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Political Discourse: A Contrastive Arabic-English
Analysis of Interviews by the Syrian President Bashar
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**Identifying Causes of Mistranslation of Syrian Political Discourse:
A Contrastive Arabic-English Analysis of
Interviews by the Syrian President Bashar al-Assad**

A Thesis Submitted to the University of Durham for the
Degree of Doctorate of Philosophy

By

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September 2015

ABSTRACT

This research investigates the general causes of mistranslation of Syrian political discourse and in particular the causes that lead to pragmatic failure in translation. It starts by highlighting the key concepts in major theories of translation, including the review of the importance of pragmatics for translation. Next, it moves to highlight the necessity of exploring the importance of pragmatic translation equivalence in bridging the gap between the source text (ST) and the target text (TT). It also clarifies pragmatic failure in translation, which could be classified as pragma-linguistic failure, or socio-pragmatic failure or both, and then reviews the translation differences between Arabic ST and TT(s). The source of the research data was four interviews by the Syrian President Bashar al-Assad. The four interviews together with their official and unofficial translations were presented in a questionnaire format to the research participants in a comparable manner, so that the contrastive research could be conducted. Each three sentences, the Arabic ST and the TTs, were put in a table designed to perform the contrastive analysis and collect the data necessary for answering the research questions. The questionnaire data was collected and analysed and the results of analysis reveal that the observed mistranslations in the unofficial TT (70.14%) were more than those observed in the official TT (29.85%). Out of these percentages 79.84% of the unofficial mistranslations caused pragmatic failure. The causes for these mistranslations were grammatical (7.75%), semantic (20.93%), culture-related (22.48%) and the other deviations under the previous three types together (28.68%). 20.15% of the official mistranslations caused pragmatic failure. The causes for these mistranslations were grammatical (0%), semantic (11.24%), culture-related (0%) and the other deviations under the previous three types together (8.91%). Further research in the light of findings in this research has been suggested.

DECLARATION

I hereby declare that no portion of the work that appears in this study has been used in support of an application of another degree in qualification to this or any other university or institution of learning.

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DEDICATION

To the cradle of civilization, Syria
To my loving and caring wife, Nadine
To the roses of my life: Alice, Joe and Ward

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Figure 1: **3.3 Pragmatic Interpretation Equivalence**

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NB: all tables and abbreviations are explained in the relevant place.

Table of transliterated Arabic alphabet:

Arabic Alphabet	Transliteration
ا	a, ā
ء	'
ب	b
ت	t
ث	th
ج	j
ح	ḥ
خ	kh
د	d
ذ	dh
ر	r
ز	z
س	s
ش	sh
ص	ṣ
ض	ḍ
ط	ṭ
ظ	ẓ
ع	ʿ
غ	gh
ف	f
ق	q
ك	k
ل	l
م	m
ن	n
ه	h
و	w, ū
ي	y, ī
ة	a, ah, āh, at, āt

Chapter One

Introduction

1.1 Introduction

People use language(s) as a medium through which they can communicate to express their own ideas and thoughts, to promote their views and stances and to achieve their interests and benefits. Politicians, generally speaking, carefully use language not only to do so but also to influence and control the thought and behaviour of other people. This entails that “politics and language are intimately intertwined” (Chilton & Schäffner, 2002: VII). At the same time, “pragmatics is 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, 1992: 217). Thus, the role of translation among languages in this globalised world could be best revealed through considering the interrelated relationship among language, politics and pragmatics as will be shown later in the next chapters. This research is mainly concerned with Arabic-English translations of the Syrian political discourse. It focuses on considering the reasons behind committing errors and/or deviations in translation whether attributable to linguistic or cultural incompetence.

1.2 Motivation for research

The idea of researching in the area of pragmatic translation started and crystallised during some years of experience in working as a translator in political settings in my home country, Syria. I was asked questions related to translation differences being made by various translators when translating the same Arabic source text. These questions were centered on how to select the best linguistic choice that reflects the intended message of the speaker. I could hardly reply convincingly because I was not myself involved in a comparative analysis dealing with this question. Later on, it turned out that my dilemma was not in finding the appropriate answer; rather, it was the complexity of language and its communicative variation, specifically in political discourse where most politicians tend to use expressions which are heavily pregnant with hidden, deliberate, and purposeful pragmatic meanings. Unfortunately, it has been found that many political translations were

counterproductive while trying to elicit the right intent of the source text as intended in actual reality. Moreover, it should be noted that politicians do not usually compare the translation with the original text; it is mainly the responsibility of the translators to do the required job of translating and conveying the message without any distortion.

This, in short, made me think of what makes a linguistic unit meaningful and understandable to a native speaker of English, when other apparently correct linguistic units can not only be misunderstood, but can even create cultural, and consequently, political, conflict. Such linguistic units may give a reasonably adequate picture of the postulated misinterpretation or mistranslation(s) of the Syrian political discourse, especially when the observed translation deviations or errors leading to a pragmatic failure are performed by professional translators who are not expected to commit many translation mistakes. My research aims to investigate causes of mistranslations observed in the Arabic-English written translations of Syrian political discourse.

1.3 Research questions

Since translation is not a one-step move but a process that is subject to various manipulations and conflict of ideologies, I find myself refuting the argument that “Modern Translation Studies is no longer concerned with examining whether translation has been ‘faithful’ to a source text (the notion of ‘equivalence’ is almost a ‘dirty’ word now). Instead, the focus is on social, cultural, and communicative practices, on the cultural and ideological significance of translating and of translations, on the external politics of translation, on the relationship between translation behaviour and socio-cultural factors” (Schäffner, 2004: 136). Such an argument has stimulated me to consider the role of linguistic and non-linguistic knowledge or pragmatics in managing translation process for the purpose of uncovering possible reasons behind mistranslations that are cross-culturally committed. Accordingly, this research attempts to answer the following two research questions:

1. What are the causes of mistranslation of Syrian political discourse?
2. Which of the identified causes lead to pragmatic failure in translation?

1.4 Organisation of the research

This research is organised into five Chapters:

Following this Introductory Chapter, Chapter Two explores the nature of political discourse in the light of the triangular relationship between media, translation and politics. Next, it elaborates on the translation quality assessment and the importance of understanding dimensions and implications of interaction between two different cultures. It highlights the evolution of translation studies through three approaches, namely, the linguistic, the functionalist and the cognitive. Such evolution is best reviewed through considering Catford's Linguistic approach, Nida's Formal and Dynamic Equivalence in translation, Baker's Approach to Translation, and Vermeer's 'Skopos Theory and Commission in Translational Action'. This chapter also defines pragmatics and its role in the light of Grice's theory of the Cooperative Principle and its maxims, Speech Act Theory and Relevance Theory. Upon such theory a translation assessment criterion is designed and adopted in this thesis. Finally, it focuses on translation from a relevance-based standpoint.

Chapter Three explores the concept of equivalence which is not even well defined in a way that satisfies all, or even most researchers in the field of Arabic-English translation. It reviews many attempts to study and define translation in terms of equivalence relations between the source text (ST) and the target text (TT). It starts by reviewing semantic translation equivalence and then moves to reviewing pragmatic translation equivalence and the translation differences between the ST and TT(s), mainly in the field of political translation, especially Syrian political discourse. Next it moves to explain the concept of pragmatic failure and argue that semantic equivalence in cross-cultural communication is inadequate. Finally, it gives a brief account of socio-pragmatics.

Chapter Four reports the research methodology necessary to answer the research questions, targeting translation deviations that would lead to pragmatic failure regarding translating Syrian political discourse by two different parties; the American Middle East Media Research Institute (MEMRI) website and the official Syrian Arab News Agency websites. The chapter starts by defining the source of research data and moves to explain the data sampling process and the rationale for choosing four interviews by the Syrian President together with two different translations of these interviews, one official and one

unofficial, to be analysed in this research. Next it explains the research tool adopted in this research and describes the process of designing the questionnaire, the data collection tool. While describing the research tool, this chapter describes the contrastive analysis targeted by the questionnaire and elaborates on describing the translation assessment criterion respondents need to follow in order to fill out the questionnaire. Defining this criterion includes reviewing the pragma-linguistic category and the socio-pragmatic category as well as the grades of pragmatic failure. After that the chapter presents the data from the personal background section of the questionnaire and then moves to report data obtained from question 2 in the questionnaire, concerned with the targeted contrastive analysis of the two translations, the official translation and MEMRI translation. Next it starts reporting data relevant to each excerpt in one interview separately. A table summary of all relevant data is found at the end of each interview. The data reported in this chapter is necessary to answer the two main research questions. This chapter is concerned mainly with data reporting. Analysis of these data is in Chapter five.

Chapter Five draws a picture of the causes of mistranslation of four interviews by president Assad of Syria. It starts by reminding the reader of the research questions this research attempts to answer and then analyses the data reported in Chapter Four. Next, it makes use of the data analysis to provide the phrasing of the answers to the research questions. After that it discusses the characteristics of the MEMRI translation and the characteristics of the official translation. It discusses the relation between political translation and politics and moves to discuss the implications and limitations of the research and the recommendations for translators. It also dedicates a section for suggested research inspired by the findings of this research.

Chapter Six concludes this thesis which investigates some of the causes of mistranslation of Syrian political discourse, particularly the causes that lead to pragmatic failure in translation. It claims that this research area has not been heeded before properly and thus this research provides a new contribution to the field of translating political discourse in the Arab world in general and in Syria in particular.

Chapter Two

Theoretical Background

2.1 Introduction

Translation of political discourse, like other kinds of translation, is subject to a general theory of translation that explains where mistranslation can happen and why. Given that the data used for analysis in this thesis were obtained from certain media websites, this chapter explores the nature of political discourse in the light of the triangular relationship between media, translation and politics. Next, it elaborates on the translation quality assessment and the importance of understanding dimensions and implications of interaction between two different cultures. It highlights the evolution of translation studies through three approaches, namely, the linguistic, the functionalist and the cognitive. Such evolution is best reviewed through considering Catford's Linguistic approach, Nida's Formal and Dynamic Equivalence in translation, Baker's Approach to Translation, and Vermeer's 'Skopos Theory and Commission in Translational Action'. This chapter also defines pragmatics and its role in the light of Grice's theory of the Cooperative Principle and its maxims, Speech Act Theory and Relevance Theory. Upon such theory a translation assessment criterion is designed and adopted in this thesis. Finally, it focuses on translation from a relevance-based standpoint. The theory related to mistranslation caused by the speaker mainly is highlighted more to be distinguished from the theoretical background related to mistranslation.

2.2 Political discourse

Since the early 1980s, there has been a growing interest in the area of political discourse which is generally defined by many analysts and scholars in broad terms that may include any discourse related to people's discussions of politics in everyday life (see Wilson, 2001; Chilton, 1997). However, dealing only with what politicians say in political settings, such as political interviews, one can exclude other types of discourse people use in their daily lives. More specifically, political discourse can be realised as "a complex form of human activity" (Schäffner & Bussnet, 2010: 2). In this sense, political interviews

could be a fertile soil to consider one of the core goals of political discourse analysis, which is “to seek out the ways in which language choice is manipulated for specific political effect” (Wilson, 2001: 410). In other words, various linguistic and non-linguistic factors should be considered during the process of interpretation and translation of such discourse from lexical choice of certain words and their collocational relationships, pronouns, speech acts, to pragmatics.

In this regard, it is worth noting that people’s attitudes and perceptions can change according to the given situations, i.e. “our knowledge and opinions about politicians, parties or presidents are largely acquired, changed or confirmed by various forms of text and talk during our socialization (Merelman 1986), formal education, media usage and conversation” (Van Dijk, 2002: 203). This entails that “political discourse can only be adequately described and explained when we spell out the socio-cognitive interface that relates it to the socially shared political representations that control political actions, processes and systems” (ibid: 234). Thus, “the essential issue in political discourse is the balance between linguistic analysis and political analysis; this is what distinguishes political discourse analysis from political research as found, say, in political science” (Wilson, 2001: 411).

In this context, what seems crucial in the field of political discourse translation is that linguistics behaviour influences political behaviour and is influenced by socio-cultural factors in one sense or another (see Schäffner, 2007). In other words, the role played by translator(s), as (dis)honest mediators, would be seen via the use of language in a manipulative manner for conveying either clear or distorted political messages, which serve certain political agendas that are applicable to the translator’s individual, institutional or community socio-political ideologies and predetermined political stances. Consequently, the language of the TT could be used “to do the business of politics and includes persuasive rhetoric, the use of implied meanings, the use of euphemisms, the exclusion of references to undesirable reality, the use of language to arouse political emotions and the like” (Chilton, 2008: 226). In other words, the various types of transformations could be adopted during the translation of political discourse and they are dependent on the goals and interests of the context into which the discourse is being re-contextualized. Therefore, it is relevant to talk about the role of media in the process of

political discourse translation within the relationship between media, translation and politics.

2.3 Triangle of the media, translation and politics

People working in the fields of media, translation and politics use language as a medium through which they can communicate and express their own ideas and thoughts for promoting their stances and interests. In this sense, it can be noticed that “politics and language are intimately intertwined” (Schäffner, 2002, III). Language is the basic tool to manage the struggle for power and/or cooperation to ignite or solve conflicts on the individual or the state level for one's own interests. This intimately intertwined relationship between language and politics can be felt through the works of media outlets and translation.

Media outlets report any event that happens within or beyond the cultural confinements of one speech community or culture by using written or spoken language. Such a language can describe any event in many different ways according to each media outlet's interest, constraints and preferences. Thus, the language used in media can achieve a double function: to affect people's thoughts and beliefs and consequently to control their thoughts and beliefs (Jones and Peccei, 2004:39). Viewed as such, media outlets can be seen as agents of power or manipulative tools that inject the ideas and beliefs of their owner, especially in times of war and conflict where people are mostly concerned with survival issues (see Bazzi: 2009). The influential role of media can be observed not only within the media outlets' national borders but also on international levels when translation work is concerned. This work of translation could affect another speech community through providing real or distorted images of the prevailing socio-political realities. In this sense, different translations of the same source text may introduce different political interpretations; thus, the final translation product, which appears in both MEMRI and SANA websites as presented in this research, reflects each media outlet's editorial control and translational action. That is to say, each media outlet chooses certain political texts to be translated. This choice is usually politically motivated and is related to the politics followed in the country of each media outlet be it governmental, semi-governmental or private. Thus, politics can be seen as “the process through which power and influence are

used in the promotion of certain values and interests” (Danziger, 1997: 4). This entails that “politics and language are intimately intertwined” (Schäffner, 2002, III) in terms of a struggle for power and/or cooperation to ignite or solve conflicts on the individual or the state level. The basic tool for promoting power and influence for one's own interests is the effective and purposeful use of political language. Chilton and Schäffner (2002: 5) claim the existence of:

“two broad strands: on the one hand, politics is viewed as a struggle for power, between those who seek to assert and maintain their power and those who seek to resist it...on the other hand, politics is viewed as cooperation, as the practices and institutions society has for resolving clashes of interest over money, power, liberty and the like”.

In terms of translation studies, understanding the above two strands, as claimed by Schäffner, one has to consider the concept of culture, which “does not seem to have been well defined in cross-cultural studies” (see Fukushima, 2000; Shamma, 2005a: 5). It should be noted that cultural differences, as representations of the communicator's and/or the translator's cognitive environment or context, have a major role in rendering an utterance or text into another language, in terms of both content and effect. This leads to considering the importance of culture and its implications for communication, in general, and political translation, in particular.

2.4 Translation quality assessment

Is the quality assessment of political discourse translation the same as the quality assessment of any other genre's translation? The answer to this question lies in the main principle underlying the job of translation itself that is conveying the message in the target text as if written by a native speaker of the target language. However, the process of assessing translation quality objectively does not seem to have any clear-cut basis. This is because translation is “simultaneously bound to the source text and to the presuppositions and conditions governing its reception in the target linguistic and cultural system” (Baker & Saldanha, 1998: 224). In other words, “Translation-oriented text analysis should not only ensure full comprehension, correct interpretation of the text and explain its linguistic and textual structures and their relationships with the systems and norms of the source language

(SL). It should also provide a reliable foundation for each and every decision which the translator has to make in a particular translation process” (Nord, 2005: 1).

In a translation-oriented analysis, translators should first analyse both the communicative situation as well as the participants in the communicative act and their function in the ST situation and then compare these factors with the corresponding factors in the (prospective) TT situation (see Nord, 2005: 17). This seems compatible with House’ model of translation quality assessment in the sense that the translator should consider the situational dimensions of language use and users; dimensions of language users are geographical origin, social class and time, while medium, participation, social role, social attitude and province are dimensions of language use. Thus, “by using situational dimensions for opening up the source text, a particular text profile is obtained for the source text. This profile which characterizes the function of the text is then the norm against which the quality of the translation text is to be measured” (House, 2015: 30). However, “One should not forget that translation is, at its core, a linguistic act” (House, 2015: 2). In this regard, single words used in certain contexts or reflected forms may keep the door wide open to be interpreted and reinterpreted within different ideological or socio-political frameworks (see Wilson, 2001: 401).

Therefore, preserving meaning across two languages should consider the three types of meaning proposed by House (2015), namely semantic, pragmatic and textual. She also emphasises that “equivalence is both a core concept in translation theory and the conceptual basis of translation quality assessment” (House: 2015: 5). In other words, the importance of equivalent function of the TT simply should be highly considered because the function of the language or function of the text is the application that the text has in the context of a certain communicative situation. Such textual or linguistic function of the text can only be reached by breaking up the linguistic evidence provided in it into its main components, including syntactic, lexical and textual components (see 4.3.4.2). Moreover, ‘Cultural Filter’, as proposed by House (2015: 68), should not be underestimated in overcoming cultural differences when conducting Arabic-English contrastive-pragmatic analyses.

2.5 The concept of culture

Mead (1994) believes that culture includes ‘systems of values’ that are characteristic of a group of people normally influenced by these values in terms of behaviour and attitude (see also Shamma, 1995; Aust, 2004). Moreover, to Mead (*ibid.*), culture is learnable, but not innate in humans. Thus, culture could manifest in different types and shapes, whether in private or public work-places where people “often share extensive background knowledge and experiences and may have similar values and attitudes towards work and the objectives of their orientation” (Holmes et al, 2003: 2). In this sense, human identity is shaped by the culture of one’s speech community, where “Identity is arguably more fundamental to the conception of humanity than any other notion” (Gioia, 1998: 17). Aust (2004) supports Rokeach's (1973) Value Theory, which is “based on an exploration of the relationship between beliefs (i.e., what one believes), values (i.e., central beliefs that make up one’s beliefs system), and attitudes (i.e., value clusters that guide one’s behavior)” (Aust, 2004: 521). Aust also argues that ‘values’ are indicators of organizational ‘identity’ because “values are the most central concept existing across all social sciences” (Aust, *ibid.*).

In this context, journalists/translators working in the field of politics act as politicians who use language and discourse according to certain linguistic and extra- linguistic rules (i.e. beliefs, values and attitudes), which may affect and “influence knowledge, beliefs, values, social relations, and social identities” (Fairclough, 1995:2). In other words, politicians use political terms, which are usually value-laden whether positively or negatively, as a manipulative tool to achieve their ends and interests. They also use political discourse, which often appears in “powerful emotive terms, or in impotent jargon” (Newmark, 1991:14). As a result, translators may fail to preserve the “real cultural meanings of these conceptual words” (*ibid.*: 148), which have an explicit effect and unequivocal interpretation in the source culture. Thus, understanding non-linguistic properties of certain political discourses will present translators with the challenge that “Linguistic interaction is embedded in and determined by socio-cultural, historical, ideological, and institutional conditions, which are considered as invisible pragmatic rules in discursive practices of politicians” (Schäffner & Bussnet, 2010: 2). Failure to do so may lead to cultural misunderstanding and accordingly to mistranslation. More on this idea will

be discussed in Chapters 4 and 5. Wilson (1990: 19) states that “since it is quite obvious that political language is designed to achieve specific political goals, to make people believe in certain things, it is a prime example of what we will call 'pragmatic behaviour'; linguistic behaviour, which is sensitive to the context of production”. Such sensitivity to the context of production can be felt through a well-developed sense of the language, including social, political and cultural beliefs established in both speech communities of the source and target languages. This implies that one can assume that different contexts of cultures call for different interpretations that could be analysed within the scope of pragmatics with all its aspects. Sperber and Wilson (1995) looked at this issue from a different angle; they investigated the way through which human cognition works in attaining more knowledge. To them, “it seems that human cognition is aimed at improving the individual’s knowledge of the world. This means adding more information; information that is more accurate, more easily retrievable, and more developed in areas of greater concern to the individual” (Sperber and Wilson, 1995: 47).

However, before reviewing the study of pragmatics or language in use, it will be useful to review the evolution of translation studies through considering key concepts in three main approaches to translation, namely, the linguistic, the functionalist and the cognitive.

2.6 Key concepts in major theories of translation

In tracing the history of modern translation theory, it is worth mentioning that translation theorists have examined/considered various debatable issues, such as whether translation should be direct, indirect, literal or free. The academic study of translation appeared in the second half of the twentieth century. In the 1960s, translation was studied as a science, e.g. Nida 1964, Nida and Taber 1969 in (Munday, 2001; Hatim and Munday, 2004). Later on, some scholars were skeptical about the scientific treatment of translation simply because “translation theory is neither a theory nor a science, but the body of knowledge that we have and have still to have about the process of translating” (Newmark, 1988:19). Other scholars like Gutt claim “that our scientific understanding of translation is so poor because it really has not been studied in a proper scientific manner” (Gutt, 2000: 2). This entails that the translation process requires additional efforts to acquire another

type of knowledge, namely non-linguistic comprehension to achieve satisfactory translation. In this sense, Munday defines translation as:

“multilingual and also interdisciplinary, encompassing any language combinations, various branches of linguistics, comparative literature, communication studies, philosophy and a range of types of cultural studies including post-colonialism and postmodernism as well as sociology and historiography” (Munday, 2008:1).

Such a definition by Munday (2008) may push translators to go beyond the actual existence or appearance of words in certain texts to attain some knowledge about other dimensions related to context, culture, pragmatics, and ideology found in both ST and TT. Thus, the translator's task as mediator between two languages and cultures is “to translate not what is there but what is not there, to translate the implicit and the assumed, the blank spaces between words. The difficulty of doing this effectively is immense.” (Bielsa and Bassnett, 2009: 5-6).

Other key concepts that will be discussed in the following sections include Catford's Linguistic Approach to Translation, Nida's Formal and Dynamic Equivalence in translation, Baker's Approach to Translation, Vermeer's 'Skopos Theory and Commission in Translational Action', and Relevance Theory.

2.6.1 Catford's linguistic approach to translation

Catford (1965:1) defines translation as “a process of substituting a text in one language for a text in another”. Such a substitution requires finding a textual equivalence that would function in the same way in a specific context rather than transferring the meaning from one language to another. Catford, however, realises that:

“the formal meanings of SL items can rarely be the same. A TL dual may on occasion be the translation equivalent of an SL plural - for instance, Arabic 'kitabeen' as equivalent of English 'books' - but it cannot have the same formal meaning” (Catford, 1965: 36).

Catford (1965) presents the translational equivalence theory relying mainly on the referential theory of meaning, where textual equivalence can be found on the level of words, sentences and texts. Thus, he views translation on two levels, namely, formal correspondence and textual equivalence. Formal correspondence is “any TL category (unit, class, structure, element of structure, etc.) which can be said to occupy, as nearly as possible, the 'same' place in the 'economy' of the TL as the given SL category occupies in

the SL” (Catford, 1965:27). On the other hand, textual equivalence is “any TL text or portion of text which is observed on a particular occasion... to be the equivalent of a given SL text or portion of text” (ibid.). Accordingly, equivalence between ST and TT can be reached when both texts have the same referent, but if formal meaning cannot be ‘transferred’, then “the same is true of contextual meanings” (ibid). This may entail that “A central problem of translation theory is that of defining the nature and conditions of translation equivalence” (Catford, 1965: 21). These conditions of translation may involve contextual meanings or implications that cannot be reached without knowing the social, cultural and political parameters used in the speech community of the target language. As Catford’s equivalence model does not consider context in any stage of the translating process, he proposes that “we arrive at textual equivalence through translation ‘shifts’” (Catford, 1965: 73). These shifts are of two kinds: (1) a level shift, which occurs when an SL item has a TL translation equivalent at a different linguistic level from its own (grammatical, lexical, etc.) or (2) a category shift which is a generic term referring to shifts involving any of the four categories of class, structure, system and unit (ibid). In this sense, Catford’s textual equivalence can only work when the features of both the source and the target languages are interchangeable in a given situation. However, “The contextual meaning of an item is the groupment [sic] of relevant situational features with which it is related; this groupment varies from one language to another” (Catford, 1965: 36). Thus, a/the translation process may face situations where implicitness in certain texts could mislead translators. Those kinds of situations are mainly related to the peculiarities of target language in particular (as structure, system, grammar, etc.), and to the cultural dimensions in general. This means that:

“Catford is not unaware that his definition of textual equivalence poses problems. The concept of sameness of situation, as he admits (1965: 52), is a difficult one, especially when very different cultures are involved. His description of how we discover textual equivalences is also dubious, although he might be less ready to accept this” (Fawcett, 1997: 55).

Such an argument may propose a shift from the form of the message as proposed by Catford (1965) to what Nida and Taber (1969) call *the response of the receptor*.

2.6.2 Nida's formal and dynamic equivalence in translation

Nida (1964/2004) presents his model as based on not only rendering mere linguistic meaning but also the cultural dimension of a given language. Therefore, his focus was on two terms: the first is *meaning* and the second is *style*, regarding the recognition of text and context within the cultural boundaries. As a result, Nida distinguishes between two types of equivalence, namely formal equivalence and dynamic equivalence. The formal equivalence focuses on both the form and the content of the message in the receptor language in a way that “should match as closely as possible the different elements in the source language” (Nida, 1964/2004:156). On the other hand, dynamic equivalence is TL oriented and focuses on finding equivalent effect rather than equivalent form. However, “there can be no absolute correspondence between languages” (Nida, 1964/2004:153). In this respect, Fawcett (1997) states that Nida was trying to find a dynamic equivalence that could deal with the real problems that are related to the grammatical meaning, not to the grammatical form, and to the translating process itself. He adds:

“In his search for dynamic equivalence, Nida is prepared to do things such as build in redundancy (repeating information) where a formal translation would produce a dense text, and to alter the sequence of sentences where the order of events in the original does not match real-time chronology” (Fawcett, 1997:57).

Moreover, Fawcett (1997) quotes the Chinese scholar Qian Hu, who criticises Nida's dynamic equivalence by arguing that:

“Nida's concept is wrong because ‘Total compatibility between any two languages is precluded’ by the very nature of language... He points out that two speakers of the same language may have such different backgrounds that they will often not understand the same utterance in the same way” (cited in Fawcett, 1997: 58).

Cruse (2006) argues that the root concepts of defining translational equivalence started from considering formal equivalence, where meanings are conveyed either by grammatical¹ or “lexical semantics, which deals with meanings of words” (Cruse, 2006: 2). Later on, the focus was on studying semantics through various approaches, such as the componential analysis of meaning and cognitive approaches; the former aims at accounting for “complex meanings as being built out of a limited number of semantic building blocks”

¹In grammatical semantics meaning is conveyed by grammatical means, such as ‘Bill saw Pete’ vs. ‘Pete saw Bill’, or ‘Pete saw Bill’ vs. ‘Pete will see Bill’ (see Cruse, 2006)

(Cruse, 2006: 3), whereas the latter treats meaning “as ‘things in the mind’, that is as concepts” (Cruse, *ibid.*). Afterward, a functional approach in translation studies appeared to account for pragmatic equivalence where aspects of meaning can be obtained through discourse context, the cognitive environment of communicators and non-linguistic propositional forms of utterances.

2.6.3 Baker’s approach to translation

Mona Baker (1992) presents a more comprehensive approach in defining and dealing with the concept of equivalence from both linguistic and communicative perspectives. She argues that translation should not only consider the ‘word’ as the smallest unit of language that conveys meaning but also other smaller units which are parts of the ‘word’ such as morphemes which may or may not stand alone but definitely have their own meanings. Baker also argues that words “rarely occur on their own” (Baker, 1992: 46) and, therefore, she considers words combinations such as collocation and idioms. Accordingly, she highlights three other types of equivalence: grammatical, textual and pragmatic. Grammatical equivalence is governed by “the set of rules which determines the way in which units such as words and phrases can be combined in language and the kind of information which has to be made regularly explicit in utterances” (Baker, 1992:83). Textual equivalence is related to finding equivalences on the text level in terms of theme, structure and cohesion of both the ST and TT. It should be noted that “knowledge of the language system may not be sufficient but it is essential if one is to understand what is going on in any kind of verbal communication” (Baker, 1992: 229). This may reveal the relativity of equivalence that “is influenced by a variety of linguistic and cultural factors and is therefore always relative” (Baker, 1992:5-6). Such relativity could be understood through considering pragmatic equivalence which is concerned with uncovering hidden messages of the ST “not as generated by the linguistic system but as conveyed and manipulated by participants in a communicative situation” (Baker, 1992:217). Such (un)justified manipulations on the part of the translator, as a participant and mediator, could be understood by considering the translation process of political discourse in the light of Vermeer’s Skopos Theory (1996, 2000).

2.6.4 Vermeer's 'skopos theory and commission in translational action'

Skopos theory is one of the most prominent functionalist approaches to translation. The term 'skopos' is derived from Greek and it means aim or purpose. Hans Vermeer (2000) presents this approach to translation studies because he believes that translation is an action governed by an aim or purpose, which eventually leads to a result called the 'Translatum' (Vermeer, 2000: 221). He argues that the source text is produced for a situation in the source culture, which may differ from that of the target culture. Thus, the source text should be translated in a way that suits the purpose for which it is needed in the target culture. In other words, "the source text is oriented towards, and is in any case bound to, the source culture" while the target text "is oriented towards the target culture, and it is this which ultimately defines its adequacy" (Vermeer 1989/2004: 229). He also defines the notion of translation commission as "the instruction, given by oneself or by someone else, to carry out a given action, that is to translate" (Vermeer 2000: 229). These instructions are related to the goal or purpose of the commission, the conditions under which the goal should be achieved (like deadline and fees), the coherence rule and fidelity rule. Given the assumed background knowledge and situational circumstances of the target audience, the coherence rule requires that the target text must be sufficiently coherent for them to understand. The fidelity rule, as Schäffner (1998: 236) argues, considers the inter-textual relationship between the source text and the target text. Consequently, such instructions determine the strategy of the translator who may opt for translating, paraphrasing or reediting a whole text or certain passages of it in order to realise the goal specified by the commissioner (Vermeer, 1989/2004:237). This means that the translated target text could be seen as "a new offer of information in the target culture about some information offered in the source culture and language" (Nord 1997: 26). However, producing such a new offer of information requires a "complementary principle of loyalty, which, unlike faithfulness, or fidelity, refers to a trustful and fair relationship between the persons interacting in a translation process" (Nord, 2006: 29). Nevertheless, is this argument valid when cultural beliefs and political ideologies are concerned? In fact, "loyalty to the foreign text can collide with dominant political beliefs in the target situation" (Bazzi, 2009: 190). Moreover, the commission in a translational action may necessitate omitting, modifying or paraphrasing certain ideological contents of the ST in a way that only suits existing political

views of the recipient target audience. Accordingly, the translator can misrepresent the original Arabic text to show unfriendliness towards English culture and society as will be shown later in Chapter 5. In such a context, Pym (1996: 2) criticises this theory and wonders “Can such a theory generate a way of discerning between good and bad purposes, between good and bad translation strategies? Or is its aim merely to produce mercenary experts, able to fight under the flag of any purpose able to pay them?” This criticism seems compatible with Bazzi, who argues that the translator’s “decision of what needs to be included or excluded results from the dominant and commonsensical belief adopted in the target society” (Bazzi, 2009:190). In other words, what is suggested by Vermeer (2000, 2004) or Nord (1997, 2005) concerning fidelity or loyalty seems ideal because “translators in the real world are not neutral bystanders, but actual participants in representing a particular topic: a topic that is reducible to ways of thinking and to relations of power” (Bazzi, 2009: 186). This entails in one way or another that translators are obliged to make the “target text relevant to the translation purpose, her ideological surroundings, and to the dominant beliefs of her target audience” (Bazzi, 2009: 199).

It should be noted that most “politicians, or political analysts, usually do not go back to the original text, neither do they request a detailed comparative analysis of the original text and the translation” (Schäffner, 2004: 125). Gutt (2000:199) argues that what “every translator should grasp is that whatever he does in his translation matters primarily not because it agrees with or violates some principle or theory of translation, but because of the causal interdependence of cognitive environment, stimulus and interpretation”. Understanding these causal factors of interdependence could direct the researcher’s attention to focus on possible functions of pragmatic dimensions that may bridge the gaps between ST and TT and uncover possible translation errors or deviations in the final translation product. These functions can be best observed through defining pragmatics and its role in accordance with Grice’s cooperative principle, and its maxims, Speech Acts Theory, and Relevance Theory (Sperber and Wilson, 1995) as will be shown in the following section.

2.7 Definition and scope of pragmatics

Understanding pragmatic dimensions and thus pragmatic meaning can be observed through many approaches and endeavours exerted in the formation of the concept of pragmatics. Thus, it would be fruitful to appraise some definitions of pragmatics provided by different philosophers and linguists. Morris (1938), who originally used the term pragmatics, believes that pragmatics is the study of the relationship between signs and their users in various fields such as linguistics, logic, and philosophy, etc. Thus, he proposes the following definition of this field:

“In terms of the three correlates (sign vehicle, designatum, interpreter) of the triadic relation of semiosis, a number of other dyadic relations may be abstracted for study. One may study the relations of signs to the objects to which the signs are applicable. This relation will be called the semantic dimension of semiosis, [...]; the study of this dimension will be called semantics. Or the subject of study may be the relation of signs to interpreters. This relation will be called the pragmatical dimension of semiosis, [...], and the study of this dimension will be named pragmatics.” (Morris 1938: 6)

This definition is related to developments in philosophy or the theory of science, which has provided some of the basic ideas in the field of pragmatics. In fact, there were two dominant approaches to the philosophy of language at that time: Ideal Language Philosophy and Ordinary Language Philosophy. The former studied language as a formal system while the latter studied actual linguistic usage and the variety of forms of verbal communication. Philosophers working in this domain, such as Austin (1962) and Strawson (1964), were faced by an 'unbridgeable gap' between the semantics of the formal and that of the natural languages. Later on, the philosopher Paul Grice's William James lectures at Harvard, 1967, led to a great evolution when he introduced his notion of 'implicature' as an attempt to bridge that gap through distinguishing sentence meaning from utterance meaning, and explaining how some linguistic meanings could be used in context to convey more than what is said. This became the basis of the most recent understanding of pragmatics.

Two key theories within the philosophy of language can be observed; Austin's (1962) Speech Act Theory, which was further developed by Searle (1969), and the logic of conversation (Grice, 1975). Both theories provided the frame of reference for the

comprehension of the field of general pragmatics (see Levinson, 1983; Leech, 1983, among others). However, Davis (1991) opposed this broad view of pragmatics by claiming that:

“there is no common methodology or set of questions that group together in a natural class the full range of the human sciences in which language is involved. Economics and socio-linguistics, for example, have very little in common to justify their inclusion in the same field of study. For ‘pragmatics’ to be a useful term, its domain must be restricted” (Davis, 1991: 3 – 4).

Davis (1991: 11) introduces a distinction between a theory of satisfaction and a theory of pragmatics. This theory of satisfaction must take into consideration the satisfaction conditions, which are relative to the context of use with regard to certain sentences. In other words, the speaker’s intention should be accounted for because it is crucial in determining the extra or non-linguistic meaning given by the conventions of the language. Pragmatics, on the other hand, is concerned with speakers’ communicative intentions and the strategies employed by hearers to find out what these intentions and acts are. Davis (*ibid.*), however, did not mention clearly how the process moves forward with regard to such strategies employed by the hearer to grasp the intended speaker-meaning; thus he argues “I shall regard pragmatics as part of a theory of competence and, as such, take it to be psychologically realised” (Davis, 1991:3 – 4). This may entail that pragmatics cannot be studied outside the cognitive environment of human beings where the clash of values and conflict of interests towards various actions, whether good or bad, are thought to be a major source of manipulating language.

Other scholars like Austin (1962), Grice (1975), Sperber and Wilson (1995), Stalnaker (1972), Leech (1983) used different approaches, perspectives and strategies to define and understand pragmatics, which was considered as a wide and highly interdisciplinary field of study. Stalnaker (1972: 383) defines pragmatics as:

“the study of linguistic acts and the contexts in which they are performed. There are two major types of problems to be solved within pragmatics: first, to define interesting types of speech acts and speech products; second, to characterise the features of the speech context which help determine which proposition is expressed by a given sentence”.

This means that the contextual features surrounding and affecting the sentence formulation are of utmost importance in specifying the most appropriate linguistic choices that may reflect the best interpretation of the ST. Thus, appropriateness, from a pragmatic perspective, is decisive as it is related to the speaker’s choice of a certain form of utterances.

Such a choice will depend on the speaker's communicative competence, which is based on many factors; the correct application of grammatical rules and vocabularies, the background knowledge of social, cultural and political norms, and the ability to interpret utterances within the context in which they were uttered. Leech (1983, 4) argues that:

“grammar (the abstract formal system of language) and pragmatics (the principles of language use) are complementary domains within linguistics. We cannot understand the nature of language without studying both these domains and the interaction between them”.

Another definition of pragmatics is introduced by Yule (1996:133), who defines it as “The study of speaker meaning as distinct from word or sentence meaning”. According to Yule (ibid: 4), there is a traditional distinction in language analysis, which contrasts pragmatics with two notions. The first is the notion of syntax, which is the study of the relationships between the different forms of linguistic expressions according to the word and sentence level, i.e. ‘micro- sign’. The second is the notion of semantics, which is the study of the relationships between linguistic forms and meaning as encoded in these linguistic forms: i.e. ‘macro-sign’. Pragmatics, then, is the study of the relationships between linguistic forms and the producers / ‘users’ of these forms. Nevertheless, is it feasible to make sense of speakers' mental and linguistic representations? When I studied in the UK, a young woman said to me while waiting for a bus “it is a nice day”. I immediately said without thinking “not really; it is very cold!” Later on, I discovered that the young woman was trying to initiate a conversation with me. This realistic example illustrates the importance of considering the communicators' cognitive environment in addition to their pragmatic principles, abilities and social knowledge involved in utterance interpretation. This may lead to some other aspects of pragmatics, which are presented by Hatim (1997: 222), who views pragmatics as: “The domain of intentionality or the purposes for which utterances are used in real contexts”. It is about implicitness and is mainly concerned with the relation between the speaker and his intended meaning (intentionality). Hatim (ibid: 11-12) argues that the focal point for translators is to be aware of all the pragmatic dimensions and differences between the 'unmarked' where the meaning is explicit, i.e. purpose without intentionality, and the 'marked' where the meaning is implicit and the word is loaded with meaning, purpose and intentionality. However, is it satisfactory for the hearer to know the intentionality and purpose of the speaker in order to uncover the

relevant interpretation of the speaker's meaning as intended? What will happen if the speaker's utterance was not relevant enough to the hearer's knowledge of a specific situation? In such cases, misinterpretation is likely to happen. Smith and Wilson (1992: 2) argue that what is fundamental to communication is relevance, "not because speakers obey a maxim of relevance, but because relevance is fundamental to cognition". In this sense, pragmatics could be viewed as a notion of invisible rules or hidden intentions that reveal, if discovered by the hearer/translator, different paradoxical, metaphoric or symbolic aspects of an utterance. Thus, discarding or ignoring the effectiveness of pragmatics with all its aspects may negatively affect the process of conveying messages not only between two languages and cultures but also within the boundaries of one language.

In exploring the question of 'making sense' of a certain utterance/text, Baker's (1992) focus was on studying linguistic systems as conveyed by communicators in a communicative situation. She defines pragmatics as the "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" (1992: 217). She also argues that in order to 'make sense' of a given text, the translator's concern and efforts, after identifying the textual features and interpreting them in context, should focus on understanding utterances within the communicative situations used by the speaker. This implies that "knowledge of the language system may not be sufficient but it is essential if one is to understand what is going on in any kind of verbal communication" (Baker, 1992: 229). Similarly, Levinson (1983) argues that understanding an utterance requires the making of 'inferences' that are based on the semantic representation of utterances, but it is not necessarily restricted to "knowing the meaning of the words uttered and the grammatical relations between them" (Levinson, 1983: 21). He also claims that:

"the most promising [definitions of pragmatics] are the definitions that equate pragmatics with 'meaning minus semantics,' or with a theory of language understanding that takes context into account, in order to complement the contribution that semantics makes to meaning" (Levinson, 1983: 32).

As such, Levinson defines pragmatics as "the study of the relations between language and context that are basic to an account of language understanding" (Levinson, 1983: 21). This definition is comparable to the one adopted in this research

and given in Relevance Theory as “the study of the general cognitive principles and abilities involved in utterance interpretation, and of their cognitive effects” (Wilson and Sperber, 1987: 5). This entails that interpretation and/or translation cannot rely solely on the linguistic code because there could be a level of difference between the ways of expression and the functional linguistic structure in the two languages under study, i.e. Arabic and English. Such a level may represent a mismatch between the cognitive environments of the source text writer and the translator. This mismatch may lead to misinterpretation and, consequently, to mistranslation.

In this context, Sperber and Wilson (1995: 174) highlight that the “linguistically encoded semantic representations are an abstract mental structure which must be inferentially enriched before they can be taken to represent anything of interest”. In other words, “well-formed formulas of language” are insufficient for successful translation because “the coded communication process is not autonomous: it is subservient to the inferential process” (Ibid, 176). In this sense, the divergence between two cognitive environments and cultures like Arabic and English is likely to be the main source of different contextual clues, which may lead to various translation differences between both languages. These translation differences or different linguistic choices may cause serious misunderstanding of the communicator's intended message on the part of the target audience. Thus, understanding such a process of making choices requires, as this research argues, considering not only the traditionally oriented approaches which deal with language as a linguistic system with regard to structure and meaning, but with the “pragmatic approaches to communication” which “have to accommodate the inter-dependence between language, language users and context” (Fetzer, 2002: 173). In other words, when meaning is not linguistically encoded in the lexis, grammar or the structure of the language, hearers/translators enter into a problematic area of translation where intended meaning is not clearly explicit.

Hatim and Mason (1990: 82) clarify that “pragmatics brings out the ways in which intentions are received in communication.” Thus, understanding received intentions will help participants in a speech act, translators included, to produce well-formed formulas of language that are clear and understandable linguistically and cross-culturally. However, translators' different cognitive environments and the various aims

of translation commission may affect their linguistic choices, which in turn may lead to different translations of the same source text, as this research argues. As such, the political translation differences could be seen as the result of two interrelated factors: the clearly visible linguistic choice and the invisible politically motivated agenda, which could be the main reason behind opting for such a linguistic choice. In this respect, it is worth mentioning that the possible functions of pragmatics could be manifested, as Leech (1983) put it, through a distinction between socio-pragmatics where emphasis is placed on the socio-cognitive environment of the speaker/translator, and pragma-linguistics which “can be applied to the study of the more linguistic end of pragmatics” (Leech, 1983: 11). In this sense, the translator's intentional managing or even ignoring either the linguistic end or the socio-cultural end, which are both related to meaning intended in the ST, may lead to a pragmatic failure in political discourse (see Shammas, 1995; 2005; Leech, 1983). I find it relevant here to talk about Grice’s cooperative principle and its maxims, *Speech Acts Theory*, and *Relevance Theory* (Sperber and Wilson, 1995) as will be shown below.

2.7.1 Pragmatics and Grice’s theory of cooperative principle

Grice’s (1975) theory is an influential theory in the development of pragmatics. This theory is based on the assumption that human beings are rational, cooperative and informative while communicating with one another, except in special cases where their communications will not be intended to be informative, as could be the case in political discourse. Grice (ibid.) introduces his conception of speaker’s meaning and claims that meaning can be defined with reference to the intentions of the speaker in the making of an utterance. In other words, the speaker who has a thought or an intended message in mind should provide the hearer with shared linguistic trigger(s) in order to enable him/her to recognise that thought or intended message. Grice supports this assumption by demonstrating his Cooperative Principle (CP): “Make your conversational contribution such as is required, at the stage at which it occurs, by the accepted purpose or direction of the talk exchange in which you are engaged” (Grice, 1975: 45). This principle has later been developed into nine maxims, classified into four categories:

Maxims of quantity

1. Make your contribution as informative as is required (for the purposes of the exchange).
2. Do not make your contribution more informative than is required.

Maxims of quality

Super-maxim: Try to make your contribution one that is true.

1. Do not say what you believe to be false.
2. Do not say that for which you lack adequate evidence.

Maxim of relation

Be relevant.

Maxims of manner

Super-maxim: Be perspicuous.

Avoid obscurity of expression.

Avoid ambiguity.

Be brief (avoid unnecessary prolixity)

Be orderly.

(Grice, 1975: 45)

Consequently, any interaction between participants ought to be fully logical and consistent. Nevertheless, would a discourse adapted to these maxims be common and normal in ordinary language in general and political discourse in particular? Politicians' intended messages may incorporate many pragmatic hints that lead participants to understand additional propositions and thus different interpretations of their same utterance. That is to say, politics could be a fertile context for unspoken intentions leading to various interpretations according to the socio-political perspectives prevailing in each speech community. Thus, the speaker's utterance may not be described according to Grice's maxims alone, whether intentionally as in the case of irony, evading, lying, etc.; or unintentionally as in the case of assuming that the hearer from a different culture has the ability to grasp all linguistic triggers or has the required shared knowledge to understand pragmatic meanings (see Shammas, 1995). However, this does not mean that successful communication is the responsibility of the speaker alone; it is also the responsibility of the hearer/translator because "in order to discover what was said by an utterance (i.e. what proposition was explicitly expressed), the hearer must decode the sense of the sentence uttered, and then disambiguate any ambiguous expressions, assign reference to any referential expressions, restore any ellipsed material, and narrow down the interpretation of

any over-vague expressions, all in the intended way" (Wilson, 1994: 38). Later on, Grice (ibid.) distinguishes between sentence meaning and speaker meaning and relates this to the discrepancies between context-independent literal meaning and context-determinate conversational implicature. He also distinguishes between conventional and non-conventional (conversational) implicature. Conventional implicature derives from the words' conventional or denotative meanings, which may not be part of what is said. Yule argues that:

"Conventional implicatures are not based on the co-operative principle or the maxims. They don't have to occur in conversation, and they don't depend on special contexts for their interpretation. Not unlike lexical presuppositions, conventional implicatures are associated with specific words and result in additional conveyed meaning when those words are used" (Yule, 1996: 45).

This notion of conventional implicature was employed in order to account for certain presuppositions, which are related to the linguistic norms of certain speech communities. Levinson (1983: 127) argues that conventional implicature could be attributed to the presence of lexical items like some connectives (such as *but*, *therefore*) and adverbials (such as *even*, *yet*, *still*), which result in additional conveyed meanings when used. On the other hand, conversational implicature is worked out on the assumption that the CP is observed. However, it is mostly generated via an apparent violation of it. The participant in a communicative interaction may fail to observe a maxim in different ways when s/he may "quietly and unostentatiously violate a maxim", or may "opt out from the operation of both of the maxim and the CP" (Grice, 1975: 49). The same participant may also be faced with a clash of two maxims, when, for instance, s/he cannot give the required information on a certain matter (Maxim of Quantity), or if s/he lacks adequate evidential grounds for it (Maxim of Quality). Moreover, s/he may "flout a maxim; that is, he may blatantly fail to fulfill it" (ibid.). This means when it is obvious that the speaker is not trying to deceive or is faced with a clash of maxims, the hearer has to construct understanding of utterances according to inferences, not semantic convention. Inferences, however, may incorporate cultural-based implicature(s), which may lead to a breakdown of communication if the hearer/translator is not familiar with the cultural dimensions and ideological presuppositions of the SL. The non-observance of Grice's maxims may sometimes be cultural-specific or specific to certain events where communicators may

appear to be systematically under-informative at the level of surface meaning with no implicatures. Such cultural specific situations can be seen in the Malagasy Republic where participants in conversational exchange “regularly provide less information than is required by their conversational partner, even though they have access to the necessary information” (Keenan, 1976:70, cited in Thomas 1995:76). The potential reasons behind such a communicative attitude could be related to cultural, social or purely linguistic practices. Such an attitude will require the hearer to search for possible inferences and interpretations in order to get the intended message behind the use of certain terms or expressions. In this context, Blum-Kulka (1997, 38) states that:

“words can mean more – or something other – than what they say. Their interpretation depends on a multiplicity of factors including familiarity with the context, intonational cues and cultural assumptions. The same phrase may have different meanings on different occasions and the same intention may be expressed by different linguistic means.”

Grice (1975), however, does not discuss such cultural cases where speaker and hearer are members of cultures with very different rules or norms. Thus, what would be the appropriate inference of non-linguistically coded meaning when dealing with two different languages and cultures? The answer will necessitate the inclusion of the interrelated connection between pragmatics and Speech Act Theory.

2.7.2 Pragmatics and speech act theory

Speech Act Theory has introduced pragmatic reflections to reconsider utterance meaning which is not linguistically coded. This theory essentially originates in the work of Austin (1962) whose focus is not only on what is said but also on the effects of what is said. Moreover, he draws a distinction between performative speech acts, which change a state of affairs, and constative utterances that describe such affairs. Thus, the interpretation of a speech act involves knowing the specific social roles assigned to the speaker and the surrounding circumstances of that speech act. For example, when a judge says ‘I charge you with this crime’, s/he is not giving a description of somebody’s act or position, but performing an action that may lead to the imprisonment of the person addressed. If, on the other hand, a normal person says this same utterance, the meaning will only be constative.

Austin (1962) specifies that speech acts work according to three ways or levels, mentioned elaborately by Fawcett (1997: 127) as:

“(i) the locutionary act is the act of making a meaningful sentence, ..., (ii) the illocutionary act is what the sentence is intended to achieve, the use to which it is put; ..., (iii) the perlocutionary act consists of the effect of the utterance on the speaker”

Moreover, Austin (1962) argues that all utterances are speech acts in terms of performing certain actions. This entails that the interpretation of an utterance does not only depend on truth-conditions but also on certain felicity conditions, which are conventionally and contextually determined. These felicity conditions are not fulfilled when the content of a sentence is true but when the surrounding circumstances are adequate for uttering it. These circumstances lead to what is termed a ‘*speech event*’ which “is an activity in which participants interact via language in some conventional way to arrive at some outcome” (Yule, 1996: 57). This implies that speech acts have conditions of use, which are determined by the surrounding context and the conventional way of using language in interaction, including presuppositions, implications and commitments (ibid). Thus, utterances could be seen in terms of achieving double functions: the first is achieved through the conventional interpretation of the speech act itself, while the second could normally be realised through the interpretation of the circumstances surrounding that same speech act. This means that “it is the nature of the speech event that determines the interpretation of an utterance as performing a particular speech act” (Yule, 1996: 47- 8). In sum, Austin (1962) has introduced a radical conventionalist account of speech, which revealed the importance of two specific acts: ‘illocutionary and perlocutionary acts’. This came in support of his claim that speaking does change the course of events. However, he did not pay much attention to the utterance interpretation according to the cognitive background related to conditions of presupposition and speaker's intention and commitment.

Searle (1969) followed Austin's footsteps and developed this theory by analysing utterances into illocutionary force and propositional content. Thus, speakers form a speech act through generating a propositional content interrelated to an illocutionary force which has a potential impact on the hearer in certain social situations. To generate such an impact or illocutionary force according to Seale (ibid), one has to follow certain semantic rules

similar to the Austinian felicity conditions. These rules could be summarised as: the ‘preparatory’ conditions which include what is mentioned by Austin (1962) as contextual and linguistic factors, the ‘sincerity’ conditions which include intentional and rational factors about the speaker, and the ‘essential’ conditions which include the conventional and constitutive rule entitling someone to perform a certain speech act with all the commitments attached to it. Fawcett (1997) argues that these conditions represent the appropriate circumstances for speech acts to become clearly performative, and thus to be recognised as intended as a ‘successful outcome’. In other words, if a speech act is performative, it has to be felicitous to function [in linguistics] and to be recognised in the translating process. In this way, the hearer will understand the message appropriately if s/he considers the propositional form of the speech act through the linguistic evidence provided, and then links it to its illocutionary force within the context of communication, which may suggest various interpretations. The most relevant interpretation will be based on the illocutionary force, which specifies the way through which that speech act can be classified. In effect, successful communication is a relative term corresponding to the degree of relevance of the ‘illocutionary force’ of an utterance and the ‘perlocutionary effect’ of that utterance (see Searle & Vanderveken, 1985). This means that the illocutionary force of an utterance is “of crucial importance in political discourse analysis in particular, because it points to the potential discrepancy between intended effect (that is, effect that some hearers may infer to be intended) and the actual effect on the hearer” (Chilton & Schäffner, 2002, 11). People in general and politicians in particular usually exploit and manipulate such potential discrepancy between the intended effect and the actual effect of their speech acts in some speech activities, such as evading, joking, and telling lies. In this regard, Fetzer (2002: 173) claims that, “As a rule, speech acts are not only performed rationally and intentionally, but also sincerely”.

This means that the illocutionary force of an utterance cannot be understood but through a process of combining semantics, pragmatics and conversation-analytic approaches. In this respect, speech acts can also be classified according to the relationship between the grammatical structure and the communicative function of an utterance. Yule (1996: 54- 5) claims that:

“Whenever there is a direct relationship between a structure and a function, we have a direct speech act. Whenever there is an indirect relationship between a structure and a function, we have an indirect speech act. Thus, a declarative used to make a statement is a direct speech act, but a declarative used to make a request is an indirect speech act”.

Moreover, “being indirect is a mechanism for dealing with conflicting intentions and desires. The general form of the conflict is that the speaker wants to convey X for some reason and he does not want to convey X for other reasons; by being indirect he can convey X in one sense but not in another” (Pyle, 1975; cited in Thomas, 1995:179). Thus, indirectness can be used for a variety of different reasons “to increase the force of one’s message” or for the sake of “competing goals” Thomas (1995: 143). However, how can indirectness be measured and why to use it? The indirectness of speech acts can be measured according to two criteria: first, the utterance meaning that can be achieved through the propositional information stated by that utterance; second, the speaker’s meaning, which is controlled by the speaker’s intention and purpose in communication. Wilson and Sperber (1981) offer a helpful approach to ‘measuring’ the degree of indirectness because “there is a correlation between the degree of indirectness of an utterance and the amount of ‘work’ a hearer has to do in order to arrive at the propositional meaning” (1981: 165-6). Such amount of ‘work’ is related to the ‘activity type’ in which participants in a speech act believe themselves to be engaged. This ‘activity type’, with its restrictions and norms of interaction, will govern the possibility of different interpretations of both the utterance meaning (what is said) and the speaker’s meaning (what is not said). The hearer in his/her turn has to go through a process of thinking, rethinking and decision-making in order “to understand the complexities of communication in terms of cause-effect relationships, which, applied to our mental life, are taken to mean computational, and particularly inferential, relationships” (Gutt, 1991: 21). In this sense, the value and substance of various assumptions could be related to a psychological optimization principle which is the heart of relevance theory. This Theory of Relevance provides, as Gutt, (1991) states, a natural basis for an empirical account of evaluation and decision-making both in communication and the translation process. Yan-fang (2006: 66) states that “Relevance Theory seems to offer a feasible and convincing approach to translation on the grounds that

it views translation as a dynamic inferential process and focuses on the cognitive property of translation.”

2.7.3 Pragmatics and relevance theory

The French scholar Dan Sperber and the British scholar Deirdre Wilson (1986/1995) developed their Relevance Theory as a cognitive theory that is mostly applicable to pragmatics. Relevance Theory (henceforth RT) can be best considered as a development of the classical Gricean pragmatics theory (1975; 1981) because “Grice’s analysis provides the point of departure for a new model of communication, the *inferential model*, and this is how we use it in *Relevance*” (Sperber & Wilson, 1987: 698). However, before going into the details of this theory, I would like to state that this research deals only with certain points of RT that are relevant to manifest the importance of both the context and the optimal relevance as practical guidance to provide an effective translation of Syrian political discourse. This entails that successful translation should be the result of achieving a balance and optimal relevance between the speaker's communicative intention on the one hand, and the hearer/translator's cognitive environment and expectations on the other. This equation could be best understood through shedding light on the cognitive principle of relevance and the communicative principle of relevance.

2.7.3.1 The cognitive principle of relevance

As a pragmatic theory of communication, RT is concerned with “the factors other than knowledge of sentence meaning that affect the interpretation of utterances” (Wilson and Sperber, 1987: 6). This theory offers a new concept of analysing human cognition in communication that is based on two basic notions, which should be carefully considered in verbal communication, namely, explicit reference and inference. Explicit reference is represented by utterances and the way they are processed by speakers, while inferences cannot be derived but through considering the interrelation between the linguistic evidence provided and any assumption worked out by the human mind. This is due to two important factors; first “there is a gap between the semantic representations of sentences and the thoughts communicated by the utterances” (Sperber and Wilson, 1987: 698). Second, the thoughts communicated by utterances may lead to more than one assumption, which could

be derived from “information about the immediate physical environment or the immediately preceding utterances” or even from “expectations about the future, scientific hypotheses or religious beliefs, anecdotal memories, general cultural assumptions, beliefs about the mental state of the speaker” (Sperber & Wilson, 1986: 15).

This entails that reaching a particular assumption necessitates a ‘processing effort’ in the mind of the receiver/translator to relate new information to stored information in his/her background knowledge which is derived from the ‘cognitive environment’. The receiver/translator, however, will use only part or subset of the cognitive environment according to the settings (time and situation) of that utterance. This part is called the ‘cognitive or contextual effects’, which represent “the outcome of an interaction between a newly impinging stimulus and a subset of the assumptions that are already established in a cognitive system” (Huang, 2007: 182). In this sense, three main types of cognitive effects, as suggested by Sperber and Wilson 1995, may become visible during the processing efforts of presenting new information. Huang summarises them as:

“(i) generating a conclusion derivable from new and old information together, but from neither new nor old information separately, which is called a *contextual implication*, (ii) strengthening an existing assumption, and (iii) contradicting and canceling an existing assumption” (Huang, 2007: 182).

As an illustration, consider this conversation between a high-ranking Syrian official and myself:

Official: Doing research on the pragmatics of Syrian political discourse is a hard task; are you going to do it?

Myself: I was born in 1973.

In this brief exchange, my response does not answer the official’s question directly. The official asked for my opinion about whether I was going to do this research or not, but in response I mentioned the date of my birth [content expressed]. Suppose the official knows I was born at a milestone of Syrian political discourse² [contextual assumption]. In this case, it is obvious that my response to the question is [I will be able to deal with this issue and the reason is that I have lived through this era of Syrian policy since childhood] [contextual implication]. It is quite clear that this new information is not expressed in the

² The year 1973 witnessed the October war between Syria and ‘Israel’; it is one of the main landmarks representing the beginning of international Syrian policy after the Corrective Movement in 1970.

linguistic forms. That is to say, our minds try to make inferential associations between different pieces of information in order to reach the required ‘contextual implication’, which logically emerges from the combination of both the ‘content expressed’ and the ‘contextual assumption’ derived from the ‘cognitive environment’ shared between the two communicators, i.e. the official and me. When the cognitive environment of the previous example is changed in terms of assuming the Syrian official is pretty sure that the international Syrian political discourse started after the independence of Syria in 1946, then the same utterance ‘I was born in 1973’ would convey another meaning. It may be interpreted as ‘I did not live through that era and the task would be very difficult’. In other words, the contextual implications would be the opposite. Inferring, however, is not an easy task. It is an activity that requires mental effort, including going beyond the actual presence of linguistic forms and reading between the lines to find some related implications. However, this may consume more time than required during any interaction; therefore, there should be a kind of balance between the efforts exerted and the benefits achieved. Gutt (2004: 6) described the cognitive comprehension procedure as follows:

“it establishes a causal interdependence relationship between the text, the contextual information accessible in the cognitive environment and the intended interpretation. Any change in any one of these factors will affect the other factors” (Gutt, 2004: 6).

Nevertheless, it can happen, as in the above example, that the hearer uses a different contextual assumption which is different from the one intended by the speaker within context, thus causing a misunderstanding. If this is the case within the boundaries of one language, how can communication process move forward between two communicators from different socio-cultural and political backgrounds? The answer could be obtained from the universality of the RT in a cross-cultural study of pragmatics in the sense that “the most basic assumption of Relevance Theory is that every aspect of communication and cognition is governed by relevance” (Wilson, 1994: 47). This implies that Relevance is not culture-specific and is different from Grice’s (1975, 1981) Cooperative Principle and its sub-maxims. RT does not state how communicators should communicate, but explains how to capture the essentials of human communication, which is based on cognition. In view of that, “Grice’s explanation of cooperation in the sense of making one’s contribution - such as required, at the stage at which it occurs, by the accepted purpose or direction of the talk

exchange - is not essential to communication” (Smith and Wilson, 1992: 2). Thus, communicators intuitively follow what is relevant to them “not because speakers obey a maxim of relevance, but because relevance is fundamental to cognition” (Smith and Wilson, 1992: 2).

2.7.3.2 The communicative principle of relevance

Sperber and Wilson (1995) differentiate between two models of communication theories, the code model and the inferential model. The former is traditionally performed by encoding and decoding messages in order to unveil the intended meaning. In this sense, an utterance is a linguistically-coded piece of information, and verbal comprehension involves a decoding process which is the opening stage for the inferential process that leads to the intended meaning of the speaker of that utterance. The second stage is to know that verbal expressions (utterance, text) do not give direct access to the intended meaning, i.e. they do not encode the thoughts.

This leads us to consider the inferential model where successful communication is achieved by expressing and recognizing intentions. In this regard, Blakemore (1995: 443) argues that:

“the assumption underlying this approach is that the mind is modular, and, in particular, there is a distinction between linguistic computations and representations on the one hand, and non-linguistic computations and representations on the other. It is this psychological distinction which, according to relevance theory, underlies the distinction between semantics and pragmatics”.

Human cognition depends on both explicit references that are represented by utterances and the way they are processed in verbal communication in addition to inferences, which must derive from both the linguistic evidence provided and the general knowledge shared with others. In other words, the cognitive account of utterance understanding makes a fundamental distinction between two kinds of processes: the decoding processes of the language system and the pragmatic inferential processes. This perspective is closely related to the perception through which the semantics/pragmatics distinction is understood in the theory. ‘Semantics’ here is a matter of linguistically encoded meaning, entirely ‘context-free’ and ‘context-invariant’, while ‘pragmatics’ is a matter of inference to recover the speaker’s meaning, a thoroughly ‘context-sensitive’

affair (ibid). In this sense, ‘Semantics’ is simply one source of evidence for the pragmatic processing system to arrive at an interpretation of the utterance stimulus.

Moreover, the relevance of an utterance seems to be the responsibility of both the speaker and the hearer, but in varying degrees since “it is manifest that an act of ostensive communication cannot succeed unless the addressee pays attention to the ostensive stimulus” (Sperber and Wilson, 1987: 703-4). This is because the speaker manifestly intends the hearer to find the utterance at least relevant enough to be worth his attention for enabling him to draw not just some relevant conclusions, but a specifically intended one. Thus, the utterance presumption will motivate the hearer, as a second communicator, to use the following comprehension procedure in interpreting the speaker’s meaning:

“Relevance-theoretic comprehension procedure (a) follows a path of least effort in computing cognitive effects. In particular, test interpretive hypotheses (disambiguation, reference resolutions, implicatures, etc.) in order of accessibility, (b) stops when your expectations of relevance are satisfied.” (Wilson and Sperber, 2002: 259).

This means that the success of communication in this theory is measured by the principle of relevance, which is a matter of degree. In this sense, two extent conditions for this principle should be considered:

“Extent condition 1: An assumption is relevant in a context to the extent that its contextual effects in that context are large.

Extent condition 2: An assumption is relevant in a context to the extent that the effort required to process it in that context is small” (Sperber and Wilson (1987: 703).

This entails that relevance is defined in terms of contextual effects and processing efforts to be exerted by the hearer who should receive/understand/interpret speaker-relevant message as intended. However, what does the relevance of an utterance depend on? Sperber and Wilson’s (1986; 1987; 1990; 1995) answer lies in what they call ‘mutual manifest-ness’ of what is communicated to both the hearer and speaker. They claim that:

“a fact is manifest to an individual at a given time if and only if he is capable at that time of representing it mentally and accepting its representation as true or probably true. A cognitive environment of an individual is a set of facts that are manifest to him.” (Sperber and Wilson, 1986: 39)

According to this claim, communication succeeds if the facts assumed by the speaker are also manifest to the hearer. Nevertheless, not all facts could be linguistically

manifested, particularly regarding the surface structure or face value meanings of utterances. In other words, an utterance may convey a message other than what is meant by what is said. Consequently, the result will be different interpretations that might induce misunderstanding (see Chapters 3 & 5). Campbell (1992) expresses the focal point of the principle of relevance by stating that:

“[T]he first feature of Sperber and Wilson’s relevance theory is that an audience interprets an utterance not by starting to decode what is said. Instead, an audience’s interpretation starts from the general heuristic presumption that when a person provides an audience with evidence that he or she intends for the audience to understand something - by language, for example - then such discourse, or ‘ostensive behavior’, carries with it a ‘guarantee of relevance’” (Campbell, 1992: 149).

However, this was strongly disputed by other scholars who have different opinions about the role of the principle of relevance in utterance interpretation. Roberts (1991: 471), for instance, claims that the “principle of relevance itself is inadequate”. He thinks that reaching the required communicative intention is the responsibility of the hearer who “accepts the first interpretation that comes to mind, as long as it produces some contextual effect with little effort” (Roberts, 1991: 456). This responsibility, however, “is equally, if not more, important from the communicator’s end” (Gutt, 2000: 34). In other words, relevance mechanism is active right from the minute when the speaker expresses himself in such an optimally relevant way that will enable the hearer to grasp the intended interpretation. But, this does not prevent certain cases of misunderstanding specifically in a cross-cultural political context (see Chapter 5).

Young (2007) shows that Sperber and Wilson (2002, 2004) have modified in recent years their earlier position of treating utterance comprehension as an inferential process; he adds that:

“they are now of the view that utterance comprehension involves a more modular ability for mind-reading, or ‘*theory of mind*’, which involves the more general meta-psychological ability to inferentially attribute mental states or intentions to others on the basis of their behavior” (Young, 2007:201-2).

In this context, when the addressee resorts to the relevance-theoretic comprehension procedure and the mechanisms of this sub-module of the ‘theory of mind’, which are strongly supported by the communicative principle of relevance, s/he will be able to infer

what the speaker means on the basis of the evidence provided (see Sperber and Wilson 2002, Wilson and Sperber 2004). Such evidence could be understood through highlighting the distinction between implicature and explicature as proposed by Sperber and Wilson (1986/1995).

2.7.3.3 Explicature and implicature

Sperber and Wilson (1986/1995) argue that much attention has been given in the classical Gricean theory to the pragmatic role of implicature, forgetting the crucial role played by pragmatic inference of explicit content of a certain utterance/text. Thus, they claim that “a proposition communicated by an utterance is an explicature if and only if it is a development of a logical form encoded by the utterance” (ibid: 182). In contrast, a proposition communicated by an utterance, but not explicitly, is an implicature. This entails that an explicature is also an inferential development of one of the incomplete conceptual representations or logical forms encoded by an utterance. That is to say, there are certain aspects of what is said that should be pragmatically enriched and revealed in order to have a fully propositional content. Thus, the recovery of an explicature necessitates the two processes of decoding and inference. In this context, Wilson and Sperber (2004) differentiate between two kinds of explicature: higher-order explicature and basic explicature. The former involves placing the propositional form of an utterance under higher-order descriptions which include description of the propositional attitude or the type of speech act. The latter is a non-higher order explicature.

Sperber and Wilson (1986/1995) define implicature as a communicated assumption which can only be derived via pragmatic inference; they then distinguish between “two kinds of implicatures: implicated premises and implicated conclusions; implicated conclusions are deduced from the explicit content of an utterance and its context” (Sperber and Wilson, 1987: 705). In other words, an implicated premise is the speaker-intended contextual assumption which is realised by the addressee, while an implicated conclusion is the contextual implication as communicated by the speaker. Moreover, “an utterance with a fully determinate implicated premise or conclusion forces the hearer to supply just this premise or conclusion and attribute it to the speaker as part of her beliefs” (Sperber and Wilson, 1995: 199).

Furthermore, Wilson and Sperber (2004) make a distinction between strong implicatures, whose recovery is very important in understanding the speaker's intended goals, and weak implicatures which are not essential or decisive. Implicatures, however, strong or weak, have to be related to a certain context of an utterance. Context, in this regard, is a reflection of the cognitive environment in a specific speech event. According to Gutt (1991:25 -6):

“the cognitive environment of a person comprises a potentially huge amount of very varied information. It includes information that can be perceived in the physical environment, information that can be retrieved from memory...including information derived from preceding utterances plus any cultural or other knowledge stored there – and furthermore information that can be inferred from these two sources”

This means that context, with all its implications and embedded features, plays a key role in both verbal communication and language interpretation (see Sperber and Wilson, 1986/1995; Gutt, 1991; Shamma, 2005a). In other words, communicators, translators included, depend on factors other than ‘correct’, i.e. grammatical, and even ‘appropriate’, i.e. semantic, language formulas, such as contextual clues and even socio-political incidents of mutual relations between any two speech communities or more (Shamma, 1995; 2005a). In this respect, the contextual assumptions are of paramount importance in understanding the right message of an utterance, especially in political discourse, where one sentence or utterance may give different meanings. Sperber and Wilson (2002: 6) argue that:

“Since the same sentence can be used to convey quite different meanings in different situations, a hearer who is simulating the speaker's linguistic action in order to retrieve her meaning must provide a considerable amount of contextualization, based on particular hypotheses about the speaker's beliefs, preferences, and so on”.

This entails that interpretation and comprehension of a sentence does not depend solely on semantic factors, that is, on lexical meaning and grammatical structure alone, but on a number of contextual factors as well. This will be discussed further in Chapter 3. The researcher in the field of communication and pragmatics should have an idea about the way in which certain aspects of pragmatic inference proceed. In this regard, Blakemore (1987, 2002) develops a distinction between conceptual and procedural meaning in RT. She claims that conceptual meaning contributes concepts to the semantic representation or

logical form of a sentence and the face-value meaning or explicature. For example, lexical items such as *dog*, *drink* and *angry* encode conceptual information. On the other hand, procedural meaning may constrain pragmatic inferences. As mentioned before, Levinson (1983: 127) lists four discourse markers or connectives like ‘*but, even, therefore, and yet*’. These connectives stimulate the audience to interpret the clause that follows it as counter to the audience’s expectation or proposition, which is most likely derived from the preceding clause, thus generating a denial of the expected interpretation. However, when social knowledge may emerge during interaction, as proposed by Candlin (1981: 171), how will the process of communication or translation move on? There will be no guarantee that the communicators will be able to check whether they understand each other or not. However, the possibility of correcting mistakes in communication is more valid than is the case in correcting errors in written translation; most people do not recheck the source text after understanding the translation(s) as reviewed before. In this context, it is preferable to consider translation from a relevance-based account.

2.7.3.4 Translation from a relevance-theoretic account

If communication is only a matter of encoding and decoding processes, as the code model of communication claimed, then any message can be communicated to any audience. But this is not the case in actual communication in general and in the political translation field in particular. Thus, by proposing their Relevance Theory or inferential model, Sperber and Wilson (1986, 1995) paved the way for the emergence of a new way of comprehension and cognition in communication and translation. They argue, as mentioned previously, that the encoding and decoding processes are not sufficient to comprehend the communicative intention without paying attention to the evidence provided by the communicator. This evidence may be linguistically encoded, contextually inferred, or a combination of these two.

In this respect, Sperber and Wilson (1995) introduce two categories of reported speech: “Direct quotations are the most obvious examples of utterances used to represent not what they describe but what they resemble” (Sperber and Wilson, 1995: 228). This means direct quotation exactly preserves what is said; there is no need to understand the intended interpretation of the source text. On the other hand, indirect speech quotations

“give an indication of what was meant. Indirect speech quotation seems to fall naturally under interpretive use” (Gutt, 2000:132). This differentiation between direct and indirect speech quotations is very important to preserve not only what is meant by the communicator but also the way or attitude through which a certain utterance is expressed. Sperber and Wilson (1995) proposed this issue in relation to resemblance-based uses of verbal stimuli and they did not deal with it as a major topic. However, Gutt (2000) argues in favour of searching for a satisfactory way of conveying the contextually derived implications of the source text to the target audience whose contextual environment obviously differs from that of the source text readers. For this purpose, he distinguishes, from a Relevance-based account of translation, between indirect translation and direct translation. He claims that:

“A receptor language utterance is a direct translation of a source language utterance if and only if it purports to interpretively resemble the original completely in the context envisaged for the original” (Gutt, 2000: 171).

That is to say, the translator’s aim in literal translation is to convey exactly what is said depending solely on the linguistic structure, while in indirect translation the translator attempts to convey only what is deemed relevant to the target audience. In the context of cultural differences between two speech communities, indirect translation could be a suitable choice to convey certain ambiguous culture-specific propositional forms from the original text to the target reader. In other words, as long as the translator is a mediator working between two languages at least, s/he “may feel compelled to disregard faithfulness in semantic representation in favour of other factors” (Gutt, 2000:136). These other factors may be linked to socio-pragmatic parameters and socio-cultural roots of language use in different communities. Thus, by becoming familiar with these factors, a translator may appropriately interpret the contextually implied information into semantic representations. In other words, the translator needs to supply adequate contextual information reflecting the contextual environment of readers, thereby facilitating the communication process.

This view was opposed by some scholars like Wendland (1997:86) who criticised Gutt’s effort by saying that it is “an elaborate, theoretically-based effort to justify what is commonly termed a ‘literal’ approach to Bible translation”. Moreover, he claims that Gutt’s distinction between direct and indirect translation is similar to distinguishing

between literal and idiomatic translation with a strong focus on formal elements. In contrast, Fawcett (1997: 138) describes Gutt's two forms of translation in a positive way. He says that indirect translation is "a flexible, context-sensitive concept of translation as interpretive use with shared explicatures and implicatures and which allows for very different types of target texts to be called translation", while direct translation is "a fixed, context-independent form of translation that preserves communicative clues". In this sense, indirect translation of a certain utterance should take into consideration all the communicative clues of that utterance provided by the linguistic properties and the contextual assumptions. But how can we make sure that both the utterance and its translation share the same functionally communicative clues? According to Gutt, this can be achieved:

"by checking whether they give rise to the same interpretation when processed in the same context. This in turn means that the notion of direct translation is dependent on interpretive use: it relies, in effect, on a relationship of complete interpretive resemblance between the original and its translation" (Gutt, 2000: 170).

These communicative clues will direct the translator as a receptor and mediator to the intended interpretation of the original. Thus, if the translator gives a direct translation of an utterance, the responsibility of supplying the contextual information necessary for understanding this utterance will be on the part of the audience. However, if the audience fails in supplying the information needed for understanding some implicated assumptions, what will be the result? Misunderstanding is likely to happen in this case and other cases, which are closely related to the cultural, social and geo-political differences among languages in general and between the Arabic and English languages in particular.

2.8 Chapter summary

This chapter reviewed the general theory of translation that explains where mistranslation can happen and why. It explored political discourse and the triangular relationship between media, translation and politics. It highlighted the necessity of translation quality assessment and the importance of understanding dimensions and implications of interaction between two different cultures and then it elaborated on the evolution of translation studies through three approaches: the linguistic, the

functionalist and the cognitive. This chapter also defined pragmatics and its role in the light of Grice's theory of the Cooperative Principle and its maxims, Speech Act Theory and Relevance Theory. Upon such theory a translation assessment criterion is designed and adopted in this thesis. Finally, the chapter focused on translation from a relevance-based standpoint.

Chapter Three

Semantic Equivalence and Pragmatic Translation

3.1 Introduction

This chapter explores the concept of equivalence, which is not well defined in a way that satisfies all, or even most, researchers in the field of English-Arabic translation. It reviews many attempts to study and define translation in terms of equivalence relations between the source text (ST) and the target text (TT). It starts by reviewing semantic translation equivalence and then moves to reviewing pragmatic translation equivalence and the translation differences between the ST and TT(s), mainly in the field of political translation, especially Syrian political discourse. Next it moves to explain the concept of pragmatic failure, including pragma-linguistic failure, textual translation differences, sense and force of utterances, linguistic structure and meaning, discourse markers as pragma-linguistic devices, and connotation and denotation. It argues that pragmatic failure could be the result of either pragma-linguistic failure or socio-pragmatic failure or both. After that it moves to review semantic devices, mainly reference, substitution, ellipsis, addition and omission, and collocation. It argues that semantic equivalence in cross-cultural communication is inadequate. Finally it gives a brief account of socio-pragmatics, focusing on entailment and presupposition, sincerity and credibility, and domestication and foreignisation.

3.2 Semantic translation equivalence

Theorists and linguists studying the concept of equivalence in translation studies are substantially divided into three main groups. The first group is in favour of a linguistic approach to translation focusing on equivalence relations between ST and TT (see Catford, 1965; Nida and Taber, 1969; Koller, 1995). The second views translation equivalence as being essentially a transfer of messages from ST to TT and as a functionally oriented approach to translation. On the other hand, the third group seems to stand in the middle, such as Baker (1992) for instance, who claims that equivalence is used:

“for the sake of convenience – because most translators are used to it rather than because it has any theoretical status. It is used here with the proviso that although equivalence can usually be obtained to some extent, it is influenced by a variety of linguistic and cultural factors and is therefore always relative” (Baker, 1992:5-6).

Various attempts have been made to study meaning through drawing a distinction between semantics and pragmatics (see Leech, 1981; Levinson, 1983, 2000; Lyons, 1981; Blakemore, 1989; 1992; Blass, 1986; Bach, 2004, amongst others). For the purpose of this research, I argue that semantic equivalence between Arabic and English, whether on the level of context-less words, sentences and even texts, is disputable and reflects no universal adequacy as it relies on the preservation of many semantic criteria such as denotation, connotation and propositional content. (see Blass, 1986, on the insufficiency of cohesion and coherence for textual interpretation; Shamma, 1995; 2002). This supports the argument of familiarity with:

“political effects caused by specific translation solutions; the processes by which information is transferred via translation to another culture; and the structure and function of equally valid texts in their respective cultures” (Schäffner, 2004: 170).

In this sense, language, for both the speaker and the hearer, is an open-ended set of options within a particular situation, which provides participants with the possibility of encoding in language what is not language. Contrastive elements, however, cannot be seen unless we specify certain factors, which shed light on the debate between linguistics and translation theorists. In one of his lectures, Hatim³ states that the tension between linguistics and translation studies could be observed through a number of factors:

Linguistics is usually concerned with one single language system, while translating necessarily involves two language systems.

Linguistics can be investigated, in relation to the actual presence of words, with purely formal tools such as the identification of distinctive features and their distribution. Translation, on the other hand, can be achieved through understanding a nation’s attitudes, values and traditions, which become part of the language of that nation.

Linguistics can be captured by a set of strict procedures at the level of the system, while translation must rather admit the influence of numerous variables.

³Taken from the lectures Hatim (2001) gave at Heriot-Watt University when I was one of his students.

Linguistics' main concern is centered upon grammar unlike translation studies, which is mainly concerned with the issue of meaning and adequate equivalence.

Linguistics was to focus on competence in individual languages, which can be described as an exercise in usage rather than in use, in language-as-system rather than in language-as-communication. In contrast, translating was to focus and refocus on performance, meaning and interaction between SL and TL.

Thus, difficulties of transferring the speaker's intended meaning are noticeable in almost all expressions that have some cultural or political reference(s), which may cause difficulties in translation. Such difficulties are not due to a difference between formal and contextual meanings as posited by Catford (1965), but are mainly due to ignoring the cultural aspect, which is part of the communicators' cognitive environment in the two languages under study. Moreover, the transfer of lexical 'meanings' into a target language would usually be an extreme option of "signaling foreignness in a TT" (Dickins, 2002:30) and would result in great ambiguity that may result in misunderstanding, as will be explained next.

3.2.1 Equivalence of words and word association

Semantic problems occur when the meaning of a word is disassociated from its exact meaning within the text and context of use. For example, a considerable number of English trainee translators and even professional ones may inappropriately use some Arabic words with different 'sense and force', intentionally or unintentionally, as lexical equivalents to other words in English, while translating from Arabic into English. This is noted in multilingual websites like the euronews website (www.euronews.com). Such a use of various senses and forces of words is not reflected only in single words but in word associations, as will be explained later in this chapter. Consequently, the result will be a kind of misinterpretation and misunderstanding accordingly. In this sense, it can be noticed that bilingual dictionaries can provide nothing but synonyms to contextless words, but ultimately it is the job of the translator to make the decision as to which one fits the context of use to convey a certain particular effect. Leech (1974) breaks down meaning into seven types, and later on Leech (1981) argues that the semantic meaning or the 'sense' of a word changes with the choice of its collocations in larger linguistic units. As a result, most translators tend, for example, to translate the title of certain articles, books or any other

publications only after reading the whole body of the text, i.e. to know the correct context and other possible connotations. Consider this example (part of a conversation between a native speaker of English and an Arab):

English speaker: You should make some concessions in this regard.

An Arab speaker: I will not give concessions to anyone.

English Speaker: Sorry, I mean you should make some relinquishments not privileges!

It can be noticed that the same term ‘concession’ is used in both sentences, but the connotation is different. In other words, this term satisfies the criteria of ambiguity because it is described as having more than one intended meaning or even sense. Moreover, miscommunication is likely to happen here, simply because the Arab hearer may interpret the term ‘concessions’ as being equal to ‘privileges’ ‘*imtiyāzāt*’, not as intended by the English speaker in the sense of ‘*tanāzulāt*’. The rest of the conversation is necessary for right understanding. This example shows that the meaning of ‘concessions’ has two levels of meaning which can be reached through analysing and understanding its sense-relations when used with verbs as ‘make’ or ‘give’ within its context of use. In other words, there is no single word in the Arabic language that covers the above two meanings together. Thus, the problem of meaning seems to go beyond the level of word meaning. Dickins (2002: 97) states that:

“it is vital to remember that meanings are not found exclusively in the words listed individually in the dictionary. Any text shows that the combination of words creates meanings that they do not have in isolation and even meanings that are not wholly predictable from the senses of the words combined”.

Moreover, in cross-cultural communication, “expectations about the future, scientific hypotheses or religious beliefs, anecdotal memories, general cultural assumptions, beliefs about the mental state of the speaker, may all play a role in interpretation” (Sperber and Wilson, 1995: 15-16). Thus, it is important to know the sense-relations of words in each language because they are certainly affected by the socio-cognitive environment and political ideology of the speakers of that language. Furthermore, the difference in form and distribution of words in sentences in Arabic and English can be completely different, ranging from a single grammatical or lexical item to a whole phrase. Accordingly, expressions like ‘Jumana’s girlfriend’ or ‘Ahmad’s boyfriend’ are taboo expressions and still not used in Arab culture (see Shamma, 1995). In other words, transferring such

expressions into Arabic may result in comprehension problems if the listener or reader is not familiar with the English language and culture. Similarly, resorting only to the semantic representation of an Arabic idiom such as ‘Uthman’s shirt’, which is used in the Arabic media as a reference to politicising the assassination of Rafik Al-Hariri, the late Lebanese prime minister, on 14.02.2005, will necessitate more efforts on the part of the audience to reach an approximation of the reflected meaning in Arab culture. In other words, an Arab native speaker will immediately understand the link between Al-Hariri's assassination and ‘Uthman’s shirt’, which is a reference to the exploitation of the historical murder of the caliphate Uthman in the year AD 656 by later Muslims. The translator in this case has either to add an explanatory addition or a footnote to convey the missing connotation and/or denotation. The same is applicable to sentences or texts including proverbs or names of historical figures. All these are certainly culture-specific and can hardly be understood by members of a remote culture, whether in context or in isolation, unless similar utterances are found in the community language of that culture (see 3.5.4.4). For this reason, there can be no absolute correspondence between languages whatsoever “either in the meanings given to corresponding symbols or in the ways in which such symbols are arranged in phrases and sentences” (Nida, 1964: 156).

