر: الكتاب لسبويه 433/4.

(52) انظر: الإبدال لأبي الطيب اللغوي 328/2 واللسان والتاج وغيرهما في مواد المفردات المذكورة.

(53) انظر: نسب حرب للشيخ عاتق البلادي ص63.

(54) انظر: المعجم العربي الجديد لهادي العلوي ص34.

(55) انظر: الأصوات العربية لإبراهيم أنيس ص72.

(56) السابق، الصفحة نفسها.

(57) المعجم العربي الجديد ص34.

(58) المعجم العربي الجديد ص35.

(59) انظر: نسب حرب للبلادي ص19 و110.

وينبغي أن ننبه هاهنا إلى أن لهجة هؤلاء يجتمع فيها الإبدالان جميعاً؛ إبدال القاف غينا والغين قافاً، وهذه الصورة المزدوجة لا تكاد تجدها في لهجة عربية حتى إن صاحب "المعجم العربي الجديد" يُدلُّ بأنه وقف "على جماعةٍ من جنوب العراق يُبدلون القاف غينا والغين قافاً فيقولون: غاسم في قاسم، وقير في غير" (60).

سادساً: إبدال الناء تاء

بين التاء والهاء قرابة صوتية قوية؛ فيجمعهما الهمس والتقارب الشديد في المخرج، فالهاء أسنانية احتكاكية مهموسة والتاء لثوية أسنانية انفجارية، والضعف في الإسماع مع صوت التاء سببه الهمس والاحتكاك مما يتطلب زيادة في كمية الهواء وزيادة المجهود العضلي بإخراج طرف اللسان ليكون بين الأسنان، ولعل هذا مما يفسر اللجوء إلى صوت مُقارب (كالتاء) يقوم مقامه في بعض الكلمات.

وفي لهجة ينبع يكثر إبدال الناء تاء؛ فمن ذلك ما سُمع من قولهم: تلج (تلج)، تقيل (تقيل)، توم (توم)، توب (توب)، بعث (بعث)، تَمَن (تَمَن)، مشعت (مشعت)، تَأر (بتحقيق الهمزة= تَأر)، خبيث (خبيث)، تلت (تلت).

وقد تبين لنا بالتتبع أن هذا الإبدال ليس مطّرداً، فكثير من أهل اللهجة ينطقون مثل الكلمات المتقدمة بالهاء حيناً وبالإبدال تاء حيناً آخر، وهذه الاختيارية في الإبدال تستدعي إلى الذهن ذلك النقاش الذي أثير حول قول السموال اليهودي:

ينفع الطيبُ القليل من الرزق ولا ينفع الكثير الخبيثُ

فقد "سأل الخليل الأصمعي عن (الخبيث) في هذا البيت، فقال له: أراد (الخبيث)، وهي لغة خَبِير، فقال له الخليل: لو كان لغتهم لقال: الكثير، وإنما كان ينبغي لك أن تقول: إنهم يقلبون الناء تاء في بعض الحروف" (61) وفي رواية أكثر تفصيلاً أن الخليل قال "أسأت في العبارة لأنك أطلقت من لغته أن يُبدل الناء تاء فعممت بالبدل، ولو كان ذلك للزمه أن يقول (الكثير) في (الكثير)، وأنت تزويه (الكثير)، وإنما الجيد أن تقول: يُبدلون الناء تاء في أحرف منها (الخبيث)" (62). وواضح من هذا النقاش أن هذا الإبدال كان في العربية الأولى اختيارياً كما هو الحال في اللهجة محل الدراسة.

وتنبغي الإشارة إلى أن هذه اللغة لم تكن مقصورة على أهل خيبر، بل كانت كذلك "الغة قريظة والنضير" (63) من سكان المدينة، وقد أورد الخليل هذا الإبدال مطلقاً دون إضافة إلى قوم بأعيانهم؛ قال "والخبيث من الأشياء الحقيق الرديء... وهو الخبيث بالهاء أيضاً" (64).

وقد وردت أمثلة كثيرة عن العرب وقع فيها التبادل بين الناء والتاء؛ من ذلك: الجفت والحفت (كرش البعير)، ومثلهما الفجت والفجت، والكنثج والكنثج (الأحمق)، وتَع (قاه)، والتغتعة والتغتعة (ثقل اللسان)، وكحتته الريح وكحتته (سفت عليه التراب)، ووثن بالمكان ووثن (أقام)، والخنثة والخنثة (أسفل البطن)، ورثم أنفه ورثمه (كسره) (65).

