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Towards a Model for Analyzing and Assessing Translation of Qur'anic Idiomatic Phrasal Verbs

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Abstract

This paper focuses on developing a working model for analysing and assessing translation of Qur'anic Idiomatic Phrasal Verbs (QIPVs). It demonstrates that there are two categories of QIPVs: metaphorical and figurative. The former falls under the definition of 'metaphor' and fulfils its two purposes (referential and pragmatic) and three components (object, image, and sense). The latter category does not meet these criteria yet, IS still, semantically non-transparent. Drawing on the speech acts theory and the contrastive analysis approach; the model attends to these two categories from semantic and pragmatic perspectives. The author argues that adequacy of equivalents given to the QIPVs should be determined according to closeness to the intended meaning ascribed by the authoritative exegetical and lexicographical works (*tertium comparationis*). Semantically speaking, the closeness to denotative meaning should be considered since it reflects the informative level of meaning, and has to be given priority over the other levels of meaning, i.e. expressive and aesthetic. Pragmatically speaking, adequacy should be measured according to faithfulness to connotative meaning. Equivalents provided to QIPVs in a corpus of ten English translations of the Qur'an are closely scrutinised. The results reveal that the majority of equivalents demonstrate semantic deviation, overtranslation, undertranslation, and miscalculation of the intended conversational implicature.

Key Words: figurative Qur'anic phrasal verbs, Idiomaticity, metaphorical Qur'anic phrasal verbs, tertium comparationis, translating Qur'anic idiomatic phrasal verbs

1. Introduction

Idiomatic expressions, in any given language, constitute translators' biggest headache due to their semantic, and pragmatic complexity. This complexity is doubled when they occur in scriptures to be utilised in an idiosyncratic manner and encumbered with sociolinguistic connotations. This paper will focus on one of the most significant aspects of idiomaticity in Arabic that is Qur'anic Idiomatic Phrasal Verbs (QIPVs). The aim here is to depict a working model for analysing and assessing translation of such challenging expressions.

1.1 English Idiomatic Phrasal Verbs (EIPVs)

A strange phenomenon occurring in English language was observed by English linguists in the eighteenth century in which proper verbs and adverbial particles syntactically and semantically collocate to generate a unit of meaning that is totally different from the sum of the literal meanings of that verbs and particles. Since then, this phenomenon has been labelled as idiomatic English Phrasal Verb (EPVs), and become the focus of the English scholars in such fields as grammar, linguistics, pedagogy, and lexicography[i]. Those scholars have provided comprehensive definitions of the phenomenon. The crux of their definitions is that EPVs are a combination of two or three elements (a verb + a preposition, a verb + an adverb, or a verb + an adverb + a preposition), which functions as a single unit of meaning in the sense that its meaning cannot be inferred from the total sum of the meanings of its separate elements (Aldahesh 2009). Examples of this phenomenon include: *to carry out, to carry on, to turn up, to turn on, to turn off, to sort out, to give up, to give in, to give away, to get away with, to black out, to tip off, to take off, to take in, to put up with,* etc.

1.2 Arabic Idiomatic Phrasal Verbs (henceforth AIPVs)

Unlike English, Arabic does not allow proper verbs to combine with adverbs. It allows them, however, to combine with prepositions '*ḥurūf al-Jarr'*. Illustrative examples include: *ʾatā ʿalā* (to destroy, to finish), *ʾatā min* (to come from), *ʾatā bi-* (to bring), *naẓara ʾilā* (to look at), *naẓara fī* (to investigate). In spite of the fact that these combinations are rather common, frequent and widely used in both written and spoken Arabic, Arabic linguists do not group them under a particular heading [ii].

The main semantic feature of AIPVs is that the prepositions modify to a great degree the basic meanings of the verbs with which they combine. Their affect on verbs causes a "semantic transfer" to the extent that they change their dictionary meanings (Dāwood 2002: I, 6; Lentzner 1977: 161). Hence, altering a given preposition entails altering the meaning of the whole combination. It is not uncommon in Arabic to see verbs that take one preposition for one meaning, and another preposition for other meanings. E.g. *raghiba fī* (to desire something), and *raghiba ʿan* (to detest something) (Cf. Lentzner 1977: 155-195). In other words, there is a semantic interaction between the verb and the preposition. This interaction plays a vital role in determining the degree of the AIPVs' idiomaticity. Let us illustrate this by means of examples taken from the Qurʾan:

(أولئك الذين امتحن الله قلوبهم للتقوى) (الحجرات: ٣)

ʾUlāʾika allathīna ʾimtaḥana Allahu qulūbahumu li al-taqwā '… whose hearts God has proved to be aware' (Q. 49:3) (Abdel Haleem 2010, p. 516).

The prepositions *li-* in this example has changed the original significance of the verb *imtaḥana* 'lit. to examine or evaluate something' into a new significance that is 'to prepare something for something else' [iii].

Another semantic feature is that Arabic verb-preposition combinations are of two distinct categories, namely: idiomatic (metaphorical/figurative/ non-transparent) and non-idiomatic (literal/transparent). The first category is a verb-preposition combination where the verb changes its basic meaning to form a new single unit of meaning with the preposition. This new meaning is utterly different from the lateral meanings of the verb and the preposition. The meaning of the verb *amsaka*, (literally: 'to catch'), for instance, turns out to be 'to stop' when combining with the preposition *ʿan* as in: *wa lisānuhā lā yumsiku ʿan al-tilāwati* 'and her tongue does not stop reciting the Qurʾan' (Maḥfūẓ 1991: 328, My translation). The second category is a verb-preposition combination in which the verb and the preposition retain their basic meanings. A good example is the combination *haraba min* 'to escape from' in: *wa ʾahrubu min al-mawti* 'and I escape from the death' (Adonīs 1996, My translation). It is worth mentioning that since both the literal and idiomatic types of structure share the same syntactic properties, the distinction between them is confined to their semantic peculiarities. The non-idiomatic/literal type of the combination is a mere verb plus a preposition combination thus it is excluded from the phenomenon of AIPVs and falls out of the scope of this study.

It is important to say that the context in which the Arabic verb-preposition combinations are employed plays a significant role in determining their idiomaticity. Thus, for understanding whether a given Arabic verb-preposition combination is used literally or metaphorically, one needs to take into consideration the surrounding context of that combination.

Another important semantic feature of AIPVs is that their significance is affected by four different variables: 1) the original significance of the verb, 2) the contextual significance of the verb, 3) the associated meaning of the preposition (the special meaning understood from the preposition as a result of its combination with a verb), and 4) the object governed by the preposition, whether it is a human or non-human, indicating time or indicating place etc. (Cf. Al-Shamsān 1986: 252 & 747; and Dāwood 2002: I, 21-22). This intricate and multifaceted relationship between the Arabic verbs and prepositions has been approach by Arabic classical and modern grammarians by attending to four different but interrelated factors, namely: *al-taʿalluq* (verb-preposition relation/attachment/dependency), *al-taʿaddī* (verb transitivity), *al-ināba* (preposition substitution) and *al-taḍmīn* (verb implication). Going into these factors in detail falls beyond the scope of this paper.