Another aspect of semantic equivalence on the word level can be seen through observing the use of definite articles between Arabic and English. The distribution of ‘the’ in English is definitely different from that of ‘*al*’ in Arabic. However, this does not preclude the reality of similarities between any two languages that seem to be mutually divergent. This similarity is only one aspect of what Leech (1983) calls ‘universality’, but this aspect of universality is not absolute. It is only relative in the sense that it applies to certain components of the language, but not to others. Hence, both the differences and similarities of the distributions or occurrences between the definite article in English and its supposedly equivalent component in Arabic are subject to the principle of ‘relativity of relevance’ (see Shammas, 1995).

The definite article is used in both Arabic and English before unique nouns, such as ‘the sun’ ‘*al-shams*’, and ‘the moon’ ‘*al-qamar*’. However, even in this respect, the similarity in use between the two languages is by no means identical. Notice that the Britons, for example, say ‘Morocco’ whereas Arabs say ‘*al-maghrib*’. This does not

exclude other areas of mismatch in the use of the definite articles in both languages, Arabic and English. For example, as a generalisation, English favours a zero definite article, whereas its use in equivalent Arabic structures is necessary, as in this example:

Gold and silver are precious metals = *al-dhahab wa al-fiḍḍah ma`danān thamīnān*

Moreover, the above difference in the use of the definite article between Arabic and English may lead to political crises within the context of international relations. Consider this example taken from the first principle in the first Article of the Security Council Resolution (242) issued in 1967:

[The draft principle was translated and proposed by Arab countries] as follows:

a- (i) Withdrawal of Israeli armed forces from the territories [or all territories] occupied in the recent conflict.

(The final principle was translated and issued by the Security Council) as follows:

b- (i) Withdrawal of Israeli armed forces from territories occupied in the recent conflict⁴.

Semantically, the word ‘the’ is the only definite article of the English language. As stated in many dictionaries, it is used with singular and plural, countable and uncountable nouns when both speaker and listener already know the idea. If translation from Arabic into English is considered, it can be noticed that the English definite article ‘the’ is not needed in the final English version of the resolution; however, it was taken as a pretext to apparently lead to a translation which is “syntactically ambiguous between an exhaustive and partitive reading” (Farghal, 2008: 3). In the English version (b), the zero article is appropriate, whereas it is not in its Arabic supposedly equivalent version. As a result, by comparing the above two translations, it can be noticed from the underlined expressions that the English version, as Farghal (2008: 3) put it, “was mischievously subjected to managing prior to translation activity”. However, the Security Council issued that Resolution and, of course, it was translated into Arabic. Accordingly, Arab translators were able to see the deviated pragmatic force in the English version. Thus, they felt the need to “extrinsically manage what was originally managed (by way of creating the ambiguity) in the English version by rendering the above phrase into ‘*al-‘araādī-l-‘arabiyya-llati-ḥtullat*’ ‘the Arab lands occupied’ rather than ‘*‘araādīn-‘arabiyyatin-ḥtullat*’ ‘Arab lands occupied’” (Ibid, 3). In this context, it can be seen that the presence or absence of ‘the’ as a definite

⁴See Wikipedia/ the free encyclopedia/ Security Council Resolution 242.

article may exceed language boundaries to shed light on various political and ideological interpretations. For example, supporters of the ‘Israeli viewpoint’ may note that the resolution calls for a withdrawal ‘from territories’ rather than “from *the* territories” or ‘from *all* territories,’ as the Arab UN delegations proposed. Moreover, supporters of the ‘Israeli viewpoint’ may also note that this phrase would also apply to ‘Israeli territory’ in the Jordan Valley captured by Syria in the war with Israel in 1948, which Israel recaptured during the June War; Syria believes that resolution no. 242 requires that Israel must return that territory to Syria. My argument here is that the above translation of (b) is a biased manipulated translation and consequently yields different interpretations that may have been intended as such.

The previous example also clarifies that linguistic terms such as the definite article have the status of specifying or constraining meaning and the choice of specifications or constraints is first pragmatic rather than semantic. Blakemore (1989; 1990; 1992) believes that other words such as ‘but’, ‘so’, and ‘after all’, as well as ‘anyway’ and ‘however’, impose constraints on interpretation. Moreover, she states that:

“if a speaker wishes to constrain the interpretation recovered by a hearer, he must constrain the hearer’s choice of context. And since the constructions we are considering ensure correct context of selection at minimal processing cost, they can be regarded as effective means for constraining the interpretation of utterances in accordance with the principle of relevance” (Blakemore, 1992: 137).

In this context, it is helpful to consider the approach of componential analysis to meaning, which is based on the assumption of “providing a systematic and economical means of presenting the sense-relations that hold among lexemes in particular languages and, on the assumption that the components are universal across languages” (Lyons, 1981: 82). This approach clarifies the discrepancy in the very denotation of words that are supposed to be semantically equivalent in the two languages under study. For example, the sense-relations of words such as ‘girl’ in English clearly show that a ‘girl’ is a female human being, but mostly not an adult. However, the sense-relations of ‘*bint*’ in Arabic, as a supposedly semantic equivalence to ‘girl’ show that ‘*bint*’ is a single female human being, an adult or non-adult and most basically a virgin. Thus, addressing a ‘girl’ in Arab culture by calling her a ‘woman’ may be considered as accusing her of not being a virgin (see Shammas, 1995). Moreover, “a sentence in Arabic such as ‘*lissaha bint*’ (literally: She is

still a girl) would unquestionably be interpreted in Arab culture as she is unmarried and a virgin, even if the ‘girl’ is an old woman” (Shammas, 1995: 67). This implies that the scope of componential analysis does not include the broader variation of connotative meaning related to words, which have different sense-relations cross-culturally (ibid). The universality of such approach can be disproved by considering many terms or words that reflect socio-political conflicting ideologies. Consider the expression ‘*istishhādī*’⁵ in Arabic, which is translated into western media as ‘suicide bomber’, which is equivalent to ‘*intihārī*’⁶ in back-translation into Arabic rather than ‘freedom fighter’. Such a translation triggers the images of violence and terrorism instead of patriotism and sacrifice as usually intended in Arab and Muslim world. In this respect, Venuti (1996: 196) draws attention to:

“the power of translation to (re)constitute and cheapen foreign texts, to trivialise and exclude foreign cultures, and thus potentially to figure in racial discrimination and ethnic violence, international political confrontations, terrorism, wars” (Cited in Faiq, 2004: 11)

Indeed, manipulating translation for subjective and political reasons can be clearly seen in the intended translation of various Arabic ideological expressions. This entails that the difference in both the socio-political settings and, consequently, in the cognitive environments of both languages under study may affect the process of conveying the propositional form intended in Arabic. Thus, the assumption that ‘semantic meaning’ is equivalent to ‘the communicative meaning’ (see Leech, 1981: 23) no longer holds. It is

⁵ It was narrated by 'Abdullah bin 'Amr bin al-'As: I heard the Prophet saying, "Whoever is killed while protecting his property then he is a martyr." *Sahih Bukhari, Volume 3, Book 43, Number 660.*

shahīd: (Arabic: -*shahīd* شَهِيد *shuhadā* شُهَدَاء) is an Arabic word meaning "witness". It is a religious term in Islam, meaning "witness", as stated, but most often "martyr". An alternative translation is *Shaheed*. It is used as a title for Muslims who have died fulfilling a religious commandment, or waging war for Islam. The '*shahīd*' is considered one whose place in Paradise is promised according to these verses in the Qur'an:

Think not of those who are slain in Allah's way as dead. Nay, they live, finding their sustenance in the presence of their Lord; they rejoice in the bounty provided by Allah. And with regard to those left behind, who have not yet joined them (in their bliss), the (martyrs) glory in the fact that on them is no fear, nor have they (cause to) grieve. (Qur'an, 3:169-170).

⁶*Intihārī*: Suicide is not allowed in the religion of Islam; however, martyring oneself for Allah (during combat) is not the same as completing suicide. Suicide in Islam is seen as a sign of disbelief in God. Religious views of suicide from Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia

safe to say that semantic divergence between Arabic and English is clear enough on word level to create problems of variance in a contrastive study of communication and/or translation. In this connection, grasping the speaker's intended meaning on sentence level might facilitate translating certain problematic expressions or words from Arabic into English and vice versa.

3.2.2 Sentence meaning

The sentence is the basic linguistic unit of measurement as defined in traditional English grammar. It consists of words and should start with a capital letter and finish with a full stop. This definition is adopted in this research. Words composing a sentence are reliable clues on the page, but cannot give the total detailed message without relating the sentence to its context of use. Thus, to avoid literal translation, which “does not secure referential and pragmatic equivalence to the original” (Newmark: 1981, 9), a link between source language and target language should be established. Sperber and Wilson (1995) argue that a sentence is a well-formed sequence of words put together according to the language grammatical system in a way “that can take no account of such non-linguistic properties as, for example, the time and place of utterance, the identity of the speaker, the speaker's intentions, and so on” (Sperber and Wilson, 1995: 9). Misinterpretation, however, may arise when the translator/receptor limits his/her understanding of the Arabic or English sentence to its semantic properties, and thus interprets it against a context different from the one intended by the communicator. Consider this example in Arabic:

كانت رسالة (risālatu) الرئيس السوري واضحة في خطابه (khitābihi)

- a- *⁷the letter of the Syrian president was clear in his discourse.
- b- The message of the Syrian president was clear in his speech.

Bilingual Arabic-English dictionaries reveal that the Arabic word ‘risālatu’ means his letter or message, and the Arabic word ‘khitāb’ means either his discourse or speech in English. It can be noticed that sentence (a) is a wrong translation of the Arabic sentence because the word ‘risāla’ collocates with ‘khitāb’ and is best translated into English as ‘message’ which is delivered verbally by a speech, not as a ‘letter’ which is written and sent by post. Thus, “taking account of collocational meaning rather than substituting

⁷*= Wrong Translation

individual words with their dictionary equivalents is therefore crucial at the first stage of translation” (Baker, 1992: 53). In other words, the reason for such an error on the part of the translator is that there are at least two equivalents in English to the Arabic word ‘*risāla*’. The same applies to the choice of ‘discourse’ in (a). The reason is that the only Arabic word, ‘*khitāb*’ that is equivalent to ‘speech’ has synonyms that could be translated back into English as ‘speech’ or ‘discourse’; only context can make clear which of the two word senses the speaker means. Thus, it is safe to say that ‘sense’ and ‘force’ in utterances are inseparable in most linguistic structures.

An additional factor when studying semantic divergence between Arabic and English is ‘modality’ where the English modal pairs of ‘may, might’; ‘shall, should’; ‘must, has to’; etc. are nil forms in Arabic. For instance, the following Arabic sentence ‘*Qad tandafī`u al-ḥarbu*’ could be translated into either: (a). ‘War may break out’, or, (b). ‘War might break out’. However, which of the two translations is correct? The accurate answer will depend on considering the fact that ‘*qad*’, has only a functional meaning dependent on contextual features and contextual clues, i.e. ‘*qad*’ can occur before a present-tense form of a verb in Arabic to denote ‘probability’ or ‘doubt’, and before a past-tense form of a verb to denote ‘certainty’ like saying ‘*qad indala`at al-ḥarbu*’. In contrast, ‘might’ can be used as a substitute for ‘may’ to show diminished possibility⁸. In other words, “if the truth of a situation is still not known at the time of speaking or writing, either of the two is acceptable” while “if the event or situation referred to did not in fact occur, it is better to use might have.”⁹ Thus, sentence (b) means that the likelihood of a war breaking out is somewhat less than if we say ‘war may break out’. In other words, ‘might’ and ‘may’ are used in English to express a degree of ‘probability’ and/or ‘doubt’. Thus, the preference for either ‘may’ or ‘might’ as a possible translation would be related to non-linguistic knowledge such as knowing the political context of events associated with the concept of war. Moreover, if translation is considered from a semantic equation point of view between ‘*qad*’, ‘may’ and ‘might’, it can be noticed that preference for either ‘may’ or ‘might’ as a possible translation would be between future and past time reference rather than between

⁸ *The American Heritage Guide to contemporary usage and style*, Boston: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2005: 295.

⁹ <http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/words/may-or-might>

probability and degrees. This means that the mismatch of semantic representation between both languages is likely to happen and could lead the translator to select inaccurate propositions offered by the speaker where other semantic features of verbs, such as tense and aspect, are involved.

Another remark may avail itself in the use of the auxiliary verb 'must' versus the use of 'has to' in translating the following Arabic sentence into English:

A- *'ala al-gharb 'an yata'allama akthara 'an mantiqatina.* على الغرب أن يتعلم أكثر عن منطقتنا.

a- The West *must* learn more about our region.

b- The West *has to* learn more about our region.

In English grammar, 'must' refers to an external strong obligation, like giving a command or advising strongly (Penston, 2005, 67), while 'has to' refers to internal obligation. Thus, the translation of the Arabic expression '*ala*' into either 'must' or 'has to' does not reflect the same message because 'must' in (a) may imply that the speaker represents a high authority and he or she is ordering the west to be more familiar with that region, while 'has to' in (b) may imply that the speaker is completely convinced by what he or she is saying and thus strongly advising the West to be more familiar with that region. Such contradiction leads to misunderstanding the speaker's intention and consequently to mistranslation (see Chapter 5 for details). Blakemore (1992) was aware of this difficulty even on the level of one language where non-linguistic knowledge seems to be necessary for the interpretation of two sentences with the same tense and aspect. Consider this example borrowed from (Blakemore, 1992: 81):

a. I've had breakfast.

b. I've been to New Zealand.

Blakemore (ibid.) explains that the hearer will take the speaker of (b) to mean that he had been to New Zealand at some point in his life, but it is most unlikely that he will take the speaker of (a) to mean that he had had breakfast at some point in his life. Both sentences are similar in terms of grammatical structure, but the meaning is different. For instance, the verb 'go' cannot be used to express the same semantic meaning of the verb 'be' with its present aspect. The verb 'be' in this context can be used only to express that the person went at least once to New Zealand. This entails that in interpreting the above two sentences, the hearer from the same English-speaking community seems to resort to non-linguistic knowledge in order to differentiate between the two of them. However, is it possible to

translate them into Arabic and maintain the same semantic representation? The only possible semantic equivalent is a past-tense verb form for the translation of both, i.e. the verb in (a) would be ‘*tanāwaltu*’, which means ‘I took’, and in (b), ‘*dhahabtu*’, which means ‘I went’. The past tense form in Arabic, however, cannot denote the time reference of the action in (b); therefore, the speaker in Arabic would need an extra grammatical structure to produce the same effect produced by utterance (b) above. In other words, to produce an adequate semantic equivalent of the English sentence (b), an essential change in the Arabic semantic and grammatical structure would be compulsory for conveying the intended meaning (Shammas, 2002). This can be manifested in the following example:

I’ve been to New Zealand:

Semantic translation

Arabic: *dhahabtu ilá Nyuzelanda*
 English: I went to New Zealand

Pragmatic interpretation

ḥadatha wa dhahabtu ilá Nyuzelanda
 I have been to New Zealand

Baker (1992) notes that grammatical equivalence cannot be a source of help in translation because grammatical rules may vary across languages and this may pose problems in terms of finding a direct correspondence in the TL. Moreover, she claims that different grammatical structures in the SL and TL may cause significant changes in the way of conveying messages between languages. These changes may induce the translator to add, as the above example, or to omit information for the sake of conveying the speaker’s intended message. That is to say, non-linguistic intervention is needed for the recovery of the same message, or else changing the semantic structure in one of the two languages to suit the semantic structure and the pragmatic effect of the equivalent utterances in the other is required. Therefore, semantic equivalence at the level of tense and aspect between Arabic and English does not often exist.

3.2.3 Inadequacy of semantic equivalence in cross-cultural communication

To review what I have discussed in previous sections, the possible major factors that reveal the inadequacy of semantic translation equivalence¹⁰ to account for meaning on its own can be summarised as the following. First, word meaning in one language does not usually have an exact equivalent word meaning in the other. In other words, the sense-relations of

¹⁰The translator renders the exact contextual meaning of the original within the limits allowed by the semantic and syntactic structures of the second language.

words in actual cross-cultural communication in general, and in political discourse in particular, are not the same; consequently, semantic equivalence is only a rough approximation. Second, the meanings of word-associations in one language, particularly when idioms are concerned, are rarely the same as those of the supposedly equivalent word-associations in another. Third, textual cohesion is not always necessary for relevant interpretation. Fourth, lexical and/or grammatical cohesion in the same language is not necessarily in harmony with the ‘semantic equivalent’ in the other. In other words, the divergence of grammatical forms between English and Arabic, especially the English forms that are nil forms in Arabic, may disclose the necessity of taking the pragmatic principle of ‘relevance’ and cultural factors involved in utterance interpretation into account (Shammas 1995; 2002a). Leech (1981: 319) expresses his views in a different way and distinguishes three positions in this regard:

- Pragmatics should be subsumed under semantics
- Semantics should be subsumed under pragmatics
- Semantics and pragmatics are two distinct and complementary fields of study

Leech (1983: 6) argues for what he calls ‘complementarism’ between semantics and pragmatics. Concerning this research, I argue for the first view, i.e. for subsuming pragmatics under semantics because any sentence is pragmatically modulated in the human mind before being written or even uttered. Such pragmatic modulation is subject to pragmatic parameters which represent a network of information related to the interplay between explicit and implicit messages conveyed by the same sentence/utterance on the one hand, and to the socio-cognitive and socio-political values that guide the speaker’s selection of relevant sentences/utterances, on the other (Levinson, 2000; Sperber and Wilson, 1995). Hence, considering pragmatic translation equivalence could be a valuable means to overcome some obstacles in translating political discourse.

3.3 Pragmatic translation equivalence

Pragmatic translation equivalence can be best understood through considering the major components of pragmatics (Levinson, 1983; Leech, 1983 among others). Those components or layers of pragmatics have traditionally been divided into two major fields of study. First, pragma-linguistics, which represents one end related to grammar and

semantic structures where emphasis is placed on what is linguistically encoded and to pragmatic parameters where the social values motivating the use of language crystallise. Second, socio-pragmatics, which is the other end of the continuum that is more closely related to social context and is equivalent to the socio-cognitive environment of the hearer/translator as a mediator working between two languages (see Leech, 1983; Shamma, 1995; 2005a). Shamma (2005: 3) claims the existence of a third component which he calls lingua-pragmatics. This component is related to “fixed forms of a language which have fixed socio-pragmatic values in actual verbal communication”. Such forms may hinder the process of translation and lead to misunderstanding, but they are mostly related to colloquial language which is not always used in the field of written and spoken political discourse. In any event, the focus of this research is on the interrelated relationship between pragma-linguistics and socio-pragmatics, which can be best illustrated through the study of pragmatic failure. (see 3.5)

Sperber and Wilson (1995: 232) illustrate the process of pragmatic interpretation as follows:

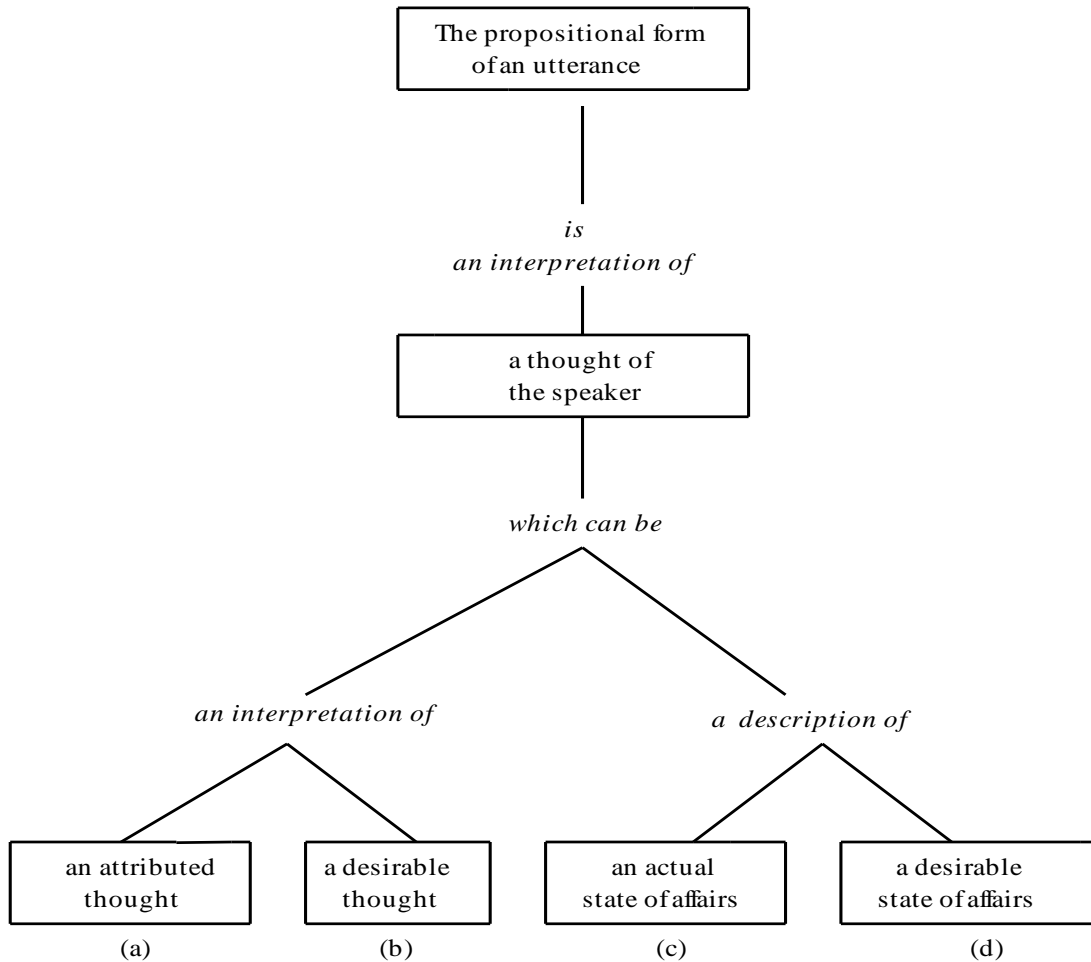


Figure 1: Pragmatic Interpretation (adapted from Sperber & Wilson, 1995: 232)

According to the figure above, “the thought of the speaker which is interpreted by the utterance is itself an interpretation.” (Sperber and Wilson, 1995: 238). They also emphasise that “[W]hen we talk of utterances used to interpret someone else’s thought, it should be clear, then, that we are always talking of second-degree interpretations” (Sperber and Wilson, 1995: 238). Other types of talk can also be classified according to the subdivisions in the figure above: an inquiry is a desirable thought and an assertion is an expression of an actual state of affairs. However, this requires that the hearer/addressee understands, first, that an utterance is a request or an assertion and so on and so forth (see Shamma, 1995; see 2.5.2). According to the principle of relevance, however, it remains possible to account for numerous issues that are not traceable to a purely semantic explanation. A good example to illustrate this point could be found in the different interpretations of the Arabic word ‘نعيماً’ ‘*na‘īman*’. Dickins (2002: 35) proposes that the

expression “نعيماً” might be translated as ‘your hair looks nice’ (‘Congratulations’ in this context seems over-enthusiastic in English), to which the most natural reply would be something like, ‘Thanks very much’ or ‘Oh, that’s kind of you to say so’”. However, ‘نعيماً’ in Arabic is a stock phrase, with various contextual meanings that can be discovered only by resorting to context and other paralinguistic features like voice pitch, stress, etc. (see Shamma, 1995). This stock phrase can be said:

1. to someone who has had his haircut
2. to someone who has had a bath
3. to someone who has finally discovered that he has been a fool
4. to someone discovering something after a long time
5. to someone who has had a secret love affair; the implication being ‘I know what you did’.

All the above meanings of ‘*nāʾīman*’ are under-specified if they are taken out of their socio-cultural context of use. In other words, they cannot be recovered without the hearer establishing their relevance through non-linguistic or pragmatic knowledge, which can help her/him arrive at a resemblance of the communicator’s thought and attitude, particularly in terms of the pragmatic force implicitly intended. Moreover, if the implicit meanings conveyed by ‘*nāʾīman*’ are considered from the perspective of speech act theory, it can be noticed that (1) and (2) indicate an intention to praise someone, while (3) and (4) indicate an intention of criticizing and mocking someone respectively. In this sense, Blakemore (1989) states that “the sense and reference to an utterance is not fully determined by semantic rules, but is pragmatically determined by the context and the maxim of relevance” (Blakemore, 1989: 24). This means that “words are loaded with unequal weights, depending on who utters them and how they are said, such that the same words uttered in certain circumstances have a force and a conviction that they would not have elsewhere” (Bourdieu, 1991:1).

In this sense, communicators depend on the logical properties of utterances in trying to work out a resemblance rather than ‘the same propositional form’ of the thought expressed by an utterance; an utterance interpreting a speaker’s thought “is strictly literal if it has the same propositional form as that thought” (Sperber and Wilson, 1995: 233). However, politicians rarely aim at literal meaning; they mostly try to be diplomatically unclear with regard to sensitive and problematic issues, particularly in the context of political interviews. Thus, in short, the interpretation of an utterance can be either literal,

i.e. have the same propositional form as the speaker's thought 'explicature', or a description of that thought 'implicature' (see 2.5.3.3). Such implicature or implicitness is widely used by people in everyday social life, but also by politicians as members of their own societies in the field of political discourse where utterances cannot be understood without "the knowledge of immediate setting, the immediate discourse, and knowledge of the physical and social world" (Chilton and Schäffner, 2002, 33). This argument seems compatible with de Beaugrande's assertion that "the equivalence between a text and its translation can be neither in form nor lexical meanings, but only in the experience of text receivers" (de Beaugrande, 1980: 291). In this regard, contestable factors such as the knowledge of the immediate settings, immediate discourse and knowledge of the socio-political world, as well as the experience of a text receivers and various translation commissions (see 2.4.4), would affect the validity of the final translation product. The implication so far is that different translations of the same ST would be an inevitable result, as will be discussed in the following section.

3.4 Translation differences between ST and TT(s)

Linguistically, the process of translation starts from the face value meaning(s) of words, sentences and texts in terms of grammar and strict linguistic procedures that are related first to the ST, and then to appropriate equivalents in the TT. In other words, the translator's linguistic skills and sociopolitical cognitive environment will affect his/her understanding of the ST and consequently the linguistic choices s/he may opt for as appropriate equivalents in the TT. This entails that different cultural and socio-political backgrounds of translators may have their impact on translation and consequently lead to many translation differences. In this context, it should be noted that getting identical translations of the same ST is not that expected in terms of linguistic structure and meaning. In many cases there are translation differences between ST and TT(s). However, when the translation commission and/or lack of experience are concerned, it could be seen that some translation differences may not only incorporate different meaning but also a distorted translation that satisfies "pre-existing and expected responses of and/or sought by the receivers of the translations" (Faiq, 2007: 14). As a result, the original message of the ST will not be properly conveyed (see.2.4.4 & Chapter 5).

3.4.1 Categories of translation differences

As this research is concerned with a contrastive analysis of Syrian political discourse, translation differences are classified according to the factors that led to the emergence of such differences. The first factor may be attributed to the linguistic properties, including grammar, syntax and semantics of the ST. These differences should be evaluated according to pragma-linguistic criteria, including textual and semantic features (see 3.5.2 & 3.5.3). The second factor is attributable to the socio-cultural divergence between both languages and should be classified according to socio-pragmatic criterion (see 3.5.4). The third one, attributed to various translation commissions (see 2.4.4), could be incorporated within the second because various translation commissions are related to different socio-cognitive environments of the people, bodies or organizations managing the job of translation. These factors may individually or collectively impose restrictions on certain linguistic choices while translating and consequently lead to different translations. Some of these translation differences express the same meaning and are thus far less important than those expressing different meanings. Similar or different linguistic terms, expressions or structures that convey the same meaning intended in the ST are not prone to cause any misunderstanding or pragmatic failure as will be explained in the following sections. This is because no two translations of the same ST can be 100% identical or different in terms of word order, word meaning, synonyms, conjunction of verbs, etc. However, if different linguistic structures and even similar ones provide similar errors or misconceptions of the original text, the researcher in this area should reconsider the translation(s) remembering that “translation is part of the development of discourse, and a bridge to addressees beyond national borders” (Schäffner, 2004: 120).

In this context, language should be viewed as a source of multiple linguistic choices, which can be used by politicians, non-politicians, and translators alike as members of their own communities to achieve certain goals and produce negative/positive effects (see Wilson, 1990). Thus, a politician's choice of specific expressions among various lexical, semantic or pragmatic choices should be accounted for and carefully considered during the process of translation because such a choice may reflect certain ideologies, beliefs and cultural presuppositions. Transferring these reflections from Arabic into English may face

pragmatic failure because of the mismatch between Arabic and English in both grammar and semantics as shown in section (3.2.1) above.

3.5 Pragmatic failure

Like any other political discourse, Syrian political discourse is an explicit and/or implicit representation of the ideologies, beliefs and values prevailing in Syrian society. In this context, “Politicians make choices at different levels of discourse in order to represent events in a way that fits with their ideology”(Al-Harbi, 2009: 78). However, if such a representation of ideologies is to be cross-culturally transferred, the/a translator may also consider the same process of making choices in order to convey the intended political message. This entails the use of different translation techniques which, due to differences between cultures, may cause pragmatic failure or misunderstanding of what is meant.

Pragmatic failure is “the inability to understand ‘what is meant by what is said’” (Thomas, 1983: 91). This inability on the part of the speaker or hearer is a crucial source of intercultural communication breakdown simply because the speaker/hearer may break the linguistic rules and/or (un)intentionally violate the cultural norms of certain speech communities. Thus, pragmatic failure can best be studied, as I believe, in terms of analysing misconceptions and misunderstandings caused by specific translation techniques. Such techniques are the medium through which neutral, authentic or biased political information is transferred from one culture into another. In other words, the “reactions in one country to statements that were made in another country are actually reactions to the information as it was provided in translation” (Schäffner, 2004: 120). This means that there is a need to consider the cognitive and cultural principle of selectivity favouring one grammatical and/or lexical choice over another during the translation process in order to convey the communicative intended meaning of the source text into the context of the target culture.

Observing this issue from a functional perspective, defining pragmatic failure in cross-cultural and political communication is a necessity that enables researchers to designate the area of communicative breakdown and potential reason(s) behind it. In other words, the necessity of studying unnoticed or noticed pragmatic failure stems from the fact that the world is a global village that is interconnected by means of information selection and translation from one socio-political community into another. This means that extreme

caution should be exercised when translating from one language into another because “politicians, or political analysts, usually do not go back to the original text, neither do they request a detailed comparative analysis of the original text and the translation” (Schäffner, 2004: 125). In this sense, an awareness of causes of pragmatic failure seems an indispensable factor in analysing political discourse.

3.5.1 Pragma-linguistic failure

Pragma-linguistic failure “occurs when the pragmatic force mapped by S [speaker] onto a given utterance is systematically different from the force most frequently assigned to it by native speakers of the target language, or when speech act strategies are inappropriately transferred from L1 to L2” (Thomas, 1983: 99). This means that misunderstanding or mistranslation is attributed to the differences between the conventions and constructions of two languages lexically and grammatically. The effects of such crucial differences could be obviously seen in the hearer/translator's inability to recognise the message of what the speaker intended to communicate in terms of content and attitude.

3.5.2 Textual translation differences

Textual translation equivalence refers to the degree of equivalence between the source language text and its target language text (see Baker, 1992; Hatim & Mason, 1990:209-222; Fawcett, 1997:110). The translator's job is to achieve a measure of equivalence at text level (Baker, 1992:112). However, is it possible to avoid loss of meaning during the translation process? As far as grammatical, semantic or cultural divergence between Arabic and English is concerned, pragma-linguistic mistranslation could be the result of using different linguistic structures that are related to various translation techniques such as addition, explication, omission and combination and rhetorical expressions, which could be culturally or politically motivated.

Pragmatically speaking, Oleksy (1984: 360) believes that “A linguistic expression X1L1 is pragmatically equivalent to a linguistic expression X2L2 if both X1 and X2 can be used to perform the same speech act (SA) in L1 and L2” (cited in Janicki, 1990: 47). However, is it possible to attribute every utterance to a speech act? In this context, I would like to recall the previous example of ‘*nāʾīman*’ which supports the argument that the same

speech act can be used to indicate more than one meaning in different contexts. Understanding implicated indications necessitates adding extra information in order to compensate for a possible meaning loss. Another complicated area of misunderstanding would arise from the possibility that mother tongue speakers using the target language would, according to a false supposition, believe that X1L1 is always equivalent to X2L2, simply because this equivalence occurred in a certain given context (see Shamma, 1995). Such false assumptions would certainly lead to a communicative breakdown. Therefore, I presume that speech act theory, which divides language in use into speech acts, has shown its inadequacy because there is no reliable correlation between the sentence type and the speech act type on the one hand, and the meaning of the performative act verb and the type of speech act on the other (see Levinson 1983; Jaszczolt, 2003; Sperber and Wilson, 1995: 246-247).

3.5.2.1 Sense and force of utterances

Leech (1983) argues that Pragma-linguistics is more related to grammar and to the conventions of the language system, simply because ill-formed utterances may result in misunderstanding the force of utterances. This could be related to the transference of pragma-linguistic rules of the Arabic language into English and failure to differentiate between various senses of certain expressions. In fact, the effects of mother language transfer may cause pragma-linguistic miscommunication; such effects can be seen in the translator's inability either to differentiate between different senses, collocations and denotations of certain lexical forms or mistakenly using Arabic grammatical structures. Moreover, there are some expressions which have senses of their own but could have at the same time different social or legal connotations cross-culturally. An example of this could be noticed in the translation of the legal traffic sign reading '*'ilzam_al-yamīn'*' into 'keep right!' in the United States of America but not in the United Kingdom as a main principle in relation to driving cars (see Shamma, 1995). In other words, it would be irrational to put traffic-signs on British highways ordering drivers to drive on the right-hand side of the road when the traffic system already stipulates or specifies the opposite. Other pragma-linguistic mistranslations are related to the different linguistic structures between Arabic and English.

3.5.2.2 Linguistic structure and meaning

As previously mentioned in (3.2.2), the linguistic structures of the Arabic and English languages are not the same. Cohesion means connecting ideas on the level of words, sentences and even paragraphs by virtue of lexical and grammatical dependencies, while in the case of coherence they are connected by virtue of meaning dependencies as rhetorically and pragmatically identified by language users (see Baker, 1992). However, what makes an English text cohesive is not the same as in Arabic. For example, ellipsis in English is much more frequent than in Arabic. On the other hand, recurrence in Arabic is more frequent than English repetition¹¹ and is more functional in Arabic. This can be illustrated in the following example:

<u>Arabic expression</u>	<u>Literal translation</u>	<u>Pragmatic translation</u>
<i>al-dār, al-dār/ الدار الدار</i>	Home, Home	Please do your best to take care of the (my) 'home' in my absence

This example is related to one mechanism in Arabic syntax that performs the function of either warning or strongly recommending. The mechanism simply states that the thing to be warned against, or recommended strongly should be just repeated. The above example clearly shows that the utterance in Arabic is used to “communicate information which bears no relation to its semantic content” (Sperber and Wilson, 1995: 178). That is to say, the above literal translation is a rough equivalent lacking the force and sense intended in Arabic. This entails that the process of translation will be lacking without the inclusion of the ‘cultural parameter’ including both levels of ‘description’ and ‘explanation’ (see Catford, 1965: 94; Candlin, 1981). Thus, the cultural awareness is of utmost importance particularly when the speaker's proposition “may or may not be evident from the linguistic form of his utterance” (Blakemore, 1992: 61). Moreover, on the level of cohesion itself, as Sperber and Wilson (1995) explain, it is not necessary for a text to be cohesive in order to express the appropriate inferences of the informative intention; this example illustrates the point:

“A: did your treatment for stammering work? B: Peter Piper picked a peck of pickled pepper”
(Sperber and Wilson, 1995: 178).

¹¹Repetition will be studied in detail in section 3.5.3.5

It is clear that the hearer's answer is directly linked to the implied meaning by giving an indication on the results of the successful treatment. Therefore, in a contrastive study of Arabic and English, what Halliday and Hasan (1976) call 'cohesion of text' does not hold true as the speaker can give direct evidence to the implied meaning without complying with grammatical or semantic representations. Similarly, Blass (1986) states that the cohesion and coherence of a certain text are not sufficient evidence of textual interpretation, and thus she argues that even exchanges which are semantically contradictory would in context "often be interpreted as both coherent and true" (Blass, 1986: 45). Therefore, "for an adequate account of appropriateness and inappropriateness we must turn to something outside the text" (ibid). This entails that "the appropriateness of particular items can only be judged in the light of the item's place within the overall plan of the text; the plan will involve a multitude of complex relations between texture, structure and the context of discourse" (Hatim and Mason, 1990: 180). The context is important and helps communicators, as Gutt (2000: 26) argues, "get from semantic representations to propositional forms" that are derived from those semantic representations by means of mental processing.

It is worth noting that "actual linguistic performance - that is, the way we use language - is a result of the interaction of a number of different systems, and . . . the acceptability of an utterance may be affected by factors other than its . . . well-formedness" (Blakemore, 1992: 40). This entails that appropriate linguistic structure represents a step within the process of translation that needs other non-linguistic knowledge and contextualization cues, which account for additional propositions that may help grasp the speaker's intended meaning. In this regard, Levinson (1983: 39 - 40) emphasises "the need for a theory or theories that will complement semantics in order to give a relatively full account of how we use language to communicate".

3.5.2.3 Discourse markers as pragma-linguistic devices

The analysis of discourse markers (DMs) can fall into two prominent approaches: a coherence-based approach to DMs and a relevance-based approach (see Sperber & Wilson, 1995; Blakemore, 1987; 2002). Researchers who adopt the first approach like Fraser (1988, 1990), Giora (1997, 1998) and Schourup (1999) argue that DMs play a major role in

discourse interpretation of the text on the level of linguistic representation where coherent relations or semantic features between discourse units are of paramount importance. In other words, the interpretation of a text depends on the recognition of coherence relations between the units of that text (Schourup, 1999: 240). The second includes researchers such as Sperber and Wilson (1995), Blakemore (1987, 1992, 2000, 2002), Wilson and Sperber (1993), who consider DMs as devices that constrain the relevance of discourse units. In this sense, DMs could be considered not only as pragmatic devices but also as guiding agents that lead the inferential process of utterance interpretation. Thus, DMs are merely a linguistic clue to what is meant, combined with other contextual or cognitive clues that enable the hearer/translator to recognise the intended cognitive effect with the least processing effort. The approach of this group is based on Relevance Theory where relevance relations hold between relevant conceptual representations, i.e. thoughts, not between linguistic representations as such. As previously argued, the well-formedness of text is not achieved by coherence, which is signalled by linguistic means, but rather pragmatically achieved through the establishment of relevance relations between thoughts. Thus, to guarantee the optimal relevance of the hearer's interpretation, the speaker usually constrains the interpretation of what is said through adding a DM between two segments for instructing the hearer to deduce the intended implicature. This idea is in line with the argument of my research, which favours the relevant relations between linguistic representations and cognitive environments of two communicators from two different cultures.

In this respect, Blakemore (2002) argues that the coherence-based analysis of DMs is incomplete and unreliable because coherence advocates classify DMs into broad categories without paying attention to their linguistic ambiguity and difference in meaning in certain contexts. For instance, they join '*so, therefore and hence*' together under the title of 'causal' relations, and '*however, but, yet and still*' under the title of 'adversative' relations. In fact, this classification is not trustworthy simply because it disregards the difference in implication between one discourse marker and another in the same category. That is to say, such classification proposes that each element under the same title can encode the same coherence relationship: thus '*however, still, yet and but*' can convey the same coherence relationship. In this regard, Blakemore (2002) argues that the above-

mentioned classification cannot be relied on, simply because ‘*however*’ and ‘*but*’ do not have the same implication and thus cannot be used interchangeably (see also Hussein, 2009). Consider the following example:

- The post is not an end but/*however a means to achieve an end.

As can be seen from the above example, ‘*however*’ cannot replace ‘*but*’ in certain cases, either semantically or syntactically, despite the fact that both DMs are supposed to encode the same coherence relation. The same is valid with regard to ‘*so*’ and ‘*therefore*’ which are associated with ‘*consequence*’ relations. There are also some other defects in the coherence-based approach such as the inability to explain the utterance-initial use of some DMs (see Blakemore, 1992; 2002; Hussein, 2009). In this respect, Blakemore (1992: 138-139) claims that DMs “can be used to constrain the interpretation of an utterance even though they are not used to connect two segments of text.” Consider the following two examples:

[Speaker who received an invitation to attend a conference]

1- So my paper was not too long.

[Speaker, who is suffering from angina, has been offered a glass of whisky]

2-But, I don’t drink whisky.

It can be noticed that the speaker in the first utterance is confirming that the proposition introduced by ‘*so*’ is indeed a contextual implication of an assumption which has been made accessible during the process of communication. That is to say, the speaker was confident that his paper is not too long and thus it will be suitable to be read in a conference. The same applies to the second example; the speaker is confirming that drinking whisky may worsen his heart condition. Thus, DMs in discourse may control the choice of appropriate context and direct the process of interpretation and translation to considering other implied procedural meanings encoded by certain discourse markers. Hussein (2009:227) argues that in the Arabic language “there are four different lexical items corresponding to *but* in English”. That is to say, the general procedural meaning of ‘*but*’ can be seen in four types of implementation, namely denial, contrast, correction and cancellation. These implementations of the general procedure encoded by *but* can be translated, in different contexts, into Arabic as *lakinna*, *lakin*, *bal*, *baynama* (ibid).

Other problematic issues related to some DMs during the process of translation from Arabic into English can be seen in the translation of ‘*fa*’ and ‘*wa*’, which are the most

intricate discourse markers in Arabic. They are multi-functional devices in Arabic discourse. None of them has just one counterpart discourse marker as an equivalent in English. This creates a specific kind of translation equivalence that requires an experienced linguist to interpret the Arabic denotation: first, to deduce its connotation and then translate it along with the structure, in which it is embedded into appropriate structures and relevant messages into the target language, in this case English.

Therefore, the problems that may be triggered by translating ‘*fa*’ and ‘*wa*’ into English in various structures and contexts go beyond the surface meaning of the discourse marker in Arabic or even its functional property. This may very well affect the syntactic structure of the target language and the very choice of semantic denotation of these two Arabic discourse markers to serve the pragmatic connotation of the SL structure taken as a whole, i.e. as one unit of contextual meaning. The following are some of the various functions of the Arabic ‘*fa*’ which is mainly used for¹²:

A. Expressing sequentiality in discourse, as in:

- <i>jā’a</i>	<i>Ahmad-un</i>	<i>fa- ‘maru</i>
- came	Ahmad	<i>fa-omar</i>

“Ahmad came *fa*-Omar.”

The function of Arabic ‘*fa*’ can be seen on the semantic level where it encodes a chronological order of two events described in the two conjuncts linked by ‘*fa*’. This entails that the above utterance can only have one interpretation: “Ahmad came before Omar.” Thus, it has to be translated into English as an expression denoting sequence of events, such as ‘and then’, or ‘after that’, etc. Hussein (2009: 243) argues that “the sequentiality linguistically encoded by *fa* can be understood in two ways: ‘immediate sequentiality’ and ‘non-interventional sequentiality’”. This means that ‘*fa*’ indicates that there is an indefinite but short time-span between the two events described in the first and second conjuncts without having an intervention of any third event between the two. Consider the following example:

- <i>dhahaba</i>	<i>Ali-un</i>	<i>ilá</i>	<i>London</i>	<i>fa-Paris</i>
- went	Ali	to	London	<i>fa-Paris</i>

¹²The Arabic explanations and examples for *fa* are taken from *al-Munjed for Language and Scholars* (1973), 21st. edition, Beirut: Dar al-Mashreq: p 566.

“Ali went to London *fa*-Paris.”

The ‘*fa*’ in the above example indicates that Ali went to Paris directly after London; there is no interruption in the sense of going to a third capital. This implied meaning of ‘*fa*’ is simply understood by Arab native speakers.

B. Expressing causality in discourse, as in:

- <i>ḍaraba</i>	<i>Ahmad-un</i>	<i>‘mar-an</i>	<i>fa-māt</i>
- hit	Ahmad	Omar	<i>fa</i> -died

“Ahmad hit Omar *fa* (he) died.”

The use of ‘*fa*’ in Arabic means that it was Omar who died because he was hit by Ahmad, whereas the pronoun ‘he’ in English may refer back to either Ahmad or Omar. Therefore, the Arabic sentence above, though simple in both structure and apparent meaning, should be translated into something like “Ahmad hit Omar – which ended up with the death of Omar”. In other words, there is a cause-effect relationship indicated by the use of ‘*fa*’ between the two conjuncts of an utterance; such a relationship should be explicated in the process of translation because ‘*fa*’ in this above example is considered as a coordinating conjunction, which is injected with extra meaning, namely ‘causality’. This necessitates a strategy of explication, as seen in the English translation above.

C. Initiating a response to a conditional, as in:

- ‘ <i>n</i>	<i>kuntum</i>	<i>tuḥibbūni</i>	<i>fa-ḥfaẓu</i>	<i>waṣayay</i>
- if	you	love-me	<i>fa</i> -obay	my-commandments

“If you love me *fa*-obay my commandments.”

The meaning encoded by ‘*fa*’ puts constraints on the relevance of the utterance in which it occurs by indicating that the proposition expressed by the *fa*-clause is relevant as a ‘conclusion’ to a ‘premise’ expressed by the proposition communicated in the first clause. In other words, the use of ‘*fa*’ expresses a temporal stage of doing something in addition to supposing that the first part of the utterance is a minor premise for the second part. Thus, the interpretation of the above utterance could be something like “if you really love me, you have to prove this by executing my will.”

D. Initiating a response to a semi-conditional, as in:

- ‘ <i>aladhi</i>	<i>ya’tyni</i>	<i>fa-lahū</i>	<i>dirham</i>
- he-who	comes-to-me	<i>fa</i> -he-gets	money

“He who comes to me *fa*-he gets some money.”

Although this *fa*-clause leaves an option to the addressee, it motivates her/him in a way that something good is done for those who respond positively. In other words, the aim is to increase the strength of the hearer's commitment to the assumption conveyed in the first part of the utterance.

Following this argument, it is safe to say that no component is fully restricted to the content claimed by its name; the above 'fa' examples provide contextual clues not necessarily embraced in their semantic structure or their syntactic order. In other words, the DMs explained above are certainly not limited to linguistic relations and/or semantic denotations; they rather go into the realm of socio-pragmatics discussed below.

3.5.2.4 Connotation and denotation

Since translators are concerned with conveying meaning as intended by the speaker, it is very important to note that the meaning of some words, phrases and expressions is multilayered especially when used in political text and context. In this regard, what matters most are the social, political and emotional implications that certain words may have in addition to their literal or denotative meaning. Thus, to be aware of such implications, translators, just like politicians, should make use of these "two basic aspects of the semantic matrix of language: denotative meaning and connotative meaning" (Dickins, 2002: 52) to achieve specific goals. In other words, the denotative meaning is fully associated with the language semantic conventions and context of use. However, this literal or referential meaning of a word could be more manipulative in the sense that some politicians tend to re-activate specific socio-cultural and/or political background considerations that are firmly linked to the surface or conventional meaning of this same word (see Schäffner, 2004). For example, the translation of the Arabic-Islamic word '*uṣūliyyah*' into 'fundamentalism' in English would, in some contexts, lead to pragmatic failure because the connotation of '*uṣūliyyah*' in Islamic culture is understood as a call to go back to the principles and foundations of real Islam; a call to retain what is positive and noble. On the contrary, 'fundamentalism' is used in the current political context to negatively refer to fanatics and hardliners. The use of such a term among many others in today's political narratives has given a kind of legitimacy for this term to be purposefully used even in some parts of the Arab world. Some people in the Arab world started to use this term to refer to

‘Wahhabis’ and members of the Al-Qaeda organization as if they are representing the positive fundamentalism of Islam; the fact is that they are affected by what is said in the Western media, which is used to calling those fanatics ‘*uṣūliyyūn*’, ‘*salafiyyūn*’ or ‘*jihādiyyūn*’. In other words, the West dropped the real connotative meaning of such expressions in general, particularly the Western media, which added a new negative pragmatic meaning and re-exported it to the Arab and Muslim world. This entails that conveying the pragmatic implications of specific expressions should be based on the meaning(s) that words have in use as well as the other surrounding linguistic context and extra-linguistic setting of usage. This can be further illustrated by an example taken from the Guardian website¹³:

- The text...refers to ...a contiguous and viable state of Palestine¹⁴.

The above example could have many possible interpretations, simply because ‘contiguous’ has more than one sense and could mean ‘adjacent’, ‘bordering’ or ‘adjoining’ and an indefinite range of possible referents, which could be spontaneously known to the hearer. However, “the sense and reference to an utterance is not fully determined by semantic rules, but is pragmatically determined by the context and the maxim of relevance” (Blakemore, 1989: 24). Thus, political and contextual considerations are important factors to know what is connotatively intended. In other words, if the hearer is familiar with the political problem of dividing Palestine, s/he will immediately interpret the word ‘contiguous’ as preserving the territorial integrity of Palestine in the sense of ‘connecting two parts without a break’; not only to have a country with two separated parts neighboring Israel. It can also be noticed that translating ‘contiguous’ into ‘*mujāwirah*’, for example, will not convey the specific effect conveyed by ‘contiguous’ in English. Thus, to avoid a possible pragma-linguistic failure, which would lead to more misunderstandings and conflicts, the English term could be translated into ‘*mujāwirah wa muttaṣilat al-’atrāf*’ in order not to obscure what is intentionally meant in the “Statement by Middle East Quartet”¹⁵. In this regard, the role of translator should be vital in terms of considering the

13 This example is taken from <http://www.guardian.co.uk>, “Israel warns EU over east Jerusalem dispute” published on Tuesday December 1 2009.

14 i.e. Gaza Strip and West Bank

15 ‘The Statement by Middle East Quartet’: <http://www.un.org/News/Press/docs/2009/sg2152.doc.htm>

consequences of using specific terms that are overcharged with positive implied connotations in the source text on the one hand, and with already negative or contradictory connotations in the target text culture, on the other. Baker (2006: 64) argues that “translators and interpreters at times also avoid the use of a direct semantic equivalent of an item in the source text or utterance when that equivalent is or has become embedded in a different and potentially negative set of narratives in the target culture”. She supports her argument by presenting the following English subtitle from Mohammad Bakri's film documentary *Jenin Jenin*:

Arabic transliteration: *lissa bindawwar **shuhada** min taḥt al-’arḍ*¹⁶

English translation: We are still pulling **martyrs** from underneath the ground.

English subtitle: We are still pulling **victims** out of the rubble.

It can be noticed from the above example that 'victims' in the English subtitle has replaced the English word 'martyrs', which is the standard equivalent to ‘*shuhada*’ in Arabic. Is this a biased translation? Is it a translation manipulated by the translator/author to provide a desirable framework of understanding for the English reader in order to clearly see those who were violently killed? Baker (2006: 66) states that the choice of the translator/author is “motivated by a desire to avoid associations of Islamic fundamentalism, terrorism and suicide bombing that this word readily evokes as part of the anti-Muslim and anti-Arab narratives circulating in the West”. In this same context the eleventh-century grammarian Abdul Qāhir Jurjānī states that “there is no inherent preference and advantage [for one word] except according to the context, and according to the meaning and the purpose to which it is put in a sentence, and according to their [words] mutual position and mutual use” (cited in Owens, 2010: 9-10). Thus, to avoid misunderstanding during a process of mediation between two different cultures, the translator should not merely consider what words denote, but also what they negatively/positively connote in terms of optimal relevance. This observation draws the attention towards considering one of the main features of Arabic political discourse, which is the intended use of emotive words that are highly injected with different layers of meaning (see 3.5.3.5). Such intended use should also be seen by the translator as a vehicle conveying the speaker's ideology, beliefs and other social and emotional implications. Thus, in translating political discourse

¹⁶ My transliteration, but the relevant items are highlighted in bold as in the original.

precedence should be given to emotive meaning over referential meaning. In other words, the translator should first start by analysing the linguistic properties of the source text in order to find the most relevant interpretation in the target text. In this regard, Widdowson (2004: 20) claims that there should be a distinction between analysis and interpretation simply because analysis constitutes the “process of identifying what semantic features are manifested in a text”, while interpretation “involves recognizing how a text functions as discourse by discriminating which, and how, these features are pragmatically activated”.

3.5.3 Semantic devices

Analysis of the ST is the first step towards reaching an optimal translation. In the next step translators are required to consider various semantic features when conveying meaning from the ST into the TT, the most problematic of which are those related to reference, ellipsis and substitution, omission and addition as well as collocation.

3.5.3.1 Reference

Reference is a semantic device based on the identity of the referent. It is defined as the relation a speaker creates between a linguistic sign and an object in the outside world, when s/he says something. Hence, cohesive reference devices should be carefully translated, e.g. personal pronouns and the definite article.

Personal pronouns are the most common type of cohesive reference which is represented by third person pronouns (he, she, it & they). The function of these pronouns could be seen not only within a linguistic context as to refer to the same person or object in the outside world but also within a socio-political context where a lack of intentional identification between the reference and the referent may lead to misunderstanding. In other words, the pronominal system may differ from one politician to another and from one culture into another. For example, in political discourse the pronoun ‘I’ could be replaced by ‘we’ and ‘it’ could be replaced by ‘she’ or ‘he’ to implicate certain political messages (see 3.5.4.3; Ch. 5). The other example is related to the definite article ‘the’ in English and ‘ال’ ‘*al*’ in Arabic; both almost function the same way. The Arabic and English definite articles might function as a demonstrative article to point to an object or a person that has already been referred to by a noun phrase. However, the definite article, unlike the

demonstrative, does not indicate whether the referent is near or far; it only indicates that the referent can be found in a location that the addressee is able to identify. Moreover, the definite article ‘the’ has the status of specifying or constraining meaning and the choice of specifications or constraints is first pragmatic rather than semantic (see 3.2.1).

Linguistic forms that serve as substitutes in the relation of substitution are known as pro-forms. Pronouns that replace noun phrases are the largest class of pro-forms, and substitution is the relation between the pro-form and its antecedent, where a pro-form replaces an antecedent to avoid the repetition of the same antecedent. The test which determines substitution implies the possibility of copying the antecedent to a place that takes a pro-form without any change in meaning.

3.5.3.2 Substitution

Substitution is replacing a linguistic unit by its antecedent, usually to avoid repetition, but it also serves as a cohesive device. It represents a relation between an anaphora and its antecedent; it is thus a process used in reduction. Avoiding repetition can be done through Anaphora and cataphora. Anaphora is the use of a word referring back to a word used earlier in a text or conversation, while cataphora is the use of a word or phrase that refers to or stands for a later word or phrase. Unlike reference which is based on meaning, substitution is a grammatical process, which replaces a recurrent linguistic unit by a substitute (pro-form); pronouns that replace noun phrases are the largest class of pro-forms. It is frequent in languages which disfavor repetition like English. However, the linguistic and socio-linguistic differences between Arabic and English may impose a difficulty in translation because what may be seen as prolixity or functional redundancy may be viewed as non-functional redundancy or ‘*Italah* / prolixity’, especially in political discourse (see Shunnaq, 1992; Emery, 1991; 3.5.3.5 for more details).

3.5.3.3 Ellipsis, addition and omission

Ellipsis is a grammatical device that is based like substitution on replacing or deleting a part of a text. In other words, one element or more is deleted from the clause and can be recovered uniquely from another part of the text, either preceding (‘anaphoric’) or following (‘cataphoric’) the deleted element. In contrast, addition means adding anything

that is needed on the level of words, phrases or even a clause to explicate the intended meaning of the speaker. Such a strategy is frequently used by translators when confronted by a tension between syntactic and communicative functions in the target language text (Baker, 1992:167). Thus, when there is an implicit meaning that cannot be recovered by one-to-one equivalence, explicitation may necessitate adding extra information to appropriately convey the intended message. In contrast, when certain qualities, redundant and/or irrelevant information or effect cannot be kept in the TL, omission in translation could be a suitable technique to recognize meaning in a way that is appropriate to the TL. However, there could be a risk of losing meaning if the translator does not consider the structural differences between Arabic and English as will be shown in Chapter Five.

3.5.3.4 Collocation

Collocation is one of the intricate areas in translation from Arabic into English and vice versa. The *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary* (2005: 293) defines 'collocation' as "a combination of words in a language that happens very often and more frequently than would happen by chance: 'resounding success' and 'crying shame' are English collocations". Ghazala (2006: 65) argues that "collocations are words which are usually found next to other words, or are 'co-located' with one another". As such, are there any grammatical, syntactic or semantic criteria to explain how certain terms are 'co-located' with one another? Stubbs (2002: 225) believes that meaning could be embodied in the "semantic relations between the node and collocates". Grimm (2009), however, argues that "there is no semantic rule that may explain why we say in Arabic (أغلبية ساحقة) instead of (أغلبية قاطعة)" (Grimm, 2009: 24). In this sense, it can be said that "collocations are language-specific and hence unpredictable" (Emery, 1991: 61). Such an argument may shed light on the specific linguistic properties of each language that make a distinction between lexical collocation, which is a combination of two or more lexemes (e.g. sad story – clear-cut evidence), and grammatical collocation, which is a combination of a lexeme and a preposition (e.g. look for). Baker (1992) differentiates between restricted and marked collocations. Restricted collocations are "semantically arbitrary restrictions which do not follow logically from the propositional meaning of a word" (Baker, 1992: 14). Baker (1992) claims that marked collocations "involve deliberate confusion of collocational

ranges to create new images” (ibid: 51). Such a deliberate confusion entails a difficulty in translating collocations from Arabic into English and vice versa. The difficulty of translating such forms into another language lies in knowing how culture and society affect and shape the use of language within speech communities. Overcoming the difficulties of translating collocations leads the line of argument in this research to consider functional repetition and emotiveness which play a vital role in impressing and arousing the audience's emotional solidarity with the speaker's ideologies, attitude and beliefs (see Shunnaq, 1992; Newmark, 1981).

3.5.3.5 Functional repetition and emotiveness

Functional repetition leads to an initial indirect acceptance of certain concepts by the audience in a desired way (see 3.4). This result of having the audience following and soon after adopting a certain point of view is the result of ideology described as “a system of beliefs which determines how power relations are organised within a society” (Rayner et al, 2001: 80). Repetition may take a number of forms including (a) lexical repetition, (b) semantic repetition or paraphrase, (c) syntactic repetition or parallelism, and (d) sound repetition. The use of these different forms may have an evaluative practical function in the construction of political discourse; it adds emotional dimension, rhetorical effectiveness and more significance to the discourse through the repetition of certain emotive words, phrases or sentences. However, the linguistic and socio-linguistic differences between Arabic and English may impose a difficulty in translation because what may be seen as prolixity or functional redundancy may be viewed as non-functional redundancy or ‘*Italah* / prolixity’ (see Shunnaq, 1992; Emery, 1991) as mentioned earlier. In other words, the function and tension between brevity and prolixity within the context of language-specific natural constraints should be carefully considered during the process of translation. In this regard, it is very important to demonstrate how to recognise and overcome problems related to brevity or prolixity in both languages. Thus, it is very demanding to differentiate between the obligatory use of “patterns of repetition in Arabic forced by morphology” (Shunnaq, 1993: 89) and motivated repetition for functional and communicative purposes (see Shunnaq, 1992).

In this regard, ‘emotiveness’, as a contextual variable, should have priority because what is valid as an emotive expression in Arabic may not be the same in English; thus, the intended effect or pragmatic force of the speaker’s message may not be understood in the same way when two different cultures are concerned. Al-Harbi (2009: 92) presents the word ‘terror’ as one of the most emotive negative words used in the American war on terror; it is a ‘double-faced expression’ deliberately used to justify the war on Iraq and Afghanistan. Al-Harbi (2009: 92), following Chomsky (2006:1), adds that it is difficult and pointless to look for a specific definition for this word, yet one “should seek enough clarity at least to distinguish terror from two notions that lie uneasily at its borders: aggression and legitimate resistance”. This means that the West has used the positive face of this word, ‘legitimate resistance’, to get the emotional support of Western people in order to get rid of any past or future threats. However, the West kept the other negative face for describing the action of their opponents as ‘aggression’. In contrast, the same positive face of that expression, i.e. ‘legitimate resistance’, is commonly used in the current Syrian political discourse in reference to the military actions done by Hezbollah and Hamas which are considered by the West as terrorist organizations. This entails that the same expression is manipulated by politicians from both sides in a way that satisfies the beliefs and ideologies prevailing in their own communities. At this critical juncture, is it possible for the translator to convey the sense of ‘resistance’ in Arabic positively to the West? I think the translator should carefully consider the collocation of ‘legitimate resistance’ when translating ‘*muqāwama*’ in order to convey a sense of defending oneself against aggression; thus, to stimulate Western public opinion to react neutrally and emotionally, at least.

It is worth noting that problematic translational issues on the word level do not lie, in my opinion, in the translator's linguistic or lexical knowledge of the word meaning(s), but in making the most relevant choice in terms of sense and pragmatic force which will enable the target text reader/hearer to react positively or negatively just like the source text reader/hearer. For example, the Arabic word ‘*manziluna*’ can be translated to mean ‘our house’ in English. However, the use of the English phrase ‘our home’ would serve the meaning more emotively in the context of English political discourse. Thus, precedence should be given to emotive lexis over informative lexis, because “meaning is a particularly slippery term, as is indeed the term context, and the construction of meaning within

contexts, or specifically political contexts, involves more, of course, than a purely linguistic dimension” (Wilson, 1990: 179). Other examples of this type can be considered within the framework of socio-pragmatic failure.

3.5.4 Socio-pragmatics

The study of socio-pragmatics reveals common interrelationships between linguistic components and social parameters. These interrelationships may shed light on the objectivity behind the translator’s decisions in favouring one linguistic choice over another. In other words, the translator should keep in mind that the pragmatic force of an utterance will be based on several factors, the most important of which is the relation of one pragmatic element to another and its relations to context in addition to the freedom of linguistic choice available to him. In other words, “the more formal transference from one language to another is correct and acceptable, the more important the role of grammar in accounting for meaning; the more we need cultural interpretation of an utterance in a foreign language, the more important the socio-cultural factor is, and so on and so forth” (Shammas, 1995: 113). This seems compatible with the different levels of translation, where one component is likely to be related more closely than another to a certain level involved in accounting for the intended meaning of utterances in actual communication. It is also compatible with both Gutt’s (1986: 17) three concepts of the cognitive environment; and the three ‘entries’ proposed by Sperber & Wilson (1995) when interpreting the intended pragmatic force of utterances:

“The *logical entry* for a concept consists of a set of deductive rules which apply to logical forms of which that concept is a constituent. The *encyclopedic entry* contains information about the extension and/or denotation of the concept: that is, about the objects, events and/or properties which instantiate it. The *lexical entry* contains information about the natural-language counterpart of the concept: the word or phrase of natural language which expresses it” (Sperber and Wilson, 1995:141).

The translators'/communicators' command and awareness, which are not usually the same if they belong to different cultures and even within the boundaries of one language community, encourage the researcher to note that socio-pragmatics aims not only at investigating “context-dependent meaning based on the dichotomy ‘what is said’ versus ‘what is meant’ (Fetzer, 2002: 186), but also at other types of implicitness which could be

related to certain ideologies, political beliefs and translational strategies adopted for serving the interests of one's own countries, parties or groups. Thus, the link between pragmatics and socio-political parameters could be seen through touching upon some strategies manipulated by translators who make use of other types of implicitness that serve their goals and interests. The following sections shed light on some types of implicitness, namely, entailment and presuppositions, sincerity and credibility, and domestication and foreignization.

3.5.4.1 Entailment and presupposition

Through studying the relations between the semantic representation of an utterance and its implicit meaning, Yule (1996) presents an interesting differentiation between presupposition and entailment:

“A Presupposition is something the speaker assumes to be the case prior to making an utterance. Speakers, not sentences, have presuppositions. An Entailment is something that logically follows from what is asserted in the utterance. Sentences, not speakers, have entailments.”
(Yule, 1996: 25)

Thus, logical implications can be derived from a sentence without being expressed through an entailment which “involves the claim that the semantic structure of languages includes, amongst many other things, truth relations between sentences that hold irrespective of whether those sentences are empirically verifiable or not” (Chilton and Schäffner, 2002: 33). In this sense, politicians or political media outlets tend to make strategic use of entailments in order to be on the safe side when their views are challenged or rejected. This point can be illustrated in the following examples:

- (a) Children of Gaza: stories of those who *died* and the trauma for those who survived¹⁷.
- (b) Children of Gaza: stories of those who *were killed* and the trauma for those who survived.
- (c) Children of Gaza: stories of those who *were massacred* and the trauma for those who survived.

Sentence (a) entails (b) and (c) according to the entailment relation that “if an entailing sentence p is true, then an entailed sentence q is necessarily also true, and if q is false, then p is false” (Chilton and Schäffner, 2002: 33). This means that all the three sentences entail the death of children regardless of the way of dying. That is to say, the

¹⁷ This example is taken from the guardian.co.uk, Friday 23 January 2009 17.34 GMT

lexical choice of the word 'died' in the first sentence will be interpreted by the hearer/translator as 'passed away', 'kicked the bucket', or natural death which is not the case according to the hearer's and world's general knowledge about what happened in Gaza. This entails a deeper intent and purpose behind using such a lexical choice. In other words, the analysis of the underlined expressions is of crucial importance in analysing political discourse and revealing ideological beliefs that cannot be analytically separated from the discourse. For instance, a pro-Israeli politician may prefer to utter sentence (a), which has the strategic function of positive self-presentation (see Van Dijk, 1993), in order not to ignite more feelings of hostility against Israel. But, if he is challenged by his counterpart about the different senses and ideological considerations conveyed by the words 'died', 'killed' and 'massacred', he can still claim that he is telling the truth entailed by (b) or (c). Thus, it can be said that "the existence of apparent lexical entailments may in some cases be a function of social or ideological belief" (Chilton and Schäffner, 2002: 33). Such a function may uncover the strategic managing techniques used by politicians and translators alike to forward the goals and political positions of their constituencies.

On the other hand, the presupposition notion is traditionally used to "save time by not supplying information for which there is no demand, since you believe it to be shared (unless there is a specific purpose to supplying it)" (Fawcett, 1997: 125). In political discourse, however, presuppositions could be linked to what is called 'consensus' because "it is at least one micro-mechanism in language use which contributes to the building (or perhaps imposition) of a consensual reality" (Chilton and Schäffner, 2002: 36). However, this consensual reality cannot be reached easily, especially if communicators belong to two different cultures, i.e. the presupposition will often be challenged or rejected, and thus has to be made explicit. In other words, language in use is intimately bound up in practice with culture, and cultural variation is in turn closely related to the comprehension of why countries differ in terms of political decisions or policy-making (see Schäffner, 2004). Thus, in analysing political discourse and its translation in this thesis, presupposition should be looked at as a pragmatic inference related to the linguistic and non-linguistic knowledge that a speaker assumes his hearer to have (see Baker, 1992: 259). This entails that pragmatic presupposition is very important in understanding miscommunication because what is presupposed has to do with values, social norms or background ideological

beliefs, or with perspectives on certain issues, which serve certain persuasive aims that reflect a way of understanding or misunderstanding.

In this context, it is important to note that presuppositions are usually generated by the use of lexical items and/or linguistic structures, both of which are called presupposition triggers (see Levinson, 1983, 181-184). One of the most important characteristics of presuppositions is that “they can evaporate if they run contrary to what the immediate discourse context tells us” (Huang, 2007: 70). In other words, meaning is negotiable through the process of communication where a communicator can supply information only if miscommunication is likely to happen or when there is a need for assertion through explicating the implicit meaning. Thus, in the context of translation, the translator should be aware of two aspects:

“First, the translator may not share the presupposed knowledge, and if Durieux (1990: 671) is right when she says that “the translator must, in any event, possess the knowledge that the author presupposes their readers to have”, they must undertake research to acquire it, although in reality a lot of translation is done without it. Second, the translator must estimate to what extent the target audience is likely to share the presuppositions” (Fawcett, 1997: 125).

In this sense, the key point is that the hearer/translator as a second communicator cannot often be assumed to possess the same knowledge as the speaker/writer of the source text due to the cultural, social and political differences between them. This means that the translator should resort to some translational techniques where only pragmatic knowledge can help the hearer recover a resemblance of the communicator’s thought and purpose, particularly in terms of the pragmatic force intended. In this context, what is relevant to one society is not necessarily so to another, but the pragmatic principle of relevance remains useful and practical as it offers a useful criterion for comparative measurement of the relevance of utterances for a particular addressee in verbal communication (see Shamma, 2002). Consider the following example where cultural presupposition may play a vital role in the process of communication:

- Bribing that officer would be like carrying coals to Newcastle.

Most English people know that Newcastle was a coalmining area, so they know that bribing or giving money to that officer will be a pointless action because he is very rich just as Newcastle had plenty of coal. Similarly, there could be pragmatic presuppositions resulting from historical lack of appreciation of ‘rights’ or conflicting interest in defining

some cultural or political representation of certain Arabic concepts and terms which are charged with highly emotive connotations like *'jīl al-ḥijāra'* as 'generation of stones', *'al-uṣūliyyah'* as 'fundamentalism', 'Jihad' *'jihād'*, or *'al-shahāda'* as 'martyrdom' (see Shunnaq, 1992:105; Faiq, 2004: 11). All these expressions serve as symbols of some basic principles in Islam and even in Arabic political discourse, each of which is deeply rooted and emotively charged in Arab culture. In this sense, any concept or perception "becomes political when a particular representation of social organization becomes integrated with some validity claim or value claim which is in conflict with some other such existing representation" (Chilton and Schäffner, 2002: 25). This is a valid claim when studying politics between the West, in general, and the Middle East in particular. Thus, the "translator needs to know not just the presuppositional information that/which may be lacking in the target culture but also what presuppositions exist in that culture which may 'proactively' influence the translation" (Fawcett, 1997: 126).

Other pragmatic presuppositions are to be found in the relevant contextual information of immediate relevance for the investigation of sincerity and credibility of communicators when they convey their communicative intentions.

3.5.4.3 Sincerity and credibility

The aim of communicating among people is to exchange views, opinions and information about certain issues. Thus, communicators tend to use direct, indirect utterances or both in representing and conveying their communicative intentions. The realization of such intentions by both speaker and hearer, as a second communicator, cannot be achieved without performing those utterances in a sincere manner as a prerequisite condition. In other words, the hearer "is only willing to interpret an utterance if s/he thinks that the presupposition obtains according to which the speaker has had a sincere intention with regard to the illocutionary point of her/his discourse" (Fetzer, 2002: 174). This entails that communicators' sincerity, in political interviews for example, will pave the way for felicitous communication and for translation as well. In other words, the translator working between an interviewer and an interviewee will be able to attribute the intended message, which is delivered directly or indirectly in a sincere manner during the process of interaction, by resorting to the most probable context. Fetzer (2002) argues that sincerity

is represented by the speaker's communicative intention meant as uttered and thus restricted to the private domain because the speaker is the only one who knows whether s/he has been sincere with regard to what is being said. This entails that sincerity of the speaker, as a private domain, will be affected by the socio-political norms adapted by the same speech community s/he belongs to. Credibility, on the other hand, is "interdependent on both illocutionary force and propositional content" (Fetzer, 2002: 180). It is related to the public domain and social world because what is said and what is meant will be evaluated and judged according to communicators' presuppositions, cultural beliefs and a third party's evaluation and beliefs, i.e. the audience. In this respect, it is very important to note that selecting certain questions by interviewers is an indicative sign of ideological considerations prevailing in his/her social community. Such considerations conveyed by translation reveal that "most conflicts today are not restricted to specific monolingual communities but have to be negotiated in the international arena" (Baker, 2006: 21-22). This means that the communicative meaning of the utterance and its presupposition(s) should be taken into consideration during the process of translation which conveys messages from one socio-political culture into another.

In this context, communicators in political interviews, for example, tend to use the communicative strategy of reformulation, which "covers both the reformulation of propositional content, such as 'what are you saying/suggesting is...'", and the reformulation of the illocutionary force, e.g. 'are you suggesting/proposing...?'" (Fetzer, 2002: 179). However, when sincerity's validity or pragmatic presupposition of certain utterance is challenged or rejected according to clear facts and incidents (like the example of the Gaza Children above), explicit references to it should be made clear. This can be realised by verbs of internal and external communication such as 'think' or 'say' together with adverbs such as 'seriously, honestly or genuinely'. However, challenging the sincerity and credibility of a speaker will make communication less felicitous; thus, they should be "attenuated by various linguistic down-toners, such as 'erm', 'let me put a second thought to you' or 'but', which also holds for the linguistic realization of a rejection, refusal or disagreement" (Fetzer, 2002: 190). Such a strategy of using down-toners should not be ignored during the process of translation because they are highly implicative; they indicate an undesirable format but an appropriate level of face-to-face interaction. This entails that

all “textual features need to be linked to the social and ideological contexts of text production and reception. In other words, texts and discourses are framed by social and political structures and practices” (Schäffner, 2004: 131-132).

Another aspect in the context of speakers' sincerity is the pronominal choice which is observed in politicians' interviews and speeches to achieve specific pragmatic effects, convey their own identities and reveal their sincerity at the same time (see Wilson, 1990; Pearce, 2001). For instance, when a politician says ‘my people’, it can be seen that s/he is making a shift into the private domain of the people in order to place himself as one member of them in order to answer sensitive questions, for example. By doing this, he acknowledges solidarity with the people. Another example is when a Western politician tends to answer a question and refers to himself by using ‘we’. This pronoun indicates an ambiguous scope of reference (Wilson, 1990: 49). Moreover, the use of the “integrative and positive possibilities of inclusive ‘we’” (Wilson, 1990: 54) can be used to bring into play historical fact related to human kind. However, when a politician uses the first-person singular ‘I’, this could mean that s/he is trying to reflect her/his sincerity and personal position regarding a certain concept to achieve specific political goals.

Thus, ideological beliefs, ways of persuasion and attitudes of politicians can be understood through paying attention to the pronominal system used in political discourse. This pronominal system may differ from one politician to another and from one culture into another. For example, if a politician makes a reference to Syria by using the pronoun ‘it’, then the hearer/translator may recognize the speaker's personal attitude as being hostile and negative towards Syria. However, if a politician makes the same reference by using ‘her’ or ‘she’, the implicative meaning is positive. This way of analysing and understanding ideological meanings conveyed by the use of pronouns may help the hearer/translator choose the most appropriate translational technique to convey what is being said and meant in an unbiased way.

It is worth noting that optimal translation necessitates considering both linguistic and cultural values of both the target and source languages. However, some translators manipulate such values to serve certain political goals, while some others neutrally deal with those values for the purpose of acquainting the reader with the writer's cultural beliefs and ideology (see Venuti, 1995). The following section presents a sensitive issue in

translation which may lead to misunderstanding or could be considered as a double-aged weapon if it is not manipulated relevantly.

3.5.4.4 Domestication and foreignisation

These two techniques emanated from the need to settle the changing relationships between the translator's linguistic choices, the concepts of equivalence in general and the political implications of the source text in particular. That is to say, translators may play a political role, just like politicians, in conveying political messages from one culture into another; they may apply domestication or foreignization for political considerations.

Venuti (2002) defines domesticating translation as substituting the linguistic and cultural differences of the source text with a text that is understandable to the target-language reader/audience. This entails that the foreignness of the ST will be manipulated and reduced in a transparent and fluent way to match the socio-political framework of the target language. In contrast, "foreignizing translation indicates the linguistic and cultural differences of the foreign text, but it can do so only by disrupting the cultural codes that prevail in the domestic language" (Venuti, 2002:10). This means, in Venuti's view, that foreignizing translation can contribute to combating ethnocentric racism or to democratising geopolitical relations. In other words, Venuti (1995: 20) is in favour of "sending the reader abroad" in order to keep account of the cultural values of the ST and to keep them away from ideological, conceptual and politically-oriented dominance of the target language. If what is claimed by Venuti (1995; 2002) is valid, then such previously mentioned Arabic expressions conveyed into English as 'generation of stones' 'jūl al-ḥijāra', etc., will enable the English reader to be acquainted with the many Arab socio-cultural and political values. However, this is not the case in today's socio-political context because the *manipulation* of such expressions "triggers the images of violence, terrorism and fundamentalism; labels among many that are pre-texts but serve as pretexts reserved for the Arabs and Islam" (Faiq, 2004:11). In other words, if the message of an Arab political discourse is to be conveyed to Western culture, it should go through two processes; first, the translation process where translators are governed and affected by different socio-political factors, presupposed ideas and ideological beliefs which are harmoniously attuned with their own culture, and second, the political journalism which is also affected by the

translation commission and same cultural factors that are directly oriented towards the wider public. In this sense, such a message conveyed from one political speech community to another may be subjected to various distortions or deviations. Consequently, misunderstanding is most likely to happen because, as Faiq (2004: 1) concisely argues, “cultures remain by and large prisoners of their respective pasts”. Thus, a successful translator cannot be considered as such unless he manipulates his translation in a way that conforms to the socio-political and cultural norms or standards prevailing in his own speech community. In other words, the stereotyped images and views recognized by the West about Arab countries since the colonial period are still influencing translation and widening the cultural gap between Arab countries and the West.

The act of manipulation through domesticating and/or foreignizing translation seems compatible to a certain degree with what is proposed by Shunnaq (1992) as *monitoring* and *managing* and their influence on the translation process of radio news reports. Thus, almost like politicians' statements, translators' works may disclose a conflict of interests through adopting either the monitoring technique which is usually associated with ‘objectivity’ and ‘denotation’, or the managing which is associated with ‘subjectivity’ and ‘emotiveness’. Shunnaq (1992: 36) argues that “if the translator intervenes in the message of the source language text, he will be managing, whereas if he renders it neutrally, then he will be monitoring”. In this respect, Baker (2006: 130-131) presents an example concerning the translation of a book entitled *Anwar Sadat: Visionary Who Dared*¹⁸ into Arabic as ‘*Al-Sadat: Wahm Al-Taḥaddī*’ (Sadat: The Illusion of Challenge). The above translation clearly manifests a contradiction in meaning explicitly and implicitly. In other words, the positive connotation of the English title reveals the writer's will to present Sadat:

“as a visionary who dared to challenge reactionary forces in the region. Those who opposed him are portrayed as either petty-minded or extremist, which fits well with a broader narrative of the Middle East that is particularly dominant in the USA and Britain” (Baker, 2006:131).

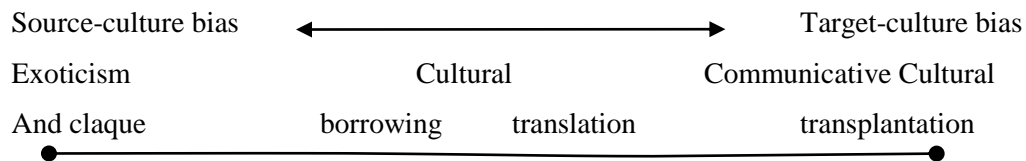
On the other hand, the negative connotation of ‘*Wahm Al-Taḥaddī*’ reflects the translator's intervention in the source text in order to evoke “a narrative that is very familiar to the Arab reader: Sadat was an American stooge who operated under the illusion that he could force his people to make peace with Israel at the expense of ‘selling’ Palestinians”

¹⁸ This book was written by Joseph Finklrstone in 1996, and translated by Abdel Sabour in 1999.

(Baker, *ibid.*). This entails that translation is manipulated in a way that reflects a conflict of ideologies. This may allow me, as a translator, to argue that the above translation is a politicised translated version of the source text; it blocked the way of transferring, and thus evaluating the ideological conceptions and perceptions prevailing in the West. In this regard, Schäffner argues that:

“Modern Translation Studies is no longer concerned with examining whether translation has been ‘faithful’ to a source text (the notion of ‘equivalence’ is almost a ‘dirty’ word now). Instead, the focus is on social, cultural, and communicative practices, on the cultural and ideological significance of translating and of translations, on the external politics of translation, on the relationship between translation behaviour and socio-cultural factors.” (Schäffner, 2004: 136).

This entails that the socio-cultural and political factors should be reflected in the linguistic structure of the target text provided that such a discourse is classified as an argumentative text-type; it is used for persuading, evaluating and convincing of others. In this regard, mono-polarity in translating argumentative political texts, i.e. to use either foreignization or domestication; managing or monitoring, is not good. That is to say, translation may be radically oriented to the source text in some respects, but depart radically from the source text in other respects (see Tymoczko, 1999). In this context, culture-specific terms may impede successful translation because they are deeply rooted in the source culture; thus, there is a need to overcome such a hindrance either by domestication or foreignization in order to move “along a scale between the extremes of exoticism and cultural transplantation” (Dickins, 2002: 29). Dickins (*ibid.*) proposes the following scale:



According to the above scale, exotic and calqued expressions in translation from Arabic into English signal cultural foreignness, strangeness and formal features of the Arab-Islamic culture. However, this semantic translation of the previously mentioned Arabic expressions into English “may indeed be one of the TT’s chief attractions” because “a TT like this, however, has an impact on the TL public which the ST could never have

had on the SL public, for whom the text has no features of an alien culture” (Dickins, 2002: 30). This is true only when the target readers are familiar with Arab culture, which is not the case for all native speakers of English. Thus, can a native speaker of English, who does not know Arabic, understand such strange expressions? The answer is definitely ‘no’ because the real communicative meanings equivalent to the Arabic expressions above cannot be decided without resorting to the pragmatic principle of relevance and other socio-cultural factors governing the use of such expressions in Arabic. This seems compatible with Venuti's call (1995: 20) for “sending the reader abroad” in order to keep account of the cultural values of the ST and to keep them away from ideological, conceptual and politically-oriented dominance of the target language. However, the risk of using calqued expressions is still valid, particularly if used in political discourse where some expressions become standard TL cultural equivalents (see Dickins, 2002). For example, there are some Arabic lexical words which have “taken on connotations from their use in political discourse” (Shunnaq, 1992: 105), such as ‘battle of stones’ *‘ma‘rakatu al-ḥijāra’*. The impact these expressions may have on the target audience will be different in many aspects, i.e. the implied, connotative and symbolic meaning of these expressions will be lacking most of the time. As a result, compensation or explanations are needed.

3.6 Chapter Summary

This chapter explored the concept of equivalence in the field of English Arabic translation. It reviewed many attempts to study and define translation in terms of equivalence relations between the source text (ST) and the target text (TT). It started by reviewing the semantic translation equivalence and then moved to reviewing the pragmatic translation equivalence and the translation differences between the Arabic ST and English TT(s), mainly in the field of political translation, especially Syrian political discourse. Next it moved to explain the concept of pragmatic failure, including pragma-linguistic failure, textual translation differences, sense and force of utterances, linguistic structure and meaning, discourse markers as pragma-linguistic devices, and connotation and denotation. It argued that pragmatic failure could be the result of either pragma-linguistic failure or socio-pragmatic failure or both. After that it moved to review semantic devices, mainly reference, substitution, ellipsis, addition and omission, and collocation. It argued that

semantic equivalence in cross-cultural communication is inadequate. Finally it gave brief account of socio-pragmatics, focusing on entailment and presupposition, sincerity and credibility, and domestication and foreignisation. Following reviewing the theoretical background for this research, chapter four discusses the research methodology in details.