وإبدال الناء تاء مشهورٌ في اللهجات العربية الحديثة، وهو من أوضح الإبدالات في لهجات مصر والشام، فيقولون: تَعَلب (تَعَلب)، برغوت (برغوت)، حديث (حديث)، تلج (تلج)، تقيل (تقيل)، جتة (جتة)، كُرَات (كرات)، توم (توم)، توب (توب)، التفل (الثفل)، بعث (بعث)، تَمَن (تَمَن)، تلت (تلت)، اتنين (اتنين)، ثلاثة (ثلاثة)... وقد فقدت معظم اللهجات المصرية صوت الناء مستبدلة به صوت التاء "وقد أطرد هذا أطراداً يدعو إلى الدهشة" (66).

(60) المعجم العربي الجديد ص35.

(61) المحكم والمحيط الأعظم لابن سيده 155/5 وانظر اللسان: خبت.

(62) المخصص لابن سيده 298/1.

(63) المخصص لابن سيده 298/1.

(64) انظر العين 241/4.

(65) انظر الإبدال لأبي الطيب 94/1 وما بعدها وإحالات المحقق (د. عز الدين التنوخي) وإضافاته في الهوامش.

(66) في اللهجات العربية لإبراهيم أنيس ص195.

سابعاً: إبدال أحد المثلثين المدغمين حرفاً مختلفاً

سُمعت بعضُ الكلمات في لهجة ينبع فيها تخلُّصٌ من ثقل التضعيف بفكّه إلى حرفين أحدهما أجنبي؛ ومن ذلك قولهم: أمرغ (= أمرغ) - متصربع (متصربع = متسرّع) - مصنقر (مصنقر = مسكّر)، وقد أبدل تضيعف الراء في المثال الأول دالا وفي المثال الثاني باءً وأبدل تضيعف الكاف في المثال الثالث نونا مع تقديم النون على الكاف.

وهذا التصرفُ اللهجي للتخلص من ثقل التضعيف ليس بدعاً قديماً ما كانت العرب تنحو إلى مثل هذا؛ ذلك "أنَّ التضعيف يُثقل على ألسنتهم، وأن اختلاف الحروف أخفّ عليهم من أن يكون من موضع واحد" (67). قال ابن السكيت "قال أبو عبيدة: العربُ تقلب حروف المضاعف إلى الياء، فيقولون تظنّيت وإنما هي: تظننت، قال العجاج:

تقضيّ البازي إذا البازي كسر

أراد: تقضُّض، فاستقل ثلاث ضاداتٍ فيدلّ إحداهنَّ ياء" (68).

ونقل عن أبي عبيدة أيضاً قوله في (التصديفة) "و(فعلت) منه صددتُ أصدُّ، ومنه قوله عزّ وجلّ {إذا قومك منه يصدون} أي يعبّون، فحوّل إحدى الدالين ياء في التصديفة"، وعن ابن الأعرابي أنه "أنشد

تزوُّ امرءاً أما الإله فينتي

وأما بفعل الصالحين فيأتي

أراد: فيأتهم" (69).

وقد أورد ابن السكيت وروى أمثلة كثيرة لما فكّ تضيعفه إلى حرف علة؛ منها: كع وكاع (قر) - أمّل وأملى (من الإملاء) - مُحسٌ ومُحسٌ (من أحسن = شغز) - دَمٌ وذامٌ - جَلٌ وجلا (رحل) - دَوِيّةٌ ودأوية (للصحراء) - طَامَة وطامية (للبنر) - طَمٌ وطَمَى (للنهر إذا فاض) (70).

ويقترض بعضُ علماء اللغة المحدثين أنَّ المعجم العربي يحوي جذورا كثيرة ناشئة عن فكّ التضعيف إلى حروف غير معتلة، وذلك وفقا لما يُعرف بقانون "المخالفة" الصوتي، وفي هذا الصدد يفترض هورويتر "أن تكون الكلمات العربية الكبيرة البنية التي تشتمل على راء، أو لام أو نون أو ميم قد تولدت نتيجة عامل المخالفة بين صوتين متماثلين. وهو يمثل لذلك بالكلمات الآتية: حرجل (حجّل)، وجلمد (جمّد)، وعنكب (عكّب)، وعرقب (عقّب)، وقرمط (قمط)، وقلطح (فطّح)" (71).

وعلى الرغم من وجود مثل هذه الافتراضات تظلّ مسائل فكّ التضعيف حينا واستبقائه حينا، وعدم وجود نظام واضح يحكم عملية اختيار الصوت البديل، وعدم اطراد النظائر - ولو نسبياً - في هذا الباب = دليلا على سمة الارتجال والعشوائية في كثير من الظواهر والتصرفات اللّهجية.