1.3 Qur'anic Idiomatic Phrasal Verbs (henceforth QIPVs)

The QIPVs are AIPVs that are characterised by the very Qur'an-specific features. They are of two types with regard to their word order patterns, namely: non-split and split depending upon the preposition's location in a given Qur'anic structure. In the non-split type of QIPVs the preposition is located right after the verb with which it combines. The non-split falls into several syntactic patterns depending upon the verb (i.e., transitivity, tense, and voice) and the number of prepositions with which they combine. These patterns are illustrated in what follows:

Intransitive Present Active Verb + Preposition

(يكاد سنا برقه يذهب بالأبصار) (النور: ٤٣)

Yakādu sana barqihi yathhabu bi al-abṣār (Q. 24:43).
" … the flash of its lightning almost snatches sight away" (Abdel Haleem 2010, p. 356)
In the split type of QIPVs, however, the preposition is not located immediately after the verb with which it combines. It is rather separated from it by one or more constituents. The split type falls into a number of syntactic patterns depending upon the type of the verb (i.e., transitivity, tense, and voice), the number of constituents, and the number of prepositions that come after that verb. These patterns are illustrated in what follows:
Intransitive Present Active Verb + Agent + Object + Preposition

(فلا تذهب نفسك عليهم حسرات) (فاطر: ٨)

Fa lā tuthhib nafsaka ʿalayhi hasarāt (Q. 35:8).

"… do not waste your soul away with regret for them" (Abdel Haleem 2010, p. 436).

Semantically speaking, given the nature of Qur'an as a book of guidance that deals with a wide range of human activates, thoughts, feelings, beliefs, and human relation with the surrounding world, we find it quite difficult to confine the usage of QIPVs in the Qur'anic discourse to a limited number of semantic fields. The QIPVs have been employed in diverse semantic fields throughout the Qur'an. The major semantic fields of QIPVs include, but not limited to, the following field: (Cf. Dāwood, 2002, pp.1: 71-72):

- *Movement* (Concrete), e.g.,

(وقالوا لإخوانهم إذا ضربوا في الأرض أو غزى) (آل عمران: ١٥٦)

Wa qālū li ikhwānihim ithā ḍarabū fi al-alrḍi ʾaw kānū ghuzā (Q. 3:156).
"… and said of their brothers who went out on a journey or raid" (Abdel Haleem, p. 71)

- *Movement* (Metaphorical), e.g.,

(لا يأتيه الباطل من بين يديه ولا من خلفه) (فصلت: ٤٢)

Lā yaʾtihi al-bāṭilu min bayni yadayhi wa lā min khalfihi (Q. 41:42).
"… which falsehood cannot touch from any angle" (Abdel Haleem 2010, p. 482)

- *Speech*, e.g.,

(فإذا ذهب الخوف سلقوكم بألسنة حداد) (الأحزاب: ١٩)

Fa ʾithā thahaba al-khawfu salaqūkumu bi alsinatin ḥidād (Q. 33:19).
"… when fear has passed, they attack you with sharp tongues" (Abdel Haleem 2010, p. 421)

- *Natural sounds*, e.g.,

(ومثل الذين كفروا كمثل الذي ينعق بما لا يسمع إلا دعاء ونداء) (البقرة: ١٧١)

Wa mathalu al-lathīna kafarū ka mathali al-lathī yanʿiqu bi mā lā yasmaʿu illā duʿāʾan wa nidāʾ (Q. 2: 171).
"Calling to disbelievers is like a herdsman calling to things that hear nothing but a shout and cry" (Abdel Haleem 2010, p. 27)

- *Cognition* (Mental), e.g.,

(ألم تر إلى الذي حاج إبراهيم في ربه أن آتاه الله الملك) (البقرة: ٢٥٨)

ʾAlam tara ʾilā al-lathī hājja ʾIbrāhima fī rabbihi ʾan ʾātāhu Allahu al-mulk (Q. 2:258).
"[Prophet], have you not thought about the man who disputed God had given him power to rule?" (Abdel Haleem 2010, p. 44).

- *Cognition* (Sensual), e.g.,

(وكذلك أعثرنا عليهم ليعلموا أن وعد الله حق) (الكهف: ٢١)

Wa kathālika ʾaʿtharna ʿalayhimu li yaʿlamu ʾanna waʿda Allahi ḥaq (Q. 18:21).
"In this way We brought them to people's attention so that they might know that God's promise [of resurrection] is true" (Abdel Haleem 2010, p. 297)

- *Feelings*, e.g.,

(ألم نشرح لك صدرك) (الشرح: ١)

ʾAlam nashraḥ laka ṣadrak (Q. 94:1).
"Did we not relieve your heart for you" (Abdel Haleem 2010, p. 597)

- *Disobedience*, e.g.,

ومن يكفر بالإيمان فقد حبط عمله وهو في الآخرة من الخاسرين (المائدة: ٥)

Wa man yakfur bi al-ʾimāni fa qad ḥabiṭa ʿamaluhu wa huwa fi al-ʾākhirati min al-khāsirin (Q. 5: 5).
"The deeds of anyone who rejects [the obligations of] faith will come to nothing, and in the Hereafter he will be one of the losers" (Abdel Haleem 2010, p. 108)

- *Obligation*, e.g.,

(يا أيها الذين آمنو ا كتب عليكم الصيام كما كتب على الذين من قبلكم لعلكم تتقون) (البقرة: ١٨٣)

Yā ʾayyuhā al-lathīna ʾāmanū kutiba ʿalaykumu al-ṣyāmu kamā kutiba ʿalā al-lathīna min qablikum laʿallakum tattaqūn (Q. 2: 183).
"You who believe, fasting is prescribed for you, as it was prescribed for those before you, so that you may be mindful of God" (Abdel Haleem 2010, p. 29)

- *Objection*, e.g.,

(وما نقموا منهم إلا أن يؤمنوا بالله العزيز الحميد) (البروج: ٨)

Wa mā naqimū minhum ʾillā ʾan yuʾminū bi-llāhi al-ʿaziz al-ḥamid (Q. 85:8).
"Their only grievance against them was their faith in God, the Mighty, the Praise worthy" (Abdel Haleem 2010, p. 591)

- *Endeavor*, e.g.,

(ومن أظلم ممن منع مساجد الله أن يذكر فيها اسمه وسعى في خرابها) (البقرة: ١١٤)

Wa man ʾaẓlamu miman manaʿa masājida Allahi ʾan yuthkara fihā ʾsmuhu wa saʿā fī khrābihā (Q. 2: 114).
"Who could be more wicked than those who prohibit the mention of God's name in His places of worship and strive to have them deserted?" (Abdel Haleem 2010, p. 19)

- *Disclosure*, e.g.,

(وأصبح فؤاد أم موسى فارغا وإن كادت لتبدي به لولا أن ربطنا على قلبها لتكون من المؤمنين) (القصص: ١٠)

