TRANSLATING POLITICAL DISCOURSE KING ABDULLAH II

IBN AL HUSSEIN'S PAPERS

by

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Dedication

To my family.

Abstract

When researchers discuss the translation of political discourse they usually refer to the ideology of the translators in its negative meaning. This is because the term ideology as a concept involves manipulation of the original message to affect the intended readers. However, in translating the *Discussion Papers* of King Abdullah II ibn Al Hussein the main concentration is on the function and the purpose of the translation. The *Discussion Papers* have the determination of telling the world that Jordan is willing to change into a democratic country. Translators in their process of translating tend to change, delete, tone down, substitute, and add what suits the purpose and the function of the translation. In addition, translators produce texts that suit the target readers' language. To pursue this aim several examples are chosen from the *Discussion Papers* of Abdullah II ibn Al Hussein. This thesis examines two major issues. First, it examines the translation of the political messages. Second, it examines the translation strategies used in translating religious references, metaphors and the term democracy and its collocations. By incorporating a critical discourse analysis, the Source Text (ST) and the Target Text (TT) are compared to determine the micro-translation strategies opted for by the translators. It is concluded that despite the multiplicity of translation strategies opted for in the translation, the concentration is to produce texts that serve the purpose and the function of the Source Text and to produce a Target Text that matches the linguistic norms of the TT readers' language. Furthermore, Skopos Theory is valid for translating political discourse.

Search Terms: Political Discourse, Religious References, Metaphor, Democracy, Discourse Analysis

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Chapter One: Introduction

Anytime we encounter political discourse, ideology is involved. Therefore, when it comes to the translation of political discourse, the issue of ideology becomes even more apparent, and is often viewed from a negative perspective by scholars in the field of translation. This is due to the fact that the term 'ideology', as a concept, involves manipulation of the original message to affect the intended readers. Through the process of translating, translators have a variety of methods at their disposal that suit the purpose and function of the translation. They can change, delete, or substitute, all in a bid to produce texts that will suit the target readers' language.

This particular thesis will focus on the translation of the *Discussion Papers* of King Abdullah II ibn Al Hussein of Jordan, with the main focus being on the function and purpose of the translation. In order to pursue this objective, the thesis will thoroughly evaluate several examples chosen from the *Discussion Papers*. The samples chosen are mainly cultural or contain religious references. The rationale for looking at these particular themes is that when translating political texts, translators often encounter problems when translating cultural aspects such as religious references, metaphors, and the political messages themselves. This thesis will incorporate critical discourse analysis in order to compare the Source Text (ST) and the Target Text (TT). This is done in order to understand which micro-translation strategies the translators opted to utilize, and further, analyzes issues of political messages, religious references, and metaphors.

The *Discussion Papers* of King Abdullah II ibn Al Hussein are political par excellence (henceforth, *Discussion Papers*). These *Discussion Papers* fit under the category of political genre. They tackle issues of democracy, debate between people and the government, the political process in Jordan, elections, political parties, democratization, parliamentary governments, and many other issues.

The *Discussion Papers* are chosen for this study for several reasons. First, the *Discussion Papers* are submitted by a king who addresses his people through written texts, not in the form of speeches. Second, they come at a time, from a political point of view that is considered sensitive for the future of a country like Jordan. That is the increased voices for reforming the regime in Jordan as opposed to calls for changing the regimes in other countries. These voices and calls increased dramatically after the

rise of the "Arab Spring". These *Discussion Papers* came as a response to those calls. The king took a step forward and outlined the process of democratization in Jordan. Thus, the translation is also sensitive. The translation reflects the sensitivity of the political discourse in the *Discussion Papers* and the time when they were released. Third, the translation is institutional. The producers of the Source Texts are the translators. This adds challenge to the translators. Finally, the *Discussion Papers* contain quotations from the Holy Qur'an as religious references and include plenty of metaphors that add flavor to the texts.

The data are collected from the official website of King Abdullah II ibn Al Hussein under the link *Discussion Papers* (http://www.kingabdullah.jo/) starting from December 2012 to September 2014. The *Discussion Papers* are five and appear in both Arabic and English. These *Discussion Papers* function to initiate a discussion about the process of democratization in Jordan. A discussion that will change the political situation and is considered as a national project. The selected parts from the *Discussion Papers* are analyzed. The analysis involves a critical discourse analysis. Moreover, the source texts and the target texts are compared to examine the translation strategies that are opted for by the translators. This thesis examines two major issues. First, it examines the translation of the political messages. Second, it examines the translation strategies used in translating religious references, metaphors and the term democracy.

This thesis is divided into five chapters. Chapter One briefly introduces political discourse and the *Discussion Paper*s at the heart of this research. Chapter Two presents the major translation theories in the field of translation studies. It reviews the concept of equivalence and its types, linguistic approaches to translation, shifts in translation and some functional approaches to translation, principally Skopos theory. Further, it presents some of the specialized theories connected with the study of discourse analysis. The chapter concludes that a deep investigation of these theories and approaches results in the impression that they are approximately the same. The expressions and typologies that are used are different but the functions are similar. In addition, the chapter concludes that they can be classified as literal and free translation strategies. Chapter Three discusses the theoretical background of different issues related to political discourse in general. The notions of politics, discourse, and political discourse as a genre are examined, in addition to a discussion of the different approaches to the analysis of political discourse and a theoretical background of the term ideology. Chapter Four examines the translation of the selected pieces of the *Discussion Papers*.

The analysis consists of four categories. The first part inspects the translation of the term democracy and its collocations. The second category includes the translation of the intended political messages, followed by the translation of the religious references, and finally the translation of metaphors. The final chapter, Five, discusses the findings of the thesis. Overall the thesis concludes that Skopos theory is valid for translating political texts, despite the rampant use of micro-translation strategies such as addition, deletion, transposition, and paraphrasing opted for in translating the *Discussion Papers*, the concentration is mainly on the purpose and function of the *Discussion Papers*.

Chapter Two: Major Approaches to Translation

This chapter reviews the principle and most influential translation theories and models in the field of translation studies. They add much to the way translators view translation. The chapter reviews the concept of equivalence and its types, linguistic approaches to translation, shifts in translation, and some functional approaches to translation. In addition, it presents some specialized theories that are used in the translation of discourse. Further, it presents the works of some scholars in the field of translation.

2.1 Equivalence

According to Munday (2008a, p. 36) the importance of equivalence arises for two reasons. First, it provides a more systematic view of translation. Second, it has the advantage of moving translation from the two opposites of literal and free methods of translation. However, the importance of equivalence in translation is debatable. There are different views regarding the effectiveness of the concept of equivalence in translation. Kenny (1998, p. 77) summarizes these views in three diverse points. First, equivalence can be viewed as a beneficial category to translation, or as an obstacle to the progress of translation studies. And finally, equivalence is seen as a necessary condition for translation. This disagreement on the usefulness of equivalence in translation is a problem in itself.

Scholars vary in their points of view regarding the notion of equivalence. According to Kenny (1998), "Baker uses the notion of equivalence for the sake of convenience-because most translators are used to it rather than because it has any theoretical status" (p. 77).

Another problem with equivalence is its various typologies. Some scholars concentrate on equivalence at the level of ranks, while others concentrate on equivalence at the level of meaning. For the rank level, the focus is directed to word, sentence, and text levels. For the meaning level, the focus is directed at the denotative, connotative, and pragmatic levels (Kenny, 1998, p. 77).

When it comes to the translation of idioms, achieving equivalence is an issue that causes many challenges to translators. Bassnett (2002, p. 32) highlights the problem of translating idioms from English into Italian. Translating idioms causes problems to translators because of their cultural nature. Idioms, proverbs, and puns are all the

outcome of cultural experiences that are associated with a group of people at a certain time and place. Therefore, creating the same effect seems impossible in these cases. At this point, there are scholars who are skeptical about the concept of equivalence and they give a justification for this negative view towards it. Further, in translation equivalence does not mean sameness. According to Bassnett (2002), "Equivalence in translation, then, should not be approached as a search for sameness, since sameness cannot even exist between two TL versions of the same text, let alone between the SL and TL version" (pp. 37-38).

Equivalence has received much attention from many scholars. For example, Kenny (1998, p. 77) under the title *typology of equivalence* revisits several types of equivalence. Each dissimilar type defines equivalence differently. Here arises the question of whether there is one specific definition of equivalence. For example, the *Oxford Dictionary* defines equivalence as "The condition of being equal or equivalent in value, worth, function, etc." The problem with this definition is that it sounds general. It works for mathematics and other sciences but it is not helpful for translation studies.

Simply put the basic meaning and function of equivalence is based on the principle that the same word, expression and idea in both the SL and the TL has the same impact or influence on the native speakers of the two languages. However, the definition of equivalence varies according to the kind of typology that is used to describe it. Below is a review of the major works on different types of equivalence and their definitions.

Early on, Kade (1968, cited in Kenny, 1998, p. 78) introduces four types of lexical equivalence i.e., equivalence at the level of words. These types are as follows: one-to-one equivalence, one-to-many equivalence, one-to-part-of-one equivalence, and nil equivalence. Furthermore, Bassnett (2002, p. 33) presents the four types of equivalence proposed by Popovic. These types are as follows:

1. Linguistic equivalence refers to the linguistic harmony between texts and word-for-word translation is used.
2. Paradigmatic equivalence refers to the equivalence at the level of grammar.
3. Stylistic (translational) equivalence refers to equivalence at the level of function. That is the expressing of identity.
4. Textual (syntagmatic) equivalence refers to equivalence at the two levels of form and shape.

A major work on equivalence is that of Roman Jakopson who introduced three ways of interpreting verbal signs or three types of translation. These are intralingual or the process of *rewording*, which exists within the same language, interlingual or *translation proper,* which exists between two different languages, and intersemiotic or *"transmutation"*, which is the transfer of a verbal sign into a non-verbal sign (Venuti, 2000, p. 114).

What is of concern is the interlingual type that refers to the translation between two different languages. Roman Jakobson distinguishes between the two concepts of the signifier and the signified. Venuti (2000, p. 113), in his discussion of Jakobson's work, provides examples of words like "cheese", "nectar", and "apple" to give evidence that their meanings are merely linguistic or semiotic ones. Further, he uses the two terms of *signatum* and *signum*. In this regard, Venuti argues that synonyms cannot provide complete equivalence as well as code-units. Message transfer involves transferring the whole message not unit-codes of the message. An example is the translation of reported speech from one language into another.

This discussion refers to one issue of translation, which is the linguistic meaning. The second issue is equivalence in meaning. The focus is on the transfer of the message from one language to another. This transfer sounds unachievable because of the differences in the linguistic features, namely grammar and lexis (Munday, 2008a). According to Munday (2008a, p. 38) Nida's (2001) work is deemed influential to translation studies for two reasons. First, Nida incorporates science in his analysis. He uses principles from Chomsky's theory, in particular the generative-transformational grammar. Second, Nida's experience comes from his work in translating the Bible. Furthermore, Nida was influenced by Chomsky's classification of human language as consisting of deep structures and surface structures with more attention on the concept of "kernel sentences" of language. (Munday, 2008a, p. 40).

For Nida (2001) there are two types of equivalence: formal equivalence and dynamic equivalence. Formal equivalence focuses on achieving equivalence of the message in its form and content. This type is called gloss translation by Nida. Formal equivalence is SL structure-oriented. It determines the accuracy and correctness of translation. Dynamic equivalence takes into account the linguistic and cultural aspects of the receptor. It helps in producing a translation that is natural for the receptors.

Examples from the *Discussion Papers* might be the translation of the following headings (capitalization is from the original texts):

1) وتنطلق الحملات الانتخابية

The Coming Campaign

2) احترام الرأي الآخر أساس الشراكة بين الجميع

RESPECT FOR ALL FELLOW CITIZENS IS THE ESSENSE OF OUR UNITY

3) المواطنة لا تكتمل إلا بممارسة واجب المساءلة

CITIZENSHIP AND ACCOUNTABILITY GO HAND IN HAND

4) قد نختلف لكننا لا نفترق فالحوار والتوافق واجب وطني مستمر

HARNESSING DISAGREEMENT INTO COMPROMISE WHILE MAINTAINING
CONTSTANT DIALOGUE

5) جميعنا شركاء في التضحيات والمكاسب

SHARED GAINS AND SACRIFICES

It is clear that the translation of the headings is flexible and creative. It aims at producing headings that are communicative and acceptable to the English target readers.

Koller (1997, cited in Munday (2008a, pp.46-47) introduces the two concepts of equivalence and correspondence. This is the second type associated with contrastive linguistics because it compares and contrasts two different language systems. For Koller there are five types of equivalence. These are denotative equivalence, text-normative equivalence, pragmatic equivalence, and formal equivalence.

Clearly, from the above review, the distinction is made between two general types of equivalence. One type concentrates on achieving equivalence at the form level of the text, while the other type concentrates on the content of the text. However, theorists do not take into consideration the ties between form, content and the cultural factors that affect the production of texts.

For examining the notion of equivalence and its validity in translating political discourse, the following excerpt is taken from the *Discussion Papers* of King Abdullah II ibn Al Hussein. The four conditions that are proposed by Munday (2008a, p. 42) are applied. These conditions are necessary for achieving the same equivalence and naturalness:

1. The translation should make sense.
2. The translation should convey the spirit and manner of the original.
3. The translation should have natural and easy expressions.
4. The translation should produce a similar response between the SL and TL users.

An example from the *Discussion Papers* would be the following:

ST:

"**إن** التحلي بالاحترام والمروءة **هي** من المبادئ التي نعتز بها في ثقافتنا العربية، وعلينا أن نوظف هذه المبادئ كأسس للانخراط في الحياة السياسية. ومن الضرورة بمكان أن ننوّه إلى أن عدم الاحترام لا يكون في الاختلاف في وجهات النظر، وإنما في رفض الاستماع لوجهات النظر **المختلفة. فالاختلاف في الرأي لا يفسد للود قضية.** كما أن حواراتنا ونقاشاتنا يجب أن تُبنى على معلومات موضوعية من أجل الوصول إلى قرارات تخدم المصلحة العامة، لا على الإشاعات، والعدمية المطلقة التي تنكر على الوطن إنجازاته وتطوره، ولا على التنظير والتشخيص غير الموضوعي للماضي دون طرح البدائل والحلول العملية للحاضر والمستقبل"
(الورقة الرابعة)

TT:

"Honour and respect are of course cherished pillars of our Arab culture. We must use them to our advantage as they provide strong foundations upon which we can and should engage in political life. **But** it is important to emphasise that we disrespect and dishonor others not when we disagree with them, but whenever we are not willing to listen to their point of view. Our debates to make the best possible decisions in the interest of the nation as a whole should be guided by objective facts, not rumours and hearsay, nor nihilistic skepticism vis-à-vis our collective achievements as a nation, nor theorizing and over-diagnosing the past, without providing workable solutions for present and future challenges."(DP. 4)

At the level of the political messages intended in this example, the translation sounds successful. The use of language sounds natural and smooth and might create the same influence on the English target readers as the influence on the source language readers. The expressions that are used in the translation are simple. The target text is written to create the same responses on the target readers. In the example, the re-writing involves several translation strategies. The deletion of words such as ان and هي that are not necessary to be added in the target text, and the addition of the additive marker "but" to introduce the argument.

When it come to the translation of the Arabic fixed expression "فالاختلاف في الرأي لا يفسد للود قضية" which is deleted from the target text, the meaning and the intended political message of the source text are clear without the translation of this expression. However, achieving the same equivalence and creating the same influence is questionable. Further, this expression is purely an Arabic cultural expression. There is no English equivalent to replace it. The best strategy is to paraphrase the expression, i.e., reword it. A suggested translation into English might be "**diversity of opinions doesn't ruin intimacy**", or "**disagreement doesn't damage intimacy**". Including a

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translation of the Arabic expression not only adds improved quality to the translation, but also facilitates the readers' understanding of the text and it might create the same influence.

When it comes to culture, the question of whether a translator can achieve equivalence in cultural references of one language into another is of high value. Faiq (2007, p. 1) puts it clearly:

> The search for equivalence in translation has often led theorists and translators alike to focus on aspects of either the form or content, ignoring along the way the fact that any text produced in a given language is the product of a unique union between both form and content (manner and matter), and, more importantly, that it is embedded in a specific cultural context.

However, if equivalence concentrates on one side and neglects the other side, the result will be an inadequate translation. There must be some loss in the translation at the two levels of content or form. Bassnett (2002, p. 39) gives an example of loss in translation from one language into another because of the cultural aspects of each language. For example, from Arabic into English there is the issue of different aspects of camel behavior, while in Finnish there exist different kinds of snow, in English there are issues of light and water, and in French there is the problem of translating the many different words for types of bread. This phenomenon of variations may result in something becoming untranslatable.

2.2 Linguistic Approaches

This section reviews useful linguistic approaches to translation. Namely, Vinay and Derbelnet's Model and Catford's Shifts. A brief discussion on the relationship between linguistics and translation is presented first.

2.2.1 The Relationship between Linguistics and Translation

Fawcett (1998b, p.120) highlights the debate between scholars about the relationship between linguistics and translation. This debate hinges on whether or not linguistics and translation can go together in the same way, or if they are two separate approaches. Furthermore, the relationship between linguistics and translation is uncertain.

However, Fawcett (1998b, p. 124) argues that both linguistics and translation can benefit from each other in two different ways. Firstly, as long as sociolinguistics is the study of the relationship between language and the social situations, then this can be applied to translation, in particular the study of dialects. Secondly, what can be

applied to specific linguistic elements in a text can be applied to translation as a whole. He gives the example of Nida's (2001) dynamic equivalence that is a sociolinguistic translation since it takes into account the target readers' social and cultural backgrounds. Fawcett (1998b, p. 124) concludes that linguistics can be a beneficial tool for studying and analyzing language. Further, linguistics can be a useful tool for checking what is wrong in translation.

2.2.2 Vinay and Darbelnet's Model

According to Munday (2008a, p. 56) Vinay and Darbelnet identified the different translation strategies used in translation. They identified two major translation strategies, and called them direct translation and oblique translation. Each translation strategy involves sub-strategies.

For direct translation, the following three strategies are identified:

1- Borrowing: when the SL word is transferred directly to the TL. It is a useful strategy because it fills "a semantic gap in the TL" and it adds "a local color" (Munday 2008a, p. 56). An example of borrowing from the *Discussion Papers* is the transfer of the Arabic word **أكيد** which means "for sure" in English. The strategy used here is transliteration. The purpose is to preserve the local color of the Arabic text.

ST:

"كما سيطلق برنامج التمكين الديمقراطي قريبا مبادرة أخرى في ذات الأهمية، وهي "مرصد مصداقية الإعلام الأردني – **أكيد**"، بالشراكة مع معهد الإعلام الأردني. وتهدف هذه **المبادرة** إلى تمكين المواطنين من الاطلاع بشكل موثوق ودقيق على أبرز القضايا التي تعنيهم، وذلك من خلال المساهمة في التأكد من صحة التقارير والمعلومات الواردة في أبرز وسائل الإعلام الصحفية والإلكترونية، وهو الأمر الذي يشكل عنصراً هاماً في تعزيز نظامنا السياسي ليكون أكثر شفافية ومساءلة من قبل المواطنين" (الورقة الخامسة)

TT:

"Demoqrati will shortly launch an equally important new initiative, ***Akeed***, in partnership with the Jordan Media Institute. By helping to check and verify news reports concerning government and elected politicians in popular media outlets from newspapers to websites, ***Akeed*** is designed to help citizens become fully and accurately informed about issues that matter to them - an important new element of making our political system more transparent and accountable to the public" (DP.5)

2- Calque: is another form of borrowing, where the SL expression is transferred literally.

Examples from the *Discussion Papers* are the translation of "خارطة الطريق" as "roadmap", الربيع العربي as "Arab spring", "اتخاذ القرار" as "choice-making", نعطي كما "roadmap",

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"نأخذ" as "give and take", يدا بيد as " hand in hand", "هدفها النهائي" "end-goal", " تحت مظلة" as "under the umbrella ", " حكومة الظل" as "shadow government"

3- Literal translation: this works better when translating between two languages of the same family. The SL word or expression is translated word-for-word. Literal translation has its problems, as it could produce a different meaning or have no meaning at all.

Examples from the *Discussion Papers* are the translation of some of the headings and sub-headings. The translation is adequate because there is no other way to translate them.

The Role of the Prime دور رئيس الوزراء ومجلس الوزراء/ The Role of the Citizen, دور المواطن/ Minister and Council of Ministers, دور الأحزاب السياسية/ The Role of Political Parties

Translators use oblique translation when literal translation does not work. It includes the following strategies:

1. Transposition: this involves the change of one part of speech. For example, a verb from the SL becomes a noun or an adverb becomes a verb. Examples from the *Discussion Papers* might be the translation of "متجددة وحيوية" as "vibrant", the adjective becomes a noun as in the translation of "الديموقراطية" in مسيرتنا الديمقراطية into "our democracy."