Chapter Four

Data Collection

4.1 Introduction

This chapter describes the research methodology necessary to answer the research questions, targeting translation deviations that would lead to pragmatic failure regarding translating Syrian political discourse by two different parties; the American Middle East Media Research Institute (MEMRI) website (<http://www.memri.org>) (henceforth MW) and the official Syrian Arab News Agency websites (<http://www.sana.sy>) (henceforth OT). The chapter starts by defining the source of research data and moves to explain the data sampling process and the rationale for choosing four interviews by the Syrian President together with two different translations of these interviews, one official and one unofficial, to be analysed in this research. Next it explains the research tool adopted in this research and describes the process of designing the questionnaire being the data collection tool. While describing the research tool, this chapter describes the contrastive analysis targeted by the questionnaire and elaborates on describing the translation assessment criterion respondents need to follow in order to fill out the questionnaire. Defining this criterion includes reviewing the pragma-linguistic category and the socio-pragmatic category as well as the grades of pragmatic failure. After that the chapter reports the data from the personal background section of the questionnaire and then moves to report data obtained from question 2 in the questionnaire, concerned with the targeted contrastive analysis of the two translations, the OT and MEMRI translation. Next it reports data relevant to each excerpt in one interview separately. A table summary of all relevant data is found at the end of each interview. The data reported in this chapter is necessary to answer the two main research questions. This chapter is concerned mainly with data reporting. Analysis of these data is in chapter five.

4.2 The data

The research data was collected following two successive stages; the first was concerned with contrastive analytical reading to match each Arabic source text with its

corresponding two different translations, the second was concerned with designing a questionnaire to assess all translation deviations which may lead to pragmatic failure. The assessment was done by four professional translators in accordance with a criterion of pragmatic failure.

4.2.1 Sampling

The population of the research was the official translation of four interviews by the Syrian president as well as their corresponding unofficial translations, regardless of their sources. This entailed looking for the texts that have corresponding unofficial translations. The official translation was readily available for all Arabic texts. As identifying the Arabic texts first and then trying to find the unofficial translation for these texts proved not to be feasible, it was necessary first to find the available unofficial translation of the Arabic texts, and then identify the Arabic texts to be used in this research. In other words, this method of sampling followed the non-probability sampling method, particularly convenience sampling, according to Cohen et al (2005: 99) who defines such a method as follows:

“The researcher must decide whether to opt for a probability (also known as a random sample) or a non-probability sample (also known as a purposive sample). The difference between them is this: in a probability sample the chances of members of the wider population being selected for the sample are known, whereas in a non-probability sample the chances of members of the wider population being selected for the sample are unknown.”

Accordingly, this research adopted the non-probability sampling method to define the sample translations used to provide the research data. The MW translation was the available unofficial translation at the time of doing this research. According to Cohen et al (2005: 102):

“The selectivity which is built into a non-probability sample derives from the researcher targeting a particular group, in the full knowledge that it does not represent the wider population; it simply represents itself.”

At the same time this method of sampling can be called ‘purposive sampling’. This is because “In purposive sampling, researchers handpick the cases to be included in the sample on the basis of their judgment of their typicality. In this way, they build up a sample that is satisfactory to their specific needs.” (Cohen et al. 2005: 103). In other words, the MW translation was needed to conduct the comparison and it was the only available

unofficial translation. The translation samples selected for this research are four interviews. The four interviews are labeled A, B, C and D. It should be mentioned here that the MW did not provide a full translation of the Arabic source texts. Rather, it presented a translation of certain excerpts selected from the whole body of the Arabic source text (ST). The criteria for deciding these excerpts will be further discussed in the following section.

4.2.2 Excerpts selection criteria

As mentioned above, the MW translation of four interviews had to be selected first and accordingly their Arabic source text and the OT were to be selected next. By the time the four interviews were selected for this research, the MW had broadcasted clips from other interviews by President al-Assad. After comparing the transcripts of the MW interviews translation with the original Arabic ST, I noticed that the MW did not render the translation of the full interviews; rather, they only chose certain excerpts. These excerpts are the subtitles accompanying the selected video clips taken from the whole TV interviews by President Al-Assad and put together again as one video. The MW provided the subtitles separately. There are no defined criteria for choosing these particular clips amongst others from the interviews by the MEMRI. Digging deep into the selection criteria of these excerpts by the MW takes the research into the socio-pragmatic field, including political, ideological and cultural perspectives which may embrace certain misconceptions or deviations that affect the translation process of conveying full political messages from one speech community into another.

The total number of excerpts, sentences and words targeted by analysis in this research is presented in the following table:

	Arabic ST	TT1 (MW)	TT2 (OT)
Number of Excerpts	27 Excerpts	27 Excerpts	27 Excerpts
Number of Sentences	181 Sentences	253 Sentences	258 Sentences
Number of words	3631 words	3810 words	4602 words
Total number of words	12043		
Total Number of Sentences	692		
Total Number of Excerpts	81		

Generally speaking, the proportion of excerpts translated by the MW of the full source texts provided by the OT is as follows (the full Arabic STs and their OT and MW translation are in appendices (1, 2, and 3) sequentially):

Interview A	Interview B	Interview C	Interview D
26%	4%	42%	8%

The topics focused on by the MW are as follows:

Interview A:

- Cultural differences between the Middle East and the West
- The role of Syria in the region
- Assassination of the former Lebanese Prime Minister, Rafiq Hariri.
- Iraq and controlling its borders with Syria.
- Terrorism and combating terrorism
- Iran and the nuclear issue
- Sanctions on Syria

Interview B

- War and peace with Israel

Interview C

- Assassination of the former Lebanese Prime Minister, Rafiq Hariri
- UN Charter, UN Resolutions 1559 and 1636
- Syrian-French relations and Chirac
- Iraq and controlling its borders with Syria
- Terrorism and extremism
- The peace process and the American role

Interview D

- Resolution 1559 is supported by some Lebanese figures
- Resolution 1680, which deals a blow to Syrian-Lebanese relations
- French-American plots against the resistance
- Daily attempts to interfere in Syria's domestic affairs
- Deployment of UNIFIL on Syrian-Lebanese borders
- Possibility to have resistance in the Golan Heights

4.2.3 Source of data

Since this research was attempting to find out the linguistic differences, deviations or errors that may lead to pragmatic failure on the part of the target text readership during the process of translating Syrian political discourse, the study compared the official and unofficial translations of four interviews by the Syrian president Bashar al-Assad. The following section sheds light on the Arabic source texts.

4.2.3.1 The Arabic source texts

The full Arabic texts of the four interviews, as mentioned in appendix (1), were given between 2005 and 2010. For the purpose of comparison, referencing and understanding the way each institution comprehended the general political message of each interview, the titles and dates of these interviews were provided as follows:

Interview A

This interview with the Syrian President Bashar al-Assad was given to Russian TV and was aired by Syrian TV on December 11, 2005. The MW titled this interview “Syrian President Bashar al-Assad: If Sanctions Are Imposed on Syria, the Entire World Will Pay the Price”. The OT title is “Any problem can be solved through dialogue”.

Interview B

This interview was aired on al-Manar TV on March 24, 2010. The MW titled this interview “Syrian President Bashar al-Assad: “The State of 'Neither War Nor Peace' Is Temporary”. The OT title is “President al-Assad to al-Manar: Syria Will Not Be Part of Foreign Scheme (March 24, 2010)”.

Interview C

This interview with the Syrian President Bashar al-Assad was aired on Syrian TV on December 5, 2005. The interview was given to Channel 3 of the French TV. The MW titled this interview “Syrian President Bashar al-Assad: Why Investigate Al-Hariri's Assassination and Not Arafat's Assassination, Arafat Was More Important”. The OT title is “To see the Investigation Commission Reconsider Past Mistakes in order to arrive at a Just and Objective Report”.

Interview D

This interview was aired on August 23, 2006 on Syrian TV. It was given to the well-known Egyptian journalist, Hamdi Qindeel. The MW titled it “Syrian President Bashar Al-Assad: Deploying UNIFIL along Lebanese-Syrian Border Will Lead to Hostility between the Two Countries. Syrian People Will Decide about Armed Struggle in the Golan”. The OT did not provide any title.

4.2.3.2 Unofficial translation

The definition of unofficial translation in this research is any translation done by a non-Syrian governmental body, whether Arab or non-Arab. The unofficial body chosen for this research, according to the sampling process explained in section (4.2) above, was the American Middle East Media Research Institute (MEMRI), which has its own translation of some selected excerpts of the above interviews. The Middle East Media Research Institute (MEMRI - 2011) defines its role as follows:

“The Middle East Media Research Institute (MEMRI) explores the Middle East through the region's media (both print and television), websites, religious sermons and school books. MEMRI bridges the language gap which exists between the West and the Middle East, providing timely translations of Arabic, and other languages, as well as original analysis of political, ideological, intellectual, social, cultural, and religious trends in the Middle East. The institute was founded in February 1998 to inform the debate over U.S. policy in the Middle East. MEMRI is an independent, nonpartisan, nonprofit, organization. Its headquarters are in Washington, DC, with branch offices in several capitals around the world. MEMRI research and translations appear in several languages including English. The Institute’s Board of Advisors and Directors comprises a group of distinguished figures in government, media, law and academia from different parts of the world. Its staff, of over 80 employees worldwide, translate from hundreds of Arabic, Farsi, Urdu, Pashtu, Dari, Hindi, and Turkish, newspapers, magazines, television shows and websites. The staff includes people from all ethnic, religious, racial and socio-economic backgrounds.”

MEMRI allows easy access to its archives of over 6,000 reports from its Special Dispatch series, Inquiry & Analysis series, and MEMRI TV Project, on all subjects and countries, including nearly 16,000 minutes of translated material from the MEMRI TV Project. The MEMRI TV Project maintains the world's largest archives of translated clips from the Arab and Muslim world. One of the main projects undertaken by MEMRI is the

Arab & Iranian TV Monitoring Project (<http://www.memritv.org/>): This project has produced thousands of clips and hundreds of hours of footage – the largest archives in the world. MEMRI TV is viewed in 197 countries around the world. The MEMRI TV Project monitors over 50 channels around the clock from Iran and the Arab world. The four interviews were taken from this website. These interviews were found on the MW in a form of video clips. The translation of these clips was provided in the form of English subtitles shown on the video clips¹⁹.

However, the MW did not clearly mention the identity of the translators of the selected excerpts adopted for this research. There was no clue to whether the likely translators are native speakers of Arabic or English, or possibly both. In this context, it was noteworthy that translators as members of their own communities are often affected by the conventions, ideologies and political attitudes prevailing in their communities' cultures. In other words, the translator's identity could affect the translation product in one way or another. This may entail that two contrasting images of the translator's identity could emerge during the translation process. The first image is that "the translator is a force for good, a creative artist who ensures the survival of writing across time and space, an intercultural mediator and interpreter, a figure whose importance to the continuity and diffusion of culture is immeasurable" (Bassnett, 2002: 4). The second one is that the translator's final product is "a highly suspect activity, one in which an inequality of power relations (inequalities of economics, politics, gender and geography) is reflected in the mechanics of textual production" (ibid).

4.2.3.3 Official translation (OT)

The definition of the OT adopted for this research is a translation provided by the Syrian Arab News Agency (<http://www.sana.sy/>), which is a Syrian governmental body. The Syrian Arab News Agency (SANA) is the national official news agency in Syria. It was established in 1965; it is linked to the Ministry of Information, and has its headquarters in Damascus. The Agency provides full coverage of local, Arab and international events. SANA performs its work through Syrian staff at its Damascus-based headquarters and at all state ministries and institutions, as well as reporters in offices in all of the 14 Syrian

¹⁹<http://www.memri.org/about-memri.html>

governorates. The Agency also has offices in many capitals around the world with more than 43 correspondents. SANA's services include news bulletins in other languages including English (<http://sana.sy/en>).

SANA allows easy access to its archives related to political, economic, cultural and miscellaneous media services in Arabic, English, French, Spanish and Turkish, as well as photo services and different news bulletins for subscribers. It also provides multimedia services /SMS/ and /MMS/. The news services are locally broadcasted through the internet or leased circuits in addition to services of File Transmission Server FTP. SANA signed bilateral agreements with most Arab news agencies and a number of Islamic and international agencies. It is also a founding member of a number of international media organizations such The Federation of Arab News Agency FANA, The Alliance of Mediterranean News Agencies AMAN and The Organization of South-East Asia News Agencies.

The transcript of the four interviews, together with their translation, were taken from this website (<http://sana.sy/en> - www.presidentassad.net). These interviews were found in SANA archive, which includes all speeches and interviews of President Bashar al-Assad in both English and Arabic. SANA's team of translators are Syrian working in the field of media and political translation.

It is worth noting that SANA launched its website in 1997. Up until November 2012, the United States Company SoftLayer hosted SANA's website in Dallas, Texas, and other places, but due to sanctions related to the Syrian Crisis, the SoftLayer Company terminated its hosting responsibilities with SANA. Amy Chozick of the New York Times (2012) stated, "An executive order by President Obama prohibits American companies from providing Web hosting and other services to Syria without obtaining a license from the Treasury Department"²⁰.

4.3 Research tool

The research adopts the quantitative positivist methodology in order to answer the two research questions. The research tool used to collect the data necessary for answering

²⁰ http://www.nytimes.com/2012/11/30/world/middleeast/official-syrian-web-sites-hosted-in-us.html?_r=0

these two questions is a survey questionnaire. The questionnaire presented to participants, is in appendix (4).

4.3.1 The rationale for using a questionnaire

The data collection tool used in this research is a questionnaire involving mainly closed type questions in the personal background section of the questionnaire and a scale for identifying causes of mistranslations and in particular the causes that would lead to pragmatic failure. The aim of a survey according to Bell (1987: 8) is to ‘obtain information which can be analysed and patterns extracted and comparisons made’ which is the main target at this stage of the research.

Weir and Roberts (1994: 152) affirm some of the advantages questionnaires have and state that questionnaires:

- are cheap and cost-efficient form of enquiry
- allow wide sampling
- ask everybody the same questions
- provide anonymity
- give more time to think about answers
- may prove easy to analyse

Moreover, questionnaires are excellent for collecting quantitative data; data analysis is relatively straightforward, and identical wording and question order increase comparability of results (Patton 1990; Busha and Harter 1980). All these advantages combined together made it necessary that a questionnaire should be used in this research. Compared to other techniques such as interviews, a questionnaire is easy to administer and analyse. Moreover, the fact that experienced translators are completing a questionnaire is in itself a benefit to them. That is to say, many participants 'discover a great deal about themselves from taking a scale (questionnaire)' (Oxford and Burry-Stock, 1995: 2). In fact, some participants made it clear verbally that their experience in responding to the questionnaire was a chance for them to reflect on their translating experience.

4.3.2 Quantitative research

Using a questionnaire leads to talking about the quantitative approach. As mentioned at the start of section 4.3, the research adopts the quantitative positivist methodology in order to answer the two research questions. Positivist methodology refers to that the data used in this research can be testable; that is, amenable to being verified, confirmed, or shown to be false by the empirical observation of reality. This is to the benefit of this research in that the research purpose avoids subjective judgements which belong to the qualitative paradigm. Quantitative research is based on scientific method. It purports to be as objective as possible, and is often based on statistics or other measurable, empirical data. Conclusions will be drawn from the analysis of things clearly measured. The empirical data this research makes use of are two different translations of interviews by President Assad. The contents of these translations are analysed and categorized in accordance with the criteria explained in this chapter in order for the comparisons to be made. The results of such comparisons can be verified and confirmed. This approach belongs to the quantitative paradigm. This research can claim to follow the quantitative positivist methodology for the following reasons (adopted from Neuman 1994):

1. This research seeks to find generalisable laws so that events can be predicted and controlled. Evidence should be based on observable and measured 'facts'. This is an indication of the reliability and validity of the findings being sought. This is mainly based on empirical data, and seeks to employ findings on a large scale.
2. For the second part of this research, concerned with the contrastive analysis, the track of this research is a kind of hypothesis-testing. This is in the domain of the quantitative research methodology as well.

The argument follows that statistics is the main target of quantitative instruments. The quantitative approach gives a generalisation of the gathered data with tentative synthesised interpretations. Simply it gives a statement of statistical probability. In other words, being deductive and particularistic, quantitative research is based upon formulating the research hypotheses and verifying them empirically on a specific set of data (Frankfort-Nachmias & Nachmias 1992). Moreover, Miles & Huberman (1994: 40) describe quantitative research as follows (including my own elaboration):

- The aim is to classify features, count them, and construct statistical models in an attempt to explain what is observed. In addition to being the aim of the questionnaire, this was also the main motivation behind the contrastive analysis done in this chapter.
- The researcher knows clearly in advance what he/she is looking for.
- Recommended during latter phases of research projects. In fact, the questionnaire in this research can be considered to be a kind of an inevitable choice, since no other research instrument can survey the translation differences and deviations targeted by the contrastive analysis enabled by this questionnaire.
- All aspects of the study are carefully designed before data are collected. In this research the questionnaire was carefully designed, including the tabulation of the ST and its two translations for the contrastive analysis to be done, in addition to how the obtained data is going to be made use of.
- Researcher uses tools, such as questionnaires or equipment to collect numerical data. Aiming at collecting numerical data, this questionnaire was picked as the data collection method.
- Data are in the form of numbers and statistics. The contrastive analysis done in this research provides statistics that would be described in this chapter and chapter five.
- Objective – seeks precise measurement & analysis of target concepts, e.g. uses surveys, questionnaires etc.
- Quantitative data are more efficient and capable of testing hypotheses, but may miss contextual details. This will be discussed in the limitations chapter.
- The researcher tends to remain objectively separated from the subject matter.

4.3.3 Contrastive analysis

According to Relevance Theory, “translators are involved in two ostensive-inferential processes, in the first of which they are expected to infer from the source language the addresser’s communicative intention and in the second of which governed by the Relevance Theory and based on the prediction of the receptor’s cognitive expectation, to

transfer the said intention in the target language.” (Du Kai-huai, 2008: 59). In this respect, Du Kai-huai (2008: 58) argues that the translation process “involves three stages - understanding, brainstorming and expression - and three parties - source language addresser, translator and target language addressee. As a vital party in the three stages, translators serve first as the addressee of the source language and then the addresser of the target language.” Moreover, Kurtes (2006: 833) argues that “The central theoretical issue and the ultimate goal of contrastive studies is the question of establishing similarities and differences and, consequently, their quantification”.

In this context, a linguistic difference in translation could be observed in the level of word, clause, phrase, grammatical pattern or even a whole excerpt. For the purpose of this research, each interview was presented in a separate section which was divided into subsections dealing with one of the excerpts constituting the whole interview. Each section included excerpts of the ST Arabic transcripts of each video clip together with the transcripts of the MW English subtitles and the OT. The division was based on MW's several excerpts which were selected from the full Arabic source texts. Such a division applied to the Arabic ST, OT and MW translations. For classification purposes, the Arabic ST and both the MW and OT English excerpts, in turn, were divided into sentences numbered separately. The same numbering of the Arabic ST sentences applied to their MW and OT corresponding translations.

All translation differences and/or deviations which are likely to lead to a certain degree of pragmatic failure constituted the primary data necessary to answer the first and second research questions related to pragmatic translation and pragmatic failure in translating Syrian political discourse. However, to avoid basing conclusions on personal judgment alone and in order to verify that these differences, deviations or errors do lead to pragmatic failure, triangulation of data was needed to make such data more valid. Triangulation, in this sense, refers to the use of more than one observer or participant in a research setting (Silverman, 1993:99). That is to say, the careful use of two or more observers or participants independently can lead to more valid and reliable data (Cohen et al, 2005: 114). This was a major advantage of using the questionnaire as the data collection tool adopted in this research.

4.3.4 Research questionnaire

As this research considers a contrastive Arabic-English analysis of translation by professional translators who are supposed not to commit many translation mistakes, the assessment and evaluation of possible deviations or mistranslations needed to be agreed through a suitable reliable research tool, namely a questionnaire whose content is presented in questions to be answered by professional translators (see 4.4.1.1).

4.3.4.1 The Structure and content of the questionnaire

The questionnaire consisted of three questions presented in English language (see appendix 4). Question one asked for personal background information about the professional translators who volunteered to participate, as follows:

- Name (omit if you wish)
- Age
- Sex (male, female).
- Living experience in an English-speaking country (less than 5 years, 5 – 10 years, more than 10 years)
- Translation experience (less than 5 years, 5 – 10 years, more than 10 years)
- What type of text did you mostly translate? Give a percentage for each (out of a hundred): Political discourse, Legal texts, Literary, Religious, Social sciences, Any other (Please specify)
- What difficulties did you particularly encounter in translating political discourse? Grammatical, Semantic and/or Cultural? (You can tick them all)

The second question is related to identifying and assessing the OT and MW translation deviances by the four translation experts, the questionnaire respondents, in accordance with a translation assessment criterion. Full details of such a criterion are explained below in section (4.3.4.2). The participants were provided with the full Arabic ST without any cuts and both the MW English excerpts and the OT for each interview. All translated sentences in the ST, MW or OT were underlined for quick reference. For neutrality purpose, the MW translation and the OT were labeled and presented for

participants as Target text 1 and Target text 2. Question three is related to providing any additional comments by the four professional translators.

The design of the questionnaire entailed writing instructions as to how to answer the questionnaire questions clearly and with no ambiguity. The process of answering the questionnaire questions was explained to translators who took part in the research clearly and elaborately (with examples) in the questionnaire cover pages as is explained here. After telling them the purpose of the research and stating the questions of the research questionnaire, the process of answering the research questions was explained as follows: Regarding the personal background section participants were told that all information provided will remain confidential.

Participants were told that their answers help do the contrastive analysis regarding official and unofficial translations of some excerpts taken from four interviews by President Bashar al-Assad. Participants were provided with the Arabic transcripts (ST) of the four interviews by President al-Assad together with their two different translations in English, labeled as Target Text (TT 1) and Target Text (TT 2) for neutrality purposes. For the purpose of this research participants needed to read the ST and compare it with the two TTs and then answer three questions. Answers had to be filled in a table that will be explained below. The questions participants needed to answer were the following:

1. Do you believe there is mistranslation in Target Text 1 or Target Text 2?
2. If your answer is YES, under which category (Type and grade) do you classify the causes for the mistranslation you have observed? The grades are also explained below together with an example on how to fill in the answer table.
3. Which of the mistranslations you have identified lead to pragmatic failure in translation?

The definition of Pragmatic Failure adopted in this research is the inability to understand what is meant by what is said (Thomas, 1983: 91). A reminder of this definition was written in the questionnaire instructions.

To make the process easier, each ST excerpt together with its two translations were put together in one table headed separately. Each table consisted of three rows and two columns. The first column presented the labels of the three excerpts to be used later instead of repeating the excerpts in full, and the second column included the three excerpts. The

sentences in the ST were numbered, as were the corresponding translation in the TTs in a similar way. The reader should note that one sentence in Arabic could be rendered as several sentences in English but they still have the same number. For example if sentence 4 in excerpt 2 from interview 2 was rendered by the MW or by the OT as 3 sentences in translation, then these 3 sentences would be numbered as S4a, S4b, and S4c. The full texts of the four interviews and the translations were also attached for needed reference. Labeling of excerpts in the tables was in the form of abbreviations. The Abbreviations used in the tables in addition to the abbreviations for the types and grades were as follows:

I:	Interview	G:	Grammatical
E:	Excerpt	S:	Semantic
ST:	Source Text	C:	Cultural
TT:	Target text		

For example, excerpt one from the first interview was presented like this:

IA - E1 - ST	<p>1 بداية، أرحب بكم في سورية. 2 <u>المشكلة بالنسبة للعلاقة بين سورية وجزء من الغرب، ولا أقول كل الغرب، هي ربما بعض المسؤولين في هذا الغرب، أي أنها ليست قضية اللغة كما قلت.</u> 3 أنا أفهم اللغة وربما بعضهم يفهم اللغة العربية، ولكن القضية هي ما تحمله اللغة من مفاهيم، هناك خلاف كبير في المفاهيم، هناك تباعد في الثقافات يزداد مع الزمن بدلاً من أن يتقارب بفعل تطور وسائل الاتصالات.</p>
IA - E1- TT1	<p>1... 2. <u>The problem of Syria's relations with part of the West – I'm not saying all the West, and maybe it's only some officials in the West – it's not a problem of language.</u> 3a. <u>As I've said, I understand their language, and some of them may understand Arabic.</u> 3b. The problem pertains to the concepts conveyed by the language. 3c. There is a great difference in the concepts. 3d. There is a distance between the cultures, which grows wider in time, instead of narrowing with the development of the means of communication.</p>
IA - E1 - TT2	<p>1. <u>In the beginning, I would like to welcome you.</u> 2. <u>The problem concerning the relationship between Syria and part of the West, not all of the West, is with some Western officials.</u> 3a. So, it is not a problem of language as you said. I understand their language, and some of them might understand Arabic. 3b. <u>But the problem is with the conceptions carried by languages.</u> 3c. There is a great difference in conceptions. 3d. There is a difference in cultures which is widening instead of narrowing by virtue of developments in communication methods.</p>

Rating (assessing) was by writing down the abbreviated letters for the chosen type and grade(s) of deviation or mistranslation in the second column in the table below and by writing YES in the third column if the respondent believed this was the answer. Using any symbol in the second column means the respondent believed there was a deviation or mistranslation in Target Text 1 or Target Text 2. The answer table looked like this:

Table 1. Interview A – Excerpt 1 Data		
Sentence	Mistranslation? If YES please write the type and grade	Pragmatic Failure in Translation? Please write YES if you believe so
S1 in IA - E1 – TT1		
S1 in IA - E1 – TT2		

Respondents were asked to read the excerpts and their translations carefully and then fill in the second column of each answer table stating the type of error (**Grammatical, Semantic and/or Cultural**) using the abbreviations **G, S, C** and its grade(s) (**1, 2, 3, 4, or 5**) in accordance with the table of grades of pragmatic failure provided below. Respondents were told they could link up more than one grade with the type of error they have chosen. For example, one answer could say **G 2, 3 and 5**; or **S 1, 2, and 4**, or **G1, C5**, etc.

Grade (1)	Grade (2)	Grade (3)	Grade (4)	Grade (5)
Partly Misunderstanding Original Text	Ill-formed-ness: Grammatical or Semantic	Large Processing Efforts & Small Contextual Effects	Irrelevant Implications	Misunderstanding Communicator's Intention

Respondents were also told that their answers in the answer table could look like this:

Table 1. Interview A – Excerpt 1 Data		
Sentence	Mistranslation? If YES please write the type and grade	Pragmatic Failure in Translation? Please write YES if you believe so
S1 in IA - E1 – TT1	S5 and C5	YES
S1 in IA - E1 – TT2	S2, G2 and G3	NO

Respondents were also reminded that the number of rows in the answer table varied according to the number of sentences in each separate excerpt.

4.3.4.2 Translation assessment criterion

This criterion referred to the types and grades of pragmatic failure suggested by Shamma (1995). The cover page of the research questionnaire stated that the research is concerned with the translation differences between official and unofficial translations of the Syrian political discourse, represented by excerpts from four interviews with the Syrian President Bashar al-Assad. It also asked participants to refer to every linguistic deviation, whether it was grammatical (morphological or syntactic), or semantic (word meaning, collocation, sentence meaning) and every cultural deviation in the two English target texts, as translations of the Arabic source text provided (appendix 4 includes the research questionnaire). For the process of classifying the types of translation deviations, participants would use the abbreviation G, S and C, as explained earlier in this chapter. The data obtained via the questionnaire were the data necessary to answer the two research questions related to the success or failure of pragmatic translation in accordance with the translation assessment criterion explained here. In addition to stating the types of translation deviation, this criterion also entailed that participants should state the grades of pragmatic failure.

Before explaining the grades of pragmatic failure, it is important to remind the reader that the types of translation deviations, grammatical, semantic, and/or cultural, can be categorised under two main categories. These two categories are the pragma-linguistic category and the socio-pragmatic category under which all possible deviations discussed in the theoretical background in chapters two and three are classified. At the same time they explained the types of translation deviations indicated by the abbreviations G, S, and C used to fill in the questionnaire answer tables.

4.3.4.2.1 Pragma-linguistic category

This category included all deviations incorporating different translation meaning(s) which lead to pragmatic failure. These deviations were related to various 'senses' and 'forces' of words (Leech, 1983: 30), as in synonyms, antonyms, etc. They were also related to the linguistic structures of phrases, clauses, and word order in sentences which imposed various obstacles in translation. Denotation and connotation were certainly another issue that was arisen from linguistic differences between MW and OT. Other semantic features

such as reference, substitution, ellipsis, addition and omission, collocation and discourse markers were not ignored in this study (see 3.5.2; 3.5.3). Thus, any translation deviation that leads to a misunderstanding, which is likely to produce different propositions or interpretations, was considered as it consequently leads to pragma-linguistic failure and breakdown of communication.

4.3.4.2.2 Socio-pragmatic category

This category included all translation deviations which were related to the cultural and socio-political values; ideologies and translation commission that affected the attitude of the translator (see 2.4.4). Such effects were felt through various translation techniques manipulated by the translator(s) like the purposeful use of pronouns to reflect sincerity and/or credibility of the speaker, entailment and presuppositions, and address forms. Other translation deviations were related to the intended use of functional repetition, addition and emotive expressions (see 3.5.4). Thus, if the above effects are taken into consideration during the process of translation, it is likely to uncover the reason(s) behind such deviations leading to socio-pragmatic failure or misunderstanding in the context of Syrian political discourse represented by the four interviews.

4.3.4.3 Grades of pragmatic failure

Shammas (1995) argues that according to the principle of relevance, each type of deviation has degrees in terms of making the translation of the ST relevant, less relevant or irrelevant to the meaning intended in the ST. Accordingly, grammatical, semantic or cultural deviations would cause partial or complete misunderstanding. In this respect, grade 1, which could be related to grammar, semantic and/or culture, reflects a possible deviation resulting from some level of ambiguity, vagueness or misreading of the Arabic original text. Grammatically, deviations related to the misuse of verb tenses, countable/uncountable nouns or personal/plural pronouns may not preclude understanding in some contexts as meaning can be generally reached. In contrast, some other deviations may lead, particularly in sensitive political contexts, to complete misunderstanding as is the case in the following answer of an interviewee in a political interview:

1. أنا أتحدث عدة لغات كما ذكرت
2. I speak many languages *as you mentioned*

3. I speak many languages *as I mentioned*.”

It is noted that the lack of diacritical marks in the expression (كما ذكرت) above is likely to create ambiguity which leads to misunderstanding as the translator cannot decipher whether the interviewee or the interviewer is the one intended. The first translation put it as ‘as you mentioned/ كما ذكرت’ which refers to the interviewer while the second put it as ‘as I mentioned/ كما ذكرت’ which refers to the interviewee himself. It is worth noting that diacritical marks in Arabic are functional: they indicate the morphological form of the word, even its syntactic position. Thus, misreading the ST's diacritical marks, grade G1, has naturally led to use ‘I’ instead of ‘you’, grade G2, as an indication of grammatical ill-formedness, which consequently led to extra processing efforts on the part of the translator to know what is exactly intended by the interviewee, grade G3. The result of such a deviation would be an irrelevant implication in the sense that the interviewee is not restating what is said by the interviewer but showing off, grade G4. Therefore, the second translation has led to misunderstanding the interviewee’s intended message; grade G5.

Semantically, grades of deviations would also emerge from misreading some words, collocations or connotations of the ST in terms of sense and force within context as is the case in the following example:

1. ما نزال نبحث عن شهداء تحت الأنقاض
2. 2. We are still searching for martyrs under the rubble
3. 3. We are still searching for *victims* under the rubble.

It is noted that translating ‘شهداء’ into ‘victims’ may not convey the same sense and force of the word ‘martyrs’. In other words, the word ‘شهداء’ has a religious connotation and indicates somebody who was killed by the enemy while fulfilling a religious commandment. In contrast, ‘victims’ may indicate that those people were not killed by an enemy but as a result of an earthquake or collapse of a building, for example. Thus, misreading the ST, grade S1, has led to the use of a semantically ill-formed word that does not convey the same sense and force of that intended in the ST; grade S2. Accordingly, as the word ‘victims’ does not entail the reason behind the death of those people, extra processing efforts on the part of the reader would be needed; grade S3. Moreover, the first relevant interpretation to the

reader would be an irrelevant implication in the sense that those people died (not killed) as a result of an earthquake as previously mentioned; grade S4. Thus, the result of such mistranslation is misunderstanding what is stated in sentence 1; grade S5.

Culturally, translation deviations could be a result of misunderstanding, omitting, or modifying certain ideological contents of the ST in a way that only suits existing political views of the recipient target audience. Consider the following example:

1. سورية ترفض أي تدخل خارجي في شؤونها الداخلية
2. Syria refuses any foreign intervention in its internal affairs.
3. Syria refuses any foreign interference in its internal affairs.

It is noted that the expression ‘تدخل’ is as ‘intervention’ in the first sentence and as ‘interference’ in the second. Although these two words are similar and start with ‘inter-’, meaning ‘between’, yet there is a difference in the connotations of the two words. ‘Intervention’ has got more positive connotations; it has the connotation of wanting to improve a situation, and /or change things for the better²¹. As such, grade C1 represents misreading the commonsensical beliefs or ideologies prevailing in the ST socio-political settings. Such misreading has led to the use of culturally ill-formed expression which gives a meaning that is different from the one intended in the ST; grade C2. As it is illogical for anybody to refuse any change for the better, the reader of the sentence 2 would exert extra processing efforts to understand the reasons behind such refusal of intervention; grade C3. Accordingly, irrelevant implications would result from a mismatch between the assumption intended in the ST and the message conveyed in the TT; grade C4. As a result, the use of ‘intervention’ in sentence 2 would lead to misunderstanding Syria’s position, grade C5, in the sense that Syria is against any ‘interference’ which has very strong negative connotations where people interfere in other people's business, telling them what to do, how to behave, what to eat and so on. Thus, the use of ‘interference’ in sentence 3 would convey what is intended in the ST.

Grades C3 and C5 of cultural deviation could also be a result of textual manipulation represented by omitting or modifying some sentences of the ST on neither clear linguistic

²¹ http://www.bbc.co.uk/worldservice/learningenglish/radio/specials/1535_questionanswer/page13.shtml

bases nor an obvious pragmatic basis. Such textual manipulation should be treated with circumspection in order to understand the objectives behind textual manipulation of the Arabic ST, which may serve certain political agendas. In other words, ignoring parts of sentences or ignoring them all would reduce the contextual effects and accordingly increase processing efforts to know the reason behind omitting certain information; grade C3. The result of omitting or modifying some sentences or part of them in the ST would convey context-less information and may foster different political messages or even misunderstanding, grade C5.

4.4 Reporting data

This section and the remaining sections in this chapter, which are relevant to data obtained from the questionnaire, are concerned only with reporting the obtained data. Analysis of the data is the concern of chapter five.

4.4.1 Data from personal background section

This section asked for the following background information about the potential participants: age, sex, qualification, experience of living in an English-speaking country, political translation experience and the kind of difficulties encountered in translating political discourse. Altogether four participants took part in this research by filling out the research questionnaire. The next section reports all relevant information about the respondents.

4.4.1.1 The respondents

I contacted several expert translators in my home country, Syria, and told them about my research and asked for their expertise and feedback in order to prove or disprove that the elicited translation differences and/or deviations do or do not really lead to pragmatic failure. It is worth noting that the targeted group of respondents in this research was professional translators with academic background in order to avoid as much as possible any possible bias during the process of assessment. In other words, professional academic translators who have a degree in translation studies would be, according to my opinion, the best able people to achieve an objective translation assessment away from partisanship.

Moreover, they will be more familiar with the specificity of the academic research and thus partisanship during the analysis process, if any, will be in its minimum limits. Four professional translators with high academic degrees and professional record in translation agreed to participate. I met them individually and explained what is required to be done in this questionnaire. I frankly stated that the questionnaire is quite long and needs plenty of time. The time limit for completing the questionnaire was left open.

The respondents who volunteered to participate in this research are two males and two females. The first respondent is a 69-years-old associate professor who studied Arabic-English-Arabic translation in a UK university for more than five years. After graduation, he worked as a translation professor at Damascus University and later, he became the Head of English Department in the Faculty of Arts and Human Sciences at Damascus University. Currently, he is teaching both BA and MA translation courses at Petra University, Jordan. He enjoys a long experience in Arabic-English-Arabic translation and has so far translated about 1,000,000 words, mainly from Arabic into English. Most of his translations are related to political discourse. Around 75% of his translations are related to political texts, 10% legal, 8% medical, 7% religious and economic texts. Generally speaking, most of the difficulties encountered by him are 65% cultural, 30% semantic and less than 5% have to do with grammar.

The second respondent is a 53 years old associate professor who studied literary criticism at a UK university. He lived in the UK for six years. After he came back to Syria, he worked as a teacher of literary criticism at Damascus University and later on became the head of English Language Department at the Higher Institute of Languages – Damascus University. He also works as an English-Arabic-English interpreter at the Syrian Ministry of Foreign Affairs. His experience in the field of translation is more than ten years and he has translated about a million words from English into Arabic and 300,000 words from Arabic into English. Around 60% of his translations are related to political texts, 3% legal, 8% literary, 4% religious, 5% social and 15% economic and environmental texts. Generally speaking, the difficulties encountered by him are very much similar to the previous volunteer; 70% cultural and 30% semantic.

The third respondent is a 55 years old associate professor who studied drama in a UK university for more than 5 years. She worked as a drama professor at Damascus University

from 1992 and later became the Dean of the Higher Institute for Translation and Interpretation at Damascus University for four years. Currently, she is the head of the English Language Department at Damascus University and teaches drama and translation. She is a translator and interpreter and enjoys a long experience in translation. She has translated more than 700.000 words from English into Arabic and around 400.000 words from Arabic into English. About 45% of her translations are related to political texts, 30% literary, 15% social and 10% varied types of texts. Generally speaking, most of the difficulties encountered by her are 60% cultural, 40% semantic and less than 20% has to do with grammar.

The fourth respondent is a 45 years old professor who studied translation and interpretation at Heriot Watt University for 6 years. She worked as written and on-sight translation lecturer at the Higher Institute for Translation and Interpretation – Damascus University. Currently, she works as a translator and interpreter in a political research center in Syria. She has translated more than 500.000 words from English into Arabic and about 250.000 words from Arabic into English; around 75% political texts and 25% varied types of text. Generally speaking, most of the difficulties were 55% cultural, 35% semantic and 10% grammar.

4.4.2 Reporting data from question two

Answering this question by the research participants is the core of the contrastive analysis targeted by this research. As explained in section (4.3.4.1) above, the data obtained from answering is in the form of abbreviations and numbers. In this chapter I will only report the obtained data. The analysis of this data answers the two research questions. This will be discussed in detail in chapter five. I can remind now that for neutrality purposes TT1 is the MEMRI translation and TT2 is the OT. However, when reporting the data, MEMRI and OT will be used instead of TT1 and TT2. The reporting process follows these steps:

- The data relevant to each excerpt in each interview is reported separately.
- The first table, including the Arabic excerpt and its two translations, TT1 and TT2, will be presented first. Following this table the answer table relevant to this excerpt will be presented with respondents' answers filled in. These answers are in the form of

three separate abbreviations (G, S, and C) and five numbers (1, 2, 3, 4 and 5) indicating the grades of pragmatic failure. Reporting the data in writing follows each table.

- A summary of data relevant to each interview follows reporting the interview excerpts data.

4.4.2.1 Interview A data

4.4.2.1.1 Excerpt 1 data

The abbreviations used to code and label each interview, excerpt and its sentences are explained in section (4.3.4.1):

IA - E1 – ST	<p>1. بداية، أرحب بكم في سورية. 2. المشكلة بالنسبة للعلاقة بين سورية وجزء من الغرب، ولا أقول كل الغرب، هي ربما بعض المسؤولين في هذا الغرب، أي أنها ليست قضية اللغة كما قلت. 3. أنا أفهم اللغة وربما بعضهم يفهم اللغة العربية، ولكن القضية هي ما تحمله اللغة من مفاهيم، هناك خلاف كبير في المفاهيم، هناك تباعد في الثقافات يزداد مع الزمن بدلاً من أن يتقارب بفعل تطور وسائل الاتصالات. 4. لكن المطلوب من هذا الغرب، لكي تستقيم الأمور، أن يعرف أكثر عن منطقتنا، عن تاريخنا، عن مفاهيمنا، عن الأسباب الحقيقية لمشاكلنا.</p>
IA - E1 – MEMRI	<p><u>1.... 2. The problem of Syria's relations with part of the West – I'm not saying all the West, and maybe it's only some officials in the West – it's not a problem of language. 3a. As I've said, I understand their language, and some of them may understand Arabic. 3b. The problem pertains to the concepts conveyed by the language. 3c. There is a great difference in the concepts. 3d. There is a distance between the cultures, which grows wider in time, instead of narrowing with the development of the means of communication. 4. In order for things to be straightened out, the West must learn more about our region, history, concepts, and about the real causes of our problems.</u></p>
IA - E1 – OT	<p>1. <u>In the beginning, I would like to welcome you. 2. The problem concerning the relationship between Syria and part of the West, not all of the West, is with some Western officials. 3a. So, it is not a problem of language as you said. I understand their language, and some of them might understand Arabic. 3b. But the problem is with the conceptions carried by languages. 3c. There is a great difference in conceptions. 3d. There is a difference in cultures which is widening instead of narrowing by virtue of developments in communication methods. 4. But in order for things to be normal, the West has to know more about our region, our history, our conceptions, about the real causes of our problems.</u></p>

As can be seen from the table the Arabic sentence 3 was rendered in the two translations into 4 sentences (S3a, S3b, S3c and S3d).

Table 1. Interview A – Excerpt 1 Data		
Sentence	Mistranslation? If YES please write the type and Grade	Pragmatic Failure in Translation? Please write YES if you believe so
S1 in IA - E1 – MEMRI	C3 and C5	YES x4
S2 in IA - E1 – MEMRI	G2 and S2	NO x4
S3a in IA - E1 – MEMRI	G1, G2, G3, G4, G5	YES x4
S3b in IA - E1 – MEMRI		
S3c in IA - E1 – MEMRI		
S3d in IA - E1 – MEMRI		
S4 in IA - E1 – MEMRI	S2 and S3	NO x2
S1 in IA - E1 – OT	S2 and G2	NO x4
S2 in IA - E1 – OT	S2	NO x4
S3a in IA - E1 – OT		
S3b in IA - E1 – OT	S2	NO x4
S3c in IA - E1 – OT		
S3d in IA - E1 – OT		
S4 in IA - E1 – OT		

The mistranslation observed in S1 in the MEMRI translation was classified by the four respondents of the questionnaire respondents under type C (grades 3 and 5). They all agreed that this omission leads to pragmatic failure. Another mistranslation by MEMRI was observed in S2 and was classified by the four respondents under type G (grade 2) and type S (grade 2). In S3a the four respondents observed a mistranslation under type G with all its grades 1, 2, 3, 4, 5. They agreed that the mistranslation observed in this sentence leads to pragmatic failure. In S4 two of the respondents observed a mistranslation under type S (grades 2 and 3). Both respondents agreed that this deviation is unlikely to lead to pragmatic failure.

As for the OT, the four respondents observed a mistranslation in sentence S1 and classified it under type S (grade 2) and type G (grade 2). They also observed a mistranslation in sentences S2 and S3b and classified it under type S (grade 2). The four respondents agreed that these deviations were not likely to lead to pragmatic failure within the context.

4.4.2.1.2 Excerpt 2 data

IA – E2 – ST	1. والمطلوب ليس أن يتعد عن التعامل مع المصطلحات فقط، وإنما يجب أن يدخل لمعالجة المشاكل من خلال التعامل مع الحقائق الموجودة على الأرض. 2. هذه نقطة خلاف، نحن نعيش الواقع، هم يعيشون على بعد آلاف الأميال، فسيجب أن يستمعوا إلى آرائنا وأن يفهموا تفكيرنا.
IA – E2 – MEMRI	1.--- 2a --- We live our reality, while they live thousands of miles away. 2b. Therefore, they should listen to our opinions and understand our way of thinking.
IA – E2 – OT	1. What is required is for the West to stop dealing with terminology and to start addressing the problems by dealing with the facts on the ground. 2a. --- We live this reality, while they live thousands of miles away. 2b. They have to listen to our views and to understand the way we think.

As can be seen from the table the Arabic sentence 2 was rendered in the two translations into 2 sentences (S2a and S2b).

Table 2. Interview A – Excerpt 2 Data		
Sentence	Mistranslation? If YES please write the type and Grade	Pragmatic Failure in Translation? Please write YES if you believe so
S1 in IA – E2 – MEMRI	C3 and C5	YESx4
S2a in IA – E2 – MEMRI	S3, S4 and S5	YESx3
S2b in IA – E2 – MEMRI		
S1 in IA – E2 – OT		
S2a in IA – E2 – OT	S3, S4 and S5	YESx3
S2b in IA – E2 – OT		

The mistranslation observed in S1 of the MEMRI translation was classified by the four respondents under type C (grades 3 and 5). They all agreed that this omission leads to pragmatic failure within the context. Another mistranslation by MEMRI under type S (grades 3, 4 and 5) was observed in S2a. This deviation was classified by three respondents as a pragmatic failure.

As for the OT, three respondents observed a mistranslation in sentence S2a and classified it under type S (grades 3, 4 and 5), and they agreed that this deviation leads to pragmatic failure.

4.4.2.1.3 Excerpt 3 data

IA – E3 – ST	1. كما قلت أنا، سورية دولة مهمة بالنسبة للاستقرار، مهمة بالنسبة لمكافحة الإرهاب، مهمة بالنسبة لعملية السلام، مهمة بالنسبة لاستقرار الوضع في العراق في المستقبل. 2. لا يمكن التعامل مع هذه القضايا في الشرق الأوسط دون سورية. 3. لروسيا والصين مصلحة في أن تتفقا مع سورية في القضايا المطروحة لأن لهما مصلحة في الاستقرار.
IA – E3 – MEMRI	<u>1.---</u> Syria is an important country for stability, an important country in the way against terrorism, an important country for the peace process, an important country for future stability in Iraq. <u>2.</u> But these Middle Eastern issues are being dealt with without Syria. <u>3.</u> Russia and China have an interest in standing by Syria on these issues, because they have an interest in stability.
IA – E3 – OT	1. As I said, Syria is important for stability, for combating terrorism, for the peace process, and for the stability of the situation in Iraq in the future. 2. None of these issues in the Middle East can be addressed without Syria. 3. Russia and China have an interest in supporting Syria on these issues because they have an interest in stability.

As can be seen from the table the three sentences of the Arabic ST were rendered in the two translations into 3 sentences.

Table 3. Interview A – Excerpt 3 Data

Sentence	Mistranslation? If YES please write the type and Grade	Pragmatic Failure in Translation? Please write YES if you believe so
S1 in IA – E3 – MEMRI	S2, S3 and S5	YESx3
S2 in IA – E3 – MEMRI	G1, G2, G3, G4, G5, C4 and C5	YESx4
S3 in IA – E3 – MEMRI		
S1 in IA – E3 – OT		
S2 in IA – E3 – OT		
S3. in IA – E3 – OT		

In S1 of the MEMRI translation three respondents observed a mistranslation and classified it under type S (grades 2, 3 and 5), and they agreed that it leads to pragmatic failure. The four respondents observed a mistranslation in S2 and classified it under type G (grades 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5) in addition to type C (grades 4 and 5). The respondents agreed that this mistranslation leads to pragmatic failure.

As far as the OT is concerned, no respondents observed any deviation.

4.4.2.1.4 Excerpt 4 data

IA – E4 – ST	1. لا يوجد سؤال غير سار، وإنما توجد حقائق غير سارة. 2. أنا قلت في السابق أن كل من يثبت أن له علاقة في عملية الاغتيال من سورية فهو بالقانون السوري يعتبر خائناً، والخائن عقوبته شديدة جداً.
IA – E4 – MEMRI	1.---2. <u>As I've said before, any Syrian proven to be involved in the assassination is considered a traitor according to Syrian law, and the punishment for a traitor is very severe in Syrian law.</u>
IA – E4 – OT	1. There are no unpleasant questions, there are only unpleasant facts. 2. I said in the past that any Syrian person proven to have a link with the assassination is a traitor under Syrian law, and the punishment of traitors is very severe.

As can be seen from the table the first Arabic sentence was ignored by the MEMRI translation.

Sentence	Mistranslation? If YES please write the type and Grade	Pragmatic Failure in Translation? Please write YES if you believe so
S1 in IA – E4 – MEMRI	C3	NOx2
S2 in IA – E4 – MEMRI	G2 and S3	NOx3
S1 in IA – E4 – OT		
S2 in IA – E4 – OT		

A textual manipulation on the part of the MEMRI translation was observed by two respondents in S1. They classified it under type C (grade 3), but they agreed that it may not preclude understanding. In sentence 2 three respondents observed a mistranslation and classified it under type G (grade 2) and type S (grade 3). Three of them agreed that it is unlikely to lead to pragmatic failure while the fourth one did not observe this mistranslation. As far as the OT is concerned, no respondents observed any deviation.

4.4.2.1.5 Excerpt 5 data

IA – E5 – ST	1. بالنسبة لنا في سورية لدينا حراسة موجودة منذ زمن طويل، أي منذ عقود أو منذ عقدين من الزمن موجودة على الحدود مع العراق. 2. كما تعرف، لا توجد دولة تضبط حدودها مطلقاً مع أية دولة أخرى في هذا العالم. 3. والأمريكيون يتهموننا بهذا الكلام ولكن هم يقولون لنا بنفس الوقت أنهم غير قادرين على ضبط حدودهم مع المكسيك. 4. الولايات المتحدة دولة عظمى لا تستطيع أن تضبط حدودها، فكيف تضبط سورية حدودها؟! 5. لكن مع ذلك، هناك إمكانية لأن تكون الحدود مضبوطة ضمن حد معقول، ليست مغلقة، وإنما مضبوطة، بمعنى أن تهريب الأشخاص أو البضائع هو بالحدود الدنيا مع أي بلد. 6. هذا الشيء لكي
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	<p>نصل إليه، بحاجة لطرفي الحدود، لا يمكن لطرف واحد أن يضبط الحدود. 7. بمعنى أن يكون هناك على الطرف الآخر من العراق إجراءات معينة من قبل العراقيين أو الأمريكيين، إجراءات ربما تكون عسكرية، ربما تكون إجراءات تقنية مختلفة وربما يكون هناك تعاون أممي. 8. لكن حقيقة الموضوع أن المشكلة في العراق هي الفشل السياسي الكبير والفشل العسكري الكبير الذي نراه الآن، هذه هي حقيقة الموضوع. 9. هناك عدم رغبة بالاعتراف بأن المقاومة التي تحصل في العراق هي في معظمها من العراقيين. 10. هناك دائماً إلقاء لوم على طرف أجنبي، على أشخاص أجنب يسمونهم الإرهابيين، يقومون بأعمال ضد القوات الموجودة، قوات الاحتلال. 11. هذا الكلام غير صحيح.</p>
<p>IA – E5 – MEMRI</p>	<p>1. We have been guarding the border with Iraq for two decades. 2. <u>As you know, no country in the world can hermetically seal its border with any other country.</u> 3. The Americans level these accusations against us, but at the same time, they say to us: "We cannot seal our border with Mexico." 4. <u>Such a superpower cannot seal its border, so how can Syria?</u> 5. <u>Having said that, it is possible to close the border to a reasonable extent – it won't be completely sealed, but it will be controlled, in the sense that the smuggling of people or goods will be as minimal as can be expected with any country.</u> 6. <u>In order to achieve this, both sides of the border must be involved – just one side cannot seal the border.</u> 7a. In other words, on the Iraqi side of the border measures must be taken by either the Iraqis or the Americans. 7b. These can be various military or technological measures. 7c. There may also be security cooperation. 8a. But the truth of the matter is that the problem in Iraq is the great political failure and the great military failure we are witnessing. 8b. This is the truth of the matter. 9. There is a lack of willingness to admit that the resistance in Iraq is mostly by Iraqis. 10a. A foreign party is always blamed. 10b. They say that foreigners, whom they call terrorists, are carrying out operations against the occupation forces. 11. This isn't true.</p>
<p>IA – E5 – OT</p>	<p>1. For us in Syria, we have had guards on our borders with Iraq for a long time, or for the past two decades. 2. As you know, there is no country in the world which can control its borders completely with any other country in this world. 3. The Americans accuse us of this while at the same time they say that they are unable to control their borders with Mexico. 4. The United States is a superpower, yet it cannot control its borders, so how could Syria control its borders? 5. Nevertheless, there is a possibility for the borders to be controlled in a reasonable manner: not closed, but controlled, which means that smuggling individuals is at its lowest with any country. 6a. In order to achieve this we need the two sides of the borders. 6b. One party cannot control the borders. 7a. This means that there should be certain measures taken on the other side, in Iraq, by the Americans or the Iraqis. 7b. These measures could be military, could be technical, or there might be security cooperation. 8a. The fact of the matter is that the problem in Iraq is the great political failure and the great military failure which we can see now. 8b. This is</p>

	the reality. 9. There is no desire to acknowledge that the resistance in Iraq is carried out mostly by Iraqis. 10. <u>The Americans are always blaming other parties: They blame individuals they call terrorists who carry out operations against the forces present there, the occupation forces.</u> 11. This is not true.
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As can be seen from the table the Arabic ST which consists of 11 sentences was rendered by the MEMRI into 15 sentences and by the OT into 14.

Table 5. Interview A – Excerpt 5 Data		
Sentence	Mistranslation? If YES please write the type and Grade	Pragmatic Failure in Translation? Please write YES if you believe so
S1 in IA – E5 – MEMRI		
S2 in IA – E5 – MEMRI	S3 and S5	YESx3
S3 in IA – E5 – MEMRI	S3 and S5	YESx3
S4 in IA – E5 – MEMRI	S3 and S5	YESx3
S5 in IA – E5 – MEMRI	S3 and S5	YESx3
S6 in IA – E5 – MEMRI	S3 and S5	YESx3
S7a in IA – E5 – MEMRI		
S7b in IA – E5 – MEMRI		
S7c in IA – E5 – MEMRI		
S8a in IA – E5 – MEMRI		
S8b in IA – E5 – MEMRI		
S9 in IA – E5 – MEMRI		
S10a in IA – E5 – MEMRI		
S10b in IA – E5 – MEMRI		
S11 in IA – E5 – MEMRI		
S1 in IA – E5 – OT		
S2 in IA – E5 – OT		
S3 in IA – E5 – OT		
S4 in IA – E5 – OT		
S5 in IA – E5 – OT		
S6a in IA – E5 – OT		
S6b in IA – E5 – OT		
S7a in IA – E5 – OT		
S7b in IA – E5 – OT		
S8a in IA – E5 – OT		
S8b in IA – E5 – OT		
S9 in IA – E5 – OT		
S10 in IA – E5 – OT	S1, S3 and S5	YESx3
S11 in IA – E5 – OT		

The mistranslation observed in S2, S3, S4, S5 and S6 of the MEMRI translation was classified by three respondents under type S (grades 3 and 5), and they agreed that it leads to a pragmatic failure within the context.

As for the OT, three respondents observed a mistranslation in S10 and classified it under the type S (grades 1, 3 and 5) and they agreed that such a mistranslation leads to pragmatic failure.

4.4.2.1.6 Excerpt 6 data

<p>IA – E6 – ST</p>	<p>1. فإذا القضية ليست الاخوان المسلمين، وإنما الجزء الذي يؤمن بالعنف. 2. هناك تيارات أخرى مشابهة غير الإخوان المسلمين تؤمن بالعنف وبالإرهاب ربما اعتقاداً منها بأن هذا الشيء يخدم الإسلام. 3. طبعاً لا يوجد إرهاب إسلامي لأن الإرهاب ينفصل عن الإسلام. إنه إرهاب فقط، لا يوجد إرهاب إسلامي. ولكن درجت التسمية الآن إرهاب إسلامي. 4. هذا النوع من الإرهاب خطير، كان يستهدفنا في ذلك الوقت، وفي ذلك الوقت قمنا بحملة على مستوى بعض الدول الأوروبية الغربية لكي نقنع تلك الدول بأن احتضان بعض قيادات التطرف والإرهاب في أوروبا سيرتد عليهم في وقت من الأوقات. 5. وفعلاً نحن عانينا منهم في السبعينيات والثمانينيات، وبدأوا يضربون في عدد من الدول العربية، في نهاية الثمانينيات وفي التسعينيات ورأينا النتائج الخطيرة والكبيرة في نيويورك وفي لندن وفي مدريد وأنتم أيضاً تعاونون من عمليات إرهابية الآن في روسيا. 6. هذا يعني أن الإرهاب ليست له حدود. 7. إذا كان لديك إرهاب في بلدك ربما يضرب لدينا في وقت ما، لأنك لا تستطيع أن تضبطه، لا يمكن أن تحصر الإرهاب. 8. وهذا ما بدأ ينتبه إليه الكثير من دول العالم وفهمت هذه الدول أن مكافحة الإرهاب هي مكافحة دولية.</p>
<p>IA – E6 – MEMRI</p>	<p>1.--- 2. There are similar groups, other than the Muslim Brotherhood, that believe in violence and in terrorism, maybe because they believe this serves Islam. 3a. Of course, there is no such things as "Islamic terrorism," because terrorism differs from Islam. 3b. There's just terrorism, not Islamic terrorism. 3c. But the term "Islamic terrorism" has become widespread. 4a. This kind of terrorism is dangerous. 4b. It was directed against us, and then we embarked upon a campaign in some Western European countries in an attempt to convince them that embracing some of the leaders of extremism and terrorism in Europe will turn against them one of these days. 5a. We suffered from this terrorism in the seventies and eighties. 5b. You too, in Russia, are now suffering from terrorist operations. 6. This means that terrorism has no borders. 7a. If you have terrorism in your country, it might strike at us at some point. 7b. You cannot control or restrict terrorism 8.---</p>
<p>IA – E6 – OT</p>	<p>1. So, the question is not the Muslim Brotherhood, it is rather the part which believes in violence. 2. <u>There are other similar currents which believe in violence and terrorism, may be because they believe that this serves Islam.</u> 3a. Of course, there is no Islamic terrorism, because terrorism is separate from Islam. 3b. It is only terrorism. 3c. But now the term "Islamic terrorism" has become common. 4a. This is a</p>

	<p>dangerous type of terrorism. 4b. When it targeted us we conducted a campaign at the level of some Western European countries in order to persuade those countries that hosting some of the leaders of extremism and terrorism in Europe will rebound against them one day. 5a. We did indeed suffer from these groups in the 1970s and 1980s, and they started to hit at some Arab countries towards the end of the 1980s and during the 1990s. 5b. We saw the dangerous consequences in New York, London, and Madrid. 5c. You too are suffering from terrorist acts in Russia now. 6. This means that terrorism does not acknowledge borders. 7a. If you have terrorism in your country, it might carry out operations against us one day, because you cannot control it. 7b. Terrorism cannot be confined by borders. 8. Many countries in the world have started to understand this and to understand that fighting terrorism should be done on the international level.</p>
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As can be seen from the table the Arabic ST which consists of 8 sentences was rendered by the MEMRI into 11 sentences and by the OT into 14.

Sentence	Mistranslation? If YES please write the type and Grade	Pragmatic Failure in Translation? Please write YES if you believe so
S1 in IA – E6 – MEMRI	C3 and C5	YESx4
S2 in IA – E6 – MEMRI	S1 and S3	NOx2
S3a in IA – E6 – MEMRI	G2	NOx4
S3b in IA – E6 – MEMRI		
S3c in IA – E6 – MEMRI		
S4a in IA – E6 – MEMRI	S1, S3 and S5	YESx3
S4b in IA – E6 – MEMRI		
S5a in IA – E6 – MEMRI		
S5b in IA – E6 – MEMRI		
S6 in IA – E6 – MEMRI		
S7a in IA – E6 – MEMRI		
S7b in IA – E6 – MEMRI		
S8 in IA – E6 – MEMRI	C3 and C5	YESx4
S1 in IA – E6 – OT		
S2 in IA – E6 – OT	S1, S3, G2 and S5	YESx3
S3a in IA – E6 – OT		
S3b in IA – E6 – OT		
S3c in IA – E6 – OT		
S4a in IA – E6 – OT		
S4b in IA – E6 – OT		
S5a in IA – E 6 – OT		

S5b in IA – E6 – OT		
S5c in IA – E6 – OT		
S6 in IA – E6 – OT		
S7a in IA – E6 – OT		
S7b in IA – E6 – OT		
S8 in IA – E6 – OT		

The MEMRI's textual manipulation represented in the omission of the first Arabic sentence was observed and classified by the four respondents under type C (grades 3 and 5). They agreed that this omission leads to pragmatic failure. Only one respondent observed a mistranslation in S2 and classified it under type S (grades 1 and 3) with no possibility of pragmatic failure. Another mistranslation was observed and classified by all respondents in S3a under type G (grade 2) with no possibility of pragmatic failure. The last deviation was observed by the four respondents in the textual manipulation represented in ignoring the translation of the last sentence of the ST. They classified it under type C (grades 3 and 5) and agreed that this omission leads to pragmatic failure.

As far as the OT is concerned, three respondents observed a mistranslation in S2 and classified it under type S (grades 1, 3 and 5) and type G (grade 2). They agreed that this mistranslation leads to pragmatic failure.

4.4.2.1.7 Excerpt 7 data

IA – E7 – ST	<p>1. صحيح لدينا خبرة لأننا الأقدم في هذا المجال ولأننا نعيش في منطقة إسلامية، وفهمنا أن مكافحة الإرهاب لا تكون بالحرب، الحرب غالباً من نتائجها، خاصة عندما لا تكون حرباً عادلة، هي تفعيل الإرهاب، وهذا ما نراه الآن بعد حرب العراق. 2. مكافحة الإرهاب هي في البداية مكافحة فكرية، لأن الإرهاب هو فكر قبل أن يكون مجرد منظمات، مكافحة فكرية، مكافحة الجهل بالحوار، بالمواقف السياسية العادلة، لأن الكثير من الإرهابيين يتخذون ذريعة إما قضية دينية أو قضية سياسية. 3. عليك أن تتعامل مع الموضوع سياسياً، هكذا نتعامل مع الإرهاب وليس بالإدانة. 4. الإدانة لا تلغي الإرهاب، أدنا وكل بلدان العالم أدانت 11 أيلول، ولكن الإرهاب استمر بعد 11 أيلول، فإذاً يجب أن نحقق شبكة من التعاون الدولي، وسورية كما قلت لديها خبرة ولديها رغبة كبيرة بهذا النوع من التعاون.</p>
IA – E7 – MEMRI	<p>1a.--- We have realized that terrorism cannot be fought through a war. 1b. A war in general – and especially when it is not a just war – results in activating terrorism, as we now see, after the war in Iraq. 2a. Fighting terrorism is, first and foremost, ideological, because terrorism is an ideology rather than just organizations. 2b. Fighting terrorism must be ideological. 2c. Ignorance must be fought through dialogue. 2d. Political stances must be just, because many terrorists use religious or</p>

	<p>political causes as pretexts. 3a. <u>So you must deal with this issue politically.</u> 3b. <u>This is how you deal with terrorism, not through condemnations.</u> 4a. Condemnations do not finish off terrorism. 4b...<u>The entire world has condemned 9/11, but terrorism continued after 9/11.</u> 4c. <u>Therefore, we must establish a network of international cooperation, and as I've said, Syria has the experience and a great desire for such cooperation.</u></p>
IA – E7 – OT	<p>1a. It is true that we have experience in this regard because we suffered from this before others and because we live in a Muslim region. 1b. We understood that fighting terrorism cannot be done by waging wars. 1c. Wars, particularly when they are unfair, actually activate terrorism, and this is what we see after the war on Iraq now. 2a. <u>Fighting terrorism is in the first place an intellectual activity, because terrorism is a mentality before it is organizations.</u> 2b. Ignorance should be fought with dialogue, with fair political positions, because many of these terrorists make a pretext either of a religious cause or a political one. 3a. You have to deal with this issue politically. 3b. This is the way we deal with terrorism, not by condemnation. 4a. Condemnation does not obliterate terrorism. 4b. We and the rest of the world condemned the Sep. 11th attacks, but terrorism continued after Sep. 11th. 4c. So we have to build a network of international cooperation and as I said Syria has the expertise and has the desire for this kind of cooperation.</p>

As can be seen from the table the Arabic ST which consists of 4 sentences was rendered by the MEMRI into 12 sentences and by the OT into 10.

Sentence	Mistranslation? If YES please write the type and Grade	Pragmatic Failure in Translation? Please write YES if you believe so
S1a in IA – E7 – MEMRI	C3 and C5	YESx4
S1b in IA – E7 – MEMRI		
S2a in IA – E7 – MEMRI		
S2b in IA – E7 – MEMRI		
S2c in IA – E7 – MEMRI		
S2d in IA – E7 – MEMRI		
S3a in IA – E7 – MEMRI		
S3b in IA – E7 – MEMRI	G1, G4 and G5	YESx3
S4a in IA – E7 – MEMRI		
S4b in IA – E7 – MEMRI	S1, S3, and S5	YESx2
S4b in IA – E7 – MEMRI	S1, S3, S5, C4 and C5	YESx2
S4c in IA – E7 – MEMRI	S2	NOx2
S1a in IA – E7 – OT		

S1b	in IA – E7 – OT		
S1c	in IA – E7 – OT		
S2a	in IA – E7 – OT	S3 and S4	NOx4
S2b	in IA – E7 – OT		
S3a	in IA – E7 – OT		
S3b	in IA – E7 – OT		
S4a	in IA – E7 – OT		
S4b	in IA – E7 – OT		
S4c	in IA – E7 – OT		

The MEMRI's textual manipulation represented in the omission of the first Arabic sentence S1a was observed and classified by the four respondents under type C (grades 3 and 5). They agreed that this omission leads to pragmatic failure. In sentence S3b, three respondents observed a mistranslation and classified it under type G (grades 1, 4 and 5). They believed that this mistranslation leads to pragmatic failure. In sentence S4b, two respondents observed a mistranslation and classified it under type S (grades 1, 3 and 5). They agreed that it leads to pragmatic failure. The other two respondents observed that same mistranslation but classified it under type S (grades 1, 3 and 5) and type C (grades 4 and 5). They also agreed that it leads to pragmatic failure. In sentence S4c, two respondents observed a deviation and classified it under type type S (grade 2); they believed that it is unlikely to lead to pragmatic failure.

As for the OT, the four respondents observed a mistranslation in S2a and classified it under type S (grades 3, and 4) with no possibility of pragmatic failure.

4.4.2.1.8 Excerpt 8 data

IA – E8 – ST	<p>1. بالنسبة للموضوع النووي، لا نستطيع أن نتحدث في هذا الموضوع الكبير فقط عن دولة كيف تفكر، يجب أن نأخذ الموضوع بشكل كامل في منطقة الشرق الأوسط. 2. أولاً، إذا كان الموضوع النووي هو ضمن الإطار السلمي، فهو حق لكل دولة في هذا العالم. 3. لا يوجد شيء يمنع أية دولة في العالم أن تمتلك مفاعلات نووية لأغراض سلمية. 4. وإيران تقول بشكل واضح أنها تريد هذا المفاعل لأغراض سلمية. 5. تقول هذا الكلام بشكل علني وبالغرف المغلقة. 6. لكن بالنسبة لموضوع السلاح النووي، وهي النقطة التي طرحتها، وهي التي نسمعها أحياناً بطريقة أن إيران تريد المفاعل السلمي لكي تصل للسلاح النووي. 7. لا نستطيع أن نأخذها بهذه الطريقة. 8. علينا أن نفكر بشكل أشمل، علينا أن نرى كل المنطقة إن لم تكن نريد أن ننظر للموضوع بشكل دولي، فعلى الأقل لنرى منطقة الشرق الأوسط. 9. إن قلنا أن في منطقة الشرق الأوسط هناك دولة يحق لها أن تمتلك سلاح نووي، فكل الدول الأخرى لها هذا الحق. 10. إذا كنا لا نريد أن نرى سلاحاً نووياً لدى دولة ما في الشرق الأوسط فعلياً أن نقوم بعملية نزع السلاح من كل هذه الدول وأنا أقصد هنا إسرائيل. 11. إسرائيل هي الدولة الوحيدة في الشرق الأوسط التي تمتلك سلاحاً نووياً.</p>
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	<p>12 نحن في سورية قمنا عام 2003 بتقديم مبادرة لمجلس الأمن من أجل نزع أسلحة الدمار الشامل من كل منطقة الشرق الأوسط.</p>
<p>IA – E8 – MEMRI</p>	<p>1a. As for the nuclear issue, when dealing with this great topic, we cannot talk only about a specific country and its way of thinking. 1b. We must address this issue comprehensively in the Middle East. 2. First of all, if nuclear power is restricted to peaceful purposes, every country in the world is entitled to it. 3. No country in the world can be prevented from having nuclear reactors for peaceful purposes. 4. Iran is saying very clearly that it wants this reactor for peaceful purposes. 5. It says this both in public and behind closed doors. 6. <u>But as for nuclear weapons – this is what you asked about, and this is what we hear sometimes – that Iran wants the peaceful reactor in order to reach a nuclear weapon.</u> 7. <u>We cannot relate to it this way.</u> 8a. We must think in a more comprehensive way. 8b. We must view the entire region. 8c. If we don't want to view this internationally, we should at least view the Middle East. 9. <u>If we say that a certain country in the Middle East has the right to own nuclear weapons, then all the other countries have the same right.</u> 10. If we don't want to see nuclear weapons in a certain country in the Middle East, we must remove these weapons from all these countries – and I'm referring to Israel. 11. <u>Israel is the only country in the Middle East that owns nuclear weapons.</u> 12 ---</p>
<p>IA – E8 – OT</p>	<p>1a. As to the nuclear issue, we cannot talk about this issue in terms of how one country is thinking. 1b. We have to look at it in the larger framework of the Middle East. 2. First, if the nuclear issue is within the peaceful framework, it is the right of every country in this world. 3. There is nothing that prevents any country in the world from possessing nuclear reactors for peaceful purposes. 4. And Iran says clearly that it wants this reactor for peaceful purposes. 5. It says this in public and behind closed doors. 6. <u>As to the nuclear weapons issue, which is the point you raised, we hear this talked about in order to mean that Iran wants the peaceful reactor in order to obtain nuclear weapons.</u> 7. We cannot look at the question in this way. 8a. We have to think in a more comprehensive manner. 8b. We have to see the whole region. 8c. If we do not want to consider the issue on the international level, let us at least look at the Middle East. 9. If we say that in the Middle East there is one state which has the right to possess nuclear weapons, then all states have that right. 10. If we do not want to see nuclear weapons in any state in the Middle East, we have to carry out a disarmament operation in all these countries, and I mean Israel here. 11. Israel is the only country in the Middle East which possesses nuclear weapons. 12. <u>We in Syria launched an initiative at the Security Council in 2003 in order to make the whole Middle East free of mass destruction weapons.</u></p>

As can be seen from the table the Arabic ST which consists of 12 sentences was rendered by the MEMRI into 14 sentences and by the OT into 15.

Table 8. Interview A – Excerpt 8 Data		
Sentence	Mistranslation? If YES please write the type and Grade	Pragmatic Failure in Translation? Please write YES if you believe so
S1a in IA – E8 – MEMRI		
S1b in IA – E8 – MEMRI		
S2 in IA – E8 – MEMRI		
S3 in IA – E8 – MEMRI		
S4 in IA – E8 – MEMRI		
S5 in IA – E8 – MEMRI		
S6 in IA – E8 – MEMRI	S1, G2 and S3	NOx4
S7 in IA – E8 – MEMRI	S1, S2 and S3	NOx4
S8a in IA – E8 – MEMRI		
S8b in IA – E8 – MEMRI		
S8c in IA – E8 – MEMRI		
S9 in IA – E8 – MEMRI	S2, S3, S4, S5, C4 and C5	YESx2
S9 in IA – E8 – MEMRI	S2, S3, S4 and S5	YESx2
S10 in IA – E8 – MEMRI		
S11 in IA – E8 – MEMRI		
S12 in IA – E8 – MEMRI	C3 and C5	YESx4
S1a in IA – E8 – OT		
S1b in IA – E8 – OT		
S2 in IA – E8 – OT		
S3 in IA – E8 – OT		
S4 in IA – E8 – OT		
S5 in IA – E8 – OT		
S6 in IA – E8 – OT		
S7 in IA – E8 – OT	S1, G2 and S3	NOx3
S8a in IA – E8 – OT		
S8b in IA – E8 – OT		
S8c in IA – E8 – OT		
S9 in IA – E8 – OT		
S10 in IA – E8 – OT		
S11 in IA – E8 – OT		
S12 in IA – E8 – OT	S1 and S2	NOx4

In S6 of the MEMRI translation four respondents observed a mistranslation and classified it under type S (grades 1 and 3) and type G (grade 2). They all agreed that it is unlikely to lead to pragmatic failure within the context. In S7, the four respondents observed a mistranslation and classified it under type S (grades 1, 2 and 3) with no possibility of pragmatic failure. In S9, two respondents observed a mistranslation and

classified it under type S (grades 2, 3, 4 and 5) and type C (grades 4 and 5), while the other two respondents classified it only under type S (grades 2, 3, 4, and 5). The four respondents agreed that this mistranslation leads to pragmatic failure. In S12, the four respondents observed an omission of the last Arabic sentence and classified it under type C (grades 3 and 5). They agreed that such textual manipulation leads to pragmatic failure.

As far as the OT is concerned, three respondents observed a mistranslation in S7 and classified it under type S (grades 1 and 3) and type G (grade2). They agreed that it is unlikely to lead to pragmatic failure. Another mistranslation was observed by the four respondents in S12 and classified it under type S (grades 1 and 2) with no possibility of pragmatic failure.

4.4.2.1.9 Excerpt 9 data

<p>IA – E9 – ST</p>	<p>1. أولاً لا نعرف إن كانت هنالك عقوبات أم لا يوجد. 2. علينا بكل الأحوال أن نستعد لكل شيء سيء، نحن نعيش في منطقة مضطربة، نحن نعيش في عالم دولي غير عادل فيه فوضى كما قلت، وبالتالي يجب دائماً أن نستعد للأسوأ. 3. أن تستعد، لا يعني أن تكون قادراً أن تربح، ولكن أن تستعد، يعني على الأقل إن كنت ستخسر فعليك أن تخفف الخسائر، هذا أولاً. 4. لكن علينا أن نكمل الجواب بسؤال: أية دول تسعى لعقوبات، ماذا ستحقق؟ 5. هل ستربح؟ 6. هي لن تربح بل ستخسر. 7. الشرق الأوسط قلب العالم، وسورية الآن في قلب الشرق الأوسط، وسورية مع العراق إن لم يكن الوضع فيهما جيداً ستضطرب كل المنطقة، والعالم كله سيدفع الثمن. 8. فهذا سؤال آخر نضيفه، ماذا سيحققون؟ 9. لن يستطيعوا، كما قلت في بداية المقابلة، التعامل مع قضية الإرهاب، سيتسع الإرهاب ولن يستطيعوا تحقيق السلام، وهذا يعني أيضاً توسيع الإرهاب. 10. سيكون هناك المزيد من الفقر وهذا أيضاً يعني زيادة الإرهاب، وبالتالي كل العالم سيدفع الثمن مع سورية ومع الشرق الأوسط. 11. فأعتقد أنه عندما نضع هذا السؤال، سنصل إلى الجواب المنطقي بأن العقوبات لن تحقق شيئاً، والحل الوحيد هو بالعمل السياسي والحوار. لا خيار آخر. 12. وثبت أن الحرب لا تحقق نتائج إيجابية حتى لو كانت تقوم بها دول عظمى وقوية.</p>
<p>IA – E9 – MEMRI</p>	<p>1. First of all, I don't know if there will be sanctions. 2a. In any case, we must be prepared for any possibility. 2b. We live in a troubled region and in an unjust world, which is ruled by anarchy as I have said. 2c. Therefore, we should always prepare for the worst. 3a. Being prepared doesn't mean you are capable of winning, but it means that if you lose, you will minimize your losses. 3b. This is the first thing. 4a. But I must complete my answer with a question. 4b. <u>Any country that wants sanctions – what will it gain?</u> 5. <u>Will it gain anything?</u> 6. <u>No, it won't, it will lose.</u> 7a. The Middle East is the heart of the world, and Syria is now in the heart of the Middle East. 7b. If the situation in Syria and Iraq is not good, the entire region will be troubled, and the entire world will pay the price. 8. I want to add this question: What will they gain? 9a. Like I said, they will not be able to deal with terrorism, which</p>

	will spread. 9b. They won't be able to achieve peace, and this, in turn, will also increase terrorism. 10a. There will be more poverty, which will also increase terrorism. 10b. Therefore, the entire world will pay the price, along with Syria and the Middle East. 11. --- 12. ----
IA – E9 – OT	1. First, we do not know whether or not there will be sanctions. 2a. At any rate, we have to prepare for the worst. 2b. We live in a turbulent region, we live in an unfair international order which is replete with chaos, as I said, and consequently we have to be always prepared for the worst. 3a. <u>To prepare yourself does not mean that you cannot win.</u> 3b. It at least means that if you lose you should limit your losses. 4a. But we have to continue this answer with a question: which countries are trying to impose sanctions? 4b. What will they achieve? 5. Will they win? 6a. They won't. 6b. They will lose. 7. The Middle East is at the heart of the world and Syria is at the heart of the Middle East, and if the situation in Syria and Iraq is not good that will cause problems in the whole region, and the whole world will pay the price. 8. Another question: what will they achieve? 9a. <u>They will not, as I said at the beginning of the interview, be able to deal with the question of terrorism.</u> 9b. Terrorism will spread. 9c. And they will not be able to achieve peace. 9d. This will also increase terrorism. 10a. There will be more poverty, and this will increase terrorism. 10b. Consequently, the whole world, together with Syria and the Middle East will pay the price. 11a. I think when we pose this question we will arrive at the logical answer: that the sanctions will not achieve anything and that the only solution is through political work and dialogue. 11b. There is no other option. 12. It has been proven that war does not achieve positive results even when it is launched by a strong super power.

As can be seen from the table, the Arabic ST which consists of 12 sentences was rendered by the MEMRI into 17 sentences and by the OT into 20.

Sentence	Mistranslation? If YES please write the type and Grade	Pragmatic Failure in Translation? Please write YES if you believe so
S1 in IA – E9 – MEMRI	G2, G4 and G5	YESx2
S2a in IA – E9 – MEMRI		
S2b in IA – E9 – MEMRI		
S2c in IA – E9 – MEMRI		
S3a in IA – E9 – MEMRI		
S3b in IA – E9 – MEMRI		
S4a in IA – E9 – MEMRI		

S4b in IA – E9 – MEMRI	G1, G2, G4, G5, C1, C4 and C5	YESx4
S5 in IA – E9 – MEMRI	G1, G2, G4, G5, C1, C4 and C5	YESx4
S6 in IA – E9 – MEMRI	G1, G2, G4, G5, C1, C4 and C5	YESx4
S7a in IA – E9 – MEMRI		
S7b in IA – E9 – MEMRI		
S8 in IA – E9 – MEMRI		
S9a in IA – E9 – MEMRI		
S9b in IA – E9 – MEMRI		
S10a in IA – E9 – MEMRI		
S10b in IA – E9 – MEMRI		
S11 in IA – E9 – MEMRI	C3 and C5	YESx4
S12 in IA – E9 – MEMRI	C3 and C5	YESx4
S1 in IA - E9– OT		
S2a in IA – E9 – OT		
S2b in IA – E9 – OT		
S3a in IA – E9 – OT	S1 and S5	YESx4
S3b in IA – E9 – OT		
S4a in IA – E9 – OT		
S4b in IA – E9 – OT		
S5 in IA – E9 – OT		
S6a in IA – E9 – OT		
S6b in IA – E9 – OT		
S7 in IA – E9 – OT		
S8 in IA – E9 – OT		
S9a in IA – E9 – OT		
S9b in IA – E9 – OT		
S10a in IA – E9 – OT		
S10b in IA – E9 – OT		
S11 in IA – E9 – OT		
S12 in IA – E9 – OT		

In S1 of the MEMRI translation two respondents observed a mistranslation and classified it under type G (grades 2, 4 and 5), and they agreed that it leads to pragmatic failure within this sensitive political context. In S4b, all respondents observed a mistranslation and classified it under type G (grades 1, 2 and 4) and type C (grades 1, 4 and 5), and they agreed that it leads to pragmatic failure. In S5, three respondents observed a mistranslation and classified it under type G1 (grade 1) and type C (grades 4 and 5), while

the fourth respondent classified it under type G (grades 1, 2, 4) and type C (grades 4 and 5). The four respondents agreed that this mistranslation leads to pragmatic failure. Similarly, in S6 three respondents observed a mistranslation and classified it under type G (grade 1) and type C (grades 4 and 5), while the fourth respondent classified it under type G (grades 1, 2 and 4) and type C (1, 4 and 5). All respondents agreed that this mistranslation leads to pragmatic failure. In S11 and S12 the four respondents observed an omission and classified it under type C (grades 3 and 5) and they all agreed that it leads to pragmatic failure. As for the OT, the four respondents observed a mistranslation in S3a and classified it under type S (grades 1 and 5), and agreed that it leads to pragmatic failure.

4.4.2.1.10 Summary of interview A data

The following table represents all mistranslated sentences observed by the four respondents in the OT and the MEMRI translations.

Table 10. Summary of Interview A – Excerpts 1-9 Data			
Serial Number	Sentence	Mistranslation? If YES please write the type and grade	Pragmatic Failure in Translation? Please write YES if you believe so
1	S1 in IA - E1 – OT	S2 and G2	NO x4
2	S2 in IA - E1 – OT	S2	NO x4
3	S3b in IA - E1 – OT	S2	NO x4
4	S2a in IA – E2 – OT	S3, S4 and S5	YESx3
5	S10 in IA – E5 – OT	S1, S3 and S5	YESx3
6	S2 in IA – E6 – OT	S1, S3, G2 and S5	YESx3
7	S2a in IA – E7 – OT	S3 and S4	NOx4
8	S7 in IA – E8 – OT	S1, G2 and S3	NOx3
9	S12 in IA – E8 – OT	S1 and S2	NOx4
10	S3a in IA – E9 – OT	S1 and S5	YESx4
Serial Number	Sentence	Mistranslation? If YES please write the type and grade	Pragmatic Failure in Translation? Please write YES if you believe so
1	S1 in IA - E1 – MEMRI	C3 and C5	YES x4
2	S2 in IA - E1 – MEMRI	G2 and S2	NO x4
3	S3a in IA - E1 – MEMRI	G1, G2, G3, G4, G5	YES x4
4	S4 in IA - E1 – MEMRI	S2, S3	YES x2
5	S1 in IA – E2 – MEMRI	C3 and C5	YESx4
6	S2a in IA – E2 – MEMRI	S3, S4 and S5	YESx3

7	S1 in IA – E3 – MEMRI	S2, S3 and S5	YESx3
8	S2 in IA – E3 – MEMRI	G1, G2, G3, G4, G5, C4 and C5	YESx4
9	S1 in IA – E4 – MEMRI	C3	NOx2
10	S2 in IA – E4 – MEMRI	G2 and S3	NOx3
11	S2 in IA – E5 – MEMRI	S3 and S5	YESx3
12	S3 in IA – E5 – MEMRI	S3 and S5	YESx3
13	S4 in IA – E5 – MEMRI	S3 and S5	YESx3
14	S5 in IA – E5 – MEMRI	S3 and S5	YESx3
15	S6 in IA – E5 – MEMRI	S3 and S5	YESx3
16	S1 in IA – E6 – MEMRI	C3 and C5	YESx4
17	S2 in IA – E6 – MEMRI	S1 and S3	NOx2
18	S3a in IA – E6 – MEMRI	G2	NOx4
19	S4a in IA – E6 – MEMRI	S1, S3 and S5	YESx3
20	S8 in IA – E6 – MEMRI	C3 and C5	YESx4
21	S1a in IA – E7 – MEMRI	C3 and C5	YESx4
22	S3b in IA – E7 – MEMRI	G1, G4 and G5	YESx3
23	S4b in IA – E7 – MEMRI	S1, S3, S5, C4 and C5	YESx4
24	S4c in IA – E7 – MEMRI	S2	NOx2
25	S6 in IA – E8 – MEMRI	S1, G2 and S3	NOx4
26	S7 in IA – E8 – MEMRI	S1, S2 and S3	NOx4
27	S9 in IA – E8 – MEMRI	S2, S3, S4, S5, C4 and C5	YESx4
28	S12 in IA – E8 – MEMRI	C3 and C5	YESx4
29	S1 in IA – E9 – MEMRI	G2, G4 and G5	YESx2
30	S4b in IA – E9 – MEMRI	G1, G2, G4, G5, C1, C4 and C5	YESx4
31	S5 in IA – E9 – MEMRI	G1, G2, G4, G5, C1, C4 and C5	YESx4
32	S6 in IA – E9 – MEMRI	G1, G2, G4, G5, C1, C4 and C5	YESx4
33	S11 in IA – E9 – MEMRI	C3 and C5	YESx4
34	S12 in IA – E9 – MEMRI	C3 and C5	YESx4

As identified by the respondents, the total number of translation deviations observed in both TTs was 121. The causes for mistranslations in both target texts of the interview A were compatible with the theoretical discussion launched in the first part of this thesis. They were related to the three major divisions of language in use and an overlap among them. Above all, they were more than double the number of deviations in the OT texts of the same interview.