Wa ʾaṣbaha fuʾādu ʾumi mousā fārighan wa ʾin kādat latubdi bihi lawlā ʾan rabaṭnā ʿalā qalbihā litaqūna min al-mūʾminin (Q. 28:10).
"The next day, Moses' mother felt a void in her heart – if We had not strengthened it to make her one of those who believe, she would have revealed everything about him" (Abdel Haleem 2010, p. 387)

- *Concealing*, e.g.,

(ختم الله على قلوبهم وعلى سمعهم وأبصارهم غشاوة ولهم عذاب عظيم) (البقرة: ٧)

Khatama Allāhu ʿalā qulubihim wa ʿalā samʿihim wa ʾabsārihim ghishāwatun wa lahum ʿathābun ʿaẓim (Q. 2:7).
"God has sealed their hearts and their ears, and their eyes are covered. They will have a great torment" (Abdel Haleem 2010, p. 4)

- *Prevention*, e.g.,

(أهؤلاء الذين أقسمتم لا ينالهم الله برحمته) (الأعراف: ٤٩)

ʾahāʾulāʾi al-lathīn ʾaqsamtumu lā yanāluhumu Allahu bi raḥmatihi (Q. 7:49).
"And are these the people you swore God would never bless?" (Abdel Haleem 2010, p. 157)

- *Human relations*, e.g.,

(وكيف تأخذونه وقد أفضى بعضكم إلى بعض وأخذن عليكم ميثاقا غليظا) (النساء: ٢١)
Wa kayfa taʾkhuthūnahu wa qad ʾafḍa baʿḍukum ʾilā baʿḍ wa ʾakhathna ʿalaykum mithāqan ghalizā (Q. 4: 21).
"How could you take it when you have lain with each other and they have taken a solemn pledge from you?" (Abdel Haleem 2010, p. 82)

- *Astray*, e.g.,

(ومن يعش عن ذكر الرحمن نقيض له شيطانا فهو له قرين) (الزخرف: ٣٦)
Wa man yaʿshu ʿan thikri al-rahmāni nuqayyiḍ lahu shayṭānan fahuwa lahu qarīn (Q. 43:36).
"We assign an evil one as a comrade for whoever turns away from the revelations of the Lord of Mercy" (Abdel Haleem 2010, p. 493)

- *Preparation*, e.g.,

(إن الذين يغضون أصواتهم عند رسول الله أولئك الذين امتحن الله قلوبهم للتقوى لهم مغفرة وأجر عظيم) (الحجرات: ٣)
ʾInna al-lathīna yaghiḍūna ʾaṣwātahum ʿinda rasūlilāhi ʾaulāʾika al-lathīn ʾimtaḥana Allahu qulubahum lil taqwā lahum maghfiratun wa ʾajrun ʿaẓīm (Q. 49: 3).
"It is those who lower their voices in the presence of God's Messenger whose hearts God has proved to be aware – they will have forgiveness, and a great reward -" (Abdel Haleem 2010, p. 516)

- *Consuming*, e.g.,

(ولا تأكلوا أموالهم إلى أموالكم) (النساء: ٢)
Wa lā tʾkulu ʾamwālahum ʾilā ʾamwālikum (Q. 4:2).
"… and do not consume their property along with your own" (Abdel Haleem 2010, p. 78)

- *Difficulty*, e.g.,

(وإن كان كبر عليك إعراضهم فإن استطعت أن تبتغي نفقا في الأرض أو سلما في السماء فتأتيهم بآية) (الأنعام: ٣٥)
Wa ʾin kāna kabura ʿalayka ʾiʿrāḍuhum fa ʾin ʾistaṭaʿta ʾan tabtaghiya nafaqan fī al-ʾarḍi ʾaw sullaman fī al-sāmaʾi fa tʾatiyahum bi ʾāyah (Q. 6:35).
"If you find rejection by the disbelievers so hard to bear, then seek a tunnel into the ground or a ladder into the sky, if you can, and bring them a sign" (Abdel Haleem 2010, p. 179)

- *Support*, e.g.,

(وليربط على قلوبكم ويثبت به الأقدام) (الأنفال: ١١)
Wa liyarbiṭa ʿalā qulubikum wa yuthabbita bihi ʾal-ʿaqdām (Q. 8:11).
"… to make your hearts strong and your feet firm" (Abdel Haleem 2010, p. 179)

- *Destiny*, e.g.,

(قلنا احمل فيها من كل زوجين اثنين وأهلك إلا من سبق عليه القول) (هود: ٤٠)
Qulnā ʾiḥmil fīhā min kulli zawjayni ʾithnayni wa ʾahlaka ʾillā man sabaqa ʿalyahi al-qawl (Q. 11:40).
"We said, Place on board this Ark a pair of each species, and your own family – except those against whom the sentence has already been passed" (Abdel Haleem 2010, p. 227).

2. Research Methodology

In this section the methodology used in the present study is outlined. It covers the research theoretical framework, data collection, data analysis and the research procedure followed in conducting the study.

2.1 Research Theoretical Framework

A thorough analytical reading of the Qur'an is conducted in order to pinpoint the *ayas* (Qur'anic verses) in which QIPVs are used. The translations of these *ayas* in ten of the English translations of the Qur'an are closely analysed, compered, and assessed. The linguistic contrastive analysis approach (as introduced and implemented by James (1980)) is utilized as a theoretical framework. The QIPVs and their provided translations are described, compared and assessed at both microlinguistics and macrolinguistics levels.

The contrastive analysis approach utilized in this study is not confine to lexical-semantic level, it rather covers the pragmatic aspects involved in translating QIPVs into English. House (2009) indicates that:

> Contrastive linguistics becomes even more relevant when it extends its scope to deal not only with linguistic forms but with the way they are typically used in different languages to organize information, perform communicative acts, or express attitude. How far languages do and do not correspond in general across these different levels obviously gives crucial guidance to the translator when it comes to establishing correspondences across particular texts in different languages (p.16).

James (1980) proposes two principal procedures in conducting a contrastive analysis study, namely: description and comparison. He also introduces the notion of *tertium comparationis* as a yardstick. According to James (1980), it is the sameness/constant that constitutes the basis of comparison between the two texts upon which the contrastive analysis is to be conducted. House (2009) defines the term of *tertium comparationis* as "the third element or factor that is the common ground between two elements being compared." (p. 31).

In this study the *tertium comparationis* is the meaning of the QIPVs as determined by the main authoritative classical and contemporary exegetes of the Qur'an and Arabic lexicographers.