ثامناً: إبدالات متفرقة

سُمعت نماذج من الإبدال في لهجة "ينبع" لا تنضوي تحت تصنيف واحد؛ ومن الكلمات التي يشملها هذا الوصف:

أبجز (ابتعد)

هناك احتمال أن يكون أصل الكلمة (ابجز)، يقال: بجز عينه وبخسها وبخصها إذا فقأها، والمعنى على هذا: غُضَّ طرفك وبالغ في الإقصار والانكفاء.

وأقرب منه أن يكون أصلها (ابعد)، وهو أقرب إلى المعنى اللهجي المذكور؛ إذ من معاني (بعد): ابتعد، وهلك، والعرب تقول في الدعاء: لا تبعد، يدعون بطول البقاء (72).

وهذا التحول من (بعد) إلى (بجز) مفهومٌ تأسيساً على التقارب الصوتي بين الحاء والعين وبين الزاي والذال؛ أما الزاي والذال فمتقاربان صفةً ومخرجاً، فكلاهما لثوي مجهور مرقق، وقد ورد عن العرب إبدال الدال زايًا في نحو قولهم: هو بدياته وبيازانه (بجواره)، والردغة والرذغة (الأرض الموحلة)، وامتدع وامتزع (انتزع)، ودلخت الإبل وزلخت (سمنت)، وندغته بكلمة ونزغته (أوجعته)، ولكده ولكزه (ضربه بجُمع يده)، والخذرتق والخزرنق (العنكبوت)، والثبر والزبر (الخطّ) (73).

(67) الكتاب 4/417.

(68) القلب والإبدال (ضمن مجموع الكنز اللغوي الذي نشره أوجست هفتر) ص58.

(69) السابق ص59.

(70) انظر السابق ص60-61.

(71) دراسة الصوت اللغوي لأحمد مختار عمر ص384-385 نقلا عن:

Hurwitz, S.T.H. Root – Determinatives in Semitic Speech, U.S.A., 1913.

(72) لسان العرب: بعد.

(73) الإبدال لأبي الطيب اللغوي 366/1 وما بعدها، وانظر اللسان في مواد المفردات المذكورة.

وأما الحاء والعين فكلاهما حلقي احتكاكي، ولا يفرق بينهما إلا الجهر في العين والهمس في الحاء، ولهذا التقارب الشديد بينهما قال الخليل "الولا بحة في الحاء لأشبهت العين لقرب مخرجها منها" (74)، وقال ابن جني عن الحاء "... فيها من البحة التي يجري معها النفس، وليست كالعين التي تحصر النفس، وذلك لأن الحاء مهموسة ومضارة بالحلقي والهمس للهاء الخفية وليست فيها نضاعة العين ولا جهرها" (75).

وقد ورد إبدال العين حاء في بعض القراءات؛ فقد قرأ ابن مسعود "نعم" الجوابية بإبدال العين حاء وحكاه النضر بن شميل عن العرب (76)، وقرأ رضي الله عنه كذلك جؤ وؤ و زج العاديات: ٩ بالحاء (بُحَثْر) وقرأها نصر بن عاصم (بُحَثْر) على البناء للفاعل (77).

وورد هذا الإبدال في عرض كلام العرب كثيرا؛ "ومما قالت العرب تصديقا لهذا في الإدغام قول بني تميم: مُحْمٌ، يريدون: معهم، ومخاولاء، يريدون: مع هؤلاء" (78) ومما حفظته المعاجم من ذلك قولهم: نزل بحراه وعراه (في كنفه)، وضبحت الخيل وضبعت (عدت)، وحذس في الأرض وعدس (ذهب)، والحكدة والعكدة (أصل اللسان)، وذخ ودغ (دفع)، والزصح والرصح (صغر الألبتين)، والجزج والعرج (الإبل الكثيرة)، وكشح القوم وكشغوا (تفرقوا)، وحشك الشيء وعشكه (جمعه)، وجغفله وجغفه (صرعه)، وسيل فحاف وقعاف (جارف) (79).

الهيئة (الهيئة)

العين صوت حلقي احتكاكي مجهور، يقترب في نطقه لسان المزمار اقترابا شديدا من الجدار الخلفي للحلق، أما الهمزة فصوت حنجري انفجاري؛ حيث إن مخرجه من الوترين الصوتيين فلا يوصف بجهر أو همس، وقد عدهما سيبويه من أقصى الحلق (80).