2. Modulation: this involves the change of the meaning and the ideas of the SL. For example, يطرحها المواطنون translated as "facing our country."

3. Equivalence: is useful for translating idioms, fixed expressions and proverbs.

4. Adaptation: is used when the TL does not have the same cultural reference as the SL. Therefore, translators change the cultural reference of the SL to fit the TL and to suit the target readers' social backgrounds (Munday, 2008a, pp. 56-59). For example, مجلس النواب becomes the "parliament" instead of the House of Representatives.

Venuti (2000, p. 84) mentions that Vinay and Darbelnet's seven methods or procedures of translation can be used separately or combined. In addition, these methods can be used together in the same sentence. An example from the *Discussion Papers* might be the translation of مجلس النواب as Parliament. It fits under the two strategies of modulation and transposition.

Venuti (2000, p. 84) argues that in some cases it is appropriate to transfer the message elements of the SL to the TL directly because the SL and the TL are parallel structurally and conceptually. That is structural parallelism and metalinguistic

parallelism. However, if it is not applicable to transfer the message directly, then the oblique method is used.

The strategy of borrowing is adapted by translators to fill a gap between the SL and the TL. The examples given by Venuti (2000, p. 85) are the new technical processes and unknown concepts. In addition, some borrowed words become part of the language. They become linguistic parts in the language. This phenomenon in the language is used to preserve and keep the spirit and the local color of the SL. There are two types of calque: lexical calque and structural calque.

2.2.3 Catford's Shifts

Under the category of the linguistic aspect of translation, Catford (1965) introduced the term "shifts" to refer to the changes take place between the SL and the TL through the process of translation (Munday, 2008, p. 60). Language is seen as a system which is made up of structures with different levels and ranks. Shifts are defined as "departures from formal correspondence in the process of going from the SL to the TL" (Hatim & Munday, 2004, p. 26). The main two distinctions are made between formal correspondence and textual correspondence. This distinction is based originally on the Saussurian distinction between langue and parole (Hatim & Munday, 2004).

Formal correspondence deals with categories, levels, and ranks in the target language that takes the same place in the TL nearly as the same categories of levels and ranks take place in the source language. It is about units in the language. Textual correspondence deals with the text as a whole unit or part of a text that is equivalent to the source language text or part of text (Munday, 2008, p. 60).

Catford distinguished between full translation and partial translation. Full translation means that the text as a whole and every element in the source text is replaced by elements from the target text. Partial translation means that some parts of the source text are not translated (Fawcett, 1998b, p. 121). At the level of languages, the distinction is made between total translation, which means that all the source language linguistic levels are substituted by target language materials and restricted translation, which is restricted to only one level.

There are two types of shifts: shift of level and shift of category. Level shift occurs between the grammar and lexis of two languages. While category shifts are made up of four types as discussed by Munday (2008a, pp.60-61):

1. Structural shifts are shifts that occur in the grammatical structure of a language.
2. Class shifts are shifts that involve the change in parts of speech.

3. Unit shift or rank shifts are shifts that occur at the level of ranks of the language starting from the smallest unit of language, which is the morpheme to the sentence.

4. Intra-system shifts are shifts that occur when the two languages have systems that correspond to each other but in translation there is a shift.

Examples of category shifts might be the translation of "الحكومات البرلمانية" into "parliamentary **government**". The plural becomes singular in the translation of "عملية الإصلاح" as "reforms".

Although Catford's work is described by some scholars as weak, Fawcett (1998b) maintains that "It does, however, remain one of the very few truly original attempts to give a systematic description of translation from a linguistic point of view" (p. 121).

2.3 Functional Approaches

The following section reviews some of the major theories of translation that diverge from linguistic principles. These theories focus on two main things: the function and the purpose of translation.

2.3.1 Text and Text Types

Melby and Foster (2010) confirm that context is important for translators and translation. Translators cannot ignore the essentials of context to their work. They give an example of a single word that cannot be translated without it exists within a context and both the SL and the TL have the same interpretation of the same word. Moreover, context is valuable for sense-for-sense translation as opposed to literal translation. They present and describe five aspects of context that are important to "translators, translation, translation project managers, buyers of translation services and those responsible for the authoring of texts that will be translated" (Melby & Foster, 2010, p. 1).

Their classification of text aspects is based on their work in Human–Computer Interaction. However, this classification is useful for translation studies as mentioned before. These aspects of context are as follows:

1. Co-text: the surrounding texts.
2. Rel-text: the related documents and other sources.
3. Chron-text: the history of a text and its future.
4. Bi-text: bilingual information.

5. Non-text: beyond the text, the paralinguistic information (Melby & Foster, 2010, pp.1-2).

Kathrina Reiss introduced the text type approach to translation in the 1970s. It mainly views the text as a unit of translation, not words or sentences, in order to achieve communication and equivalence. The functions of language works as the basis for this approach. Each text has features that distinguish it from other types. For Reiss there are four text types: informative, expressive, operative, and audio-medial text (cited in Munday, 2008a, p. 72).

The first type is the informative texts where the focus is mainly on the communication of content. The transmission of information is completely logical. The second type is the expressive text where the focus is on the author's points of view and the form of the author's intended message. The third type is the operative text where the focus is on the function of the text, for example persuasion, and it comes in a dialogue form. The fourth type, which is added by Reiss herself, is the audio-medial test. This type refers to the images, music and other effects that go with the other three types and add something to them (cited in Munday, 2008a, p. 72).

The text types approach to translation is ST-oriented. The ST is the point of reference for the translator. Nevertheless, there are occasions where a text fits under two types of text. In this case, it is called a hybrid text. For example, a sermon can be informative since it gives information about religion or an operative since it aims at convincing and persuading people to follow certain rules (Munday, 2008a, pp. 72-73).

The *Discussion Papers* are a kind of hybrid text. They fit under the categories of informative, expressive, and operative. The *Discussion Papers* provide information related to the steps that are fundamental for arriving at the stage of democratization in Jordan. They include historical and factual information. The *Discussion Papers* provide readers with information to support the political messages and the different points of view by the king. They serve the expressive category. Both the static information and the intended messages function to persuade, encourage, advise, praise, compare, and warn.

2.3.2 Theory of Translational Action

Justa Holz-Manttary introduced the functional-oriented approach to translation, known as translational action. In this theory, translation is seen as an intercultural communication process. The source text and the target text linguistics have no significance in the translation process. The focus is to produce a text that functions

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appropriately in the target language. The cooperation between the professionals and clients greatly influences the translation.

What actually distinguishes this theory is that the source text is considered as just a tool to provide the information. The source text itself is not important. The purpose and the function of the target text are what are seen as valuable. As such, the subject matter, the text classes, and genre of the target text govern the target text. The textual profile of the target text is not necessary to resemble the textual profile of the source text. The important thing is the function of the TT in the TL (Schaffner, 1998, pp. 3-4).

According to Munday (2008a, p. 77) the purpose for proposing this theory is to provide a model that can work for "a wide range of professional translation situations". Furthermore, this theory views translation as "purpose-driven, outcome-oriented human interaction" and views the process of translation as a message-transmitter with its focus on the intercultural transfer. The focus is on three factors: the function, the purpose and the outcome of the translation (Munday, 2008a, p. 77).

In this theory, there are several participants in the process of translation and these participants have roles in the circle of translation. Munday (2008a, p.78) mentions that each participant has primary and secondary goals and puts them this way:
1- The initiator 2- the commissioner 3- The ST producer 4- The TT producer 5- The TT user and 6- The TT receiver.

Translational action has received praise and criticism. Some of the points of criticism are about the complexity of its jargon (Munday, 2008a, p. 79). Also, Schaffner (1998, p. 4) describes the roles assigned for each participant as being extremely complex. Further, she adds that the translational action must consider all aspects of the process of human communication, mainly the culture of the communicators and the process of text production. The theory requires more explanation of the notion of the expert action.

The importance of this theory stems from its focus on putting translation in its sociocultural context and real-world situations, particularly commercial translation. However, one of its drawbacks is that it should "consider cultural difference in more details" (Munday: 2008a, p. 79).

2.3.3 Skopos Theory

Skopos is a technical term that means purpose. The German linguist Hans J. Vermeer introduced the word to translation studies for the first time in the 1970s.

Skopos theory presents a model of translation that goes far beyond the linguistic approaches to translation. It takes much from translational action theory and other functional theories. The need for translating non-literary works is what gives the spirit for this theory. For example, the translation of scientific and academic papers, instructions, tourist guides, contracts and the like (Schaffner, 1998, p. 235). The basic feature of Skopos is its concentration on the function of the text being translated as well as the cultural values of the TT readers (Schaffner, 1998, p. 235).

As the meaning of Skopos implies "the purpose", the main concentration is on the purpose of the translation. The purpose then determines both the translation model and the strategies that can be used by translators to arrive at a translation deemed functionally appropriate. The product is called the *translatum* (Munday, 2008a, p. 79). Schaffner (1998) says that Skopos views translation as a human action and it is regulated by the purpose of the intended readers of the target text; essentially it is a target reader-oriented theory.

Skopos theory has rules that govern how it works. Munday (2008a, p. 80) summarizes the basic rules of Skopos theory as follows:

1. A *translatum* (or TT) is determined by its Skopos.
2. A TT is an offer of information in a target culture and TL concerning an offer of information in a source culture and SL.
3. A TT does not initiate an offer of information in a clearly reversible way.
4. A TT must be internally coherent.
5. A TT must be coherent with the ST. The five rules above stand in hierarchical order, with the Skopos rule predominating.

There are two key rules that are influential to Skopos. These are the coherence rule and the fidelity rule. The coherence rule is that the TT must be coherent for the TT receivers to understand it taking into account the background knowledge and the circumstances of the target text readers. The fidelity rule is that the translatum must be coherent with the ST. This includes the information in the ST (Munday, 2008a, p. 80). Schaffner (1998) adds an important idea that the text becomes "part of the world continuum" of the recipient (p. 236). Furthermore, there must be intertextual coherence between the ST and the translatum (Schaffner, 1998, p. 236).

Unlike translational action theory, which views the ST as a minor factor, the ST has significance in Skopos theory. The source text and the target text are both valuable

and their relationship is determined by their Skopos, the purpose, and the function of translation.

Certainly, there are many advantages of Skopos theory. Munday (2008a, p.80) argues that Skopos is useful because it gives translators the freedom to translate the same source text differently based on the purpose of the target text and on the commission assigned to the translators. In doing so, translators can use the appropriate translation strategies without using footnotes to clarify unclear ideas. This could be useful in translating cultural notions where there is no direct equivalence in the TT.

However, on the other hand, Skopos has also received some criticisms. Munday (2008a, p.81) summarizes them as follows:

1. The validity of Skopos for the translation of literary works is questionable. Skopos is useful only for non-literary works.
2. Skopos does not pay much attention to the linguistic features of the ST.
3. There are questions as to the usefulness of the jargon such as the term "translatum" to translation studies.
4. The source text type determines the translation strategy.

Skopos theory focuses on the purpose and the function of the translated texts.

The purpose and the function of translating the *Discussion Papers* is to show the English target reader as well as human rights organizations that Jordan is intent on making democracy one of the pillars of the country under the constitutional monarchy of King Abdullah II ibn Al Hussein. The *Discussion Papers* provide the information. The translators use several micro strategies to achieve the purpose and function of the translation. There are no clear deviations from the source text. The focus is on the political messages regardless of the strategies used.

2.3.4 Translation-Oriented Text Analysis

Text analysis theory was introduced by Christina Nord. It focuses on the analysis of text organization above the level of sentence. Nord distinguishes between two types of translation. There is documentary translation, which is like literal and word-for-word translation. With this type of translation some cultural terms are transferred to the TT to maintain the spirit of the ST as in literary translations. The other type is an instrumental translation; wherein, the message is transferred independently. Nord calls this type of translation "function-preserving translation". It is like Skopos, but with ideology (Munday, 2008a, p. 82).

2.4 Specialized Theories

2.4.1 Pragmatic Equivalence

In her discussion of pragmatic equivalence, Baker (2011) says that pragmatics is an interesting area of language. She defines pragmatics as the study of language in use. Furthermore, pragmatic equivalence helps readers form and make sense of a certain text. Pragmatics are based on two major factors. The first is the experiences and expectations shared by the readers and the hearers. The second is the background knowledge of the world of both the reader and hearer (Baker, 2011, p. 230).

Further, Baker (2011, p. 230) argues that the notion of pragmatics is based on the study of language in use. It is the study of meaning, not as generated by the linguistic system, but as conveyed and manipulated by participants in a communicative situation" (Baker, 2011, p. 230).

Similarly, Renkema (2004) defines pragmatics as "the study of acts" (p. 35). It relates to the study of *signs*, which is known as semiotics. Based on Peirce a sign is connected to "its object and its interpretant" (p. 35). The interpretant refers to when a sign is directed to somebody, and this sign has an "idea" in the mind of the addressee. Renkema (2004, pp. 35-36) mentions that Peirce distinguishes between three types of signs:

1. A sign as an icon where the sign resembles the object, for example, pictures.
2. A sign as an index where the sign directs the attention to the object, for example, the weathercock sign as an index of the wind.
3. A sign as a symbol where most words are symbols (Renkema, 2004, p. 36).

2.4.2 Implicature

Another fascinating area of study is the notion of implicature. Baker (2011) defines implicature as "the question of how it is that we come to understand more than is actually said" (p. 235). Similarly, Renkema, (2004, p.18) defines it as when an utterance conveys a meaning that goes beyond the literal meaning of the utterance. Both Baker and Renkema, uses Grice's taxonomy or maxims of four "Co-operative Principles". These maxims are as follows:

1. Quantity: refers to the amount of information given in a text.
2. Quality: refers to the pieces of information being true or false.
3. Relevance: refers to being relevant to the existing situation, simply, being relevant.

4. Manner: refers to the way information is presented. It should be clear, not ambiguous, brief and in order.

Renkema, (2004, p.19) argues that the cooperative principle is important in describing how people can derive implicatures. In discourse studies Renkema contends that these maxims help in describing how listeners or readers derive information that is not mentioned in an utterance. She adds that it is the maxim of relevance that has received more attention than other maxims. This is due to the fact that it is unclear how to decide whether a contribution in a conversation is relevant or not.

On the other hand, explicature, which based on the theory of Sperber and Wilson is "The specification of underspecified utterances" and degree of relevance (Renkema, 2004, p. 23).

2.4.3 The Speech Act Theory

According to Renkema (2004), speech act theory views language as a "form of acting" (p. 12). This theory arose from the school of philosophy "*ordinary language philosophy*"; wherein, the philosophers were interested in studying and analyzing "ordinary language" and its connection to "reality" (p. 12). It concentrates on studying how individuals perform speech acts.

Speech act theory mainly focuses on "how meaning and action are related to language" (Schiffrin, 1994, p. 49). Speech act theory concentrates on finding solutions to problems fundamental to discourse analysis. For example, how an utterance performs one or more speech acts at the same time and how context and illocutionary forces are interrelated. Speech act theory is the result of the fruitful work of two philosophers, John Austin and John Searle. Their initial work was based on the classification of utterances as being "performatives" and "constatives". Later this classification collapsed and the focus was directed to the notion of speech acts as:

1. Locutionary act: which is the "production of sounds and words with meanings."
2. Illocutionary act: which is the "issuing of an utterance with conventional communicative force achieved 'in saying'."
3. Perlocutioanry act: which is the "actual effect achieved" by saying"(Schiffrin, 1994, p. 51).

Searl (1979) cited in Schiffrin (1994, p. 57) proposes five categories of speech acts. These are: representatives, directives, commissives, expressives, and declaratives. Under each category, there are subcategories.

Speech act theory developed from the philosophical view of language. That is, people do many things when they use the language. Speech acts is the study of language away from its linguistic features. It is "the study of language as interaction" (Van Dijk, 1997, p. 14).

This classification is similar to John Austin's (1976), as cited in Renkema (2004) who distinguishes between the constative and performative. In the former, something is said about reality. In the latter an "act is performed by the utterance itself" (p. 13). However, Renkema (2004) argues that this classification was not successful. Austin then goes on to distinguish three kinds of actions:

1. Locution: that is "the physical act of producing an utterance."
2. Illocution: that is "the act that is committed by producing an utterance."
3. Perlocution: that is the "production of an effect through locution and illocution." (Renkema, 2004, p. 13).

According to Renkema (2004, p.14) speech acts must follow certain conditions, which are called the "appropriateness conditions". That is, the conditions stem from the "situational context". Which are studied under the category of pragmatics. These conditions include:

1. The intentions of the speaker.
2. The knowledge of the speaker.
3. The opinion of the speaker.

From a pragmatic view of translation, Hatim (1998b) states "…..the act of translation itself can be viewed as an attempt at the successful performance of speech acts" (pp. 179-180).

An interesting theory regarding the study of discourse is the politeness theory. This theory is proposed by Erving Goffman (1956), which brings up the *face concept*. It states that participants in social communication need to be "appreciated by the 'positive face' of others and to be free and not interfered with 'negative face' (Renkema, 2004, p. 25).

In a conversation, it is necessary to reduce the violation of one another's face to the minimum. Acts of violating the other's face is referred to as "face threatening acts". Therefore, the solution is to use the "face work techniques". These include the "solidarity politeness" that is connected with positive face, and the "respect politeness" that is connected with negative face (Renkema, 2004, p. 25). However, contrary to these proposed theories, Fawcett (1998b) claims that speech acts analysis is not necessarily

useful, because literal translations produce the same effects of the speech acts of the source text.

2.5 The Works of Some Scholars in the Field of Translation

2.5.1 Hatim and Mason

Hatim and Mason present a model for the study of discourse in which they focus on three notions: the ideational, the inter-personal function, and the semiotics of discourse. They study the changes that occur in the TT and how these changes affect the overall ideational function. In addition, they study the inappropriate translation of modality and its effect on the message in the TT. Their semiotic model of analyzing texts views language and text as realizations of the relation between factors: social, cultural and power relations (Munday, 2008a, pp. 98-99).

In particular, Hatim and Mason distinguish between two elements in a text that translators should pay attention to: the dynamic element wherein literal translation does not work because it is challenging and the stable element where literal translation can work (Munday, 2008a, pp. 99-100).

The consensus is that discourse is "the study of language beyond the level of the sentence" Hatim (1998a, p. 67). From a linguistic point of view, discourse analysis is of two types: the first type looks at how texts are put together. This includes several points of texts in terms of:

1. The product and form.
2. Sequential relationships.
3. Intersentential structure.
4. Organization and mapping (Hatim, 1998a, p. 67).

The second type looks at how texts "hang together". This includes:

1. Negotiated procedures.
2. Interpretation of sequence and structure.
3. The social relationships emanating from interaction (Hatim, 1998a, p. 67).

From the above classification, the second type to the study of discourse is the optimum method. This superiority appears from the distinction made between the discourse, genre, and text. Genre refers to "the linguistic expression conventionally associated with certain forms of unity". Text refers to "a sequence of sentences serving an overall rhetorical purpose". Discourse refers to "the material out of which interaction is molded as well as the themes addressed" (Hatim, 1998a, p. 68). Apparently, discourse has the "supremacy" over text and genre. In addition, it offers the

"institutional-communicative framework," while text and genre are only considered the "carriers of the communicative act" (Hatim, 1998a, p. 68).

Hatim (1998a, p. 68) points out two amazing and challenging phenomena of discourse for translators. The first phenomenon is when translators face a "discourse within discourse". He gives an example of the politician Enoch Powel who said, "Immigrants and their offspring". The use of 'offspring' instead of saying 'children', for example causes a problem for translators of what to include and what to exclude in the translation. Because the speaker's knowledge of lexis associated with family relations is obviously limited. It can be seen as "discrimination" from the side of the speaker towards the immigrants. Another problem which stems from such cases is how to deal with the intentions of the speaker, especially as in this case the speaker is seen as being "pernicious". The second phenomenon is the "overlapping discourses". This happens when people are not able to communicate because of the geographical and cultural boundaries. The translator / interpreter plays the role as a "mediator" between the speakers (p. 68).

2.5.2 The Hallidayan Model

Renkema (2004, p. 46) mentions that Michael Halliday and Rugaiya Hassan are considered the father and mother of this approach. It is referred to as the *functional grammar* approach. Because it has roots in semiotics (symbols) and sociology (social context), it is referred to as *socio-semiotic*. The focal point in this approach is that any discourse should be studied in its social context that is the culture and the situation of the discourse.

This model of studying language and discourse is called the "systematic functional grammar"(Munday, 2008a, pp. 90-91). Language grammar is important. It based on the notion that the linguistic choices made by the writer stem from sociocultural factors. It in turn strengthens the function of language as communication. The sociocultural environment influences and determines the genre that is the text type. Under the category of genre, there are three elements. These are: field "what is being written about," tenor "who is communicating and to whom," and mode "the form of communication." (Munday, 2008a, pp. 90-91).