2.2 Data collection

A corpus of the most common and circulated ten English language translations of the Qur'an is scrutinized, compared and assessed to determine the extent to which each translation achieves the functional-idiomatic equivalent of the QIPVs. Muslims and non-Muslims, Arab and non-Arab, and male and female translators have translated the Qur'an into English. The reason for selecting these translations rather than the others is, apart from being the most popular ones, to represent the translators' different religious, gender, and linguistic backgrounds. The English translations of the Qur'an that are investigated in this study are as follows:

* Muhammad Marmaduke Pickthall. *The Meanings of the Glorious Qur'an* (First published 1930). Muhammad Marmaduke Pickthall is a converted Muslim. He is an English native speaker.
* Abdullah Yusuf Ali. *The Meaning of the Holy Qur'an* (First published 1934). Abdullah Yusuf Ali is a Muslim with Ismaa'ili background. He is a native speaker of neither Arabic nor English.
* Arthur J. Arberry. *The Koran Interpreted* (First published 1955). Arthur J. Arberry is a non-Muslim scholar. He is an English native speaker.

- Muhammad Habib Shakir. *The Qur'an: Translation*. (First published 1968). Muhammad Habib Shakir is a Pakistani Muslim with Shi'ite background scholar. He is a native speaker of neither Arabic nor English.
- Muhammad Zafrulla Khan. *The Quran: The Eternal Revelation vouchsafed to Muhammad the Seal of the Prophets*. (First published 1971). Muhammad Zafrulla Khan is a Pakistani Ahmadi Qadiani scholar. He is a native speaker of neither Arabic nor English.
- Muhammad Taqī-ud-Dīn Al-Hilālī & Muhammad Muhsin Khān. *The Noble Qur'an: English Translation of the Meanings and Commentary*. (First published 1977). Muhammad Taqī-ud-Dīn Al-Hilālī is a Moroccan scholar. He is a native speaker of Arabic. Muhammad Muhsin Khān is a Pakistani scholar. He is a native speaker of neither Arabic nor English.
- Muhammad Asad. *The Message of the Qur'an* (First published 1980). Muhammad Asad is an Austrian converted Muslim. He is a native speaker of neither Arabic nor English.
- Muhammad A. S. Abdul Haleem. *The Qur'an: English Translation and Parallel Arabic Text*. (First published 2004). Muhammad A. S. Abdul Haleem is an Egyptian Muslim scholar. He is an Arabic native speaker.
- Ali Quli Qara'i. *The Qur'an With a Phrase-by-Phrase English Translation*. (First published in 2004). Qara'i is an Iranian Muslim with Shi'ite background. He is a native speaker of neither Arabic nor English.
- Laleh Bakhtiar. *The Sublime Quran*. (First published 2007). Laleh Bakhtiar is an Iranian American Muslim woman. She is an English native speaker.

2.3 Data Analysis

The data collected from the above-mentioned translations of the Qur'an is described, analysed, compared and assessed by utilizing the linguistic contrastive analysis approach. Employing a qualitative analysis, the data analysis is conducted to address the following research questions:

1) To what extent the translators of the Qur'an are successful in providing the English functional-idiomatic equivalent of the QIPVs?
2) What are the types of translational pitfalls made by translators of the Qur'an when tackling the question of QIPVs.
3) What are the strategies employed by translators when dealing with QIPVs.
4) What are the most adequate and recommendable strategies employed by the selected translators in rendering the QIPVs.

Employing the two principal procedures proposed by James (1980) i.e. description and comparison, the data is described, and compared to explore the extent to which the prescribed translators were accurate in providing the intended meaning of these expressions. In this study the basis of comparison or, to use James (1980) term, a *tertium comparationis* is the meaning of the QIPVs as determined by the main authoritative classical and contemporary exegetes of the Qur'an and Arabic lexicographers. It is worth mentioning that the degree of idiomaticity of QIPVs varies from transparent to opaque. The transparent literal structures are excluded from this study, as they are straightforward and not problematic in translation.

2.4 Research Procedure

The procedures used to conduct the present study are as follows:

1. Conducting a thorough analytical reading of the Qur'an in order to pinpoint the *ayas* (Qur'anic verses) in which QIPVs are used.
2. Scrutinising and presenting the equivalents provided to these QIPVs in a corpus of ten English translations of the Qur'an.
3. Analysing the QIPV under study in the light of the theoretical framework mentioned above to highlight its syntactic, semantic and pragmatic features.
4. Describing and comparing the provided equivalents of the QIPVs at both microlinguistics and macrolinguistics levels.
5. The intended meaning of the QIPVs as ascribed by the authoritative Qur'anic exegetical and lexicographical works is taken as a basis of comparison (*tertium comparationis*).
6. Analysing these 'equivalents' to underscore the strategies utilised by the selected translators in rendering the QIPVs at hand.
7. Comparing and assessing the strategies in view of the prescribed theoretical framework to determine the most adequate one.
8. Drawing on the speech acts theory to propose a working model for analysing and assessing translation of QIPVs.
9.

3 Model's Parameters

3.1 Categories of QIPVs

A close look at the QIPVs reveals that they can be classified, for analytical purposes, into two categories, namely: metaphorical and figurative QIPVs. The difference between these two categories is explored in what follows:

3.1.1 Metaphorical QIPVs

The majority of QIPVs fall under the definition of 'metaphor', fulfil its two purposes, and have its three components. Nida defines metaphor as "a figurative expression used to make an implicit comparison between items" (Nida 1975, p. 231). Along these lines, Newmark delineates metaphor as:

> "[…] any figurative expression: the transferred sense of a physical word […]; the personification of an abstraction […]; the application of a word or collocation to what it does not literally denote, i.e., to describe one thing in terms of another. All polysemous words (a 'heavy' heart) and most English phrasal verbs […] are potentially metaphorical" (Newmark 1988, p. 104).

By saying "and most English phrasal verbs […] are potentially metaphorical", Newmark excludes the English phrasal verbs that literally denote, and those that do not satisfy the criteria he sets for metaphor. This is quite relevant to the QIPVs as El-Zeiny (2011) explains.

> The essence of the comparison between two items expressed metaphorically by a metaphor is the similarity between these items. That is the sense of one item is transferred to express the sense of the other item because of a sort of similarity between them (p. 248).

Newmark (1988) devises three components for 'metaphor', namely: object, image, and sense. The object refers to "what is described or qualified by the metaphor" (p. 105); the image

refers to "the picture conjured up by the metaphor, which may be universal […], cultural […], or individual […]" (p. 105); and the sense refers to "the literal meaning of the metaphor; the resemblance or the semantic area overlapping object and image; usually this consists of more than one sense component - otherwise literal language would do" (p. 105). The last component (sense) constitutes the aspect of similarity between the object and the image (El-Zeiny 2011, p. 248). Newmark (1988) illustrate these three components in the following diagram:

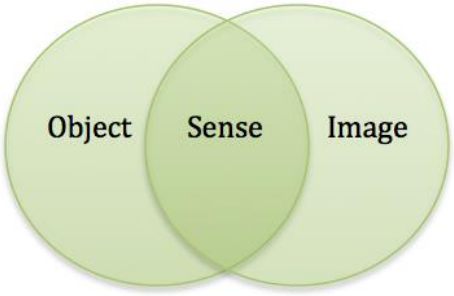


Figure 1 Components of 'metaphor' Newmark (1988)

This has been said, metaphor is of two purposes, namely: referential and pragmatic. The former is a cognitive one and it is "to describe a mental process or state, a concept, a person, an object, a quality or an action more comprehensively and concisely than is possible in literal or physical language" (Newmark 1988, p. 104). The pragmatic purpose, however, is an aesthetic one and it is "to appeal to the senses, to interest, to clarify 'graphically', to please, to delight, to surprise" (Newmark 1988, p. 104).