The MEMRI's deviations are 98 and they were observed in 34 sentences out of 88. These deviations are the result of various reasons related to misunderstanding the ST, using ill-formed grammatical and semantic forms of some expressions, and, noticeably, ignoring the translation of some sentences or omitting certain parts of sentences on no clear linguistic or structural basis. Such omissions are classified by the respondents mainly under the culture-related cases marking the socio-cognitive difference between the source-text culture and that of the target text, namely type (C) with grade 3 (Large Processing Efforts & Small Contextual Effects) and grade 5 (Misunderstanding Communicator's Intention). Some other deviations are not likely to lead to pragmatic failure within context, in particular those related to grammatical or semantic ill-formedness (G and S types) under grades 2 and/or 3. However, when a deviation is observed under two or three types together, the possibility of pragmatic failure and break of communication (grade 5) would be much larger. In contrast, the deviations of OT are 23 and they were observed in 10 sentences out of 86. These deviations are mainly the result of using grammatical and semantic ill-formed forms, which are related to word order, tense of verbs, connotation, denotation and collocation of some expressions. Some of these deviations are partially related to misreading or misunderstanding the ST; thus, they were classified under type S (Semantic) with grade (1) and consequently under the same type but with additional grades 4 and 5 (Irrelevant Implications and Misunderstanding Communicator's Intention).

As for the number of all translation deviations that led to pragmatic failure in both TTs, the total number is 93 deviations. The MEMRI's deviations are 81 and they were observed in 26 sentences out of 34 deviated sentences. It is worth noting that the reasons behind such deviations are mainly related to deviations classified under grade five regardless of the type of such a deviation be it grammatical, semantic or cultural. Other deviations are the result of the combination of two and/or three types under grade five which represents pragmatic failure and misunderstanding the speaker's intended message. In contrast, the deviations of the OT are 12 and they were observed in 4 sentences out of 10 deviated sentences. The main reason behind such deviations is related to misunderstanding what is intended in the ST in terms of semantics, i.e. (type S with grade 1) which has led to other grades of misunderstanding starting from grade 3 (Large Processing Efforts & Small Contextual Effects), grade 4 (irrelevant implications), to grade

5 (Misunderstanding Communicator's Intention). One deviation only was the result of both grammatical and semantic deviation under grades 1, 3 and 5, and grammatical deviation under grade G2 (grammatical ill-formedness).

4.4.2.2 Interview B data

4.4.2.2.1 Excerpt 1 data

<p>IB - E1 – ST</p>	<p>1. أولاً نحن نتحدث عن السلام 2. يقال الطلاق أبغض الحلال 3. هو حلال لكنه بغيض 4. فأنت تبحث عن حل مشكلة قبل أن تصل إلى الحل الأسوأ فيه 5. نفس الشيء بالنسبة للحرب فالعرب هي الحل الأسوأ 6. لا أحد يبحث عن الحرب حتى المقاومة في أي مكان من العالم العربي هي لا تبحث عن الحرب هي تريد السلام ولكنها وجدت لغيباب السلام 7. فإذن لا بد من أن تبقى نسعى باتجاه السلام مادام هناك أمل 8. قد تقول يعني لدينا أمل بالحكومة الإسرائيلية لا ولكن نعتقد أن إسرائيل اليوم بحسب ما نسمعه من أنصارها لم يعد لديها خيار سوى السلام 9. قوة الردع الإسرائيلية تأكلت مع الوقت مع أن إسرائيل تزداد قوة من الناحية العسكرية ولكن الردع ومفهوم المقاومة بالمقابل يزداد لدى الشارع العربي فأصبحت إسرائيل فعلياً أضعف ولم تعد القوة العسكرية هي الضامن لوجود إسرائيل 10. أصبح الكثير من أنصارها وخاصة من المنظمات الصهيونية وبعض اليهود المتعصبين لإسرائيل يقولون كنا نؤمن بالحرب أو كنا ندعم كل حرب إسرائيلية لكن الآن نحن نعتقد أنه لا حل أمام إسرائيل سوى السلام.</p>
<p>IB - E1 – MEMRI</p>	<p>1, 2, 3, 4, 5. War is the worst possible solution. 6a. <u>Nobody wants war.</u> 6b. <u>Even the resistance movement, anywhere in the Arab world, wants peace, not war.</u> 6c. But the resistance emerged due to the absence of peace. 7. We should continue to strive for peace as long as there is hope. 8. <u>You might ask if we place any hope in the Israeli government – no, we don't, but we believe that Israel today – from what we hear from its supporters – has no option other than peace.</u> 9a. The Israeli deterrence has declined over time. 9b. Even though Israel has strengthened militarily, the deterrence of the Arab masses and their notion of resistance have increased. 9c. So Israel has, in fact, grown weaker, and its military strength no longer guarantees its existence. 10 <u>Many of Israel's supporters – especially among the Zionist organizations, and the extreme pro-Israel Jews – say: "We used to believe in war, and we used to support every Israeli war, but now we believe that Israel has no option but peace."</u></p>
<p>IB - E1 – OT</p>	<p>1. First of all, we are talking about peace. 2. <u>There is a saying divorce is the most hated of the permissible things.</u> 3. It is permissible but hated. 4. You look for a solution before you reach the worst one. 5a. It is the same for war. 5b. It is the worst solution. 6a. No one looks for war, even the resistance in the Arab world. 6b. Peace is the goal. 7. Resistance existed because of the absence of peace, so we must strive towards peace as long as there is hope. 8a. <u>You say we might have hope in the Israeli government.</u> 8b. <u>The answer is no; But we believe that</u></p>

	<p>Israel today has no option but to accept the peace. 9a. Israel's deterrence power eroded with time. 9b. The more the Israeli military force increase, the more the awareness of resistance and deterrence concepts in the Arab street increases. 9c. Israel, nowadays, is actually weaker and its military force no longer guarantees its existence. 10a. Israel's supporters, either the Zionist organizations or pro-Israel Jewish groups, say that they used to believe in war or to support every Israeli war. 10b. <u>But now, they say they believe that there is no solution before Israel but peace.</u></p>
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As can be seen from the table the Arabic ST which consists of 10 sentences was rendered by the MEMRI into 10 sentences and by the OT into 15.

Sentence	Mistranslation? If YES please write the type and Grade	Pragmatic Failure in Translation? Please write YES if you believe so
S1 in IB - E1 – MEMRI	C3 and C5	YESx3
S2 in IB - E1 – MEMRI	C3 and C5	YESx3
S3 in IB - E1 – MEMRI	C3 and C5	YESx3
S4 in IB - E1 – MEMRI	C3 and C5	YESx3
S5 in IB - E1 – MEMRI	S3, C3 and C5	YESx4
S6a in IB - E1 – MEMRI	S2 and S4	NOx3
S6b in IB - E1 – MEMRI	S2 and S4	NOx3
S6c in IB - E1 – MEMRI		
S7 in IB - E1 – MEMRI		
S8 in IB - E1 – MEMRI	S2, G2 and S3	NOx4
S9a in IB - E1 – MEMRI		
S9b in IB - E1 – MEMRI		
S9c in IB - E1 – MEMRI		
S10 in IB - E1 – MEMRI		
S1 in IB - E1 – OT		
S2 in IB - E1 – OT	G2 and S2	NOx4
S3 in IB - E1 – OT		
S4 in IB - E1 – OT		
S5a in IB - E1 – OT		
S5b in IB - E1 – OT		
S6a in IB - E1 – OT		
S6b in IB - E1 – OT		
S7 in IB - E1 – OT		
S8a in IB - E1 – OT	G2 and S2	NOx4
S8b in IB - E1 – OT	G2, S2, S4 and S5	YESx4
S9a in IB - E1 – OT		

S9b in IB - E1 – OT		
S10a in IB - E1 – OT	G2, S3 and S4	NOx2
S10b in IB - E1 – OT	G2, S3 and S4	NOx2

The MEMRI's textual manipulation represented in the omission of the Arabic ST's sentences S1, S2, S3 and S4 was observed and classified by three respondents under type C (grades 3 and 5), and they agreed that this omission leads to pragmatic failure. In S5, three respondents observed a mistranslation and classified it under type S (grade 3) and type C (grades 3 and 5), and they all agreed that it leads to pragmatic failure. In S6a and S6b, the four respondents observed a mistranslation and classified it under type S (grades 2 and 4) with no possibility of pragmatic failure. In S8, the four respondents observed a mistranslation under type S (grades 2 and 3) and type G (grade 2) with no possible pragmatic failure.

As for the OT, the four respondents observed a mistranslation in S2 and S8a and classified it under type S (grade 2) and type G (grade 2) with no possible pragmatic failure. In S8b, the four respondents observed a mistranslation and classified it under type G (grade 2) and type S (grades 2, 4 and 5), and they agreed that it leads to pragmatic failure. In S10a and S10b, two respondents observed a mistranslation and classified it under type G (grade 2) and type S (grades 3 and 4) with no possible pragmatic failure.

4.4.2.2 Excerpt 2 data

IB – E2 – ST	<p>1 ثانياً بالنسبة للحرب التحريرية أو المقاومة إذا كان بمعنى المقاومة فالمقاومة لا تنشأ بقرار من الدولة. 2 تنشأ بشكل شعبي وبشكل طبيعي عندما لا يكون هناك دولة تعمل من أجل تحرير الأرض. 3 المعروف بأن سورية دولة مستقلة وهناك جيش ويطور هذا الجيش نفسه بحسب ما تقوله إسرائيل. 4 لا نبتعد، لا نتحدث عن تصريحات أو كتابات أو أي شيء مشابه من قوى حليفة لسورية. 5 العدو نفسه يتحدث عن مساع سورية لتطوير ذاتها. 6 هذا التطوير يعني عندما تستمر فترة اللا حرب واللا سلم فهي لا بد من أن تكون فترة مؤقتة إما أن تنتهي بتوقيع السلام أو أن تنتهي بالحرب فلا يوجد خيار آخر. 7 وأنت لا تذهب باتجاه الحرب إلا عندما تفقد الأمل من خلال السلام.</p>
IB – E2 – MEMRI	<p>1, 2, 3. <u>It is well-known that Syria is developing its army, even according to what Israel itself says.</u> 4. I am not quoting statements by pro-Syrian circles. 5. <u>Even the enemy acknowledges Syria's efforts to develop [its military].</u> 6a. This means that the state of "neither war nor peace" is temporary. 6b. <u>Either it will end in peace – the signing of a peace accord – or it will end in war.</u> 6c. There is no other option. 7. But you turn to war only when you have lost all hope of peace.</p>

IB – E2 – OT	1Resistance is not made by state decision. 2 . It is a natural choice of the nations when the state doesn't work to liberate the land. 3 . It is well-known that Syria is an independent state with an army which is developing itself, as Israel says. 4 . We are not talking about statements or reports made by Syria's allies. 5 . The enemy itself is talking about Syria's endeavors to develop herself. 6a . This development means that the continuation of no-war-no-peace situation should be temporary. 6b . It must end by either signing a peace agreement or war. 6c . There is no other option. 7 . <u>You only go towards war when you lose hope.</u>
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As can be seen from the table the Arabic ST which consists of 7 sentences was rendered by the MEMRI into 7 sentences and by the OT into 9.

Sentence	Mistranslation? If YES please write the type and Grade	Pragmatic Failure in Translation? Please write YES if you believe so
S1 in IB – E2 – MEMRI	C3 and C5	YESx4
S2 in IB – E2 – MEMRI	C3 and C5	YESx4
S3 in IB – E2 – MEMRI	C3, C4 and C5	YESx4
S4 in IB – E2 – MEMRI		
S5 in IB – E2 – MEMRI	S4 and C5	YESx4
S6a in IB – E2 – MEMRI		
S6b in IB – E2 – MEMRI	S4 and S5	YESx4
S6c in IB – E2 – MEMRI		
S7 in IB – E2 – MEMRI		
S1 in IB – E2 – OT		
S2 in IB – E2 – OT		
S3 in IB – E2 – OT		
S3b in IB – E2 – OT		
S4 in IB – E2 – OT		
S5 in IB – E2 – OT		
S6a in IB – E2 – OT		
S6b in IB – E2 – OT		
S6c in IB – E2 – OT		
S7 in IB – E2 – OT	S3, S4 and S5	YESx2

The MEMRI's textual manipulation represented in the omission of the Arabic ST's sentences S1 and S2 was observed and classified by the four respondents under type C (grades 3 and 5), and they agreed that this omission leads to pragmatic failure. In S3, the four respondents observed a mistranslation and classified it under type C (grades 3, 4 and

5) and they all agreed that it leads to pragmatic failure. In S5, the four respondents observed a mistranslation and classified it under type S (grade 4) and type C (grade 5) and they agreed that it is likely to lead to pragmatic failure. In S6b, the four respondents observed another mistranslation and classified it under type S (grades 4 and 5), and agreed that such a deviation is likely to lead to pragmatic failure.

As far as the OT is concerned, two respondents observed a mistranslation in S7 and classified it under type S (grades 3, 4 and 5) and they both agreed that it is likely to lead to pragmatic failure.

4.4.2.2.3 Summary of interview B data

The following table represents all the mistranslated sentences observed by the four respondents in the OT and the MEMRI translations.

Table 13. Summary of Interview B – Excerpts 1-2 Data			
Serial Number	Sentence	Mistranslation? If YES please write the type and grade	Pragmatic Failure in Translation? Please write YES if you believe so
1	S2 in IB - E1 – OT	G2 and S2	NOx4
2	S8a in IB - E1 – OT	G2 and S2	NOx4
3	S8b in IB - E1 – OT	G2, S2, S4 and S5	YESx4
4	S10a in IB - E1 – OT	G2, S3 and S4	NOx2
5	S10b in IB - E1 – OT	G2, S3 and S4	NOx2
6	S7 in IB – E2 – OT	S3, S4 and S5	YESx2
Serial Number	Sentence	Mistranslation? If YES please write the type and grade	Pragmatic Failure in Translation? Please write YES if you believe so
1	S1 in IB - E1 – MEMRI	C3 and C5	YESx3
2	S2 in IB - E1 – MEMRI	C3 and C5	YESx3
3	S3 in IB - E1 – MEMRI	C3 and C5	YESx3
4	S4 in IB - E1 – MEMRI	C3 and C5	YESx3
5	S5 in IB - E1 – MEMRI	S3, C3 and C5	YESx4
6	S6a in IB - E1 – MEMRI	S2 and S4	NOx3
7	S6b in IB - E1 – MEMRI	S2 and S4	NOx3
8	S8 in IB - E1 – MEMRI	S2, S3 and G2	NOx4
9	S1 in IB – E2 – MEMRI	C3 and C5	YESx4
10	S2 in IB – E2 – MEMRI	C3 and C5	YESx4
11	S3 in IB – E2 – MEMRI	C3, C4 and C5	YESx4

12	S5 in IB – E2 – MEMRI	S4 and C5	YESx4
13	S6b in IB – E2 – MEMRI	S4 and S5	YESx4

As identified by the respondents, the total number of translation deviations observed in both TTs was 46. The MEMRI's deviations are 29 and they were observed in 13 sentences out of 23. Fifteen deviations were observed in seven sentences and were classified under the cultural type (C) with grades C3 (Large Processing Efforts & Small Contextual Effects), C4 (Irrelevant Implications) and C5 (Misunderstanding Communicator's Intention). Such deviations are the result of ignoring the translation of some sentences or omitting certain parts of sentences on no clear linguistic or structural basis. As for purely semantic deviations, six deviations were observed in three sentences and were classified under grades S2 (Semantic Ill-formedness), S3 (Large Processing Efforts & Small Contextual Effects), S4 (Irrelevant Implication) and S5 (Misunderstanding Communicator's Intention). Other deviations related to an overlap between the semantic and cultural types were five deviations in three sentences and they were classified under grades (S3, C3 and C5) and (S4 and C5). It was also noticed that the three deviations related to an overlap between the semantic and grammatical types were observed in one sentence and were classified under grades (S2, S3 and G2). In contrast, the deviations of the OT are 17 and they were observed in six sentences out of 25. These deviations were the result of using grammatical and semantic ill-formed forms, which are related to missing conjunctions, quotation marks, word order, parenthetical sentences and linguistic structure. As for purely semantic deviations, three deviations were observed in one sentence and they were classified under grades (S3, S4 and S5). Other deviations related to an overlap between the semantic and grammatical types were 14 deviations in five sentences and were classified under grades (G2 and S2), (G2, S3 and S4), and grades (G2, S2, S4 and S5).

As for the number of all translation deviations that led to pragmatic failure in both TTs, the total number is 29 deviations. The MEMRI's deviations are 22 and they were observed in 10 sentences out of 13 deviated sentences. It is worth noting that the reasons behind such deviations are mainly related to deviations classified under grade five regardless of the type of such a deviation be it grammatical, semantic or cultural. Fifteen purely cultural deviations were observed in seven sentences and they were classified under grades (C3, C4 and C5). As for purely semantic deviations, only two deviations were

classified under grades (S4 and S5). Other deviations related to an overlap between semantic and cultural types in two sentences were five deviations and they were classified under grades (S3, C3 and C5) and (S4 and C5). In contrast, seven deviations were observed in the official translation of two sentences out of six. Three semantic deviations were observed in sentence (S7 in IB-E2) and they were classified under grades (S3, S4 and S5), while four deviations were observed in sentence (S8b in IB - E1) and they were classified under grades (G2, S2, S4 and S5). It is worth noting that one deviation may lead to another one and consequently misunderstanding will be the result.

4.4.2.3 Interview C data

4.4.2.3.1 Excerpt 1 data

IC - E1 – ST	<p>1. بالنسبة لنا، نحن واثقون من نزع هذه التهمة. 2. لا يوجد أي دليل على أن سورية متورطة، لا دليل جرمياً وليست هناك مصلحة لسورية، وليس لسورية تاريخ مشابه بهذه الأعمال. 3. بالعكس، نحن لنا مصلحة بأن يصل التحقيق لهذه الحقيقة، لأن هذه الحقيقة، من وجهة نظرنا، هي براءة سورية بشكل كامل. 4. لا يوجد لدينا أي شك بهذه النقطة، لذلك نتحدث عن أن التحقيق يجب أن يكون عادلاً واحترافياً.</p>
IC - E1 – MEMRI	<p>1.--- 2a. There is no proof that Syria is involved (in the Al-Hariri assassination). 2b. There is no criminal evidence, and Syria does not have any interest or a history of similar actions. 3. On the contrary, we have an interest in the investigation getting to the truth, because the truth is, from our perspective, that Syria is completely innocent. 4a. <u>I have no doubt about this.</u> 4b. Therefore, the investigation must be fair and professional.</p>
IC - E1 – OT	<p>1... We are certain of our innocence. 2a. <u>There is no evidence that Syria is involved.</u> 2b. There is no criminal evidence; and Syria has no interest in that crime, nor does it have a history of similar actions. 3. On the contrary, we have an interest in seeing the investigation uncover the truth, because this truth, as far as we are concerned, is the complete innocence of Syria. 4. We have no doubt about this, and that is why we talk about the necessity of having a just and professional investigation.</p>

As can be seen from the table the Arabic ST which consists of 4 sentences was rendered by the MEMRI into 5 sentences and by the OT into 5.

Table 14. Interview C – Excerpt 1 Data		
Sentence	Mistranslation? If YES please write the type and Grade	Pragmatic Failure in Translation? Please write YES if you believe so
S1 in IC - E1 – MEMRI	C3 and C5	YESx2
S2a in IC - E1 – MEMRI		
S2b in IC - E1 – MEMRI		
S3 in IC - E1 – MEMRI		
S4a in IC - E1 – MEMRI	G2, G4 and G5	YESx4
S4b in IC - E1 – MEMRI		
S1 in IC - E1 – OT		
S2a in IC - E1 – OT	S2	NOx4
S2b in IC - E1 – OT		
S3 in IC - E1 – OT		
S4 in IC - E1 – OT		

The MEMRI's textual manipulation represented in ignoring the translation of the first Arabic sentence was observed and classified by two of the respondents under type C (grades 3 and 5), and they agreed that this omission leads to pragmatic failure. In S4a, the four respondents observed and classified another mistranslation under type G (grades 2, 4 and 5) and they all agreed that it leads to pragmatic failure.

As for the OT, the four respondents observed a mistranslation in S2a under the type S (grade 2) and they agreed that it is unlikely to lead to pragmatic failure.

4.4.2.3.2 Excerpt 2 data

IC – E2 – ST	<p>1. المشكلة الآن هي ليست خلافاً بين سورية والأمم المتحدة. 2. المشكلة الآن أن هذه الأمم المتحدة، وتحديداً مجلس الأمن، أصبح عبارة عن أداة تطبق ما يريده بعض السياسيين القلة في هذا العالم عندما يختلفون مع دولة ما، ليس بالضرورة أن يطبقوه لمصالح بلدانهم. 3. أنا أعتقد بأنهم يستخدمون مجلس الأمن ضد مصلحة بلدانهم وضد مصالحنا. 4. فإذا، الحل لكي لا نقول تسوية، هو حل واضح تماماً بالعودة لميثاق الأمم المتحدة. 5. إذا طبقنا ميثاق الأمم المتحدة، ستكون سورية مستفيدة بشكل مباشر ولا داعي للتسويات، الحل بسيط جداً.</p>
IC – E2 – MEMRI	<p>1. The problem now is not a dispute between Syria and the UN. 2a. The problem is that this UN, and particularly the Security Council, have become a tool serving to implement the will of a handful of politicians in the world, whenever they have a dispute with any country. 2b. They are not necessarily doing this for the sake of their countries' interests. 3. I believe that they are using the Security Council against their countries' interests and against our own interests. 4a. <u>Therefore, the solution – we shouldn't call it a settlement but a solution – is perfectly</u></p>

	clear. 4b. <u>We must return to the UN Charter.</u> 5a. If we implement the UN Charter, Syria would benefit directly. 5b. <u>There is no need for settlements, because the solution is very simple.</u>
IC – E2 – OT	1.--- 2a. The problem now is that this UN, and the Security Council in particular, has become an instrument implementing the will of a few politicians in the world when they disagree with a certain state. 2b. Worse than that, they do not necessarily use the Security Council in the best interest of their countries. 3. I believe they use it against the interests of their countries and against our interests. 4. Therefore, to avoid saying “compromise”, the solution is very clear: it is recourse to the UN Charter. 5a If we apply the Charter, Syria will benefit directly and there will be no need for a compromise. 5b. The solution is very simple.

As can be seen from the table the Arabic ST which consists of 5 sentences was rendered by the MEMRI into 8 sentences and by the OT into 6.

Table 15. Interview C – Excerpt 2 Data		
Sentence	Mistranslation? If YES please write the type and Grade	Pragmatic Failure in Translation? Please write YES if you believe so
S1 in IC – E2 – MEMRI		
S2a in IC – E2 – MEMRI		
S2b in IC – E2 – MEMRI		
S3 in IC – E2 – MEMRI		
S4a in IC – E2 – MEMRI	S1, S4 and S5	YESx4
S4b in IC – E2 – MEMRI	S2	NOx2
S5a in IC – E2 – MEMRI		
S5b in IC – E2 – MEMRI	S1, S4 and S5	YESx4
S1 in IC – E2 – OT	S3 and S5	YESx4
S2a in IC – E2 – OT		
S2b in IC – E2 – OT		
S3 in IC – E2 – OT		
S4 in IC - E2– OT		
S5a in IC – E2 – OT		
S5b in IC – E2 – OT		

The mistranslation observed in S4a of the MEMRI translation was classified by the four respondents under type S (grades 1, 4 and 5), and they agreed that it leads to pragmatic failure. In S4b, two of the respondents observed a mistranslation and classified it under type S (grade 2) and they both agreed that it is unlikely to lead to pragmatic failure. In S5b,

the four respondents observed the same mistranslation as in S4a and classified it under type S (grades 1, 4 and 5) and they all agreed that this mistranslation leads to pragmatic failure.

As for the OT, the four respondents observed a mistranslation in S1 and classified it under type S (grades 3 and 5) and agreed that it leads to pragmatic failure.

4.4.2.3.3 Excerpt 3 data

IC – E3 – ST	1. القرار الأول والقرار الثاني شاركت فيه فرنسا وأمريكا. 2. إن لم نسمِّ هذا مؤامرة، فهل نسميه عملاً خيراً على سبيل المثال؟ 3. لا تهتم التسمية، فهذه هي الوقائع ونسُميها ما شئنا، ولكن الآن هناك مشاركة فرنسية في قرارات من هذا النوع لا تخدم الاستقرار في المنطقة.
IC – E3 – MEMRI	1. France and America were involved in Resolutions 1559 and 1636. 2a. What are we to call this if not a "conspiracy"? 2b. Perhaps an act of charity. 3a. Names do not matter. 3b. <u>This is reality, and we can call it whatever you like.</u> 3c. <u>But today, France is involved in resolutions of this kind, which do not serve stability in this region.</u>
IC – E3 – OT	1. France and the United States took part in passing both resolutions. 2. If we do not call this a plot or a conspiracy, do we call it an act of charity for instance? 3a. Anyhow, the name does not matter. 3b. <u>These are facts regardless of the name.</u> 3c. At least there is a French participation in resolutions of the kind that do not serve stability in the region.

As can be seen from the table the Arabic ST which consists of 3 sentences was rendered by the MEMRI into 6 sentences and by the OT into 5.

Table 16. Interview C – Excerpt 3 Data		
Sentence	Mistranslation? If YES please write the type and Grade	Pragmatic Failure in Translation? Please write YES if you believe so
S1 in IC – E3 – MEMRI	S2, S4 and S5	YESx4
S2a in IC – E3 – MEMRI		
S2b in IC – E3 – MEMRI		
S3a in IC – E3 – MEMRI		
S3b in IC – E3 – MEMRI	S1, S2, S4, G2, and G4	NOx2
S3c in IC – E3 – MEMRI	S2, S4 and S5	YESx4
S1 in IC – E3 – OT		
S2 in IC – E3 – OT		
S3a in IC – E3 – OT		
S3b in IC – E3 – OT	S1 and S2	NOx4
S3c in IC – E3 – OT		

The mistranslation observed in S1 of the MEMRI translation was observed and classified by the four respondents under type S (grades 2, 4 and 5), and they agreed that it leads to pragmatic failure. In S3b, two respondents observed a mistranslation and classified it under type G (grades 2 and 4) and type S (grades 1, 2 and 4), and they did not agree that it leads to pragmatic failure. In S3c, the four respondents observed a mistranslation and classified it under type S (grades 2, 4 and 5) and agreed it leads to pragmatic failure.

As far as the OT is concerned, the four respondents observed a mistranslation in S3b and classified it under type S (grades 1 and 2) with no possibility of pragmatic failure.

4.4.2.3.4 Excerpt 4 data

IC – E4 – ST	<p>1. عندما ينصت رئيس، ينصت أولاً لشعبه قبل أن ينصت لآخرين، ومن ثم ينصت لأصدقائه المخلصين ولشركائه السياسيين. 2. ثانياً، ربما لا نفهم أشياء كثيرة، وفي مقدمتها لا نفهم كيف تضع فرنسا كل ثقلها للتحقيق بمقتل الرئيس الحريري ونحن نفهم هذا الشيء وتدعمه، ولكن بنفس الوقت لا نتحدث بكلمة واحدة عن اغتيال الرئيس عرفات الذي اغتيل في الأراضي الفلسطينية ومات في مشفى فرنسي، والأمور تمر من دون أن نعرف أي شيء عنها. 3. لماذا هذا المعيار المزدوج؟ 4. لماذا ازدواجية المعايير؟ 5. هي ليست من سمات السياسات الفرنسية، وأحد الأشياء التي لا نفهمها ولا نعرفها، هل سيأتينا جواب قريباً؟</p>
IC – E4 – MEMRI	<p>1... 2a... <u>I do not understand how France can place all its efforts into investigating the assassination of Prime Minister Al-Hariri – something I understand and support – While it does not say a word about the assassination of President Arafat, who was assassinated in the Palestinian territories and who died in a French hospital.</u> 2b. This event passed by without us knowing anything about it. 3. Why these double standards? 4... 5a. This is not characteristic of French policy. 5b. <u>This is one of the things I don't understand, and I don't know if I can expect an answer soon.</u></p>
IC – E4 – OT	<p>1a. When a President listens, he listens to his people first of all before he listens to others. 1b. Then he listens to his loyal friends and political partners. 2a. <u>Second, we might not be able to understand many things; but we cannot understand how France put all its weight behind the investigation into the assassination of Prime Minister Hariri.</u> 2b. <u>Of course we understand and support the investigation, but at the same time we have not said a single word about the assassination of President Arafat who was assassinated on the Palestinian territories and died in a French hospital.</u> 2c. <u>Arafat's death passed by without us knowing anything about it.</u> 3. Why these double standards? 4... 5a. Double standards are not characteristic of French policies. 5b. This is one thing we do not know and do not understand. 5c. Are we going to get an answer any time soon?</p>

As can be seen from the table the Arabic ST which consists of 5 sentences was rendered by the MEMRI into 4 sentences and by the OT into 9.

Table 17. Interview C – Excerpt 4 Data		
Sentence	Mistranslation? If YES please write the type and Grade	Pragmatic Failure in Translation? Please write YES if you believe so
S1 in IC – E4 – MEMRI	C3 and C5	YESx4
S2a in IC – E4 – MEMRI	C3, C5, G2, G4, G5, C1, C2 and S2	YESx4
S2b in IC – E4 – MEMRI		
S3 in IC – E4 – MEMRI		
S4 in IC – E4 – MEMRI		
S5a in IC – E4 – MEMRI		
S5b in IC – E4 – MEMRI	G2, G4 and G5	YESx3
S1a in IC – E4 – OT		
S1b in IC – E4 – OT		
S2a in IC – E4 – OT	C1, C2, S2 and G2	NOx4
S2b in IC – E4 – OT	S1, S2, S4 and S5	YESx4
S2c in IC – E4 – OT		
S3 in IC – E4 – OT		
S4 in IC – E4 – OT		
S5a in IC – E4 – OT		
S5b in IC – E4 – OT		
S5c in IC – E4 – OT		

It seems that the four respondents were in agreement with regard to almost all mistranslations in both TTs. The four respondents observed a mistranslation in S1 of the MEMRI translation and classified it under type C (grades 3 and 5), and they agreed that it leads to pragmatic failure. In S2a, they observed a mistranslation and classified it under type C (grades 1, 2, 3 and 5), type G (grades 2, 4 and 5), and type S (grade 2). They also agreed that it leads to pragmatic failure. In S5b, three respondents observed a mistranslation and classified it under type G (grades 2, 4 and 5) and agreed that it leads to pragmatic failure.

As for the OT, the four respondents observed a mistranslation in S2a and classified it under type C (grades 1 and 2), type S (grade 2) and type G (grade 2) with no possibility of pragmatic failure. They also observed a mistranslation in S2b and classified it under type S (grades 1, 2, 4 and 5) and agreed that it leads to pragmatic failure.

4.4.2.3.5 Excerpt 5 data

IC – E5 – ST	1. طبعاً، وليس هم من قتلوا الرئيس الحريري أيضاً، ولكن الرئيس الحريري مات في أراضٍ لبنانية، أما الرئيس عرفات مات في الأراضي الفرنسية، هذا أولاً. 2. ثانياً الرئيس عرفات أعلى موقِعاً وتاريخاً من الرئيس الحريري، مع احترامنا للرئيس الحريري، فكان من الطبيعي أن تتحرك فرنسا لأسباب أخلاقية، والعدل هو جزء من دستوركم، أن تتحرك بهذا الاتجاه.
IC – E5 – MEMRI	1a. --- Prime Minister Al-Hariri died on Lebanese soil, whereas President Arafat died on French soil. 1b. That's the first thing. 2a. Second, President Arafat had greater stature and was more important historically than Al-Hariri, with all due respect. 2b. It would be only natural for France to act out of moral reasons - justice is part of your constitution, after all to act in this direction.
IC – E5 – OT	1a. Of course they did not. 1b. And they did not kill Hariri either. 1c. Prime Minister Hariri died on Lebanese territories, while President Arafat died on French territories. 2a. Second, President Arafat is higher in status and richer in history than Hariri, with all due respect to Prime Minister Hariri. 2b. It was only normal to see France moving in that direction for moral reasons, and because justice is part of the French constitution.

As can be seen from the table the Arabic ST which consists of 2 sentences was rendered by the MEMRI into 4 sentences and by the OT into 5.

Table 18. Interview C – Excerpt 5 Data		
Sentence	Mistranslation? If YES please write the type and Grade	Pragmatic Failure in Translation? Please write YES if you believe so
S1a in IC – E5 – MEMRI	C3, C4, C5 and S3	YESx4
S1b in IC – E5 – MEMRI		
S2a in IC – E5 – MEMRI		
S2b in IC – E5 – MEMRI		
S1a in IC – E5 – OT		
S1b in IC – E5 – OT		
S1c in IC – E5 – OT		
S2a in IC – E5 – OT		
S2b in IC- E5 – OT		

The four respondents observed only one mistranslation in the MEMRI translation of S1a and classified it under type C (grades 3, 4 and 5) and type S (grade 3). They all agreed that it leads to pragmatic failure.

As for the OT, no respondent observed any deviation.

4.4.2.3.6 Excerpt 6 data

IC – E6 – ST	<p>1. أنا لا أكره الرئيس شيراك، وبالعكس، ربما في الماضي كنت أقدر هذا الرجل كثيراً لأسباب عديدة، ولكن أريد أن أفصل هذه العلاقة عن العلاقة السورية — الفرنسية. 2. هي ليست واحدة، وخلال هذه الفترة لم تتأثر كثيراً هذه العلاقة، ربما تأثرت نوعاً ما لهذا السبب ولأسباب أخرى لها علاقة بالدور الفرنسي الذي تراجع في منطقة الشرق الأوسط والذي يكاد يغيث أحياناً. 3. لكن ما يعيد هذه العلاقة أو يدفعها للأمام، كما أقول دائماً، هو أن تكون هذه العلاقة مؤسساتية مبنية على المؤسسات، وليست مبنية على الأفراد فقط، وأن تكون هذه العلاقة مباشرة بين سورية وفرنسا، لا تمر عبر طرف ثالث وهذه الأشياء الآن غير متوفرة.</p>
IC – E6 – MEMRI	<p>1a. I do not hate President Chirac. 1b. On the contrary, I may have respected the man very much in the past for many reasons. 1c. <u>But I want to differentiate between this relation and Syrian-French relations.</u> 2a. It is not the same thing. During this period, these relations were not affected significantly. 2b. <u>The relations may have been affected to some extent because of the (Al-Hariri case), and for other reasons concerning the diminishing French role in the Middle East, and which, at times, almost completely disappears.</u> 3 ---.</p>
IC – E6 – OT	<p>1a. I do not hate President Chirac. 1b. On the contrary, I used to have the highest regard for this man in the past for many reasons. 1c. But I want here to separate this relationship from the Syrian-French relations. 2a. The two are not the same, and during the past period, it did not change a lot. 2b. May be it was affected for this and other reasons that have to do with the French role that has receded in the Middle East, and has become sometimes absent. 3a. <u>What can bring back this relationship or push it forward is, as I always say, an institutional relationship that is based on the institutions and not on individuals.</u> 3b. The Syrian-French relations should be direct and not via a third party, and this is something unavailable now.</p>

As can be seen from the table the Arabic ST which consists of 3 sentences was rendered by the MEMRI into 5 sentences and by the OT into 7.

Table 19. Interview C – Excerpt 6 Data		
Sentence	Mistranslation? If YES please write the type and Grade	Pragmatic Failure in Translation? Please write YES if you believe so
S1a in IC – E6 – MEMRI		
S1b in IC – E6 – MEMRI		
S1c in IC – E6 – MEMRI	S2 and S3	NOx3
S2a in IC – E6 – MEMRI		
S2b in IC – E6 – MEMRI		
S3 in IC – E6 – MEMRI	C3 and C5	YESx4
S1a in IC – E6 – OT		
S1b in IC – E6 – OT		

S1c in IC – E6 – OT		
S2a in IC – E6 – OT		
S2b in IC – E6 – OT		
S3a in IC – E6 – OT	S2, S3 and S4	NOx1
S3a in IC – E6 – OT	S2, S4 and S5	YESx3
S3b in IC – E6 – OT		

The mistranslation observed in S1c of the MEMRI translation was observed and classified by three respondents under type S (grades 2) and they agreed that it is unlikely to lead to pragmatic failure. All respondents observed that the MEMRI translation has completely ignored the second part of sentence S3 of the Arabic ST. They classified this omission under type C (grades 3 and 5) and agreed that it leads to pragmatic failure.

As for the OT, the four respondents observed a mistranslation in S3a and it was classified by one of them under type S (grades 2, 3 and 4) and agreed that it is unlikely to lead to pragmatic failure, while the other three classified this same mistranslation under type S (grades 2, 4 and 5) and agreed that its leads to pragmatic failure.

4.4.2.3.7 Excerpt 7 data

IC - E7 – ST	1. الشعب الفرنسي له تاريخ كبير جداً، وتاريخ يتميز عن تاريخ الكثير من الشعوب، حتى في أوروبا نفسها. 2. هذا التاريخ أعطى ثقافة خاصة للفرنسيين، ثقافة منفتحة، هذه الثقافة انعكست على السياسة الفرنسية وأعطت دوراً كبيراً لفرنسا في أوروبا وفي العالم وفي منطقة الشرق الأوسط. 3. الرئيس شارل ديغول أيضاً أضاف لهذا الموقع الفرنسي كثيراً.
IC – E7 – MEMRI	1. The French people has a great history, which is distinguished from the history of many other peoples, even in Europe itself. 2....3....
IC – E7 – OT	1. The French people have a great history, distinguished from the histories of other peoples, even in Europe itself. 2. This has given the French people a special culture, an open culture, which has reflected on French politics and gave an important role to France in Europe, in the world at large, and in the Middle East in particular. 3. President Charles De Gaulle also added a great deal to this French position.

As can be seen from the table the Arabic ST which consists of 3 sentences was rendered by the MEMRI into 1 sentence and by the OT into 3.

Sentence	Mistranslation? If YES please write the type and Grade	Pragmatic Failure in Translation? Please write YES if you believe so
S1 in IC – E7 – MEMRI		
S2 in IC – E7 – MEMRI	C3 and C5	YESx4
S3 in IC – E7 – MEMRI	C3 and C5	YESx4
S1 in IC – E7 – OT		
S2 in IC – E7 – OT		
S3 in IC – E7 – OT		

The four respondents observed that the MEMRI translation has completely ignored the information related to S2 and S3 of the Arabic ST. They classified this omission under type C (grades 3 and 5) and agreed that it leads to pragmatic failure.

As for the OT, no respondent observed any mistranslations in the OT.

4.4.2.3.8 Excerpt 8 data

IC – E8 – ST	<p>1. الحقيقة اليوم هذا الدور يتراجع، كما قلت قبل قليل، هذا الدور أحياناً يبدو غير ظاهر، غير موجود، وأحياناً يبدو تابعاً لأدوار أخرى. 2. وهذا لم يكن موجوداً في تاريخ الدور الفرنسي، وله أسباب كثيرة سياسية، وربما أسباب أخرى بحاجة لبحث. 3. لكن بالنتيجة، هذا يضر بمصالح الشعب الفرنسي أولاً، ويضر بمصالح أوروبا وبمصالح العالم وبمصالحننا نحن في الشرق الأوسط. 4. ولا تستطيع أن تفصل مصالح أوروبا الآن عن الشرق الأوسط، والدليل هو ما حصل في الماضي، 11 أيلول في نيويورك، تفجيرات مدريد، تفجيرات لندن، وما يحصل في إندونيسيا، وما يحصل في الأراضي الفلسطينية. 5. فإذاً، على الشعب الفرنسي أن يتحرك مجدداً من خلال مؤسساته لإعادة هذا الدور الفرنسي المنفتح على كل الثقافات ورفض محاولات عزل هذه الثقافة الفرنسية التي لم تكن معزولة منذ أكثر من مئتي عام، أي منذ الثورة الفرنسية.</p>
IC – E8 – MEMRI	<p>1a. The truth is that this French role is now diminishing, as I just said. 1b. Sometimes it seems that this role is non-existent, and sometimes it seems to be subordinate to other roles. 2a. This never happened throughout the history of the French role. 2b. There are many reasons for this – political and maybe others, which require research. 3. <u>Ultimately, this is harmful, first of all, to the interests of the French people, it is harmful to the interests of Europe, to the interests of the world, and to our interests in the Middle East.</u> 4. You cannot separate Europe's interests from the Middle East, and the proof of this is what happened in the past: 9/11 in New York, the Madrid bombings, the London bombings, what is happening in Indonesia, what is happening in the Palestinian territories. 5. Therefore, the French people must act again, through its institutions, to restore a French role, characterized by openness towards all cultures, and to reject the efforts to isolate this</p>

	French culture, which has not been isolated for more than two hundred years, since the French Revolution.
IC – E8 – OT	1. This role is in fact receding today, as I said a short while ago, and seems sometimes invisible, sometimes inexistent, and sometimes subordinate to other roles. 2. This has never happened in the history of the French role before, and could have many political causes, and may be other causes that need to be examined. 3. <u>But the net result is that this harms the interests of the French people first of all, the interests of Europe and the world, and our interests in the Middle East.</u> 4. <u>We cannot actually separate the interests of Europe now from the Middle East, and the evidence is what happened in the past: 9/11 in New York, the Madrid explosions, the London explosions, what is happening in Indonesia, and what is happening in the Palestinian territories.</u> 5. <u>So, the French people have to move again through their institutions in order to restore this French role which is characterized by openness towards all cultures, and should reject the attempts aiming at isolating this French culture which remained unisolated for over two hundred years, i.e. since the French Revolution.</u>

As can be seen from the table the Arabic ST which consists of 5 sentences was rendered by the MEMRI into 7 sentences and by the OT into 5.

Sentence	Mistranslation? If YES please write the type and Grade	Pragmatic Failure in Translation? Please write YES if you believe so
S1a in IC – E8 – MEMRI		
S1b in IC – E8 – MEMRI		
S2a in IC – E8 – MEMRI		
S2b in IC – E8 – MEMRI		
S3 in IC – E8 – MEMRI	S2 and G2	NOx3
S4 in IC – E8 – MEMRI		
S5 in IC – E8 – MEMRI		
S1 in IC – E8 – OT	S1 and S2	NOx4
S2 in IC – E8 – OT		
S3 in IC – E8 – OT		
S4 in IC – E8 – OT	G1 and G2	NOx3
S5 in IC – E8 – OT	G1, G2, S2 and S3	NOx3

It is noted that three respondents observed only one mistranslation in the MEMRI translation of S3 and classified it under type S (grade 2) and type G (grade 2) with no possibility of pragmatic failure.

As far as the OT is concerned, the four respondents observed a deviation in S1 and classified it under type S (grades 1 and 2) and agreed that it is unlikely to lead to pragmatic failure. In S4, three respondents observed a mistranslation and classified it under type G (grade 1 and 2) with no possible pragmatic failure. In S5, three respondents observed another mistranslation and classified it under type G (grades 1 and 2) and type S (grades 2 and 3) with no possibility of pragmatic failure.

4.4.2.3.9 Excerpt 9 data

IC – E9 – ST	<p>1. هم يقولون بأنهم لا يضبطون الحدود مع المكسيك، فكيف نضبط حدودنا مع العراق؟ 2. هذا أولاً. 3. فإذا قضية ضبط الحدود بالنسبة لأية دولة بشكل كامل ومطلق، هي قضية نظرية وغير ممكنة. 4. مع ذلك، سورية تضبط الحدود إلى حد كبير. 5. سأعطيك مثلاً بالأرقام: هم يقولون بأنهم يقدرّون الإرهابيين في العراق بين ألف إلى ثلاثة آلاف، وهم يعرفون أن سورية لديها أو أوقفت في الماضي من الإرهابيين خلال العامين الماضيين حوالي 1600، يعني هذا يعادل 52 بالمئة حتى 160% من العدد الذي يقدرّونه. 6. على كل الأحوال، كل ما يقال حول هذا الموضوع هو هروب إلى الأمام أو هو سياسة النعامة التي تطمر رأسها في التراب لكي لا ترى الحقيقة. 7. الخطر أو الخطأ الأساسي الذي يؤدي إلى الإرهاب في العراق هو أولاً الحرب الخاطئة. 8. ثانياً، الأداء السياسي الخاطي في إدارة أمور العراق من قبل القوى المحتلة. 9. وهذه التهمة لسورية هي لإلقاء اللوم على طرف آخر لكي لا يتحملوا المسؤولية بكل بساطة.</p>
IC – E9 – MEMRI	<p>1. They (the Americans) say that they cannot seal off their border with Mexico, so how can we seal off our border with Iraq? 2. That's one thing. 3. Hermetically sealing the borders of any country is theoretical and impossible. 4. Nevertheless, Syria seals its border to a great degree. 5a. Let me give you an example with figures. 5b. They say they estimate the number of terrorists in Iraq to be between 1,000 and 3,000. 5c. They know that Syria has detained approximately 1,600 terrorists in the past two years. 5d. This number equals 52 to 160 percent of their estimate. 6. In any event, everything that has been said on this matter is like running ahead or the policy of an ostrich burying its head in the sand in order to avoid seeing the truth. 7 + 8. The basic danger that leads to terrorism in Iraq is, first and foremost, the wrong war, and second, the wrong political management of Iraq's affairs by the occupying forces. 9. The reason Syria was accused was in order to divert the blame, so that they would not be held responsible. It's very simple.</p>
IC – E9 – OT	<p>1. They say that they cannot control their borders with Mexico, so how could we control our borders with Iraq? 2... 3. Therefore, the issue of controlling the borders completely and absolutely is only theoretical and practically impossible. 4. Nevertheless, Syria is controlling the borders to a great extent. 5a. I shall give an example illustrated by figures: They say that they estimate the number of terrorists in Iraq at</p>

	<p>about 1,000 to 3,000. 5b. <u>And they know that Syria stopped in the past two years about 1,600, which is 52% of their estimates.</u> 6. <u>Anyway, everything said in this regard is a case of escaping forward, or is like the ostrich which buries its head in the sand in order not to see the truth.</u></p> <p>7. The main danger or error which leads to terrorism in Iraq is, first of all, the wrong war. 8. Second, it is the wrong political performance in managing the affairs of Iraq by the occupation powers. 9. This accusation to Syria aims simply at blaming somebody else so that they do not take responsibility.</p>
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As can be seen from the table the Arabic ST which consists of 9 sentences was rendered by the MEMRI into 10 sentences and by the OT into 9.

Sentence	Mistranslation? If YES please write the type and Grade	Pragmatic Failure in Translation? Please write YES if you believe so
S1 in IC – E9 – MEMRI	S2, S3 and S5	YESx4
S2 in IC – E9 – MEMRI		
S3 in IC – E9 – MEMRI	S2, S3 and S5	YESx4
S4 in IC – E9 – MEMRI	S2, S3 and S5	YESx4
S5a in IC – E9 – MEMRI		
S5b in IC – E9 – MEMRI		
S5c in IC – E9 – MEMRI		
S5d in IC – E9 – MEMRI		
S6 in IC – E9 – MEMRI		
S7+8 in IC – E9 – MEMRI	S1, S2 and S3	NOx3
S9 in IC – E9 – MEMRI		
S1 in IC – E9 – OT		
S2 in IC – E9 – OT		
S3 in IC – E9 – OT		
S4 in IC – E9 – OT		
S5a in IC – E9 – OT		
S5b in IC – E9 – OT	S2, S3 and S5	YESx4
S6 in IC – E9 – OT	S1, G2 and S2	NOx4
S7 in IC – E9 – OT		
S8 in IC – E9 – OT		
S9 in IC – E9 – OT		

The mistranslation observed in S1, S3 and S4 of the MEMRI translation was classified by the four respondents under type S (grades 2, 3 and 5) and they agreed that this mistranslation leads to pragmatic failure. In S7+8, three respondents observed a

mistranslation and classified it under type S (grades 1, 2 and 3) and agreed that it is unlikely to lead to pragmatic failure.

As for the OT, the four respondents observed a mistranslation in S5b and classified it under type S (grades 2, 3 and 5) and agreed that it leads to pragmatic failure. They also observed another mistranslation in S6 and classified it under type S (grades 1 and 2) and type G (grade 2) with no possibility of pragmatic failure.

4.4.2.3.10 Excerpt 10 data

IC – E10 – ST	<p>1. في أكثر من دولة عربية، هناك إخوان مسلمون، وفي كل دولة لهم قيادات، ولدينا علاقات مع جزء من هؤلاء. 2. مشكلتنا أو التهديد الذي يهدد سورية هو أنهم جزء من هؤلاء الذي يؤمن بالعنف والذي قام بأعمال إرهاب في سورية في السبعينيات والثمانينيات وأدى لمقتل الآلاف من السوريين. 3. المشكلة ليست بالتسمية، المشكلة هي في الفكر الذي يحكم تلك المجموعات، أي التطرف. 4. وسواء أكان هذا التطرف إسلامياً أو مسيحياً أو يهودياً أو كان تطرفاً اجتماعياً أو سياسياً، فإن كل التطرف يؤدي إلى التدمير. 5. لكن أسباب هذا التطرف هي أولاً الفوضى الدولية الموجودة في العالم، الأخطاء السياسية الكبرى التي تقوم بها الدول الكبرى والتي تؤدي لتزايد الإرهاب الذي يُبنى على هذا التطرف. 6. وبالتالي، قضية هل نحن قلقون، وهل مصر أو السعودية قلقة؟ 7. كلنا قلقون. 8. لو ذهبنا لأية دولة عربية الآن، ستسمع نفس هذا الكلام، ونفس هذا القلق. 9. فإذا لا بد من إزالة السبب لكي نزيل القلق.</p>
IC – E10 – MEMRI	<p>1a. The Muslim Brotherhood are present in a number of Arab countries. 1b. In each country they have leaders, and we have ties with some of them. 2. Our problem, or the threat directed towards Syria, stems from some of them who believe in violence and who perpetrated acts of terrorism in Syria in the 1970s and 1980s, causing the deaths of thousands of Syrians. 3a. The problem is not one of name. 3b +4a. <u>The problem is the ideology that governs these groups, the extremism – regardless of whether this extremism is Islamist, Christian, Jewish, social, or political.</u> 4b. Any kind of extremism leads to destruction. 5. But the reasons for this extremism are, first of all, the international anarchy which exists in the world, the great political mistakes made by the superpowers, leading to a rise in the terrorism which is based on this extremism. 6. <u>Is Egypt or Syria worried?</u> 7. We are all worried. 8. You will hear the same things and the same concern in any Arab country. 9. Therefore, in order to remove the concern, we must first remove its cause.</p>
IC – E10 – OT	<p>1a. <u>There are “Muslim Brothers” in more than one Arab country; and in every country they have leaders.</u> 1b. We have relations with some of them. 2. Our problem, or the threat to Syria, is only part of these people, those who believe in violence and those who carried out terrorist acts in Syria in the 1970s and 1980s and killed thousands of Syrians. 3. <u>The problem is not in the name, it is in the kind of thought which controls</u></p>

	<p>these groups, i.e. extremism. 4. Whether this extremism was Islamic, Christian, Jewish, or whether it was social or political, all extremism leads to destruction. 5. But the causes of this extremism lie, first of all, in the international chaos which exists in the world, the big mistakes made by the big powers which escalate the terrorism based on this extremism. 6. Consequently, we are worried. 7. Are Egypt and Saudi Arabia worried? 8. We are all worried. 9. If you go now to any Arab country, you will hear the same thing, and expression of the same concern. 10. Hence, there should be a solution which addresses the causes in order to overcome this concern.</p>
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As can be seen from the table the Arabic ST which consists of 9 sentences was rendered by the MEMRI into 10 sentences and by the OT into 11.

Table 23. Interview C – Excerpt 10 Data		
Sentence	Mistranslation? If YES please write the type and Grade	Pragmatic Failure in Translation? Please write YES if you believe so
S1a in IC - E10 – MEMRI		
S1b in IC - E10 – MEMRI		
S2 in IC - E10 – MEMRI		
S3a in IC - E10 – MEMRI		
S3b + 4a in IC - E10 – MEMRI	S1, G2 and S2	NOx3
S4b in IC - E10 – MEMRI		
S5 in IC - E10 – MEMRI		
S6 in IC - E10 – MEMRI	S1, S4 and S5	YESx4
S7 in IC - E10 – MEMRI		
S8 in IC - E10 – MEMRI		
S9 in IC - E10 – MEMRI		
S1a in IC - E10 – OT	S2	NOx4
S1b in IC - E10 – OT		
S2 in IC - E10 – OT		
S3 in IC - E10 – OT	S2	NOx4
S4 in IC - E10 – OT		
S5 in IC - E10 – OT		
S6 in IC - E10 – OT		
S7 in IC - E10 – OT		
S8 in IC - E10 – OT		
S9 in IC - E10 – OT		

The mistranslation observed in S3b+S4a of the MEMRI translation was classified by the three respondents under type under type S (grades 1 and 2) and type G (grade 2), and

agreed that it is unlikely to lead to pragmatic failure. In S6, the four respondents observed a mistranslation and classified it under type S (grades 1, 4 and 5). They agreed that it leads to pragmatic failure.

As for the OT, the four respondents observed a mistranslation in S1a, and S3 and classified it under type S (grade 2) with no possibility of pragmatic failure.

4.4.2.3.11 Excerpt 11 data

<p>IC - E11 – ST</p>	<p>1. بالنسبة لموضوع السلام، نحن قدمنا، أي الدول العربية، مبادرة في عام 2002 في القمة العربية في بيروت التي تطالب إسرائيل بالتوجه باتجاه السلام، ولكن التوجه باتجاه السلام بحاجة لعدة عوامل. 2. العامل الأول، هو رغبة الشعوب. 3. بالنسبة للشعوب العربية، لم يتغير موقفها من قضية السلام بالرغم من هذه الظروف السيئة التي تراها في الشرق الأوسط، وربما في معظم دول أو في معظم مناطق العالم. 4. الشعب الإسرائيلي نعتقد بأنه ابتعد نوعاً ما عن السلام ربما بسبب قيادته وربما بسبب ظروف سياسية داخلية. 5. الإدارة الأمريكية، وهي راعٍ أساسي لعملية السلام، غير مهتمة على الإطلاق بعملية السلام، وهذا الكلام سمعناه منهم، من المسؤولين الأمريكيين، في أكثر من مناسبة. 6. الدور الأوروبي، وهو دور هام، يجب أن يتبدل. 7. لا يمكن لأوروبا أن تلعب في عملية السلام دور المسوّق للسياسة الأمريكية فقط تجاه عملية السلام. 8. يجب أن يكون هناك دور أوروبي مستقل، ولكن يتوافق مع الدور الأمريكي، لا يتناقض معه، يتوافق معه، وهذا بحاجة لحوار أوروبي أمريكي الآن غير موجود. 9. لذلك الآن عملية السلام لا نراها قريبة. 10. لنكن واقعيين، لكن كل يوم نتأخر فيه، سيكون هناك المزيد من الدماء، وكل ما كان هناك المزيد من الدماء، يعني هناك المزيد من الحواجز ترتفع، وبالتالي، الثمن سيكون أكبر، فمن الأفضل أن نتحرك بشكل سريع بهذا الاتجاه.</p>
<p>IC - E11 – MEMRI</p>	<p>1a. As for the issues of peace, the Arab countries presented an initiative at the 2002 Arab summit in Beirut. 1b. This initiative demanded that Israel turn towards peace. 1c. But turning to peace requires a number of things. 2. The first thing is the peoples' desire (for peace). 3. The position of the Arab peoples regarding peace has not changed, despite the bad conditions they are witness to in the Middle East and maybe in most parts of the world. 4. I believe that the Israeli people has distanced itself somewhat from peace, perhaps because of its leaders or due to internal political conditions. 5a. The American administration, which is a main sponsor of the peace process, is not interested in the peace process at all. 5b. We heard this from them, from the American officials, on a number of occasions. 6. The role played by Europe, which is an important one, must change. 7. Europe cannot play in the peace process the role of marketing American policy regarding the peace process, and nothing more. 8a. There must be an independent European role, coordinated with the American role. 8b. It should be coordinated with it, and not contradict it. 8c. This requires a European-American dialogue which does not exist at present. 9. Therefore, I do not think that the peace process is near. 10a. We should be realistic.</p>

	10b. <u>But every day that this process is delayed, there will be more blood, and the more blood there is, the more barriers are erected, and therefore the cost will be even higher ...</u>
IC - E11 – OT	1a. As to the question of peace, we, I mean the Arab countries, made an initiative in 2002, at the Arab summit in Beirut, calling Israel for peace. 1b. But peace needs a number of factors. 2. The first factor is people’s desire for peace. 3. As far as the Arab peoples are concerned, their position towards peace has not changed despite these bad conditions that you can see in the Middle East, and may be in most parts of the world. 4. We believe that the Israeli people have drifted, somehow, away from peace, may be because of their leadership, or because of their internal politics. 5a. The American administration, which is a main sponsor of the peace process, is not at all interested in the peace process. 5b. We actually heard this from them, from the American officials on more than one occasion. 6. The European role, which is an important role, has to change. 7. Europe cannot play the role of a marketing agency for the American role towards the peace process. 8a. There should be an independent European role, but in harmony with the American role. 8b. It should not contradict the American role, it should be in harmony with it. 8c. This needs a European American dialogue which does not exist now. 9. That is why we do not envisage a peace process in the near future. 10a. We have to be realistic. Every day this process is delayed, there will be more blood. 10b. And more blood means more barriers, and consequently a higher price. 10c. It is better to move quickly in this direction.

As can be seen from the table the Arabic ST which consists of 10 sentences was rendered by the MEMRI into 16 sentences and by the OT into 16.

Sentence	Mistranslation? If YES please write the type and Grade	Pragmatic Failure in Translation? Please write YES if you believe so
S1a in IC – E11 – MEMRI	S3, C3 and C5	YESx4
S1b in IC - E11 – MEMRI		
S1c in IC - E11 – MEMRI		
S2 in IC - E11 – MEMRI	S2	NOx2
S3 in IC - E11 – MEMRI	S1, S2 and S5	YESx3
S4 in IC - E11 – MEMRI		
S5a in IC - E11 – MEMRI		
S5b in IC - E11 – MEMRI		
S6 in IC - E11 – MEMRI		
S7 in IC - E11 – MEMRI		

S8a in IC - E11 – MEMRI		
S8b in IC - E11 – MEMRI		
S8c in IC - E11 – MEMRI		
S9 in IC - E11 – MEMRI	G2, G4 and G5	YESx3
S10a in IC - E11 – MEMRI		
S10b in IC - E11 – MEMRI	S1, S2, G2, C4 and C5	YESx4
S1a in IC - E11 – OT		
S1b in IC – E11 – OT		
S2 in IC – E11 – OT		
S3 in IC – E11 – OT		
S4 in IC – E11 – OT		
S5a in IC – E11 – OT		
S5b in IC – E11 – OT		
S6 in IC – E11 – OT		
S7 in IC – E11 – OT		
S8a in IC – E11 – OT		
S8b in IC – E11 – OT		
S8c in IC – E11 – OT		
S9 in IC – E11 – OT		
S10a in IC – E11 – OT		
S10b in IC – E11 – OT		
S10c in IC – E11 – OT		

The mistranslation observed in S1a of the MEMRI translation was classified by the four respondents under type S (grades 3) and type C (grades 3 and 5), and they agreed that such type of mistranslation leads to pragmatic failure. In S2, two respondents observed a mistranslation and classified it under type S (grade 2) with no possibility of pragmatic failure. In S3, three respondents observed a mistranslation and classified it under type S (grades 1, 2 and 5), and agreed that it leads to pragmatic failure. In S9, three respondents observed a mistranslation and classified it under type G (grades 2, 4 and 5) and agreed that it leads to pragmatic failure. In S10b, the four respondents observed a mistranslation and classified it under type S (grades 1 and 2), type G (grade 2) and type C (grades 4 and 5). They all agreed that it leads to pragmatic failure. As for the OT, no respondent observed any mistranslation in the OT.

4.4.2.3.12 Summary of interview C data

The following table represents all mistranslated sentences observed by the four respondents in the OT and the MEMRI translations.

Table 25. Summary of Interview C – Excerpts 1- 11 Data			
Serial Number	Sentence	Mistranslation? If YES please write the type and grade	Pragmatic Failure in Translation? Please write YES if you believe so
1	S2a in IC - E1 – OT	S2	NOx4
2	S1 in IC – E2 – OT	S3 and S5	YESx4
3	S3b in IC – E3 – OT	S1 and S2	NOx4
4	S2a in IC – E4 – OT	C1, C2, S2 and G2	NOx4
5	S2b in IC – E4 – OT	S1, S2, S4 and S5	YESx4
6	S3a in IC – E6 – OT	S2, S4 and S5	YESx3
6	S3a in IC – E6 – OT	S2, S3 and S4	NOx1
7	S1 in IC – E8 – OT	S1 and S2	NOx4
8	S4 in IC – E8 – OT	G1 and S2	NOx3
9	S5 in IC – E8 – OT	G1, G2, S2 and S3	NOx3
10	S5b in IC – E9 – OT	S2, S3 and S5	YESx4
11	S6 in IC – E9 – OT	S1, G2 and S2	NOx4
12	S1a in IC - E10 – OT	S2	NOx4
13	S3 in IC - E10 – OT	S2	NOx4
Serial Number	Sentence	Mistranslation? If YES please write the type and grade	Pragmatic Failure in Translation? Please write YES if you believe so
1	S1 in IC - E1 – MEMRI	C3 and C5	YESx2
2	S4a in IC - E1 – MEMRI	G2, G4 and G5	YESx4
3	S4a in IC – E2 – MEMRI	S1, S4 and S5	YESx4
4	S4b in IC – E2 – MEMRI	S2	YESx2
5	S5b in IC – E2 – MEMRI	S1, S4 and S5	YESx4
6	S1 in IC – E3 – MEMRI	S2, S4 and S5	YESx4
7	S3b in IC – E3 – MEMRI	S1, S2, S4, G2, and G4	NOx2
8	S3c in IC – E3 – MEMRI	S2, S4 and S5	YESx4
9	S1 in IC – E4 – MEMRI	C3 and C5	YESx4
10	S2a in IC – E4 – MEMRI	C3, C5, G2, G4, G5, C1, C2 and S2	YESx4
11	S5b in IC – E4 – MEMRI	G2, G4 and G5	YESx4
12	S1a in IC – E5 – MEMRI	C3, C4, C5 and S3	YESx4
13	S1c in IC – E6 – MEMRI	S2 and S3	NOx3
14	S3 in IC – E6 – MEMRI	C3 and C5	YESx4
15	S2 in IC – E7 – MEMRI	C3 and C5	YESx4

16	S3 in IC – E7 – MEMRI	C3 and C5	YESx4
17	S3 in IC – E8 – MEMRI	S2 and G2	NOx3
18	S1 in IC – E9 – MEMRI	S2, S3 and S5	YESx4
19	S3 in IC – E9 – MEMRI	S2, S3 and S5	YESx4
20	S4 in IC – E9 – MEMRI	S2, S3 and S5	YESx4
21	S7+8 in IC – E9 – MEMRI	S1, S2 and S3	NOx3
22	S3b + S4a in IC - E10 – MEMRI	S1, G2 and S2	NOx4
23	S6 in IC - E10 – MEMRI	S1, S4 and S5	YESx4
24	S1a in IC – E11 – MEMRI	S3, C3 and C5	YESx4
25	S2 in IC - E11 – MEMRI	S2	NOx4
26	S3 in IC - E11 – MEMRI	S1, S2 and S5	YESx3
27	S9 in IC - E11 – MEMRI	G2, G4 and G5	YESx3
28	S10b in IC - E11 – MEMRI	S1, S2, G2, C4 and C5	YESx4

As identified by the respondents, the total number of translation deviations observed in both TTs was 117. The MEMRI's deviations are 83 and they were observed in 28 sentences out of 81. Ten deviations were observed in five sentences and they were classified under the cultural type (C) with grades C3 (Large Processing Efforts & Small Contextual Effects) and C5 (Misunderstanding Communicator's Intention). Such deviations are the result of ignoring the translation of some sentences or omitting certain parts of sentences on no clear linguistic or structural basis. As for purely semantic deviations, 34 deviations were observed in 13 sentences and they were classified under various grades starting from grade S1 (Partly Misunderstanding Original Text) to grade S5 (Misunderstanding Communicator's Intention). As for purely grammatical deviations, nine deviations were observed in three sentences and were classified under grades (G2, G4 and G5). Other deviations, which were the result of the combination of two and or three types, are 30 deviations in seven sentences. Such deviations were classified under grades (S1, S2, S4, G2 and G5), (C3, C5, G2, G4, G5, C1, C2 and S1), (C3, C4, C5 and S3), (S2 and G2), (S1, G2 and S2), (S3, C3 and C5) and grades (S1, S2, G2, C4 and C5). In contrast, the deviations of the OT are 35 and they were observed in 13 sentences out of 84. These deviations were mainly the result of using grammatical and semantic ill-formed forms, different sense and force of certain terms, omission, and literal translation. As for purely semantic deviations, 22 deviations were observed in ten sentences and they were classified under various grades starting from grade S1 (Partly Misunderstanding Original Text) to

grade S5 (Misunderstanding Communicator's Intention). Other deviations, which were the result of the combination of two and/or three types under various grades, were 13 deviations in 4 sentences. In sentence (S2a in IC-E4), the deviations were classified under grades (C1, C2, S2 and G2). In sentence (S4 in IC-E8), they were classified under grades (G1 and S2). In sentence (S5 in IC-E8), they were classified under grades (G1, G2, S2 and S3), and in sentence (S6 in IC-E9), they were classified under grades (S1, G2 and S2).

As for the number of all translation deviations that led to pragmatic failure in both TTs, the total number is 78 deviations. The MEMRI's deviations are 66 and they were observed in 23 sentences out of 28 deviated sentences. It is worth noting that the reasons behind such deviations are mainly related to deviations classified under grade five regardless of the type of such a deviation be it grammatical, semantic or cultural. Ten purely cultural deviations were observed in five sentences and they were classified under grades (C3, and C5). As for purely semantic deviations, only two deviations were observed in 9 sentences and they were classified under grades various grades together with grade S5, i.e. misunderstanding communicator's intention and pragmatic failure. Other deviations, which were the result of the combination of semantic and cultural types, are 5 deviations in two sentences and they were classified under grades (S3, C3 and C5) and (S4 and C5). In contrast, 12 deviations were observed in the official translation of 4 sentences out of 13 deviated sentences. It is worth noting that all pragmatic failure cases observed in the official translation are related to the use of ill-formed semantic forms that do not appropriately convey the intended sense and force of certain Arabic expressions into English. I would like to reiterate that one deviation be it cultural, semantic or grammatical under any grade may lead to another one, and consequently misunderstanding will be the result.

4.4.2.4 Interview D data

4.4.2.4.1 Excerpt 1 data

<p>ID - E1 – ST</p>	<p>1. أريد أن أوضح نقطة عندما قلت جماعة إسرائيل لا أقصد تحديداً الأكثرية، الأكثرية هي أكثرية منتخبة. 2. هناك من ينطبق عليه هذا القول وهناك من لا ينطبق عليه ذلك 3. على سبيل المثال كان وزير الخارجية السوري في زيارة للبنان منذ أسابيع قليلة خلال الحرب والتقى رئيس الحكومة وهو من الأكثرية. 4. قبلها اتصل به رئيس الوزراء السوري وأيضاً تحدث معه عن التعاون وماذا يمكن أن تقدم سورية للبنان خلال الحرب، لذلك قصدت بهذا التيار بعض الرموز المعروفة وجزء منها له تاريخياً علاقة مع إسرائيل منذ الغزو الإسرائيلي للبنان. 5. البعض الآخر بدأ بالتعامل مع الموقف الإسرائيلي، ليس بالضرورة إسرائيل، ليس بالضرورة أن تكون لدينا معطيات كاملة، من خلال القرار 1559/ الذي قال المسؤولون الإسرائيليون بأنهم هم من سعوا من أجله وهم تبنوا هذا القرار. 6. القرار 1680/ الذي يضرب العلاقة السورية اللبنانية، لمن هذا القرار؟ 7. هل من أجل سورية أو من أجل لبنان؟ 8. من أجل إسرائيل. 9. الحرب الأخيرة فضحت هذه المواقف ولذلك كان لا بد من الحديث بشكل واضح، هذا بالنسبة لنا في سورية. 10. من جانب آخر عندما نقول بأن ما قامت به هذه المقاومة منذ بداية الحرب حتى نهايتها بمعزل عن الانتصار أو النتائج، لا أريد أن أقول أن ما قامت به هو من أجل العرب وإنما كان هناك تعاطف عربي ودعم عربي شعبي وأكثر من شعبي حتى رسمي في كثير من الأحيان لهذه المقاومة.</p>
<p>ID - E1 – MEMRI</p>	<p>1...2...3...4...This [Lebanese] movement consists of some figures who are known historically for their relations with Israel, since the Israeli invasion of Lebanon. 5a. Others have begun collaborating with the Israeli position - not necessarily with Israel itself, but we do not necessarily have all the information. 5b. They did this through Resolution 1559. 5c. The Israeli officials said that they themselves had worked hard to bring about this resolution. 5d. Yet [these Lebanese figures] supported this resolution. 6. Resolution 1680, which deals a blow to Syrian-Lebanese relations... For whose sake was this resolution adopted? 7a. For Syria? 7b. For Lebanon? 8. It was for the sake of Israel. 9. The recent war has exposed these positions---. 10...</p>
<p>ID - E1 – OT</p>	<p>1a. But I want to make it clear, when I talked about the Israel product, I did not specifically mean the parliamentary majority. 1b. The majority is an elected majority. 2. There are some people to whom the term applies and those to whom it does not apply. 3. For instance, the Syrian foreign minister was in Lebanon a few weeks ago, during the war, and met the Lebanese prime minister, who belongs to the majority. 4a. Before that, the Syrian prime minister called him and talked about cooperation and what Syria could offer during the war. 4b. I meant a number of well-known figures, some of whom have had relations with Israel since the Israeli invasion of Lebanon. 5a. Some others started dealing with the Israeli position, not necessarily with Israel. 5b. We do not have all the information. 5c. Israel was behind resolution 1559, and they adopted it. 6. We might also ask about who stands behind resolution 1680 which strikes at the Syrian-Lebanese relations. 7. Does this resolution serve Syria's interests or Lebanon's interests? 8. It</p>

	serves Israel's interests. 9a. The last war unmasked these positions. 9b. That is why we had to be very clear in Syria. 10. When we talk about what the resistance did from the beginning of this war, regardless of the victory it achieved or the results, I do not want to say that it was done for the sake of the Arabs, but there was Arab sympathy and popular support for the Resistance, even official support in many cases.
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As can be seen from the table the Arabic ST which consists of 10 sentences was rendered by the MEMRI into 10 sentences and by the OT into 15.

Table 26. Interview D – Excerpt 1 Data		
Sentence	Mistranslation? If YES please write the type and Grade	Pragmatic Failure in Translation? Please write YES if you believe so
S1 in ID - E1 – MEMRI	C3 and C5	YESx4
S2 in ID - E1 – MEMRI	C3 and C5	YESx4
S3 in ID - E1 – MEMRI	C3 and C5	YESx4
S4 in ID - E1 – MEMRI	S3, S4, S2, S5, C3 and C5	YESx4
S5a in ID - E1 – MEMRI		
S5b in ID - E1 – MEMRI		
S5c in ID - E1 – MEMRI		
S5d in ID - E1 – MEMRI		
S6 in ID - E1 – MEMRI		
S7a in ID - E1 – MEMRI		
S7b in ID - E1 – MEMRI		
S8 in ID - E1 – MEMRI		
S9 in ID - E1 – MEMRI		
S10 in ID - E1 – MEMRI	C3 and C5	YESx4
S1a in ID - E1 – OT		
S1b in ID - E1 – OT		
S2 in ID - E1 – OT	S2	NOx4
S3 in ID - E1 – OT		
S4a in ID - E1 – OT		
S4b in ID - E1 – OT	S3, G2, G4	NOx4
S5a in ID - E1 – OT		
S5b in ID - E1 – OT		
S5c in ID - E1 – OT		
S6 in ID - E1 – OT		
S7 in ID - E1 – OT		
S8 in ID - E1 – OT		
S9a in ID - E1 – OT		
S9b in ID - E1 – OT		
S10 in ID - E1 – OT		

The four respondents observed that the MEMRI translation has completely ignored the information related to S1, S2 and S3 of the Arabic ST. They classified this omission under type C (grades 3 and 5) and agreed that it leads to pragmatic failure. They also observed a mistranslation in S4 and classified it under type S (grades 2, 3, 4 and 5), type C (grades 3 and 5) and they agreed that this mistranslation leads to pragmatic failure. In S10, all respondents observed an omission and classified it under type C (grades 3 and 5) and agreed that it leads to pragmatic failure.

As for the OT, the four respondents observed a mistranslation in S2 and classified it under type S (grade 2) with no possibility of pragmatic failure. They also observed another mistranslation in S4b and classified it under type S (grades 3 and 4) and type G (grade 2) with no possibility of pragmatic failure.

4.4.2.4.2 Excerpt 2 data

ID – E2 – ST	<p>1. المعروف بأنهم تبنوا الورقة الأمريكية الفرنسية الأولى ولولا تغيّر الأوضاع الميدانية لكانت هي القرار /1701/. 2. فهذه القوى سارت بكل هذه المخططات ضد المقاومة فهي من ناحية المقاومة التي تعيننا كعرب، ولا أتحدث عن المقاومة كموضوع داخلي لبناني، وإنما كموضوع يعني الآن أي مواطن عربي، وترى أنت الآن أعلام حزب الله في كل مكان، فهم تأمروا مع إسرائيل بهذين الاتجاهين.</p>
ID – E2 – MEMRI	<p>1. As is well known, they accepted the first French-American draft, and if the situation on the ground had not changed, this draft would have become Resolution 1701. 2a. These forces have carried out all these plots against the resistance. 2b. With regard to the resistance that concerns us as Arabs - and I'm not talking about resistance as an internal Lebanese issue, but as an issue that now concerns any Arab citizen, and you can see Hezbollah flags everywhere... They conspired with Israel in both directions.</p>
ID – E2 – OT	<p>1a. We all know that they adopted the first French-American draft. 1b. Without the developments on the ground, that draft would have become resolution 1701. 2a. So, these forces have gone along with all the plans against the Resistance which concerns us as Arabs. 2b. I am not talking about resistance as an internal Lebanese affair, but rather as an issue which concerns every Arab individual. 2c. You can see now the flags of Hezbollah everywhere you go. 2d. They conspired with Israel in these two areas.</p>

As can be seen from the table the Arabic ST which consists of 2 sentences was rendered by the MEMRI into 3 sentences and by the OT into 6.

Table 27. Interview D – Excerpt 2 Data		
Sentence	Mistranslation? If YES please write the type and Grade	Pragmatic Failure in Translation? Please write YES if you believe so
S1 in ID – E2 – MEMRI	G2 and S2	NOx3
S2a in ID – E2 – MEMRI	S2, S4 and S5	YESx3
S2b in ID – E2 – MEMRI	S1, G2, S3 and S5	YESx3
S1a in ID – E2 – OT		
S1b in ID – E2 – OT		
S2a in ID – E2 – OT		
S2b in ID – E2 – OT		
S2c in ID – E2 – OT		
S2d in ID – E2 – OT	S1, S3 and S5	YESx3

The mistranslation observed in S1 of the MEMRI translation was classified by three respondents under type S (grade 2) and type S (grade 2), and they agreed that such type of mistranslation is unlikely to lead to pragmatic failure. In S2a, three respondents observed a mistranslation and classified it under type S (grades 2, 4 and 5) and they agreed that it leads to pragmatic failure. In S2b, three respondents observed a mistranslation and classified it under type S (grades 1, 3 and 5) and type G (grade 2), and agreed that it leads to pragmatic failure.

As for the OT, three respondents observed a mistranslation in S2d and classified it under type S (grades 1, 3 and 5) and agreed that it leads to pragmatic failure.

4.4.2.4.3 Excerpt 3 data

ID – E3 – ST	<p>1. الولاء للبلد ليس فقط بالآلا تكون عميلاً معلناً لدولة أجنبية. الولاء للبلد يكون من عدم القبول بتدخلات أجنبية من خلال أي سفارة وأنا واضح في هذا الموضوع للأوروبيين بشكل واضح في عدة مرات. 2. قلت لهم كل شخص أنتم ستدخلون من أجله سنضعه في خانة اللاوطنية. 3. فعليكم أن تتوقفوا عن التدخل وإرسال الرسائل، هذا الكلام محسوم بالنسبة لنا. 4. لدينا حساسية عالية جداً تجاه التدخلات الأجنبية. 5. عدا عن ذلك، الكل موجود ولو أردنا أن نمنعهم من الكلام كما يشيع البعض لكانوا كلهم في السجن. 6. الحقيقة ليست كذلك. نحن قطعنا خطوات ولا ندعي بأننا الآن حققنا الكثير. 7. قطعنا خطوات ضمن الظروف التي نعيشها، معقولة، البعض يراها أقل من اللازم والبعض يراها أكثر من اللازم، دعنا نقف في الوسط ولكن علينا أن نسير بشكل حذر. 8. نحن لا نسير بجو طبيعي ولا يشك أحد حتى من السوريين أو غير السوريين بأن هناك تدخلاً أو محاولات تدخل يومياً في الشأن الداخلي السوري. 9. لا نستطيع أن نكون ساذجين ونقول الأمور جيدة والكل وطني. 10 يعني القضية ليست قضية حسن نية. 11. بالعكس تماماً، لا بد أن نرى الأمور بالمنظار الآخر، ولكن نحن مررنا بظروف كثيرة، خاصة</p>
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	<p>في السنة الأخيرة، من أصعب الظروف التي يمكن أن تمر بها دولة ما، ولو لم تكن لدينا وحدة وطنية لما كنا تجاوزنا هذه الظروف بهذه الطريقة. 12. إذاً لا نستطيع أن نقول إن الصورة سلبية، هي صورة إيجابية لكن فيها سلبيات وهذا شيء طبيعي، وإلا لماذا نتحدث عن التطوير إذا كان كل شيء ممتاز؟ 13. فإذا نحن لا ننكر ما تقوله ولكن يجب أن نضعه في الإطار الواقعي والموضوعي، هذا ما أريده.</p>
<p>ID – E3 – MEMRI</p>	<p>1a. Loyalty to one's country does not just mean [not] being a known agent of another country. 1b. Loyalty to one's country means rejecting foreign interferences, through any embassy - and I am always clear on this - and through any foreign government that tries to interfere directly. 1c. I have said this very clearly to the Europeans several times. 2. I said to them: Any person on whose behalf you interfere - we will consider him to be non-patriotic. 3a. You must stop interfering and sending messages. 3b. This matter is closed, as far as we are concerned. 4. We are very sensitive when it comes to foreign interference. 5a. Apart from this, everybody is here. 5b. If we wanted to prevent them from talking, as some claim, they would all be in prison. 6a. This is not the case. 6b. We have taken a few steps, and we are not claiming we have achieved a lot. 7a. We have taken some steps that are reasonable, given our circumstances. 7b. Some think these steps are less than they should be, and other think they are more than they should be. 7c. Let us stay in the middle. 7d. We must act with caution. 8a. We are not operating in a normal climate. 8b. No one, Syrians or others, should doubt that there are daily attempts to interfere in Syria's domestic affairs. 9. We cannot be naive and say: Everything is fine, everybody is patriotic. 10. This is not a matter of good intentions. 11---</p>
<p>ID – E3 – OT</p>	<p>1a. Loyalty to one's own country does not only mean not to be a public agent of a foreign country. 1b. It means rejection of any foreign interference through any embassy; and I am always clear in this or through any foreign government that interferes with our affairs directly. 1c. I made this clear to the Europeans several times. 2. I said to them, "we will classify every person you intercede for as non-patriotic. 3a. So, you have to stop interfering and sending messages. 3b. This is final for us. 4. <u>We are highly sensitive towards foreign interventions.</u> 5. <u>Add to this that all of them are there, and if we want to ban them from speaking, as some would say, they would all be in prison.</u> 6a. That is not the truth. 6b. We have made steps and we do not claim that we achieved a lot, but we have made reasonable steps within the conditions we are living in. 7a. Some look at those steps as being less than necessary and others see them as more than necessary. 7b. Let us stand in the middle. 7c+8. <u>We have to be careful as we are not living in a natural atmosphere and no one of the Syrians or non-Syrians doubt that there are any interventions or daily attempts to interfere in the internal Syrian affairs.</u> 9. We cannot be naïve as to say that things are good or that everyone is patriotic. 10. This is not an issue of good intentions.</p>

	<p>11a. On the contrary, we have to see things from another perspective.</p> <p>11b. We have gone through many difficult circumstances that any state can go through especially last year, and had we not have national unity, we would not have overcome these circumstances in such a manner.</p> <p>12a. That is why we cannot say that this is a negative image. 12b. It is a positive image with some negative points, which is natural. 12c. Otherwise, we would not have talked about development if everything was wonderful. 13. We are not denying what you have said, but we are putting it in a realistic and objective frame, and this is what I want.</p>
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As can be seen from the table the Arabic ST which consists of 13 sentences was rendered by the MEMRI into 18 sentences and by the OT into 21.