These three classifications form the "discourse semantics" of the text. Discourse semantics are three strands of metafunctions that are recognized by the lexicogrammar. These strands are as follows: ideational, interpersonal, and textual (Munday, 2008a, pp. 90-91).

Renkema (2004) calls them the three aspects of social context and gives detailed explanations of field, tenor, and mode. Field refers to "what is happening, the nature of the social action and about what the participants engaged." In general, it is a sense of the discourse and it is associated with "institutional settings." Tenor refers to the participants, their roles and status. It is about the "role relationship" between participants in terms of "power, social distance, the emotional charge, attitudes and emotions". Mode refers to "the role of language, the participants' expectation about the language, the symbolic organization of the text, its status and function in a context and the rhetorical mode" (pp. 46-47).

2.5.3 Mona Baker

According to Baker (2011), what distinguishes a text from a non-text is that a text has organizational features rather than a group of sentences and paragraphs put together randomly. By text features, Baker (2011) asserts "….these features of text organization are language- and culture-specific" (p. 122). Considering this, it is primary for translators to deal with the text as one unit. That means to have a comprehensive view of the text that goes beyond the lexical and grammatical constituents of language. Baker (2011) puts it succinctly when she argues, "It is nevertheless imperative that we view the text as a whole, both at the beginning and at the end of the process" (p. 121).

Baker (2011) says that translation is a process that includes several steps. These steps begin with the process of reading the source text to form a comprehensive understanding of the message, and end with producing a text that is considered a text in the target language. There are basic factors that determine the nature of the produced target text. These factors based on the text type, the purpose of translation and the linguistic features of the target language.

Language and culture are two fundamental elements that determine the production of any society's discourse. A translator needs to have this in mind when handling any text in order to reach a target text that is equivalent to the source text. Baker (2011) says "….the translator will need to adjust certain features of source-text organization in line with preferred ways of organizing discourse in the target language" (p. 122).

Baker (2011) studies textual equivalence from three aspects:

1. Textual equivalence: thematic and information structure.
2. Textual equivalence: cohesion.
3. Pragmatic equivalence.

Baker (2011) argues that for a text to be identified as a unit or as parts based on the linguistic features of the text in concern. The connections readers usually spot in any text are of three types:

1. Connections that proceed or follow clauses that relate to the development of the topic, i.e., the thematic and information structures.
2. The surface connections that attribute to the interrelationship between persons and events, i.e., cohesion.
3. The underlying semantic connections that attribute to our ability to view a text as a "unit of meaning", i.e., coherence and implicature (p. 123).

Under textual equivalence, Baker (2011) proposes two types: thematic and information structures.

The way linguistic elements are put together in a text play an important role in the final organization of the message at the level of the text and then contribute to the processing and clarity of information, i.e. "information flow" (p. 133).

To achieve the flow of information Baker suggests that in a discourse where a clause is viewed as a message it can be analyzed in terms of thematic structure and information structures. Baker (2011) suggests that a clause can be seen as two parts: the theme and the rheme. Baker (2011) emphasizes that "…every clause has the structure of a message: it says something (the rheme) about something (the theme) (p. 133). This distinction between the two classifications of "the theme and the rheme" from one side and that of "the given and the new" are based on the distinction between the speaker-oriented and the hearer-oriented, according to Baker (2011). The former refers to what message the speaker wants to say. The latter refers to what part of the message is known and what part is new.

Coherence is the second feature of text organization. For Baker (2011) coherence is "the network of lexical, grammatical and other relations which provide links between various parts of a text" (Baker, 2011, p. 190). Coherence facilitates the reader's interpretation and understanding of the text. It is the net or relations of words and expressions that connects and relates sentences and paragraphs together. Coherence is "a surface relation; it connects together the actual words and expressions that we can see or hear" (Baker, 2011, p. 190).

Baker (2011) uses Halliday and Hassan's classification of five cohesive devices that are used in the English language. These devices are references, substitution and ellipsis, conjunction, and lexical cohesion.

Reference is a term used to highlight the relationship between words and their use in real world. The term coherence "is traditionally used in semantics for the relationship which holds between a word and what it points to in real world" (Baker, 2011, p. 190).

Reference in English can be achieved in different ways. Baker (2011, p. 191) explains that one type of reference is by using pronouns. The English language uses items such as pronouns to establish references between words and expression. These include for example, third-person pronouns (he/she/it), second–person pronoun (I/you/we), and other demonstrative pronouns (the/this/that).

The second type of reference is the co-reference. Baker (2011) uses Hoey's definition of co-reference as "co-reference is not strictly a linguistic feature at all but a matter of real-world knowledge" (p. 192).

About substitution and ellipsis Baker (2011) says that they are grammatical categories in contrast with reference, which is a semantic category. Baker explains that, "in substitution, an item (or items) is placed by another item (or items)", while ellipsis "involves the omission of an item", i.e., an item is replaced by nothing (p. 196).

Conjunction, on the other hand, "involves the use of formal markers to relate sentences, clauses and paragraphs to each other" (Baker, 2011, p. 200). The function of conjunctions is that they "signal the way the writer or speaker wants the reader or hearer to relate what is about to be said to what has been said before" (Baker, 2011, p. 200).

Baker (2011) lists the conjunctions in the English language:

1. Additive: and, or, in addition, furthermore, besides, similarly, likewise, by contrast, for instance.
2. Adversative: but, yet, however, instead, on the other hand, nevertheless, at any rate, as a matter of fact.
3. Causal: so, consequently, it follows, for, because, under the circumstances, for this reason.
4. Temporal: then, next, after that, on another occasion, in conclusion, an hour later, finally, at last.
5. Continuatives: now, of course, well, anyway, surely, after all (p. 200).

"Lexical cohesion refers to the role played by the selection of vocabulary in organizing relations within a text" (Baker, 2011, p. 210). There are two main categories of lexical cohesion according to Baker:

1. Reiteration: "the repetition of the lexical items."

2. Collocation: "a pair of lexical items that are associated with each other in the language in some way" (p. 210).

2.6 Commentary and Conclusion

The multiplicity of theories and approaches to translation is a healthy phenomenon. They provide unique and different ways of looking at and handling translation. However, a deep investigation of these theories and approaches results in the impression that they are approximately the same. The expressions and typologies that are used are different, but the functions are nearly the same. The difference might be in labeling these theories and approaches.

Translation has two opposing viewpoints: literal and free. These two views are considered at the heart of translation studies. Through translation studies, they have received an enormous amount of debate and discussion. However, the new typologies discussed above, if compared with these two older viewpoints sound quite similar.

Literal translation is approximately the same as the linguistic equivalence of Popovic the linguistic meaning of Jakobson, the formal equivalence of Nida, the documentary translation of Nord, and the formal correspondence of Catford. While on the other hand, free translation closely resembles the equivalence of meaning of Jakopson, the dynamic equivalence of Nida, the textual equivalence of Catford, Skopos theory of Vermeer, and the instrumental translation of Nord.

Accordingly, translators are free to choose any of these theories and approaches. No theory or an approach is imposed upon translators. Furthermore, no one theory or an approach is championed over the other theories or approaches. In general, they are all useful to translation and translators. In this regard, Nida (2001) in his book *Contexts in Translating* states that

> But what seems even stranger is that for the most part the best professional translators and interpreters have little or no use for the various theories of translation. They regard them as largely as a waste of time, especially since most professional translators regularly and consistently violate so many rules laid down by theorists. (p. 1)

This attitude towards the various translation theories has its reasons. Nida (2001) argues that the rigid terminology used to describe these theories with few examples to explain them is behind this negative attitude. He adds that students in translation programs feel that there is a gap between the theory and the application.

Having introduced some of the major translation theories with their implications in translation, this opens the stage to discuss some of the major works that are influential to the study of texts and political discourse.

Chapter Three: The Political Discourse and Translation

This chapter presents the theoretical background on different issues related to political discourse in general. A brief description of language and its function as a means of communication is visited. The notions of politics, discourse, and political discourse as a genre are examined, and different approaches to the analysis of political discourse are highlighted. Finally, a theoretical background of the term 'ideology' and the relationship between ideology and translation are explained.

3.1 The Function of Language

Recently, there has been great interest in understanding the core and essence of language. Scholars have studied language from different perspectives in their attempts to reach a comprehensive understanding of what language is. However, this goal seems unachievable. Language is one of humans' complex innovations; it is a phenomenon that brings together everything related to humans. The following quotation explains this idea clearly:

> Language is surely as complex a phenomenon as humans have ever wanted to understand, and so far we haven't even come close. We have been retarded in this pursuit by what seems to be a scholarly drive to contract, rather than to expand, the field of vision…As soon as one looks beyond sentences one finds oneself forced to stop dealing with artificial data connected to suit one's purposes, and to look instead at language in use. (Chafe, 1990, p. 21 cited in Nunan, 1993).

In his comment on the above quotation, Nunan (1993) emphasizes two major issues related to language. Firstly, language is absolutely not only signs and symbols. Secondly, there are two aspects of language: the linguistic and non-linguistic aspects. The linguistic aspect is the internal and external elements that combine sentences in a text. The non-linguistic aspect is the content and subject matter of a text. Therefore, language cannot be studied from the linguistic aspect only. It is necessary to study language from the non-linguistic side too. This involves viewing the overall topic of a certain text.

Obviously, language plays a fundamental role in communication between people and nations. However, communicating facts between people is not the only function of language. Language has many other functions, mainly related to humans'

social life activities and the way these social activities are connected with the culture and the identity of humans. Gee (2005) proposes two functions of language. These functions are: 1- to enhance humans to perform their social activities and social identities, and 2- to help human affiliations with their cultures, the social fabrics as groups, and the institutions they establish. In this regard, Van Dijk (1997) argues that language functions as an instrument that enables people to communicate their ideas and beliefs. That is the "communicative event" of language (p. 2).

The view of communication as an action goes back to Buhler's Organon model where Organon means a tool. This model has an important influence on the study of languages in discourse studies. It concentrates on studying the relationship between the sound as a linguistic sign with a sender, a receiver, and an object. The linguistic sign has three functions:

1. As a symptom: it tells us something about the sender.
2. As a symbol: it is about objects.
3. As a signal: it demands the receiver to interpret it (Renkema, 2004, p. 11).

The Organon model views language as an "instrument" to achieve the objectives. In addition, this two-way instrument cannot be isolated from speakers and listeners, or writers and readers in their performance of communicative acts (Renkema, 2004, p. 12).

The study of language and its relationship with human actions, in general and with politics in particular, is not new. This relationship between language and politics began a long time ago. Aristotle makes the connection between "man's political nature and the power of speech" (Fairclough & Fairclough, 2012, p. 19). Speech was used to distinguish between the "useful" and "harmful" and between the "just" and "unjust", which in turn are politics (Fairclough & Fairclough, 2012, p. 19).

Aristotle, in his book *Politics,* distinguishes between three genres of rhetoric that are connected to the notion of speech. These functions are as follows:

1. Deliberative: the function of deliberation is about public affairs, what to do and what we should choose or avoid. These functions of deliberation are used to explain what to do in the future.
2. Forensic or legal rhetoric: this function is to defend or condemn someone's actions. The orientation of this function is towards past events.
3. Epideictic or ceremonial rhetoric: this is the function used to praise or discredit another person's actions (Fairclough & Fairclough, 2012, p. 19).

It is true that in this globalized world, English has become a universal language. However, its function as a political instrument is remarkable. The English language in addition to five other languages makes up the six official languages of the United Nations. According to the official website of the UN, the six official languages are: Arabic, Chinese, English, French, Russian, and Spanish. The website indicates that

> There are six official languages of the UN. These are Arabic, Chinese, English, French, Russian, and Spanish. The correct interpretation and translation of these six languages, in both spoken and written form, is very important to the work of the Organization, because this enables clear and concise communication on issues of global importance. (United Nations)

Here, arises the question of why do Arabs, in particular, and of course many other nations at the global level communicate in English? Craith (2007, p.3) argues that languages are classified as international and national languages. He gives examples of two languages. Arabic and Chinese languages are powerful languages among those people who speak them. Arabic has the privilege of being the language of the Qur'an and the language of Islam. Accordingly, one must imagine the vast number of people who use the Arabic language around the world. Nevertheless, the English language is the most well-known language spoken on earth. Of course, not in terms of the number of native speakers of English, but in terms of the number of users at the global level, who use English as a second language.

English is the language that unites communicators and users at the global level. From this point, it obtains its strength as the language of media of all types, which gives it power over other languages. English, as a language, gains its universality as the language of the internet. In this regard Schaffner (2004) highlights the role of the mass media in "disseminating politics and in mediating between politicians and the public" (p. 118).

Furthermore, languages have always contributed largely in the debate between civilizations. Words are fundamental elements in strengthening and bridging gaps between civilizations with regard to issues that arise through communication. The clashes and misunderstandings between nations can be widened or narrowed depending on the way each side interprets and analyzes the words of others. How people understand a particular word and then interpret its broad meaning is a crucial issue in discussions between and among nations.

Language is power, and can be used as an instrument to give clandestine meanings or change facts. Brock-Utne and Garbo (2009) argue that giving names, for example, is one function of languages and that naming things depends on who gives these names. They give the example of one person carrying out the same action, who can be called a freedom fighter and a terrorist alternatively from the point view of the speaker or the writer.

Different people read the same word with different ideas in their minds and from their backgrounds. Discourse, at the level of texts, is nearly the same but there are other points which should be taken into consideration. At the level of texts, discourse is related to coherence. Nunan (1993) explains that in order to understand and analyze a discourse it is necessary to understand two elements: the vocabulary and the grammar of a text. In addition, it is necessary to know how sentences relate to each other in the texts.

3.2 Discourse

3.2.1 Discourse Studies

Before starting with the term discourse and its implications, it is important to shed some light on the nature of discourse studies and briefly discuss what its purpose is. Discourse studies is a discipline that was established from different disciplines. Generally, it investigates the nature and dimensions of both text and talk. Discourse studies is, as Van Dijk (1997) defines it "a new cross-discipline that comprises the theory and analysis of text and talk in virtually all disciplines of humanities and social sciences" (p. xi).

Discourse studies brings together the three dimensions of language use and the communication of beliefs, ideas, and interaction in social situations. The typical task of discourse studies is to put these elements of discourse under one comprehensive description. Van Dijk (1997) says that discourse studies functions to do the following:

> Provide integrated descriptions of the three main dimensions of discourse: how does language use influence beliefs and interactions, or vice versa, how do aspects of interaction influence how people speak, or how do beliefs control language use and interaction? (p. 3)

Moreover, Van Dijk (1997) explains that this approach to the study of discourse is not restricted to the study of spoken language "talk", but extends to the study of written language "text" and the context in which talk or text exists. Based on the idea

that the way people speak or write is to some extent similar discourse studies are "about talk and text in context" (p. 3).

3.2.2 The Term "discourse"

According to Renkema (2004, p. 48) the word discourse means "to run to and fro" or "to run on". The term "discourse" comes from "discurrere" a Medieval Latin word that means "to circulate."

There are several definitions of the term discourse. Schiffrin (1994) presents and discusses three definitions of discourse. The first two definitions are derived from the "formalist" and the "functionalist" paradigms. The formalist paradigm views discourse as "a particular unit of language"; whereas, the functionalist paradigm views discourse as "a particular focus on language use" (p. 39). The third definition, considered by Schiffrin herself is "discourse is utterances" (p. 39. With this definition, Schiffrin (1994) suggests that discourse "arises not as a collection of decontextualized units of language structure, but as a collection of inherently contextualized units of language use" (p. 39).

A clear result stems from the above discussion. which is that any attempt to analyze language use cannot be done without the fusion of the analysis of two central issues related to language. These are as Schiffrin (1994) postulates the "purposes and functions of language in human life" (p. 31). Of course, the triangular relationship between language, power, and ideology is also crucial to language use.

Similarly, Van Djik (1997, p. 2) describes the term discourse as being a fuzzy, complex phenomenon and vague. The term can be found in studies in the humanities, social sciences, and recently in the mass media. Moreover, the term usually refers to a form of language use, public speeches, and ways of speaking. Essential to discourse are the aspects that answer the questions who, how, why, and when of a discourse. The aspect that answers the question 'where' is also very important. In this instance, the term 'where' refers to the place or the space.

Mills (2004), in his distinction between discourse and ideology and the rise of the term discourse, argues that after the collapse of the Soviet Union and the political system of communism, theorists began to use the term discourse as an alternative for the term ideology. The drive for this shift stemmed from the need for a more practical ways for analyzing the critical factors of thinking and people's behaviors in a more complex way using the term discourse rather than using the term ideology. This is because the term ideology often refers to politics, while the term discourse is broad and

offers a wider umbrella to describe people's ways of thinking without linking them to politics.

3.2.3 Discourse Analysis

Discourse analysis is one of the most well-known branches in linguistics. Nevertheless, it is not defined well. Schiffrin (1994) justifies this problem by saying that it occurs because what we understand about discourse is based on the different disciplines from which the term discourse was originally developed, such as "linguistics, anthropology, sociology, philosophy, communication, social psychology and artificial intelligence" (p. 5). Therefore, the diversity surrounding the term 'discourse' might hinder the ability to agree on one definition on the approach to discourse analysis.

From a linguistic point of view, Schiffrin (1994) describes and compares six different approaches to the linguistic analysis of discourse: (1) speech act theory, (2) interactional sociolinguistics, (3) ethnography of communication, (4) pragmatics, (5) conversation analysis and (6) variation analysis. An examination and analysis of these six approaches shows that they are connected and tangled. According to Schiffrin, (1994) there are three key issues to discourse analysis. These include:

1. "The relationship between structure and function."
2. "The relationship between text and context."
3. "The nature of communication"(p. 18).

Gee (2005) presents an approach to studying discourse through analyzing language in use. He introduces new tools of inquiry Language–in-use is used to build "seven areas of reality" (p. 11). These building tasks are:

1. Significance of a piece of language.
2. The activity or activities a piece of language tends to enact.
3. The identity or identities a piece of language tends to enact.
4. The relationship or relationships a piece of language tends to enact.
5. The politics (social good) a piece of language tends to communicate.
6. The connection and disconnection of things, how they are relevant.
7. The specific sign system a piece of language used (pp. 11-13).

These building tasks work both in directions. They are useful tools for understanding how people build their identities and activities and help in understanding how others do so.

3.3 Politics

3.3.1 Definition of Politics

Schaffner (2004, pp. 118-119) describes politics as a wide and flexible notion. Politics, she argues, depends on two major constituents: language and people who use the language. Furthermore, she argues that politics is the result of people's use of language in the process of establishing their social communities and what is considered "political" mainly depends on the different participants in the communicative context.

As mentioned earlier, language not only functions as a medium for communicating facts, but it acts as the big loop that brings together the social practices of humans. Gee (2005) explains it as follows: "By 'politics' I don't mean 'Democrats' and 'Republican' or national policy concerns. By 'politics' I mean how *social goods* are thought about, argued over, and distributed in society" (p. 2). He adds it is through the choice of grammar that politics is embedded in language.

Bayley (2004) claims that politics have been the subject of many studies in linguistics, and that politics is a "broad macro category" (pp. 7-8). Studies on political language may include studies on the sub-genres, such as electoral language, party political language, language of diplomacy, the language of international relations, the language of social conflict, and the language of parliament.

3.3.2 Political Discourse Analysis

Under the category of political discourse analysis Schaffner (2004, p. 119) argues that the "prototypical" political texts are the ones that are the object of political discourse analysis. These texts are defined by Schaffner (2004) as "texts that are crucial in constituting a political community or group (e.g., treaties, a manifesto of a political party, a speech by a politician)" (p. 119). Truly, any political discourse originates to function in a certain way. Schaffner proposes what she called the four strategic functions of a political discourse. These functions are as follows: 1) coercion 2) resistance, opposition and protest 3) dissimulation 4) legitimization and dislegitimization (Schaffner, 2004, p. 119).

According to Schaffner (2004, p. 119) the role of translators as mediators in the process of translation is to link the functions of political discourse with the linguistic behavior of a certain context. Practically, translation is a regular phenomenon for all types of political discourse.

The relationship between translation and political discourse is clear, and the two fields can benefit from each other. Schaffner (2004, p.120) explains important issues

with regards to this relationship. First, both political discourse and translation depend on one another. Second, translation is actually part of the development of discourse. Third, translation functions as a bridge between different discourses. Fourth, translation makes information available to readers internationally. Fifth, reactions to information made by readers in a country are reactions to statements made available by translation. Finally, and most important, translation functions as a mediator between "political behavior" and "linguistic behavior" (Schaffner, 2004, p.120).