When it comes to translation, metaphor constitutes "the most important particular problem" (Newmark 1988, p. 104). This is due to two reasons. The first reason is the conflict between the three levels of meaning in the target text, i.e., the aesthetic, expressive and informative meanings. Such a conflict inevitably leads to scarifying one level of meaning for the sake of the other levels (El-Zeiny 2011, p. 249). The second reason is related to deciding on "how much space to allot to the criss-crossed area of sense, and further to determine whether this area is: (a) positive or negative; (b) connotative or denotative" (Newmark 1988, p. 104).

There exist a number of procedures proposed by Wonderly (1971), Larson (1984) and Newmark (1981; 1988) for translating metaphor. These procedures summarised by El-Zeiny (2011) as follows:

(1) to reproduce the metaphor provided the TL permit;
(2) to reproduce the SL by an equivalent TL metaphor;
(3) to reduce metaphor to sense;
(4) to translate the same metaphor plus sense;
(5) to substitute the metaphor by a simile;
(6) deleting the metaphor if the text is not authoritative or expressive and the metaphor's function is fulfilled elsewhere; and
(7) replacing the metaphor by a simile plus sense (El-Zeiny 2011: 149-250).

It is worth mentioning that scholars are of diverse views as to classifying metaphor. The reason behind their diversity is the different scales adopted by them (Zahid 2009). Fowler (1926), for instance, adopts 'mental' scale and classifies metaphors to 'live' and 'dead' metaphor. Newmark (1988), on the other hand, adopts 'multidimensional' scale and classifies metaphor to six types, namely; dead metaphor, cliché metaphor, stoke or standard metaphor, recent metaphor, original metaphor, and adopted metaphor. Whereas Dickins et al. (2002) adopt 'lexical' scale and classify metaphors to lexicalised and non-lexicalised metaphors. For the sake of brevity, we will not go through the definitions of these types. What is relevant to our topic, however, is that the metaphorical QIPVs can be considered as, to use Newmark's term, stoke or standard metaphors, which are established metaphors "which in an informal context is an efficient and concise method of covering a physical and/or mental situation both referentially and pragmatically" (Newmark 1988, p. 108).

The metaphorical QIPVs are exemplified in the following Qur'anic structures:

(وآية لهم الليل نسلخ منه النهار فإذا هم مظلمون) (يس: ٣٧)

Wa ʾāyatun lahumu al-laylu naslakhu minhu al-nahāra fa ʾithā hum muẓlimūn (Q. 36:37).

"The night is also a sign for them: We strip the daylight from it, and - lo and behold! -they are in darkness" (Abdel Haleem 2010, p. 443).

The metaphorical QIPV in this verse is *naslakhu min*. The object of 'metaphor' here is: presenting the alternating of the day and night as one of God's sings. The image of 'metaphor' is: striping off the skin. The sense of 'metaphor' is: extracting the day from the night. Another example is:

(فمكث غير بعيد فقال أحطت بما لم تحط به وجئتك من سبأ بنبأ يقين) (النمل: ٢٢)

Fa makatha ghayra baʿīdin fa qāla ʾaḥaṭu bimā lam tuḥit bhi wa jiʾtuka min sabaʾin bi nabaʾin yaqīn (Q. 27:22).

"But the Hoopoe did not stay away long: he came and said: 'I have learned something you did not know: I come to you from Sheba with firm news" (Abdel Haleem 2010, p. 379).

The metaphorical QIPV in this verse is *ahaaTa bi-* which is repeated twice in this structure. The object of 'metaphor' here is: the thorough knowledge of something. The image of 'metaphor' is: the surrounding, or fencing. The sense of 'metaphor' is: to comprehensively encompass or fully understand. Another example is:

(ختم الله على قلوبهم وعلى سمعهم وعلى أبصارهم غشاوة ولهم عذاب عظيم) (البقرة: ٧)

Khatama Allāhu ʿalā qulubihim wa ʿalā samʿihim wa ʾabsārihim ghishāwatun wa lahum ʿathābun ʿaẓim (Q. 2:7).

"God has sealed their hearts and their ears, and their eyes are covered. They will have great torment" (Abdel Haleem 2010, p. 4).

The metaphorical QIPV in this verse is *Khatama ʿalā*. The object of 'metaphor' here is: the denying hearts of disbelievers. The image of 'metaphor' is: closing hearts by a seal. The sense of 'metaphor' is: refusing to observe the truth.

3.1.2 Figurative QIPVs

The second category of QIPVs is the figurative QIPVs. By this category we mean those QIPVs that do not really fit in the category of 'metaphor' for the reason that they do not have the aforementioned components of 'metaphor' yet, still semantically non-transparent i.e. their intended meanings cannot be figured out from the meanings of their constituent parts (verb and preposition). The figurative QIPVs are exemplified in the following Qur'anic structures:

(سنفرغ لكم أيها الثقلان) (الرحمن: ٣١)

Sa nafrughu lakum ʾayyuha al-thaqalān (Q. 55:31).
"We shall attend to you two huge armies [of jinn and mankind]" (Abdel Haleem 2010, p. 533).
(احشروا الذين ظلموا وأزواجهم وما كانوا يعبدون. من دون الله فاهدوهم إلى صراط الجحيم) (الصافات: ٢٢ و٢٣)
Wa ʾaḥshurū al-lathīn zalamū wa ʾazwajahum wa mā kānū yaʿbudūna min dūnillāhi fahdūhum ʾilā sirāṭ al-jaḥīm (Q. 37:22-23).
"[Angels], gather together those who did wrong, and others like them, as well as whatever they worshipped beside God, lead them all to the path of Hell" (Abdel Haleem 2010, p. 447).

Newmark (1988) indicates that translator has "to tease out the meaning of each word in a figurative meaning by matching its primary meaning against its linguistic, situational and cultural contexts" (Newmark 1988, p. 106). Elaborating on this point, Zahid (2009) asserts that "A translator is called upon to not bind himself within the grammatical structure and the denotative meaning, but dig beyond the first meaning into the 'meaning of meaning' instead" (p. 8).