Sentence	Mistranslation? If YES please write the type and Grade	Pragmatic Failure in Translation? Please write YES if you believe so
S1a in ID – E3 – MEMRI		
S1b in ID – E3 – MEMRI		
S1c in ID – E3 – MEMRI		
S2 in ID – E3 – MEMRI		
S3a in ID – E3 – MEMRI		
S3b in ID – E3 – MEMRI		
S4 in ID – E3 – MEMRI		
S5a in ID – E3 – MEMRI		
S5b in ID – E3 – MEMRI		
S6a in ID – E3 – MEMRI		
S6b in ID – E3 – MEMRI		
S7a in ID – E3 – MEMRI		
S7b in ID – E3 – MEMRI		
S7c in ID – E3 – MEMRI		
S7d in ID – E3 – MEMRI		
S8a in ID – E3 – MEMRI		
S8b in ID – E3 – MEMRI		
S9 in ID – E3 – MEMRI		
S10 in ID – E3 – MEMRI		
S11 in ID – E3 – MEMRI	C3 and C5	YESx4
S12 in ID – E3 – MEMRI	C3 and C5	YESx4
S13 in ID – E3 – MEMRI	C3 and C5	YESx4
S1a in ID – E3 – OT		
S1b in ID – E3 – OT		
S1c in ID – E3 – OT		
S2 in ID – E3 – OT		

S3a	in ID – E3 – OT		
S3b	in ID – E3 – OT		
S4	in ID – E3 – OT	S1, S2, C1, C4, and C5	YESx4
S5	in ID – E3 – OT		
S6a	in ID – E3 – OT		
S6b	in ID – E3 – OT		
S7a	in ID – E3 – OT		
S7b	in ID – E3 – OT		
S7c +8	in ID – E3 – OT	S1, S2, S5, C1, C4 and C5	YESx4
S9	in ID – E3 – OT		
S10	in ID – E3 – OT		
S11a	in ID – E3 – OT		
S11b	in ID – E3 – OT		
S12a	in ID – E3 – OT		
S12b	in ID – E3 – OT		
S12c	in ID – E3 – OT		
S13	in ID – E3 – OT		

It seems that the four respondents were in agreement with regard to all mistranslations in both TTs. In S11, S12 and S13 they observed a mistranslation and classified it under type C (grades 3 and 5) and they also agreed that it leads to pragmatic failure.

As for the OT, the four respondents observed a mistranslation in S4 and classified it under type S (grades 1 and 2), type C (grades 1, 4 and 5) and they agreed that it leads to pragmatic failure. They also observed a similar mistranslation in S7c+8 and classified it under type S (grades 1, 2 and 5) and type C (grades 1, 4 and 5) and agreed that it leads to pragmatic failure.

4.4.2.4.4 Excerpt 4 data

ID – E4 – ST	<p>سؤال: 1. سيادة الرئيس ما دمنا نتكلم عن الحدود فهناك موضوع قوات الأمم المتحدة اليونيفيل، يقال في الوقت الحالي أنها لن تقف بعد أن تكبر هذه القوة وتصل إلى 15 ألف، ولو كان ممكن وصولها إلى 15 ألف، لن تقف فقط على الحدود الفلسطينية اللبنانية وإنما أيضاً على الحدود اللبنانية السورية، وسوف يكون هناك حسب تيري رود لارسن أربعة آلاف جندي مقرر وقوفهم على الحدود السورية اللبنانية. 2. كيف تنظرون إلى هذا الموقف وقوف اليونيفيل على الحدود بينكم وبين لبنان؟</p> <p>السيد الرئيس: 3. هذا يعني خلق حالة عدا بين سورية ولبنان. 4. أولاً، هذا ينفي سيادة لبنان. 5. لا توجد دولة في العالم تقبل أن تضع على منافذها الحدودية جنوداً من خارج جنسيتها إلا إذا كانت هناك حرب مع دولة أخرى كما هي الحال في الجولان أو الحال في جنوب لبنان،</p>
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	<p>هذا طبيعي. 6. فهذا يعني أولاً سحب للسيادة اللبنانية وهم يتحدثون عن السيادة اللبنانية بشكل مستمر وتسليمها لجهات أخرى. 7. النقطة الثانية هي موقف عدائي تجاه سورية ومن الطبيعي أن تخلق مشاكل بين سورية ولبنان.</p> <p>سؤال: 8. لكنهم يتخوفون من أن تستخدم سورية ممراً لدخول سلاح إلى جهات لا يرغبون في أن تصل إليها هذه الأسلحة. 9. كذلك تسرب عناصر من هذه الحدود تساند فريقاً من اللبنانيين إزاء فريق آخر. 10. ويمكن هذا مبرر لهواجسهم الأمر الذي يبرر وجود مثل هذه القوة.</p> <p>السيد الرئيس: 11. إذا كان هناك جيش لبناني فهو مسؤول عن هذا الموضوع. 12. لماذا الجيش اللبناني مسؤول عن حراسة إسرائيل؟</p> <p>سؤال: 13. هل تدعو سيادة الرئيس الحكومة اللبنانية إلى رفض وجود قوة دولية على الحدود بين لبنان وسورية؟</p> <p>السيد الرئيس: 14. ندعوها لتحمل مسؤولياتها كأي دولة أخرى وهي ستتحمل مسؤولية. 15. إذا كانت تريد أن تخرب العلاقة بين سورية ولبنان، فهي حرة تستطيع أن تتحمل المسؤولية. 16. وهناك تيار في الحكومة اللبنانية وفي تيار الأكثرية يسعى لهذا الشيء.</p>
<p>ID – E4 – MEMRI</p>	<p>Interviewer: 1... 2. How do you view the deployment of UNIFIL on your border with Lebanon?</p> <p>Bashar Al-Assad: 3.This would mean creating hostility between Syria and Lebanon. 4. First of all, this would violate Lebanon's sovereignty.</p> <p>5a. No country in the world would accept the deployment of soldiers of other nationalities at its border passes, unless it is at war with another country, like in the Golan or South Lebanon. 5b. This is normal. 6. First of all, this would mean taking away Lebanese sovereignty - and they are constantly talking about Lebanese sovereignty - and giving it to others. 7a. The other issue is that this would be hostile to Syria. 7b. Naturally, this would create problems between Syria and Lebanon.</p> <p>Interviewer: 8. But Mr. President, they fear that Syria would be used as a passage for weapons that would reach elements that they don't want these weapons to reach. 9. People might infiltrate through this border, and help one group of Lebanese against another. 10. This may justify their apprehensions and the presence of such a force.</p> <p>Bashar Al-Assad: 11. If there is a Lebanese army, it should be responsible for that. 12. Why should the Lebanese army be responsible for protecting Israel?</p> <p>Interviewer: 13. Mr. President, are you calling upon the Lebanese government to reject the deployment of an international force along the border between Lebanon and Syria?</p> <p>Bashar Al-Assad: 14a. <u>I am calling upon it to bear the responsibility like any other country.</u> 14b. It will bear the responsibility. 15. If it wants to destroy the relations between Syria and Lebanon, it is free to do so, and bear the responsibility. 16. There are elements within the Lebanese government and among the majority who strive towards this.</p>
<p>ID – E4 – OT</p>	<p>Question: 1a. Mr. President, since we are talking about borders, there is the issue of the UNIFIL. 1b. <u>It is said that this force will not be only deployed, after it grows to 15,000 troops – if it reaches that figure – on the Lebanese Palestinian borders but on the Syrian Lebanese borders as</u></p>

	<p>well. 1c. And, according to Terj Roed Larsen, four thousand troops will be deployed on the Syrian-Lebanese borders. 2. How do you see this?</p> <p>President Assad: 3. This means the creation of a state of hostility between Syria and Lebanon. 4. First, this undermines Lebanon’s sovereignty. 5. <u>No state in the world accepts to deploy on its border’s crossing points soldiers who do not carry its nationality unless it was in a state of war with that country as is the case in the Golan or in south Lebanon, where it is normal.</u> 6. <u>So, this is an abrogation of sovereignty and handing it over to another party, and they always talk about sovereignty.</u> 7. The second point is that this would be a hostile act against Syria, and naturally will create problems between Syria and Lebanon.</p> <p>Question: 8 +9. <u>But they are concerned that Syria will be used as a passage for weapons to certain parties; and they do not want the weapons to reach those parties, and a passage for people who would support one Lebanese party against another.</u> 10. So, this might be the justification for their concerns and the reason for the deployment of this force.</p> <p>President Assad: 11+12. If there is a Lebanese army, then it should be responsible for this, why should the Lebanese army be responsible for guarding Israel?</p> <p>Question: 13. Mr. President, do you call upon the Lebanese government to refuse the deployment of an international force on the Syrian-Lebanese borders?</p> <p>President Assad: 14. <u>We call upon it to shoulder its responsibilities like in any other state, and it will be held responsible.</u> 15. If they want to destroy relations between Syria and Lebanon, it is up to them and they can handle the responsibility. 16. <u>There is a certain current in the Lebanese government and the parliamentary majority trying to do this.</u></p>
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As can be seen from the table the Arabic ST which consists of 16 sentences was rendered by the MEMRI into 18 sentences and by the OT into 16.

Table 29. Interview D – Excerpt 4 Data		
Sentence	Mistranslation? If YES please write the type and Grade	Pragmatic Failure in Translation? Please write YES if you believe so
S1 in ID – E4 – MEMRI		
S2 in ID – E4 – MEMRI		
S3 in ID – E4 – MEMRI		
S4 in ID – E4 – MEMRI		
S5a in ID – E4 – MEMRI		
S5b in ID – E4 – MEMRI		

S6	in ID – E4 – MEMRI		
S7a	in ID – E4 – MEMRI		
S7b	in ID – E4 – MEMRI		
S8	in ID – E4 – MEMRI		
S9	in ID – E4 – MEMRI		
S10	in ID – E4 – MEMRI		
S11	in ID – E4 – MEMRI		
S12	in ID – E4 – MEMRI		
S13	in ID – E4 – MEMRI		
S14a	in ID – E4 – MEMRI	G2, G4 and G5	YESx3
S14b	in ID – E4 – MEMRI		
S15	in ID – E4 – MEMRI		
S16	in ID – E4 – MEMRI		
S1a	in ID – E4 – OT		
S1b	in ID – E4 – OT	G2	NOx4
S1c	in ID – E4 – OT		
S2	in ID – E4 – OT		
S3	in ID – E4 – OT		
S4	in ID – E4 – OT		
S5	in ID – E4 – OT	G2, C1 and C2	NOx4
S6	in ID – E4 – OT	S1, G2, S4 and S5	YESx3
S7	in ID – E4 – OT		
S8+9	in ID – E4 – OT		
S10	in ID – E4 – OT		
S11+12	in ID – E4 – OT		
S13	in ID – E4 – OT		
S14	in ID – E4 – OT		
S15	in ID – E4 – OT		
S16	in ID – E4 – OT		

The only mistranslation observed in S14a of the MEMRI translation was classified by three respondents under type G (grades 2, 4 and 5), and they agreed that it leads to pragmatic failure.

As for the OT, the four respondents observed a mistranslation in S1b and classified it under type G (grade 2) with no possibility of pragmatic failure. They also observed a mistranslation in S5 and classified it under type G (grade 2), type C (grades 1 and 2) and they agreed that it is unlikely to lead to pragmatic failure. Another mistranslation was observed and classified by the three respondents in S6 under type S (grades 1, 4 and 5), type G (grade 3) and agreed that it leads to pragmatic failure.

4.4.2.4.5 Excerpt 5 data

<p>ID – E5 – ST</p>	<p>سؤال: 1. هل يمكن أن نشهد مقاومة مسلحة في الجولان؟ السيد الرئيس: 2. كما قلت، نفس الجواب، يعني الشعب هو الذي يقرر. 3. أعود وأقول إذا لم يحقق السلام عودة الحقوق فهذا هو الخيار الطبيعي والبدهي والأمور ستذهب بهذا الاتجاه شئنا أم أبينا.</p> <p>سؤال: 4. سيادة الرئيس، تقول إن الشعب هو الذي يقرر. 5. هل الشعب مستعد، كما تحس وأنت تعرف إحساس الشعب بالتأكيد، هل الشعب مستعد الآن للمقاومة المسلحة في الجولان؟ السيد الرئيس: 6. دائماً هناك تيارات وهناك رؤى. 7. هناك من يتحدث بشكل حماسي عن الدخول اليوم في هذا الموضوع وهناك من يقول يجب أن نحضر أنفسنا، ولكن هذه الحرب كرسست هذا الخيار ويبقى ماذا تفعل أنت كدولة وكشعب لكي تحضر نفسك للحظة قد يكون فيها عدوان، ليس بالضرورة أن يكون موضوع التحرير مهماً فقط لأن العدوان هو أيضاً أحد الاحتمالات العسكرية الهامة وماذا ستفعل لتحرير أرضك بالتوازي مع المسار السياسي.</p>
<p>ID – E5 – MEMRI</p>	<p>Interviewer: 1. Is it possible that we will see armed resistance in the Golan?</p> <p>Bashar Al-Assad: 2. Like I said... Same answer... The people will decide. 3a. I reiterate: If peace does not restore the rights, this will be the natural and obvious option. 3b. Things will take this course, whether we like it or not.</p> <p>Interviewer: 4. Mr. President, you say that the people will decide. 5a. Is the people ready? 5b. I am sure you can sense the sentiments of the people. 5c. Is the people ready now for armed resistance in the Golan?</p> <p>Bashar Al-Assad: 6. There are always different currents and opinions. 7a. Some people talk enthusiastically about getting into this today, while others say we must prepare ourselves. 7b. <u>However, this war has emphasized that option ---</u></p>
<p>ID – E5 – OT</p>	<p>Question: 1. Is it possible for us to witness armed resistance in the Golan?</p> <p>President Assad: 2a. I answered this before. 2b +3. It is the people who decide this possibility and once again I would say that unless rights are returned through peace, then resistance is the natural and obvious option and things will take this direction whether we like it or not.</p> <p>Question: 4. Mr. President, you are saying that it is the people who decide. 5a. Do you feel that the people are prepared for this, and I am sure that you know how the people feel? 5b. Are people ready for armed resistance in the Golan?</p> <p>President Assad: 6. There are always trends and visions. 7a. There are those who are enthusiastic in talking about this subject today and there are those who say we have to get prepared. 7b. <u>However, this war has enhanced this option and we are left with what we as a state and people can do to get prepared for any moment of aggression.</u> 7c. <u>The option of resistance is important not only for liberation but also because aggression is one of the military possibilities; and what can you do to liberate your land in parallel with the political track?</u></p>

As can be seen from the table the Arabic ST which consists of 7 sentences was rendered by the MEMRI into 11 sentences and by the OT into 10.

Table 30. Interview D – Excerpt 5 Data		
Sentence	Mistranslation? If YES please write the type and Grade	Pragmatic Failure in Translation? Please write YES if you believe so
S1 in ID – E5 – MEMRI		
S2 in ID – E5 – MEMRI		
S3a in ID – E5 – MEMRI		
S3b in ID – E5 – MEMRI		
S4 in ID – E5 – MEMRI		
S5a in ID – E5 – MEMRI		
S5b in ID – E5 – MEMRI		
S5c in ID – E5 – MEMRI		
S6 in ID – E5 – MEMRI		
S7a in ID – E5 – MEMRI		
S7b in ID – E5 – MEMRI	C3, C4 and C5	YESx4
S1 in ID – E5 – OT		
S2a in ID – E5 – OT		
S2b +3 in ID – E5 – OT		
S4 in ID – E5 – OT		
S5a in ID – E5 – OT		
S5b in ID – E5 – OT		
S6 in ID – E5 – OT		
S7a in ID – E5 – OT		
S7b in ID – E5 – OT	G2 and S3	NOx4
S7c in ID – E5 – OT	S1, S4 and S5	YESx4

The four respondents observed only one mistranslation in S7b of the MEMRI translation and classified it under type C (grades 3, 4 and 5), and they agreed that it leads to pragmatic failure.

As for the OT, the four respondents observed a mistranslation in S7b and classified it under type G (grade 2) and type S (grade 3) with no possibility of pragmatic failure. They also observed another mistranslation in S7c and classified it under type S (grades 1, 4 and 5) and agreed that it leads to pragmatic failure.

4.4.2.4.6 Summary of interview D data

The following table represents all the mistranslated sentences observed by the four respondents in the OT and the MEMRI translations.

Table 31. Summary of Interview D – Excerpts 1- 5 Data			
Serial Number	Sentence	Mistranslation? If YES please write the type and grade	Pragmatic Failure in Translation? Please write YES if you believe so
1	S2 in ID - E1 – OT	S2	NOx4
2	S4b in ID - E1 – OT	S3, G2, G4	NOx4
3	S2d in ID – E2 – OT	S1, S3 and S5	YESx3
4	S4 in ID – E3 – OT	S1, S2, C1, C4, and C5	YESx4
5	S7c +8 in ID – E3 – OT	S1, S2, S5, C1, C4 and C5	YESx4
6	S1b in ID – E4 – OT	G2	NOx4
7	S5 in ID – E4 – OT	G2, C1 and C2	NOx4
8	S6 in ID – E4 – OT	S1, G2, S4 and S5	YESx3
9	S7b in ID – E5 – OT	G2 and S3	NOx4
10	S7c in ID – E5 – OT	S1, S4 and S5	YESx4
Serial Number	Sentence	Mistranslation? If YES please write the type and grade	Pragmatic Failure in Translation? Please write YES if you believe so
1	S1 in ID - E1 – MEMRI	C3 and C5	YESx4
2	S2 in ID - E1 – MEMRI	C3 and C5	YESx4
3	S3 in ID - E1 – MEMRI	C3 and C5	YESx4
4	S4 in ID - E1 – MEMRI	S3, S4, S2, S5, C3 and C5	YESx4
5	S10 in ID - E1 – MEMRI	C3 and C5	YESx2
6	S1 in ID – E2 – MEMRI	G2 and S2	NOx3
7	S2a in ID – E2 – MEMRI	S2, S4 and S5	YESx3
8	S2b in ID – E2 – MEMRI	S1, G2, S3 and S5	YESx3
9	S11 in ID – E3 – MEMRI	C3 and C5	YESx4
10	S12 in ID – E3 – MEMRI	C3 and C5	YESx4
11	S13 in ID – E3 – MEMRI	C3 and C5	YESx4
12	S14a in ID – E4 – MEMRI	G2, G4 and G5	YESx3
13	S7b in ID – E5 – MEMRI	C3, C4 and C5	YESx4

As identified by the respondents, the total number of translation deviations observed in both TTs was 66. The MEMRI's deviations are 35 and they were observed in 13

sentences out of 69. As for purely cultural deviations, 17 deviations were observed in eight sentences and they were classified under grades C3 (Large Processing Efforts & Small Contextual Effects), C4 (Irrelevant Implications) and C5 (Misunderstanding Communicator's Intention). Such deviations are the result of ignoring the translation of some sentences or omitting certain parts of sentences on no clear linguistic or structural basis. As for purely semantic deviations, three deviations were observed in one sentence and they were classified under grades S2 (Semantic Ill-formedness), S4 (Irrelevant Implication) and S5 (Misunderstanding Communicator's Intention). It is worth noting that three grammatical deviations were observed in one sentence and they were classified under grades (G2, G4 and G5). Other deviations, which were the result of the combination of two and/or three types, are 30 deviations in seven sentences. Such deviations were classified under grades (S3, S4, S2, S5, C3 and C5), (G2 and S2) and (S1, G2, S3 and S5). In contrast, the deviations of the OT are 31 and they were observed in 10 sentences out of 68. These deviations were mainly the result of using grammatical and semantic ill-formed forms, which are related to word order, verb tenses, sense and force of certain terms, connotation and collocation of some expressions. As for purely semantic deviations, seven deviations were observed in three sentences and they were classified under grades (S2), (S1, S3 and S5) and (S1, S4 and S5). Only one grammatical deviation was observed in one sentence and was classified under grade (G2). Other deviations, which were the result of the combination of two and/or three types, are 23 deviations in six sentences. Such deviations were classified under grades (S3, G2 and G4), (S3, G2 and G4), (S1, S2, C1, C4 and C5), (S1, S2, S5, C1, C4 and C5), (G2, C1 and C2), (S1, G2, S4 and S5) and (G2 and S3).

As for the number of all translation deviations that led to pragmatic failure in both TTs, the total number is 54 deviations. The MEMRI's deviations are 33 and they were observed in 13 sentences out of 69. It is worth noting that the reasons behind such deviations are mainly related to deviations classified under grade five regardless of the type of such a deviation be it grammatical, semantic or cultural. Seventeen purely cultural deviations were observed in eight sentences and they were classified under grades (C3, C4 and C5). As for purely semantic deviations, three deviations were observed in one sentence and they were classified under grades (S2, S4 and S5). Other deviations, which were the result of the combination of two and/or three types, are 10 deviations in two sentences.

These deviations were classified under grades (S1, G2, S3 and S5) and (S3, S4, S2, S5, C3 and C5). In contrast, 21 deviations were observed in the official translation of five sentences out of 10. Six semantic deviations were observed in two sentences and they were classified under grades (S1, S3, and S5) and (S1, S4 and S5). Other deviations, which were the result of the combination of two and/or three types, are 15 deviations in three sentences and they were classified under grades (S1, S2, C1, C4 and C5), (S1, S2, S5, C1, C4 and C5) and (S1, G2, S4 and S5).

4.4.3 Reporting data from question three

This question was intended to give participants the chance to provide any extra feedback related to the contrastive analysis they were involved in. No information was provided in answer to this question.

4.5 Chapter summary

This chapter reported the research methodology necessary to answer the research questions, targeting translation deviations that would lead to pragmatic failure regarding the translation of Syrian political discourse by two different parties; the American Middle East Media Research Institute (MEMRI) website (<http://www.memri.org>) and the official Syrian Arab News Agency websites (<http://www.sana.sy>). The chapter started by defining the source of research data and moved on to explain the data sampling process and the rationale for choosing four interviews by the Syrian President together with two different translations of these interviews, one official and one unofficial, to be analysed in this research. Next it explained the research tool adopted in this research and described the process of designing the questionnaire being the data collection tool. While describing the research tool, this chapter described the contrastive analysis targeted by the questionnaire and elaborated on describing the translation assessment criterion respondents needed to follow in order to fill out the questionnaire. Defining this criterion included reviewing the pragma-linguistic category and the socio-pragmatic category as well as the grades of pragmatic failure. After that the chapter reported the data from the personal background section of the questionnaire and then moved to report data obtained from question 2 in the questionnaire, concerned with the targeted contrastive analysis of the two translations, the

OT and MEMRI translation. Next it started reporting data relevant to each excerpt in one interview separately. A table summary of all relevant data was made use of at the end of each interview. The data reported in this chapter is necessary to answer the two main research questions. Chapter four was concerned mainly with data reporting. Analysis of these data is in chapter five.

Chapter Five

Analysis and Findings

5.1 Introduction

This chapter draws a picture of the causes of mistranslation in four interviews by president Assad of Syria. It starts by reminding the reader of the research questions this research attempted to answer and then proceeds to analyse the data reported in chapter four. Next, it makes use of the data analysis to provide the answers to the research questions. After that it discusses the characteristics of the MEMRI translation and the characteristics of the official translation. It discusses the relation between political translation and politics and moves on to discuss the implications and limitations of the research and the recommendations for translators. It also dedicates a section for further suggested research inspired by the findings of this research.

5.2 Research questions

To remind the reader, this research attempted to answer the following two questions:

1. What are the causes of mistranslation of Syrian political discourse?
2. Which of the identified causes lead to pragmatic failure in translation?

5.3 Answering research questions

First, a summary of all data reported in chapter four will be mentioned here to provide an overview of the research obtained data. Next, this section will also report the analysis of the obtained data. The concern of the analysis is related to any mistranslation regardless of the number of respondents who indicated this mistranslation. Each deviation is analysed separately whether it leads to pragmatic failure or not. The observed MEMRI translation deviations are analysed first and then followed by the OT analysis. A summary of all types and grades of deviations is provided at the end of the analysis of each interview, including figures and percentages. Answering the targeted research questions comes at the end of the analysis of all interviews.

5.3.1 A summary of all data reported in chapter four

This table provides an overview of the data obtained in the course of the research. However, in order to avoid abstract statistics, it is important to provide the analysis referred to above. As can be seen from the table, the figures and percentages of mistranslations in each interview are mentioned for each translation, the MEMRI translation and the OT. They are classified under the categories used in the contrastive analysis conducted via the research questionnaire. The last row of the table provides the total figures and percentages related to all mistranslations in the four interviews, including the ones that led to pragmatic failure.

Figures and Percentages of Mistranslations in Each Interview																
MEMRI TRANSLATION									OT							
INTERVIEWS	Percentage of mistranslations				Percentage of mistranslations LEADING TO PRAGMATIC FAILUR				Percentage of mistranslations			Percentage of mistranslations LEADING TO PRAGMATIC FAILUR				
	No. of Deviations	Both	Linguistic	Cultural	No. of Deviations	Both	Linguistic	Cultural	No. of Deviations	Both	Linguistic	Cultural	No. of Deviations	Both	Linguistic	Cultural
A	102	36.8	31.2	13.6	85	40.20	30.92	16.49	23	7.2	11.2	0	12	4.12	8.24	0
B	29	17.3	13.04	32.6	22	17.2	6.89	51.72	17	30.4	6.52	0	7	13.7	10.34	0
C	83	25.42	36.44	8.47	66	25.64	46.15	12.82	35	11.01	18.64	0	12	0	15.38	0
D	35	18.18	9.09	25.75	33	18.51	11.11	31.48	31	33.33	13.63	0	21	27.77	11.11	0
TOTAL	249	27.04	26.47	16.61	206	28.68	28.68	22.48	106	16.33	13.52	0	52	8.91	11.24	0

5.3.2 Interview A excerpts analysis

This interview includes 9 excerpts; the ST consists of 58 sentences, the MW translation consists of 79 sentences and the OT consists of 88 sentences.

5.3.2.1 Excerpt 1 analysis

In S1 - IA - E1 – MEMRI, all respondents observed a deviation and classified it under grades C3 and C5. They observed that the first Arabic ST sentence (بداية، أرحب بكم في سورية) is completely ignored by the MW. Translating such a greeting would bring the audience one step closer to the speaker, especially in the context of initially spoken rather than written discourse. It is also polite to say something to your guests in Arab culture, before you start ‘work’, as it were. However, the sentence is missing in the MW. This omission may give the impression that the speaker is fully overwhelmed by the problem between the East and the West - to the extent that he does not even welcome his guests before proposing his thoughts. Therefore, avoiding the translation of this sentence is likely to lead to extra processing efforts to know the reason behind this omission, grade C3, and consequently to misunderstanding the speaker's intention, grade C5, thus alienating him from his audience.

In S2 - IA - E1 – MEMRI, all respondents observed a deviation and classified it under grades G2 and S2: “The problem of Syria's relations with part of the West – I'm not saying all the West and maybe it's only *some officials in the West* – it's not a problem of language.” First, this sentence is grammatically incorrect. As previously stated, the subject, ‘the problem’, has no predicate in the whole sentence. The use of the dashes is not appropriate, either. Therefore, only context can possibly clarify the point. Thus, the error is purely linguistic, grade G2, but it does not induce any pragmatic failure. Second, its semantic structure may indicate some ambiguity; the translator could have resorted to explicitation by saying that “the problem lies in the attitude of some Western officials”. Thus, it could also be classified under grade S2. However, this may not induce any pragmatic failure, either.

In S3a - IA - E1 – MEMRI, all respondents observed a deviation and classified it under grades G1, G2, G3, G4, and G5: “*As I've said*, I understand their language, and some of them may understand Arabic.” It can be noticed that the MW divided the second source language sentence into two sentences and attached “*As I've said*,” to the third sentence of

their translation. This sentence is in fact misleading and could lead to serious misinterpretation in the sense that the speaker is not restating what is said by the interviewer but showing off. Consequently, it requires extra processing efforts, grade G3. It can also yield irrelevant implications, grade G4 and is likely to lead to full misunderstanding, grade, G5 in the given context.

In S4 - IA - E1 – MEMRI, two of the respondents observed a deviation and classified it under grades S2, and S3: “In order for things *to be straightened out*, the West must *learn more about our region, history, concepts*, and about the real causes of our problems”. The MW literal translation of ‘لكي تستقيم الأمور’ as ‘straightened out’ is classified under grade S2. This literal translation may also yield extra processing efforts, grade S3, in the sense that such expression could entail a presupposed idea that the situation in the Middle East needs to be corrected according to Western standards. On the contrary, the OT pragmatically conveyed it as ‘normal’ in the sense that the West has to see the situation as ‘normal’ as it is. Moreover, it can be noticed that functional repetition is not only valid in Arabic political discourse but also in English. The MW translation, however, did not consider the role of such a technique that gives more political emotiveness to the meaning of the sentence through repeating ‘our’ as the OT put it: ‘...learn more about *our* region, *our* history, *our* concepts’. These deviations are unlikely to lead to pragmatic failure.

In S1 - IA - E1 – OT, all respondents observed a deviation and classified it under grades S2 and G2. This deviation is related to the greeting and welcoming utterance in the ST ‘بدايةً أرحب بكم في سورية’ which has been literally translated by the OT into a non-native-like English: “*In the beginning*, let me welcome you *in Syria*”. Also, the use of ‘in’ in the translation of ‘في سورية/ in Syria’ is not a native-speaker usage; it would be better translated into ‘*to Syria*’. Such literal translation, however, is unlikely to lead to pragmatic failure.

In S2 - IA - E1 – OT and in S3b - IA - E1 – OT, all respondents observed a deviation and classified it under grade S2: “S2. The problem concerning the relationship between Syria and part of the West, not all of the West, is *with some Western officials*. S3b. But the problem is with the conceptions *carried by* languages.” These two sentences are not expressed in good English, but they do not induce any level of pragmatic failure. The whole issue is just stylistic. For instance, in (S2), the translator could have resorted to explicitation by saying that the ‘the problem *lies in the attitude* of some Western officials’. The same

procedure can apply to sentence (S3b) by saying that ‘the problem lies in the conceptions mediated through languages’.

5.3.2.2 Excerpt 2 analysis

In S1 - IA – E2 – MEMRI, all respondents observed a deviation and classified it under grades C3 and C5. The sentence below was entirely ignored by the MW:

1. والمطلوب ليس أن يتعد عن التعامل مع المصطلحات فقط، وإنما يجب أن يدخل لمعالجة المشاكل من خلال التعامل مع الحقائق الموجودة على الأرض.

The above sentence literally reads “What is required is not only to stop dealing with terminology but to start addressing the problems by dealing with facts on the ground.” It is noted that the MW translation has misrepresented the original Arabic answer proposed by the interviewee as a result of ignoring this part of his political message. This textual manipulation could be classified under grades C3 and C5. It could be viewed in terms of serving certain political agendas because ignoring such information may give a message other than the one intended by the speaker. In other words, the speaker is not only referring to the geographical distance between the West and the East, but also to a point of difference in terms of keeping away from dealing with terminology and addressing problems through dealing with the facts on the ground. Consequently, the MW misrepresentation of the ST has led to pragmatic failure and misunderstanding the speaker's intention.

In S2a - IA – E2 – MEMRI, three respondents observed a deviation and classified it under grades S3, S4 and S5: “...We live our reality, while they live thousands of miles away.” The MW has partially ignored the first part of the sentence ‘هذه نقطة خلاف/ *this is a point of difference*’. By ignoring this information, the MW's translation has reduced contextual effects related to the speaker's explicit focus on the point of difference between East and West, grade S3. This omission has also yielded an irrelevant implication in the sense that the speaker is only comparing East and West in terms of terminologies, views and the distance between both, grade S4. The result of such deviation is misunderstanding the speaker's political message which clearly states a point of difference that should be taken into consideration.

In S2a - IA – E2 – OT, three respondents observed the same deviation noted in S2a – IA E2 –MEMRI and classified it under grades S3, S4 and S5: “...We live this reality,

while they live thousands of miles away.” Like the MW's translation, the OT has missed out the first part of the sentence ‘هذه نقطة خلاف/ this is a point of difference’. By ignoring this information, the OT has reduced the contextual effects related to the speaker's explicit focus on the point of difference between East and West, grade S3. This omission has yielded an irrelevant implication in the sense that the speaker is only comparing East and West in terms of terminologies, views and the distance between both, grade S4. The result of such a deviation is misunderstanding the speaker's political message that differences between East and West should be considered, grade S5.

5.3.2.3 Excerpt 3 analysis

In S1 - IA – E3 – MEMRI, three respondents observed a deviation and classified it under grades S2, S3 and S5: “...Syria is an important country for stability, an important country in the way against terrorism, an important country for the peace process, an important country for future stability in Iraq.” The MW's translation has ignored the first part of the sentence ‘كما قلت أنا’ which should have read ‘as I said’. This omission may require extra processing efforts, grade S3. Does this reflect the Western opinion or the Eastern? Who exactly said it? The answer is provided in the Arabic source text, but not in the translation. Moreover, this omission has led to misunderstanding the speaker's message, grade S5. In other words, the speaker is not stating others' opinion regarding the importance of the Syrian role in the region, but his own. Another deviation is classified under grade S2 and is related to the use of ‘in the way against terrorism’ instead of ‘in the war against terrorism/ في مكافحة الإرهاب’ which could be a slip of the pen.

In S2 - IA – E3 – MEMRI, all respondents observed a deviation and classified it under grades G1, G2, G3, G4, G5, C4 and C5: “But these Middle Eastern issues *are being dealt with* without Syria.” It could be noticed here that the MW translation conveys the opposite meaning to that intended in the Arabic ST. This could be related to complete misunderstanding of the ST, grade G5. Moreover, ignoring the negation ‘لا/ not’ in the Arabic ST has led to committing a syntactic error, grade G2, and an extra processing effort, grade G3, because it is politically well known, as said by the speaker, that ‘these Middle Eastern issues cannot be addressed without Syria’. This may also lead to an irrelevant implication, grade G4, and consequently misunderstanding the speaker's political message,

grade G5. This mistranslation by the MW has created a clear contradiction between the two political messages rendered by sentence 1 and sentence 2 of the MW's translation. Thus, the same deviation under grade G5 could also be classified under grades C4 and C5. In other words, the MW's translation may be politically motivated to reflect a presupposed Western political perception that Syria is isolated after the invasion of Iraq, grade C4. Accordingly, this mistranslation has led to misunderstanding the speaker's message intended in the ST, grade C5.

As far as the OT is concerned, no respondent observed any deviation.

5.3.2.4 Excerpt 4 analysis

In S1 - IA – E4 – MEMRI, two respondents observed a deviation and classified it under grade C3. The MW's translation ignored the first part of the Arabic ST:

1. لا يوجد سؤال غير سار، وإنما توجد حقائق غير سارة.

This sentence was translated by the OT as 'There are no unpleasant questions; there are only unpleasant facts'. Avoiding the translation of such a sentence may lessen the directness of the interviewee in terms of his willingness to accept facts even if they are unpleasant. Such willingness is explicitly reflected in the second sentence. However, this omission did not distort the speaker's message although it weakened it.

In S2 - in IA – E4 – MEMRI, three respondents observed a deviation and classified it under grades G2, S3: "As I've said before, any Syrian proven to be involved in the assassination is considered a traitor according to Syrian law, and the punishment for a traitor is very severe in Syrian law". It is noted that the MW translated 'أنا قلت في السابق' as 'As I've said'. However, a thorough reading of the entire interview would reveal that the interviewee did not mention anything related to this subject in the same interview. Linguistically, the expression 'As I've said before' presumes a reference to what was recently said by the speaker in the same interview, which is not the case. In other words, it is unacceptable to say 'As I've said' in English when the speaker is confirming what he previously said a month ago or more. Thus, such grammatical ill-formedness, grade G2, may disregard al-Assad's confirmation of this topic in other interviews, conferences or speeches. Another deviation under grade S3 is noted in the translation of 'أن كل من يثبت أن له علاقة' into 'any Syrian proven to be involved' which may convey a more general sense of

accusation whereas the interviewee was referring in that interview to x individual(s). Nevertheless, neither of the two observed deviations could lead to any pragmatic failure.

As far as the OT is concerned, no respondent observed any deviation.

5.3.2.5 Excerpt 5 analysis

In S2 in IA – E5 – MEMRI, three respondents observed a deviation and classified it under grades S3 and S5: “As you know no country in the world can *hermetically seal* its border with any other country”. The MW’s translation of ‘تضبط حدودها’ as ‘hermetically seal’ is metaphorical in the sense that borders are made to seem like an envelope that could be ‘sealed’, which is inappropriate in this context. Sealing borders between two countries means that nothing whatsoever can cross the borders. Such an expression could possibly be used in extreme cases when there are epidemic diseases like plague or Ebola, for example, or when two countries are in a state of war, which is not the case between these two countries of Syria and Iraq. Such a deviation may lead to large processing efforts on the part of target audience, and consequently to misinterpretation of the ST intended political message.

In S3 - IA – E5 – MEMRI, S4 - IA – E5 – MEMRI, S5 - IA – E5 – MEMRI and S6 - IA – E5 – MEMRI, three respondents observed a deviation and classified it under grades S3 and S5. This deviation was related to the translation of the expression ‘ضبط الحدود’ /*sealing the borders*’. It seems that the intended repetition of such expression by the MW carries a political attitude related to the ongoing debate at the time of the interview when the USA systematically started accusing Syria of smuggling terrorists across the borders with Iraq without exerting any effort ‘*to seal its borders*’. Thus, the result of reusing such an expression is pragmatic failure.

In S10 - IA – E5 – OT, three respondents observed a deviation and classified it under grades S1, S3 and S5: “*The Americans are always blaming other parties: They blame individuals they call terrorists who carry out operations against the forces present there, the occupation forces.*” It is noted that the OT misunderstood the ST, grade S1, in the sense that the speaker intentionally did not explicitly name the countries which are casting the blame on a foreign party: ‘هناك دائماً إلقاء لوم على طرف أجنبي’ / A foreign party is always blamed’. The speaker also indicated that these individuals are ‘أشخاص أجنب – foreigners’.

Moreover, this sentence is linguistically ill-formed in English, i.e. it is almost a paraphrased literal translation, and needs extra processing efforts to be understood; grade S3. Thus, these deviations have distorted the speaker's message in terms of political evasiveness and consequently led to misunderstanding what is intended by the speaker; grade S5.

5.3.2.6 Excerpt 6 analysis

In S1 - IA – E6 – MEMRI, all respondents observed a deviation and classified it under grades C3 and C5 because the MW has entirely ignored translating it:

فإذا القضية ليست الاخوان المسلمين، وإنما الجزء الذي يؤمن بالعنف.

The above sentence reads as ‘Thus, the issue is not related to Muslim Brotherhood, but to the part believing in violence’. This omission by the MW could be politically motivated as is indicated within the ST context that the Muslim Brotherhood is taken for granted as a terrorist group according to Syrian law, and thus, the focus should be on other groups believing in violence. Therefore, omitting this sentence would underestimate the speaker's political message and reduce contextual effects on the part of the target audience, grade C3, and consequently lead to pragmatic failure; grade C5.

In S2 - IA – E6 – MEMRI, two respondents observed a deviation and classified it under grades S1 and S3: “There are *similar groups*, other than the Muslim Brotherhood, that believe in violence and in terrorism, maybe because they believe this serves Islam”. It is noticed that the MW translated ‘تيارات أخرى’ as ‘similar groups’ which reflects misunderstanding of the speaker's message, grade S1, that tended to differentiate between various titles of terrorist ‘ideological trends’ not ‘groups’. Such deviation, as both agreed, may induce irrelevant implications, grade S3, but does not necessarily lead to pragmatic failure.

In S3a - IA – E6 – MEMRI, all respondents observed a deviation and classified it under grade G2: “Of course, *there is no such things* as “Islamic terrorism”, because terrorism differs from Islam”. The MW used a wrong verb ‘is’ instead of ‘are’, but such an error does not preclude understanding within the context of the interview.

In S4a - IA – E6 – MEMRI, three respondents observed a deviation and classified it under grades S1, S3 and S5: “It was directed against us, and then we embarked upon a campaign in some Western European countries in an attempt *to convince them* that

embracing some of the leaders of extremism and terrorism in Europe will turn against them one of these days”. The MW translated ‘نقنع’ as ‘convince’ which is aimed at influencing only the other party’s points of view but no action is taken as a result²². Moreover, convincing is less directly linked with the personal interests of speaker and listener in the context of combating terrorism; grade S1. In other words, the speaker's intended meaning throughout his answer implies that his campaign in some Western European countries seeks an action against the leaders of extremism and terrorism; an action which is more directly linked with the mutual interests of the speaker and the West; grade S3. In this sense, the illocutionary force of ‘convince’ didn’t convey what is intended in the ST, and thus it is likely to lead to pragmatic failure; grade S5. In contrast, the OT used ‘persuading’, which may appropriately convey what is implied in the ST.

In S8 - IA – E6 – MEMRI, all respondents observed a deviation and classified it under grades C3 and C5; it is related to the omission of the last sentence in this excerpt [No. 8 in the ST]:

وهذا ما بدأ ينتبه إليه الكثير من دول العالم وفهمت هذه الدول أن مكافحة الإرهاب هي مكافحة دولية.

The above sentence could be read as ‘Many countries around the world began to pay attention to the issue that terrorism cannot be controlled or restricted; *they understood that the fight against terrorism should be done on the international level*’. Ignoring the translation of this sentence may pose various questions related to MW's [rational] reasons, political agenda or biased stances behind presenting the speaker's political message as an incomplete one. Once again, such an omission has led to pragmatic failure in the final translation product of the MW, grade C5.

In S2 - in IA – E6 – OT, three respondents observed a deviation and classified it under grades S1, S3, G2 and S5: “There are other *similar currents* which believe in violence and terrorism, *may be because they believe* that this serves Islam.” It is noted that the OT misread the ST and translated ‘تيارات أخرى مشابهة’ as ‘similar currents’ without

²² “The difference in meaning between the words convince and persuade in colloquial speech appears to be chiefly: (1) that persuading is aimed at influencing the action (or will to act) of the listener (‘persuade to’) and convincing at influencing his points of view (‘convince of’), (2) that the quality of argumentation plays a less important role in persuading than in convincing (‘He managed to persuade me, but his argumentation did not convince me’), and (3) that persuading is more directly linked with the personal interests of the speaker and listener than convincing is. These three points are furthermore closely interrelated. Indeed they are not clearly differentiated in the dictionaries (Eemeren & Grootendiors, 1984: 48).

specifying the type of these ‘ideological trends’ as intended in the ST; grade S1. Moreover, the omission of ‘other than the Muslim Brotherhood’ /هناك تيارات أخرى مشابهة غير الإخوان المسلمين’ has reduced the contextual effects and made the speaker's message more difficult to be understood; grade S3. Another deviation was related to the translation of ‘ربما اعتقاداً منها’ as they may believe’ which is rendered by the OT as ‘may be because they believe’. This literal translation was classified under grade G2. Accordingly, the result of these deviations is pragmatic failure, grade S5.

5.3.2.7 Excerpt 7 analysis

In S1a - IA – E7 – MEMRI, all respondents observed a deviation and classified it under grades C3 and C5; it was related to the sentence of the Arabic ST which was partly ignored by the MW. It is noticed that the MW overlooked the first part: ‘صحيح لدينا خبرة لأننا الأقدم في: ‘هذا المجال ولأننا نعيش في منطقة إسلامية’ which was translated by the OT as: ‘It is true that we have expertise in this regard because we suffered from this before others and because we live in a Muslim region’. Such omission has reduced the contextual effects of the speaker’s message, grade C3, in the sense that he is only theorizing without having any practical experience and proficiency in such wars. Therefore, the result of such textual manipulation was a deviated version of the original message of the ST, grade C5. In this context, it has been remarked that “MEMRI’s translations are usually accurate (though it is highly selective in what it chooses to translate and often removes things from their original context). When errors do occur, it's difficult to attribute them to incompetence or accidental lapses.” (Brian Whitaker, a former Middle East editor of the *Guardian* from 2000 to 2007)²³.

In S3b - IA – E7 – MEMRI, three respondents observed a deviation and classified it under grades G1, G4 and G5: “*This is how you deal with terrorism, not through condemnations*”. The MW translated ‘هكذا نتعامل مع الإرهاب’ as ‘this is how you deal with terrorism’. The interviewee is confirming his viewpoint after elaborating on Syria’s experience in combating terrorism in previous sentences, particularly the first part of the first sentence, which is omitted by the MW. In contrast, the MW incorrectly attributed this to the Western way of dealing with counter-terrorism. Such a deviation would be classified

²³ <http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2007/may/15/arabicunderfire>

under grade G1 as the translator used a pronoun different from the one used in the ST, i.e. ‘you’ instead of ‘we’. This grammatical ill-formedness has led to an irrelevant implication, grade G4, and accordingly to pragmatic failure; grade G5.

In S4b - IA – E7 – MEMRI, all respondents observed a deviation which was classified by two of them under grades S1, S3, S5, C4 and C5, while the other two classified it under grades S1, S3 and S5. The MW mistranslated ‘مُنْتًا وكل بلدان العالم أدانت 11 أيلول’ as ‘the entire world has condemned 9/11’. It is noted that the MW’s translation missed out ‘أدنتًا’, which reads as ‘we condemn’. In fact, the referent to Syria is included in the ‘entire world’, but such an intended emphasis on Syria’s condemnation by the speaker could be an indirect defensive way of refuting allegations against Syria and confirming its stances against terrorism. Thus, the MW misunderstood the emphasis intended by the speaker; grade S2. This omission would reduce the contextual effects which clarify the speaker’s message, grade S3. The result of such a deviation is a pragmatic failure; grade S5. This same deviation was also classified under grades C4 and C5 because omitting information related to Syria’s condemnation of such terrorist attacks within such a sensitive political context would lead to irrelevant implications; one may wonder why Syria did not clearly state that it condemns such a catastrophic incident. Thus, misunderstanding the speaker’s political message is the result of the MW’s purposeful selective technique which may serve certain political agendas; grade C5.

In S4c - IA – E7 – MEMRI, two respondents observed a deviation and classified it grade S2: “Therefore, we must establish a network of international cooperation, and as I’ve said, Syria has the *experience* and a great desire for such cooperation”. It is noted that the MW translated ‘سورية كما قلت لديها خبرة’ into ‘as I’ve said, Syria has the *experience*’. The MW’s translation of ‘خبرة’ as ‘experience’ is unlikely to convey the speaker’s pragmatic force which is intended in his answer in terms of skills and expertise that Syria acquired from practice during its fight against terrorism in the 1970s and 1980s. In contrast, the OT used ‘expertise’, which refers to the mechanisms underlying the achievement of combating terrorism, i.e. “one who has acquired special skill in or knowledge of a particular subject through professional training and practical experience” (Webster's dictionary, 1976: 800). This semantic ill-formedness, however, is unlikely to lead to pragmatic failure.

In S2a - IA – E7 – OT, all respondents observed a deviation and classified it under grades S3 and S4: ‘Fighting terrorism is in the first place an *intellectual activity*, because terrorism is a *mentality* before it is organizations.’ The OT literally translated ‘مكافحة فكرية’ as ‘intellectual activity’ which signifies a positive ‘intelligence’ on the side of people embracing terrorism, at a time the speaker suggested that fighting terrorism is fighting “the integrated assertions, theories and aims that constitute a sociopolitical program”²⁴ that inspires their terrorism. In contrast, the MW rendered it as ‘Fighting terrorism must be *ideological*’ which is more appropriate to express what is intended in the ST. The same deviation is observed in the translation of ‘الإرهاب فكر / Terrorism is *mentality*’. It seems that the OT inaccurately used the term ‘mentality’ which refers to “a particular way of thinking — usually singular”²⁵, to convey the speaker's intended meaning in terms of “the set of ideas and beliefs of a group or political party”²⁶. Therefore, the result of such translation would be extra processing efforts to understand what exactly is intended by the speaker. Accordingly, such a translation is likely to lead to irrelevant implications and some level of misunderstanding but not pragmatic failure.

5.3.2.8 Excerpt 8 analysis

In S6 - IA – E8 – MEMRI and S7 - IA – E8 – MEMRI, all respondents observed a deviation and classified it under grades S1, G2 and S3. This deviation is related to the incomplete sentence S6 and sentence S7 which is the result clause of sentence S6: ‘*But as for nuclear weapons – this is what you asked about, and this is what we hear sometimes – that Iran wants the peaceful reactor in order to reach a nuclear weapon*’. It is noted that the MW misread the ST, grade S1, and did not convey all the information mentioned in the Arabic sentence. Moreover, its structure is grammatically ill-formed; grade G2, i.e. if the parenthetical sentence ‘this is what you asked about, and this is what we hear sometimes’ is removed, the sentence would be an incomplete one: ‘*But as for nuclear weapons that Iran wants the peaceful reactor in order to reach a nuclear weapon.*’ In other words, extra processing efforts are needed to understand this sentence; grade S3, because its result

24 <http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/ideology>

25 <http://www.learnersdictionary.com/definition/mentality>

26 <http://www.learnersdictionary.com/definition/ideology>

clause ‘we cannot relate to it this way’, which completes sentence S6, is rendered by the MW as a separate sentence. However, the speaker's intended meaning can be understood within the context.

In S9 - IA – E8 – MEMRI, all respondents observed a deviation which was classified by two of them under grades S2, S3, S4 and S5 while the other two classified it under grades S2, S3, S4, S5, C4 and C5: “If we say that a certain country in the Middle East has the right to own nuclear weapons, then all the other countries have the same right.” It is noted that the MW literally translated the Arabic verb ‘تمتلك’ as ‘own’ which means “to legally have something, especially because you have bought it”²⁷. Understanding the sense and force of such a verb in this context may require extra processing efforts, grade S3, because it may have irrelevant implications or imply a political message other than the one intended in the ST, grade S4. The observed deviation is related to the verb used with the noun *weapon*. The MEMRI used the verb *own* which implies buying the weapons, not obtaining them by means of developing the relevant technology nationally. The act of buying such kind of weapons is not considered to be a legal activity. Thus it is more incriminating for a country to use a verb, like the verb *own*, which implies that this country is buying such weapons illegally. President Assad has not implied any such accusation. However, the MEMRI translation put Iran in the position of the terrorist who is seeking illegal weapons. The result of this deviation is misunderstanding the intended message of the speaker, grade S5. This same deviation could also be classified under grades C4 and C5. That’s to say, the MW’s translation could be politically motivated to reflect a presupposed Western political accusation that Iran may have nuclear weapons through the black market or certain countries without having the technology that leads to manufacturing such weapons; grade C4. Therefore, such a translation did not convey what is intended in the ST and the result is pragmatic failure.

In S12 - IA – E8 – MEMRI, all respondents observed a deviation and classified it under grades C3 and C5. This deviation is related to the Arabic ST sentence which was entirely ignored by the MW:

نحن في سورية قمنا عام 2003 بتقديم مبادرة لمجلس الأمن من أجل نزع أسلحة الدمار الشامل من كل منطقة الشرق الأوسط.

²⁷http://www.macmillandictionary.com/dictionary/british/own_2

This sentence reads in English as: “We in Syria had submitted an initiative to the Security Council in 2003 to make the Middle East a zone free of weapons of mass destruction.” Once again, the MW's textual manipulation could be classified under grade C3 and C5 and viewed in terms of serving certain political agendas because ignoring such information may only serve the countries which have nuclear arsenals in the region. In other words, the speaker's country provides evidence of its willingness to cooperate with the International Community to make the Middle East a zone free of WMD. Consequently, the MW's selectivity of the ST leads to misunderstanding the speaker's political message.

In S7 - IA – E8 – OT, three respondents observed a deviation and classified it under grades S1, G2, and S3: “As to the nuclear weapons issue, which is the point you raised, we hear this talked about *in order to* mean that Iran wants the peaceful reactor *in order to obtain* nuclear weapons.” It is noted that this sentence was literally translated by the OT into a non-native-like English. Unlike the MW's translation which provided an incomplete sentence, the OT provided a full but confusing sentence which reflected misreading of the ST; grade S1. Another grade G2 of grammatical ill-formedness can be seen in the word order which reflected a sense of literal translation, and in the repetition of ‘in order to’ twice. These two grades may lead to extra processing efforts on the part of the TT's reader but may not preclude understanding such a sentence within its context; grade S3.

In S12 - IA – E8 – OT, all respondents observed a deviation and classified it under grades S1, and S2: “We in Syria *launched an initiative at* the Security Council in 2003 in order to make the whole Middle East free of mass destruction weapons.” It is noted that the translator(s) has misread the ST and translated ‘تقديم مبادرة في مجلس الأمن’ into English as ‘to launch an initiative at the Security Council’ which does not convey what is intended by the speaker as ‘to propose’ or ‘to submit’ an initiative at the Security Council. Although this translation did not exactly convey what is said by the speaker, the intended meaning can be understood in context.

5.3.2.9 Excerpt 9 analysis

In S1 in IA – E9 – MEMRI, two respondents observed a deviation and classified it under grades G2, G4 and G5: “First of all, *I don't know* if there will be sanctions.” When a politician confronts questions related to sensitive issues, s/he usually uses ‘we’ instead of

'I' to express his/her opinions and al-Assad is not an exception. In other words, the use of 'لا نعرف / we do not know' by the speaker in ST is very indicative in the sense that it signals a shift into the private domain of the Syrian people in order to place himself as one member of them and to answer such a sensitive question through them by using 'we'. As such, the speaker may acknowledge solidarity with his own people as the sanctions will be imposed on the entire country, not only on the President; grade G4. Thus, this deviation is likely to lead to pragmatic failure; grade G5.

In S4b - IA - E9 - MEMRI, S5 - IA - E9 - MEMRI and S6 - IA - E9 - MEMRI, all respondents observed a deviation which was classified by two of them under grades G1, G2, G4, G5, C1, C4 and C5, while the other two classified it under grades G1, G2, G4 and C5: "S4b. Any country that *wants* sanctions – what will it gain? S5. *Will it* gain anything? S6. No, *it won't, it will* lose."

The OT rendered this same sentence as: "But we have to continue this answer with a question: which countries are trying to impose sanctions? 4b. What will they achieve? 5. Will they win? 6a. They won't. 6b. They will lose." First, it is noted that the MW misread the ST, grade G1, and translated the Arabic plural word 'دول' into a singular form 'country'. Second, it mistranslated the Arabic question 'ماذا ستحقق' into 'what will it gain?' which is a grammatically ill-formed question; grade G2. The result of such misreading of the ST is an irrelevant implication; grade G4 which is a natural development of grade G1. In other words, this grammatical ill-formedness has led to misunderstanding what is intended by the speaker; grade G5. Politically, this translation may reflect the MW's perception and misunderstanding of the political context, grade C1, which has led to an irrelevant implication, grade C4, or even an opposite meaning to the one intended in the ST. The MW's translation could be interpreted as 'if any country wants to be subject to sanctions, what it will gain?' Such sentence may covertly imply an irrelevant implication, grade C4, or implicit threat in the sense that 'as the gains are zero, all countries should comply with Western demands so that they won't be subject to any sanctions.' Another interpretation may indicate that all countries, other than the superpowers, have two options: either to comply with Western demands or to be subject to sanctions. Therefore, the MW's mistranslation did not convey the speaker's political message that calls for political dialogue between countries instead of the futile mechanism of imposing sanctions by the

superpowers; grade C5. Such a message is clearly stated by the speaker in his final sentence of this excerpt. This sentence, however, was totally ignored by the MW as will be explained below.

In S11 - IA – E9 – MEMRI and S12 in IA – E9 – MEMRI, all respondents observed a deviation and classified it under grades C3 and C5. This deviation is related to the last two Arabic ST sentences which were entirely ignored by the MW's translation:

فأعتقد أنه عندما نضع هذا السؤال، سنصل إلى الجواب المنطقي بأن العقوبات لن تحقق شيئاً، والحل الوحيد هو بالعمل السياسي وبالحوار. لا خيار آخر. وثبت أن الحرب لا تحقق نتائج إيجابية حتى لو كانت تقوم بها دول عظمى وقوية.

These sentences read in English as “S11. I think that when we put this question, we will reach the logical answer that the sanctions will not achieve anything, and the only solution is through political action and dialogue. S12. There is no other choice. It is proven that war does not achieve positive results even if waged by great and powerful states”. It is noted that these sentences provide the answer to the previous rhetorical question mentioned above. In other words, avoiding the translation of these sentences may enhance the above possible interpretations intended by the MW. Therefore, the result of this textual manipulation and omission of the above sentence would reduce contextual effects and accordingly increase processing efforts to know the reason behind this omission; grade C3. The result of this is a misunderstanding of the speaker's intention; grade C5.

In S3a - IA – E9 – OT, all respondents observed a deviation and classified it under grades S1 and S5 “To prepare yourself does not mean that *you cannot win*”. It is noted that the OT has misread the ST and rendered the opposite meaning of what is said by the speaker as ‘أن تستعد، لا يعني أن تكون قادراً أن تربع’ / Being prepared doesn't mean you are capable of winning’. Accordingly, pragmatic failure and misunderstanding the speaker's message is the natural result; grade S5.

5.3.2.10 Summary of interview A data

As assessed by the respondents, the total number of translation deviations observed in both TTs was 125 deviations; 102 deviations were observed in the MEMRI translation of 34 sentences and the number in the official translation was 23 deviations in 10 sentences. The number of all deviations that led to pragmatic failure in both TTs was 97; 85 deviations

were observed in the MEMRI translation of 26 sentences out of 34, and 12 deviations were observed in the official translation of 4 sentences out of 10.

After this general synopsis of all translation deviations observed in both TTs, I find it necessary to classify these deviations into three categories: pragma-linguistic deviations (types G and S), socio-pragmatic deviations (type C) and both pragma-linguistic and socio-pragmatic deviations (types G, S and C) that are related to each of the two parties presenting their translations. These deviations were also classified into two categories: all deviations in both TTs and all deviations leading to pragmatic failure in both TTs. In other words, the numbers mentioned in the previous section could mean nothing significant in the light of the categorization in the table below:

All Deviations in Both TTs								All deviations Leading to PRAGMATIC FAILURE in Both TTs							
125								97							
MEMRI				OT				MEMRI				OT			
102				23				85				12			
G	S	C	G+S+C	G	S	C	G+S+C	G	S	C	G+S+C	G	S	C	G+S+C
12	27	17	46	-	14	-	9	11	19	16	39	-	8	-	4

So far as the number of all deviations in both TTs is concerned, the percentage of deviations in the MEMRI translation is 81.6%; the pragma-linguistic deviations represent 31.2% (9.6% grammatical and 21.6% semantic), while the socio-pragmatic deviations represent 13.6%, and the other pragma-linguistic and socio-pragmatic deviations under the three types with different grades represent 36.8%.

In contrast, the percentage of translation deviations in the OT is 18.4%, the pragma-linguistic deviations represent 11.2% (0% grammatical and 11.2% semantic), while the socio-pragmatic deviations represent 0% and the other prag-linguistic and socio-pragmatic deviations under the three types with different grades also represent 7.2%.

As far as the number of all deviations leading to pragmatic failure in both TTs is concerned, the percentage of pragmatic failure in the MEMRI translation is 87.62%; the pragma-linguistic failure deviations represent 30.92% (11.34% grammatical and 19.58% semantic), while the socio-pragmatic failure deviations represent 16.49% and the other

pragma-linguistic and socio-pragmatic failure deviations under the three types with different grades represent 40.20%.

In contrast, the percentage in the OT is 12.37%; the pragma-linguistic failure deviations represent 8.24% (0% grammatical and 8.24% semantic) while the socio-pragmatic deviations failure represent 0% and the other pragma-linguistic and socio-pragmatic failure deviations under the three types with different grades represent 4.12%.

5.3.3 Interview B excerpts analysis

This interview includes 2 excerpts; the ST consists of 19 sentences, the MW's translation consists of 17 sentences and the OT consists of 22 sentences.

5.3.3.1 Excerpt 1 analysis

Looking initially at the overall structure of the MW's translation of excerpt 1, one can notice that the MW's sentences are somehow taken from the Arabic ST on no obvious pragmatic or semantic basis, at least in relation to the first and last sentences of the Arabic ST which are completely ignored.

In S1 - IB - E1 – MEMRI, S2 - IB - E1 – MEMRI, S3 - IB - E1 – MEMRI and S4 - IB - E1 – MEMRI, three respondents observed a deviation and classified it under grades C3 and C5. Although these sentences represented the first part of the interviewee's answer to a sensitive political question, they were entirely ignored by the MW's translation:

1. أولا نحن نتحدث عن السلام . 2. يقال الطلاق أبغض الحلال. 3. هو حلال لكنه بغيض. 4. فأنت تبحث عن حل مشكلة قبل أن تصل إلى الحل الأسوأ فيه.

The above sentences read in English as: “S1. First of all we are talking about peace. S2. It is said that ‘the most hated permissible thing to Allah is divorce’. S3. It is permissible but hated. S4. Thus, you look for solving a problem before reaching the worst case scenario.” The MW's structural manipulation is noted through ignoring the translation of the above sentences. Such manipulation would weaken the intended meaning of the interviewee who is indirectly calling for working out differences before it is too late to reach a peaceful solution. Therefore, omitting these sentences would reduce the contextual effects on the part of the message's receiver who is likely to misjudge the speaker's political

message in this context, grade C3. Thus, the result of this omission is pragmatic failure, grade C5.

In S5 - IB - E1 – MEMRI, all respondents observed a deviation and classified it under grades S3, C3 and C5. This sentence was partially translated by the MW: "...war is the worst possible solution". It is noted that the MW ignored translating "نفس الشيء بالنسبة للحرب" / the same thing for war", which is related to the previous ignored sentences that convey a comparison between 'divorce' and 'war'. The MW translated only the second part of this sentence and entirely ignored the speaker's socio-political example which was intended to set a comparison between wars and divorce issues. In other words, the speaker purposefully used such an example to have emotional impact on his audience socially and politically. Thus, this omission has reduced the contextual effects which provide a clue to understand the speaker's message in terms of Islamic settings, grades S3 and C3. The result of this is misunderstanding what is intended in the Arabic ST, grade C5.

In S6a - IB - E1 – MEMRI and S6b - IB - E1 – MEMRI, three respondents observed a deviation and classified it under grades S2 and S4: "S6a. Nobody *wants* war. S6b. Even the resistance movement, anywhere in the Arab world, *wants* peace, not war." Semantically, the MW translated 'يبحث عن' into 'want' which does not convey the same sense and force of the term used in Arabic which could be best translated as 'look for', grade S2. Such semantic ill-formedness fails to indicate that the speaker is confirming that neither Syria nor the resistance are looking for doing something that is likely to cause a problem, fight or disagreement, grade S4. However, this semantic deviation is unlikely to cause pragmatic failure within the context.

In S8 - IB - E1 – MEMRI, all respondents observed a deviation and classified it under grades S2, G2 and S3: "You might *ask* if we place any hope in the Israeli government – no, we don't, but we believe that Israel today – from what we hear from its supporters – has no option other than peace." It is noted that the MW translated 'تقول', which simply means in English 'say', as 'ask'. Such a deviation was classified under grade S2. Moreover, the structure of this sentence is grammatically ill-formed because of the misuse of dashes which led to combining two sentences, grade G2. This deviation means that extra processing efforts would be needed on the part of the target audience to understand what

is intended in the ST, grade S3. However, the speaker's message can be understood within the context.

In S2 - IB - E1 – OT, all respondents observed a deviation and classified it under grades G2 and S2: “There is a saying divorce is the most hated of the permissible things.” This deviation was related to the missing conjunction ‘that’ which should introduce the subordinate after ‘there is a saying’ in addition to the quotation marks which mark the beginning and end of the quote in the above sentence. In other words, the above sentence should be formed in English as: “there is a saying that ‘the most hated of permissible things to Allah is divorce.’”. However, this grammatical and semantic ill-formedness is unlikely to lead to any pragmatic failure.

In S8a - IB - E1 – OT, all respondents observed a deviation and classified it under grades G2 and S2: “you say *we might have hope* in the Israeli government”. It is noted that the OT rendered what is mentioned in the ST ‘قد تقول يعني لدينا’ into ‘you say we might have hope’. Such a translation is grammatically and semantically ill-formed as it did not convey the possibility of asking as stated in the ST but expressed a possibility of having hope in peace. However, there is no possibility of pragmatic failure.

In S8b - IB - E1 – OT, all respondents observed a deviation and classified it under grades G2, S2, S4 and S5: “The answer is no; *But* we believe that Israel today has no option but to accept the peace.” This sentence is semantically and grammatically ill-formed, grades S2 and G2, because the first part of it should be linked to the previous sentence as it represents an answer to a rhetorical question. It is also noted that the OT entirely ignored the parenthetical sentence in the ST ‘بحسب ما نسمعه من أنصارها’ which is best translated as ‘from what we hear from its supporters’. This omission may weaken the credibility of what is said by the speaker, which could be interpreted as “I am not the only one who is saying that but also its supporters are saying the same thing”. Thus, such an omission by the OT would give irrelevant implication; grade S4, and the final result is a misunderstanding of what the speaker exactly said in the ST, grade S5.

In S10a - IB - E1 – OT and S10b - IB - E1 – OT, two respondents observed a deviation and classified it under grades G2, S3 and S4: “S10a. *Israel's supporters*, either the Zionist organizations or pro-Israel Jewish groups, *say* that they used to believe in war or to support every Israeli war. S10b. But now, they say they believe that there is no solution before

Israel but peace.” It is noted that the OT rendered ‘أصبح الكثير من أنصارها’ into ‘Israel’s supporters’ in general which is not the case in the ST. The speaker stated that ‘many’ of Israel’s supporters, not all of them. Such a deviation under grade (S3) has reduced contextual effects, which may help the target audience know whether all supporters are saying this or not. The result of this missing information could be irrelevant implications; grade S4, but it is unlikely to lead to misunderstanding within the context. Another remark is related to the linguistic structure of S10a which did not include what is being said by many of Israel’s supporters as a quotation, grade G2. Moreover, the OT broke up this quotation into two sentences in English without paying attention to the specified general procedural meaning of ‘لكن / but’, which can be seen as a contrast or correction discourse marker (see 3.5.2.3). In other words, this structural misrepresentation is likely to lead to extra processing efforts; grade S3, and irrelevant implications, grade S4, but not to misunderstanding within the context.

5.3.3.2 Excerpt 2 analysis

In S1 - IB – E2 – MEMRI and S2 - IB – E2 – MEMRI, all respondents observed a deviation and classified it under grades C3 and C5. This deviation is related to omission of the first part of the speaker’s answer:

1 . ثانياً بالنسبة للحرب التحريرية أو المقاومة إذا كان بمعنى المقاومة فالمقاومة لا تنشأ بقرار من الدولة. 2. تنشأ بشكل شعبي وبشكل طبيعي عندما لا يكون هناك دولة تعمل من أجل تحرير الأرض.

These two sentences literally read in English as: “1. Second, as for the liberation war or resistance, if it is in the sense of resistance, then it is not formed by a state decision. 2. It emerges publically and naturally when there is no state working for the liberation of the land”. The MW’s translation has ignored this information which manifests the speaker’s political message, defines resistance and indirectly endorses the state’s endeavors to liberate the occupied land. Omitting this information would lead the audience to interpret the speaker’s message in a wrong way in the sense that the regular army of the Syrian state is unable to liberate its occupied land and thus it has to recourse to military forces that are raised from the civil population. In other words, such omission has reduced the contextual effects intended by the speaker, grade C3, and accordingly led to misunderstanding the

speaker's political call to settle differences and liberate the land by means of politics and diplomacy, grade C5.

In S3 - IB – E2 – MEMRI, all respondents observed a deviation and classified it under grades C3, C4 and C5. This deviation is related to the MW's textual manipulation and partial translation of this sentence: "...It is well-known that Syria is developing its army, even according to what Israel itself says". The MW's translation has ignored translating 'سورية دولة مستقلة' / Syria is an independent state' which is highly significant in a sensitive political context. Such an omission has reduced the contextual effect within context, grade C3. The result of this is an irrelevant implication, grade C4, and misunderstanding the political message of the entire excerpt in the sense that Syria, as a state, does not own its decisions and losing hope in peace may lead the people of Syria to adopt the militia-like resistance option, grade C5.

In S5 - IB – E2 – MEMRI, all respondents observed a deviation and classified it under grades S4 and C5: "Even the enemy acknowledges Syria's efforts to develop [*its military*]"'. It is noted that the MW's translation has added '*its military*' although it was not mentioned by the speaker who stated that 'مساع سورية لتطویر ذاتها' / Syria's efforts to develop itself'. In other words, the MW's translation gives the impression that Syria is developing itself only militarily which is something not stated in the ST. Therefore, this addition by the MW's translator(s) has led to an irrelevant implication, grade S4, in the sense that Syria is after military power only. In other words, this addition could be politically motivated by the MW as it reflects a negative way of viewing Syria as a state that is totally overwhelmed with the issue of military balance with Israel, grade C5.

In S6b - IB – E2 – MEMRI, all respondents observed a deviation and classified it under grades S4 and S5: "Either it will end in peace – the signing of a *peace accord* – or it will end in war." It is noteworthy that what is mentioned in the ST did not specify either 'a peace accord' which means to end a state of war, or 'a peace agreement' which is more durable. However, the MW's translation of "توقيع السلام" as "signing a peace accord" may imply a certain demand to reach a peace accord like the Oslo Accord between Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organization. It is known that this accord did not create a Palestinian State in terms of enforceability and legality. Thus, it has a negative ominous

connotation, which led to irrelevant implication, grade S4, and a consequent misunderstanding of the speaker message, grade S5.

In S7 - IB – E2 – OT, two respondents observed a deviation and classified it under grades S3, S4 and S5: “You only go towards war *when you lose hope*”. It is noted that the OT rendered ‘عندما تفقد الأمل من خلال السلام’ into English as ‘when you lose hope’. The OT's omission of ‘من خلال السلام/ through peace’ would reduce the contextual effects and consequently lead to irrelevant implications like going towards war when you lose hope in the economy, future or even in God. Thus, such a mistranslation by the OT has led to misunderstanding what is clearly said by the speaker in the ST, grade S5.

5.3.3.3 Summary of interview B data

As identified by the respondents, the total number of translation deviations observed in both TTs was 46 deviations; 29 deviations were observed in the MEMRI translation of 13 sentences and the number in the official translation was 17 deviations in 6 sentences. The number of all deviations that led to pragmatic failure in both TTs was 29; 22 deviations were observed in the MEMRI translation of 10 sentences out of 13, and 7 deviations were observed in the official translation of 2 sentences out of 6.

After this general synopsis of all translation deviations observed in both TTs, I find it necessary to classify these deviations into three categories: pragma-linguistic deviations (types G and S), socio-pragmatic deviations (type C) and both pragma-linguistic and socio-pragmatic deviations (types G, S and C) that are related to each of the two parties presenting their translations. These deviations were also classified into two categories: all deviations in both TTs and all deviations leading to pragmatic failure in both TTs. In other words, the numbers mentioned in the previous section could mean nothing significant in the light of the categorization in the table below:

All Deviations in Both TTs								All deviations Leading to PRAGMATIC FAILURE in Both TTs							
46								29							
MEMRI				OT				MEMRI				OT			
29				17				22				7			
G	S	C	G+S+C	G	S	C	G+S+C	G	S	C	G+S+C	G	S	C	G+S+C
-	6	15	8	-	3	-	14	-	2	15	5	-	3	-	4

So far as the number of all deviations in both TTs is concerned, the percentage of deviations in the MEMRI translation is 63.04%; the pragma-linguistic deviations represent 13.04% (0% grammatical and 13.04% semantic), while the socio-pragmatic deviations represent 32.60%, and the other pragma-linguistic and socio-pragmatic deviations under the three types with different grades represent 17.39%.

In contrast, the percentage of deviations in the OT is 36.95%; the pragma-linguistic deviations represent 6.52% (0% grammatical and 6.52% semantic), while the socio-pragmatic deviations represent 0% and the other pragma-linguistic and socio-pragmatic deviations under the three types with different grades represent 30.43%.

As far as the number of all deviations leading to pragmatic failure in both TTs is concerned, the percentage of pragmatic failure in the MEMRI translation is 75.86%; the pragma-linguistic failure deviations represent 6.89% (0% grammatical and 6.89% semantic), while the socio-pragmatic failure deviations represent 51.72%, and the other pragma-linguistic and socio-pragmatic failure deviations under the three types with different grades represent 17.24%.

In contrast, the percentage in the OT is 24.13%; the pragma-linguistic failure deviations represent 10.34% (0% grammatical and 10.34% semantic), while the socio-pragmatic failure deviations represent 0% and the other pragma-linguistic and socio-pragmatic failure deviations under the three types with different grades represent 13.79%.

5.3.4 Interview C excerpts analysis

This interview includes 11 excerpts; the ST consists of 58 sentences, the MW's translation consists of 81 sentences and the OT consists of 80 sentences including 1462 words.

5.3.4.1 Excerpt 1 analysis

In S1 - IC - E1 – MEMRI, two respondents observed a deviation and classified it under grades C3 and C5. This deviation is related to the MW's textual manipulation and ignoring the translation of the first sentence in the ST: “بالنسبة لنا، نحن واثقون من نزع هذه التهمة”. This sentence literally reads in English as: “For us, we are confident of dropping this charge”. Such omission by the MW misrepresented the ST in terms of omitting the speaker's initial political message which reflects the position of his state in relation to such a charge.

Omitting this sentence may give the impression that the MW is trying to convey a message of its own; a message that may serve certain political purposes but not the best translation of the ST. Moreover, in S2a – IC – E1 – MEMRI: “There is no proof that Syria is involved (in the Al-Hariri assassination)”, the MW added ‘in the Al-Hariri assassination’ in order to compensate for a possible loss in meaning that resulted from the textual manipulation of the ST.

In S4a - IC - E1 – MEMRI, all respondents observed a deviation and classified it under grades G2, G4 and G5: “*I have* no doubt about this”. It is noted that the MW misrepresented the ST in terms of using the pronoun ‘I’ instead of ‘we’ which was clearly uttered by the speaker; it translated ‘لا يوجد لدينا شك’ as ‘I have no doubt’. The interviewee, however, intentionally used the plural pronoun ‘we’ instead of ‘I’ in order not to make a shift into the private domain of his own people to achieve more credibility within context (see 3.5.4.3). Such a deviation under grade G2 is likely to lead to irrelevant implications; grade G4, in the sense that the interviewee is expressing his own opinion and expectation which is not the case in the ST. Thus, the result of this deviation is pragmatic failure; grade G5.

In S2a - IC - E1 – OT, all respondents observed a deviation and classified it under grade S2: “There is no *evidence* that Syria is involved”. It seems that the OT did not consider the difference intended by the speaker between ‘proof’ in the first sentence and ‘criminal evidence’ in the second. It is noteworthy that criminal evidence can add up to proof. The OT, however, mistranslated ‘دليل’ in the first sentence as ‘evidence’ which is “a fact or situation that suggests something which might be true”, while ‘proof’ is “a fact or situation that removes all doubt”²⁸. However, such semantic ill-formedness is unlikely to lead to misunderstanding.

5.3.4.2 Excerpt 2 analysis

In S4a - IC – E2 – MEMRI and S5b in IC – E2 – MEMRI, all respondents observed a deviation and classified it under grades S1, S4 and S5: “S4a. Therefore, the *solution* – we shouldn’t call it a *settlement* but a solution – is perfectly clear. S5b. There is no need for *settlements*, because the *solution* is very simple.” It is noted that there is no contradiction,

²⁸http://wiki.answers.com/Q/What_is_the_difference_between_proof_and_evidence#ixzz1JUQS0Vjx

as intended by the speaker, between ‘settlement / تسوية’ and ‘حل / solution’ in the sense that ‘reaching a solution’ is to reach a ‘settlement’ which means “an agreement that both sides involved in a legal disagreement accept or are forced to accept by a court”²⁹. In other words, the MW failed to convey what is intended by the speaker, grade S1, and used ‘settlement’ instead of ‘compromise’ which means “a way of solving a problem or ending an argument in which both people or groups accept that they cannot have everything they want”³⁰. That is to say, the speaker is not aiming at solving the problem through making concessions, grade S4; thus, the result is misunderstanding and pragmatic failure, grade S5.

In S4b - IC – E2 – MEMRI, two respondents observed a deviation and classified it under grade S2: “We must *return* to the UN Charter”. The MW translated ‘العودة إلى’ as ‘return to’ which may not give the same indication as ‘recourse to’ which means “to turn to someone or something for help, assistance, or protection”³¹. This deviation, however, is unlikely to lead to pragmatic failure or misunderstanding.

In S1 - IC – E2 – OT, all respondents observed a deviation and classified it under grades S3 and S5. This deviation is related to the first Arabic ST sentence which was ignored by the OT:

المشكلة الآن هي ليست خلافاً بين سورية والأمم المتحدة.

The above sentence literally reads in English as: “The problem now is not a disagreement between Syria and the United Nations.” It is noted that the omission of this information has reduced the contextual effects, grade S3, which entail that the speaker is clearly stating that there is no problem between Syria and the UN; the problem is related to the functions of the UN and has nothing to do with Syria. This omission has also affected the interpretation of the following sentences in the sense that the speaker is criticising the UN because of a dispute or disagreement with the UN organization. The result of this is a misunderstanding of the speaker's political message, grade S5.

²⁹ <http://www.macmillandictionary.com/dictionary/british/settlement>

³⁰ <http://www.macmillandictionary.com/dictionary/british/compromise>

³¹ <http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/recourse>

5.3.4.3 Excerpt 3 analysis

In S1 - IC - E3 - MEMRI and S3c - IC - E3 - MEMRI, all respondents observed a deviation and classified it under grades S2, S4 and S5: “S1. France and America were *involved* in *Resolutions 1559 and 1636*. S3c. But today, France is *involved* in resolutions of this kind, which do not serve stability in this region.” It is noted that the MW misrepresented the ST by translating ‘شاركت’ into ‘involved’ which is more incriminating with a negative connotation, grade S2, while ‘took part’, for example, is more neutral in such a political context. That's to say, the MW's translation neglected the speaker's political evasiveness of directly accusing those two countries; the result of which is an irrelevant implication, grade S4, that led to pragmatic failure, grade S5. Another remark is noted in the translation of ‘القرار الأول والقرار الثاني’ into ‘resolutions 1559 and 1636’. The MW explicitly mentioned the numbers of these two resolutions as extra contextual effects just to put readers in the context of what is being said somewhere during the interview and not selected by the MW for implicit reasons.

In S3b - IC – E3 – MEMRI, two respondents observed a deviation and classified it under grades S1, S2, S4, G2 and G4: “This is *reality*, and we can call it whatever *you* like.” It noted that the MW misread the ST and translated ‘الوقائع’ into ‘reality’ instead of ‘incidents’ or ‘events’ for example, grades S1 and S2. Another deviation was observed in the translation of ‘ما شئنا’ into ‘whatever you like’ instead of ‘whatever we like’ as mentioned in the ST. The misuse of the pronoun ‘you’ instead of ‘we’ in this political context is classified under grade, grade G2. The result of such deviations is irrelevant implications, grades S4 and G4, but is unlikely to lead to a misunderstanding or pragmatic failure within the context.

In S3b - IC – E3 – OT, all respondents observed a deviation and classified it under grades S1 and S2: “There are *facts* regardless of the name”. It noted that the OT has misread the ST and translated ‘الوقائع’ into ‘facts’ instead of ‘incidents’ or ‘events’ for example, grade S1. Such a deviation was classified under semantic ill-formedness, grade S2, but it is unlikely to lead to a misunderstanding within the context.

5.3.4.4 Excerpt 4 analysis

In S1 - IC – E4 – MEMRI, all respondents observed a deviation and classified it under grades C3 and C5. This deviation is related to the first Arabic ST sentence which was ignored by the MW as a result of textual manipulation:

1. عندما ينصت رئيس، ينصت أولاً لشعبه قبل أن ينصت لآخرين، ومن ثم ينصت لأصدقائه المخلصين ولشركائه السياسيين.

The above ignored information literally reads in English as: “when a President listens to anyone, he listens in the first place to his people before others and then to his loyal friends and political partners.” This omission which could be politically motivated has reduced the contextual effects within the context of the speaker's answer, grade C3; it could imply a piece of advice to the French President or even a criticism. As a result, the speaker's political message was not completely conveyed and could be differently interpreted in the TT, grade C5.

In S2a - IC – E4 – MEMRI, all respondents observed a deviation and classified it under grades C3, C5, G2, G4, G5, C1, C2 and S2: “...*I do not understand* how France can *place all its efforts into* investigating the assassination of Prime Minister Al-Hariri – something *I understand* and support – While it does not say a word about the assassination of President Arafat, who was assassinated in the Palestinian territories and who died in a French hospital.”

It is noted that the MW has ignored translating the first part of this sentence: “ثانياً، / ربما لا نفهم أشياء كثيرة، وفي مقدمتها / Second, we may not understand many things, at the top of which...” By ignoring the translation of this information, the MW has reduced the contextual effects which may provide the reader with extra information to understand what is intended by the speaker, grade C3. The result of such politically motivated selectivity is a misunderstanding of the political message as intended in the Arabic ST, grade C5. Moreover, the MW translated ‘لا نفهم’ as ‘I do not understand’ and ‘نحن نفهم’ as ‘I understand’ without considering the sense and force of each pronoun in this sensitive political context. In other words, the speaker is not expressing his personal opinion but the position of his entire country about this issue. Such a deviation under grade G2 may convey irrelevant political implications; grade G4, which reflect a distorted image of a speaker who always believes in his self-opinion and dominance, grade G5. Another deviation is noted in the

translation of ‘تضع كل ثقلها للتحقيق’ into ‘place all its efforts into the investigation’. It seems that the MW's translator(s) is not familiar with the cultural idiom which is equivalent to what is said in Arabic, grade C1. Thus, s/he used the verb ‘place’ which does not collocate with ‘efforts’, grades C2 and S2. In other words, this should be translated into the English idiom ‘throw all its weight behind the investigation’, which means “to use your power and influence to support something or someone”³².

In S5b - IC – E4 – MEMRI, three respondents observed a deviation and classified it under grades G2, G4 and G5: “This is one of the things *I don't understand*, and *I don't know* if *I can* expect an answer soon.” As in the previous deviation in sentence 2, the MW misrepresented the ST in terms of using the pronoun ‘I’ instead of ‘we’ which was clearly uttered by the speaker; grade G2. This deviation may lead to irrelevant implications; grade G4, in the sense that the interviewee is expressing his own opinion and expectation which is not the case in the ST. Thus, the result of this deviation is pragmatic failure; grade G5.

In S2a - IC – E4 – OT, all respondents observed a deviation and classified it under grades C1, C2, S2 and G2: “Second, we might not be able to understand many things; *but* we cannot understand how France *put all its weight behind* the investigation into the assassination of Prime Minister Hariri”. First, the OT literally translated ‘تضع كل ثقلها للتحقيق’ into ‘put all its weight behind the investigation’. It seems that the translator(S) of the OT is not familiar with the cultural idiom that is equivalent to what is said in Arabic; grade C1. Thus, it used the verb ‘put’ which does not collocate with ‘weight’; grades C2 and S2. In other words, this should be translated into the English idiom ‘throw all its weight behind the investigation’, which means “to use your power and influence to support something or someone”³³. Second, the OT has misused the connective ‘but’ which stimulates the audience to interpret the clause that follows it as counter to the previous proposition which is not the case in the ST; grade G2. However, despite all these different grades of deviations, there is no possibility of pragmatic failure.

In S2b - IC – E4 – OT, all respondents observed a deviation and classified it under grades S1, S2, S4 and S5: “Of course we understand and support the investigation, but at

³²<http://idioms.thefreedictionary.com/knock+for+a+loop>

³³<http://idioms.thefreedictionary.com/knock+for+a+loop>

the same time *we have not said* a single word about the assassination of President Arafat who was assassinated on the Palestinian territories and died in a French hospital.” The OT misread the ST and translated ‘لا تتحدث بكلمة واحدة’ into ‘we have not said a single word’, grades S1 and S2. This mistranslation does not convey what is said in the ST because the speaker is referring back to France in a form of accusation. Thus, this deviation has led to irrelevant implication in the sense that Syria is not concerned about the assassination of President Arafat, grade S4. The result of this mistranslation is a misunderstanding of what is said by the speaker, grade S5.