In their book *Political discourse analysis: A method for advanced students*, Fairclough and Fairclough (2012) provide a different approach for analyzing political discourse. This approach is new and articulated on the fusion of two approaches, which are: critical discourse analysis and the theory of argumentation.

Notions such as deliberation, decision-making, risk, and disagreement are the most important ingredients of politics. These notions are based on argumentation. The main focus in this new approach is on two issues: "action" and "what to do" as opposed to the traditional view of politics as representation. The new approach is an attempt to differentiate between political discourse analysis and any other type of discourse. Because at the present time there is no clear distinction between them. Fairclough and Fairclough (2012) claim

> So far, there is no obvious distinction between political discourse and any other sort of discourse or an agenda, a set of objectives, theoretical categories and methods of analysis which would clearly distinguish political discourse analysis from other areas of discourse analysis and enable principled and systematic evaluation. (p. 17)

Political discourse is connected directly with notions fundamental to the nature of politics in its broader meaning. This approach, for studying politics, concentrates on the principle that conflict, disagreements, uncertainty, and risk contribute to arriving at decisions that are reasonable.

Political discourse analysis is about analyzing political discourse critically. That is as Fairclough and Fairclough (2012) put it "the reproduction and contestation of political power through political discourse" (p. 17). Political discourse cannot be understood outside its context. Because without a political context, any political actor or any political discourse is deemed not political. Context is where politicians and political agents can express and impose their agency and power at the national and international levels. These contexts are institutional and authentic. Political discourse

can be separated from the context within which it is formulated. Baumgarten (2012) argues that context and the purpose of translation are two basic factors in determining if the translation is ideological or not. Knowing these two factors helps to solve the complex relationship between translation and ideology.

According to Schaffner (2004, p.121) one point of great importance with regard to political discourse is the lexical choice. That is, how certain concepts and words are chosen to serve certain political agendas? The argument among linguists is that the meanings of words are not fixed, but are changeable according to the contexts and to the cultural and mental background knowledge of the reader or hearer.

Further, Schaffner (2004) highlights another important point related to the information selection and the way information is transferred, for example, the circulation of political discourse via the mass media. This includes political information, ideas, and decisions of a country that are defused via the mass media. It is important for this information to be authentic and reliable because people and leaders build their opinions depending on them.

According to Renkema (2004, pp. 255-256) the strategy of face-keeping is a significant principle in the language of politicians. That is, politicians in their debates tend to make "modifications" without losing face and at the same time make strong arguments to persuade other opponents. Modification involves three aspects: 1- Hedging, which is the uncertainty degree and avoiding full responsibility about an issue. 2- Euphemism, which politicians tend to use in order to soften words as they describe an issue. 3- Strategic ambiguity, which occurs when two different parties interpret the same word in different ways based on their own beliefs and values. For example, Arabs insisted on adding the article "all" before the word 'territories' in one of the UN resolutions in order to remove the ambiguity of using the territories, some territories, or all territories. Essentially, this is persuasion that is connected to manipulation done by politicians by changing the meaning of the political message.

3.4 Critical Discourse Analysis

Critical discourse analysis as an approach can be traced back to the end of the 1970s. It is interdisciplinary in the sense that it gathers elements from different approaches. Bayley (2004) postulates that the main aim was to "identify the social meanings that were expressed through lexis and syntax and to consider the role that language plays in creating and reinforcing ideologies" (p. 28). Ideology is examined through the critical analysis of texts. Its focus is on the impact of ideology on the choice

of the linguistic components to be used. In general, it is about social life, politics, and power relations (Bayley, 2004, p. 28).

Similarly, Renkema (2004) remarks that critical discourse analysis is "as old as discourse studies itself" (p. 282). She argues that the main aim of critical discourse analysis is to "detect societal problems". Critical means that discourse analysis "cannot be neutral or free of values" (p. 282).

3.5 Ideology and Translation

Recently, the term 'ideology' has attracted the interest of researchers and scholars all over the world. It is undeniable that the term has taken an eminent place in studies tackling issues which touched people's lives a long time ago. According to Baumgarten (2012), the term can be traced back to the 18th century. At that time, the term was vague and lacked a clear working definition; the term was coined by Antoine Destutt de Tracy, in his attempt to formulate a science for ideas after the French Revolution. His definition starts from the point that ideology is connected with manipulation, particularly in politics where political opponents' views and actions tended to be far from the actual and appropriate needs of the public.

There are two perspectives regarding ideology, ranging from being negative to neutral. The negative side is connected with Karl Marx and his distorted view of the world. The neutral and broader view of ideology sees it as "a shared system of thought tied to group interests in the pursuit of individual and collective objectives" (Baumgarten, 2012, p.60).

Translation is one of many linguistic activities. Translation is strongly affected by the two concepts of ideology and power relations. Ideology, individual concerns, and beliefs are inseparable. Ideology is a reflection of peoples taken for granted views of life. Baumgarten (2012) posits this point of view "translation ….shapes and is shaped by power relations and the individual and collective ideologies involved" (p. 59).

The term ideology has a number of diverse definitions. According to the *Oxford Dictionary,* ideology means:

1. A set of ideas that an economic or political system is based on.
2. A set of beliefs, especially one held by a particular group, that influences the way people behave. From these definitions, one can see that ideology refers to the ideas and beliefs of a group of people or a political system.

The role of ideology in politics is widely acknowledged. Munday (2008b) argues that ideology is central to "political and sensitive text" (p. 151). Politics and

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literary works might mix; this happens when authors write literary works about politics. Munday (2008b) gives an example from Latin American literature which indicates that "politics is therefore inextricably mixed with literature in Latin American writing" (p. 151).

Another form of ideology is patronage. Political patronage is an important factor that influences translation. During the Cold War, the exchange of translated texts was considered a strategy. According to Munday (2008b, p. 152) the exchange and circulation of political translations is in itself ideologically motivated.

Bassnett and Lefevere (1998) assert that the view of translation as rewriting represents an ideology, poetics, and manipulation. Rewriting is manipulation of literary works to have different functions within a different society. They add that rewriting is a double-edged weapon. It can help in the evolution of literature and societies, help in producing new insights, and help in producing new concepts, new devices, and new genres. On the other hand, rewriting can also suppress innovation and hinder the production of new ideas.

The patrons impose ideology on translators and influence translation. In this regard Lefevere (1992) argues, "Ideology is often enforced by the patrons, the people or institutions who commission or publish translations" (p. 14).

In his book *Translation/history/culture* Lefevere (1992) claims that as long as translation does not exist in vacuum then it is ideologically motivated. Lefevere (1992, p.1) posits different ideas relevant to translation in the form of questions. These claims are as follows:

1. Translating a text from one language into another is a sign of inadequacy of that language and culture. It is a clear admission that the other language is more prestigious.

2. There are aims and reasons for translation. Translation is about authority, legitimacy and power.

3. There is a notion of trust between translators and receivers. Trust in the producer not in the product. The translation of the Bible is a good example.

4. Languages are not equal in their ranks. The translation of the *Rubaiyat* of Omar Khayyam is an example of this division of languages in ranks.

3.6 Discourse and Culture

It is through translation that cultures can express themselves in a dramatically changing world. The relationship between culture and discourse and the representation

of culture through discourse is highlighted in translation. Renkema (2004, p. 279) argues that the study of the relationship between discourse and culture focuses on three important questions. The first question asks whether it is possible to discover the cultural values in a discourse. The second question refers to whether culture can influence people and how, and the final question asks if the culture changes if the discourse is changed. The answers to such questions takes us to the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis that appeared in the first half of the twentieth century. This hypothesis studies and investigates the functions of language. Language is seen as an instrument for communication and it establishes a "schemata" for analyzing the world (Renkema, 2004, p. 279).

Similarly, Bassnett (2002) argues that language and culture are two inseparable parts. She describes this strong relationship as:

> Language, then, is the heart within the body of culture, and it is the interaction between the two that result in the continuation of life-energy. In the same way that the surgeon, operating on the heart, cannot neglect the body that surrounds it, so the translator treats the text in isolation from the culture at his peril. (p. 23)

Faiq (2007) connects these two issues: the culture of translation and the translation of culture. This relationship is based on the view that "the culture of translation ultimately guides and regulates the translation of culture" (p. 7). This relationship manifests itself in the notion of the master discourse in translation.

3.7 Master Discourse in Translation

The job of translation is to function as a mediator between different nations and cultures. In so doing, translation surely will bring understanding, peace and fill the lacunae between nations. In order for translation to function as such, three important elements should be focused on: identity, translation enterprise, and master discourse. Faiq (2007) theorizes that

> This can be achieved through a cross-cultural appraisal of the discourses underlying translation and translating with a view to better understanding the issues of identity (self and other), translation enterprise (patronage, agencies, translators) and norms of representation (master discourse). (p. 6)

The norms of representation, as explained by Faiq (2007, p. 9), are those factors that inevitably constrain the translation of texts. These are the norms that are related to the production, classification, interpretation, and finally the circulation of texts.

The notion of master discourse seems to be crucial to translation. It is through these frames that translation works. The representations and stereotypes of a nation can be deemed a curse. For example, the representations and stereotypes of Arabs and Muslims are fossilized in the discourse of others. Accordingly and negatively, this affects translation from Arabic into English. In addition, it results in manipulation, which has severe influences on translation. Manipulation not only misleads the readers of the target text, but also changes the source text and does not keep it intact. It is the invisibility of translators, appropriation, and subversion which are the factors that support manipulation.

Furthermore, Faiq (2007) highlights the influence of ideology on translation from Arabic into English. This ideology can be an obstacle for translation. It not only puts the Arab works in the margins, but it also alters the great manifestations of the Arab society. The negative effects of this kind of fixed ideologies and stereotypes is double.

The master discourse has criteria that determine what is to be translated and what is not. Faiq (2007) argues that

> Arabic literary texts are rarely chosen for translation for their innovative
> approaches or for their socio-political perspectives, rather texts chosen are
> recognizable as conforming to the master discourse of writing about and
> representing Arabs, Arab culture and Islam. (p. 17)

The same master discourse of the West that represents Arabs as people who care about shopping and sex is what characterizes the Arabs as terrorists. These two views have serious consequences on translation projects from Arabic into English.

The master discourse is the big circle that is very restricted. The entrance to this group is conditional. This takes us to a discussion of another central works which have the same notions: the polysystem theory.

3.8 The Polysystem Theory

The polysystem theory was developed in the 1970s. Itamar Even-Zohar developed this model based on the works of Russian Formalists. It is concerned with the translation of literary works. It gives a comprehensive model for the study of the literary system, in particular the Hebrew literary system. The literary system of a certain nation is considered as a whole unit, which is a part of a larger system. Furthermore, the theory studies the circulation and production of literary works (Shuttleworth, 1998, p. 176).

Munday (2008a) explains the notion of a "hierarchized system" and a "dynamic process of evolution". The former refers to the "the positioning and interaction at a given historical moment of the different strata of the polysystem," while the latter refers to "the relations between innovatory and conservative systems" and these systems are in a "state of flux and competition" (p. 108).

According to the polysystem theory, literature is divided into two positions: primary position and secondary position. If the literature is classified as primary then it has a fundamental position in the polysystem. On the other hand, if the literature is classified as secondary it is deemed not fundamental in the polysystem (Munday, 2008a, pp. 108-109).

Chapter Four: Data Analysis

4.1 The Data

The *Discussion Papers* of King Abdullah II ibn Al Hussein are political par excellence (henceforth *Discussion Papers*). These *Discussion Papers* fit under the classification of political discourse, and are labeled as political text genre. There are reasons for this classification. First, the data that are chosen for the purpose of this thesis are collected from the official website of King Abdullah II ibn Al Hussein, the king of The Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan. Second, the king submitted a series of five discussion papers both in Arabic and in English. Each discussion paper tackles different issues specific to Jordanians. These include issues related to the enhancement of democracy, the economy of Jordan, debates between Jordanians themselves, and debates between the people and the government, the political processes in Jordan, democratization, parliamentary governments, and many other matters.

There are two major incentives for choosing these texts. First, the *Discussion Papers* are submitted by a king, who is addressing his people in written texts not in the form of speeches. Second, they come at a time, from a political point of view that is considered sensitive for the future of a country like Jordan. That is during a time of increasing numbers of voices clamoring for reform of the regime in Jordan. These voices and calls amplified dramatically after the rise of the Arab Spring. These *Discussion Papers* come as a response to those calls. Thus, the translation of the papers is also sensitive. The translation reflects the sensitivity of the political discourse in the *Discussion Papers* and the timing of their release.

As mentioned above, the importance of the *Discussion Papers* comes from the sensitive political tension that manifests itself in what is called the "Arab Spring". The context of these *Discussion Papers* is of great importance since it gives a clear picture of political situations at that time. The section below gives a general overview of the context of the *Discussion Papers.*

Style is important in discourse analysis. Here style refers to the layout of the pages, headings and subheadings, capitalization, footnotes, and any other formatting. As Munday (2008b) states "the way political concepts may be rewritten or manipulated by different forms of translation, are most notably by the paratextual features of introductions and footnotes" (p. 152).

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The *Discussion Papers* are all written in plain format. There are no motifs or decorations in either the ST or the TT. There are no considerable changes made to the TT. The items and phrases, or even words that are written in bold, remain the same in the TT. There are no footnotes or any pictures in either the source texts or the target text. However, some headings and sub-headings are capitalized in the TT. This capitalization is normal and does not affect the meaning of the words and the intended message. In general, the layout of both the ST and the TT of the *Discussion Papers* is approximately the same, see (Appendix 1).

4.2 The Context of the Discussion Papers

There are a total of five *Discussion Papers*. They have been submitted on King Abdullah II ibn Al Hussein's official website under the link *Discussion Papers*, starting from December 2012 until September 2014. The following table (Table 1) shows the dates of publication for each *Discussion Paper*.

Table 1: Dates of Publications for Each *Discussion Paper*

The Discussion Paper	Date Published
Discussion Paper NO.1	29 December 2012
Discussion Paper NO.2	16 January 20013
Discussion Paper NO.3	2 March 2013
Discussion Paper NO.4	2 June 2013
Discussion Paper NO.5	13 September 2014

Understanding the context of these *Discussion Papers* is very important. They came at a time which was considered very politically sensitive. The Arab region had witnessed the uprisings of the Arab Spring. The "Arab Spring" started in 2011, and during that period the Middle East witnessed a series of anti-government revolutions. The revolutionaries and protesters expressed anger against their ruling regimes for a variety of social and political issues, mainly security, high prices, unemployment, poverty, inequality, corruption, lack of participation in governing, and many other issues. The first appearance of the "Arab Spring" started in Tunisia and spread to other countries such as Egypt, Libya, Syria, and Yemen. Protesters in these countries demanded the total replacement of the regimes. The Kingdom of Bahrain also witnessed unrest. In that particular case the uprising was of a religious nature, i.e., between the

Sunnis and Shiaa's. However, in countries such as the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan and the Kingdom of Morocco, protesters called for reforming the regimes under the existing monarchies.

The Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan has witnessed calls for reforming the ruling system by enhancing social justice and finding ways for a higher participation in governing. King Abdullah II ibn Al Hussein, in responding for these calls, submitted five *Discussion Papers* that tackle major factors that shape the future of Jordan. The main aim of these discussion papers is to encourage Jordanians' participation in the reform roadmap through a democratic participation that enhances stability in Jordan. Of course, this enhancement of the political life will inevitably influence the economic and social sectors. The king explains the steps for reaching parliamentary governments. Therefore, the king took a step forward and declared that open and intellectual discussions and debates are the milestones of Jordan's reformation process and the way to reach the parliamentary governments, which is one of the major requirements of that time.

The *Discussion Papers* tackle many political and social messages. The most important issue is that the king is announcing the start of the elections' campaigns. The king champions the role of citizens in the new democratic system. Therefore, the king indicates that he knows the people of Jordan and the basis on which Jordanians give their votes to the candidates. These two sources are geography and family. With regard to geography, as it is known that in Jordan there are many Jordanians who are originally from different affiliations, in particular Jordanians from Palestinian origins and the Chechens. And in terms of family, the tribal system is one the features of the social fabric of Jordanians.

For the purpose of this thesis, it is necessary to identify certain features that relate to this type of text genre. One important feature is the subject matter of the *Discussion Papers*. They all discuss political issues, mainly the democratization of Jordan, and this process of democratization has as its end game   a parliamentary government. However, the *Discussion Papers* are translated for English target readers. Therefore, the way they are translated is important because the translation involves a few interesting issues.

Recently, as mentioned before, translation has been viewed as an ideological practice. This means that ideology is rooted in any act of translation. Surveying the literature about the translation of political discourse, whether written or spoken as well

as the translations of literary works, the results show that ideology is always championed. However, this may be true in some translations and in some cases, but it is not always the case in many other translations. Of course, the argument whether translation strategies are always motivated by a specific ideology or not is debatable. Fawcett (1998a, p.106) argues that if every translation strategy is ideologically motivated then we need an ideology to justify every translation strategy.

This takes us to the debate on whether human activities are ideologically driven or not. Translation is one of many of human activities. If all human activities are seen as ideologically motivated, the question then becomes is every act of translation "ideologically motivated?" To argue against this notion Fawcett (1998a, p. 106) gives examples of translation strategies that can be viewed from different points of view. For example, the deletion of sexual references in translation is a matter of ideology or "modesty". The deletion of offensive language is an ideology or a matter of "taste". Here, the role of culture is highly influential in determining the methods and strategies that are used in the process of translation. What fits in one language may not be suitable for another due to several factors, in particular the social influences.

In this thesis, the argument is that translating political discourse is usually linked to ideology in its negative meaning, that is, the manipulation and change of facts of the ST. However, there are cases where political discourse is translated without ideology in its negative meaning, i.e., the non-ideological aspect of translation.

This thesis examines how translators deal with two different issues. The first one is what are the strategies used in translating a political message. The second issue is when a translator faces a genre within a genre. For example, religious references and metaphors, as it is well known and quite common for politicians to use religious references in their texts to affect the emotions of readers. The use of metaphors is another issue that causes problems for translators.

4.3 The Analysis

The *Discussion Papers* are examined from several angles. The analyzed categories include:

1. The translation of the term الديموقراطية (democracy).
2. The political messages intended in the *Discussion Papers*.
3. The translation of the religious references that are used in the *Discussion Papers*.
4. The translation of metaphors that are used in the *Discussion Papers*.

4.3.1 The Translation of the Term "Democracy"

The term "democracy" is an international term. It does not cause a problem for translators to translate the term from English into Arabic. Bassnett (2002) explains that the term democracy is "an internationally used term" (p. 40). Moreover, she asserts that it does not fit under the category of untranslatable terms if the language itself is dynamic. Globalization with its open media that reaches everywhere makes the term "democracy" known for both the educated and non-educated person.

The Arabic term "الديمقراطية" was originally borrowed from Greek. The term has been Arabicized and is now a term in the Arabic language. It is the English equivalent of democracy.

There are many definitions of the term 'democracy'. The online *Oxford Dictionary* presents the following definitions:

1. A system of government in which all the people of a country can vote to elect their representatives.
2. A country which has this system of government.
3. Fair and equal treatment of everyone in an organization, etc., and their right to take part in making decisions (Oxford Dictionary).

The meaning of democracy is clear. It is about participation in political life; it gives a degree of liberty for people and offers equality. The fundamental issue behind democracy is that people participate in elections to choose their representatives. In Jordan, people vote to choose their representatives in the House of Representatives.

In the following examples, the translation of the term democracy and its collocations are examined. There is no problem in translating the term democracy; however what is of concern is the translation of the term 'democracy' and its collocations.