3.2 Speech acts

Studying language in use is the main focus of pragmatics, which has been defined as the study of "those relations between language and context that are grammaticalized, or encoded in the structure of a language" (Levinson, 1983, p. 9). It explores the ways by which meaning is produced by addresser(s) and understood by addressee(s) in a particular situational context. By concentrating on the communicative meaning and taking into account a number of extra linguistic factors, which paly a vital role in determining the functional aspects of that meaning, pragmatics is differentiated from semantics, which concerns itself with the literal meaning that is linguistically encoded. That is to say, pragmatics concentrates on how to infer the communicative intended meaning of a given utterance by analysing its textual and contextual peculiarities. Thus, pragmaticists' major concern is "the interrelation of language structure and principles of language usage" (Levinson, 1983, p. 9). Speech acts theory is the main aspect of pragmatics. It was first introduced by Austin (1962) in his book *How to do Things with Words* and further advanced by Searle (1969) in his book *Speech Acts: An Essay in the Philosophy of Language*. Speech acts are defined as "the acts we perform when, for example, we make a complaint or a request, apologize or pay someone a compliment" (Hatim 2001, p. 179). In addition, Austin categorises three distinct, yet interrelated, dimensions of speech act, namely: locutionary, illocutionary and prelocutionary. Locutionary act is the act of doing something in the "full normal sense" (p. 94). It is "roughly equivalent to uttering a certain sentence with a certain sense and reference, which again is roughly equivalent to 'meaning′ in the traditional sense" (p. 109). Illocutionary act, however, is the "[…] performance of an act *in* saying something as opposed to performance of an act *of* saying something" (pp. 99-100) [Emphasis in original], for instance "informing, ordering, warning, undertaking, […], i.e. utterances which have a certain (conventional) force" (p. 109). Whereas the prelocutionary act is "what we bring about or achieve *by* saying something, such as convincing, persuading, deterring, and even, say, surprising or misleading" (p. 109) [Emphasis in original]. Hence, a given speech act is a total combination of three concurrent acts: a locutionary, which denotes the utterance itself, an illocutionary, which denotes the intended communicative meaning behind the utterance, and the perlocutionary, which denotes the reaction the utterance produce on the addressee (Hale 2004, p. 6). So, when we say something, this is what often happens:

> Speakers utter things (utterance act), and in uttering things they often say things (locutionary act), and in saying things they often do things (illocutionary act). And typically speakers bother with all this because they want to communicate something to a

> hearer, and even have some effect on the thought and/or action of that hearer (perlocutionary act) (Harnish 2010, P. 6).

Therefore, Austin's (1962) three aspects of utterance 'locution', 'illocution', and 'perlocution' can be referred to as 'sense', 'force', and 'effect' respectively (Marogy 2010, p. 61; Hatim 2001, p. 179).

Drawing on the theory of speech acts, Grice (1975) introduces the notion of the cooperative principle and its maxims. He indicates that in any given communicative situation there exist a principle and a set of maxims that ought to be followed by the participants i.e., the addresser and the addressee so as to achieve certain communicative purposes (cf. James 1980, p. 128; Bell 1991, p. 181; Baker 1992, p. 259). Grice (1975) formulates the cooperative principle that participants are expected to observe as follows: "Make your conversational contribution such as is required, at the stage at which it occurs, by the accepted purpose or direction of the talk exchange in which you are engaged" (p. 45). Further, he distinguishes four categories for that principle, namely, Quantity, Quality, Relation, and Manner. Under each category fall a number of maxims. The maxims are as follows:

1) *Quantity*:
   i) Make your contribution as informative as is required (for the current purposes of ☒the exchange).
   ii) Do not make your contribution more informative than is required.
2) *Quality*:
   i) Do not say that for which you lack adequate evidence. ☒
   ii) Do not say what you believe to be false. ☒
3) *Relation*:
   i) Be relevant.
4) *Manner*:
   i) Avoid obscurity of expression.
   ii) Avoid ambiguity. ☒
   iii) Be brief (avoid unnecessary prolixity). ☒
   iv) Be orderly.

In everyday conversations, interlocutors almost always flout these maxims and expect hearers to notice the flouts and draw conclusions. Thus, "[w]hen hearers notice these infringements they continue to assume that the speaker is making infringements for a good reason. These conclusions are referred to by Grice as *conversational implicatures*" (James 1980, p. 128) [Emphasis in original]. The conversational implicature is based on the assumption that conversations are guided by the above-mentioned maxims, and when one of these maxims is violated "something is implied above and beyond the normal routines of conversation" (Fawcett 2001, p. 124).

Being a book of guidance with a divine source, the Qur'an addresses all mankind and throughout generations. Its divine message is not conform to those contemporaries to its revelation time in the Arabian peninsular. Therefore, its discourse is characterised by employing different

means to preform speech acts for fulfilling different purposes. A close look at the Qur'anic discourse reveals that both, to use Searle's terms, direct and indirect speech acts are employed.

The notion of speech acts is, to a great extent, relevant to the issue of translating QIPVs. The relevance of the notion is threefold: 1) the QIPVs are employed in the Qur'an to perform many different kinds of speech acts. The fact remains, however, that QIPVs have to be looked at within their communicative contexts in order to determine their intended communicative values; 2) focusing on the locutionary/semantic meanings rather than the illocutionary/pragmatic meanings when QIPVs are translated into English would result in providing unintended meanings of given QIPVs; and 3) many QIPVs are polysemous in that they may occur in many different meanings according to the contexts in which they are used.

What makes the theory of conversational maxims and conversational implicatures relevant to the topic at hand is that they assist in the reception of idiomaticity of QIPVs. In addition, the knowledge of conversational maxims and conversational implicatures, according to Fawcett (2001), should constitute part of the translator's competence since "[…] different languages will apply the principles in different ways in different situations" (p. 124).

Grice (1975) maintains that there are two levels that need to be considered when it comes to infer a given conversational implicature, the level of what is said and the level of what is implicated. When the addresser violates a maxim at the level of what is said, the addressee is "entitled to assume that that maxim, or at least the overall Cooperative Principle, is observed at the level of what is implicated" (Grice 1975, p. 52). Violating a maxim deliberately might be driven by personal reasons on the part of the addresser (e.g., wishing to mislead the addressee), or driven by some rhetorical purposes such as: exaggeration, irony, etc. albeit the addresser "does not necessarily fall short in speaking the language properly or observing its grammatical rules consistently when overriding these pragmatic maxims" (Marogy 2010, p. 63). To do justice to this perspective, the two levels of analysis proposed by Grice (1975), i.e. what is said and what is implicated levels will be considered. Scrutinizing the data at the first level would enable us to account for its propositional, linguistically encoded, semantic meaning (i.e. the locutionary act), whereas doing so at the second level would allow us to underscore its pragmatic properties and in turn to determine the intended communicative meaning (i.e. the illocutionary force).

4 Adequacy/Inadequacy

Given the multi-layered nature of textual and contextual meanings of the QIPVs, and since translation is "concerned with meaning" (Dickins et al, 2002, p. 52), we believe that analysing and assessing the adequacy/inadequacy of the equivalents provided for them ought to be measured in a multidimensional way. At the semantic level of the analysis and assessment, the metaphorical QIPVs must be analysed and assessed according to the framework proposed by Newmark (1988) (i.e. object, image, and sense). Such a framework has been adopted by some researchers who accounted for the issue of translating Qur'anic metaphors into English (cf. El-Zeiny, 2011; Zahid, 2009). The figurative QIPVs, however, should be analysed and assessed by attending to their literal and figurative meanings. That is to say that the chosen metaphorical and figurative QIPVs are compared to their TL 'equivalents' provided by the selected translators in order to shed some light on the strategies employed by these translators in rendering QIPVs in English and to measure

the adequacy/inadequacy of the 'equivalents' provided. The most adequate strategy will be recommended.