وقلب الهمزة عينا لم يرد عن العرب في مفردات محدودة، بل هو لغة قديمة مشهورة تُعرف بالنعنة، وتُعزى إلى تميم وغيرها؛ قال ابن منظور "وعن تميم إبدالهم العين من الهمزة كقولهم عن يريدون أن"، وذكر أبياتا شواهد وروايات حديثة، ثم قال "وقال الفراء... وتميم وقيس وأسد ومن جاورهم يجعلون ألف (أن) إذا كانت مفتوحة عينا يقولون أشهد عنك رسول الله...، قال ابن الأثير كأنهم يفعلون لبحح في أصواتهم" (81).

وليست هذه الظاهرة "النعنة" خاصة بأن، بل نص العلماء عليها في غير هذا الموضوع؛ "قال الكسائي: يُقال كان ذلك منا عنفة بالصيم وعنفه بضمين واعتبافا: أي اثتافا فلبت الهمزة عينا وهذه هي عنفة بني تميم... قال الليث: وبعض بني تميم يقول اعنتف الأمر بمعنى اثنتفه وهذه هي العنفة" (82)، "ويقال: كعصنا عند فلان ما شئنا وكأصنا، أي أكلنا. قال أبو حاتم: هي همزة قلبت عينا لأن بني تميم ومن يليهم يحققون الهمزة حتى تصير عينا، وذلك قولهم: عني، في معنى أتي... وتقول بنو تميم: هذا خباعنا، يُريدون: خباؤنا" (83).

فُرم (فُرن)

النون والميم صوتان أنفيان مجهوران، غير أن الميم لثوية والميم شفوية.

والتبادل بين النون والميم ظاهرة شائعة في المعجم العربي الفصيح؛ من ذلك قولهم: أيم وأين (للحية)، والغيم والغين (للسحاب)، وماء أجن وأجم (متغير)، والحلان والحلام (للجدي الصغير)، وامثع لوئيه واتثع (تغير)، والمدى والندی (الغاية)، والحزم والحزن (للأرض الغليظة)، وأسود قاتم وقاتن (شديد السواد)، وحنظل وحمظل (للنبات المعروف). (84)

وينبغي هاهنا أن نلاحظ وجود مواقع متعددة يطرد فيها قلب النون ميما؛ كما إذا وقعت النون ساكنة وبعدها باء (مثل: من بعد) أو ميم (مثل: من ما)، وهما الظاهرتان المعروفتان في علم تجويد القرآن بالإقلاب والإدغام.

(74) العين 57/1.

(75) سر صناعة الإعراب 254/1.

(76) الجني الداني في حروف المعاني للمرادي ص 506..

(77) البحر المحيط لأبي حيان 530/10.

(78) الكتاب 450/4.

(79) الإبدال لأبي الطيب اللغوي 292/1 وما بعدها، وانظر اللسان في مواد المفردات المذكورة.

(80) الكتاب 433/4.

(81) انظر اللسان: عنن.

(82) تاج العروس: عنف.

(83) جمهرة اللغة لابن دريد 886/2.

(84) انظر: القلب والإبدال لابن السكيت (ضمن مجموع الكنز اللغوي الذي نشره أوجست هفتر) ص 17 وما بعدها، والإبدال والمعاقبة والنظائر للزجاجي ص 99 وما بعدها، والإبدال لأبي الطيب اللغوي 423/2 وما بعدها.

نتائج الدراسة

انتهت بنا هذه التطوافة مع لهجة منطقة "ينبع" إلى جملة من النتائج؛ أهمها وأعمها:
 أن التصرف اللهجي لا ينبع قاعدة "طلب الأخت" دائما، بل ربما نشأ عنه إعناتٌ وتثقل - كطرد تفخيم الألف وقلب السين صادًا -، وهذا يدل على أن تكون اللهجات مرتبطة بعوامل كثيرة مركبة ومعقدة منها اللغوي وغير اللغوي.
 أن التنوعات اللهجية المختلفة لا تنفك تنزع إلى أصول عربية معتبرة، ولا تكاد تجد ظاهرة لهجية غريبة بصورة كاملة عن أصل اللغة.
 أن التطور اللغوي التاريخي في حركية وحيوية دائمة، بحيث تجد كثيرا من السمات والظواهر اللغوية لا تكاد تختفي أو تندثر في مرحلة زمنية أو منطقة ما = حتى تعاود الظهور والانبعاث في ظروف وسياقات زمانية ومكانية أخرى، وهذه الحركة الدؤوب مستمرة باستمرار اللغة نفسها وحيّة حياة مستعملها.

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FALL 2021
ISSUE 1

UK BRIGHT HORIZONS

Publishing House

UNIVERSAL SQUARE BUSINESS CENTRE
Devonshire St., Manchester, M12 6JH