The Translation of the Arabic Expression التحول الديمقراطي

Example (1)

ST: إن مسؤوليتي في هذا الظرف تتمحور في تشجيع الحوار بيننا كشعب يسير **على طريق التحول الديموقراطي.** (الورقة الأولى)

TT: My goal and responsibility within this national course is to encourage debate about our progress as a nation **in democratic development**. (DP.1)

Example (2)

ST: والسؤال الجوهري المطروح في هذا السياق، والذي لا بد أن نسعى جميعا للإجابة عليه: كيف سنضمن استمرار مؤسساتنا وأنظمتنا بالعمل على ترسيخ هذه المبادئ والحقوق وحمايتها ونحن ماضون في **عملية التحول الديمقراطي**. (الورقة الثانية)

TT: The key question we must answer together is how our institutions and systems will continue to enshrine and protect these principles as we make **our transition**. (DP.2)

Example (3)

ST: متطلبات **التحول الديمقراطي الناجح**. (الورقة الثانية)

TT: The conditions for a successful t**ransition**

Example (4)

ST: إننا في الأردن نعي في قرارة أنفسنا القيم الضرورية لإنجاز **التحول الديمقراطي** وإرساء نهج الحكومات البرلمانية. (الورقة الثالثة)

TT: The values needed for a successful **democratic transition** to parliamentary government are long familiar to Jordanians. (DP.3)

Example (5)

ST: ولم تغفل الأفكار التي طرحناها الضمانات الضرورية لنجاح **تعميق تحولنا الديمقراطي**، وأبرزها حماية التعددية، والتدرج، وعدالة الفرص السياسية . (الورقة الرابعة)

TT: The ideas I suggested highlighted the guarantees that are needed for the success of advancing **our democratic transformation**, chief among which are: Preserving pluralism, gradualism in evolution, and equality in political opportunities. (DP.4)

Example (6)

ST:

ومن أهم متطلبات **التحول الديمقراطي** تعزيز المجتمع المدني ودوره في مراقبة الأداء السياسي وتطويره نحو الأفضل، عبر ترسيخ الثقافة الديمقراطية في المجتمع. (الورقة الرابعة)

TT: But one of the key requirements for **democratisation** efforts is enhancing the role of civil society in monitoring and elevating the political performance of all institutions, by enrooting a democratic culture across society. (DP.4)

Commentary

In these examples (1-6) above, democracy is considered a new event that affects the existing situation. It certainly is not like any event that appears suddenly. The change into democracy requires many preparations from the sides of the citizens and the government. There are a lot of principles and values that should be rooted first. The question whether Jordanians are ready to practice democracy is debatable. The translation of "التحول" into "development" is used to show that democracy is a process

that takes time in order to be achieved. The *Oxford Dictionary* defines 'development' as "a new event or stage that is likely to affect what happens in a continuing situation". For 'transformation', the *Oxford Dictionary* gives two definitions. The first is "a complete change in somebody/something". The second is "used in South Africa to describe the process of making institutions and organizations more democratic". For 'transition', the *Oxford Dictionary* defines it as "the process or a period of changing from one state or condition to another. For 'democratization', the *Oxford Dictionary* defines it as" the process of making a country or an institution more democratic".

The translation of التحول الديمقراطي into development, transition, democratization and transformation shows the gradual process of democracy; the change from one state into another. The translations are successful. Translators use different translations as a matter of style. Literal translations might result in an inadequate translation.

Example (7)

ST: أما اليوم، فإنني سأكرس هذه الورقة للحديث حول مجموعة من الممارسات التي أؤمن أننا بحاجة إلى تطويرها وتجذيرها على **امتداد رحلتنا نحو الديمقراطية**. (الورقة الأولى)

TT: Today, I dedicate this paper to share my vision for the principles and values needed to help us progress in **our democratisation journey**, under our constitutional monarchy. (DP.1)

Example (8)

ST: فالامتحان الحقيقي والحاسم **لمساعينا الديمقراطية** يكمن في قدرتنا على النجاح كأسرة واحدة في مواجهة التحديات. (الورقة الأولى)

TT: The true and decisive test for our nation and **our democratisation journey** is our ability to triumph together as one family in the face of the challenges that come before us. (DP. 1)

Example (9)

ST: لقد آن الأوان للتحرك بجدية نحو محطات رئيسة **على طريق إنجاز الديمقراطية**. (الورقة الأولى)

TT: Now is the time for us to move actively towards key, practical milestones in that **journey towards democracy.** (DP.1)

The translation of "**على طريق إنجاز**" as "**journey towards**" is a free translation.

Commentary

In examples (7, 8, and 9), democracy is described as a journey. This translation is ideologically motivated since the word journey indicates something pleasant. The use of democratization is to indicate that Jordan already has democracy and the new step is

for more democracy. The Oxford Dictionary defines democratization as "the process of making a country or an institution more democratic". The use of 'towards' in example number 8 indicates that Jordan is headed in the right direction for achieving democracy.

Example (10)

ST: ‏فحتى تنجح الديمقراطية‏، لا بد من استمرار الحوار والنقاش. (الورقة الأولى)

TT: **To make democracy work**, it is critical that we debate, discuss". (DP.1)

This translation is idiomatic. A literal translation such as **to make democracy succeed** would result in an awkward translation. Here, the reference is not to democracy, but to how to make democracy work in the society.

Example (11)

ST: ‏إن المبدأ الأساسي **للديمقراطيات الحديثة** يقوم على اختيار الشعب لممثلين ينوبون عنه في اتخاذ القرارات على   مستوى الوطن. (الورقة الثانية)

TT: The fundamental principle of **modern democracy** is that the people elect representatives to make important public decisions on behalf of the country as a whole. (DP.2)

The term "‏الديموقراطيات‏" is a plural noun in Arabic language. In the translation it is translated as a singular noun. It can be translated by using the plural noun "democracies".

Example (12)

ST: ‏يتم تجسيدها **كثقافة ديمقراطية** في مؤسساتنا العامة وحياتنا السياسية. (الورقة الثالثة)

TT: enrooted as a **democratic culture** not just in our institutions but also in our political life. (DP.3)

Example (13)

The translation of "‏برنامج التمكين الديمقراطي‏"

ST: ‏ونظراً لأهمية مؤسسات المجتمع المدني في تطوير   اطلاق برنامج **التمكين الديمقراطي** في خطاب ألقيته في 10 كانون الأول   نموذجنا الديمقراطي، فقد وجهت إلى ضرورة 2012 في الذكرى الخمسين لتأسيس الجامعة الأردنية. واليوم نشهد الإطلاق الرسمي لهذا البرنامج تحت مظلة صندوق الملك عبدالله الثاني للتنمية. (الورقة الخامسة)

TT: I directed the King Abdullah II Fund for Development to establish a **Democracy Empowerment Program** (*Demoqrati*) during my speech on December 10, 2012, on the occasion of the University of Jordan's 50th anniversary. (DP.5)

Example (14)

ST: ‏وعودةً إلى برنامج **التمكين الديمقراطي**، فإن إطلاقه رسمياً يأتي كمحطة إضافية وجديدة على مسار التنمية السياسية وتعزيز المشاركة. (الورقة الخامسة)

TT: The official launch today of *Demoqrati*, the Democracy Empowerment Programme, by the King Abdullah II Fund for Development, marks another milestone along the path of our democratic development journey. (DP.5)

إن هذا **البرنامج** سيساهم في ترسيخ المواطنة الفاعلة، وسيعمل على تمكين الأفراد والمؤسسات، ممن لديهم أفكار عملية، لتطوير نموذجنا الديمقراطي، عبر تقديم الدعم لترجمة ذلك على أرض الواقع. **فالبرنامج** سيدعم الرياديين الاجتماعيين ليتيح لهم التأثير في الشأن العام، عبر زيادة وإثراء المنابر الديمقراطية المتاحة كمنتديات الحوار، وبرامج التدريب، وغيرها من الأدوات المتوفرة لكل الأردنيين ليصبحوا مواطنين فاعلين ومنخرطين في الحياة العامة. (الورقة الخامسة)

Demoqrati is set to enroot 'active citizenship' by empowering individuals and organisations with practical ideas about developing our democratic model with some support to do so. By supporting 'social entrepreneurs' to have a greater say in public affairs, *Demoqrati* will help expand the tools and platforms –debate forums, training programmes and others – available to all Jordanians to enable them to be active and engaged citizens. (DP.5)

وسيدعم **البرنامج** في البداية مشاريع تهدف إلى تعزيز مناخ المساءلة والشفافية، وإتاحة فرص جديدة أمام الأردنيين لمناقشة القضايا المهمة التي تواجه الوطن، وتسخير كل المواهب والإبداعات المرتبطة بخدمة المجتمع. (الورقة الخامسة)

Demoqrati will initially focus on efforts to increase transparency, provide new ways for Jordanians to discuss and debate critical issues facing the country, and seek to harness the talents and creativity of all Jordanians in the service of society. (DP.5)

Commentary

The translation of برنامج التمكين الديمقراطي as Empowerment Program (Demoqrati) involves several strategies. The two words التمكين الديمقراطي become one word 'empowerment'. The addition of the term Democrati which means democratic in English is foreignized to keep local color. The word "Democracti" substitutes the Arabic expression برنامج التمكين الديمقراطي when it appears in the rest of the papers.

4.3.2 The Political Messages

The *Discussion Papers* of King Abdullah II ibn Al Hussein include many political messages. These political messages are of two types. The first type is messages that are directed at the people of Jordan. The second type is messages that are directed to the world. The two types are classified as international and national messages. Some of these political messages are explicit while others are implicit. The language that is used to express these messages determines the explicitness or implicitness of the messages.

In order to understand the political messages in a text, it is necessary to see them from a critical discourse analysis point of view. Critical discourse analysis provides the tools to examine how the political messages are constructed and what is really intended. A critical discourse analysis of the texts is conducted and a description of the macro and micro translation strategies are also examined.

Example (15)

In the inaugural paragraph of the fourth *Discussion Paper*, the king is sending triple messages. The first is to the people of Jordan, the second is to the Arab countries, and the third is to the West. The message says that Jordan is ready to practice modern politics, in particular democracy. The king is responding to the skepticism from some countries and people towards democratization in Jordan. However, the king is not sure about the Arab world's willingness to handle modern democracy. The message for the West carries refusals for the claims that Arabs are not ready to practice democracy.

ST:

درجت بعض الآراء، من داخل **منطقتنا العربية وخارجها**، على القول بأن العالم العربي غير مهتم بممارسة العمل السياسي بشكله المعاصر. وذهب بعضها أبعد من ذلك، لتزعم أن شعوب العالم العربي لا ترغب بالديمقراطية، وأننا غير مستعدين، أو مؤهلين للتعامل معها أو احتضانها نهج حياة. **غير أننا في الأردن،** لا نقبل مثل هذه المزاعم، ولم ولن نذعن لها أبدا . (الورقة الرابعة)

TT:

Some have argued in the **West**, and even within **our communities**, that the Arab world is not interested in or suited for modern politics. They haveclaimed that democracy is not something the Arab world wants or can handle, and that we are not ready.

In Jordan, we have never accepted this view and never will. (DP.4)

Commentary

In this excerpt, a number of translation strategies are used. For example, the word "داخل منطقتنا العربية" is substituted by the word "the West", the expression "وخارجها" is translated as "within our communities", the expression "وذهب بعضها الى ابعد من ذلك" is deleted, and the expression "او مؤهلين للتعامل معها او احتضانها نهج حياه" is translated as "want or can handle".

Apparently, the translators do not stick closely to the source text. The concentration is on transmitting the intended message of the text. Most important is the function of the text, that is the what and why. Skopos, as an approach of translation which concentrates on the purpose and function of translation, is opted for. The source

text functions as a provider of information. The product is a text that works and matches the target readers' language.

The re-writing process with its micro strategies does not affect the meaning of the message. However, the last two lines in the TT is separate from the preceding lines to show the specific case of Jordan. The Arabic text says "غير أننا في الأردن، لا نقبل مثل هذه المزاعم، ولم ولن نذعن لها أبداً" is translated as "In Jordan, we have never accepted this view and never will." The speech acts of the last sentence of the ST carries two functions: negation and refusal of the general claim. In the TT, the speech acts are presented by the use of "never" twice.

The translation of the ST word "وخارجها" into the "West" is an example of power relationships. The rooted clashes between the East and the West.

Several strategies are chosen for this translation. They include: deletion, addition, and substitution. Even though there are many translation strategies that are used in the process of translation, the political message has transferred to the TL clearly. The multiplicity of strategies or techniques does not affect the meaning and purpose of the intended message.

Example (16)

ST:

إن تجديد الحياة السياسية في العديد من الدول العربية من شأنه أن يسهم في تلبية تطلعات **أبناء وبنات** الوطن العربي نحو **حياة** أفضل، إلا أن الطريق نحو هذا التجديد، **واحتضان الديمقراطية** ليس بالطريق السهل ولا المختصر كما يظن البعض، بل هو مليء بالصعوبات لكنه ضروري، بل حتمي للمجتمعات التي تنشد التطور. وفي ضوء هذه المعطيات، **فإننا نعمل** في الأردن على تطوير نموذجنا الديمقراطي، الذي يعكس **ثقافة مجتمعنا الأردني** واحتياجاته وتطلعاته. (الورقة الرابعة)

TT:

The renewal of political life across many Arab countries can succeed in meeting the aspirations of Arab **people** towards a better **future**, but there are, of course, challenges along this path. **As I have said before**, this path has not been, and will not always be, smooth and straightforward, but it is inevitable for societies seeking evolution. (DP.4) In Jordan, we are developing **a uniquely** Jordanian model of democracy, which reflects our **distinct** culture, aspirations and needs.

Commentary

This text primarily compares Jordan to other Arab countries that have witnessed political changes. These changes are praised by the king because they bring benefits

and meet the societies' aspirations without naming the countries. Everyone knows these countries. In addition, the implication that the king made is that political changes do not come easily; this was in recognition of the violence that accompanied the changing of some regimes in the Arab countries. The perlucutionary of the sentence refers to the damage, destruction, and killing that accompanied these changes.

The speech act in this text is a warning. The message says that the alternative to political stability is violence and destruction. The messages in the source text are transmitted clearly to the target text. Again, Skopos allows for this message's transition. The source text provides the information. Translators concentrate on the purpose and function of the text. However, there are several micro translation strategies used by translators. These strategies are deletion, addition, and substitution.

The Arabic word إن is deleted, the two nouns أبناء وبنات are substituted by the people, the expression وفي ضوء هذه المعطيات is deleted, the expression واحتضان الديموقراطية is deleted, and the expression حياة أفضل is translated as better future. In addition, there are a few expressions and words that are added to the target text. These are "As I have said before, uniquely and distinct".

Example (17)

ST:

ومن المهم أيضاً ألا تنحصر **حواراتكم ونقاشاتكم** بالمرشحين فقط، بل أن تتناقشوا فيما بينكم كمواطنين في مجالسكم ودواوينكم، وفي المنتديات الثقافية، وفي مختلف المنابر الاجتماعية المتاحة حول جميع القضايا ذات الأولوية دون أية قيود أو محددات. فحتى تنجح الديمقراطية، لا بد من استمرار الحوار والنقاش، وأن يبادر الناخبون للتصويت على أساس مواقف المرشحين من الأولويات الأساسية التي **يطرحها المواطنون**، وليس على أساس **العلاقات الشخصية، أو صلات القربى.** (الورقة الأولى)

TT:

It is equally important that you not only **engage** the candidates, but engage each other, as citizens, on all issues of priority without restrictions – at home, in coffee shops and community halls, in all gatherings and venues. To make democracy work, it is critical that we debate, discuss, and vote on the basis of the positions put forward by the candidates on key issues **facing our country**, and not on the basis of **personalities or affinities** related to **geography or family**. (DP.1)

Commentary

In this excerpt, the king is addressing the people of Jordan. The king says you Jordanians give your votes to the candidate who is able to serve the country and the people, not on the basis of relationships of geography and tribe. The indication is that

the king is fully aware of the social fabric of Jordan wherein loyalty to the tribe is one of the priorities of the people of Jordan, while loyalty to the geography comes second. The factor of geography in Jordan cannot be read in its narrow meaning.

There is a hidden message in this example. The implicature is that some people might vote for candidates who bribe them. In the last few years, candidates talk about bribes and political money to steer and affect the voters' choices. The question is what makes a citizen sell his vote? Of course, poverty is certainly a factor which causes people to do so.

This kind of translation aims at euphemizing the problem; that is, the problem of east Jordanians and west Jordanians.

In the re-writing process, there are different micro translation strategies. The most apparent is substitution. The expression حواراتكم ونقاشاتكم becomes engaged, the expression يطرحها المواطنون becomes facing our country, the two expressions العلاقات الشخصية، أو صلات القربى become personalities or affinities. The second micro strategy is addition. For example, the addition of "in coffee shops and geography or family". The concentration is on the political message, regardless of the strategies that are used. The interpretation and understanding of the political message depends on the political background of the target text readers.

Example (18)

ST:

شرعت، قبل نحو سنتين، في المساهمة في النقاش الوطني الدائر حول **عملية الإصلاح** عبر سلسلة من الأوراق النقاشية. وقمت من خلال الأوراق النقاشية الأربعة الأولى بإيجاز رؤيتنا **الإصلاحية** وهدفها النهائي **المتمثل** في ديمقراطية أردنية **متجددة وحيوية** تقوم على ثلاث ركائز، **وهي**: ترسيخ متدرج لنهج **الحكومات** البرلمانية، تحت مظلة الملكية الدستورية، معززا بمشاركة شعبية فاعلة أو ما وصفته ب "المواطنة الفاعلة". (الورقة الخامسة)

TT:

Almost two years ago, I started contributing to the national debate on **reforms** in **the Kingdom** through a series of discussion papers. In the first four papers, I outlined our vision for **reform** with an end-goal of building a **vibrant** Jordanian democracy founded on three pillars: a gradual deepening of parliamentary **government**, under the umbrella of **our** Constitutional Monarchy, underpinned by active public participation or what I called "active citizenship". (DP.5)

Commentary

A critical discourse analysis of this text shows that the political message is of great importance. The message says Jordan is carrying out a reform process and this

process is gradual. The democratization goes through different processes and needs time to become real. This implies that change to a new form of democracy i.e., the parliamentary government cannot be achieved immediately and it will take considerable time. Most important is that all types of reforms are to be held under the Hashemite monarchy, which is a consensus among Jordanians. The constitutional monarchy is the Hashemite monarchy. This represents the power of a king who belongs to the Hashemite family; the ruling family of Jordan.

In this text, the notion of power and legitimacy appears clearly. In the source text the power of the king appears through using words such as شرعت and قمت and وصفته. However, the use of the first person pronoun I in the target text three times is ideologically motivated. It is a message to the target readers or those who do not know that the king actively participates in the national debate with his people. In addition, it is a sign that the king is aware of the necessity of adapting some political reforms. Furthermore, it sends a message to the target readers that the king is the source of power, and every change is under his control. Moreover, the king is listening to and understanding the calls for reforming.

Even though this text is translated fairly literally, the concentration is still on the purpose and function of translation. The sensitivity of the intended political message influences the translation. The discourse of power and legitimacy is used to confirm that the system of governing in Jordan is a constitutional monarchy under the Hashemite monarchy. However, the addition of the "Kingdom" with a capital K is also ideologically motivated. Jordan is a kingdom not a republic, and any kinds of reforms are under the power of the king. A simple link between the kingdom and constitutional monarchy shows the ideology of power and legitimacy.

Example (19)

ST:

فقد نجحنا في إيجاد **ربيع أردني خاص بنا**، ومضينا في تسريع وتيرة الإصلاحات المبنية على نموذج إصلاحي تطويري متدرج، ويقوم على إشراك جميع فئات المجتمع في العملية السياسية. ولنتذكّر جميعا أيضاً بأن الهدف النهائي لعملية الإصلاح السياسي **النابعة من الداخل** يترجم من خلال تمكين المواطنين من القيام بأكبر دور ممكن في صنع القرار عبر ممثليهم المنتخبين. **وعليه**، فإن تعميق ديمقراطيتنا يترجم عملياً عبر تعميق تجربة الحكومات البرلمانية، لنصل بها إلى مرحلة متقدمة من الممارسة التي تتولى فيها الكتلة الحزبية أو الإئتلافية ذات الأغلبية النيابية، أو ائتلاف من الكتل، تشكيل الحكومات، في حين تتولى الأقلية النيابية مهام **حكومة الظل**، من رقابة على الحكومات ومساءلتها، وتقديم برامج بديلة، وضمان التداول الديمقراطي للحكومات. (الورقة الخامسة)

TT:

Jordan has succeeded in creating **its own spring** by genuinely embracing the opportunity to speed up existing political reform efforts based on a gradual, inclusive and evolutionary reform model. Let us also remember that the goal for Jordan's **home-grown** reform is clear: Empowering people to take the widest role in decision-making through their elected representatives. Deepening our democracy, therefore, translates into deepening our experience of parliamentary governments **under our Constitutional Monarchy**, reaching an advanced stage where a party-based majority bloc or coalition of blocs forms a government and the remaining minority serves as a shadow government, which would monitor, hold governments to account, offer competing programs and guarantee democratic rotation of governments. (DP.5)

Commentary

It is clear that the king is optimistic because Jordan has succeeded in creating a unique spring in reference to the "Arab spring" in other countries; this is the discourse of comparison between the Arab spring and the Jordanian spring. Thus, Jordan's spring is a model that can be followed and implemented in other countries. However, this spring would not be created without the serious measures that are being taken by the king; measures that are aimed at enhancing the citizens' participation in the government through arriving at the parliamentary governments. Of course, this spring must witness changes and improvements at the social and economic levels.

In the source text, the king is addressing the people of Jordan when he says فقد نجحنا في إيجاد ربيع اردني خاص بنا. However, in the target text it becomes Jordan has succeeded in creating its own spring. This translation has two messages. The first is that the king considers himself as one of the citizens of Jordan. In addition, the king and the citizens' ultimate goal is to protect the country. The second is that there is strong harmony between the monarchy system and the people of Jordan. Further, the translation of فقد نجحنا في إيجاد ربيع اردني خاص بنا into Jordan has succeeded in creating its own spring, functions to construct identity. It emphasizes the identity of the Hashemite monarch, Jordan as a country, and the people of Jordan.