However, at the pragmatic level of the analysis and assessment of the QIPVs, when the focus is on their contextual properties, the QIPVs ought to be analysed and assessed in the light of the speech acts and conversational implicature theories. Then the chosen QIPVs to be compared to their TL equivalents provided by the selected translators in order to shed some light on the strategies employed by these translators in rendering QIPVs in English. The most adequate strategy will be recommended.

This has been said, at both the semantic and pragmatic levels of analysis adequacy/inadequacy is assessed according to closeness to the intended meaning ascribed by the authoritative exegetical and lexicographical works (*tertium comparationis*). At the semantic level the closeness to the denotative meaning - also known as cognitive, propositional or literal meaning (cf. Dickins et al, 2002, p. 52) - is considered since, according to El-Zeiny (2011), it reflects the informative level of meaning, and has to be given the priority over the other levels of meaning, i.e. expressive and aesthetic when a conflict among them occurs. Following Newmark (1988), El-Zeiny (2011) proposes three parameters to measure the faithfulness to the denotative meaning. She asserts that:

> Faithfulness is measured in terms of 'semantic deviation', 'overtranslation' and 'undertranslation'. 'Semantic deviation' refers to giving the wrong denotative meaning. "Overtranslation', according to Newmark, is defined as "a translation that gives more details than its corresponding TL unit, often a more specific word". "Undertranslation", in contrast, is defined as a translation that "gives less detail and is more general than the original" (Newmark, 1988: 284-5) (El-Zeiny, 2011, p. 257).

At the pragmatic level the adequacy/inadequacy of equivalents given to the QIPVs should be assessed according to the faithfulness of those equivalents to the connotative meaning of the QIPVs. By the connotative meaning we mean "associations, which over and above the denotative meaning" (Dickins et al, 2002, p. 66). Dickins et al (2002) distinguish six types of the connotative meanings all of which need to be taken into consideration when analysing and assessing the equivalents provided to the QIPVs, namely: attitudinal meaning, associative meaning, affective meaning, allusive meaning, collocational meaning, and reflected meaning (Dickins et al, 2002, pp. 66-76).

5 Model for Analysing and Assessing Translation of QIPVs

Drawing on the above-mentioned theories, we propose the following model for analysing and assigning translation of QIPVs.

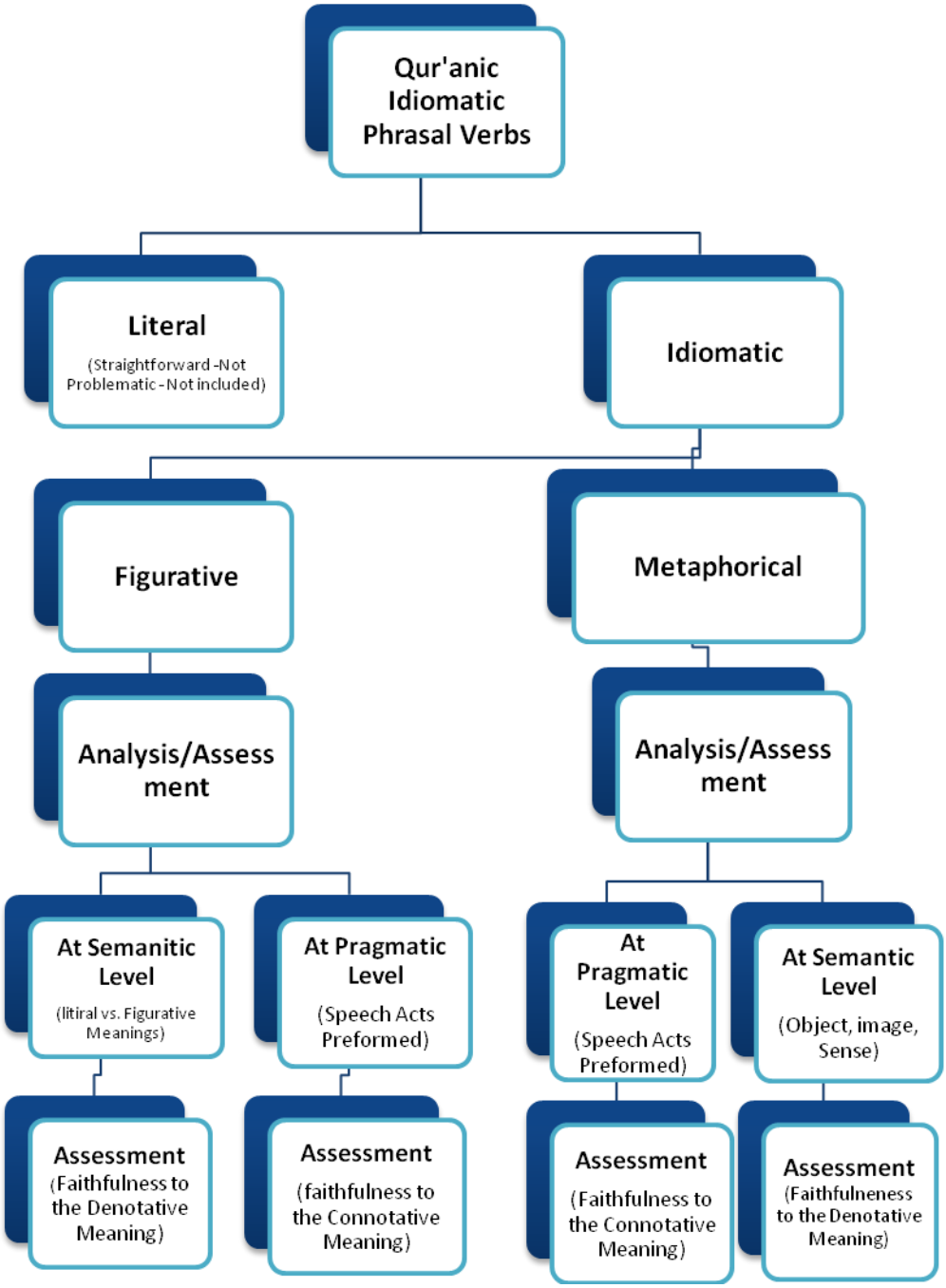


Figure 2 Model for analysing and assigning translation of QIPVs

6 Illustrative Example

In this section we shall apply our proposed model to analyse and assess the equivalents given to one of the most significant QIPVs by the selected translators, and illuminate the different approaches adopted by them.