5.3.4.5 Excerpt 5 analysis

In S1a - IC – E5 – MEMRI, all respondents observed only one deviation and classified it under grades C3, C4, C5 and S3: “1...Prime Minister Al-Hariri *died* on Lebanese soil, whereas President Arafat *died* on French soil.” The MW only partially translated this sentence; the first part “طبعاً وليس هم من قتلوا الرئيس الحريري أيضاً” / Of course they are not the ones who killed Prime Minister Al-Hariri either” was completely ignored for no obvious linguistic reasons. Such information clearly show that the speaker is not accusing France of killing either Al-Hariri or Arafat. The result of such politically motivated omission is irrelevant implications in the sense that the speaker is directing an implicit accusation against France which is not the case in the ST, grade C4. Thus, misunderstanding the speaker’s message is the result of this textual manipulation, grade C5. In contrast, the MW preserved the strategic function of positive self-presentation of the speaker by translating ‘مات’ into ‘died’ which entails the death of Al-Hariri or Arafat regardless of the way of dying, grade S3. Such lexical choice of the word ‘died’ by the MW would not ignite more hostility feelings against France as it could be interpreted by the target audience as ‘passed away’ or as natural death, which is not the case according to the internationally generally accepted view about what happened (See 3.5.4.1).

As far as the OT is concerned, no respondents observed any deviation.

5.3.4.6 Excerpt 6 analysis

In S1c - IC – E6 – MEMRI, three respondents observed a deviation and classified it under grades S2 and S3: “But I want to differentiate between this *relation* and Syrian-French

relations.” It is noted that the MW's translation did not differentiate between a personal ‘relationship’ and ‘relations’ between countries in the above context. In other words, “most of the differences between these two expressions are context specific”³⁴ in the sense that we talk about diplomatic and international relations between countries and personal relationships between Presidents as individuals. This deviation, however, is likely to lead to extra processing efforts on the part of the reader, grade S3, but unlikely to cause pragmatic failure.

In S3 - IC – E6 – MEMRI, all respondents observed a deviation and classified it under grades C3 and C5. This deviation is related to the omission of the second part of the Arabic ST sentence: “The relations may have been affected to some extent because of the (*Al-Hariri case*), and for other reasons concerning the diminishing French role in the Middle East, and which, at times, almost completely disappears...”

It is noted that the MW has translated only the first part of this sentence and ignored the following second part:

لكن ما يعيد هذه العلاقة أو يدفعها للأمام ، كما أقول دائماً، هو أن تكون هذه العلاقة مؤسساتية مبنية على المؤسسات، وليست مبنية على الأفراد فقط، وأن تكون هذه العلاقة مباشرة بين سورية وفرنسا، لا تمر عبر طرف ثالث وهذه الأشياء الآن غير متوفرة.

The above ignored information literally reads in English as: “but what revives this relation or drives it forward, as I always say, is to have an institutional relation that is based on institutions not only individuals; a direct relation between Syria and France that does not go through a third party, but these things are not available now.” It is obvious that the MW's translation has rendered only the first part of the sentence which conveys a criticism of the French role, while it ignores the second part which specifies two conditions of the speaker's political message to rebuild direct relations with France, grade C3. Thus, omitting this sensitive information which may have clear contextual effects on the reader has led to pragmatic failure and accordingly a misunderstanding of the speaker's political message, grade C5.

In S3a in IC – E6 – OT, all respondents observed a deviation which was classified by one of them under grades S2, S3 and S4, while the other three classified it under grades

³⁴ <http://www.bbc.co.uk/worldservice/learningenglish/grammar/learnit/learnity235.shtml>

S2, S4 and S5: “What can bring back this *relationship* or push it forward is, as I always say, an institutional relationship that is based on the institutions and not on individuals...”

It is noted that the OT had previously differentiated between the ‘relationship’ between the Syrian and French presidents and the ‘relations’ between Syria and France in sentence S1c: “But I want here to separate this *relationship* from the *Syrian-French relations*.” In sentence S3a, however, it used ‘relationship’ although the interviewee is speaking about reviving the Syrian-French relations in a way that should not be based on individual or personal relationships. This semantic deviation under grade S2 is likely to lead to extra processing efforts on the part of the reader, and may also indicate an irrelevant implication within the context of this excerpt, grade S4. Three respondents agreed that such a deviation has led to pragmatic failure; grade S5, while the fourth one stated the opposite.

5.3.4.7 Excerpt 7 analysis

In S2 - in IC – E7 – MEMRI and S3 - IC – E7 – MEMRI, all respondents observed a deviation and classified it under grades C3 and C5. This deviation is related to the Arabic ST second and third sentences which were entirely ignored by the MW:

2. هذا التاريخ أعطى ثقافة خاصة للفرنسيين، ثقافة منفتحة، هذه الثقافة انعكست على السياسة الفرنسية وأعطت دوراً كبيراً لفرنسا في أوروبا وفي العالم وفي منطقة الشرق الأوسط. 3. الرئيس شارل ديغول أيضاً أضاف لهذا الموقع الفرنسي كثيراً.

These two sentences read in English as: “S2. This history has given the French people a special culture; an open culture that has been reflected on French policy and provided France with a great role in Europe, in the world and in the Middle East region. S3. President Charles De Gaulle also added a great deal to this French position.”

It is noted that the above information is not redundant but part of the speaker’s answer within a critical political context. The MW, however, has entirely ignored translating these two sentences without considering the contextual effects this information may add to clarifying the speaker’s message within the context, grade C3. In other words, the speaker is not praising the French role for the sake of praise but reminding the French people of their great role in the Middle East, which should be retained once again. Therefore, this omission has deflected the force of the speaker’s intended effects on the French people, grade C5.

As far as the OT is concerned, no respondents observed any deviation.

5.3.4.8 Excerpt 8 analysis

In S3 - IC – E8 – MEMRI, three respondents observed a deviation and classified it under grades S2, G2: “Ultimately, this is *harmful*, first of all, to the interests of the French people, *it is harmful* to the interests of Europe, to the interests of the world, and to our interests in the Middle East.” It is noted that the MW translated the Arabic verb ‘يضر’ as an adjective ‘harmful’ and repeated it twice as a key word, while the key word that should be repeated is ‘interests’ as mentioned in the Arabic ST sentence. Another remark is related to the grammatical structure of the MW's translation of this sentence which does not seem quite right in English. In other words, it is almost like a literal translation that conveys the same Arabic grammatical structure which preserved a functional repetition of the key word ‘interests’ together with the verb 'harm'. The above sentence could be best translated as: “Ultimately, this harms the French people's interests, the interests of the world and our interests in the Middle East.” This deviation, however, is unlikely to lead to pragmatic failure.

In S1 - IC – E8 – OT, all respondents observed a deviation and classified it under grades S1 and S2: “This role is in fact receding today, as I said a short while ago, and seems sometimes invisible, sometimes inexistent, and sometimes subordinate to other roles.” It is noted that the effects of Arabic mother tongue are observed in the OT literal translation which preserved the same Arabic grammatical structure. The word order and repetition of 'and' do not seem quite right in English, although the meaning of this sentence can be assessed in the context. This deviation is most unlikely to lead to pragmatic failure.

In S4 - IC – E8 – OT, two respondents observed a deviation and classified it under grades G1 and G2: “*We* cannot actually separate the interests of Europe now from the Middle East, and the evidence is what happened in the past: 9/11 in New York, the Madrid explosions, the London explosions, what is happening in Indonesia, and what is happening in the Palestinian territories.” It is noted that the OT has misread the ST and thus mistranslated ‘لا تستطيع أن تفصل’ into ‘we cannot actually separate’; grades G1 and G2. The ST clearly shows that the interviewee is addressing the interviewer and the audience by

using the generalized ‘you’ just to support his argument. This deviation, however, is unlikely to lead to a misunderstanding within the context.

In S5 - IC – E8 – OT, three respondents observed a deviation and classified it under grades G1, G2, S2 and S3: “So, the French people have to move again through their institutions in order to restore this French role which is characterized by openness towards all cultures, and should reject the attempts aiming at isolating this French culture which *remained unisolated* for over two hundred years, i.e. since the French Revolution.” The OT misread the ST and used the simple past tense in translating ‘التي لم تكن معزولة’ into ‘which remained unisolated’. First, the use of the simple past tense of the verb ‘remained’ gives the impression that the French culture was not isolated only for a specified period of time in the past. In contrast, the speaker is praising the French culture which has an on-going role that began in the past and continues to the present. Thus, the best tense to be used here is the present perfect progressive one: “which has not been isolated”. Another deviation under grade S2 is related to the spelling mistake in ‘unisolated’ which should be written as ‘non-isolated’. These deviations may lead to extra processing efforts on the part of the TT's readers; grade S3, but are unlikely to cause a misunderstanding within the context.

5.3.4.9 Excerpt 9 analysis

In S1 - IC – E9 – MEMRI, S3 - IC – E9 – MEMRI and S4 - IC – E9 – MEMRI all respondents observed a deviation and classified it under grades S2, S3 and S5: “S1. They (*the Americans*) say that they cannot *seal off* their border with Mexico, so how can we *seal off* our border with Iraq? S3. *Hermetically sealing* the borders of any country is theoretical and impossible. S4. Nevertheless, Syria *seals* its border to a great degree.”

The MW's translation of ‘ضبط الحدود’ as ‘seal off border’ gives the impression that borders are made to seem like an envelope that could be ‘sealed’, which is inappropriate in this context, grade S2. In other words, sealing borders between two countries means that nothing whatsoever can cross the borders. This expression could possibly be used in extreme cases when there are epidemic diseases like plague or Ebola for example, or when two countries are in a state of war, which is not the case between these two countries, America and Mexico. Such a deviation is likely to lead to extra processing efforts on the

part of the target audience; grade S3, and consequently to a misinterpretation of the ST intended political message, grade S5. Another remark was observed in the translation of 'ضبط الحدود بشكل كامل ومطلق' as 'hermetically sealing' which means "closed tightly, so that no air can get in or out"³⁵; although 'hermetically' is collocated with 'seal', it cannot be considered as appropriate semantic equivalent to what is stated in the ST, grade S2.

In S7+8 - IC – E9 – MEMRI, three respondents observed a deviation and classified it under grades S1, S2 and S3: "The *basic danger* that leads to terrorism in Iraq is, first and foremost, the wrong war, and second, the wrong political management of Iraq's affairs by the occupying forces." It is noted that the MW misread the re-correction mechanism used by the speaker when he substituted 'the danger/الخطر' with 'fault/الخطأ' to convey his message that occupying forces's wrong war and wrong political management in Iraq are the main fault that led to spreading terrorism. Such a deviation under grade S1 has led to the use of an inappropriate lexical choice by the MW; grade S2, and is likely to lead to extra processing efforts; grade S3, but not a misunderstanding in the context.

In S5b - IC – E9 – OT, all respondents observed a deviation and classified it under grades S2, S3 and S5: "And they know that Syria *stopped* in the past two years about 1,600, which is 52% of their estimates". First, it is noted that the literal translation of 'أوقفت' into 'stopped' does not convey the same sense and force of a term like 'detained' which was used by the MW. Second, the OT did not give the same percentage of the detained terrorists as mentioned in the ST. In other words, the American gave an estimated number between 1000 and 3000 terrorists, and the speaker stated that Syria detained around 1600, which equals 52% to 160% of the American's estimation. Such omission has reduced the contextual clues which may help the TT's reader to understand what is stated by the speaker, grade S3. Therefore, a misunderstanding of the speaker's comparison between these numbers is the result of such deviations, grade S5.

In S6 - IC – E9 – OT, all respondents observed a deviation and classified it under grades S1, G2 and S2: "Anyway, everything *said* in this regard is a case of escaping forward, or is like the ostrich which buries its head in the sand in order not *to sea* the truth." It is noted that the OT has misread the ST and used a wrong form of passive voice in translating 'كل ما يقال حول هذا الموضوع' into 'everything said in this regard'. In other words,

³⁵ <http://www.macmillandictionary.com/thesaurus/american/hermetic>

the present progressive verb ‘يُقال’ in the Arabic ST was rendered by the MW as ‘said’ instead of translating it as ‘being said’ to give a sense of continuity of what people are saying now. Thus, the best tense to be used here is the present progressive in a passive voice form as follows: “everything being said on this issue is...”. Another deviation under grade S2 is related to the use of ‘in order not to sea’ instead of ‘in order not to see / لكي لا ترى’ which could be a slip of the pen. These deviations, however, are most unlikely to pragmatic failure.

5.3.4.10 Excerpt 10 analysis

In S3b + S4a - IC - E10 – MEMRI, three respondents observed a deviation and classified it under grades S1, G2 and S2: “The problem is the ideology that governs these groups, *the extremism – regardless of whether this extremism is Islamist, Christian, Jewish, social, or political.*” The MW’s textual manipulation is obvious in breaking up the Arabic ST sentence: ‘المشكلة ليست بالتسمية، المشكلة هي في الفكر الذي يحكم تلك المجموعات، أي التطرف’ into two: ‘3a. The problem is not one of name’ and the above S3b which is linked to the first part of the next sentence ‘whether this extremism is Islamist, Christian, Jewish, social, or political’ which represents the first propositional clause that needs a conclusion; grades S1 and G2. In other words, the MW’s translation did not consider the meaning encoded by ‘fa’ in Arabic which puts constraints on the relevance of the utterance in which it occurs, grade S2. Thus, the proposition expressed by the *fa*-clause ‘فإن كل التطرف يؤدي إلى التدمير / Any kind of extremism leads to destruction.’ is relevant as a ‘conclusion’ to a ‘premise’ expressed by the proposition communicated in the first clause ‘*whether this extremism is Islamist, Christian, Jewish, social, or political.*’. Thus, this sentence should read in English as “whether this extremism is Islamist, Christian, Jewish, social, or political, any kind of extremism leads to destruction” However, this deviation, as agreed by three respondents, does not lead to pragmatic failure within the context.

In S6 - IC - E10 – MEMRI, all respondents observed a deviation and classified it under grades S1, S4 and S5: “Is Egypt or Syria worried?” It is noted that the MW misread the ST and mistranslated ‘مصر أو السعودية’ into ‘Egypt or Syria’ instead of ‘Egypt or Saudi Arabia’, grade S1. Although such deviation could be considered as a slip of the pen, it leads

to irrelevant implications; grade S4, and consequently a misunderstanding within the sensitive discourse of political interviews where each word counts, grade S5.

In S1a - IC - E10 – OT, all respondents observed a deviation and classified it under grade S2: “There are “*Muslim Brothers*” in more than one Arab country; and in every country they have leaders.” It is noted that the OT has literally translated ‘الإخوان المسلمون’ into ‘Muslim Brothers’ which does not reflect the exact name of this multi-national Islamic revivalist organization that is based in Egypt; grade S2.

In S3 - IC - E10 – OT, all respondents observed a deviation and classified it under grade S2: “The problem is not in the name; it is in the kind of *thought* which controls these groups, i.e. extremism.” It is noted that ‘الفكر’ was literally translated by the OT as ‘thought’ which means “a word, idea, or image that comes into your mind”³⁶. In other words, the interviewee is clearly referring in the ST to a system of ideas and principles on which extremism is based. Thus, to convey the meaning in the same sense and force envisioned in the ST, the best translation option would be ‘ideology’ as translated by the MW.

5.3.4.11 Excerpt 11 analysis

In S1a - IC – E11 – MEMRI, all respondents observed a deviation and classified it under grades S3, C3 and C5: “As for the issues of peace...the Arab countries presented an initiative at the 2002 Arab summit in Beirut.” It is noted that the MW did not translate the expression ‘نحن قدمنا’/ we presented’ and was satisfied with implicating Syria by mentioning ‘the Arab States’. The speaker, however, is explicitly stating that Syria was among the Arab countries which presented that initiative. Semantically, this omission has reduced the contextual effects intended by the speaker; grade S3. This same deviation could be classified under grade C3 as it could be politically motivated. Thus, such a deviation under these both grades S3 and C3 is likely to lead to misunderstanding the speaker’s political message within the context of the entire excerpt; grade C5.

In S2 - IC - E11 – MEMRI, two respondents observed a deviation and classified it under grade S2: “The first thing is the peoples' desire (*for peace*)”. The MW used an unjustified addition or redundant information ‘for peace’ which was already mentioned in

³⁶http://www.macmillandictionary.com/dictionary/british/thought_1

the previous sentence (S2). In other words, translating by addition should respect the intelligence of the target audience.

In S3 - IC - E11 – MEMRI, three respondents observed a deviation and classified it under grades S1 and S2, S5: “The position of the Arab peoples regarding peace has not changed, despite the bad conditions *they are witness to* in the Middle East and maybe in most parts of the world.” It is noted that the MW misread the ST; grade S1, and translated ‘which you see/ التي تراها’ into ‘they are witness to’. This semantic deviation under grade S2 has led to misunderstanding the speaker who was addressing the interviewer in the sense that he, as a journalist, should be familiar with the bad conditions in the Middle East and other parts of the world. Thus, the result of this deviation is pragmatic failure, grade S5.

In S9 - IC - E11 – MEMRI, three respondents observed a deviation and classified it under grades G2, G4 and G5: “Therefore, *I* do not think that the peace process is near.” The MW translated ‘لا نراها / we do not see’ as ‘I do not think’. The speaker, however, intentionally used the plural pronoun ‘we’ instead of ‘I’ in order not to reflect his personal position regarding the concept of peace but to make a shift into the private domain of his own people to achieve more credibility within context. This deviation under grade G2 is likely to lead to an irrelevant implication under grade G4 and consequently to pragmatic failure, grade G5.

In S10b - IC - E11 – MEMRI, all respondents observed a deviation and classified it under grades S1, S2, G2, C3 and C5: “*But* every day that this process is delayed, there will be more blood, and the more blood there is, the more barriers are erected, and therefore the cost will be even higher...” It is noted that the semantic and grammatical structure of the Arabic ST sentence, which could be classified under grades S2 and G2, is reflected in the translation of the MW. First, the MW separately translated ‘لنكن واقعيين’ as ‘we should be realistic’ because it did not consider it as the proposition of the first clause as mentioned in the ST, grade S1. This misreading has led the MW to start the above sentence with the connective ‘but’ which stimulates the audience to interpret the clause that follows it as counter to the previous proposition, grade S2; thus, generating a denial of the expected interpretation (see 3.5.2.3 and 3.5.3.3). Second, the MW has also ignored the speaker's final conclusion ‘فمن الأفضل أن نتحرك بشكل سريع بهذا الاتجاه’ / it is better to move quickly in this direction.’ This omission may stimulate the reader to ask why the speaker is only stating a

problem or even expressing a threat without putting a solution forward. Is he threatening or stating a real problem that needs a solution? Therefore, avoiding the translation of this sentence is likely to lead to extra processing efforts to know the reason behind this omission, grade C3, and consequently to a misunderstanding of the speaker's intended political message, grade C5.

As far as the OT is concerned, no respondents observed any deviation.

5.3.4.12 Summary of interview C data

As identified by the respondents, the number of all translation deviations observed in both TTs was 118 deviations; 83 deviations were observed in the MEMRI translation of 28 sentences and the number in the official translation was 35 deviations in 13 sentences. The number of all deviations that led to pragmatic failure in both TTs was 78; 66 deviations were observed in the MEMRI translation of 23 sentences out of 28, and 12 deviations were observed in the official translation of 4 sentences out of 13.

After this general synopsis of all translation deviations observed in both TTs, I find it necessary to classify these deviations into three categories: pragma-linguistic deviations (types G and S), socio-pragmatic deviations (type C) and both pragma-linguistic and socio-pragmatic deviations (types G, S and C) that are related to each of the two parties presenting their translations. These deviations were also classified into two categories: all deviations in both TTs and all deviations leading to pragmatic failure in both TTs. In other words, the numbers mentioned in the previous section could mean nothing significant in the light of the categorization in the table below:

All Deviations in Both TTs								All deviations Leading to PRAGMATIC FAILURE in Both TTs							
118								78							
MEMRI				OT				MEMRI				OT			
83				35				66				12			
G	S	C	G+S+C	G	S	C	G+S+C	G	S	C	G+S+C	G	S	C	G+S+C
6	37	10	30	-	22	-	13	6	30	10	20	-	12	-	-

So far as the number of all deviations in both TTs is concerned, the percentage of deviations in the MEMRI translation is 70.33%; the pragma-linguistic deviations represent 36.44% (5.8% grammatical and 31.35% semantic), while the socio-pragmatic deviations represent 8.47%, and the other pragma-linguistic and socio-pragmatic deviations under the

three types with different grades represent 25.42%. In contrast, the percentage of translation deviations in the OT is 29.66%; the pragma-linguistic deviations represent 18.64% (0% grammatical and 18.64% semantic), while the socio-pragmatic deviations represent 0% and the other pragma-linguistic and socio-pragmatic deviations under the three types with different grades represent 11.01%.

As far as the number of all deviations leading to pragmatic failure in both TTs is concerned, the percentage of pragmatic failure in the MEMRI translation is 84.61%; the pragma-linguistic failure deviations represent 46.15% (7.29% grammatical and 38.46% semantic), while the socio-pragmatic failure deviations represent 12.82%, and the other pragma-linguistic and socio-pragmatic failure deviations under the three types with different grades represent 25.64%. In contrast, the percentage the OT is 15.38%; the pragma-linguistic failure deviations represent 15.38% (0% grammatical and 15.38% semantic), while the socio-pragmatic failure deviations represent 0%, and the pragma-linguistic and socio-pragmatic failure deviations under the three types with different grades represent 0%.

5.3.5 Interview D excerpts analysis

This interview includes 5 excerpts; the ST consists of 45 sentences, the MW's translation consists of 62 sentences and the OT consists of 62 sentences.

5.3.5.1 Excerpt 1 analysis

In S1 - ID - E1 – MEMRI, S2 - ID - E1 – MEMRI and S3 - ID - E1 – MEMRI, all respondents observed a deviation and classified it under grades C3 and C5. This deviation is related to the first three sentences of the speaker's answer which were entirely ignored by the MW:

1. أريد أن أوضح نقطة عندما قلت جماعة إسرائيل لا أفصد تحديداً الأكثرية، الأكثرية هي أكثرية منتخبة. 2. هناك من ينطبق عليه هذا القول وهناك من لا ينطبق عليه ذلك. 3. على سبيل المثال كان وزير الخارجية السوري في زيارة للبنان منذ أسابيع قليلة خلال الحرب والتقى رئيس الحكومة وهو من الأكثرية.

The above sentences read in English as: “S1. But I want to make it clear that when I talked about Israel's group, I did not specifically mean the parliamentary majority; the majority is an elected majority. S2. There are some people to whom the term applies and

those to whom it does not. S3. For instance, the Syrian foreign minister was in Lebanon a few weeks ago, during the war, and met the Lebanese prime minister, who belongs to the majority.”

It is noted that ignoring the translation of these sentences has reduced contextual effects which may strengthen the interviewee’s political message in terms of clarity and positive effects on the audience, grade C3. Therefore, the result of such omission is a distorted image of the interviewee’s socio-political attitude towards the elected parliamentary majority in Lebanon, grade C5.

In S4 - ID - E1 – MEMRI, all respondents observed a deviation and classified it under grades S3, S4, S2, S5, C3 and C5. This sentence was partially translated by the MW: “...This [*Lebanese*] movement consists of some figures *who* are known historically for their relations with Israel, since the Israeli invasion of Lebanon.” First, the textual manipulation of the MW’s translation is noted in the omission of the expression ‘لذلك / قصدت بهذا التيار’ thus, I meant by this trend’ which introduces the speaker’s conclusion of the premise or introduction stated in the first part of his answer. The omission of this information would reduce the contextual effects in the context and increase the processing efforts on the part of the reader to understand what is really intended by the interviewee, grade S3. Moreover, this omission has led to an irrelevant implication in the sense that the speaker is blatantly accusing all those ‘some figures’ of having relations with Israel without giving any reasoning, grade S4. Second, the MW mistranslated ‘بعض الرموز المعروفة وجزء’ as ‘some figures who are known historically for their relation’ which conveyed a message that all those ‘some figures’, not part of them as mentioned in the ST, are known historically for their relations with Israel (S2). Semantically, the result of these deviations is misunderstanding, grade S5. Politically, this textual manipulation and selectivity could be politically motivated to serve a certain agenda adopted by the MW, grade C3. In other words, it seems that the MW is designing a message of its own by omitting the first part of this sentence and adding the term ‘Lebanese’ to help its readers understand such a message. As a result, these deviations, regardless of the reasons, could promote hostility between Syria and Lebanon, grade C5.

In S10 - ID - E1 – MEMRI, all respondents observed a deviation and classified it under grades C3 and C5. This deviation is related to the omission of this sentence by the MW:

من جانب آخر عندما نقول بأن ما قامت به هذه المقاومة منذ بداية الحرب حتى نهايتها بمعزل عن الانتصار أو النتائج، لا أريد أن أقول أن ما قامت به هو من أجل العرب وإنما كان هناك تعاطف عربي ودعم عربي شعبي وأكثر من شعبي حتى رسمي في كثير من الأحيان لهذه المقاومة.

The above sentence literally reads in English as: “on the other hand, when we talk about what the resistance did from the beginning of this war till its end, regardless of the victory or the results it achieved, I do not want to say that it was done for the sake of the Arabs, but there was Arab sympathy and popular Arab support for the Resistance, even official support in many cases.” It is noted that this sentence is glorifying the resistance in Lebanon and its omission had reduced the contextual clues that usually provide readers with extra information to understand what is intended by the speaker; grades C3 and C5.

In S2 - ID - E1 – OT, all respondents observed a deviation and classified it under grade S2: “There are some people to whom the term applies and *those* to whom it does not *apply*.” It is noted that changing ‘those’ into ‘some’ with a further repetition of ‘apply’ would make this sentence sound more effective in English. This deviation, however, is most unlikely to lead to any pragmatic failure.

In S4b - ID - E1 – OT, all respondents observed a deviation and classified it under grades S3, G2, and G4: “I meant a number of well-known figures, some of whom *have had* relations with Israel since the Israeli invasion of Lebanon.” First, the OT ignored the translation of the cohesive device ‘لذلك / therefore’ which can help establish a clear connection that directs the reader to the conclusion intended by the speaker. This omission may lead the reader to exert some extra efforts, grade S3. Second, the OT translated ‘جزء’ as ‘some of whom have had relations’ which does not convey what is said by the speaker. In other words, the verb tense used by the OT as ‘have had’ gives the impression that the concerned people had relations with Israel at the time of the Israeli invasion but not in the meantime, grade G2. The speaker, however, is referring to present events related at least to the same date of this interview. Thus, irrelevant implications could be the result of this deviation, grade G4, though not necessarily a misunderstanding within the context.

5.3.5.2 Excerpt 2 analysis

In S1 - ID – E2 – MEMRI, three respondents observed a deviation and classified it under grades G2 and S2: “As is well known, they *accepted* the first French-American draft, and if the situation on the ground had not changed, this draft would have become Resolution 1701.” First, the slip of the pen is obvious in the translation of ‘المعروف’ into ‘As is well known’; it should be best translated as ‘It is well known’. This deviation is classified under grade G2. Second, the MW translated ‘تَبَّنُوا’ as ‘accepted’ which does not imply the same sense and force of the Arabic term. Such a term could be best translated into ‘adopted’ in order to avoid semantic ill-formedness under grade S2. In other words, you may accept something but not necessarily adopt it. However, this deviation does not lead to pragmatic failure.

In S2a - ID – E2 – MEMRI, three respondents observed a deviation and classified it under grades S2, S4 and S5: “These forces *have carried out* all these plots against the resistance”. The MW translated ‘سارت’ as ‘have carried out’ which does not convey the meaning intended in the ST in the sense that these forces were not acting alone but they ‘took part’ or ‘participated’ or even ‘facilitated’ all these plots against the resistance, grade S2. Therefore, the above MW's translation may lead to irrelevant implications, grade S4 in terms of giving much greater influence to these Lebanese forces or showing more hostility against them. Accordingly, this translation deviation may have reflected a sense of hostility in the speaker's message against those ‘some figures’ in Lebanon, which is not the case in the Arabic ST, grade S5.

In S2b - ID – E2 – MEMRI, three respondents observed a deviation and classified it under grades S1, G2, S3 and S5: “With regard to the resistance that concerns us as Arabs - and I'm not talking about resistance as an internal Lebanese issue, but as an issue that now concerns any Arab citizen, and you can see Hezbollah flags everywhere...They conspired with Israel in *both directions*.” It is noted that the MW misread the ST; grade S1, and literally translated this sentence into an incomplete and confusing one, grade G2, which necessitates extra processing efforts, grade S3, to understand what the speaker means by the ‘بهذين الاتجاهين / both directions’. In other words, this sentence needs explicitation to be fully understood by the readers. The MW, however, maintained such ambiguity of the ST which consequently caused misunderstanding, grade S5. So, to avoid possible

misunderstanding, the above sentence could be best translated as: “These forces took part in all these plots against the resistance which concerns us as Arabs. I am not talking about it as an internal Lebanese issue but as an issue that concerns any Arab citizen now because you can see now Hezbollah flags everywhere. Thus, they conspired with Israel internally against Hezbollah and externally against Arab interests.”

In S2d - ID – E2 – OT, three respondents observed a deviation and classified it under grades S1, S3 and S5: “They conspired with Israel in *these two areas*.” Like the MW’s translation, OT misread the ST, grade S1, and translated ‘بهذين الاتجاهين’ into ‘these two areas’ even though there was no previous indication by the speaker to any specific ‘area’ or ‘direction’. Thus, extra processing efforts under grade S3 could be needed by the reader to understand what the speaker means by the ‘both directions’. In other words, this sentence needs explicitation to be fully understood by the reader. The OT, however, maintained the ST’s ambiguity which is likely to lead to a misunderstanding, grade S5. So, to avoid possible misunderstanding, the above sentence could be best translated as: “Thus, they conspired with Israel internally against Hezbollah and externally against Arab interests.”

5.3.5.3 Excerpt 3 analysis

In S11 - ID – E3 – MEMRI, S12 - ID – E3 – MEMRI and S13 - ID – E3 – MEMRI, all respondents observed a deviation and classified it grades C3 and C5. This deviation is related to the omission of these Arabic ST sentences which are entirely ignored by the MW: S11. بالعكس تماماً، لا بد أن نرى الأمور بالمنظار الآخر، ولكن نحن مررنا بظروف كثيرة، خاصة في السنة الأخيرة، من أصعب الظروف التي يمكن أن تمر بها دولة ما، ولو لم تكن لدينا وحدة وطنية لما كنا تجاوزنا هذه الظروف بهذه الطريقة.

S12. إذاً لا نستطيع أن نقول إن الصورة سلبية، هي صورة إيجابية لكن فيها سلبيات وهذا شيء طبيعي، وإلا لماذا نتحدث عن التطوير إذا كان كل شيء ممتاز؟

S13. فإذاً نحن لا ننكر ما تقوله ولكن يجب أن نضعه في الإطار الواقعي والموضوعي، هذا ما أريده.

The OT translated the above sentence into English as: “S11a. On the contrary, we have to see things from the other perspective. S11b. We have gone through many circumstances, especially during the last year; the most difficult circumstances that can be experienced by a state. S11c. If we had not had a national unity, we would not have overcome these circumstances in such a manner. S12a. Hence, we cannot say that the image

is a negative one; it is a positive image with some negative points and this is normal. S12b. But why do we talk about development if everything is excellent? S13. This means that we do not deny what you are saying, but we have to put it in a realistic and objective frame, and this is what I want.”

It is noted that the MW has translated only what could reflect the speaker’s firm position against foreign interference and even against Syrians who may deal with Europeans. In contrast, it completely ignored the above sentences, which give the impression that the speaker is justifying his actions within a realistic and objective framework; he is not denying what is said by the interviewer in relation to some groups of political prisoners. Thus, omitting such information would reduce the contextual effects and distort the process of conveying political messages, as usually expected in political interviews, grade C3. Such a technique of purposeful selection by the MW may only serve certain political purposes, but not the best translation of the ST, grade C5.

In S4 - ID – E3 – OT, all respondents observed a deviation and classified it under grades S1, S2, C1, C4 and C5: “We are highly sensitive towards foreign *interventions*.” It is noted that the OT used ‘interference’ and ‘intervention’ interchangeably in this excerpt without knowing that these two words are similar and yet so different. Both start with ‘inter-’, meaning ‘between’. The difference is in the connotations of the two words, grade S2. In this context, it worth mentioning that the translator should be bilingual and bicultural in order to convey what is intended by the speaker and what could be positively or negatively understood by the audience of the English speaking communities. In other words, ‘intervene’ has got neutral or positive connotations; “it has the connotation of wanting to improve a situation, change things for the better. You intervene between two people in order to prevent a quarrel, for example.”³⁷ As such, the above translation by the OT has led to an irrelevant implication; grade C4, in the sense that the speaker is against any change for the better, grade C5. In contrast, the ST indicated that the speaker is refereeing to ‘interference’ which has strong negative connotations where people interfere in other people's business, telling them what to do, how to behave, what to eat and so on.

³⁷http://www.bbc.co.uk/worldservice/learningenglish/radio/specials/1535_questionanswer/page13.shtml

In S7c +8 - ID – E3 – OT, all respondents observed a deviation and classified it under grades S1, S2, C1, C4 and C5: “We have to be careful as we are not living in a natural atmosphere and no one of the Syrians or non-Syrians doubt that there are any *interventions* or daily attempts *to interfere* in the internal Syrian affairs.” As the previous deviation in S4 - ID – E3 – OT, the OT used ‘interference’ and ‘intervention’ interchangeably without considering the different connotations of the two words.

5.3.5.4 Excerpt 4 analysis

In S14a - ID – E4 – MEMRI, three respondents observed a deviation and classified it under grades G2, G4 and G5: “*I am* calling upon it to bear the responsibility like any other country.” It is usually noted in political interviews that when an interviewee is confronted with a question related to sensitive issues, s/he often use the plural ‘we’ instead of the singular ‘I’ and the Syrian president is not an exception. Thus, he said ‘ندعوها لتحمل مسؤولياتها’ / we call upon it to bear its responsibilities’. The interviewee did not use the singular pronoun ‘I’ in order to signal a shift into the private domain of the Syrian government, people or state to express an official position, not his personal stance. Such grammatical ill-formedness under grade G2 is likely to convey irrelevant political implications, grade G4, that reflect a distorted image of a speaker whose self-opinion and dominance is always prevailing. Thus, this deviation is likely to lead to pragmatic failure.

In S1b - ID – E4 – OT, all respondents observed a deviation and classified it under grade G2: “It is said that this force *will not be only* deployed, after it grows to 15,000 troops – if it reaches that figure – on the Lebanese Palestinian borders but on the Syrian Lebanese borders as well.” This deviation is related to the word order in the OT translation. It is noted that the speaker has clearly used the word ‘فقط / only’ to describe the phrase after it ‘على الحدود الفلسطينية اللبنانية / on the Palestinian-Lebanese border’. However, the OT used the word ‘only’ to modify or describe the verb ‘deploy’, while the ST stated that the UNIFIL force would deploy anyway, but this time it would deploy not only on the Palestinian-Lebanese border but on the Syrian-Lebanese border. Thus, this sentence could be translated into English as: “It is said that this force, after it grows to 15,000 troops –if it reaches that figure – will not be deployed only on the Lebanese Palestinian borders but on the Syrian Lebanes

border as well. ” Such a deviation under grade G2 is unlikely to lead to pragmatic failure within the context of the interviewer's question.

In S5 - ID – E4 – OT, all respondents observed a deviation and classified it under grades G2, C1 and C2: “No state in the world accepts to deploy on its border’s crossing points soldiers who do not *carry its nationality* unless *it was* in a state of war with that country as is the case in the Golan or *in* south Lebanon, where it is normal.” It is noted that the OT literally rendered the verbal phrase ‘إلا إذا كانت’ in its same past tense as ‘unless it was’ which expresses that the action started and finished at a specific time in the past, grade G2. The speaker, however, is stating one of the fixed international norms at present and future in any event of war with any other country. Another remark is related to the collocation ‘carry a nationality’ which looks odd in English, grades C1 and C2; it is more appropriate to say ‘hold a nationality’. This deviation, however, does not lead to pragmatic failure.

In S6 - ID – E4 – OT, three respondents observed a deviation and classified it under grades S1 G2, S4 and S5: “So, this is an abrogation of sovereignty *and handing it over to another party*, and they always talk about sovereignty.” The OT has misread the ST and used a word order that does not reflect exactly what is mentioned in the ST. In other words, the expression ‘تسليمها لجهات أخرى/ handing it over to another party’ is not included in the interviewee’s conclusion: ‘هذا يعني أولاً سحباً للسيادة اللبنانية’ / so, this is an abrogation of sovereignty’, but is a part of what is being said by others ‘وهم يتحدثون عن السيادة اللبنانية بشكل مستمر وتسليمها لجهات أخرى / and they constantly talk about sovereignty and handing it over to other parties’. Such a deviation would lead to irrelevant implication; grade S4, in the sense that the speaker is expressing his own personal views, not what is being said by others. The result of this mistranslation is misunderstanding, grade S5.

5.3.5.5 Excerpt 5 analysis

In S7b - ID – E5 – MEMRI, all respondents observed a deviation and classified it under grades C3, C4 and C5: “However, this war has emphasized that option...” It is noted that the MW did not translate the rest of the Arabic ST sentence which reads as follows:

ويبقى ماذا تفعل أنت كدولة وكشعب لكي تحضر نفسك للحظة قد يكون فيها عدوان، ليس بالضرورة أن يكون موضوع التحرير مهماً فقط لأن العدوان هو أيضاً أحد الاحتمالات العسكرية الهامة وماذا سنتفعل لتحرير أرضك بالتوازي مع المسار السياسي.

The above information literally reads in English as: “and the rest is related to what you do as state and people to prepare yourself for a moment of aggression; the liberation issue is not necessarily the only important issue because aggression is also one of the important military possibilities and of what you will do to liberate your land in parallel with the political track.” The MW translated only the first part which gives priority to the armed resistance in the Syrian Golan. In contrast, the rest of this sentence in the ST shifts priority to confronting aggression as one of the military possibilities. In other words, the interviewee is prioritizing his options in parallel with a political track, while the first part ‘this war has emphasized that option’ represents, if taken separately out of its context, a call for armed resistance in the Syrian Golan. Therefore, the MW's misrepresentation of the ST has reduced the contextual effects within the context, grade C3, and led to irrelevant implications, grade C4. The result of this deviation is misunderstanding of the speaker's political message.

In S7b - ID – E5 – OT, all respondents observed a deviation and classified it under grades G2 and S3: “However, this war has enhanced this option and we are left with what we *as a state and people* can do to get prepared for any moment of aggression.” It is noted that the OT ignored the correct use of punctuation marks which should mark the beginning and end of the parenthetical sentence ‘as a state and people’ in this sentence. It should be made clear that punctuation marks are used in English systematically in an organised way to perform certain stylistic, semantic and grammatical functions and achieve effects that can contribute to and affect meaning in variable degrees. Such a deviation, however, is unlikely to lead to misunderstanding but probably to exert extra processing efforts to understand it properly, grade S3.

In S7c - ID – E5 – OT, all respondents observed a deviation and classified it under grades S1, S4 and S5: “The option of resistance is important not only for liberation but also because aggression is one of the military possibilities; and what can you do to liberate your land in parallel with the political track?” It is noted that the OT has misread the ST in the sense that it linked resistance to the liberation of land and defending it against any possible

aggression, grade S1. This translation would lead to irrelevant implication not intended by the speaker. In other words, the speaker stated that people's armed resistance is important for the liberation of the land, but it is not the only important option for the state, which should, in parallel with a political track, prepare itself, as a state not people, for any possible aggression, grade S4. Another remark is related to the last part of this sentence, which was not rendered by the OT as a rhetorical question as mentioned in the ST; the speaker's question was asked merely for effect, with no answer expected. Thus, the result of these grades of deviation is misunderstanding the speaker's message, grade S5.

5.3.5.6 Summary of interview D data

As identified by the respondents, the number of all translation deviations observed in both TTs was 67 deviations; 37 deviations were observed in the MEMRI translation of 14 sentences and the number in the official translation was 30 deviations in 10 sentences. The number of all deviations that led to pragmatic failure in both TTs was 55; 35 deviations were observed in the MEMRI translation of 13 sentences out of 14, and 20 deviations were observed in the official translation of 5 sentences out 10.

After this general synopsis of all translation deviations observed in both TTs, I find it necessary to classify these deviations into three categories: pragma-linguistic deviations (types G and S), socio-pragmatic deviations (type C) and both pragma-linguistic and socio-pragmatic deviations (types G, S and C) that are related to each of the two parties presenting their translations. These deviations were also classified into two categories: all deviations in both TTs and all deviations leading to pragmatic failure in both TTs. In other words, the numbers mentioned in the previous section could mean nothing significant in the light of the categorization in the table below:

All Deviations in Both TTs								All deviations Leading to PRAGMATIC FAILURE in Both TTs							
66								54							
MEMRI				OT				MEMRI				OT			
35				31				33				21			
G	S	C	G+S+C	G	S	C	G+S+C	G	S	C	G+S+C	G	S	C	G+S+C
3	3	17	12	1	8	-	22	3	3	17	10	-	6	-	-15

So far as the number of all deviations in both TTs is concerned, the percentage of deviations in the MEMRI translation is 53.03%; the pragma-linguistic deviations represent 9.09% (4.54% grammatical and 4.54% semantic), while the socio-pragmatic deviations represent 25.75%, and the other pragma-linguistic and socio-pragmatic deviations under the three types with different grades represent 18.18%.

In contrast, the percentage of translation deviations in the OT is 44.77%; the pragma-linguistic deviations represent 13.63% (1.51% grammatical and 12.12% semantic), while the socio-pragmatic deviations represent 0% and the other pragma-linguistic and socio-pragmatic deviations under the three types with different grades represent 33.33%.

As far as the number of all deviations leading to pragmatic failure in both TTs is concerned, the percentage of pragmatic failure in the MEMRI translation is 61.11%; the pragma-linguistic failure deviations represent 11.11% (5.55% grammatical and 5.55% semantic), while the socio-pragmatic failure deviations represent 31.48%, and the other pragma-linguistic and socio-pragmatic failure deviations under the three types with different grades represent 18.51%.

In contrast, the percentage in the OT is 38.88%; the pragma-linguistic failure deviations represent 11.11% (0% grammatical and 11.11% semantic), while the socio-pragmatic failure deviations represent 0% and the other pragma-linguistic and socio-pragmatic failure deviations under the three types with different grades represent 27.77%.

5.4 The final table of types and grades

This table provides the figures and percentages to answer the research questions. It helps the reader have direct access to the findings of the research in number and percentage terms.

All Deviations in Both TTs								All deviations Leading to PRAGMATIC FAILURE in Both TTs							
355								258							
MEMRI				OT				MEMRI				OT			
249				106				206				52			
G	S	C	G+S+C	G	S	C	G+S+C	G	S	C	G+S+C	G	S	C	G+S+C
21	73	59	96	1	47	0	58	20	54	58	74	0	29	0	23
5.915%	20.56%	16.61%	27.04%	0.28%	13.23%	0%	16.33%	7.75%	20.93%	22.48%	28.68%	0%	11.24%	0%	8.91%

As far as the number of all deviations in both TTs is concerned, the percentage of deviations in the MEMRI translation is 70.14% (249 mistranslations); the pragma-linguistic deviations represent 26.47% (5.91% grammatical and 20.56% semantic), while the socio-pragmatic deviations represent 16.61%, and the other pragma-linguistic and socio-pragmatic deviations under the three types with different grades represent 27.04%.

In contrast, the percentage of deviations in the OT is 29.85% (106 mistranslations); the pragma-linguistic deviations represent 13.52% (0.28% grammatical and 13.23% semantic), while the socio-pragmatic deviations represent 0%, and the other pragma-linguistic and socio-pragmatic deviations under the three types with different grades represent 16.33%.

As for the number of all deviations leading to pragmatic failure in both TTs, (258 out of 355 mistranslation), the percentage of pragmatic failure deviations in the MEMRI translation is 79.84% (206 pragmatic failure); the pragma-linguistic failure deviations represent 28.68% (7.75% grammatical and 20.93% semantic), while the socio-pragmatic failure deviations represent 22.48%, and the other pragma-linguistic and socio-pragmatic failure deviations under the three types with different grades represent 28.68%.

In contrast, the percentage in the OT is 20.15% (52 pragmatic failure); the pragma-linguistic failure deviations represent 11.24% (0% grammatical and 11.24% semantic),

while the socio-pragmatic failure deviations represent 0% and the other pragma-linguistic and socio-pragmatic failure deviations under the three types with different grades represent 8.91%.

5.5 Answers to the research questions

The answer to the first research question is related to the causes of mistranslation of Syrian political discourse. The research findings show that regarding the 355 identified mistranslations of four interviews by the Syrian president Bashar al-Assad - 249 by MEMRI translation (70.14%) and 106 by the OT (29.85%) - the causes of these mistranslations can be classified as follows:

Out of 100% representing the percentage of the whole causes of mistranslation, the causes behind MEMRI mistranslations can be categorised in percentage terms as follows:

1. Purely grammatical deviations (5.91%)
2. Purely semantic deviations (20.56%)
3. Purely culture-related cases (16.61%)
4. Overlap among the previous three (27.04%)

On the other hand, the official mistranslations are due to:

1. Purely grammatical deviations (0.28%)
2. Purely semantic deviations (13.23%)
3. Purely culture-related cases (0%)
4. Overlap among the previous three (16.33%)

These figures represent the answer to the first research question. The general causes of mistranslation of the Syrian political discourse are classified according to the above mentioned types; grammatical, semantic, culture-related and the overlap between those three with five gradual grades starting from initial degree of misunderstanding to complete failure and break of communication.

As for the percentage of MEMRI's grammatical deviations (5.91%), it is worth noting that such a percentage is unexpected as supposedly professional translators committed these deviations. Such deviations are mostly related to misreading the ST, in particular those related to functional use of diacritical marks, negation particles, and pronouns,

singular/plural forms of words and tenses of the verbs used in the Arabic ST. The percentage of semantic deviations (20.56%) is the result of misuse of some semantic devices, mainly ellipsis, addition and omission as well as collocation and underestimation of the role played by functional repetition and emotiveness in conveying implicit meanings in Arabic political discourse. Some other semantic deviations are the result of the inappropriate use of lexical choices in terms of the sense and pragmatic force intended in the ST. The percentage of culture-related deviations (16.61%) is unexpected in terms of translating sensitive political discourse. The MEMRI's translation culture-related deviations are generally related unjustified omissions and modifications of the ST. Such omissions and textual manipulations have partly or fully distorted or weakened the political messages intended in the ST. Moreover, it can be noticed that largest percentage of deviations is identified when there is an overlap between two or three types of deviation (27.04%). This is because both pragma-linguistic and socio-pragmatic parameters are complementary and any deviation related to language will be a manifestation of the cognitive environment prevailing in any speech community.

On the other hand, the percentage of OT's grammatical deviations (0.28%) may reflect a semi-comprehensive understanding relationship between the OT translators and the text and context of the Syrian political discourse. Such relationship is clearly revealed in the percentage of purely culture-related deviations, which is (0%). Semantically speaking, the percentage (13.23%) may uncover some of the OT translators' weakness points in fully understanding the sense and force of some English terms and expressions in their English context of use. As for the percentage of overlap between the three types with various degrees (16.33%), it is noted that it is the highest one because, as stated in the previous section, any deviation may combine with another one and thus lead to higher degree of misunderstanding which ultimately leads to break of communication and full misunderstanding.

The answer to the second research question is related to specifying which of the identified causes presented in the answer to the first research question lead to pragmatic failure in translation. The answer is also presented here in percentage terms. Altogether, 258 out of 355 mistranslations (72.67%) identified in both the MEMRI translation and the

OT lead to pragmatic failure, 206 by the MEMRI translation (79.84%) and 52 by the OT (20.15%).

Out of 100% representing the percentage of the whole causes of mistranslation leading to pragmatic failure, the causes behind MEMRI mistranslations can be categorised in percentage terms as follows:

1. Purely grammatical deviations (7.75%)
2. Purely semantic deviations (20.93%)
3. Purely culture-related cases (22.48%)
4. Overlap among the previous three (28.68%)

The official mistranslations leading to pragmatic failure are due to:

1. Purely grammatical deviations (0%)
2. Purely semantic deviations (11.24%)
3. Purely culture-related cases (0%)
4. Overlap among the previous three (8.91%)

These figures represent the answer to the second research question. Interestingly, the percentages of all types of deviations in the MEMRI's translation had risen when complete pragmatic failure is concerned. The highest percentage is noticed once again in the overlap between the three types of deviation. It should be noted that complete pragmatic failure is the result of having a deviation regardless of its type under grade 5. In contrast, all types of deviations in the OT had fallen, in particular those related to purely grammatical and culture-related cases (0%). Once again, the percentage of overlap between the three types (8.91%), as compared to that of the MEMRI (28.68%), may manifest both the impact of socio-political perspectives prevailing in each speech community and the bilingual skills in conveying what is stated and intended in the Arabic ST.

5.6 Characteristics of MEMRI translation

The following are some characteristics observed in the MEMRI translation. All types of mistranslations are demonstrated within the final table of types and grades (see 5.4). However, the number of observed mistranslations due to purely grammatical deviations is more than expected from professional translators. This is obvious when compared with the

counterpart percentage by the OT where the percentage is (0%). Also, the number of mistranslations due to purely semantic deviations and purely culture-related deviations are almost similar (20.93% semantic and 22.48 culture). The largest number of mistranslations (28.68%) in the MEMRI translation is due to the overlap among types of deviations with different grades.

5.7 Characteristics of the OT

Syrian translators are more familiar with the Syrian political context (background) of the interviews. This is an advantage to them. The percentage of mistranslations due to purely semantic deviations (11.24%) is almost half the percentage due to purely semantic deviations observed in the MEMRI translation (20.93%). It is also noted that no observed mistranslation in the OT is due to purely grammatical deviation or to purely culture-related deviation. Semantic deviations are mostly related to literal translation which mostly does not convey what is intended by the speaker. Furthermore, there does not seem to be a correlation between semantics and grammar. On the other hand, the percentage of mistranslations due to overlap among the three types of deviations (8.91%) is not high compared to that of the MEMRI translation (28.68%).

5.8 Political translation and politics

Can we separate political translation from politics? It is worth noting that the final translation product would be a highly doubtful activity when translators select certain information or even one part of the interviewee's ideas without mentioning the interviewer's question (see 4.2.3.2). In other words, full understanding of what is said, particularly in political interviews, should be based on reading both the question and the answer. However, the MW has sometimes ignored the interviewer's question and at other times tended to remove some information from their original context and manipulate the final translation product by selecting certain excerpts or even certain parts of certain sentences from the interviewee's answers (see 2.4.4).

The MEMRI's purely culture-related deviations are mostly the result of the deliberate and conscious act of selecting, assembling and even ignoring certain parts or full sentences of the ST. One can notice that the MW's translator(s) did not convey a translation that best

represents the ST. We do not know the reasons behind such omissions. Actually, the MW provided a manipulated translation which presented contradictory messages to the ones intended by the ST. Thus, the MW's translation should be treated with a little circumspection in order to understand the objectives behind its structural manipulation of the Arabic ST. Furthermore, messages conveyed in political interviews cannot be understood in isolation of the questions leading the interviews. The MW's translation has entirely ignored the interviewer's questions and selected different parts of the interviewee's answers to be translated. Such manipulated translation, which was demonstrated by the data analysis (see 4.4.2), may be serving an unknown political agenda. It is possible that translators are most likely to commit few mistakes in good faith. However, the ST information gets recontextualised and is presented from a different perspective. In other words, the observed translation deviations in the MEMRI translation are too much to be interpreted in good faith.

5.9 Implications of the research

- ❖ The research respondents pointed out in section (4.4.1.1) that the translation difficulties they encountered in their translation career were 55% to 75% cultural, 30% to 35% semantic and 0% to less than 20% grammatical. These percentages are in agreement with the research results in that grammar is the least expected to cause mistranslation by the official translators of the ST. As for the MEMRI translators who are expected to be experts working in such big organization, the medium percentage of mistranslations or deviations caused by grammatical ill-formedness (7.75%) was high in comparison to the OT (0%). Relevant to this point, the background of MEMRI translators is unknown; they may not be coming from an Arab background. This may explain why the percentage of culture related mistranslations leading to pragmatic failure was very high (22.48%) when compared to that of the OT (0%). When the MEMRI translators are known, these questions could be answered.
- ❖ The contrastive analysis was performed in view that the observed translation deviations or errors leading to pragmatic failure are carried out by professional translators who are not expected to commit many translation mistakes, as compared

to trainee translators. In other words, variance of the cognitive environments of translators, as mediators, between Arabic text producers and English text receivers, is one of the major factors in causing mistranslations whether intentionally or unintentionally. Again, this means that the many mistranslations observed in the MEMRI translation, being notably larger than those observed in the OT, are functional mistranslations serving an unknown agenda.

- ❖ The MEMRI translator(s) rendered the translation with certain background of the ST in mind at the time of translation. It is really interesting to know the answer to this question: How would the MEMRI translators translate the same four interviews used in this research 5 years after they first translated the interviews?
- ❖ According to the research results, it could be the case that one is good at grammar but not good at semantics. This means that such a translator is more likely to fail in conveying the message than someone who has a good semantic background with bad grammar. This research highlights the importance of semantics, together with grammar, for communicating messages from one language into another.
- ❖ Pragmatic failure is only classified as such when one or all types of deviation together with certain grades of pragmatic failure are associated together.
- ❖ Any type of deviation or mistranslation that is combined with all grades of deviation, particularly grade 5, is most likely to lead to pragmatic failure. Semantic deviations in terms of grades and frequency also lead to pragmatic failure. This problem is mainly related to the lack of lexical correspondence between Arabic and English and partially to bilingual dictionaries which provide meanings of words in a way that does not cover all the possible contextual meanings.
- ❖ To my knowledge, no research about the translation of Syrian political discourse has been conducted before and no previous studies about translating political discourse in the Arab world were available. Most available references are concerned with politics, rather than translating political discourse, which is not the concern of this research. Accordingly, this research makes a contribution to the field of political translation in general and to Arab and Syrian political translation in particular. At the same time, the findings of this research could benefit politics pertinent to the Arab world. For example, providing translated versions of political

texts by some media organizations enables communication between Eastern and Western languages and cultures, but can also privilege or hinder the circulation of certain political information at the expense of other information that does not serve the implicit objectives of such organizations. In other words, rendering distorted political messages via translation from one socio-political community into another would not only negatively influence the public opinion in the target community but also the decisions and actions of policy makers (see 2.2; 2.4.4; 3.5.4.4).

- ❖ For any translator, no matter how versed he is in grammar, he may face some grammatical challenges.
- ❖ Sincerity in translation entails that the translator should at least provide a complete translation of the ST.

5.10 Recommendations for translators

It is widely heard in Syria that we are unconsciously politicized (نحن مسيّسون بالفطرة). This should be a warning for translators against falling into the trap of presupposition referred to in section (3.5.4.1). This is related to the question raised in section (5.5.1), *To what extent we can separate the analysis of the translation of political discourse from politics itself?* A translator should keep up to date with values, social norms or background ideological beliefs, or with perspectives on certain issues relevant to the culture of the text s/he is translating. These values, social norms, etc. may change from one time to another. Accordingly, what used to be considered an ideal translation previously may not be considered so today. It is an advantage to any translator to be bicultural. But in reality, a translator should be aware of the culture of the ST.

5.11 The limitations of the research

- ❖ The questionnaire was distributed only to Syrian assessors. Due to research logistics, English native speakers were not involved in the research.
- ❖ As discussed in section (5.8), we do not know whether the MEMRI translator(s) comes from an Arabic speaking background or not. It would be hard to be unbiased especially since many cases in translation can only be understood when understanding the political circumstances surrounding them. This research did not

- explore that area, being related to politics which is beyond the concern of this research.
- ❖ The contrastive analysis was exclusive to the written transcript of the interviews. In other words, the reader is only reading transcriptions away from the video context that shows the Syrian president and his body language accompanying his speech/utterances. This is important for understanding, as "7% of what we communicate is based on vocabulary, 38% of what we communicate is based on voice inflections and 55% of what we communicate is based on nonverbal behaviour" (Garber, 2008: 53). We do believe it is an advantage to the reader of an interview with President Assad to actually watch the interview and notice the calmness and composure, together with the frankness and accuracy of this person. This could further highlight where pragmatic failure in translating his interviews is identified and classified.
 - ❖ The population of the translators represented by the four translators who took part in the research is a restricted group that enjoys long experience in political translation. There are many English \leftrightarrow Arabic translators who work in translation offices with long experience in the job but not necessarily majored in English. The research relied mainly on experienced academic translators who majored in English and enjoyed long experience in political translation.
 - ❖ Initially some participants agreed to take part in the research but could not complete doing the contrastive study for different reasons.
 - ❖ No media organisation is independent; each media organisation reflects to a certain degree the policies and ideologies of the people who run this organisation. This is important because the translation done by MEMRI is after all a translation presented by an American organisation. Digging deeper than the contrastive analysis done in this research takes the researcher into a political strand beyond the concern of this research.
 - ❖ We do not know exactly the dates when the MEMERI translated the interviews used in this research. This is important because most likely the MEMRI translation was done after the OT. It is possible that the translators working for the MEMRI

were acquainted with the OT and perhaps made use of the same linguistic structures and vocabulary.

5.12 Further research

- ❖ President Assad gave many interviews in English. His English words and phrases which reflect his intentions, political messages and way of thinking can be compared to what other non-Syrian translators used in their translations of other Arabic interviews into English.
- ❖ We did not have the chance to get a back translation from English into Arabic of the same texts, whether by Syrian translators or English native speakers. This exercise always highlights the accuracy of translation.
- ❖ The MEMRI translation and the OT were evaluated by a group of professional Syrian translators. Such evaluation could be done by another group of Native English speaking translators.
- ❖ Will the same percentages reported in section (5.4) be obtained from another contrastive analysis related to translations of texts other than political texts?

5.13 Chapter summary

This chapter investigated some of the causes of mistranslation in four interviews by the Syrian president Bashar al-Assad. It started by reminding the reader of the research questions this research attempted to answer and then proceeded to analyse the data reported in chapter four. Next, it made use of the data analysis to provide the answers to the research questions. It also discussed the characteristics of the MEMRI translation and the characteristics of the official translation. After that, it elaborated on the relation between political translation and politics and moved on to discuss the implications and limitations of the research and the recommendations for translators. It also dedicated a section for further suggested research inspired by the findings of this research.

Chapter Six

Summary and conclusion

This research has investigated some of the causes of mistranslation of Syrian political discourse, particularly the causes that lead to pragmatic failure in translation. It claimed that this research area has not been heeded before properly and thus this research provided a new contribution to the field of translating political discourse in the Arab world in general and in Syria in particular. It reviewed the literature related to the implications of translating texts belonging to a different culture from the culture of the media organisation which took on translating these texts. The literature reviewed the general theory of translation that explains where mistranslation could happen and why. It explored the nature of political discourse in the light of the triangular relationship between media, translation and politics. It also highlighted the importance of translation quality assessment and understanding the dimensions and implications of interaction between two different cultures. Next, it elaborated on the evolution of translation studies through three approaches, namely, the linguistic, the functionalist and the cognitive. The literature also reviewed pragmatics and its role in the light of Grice's theory of the Cooperative Principle and its maxims, Speech Act Theory and Relevance Theory. It focused on translation from a relevance-based standpoint. It then moved to explore the concept of equivalence and the attempts to study and define translation in terms of equivalence relations between the source text (ST) and the target text (TT). It started by reviewing semantic translation equivalence and then moved to reviewing pragmatic translation equivalence and the translation differences between the ST and TT(s), mainly in the field of political translation, especially Syrian political discourse. After that it moved to explain the concept of pragmatic failure, including pragma-linguistic failure, textual translation differences, sense and force of utterances, linguistic structure and meaning, discourse markers as pragma-linguistic devices, and connotation and denotation. It argued that pragmatic failure could be the result of either pragma-linguistic failure or culture-based failure or both. After that it moved to review semantic devices, mainly reference, substitution, ellipsis, addition and omission, and collocation, arguing that semantic equivalence in cross-cultural communication is

inadequate and then it gave brief account of socio-pragmatics, focusing on entailment and presupposition, sincerity and credibility, and domestication and foreignisation.

The research methodology chapter described the method used to collect the data necessary to answer the research questions, targeting translation deviations that would lead to pragmatic failure regarding translating Syrian political discourse by the American Middle East Media Research Institute (MEMRI) and the official Syrian Arab News Agency. It described the process of designing the questionnaire being the data collection tool and while describing the research tool, it explained the contrastive analysis targeted by the questionnaire and elaborated on describing the translation assessment criterion respondents needed to follow in order to fill out the questionnaire. Defining this criterion included reviewing the pragma-linguistic category and the socio-pragmatic category as well as the grades of pragmatic failure.

Next, it moved to report the data from the personal background section of the questionnaire the data obtained from question 2 in the questionnaire, concerned with the targeted contrastive analysis of the two translations, the OT and MEMRI translation. Following the data analysis it moved to draw a picture of the causes of mistranslation of four interviews by president Assad of Syria. Then, it made use of the data analysis to provide the phrasing of the answers to the research questions. After that it discussed the characteristics of the MEMRI translation and the characteristics of the official translation. It discussed the relation between political translation and politics and moved to discuss the implications and limitations of the research and the recommendations for translators. It also dedicated a section for further suggested research inspired by the findings of this research.

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Electronic References:

Interview A

MEMRI Clip <http://www.memritv.org/clip/en/958.htm>
Video Transcript http://www.memritv.org/clip_transcript/en/958.htm
Full Official Translation
http://www.presidentassad.net/INTERVIEWS/ASSAD_RUSSIAN_TV_INTERVIEW.htm
Full Source Text <http://www.sana.sy/ara/2/2005/12/12/pr-4280.htm>
Accessed on 09 April 2010
Clip duration 8:17

Interview B:

MEMRI Clip <http://www.memritv.org/clip/en/0/0/0/0/0/2438.htm>
Video Transcript http://www.memritv.org/clip_transcript/en/2438.htm
Full Official Translation <http://www.sana.sy/eng/21/2010/03/25/pr-283463.htm>
Full Source Text <http://www.sana.sy/ara/3/2010/03/25/pr-279708.htm>
Accessed on 09 April 2010
Clip duration 1:39

Interview C

MEMRI Clip <http://www.memritv.org/clip/en/950.htm>
Video Transcript http://www.memritv.org/clip_transcript/en/950.htm
Full Official Translation
http://www.presidentassad.net/INTERVIEWS/ASSAD_FRANCE_3_INTERVIEW.htm
Full Source Text <http://www.sana.sy/ara/2/2005/12/06/pr-3063.htm>
Accessed on 09 April 2010
Clip duration 8:39

Interview D

MEMRI Clip <http://www.memritv.org/clip/en/1244.htm>
Video Transcript http://www.memritv.org/clip_transcript/en/1244.htm
Full Official Translation
http://www.presidentassad.net/INTERVIEWS/ASSAD_DUBAI_SATELLITE_TV.htm
Full Source Text: <http://www.sana.sy/ara/3/2006/24/08/pr-3173.htm>
Accessed on 09 April 2010
Clip duration 4: 59

Appendices

Appendix 1: The full Arabic source texts of the four interviews (A, B, C and D)

The counterpart excerpts of MEMRI translation is emboldened and underlined in this original full Arabic text to be easily found and compared.

Interview A with the Syrian President Bashar al-Assad was given to the Russian TV and was aired by Syrian TV on December 11, 2005.

الخميس 2005/12/8

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أدلى السيد الرئيس بشار الأسد بمحديث إلى التلفزيون الروسي — القناة الثانية. وأجرى الحديث الإعلامي الروسي بريليف سيرغي. وفيما يلي نص الحديث:

المذيع:

سيادة الرئيس، شكراً جزيلاً لكم. إن التلفزيون الروسي والمشاهدين الروس يقدرون تقديراً عالياً على موافقتكم اللقاء بنا في دمشق في هذه اللحظة المعقدة بالنسبة للوضع الدولي ولاسيما بالنسبة لسورية تحديداً. إن سؤالنا الأول هو: لقد قضيت سنون في الغرب، وتحديداً في انكلترا، وأنتم تفهمون العديد من اللغات الأوروبية الغربية بدون مترجم. ولكن فيما يتعلق بالتواصل السياسي بين الغرب وسورية، الآن توجد مشاكل وهذا التواصل لا يستقيم أمره. وإضافة إلى ذلك بينما فُرق العراق التحالف الغربي والمجتمع الغربي، فالآن يحصل العكس، حيث اتفقت حول سورية دول مختلفة سابقاً مثل الولايات المتحدة وفرنسا، وتحديداً الرئيسان بوش وشيراك. فكيف تعملون للخروج من هذه الحالة؟

السيد الرئيس:

بداية، أرحب بكم في سورية. المشكلة بالنسبة للعلاقة بين سورية وجزء من الغرب، ولا أقول كل الغرب، هي ربما بعض المسؤولين في هذا الغرب، أي أنها ليست قضية اللغة كما قلت. أنا أفهم اللغة وربما بعضهم يفهم اللغة العربية، ولكن القضية هي ما تحمله اللغة من مفاهيم، هناك خلاف كبير في المفاهيم، هناك تباعد في الثقافات يزداد مع الزمن بدلاً من أن يتقارب بفعل تطور وسائل الاتصالات. لكن المطلوب من هذا الغرب، لكي تستقيم الأمور، أن يعرف أكثر عن منطقتنا، عن تاريخنا، عن مفاهيمنا، عن الأسباب الحقيقية لمشاكلنا. والمطلوب ليس أن يبتعد عن التعامل مع المصطلحات فقط، وإنما يجب أن يدخل لمعالجة المشاكل من خلال التعامل مع الحقائق الموجودة على الأرض. هذه نقطة خلاف، نحن نعيش الواقع، هم يعيشون على بعد آلاف الأميال، فيجب أن يستمعوا إلى آرائنا وأن يفهموا تفكيرنا. بالنسبة لي، العلاقة الآن بين سورية وفرنسا من جانب، والولايات المتحدة من جانب آخر، أنت قلت انها علاقة، أو حالة غريبة، هذا صحيح. وفي الواقع، نحن لم نصالح بينهما ولا اعتقد بأنهما تصالحا، ولكن لكل منهما الآن هدف خاص في الضغط على سورية يختلف عن الهدف الآخر. بالنسبة لنا لدينا مبدأ، في أية مشكلة، ان أية مشكلة تحل بالحوار. لا يوجد هناك خيار آخر. نحن أبوابنا مفتوحة دائماً لكل الدول من دون استثناء للحوار بشأن القضايا المختلفة. لكن هذا

يأخذ بالاعتبار مصالح سورية. لا يمكن أن يكون الحوار على حساب مصالحنا أو على حساب قضايانا ومفاهيمنا. هناك حوار، لنقل انه بالحد الأدنى، نسعى لتطويره. من جانب آخر، لدينا علاقات واسعة مع دول أخرى صديقة في هذا العالم تعرف موقفنا وتفهمه وتعرف أن سورية على حق. نحن لم نخرق قانوناً دولياً، نحن عامل استقرار، لم نسع لزعزعة الاستقرار في منطقتنا، وعلى هذه الدول أن تساعد في تغيير هذه الحالة غير الطبيعية، باعتقادنا في سورية. هذا ما نفعله حتى الآن.

سؤال:

عندما نتحدثون عن دول صديقة، هل تقصدون تحديداً أن سورية تعتمد على دعم روسيا والصين في مجلس الأمن؟
السيد الرئيس:

هما يدافعان بكل الأحوال، ولكن روسيا والصين ليستا الدولتين الوحيدتين في مجلس الأمن، هناك خمسة أعضاء دائمون، وهناك عشر دول أخرى لها دور في التصويت. والقضية ليست فقط دفاعاً عن سورية لأنها دولة صديقة لروسيا والصين. كما قلت أنا، سورية دولة مهمة بالنسبة للاستقرار، مهمة بالنسبة لمكافحة الإرهاب، مهمة بالنسبة لعملية السلام، مهمة بالنسبة لاستقرار الوضع في العراق في المستقبل. لا يمكن التعامل مع هذه القضايا في الشرق الأوسط دون سورية.

لروسيا والصين مصلحة في أن تقف مع سورية في القضايا المطروحة لأن لهما مصلحة في الاستقرار.

سؤال:

إن الأزمة الراهنة، أو سوء الفهم بين سورية والعالم الخارجي، على الأقل مع تلك الدول التي ذكرتموها، بالطبع، بدأ بعد اغتيال الحريري، فماذا تتوقعون من عمل لجنة ميليس التي ستصدر نتائجها في الأسبوع القادم؟
السيد الرئيس:

لا. سوء التفاهم بدأ قبل اغتيال الرئيس الحريري، ولكن اغتيال الرئيس الحريري ربما أعطى للبعض ذريعة لكي يصعدوا الضغوط على سورية، مع ذلك، نحن تعاوننا مع لجان التحقيق الأولى التي سبقت لجنة ميليس، لجنة (فيتزجيرالد)، واللجنة الثانية وهي لجنة ميليس. التقرير الأول لم يكن إيجابياً تجاه سورية ولم يكن عادلاً. مع ذلك، أعلننا بشكل مستمر رغبتنا بالتعاون مع التقرير، أولاً لرغبتنا بالتعاون مع لجنة التحقيق لأن هذه اللجنة منبثقة من الأمم المتحدة ولأن التحقيق، إن كان احترافياً، فهو يخدم سورية مباشرة لأنه لدينا ثقة كبيرة وشبه مطلقة، إن لم نقل مطلقة، ببراءة سورية. هذا التحقيق إن كان تحقيقاً احترافياً سيؤدي لهذه النتيجة. ما نتوقعه، كما قلت، أن يكون احترافياً وأن يكون عادلاً وأن يكون موضوعياً وأن يكون دقيقاً وبشكل أوضح، هذا ما نأمله، لا نستطيع أن نتوقع، لا توجد لدينا معطيات لكي نتوقع ولكن ما نأمله من عمل اللجنة أن يكون بهذا الاتجاه.

سؤال:

أسمح لنفسني بطرح سؤال غير سار: ماذا لو أن لجنة ميليس أكدت في الأسبوع القادم أن سوريين مدانين، وإذا سمّت من بين المدانين البعض من القريبين إليكم، ربما بعض الأقرباء، أو ربما بعض الجنرالات الموثوقين من قبلكم، وقد سبق أن قلت انه إذا ما ظهر خونة في صفوفكم فإنكم ستعاقبونهم. فإذا أشارت لجنة ميليس إلى شخص ما من المقربين إليكم، هل ستعتقلون مثل هؤلاء الأشخاص؟

السيد الرئيس:

لا يوجد سؤال غير سار، وإنما توجد حقائق غير سارة. أنا قلت في السابق أن كل من يثبت أن له علاقة في عملية الاغتيال من سورية فهو بالقانون السوري يعتبر خائناً، والخائن عقوبته شديدة جداً. فالقضية ليست أسماء قريبة أو بعيدة. القضية هي إن كان هناك شخص متورط فيجب أن يحاسب. ولكن في الوقت نفسه، لكي نقول أن هناك شخصاً سورياً مذنباً، فيجب أن تكون هنالك أدلة، وهذا ما نريده نحن، لذلك عندما نقول ان عمل اللجنة يجب أن يكون احتياطياً، فهذا يعني البحث عن أدلة، عندما تبدأ بالبحث عن المتفجرات تبحث من أين أتت هذه المتفجرات، من أين أتت السيارة، من هو الشخص الذي قام بالعملية. تستطيع أن تحلل الحمض النووي وغيرها من الأمور الاختصاصية. حتى الآن لم يأتنا أي شيء يتعلق بكل هذه المواضيع، فإذا كان هناك دليل سنتعامل مع الأدلة. لا نستطيع أن نتعامل مع أي شيء له علاقة بتسييس التحقيق.

سؤال:

بالنسبة لأولئك الذين لا يعيشون هنا في الشرق الأوسط، والذين يتابعون تطور الأحداث جانبياً، فإن التفاصيل الواضحة والمفهومة بالنسبة لكم هي بحاجة إلى توضيحات إضافية. إن موقف سورية يقول ان لا علاقة لها إطلاقاً بهذه الجريمة المدوية، فهل كنتم، كمرقب، وكرئيس لبلد بقيت قواته فترة طويلة في لبنان، تعتقدون أن تطورات الأحداث السياسية في لبنان ستتخذ هذا المنحى الدرامي الذي اتخذته لحظة اغتيال الحريري، وهل كنتم تتوقعون أن أحداً ما سيحاول تصفية الحريري؟ السيد الرئيس:

منذ أن توقفت الحرب الأهلية في لبنان في عام 1990 حتى اغتيال الحريري، حصلت عدة عمليات تخريب في لبنان، تفجيرات أو اغتيال لشخصيات مختلفة، البعض منها نجح، البعض منها لم ينجح، وكنا موجودين في تلك المرحلة في لبنان. لم تكن لدينا أية معطيات عن أية عملية من هذه العمليات قبل أن تحصل، كذلك الوضع بالنسبة لاغتيال الحريري. لم تكن لدينا أية معطيات على الإطلاق بأن هناك عملاً ما سوف يحصل.

أما بالنسبة للتبدل السياسي فهو لا ينفصل عن الوضع الإقليمي ولا ينفصل عن الوضع الدولي، هو ليس حالة منفصلة، لم نكن نتوقعه بكل الأحوال، أعتقد أن معظم دول العالم لم تكن تتوقع هذا الشكل من التبدلات التي كانت ستحصل خاصة بعد 11 أيلول وما تلاها وغزو أفغانستان ثم غزو العراق. فلاشك أنه من الصعب أن نتوقع أن يذهب العالم في هذا الاتجاه لأننا دائماً نأمل بالأفضل ولا نأمل بالأسوأ. العالم الآن يعود إلى الخلف، أي بمعنى يتجه باتجاه الأسوأ، ونحن نتأثر كمنطقة شرق أوسط وكسورية وكلبنان بهذا الوضع.

سؤال:

لقد تحدثتم عن السياق الدولي، وأنا أود أيضاً في السياق الدولي أن أطرح عليكم سؤالاً حول إمكانية حصول تسوية بين سورية ولجنة ميليس أو الأمم المتحدة عموماً؟ وبماذا يمكن أن تتلخص هذه التسوية في نظركم؟ وهل لديكم تصور عما ينتظره منكم بالفعل المجتمع الغربي؟ فهناك ادعاءات محددة ضدكم، فلجنة ميليس تقوم بالتحقيق في موضوع اغتيال الحريري، وهناك اتهامات بشأن الوضع في العراق وهذا ما سنعود إلى مناقشته لاحقاً، فعموماً بماذا يمكن أن تتلخص التسوية الآن بين سورية وبين تلك القوى الخارجية التي تقف ضدكم؟

السيد الرئيس:

أولاً، لجنة التحقيق ليست دولة. ثانياً، لسنا على خلاف مع لجنة التحقيق، بالعكس، نحن ندعم لجنة التحقيق، وبالتالي أية تسوية تعني تنازلاً من قبل طرف عن شيء ما. بالنسبة لنا، نحن نبحث عن أسباب الجريمة، وهم يبحثون عن أسباب الجريمة. فلا أعتقد أنه بالمبادئ، هناك تعارض بين سورية ولجنة التحقيق، ولكن هناك أداء سياسي يحيط بلجنة التحقيق ويحاول أن يشوّش على العمل الحقيقي المفترض أن تقوم به لجنة التحقيق. لذلك لنفترض أننا استخدمنا كلمة تسوية التي تطرحها الآن، نستطيع أن نقول أن التسوية الوحيدة هي أن تعمل لجنة التحقيق بشكل مستقل وبشكل نزيه وبعيد عن السياسة، أي احترافي، كما قلنا قبل قليل، وأن تصل لأسباب هذه الجريمة، عندها ستكون التسوية، إن سميناها تسوية، ستكون هي تسوية جيدة. لكن كما قلت، الهدف واحد، وبالتالي لا يوجد تنازلات من قبل أي طرف، فلا توجد لدينا أية مشكلة في التعاون، تعاوناً كاملاً مع هذه اللجنة ومع أية لجنة تكلف بمهام البحث عن أسباب هذه الجريمة.

سؤال:

المسؤولون الحكوميون السوريون الذين أُتيح لي أن أتحدث إليهم، وأنتم الآن بشكل غير مباشر، تؤكّدون فكرة متناقضة حول وحدة المصالح بين سورية والولايات المتحدة فيما يتعلق بموضوع العراق بالذات! ومن المفهوم أن الجميع بحاجة إلى عراق مستقر، والعراق المستقر ضروري أيضاً بالنسبة لروسيا، وكذلك بالنسبة لكل الدول التي تقع في المنطقة. وفي هذا الصدد يكرر الأمريكيون اتّهام بلدكم بأن الحدود السورية مع العراق شفافة جداً وأنه يمر عبرها الكثير من أولئك الأشخاص الذين يعملون فيما بعد في صفوف الإرهابيين، وهناك تفسيرات مختلفة حول تسمية هؤلاء الأشخاص، ولكن التسمية غير مهمة، ولكن على الأقل أولئك الأشخاص الذين يقومون بأعمال عسكرية ولا يتركون العراق يستقر. فبماذا تردون على هذا الاتّهام؟ لنقل تحديداً بخصوص شفافية الحدود بين سورية والعراق؟

السيد الرئيس:

عندما نقول حدود فهي ليست خطأ وإنما هي جانب من قبل سورية وجانب من قبل العراق، هكذا الوضع في كل دول العالم.

بالنسبة لنا في سورية لدينا حراسة موجودة منذ زمن طويل، أي منذ عقود أو منذ عقدين من الزمن موجودة على الحدود مع العراق. كما تعرف، لا توجد دولة تضبط حدودها مطلقاً مع أية دولة أخرى في هذا العالم. والأمريكيون يتهموننا بهذا الكلام ولكن هم يقولون لنا بنفس الوقت انهم غير قادرين على ضبط حدودهم مع المكسيك.

الولايات المتحدة دولة عظمى لا تستطيع أن تضبط حدودها، فكيف تضبط سورية حدودها؟! لكن مع ذلك، هناك إمكانية لأن تكون الحدود مضبوطة ضمن حد معقول، ليست مغلقة، وإنما مضبوطة، بمعنى أن تهريب الأشخاص أو البضائع هو بالحدود الدنيا مع أي بلد. هذا الشيء لكي نصل إليه، بحاجة لطرفي الحدود، لا يمكن لطرف واحد أن يضبط الحدود. بمعنى أن يكون هناك على الطرف الآخر من العراق إجراءات معينة من قبل العراقيين أو الأمريكيين، إجراءات ربما تكون عسكرية، ربما تكون إجراءات تقنية مختلفة وربما يكون هناك تعاون أمني. لكن حقيقة الموضوع أن المشكلة في العراق هي الفشل السياسي الكبير والفشل العسكري الكبير الذي نراه الآن، هذه هي حقيقة الموضوع.

هناك عدم رغبة بالاعتراف بأن المقاومة التي تحصل في العراق هي في معظمها من العراقيين. هناك دائماً إلقاء لوم على طرف أجنبي، على أشخاص أجانب يسمونهم الإرهابيين، يقومون بأعمال ضد القوات الموجودة، قوات الاحتلال. هذا الكلام غير صحيح، هذا هو الهروب من الحقيقة، لذلك يقال أن هناك أشخاصاً يأتون من الحدود السورية إلى العراق. طبعاً هناك وضع معين ظهر بعد الحرب على العراق أدى إلى ازدياد التطرف. هناك إرهاب يزداد في منطقتنا وفي العالم. هناك حدود يتم عبرها مرور أشخاص بشكل غير نظامي، وهذا الشيء موجود دائماً ولكنه يزداد بتأثيرات الحروب التي تحيط بنا. إلقاء اللوم على سورية هو لعدم الاعتراف بالفشل الموجود في العراق الآن.

سؤال:

تكميلاً لموضوع الحدود، في روسيا يثمنون عالياً، وخاصة الاختصاصيون بشؤون الشرق الأوسط، من الذين أتيح لي أن أتحدث معهم، يثمنون عالياً دور سورية العلمانية، والتي هي في الوقت ذاته جزء من العالم الإسلامي، فسورية تلعب دوراً كبيراً في الحوار ما بين موسكو ومنظمة المؤتمر الإسلامي، وتحديدًا في تغيير موقف منظمة المؤتمر الإسلامي مع الزمن مثلاً مما يجري في شمال القوقاز الروسي. وسؤالي إليكم كرئيس لنظام علماني، ولكن مع ذلك لدولة إسلامية بشكل أساسي، هو: كيف تنظرون في العالم الإسلامي وفي سورية بالذات إلى مشكلة الإسلاميين المتطرفين، فهناك الكثير من الكلام يقال حول هذه المسألة عندنا في روسيا، وبالذات يذكرون الإسلاميين المتطرفين دائماً عندما تقع أعمال إرهابية مدوية، وأنتم أيضاً، كما أعلم، تكافحون هذه المشكلة، وأعلم أنه في الأسبوع الماضي اكتشفت الأجهزة الأمنية والقوات المسلحة السورية، مجموعة من الإخوان المسلحين في شمال البلاد، فإلى أي مدى تشكل هذه الظاهرة تحدياً ومشكلة بالنسبة لكم؟.

السيد الرئيس:

أن نكون دولة علمانية وبنفس الوقت بلداً مسلماً، فهذا شيء طبيعي لا يتعارض، كما يعتقد البعض، لأن العلمانية لا تعني الوقوف ضد الأديان وإنما العلمانية تعني حرية الأديان وعدم الربط بين الدولة ودين الإنسان. بالنسبة للإخوان المسلمين، جانب من هؤلاء يؤمن بالعنف، وجانب من هؤلاء متطرف، وعانينا من هذه المجموعات في سورية في مراحل سابقة، خاصة في السبعينيات والثمانينيات، حيث قاموا بأعمال عنف وإرهاب أدت لقتل الآلاف من السوريين وقتل وجرح عشرات الآلاف من السوريين إضافة إلى تأخير الاقتصاد والجوانب المختلفة في حياة سورية.

فإذا القضية ليست الإخوان المسلمين، وإنما الجزء الذي يؤمن بالعنف. هناك تيارات أخرى مشابهة غير الإخوان المسلمين تؤمن بالعنف وبالإرهاب ربما اعتقاداً منها بأن هذا الشيء يخدم الإسلام. طبعاً لا يوجد إرهاب إسلامي لأن الإرهاب ينفصل عن الإسلام. إنه إرهاب فقط، لا يوجد إرهاب إسلامي. ولكن درجت التسمية الآن إرهاب إسلامي. هذا النوع من الإرهاب خطير، كان يستهدفنا في ذلك الوقت، وفي ذلك الوقت قمنا بحملة على مستوى بعض الدول الأوروبية العربية لكي نقتنع تلك الدول بأن احتضان بعض قيادات التطرف والإرهاب في أوروبا سيرتد عليهم في وقت من الأوقات، وفعلاً نحن عانينا منهم في السبعينيات والثمانينيات، وبدأوا يضربون في عدد من الدول العربية، في نهاية الثمانينيات وفي التسعينيات ورأينا النتائج الخطيرة والكبيرة في نيويورك وفي لندن وفي مدريد وأنتم أيضاً تعاونون من عمليات إرهابية الآن في روسيا. هذا يعني أن الإرهاب ليست له حدود. إذا كان لديك

إرهاب في بلدك ربما يضرب لدينا في وقت ما، لأنك لا تستطيع أن تضبطه، لا يمكن أن تحصر الإرهاب. وهذا ما بدأ ينتبه إليه الكثير من دول العالم وفهمت هذه الدول أن مكافحة الإرهاب هي مكافحة دولية. صحيح لدينا خبرة لأننا الأقدم في هذا المجال ولأننا نعيش في منطقة إسلامية، وفهمنا أن مكافحة الإرهاب لا تكون بالحرب، الحرب غالباً من نتائجها، خاصة عندما لا تكون حرباً عادلة، هي تفعيل الإرهاب، وهذا ما نراه الآن بعد حرب العراق. مكافحة الإرهاب هي في البداية مكافحة فكرية، لأن الإرهاب هو فكر قبل أن يكون مجرد منظمات، مكافحة فكرية، مكافحة الجهل بالحوار، بالمواقف السياسية العادلة، لأن الكثير من الإرهابيين يتخذون ذريعة إما قضية دينية أو قضية سياسية. عليك أن تتعامل مع الموضوع سياسياً، هكذا نتعامل مع الإرهاب وليس بالإدانة. الإدانة لا تلغي الإرهاب، أدناً وكل بلدان العالم أدانت 11 أيلول، ولكن الإرهاب استمر بعد 11 أيلول، فإذاً يجب أن نحقق شبكة من التعاون الدولي، وسورية كما قلت لديها خبرة ولديها رغبة كبيرة بهذا النوع من التعاون.