Example (20)

ST:

وأدعوكم أيضاً للالتزام بالحوار والنقاش سبيلا لحل الاختلاف في الرأي، قبل الانسحاب من طاولة الحوار **والنزول إلى الشارع**. وبالرغم من الإيمان والإجماع الراسخ بأن حق التظاهر مكفول بالدستور، فلا بد أن نعي جميعا أن هذه أداة اضطرارية، لا يتم اللجوء إليها إلا كخيار أخير، ولا يصح المسارعة إلى تبنيها فيتعطل الحوار

ويغلق باب التواصل. ولنتذكر جميعا أنه يتوجب علينا، وبعد أي إضراب أو اعتصام أو مقاطعة، العمل سوية من جديد وصولا إلى حلول توافقية نمضي بها نحو بناء مستقبلنا يداً بيد. **ولا بد في هذا السياق من التأكيد على أن الإيمان** بالديمقراطية يستوجب الرفض الكامل للعنف وللتهديد باستخدامه، ونبذ تخريب الممتلكات العامة، فهذه وسائل مرفوضة، ولا يمكن قبولها تحت أي ذريعة. (الورقة الأولى)

TT:

While strikes and protests are constitutionally protected inalienable rights, they are extreme measures that should be tools of last, not first, resort. And let's all remember that once the boycott or strike is over, we will still have to work together to reach agreement and proceed hand in hand to forge our shared destiny.

Democracy means unequivocally rejecting violence or threats of violence, including intimidation and destruction of property. These are not acceptable forms of expression. They are not negotiation tactics. Violence is out of bounds. (DP.1)

Commentary

There are several political messages in this example. The king confirms that debate is the tool for solving problems, and that boycotts and strikes are final solutions. Violence and destruction will never be the alternative for debate, and it is not allowed.

The speech act in this example is used to convey two meanings. First, the king is persuading the people of Jordan to debate and discuss issues related to their demands peacefully and openly. Second, the king is warning the people of Jordan from adopting violence as a method for imposing their beliefs on others; this seems to be directed at the Jordanian Muslim Brotherhood Organization, who along with other parties boycotted the last elections in Jordan.

The political discourse messages are transferred functionally. The translation does not restrict itself to the source text. Therefore, the purpose and the function of the text is what is important. The purpose is to show the readers that the constitution gives the right to strike and to protest. But it does not give people the right to violence and destruction.

Skopos allows the translators to focus on the messages regardless of the micro strategies that are to be followed. The target text is a kind of rewriting of the main argument of the source text.

4.3.3 Religious References

The Qur'anic Ayahs and other religious references are considered very sensitive texts. Politicians tend to use Ayahs from the Qur'an as religious references in their texts. They use these references as a means of convincing their readers. It is through the use

of religion that politicians affect people's attitudes and views. This might be in the form of complete and direct quoting from the Holy Qur'an or indirect quoting. In the following examples, references from the Qur'an are not given as full Ayahs, but by using parts of the Ayahs.

This phenomenon of using religious genres within a political genre is famous in political discourse, spoken or written. The following examples are taken from the *Discussion Papers* of King Abdullah II ibn Al Hussein to examine how translators deal with such references, since it is known that translating religious genres within a political discourse can cause challenges to translators. The analysis aims at finding if translators are able to create the same effect on the English target text readers as the effect on the source text readers and what are the strategies they opt for when translating religious references. For few examples, a suggested translation is provided.

For the purpose of the study, seven examples are chosen. The source text with its translations are presented followed by the exact verses from the Holy Qur'an with their translations. The translations of the verses are taken from a website on the internet: http://www.e-quran.com/language/english/english4/index.html.

Example (21)

ST:

لنتذكر جميعا أننا كأردنيين وأردنيات إخوة وأخوات متساوون وفي مركب واحد، وأن وحدتنا وإخلاصنا لهذا البلد يسمو فوق كل اختلاف، سواء أكان في العرق، أو الأصل، أو الدين. ومن الضروري أن نعمل معا على توسيع دائرة الاحترام والثقة المتبادلة بيننا، وأن نبني **عروة وثقى** تجمع الأردنيين على أساس احترام الإنسان وكرامته . (الورقة الأولى)

TT:

We must expand our circle of trust and respect, and build an **inseparable bond** between us to treat all fellow Jordanians with civility and dignity, irrespective of whether we know them well or not and whether we like them or not. (DP. 1)

In this example, King Abdullah II ibn Al Hussein is quoting words from the Holy Qur'an. The Ayah"بِالْعُرْوَةِ الْوُثْقَى " appears in two different Ayahs in the Holy Qur'an. It appears in Surat Al Baqarah, Ayah (256) and Surat Lokman, Ayah (22).

1- The Ayah from Surat Al Baqarah says:

(لاَ إِكْرَاهَ فِي الدِّينِ قَد تَّبَيَّنَ الرُّشْدُ مِنَ الْغَيِّ فَمَنْ يَكْفُرْ بِالطَّاغُوتِ وَيُؤْمِن بِاللَّهِ فَقَدِ اسْتَمْسَكَ **بِالْعُرْوَةِ الْوُثْقَى** لاَ انفِصَامَ لَهَا وَاللَّهُ سَمِيعٌ عَلِيمٌ). البقرة (256)

67

The translation:

(There is no compulsion in religion. Righteousness is now distinct from error. He who disbelieves in the idol and believes in Allah has grasped the **firmest tie** that will never break. Allah is Hearing, Knowing.) The Cow -Al Baqarah (256).

2- The Ayah from Surat Lokman says,

(وَمَن يُسْلِمْ وَجْهَهُ إِلَى اللَّهِ وَهُوَ مُحْسِنٌ فَقَدِ اسْتَمْسَكَ **بِالْعُرْوَةِ الْوُثْقَى** وَإِلَى اللَّهِ عَاقِبَةُ الْأُمُورِ). لقمان (22)

The translation:

(He who surrenders himself to Allah and is a good doer, has grasped the **firmest handle**. To Allah the issue of affairs return.) Lokman (22)

Commentary

The king encourages the Jordanians to respect each other and arrive at strong agreement and unity between them. The use of " نبني عروة وثقى" as a reference from the Holy Qur'an is evidence for what he calls for. In addition, the king calls for respect and unity between the people of Jordan, which should be based on the principles of humanity not on principles of race, origins, or religion. This notion is clear for readers who are familiar with the social fabric of the Jordanian society, a society which consists of people from different affiliations.

In this example, King Abdullah II uses parts of the Ayah or wording resemblance to affect the people of Jordan and to urge them to construct a strong relationship amongst themselves. This use of the Ayah takes it from its exact meaning intended in the Holy Qur'an. Referring to the context of the full Ayah, Allah Almighty describes Muslims who have strong bonds with him. In addition, some interpreters mention that الْعُرْوَةِ الْوُثْقَى refers to the Holy Qur'an itself. The use of "عروة وثقى" is recognized for its static meaning which simply means a strong bond because it is taken out from its meaning intended in the Qur'an.

In the translation, " نبني عروة وثقى" is translated literally as "to build an inseparable bond". This is because the target text readers might not know and understand its religious meaning. This translation does not bring the same effect on the target text readers as it does on the source text readers.

Example (22)

ST:

فأكثر أفراد المجتمع فضلاً هم الذين يبادرون للتضحية في سبيل الصالح العام، وهؤلاء الذين **يؤثرون على أنفسهم** هم من يرسخ في الذاكرة الوطنية. (الورقة الأولى).

TT:

The best and most virtuous citizens among us are those who are willing to accept personal sacrifice in the interest of the nation as a whole, and this is why those who **put their country first** will remain forever engraved in our hearts and minds. (DP. 1)

The use of "الذين يؤثرون على انفسهم" is a religious reference. The Ayah from Surat Al-Hashr in the Holy Qur'an says:

(وَالَّذِينَ تَبَوَّءُوا الدَّارَ وَالإِيمَانَ مِنْ قَبْلِهِمْ يُحِبُّونَ مَنْ هَاجَرَ إِلَيْهِمْ وَلاَ يَجِدُونَ فِي صُدُورِهِمْ حَاجَةً مِمَّا أُوتُوا **وَيُؤْثِرُونَ عَلَى أَنْفُسِهِمْ** وَلَوْ كَانَ بِهِمْ خَصَاصَةٌ وَمَنْ يُوقَ شُحَّ نَفْسِهِ فَأُولَئِكَ هُمُ الْمُفْلِحُونَ). الحشر (9)

The translation:

{And those before them who had made their dwelling in the abode (the City of Madinah), and because of their belief love those who have emigrated to them; they do not find any (envy) in their chests for what they have been **given and prefer them above themselves**, even though they themselves have a need. Whosoever is saved from the greed of his own soul, they are the ones who win.} The Gathering (9)

Commentary

The king uses parts of the Ayah to affect the people of Jordan and to urge them to sacrifice for their country and prefer it to their personal interests. This use of the Ayah uses its exact meaning intended in the Qur'an. Referring to the context of the full Ayah, Allah describes Muslims who give to the poor and prefer them to themselves even when they are in need. In addition, when any Muslim reads this Ayah, the first thing that comes to his mind is the famous story of the Muhajirun and the Ansar. The Muhajirun preferred the Ansar above themselves and shared everything they had with them.

In this example, the intended message is that people should sacrifice their country. People of Jordan should learn the moral lesson of preferring their country to their own interests. Further, those who serve their country honestly and sacrifice for their country will be remembered in history just like the Muhajirun and the Ansar.

The Qur'anic religious reference "الذين يَؤْثِرُونَ عَلَى أَنْفُسِهِمْ " is rephrased as " who put their country first". Here, the religious reference is used to support the political discourse of loyalty and sacrifice.

Example (23)

ST:

كما أن المواطنين هم أصحاب **القول الفصل** في إخضاع الحكومات للمساءلة، وذلك من خلال أصواتهم الانتخابية، ومستوى وعيهم، ومشاركتهم. (الورقة الثالثة)

TT:

Citizens also have **the ultimate say** in holding government accountable, through their votes, their awareness, and their participation. (DP.3)

The Ayah in the Qur'an says,

(إِنَّهُ لَقَوْلٌ فَصْلٌ * وَمَا هُوَ بِالْهَزْلِ * إِنَّهُمْ يَكِيدُونَ كَيْدًا * وَأَكِيدُ كَيْدًا * فَمَهِّلِ الْكَافِرِينَ أَمْهِلْهُمْ رُوَيْدًا). الطارق(13)

The translation:

{This is indeed a Decisive Word.} The Nightly Comer -At-Tariq (13)

Commentary

Using quotes from the Holy Qur'an, the king says that citizens play a fundamental role in observing and judging the deeds of the government. Here, the king champions the role of the citizens and indicates that nothing can be imposed on them without their will. This can be seen as a strong promise from the king to the people of Jordan; a promise that comes at a time when calls for more democracy were rising. This use serves the political discourse of democratization in Jordan, and it is based on the notion that people choose what is suitable to them.

In the Qur'an the Ayah "إِنَّهُ لَقَوْلٌ فَصْلٌ " refers the Qur'an itself. The Qur'an separates between the right and the wrong. This use of Qur'anic religious reference is taken away from its original intended meaning in the Holy Qur'an. In addition, the Qur'an is a permanent and decisive with regards to right and the wrong until the Day of Judgment. However, the citizens' words intended in the text are temporal and valid only for this situation.

In the translation, كما أن المواطنين هم أصحاب القول الفصل it is translated literally as "Citizens also have the ultimate say". A suggested translation would be" Citizens also have the ultimate say in this particular occasion".

Example (24)

ST:

فإن التزامنا بمبادئ المواطنة الحقة، والاحترام المتبادل، وممارسة واجب المساءلة، والشراكة في التضحيات والمكاسب، والحوار البناء وصولاً إلى التوافق على **امتداد مسيرتنا المباركة** هي من ضروريات نجاحنا كأمة في مسعاها نحو تجذير الديمقراطية. (الورقة الثانية)

TT:

As I outlined in my first paper, our commitment to active citizenship, respect and accountability, shared gain and sacrifice, and dialogue and compromise **along our (………) journey**, is critical to our success as a nation. (DP.3)

The word "المباركة" is quoted from Surat Al-Qasas (30) which says"

(فَلَمَّا أَتَاهَا نُودِي مِن شَاطِئِ الْوَادِي الْأَيْمَنِ فِي الْبُقْعَةِ **الْمُبَارَكَةِ** مِنَ الشَّجَرَةِ أَن يَا مُوسَى إِنِّي أَنَا اللَّهُ رَبُّ الْعَالَمِينَ). القصص(30)

The translation:

{When he came to it, he was called from the right bank in the blessed plot of the tree (he heard speech without letter or voice coming from all directions): 'Moses, I am Allah, Lord of the Worlds.} The Story -Al-Qasas (30)

Commentary

In this example, the king is describing the process of democracy as a journey. This journey is sacred and blessed. The Ayah refers to the ground where Moses stood when Allah "spoke" to him. Moreover, the word المباركة is used by people when they refer to something blessed from Allah.

In the source text the word "المباركة" is deleted from the target text. This might be due to two reasons. First, the word"المباركة" is a religious and cultural word for Muslims and Arabs in general. The impact of the word would be greater on them than on other different readers. Second, the target text readers might not understand its impact and influence. However, if the translation of "المباركة" "the blessed" is added to the target text, it would make a difference for the target text readers.

In order to achieve the same effect and to make the idea clearer for the English target text readers, a suggested translation would be "along our blessed journey". This addition may contribute to a better translation.

Example (25)

ST:

وقد تطورت ملكيتنا الدستورية على مدار تسعة عقود، وستستمر في التطور والتحديث، وستكون الخطوة التالية في هذه المسيرة المباركة **بإذن الله** آلية تشكيل الحكومات. (الورقة الثانية)

TT:

Our constitutional monarchy has changed and evolved over the past nine decades and will continue to do so. The next stage is an evolution in how we select our Government. (DP.2)

The Ayah is quoted from Surat An Nisa which says:

(وَمَا أَرْسَلْنَا مِن رَّسُولٍ إِلاَّ لِيُطَاعَ **بِإِذْنِ اللهِ** وَلَوْ أَنَّهُمْ إِذ ظَّلَمُواْ أَنفُسَهُمْ جَآؤُوكَ فَاسْتَغْفَرُواْ اللّهَ وَاسْتَغْفَرَ لَهُمُ الرَّسُولُ لَوَجَدُواْ اللّهَ تَوَّابًا رَّحِيمًا). النساء (64)

The translation:

{We did not send a Messenger except that he should be obeyed, **by the permission of Allah**. If, when they wronged themselves, they had come to you and asked Allah for

forgiveness, and the Messenger had asked for forgiveness for them, they would have found Allah the Turner, the Most Merciful.} Women -An Nisa (64).

Commentary

The king uses the quoted parts of Ayah to indicate that success comes from Allah alone. The process of developing the democratic system cannot be achieved without the guidance and permission of Allah. In addition, the king indicates that the people must work and try to do their best to arrive at a method for choosing the upcoming governments in the future. People sometimes use the parts of the Ayah بأذن "الله" and "Insha'Allah" to refer to something that would happen in the future.

In the translation the part of the Ayah "بِإِذْنِ اللَّهِ" is deleted from the target text. However, including it in the translation would create a strong effect on the English target readers.

A suggested translation would be "Our constitutional monarchy has changed and evolved for the past nine decades and will continue to do so by the permission of Allah/ Insha'Allah. The next stage is an evolution in how we select our Government.

Example (26)

ST:

إن أحد أهم مكونات عملية التطور السياسي هو ارتقاء دور الملكية الدستورية الهاشمية، والتي لن تحيد أبداً عن واجبها الرئيس، كما كان العهد دائماً، ذلك الدور المتمثل في العمل ليلاً نهاراً، **وبتوفيق من الله،** من أجل مستقبل مزهر للأردن والحفاظ على أمنه، واستقراره، ووحدته، وتأمين الأفضل دائماً لشعبنا. (الورقة الثالثة)

TT:

A key part of our political evolution is the development of the role of the Hashemite Constitutional Monarchy. The Hashemite Monarchy has never and will never lose sight of its paramount objective – to safeguard Jordan's prosperity, stability, security, and unity, and ensure the wellbeing of Jordanians. (DP.3)

The Ayah from Surat Hood says:

(قَالَ يَا قَوْمِ أَرَأَيْتُمْ إِن كُنتُ عَلَىَ بَيِّنَةٍ مِّن رَّبِّي وَرَزَقَنِي مِنْهُ رِزْقًا حَسَنًا وَمَا أُرِيدُ أَنْ أُخَالِفَكُمْ إِلَى مَا أَنْهَاكُمْ عَنْهُ إِنْ أُرِيدُ إِلاَّ الإِصْلاَحَ مَا اسْتَطَعْتُ **وَمَا تَوْفِيقِي إِلاَّ بِاللَّهِ** عَلَيْهِ تَوَكَّلْتُ وَإِلَيْهِ أُنِيبُ). هود (88)

The translation:

(He said: 'Think, my nation! If I have a clear sign from my Lord and He has provided me with good provision, I do not desire to go behind you, taking for myself that which I forbid you. I seek but to reform as much as I can, my help comes only from Allah. In Him I have put my trust and to Him I turn in penitence). The Prophet Hood –Hood (88)

Commentary

The king uses this Ayah from Surat Hood as it is used by Prophet Shu'ayb. The prophet Shu'ayb is telling his nation that his aim is to reform as much as he can. Surely, this reform cannot be achieved without the help of Allah.

In the source text, the king says the Hashemite Monarchy works day and night to achieve the best for Jordan and the people of Jordan. The king uses وبتوفيق من الله to send a message that says his success in achieving the best for his nation is granted from Allah. Further, it indicates that failing to achieve the best is also from Allah. The Hashemite Constitutional Monarchy is considered a key part in the development and safeguarding of the country. Here, the king is connecting the future and prosperity of a country that lacks natural resources with the paramount role of the Hashemite Constitutional Monarchy.

In the translation, the religious reference "وبتوفيق من الله" is deleted. This omission would result in not creating the same effect on the English readers. A suggested translation would be to translate "وبتوفيق من الله " as "all comes with the help of Allah".

Example (27)

ST:

ومواجهة الحالات الاستثنائية التي تتطلّب حماية أمن الوطن وسيادته ووحدته في حال تعرضه، **لا قدّر الله**، إلى تهديد حقيقي يمس قدرتنا على المضي على الأردن قدما. (الورقة الثالثة)

TT:

And to protect Jordan's national security, unity, and integrity in the face of serious threats […] that endanger our ability to move the country forward. (DP.3)

Commentary

The king uses this religious expression as a Duaa' (prayer). The king is praying to Allah to keep any harm away from the country. The king is praying to Allah to protect Jordan from any real dangers that could prohibit the country's progress. The indication is that the king is a believer and everything that happens is from Allah. In addition, it is an indication that if anything harmful happens it is also from Allah and people cannot prevent it. People in their ordinary and everyday speech use this religious expression. They say لا قدّر الله or they say لا سمح الله.

In the translation, the religious reference "لا قدّر الله" is deleted. This deletion affects the whole message that articulates we depend on Allah. In addition, this deletion negates our faith in Allah. However, including the translation "God forbid" would add more effect and would create the same emotion on the target text readers.

Given these examples, when it comes to translating religious genres within political discourse, translators follow different strategies. These strategies are literal translation, paraphrasing, and deletion. However, this is mainly done because the English reader is unfamiliar with these religious references from the Holy Qur'an.

4.3.4 Metaphors

Scholars have paid considerable attention to the study and analysis of metaphors, and the study of metaphor in language is certainly not new. It dates back to the time of the ancient Greeks. In fact, it was Aristotle who defined metaphor for the first time. DesCamp (2007) based on his analysis of scholarly works on metaphor concludes, "Metaphor is a matter of thinking, not just language, and that metaphor is embedded in everyday thinking and speech" (p. 20).

Practically no text is free from metaphors. Much like religious genres, metaphors are used for a purpose, and have their functions in everyday life. They are used to describe things with emotional force that cannot be achieved by using literal language. In this respect Dickens, Hervey and Higgins (2002) illustrate the function of a metaphor as "Metaphor is typically used to describe something (whether concrete or abstract) more concisely, with greater emotional force, and more often more exactly, than is possible in literal language" (p. 146).

A metaphor is "a figure of speech in which a word or a phrase is used in a non-basic sense, this non-basic sense suggesting a likeness or analogy with another more basic sense of the same word or phrase". There are two types of metaphor. Lexicalized and non-lexicalized. In the lexicalized type, the meaning is fixed. In the non-lexicalized type, the meaning is not fixed and it varies according to the context (Dickins et al., 2002, p. 147).