(سنسمه على الخرطوم) (القلم: ٦١)

"*Sa nasimuhu ʿalā al-khurtūm*" (Q. 68:16)

Pickthall: "We shall brand him on the nose" (1971, p. 757).
Yusuf Ali: "Soon shall We brand (the beast) on the snout!" (1991, p. 1508).
Zafrulla Khan: "We will brand him on the snout" (1971, p. 575).
Arberry: "We shall brand him upon the muzzle!" (1975, p. 599).
Asad: "[For this] We shall brand him with indelible disgrace!" (2011, p. 1056).
Abdel Haleem : "We shall brand him on the snout!" (2010, p. 566).
Bakhtiar: "We will mark him on the snout!" (2012, p. 552).
Al-Hilâlî and Muhsin Khan: "We shall brand him over the snout (nose)!" (1997, p. 775).
Shakir: "We will brand him on the nose" (2011, p. 384).
Qara'i: "Soon We shall brand him on the snout." (2004, p. 804).

This verse talks about the disbeliever who denies the truth when Allah's revelations are recited to him. The QIPV used in this verse is *wasama ʿalā*, which literally means to brand, to label and to leave a branding sign on something or someone (cf. al-Aṣfahānī, 679:2; al-Rāzī 1982, 86:3; Badawi and Abdel Haleem 2008, p. 1026). *Wasama ʿalā* in this particular context is a metaphorical QIPV. The object of 'metaphor' here is: presenting the status of disbelievers in this life and the hereafter. The image of 'metaphor' is: stamping someone with a sign on his or her snout. The sense of 'metaphor' is: stigmatising the disbelievers with unforgettable shame and disgrace. Both direct and indirect speech acts are performed in this verse. At what is said level, the direct speech act of THREATENING is performed. This is indicated by the usage of the future prefix *sa-* and by the locutionary act/propositional sense of the verse, which denotes that the disbeliever will be stigmatised sooner in this life, or latter in the hereafter (cf. al-Rāzī 1981, 86:30). At what is implicated level/illocutionary force, the addresser in this verse purposefully flouts the maxim of RELTION by using the word *al-khurtūm* (elephant trunk/proboscis) instead of the word *ʾanf* (human nose). The intended implicature here is that the addresser wants to scorn and humiliate that disbeliever. This intended meaning is the one confirmed by the exegetes of the Qur'an, who elaborate that human face is the most honourable part of his body and the nose is the most honourable part of the face. Therefore, branding someone on his face is a humiliation, and branding him on his nose is more humiliating, while using an expression whereby the name of animal's 'nose' (trunk/proboscis) is employed to refer to the human nose is the most humiliating expression (cf. al-Rāzī 1981, 86:30; al-Zamakhsharī 1998, 184:6).

Semantically speaking, all of the selected translators reduce the metaphor *sa nasimuhu ʿalā al-khurtūm* to sense. This procedure "involves losing the metaphor altogether, and the emotional effect associated with it" (Dickins 2002: 151).

Furthermore, except for Bakhtiar who provides 'mark … on', all of them provide 'brand … on' as equivalence for the QIPV *Wasama ʿalā*. Besides, the majority of them provide 'snout' as equivalence for *al-khurtūm*, whereas two of them provide 'nose' and one provides 'muzzle', while Asad opts for discarding the word *al-khurtūm* by providing its functional pragmatic equivalence. Given the bad connotative meaning implied in the employment of the word *al-khurtūm* in this particular context, the word 'snout' seems to be more accurate than the word 'nose', whereas the word 'muzzle' is, by far, inaccurate.

Pragmatically speaking, while all of the selected translators have been successful in conveying the direct speech act performed in this structure (i.e. THREATENING) by utilizing

the auxiliary verbs 'will' and 'shall', those who added the adverb 'soon' to these verbs were inaccurate for two distinct reasons: firstly, this word does not occur in the original text neither explicitly nor implicitly; secondly, by adding this adverb the translators fail to capture the intended meaning as ascribed by the authoritative exegetes of the Qur'an (cf. al-Rāzī 1981, 86:30; al-Zamakhsharī 1998, 184:6). This is being said, no one has been successful, except for Asad, as to conveying the implicature intended in this QIPV (i.e. HUMILIATING). Asad is the only translator who provides a footnote highlight the metaphorical nature of the expression and account for its illocutionary force. The footnote reads: "All commentators point out that this idiomatic phrase has a strictly metaphorical meaning, namely, "We shall stigmatize him with indelible disgrace" (2011, p. 1056). Yusuf Ali provides a footnote as well, but not to attend to the expression's illocutionary force, it is rather to explain the word *al-khurtūm* and justify the with-in-the text addition he provides (the beast). His footnote reads: "Literally, proboscis, the most sensitive limb of the elephant. The sinner marks himself a beast and can only be controlled by his snout" (1991, p. 1508).

Thus, we believe that Asad's translation is the most adequate one. It captures both the denotative and connotative meaning of the QIPV at hand. In a nutshell, the majority of equivalents provided for this QIPV demonstrate semantic and pragmatic deviations, overtranslation, undertranslation, and miscalculation of the intended conversational implicature.

7 Conclusion

In this paper a working model for analysing and assessing translation of QIPVs is proposed. The model incorporates the two categories of QIPVs: metaphorical and figurative QIPVs. The metaphorical QIPVs fall under the definition of 'metaphor' and fulfil its two purposes (referential and pragmatic) and three components (object, image, and sense). The figurative QIPVs do not meet these criteria yet, still, semantically non-transparent. Drawing on the speech acts theory and adopting the contrastive analysis approach, the proposed model attends to these two categories from semantic and pragmatic perspectives. The paper argues that adequacy of equivalents given to the QIPVs should be determined according to closeness to the intended meaning ascribed by the authoritative exegetical and lexicographical works (*tertium comparationis*). Semantically speaking, the closeness to denotative meaning should be considered since it reflects the informative level of meaning, and has to be given the priority over the other levels of meaning, i.e. expressive and aesthetic. Pragmatically speaking, the adequacy should be measured according to faithfulness to connotative meaning. Equivalents provided to QIPVs in a corpus of ten English translations of the Qur'an are closely scrutinised. The results reveal that QIPVs are heavy-loaded structures with multi-layered meaning. They are characterized by carrying both linguistically encoded meanings and a number of implied meanings. It also shows that the majority of equivalents demonstrate semantic deviation, overtranslation, undertranslation, or miscalculation of the intended conversational implicature.

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Notes

[i] For more details about EPVs see: Bolinger (1971); McArthur (1975, 1979 and 1989); Fraser (1976); Lindner (1983); Quirk, Greenbaum, Leech & Svartvik(1985); Turton & Manser (1985); Dixon (1982 and 1991); Azzaro (1992); Shovel (1992); Live (1965); Close (1992); Cowie & Mackin (1993); CR Crowley, Lynch, Siegel and Piau (1995); Lindstromberg (1998); among others.
[ii] A number of modern Arabic linguists label these Arabic combinations as *al-ḍamāʾim* (enclosures). Cf. Al-Shamsān (1986).
[iii] For more examples see Dāwood 2002: I, 6.