سؤال:

إنكم تسمعون اللغة الروسية، حسب علمي، للمرة الثانية على التوالي هذا الأسبوع. فمنذ يومين استقبلتم وفداً من شركة (ستروي. ترانس. غاز) الروسية، التي تعتزم المشاركة في بناء الخط العربي لنقل الغاز ومصنعاً للغاز هنا في سورية، ولدي سؤال هو: هل سيتوقف مستقبل هذه العقود في مجال الغاز والعقود العسكرية الكثيرة بين روسيا وسورية على الموقف السياسي لموسكو لدى بحث قضية سورية في مجلس الأمن؟.

السيد الرئيس:

طبعاً لم تبدأ العلاقة الاقتصادية وحتى في مجال النفط من هذا العقد، هي موجودة منذ زمن طويل، ولكن الحقيقة هي أن العامل الأساسي الذي عزز العلاقات الاقتصادية بيننا، بين سورية وروسيا، وطبعاً بالإضافة إلى العلاقات السياسية، هي الزيارة الناجحة التي قمت بها في بداية هذا العام إلى موسكو. وكان من أهم النقاط فيها هي حل مشكلة الديون بين البلدين، المشكلة العالقة منذ عقود طويلة. حل هذه المشكلة فتح أبواب التعامل الاقتصادي في المجالات الكثيرة، ويأتي توقيع هذا العقد كجزء من هذا التعاون، هذا لا يعني أن العلاقة السياسية لا تنعكس أيضاً سلباً وإيجاباً على أية علاقة اقتصادية بيننا وبين روسيا أو مع دول أخرى. لاشك بأن سورية وروسيا الآن في موقع الحلفاء السياسيين ومن الطبيعي في حالة التحالف السياسي أن يكون هنالك ميزات إيجابية أو إضافية للشركات التي تأتي من أحد هذين البلدين. بالمقابل، وطبعاً هذا من وجهة نظر سورية، لا أعتقد بأن روسيا ستفكر بقرار سياسي من أجل هذا العقد، هناك مصالح أكبر من هذا العقد، هناك مصالح، كما قلت قبل قليل، باستقرار المنطقة، بدور سورية. أنت تعرف، لم يكن هناك استقرار في هذه المنطقة. الآن خاصة بعد حرب العراق التي كانت الخندق الأخير لاستقرار المنطقة، بعدها أي خطأ يحصل، سياسي أو عسكري في هذه المنطقة سيدفع المنطقة باتجاه الفوضى وهذا سيمس الحدود الجنوبية للاتحاد الروسي. فأعتقد كما قلت، أن الجانب الاقتصادي، الجانب السياسي والاستقرار، يمثل الجانب الأكبر بالنسبة للعلاقة مع روسيا.

سؤال:

لدي سؤالان آخران فقط، أعتقد أنهما يسمحان بتدقيق موقفكم. وهناك قول روسي مأثور، وهو موجود في خارج روسيا أيضاً، وأعتقد أنه من السهل ترجمته إلى كل اللغات، وهو: "قل لي من هو صديقك، أقل لك من أنت!". والآن هناك رأي

واسع الانتشار بأنه إذا كان لدى سورية من يمكنها أن تعتمد عليه من بين جيرانها الأقرب إليها جغرافياً، فإنها إيران. وإيران أيضاً الآن في وضع دولي صعب ومعقد وبالدرجة الأولى بسبب برنامجها النووي. واعذروني على التلاعب بالكلام، وأنا أعتقد أن هذا يقال بنفس الأسلوب في العربية. هل البرنامج النووي مشكلة، كما تعتقدون، أم لا؟ وسؤال فرعي آخر هو: هل تعتبرون أن لإيران الحق في امتلاك السلاح النووي؟.

السيد الرئيس:

المثل الروسي الذي ذكرته صحيح ولكن عندما ينطبق على علاقات بين دول وشعوب، فلنكن تعرفني وتعرف صديقي لا بد من أن تفهم ثقافتنا. فهذا صحيح عندما نعرف بالعمق أكثر. مع كل أسف، ما نسمعه من كثير من المسؤولين، غربيين وربما البعض في الشرق أحياناً، ولكن لا أقصد في الشرق الأوسط، وما نقرأه وما نسمعه في وسائل الإعلام المختلفة يدل على عدم فهم لآلية تفكير وثقافة هذه المنطقة. هذا فقط كتعليق على المثل. بالنسبة للموضوع النووي، لا نستطيع أن نتحدث في هذا الموضوع الكبير فقط عن دولة كيف تفكر، يجب أن نأخذ الموضوع بشكل كامل في منطقة الشرق الأوسط. أولاً، إذا كان الموضوع النووي هو ضمن الإطار السلمي، فهو حق لكل دولة في هذا العالم. لا يوجد شيء يمنع أية دولة في العالم أن تمتلك مفاعلات نووية لأغراض سلمية. وإيران تقول بشكل واضح أنها تريد هذا المفاعل لأغراض سلمية. تقول هذا الكلام بشكل علني وبالعرف المغلقة.

لكن بالنسبة لموضوع السلاح النووي، وهي النقطة التي طرحتها، وهي التي نسمعها أحياناً بطريقة أن إيران تريد المفاعل السلمي لكي تصل للسلاح النووي. لا نستطيع أن نأخذها بهذه الطريقة. علينا أن نفكر بشكل أشمل، علينا أن نرى كل المنطقة إن لم نكن نريد أن ننظر للموضوع بشكل دولي، فعلى الأقل لنرى منطقة الشرق الأوسط. إن قلنا أن في منطقة الشرق الأوسط هناك دولة يحق لها أن تمتلك سلاح نووي، فكل الدول الأخرى لها هذا الحق. إذا كنا لا نريد أن نرى سلاحاً نووياً لدى دولة ما في الشرق الأوسط فعلياً أن نقوم بعملية نزع السلاح من كل هذه الدول وأنا أقصد هنا إسرائيل. إسرائيل هي الدولة الوحيدة في الشرق الأوسط التي تمتلك سلاحاً نووياً. الآن نحن في سورية قمنا عام 2003 بتقديم مبادرة لمجلس الأمن من أجل نزع أسلحة الدمار الشامل من كل منطقة الشرق الأوسط.

تصورنا، نحن في سورية، أنه يجب ألا يكون هناك أي سلاح تدمير شامل، وطبعاً من ضمنه الأسلحة النووية في منطقة الشرق الأوسط. لكن لا يكفي أن نأخذ هذا الموضوع بشكل نظري، يجب أن يكون هناك تطبيق عملي. فإذا كان هناك قلق من بعض الدول من خلال الشك بأن دولة ما، إيران أو غيرها، تريد أن تمتلك سلاحاً نووياً فيجب أن يتعاملوا بنفس المنطق مع إسرائيل، وإلا فبعد عقود من الزمن لن تكون المنطقة مستقرة، وأي تكنولوجيا قابلة للتسرب في نهاية المطاف، لا أتحدث الآن عن سنوات قريبة، ربما يكون بعد عقود، فالعالم سيدفع الثمن في يوم ما. لذلك الأفضل هو أن يؤخذ بالمبادرة السورية الموجودة في مجلس الأمن، والتي عرقلتها الولايات المتحدة. لم تقبل بها، أعتقد أنه من الأفضل أن تقوم دول العالم بدعم هذه المبادرة وإدخال أية تعديلات قابلة للنقاش طبعاً.

سؤال:

السؤال الأخير، وأنا أعود إلى سؤالي الأول حول وحدة اللغة والتواصل السياسي، ولا أعتقد أنني هنا أكشف سرّاً حكومياً لسورية، فمن المعروف أنكم لستم وحدكم تعلمتم في انكلترا، بل والسيد والد عقيلتكم لا يزال يعيش ويعمل في انكلترا، ويمكن القول ان الدبلوماسية غير الرسمية تستخدمها سورية مع العالم الخارجي في هذا الظرف المعقد والصعب، هل تعتمون استخدام جزء آخر من دبلوماسيتكم غير الرسمية في محاولة لإيصال موقف سورية، أو استعداد سورية لقبول تسويات، إلى حكومات العالم عبر جالياتكم في مختلف البلدان، فعلى سبيل المثال، جالياتكم في روسية نشيطة جداً، وكذلك لديكم جالية في انكلترا، وجالية في أمريكا، فهل تعتمون استخدام هذه الإمكانية، لاسيما وأنه لأفراد جالياتكم الكثير من الصلات المباشرة مع الزعماء الغربيين التي يمكن استخدامها لإقامة اتصالات مع هؤلاء الزعماء، وطبعاً ليس بالضرورة أن يكون ذلك ذا طابع دبلوماسي رسمي؟.

السيد الرئيس:

هذا ما نقوم به دائماً، وأنت تعرف أن هذه المقابلة تتم عبر الجالية السورية الآن، أو عبر أحد أعضاء الجالية السورية. لدينا جالية كبيرة في مختلف دول العالم ولديهم علاقات واسعة وهم يقومون بمبادرات من هذا النوع ونحن أيضاً نطلب منهم ذلك. علينا أن نشرح موقفنا للجميع. هناك فوضى سياسية ترافقها فوضى إعلامية، وهذا يؤدي إلى فوضى في المفاهيم، وبالتالي لا نستطيع أن نطلب من العالم أن يفهم موقفنا من دون أن نقوم بشرحه له. الجالية هي أقوى سلاح تمتلكه لشرح الموقف، لأنها تعيش في بلد آخر وتفهم لغته وتفهم ثقافته وتستطيع أن تترجم مفاهيمك وقضاياك إلى مفاهيمه، بحيث يكون الاستقبال للمفهوم دقيقاً، وهذا يحقق التواصل بدلاً من التباعد الذي نراه الآن على مستوى العالم. هذا ما نقوم به الآن. طبعاً نحن بحاجة لخطوات أكثر فاعلية في هذا الإطار ولكن هذا لا يمنع أيضاً من القيام برحلات مكوكية دبلوماسية إلى الدول المختلفة واتصالات، وهذه هي الحال الآن بيننا وبينكم في موضوع مجلس الأمن. وفي موضوع التحقيق، هناك تسيق قوي جداً بيننا وبين روسيا، والجالية الآن أيضاً تساعدنا بنفس الإطار.

سؤال:

السؤال الأخير، وربما كان هو السؤال الأقصى: هل سورية مستعدة للعقوبات؟.

السيد الرئيس:

أولاً لا نعرف إن كانت هنالك عقوبات أم لا يوجد. علينا بكل الأحوال أن نستعد لكل شيء سيء، نحن نعيش في منطقة مضطربة، نحن نعيش في عالم دولي غير عادل فيه فوضى كما قلت، وبالتالي يجب دائماً أن نستعد للأسوأ. أن تستعد، لا يعني أن تكون قادراً أن تريح، ولكن أن تستعد، يعني على الأقل إن كنت ستخسر فعليك أن تخفف الخسائر، هذا أولاً. لكن علينا أن نكمل الجواب بسؤال: أي دول تسعى لعقوبات، ماذا ستحقق؟ هل ستريح؟ هي لن تريح بل ستخسر. الشرق الأوسط قلب العالم، وسورية الآن في قلب الشرق الأوسط، وسورية مع العراق إن لم يكن الوضع فيهما جيداً ستضطرب كل المنطقة، والعالم كله سيدفع الثمن. فهذا سؤال آخر نضيفه، ماذا سيحققون؟ لن يستطيعوا، كما قلت في بداية المقابلة، التعامل مع قضية الإرهاب، سيتسع الإرهاب ولن يستطيعوا تحقيق السلام، وهذا يعني أيضاً توسيع الإرهاب. سيكون هناك المزيد من الفقر وهذا أيضاً يعني زيادة الإرهاب، وبالتالي كل العالم سيدفع الثمن مع سورية ومع الشرق الأوسط. فأعتقد أنه عندما نضع هذا السؤال، سنصل إلى الجواب

المنطقي بأن العقوبات لن تحقق شيئاً، والحل الوحيد هو بالعمل السياسي والحوار. لا خيار آخر. وثبت أن الحرب لا تحقق نتائج إيجابية حتى لو كانت تقوم بها دول عظمى وقوية.
المذيع: شكراً جزيلاً.
السيد الرئيس: أنا أشكركم. وأهلاً وسهلاً بكم في سورية.

Interview B with the Syrian President Bashar Al Assad was aired on Al-Manar TV on March 24, 2010.

بيروت- سانا 25.03.2010

أجرى السيد الرئيس بشار الأسد حديثاً مع قناة المنار بثته مساء أمس تطرق فيه إلى مواضيع الأزمات التي عاشتها المنطقة خلال المرحلة الماضية والتجارب التي مرت بها ودور المقاومة في الحفاظ واستعادة الحقوق والقضية الفلسطينية والقمة العربية واعتداءات إسرائيل ومحاولاتها لتهويد القدس إضافة إلى مفاوضات السلام ودلالات الحرب الشاملة والمصالحات العربية ومستقبل العلاقات اللبنانية السورية والعلاقة مع تركيا وإيران.

لم ولن نقبل أن تكون سورية جزءاً من مشروع خارجي

وقال الرئيس الأسد رداً على سؤال حول مساحة المغامرة في القرار السوري بالمواجهة والتحدي خلال السنوات الأخيرة وعبور سورية الكثير من الأزمات: هناك مغامرة مفروضة وهناك مغامرة بالاختيار ولسنا مغامرين كسوريين.. لكن نحن نعيش في الشرق الأوسط والشرق الأوسط هو منطقة معقدة عبر تاريخها منذ قرون وحتى منذ آلاف السنين.. دائماً هناك مطامع في هذه المنطقة تحديداً وربما شرق المتوسط وما حولها لأنها قلب العالم وفيها مصالح استراتيجية فإذا أردت أن تصنع سياسة أو أن تصنع حرباً فهي بكل الأحوال مغامرة.. ولكن كما قلت هذه المغامرة مفروضة.. لكن علينا أن نفرق بين المغامرة والمقامرة.. المقامرة هي أن نفترض بأن الحل الأسهل والأفضل هو أن نضع مستقبلنا ومقدراتنا بأيدي القوى الكبرى التي ستقوم بحل مشاكلنا.

وأضاف الرئيس الأسد: من خلال التجارب الماضية دائماً القوى الكبرى تعقد المشاكل لأسباب مختلفة وغالباً عن سوء نية.. ولكن حتى لو افترضنا حسن النية فأيضاً يعقد المشاكل لأنهم ليسوا أبناء هذه المنطقة.. فنحن لم نرتبط ولم نقبل أن نكون جزءاً من مقامرة تضع سورية وسياساتها ومصالحها جزءاً من مشروع خارجي وهذا ما حصل في المرحلة الأخيرة عندما طرح مشروع الشرق الأوسط والذي كان له جوانب مختلفة منها العراق ومنها لبنان وكان من المفترض لسورية أن تكون منها وحاولوا إغراءها قبل حرب العراق لتكون جزءاً منه ورفضته فكان لا بد من دفع الثمن.. هذا يتطابق مع ما قلته في خطابي عام 2005 عندما قلت إن ثمن المقاومة أقل من ثمن الفوضى.. والمقامرة ستؤدي إلى الفوضى وستؤدي إلى الثمن الأبهظ.. فبين الثمن الباهظ والثمن الأبهظ سوف تختار الثمن الباهظ عندما لا يكون هناك ثمن قليل أو لا ثمن.

وجواباً على سؤال حول كيفية تحسين سورية التي ترفض سياسة الصفقات والمساومات علاقتها مع الولايات المتحدة التي لا تؤمن إلا بالضغط والصفقات.. قال الرئيس الأسد: بالحصلة هم فشلوا ليس الولايات المتحدة وإنما كل أصحاب المشروع لنفترض بأن صاحب هذا المشروع هو إدارة جورج بوش.. لا نريد أن نمزج بين الإدارة السابقة والإدارة الحالية.. بالتأكيد هناك فروقات وبالتالي عندما نقول الولايات المتحدة قد يفهم البعض أن المشروع نفسه مازال مستمراً لكن في ذلك الوقت

كانت الولايات المتحدة بادارتها السابقة ومعها بعض الدول الأوروبية فرنسا وبريطانيا ومعها إسرائيل ومعها حلفاؤها الآخرون في أوروبا وفي العالم وفي المنطقة.

وتابع الرئيس الأسد: بالحصلة فشلت هذه المشاريع وكان لابد من البحث عن طريقة أخرى فكان لابد من التعامل مع الواقع.. وأنا أعتقد أنهم الآن بدؤوا يتعلمون الدروس وليس بالضرورة أن يكونوا قد تعلموا وليس بالضرورة أن يكون هذا الدرس الذي قد تعلمه البعض هو درساً مستمراً لأن الإدارات تتغير ويأتي أشخاص لا يقرؤون التاريخ ويقعون في نفس الخطأ.. لذلك هذا الخطأ وهذا التاريخ يتكرر بشكل مستمر ولكن نحن طبعاً بالإضافة لوقوفنا أو تمسكنا بثوابت معينة تمثل قناعاتنا ومصالحنا فبنفس الوقت نحن نتعامل معه من خلال شرح الوقائع.. هم ساروا لمرحلة معينة بسياسة المصطلحات إرهاب... ديمقراطية... خير... شر... أرادوا أن يخلقوا لنا عالماً نعيش فيه من هذه المصطلحات وربما لحسن الحظ وقعوا هم بهذا الفخ وعاشوا بعالم الوهم ونحن كنا نتحرك من خلال الواقع.. الآن هم يريدون أن يأتوا إلى هذا الواقع فلا بد من اللقاء بين هذه القوى بغض النظر عن اتفاق وجهات النظر أم لا.

ورداً على سؤال حول التفريق ما بين إدارة بوش وأوباما ووجود اختلافات بالفعل بين الإدارتين أوضح الرئيس الأسد أن هناك اختلافات واضحة أولاً بالطروحات التي نسمعها بكل الخطابات.. وثانياً بالمقارنة.. لم نعد نسمع غير لغة إملاءات.. هناك اختلاف في وجهات النظر هذا شيء طبيعي ولكن لا توجد لغة إملاءات.. طبعاً لا نستطيع أن نقول أن هناك نتائج لسياسة أمريكية معينة.. نقول لا توجد سياسة لكن هناك أيضاً مؤسسات في الولايات المتحدة ربما لسبب أو لآخر لا تريد للرئيس أوباما أن ينجح.. لذلك لا بد من التفريق لكي نكون موضوعيين.

ويشأن توصيفه لكلام ستيفن فورد سفير الولايات المتحدة أمام لجنة العلاقات الخارجية في مجلس الشيوخ يوم الثلاثاء 16-3-2010 حول قوله بأنه ليس جائزة لسورية.. وسورية لم تتغير.. ووضعها مقلق.. وتحدثه عن خطأ في حسابات سورية مع حزب الله وخطورة انجرارها إلى مواجهة مع إسرائيل ولو عن دون قصد.. قال الرئيس الأسد.. هو قال هذا الكلام أمام الكونغرس وقاله قبل أن يصبح سفيراً فعندما يأتي إلى سورية ويقدم أوراق اعتماده نستطيع أن نتعامل مع كل كلمة من خلال مواقفنا المعروفة.

وتابع الرئيس الأسد: لست بحاجة لشرح هذه المواقف والرد عليها لأن مواقفنا معلنة ولكن بنفس الوقت أريد أن أقول إن أي سفير بغض النظر عن شخصية السفير هو يمثل سياسة بلده.. يعني أحسن سفير بسياسة بلد سيئة لا قيمة له وستكون النتيجة سيئة وأساء سفير بسياسة جيدة ربما يفرض عليه أن يأتي بنتائج لمصلحة بلده.. يعني أن من يحدد السياسة ونتائجها هي سياسة الحكومات وليس سفيراً بشخصيته أو بتصريحاته.. مع ذلك أقول وطبعاً أنا لست بموقع أن أعلق على كلام سفير.. عندما يأتي سنعلق بأي كلام يصدر في سورية من خلال مهمته الجديدة.. أما بالنسبة للإقناع فله حق الإقناع ولنا حق الاقتناع.

وحول الأثمان التي دفعتها سورية لتحسين علاقتها بالغرب وربما أيضا بالعرب كالقبول مثلاً بعلاقات دبلوماسية مع لبنان... قال الرئيس الأسد: إن هناك بعض الأطراف أصرت على أنها حققت شيئاً من سياستها خلال الخمس سنوات الماضية.. في الحقيقة لم تحقق شيئاً بل أدخلت لبنان في متاهات.. لا أحدد من هي هذه الجهات أنا أتحدث بشكل عام لكي لا يؤخذ بدقة أي أقصد فلانا او فلانا أو جهة معينة.. ولكن في المحصلة الوضع في لبنان لم يكن جيداً.. الآن تريد بعض القوى أن تقنع الآخرين بأنها حققت شيئاً فرمياً يكون شيئاً حتى لو كان سفارة.. طبعاً السفارة أنا من طرحها في عام 2005 ولم تكن طرحاً لبنانياً لا أحد من حلفائنا السابقين ولا اللاحقين طرحها قبل أن اطرحها وأعتقد ان من المؤيدين كان في ذلك الوقت الرئيس نبيه بري وطرح بوجوده والرئيس لحود والرئيس عمر كرامي في اجتماع اللجنة السورية اللبنانية المشتركة العليا ولكن عندما تغيرت الظروف في لبنان باتجاه سلمي جداً قررنا غض النظر عن هذا الموضوع.. فموضوع السفارة طرح سوري ولولا القناعة السورية لا يمكن أن يكون هناك سفارتان بين سورية ولبنان والمعروف عن سورية أنه حتى لو كنا نفكر بخطوة معينة عندما نشعر أنها تأتي بطلب أو بفرض أو بمحاولة تدخل من الخارج يكون الجواب بالفرض مباشرة.. والدليل تحديداً لهذه القوى التي تحاول أن تسوق بأن سياستها أو أن ضغطاً خارجياً أتى بالسفارة نقول لهم إن هناك مثلاً أهم.. فقليل من الدول تحدثت بموضوع السفارة ولكن كثيراً من الدول حتى الآن تتحدث معنا في موضوع ترسيم الحدود ونحن كان جوابنا واضحاً بكلمة واحدة لا.. منذ سنوات وحتى اليوم يسمعون نفس الكلمة الجواب لا.

وتابع الرئيس الأسد: هذا الموضوع موضوع ثنائي بين سورية ولبنان يحدد بينهما.. عندما يأتي بطلب من الخارج فنحن لن نتحرك.. طبعاً الآن بدأنا بالحديث مجدداً مع زيارة الرئيس سعد الحريري إلى سورية وقبل ذلك كان الموضوع مغلقاً.. لم تكن هناك علاقات بين حكومة سورية وحكومة لبنانية الآن نحن نبني هذه العلاقات لكن أنا أتحدث عن المبدأ إذا نجحوا بفرض ترسيم الحدود من الخارج فيكون كلامهم صحيحاً.. وإذا فشلوا فعلى العالم ألا يصدقهم.

وجواباً على سؤال تحدث بعض اللبنانيين عن إصرار سورية ألا تمنح لبنان ورقة رسمية بأن شبعاً أرض لبنانية قال الرئيس الأسد: لأنك لا تمنح ورقة لا تمتلكها.. تمتلك هذه الورقة بعد ان تقوم بالإجراءات التي تؤدي للوصول إلى هذه الورقة.. هذه الإجراءات هي إجراءات قانونية تحدد الملكيات.. من أصحاب الأملاك.. من منحها هذه الملكية.. سورية أم لبنان.. قبل الاستقلال وبعد الاستقلال إلى آخره من هذه التفاصيل المرتبطة بهذه الإجراءات.. وبعد الانتهاء من هذه الإجراءات نقوم بعملية ترسيم على الواقع وعندها يتم إنهاء الموضوع.. اما أن تمنح ورقة فقط لأسباب سياسية فهذا كلام غير منطقي.

وبشأن إشارته في خطاب 2005 إلى أن ما يحدث في لبنان هو 17 أيار جديد وما إذا كان حكمه على تطور الأحداث في لبنان أكد ذلك قال الرئيس الأسد: لم تكن نبوءة ولم تكن اختراعاً سوريا ولا اكتشافاً سورية.. هي كانت قراءة لسياق الأحداث.. كما قلت هذه الأحداث نفسها تتكرر لأن نفس القوى الكبرى تقع في نفس الخطأ ونفس القوى الموجودة وربما قوى جديدة ولكن تستند إلى نفس الأسس بأن الحل يأتي من الخارج.. فبالحصول تسقط كل هذه القوى.. وتابع الرئيس الأسد: طبعاً 17 أيار جديد أهم وأكبر وأخطر من 17 أيار السابق في 1983 الذي كان إلحاق لبنان بعملية السلام في ذلك الوقت كامب ديفيد في الثمانينيات أما اليوم 17 أيار الجديد هو مشروع الشرق الأوسط الذي تحدثت عنه كونداليزا

رايس.. هذا له جوانب مختلفة.. لبنان جانب منه والعراق جانب آخر وإسقاط الأنظمة والدول وطرح الأسس الأمريكية الإسرائيلية بشكل كامل كمنهج بالنسبة لنا كدول وشعوب هذا هو المخطط هذا فشل بفشل إدارة بوش.. بفشلها في أفغانستان وفي العراق وفي لبنان وعندما فشلت إسرائيل في تحقيق أهدافها في عام 2006 وفشلت عندما فشلوا في إخضاع سورية وإيران وتغيير السلوك.. وفشلت عندما فشلوا في المؤامرات التي تمت في لبنان لإسقاط المقاومة.. كل هذا فشل في 17 أيار لذلك عندما كنت أتحدث عن 17 أيار السابق كانت الرؤية واضحة بأن هذا الشيء سيتكرر والقضية قضية زمن لم أكن أعرف متى سيسقط ولكن كنت أعرف بأنه سيسقط.

التيار الشعبي في المنطقة تعلم الدرس أن حل المشاكل يكون بالتمسك بالحقوق

وجواباً على سؤال ما اذا كانت سورية تضع في الاعتبار بأن هناك محاولات أخرى سوف تكون أم أن الفشل أكبر من الفشل.. هزيمة على سبيل المثال قال الرئيس الأسد.. إن المعارك مستمرة ولم تتوقف وكما قلت في البداية الشرق الأوسط منطقة معقدة ومادامت المطامع موجودة ومادامت الدول الكبرى لم تتعلم الدروس فستبقى المعارك مستمرة.. ترتفع الوتيرة وتنخفض.. ويكون هناك فترات هدوء وبالمقابل فترات توتر.. يكون هناك حروب الله أعلم لكن لن تهدأ حتى يريح التيار.. التيار هو التيار الشعبي الموجود في المنطقة بشكل عام الذي تعلم الدرس الأساسي بأن حل المشاكل يكون بأيدينا ولا يكون من خلال التنازل عن الحقوق.. يكون بالتمسك بالحقوق.. هذا الدرس نحن تعلمناه على المستوى الشعبي قبل الرسمي.. هذا هو التيار الآن عندما يسير الكل مع التيار لا يكون هناك معاكسات لهذا التيار وبالتالي لا يكون هناك اضطراب.. وبخصوص العلاقة بين سورية ولبنان وتباين الخطاب بين القواعد والقيادات في لبنان تجاه سورية وسبب قبول سورية بهذه الصيغة من العلاقة لقيادة تتقدم وقواعد تهاجم كما هو حال الرئيس الحريري وقاعدته قال الرئيس الأسد.. دعنا نستثن من السؤال الرئيس سعد الحريري كونه الآن رئيس حكومة الوفاق الوطني ونحن نتمنى لهذه الحكومة ولرئيسها التوفيق في مهامها الصعبة وبنفس الوقت نحن نحاول أن نبني علاقة جيدة أنا والرئيس الحريري بشكل مباشر وشخصي لكي تؤدي إلى دفع الجانب المؤسساتي في العلاقة بين سورية ولبنان فنضعها جانباً وأتحدث بشكل عام عن القوى بغض النظر عن التسميات الموجودة في لبنان.. وهذا السؤال يجب أن يوجه أولاً لأصحاب العلاقة لماذا يقولون هذا الكلام بعكس رؤسائهم أو رؤساء كتلهم أو من يتبعوهم.

وتابع الرئيس الأسد: هذا السؤال هم من يعطوني جواباً عنه.. ولكن من وجهة نظري هو لا يؤثر على سورية.. يؤثر على مصداقية المعنيين بالموضوع في لبنان.. عندما أقول أنا كلاماً ويقوم فريقني بالتصريح بكلام معاكس أو التصرف بسياسة معاكسة لسياستي هذا يعني بأنني فاقد المصداقية فهذا يضرني أنا.. لذلك أعتبر هذا الموضوع جزءاً من التفاصيل اللبنانية اللبنانية التي لا تؤثر على سورية والأهم من هذا أن القوى التي تذكرها بعد استثناء الأسماء والتي وقفت ضد سورية في تلك المرحلة كانت متعلقة بما تعتبره قضية فولاذياً لا يسقط لأن المشروع كبير.. وعندما سقط المشروع سقط معه الفولاذ الذي تمسكوا به فهم الآن يتمسكون بقشة.. هذه القشة قد تكون أحياناً عبارة عن تصريح من هنا.. تصريح من هناك.. استفزاز

لسورية.. لكن بالنسبة لنا هذه القوى لم تكن موجودة على الخريطة السورية السياسية لذلك نحن لا نقبل ولا نرفض.. أنت لا تقبل أو ترفض شيئاً تضعه أمامك بالاعتبار ولكن هذه التفاصيل لا تعيننا.

وبشأن الحملة التي تستهدف الرئيس ميشال سليمان بالانتقاد في لبنان.. وما إذا كان أصحابها قد حصلوا على ضوء أخضر أو أن سورية مرتاحة لها قال الرئيس الأسد: أنا شخصياً منذ التسعينيات كنت أعتقد أن دخول سورية في التفاصيل اللبنانية مضر بسورية واليوم أؤكد أكثر بعد أن خرجت سورية من لبنان أن الدخول بهذه التفاصيل ليس من مصلحتنا.. نحن موقفنا واضح.. نحن ندعم موقع رئاسة الجمهورية وبالتالي ندعم رئيس الجمهورية.. دعمنا رؤساء الجمهورية السابقين الرئيس الهراوي والرئيس لحود وندعم بنفس المقدار الرئيس ميشال سليمان وندعم الرئاسات الأخرى من خلال كونها مؤسسات تمثل الدولة اللبنانية.

وأضاف الرئيس الأسد: إذا كان لدينا شيء أو انتقاد أو ملاحظة تجاه أي شخص أو أي رئيس أو مسؤول لدينا علاقة مباشرة معه وخاصة الرؤساء الثلاثة.. لدينا الجرأة والمقدرة والطريقة للتواصل المباشر معه وقول أي شيء.. أما أن يقال أن شخصاً ذم رئيساً أو مدح به فسورية لا تقف وراء الذم أو الهجوم ولا وراء المدح.. فأتمنى على اللبنانيين الآن وفي المستقبل وفي أي شيء مشابه في المستقبل أن يخرجوا سورية من هذه التفاصيل.. أتمنى أن يكون جوابي قاطعاً لأننا في المستقبل كما فعلنا في الماضي لن نعلق على هذه الأشياء ولكن بما أنك سألت هذا السؤال فأتمنى أن يكون هذا موقفاً واضحاً تجاه كل القضايا والتفاصيل المشابهة في لبنان.. أن يخرجوا سورية من هذه التفاصيل.. نحن نريد من لبنان الخطوط العامة.. موقف لبنان تجاه العلاقة مع سورية.. موقف لبنان تجاه إسرائيل.. تجاه السلام.. تجاه الأمن والاستقرار.. تجاه التعاون والقضايا الأخوية بين الشعبين.. أما ان ندخل بتفاصيل يومية لبنانية فهذا ليس من مصلحة سورية ونرفض هذا الكلام.

ورداً على سؤال ما إذا كانت سورية تشعر أن بعض الأطراف اللبنانية أو العربية تسعى لتقطيع الوقت إلى أن يحدث أمر ما ربما يكون عدواناً أو حرباً أو أي شيء آخر.. قال الرئيس الأسد: الحقيقة لا توجد لدي معطيات بهذا الاتجاه وهذا طبعاً سؤال عام ولكن مع بعض الدول لا.. العلاقة فيها مصداقية كبيرة.. فيها ثقة كبيرة.. وفيها توافق في المبادئ الأساسية بالنسبة لموضوع إسرائيل أو الحرب أو أي تغير آخر ولكن هناك قوى وربما هناك بعض المسؤولين في دول وهناك ربما أشخاص يفكرون بهذه الطريقة.. أنا أقول إنهم لا يقطعون وقتاً هم يضيعون وقتاً.. يضيعون وقتهم.

قوة الردع الإسرائيلية تآكلت ولا خيار أمام إسرائيل سوى السلام

وحول عدم إعلان سورية حرباً تحريرية على إسرائيل وما الذي يمنعها من اتخاذ هذا القرار بدلاً من الانتظار.. قال الرئيس الأسد: أولاً نحن نتحدث عن السلام.. يقال الطلاق أبغض الحلال.. هو حلال لكنه بغض.. فأنت تبحث عن حل مشكلة قبل أن تصل إلى الحل الأسوأ فيه.. نفس الشيء بالنسبة للحرب.. الحرب هي الحل الأسوأ.. لا أحد يبحث عن الحرب. حتى المقاومة في أي مكان من العالم العربي هي لا تبحث عن الحرب هي تريد السلام ولكنها وجدت لغياب السلام.. فإذا لا بد من أن تبقى نسعى باتجاه السلام مادام هناك أمل.. قد تقول يعني لدينا أمل بالحكومة

الإسرائيلية لا.. ولكن نعتقد أن إسرائيل اليوم بحسب ما نسمعه من أنصارها لم يعد لديها خيار سوى السلام.. قوة الردع الإسرائيلية تأكلت مع الوقت مع أن إسرائيل تزداد قوة من الناحية العسكرية ولكن الردع ومفهوم المقاومة بالمقابل يزداد لدى الشارع العربي فأصبحت إسرائيل فعلياً أضعف ولم تعد القوة العسكرية هي الضامن لوجود إسرائيل.. أصبح الكثير من أنصارها وخاصة من المنظمات الصهيونية وبعض اليهود المتعصبين لإسرائيل يقولون.. كنا نؤمن بالحرب أو كنا ندعم كل حرب إسرائيلية.. الآن نحن نعتقد أنه لا حل أمام إسرائيل سوى السلام.. فإذاً لا بد أن نعطي أولاً الهامش لعملية السلام.

وتابع الرئيس الأسد: ثانياً بالنسبة للحرب التحريرية أو المقاومة إذا كان معنى المقاومة فالمقاومة لا تنشأ بقرار من الدولة.. تنشأ بشكل شعبي وبشكل طبيعي عندما لا يكون هناك دولة تعمل من أجل تحرير الأرض.. المعروف بأن في سورية دولة وهناك جيش ويطور هذا الجيش نفسه بحسب ما تقوله إسرائيل.. لا نبتعد.. لا نتحدث عن تصريحات أو كتابات أو أي شيء مشابه من قوى حليفة لسورية.. العدو نفسه يتحدث عن مساع سورية لتطوير ذاتها فهذا التطوير يعني عندما تستمر فترة الاحراب واللاسلم فهي لا بد من أن تكون فترة مؤقتة إما أن تنتهي بتوقيع السلام أو أن تنتهي بالحرب فلا يوجد خيار آخر.. وأنت لا تذهب باتجاه الحرب إلا عندما تفقد الأمل من خلال السلام.

نحن أمام عدو لا يفهم سوى لغة القوة.. والسلام لا يبدو قادماً إلى المنطقة في المدى القريب

وجواباً على سؤال حول وجود ما يشبه القرار العربي الرسمي غير مستعد لتغطية سورية مادياً أو سياسياً في معركة من هذا النوع وأن ذلك هو ما يمنعها من دخول حرب تحريرية قال الرئيس الأسد: عندما كنا في لبنان وكنا نقاتل إلى جانب المقاومة الفلسطينية والمقاومة اللبنانية ضد الغزو الإسرائيلي لم يكن هناك من يغطينا.. والحرب عندما تفرض.. عليك أن تحوضها بغض النظر عن موازين القوى.. ولكن عندما تريد أن تحدد الحرب لنفترض استبعدت السلام وألغيت فكرة السلام وأردت أن تدخل الحرب بشكل مؤكد فلا بد أن تحسب الأرباح والخسائر والتوقيت والطريقة.. هذا الموضوع ليس قضية بسيطة لكي تعلن الحرب.. القضية ليست قضية حماسة.. نحن متفقون أننا أمام عدو لا يفهم سوى لغة القوة حتى الآن ومتفقون بأن السلام على ما يبدو في المدى القريب لا يبدو قادماً إلى المنطقة ولكن مع ذلك حسابات الحرب تختلف بشكل كبير.. على كل الأحوال هناك طرق كثيرة تصل من خلالها لأهدافك ليس بالضرورة عبر الحرب.

وحول ما إذا كانت سورية تعتبر ما قاله وليد جنبلاط بمثابة الاعتذار الكافي قال الرئيس الأسد.. لو قال شخص لآخر أنا اعتذر منك فماذا يقصد.. هو يقصد بأنه أخطأ بحقه.. هذا المضمون قاله وليد جنبلاط في أكثر من مقابلة.. نحن يهمنا المضمون.. سورية لا تبحث عن اعتذار ولا تبحث عن مصطلح وليس لدينا عقدة القوة أو التفوق أو الانتصار أو الهزيمة إلى آخره.. طرحت بهذا السياق.. ونحن لسنا من هذا النوع ولسنا بحاجة لكي نثبت لأنفسنا عندما يطرح سلاح المقاومة على أنه سلاح غدر ومن ثم يصبح سلاحاً يجب الوقوف معه.. عندما تكون سورية دولة احتلال ومن ثم يصبح الجيش السوري هو الجيش الذي دافع عن لبنان في مراحل مختلفة.. هذا يجد ذاته المضمون الذي نريد.

وأضاف الرئيس الأسد: ما نريده هو العودة إلى الطريق الصحيح وأنا لا أتحدث تحديداً فقط عن وليد جنبلاط.. أنا أتحدث عن الأسس التي تستخدمها سورية في علاقاتها مع القوى المختلفة.. نحن نريد أن يكون هناك التقاء بالمواقف التي نعتبرها مواقف صحيحة ونحاول أن نقنع الآخرين بها.. هو خرج باتجاه آخر والآن يريد أن يعود.. بالنسبة لنا هذا هو المضمون الذي يسميه البعض اعتذاراً كمصطلح.. ولكن المهم ما هو مضمونه.. هذا هو المضمون الذي نبحت عنه.

وبخصوص ما إذا كانت سورية تماطل في تحديد موعد لزيارة جنبلاط أو تسعى لإهانته قال الرئيس الأسد: الإهانة هي من الصفات السيئة بالأشخاص وليست من الطبائع السورية.. الحاقق يحاول إذلال وإهانة الآخرين.. القوي يصبر وسورية تصبر.. لا تهين ولا تدل.. نحن لم نكن بحاجة للمماطلة.. لو أردنا أن نقول لا نقول لا.. وعندما نقول نعم نقول نعم.. نحن لم نكن نبحت عن لقاء بمعنى المكان والزمان نحن نبحت كما قلت عن لقاء بمعنى المواقف.. لكن عندما يخرج إنسان عن عائلته الطبيعية فالجتماع لن يقف معه وسوف يكون هناك إذلال وهذا الشيء ينطبق على الوطن وينطبق على الحالة القومية.. أما عندما تعود إلى عائلتك فكرامتك ستكون محفوظة بشكل كامل.

وأضاف الرئيس الأسد: بالنسبة لنا في سورية لا نقبل أن يأتي إلينا شخص سواء كان صديقاً أو خصماً حالياً أو سابقاً.. طالما دخل إلى سورية لا يمكن أن يأتي إلا بكرامة محفوظة.

وحول إلى أي مدى يمكن أن تعتبر سورية أن مجيء جنبلاط سوف يكون على قاعدة العفو عما سلف منه أوضح الرئيس الأسد: هنا نعطي العلاقة طابعاً شخصياً.. نحن دولة لا تغضب.. ولا تسامح أو تحقد على فرد.. نحن دولة نبني على أسس.. لدينا مواقف معينة.. لدينا مصالح معينة.. نتعامل مع القوى والأشخاص والدول الأخرى من خلال هذه الأسس.. طالما أن شخصاً أو جهة ذهبت باتجاه آخر فافترقنا عنها وابتعدنا.. عندما تعود فنحن نرحب بها ولكن لا يوجد شيء شخصي لكي نعفو أو لا نعفو لنكون دقيقين بهذه الكلمة.

وجواباً على سؤال حول الحد الذي تقبل به سورية بمعادلة النسيان مقابل النسيان أو السماح مقابل السماح قال الرئيس الأسد: طبعاً في المرحلة الماضية طرح الكثير وقيل الكثير حول سورية وخاصة ما يتعلق بالاتهامات.. لم نهتم بها كثيراً لأننا كنا نعتبرها صدى للمشروع الأكبر.. ولكن عندما يطرح موضوع التسامح فنحن نرفض الفكرة لأن قبول التسامح يعني القبول بالتهمة.. فنحن نقول.. أي شخص في لبنان لديه أي معلومة مؤكدة ومثبتة بأن سورية قامت بهذا النوع من الأعمال أو الجرائم فعليه.. ونحن نشجعه.. القيام بالإجراءات القانونية التي توضح الأمور وتكشفها وتحدد من الجرم ومن المتواطئ.. وهناك الآن بازار محاكم دولية ولجان التحقيق.. جاهز.. طبعاً هذا بازار فقد وجهه.. لم يعد كما في السابق.. لكنه مازال موجوداً.. هو بازار موجود منذ زمن طويل.. والذي كرس في هذه السنوات القليلة الماضية يستطيعون أن يذهبوا إليه.. ربما يصلون إلى شيء ما.. أما إذا كنا نريد أن نتعامل مع قصص وروايات فأنا أفضل أن ينشروها في كتب.. وربما هناك من يشتريها.. أما بالنسبة لنا في سورية فنحن لا نقبل المسامحة.. والأهم من ذلك لسنا بحاجة لمن يسامح.

وجواباً على سؤال ما إذا كانت سورية ستعامل جنبلاط كما تعاملت مع ميشيل عون وخاصة مع مقارنة البعض بين حالتي الطرفين مع فارق الاختلاف بين الحالتين قال الرئيس الأسد: هذه المقارنة صحيحة.. بيننا وبين العماد ميشيل عون كانت هناك دماء وصلت إلى مستوى لم يكن أحد يتوقع أن الأمور قابلة للعودة لا جزئياً ولا كلياً.. لكن هناك أيضاً فرق جذري كبير بالمقابل.. هو أن العماد ميشيل عون عندما احتلف مع سورية لم يكن جزءاً من مشروع خارجي.. اختلف مع سورية عن قناعة وبالعكس كانت علاقاتنا مع القوى الكبرى في ذلك الوقت علاقات جيدة.. وعندما اختلف معنا العماد ميشيل عون اختلف عن قناعة ونحن نحترم قناعات الأشخاص.. نختلف أو نتفق هذا موضوع آخر.. ولكن طالما أنه اختلف معنا من منطلق شخصي أو قناعة شخصية هو ربطها بقناعة وطنية.. فنحن نحترم هذا الشيء.. والدليل علاقتنا بالراحل ريمون ادة الذي بقي يهاجم سورية منذ دخولها الى لبنان حتى وفاته.. لم يتوقف عن الهجوم على سورية.. وعندما رحل قلنا به كلاماً طيباً وحتى اليوم نقول أنه شخصية وطنية.. لم يكن جزءاً من مشروع خارجي.. فالبدأ هنا يختلف.. لذلك عندما خاصم سورية.. نقول خاصمها بشرف.. فكرة شرف بأنه لم يكن جزءاً من مشروع وبالمقابل عندما كانت هذه القوى ضد سورية لم يستغل هذا الموضوع ليتحالف معها.. قام بقناعاته باتجاه سورية وتجاه القوى الأخرى في لبنان القريبة من سورية أو الحليفة لسورية أو الصديقة لسورية بغض النظر عن التسمية.. تعامل معها من خلال قناعاته ولم يكن جزءاً من مشروع.. في المراحل السابقة ولا في المراحل الحالية.

ورداً على سؤال حول موعد استقبال وليد جنبلاط قال الرئيس الأسد: نحن تركنا الموضوع من بدايته حتى نهايته بيد السيد حسن نصر الله.. فالمقاومة ممثلة بالحزب وبالسيد حسن.. هي التي تقوم بوضع كل تفاصيل هذه العملية من بدايتها حتى نهايتها.. طبعاً يبقى تحديد الموعد النهائي مرتبطاً بالمواعيد في سورية.. نحن اليوم لدينا الرئيس الأرميني وكان قبله الرئيس الإيطالي وخلال أيام لدينا القمة العربية.

وأضاف الرئيس الأسد: سنناقش هذا الموضوع مع أي شخص يأتي من قبل حزب الله لنحدد الموعد بشكل نهائي.

وفيما إذا كان هذا الموعد رحل إلى ما بعد القمة أو كان مفتوحاً أجاب الرئيس الأسد: ليس مفتوحاً بعد القمة.. أعتقد خلال ربما أيام أو أسابيع قليلة.

وجواباً على سؤال حول دور السيد حسن نصر الله في ملف وليد جنبلاط وسير الأمور على هذا النحو قال الرئيس الأسد: هو العامل الأكبر.. لنقل إن هناك عاملين.. تغير المواقف السياسية التي صبت بمواقفنا السياسية.. في المحصلة كما قلت تغير الموقف تجاه المقاومة أولاً وتجاه القضايا الأخرى.. تجاه العلاقة مع سورية.. تجاه الوضع الفلسطيني.. تجاه العدو الإسرائيلي.. وثانياً.. دور السيد حسن نصر الله ومصداقية المقاومة في سورية المعروف.. هذا لا يخفى على أحد.. المصداقية عالية جداً بالسيد حسن وبالحزب الله وبكل مقاوم لدينا في سورية.. طبعاً هم لم ينطلقوا في ذلك من رغبتهم بلعب دور.. أيضاً ليسوا بحاجة لدور لكي يعطيهم موقعا متميزا في لبنان.. لديهم هذا الموقع.. هم انطلقوا ونحن كنا مقتنعين بهذا المنطلق بأن هذا شيء يخدم مصلحة لبنان.. الآن لا بد من تخفيف التوتر.. حكومة جديدة.. هناك تحولات على الساحة اللبنانية.. تحولات في توجهات الكثير من القوى التي ذهبت بعيداً وبدأت تعود.. فهذا النوع من اللقاءات ودور سورية يساعد الوضع اللبناني

البناني على التحسن بشكل أكبر بعد أربع سنوات قاسية.. طبعاً عندما يتحسن الوضع في لبنان نحن نستفيد كسورية لأننا نرتاح.. فالموضوع حقيقة يخدم لبنان أولاً ويخدم سورية.

وتابع الرئيس الأسد.. ولكن أعود لسؤالك.. طبعاً دور المقاومة لا أستطيع أن أقول كضامن لأنه في السياسة لا توجد ضمانات كاملة ولكن كمطمئن لسورية بأن الأمور ستسير إلى الأمام ولفترة طويلة بحالة من الاستقرار لأن السياسة السورية هي سياسة مستقرة لا تهتز ولا تسمح للاهتزازات ولو كانت حادة أن تجعلها تهتز وتؤثر بها.. فنحن نريد مواقف مستقرة.. والزمن الذي سألت عنه قبل قليل بسؤالك السابق جزء منه كان لأن سورية تبحث عن علاقة مستقرة.. ليست علاقة مرحلية أو مؤقتة.

هناك ورقة سورية حول مأسسة عمل القمة العربية

وبشأن عدم ثقة المواطن العربي بالقمة العربية وما إذا كانت القمة المقبلة آخر قمة عربية قال الرئيس الأسد: لا نتمنى أن تكون آخر قمة عربية ولا يوجد في الأجواء ما يوحي أنها ستكون آخر قمة.. بالعكس ما يظهر على الساحة خلال العقد الأخير هو أننا كعرب متمسكون بكل القمة العربية حتى في أسوأ الظروف.. والدليل القمة التي حصلت قبل غزو العراق بأسابيع قليلة.. ولا أعتقد أن المواطن فقد الثقة بالقمة.. فقد الثقة بأدائنا كمسؤولين عرب.. والقمة هي عبارة عن يوم ونصف من كل العام.. لن يفقد الثقة بالقمة ويثق بنا بباقي الأيام.. فالمشكلة في أدائنا كدول عربية والمشكلة بالنسبة للقمة في مأسسة القمة نفسها.. القمة اليوم هي تجمع أو لقاء الرؤساء والملوك والأمراء العرب ولكن تخضع كثيراً لطريقة أدائنا الشخصية.. ليس فيها ضوابط محددة وهذا ما قلته أنا في خطابي العام الماضي في الدوحة.. وفي هذه القمة هناك مقترح سوري وورقة سورية حول مأسسة عمل القمة وهي مجرد مقترحات قد تدفع خطوات قليلة إلى الأمام وربما يكون هناك مقترحات أخرى أهم تطرح في المستقبل.. والأمل في القمة باعتقادي وأنا أتحدث كمسؤول أيضاً لديه آمال في أي قمة يبدأ عندما نأسس هذه القمة.. عدا عن ذلك قد تأتي قمة جيدة ولكن قد تأتي بعدها قمة تنسف كل ما حصل أو تأتي قمة ينسف الأداء بعدها كل ما حصل.. فنحن بحاجة لمأسسة القمة وعندما نأسس قمة نأسس معها اجتماع وزراء الخارجية العرب والعلاقة العربية العربية عبر جامعة الدول العربية بشكل أكبر.. ولكن لن نأسس القمة أي جانب آخر أو ضوابط أو قواعد تضعها على مستويات أخرى لا يمكن أن تعطي نتائج.

وجواباً على سؤال حول حالة الهزال التي يبدو عليها الوضع العربي وأين يستوطن الداء قال الرئيس الأسد: هناك اختلاف في الرؤية بين الدول العربية ولو أنها أقل من قبل سنوات.. وأنا تحدثت أكثر من مرة عن تحسن الوضع العربي.. لا يعني بأنه أصبح جيداً ولكن هو أقل سوءاً.. لنكن واقعيين هناك اختلاف في الرؤية لكن الرؤية تقترب لأننا تعلمنا من السنوات الماضية أن الافتراق والرهان أو الاعتقاد بأن الدول الأخرى ستحل مشاكلنا.. لم يؤد لهذه النتيجة وبدأنا ندفع الثمن بغض النظر عن انتماءاتنا السياسية المختلفة أو اتجاهاتنا لكن حتى الآن هذه الرؤية تقترب.. لم تصبح واحدة بعد.. نحن بحاجة لخطة عمل ولكن إذا وصلنا للرؤية يكون هذا إنجازاً جيداً.. وفي الحقيقة هنا تكمن المشكلة.

وردأ على سؤال حول ما يحتاجه النظام العربي حتى تلتئم قمة طارئة ويصدر قراراً مسؤولاً قال الرئيس الأسد: سؤالك أنا سألته في أكثر من خطاب في قمة عربية.. موقفنا في سورية كان واضحاً من حرب ال2006 ومن الحرب على غزة.. وموقفنا معلن بالنسبة لضرورة دعم المقاومة.. نحن نعتقد أن المقاومة هي الحل.. لذلك أنا لا أستطيع أن أضع نفسي في موقع المجيب نيابة عن الآخرين.. أنا أعتقد أن هذا السؤال يجب أن يسأل للدول العربية الأخرى.. إلى متى نتظر.. هذا كلام صحيح ولكن أيضاً يرتبط بالسؤال الأول عن أداء النظام العربي واختلاف وجهات النظر.. أولاً يجب أن نوحّد وجهات النظر عدا عن ذلك أي كلام يبقى كلاماً نظرياً.. كيف نوحّد وجهات النظر بالحوار.. كيف نتحاور نحن بحاجة لتنظيم الحوار.. يعني هي سلسلة.

لا توجد مجاملات في القضايا التي تتعلق بالحقوق والمصير والمستقبل

وحول الموقف السوري في القمة القادمة من المبادرة العربية للسلام أجاب الرئيس الأسد: في القضايا التي تتعلق بالحقوق والمصير والمستقبل لا يوجد مجاملات لا بين العرب ولا مع غير العرب.. وعندما طرحت المبادرة العربية في عام 2002 كان هناك حوار مكثف بيننا وبين المملكة العربية السعودية حول هذه المبادرة وبالمحصلة المبادرة كانت تجميعاً لكل ما نتحدث به في شأن السلام.. اللاجئيين.. حدود ال67.. الدولة الفلسطينية كل هذه الأسس موجودة.. المرجعيات الدولية وقرارات مجلس الأمن وغيرها.. نحن موقفنا حازم.. ليس بالضرورة أن يكون الحازم يعني ضداً.. نحن ندعم ما أتى في المبادرة العربية ونعتبر بأنها مبادئ تحقق مصلحة العرب.. كان هناك خلاف أو نقاش حول موضوع لماذا نلزم كل الدول العربية بالتوقيع.. بكل الأحوال هي غير ملزمة من الناحية القانونية أولاً الدول العربية التي لا ترغب بالتوقيع كانت تستطيع أن تكون خارج المبادرة بنفس الوقت إذا حصل هذا السلام لا شيء يلزم هذه الدول بالتوقيع إن لم يكن لديها رغبة.. أما نحن كدول معنية مباشرة كسورية ولبنان والفلسطينيين فنحن بشكل طبيعي بغض النظر عن المبادرة طالما أننا نتحدث عن اتفاقية سلام فمن الطبيعي أننا سنوقع وهذا هو الحوار الوحيد وليس حول المبادئ.. أنا لا أعتقد بأنه يجب علينا الآن أن نقول بإلغاء المبادرة العربية لأن إلغائها يعني التنكر للمرجعيات وهذا الشيء سيكون في مصلحة إسرائيل هناك فرق بين إلغاء المبادرة وبين إيقاف مفاوضات السلام وليس إلغاء المبادرة فالمبادرة فيها مرجعيات.

وبشأن قبول سورية من حيث المبدأ أن تكون هناك مفاوضات غير مباشرة عن طريق وسيط تركي ورفضها قيام السلطة الفلسطينية بالمفاوضات بغطاء في المبادرة واتهام من يتحدث في لبنان عن مفاوضات بالخروج عن الصف والخيانة قال الرئيس الأسد.. نحن لم نمنع أحداً ونحن اختلفنا مع ياسر عرفات عندما خرج ولكن لم نمنعه.. ولكن هذا الموقف كان اتجاه الفلسطينيين أيضاً.. نحن كنا ضد أن يتفرد أي مسار بعملية السلام.. نحن دائماً مع التنسيق العربي على المسارات الثلاثة.. ولكن بعد أن أصبح الموضوع الفلسطيني أمراً واقعاً وخاصة بعد اتفاقية أوسلو بقي التنسيق بين سورية ولبنان.. وحتى هذه اللحظة هناك تنسيق مباشر في هذا الموضوع وخاصة بيني وبين الرئيس ميشيل سليمان عندما يطرح موضوع السلام نتحدث بالتفاصيل ونشرح لبعض ما هي الأمور التي طرحت.. وطبعاً الآن لا توجد أساساً عملية سلام ولكن علينا أن نحدد ما هو مفهوم المفاوضات المباشرة.

وتابع الرئيس الأسد: سورية لم تدخل بمفاوضات مع إسرائيل من الناحية التقنية.. المفهوم خاطيء... والدليل على هذا الكلام أنه عندما أتى جيمس بيكر لكي يحضر لمؤتمر السلام قبل عام 1991 كان يتحرك جيئة وذهاباً بين سورية وإسرائيل لعشرة أشهر بهدف التحضير لمؤتمر السلام.. لم يتحدث في ذلك الوقت أي طرف في العالم عن مفاوضات غير مباشرة.. لم يقولوا إن جيمس بيكر يقوم بعملية مفاوضات بين سورية وإسرائيل.. هي لم تكن مفاوضات.. هو كان يرى ما هي الأسس التي يمكن أن تقبل بها الأطراف المختلفة لكي نطلق عملية السلام.. هذا ما قمنا به في تركيا.. لكن بدلاً من أن يتحرك وزير الخارجية التركي بين سورية وإسرائيل وعملية الزمن وما تستغرقه قمنا نحن بإرسال ممثل للطرف السوري إلى اسطنبول وقامت إسرائيل بنفس الشيء وكان وزير الخارجية التركي يتحرك بين الطرفين والهدف هو نفس الهدف الذي كنا نعمل عليه في ذلك الوقت قبل مؤتمر مدريد وهو إيجاد مرجعية واضحة للمفاوضات وخاصة بعد مرور عقد من الزمن على توقف عملية السلام وازدياد الفجوة في الثقة بين العرب والإسرائيليين وهي بالأساس لم تكن موجودة ولكنها أصبحت أكبر فكان لا بد من إيجاد أسس للانطلاق وخاصة أن مرحلة التسعينيات فشلت في تحقيق السلام فكان لابد من إيجاد أسس جديدة أو أكثر دقة أو مصطلحات أكثر تعريفاً ووضوحاً من أجل انطلاق عملية السلام.

وأضاف الرئيس الأسد: عندما ننطلق في عملية السلام لابد من أن يكون لبنان مع سورية.. نحن لنا مصلحة مشتركة نحن ولبنان في أن نكون مع بعضنا البعض.. ليس لسورية مصلحة أن تكون لوحدها ولا للبنان مصلحة في أن يكون لوحده.. وهكذا كانت وجهة نظرنا تجاه الفلسطينيين.

وجواباً على سؤال حول الموقف الذي يمكن أن تتخذه القمة العربية إزاء الإجراءات الأميركية الخاصة بالفضائيات المتهمه أميركياً قال الرئيس الأسد: هذا ليس موضوعاً منفصلاً.. هذا جزء من المعايير المزدوجة وجزء من الرياء الغربي تجاهنا.. وهذا الرياء نحن نتحمل المسؤولية الأكبر فيه عندما لا نأخذ مواقف واضحة ولا نحدد أسساً معينة نقبل أو نرفض على أساسها أي إجراء ونأخذ في المقابل إجراءات مضادة فلن يحترقنا أحد وستبقى هذه الإجراءات تسير وأي بيان في أي قمة لن يكون له أي تأثير إن لم يكن هناك إجراءات فعلية ولكن هذا يعود أيضاً للسؤال السابق حول نوع العلاقة العربية العربية.. هل هناك رؤية موحدة.. كيف نتعامل مع هذه الأشياء.

وأضاف الرئيس الأسد: هذا ما تحدثت عنه عندما قلت إن الرؤية لا تزال متقاربة.. ولكنها غير موحدة أحياناً متقاربة بمعنى تتفق حول المشكلة ولكن كيف نقارب هذه المشكلة.. حتى الآن هناك وجهات نظر مختلفة.. وطالما أن هناك وجهات نظر مختلفة لا أعتقد أنه سيكون هناك أي إجراء جدي يردع الدول الأخرى عن القيام بمثل هذه الأعمال.

وحول سؤال عن تقدم إدارة اوباما بمبادرة سلمية وإلى أي حد يمكن اعتبار الرعاية الأميركية لعملية السلام ورطة وشر لابد منه أم أنها رعاية يمكن تصويبها وأخذها ولو بعض الشيء عن الانحياز لإسرائيل قال الرئيس الأسد: لو كانت ورطة وكان لدينا الفرصة في السنوات الماضية لكي نقول نحن لا نريد الرعاية الأمريكية ولكن نحن حتى في اللحظات أو الأوقات الصعبة للعلاقات السورية الأمريكية بقينا نقول إن دور الولايات المتحدة هو دور أساسي وهذا لا يرتبط بمن هو الرئيس.. طبعاً عندما يأتي رئيس لا يريد السلام هذا الدور لن يكون موجوداً.. ولكن نحن نتحدث بشكل طبيعي عن إدارة ترغب بدفع

عملية السلام إلى الأمام.. الولايات المتحدة دورها هام من خلال علاقتها المتميزة طبعاً بإسرائيل ومن خلال وزنها كالقوة الأكبر.. دورها هام كضمانة لعملية السلام عندما تنجز.. لكن بنفس الوقت الولايات المتحدة عندما تتحدث عن التصويب هو صحيح من جانب التصويب ولكن هناك تصويب في المقابل يأتي من خلال اللوبيات الموجودة في داخل الولايات المتحدة.. يعني هذه نقطة ضعف موجودة في الدور الأمريكي لذلك هذا الدور بحاجة ليس فقط للتصويب وإنما بحاجة لمكملات.. هذه المكملات تأتي من خلال الأدوار الأخرى سواء الدور الأوروبي أو الدور التركي حالياً.. مع كل الأسف الولايات المتحدة لا تعرف هذه المنطقة بشكل جيد وبالتالي هي غير قادرة على ما يبدو على إدارة تفاصيل هذه العملية.. وأنا أقول لهم من تجربتنا معهم في موضوع الأمن هم أحياناً غير منهجيين وأحياناً يخللون المعلومات بشكل خاطئ فهم دائماً بحاجة لمساعدة.. هي ليست ورطة.. ولكن فيها سلبيات إذا فهمت هذه السلبيات وعرفت كيف تكملها بإيجابيات أخرى من قبل دول أخرى فعندها تصل إلى السلام وأنت مرتاح.. طبعاً نحن نفترض بأن هناك شريكاً إسرائيلياً.

وجواباً على سؤال ما إذا كانت سورية يمكن أن تؤسس قراراً أو سياسة اعتماداً على احتمال اتساع فجوة الخلاف بين الإدارة الأمريكية والكيان الصهيوني قال الرئيس الأسد: القضية تبقى مؤقتة وهي ليست بالإدارة.. الموضوع هو في المؤسسات الأخرى وفي اللوبيات القوية التي تدعم إسرائيل.. طبعاً هناك حديث متصاعد الآن في الولايات المتحدة لم يكن موجوداً قبل سنوات حول مصالح أمريكا وهل تتطابق مع مصالح إسرائيل أو هل ان الوقوف مع المصالح الإسرائيلية سيكون على حساب المصالح أو أحياناً الدماء الأمريكية.. أحياناً هناك شيء من هذا القبيل.. لا نريد أن نراهن.. أنا دائماً أقول الرهان هو علينا نحن كعرب إذا أتت إدارة أمريكية سيئة أو جيدة وكانت العلاقة بينها وبين إسرائيل جيدة أو سيئة.. الرهان هو ما موقفنا وموقعنا.. إن لم يكن هذا الموقع قوياً فلا قيمة لكل هذه الرهانات.

وحول وقوف سورية في منتصف الطريق ما بين السلطة الفلسطينية والمقاومة الفلسطينية وعدم تصديقه "أي المذيع" كمواطن عربي أن تقف سورية في منتصف الطريق ما بين المقاوم وبين من يقول لن تنجح إسرائيل بجرنا باتجاه انتفاضة جديدة قال الرئيس الأسد: نحن لا نريد منك أن تصدق ولا نطرح هذا الشيء بكل الأحوال.. نحن نفصل الأمور.. هناك عدة جوانب لهذه العلاقة.. هناك جانب متعلق بالمقاومة.. نحن موقفنا واضح.. نحن ندعم المقاومة وندعم صمود المقاومين بينما موقف السلطة واضح وموقف الرئيس محمود عباس واضح.. هو لا يجذب ولا يؤيد المقاومة فنحن لا نخفي موقفنا وهو لا يخفي موقفه ولكن نحن نقف في الوسط فعلاً في موضوع المصالحة الفلسطينية انطلاقاً من أن المصالحة لا تبدأ من خلال وقوفك مع طرف ضد طرف أو أن تكون منحازاً لطرف.. تبدأ المصالحة من خلال وقوفك في الوسط تماماً والوقوف في الوسط هو أن تفترض بأن كل الأطراف قد تكون مخطئة ولكن من أخطأ أكثر ومن أخطأ أقل ومن بدأ بالخطأ هذا يأتي لاحقاً بعد إنجاز المصالحة وليس خلال الحديث عن المصالحة لذلك يجب أن تضع وجهة نظرك تجاه ما تقوم به القوى المختلفة على الساحة الفلسطينية جانباً وتتحرك باتجاه المصالحة.. نحن في هذا الموضوع نعم نقف في الوسط واستقبلنا الرئيس محمود عباس عدة مرات خلال العام الماضي.

وجواباً على سؤال.. حول عدم قناعة القاهرة بهذه الرؤية السورية وأنها ترى أن سورية تؤثر على القرار الفلسطيني وخاصة فيما يخص المصالحة قال الرئيس الأسد: كلمة تأثير على القرار يجب أن تكون دقيقة.. نحن لا نحل محل الفلسطينيين.. نحن نقف مع الفلسطينيين.. يجب أن يأخذوا قرارهم ويحددوا الاتجاه ونحن نساعد ولكن لا يمكن أن يأتي الحل من سورية ولا من مصر ولا من السعودية ولا من دولة أخرى إن لم يكن الحل ينطلق من الساحة الفلسطينية.. فكلنا سنفشل في أي دور نحاول أن نلعبه.. أما لماذا لا تقتنع أو لماذا تقتنع مصر.. لا اعرف.. كما تعرف مؤخراً ولسنوات عديدة مضت لا يوجد حوار سياسي بيننا وبين مصر فلا نعرف بماذا تفكر مصر بهذا الموضوع.

وحول التصريحات التي تصدر سواء من دمشق أو من القاهرة فيما يخص العلاقات الثنائية بين الدولتين وعدم وجود خلافات وما إذا كانت العلاقات العربية هشة إلى درجة أنها تنقطع بلا مسبب قال الرئيس الأسد: غير صحيح إنه لا يوجد خلافات.. دائماً يوجد خلافات ونحن نقول إنه يوجد خلافات ولكن نحن في سورية لا نعتقد أن الخلافات هي مشكلة.. التعاطي مع الخلاف هو المشكلة.. عندما نعتبر بأنك اذا لم تكن مثلي فأنت ضدي فهذه مشكلة كبيرة ومن الطبيعي أن يكون لدينا خلافات ولكن كيف ندير هذه الخلافات كيف نمنع انعكاس هذه الخلافات على يؤثر التوتر في العالم العربي هذا هو السؤال.. لذلك أنا أعود لفكرة المؤسسة لان مؤسسة العلاقة العربية العربية تمنع انتقال الخلافات العربية الى ساحات أخرى وبنفس الوقت تمنع الانقسام في مكان ما من العالم العربي أن ينعكس على علاقاتنا مع بعض كدول عربية.

ورداً على سؤال حول ما إذا كانت سورية شعرت أن مصر انزعجت من دخول تركيا على خط رعاية المفاوضات قال الرئيس الأسد: لا.. مصر لم تكن وسيطة في يوم من الأيام ولا يمكن لمصر كدولة عربية أن تكون وسيطة.. ونحن لا نقبل ولا مصر تقبل بأن تكون في الوسط.. لا يمكن أن تكون حيادية بيننا وبين إسرائيل.. مصر يجب أن تكون مع سورية حتى ولو كنا مختلفين حول قضايا مختلفة فلا نحن نقبل ولا هي تقبل وبالتالي الدور التركي لم يؤثر على أي دور مصري.. كل واحد يعمل باتجاه آخر يضاف إلى ذلك أن الوساطة أو لنقل بأن البرود في العلاقة السورية المصرية بدأ قبل بدء المفاوضات والدور التركي.

وحول بعض المحاولات والإجراءات لتحريك المياه الراكدة بين سورية ومصر أجاب الرئيس الأسد: كان هناك آمال في القمة العربية الحالية بأن يكون هناك خطوة مشابهة لما تم بين سورية والسعودية في العام الماضي ولكن ربما مرض الرئيس مبارك يؤجل هذا وأي شيء من هذا القبيل ولكن نحن في سورية منذ عدة سنوات وليس منذ أشهر.. منذ عدة سنوات نستجيب مع كل مبادرة عربية قامت بها أكثر من دولة باتجاه تحسين العلاقات بين الدول العربية.. من جانبنا نحن في سورية لا يوجد لدينا مطالب من أي دولة.. نختلف معهم بالمواقف.. يختلفون معنا.. نحن نحترم مواقفهم.. وهم عليهم أن يحترموا مواقفنا.. نحن لم نبدل مواقفنا خلال السنوات الماضية ولا نعتقد ان العلاقات العربية العربية يجب أن يكون ثمنها العلاقات الجيدة.. طبعاً يجب أن يكون ثمنها تبديل موقف سورية لذلك كنا مستجيبين ونعتقد ان الأمور تبدأ من الحوار والحوار بحد ذاته يقلص مساحة الاختلاف والنموذج هو العلاقة بين سورية وقطر.. أنا دائماً أعطيها كنموذج.. نحن لا نتفق حول عدد من الأمور

بشكل مستمر.. كلما ظهر شيء جديد لكن هناك احترام كبير بيننا وبين الاخوة القطريين وبنفس الوقت هناك حوار مستمر لذلك في المحصلة يكون هناك توافق في السياسات.

وجواباً على سؤال حول تأثير محاكمة بعض الضباط في تركيا على العلاقة السورية التركية حتى في ظل احتمال حدوث أي تغيير ولو كان ضئيلاً هناك قال الرئيس الأسد: العلاقة في تركيا مبنية مع كل المؤسسات.. يعني حتى المؤسسات العلمية.. الآن سيكون لدينا غداً مؤتمر في مجال البحث العلمي.. مؤتمر مشترك يعني مع الجامعات مع الجيش.. مع الأمن مع القوى السياسية المختلفة المعارضة وغيرها.. كل هذه القوى وخاصة منها المعارضة للحكومة حكومة رئيس الوزراء أردوغان يقولون لنا نحن نختلف في تركيا حول قضايا كثيرة مع الحكومة الحالية ولكن كلنا نجمع على العلاقة مع سورية.. نحن دائماً نؤمن بأن العلاقة تبني مع المؤسسات أولاً وتمتد باتجاه المستويات الأخرى لكي تصل إلى القاعدة الشعبية العريضة.

وتابع الرئيس الأسد: دور الأشخاص في مواقعهم المختلفة هو دور محفز لهذه العلاقة ودور يعطي دفعاً ويفتح أبواباً كانت ربما مغلقة.. ولكن الرهان على العلاقات بين الدول دائماً يجب أن يبنى على القاعدة الشعبية بالدرجة الأولى وهذا الشيء الآن نراه واضحاً بيننا وبين تركيا بالعلاقة الشعبية تحديداً.

وحول عدم تعديل علاقة سورية مع تركيا لمزاج بعض الدوائر العربية التي تعبر باستمرار عن استيائها من تنامي علاقات سورية مع إيران التي تعارض عملية السلام قال الرئيس الأسد: أنا لم أسمع ولا مرة من مسؤول إيراني في حوارنا الوثيق الطويل الذي عمره الآن أكثر من ثلاثة عقود بأنهم ضد تحقيق السلام أو ضد عودة الأراضي أو ضد عملية السلام والدليل هو تصريح إيران خلال المفاوضات غير المباشرة في تركيا بأنهم يدعمون سورية في هذه المفاوضات.. أن نخدع بعضنا.. نخدع بعضنا لعقود وتكون نتيجة هذا الخداع تحالفاً يصبح أمتن كل يوم هذه معادلة متناقضة.. هذا هو جوابي.

وبشأن رد سورية على من يعتقد أنها تسكت على اختراق إيراني للأمن القومي في العراق قال الرئيس الأسد: اختراق الأمن القومي يكون من قبل الأعداء وليس من قبل دولة شقيقة تجمعنا معها روابط التاريخ والجغرافيا إيران وتركيا.. إذا كنا سنعتبر بأن إيران تهدد الأمن القومي فلماذا لا نعتبر نفس الشيء بالنسبة لتركيا.. كلاهما يلعب دوراً إيجابياً ولا يوجد تناقض الآن بين الدور التركي والدور الإيراني فلماذا نغضب من إيران ولا نغضب من تركيا.. أنا لا أرى بأن هذا الكلام في موقعه الصحيح.. نحن بحاجة لعلاقة جيدة مع إيران سواء اتفقنا معها في بعض التفاصيل أو اختلفنا.. نحن بحاجة لهذا الحوار.. وأنا لا أتحدث عن سورية نحن علاقتنا جيدة بإيران.

وأضاف الرئيس الأسد: أما بالنسبة إلى العراق فأنا اعتقد أننا نقوم بما نقوم به عادة بأننا نلقي التهم على الآخرين.. يعني إذا كان هناك مشكلة في العراق لها علاقة بالخارج فهي أولاً بسبب الغياب العربي.. ما الدور العربي الموجود في العراق لكي نقول بأن هناك دوراً إيرانياً حل محله.. نحن غائبون فلنتفضل ونلعب دوراً في العراق وعندها نستطيع أن نحاسب الآخرين.. العراق يقول نحن نريد العرب ولم يقل أننا نريد أي جهة أخرى.. هو يقول أنه يريد العرب ونحن لا نتواجد إذذن علينا أن نقوم أولاً بواجبنا قبل أن نلوم الآخرين.. فأنا اعتقد ان التقصير هو منا كعرب.. أما الدور الإيراني في إيران جار للعراق اختلف معه

حاربه خلال عهد الرئيس صدام حسين.. كانت هناك حرب لمدة 8 سنوات تركت آثارها على هذه العلاقة ولكن هناك مصالح مشتركة بين البلدين لا بد أن يكون هناك علاقة جيدة بين العراق وإيران وأي بلد يجب أن يتفاعل مع الدول المحيطة حوله.

وتابع الرئيس الأسد.. نحن في سورية نتأثر ونؤثر في لبنان ونتأثر ونؤثر في العراق ونفس الشيء مع تركيا ونفس الشيء مع الأردن هذا هو الشيء الطبيعي أما أن نقول إن الدول يجب أن تكون معزولة ولا تتفاعل مع بعضها فهذا غير مقبول.

نريد علاقة جيدة مع كل القوى العراقية

ورداً على سؤال حول عدم سماع لوم أميركي لسورية فيما يخص ضبط الحدود مع العراق وما الذي حدث لتغيير الولايات المتحدة الأميركية من لغتها في هذا الموضوع.

قال الرئيس الأسد: أنا لا أعتقد ان الأميركيين يعرفون ما الذي يجري في العراق بكل بساطة.. لا توجد رؤية حتى الآن ما هو المخرج ما هو الحل في العراق.. لا توجد معرفة لما يحصل ونحن نتحاور معهم ولكن الأسوأ في هذا الموضوع ما يتعلق بالجوانب الأمنية نحن قلنا لهم تجرئنا المباشرة مع الأميركيين في مرحلة أعتقد ما بين 2001 بعد اعتداءات أبلول في نيويورك وحتى عام 2004 عندما قطعنا العلاقة في المجال الأمني معهم قلت لهم بكل صراحة لكل من التقيت به من الولايات المتحدة عضو كونغرس أو مسؤولاً حتى مؤخرًا والمسؤولين الأمنيين منهم أنتم لديكم معلومات كثيرة جداً ولكن لا يوجد لديكم معرفة وهناك فرق بين المعلومة والمعرفة.. هم لا يوجد لديهم معرفة في التفاصيل حتى عندما تأتي المعلومة لا تحلل بشكل صحيح.. فلا عندما يقولون بأننا نضبط ولا عندما يقولون بأننا لا نضبط.. هذا الكلام صحيح لأننا نقول دائماً بأن المشكلة هي داخل العراق.. المشكلة هي في الوضع السياسي العراقي والمشكلة هي في وجود طرف تتعاون معه عندما تريد أن تضبط الحدود.. الحدود لها طرفان ليس لها طرف واحد فتضبط الحدود من طرفين.. عندما لا يوجد طرف ثان تتعاون معه فكيف نتحدث أو نقيم عملية ضبط الحدود.. فهذا الكلام نحن لا نتوقف عنده لا إن كان سلبي ولا إن كان إيجاباً.

وحول النتائج الرسمية للانتخابات العراقية التي ستعلن يوم الجمعة وما إذا كانت سورية ترى أن طرفاً عراقياً ما هو الأقرب إليها في العراق قال الرئيس الأسد: لا نريد أن نرى هذا الجانب أو بهذه الطريقة.. نحن حاولنا خاصة قبل الانتخابات أن نستقبل معظم القوى العراقية لكي نؤكد أننا نريد علاقة جيدة مع كل هذه القوى وخاصة أن معظم هذه القوى كان يعيش في سورية بمراحل مختلفة.. فنحن نعتقد أن البناء يجب أن يكون بناء مع أي حكومة وأي مؤسسات توجد في العراق في المرحلة المقبلة.

ورداً على سؤال حول التهم التي وجهت إلى سورية بأنها تعبت بالأمن الداخلي في العراق وتحميلها مسؤولية بعض العمليات الإرهابية قال الرئيس الأسد: إذا كان هناك نية صادقة وصافية وطيبة تجاه سورية وقناعة بأن سورية تريد الخير للعراق فنحن لا يوجد لدينا مشكلة لأن العمل السياسي لا يتوقف عند التصريحات.. نحن ننظر للمستقبل ولا نعيش في الماضي.

نعيش مرحلة المقاومة التي غيرت خريطة المنطقة والإنجازات حصلت بفضلها

وردأً على سؤال حول دعم سورية للمقاومة ووجود أطراف لديها أمل في أن تياس سورية في لحظة ما عن دعم المقاومة قال الرئيس الأسد: يمكن أن نياس أو يجعلونا نياس إذا أقتعونا بأن لبنان تحرر بنية طيبة من قبل الإسرائيليين في عام 2000 مثلاً أو أنه فشل في عام 2006 بسبب الوضع الدولي الذي منع إسرائيل من أن تحقق أهدافها أو أن القوى الأخرى تعمل من أجل استعادة أراضينا واستعادة حقوقنا.. هناك كثير من العناوين المشابهة إذا تمكنوا من إقناعنا بما فسوف نقتنع.. نحن لا نتمسك بفكرة فقط لأننا نريد أن نتمسك بها.. يعني ليست نوعاً من العناد نحن نرى الواقع إذا كانوا قادرين على قراءة الواقع أو جعلنا نقرأه بشكل مختلف فنحن مستعدون.

وجواباً عن سؤال حول الخلط في مفهوم الأعداء وفي مفهوم المقاومة في ظل وجود من عمل لتجريد المقاومة من سلاحها وما هو العنوان الذي يمكن أن يوضع لهذه الصفحة من التاريخ العربي قال الرئيس الأسد: أنا قلت بكل خطاباتي علينا أن ندعم المقاومة دون خجل ودون تردد فلا يجوز أن نوجد عناوين نختبئ خلفها في دعم المقاومة.. فموقف سورية واضح في موضوع أنا أسميه مرحلة مقاومة لأنه إذا كان هناك إنجازات فحصلت بفضل المقاومات.. فمن غير الخريطة السياسية في المنطقة هو المقاومات التي فرضت كثيراً من الأحداث السياسية التي صبت في صالح دول لا تعرف بأنه لولا المقاومات لما كانت هذه الأحداث التي يعتقدون بأنها أحداث إيجابية.. فهي مرحلة مقاومة.. لا يوجد خيار أساساً.. هذا ليس خيارنا هذا خيار الأعداء.. هم الذين فرضوا هذا الخيار وليس العكس.

فكرة القومية الملجأ الوحيد لنا والعروبة أساس يجب أن نبني عليه

وجواباً عن سؤال حول خفوت الحديث عن حزب البعث العربي الاشتراكي وما إذا كانت درجة اليقين بفكرة القومية العربية فترت قال الرئيس الأسد: لا بالعكس أنا كنت دائماً أقول إذا كانوا يتهموننا بأننا نتحدث بلغة الستينيات هم يفترضون بأنها لغة الستينيات أو الخمسينيات فأنا أقول نحن مستعدون أن نتحدث حتى بلغة الثلاثينيات عندما أسس حزب البعث.. فنحن بالعكس نعتقد الآن أن الفكرة القومية تثبت أكثر من قبل بأنها هي الملجأ الوحيد لنا كدول عربية.. أنا لا أتحدث عن التضامن العربي وهو مرتبط بالأداء السياسي أنا أتحدث عن العلاقة التي تربط بين مختلف مكونات الشعب العربي في الدول العربية المختلفة فكرة العروبة هي التي تربط بين كل مكوناته ومن دونها لا أعتقد أن هذه المنطقة يمكن أن تكون مستقرة الأحداث بما فيها العراق بما فيها لبنان.. أي حدث أثبت أن فكرة العروبة هي الأساس الذي يجب أن نبني عليه.. ونحن اليوم إذا كنا لا نتحدث فلأننا نعتقد بأن ما كان يجب علينا شرحه في الماضي لسنا مضطرين لشرحه اليوم لأن هذه الفكرة أصبحت أكثر تجذراً وتشرباً من قبل عقول المواطنين العرب.

وردأً على سؤال حول استخدامه أثناء القمة الإيرانية السورية الأخيرة بدمشق تعبير الدولة الإسلامية وما إذا كان هذا التوصيف هو فقط لعنوان عريض أم أن له ما يدعمه في القرار السياسي قال الرئيس الأسد: نحن دولة مسلمة طبعاً عندما نضعها في سياق منظمة المؤتمر الإسلامي كدولة مسلمة.. عندما نتحدث مع الدول الإسلامية نحن دولة إسلامية.. ونحن دولة غالبيتها من المسلمين ولكن نحن دولة قومية.. نحن دولة مجتمعتها ودولتها علمانية والعلمانية لا تعني معاكسة أو معاداة

أو إلغاء الأديان.. بالعكس هي تعني حرية الأديان بكل مكوناتها.. ولكن أن نكون دولة إسلامية وكان الحديث في سياق عيد المولد النبوي وكنا نتحدث عن ضرورة دعم المقاومة أخلاقياً وشرعياً.. وشرعياً هنا أتحدث كمسلم.

ورداً على سؤال حول مدى الانزعاج من بعض التقسيمات أو التنغيمات ذات البعد المذهبي قال الرئيس الأسد: نحن نرفض أن يكون هناك هذه التقسيمات حتى ولو كانت أمراً واقعاً.. طبعاً الانتماءات الصغيرة هي ليست شيئاً معيباً إذا كانت تصب في الانتماء الكبير وهو الانتماء الوطني.. كل إنسان لديه انتماءات مختلفة ثقافية عقائدية وغيرها ولكن يجب أن تصب من دون استثناء في الانتماء الكبير.. المشكلة عندما تكون هذه الانتماءات بديلاً عن الانتماء الكبير أو الانتماء الوطني.

ورداً على سؤال حول تعليقه على كلام وليد جنبلاط بأن لبنان وسورية شعبان على أرض واحدة أجاب الرئيس الأسد: لا أريد أن أعلق على هذا الموضوع ربما نسأله عنه لاحقاً لكي نفهم ما هو المضمون.

Interview C with the Syrian President Bashar al-Assad, which aired on Syrian TV on December 5, 2005. The interview was given to Channel 3 of the French TV.

6 كانون الأول 2005

السيد الرئيس يديي بحديث الى محطة التلفزيون " فرنسا 3 " دمشق / سانا أدلى السيد الرئيس بشار الأسد بحديث إلى محطة تلفزيون فرنسا (3) أجراه مع سيادته الصحفي الفرنسي كريستيان مالارد. وفيما يلي نص الحديث:

. المذيع: سيدي الرئيس، شكراً لاستقبالكم إيانا هنا في دمشق، وعلى قناة فرنسا الثالثة في دمشق.