In discourse, metaphor functions as a coherence tool. There are two types of coherence: intertextual coherence between different texts, and intratextual coherence between single discourses (Kövecses, 2002, p. 285). Politicians tend to use metaphors in their texts or speeches frequently. This intense use of metaphors is purposeful, as they serve in adding an emotional sense to the intended discourse.

The following examples of the use of metaphors are taken from the *Discussion Papers*. What is of concern is to examine how these metaphors are translated. What techniques do translators opt for in the translation process? Do the metaphors that are used in the source texts remain metaphors in the target texts or are they translated into non-metaphors?

Example (28)

ST:

يأتي نشر هذه الورقة النقاشية مع بدء الحملات الانتخابية للقوائم الوطنية والدوائر المحلية على امتداد ربوع وطننا العزيز، معلنة انطلاق **سباق انتخابي** نحو مجلس النواب القادم، **هذا السباق** الذي سيحظى فيه كل يوم من أيام الحملات الانتخابية بأهمية كبرى، وسيكون لكل مواطن ولكل صاحب صوت منكم دور أساسي في **بث الحياة** من جديد في مسيرتنا الديمقراطية. (الورقة الأولى)

TT:

National lists and candidates across the country have begun their election campaigns for the next Parliament, launching **an intense, short election period**, in which every day matters, and every citizen matters, because it is your active participation, as citizens, that will **breathe life** into our democracy. (DP.1)

Commentary

In the source text, elections are described as a race in which candidates are running and competing with each other to arrive at the House of Representatives. The use of سباق انتخابي and هذا السباق is an emotional appeal to show that the elections are like any race that has a specific period of time, winners and losers. In the translation سباق is omitted and substituted by three words an intense, short election period. The metaphor is replaced with a non-metaphorical expression. The translator eradicates the metaphor to suit the English language style of writing.

Another example is the use of بث الحياة which is translated literally as breathe life in the target text. Here, democracy is seen as something alive in which citizens give it its life. The metaphor in the source text is translated metaphorically. The semantic meaning of the metaphor is the same in both the source text and the target text.

Example (29)

ST:

وعلينا أن نتذكر أن التنافس بين المرشحين لن يكون من أجل منصب يصلون من خلاله إلى مجلس النواب **لحصد امتيازات شخصية**، بل هو تنافس من أجل هدف أسمى ألا وهو شرف تحمّل المسؤولية: مسؤولية اتخاذ القرارات التي تمس مصير الأردن وجميع الأردنيين. (الورقة الأولى)

TT:

Candidates are not running for the right to sit in Parliament in Amman and **earn personal benefits**. They are running to be given a responsibility and a privilege: the national duty of making key choices on some of the most important decisions facing our country, decisions that will impact the future of every Jordanian. (DP.1)

Commentary

The use of حصد is metaphorical. In Arabic, we say حصد الزرع او المحصول. It gives a negative impression if compared with the actions of candidates and their intentions. It has the implicature that candidates might be greedy. The king is sending a message to the candidates, who he personally knows well, to put the interests of the country before their own interests and benefits.

In the target text it is translated as earn which in Arabic means كسب. Here arises the notion of toning down of a serious problem in the country which is candidates look for their interests only.

Example (30)

ST:

إن مسؤوليتي في هذا الظرف تتمحور في تشجيع الحوار بيننا كشعب يسير على طريق التحول الديموقراطي، وتأتي ورقة النقاش هذه **كخطوة على هذا الطريق.** (الورقة الأولى)

TT:

My goal and responsibility within this national course is to encourage debate about our **progress** as a nation in democratic development. This paper is **part of the efforts towards that goal.** (DP.1)

Commentary

The democratization process is described as a road on which a person must start down by a first step. The Arabic expression كخطوة على هذا الطريق is translated as part of efforts towards that goal; it is translated idiomatically. Here, خطوة is translated idiomatically as part of efforts not literally as a step. على هذا الطريق is translated as towards that goal. The metaphor here is that the end of the road is the goal. The king is saying that this paper is only a part of a series of papers and things towards achieving the goal, which is democracy.

Example (31)

ST:

لقد آن الأوان للتحرك بجدية نحو محطات رئيسة على **طريق** إنجاز الديمقراطية. (الورقة الأولى)

TT:

Now is the time for us to move actively towards key, practical milestones in that **journey** towards democracy. (DP.1)

Commentary

Here, the indication is that democracy is achieved through a series of milestones that are influential to democracy. The use of على طريق is metaphorical. However, in the translation, the word الطريق is deleted.

Example (32)

ST:

فالامتحان الحقيقي والحاسم لمساعينا الديمقراطية يكمن في قدرتنا على النجاح **كأسرة واحدة** في مواجهة التحديات. (الورقة الأولى)

TT:

The true and decisive test for our nation and our democratisation journey is our ability to triumph together as **one family** in the face of the challenges that come before us. (DP.1)

Commentary

The implied meaning is that the king considers himself a member of one family, and that people and political parties should think of themselves as one family to face dangers. The metaphor exists in the use of family, which symbolizes the country. Furthermore, the example carries a message which indicates that the political parties, who are opposing the government, will hurt their family. Another international message is that Jordan, as a small country, is under the control of the king. In the translation, the metaphor كأسرة واحدة is translated literally as one family.

Example (33)

ST:

ولذا، علينا جميعا أن نعمل من أجل تجاوزها **وإعادة عربة الديمقراطية إلى مسارها الصحيح**، فالديمقراطية لا تكتمل إلا بالمبادرة البنّاءة وقبول التنوّع والاختلاف في الرأي. (الورقة الأولى)

TT:

When this happens, it represents a temporary breakdown in democratic practices. This deprives our society of the chance to achieve compromise and consensus, resulting in a setback from which everyone then needs to recover. Democratic practice requires constructive engagement and acceptance of a diversity of opinion. (DP.1)

Commentary

In this example, democracy is seen as a vehicle that moves on a track. On some occasions, as in the case of democracy in Jordan, deeds such as intransigence, violence, or boycotts would take democracy from its correct path. Here the king is saying that people should not use violence or boycotts to prevent the implementation of democracy.

In the target text, the metaphor عربة الديمقراطية إلى مسارها الصحيح is omitted and substituted by a non-metaphorical expression.

Example (34)

ST:

فما نحتاجه، بالتزامن مع انطلاق الحملات الانتخابية، هو تطوير ممارسات ترتبط بمفهوم المواطنة الصالحة، التي تشكل الأساس لديمقراطية **نابضة بالحياة**. (الورقة الأولى)

TT:

What we all need to develop, starting with the launch of this new election campaign, are the practices of good citizenship that are the foundations for a **vibrant and effective** democracy, (DP.1)

Commentary

Democracy cannot flourish and develop if it is built on the wrong foundation. Democracy is seen as a living thing. For life to continue it demands healthy behaviors. In the translation نابضة بالحياة is substituted by two words: vibrant and effective, which are typical adjectives of a person who can continue his life. This can be applied on democracy. For democracy to work appropriately, it must be vibrant and effective.

Example (35)

ST:

لنتذكر جميعا أننا كأردنيين وأردنيات **إخوة وأخوات متساوون وفي مركب واحد**، وأن وحدتنا وإخلاصنا لهذا البلد يسمو فوق كل اختلاف. (الورقة الأولى)

TT:

We need to acknowledge that as Jordanians we are all **fellow travellers in the journey ahead**, regardless of family, neighborhood, gender or religious belief. (DP.1)

Commentary

In this example, there are two metaphors in one sentence. The use of اخوة واخوات to show the social unity between the people of Jordan. The use of في مركب واحد shows that the social unity might not be by blood, but in the shared destiny. The king says Jordanian males and females are like brothers and sisters, who are in the same boat. If this boat sinks in the sea, we all will face the same destiny. Moreover, the use of اخوة واخوات كأردنيين وأردنيات and raises the issue of gender. It is known that the Arab culture is masculine in nature. However, the king does not distinguish between males and females.

In the translation, the metaphor is translated as a metaphor in the English language functionally as fellow travelers in the journey ahead. This translation is

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deemed ideologically motivated. The use of fellow travelers to eliminate the gender issue is an attempt to down play the matter.

Example (36)

ST:

<div dir="rtl">

وأدعوكم أيضاً للالتزام بالحوار والنقاش سبيلا لحل الاختلاف في الرأي، قبل **الانسحاب من طاولة الحوار** والنزول إلى الشارع. (الورقة الأولى)

</div>

TT:

It is equally important that we commit to one another to resolving differences of opinion through debate and dialogue, long before engaging in protest or **withdrawing from the discussion** and taking to the streets. (DP.1)

Commentary

In this example, the Arabic word طاولة is omitted in the translation. Here, the use of طاولة table in English is metaphorical. It is the object where people gather around, discuss and make decisions. Further, the use of الانسحاب to reflect failure is translated literally as withdrawing, to keep the same negative meaning intended in the message.

Example (37)

ST:

<div dir="rtl">

تنمية إحساس وطني بالإنجاز، مستمد من التغلب على التحديات، **والتسلح بروابطنا** وتضحياتنا المشتركة، والإيمان بأن طريقنا نحو الازدهار والأمان ينطلق من ديمقراطيتنا التي تتعزز يوما بعد يوم. (الورقة الأولى)

</div>

TT:

A sense of achievement in overcoming the challenges and hurdles we confront together, through shared commitment and shared sacrifice, on our path to prosperity and greater security through a stronger democracy. (DP.1)

Commentary

In this example, the metaphor is in the use of a military expression التسلح to strengthen the discourse and show its importance. In the translation, it is omitted, and this might affect the message. A suggested translation would be "armed with commitment and shared sacrifices" in order to keep the same impression of the source text.

Example (38)

ST:

<div dir="rtl">

المشاركة بقوة في **صناعة مستقبل الأردن** من خلال التصويت في الانتخابات، والالتزام بالديمقراطية نهج حياة. (الورقة الأولى)

</div>

TT:

Active engagement in **shaping the future of Jordan** through voting in elections – a commitment to democracy as a national paradigm and a way of life. (DP.1)

Commentary

The king is encouraging the people of Jordan to participate in the elections. The speech act is encouraging and the implicature is to the fact that some people do not participate in the elections. Some people believe that they are useless and a waste of time because parliament does not do its job.

The Arabic expression صناعة مستقبل الأردن is translated as "shaping the future of Jordan". Translating صناعة literally as industry/manufacture will result in an inadequate translation. It is a successful translation because it gives the meaning and the function of the word.

Example (39)

ST:

كما أن الحاجة للموازنة بين هذه المسؤوليات، تعكس في الواقع أن النواب هم **أعضاء في جسم سياسي واحد هو** مجلس النواب، الذي عليه مسؤولية القيام بواجباته. (الورقة الثالثة)

TT:

This need to collaborate recognizes the fact that MPs are **members of one body, Parliament**, with a duty to perform; and that the government, too, has a mandate to implement its programme. (DP.3)

Commentary

The use of أعضاء في جسم سياسي واحد is metaphorical. The Parliament is seen as a body and the MPs are part of this body. Therefore, any deviation from any member will affect the whole parliament. The metaphor is translated fairly literally except that the word سياسي is replaced by Parliament.

Example (40)

ST:

والتي تساهم بدورها في تعزيز أجواء العمل السياسي وتشكيل الأحزاب من **مختلف ألوان الطيف السياسي.** (الورقة الخامسة)

TT:

Together, these laws help foster political society and party formation across **the political spectrum.** (DP.5)

Commentary

The three words مختلف ألوان الطيف becomes one word spectrum. According to the online *Etymology Dictionary* spectrum has the meaning of a figurative sense of "entire range (of something)". In nature, the distinction is usually made between different colors ranging from light to dark. If contrasted to political parties, this means diversity in political work. In addition, these political parties vary in their ideologies just as colors vary in nature. Spectrum refers to the range of values and qualities.

Conclusion

To sum up, politicians use metaphors in their political discourse to strengthen their points of view and to influence the emotions of the readers. The *Discussion Papers* include a good number of metaphors. Surely, the way these metaphors are rendered will affect the political message in the discourse. The examples examined in this section show that there are different strategies that are used in the translations. These are deletion, idiomatic and functional translation, and substitution by a metaphor in the target language.

Chapter Five: Conclusion

This chapter presents the conclusions of the thesis as well as the findings stem from the analysis of the selected parts.

The *Discussion Papers* of King Abdullah II ibn Al Hussein are considered a good example of translating political discourse from Arabic into English. The *Discussion Papers* represent a model of translation that took place during the "Arab Spring". Their translation reflects the sensitivity of the issues discussed in the papers and the time of releasing them. Therefore, the *Discussion Papers* have special importance.

The analysis of the selected parts shows that the main concentration of the translation is on the function and the purpose of the *Discussion Papers,* regardless of the micro-strategies opted for by the translators. Of course, there are many strategies applied in the translation. These include: deletion, addition, toning down, substitution, and borrowing. Here, the unintentional use of ideology appears clearly. As mentioned earlier, despite the rampant number of strategies available, the concentration is to produce texts that serve the function and the purpose of *Discussion Papers.*

This thesis has come up with a number of interesting findings based on the analysis of the selected parts of the *Discussion Papers*. One of the first findings is that Skopos Theory is certainly valid for translating political discourse. Since the theory mainly focuses on the function and purpose of the translation, its usefulness is evident in the translation of these particular papers. From the examples offered in this thesis, it is apparent that most of the translations of the political messages focused on the message itself. This was evident regardless of the type of translation strategies that were used.

Another finding was that even though the heaviest burden is usually put on the translators, the role and the ideology of the translators was not obvious in the translation of these papers. In this particular instance, the intervention of the translators in no way affects the translation. The reason for this, which we have to keep in mind, is that the translations are published on the official website of King Abdullah II ibn Al Hussein, thereby ensuring that the translations were not affected by any translator's role or ideology.

Another factor which arises from the findings of this thesis is how the translation of the papers was utilized in order present an improved image of Jordan. This was done in order to present a better image of both the country and the people. The way this image management was carried out through translation was evident through the strategy of toning down some of the issues that are specific to Jordan.

Additionally, when reading the translations it is quite obvious that they match the linguistic norms of the English language. Two of the best examples of this are regarding how the metaphors and religious references were translated. The translations into English chose to delete several of the cultural items. With regard to the metaphors, some were deleted in order to make the English version more appealing for the English reader. Those metaphors, which would be either unimportant to an English reader or unclear if they had been maintained, were deleted from the final translation. In terms of the religious references, there were two strategies which were utilized: deletion and literal translation. By doing this, it certainly would affect the understanding of the message, and the translated version would not have the same effect on the English readers as the original did on the source text readers. However, due to the cultural differences between the ST readers and the TT readers, especially in terms of how quotations from the Holy Qur'an were utilized, the translations were carried out to ensure that the meaning of the ST came through by deleting material or using literal translations.

Further, in view of the fact that the *Discussion Papers* were political in nature, it is not surprising that some of the translations from the source text to English may not appear as the most appropriate choice of words. This is due to the fact that any time political ideology is involved there are bound to be a variety of ways that these factors can be translated. For example, the translation of the Arabic expression "التحول الديمقراطي" into development, transition, democratization, and transformation to show the gradual process of democracy is an interesting issue. These terms are used to imply the change from one state into another. However, the use of these different terms in order to communicate that expression definitely requires more investigation from a translation point of view.

Finally, the rampant use of translation strategies is normal due to the differences between the source text readers (ST) and the target text readers (TT). The changes that are made show that there is an unintentional bias towards the English target readers, for example, the deletion of some of the religious references. This is because the

interference of the translators is not obvious since both the source text and the target text are taken from the official website of King Abdullah II ibn Al Hussein, which is strong proof that the translation is institutional.

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Appendix 1: Discussion Papers Samples

" مسيرتنا نحو بناء الديمقراطية المتجددة

- الورقة النقاشية الأولى

بقلم عبدالله الثاني ابن الحسين

29كانون الأول/ديسمبر 2012

وتنطلق الحملات الانتخابية:

يأتي نشر هذه الورقة النقاشية* مع بدء الحملات الانتخابية للقوائم الوطنية والدوائر المحلية على امتداد ربوع وطننا العزيز، معلنة انطلاق سباق انتخابي نحو مجلس النواب القادم، هذا السباق الذي سيحظى فيه كل يوم من أيام الحملات الانتخابية بأهمية كبرى، وسيكون لكل مواطن ولكل صاحب صوت منكم دور أساسي في بث الحياة من جديد في مسيرتنا الديمقراطية.

وعلينا أن نتذكر أن التنافس بين المرشحين لن يكون من أجل منصب يصلون من خلاله إلى مجلس النواب لحصد امتيازات شخصية، بل هو تنافس من أجل هدف أسمى ألا وهو شرف تحمّل المسؤولية: مسؤولية اتخاذ القرارات التي تمس مصير الأردن وجميع الأردنيين.

إن مسؤوليتي في هذا الظرف تتمحور في تشجيع الحوار بيننا كشعب يسير على طريق التحول الديموقراطي، وتأتي ورقة النقاش هذه كخطوة على هذا الطريق، حيث أسعى من خلال ما أشاركم به اليوم، إضافة إلى مجموعة من الأوراق النقاشية التي ستنشر خلال الفترة القادمة، إلى تحفيز المواطنين للدخول في حوار حول بناء القضايا الكبرى التي تواجهنا. وكنت قد أوضحت منذ بضعة أسابيع في مقابلة مع صحيفتي "الرأي والجوردن تايمز"، وبالتفصيل، رؤيتي لمستقبل الديمقراطية في الأردن وخارطة الإصلاح التي ستقودنا إليه. أما اليوم، فإنني سأكرس هذه الورقة للحديث حول مجموعة من الممارسات التي أؤمن أننا بحاجة إلى تطويرها وتجذيرها على امتداد رحلتنا نحو الديمقراطية، ضمن نظامنا الملكي الدستوري.

لقد آن الأوان للتحرك بجدية نحو محطات رئيسة على طريق إنجاز الديمقراطية، وستمثل الانتخابات النيابية القادمة إحدى المحطات الأساسية على خارطة طريق الإصلاح السياسي. وقد بدأتم، كمواطنين، تلتقون المرشحين يجوبون أحياءكم للفوز بثقتكم وبأصواتكم. ولكن الأهم من ذلك هو محافظة هؤلاء المرشحين على ثقتكم، واحترامهم لأمانة أصواتكم، على مدى السنوات القادمة، ولكم الحق، بل عليكم مسؤولية وطنية بمحاورتهم للوقوف على توجهاتهم إزاء القضايا المهمة التي نعيشها، وفي مقدمتها الوضع الاقتصادي وقضايانا الوطنية ذات الأولوية والرؤية المستقبلية لوطننا الغالي.

ومن المهم أيضاً ألا تنحصر حواراتكم ونقاشاتكم بالمرشحين فقط، بل أن تتناقشوا فيما بينكم كمواطنين في مجالسكم ودواوينكم، وفي المنتديات الثقافية، وفي مختلف المنابر الاجتماعية المتاحة حول جميع القضايا ذات الأولوية دون أية قيود أو محددات. فحتى تنجح الديمقراطية، لا بد من استمرار الحوار والنقاش، وأن يبادر الناخبون للتصويت على أساس مواقف المرشحين من الأولويات الأساسية التي يطرحها المواطنون، وليس على أساس العلاقات الشخصية، أو صلات القربى.

إنني أؤمن بأن رؤية المواطنين للعملية السياسية، سواء أكانوا يمثلون حزباً سياسياً أو فئة اجتماعية محددة، تقوم على اعتبارها فرصة للتنافس العادل والشريف من أجل الوصول إلى أفضل الأفكار والحلول. فلا يمكن لفئة بمفردها تحقيق جميع الأهداف التي تسعى إليها، بل يجب التوصل إلى تفاهمات تتبنى حلولا وسطا وتحقق مصالح الأردنيين جميعاً، فالامتحان الحقيقي والحاسم لمساعينا الديمقراطية يكمن في قدرتنا على النجاح كأسرة واحدة في مواجهة التحديات.

تبرز في الكثير من الأحيان في الأردن، كما في باقي دول العالم، اختلافات في الرأي، لأسباب شخصية أو سياسية، تعبر عن نفسها بمظاهر تأخذ أحيانا أشكالا غير بناءة كالتصلب في المواقف والعنف والمقاطعة التي لا تقود بالضرورة إلى النتائج المرجوة. وهذه المظاهر تؤدي إلى توقف آني للممارسة الديمقراطية وتحول دون الوصول إلى التوافق المنشود.

ولذا، علينا جميعا أن نعمل من أجل تجاوزها وإعادة عربة الديمقراطية إلى مسارها الصحيح، فالديمقراطية لا تكتمل إلا بالمبادرة البنّاءة وقبول التنوّع والاختلاف في الرأي. كما أن الوصول إلى مقاربة متوازنة تجمع بين الحوار المنفتح، والمنافسة الشريفة، واتخاذ القرار عن وعي ودراية، هي لبنة أساسية في بناء النظام الديموقراطي الذي نريده نهجا يقودنا إلى المستقبل المشرق الذي يستحقه جميع الأردنيين.

وعليه، فإن رؤيتنا لطبيعة النظام الديموقراطي الذي نعمل على بنائه واضحة، كما أن طريق الوصول إليه واضح، لكنه ليس بالطريق السهل، ولا يوجد طريق مختصر، إنه طريق يُبنى بالتراكم، ويحتاج بشكل أساسي إلى مراجعة أهم ممارساتنا الديمقراطية، وفي مقدمتها: كيف نختلف ضمن نقاشاتنا العامة، وكيف نتخذ القرار.

وهذا يقودني للحديث **عن تطوير الممارسات الضرورية للديمقراطية.** فما نحتاجه، بالتزامن مع انطلاق الحملات الانتخابية، هو تطوير ممارسات ترتبط بمفهوم المواطنة الصالحة، التي تشكل الأساس لديمقراطية نابضة بالحياة.

وبرأيي، هناك أربعة مبادئ وممارسات أساسية لا بد أن تتجذر في سلوكنا السياسي والاجتماعي حتى نبني النظام الديموقراطي الذي ننشد. وتمثل الانتخابات النيابية القادمة فرصة حقيقية لتعزيز هذه المبادئ والممارسات، والتي من المهم ألا تتوقف بانتهاء العملية الانتخابية، بل أن تستمر حتى تترسخ قناعات ثابتة في حياتنا اليومية خلال السنوات القادمة. وتتجلى هذه المبادئ والممارسات بما يلي:

أولاً: احترام الرأي الآخر أساس الشراكة بين الجميع:

لنتذكر جميعا أننا كأردنيين وأردنيات إخوة وأخوات متساوون وفي مركب واحد، وأن وحدتنا وإخلاصنا لهذا البلد يسمو فوق كل اختلاف، سواء أكان في العرق، أو الأصل، أو الدين. ومن الضروري أن نعمل معا على توسيع دائرة الاحترام والثقة المتبادلة بيننا، وأن نبني عروة وثقى تجمع الأردنيين على أساس احترام الإنسان وكرامته

وهذا الاحترام المتبادل هو ما سيمكننا من أن نُتقن واجب الاستماع كما هو حق الحديث. ولا بد أن نعي جميعا بأن تفهم الرأي الآخر هو أعلى درجات الاحترام، وأن حرية التعبير لا تكتمل إلا إذا التزمنا بمسؤولية الاستماع، وبهذه الممارسة فقط سنترك وراءنا نمط التفكير الذي يصنف المجتمعات إلى مجموعات متنافرة على أساس "نحن" و"الآخر"، ففي نهاية المطاف كلنا أردنيون وكلنا للأردن .

ثانياً: المواطنة لا تكتمل إلا بممارسة واجب المساءلة:

إنني أدعو المواطنين هنا إلى الانخراط في بحث القضايا والقرارات المهمة ذات الأولوية في مجتمعنا وسبل إيجاد حلول لها، ولتبدأ هذه الممارسة اليوم قبل الغد من خلال إسماع أصواتكم في الحملات الانتخابية، ومن خلال التصويت يوم الاقتراع. وتذكروا أن الديمقراطية لا تصل مبتغاها بمجرد الإدلاء بأصواتكم، بل هي عملية مستمرة من خلال مساءلتكم لمن يتولون أمانة المسؤولية، ومحاسبتهم على أساس الالتزامات التي قطعوها على أنفسهم. كما أن الديمقراطية مستمرة أيضاً من خلال انخراطكم في نقاشات وحوارات هادفة حول القضايا التي تواجه أسركم، ومجتمعاتكم المحلية، والوطن بعمومه، وفي مقدمتها محاربة الفقر والبطالة، وتحسين خدمات الرعاية الصحية والتعليم والمواصلات العامة، والحد من آثار الغلاء المعيشي، ومحاربة الفساد بأشكاله وأي إهدار للمال العام. وتتطلب هذه الممارسات أن يتقدّم المرشحون للانتخابات ببرامج عملية وموضوعية مبنية على الحقائق وليس الانطباعات، بحيث توفر تلك البرامج حلولا قابلة للتنفيذ لمعالجة مشاكلنا، مع تجاوز الشعارات البرّاقة والتنظير والإفراط في تشخيص المشاكل دون طرح حلول واقعية وعملية .

وأدعوكم أيضاً إلى الحرص على مجموعة من الممارسات التي تبقي المجتمعات متفاعلة وحيّة، فالمواطنون الواعون والمسؤولون هم الذين يتابعون وسائل الإعلام، مع الحرص على توخي الحقيقة والموضوعية، ويتفاعلون معها تعبيرا عن أرائهم، ويتواصلون مع ممثليهم في مجلس النواب والمجالس المحلية وقادة مجتمعاتهم ويسائلونهم ويتابعون أداءهم ومواقفهم، ويبادرون للتجمع وتنظيم أنفسهم على المستوى المحلي، ويتخذون موقفا موحدا، ويعملون من أجل معالجة قضاياهم المحلية، ومن بينها على سبيل المثال: الاهتمام بخدمات المياه والصرف الصحي والنظافة العامة، وإدامة الطرق والبنى التحتية، والمحافظة على المتنزهات والحدائق، وتعزيز السلامة المرورية وغيرها .

ثالثاً: قد نختلف لكننا لا نفترق فالحوار والتوافق واجب وطني مستمر:

يرتبط التواصل والتعبير عن الآراء في المجتمع الديموقراطي بالتزام مبدأ الاحترام مع حق الاختلاف في الرأي، في ظل سعينا للوصول إلى حلول توافقية. أما تنوّع الآراء والمعتقدات والثقافات في مجتمعنا فقد كان على الدوام عنصر قوة، ولم يكن عامل ضعف أبدا .

إن الاختلاف لا يؤشر على وجود خلل، وليس شكلاً لانعدام الولاء، بل إن الاختلاف المستند إلى الاحترام هو دافع للحوار، والحوار فيما بين أصحاب الآراء المختلفة هو جوهر الديمقراطية، والديمقراطية هي الأداة التي تجعل من الحلول التوافقية أمراً يمكننا من المضي إلى الأمام .

وباعتقادي فإن الوصول إلى حلول توافقية يقوم على مبدأ "أن نعطي كما نأخذ"، وبهذا المنطق، فإن على جميع الأطراف أن تدرك أنها تحقق بعض ما تريد، وليس كل ما تريد. والمبادرة للتنازل وصولاً إلى حلول توافقية هي فضيلة ترفع من شأن من يتحلى بها، وليست علامة ضعف، فأكثر أفراد المجتمع فضلاً هم الذين يبادرون للتضحية في سبيل الصالح العام، وهؤلاء الذين يؤثرون على أنفسهم هم من يرسخ في الذاكرة الوطنية .

وأدعوكم أيضاً للالتزام بالحوار والنقاش سبيلا لحل الاختلاف في الرأي، قبل الانسحاب من طاولة الحوار والنزول إلى الشارع. وبالرغم من الإيمان والإجماع الراسخ بأن حق التظاهر مكفول بالدستور، فلا بد أن نعي جميعا أن هذه أداة اضطرارية، لا يتم اللجوء إليها إلا كخيار أخير، ولا يصح المسارعة إلى تبنيها فيتعطل الحوار ويغلق باب التواصل. ولنتذكر جميعا أنه يتوجب علينا، وبعد أي إضراب أو اعتصام أو مقاطعة، العمل سوية من جديد وصولا إلى حلول توافقية نمضي بها نحو بناء مستقبلنا يداً بيد .

ولا بد في هذا السياق من التأكيد على أن الإيمان بالديمقراطية يستوجب الرفض الكامل للعنف وللتهديد باستخدامه، ونبذ تخريب الممتلكات العامة، فهذه وسائل مرفوضة، ولا يمكن قبولها تحت أي ذريعة .

رابعا: جميعنا شركاء في التضحيات والمكاسب:

علينا أن نضع نصب أعيننا حقيقة أن الديمقراطية في جوهرها لا تعني أنه لا يوجد رابح أو خاسر، كما لا يوجد أجوبة صحيحة بالمطلق. فقوتنا تكمن في قدرتنا على التعامل مع المتغيرات من حولنا، ولقد كان شعبنا على امتداد تاريخنا مثالاً في إثبات القدرة على التعامل مع الظروف المستجدة من حوله. وكونوا على ثقة بأننا جميعاً سنربح مع استمرارنا في التواصل والمضي إلى الأمام على مسار الإصلاح والتنمية الشاملة، مع ضرورة أن يكون الجميع شركاء في بذل التضحيات وحصد المكاسب .

وبهذا أنتقل إلى القسم الأخير من هذه الورقة النقاشية، حيث أحاول الإجابة على سؤال مفاده: **كيف نتأكد أننا على الطريق الصحيح؟**

سنتمكن، خلال الحملات الانتخابية، وخلال السنوات التي تلي الانتخابات القادمة، من التأكد أننا نسير على الطريق الصحيح، طالما التزمنا بالمبادئ الديمقراطية التي ذكرتها، وبتحسين ممارستها، وصولاً إلى تحقيق ما يلي :

- بلورة إحساس جمعي بالكرامة والاعتزاز بما ننجزه سويا كشعب واحد.

- تنمية إحساس وطني بالإنجاز، مستمد من التغلب على التحديات، والتسلح بروابطنا وتضحياتنا المشتركة، والإيمان بأن طريقنا نحو الازدهار والأمان ينطلق من ديمقراطيتنا التي تتعزز يوما بعد يوم.
- المشاركة بقوة في صناعة مستقبل الأردن من خلال التصويت في الانتخابات، والالتزام بالديمقراطية نهج حياة.
- إدامة الحوار البناء والقائم على الاحترام بين المواطنين والتواصل عبر وسائل الإعلام بما فيها الاجتماعي والإلكتروني.
- تجذير أسس التعامل الحضاري بين المواطنين، وثقافة العمل التطوعي، بما يقود إلى مستويات متقدمة من الثقة والعطاء في المجتمع.

وختاما، فقد شرع الأردن فعلاً في الدخول في مرحلة جديدة حافلة بالعطاء على طريق التحديث والتنمية والبناء، وبعبور مفصل تاريخي زاخر بالتحديات والفرص، وكلي ثقة بقدرة الأردنيين على التغلب على الصعاب وتجاوز التحديات.

وأتطلع اليوم للوقوف على آراء جميع المرشحين في هذه الانتخابات ومواقفهم، وأدعو الفائزين منهم أن يدركوا أنهم يتحملون أمانة عظيمة: وهي مسؤولية تمثيل جميع الأردنيين والأردنيات.

كما أدعو المواطنين والمواطنات من أبناء وبنات شعبنا العزيز لتبني المبادئ والممارسات الديمقراطية التي عرضتها للتو، فهي تشكل اجتهادا لترسيخ سلوكيات المواطنة الصالحة، المؤمنة بالديمقراطية نهج حياة. وأحث الجميع على استثمار هذه الفرصة التاريخية لممارسة حقوقهم ومسؤولياتهم، خصوصاً في ظل التعديلات الدستورية الأخيرة التي كرست مكانة الشعب شريكاً حقيقياً في صناعة القرار، وأن يتحملوا واجباتهم الوطنية بانتخاب مجلس نواب كفء قادر على خدمة الصالح العام وضمان مستقبل أفضل لأردننا الحبيب.

اليوم وليس غداً نبدأ معاً لحظة المسؤولية التاريخية لبناء المستقبل الذي يستحقه الأردن، وينشده الجميع لأجل الحاضر والمستقبل.

"Our Journey to Forge Our Path Towards Democracy"
- First Discussion Paper

By Abdullah II ibn Al Hussein
29 December 2012

<u>The Coming Campaign</u>
National lists and candidates across the country have begun their election campaigns for the next Parliament, launching an intense, short election period, in which every day matters, and every citizen matters, because it is your active participation, as citizens, that will breathe life into our democracy.

Candidates are not running for the right to sit in Parliament in Amman and earn personal benefits. They are running to be given a responsibility and a privilege: the national duty of making key choices on some of the most important decisions facing our country, decisions that will impact the future of every Jordanian.

My goal and responsibility within this national course is to encourage debate about our progress as a nation in democratic development. This paper* is part of efforts towards that goal. Today, and in a series of other discussion papers in the next few months, I seek to stimulate debate among citizens about the most important issues we face as a country. A few weeks ago, in an interview with *Al-Rai* and *The Jordan Times* newspapers, I outlined in detail my vision for Jordan's democratic future and the roadmap to get there. Today, I dedicate this paper to share my vision for the principles and values needed to help us progress in our democratisation journey, under our constitutional monarchy.

Now is the time for us to move actively towards key, practical milestones in that journey towards democracy. This election is one of those critical steps and a station on the political reform roadmap. As candidates come to your neighbourhoods over the next several weeks, they will be seeking to win your trust and your vote. But what they need to realize is that they must maintain your trust and honour your vote over the years to come. You have the right and the responsibility, and more importantly a national duty, to engage them in discussion on key issues related to the economy, the country's reform course and your vision for the future of our beloved Jordan.

It is equally important that you not only engage the candidates, but engage each other, as citizens, on all issues of priority without restrictions – at home, in coffee shops and community halls, in all gatherings and venues. To make democracy work, it is critical that we debate, discuss, and vote on the basis of the positions put forward by the candidates on key issues facing our country, and not on the basis of personalities or affinities related to geography or family.

As groups of citizens – whether in the form of political parties or community groups – we need to embrace political life as a fair and noble competition to generate the best ideas and solutions. No individual or group will get everything it wants. We must strike compromises in order to make the best possible choices in the interest of all Jordanians. The true and decisive test for our nation and our democratisation journey is our ability to triumph together as one family in the face of the challenges that come before us.

Many times – in Jordan as around the world – disagreement, whether personal or political, expresses itself ineffectively in political intransigence, violence, or boycotts, which do not necessarily deliver desired goals. When this happens, it represents a temporary breakdown in democratic practices. This deprives our society of the chance to achieve compromise and consensus, resulting in a setback from which everyone then needs to recover. Democratic practice requires constructive engagement and acceptance of a diversity of opinion.

Creating the right combination of tolerant debate, respectful competition, and informed choice-making is the key foundation of a democratic system, and is essential to moving our country forward into a brighter future all Jordanians deserve.

Our vision for the type of system we are seeking to build is clear, as is the path we need to take. But the journey will be long, there are no shortcuts, and it will not be easy because it requires changing some of our most fundamental practices, chief among them are the way we disagree with each other in the public sphere, and the way we make decisions on the national level.

The ideas outlined above require discussing a set of principles that are essential to **developing the right practices for democracy.** What we all need to develop, starting with the launch of this new election campaign, are the practices of good citizenship that are the foundations for a vibrant and effective democracy, and to work sincerely to guarantee that these practices become our *modus vivendi*.

I believe that there are four practices we must each embrace as citizens to help build our democratic system. While we should start adopting these practices as of this election campaign, that is only the beginning. We will continue to practice and develop these principles in our daily lives over the years to come, because these practices are the *sine qua nons* for democracy:

I. RESPECT FOR ALL FELLOW CITIZENS IS THE ESSENSE OF OUR UNITY:

We need to acknowledge that as Jordanians we are all fellow travellers in the journey ahead, regardless of family, neighbourhood, gender or religious belief. We should engrave in our minds the unshakable fact that our unity and faith in this country transcends all differences. We must expand our circle of trust and respect, and build an inseparable bond between us to treat all fellow Jordanians with civility and dignity, irrespective of whether we know them well or not and whether we like them or not.

Respect in the public sphere means that we focus on issues, not personalities, and listen as intently as we talk. We all need to realize that understanding the opinion of others is the most crucial act of respect. There is no such thing as 'free speech' unless we listen. This is how we leave behind 'Us versus Them' ways of thinking, for at the end of the day we are all Jordanians and we are all for Jordan.

II. CITIZENSHIP AND ACCOUNTABILITY GO HAND IN HAND:

I call on all fellow citizens to actively engage in important decisions and problem-solving activities of our society, such as reducing poverty and unemployment, continuously enhancing healthcare and education, improving public transport, overcoming the increasing cost of living, and fighting corruption and any waste of public funds. This starts now, by making our voices heard in the election campaigns and by voting on election day. But democracy is much more than voting, and does not end with casting our ballots. It is an on-going process; it is about holding our elected officials to their commitments and remaining continuously engaged in the discussions and debates on the issues facing our families, our communities and our nation. This is why candidates must propose practical, objective and fact-based programs that provide implementable solutions to our challenges, rather than just theoretical slogans and over-diagnosis of our problems. As citizens, I call on you to uphold practices that will keep our society engaged and vibrant. Engaged citizens follow the news in newspapers, online, and on radio and TV. They write letters to the editors of their newspapers or to their Members of Parliament. They join community groups to organize community action about local issues and problems such as playgrounds, traffic safety, rubbish collection, water and sewage networks, and maintenance of roads and infrastructure.

III. HARNESSING DISAGREEMENT INTO COMPROMISE WHILE MAINTAINING CONTSTANT DIALOGUE:

It is important to combine the communication of our own opinions to others with a commitment to disagreeing respectfully with others, as we seek compromise solutions. The diversity of opinion, belief, and culture that exists in Jordan is our fundamental strength, not weakness.

Disagreement is not a sign of trouble or disloyalty. Respectful disagreement is the basis for dialogue, and dialogue over diverse ideas is the essence of democracy, and democracy is what makes compromise and agreement possible and will enable our nation to move forward.

Compromise means give and take, it means we do not get everything we want, nor does anyone else. The ability to compromise is a virtue. It is not a sign of personal weakness or humiliation. The best and most virtuous citizens among us are those who are willing to accept personal sacrifice in the interest of the nation as a whole, and this is why those who put their country first will remain forever engraved in our hearts and minds.

It is equally important that we commit to one another to resolving differences of opinion through debate and dialogue, long before engaging in protest or withdrawing from the discussion and taking to the streets.

While strikes and protests are constitutionally protected inalienable rights, they are extreme measures that should be tools of last, not first, resort. And let's all remember that once the boycott or strike is over, we will still have to work together to reach agreement and proceed hand in hand to forge our shared destiny.

Democracy means unequivocally rejecting violence or threats of violence, including intimidation and destruction of property. These are not acceptable forms of expression. They are not negotiation tactics. Violence is out of bounds.

IV. SHARED GAINS AND SACRIFICES:

We have to be patient in our understanding that democracy means that there are no permanent winners or losers and no permanent answers. We have to constantly adapt to changing circumstances. Throughout its history, our nation has demonstrated an ability to be agile, accommodate change and adapt as our circumstances require. We all gain from continuing to engage with one another, and continuously striving to move our country further along our development path, armed with the firm belief that we are all partners, both in gains and sacrifices.

What I have proposed so far are necessary practices that are crucial for a country seeking democratisation, but it also begs the question: **How will we measure progress?**

As electoral campaigns go on, and through each year of our continuing democratic development after the election, we will know we are on the right path, because we will see ourselves getting better and better at these practices:

- A shared sense of dignity and pride in what we are doing together as a nation;
- A sense of achievement in overcoming the challenges and hurdles we confront together, through shared commitment and shared sacrifice, on our path to prosperity and greater security through a stronger democracy;
- Active engagement in shaping the future of Jordan through voting in elections – a commitment to democracy as a national paradigm and a way of life;
- Fruitful and respectful debates and discussions taking place in person and online;
- Civility between citizens characterized by a strong volunteering culture and growing generosity and trust to, and from, people we do not personally know.

It is well evident for all that we have embarked on a new and exciting chapter in our nation's development at a time of historic challenges. Moreover, we are passing through a decisive juncture, full of challenges and opportunities, and I remain a firm believer in the ability of

Jordanians to overcome challenges and seize opportunities. I look forward to hearing the views and positions of all candidates running in this election. The responsibility assumed by those elected to the new Parliament on behalf of all citizens is enormous.

By exercising the practices of good democratic citizenship outlined above, Jordanians are all encouraged to seize the rights granted to them under the Constitution to fully exercise their responsibility to elect a competent new Parliament in the best interest of the nation's future and take part in expressing the will of the people, for they have earned their rightful status as true partners in decision making. Now is the time we must each take responsibility for creating the future we want for all Jordanians by making democracy a way of life.

Vita

Mu'tasam Ali Al-Dunaibat was born on November 11, 1971, in Al Karak, Jordan. He was educated in government schools and continued his studies at Mu'tah University, Jordan, from where he graduated in 1994. His degree was a Bachelor of Arts in English Language and Literature.

Mr. Al-Dunaibat moved to the United Arab Emirates to work as a teacher of English in 2003, and taught English for 13 years. In fall 2013, he joined a master's program in Translation and Interpreting at the American University of Sharjah.