— سؤال: سيدي الرئيس، وافقت سورية على أن يستجوب القاضي ميليس في فيينا خمسة من مواطنيها. ما الذي تنتظرونه فعلياً من هذا الاستجواب؟ وما الذي تنتظرونه فعلياً أيضاً من تقرير ميليس الذي سيرفعه إلى مجلس الأمن في الخامس عشر من كانون الأول 2005؟.

— السيد الرئيس: من الطبيعي أن ننتظر أن يكون الاستجواب احترامياً يبحث عن أسباب الجريمة، لكن، كما تعلم، الاستجواب هو جزء من عملية التحقيق بشكل عام، والتي كنا ننتظر منها الكثير، ولدينا عليها الكثير من الملاحظات، ننتظر أن تبدأ مراجعة الأخطاء التي حصلت، كما تعلمون منذ بداية التحقيق ظهر خمسة شهود يقدمون معلومات مزورة، مؤخراً كان هناك شاهد سوري اعترف بأنه أجبر على الإدلاء بشهادات تدعم وجهة نظر واحدة في هذا التحقيق، هذا يجعلنا نشعر بالقلق من سير هذا التحقيق، وبالتالي ما نوقعه أولاً أن يكون هذا الاستجواب احترامياً وأن يراجع بنفس الوقت وأن تراجع لجنة التحقيق الأخطاء التي حصلت في الماضي لكي نصل إلى تقرير عادل، تقرير موضوعي، تقرير يؤدي فعلاً للكشف عن أسباب هذه الجريمة التي ذهب ضحيتها الرئيس الحريري.

. سؤال: إذاً بالجمل، أنتم تنتظرون أن تنزع التهمة عن سورية في هذا الاستجواب؟.

— السيد الرئيس: بالنسبة لنا، نحن واثقون من نزع هذه التهمة. لا يوجد أي دليل على أن سورية متورطة، لا دليل جرمياً وليست هناك مصلحة لسورية، وليس لسورية تاريخ مشابه بهذه الأعمال. بالعكس، نحن لنا مصلحة بأن يصل التحقيق لهذه الحقيقة، لأن هذه الحقيقة، من وجهة نظرنا، هي براءة سورية بشكل كامل. لا يوجد لدينا أي شك بهذه النقطة، لذلك نتحدث عن أن التحقيق يجب أن يكون عادلاً واحترافياً.

سؤال: سيدي الرئيس، ما هو شعورك اليوم؟ هل تشعرون أن هناك مواجهة بين سورية والأمم المتحدة والمجتمع الدولي؟ أم هل تعتقدون أن هناك اليوم إمكانية ما لتسوية ما؟ وما هي بنظركم هذه الإمكانية للتسوية؟.

السيد الرئيس: لو عدت لتاريخ العلاقة السورية مع الأمم المتحدة، فسترى أنها علاقة تعاون مستمر دائماً. نحن ندعم قرارات الأمم المتحدة ونعتقد بأن كل العالم له مصلحة في أمم متحدة مستقرة وفاعلة، عندما نتحدث عن تسوية، فهذا يعني أن هناك خلافاً على شيء ما وعلينا أن نجد حلاً وسطاً، لو عدنا لميثاق الأمم المتحدة ولقرارات الأمم المتحدة بشكل عام، فسنترى أن سورية لها مصلحة في تطبيق هذه المواثيق وتطبيق القانون الدولي بشكل عام. المشكلة الآن هي ليست خلافاً بين سورية والأمم المتحدة، المشكلة الآن أن هذه الأمم المتحدة، وتحديدًا مجلس الأمن، أصبح عبارة عن أداة

تطبق ما يريد بعض السياسيين القلة في هذا العالم عندما يختلفون مع دولة ما، ليس بالضرورة أن يطبقوه لمصالح بلدانهم. أنا أعتقد بأنهم يستخدمون مجلس الأمن ضد مصلحة بلدانهم وضد مصالحنا. فإذاً، الحل لكي لا نقول تسوية، هو حل واضح تماماً بالعودة لميثاق الأمم المتحدة. إذا طبقنا ميثاق الأمم المتحدة، ستكون سورية مستفيدة بشكل مباشر ولا داعي للتسويات. الحل بسيط جداً.

سؤال: عندما تتكلمون عن الأمم المتحدة، ان الأمم المتحدة هي في يد الولايات المتحدة حالياً؟.. السيد الرئيس: ليس فقط الولايات المتحدة. أنت تعرف أن هناك خمس دول كبرى لديها من الصلاحيات ما لدى كل الدول الأخرى، وأحياناً يحصل نوع من الصفقات بين الدول الكبرى، الولايات المتحدة هي أساس في هذا الموضوع، لدينا أيضاً ملاحظات كثيرة على دور الولايات المتحدة الحالي، لكن الدول الأربع الأخرى أيضاً تستطيع أن توازن هذا الشيء أو هذا الدور أو ربما بعض الأخطاء السياسية التي تريد استخدام مجلس الأمن لأهداف خاصة، تستطيع أن توازن هذا الدور، هذا الشيء لا يحصل اليوم. سؤال: هل يمكن أن نقول، سيدي الرئيس، أنكم في كل الأحوال، أنتم سيادتكم، وماهر الأسد، وصهركم، مستهدفون من قِبَل القاضي ميليس؟ هل يمكن أن نقول ذلك؟

السيد الرئيس: الحقيقة لا توجد لدي أية معطيات بهذا الاتجاه، ولكن نحن دائماً نقول أن القضية ليست قضية أسماء، القضية ما هو الأساس القانوني الذي نعمل عليه؟ إلى ماذا تستند لجنة التحقيق؟ ما هي الضوابط؟ كأي تحقيق يحصل في أي نظام قضائي في العالم، إذا أتيت بقاضٍ جيد وأعطيته نظاماً قضائياً سيئاً، فلن تكون النتيجة جيدة، هذه هي المشكلة وليست الأسماء، ولم نتحدث بالأسماء في سورية مع أية جهة أبداً.

سؤال: سيدي الرئيس، أنتم تؤكدون أنكم ضحية مؤامرة دولية تحاك ضدكم من الولايات المتحدة الأمريكية ومن بعض حلفائها. هل تلمحون إلى فرنسا وإلى الرئيس جاك شيراك الذي يحقد عليكم في هذه المؤامرة؟.

السيد الرئيس: أريد أن أتحدث عن الوقائع لكي لا أتحدث بالعناوين العامة. القرار (1559) الذي صدر في أيلول 2004، قرار يتحدث عن أشياء، عن قضايا داخلية لبنانية، وعن قضايا سورية لبنانية ترتبط بالعلاقات المشتركة، أو بشكل أدق بوجود الجيش السوري في لبنان في ذلك الوقت. صدر هذا القرار من دون طلب لا من سورية ولا من لبنان، القرار 1636، القرار الأخير المتعلق بالتحقيق، يتحدث عن أو يصدر بناء على تقرير، تقول اللجنة انه لم يكتمل ويفرض على سورية عقوبات أو يهدد بعقوبات، بحسب الفصل السابع الذي يستخدم فقط عندما يكون هناك تهديد للأمن الدولي. القرار الأول والقرار الثاني شاركت فيه فرنسا وأمريكا. إن لم نسم هذا مؤامرة، هل نسميه عملاً خبيراً على سبيل المثال؟ لا تهم التسمية، هذه هي الوقائع ونسُميها ما شئنا، ولكن الآن هناك مشاركة فرنسية في قرارات من هذا النوع لا

تخدم الاستقرار في المنطقة.

سؤال: عندما يقول الرئيس جاك شيراك الفرنسي، وأنا هنا أنقل حرفياً ما قاله: "في حال إصرار الرئيس السوري على عدم الإنصات وعدم فهم ما يجري، فعلياً أن ننتقل إلى مرحلة العقوبات". ما ردكم على هذا الكلام؟. السيد الرئيس: كما تلاحظ، نحن لم نرد سابقاً على هذا الكلام ولن أرد الآن لأسباب لها علاقة بالأدبيات، وبنفس الوقت لحرصني على العلاقات السورية – الفرنسية. ولكن هناك بعض النقاط أستطيع أن أذكرها الآن. عندما ينصت رئيس، ينصت أولاً لشعبه قبل أن ينصت لآخرين، ومن ثم ينصت لأصدقائه المخلصين ولشركائه السياسيين. ثانياً، ربما لا نفهم أشياء كثيرة،

وفي مقدمتها لا نفهم كيف تضع فرنسا كل ثقلها للتحقيق بمقتل الرئيس الحريري، ونحن نفهم هذا الشيء وندعمه، ولكن بنفس الوقت لا نتحدث بكلمة واحدة عن اغتيال الرئيس عرفات الذي اغتيل في الأراضي الفلسطينية ومات في مشفى فرنسي، والأمور تمر بدون أن نعرف أي شيء عنها. لماذا هذا المعيار المزدوج؟ لماذا ازدواجية المعايير؟ هي ليست من سمات السياسات الفرنسية، وأحد الأشياء التي لا نفهمها ولا نعرفها، هل سيأتينا جواب قريباً؟.

سؤال: أنتم تلمحون إلى تسميم الرئيس ياسر عرفات لكن ليس الفرنسيون هم الذين قتلوا ياسر عرفات؟. السيد الرئيس: طبعاً، وليس هم من قتلوا الرئيس الحريري أيضاً، ولكن الرئيس الحريري مات في أراضٍ لبنانية، أما الرئيس عرفات مات في الأراضي الفرنسية. هذا أولاً، ثانياً الرئيس عرفات أعلى موقعاً وتاريخاً من الرئيس الحريري، مع احترامنا للرئيس الحريري، فكان من الطبيعي أن تتحرك فرنسا لأسباب أخلاقية، والعدل هو جزء من دستوركم، أن تتحرك بهذا الاتجاه.

سؤال: منذ اغتيال الرئيس الحريري الذي كان صديقاً حميماً للرئيس جاك شيراك، لدينا الانطباع أن العلاقة بينكم وبين الرئيس شيراك تحكمتها طقوس الكراهية، ما الذي برأيكم، سيدي الرئيس، يمكن أن يعيد العلاقات السورية الفرنسية، بينكم أنتم شخصياً وبين الرئيس جاك شيراك، إلى مجاريها وإلى سابق عهدها؟.

السيد الرئيس: أولاً، أنا لا أكره الرئيس شيراك، وبالعكس، ربما في الماضي كنت أقدر هذا الرجل كثيراً لأسباب عديدة، ولكن أريد أن أفصل هذه العلاقة عن العلاقة السورية — الفرنسية. هي ليست واحدة، وخلال هذه الفترة لم تتأثر كثيراً هذه العلاقة، ربما تأثرت نوعاً ما لهذا السبب ولأسباب أخرى لها علاقة بالدور الفرنسي الذي تراجع في منطقة الشرق الأوسط والذي يكاد يغيب أحياناً، لكن ما يعيد هذه العلاقة أو يدفعها للأمام هو، كما أقول دائماً، عندما تكون هذه العلاقة مؤسساتية مبنية على المؤسسات، وليست مبنية على الأفراد فقط، وأن تكون هذه العلاقة مباشرة بين سورية وفرنسا، لا تمر عبر طرف ثالث، هذه الأشياء الآن غير متوفرة.

سؤال: هل يمكننا أن نقول، أو هل تقول لي اليوم أن على الرئيس شيراك وأنت شخصياً أن تقررا معاً لكي تتحاورا وتضعوا كل المشكلات على الطاولة أمامكما؟.

السيد الرئيس: نحن حاولنا كثيراً منذ أكثر من عام ونصف عام وربما تقريباً عامين، أن نقوم بهذا الشيء، وطبعاً هذا ضروري جداً ولكننا لم نحصل على أي جواب وحتى هذه اللحظة لا نعرف تماماً ما هي الأسباب الحقيقية التي أدت إلى تغيير موقف الرئيس شيراك. كل مرة تأتينا أجوبة عامة وغير مقنعة، فنحن ننتظر جواباً واضحاً، مع ذلك العلاقة بين المؤسسات والحوار بين المؤسسات يساهم في الوصول لمعرفة الأسباب، وهذا ما نسعى إليه اليوم.

سؤال: إذا كان لكم اليوم رسالة تريدون أن تقولوها للشعب الفرنسي، وليس للرئيس شيراك وليس لكم، ما هي الرسالة التي تريدون أن تنقلوها للشعب الفرنسي أنتم شخصياً؟.

السيد الرئيس: الشعب الفرنسي له تاريخ كبير جداً، وتاريخ يتميز عن تاريخ الكثير من الشعوب، حتى في أوروبا نفسها. هذا التاريخ أعطى ثقافة خاصة للفرنسيين، ثقافة منفتحة، هذه الثقافة انعكست على السياسة الفرنسية وأعطت دوراً كبيراً لفرنسا في أوروبا وفي العالم وفي منطقة الشرق الأوسط. الرئيس شارل ديغول أيضاً أضاف لهذا الموقع الفرنسي كثيراً. الحقيقة اليوم هذا الدور يتراجع، كما قلت قبل قليل، هذا الدور أحياناً يبدو غير ظاهر، غير موجود، وأحياناً يبدو

تابعاً لأدوار أخرى. وهذا لم يكن موجوداً في تاريخ الدور الفرنسي، وله أسباب كثيرة سياسية، وربما أسباب أخرى بحاجة لبحث. لكن بالنتيجة، هذا يضر بمصالح الشعب الفرنسي أولاً، ويضر بمصالح أوروبا وبمصالح العالم وبمصالحنا نحن في الشرق الأوسط. ولا تستطيع أن تفصل مصالح أوروبا الآن عن الشرق الأوسط، والدليل هو ما حصل في الماضي، 11 أيلول في نيويورك، تفجيرات مدريد، تفجيرات لندن، ما يحصل في أندونيسيا، ما يحصل في الأراضي الفلسطينية. فإذاً، على الشعب الفرنسي أن يتحرك مجدداً من خلال مؤسساته لإعادة هذا الدور الفرنسي المنفتح على كل الثقافات ورفض محاولات عزل هذه الثقافة الفرنسية التي لم تكن معزولة منذ أكثر من مئتي عام، أي منذ الثورة الفرنسية.

سؤال: سورية وفرنسا كانتا دوماً بلدين متقاربين بموضعهما الجغرافي في الشرق الأوسط، هل تقبلون أن يدعوكم الرئيس شيراك إلى باريس؟ أو هل تريدون أن تروه هنا للتداول أو تتخاطبا سوية وتتكلما في كل المسائل؟ السيد الرئيس: كما قلت، القضية لا تخضع لعلاقات شخصية ولا لمزاج. من واجبنا أن نبحث عن المصالح المشتركة لبلدنا، ومن واجبنا أن نقوم بزيارات على مستوى الرؤساء والمسؤولين المختلفين، إن لم نقم بهذا الشيء، فنحن مقصرون تجاه العلاقات بالنسبة لهذين الشعبين. نحن لا نمانع بأي شيء يؤدي إلى تحسين العلاقات لأن فرنسا بلد مهم وهناك علاقة عاطفية تاريخية تربط بين سورية وفرنسا ولا أحد يكون مرتاحاً على الأقل في بلدنا، لتراجع هذه العلاقة. فذلك، أي شيء يخدم هذه العلاقة نحن معه ولا نمانع بأي شيء ولا يوجد لدينا حتى شروط في هذا الإطار.

سؤال: في موضوع آخر، ما الذي ستعملونه فعلياً للرد على الولايات المتحدة وجورج بوش الذي يصفكم بأنكم لا تضبطون الحدود مع العراق؟.

السيد الرئيس: هم يقولون بأنهم لا يضبطون الحدود مع المكسيك، فكيف نضبط حدودنا مع العراق؟ هذا أولاً، فإذاً قضية ضبط الحدود بالنسبة لأية دولة بشكل كامل ومطلق، هي قضية نظرية وغير ممكنة. مع ذلك، سورية تضبط الحدود إلى حد كبير. سأعطيك مثلاً بالأرقام: هم يقولون بأنهم يقدرّون الإرهابيين في العراق بين ألف إلى ثلاثة آلاف، وهم يعرفون أن سورية لديها أو أوقفت في الماضي من الإرهابيين خلال العامين الماضيين حوالي 1600، يعني هذا يعادل 52 بالمئة حتى 160% من العدد الذي يقدرّونه. على كل الأحوال، كل ما يقال حول هذا الموضوع هو هروب إلى الأمام أو هو سياسة النعامة التي تظمر رأسها في التراب لكي لا ترى الحقيقة. الخطر أو الخطأ الأساسي الذي يؤدي إلى الإرهاب في العراق هو أولاً الحرب الخاطئة. ثانياً، الأداء السياسي الخاطئ في إدارة أمور العراق من قبل القوى المحتلة. وهذه التهمة لسورية هي لإلقاء اللوم على طرف آخر لكي لا يتحملوا المسؤولية بكل بساطة.

سؤال: سيدي الرئيس، في عالم يزداد فيه التطرف الإسلامي قوة، هل يشكل الاخوان المسلمون بالنسبة لكم تهديداً لسورية، كما هو الحال في مصر؟ وهل هذا هو السبب الذي دفع جيراناً لكم كالمملكة العربية السعودية ومصر، لكي يتدخلوا لدى الرئيس بوش مطالبين إياه أن لا يمس أمن سورية واستقرارها؟.

السيد الرئيس: في أكثر من دولة عربية، هناك اخوان مسلمون، وفي كل دولة لهم قيادات، ولدينا علاقات مع جزء من هؤلاء. مشكلتنا أو التهديد الذي يهدد سورية هم جزء من هؤلاء الذي يؤمن بالعنف والذي قام بأعمال إرهاب

في سورية في السبعينيات والثمانينيات وأدى لمقتل الآلاف من السوريين. المشكلة ليست بالتسمية، المشكلة هي في الفكر الذي يحكم تلك المجموعات، أي التطرف. وسواء أكان هذا التطرف طرفاً إسلامياً أو مسيحياً أو يهودياً أو كان طرفاً اجتماعياً أو سياسياً، فإن كل التطرف يؤدي إلى التدمير. لكن أسباب هذا التطرف هي أولاً الفوضى الدولية الموجودة في العالم، الأخطاء السياسية الكبرى التي تقوم بها الدول الكبرى والتي تؤدي لتزايد الإرهاب الذي يُبنى على هذا التطرف. وبالتالي، قضية هل نحن قلقون، وهل مصر أو السعودية قلقة؟ كلنا قلقون. لو ذهبت لأية دولة عربية الآن، ستسمع نفس هذا الكلام، ونفس هذا القلق، فإذا لابد إزالة السبب لكي نزيل القلق.

سؤال: بعد كل الذي جرى بين سورية ولبنان، هل هناك، سيدي الرئيس، من مستقبل لإقامة علاقات طيبة وهادئة بين سورية ولبنان. وهل هناك، إذا ما جاز لي القول، فرصة للسلام في الشرق الأوسط والعالم العربي، بينكم وبين إسرائيل؟

السيد الرئيس: طبعاً، بالنسبة للعلاقة بلبنان، من الطبيعي أن تعود إلى سابق عهدها، هذا بحاجة إلى توفر بعض الظروف التي لم تتوفر بشكل كامل الآن، وإنما بشكل جزئي. ولكن نحن ولبنان مقتنعون بأهمية هذه العلاقة، لأنها ترتبط بالتاريخ، ولا نستطيع أن نغير هذا التاريخ. بالنسبة لموضوع السلام، نحن قدمنا، أي الدول العربية، مبادرة في عام 2002 في القمة العربية في بيروت التي تطالب إسرائيل بالتوجه باتجاه السلام، ولكن التوجه باتجاه السلام بحاجة لعدة عوامل. العامل الأول، هو رغبة الشعوب. بالنسبة للشعوب العربية، لم يتغير موقفها من قضية السلام بالرغم من هذه الظروف السيئة التي تراها في الشرق الأوسط، وربما في معظم دول أو في معظم مناطق العالم. الشعب الإسرائيلي يعتقد بأنه ابتعد نوعاً ما عن السلام ربما بسبب قيادته وربما بسبب ظروف سياسية داخلية. الإدارة الأمريكية، وهي راعٍ أساسي لعملية السلام، غير مهتمة على الإطلاق بعملية السلام، وهذا الكلام سمعناه منهم، من المسؤولين الأمريكيين، في أكثر من مناسبة. الدور الأوروبي، وهو دور هام، يجب أن يتبدل، لا يمكن لأوروبا أن تلعب في عملية السلام دور المسوّق للسياسة الأمريكية فقط تجاه عملية السلام. يجب أن يكون هناك دور أوروبي مستقل، ولكن يتوافق مع الدور الأمريكي، لا يتناقض معه، يتوافق معه، وهذا بحاجة لحوار أوروبي أمريكي الآن غير موجود. لذلك الآن عملية السلام لا نراها قريبة. ولكن واقعيين، لكن كل يوم نتأخر فيه، سيكون هناك المزيد من الدماء، وكل ما كان هناك المزيد من الدماء، يعني هناك المزيد من الحواجز ترتفع، وبالتالي، الثمن سيكون أكبر، فمن الأفضل أن نتحرك بشكل سريع بهذا الاتجاه.

سؤال: كلمة أخيرة، سيدي الرئيس، عندما يكون لنا القناعة بأن إيران ستمتلك السلاح النووي، هل ستخشون مواجهة مسلحة بين حليفكم الإيراني والولايات المتحدة الأمريكية وإسرائيل، هل هناك خطر لهذه المواجهة؟

السيد الرئيس: الخطر دائماً موجود، وما نراه من تصريحات سياسية ومن أداء سياسي وخاصة بعد حصول حرب العراق، أصبحنا نشعر بأخطار كثيرة وليس بخطر واحد، ولكن لكي لا يضيع المحللون وقتهم بالتحليل حول هذا الموضوع، إذا حصلت هذه المواجهة، فستكون نقطة اللا عودة وتدمر منطقة الشرق الأوسط بأكملها وستمتد تأثيراتها إلى أوروبا وإلى أماكن بعيدة في العالم وسيطلب حلها ربما عقوداً وربما قرونًا، الله أعلم، لا أحد يستطيع أن يحدد، فهذا الموضوع خطير جداً، ويجب أن تبذل فرنسا وأية دولة في هذا العالم جهودها لمنع حصول مثل هذه المواجهة.

المديع: سيدي الرئيس، شكراً جزيلاً على هذه المقابلة وأتمنى لكم حظاً طيباً.

Interview D

An interview given by H. E. President Bashar al-Assad to Hamdi Qendil of the Dubai satellite TV station

Interview D: Aug 24, 2006 - Damascus, (SANA)-

حديث السيد الرئيس بشار الأسد إلى قناة دبي الفضائية - أجري الحديث الثلاثاء 2006/8/22 وأذيع يوم الأربعاء 2006/8/23

أدلى السيد الرئيس بشار الأسد بحدِيث إلى قناة دبي الفضائية، وأجرى الحديث الإعلامي المصري المعروف حمدي قنديل. وفيما يلي نص الحديث:

سؤال:

أهلاً بكم، بعد الانتصار الحاسم للمقاومة في لبنان، وأنا أقول الانتصار الحاسم ويقول غيري، للأسف الصحف الأجنبية منها "الايكونومست"، تقول: "حزب الله يكسب الحرب" في الوقت الذي تشكك فيه صحف عربية بهذا الانتصار. بعد الانتصار الحاسم للمقاومة في لبنان، وتعلق أبصارنا وقلوبنا بلبنان قلب المقاومة، أظن كان من البديهي أن نتجه إلى سورية قلب الممانعة باللغة السياسية العربية الجديدة، في سورية قلب الممانعة ضيفنا اللبلة الرئيس السوري الدكتور بشار الأسد. الدكتور بشار أشكرك على المقابلة، وكنت أتكلم عن الانتصار الحاسم للمقاومة في لبنان، وهذا الانتصار الحاسم سموه في بعض الأحيان منعطف تاريخي، لكن سيادة الرئيس منذ وعيت على الدنيا دائماً يقال لنا أننا في منعطف تاريخي وراء منعطف تاريخي، لدرجة أننا لم نعد نصدق تماماً إذا كنا نعيش لحظة تاريخية، مفصل تاريخي أم لا. هل انتصار المقاومة في لبنان هو مفصل تاريخي فعلاً أم مجرد هبة مؤقتة، مهما كان لها قيمة ستعود فيها الأمة إلى النوم الذي كانت مستغرقة فيه؟

السيد الرئيس:

أهلاً وسهلاً بك في سورية ليس كضيف، وإنما ابناً لخط قومي معروف على مستوى الساحة الإعلامية العربية. كل شيء جديد يحصل بالنسبة لأي دولة أو لأي شعب أول مرة في التاريخ هو تاريخي، لكن أن نقول مفصل تاريخي علينا أن نحدد أين يذهب بنا هذا المفصل التاريخي؟ غزو العراق هو مفصل تاريخي، لكن هل تعني كلمة تاريخي شيء إيجابي، ليس بالضرورة. غزو العراق مفصل تاريخي باتجاه الوراثة، باتجاه الخسارة، باتجاه التخلف، باتجاه الدمار بكل معانيه السلبية، لاشك أن ما حصل في لبنان هو مفصل تاريخي، ربما تسمع آراء مختلفة على الساحة السياسية العربية، لا أريد أن أحدد بأي اتجاهات، ولكن أعتقد بأن الساحة الشعبية بشكل عام تنظر إليها كمفصل تاريخي بالاتجاه الإيجابي وبالانتجاه الصحيح وباتجاه مصلحة الأمة العربية بشكل عام. مهما قلنا بأن اندفاع هؤلاء الناس كان عاطفياً، لكن لاشك بأن الشعب العربي عبر تجارب العقود الماضية تكوّن لديه حس عفوي بالاتجاه الصحيح، أحياناً يسبقنا كسياسيين، ولا نستطيع لو استبعدنا الآراء السياسية للعاملين في هذا الحقل إلا أن نأخذ بالاعتبار هذه الرؤية. فنعلم أعتقد أن ما حصل هو شيء تاريخي، ولكن أيضاً التاريخي يكتمل بكيف تستفيد من نتائجه، كيف تحول النتائج السلبية لهذا الحدث بالاتجاه الإيجابي الذي تريده.

سؤال:

يبدو أن النتائج سيادة الرئيس ستكون بأي شكل من الأشكال "شرق أوسط جديد"، لكن هنا سيادة الرئيس تصادم الرؤى ما بين رؤية أمريكية لـ "شرق أوسط جديد" قائم على الديمقراطية وبين رؤية سورية: "شرق أوسط جديد قائم على المقاومة"، أي "شرق أوسط جديد" تريد سيادة الرئيس؟ وهل ممكن تحقيق هذا "الشرق الأوسط الجديد"؟.

السيد الرئيس:

هي ليست قضية أي شرق أوسط نريد على طريقة صناعة أي منتج أو أي منتج مخبري في المخبر، هنا واقع، والواقع هو الذي يفرض عليك أي شرق أوسط، وهذا الواقع فيه شعوب، فيه مئات الملايين، في المنطقة العربية على الأقل، وأكثر من مليار في المنطقة الإسلامية، فهذا الواقع سيفرض نفسه بهذا الاتجاه. وما أثبتته التجارب خلال السنوات الأخيرة منذ بُدئ بطرح هذا المفهوم "الشرق الأوسط الجديد" أن ما يطرح في الخارج هو طرح نظري لا يمكن تطبيقه بمعزل عن الأخطاء الكثيرة التي يقومون بها، فالشيء المؤكد في هذه النقطة لا يمكن أن يكون هناك شرق أوسط إلا كما يريد أبناء الشرق الأوسط، هذا ما تحسمه الوقائع وليس وجهة النظر السورية.

سؤال:

ماذا يريدون سيادة الرئيس؟

السيد الرئيس:

شرق أوسط، وربما عالم، وليس فقط شرق أوسط، خاضع خانع يقبل بما يريدون دون تردد، كالكمبيوتر تضع فيه معلومات فيعطيك نتائج. هذا ما يريدونه بكل وضوح.

سؤال:

شرق أوسط خاضع لهيمنة أمريكية أم هيمنة إسرائيلية. سيادتك تعرف أن النقاش القديم هل أمريكا تحرك إسرائيل أم إسرائيل تحرك أمريكا على الأقل في منطقة الشرق الأوسط؟

السيد الرئيس:

هناك علاقة تبادلية، في الانتخابات شيء وفي الحرب شيء آخر، وأنا لست خبيراً بالساحة الأمريكية، لكن واضح أن هذه الحرب كانت حرباً، في جانب كبير منها، أمريكية، في القرار، وفي المماثلة بالنسبة لوقف إطلاق النار، كان فيها جانب أمريكي يخدم قضية "الشرق الأوسط الجديد"، ولكن صمود المقاومة أفضل هذا الموضوع ورد فعل الشارع العربي أيضاً أفضل هذا الموضوع أو سيفشل في المستقبل.

سؤال:

أين إيران من هذا "الشرق الأوسط الجديد". هل هو "شرق أوسط جديد" اللاعب الرئيسي فيه أمريكا وإسرائيل كما كنا نقول، أم أن اللاعب الرئيسي فيه إيران، أم اللاعب الرئيسي فيه هم العرب؟

السيد الرئيس:

ما يهمني هو العرب، طبعاً إسرائيل لاعب رئيسي من خلال العدوان، والولايات المتحدة من خلال موقعها كقوة عظمى ومن خلال دعمها غير المحدود لإسرائيل، أما بالنسبة لإيران فهي دولة في هذه المنطقة منذ الأزل. لكننا نريد أن نقول: الأهم من أن نرى إن كانت إيران لاعباً رئيسياً، أن نرى بأننا الغائب الرئيسي كعرب عن الساحة السياسية في منطقتنا، في صناعة القرار

وفي صياغة مستقبل هذه المنطقة هذه النقطة. التي يجب أن نراها، أهم من أن نضيع وقتنا في الحديث عن أن إيران تلعب دوراً يجب أن يكبر أو يصغر. الأفضل أن نقول ما هو دورنا. لا يحق لنا أن نتحدث عن أدوار الآخرين ولا نستطيع أن نراها بحجمها الحقيقي إن لم نمتلك دوراً .

سؤال:

بالتأكيد أنا متفق معك سيادة الرئيس بأن دورنا هو الأول، إنما إيران تبعث لدى البعض بعض المخاوف. في منطقة الخليج مثلاً إيران محتلة جزر من الإمارات، الدور الإيراني في العراق. كل هذا يثير بعض الشكوك والمخاوف من إيران في الوقت الذي تأخذ فيه إيران دوراً متميزاً في الوقوف إلى جانب المقاومة، في الوقوف إلى جانب الصمود والممانعة العربية؟

السيد الرئيس:

يجب أن نسأل الدول العربية مما تتخوف؟ رأيت أن البعض يتخوف من هذا الدور الذي سألت عنه، وأنا قلت بأن الخوف هو من غياب الدور، نعود لنفس النقطة. ولكن إن كانت إيران تلعب دوراً أساسياً وكبيراً فهذا لمصلحة المنطقة، نحن ليس لنا مصلحة بأن نكون دول ضعيفة، الدول القوية إن كانت تلعب دوراً عادلاً أو دوراً أساسياً إيجابياً فهذا يحقق استقرار المنطقة. التخوف من ماذا؟ من دور إيراني في العراق؟ علينا أن نسأل العراقيين. لا يمكن لإيران أن تلعب دوراً في العراق من دون العراقيين. إذاً علينا أن نسأل العراقيين عن هذا الموضوع قبل أن نتحدث من خارج العراق عن دور إيران في العراق على سبيل المثال ربما يتخوف البعض من المشروع النووي الإيراني، وإيران تقول إنها لا تريد قنبلة نووية، وبالقانون الدولي لديها الحق كأى دولة بأن تمتلك مفاعلاً للأغراض السلمية، ممّ التخوف؟ أنا شخصياً لم أر شيئاً واضحاً موضوعياً، وبنفس الوقت طرحنا هذا الموضوع مع الإيرانيين، قالوا إنهم مستعدون، وتحركوا الطمأننة الدول العربية، كما رأينا مؤخراً، فالحل هو بالحوار مع إيران.

سؤال:

سيادة الرئيس، ألا تخاف من نمو النفوذ الإيراني مما يؤدي إلى نمو التيار الديني في المنطقة كلها، وربما القضاء على التيار القومي الذي تنتمون إليه والذي ازدهر لعقود في المنطقة العربية ويبدو أنه يتراجع حالياً كما يقال أمام التيار الديني؟.

السيد الرئيس:

نحن دولة قومية ودولة علمانية، ومع ذلك لا يوجد أي مشكلة بالتعاون بيننا وبين إيران، لم نر بأهم ضد الدولة القومية أو أنهم لا يستطيعون التعاون معها، فلا أعتقد أن هذا الكلام كلام موضوعي. انظر إلى ما يحدث في العراق، أعتقد بأن القوى الغربية التي تتحدث عن العلمانية بشكل مستمر هي التي تعمل لتقوية تيار التطرف، ولا أتحدث عن تيار ديني، نحن مجتمع في معظمنا مسلم، وطبعاً لدينا مسيحيين، ومعظمنا مؤمن وملتزم بدينه فلا يوجد تناقض بين الأولى والثانية، ولكنني أرى أن بعض الدول الغربية وفي مقدمتها الولايات المتحدة هي التي تكرس التطرف في منطقتنا وهذا هو ما يقلقنا.

سؤال:

اسمح لي، سيادة الرئيس، الحكام عادة يخشون من نمو التيار الديني بصرف النظر عن التطرف، يخشون من نمو التيار الديني في بلدانهم في معظم الأحوال؟

السيد الرئيس:

خارج إطار التطرف هذا شيء جيد، الدين أخلاق، والدين محبة وتعاون وفيه كل الأشياء التي نتحدث عنها في خطابنا السياسي فلماذا نرفض التيار الديني؟! ولكنني أعتقد بأن الغالبية تقصد تيار التطرف الذي يسمى تيار تطرف ديني، لكنني أنا أقول التطرف، والتطرف هو الخروج عن الدين.

سؤال:

وطبعاً كان الخشية من الانتصار الذي أحرزه حزب الله مؤخراً وهنا الموضوع الثاني الذي سنتطرق إليه، انتصار حزب الله في الواقع ليس فقط كما أراه أنا انتصار عسكري، وإنما انتصار مؤسسي، انتصار تنظيمي. حزب الله الذي لم يتفوق فقط في الحرب وإنما تفوق في السلم بعد الحرب، وأظن أن الكفاءة كانت بالغة بعدما انتهت الحرب في إصلاح ما تهدم وفي صرف التعويضات وإلى آخره. إنما لفت نظري قصة سمعتها البارحة قبل أن نلتقي، وهي قصة أحد إخواننا السوريين هنا وتصادف أنه التقى تسعة أيتام لبنانيين فقدوا الأب والأم وأحب أن يستضيفهم وأن يصبحوا جزءاً من عائلته ليستمروا معه لكنه تفاجأ بعد أن اتخذ هذا القرار بأن رجال المقاومة في لبنان قالوا إن أبناء رجال المقاومة، أبناء الجنوب، حتى ولو كان الأمر في سورية، حتى ولو كان أحد إخواننا، نحن نريد لهم آباء وأمهات في المقاومة. رفضوا أن يُستضافوا في أي مكان آخر. الحقيقة، لفتت نظري هذه القصة البسيطة، إنما دلت على أنهم ينتبهون إلى أولادهم الصغار أين ذهبوا ومن أين أتوا ومن فقد أباه ومن فقد أمه. أريد أن أسأل سؤالاً: لمن هذا الانتصار الذي حققته المقاومة؟ هل هو انتصار للبنان؟ هل هو انتصار لسورية؟ هل هو انتصار لفريق من العرب؟ هل هو انتصار لإيران؟ أم لمن بالضبط هذا الانتصار؟

السيد الرئيس:

من دون أدنى شك، هو انتصار للبنان. ولا داعي لأن نوسع أكثر من ذلك مساحة الانتصار، لأن من قاتل هم اللبنانيون، ومن دفع ثمن العدوان الإسرائيلي هو لبنان. أغلبنا شاهد ما حصل عبر شاشات التلفزيون، ولكن يحق لكل الدول العربية أن تفرح بهذا الانتصار، وأن تعتبر بأنها تستطيع أن تريح من نتائج الانتصار، أن تحقق شيئاً لمصلحتها. بالحصلة، قد يكون هناك انتصار غير مباشر للدول العربية، أما الانتصار المباشر، فلا أحد يستطيع أن يشارك اللبنانيين به. وهذا يرتبط بالقصة التي ذكرتها. طبعاً هي درس لنا كدول عربية، ويجب أن نستفيد منها أيضاً في سورية. واضح تماماً أن صمود حزب الله السياسي قبل صموده العسكري، وأن كل ما بناه حزب الله في الماضي، هو الذي جعله يحقق هذا النصر اليوم، ولكن لم يكن بالإمكان تحقيق هذا الشيء، السياسي أو العسكري، من دون الاحتضان الشعبي. وهذا مؤشر صغير أو نموذج صغير للدول الأكبر لتعرف أن القرارات الكبرى والانجاز الحقيقي والربح إنما يحصل بهذا الاحتضان.

سؤال:

عدد غير قليل من الحكام العرب لم يعتبروا أن هذا الانتصار لهم.

السيد الرئيس:

من يحق له أن يقول بأن له دور معنوي، أو أقل أو أكثر من معنوي بهذا الانتصار، من يحق له أن يقول هذا الكلام، هم المقاومون. ربما تقوم أنت بالوقوف مع المقاومة، ولكن يبقى دورك من دون تأثير، وربما تقوم بدور بسيط ويكون له تأثير. من يحق له أن يحدد من ساهم في هذا الانتصار، إن كان هناك مساهمة، هم المقاومون اللبنانيون، ولبنان بشكل عام. أما نحن في

سورية، لم نعتبر أنفسنا سوى جزء من الشعب العربي السعيد بهذا الانتصار. وبنفس الوقت قلت في خطابي أنه يجب أن نستفيد من هذا الانتصار لمصلحة عملية السلام. ونحن جزء من الدول العربية التي تستطيع أن تستفيد من هذه الحالة.

سؤال:

سيادة الرئيس في الحديث عن لبنان، يجب أن أقول في البداية، أنا كنت هنا في سورية منذ حوالي عشرة أيام أو أسبوعين. تشرفنا بلقائك وقتها، وزرنا بعض الأماكن التي استضفتكم فيها النازحين. والحقيقة أعجبنا جميعاً، الوفد الشعبي المصري، إعجاباً كبيراً بما قامت به سورية في هذا الوقت. ونرجو أن يتذكره اللبنانيون دائماً. نحن كنا عبرنا عن امتناننا الكبير لكم وللدور الذي قمتم به في ذلك الوقت. طبعاً سورية تحملت مع لبنان عواقب ما حدث في الأسابيع الأخيرة، لكن السؤال هو لماذا يتحمل لبنان لوحده، أو في المقدمة، لماذا يتحمل كل هذا العبء نيابة عن الأمة كلها. أليس هذا سؤال يطرح في الوقت الحالي، ويطرحه أكيد اللبنانيون؟

السيد الرئيس:

هذا يطرحه اللبنانيون عندما يفترضون أن ما يحصل في لبنان إنما يحصل بتكليف من دول عربية، أو يقصدون من خلاله الإيحاء بأن هناك مقاومة في لبنان، ربما فقط تحمل الجنسية اللبنانية من خلال أشخاصها، ولكنها لم تصنع في لبنان ولا تقاتل من أجل لبنان وإنما تقاتل من أجل دول إقليمية أو صراعات دولية وما إلى ذلك. هذا الكلام غير صحيح هذا الكلام أنا أرفضه طبعاً كنتائج، وكما قلت هذه الحرب تستفيد منها كل الأمة العربية، إن عرفت كيف تستفيد. لكن الثمن لا تدفعه الدول العربية، بنفس الوقت لو كان هناك إجماع عربي ودعم للبنان خلال هذه الحرب لتحول الوضع وخفف عبئاً كبيراً عن لبنان، بمعنى كي أوضح هذه النقطة: لاشك بأن الولايات المتحدة وإسرائيل تبادوا في العدوان على لبنان نتيجة الموقف العربي أو الوضع العربي أو التفكك العربي، هذه حقيقة، لو كان هناك موقف عربي موحد صلب لما كان بالإمكان لإسرائيل أن تقوم بهذا النوع من العدوان الذي لم نره في السابق، فإذاً هناك جوانب، أنا أرى الموضوع من جانبين أردت أن أتحدث عن الجانبين.

سؤال:

سيادتك قلت في خطابك الأخير أمام اتحاد الصحفيين أن العدوان كان مخططاً مسبقاً، كيف؟

السيد الرئيس:

أولاً: من خلال المعلومات التي سُربت من تحقيقات حصلت مع شبكة العملاء اللبنانيين لصالح إسرائيل، سواء التي كشفت قبل الحرب أم التي كشفت خلال الحرب، هذا دليل صارخ ودليل ملموس على أن الحرب محضرة وعلى أن الأهداف موجودة. النقطة الثانية: هناك أحاديث أو مقالات تظهر في معظم الصحف الأميركية والبريطانية تتحدث عن هذا الموضوع ويقال بأن التخطيط بدأ فعلياً في عام 2004، ومن جانب آخر كان هناك قبل الحرب أحاديث عن شيء سيحصل، وأعتقد بأن المقاومة في لبنان كانت مُحضرة لشيء ما ولكن لم يكن هناك وضوح، ما أوضح الأمر بشكل كامل هو موضوع العملاء.

سؤال:

سيادتكم قلتم في خطابكم الأخير إن بعض الأطراف اللبنانية شاركت في هذا الإعداد، ووصفت هذه الأطراف التي توصف بأنها الأكثرية أو الأكثرية النيابية بأنها منتج إسرائيلي، في نفس الخطاب أيضاً تنبأت بأن حديثك عن هذا المنتج الإسرائيلي سيثير ضجة في وسائل الإعلام، يعني أنكم كنتم تعرفون مسبقاً أنك وأنت تقول ما قلته ستثير ضجة هل كان المقصود عمداً استفزاز هذه القوى في لبنان؟

السيد الرئيس:

لا، أنا كنت أوجه خطابي للشعب السوري، نحن الآن في مفصل كبير جداً كما قلت عنه أنت في بداية الحديث، مفصل تاريخي، في هذه الحالة لا أستطيع أن أتكلم كلاماً دبلوماسياً وعمومياً، الأفضل ألا نتحدث، أنا الآن أريد أن أعطي حقائق للشعب، يجب أن يعرف كل مواطن في سورية من يتأمر علينا ومن لا يتأمر. وأريد أن أوضح نقطة عندما قلت جماعة إسرائيل لا اقصد تحديداً الأكثرية، الأكثرية هي أكثرية منتخبة، هناك من ينطبق عليه هذا القول وهناك من لا ينطبق عليه ذلك، على سبيل المثال كان وزير الخارجية السوري في زيارة للبنان منذ أسابيع قليلة خلال الحرب والتقى رئيس الحكومة وهو من الأكثرية، قبلها اتصل به رئيس الوزراء السوري وأيضاً تحدث معه عن التعاون وماذا يمكن أن تقدم سورية للبنان خلال الحرب، لذلك قصدت بهذا التيار بعض الرموز المعروفة وجزء منها له تاريخياً علاقة مع إسرائيل منذ الغزو الإسرائيلي للبنان، البعض الآخر بدأ بالتعامل مع الموقف الإسرائيلي وليس بالضرورة إسرائيل، ليس بالضرورة أن يكون لدينا معطيات كاملة، من خلال القرار 1559 والذي قال المسؤولون الإسرائيليون بأنهم هم من سيعوا من أجله، وهم تبناوا هذا القرار، القرار 1680 الذي يضرب العلاقة السورية اللبنانية لمن هذا القرار؟ هل هو من أجل سورية أو من أجل لبنان؟ من أجل إسرائيل. الحرب الأخيرة فضحت هذه المواقف لذلك كان لا بد من الحديث بشكل واضح، هذا بالنسبة لنا في سورية. من جانب آخر عندما نقول بأن ما قامت به هذه المقاومة منذ بداية الحرب حتى نهايتها بمعزل عن الانتصار أو النتائج، لا أريد أن أقول أن ما قامت به هو من أجل العرب، وإنما كان هناك تعاطف عربي ودعم عربي شعبي وأكثر من شعبي حتى رسمي في كثير من الأحيان لهذه المقاومة. المعروف بأنهم تبناوا الورقة الأمريكية الفرنسية الأولى، ولولا تغير الأوضاع الميدانية لكانت هي القرار 1701، فهذه القوى سارت بكل هذه المخططات ضد المقاومة فهي من ناحية المقاومة التي تعيننا كعرب، ولا أتحدث عن المقاومة كموضوع داخلي لبناني، وإنما كموضوع يعني الآن أي مواطن عربي، وترى أنت الآن أعلام حزب الله في كل مكان، فهم تأمروا مع إسرائيل بمذبحين الاتجاهين .

سؤال:

سيادة الرئيس، السيد حسن نصر الله حاول أن يستوعب هذه القوى وربما كان هناك اتجاه ضمن هذه القوى أن يقبل بالموقف الراهن ويقبل بانتصار المقاومة بل حتى ويشيد بانتصار المقاومة. فقيل إن خطابك في ذلك الوقت حرك هذه القوى مرة أخرى وأظهرها على الساحة مرة أخرى واستفزها لترد ردوداً قوية مرة أخرى وربما كان من الأوثق أن نللم الجراح بدلاً من أن ننكأ هذه الجراح.

السيد الرئيس:

الجراح ستبقى موجودة، والكلام لن يغير من الجراح. أن يكون هناك شخص يتعامل مع إسرائيل، فالجراح موجودة، إن لم نتحدث عنها أو إذا أغفلتها لن تحقق شيئاً، وهذا ما قمنا به في المرحلة الماضية، أغفلنا كل هذا الموضوع، ما الذي حصل؟ بقيت الجراح كما هي. أما بالنسبة لحزب الله، هذا دليل أن حزب الله ليس صنيعة سورية أو إيرانية، هو حزب لبناني، ويتعامل مع الموضوع من منطلق لبناني، أما نحن فنعامل مع الموضوع من وجهة نظر سورية التي ربما تختلف، هذا شيء طبيعي، وهذا شيء جيد.

سؤال:

سيادة الرئيس، هل تعتقد بأن العلاقات ممكن أن تتطور ايجابياً بينكم وبين الأكثرية اللبنانية في الوقت الحالي بعد هذا التوتر؟
السيد الرئيس:

حاولنا كثيراً أن نغض النظر عن كل ما حصل سابقاً تجاه سورية، وخاصة في موضوع التحقيق بمقتل الحريري، هذه المجموعة لم توفر فرصة لكي تضرب سورية بشكل مباشر من خلال التحقيق أو غيره، وأصبحت هذه القضايا مفضوحة، والكل يعرف هذا الشيء حتى خارج المنطقة العربية. مع ذلك غضضنا النظر، وقلنا نحن نريد علاقة جيدة مع لبنان، وما يهمنا هو لبنان، العلاقة تُبنى بين البلدين، وليس بين الحكومتين تحديداً، ولكن الحكومتين لهما دور أساسي في هذا الموضوع، طبعاً ممكن لكن بشرط أن تكون الأمور واضحة وأن تكون الطروحات صادقة من دون استخدام لغتين ومن دون وضع أقنعة على الوجه، لا توجد مشكلة وكما قلت أنت استقبال الشعب السوري للشعب اللبناني بشكل عفوي دليل بأن الشعب السوري يريد علاقة جيدة مع لبنان.

سؤال:

لكن يبدو أن الأمور لن تكون واضحة إلا لو حسم التحقيق في مقتل الرئيس الحريري، أليس كذلك؟

السيد الرئيس:

فإذاً المشكلة عندهم، ليس عندنا، نحن لا توجد لدينا مشكلة، نحن لم نربط شيء بالتحقيق، هم يربطون الموضوع بالتحقيق، فإذاً حتى ينتهي التحقيق لن تكون هناك علاقات جيدة بكل وضوح.

سؤال:

إذا تجاهلنا موضوع التحقيق هناك موضوع مزارع شبعا، وهنا يلاحظ أنه يوجد تضارب في الموقف الرسمي السوري، بمعنى أن بعض المسؤولين السوريين قالوا بصراحة إن مزارع شبعا لبنانية وبعض المسؤولين السوريين قالوا إن موضوع مزارع شبعا لن يُحل إلا ضمن إطار حل شامل يتناول الجولان. لماذا سيادة الرئيس لا تقدمون صك أو وثيقة إلى الأمم المتحدة تعترف فيها سورية بمزارع شبعا صراحة؟

السيد الرئيس:

أولاً: لا يوجد تناقض بين النقطتين، بالعكس يوجد تكامل، أنا قلت في أحد الخطابات بأن مزارع شبعا لبنانية، لكن ما هي حدود مزارع شبعا؟ ما هي الحدود؟ ألا يوجد ترسيم! كيف يحصل الترسيم؟ هم يطرحون الآن الترسيم على الخريطة لكي يخدموا إسرائيل، هذا أيضاً في نفس الموضوع، هذه هي الحقيقة. وكانت بعض القوى الدولية تضغط على سورية في المرحلة الماضية من أجل تحقيق هذا الشيء، لا يوجد ترسيم بين دولتين على الخريطة، الخريطة هي التي تعكس الأرض وليس

العكس، الترسيم يحصل على الواقع من خلال إحدائيات معينة هناك جانب تقني، فأولاً تحدد هذه الإحدائيات ثم تثبت هذه الإحدائيات على الخريطة، ومن ثم يسجل الاتفاق النهائي على هذه الإحدائيات لدى الأمم المتحدة بالاتفاق بين الدولتين. في موضوع الاتفاق لا تدخل الأمم المتحدة، أي موضوع حدود هو علاقة بين دولتين، وهذا تمّ مع الأردن منذ سنتين، رسمنا الحدود خلال عام تقريباً، وأهيننا الموضوع، وعادت الأراضي إلى الطرفين، وهناك وثائق تحضر، إذاً لا توجد مشكلة ولكن هذا لا يمكن أن يتم وإسرائيل موجودة في شبعاء، وإسرائيل موجودة، بمعنى هل المشكلة بين سورية ولبنان أم المشكلة بين لبنان وسورية وإسرائيل؟ هم نقلوا المشكلة باتجاه سورية ولبنان، وأصبحت إسرائيل كأنها المقيم الشرعي في هذه الأرض.

سؤال:

ولكن المسألة أيضاً وضع العربية أمام الحصان أم وضع الحصان أمام العربية، بمعنى أنه يتم جلاء إسرائيل عن المنطقة أولاً أم يتم الترسيم أولاً حتى في وجود الاحتلال الإسرائيلي بمعرفة أو بشهادة من الأمم المتحدة؟

السيد الرئيس:

بكل الأحوال المطلوب من سورية أن تدخل إلى مزارع شبعاء وترسم والإسرائيلي موجود، وكأن الأمور طبيعية، الأولوية للتحرير هذا أولاً. السؤال الثاني: ما هي القضية الهامة في شبعاء لكي يركزوا عليها في لبنان ما هي المشكلة؟ المالكون للأراضي موجودون إن كانوا من سورية أو لبنان فالجميع موجود في أرضه بمعنى لا توجد مشكلة حقيقية، القضية هي طرح إسرائيلي كي يسحبوا المبرر من المقاومة، هذه هي اللعبة وهي واضحة، الكل يعرف هذه القضية، فإذاً لا يمكن أن يكون هناك ترسيم لمزارع شبعاء، وهذا بُلغ للبنانيين في زيارة وزير الخارجية الأخيرة إلى لبنان، لا ترسيم لمزارع شبعاء قبل خروج القوات الإسرائيلية، هذا الموضوع محسوم بالنسبة لنا.

سؤال:

وهل يُقبل هذا الموضوع من الطرف الآخر؟

السيد الرئيس:

البعض يقول نعم. السبب أن هناك أكثر من طرف، هذه هي المشكلة.

سؤال:

سيادة الرئيس مادما نتكلم عن الحدود فهناك موضوع قوات الأمم المتحدة اليونيفيل، يقال في الوقت الحالي أنها لن تقف بعد أن تكبر هذه القوة وتصل إلى 15 ألف، ولو كان ممكن وصولها إلى 15 ألف، لن تقف فقط على الحدود الفلسطينية اللبنانية وإنما أيضاً على الحدود اللبنانية السورية، وسوف يكون هناك حسب تيري رود لارسن أربعة آلاف جندي مقرر وقوفهم على الحدود السورية اللبنانية. كيف تنظرون إلى هذا الموقف وقوف اليونيفيل على الحدود بينكم وبين لبنان.

السيد الرئيس:

هذا يعني خلق حالة عداء بين سورية ولبنان، أولاً: هذا يعني سيادة لبنان، لا توجد دولة في العالم تقبل أن تضع على منافذها الحدودية جنوداً من خارج جنسيتها إلا إذا كانت هناك حرب مع دولة أخرى كما هي الحال في الجولان أو الحال في

جنوب لبنان، هذا طبيعي. فهذا أولاً سحب للسيادة اللبنانية، وهم يتحدثون عن السيادة اللبنانية بشكل مستمر، وتسليمها لجهات أخرى. النقطة الثانية هي موقف عدائي تجاه سورية ومن الطبيعي أن تخلق مشاكل بين سورية ولبنان.

سؤال:

لكنهم يتخوفون من أن تُستخدم سورية ممراً لدخول السلاح إلى جهات لا يرغبون أن تصل إليها هذه الأسلحة، كذلك تسرب عناصر من هذه الحدود تساند فريقاً من اللبنانيين إزاء فريق آخر. وربما هذا مبرر لهواجسهم تبرر وجود مثل هذه القوة؟

السيد الرئيس:

إذا كان هناك جيش لبناني فهو مسؤول عن هذا الموضوع، لماذا الجيش اللبناني مسؤول عن حراسة إسرائيل؟.

سؤال:

هل تدعو سيادة الرئيس الحكومة اللبنانية إلى رفض وجود قوة دولية على الحدود بين لبنان وسورية؟

السيد الرئيس:

نحن ندعوها لتحمل مسؤولياتها كأي دولة أخرى، وهي ستحمل مسؤولية إذا كانت تريد أن تخرب العلاقة بين سورية ولبنان، هي حرة، تستطيع أن تتحمل المسؤولية، وهناك تيار في الحكومة اللبنانية وفي تيار الأكثرية يسعى لهذا الشيء.

سؤال:

سيادة الرئيس، الرفقاء الموجودين في لبنان الذين أشرت إليهم عدة مرات، ماذا تتصور أن يكون عليه الموقف بينهم؟ هل تعتقد أن هؤلاء الرفقاء في لبنان سوف يتصادمون بأسلوب آخر؟ هل تعتقد سيادة الرئيس أن الأمر سيتطور في لبنان بالأسابيع وربما الشهور القادمة إلى ما يشبه الحرب الأهلية أو إلى حرب أهلية؟

السيد الرئيس:

نتمنى ألا يحصل هذا الشيء لأن سورية دفعت ثمناً غالياً من أجل وقف الحرب الأهلية في السابق، فعندما تحصل هذه الحرب الأهلية سنشعر بأننا دفعنا ثمناً مقابل لا شيء، فإذاً نتمنى ألا يحصل هذا الشيء، ولكن لا تكفي التمنيات لتحقيق هذه الحالة المستقرة التي نراها اليوم، حتى هذه الوحدة الوطنية، هذا يعتمد على بعض القيادات السياسية التي مازالت مصرة أن تأخذ الأوامر من الخارج، لا يمكن أن يستقر بلد طالما أن الأوامر تأتي من خارج الحدود، بكل بساطة لا يوجد أية عوامل أخرى أهم من هذا العامل، عدا عن ذلك أنا لا أرى أية مؤشرات لحرب أهلية أو انقسام.

سؤال:

سيادة الرئيس خلال حديثنا حتى الآن عبر إجابة وأخرى أشدت بالمقاومة الإشادة المتوقعة، إنما قد يخطر ببالي سؤال هنا ما دتمتم إلى هذا الحد معجبون بالمقاومة اللبنانية وتشيدون بما لماذا أو كيف تكون هذه المقاومة في لبنان دليلاً لكم للحصول على حقوقكم في سورية؟ كيف ستواجهون الاحتلال الإسرائيلي بالاستفادة من تجربة المقاومة اللبنانية؟

السيد الرئيس:

كما قلت في البداية الدولة تبني جيشاً، والجيش من مهامه تحرير الأرض، حرب 1973 التي خاضتها سورية ومصر بنيت على هذا الأساس، لكن الجيش عندما يخوض حرباً يجب أن تكون الأمور محضرة بشكل جيد، نحن نعرف أن هناك حصار

شبه كامل، خاصة في التسعينيات، على سورية، وبالمقابل هناك إمداد كبير لإسرائيل من قبل الولايات المتحدة، والأسواق الأخرى مفتوحة لها وأحياناً بالمجان. هذا يعني بأننا غيرنا مهام الجيش، هذه من مهامه، ونحن نسعى بشكل مستمر، وفي السنوات الأخيرة قطعنا خطوات جيدة باتجاه التحضير، على الأقل في المرحلة الأولى للدفاع عن أرضنا لأن إسرائيل بلد توسعي، وبمرحلة لاحقة إن لم يتحقق السلام، فعندما تقول اللا حرب واللا سلم سيأتي إما حرب وإما سلم، فإن لم تتحرك عملية السلام من أجل عودة الحقوق، فالحرب هي المستقبل الطبيعي في هذه المنطقة، وسورية هي المعنى الأول في هذا الموضوع. أما من الناحية السياسية كما قلت علينا أن نرصد أولاً الجو العربي واستعداده للتحرك على أرضية الانتصار، وليس على أرضية اللا منتصر واللا مهزوم .

سؤال:

إلى أي حد ستصبرون على الاحتلال الإسرائيلي سيادة الرئيس؟

السيد الرئيس:

هذا ما ستحدده المرحلة القصيرة المقبلة، وأنا قلت في هذا الخطاب بشكل واضح بأن الأجيال الحالية ربما تكون آخر أجيال تقبل السلام، فإذا سينتهي هذا الصبر مع انتهاء صبر هذه الأجيال. بمعنى أن عملية المقاومة هي عملية شعبية، ليست قرار دولة أن تبدأ بالمقاومة، فعندها ربما تتجاوز الناس حكوماتها أو دولها وتقوم هي بهذا العمل المقاوم، فتتحرك عملية السلام كما نسمع الآن، في منطقتنا وفي الغرب، هناك حديث مكثف عن عملية السلام، إن تحركت فرمما تذهب العملية باتجاه المفاوضات.

سؤال:

سيادة الرئيس، الكثيرون كانوا يتوقعون أن تنتفض سورية وتهب لنجدة المقاومة اللبنانية التي حاربت وحدها طيلة هذه الأسابيع، كان البعض يتوقع أن تتخذ سورية إجراءً عسكرياً ما، ليس فقط عندما حلقت بعض الطائرات الإسرائيلية فوق قصر الضيافة في اللاذقية وإنما حتى منذ سنتين عندما أغارت إسرائيل على موقع عين الصاحب التي كانت فيه الجبهة الشعبية، كانوا يتوقعون عندما قصفت القاع وذهب في هذه المجزرة عشرات من المواطنين السوريين، ولكن سورية حافظت على أعصابها بشكل أثار الاستغراب؟

السيد الرئيس:

أولاً: حزب الله لم يطلب النجدة من أحد، وواضح تماماً بأنه حزب محضر بشكل جيد لخوض معركة قاسية جداً، فهو لم يطلب النجدة من أحد. ثانياً: كما قلت قبل قليل الحزب والمقاومة اللبنانية، والآن ربما هما جهة واحدة، هما من يحق لهم أن يتحدثوا عن من قام بواجبه ومن لم يقم بواجبه، لا يحق لنا أن نتحدث عن مدى ما قمنا به، على الأقل من الناحية السياسية والمعنوية، أما بالنسبة للقاع فهي أرض لبنانية في قلب لبنان، من الجانب الآخر إسرائيل كانت تريد هذا الشيء.

سؤال:

كانت تريد استفزازكم؟

السيد الرئيس:

كانت تريد ذلك في المراحل الأولى، هذه مجرد معطيات غير مدققة، لكن نحن نعتقد أن انتصار حزب الله كان كافياً لتلقيين إسرائيل الدرس، وكما قلت قبل قليل عندما يخوض الجيش معارك، يجب أن يخوضها لتحقيق هدف، وعندما لا تكون الأمور مكتملة باتجاه تحقيق هذا الهدف يجب ألا تكون الحرب قضية انفعال، بمعنى أن لها متطلبات معقدة.

سؤال:

أليس في سورية غيرة أن حزب الله حقق ما حققه وأن كل السوريين يجب أن يكون لديهم الغيرة أننا لم نستطيع أن نحرر الجولان حتى تاريخه بأي وسيلة سواء كان بالجيش أو بالمقاومة؟

السيد الرئيس:

قبل هذه الحرب بعدة أشهر بدأ الحديث في سورية عن موضوع تحرير الجولان ولو انه بُدئ على شكل حديث سياسي تثقيفي للأجيال الجديدة التي لا تعرف سوى عملية السلام ولا تعرف شيئاً عن المراحل التي سبقتها، يسمعون الكثير عن السلام، ولكن في الحقيقة لا يعرفون الكثير عن التحرير، فبدأ طرح هذا الموضوع لأن عملية السلام متوقفة، ماذا ننتظر! لا خيار سوى المقاومة أو الحرب، إن لم نكن نرغب بالحرب فلنتجه باتجاه المقاومة. هذا حديث بدأ ينتشر، خاصة مع الذكرى الستين لعيد الجلاء في سورية في شهر نيسان الماضي، هذه الحرب كرسست هذه المقولة، وأنا ذكرتها في الخطاب، قلت إن تحرير الجولان بأيدينا وبغزمتنا، لكن هذه العزيمة بالنسبة لنا كدولة تأخذ الاتجاه السياسي وتأخذ الاتجاه العسكري، كما قلت بالعودة لموضوع المقاومة هو قرار شعبي لا تستطيع أن تقول دولة ما، نعم، سنذهب باتجاه المقاومة، هذا كلام غير منطقي، الشعب يتحرك للمقاومة بمعزل عن دولته عندما يقرر هذا الشيء.

سؤال:

هل يمكن أن نشهد مقاومة مسلحة في الجولان؟

السيد الرئيس:

ذكرت الجواب سابقاً، الشعب هو الذي يقرر، أعود وأقول إذا لم يحقق السلام عودة الحقوق فهذا هو الخيار الطبيعي والبدهي، والأمور ستذهب بهذا الاتجاه شئنا أم أبينا.

سؤال:

سيادة الرئيس، تقول إن الشعب هو الذي يقرر، هل الشعب مستعد، كما تحس، وأنت تعرف إحساس الشعب بالتأكيد، هل الشعب مستعد للمقاومة المسلحة في الجولان؟

السيد الرئيس:

دائماً هناك تيارات وهناك رؤى، هناك من يتحدث بشكل حماسي عن الدخول اليوم في هذا الموضوع، وهناك من يقول يجب أن نحضر أنفسنا، لكن هذه الحرب كرسست هذا الخيار، ويبقى ماذا تفعل أنت كدولة وكشعب لكي تحضر نفسك للحظة قد يكون فيها عدوان، ليس بالضرورة أن يكون موضوع التحرير مهماً فقط لأن العدوان هو أيضاً أحد الاحتمالات العسكرية الهامة وماذا ستفعل لتحرير أرضك بالتوازي مع المسار السياسي.

سؤال:

سيادة الرئيس، الشعب يكون مستعداً للتضحية عادة عندما يحس حقيقة أن البلد بلده، وأنا أقدر إلى حد كبير قيمة الحريات وأحس ببلدي عندما أحس بالحرية فيها وعندما أحصل على حقوقي فيها، ومن ضمن حقوقي في بلدي أن أتحدث بحرية. تتذكر سيادتكم عندما التقينا منذ عدة شهور وقلت لك أنه أين بشار الأسد الذي كان يظهر دائماً بين الناس، هذه هي الصورة التي رأيتها منذ ست سنوات في بداية حكمكم كنا دائماً نراك بين الناس العائلة الشابة التي تبشر بأنه يوجد دم جديد يمشي في أوردة الوطن، لكن هذه الصورة غابت بعد وقت، وأنا أقرن هذه الصورة مع الحديث عن الحريات لأنه في اعتقادي ليس كل المواطنين في سورية متمتعين بما يريدونه من حريات؟

السيد الرئيس:

هذه الصورة لم تتغير، وأنا قبل الحرب بأسبوع كنت بين الناس، دائماً أعيش حياة أقرب ما تكون إلى الطبيعية، لم تتغير هذه الصورة، ولم يتغير شيء سوى هذا الشهر الأخير نتيجة الظروف وضغط العمل في هذه الظروف الخاصة. وهذا شيء جيد، عندما تعيش بين الناس تعرف حاجات الناس، وتفهم المجتمع بشكل أكبر. لا تستطيع أن تطور بلداً فيه ملايين الناس، فقط من خلال وجهة نظر شخصية، بكل الأحوال أن تعيش في عائلة ومجتمع صغير، مهما وسعت علاقاتك، يبقى لديك رؤية محدودة نسبة إلى حجم الوطن الكبير، فلا يكفي أن يكون هو الرئيس الشاب أو الرئيس الذي يعيش مع الناس لكي يكون قادراً على تحقيق كل ما يريده في زمن قصير، هذا الشيء بحاجة لزمان طويل. نحن قطعنا خطوات، نسير في هذا المجال بخطوات ثابتة، لكن لدينا أيضاً وضوح في الأسس التي تسير عليها هذه العملية، بمعنى أن هناك حريات في دول مجاورة أنت تعرفها ولكن لا نريد الحريات التي تُستغل من الخارج، وهذه موجودة، الحريات ضمن إطار الوطن من يُعرّف الإطار الوطني أيضاً؟ هذا موضوع آخر، ولكن نحن كدولة علينا الآن أن نُعرّف هذا الموضوع لكي لا ندخل في إطار الفوضى ولا في إطار التبعية ولا حقاً في إطار التلاعب في وضعنا الداخلي.

سؤال:

طبعاً سيادة الرئيس، أنا لا أتحدث دفاعاً عن جماعة الغادري أو الخدم، جماعة خدام وغيرهم من الذين يتغطون بغطاء أجنبي، ولا بالإخوان المسلمين الذين يرتكبون هذا الخطأ الاستراتيجي بالانضمام إلى فئات يغطيها الغرب، وإنما أنا أتحدث عن الناس العاديين من المثقفين مثل جماعة منتدى الأتاسي والأعضاء في الاتحاد الاشتراكي وأشخاص آخرين قد يكونون أكثر ولاء للبلد وهم في المعتقل من بعض الذين هم خارج السجون؟

السيد الرئيس:

هذا ما قلت بأنه الحد الواضح، الولاء للبلد ليس فقط بأن لا تكون عميلاً معلناً لدولة أجنبية، الولاء للبلد يكون بعدم القبول بتدخلات أجنبية من خلال أي سفارة، وأنا واضح في هذا الموضوع دائماً، أو من خلال أية حكومة أجنبية تتدخل بنا مباشرة، وأنا قلت هذا الموضوع للأوروبيين بشكل واضح عدة مرات، قلت لهم: كل شخص ستدخلون أنتم من أجله سنضعه في خانة اللا وطنية، فعليكم أن تتوقفوا عن التدخل وإرسال الرسائل، هذا الكلام محسوم بالنسبة لنا، لدينا حساسية عالية جداً تجاه التدخلات الأجنبية، عدا عن ذلك، الكل موجود، ولو أردنا أن نمنعهم عن الكلام كما يشيع البعض لكانوا كلهم في السجن، الحقيقة ليست كذلك، نحن قطعنا خطوات ولا ندعي بأننا حققنا الكثير، قطعنا خطوات معقولة ضمن الظروف التي نعيشها، البعض يراها أقل من اللازم، البعض يراها أكثر من اللازم، دعنا نقف في الوسط، ولكن علينا أن نسير

بشكل حذر، نحن لا نسير بجو طبيعي، ولا يشك أحد، حتى من السوريين أو غير السوريين، بأن هناك تدخلاً أو محاولات تدخل يومياً في الشأن الداخلي السوري. لا نستطيع أن نكون ساذجين ونقول الأمور جيدة أو الكل وطني، القضية ليست قضية حسن نية، بالعكس تماماً، لا بد أن نرى الأمور بالمنظار الآخر، ولكن نحن مررنا بظروف كثيرة، خاصة في السنة الأخيرة من أصعب الظروف التي يمكن أن تمر بها دولة ما، ولو لم تكن لدينا وحدة وطنية لما كنا تجاوزنا هذه الظروف بهذه الطريقة، فإذا لا نستطيع أن نقول بأن الصورة سلبية، هي صورة إيجابية ولكن فيها سلبيات وهذا شيء طبيعي، وإلا لماذا نتحدث عن التطوير إذا كان كل شيء ممتاز؟ فإذا نحن لا ننكر ما تقوله ولكن يجب أن نضعه في الإطار الواقعي والموضوعي، هذا ما أريده.

سؤال:

في الحقيقة إنني أتفهم كثيراً الحساسية تجاه الجهات الأجنبية عندما تتدخل إنما أرجو ألا تكون هناك مثل هذه الحساسيات عندما تكون جهات عربية تتدخل وأظن أن سيادتكم التقيت بحركات شعبية متعددة سواء المحامين أو الأحزاب أو الصحفيين وقدموا لك مجموعة من المطالب؟

السيد الرئيس:

وليبنا لهم عدداً من تلك المطالب.

سؤال:

وأعرف أنكم لبيتم مطالبهم وأرجو أن تلبى باقي المطالب، إن لم يكن هناك مانع أممي كبير.

السيد الرئيس:

المهم أن لا يكون هناك مانع وطني.

سؤال:

سيادة الرئيس، لا أريد التطرق كثيراً للقوانين الجديدة كما إنني لم أكن أرغب أن أتطرق كثيراً إلى المواضيع الداخلية لأن الموقف العربي والموقف الدولي هو الذي يستحق منا أكبر قدر، لكن آخر سؤال لي في الوضع الداخلي يتعلق بالقوانين الجديدة التي وعدتم بإصدارها ولم يصدر منها شيء هام حتى الآن مثل قانون الأحزاب؟

السيد الرئيس:

هناك كثير من القوانين تصدر. وقانون الأحزاب كان بحاجة لوضع رؤية معينة، ومن ثم عرضها على المواطنين في سورية، لأن هذا القانون هام جداً. في الحقيقة نحن أخذنا قراراً في مؤتمر الحزب في الشهر السادس من العام الماضي عام 2005، ومباشرة بدأت الهجمة علينا وموضوع التحقيق وكل القضايا الأخرى التي تعرضت لها سورية. لا شك بأن الهجوم الذي نتعرض له آخر الكثير من القضايا الداخلية التي كنا سنقوم بها على المستوى الاقتصادي وعلى المستوى السياسي وعلى المستويات المختلفة، لكن هذا الموضوع لم يتوقف، وبكل تأكيد أنت الآن في هذا الظرف تسألني عما نقوم به الآن، الآن كنا متفرغين تماماً للمعركة التي كانت تحصل في لبنان ولتداعياتها، وهي لم تنته بعد، لكن نحن مستمرين وأخذنا قراراً، يبقى أن تسمح لنا الظروف أن نتفرغ أكثر لإنجازه.

سؤال:

سيادة الرئيس، لقد استفضت في حديثك فيما يتعلق بالعلاقة بين الدولة والشعب، أنت في خطابك الأخير وجهت دعوة كانت غريبة على زعيم عربي أن يوجهها، وجهت دعوة إلى الأنظمة العربية أن تنحاز إلى الشعوب وهذه دعوة خطيرة توجهها سيادتكم إلى زملائك القادة العرب، هل تعتقد أن نتائجها ممكن أن تكون كبيرة بالنسبة للعلاقات السورية العربية، هل هذا سيسهم في عزل سورية عن محيطها العربي؟

السيد الرئيس:

لا، نحن نتحدث من تجربة واقعية عمرها عقود، في كل المراحل والأزمات التي مرت بها سورية، تحديداً ما بعد حرب عام 1973 ودخول مصر في كامب ديفيد والصراعات التي دخلت فيها المنطقة العربية، وكانت سورية دائماً في قلب العاصفة، وتعرضت لمؤامرات خطيرة داخلية وخارجية، من حمى سورية كوطن هو الشعب، ولم نعلم على جهة خارجية، دول كثيرة أخرى في العالم اعتمدت على الدعم الخارجي فلم تنجح، أنا الآن أتحدث عن الاستقرار، نحن نريد الاستقرار، نحن الآن تعلمنا أيضاً من بعد حرب العراق، نحن نعيش ما بين حرب العراق وما بين الانقسامات الحاصلة أو الخلافات الحاصلة في لبنان والتي تؤثر في لبنان وفي محيط لبنان وفي كل ما نعيشه كلنا كعرب، الأوضاع غير مريحة ومع ذلك ما يساعدنا هو الحالة الشعبية، لا يمكن أن يكون هناك استقرار وحالة شعبية مستقرة من دون أن تنحاز الدولة إلى حد ما إلى جانب الشعب، فهي نصيحة أنا طرحتها على المستوى العام من خلال تجربة ولا أعتقد بأنها خطيرة، الاستقرار ليس خطيراً، أعتقد العكس.

سؤال:

الاستقرار ليس خطيراً، ولكن توجيه النصح هذا كان مُستغرباً.

السيد الرئيس:

وأنا أنصح نفسي على كل الأحوال، وأضع نفسي معهم.

سؤال:

هل حرقت سورية أوراقها العربية بالملاحظة الشديدة التي قلتها في خطابك، الملاحظة المتعلقة بأن الحرب أسقطت أنصاف المواقف أنصاف الرجال؟

السيد الرئيس:

دعني فقط أكمل نقطة بالنسبة للسؤال السابق، لست أنا الوحيد الذي ينصح بهذه النصيحة، هناك رؤساء عرب يطبقون هذه الفكرة، لا أريد أن أقول أنهم الأكثرية ولكن هناك من طبقها فلست أنا الوحيد، أما بالنسبة لسؤالك حول ما إذا كنا حرقنا أوراقنا العربية، فلم يحصل ذلك لأن أنصاف الرجال موجودون دائماً في كل المواقف وفي كل الأماكن وهي كلمة عامة ربما تشمل مسؤولاً أو صحفياً أو كاتباً، وكان التفسير واضحاً بالنسبة لهذه النقطة في الخطاب، هؤلاء من يأتون متأخرين بالموقف بعد أن تظهر موازين القوى.

سؤال:

وهل يوجد أحد يتخذ موقفاً، باستثناء القادة والحكام؟

السيد الرئيس:

هؤلاء أخذوا موقفاً منذ البداية، وربما تعارضت مواقف البعض مع موقف سورية، ولكن الإعلام اتهم تلك الدول، الحقيقة كانت المواقف موجودة منذ البداية، ولتحدث عن الطبقة السياسية، الطبقة السياسية أصحاب المصالح السياسية ينتظرون، ليس بالضرورة أن يكون الآن مسؤولاً، لكن ربما هو فاعل في السياسة أو هو زعيم سياسي وهكذا، البعض منهم ربما يكون مسؤولاً يأخذ موقفاً.

سؤال:

سيادة الرئيس، بعد هذا التصريح بالذات، وهذه الجملة بالذات، أثارت الصحف في دول بعينها وبصراحة في مصر والسعودية والأردن، وردت بهجوم على الموقف السوري بردود شديدة، هل أثرت هذه الردود في مواقفكم، هل عمقت هذه الردود من الهوة بين موقفكم وبعض المواقف الرسمية العربية الأخرى؟

السيد الرئيس:

الحقيقة لم تؤثر، لأن من أثارها هو جزء من الإعلام العربي، وهذا الجزء بالأساس يقف في الموقع المخالف لموقفنا، بالأساس هذا الإعلام أو الإعلاميين ربما، هم أشخاص في الإعلام العربي، هم من الخاسرين باعتقادهم من انتصار المقاومة لأنهم كانوا يسوقون العكس، فتركوا كل ما ورد في الخطاب ولجؤوا إلى هذه الجملة، وتفسيرهم خاطئ، لأنه كما قلت من لا يأخذ الموقف هو غير من يأخذ الموقف، هذه الدول التي ذكرتها أخذت موقفاً ولكن كان يختلف عن موقفنا، أو موقفنا يختلف عن موقفها، لكن أنا تحدثت عن من لا يأخذ موقفاً على الإطلاق ومن يأتي لاحقاً، وأنا عندما أتحدث في خطاباتي، أتحدث عن عموميات، عن مبادئ نرفضها أو نقبلها، ونحدد بوضوح ما نقبل وما نرفض، أما عندما أريد أن أتحدث فأنا لست بحاجة إلى التلميح، أنا في نفس الخطاب قلت المسؤول الفرنسي، كلامي واضح، وفي خطاب سابق ذكرت مسؤولاً عربياً في دولة بالاسم، بمعنى أنني لست مضطراً للتلميح، ولكن هذا التعميم أو هذا الحديث أو هذا المصطلح بعموميته ربما يشمل كما قلت شرائح مختلفة، فأنا شملت كل هذه الشرائح، جزء منها نعرفهم بالاسم وأجزاء كبيرة لا نعرف من هم، ولكنهم يأتون في نفس هذا الإطار، أنا كنت أريد أن أحمل المسؤولية هؤلاء غير الواضحين في مرحلة تتطلب الوضوح لعدم أخذهم المواقف ونطلب منهم أو على الأقل نقول لهم في المستقبل، لن يكون لكم دور، هذا هو الهدف.

سؤال:

هل حصلت اتصالات بعد الخطاب بينكم وبين مصر بينكم وبين السعودية وأنا أذكر هاتين الدولتين بالاسم لأنهما معكم ب"دول إعلان دمشق" هل انهار هذا الإعلان انتهى؟

السيد الرئيس:

لا أعرف ماذا كان منه فعلياً، العمل بإعلان دمشق هو بالأساس توقف منذ سنوات طويلة، ولكن نعم، حصلت اتصالات، مؤخراً أنا قلت دائماً في عدة تصريحات صحفية، هناك دائماً خلافات تحصل بيننا وبين الدول العربية، مثل هذا الموقف، موقفنا من المقاومة، موقفنا من الحرب، كان هناك خلاف واضح، بين موقف سورية وعدد من الدول العربية منها السعودية ومصر، وعلينا دائماً أن نتواصل لكي يفسر كل واحد موقفه، وبالخصله ربما نبقي على موقفنا، وربما هم يبقون على موقفهم. ولكن تحصل هذه الاتصالات وحصلت.

سؤال:

وهل أدت إلى استيعاب التباين في المواقف، وقبول مثل هذا التباين في المواقف من جانبك ومن جانب قادة مصر والسعودية؟
السيد الرئيس:

حتى الآن، الاتصالات على مستوى السفراء، بمعنى أنه لم يتضح شيء، ولكن لم نعد نسمع مواقف جديدة تجاه الحرب من تلك الدول، فلا نعرف ما هو الموقف النهائي ولا بد أن نسأل، بمعنى أنني لا أستطيع الآن أن أعطيك جواباً نهائياً، لا يوجد شيء واضح.

سؤال:

ونحن نتكلم عن سورية وإيران، ما يلفت النظر أن جيرانكم العرب علاقتكم بهم متردية، دعنا نقل، سواء كانت مع لبنان أو مع الأردن أو مع العراق، وتكادوا تكونوا معزولين، محاصرين جغرافياً على الأقل، وليس لكم من منفذ إلا الجار غير العربي تركيا؟

السيد الرئيس:

ليس بالضرورة أن تكون الصورة مئة بالمئة كذلك، لأن التواصل يحصل من خلال المواطنين، بمعنى أن المواطن العراقي، يأتي بشكل مستمر إلى سورية، ويرغب عدد من المسؤولين في العراق أن تكون هناك علاقة جيدة مع سورية لكن الاحتلال يمنعهم من هذا الشيء، هناك شرائح كبيرة في لبنان تريد علاقة جيدة مع سورية، شرائح سياسية وغيرها، في الأردن نفس الشيء. ليست الصورة تماماً بهذا السواد ولكن الشيء الصحيح بأن الدولة التركية هي كانت الأكثر تعاوناً مع سورية في المراحل السابقة ولا زالت، خاصة في مرحلة التحقيق الدولي، عندما تحرب البعض من العرب من قيامه بواجباته كما نتوقع منه، على الأقل بالنسبة إلى موقع التحقيق، بينما تركيا وافقت ولم نطلب منها، هي بادرت، بينما العرب طلبنا منهم.

سؤال:

بالتأكيد الحصار ليس عربياً فقط على سورية، وإنما الحصار الأساسي من الغرب والحصار من أمريكا، وبالطبع الحصار أيضاً فرنسياً خاصة بعد التطورات الأخيرة في لبنان، كان الملفت للنظر أن الحصار أيضاً يمتد إلى ألمانيا التي كانت تتخذ موقفاً في السابق أفضل من الموقف الحالي، بعد أن ألغى وزير الخارجية الألماني زيارته لسورية بعد تصريحاتكم الأخيرة؟

السيد الرئيس:

لا، موقف ألمانيا لم يتغير، وتصريحاته بعد إلغاء الزيارة بقيت إيجابية، بأنهم يريدون الحوار مع سورية، والاتصالات بينهم وبيننا الآن مستمرة ولم تنقطع. طبعاً هم اتصلوا بنا، اتصل وزير خارجية ألمانيا بوزير خارجيتنا وقال له أنا كنت أتيت بمهمة سلام، ولكن أنا فهمت بأن الخطاب هو خطاب حرب، وأن سورية لا ترغب بالسلام، لا أذكر حرفياً ما الذي قال، طبعاً تم توضيح هذه النقطة لاحقاً، مع أن الخطاب واضح. هو خطاب يتحدث عن السلام، فلا يوجد قلق من هذه الناحية، لا توجد عزلة. وزير الخارجية السوري ذهب إلى فنلندا والتي هي الآن رئيسة الاتحاد الأوروبي، والأمور تسير بشكل طبيعي، ولكن طبعاً علينا أن نتوقع أن البعض لم يفهم تماماً موقفنا، وعلينا أن نتحاور معه ونشرح له ماذا نقصد بكل كلمة وبكل موقف.

سؤال:

يبدو أن سيادتكم متفائل، بأن هذا الحصار سيزول قريباً؟

السيد الرئيس:

في الحقيقة، أولاً: أنا قلت لبعض المسؤولين الاوروبيين الذين التقيت بهم أن موضوع عزل سورية فشل، هذه حقيقة من يعزل سورية سيعزل نفسه عن القضايا الأساسية، هذا الموضوع، الواقع يفرضه وليست مناوراتنا السياسية، أو تكتيكاتنا، وهم فهموا هذا الموضوع. الحقيقة أن العزل الأوروبي كان بضغط فرنسي - أمريكي، الآن تحدثوا بشكل واضح بأن هذا الموضوع لن يقبلوا به بعد الآن، ولن يؤدي إلى نتائج، بالعكس سيؤدي إلى تراجع الأمور، فهم متحمسون إلى الحوار ولكن علينا أن نخلق أرضية لهذا الحوار مع الأوروبيين.

سؤال:

سيادة الرئيس ونحن نتكلم عن الوضع العربي والأوضاع المحيطة بكم، خطابك الأخير مرة أخرى، وكان خطاباً هاماً، قلت فيه أن الجانب الإيجابي من الحرب في لبنان كان تعرية الوضع العربي، أو رأينا العرب دون مساحيق، وفي واقع الأمر، الحال هو كذلك بالتأكيد. هل انفرط العقد العربي من وراء هذه الحرب؟.

السيد الرئيس:

أيضاً عندما نتحدث عن شيء، ربما يكون هناك وجهات نظر مختلفة. ما هو العقد العربي؟ إذا كان هذا العقد موجوداً ما هي وظيفته؟ إذا كان هذا العقد من أجل أن أتغنى به، فهذا موضوع شكلي وحينها لا يهم إذا كان موجوداً أو غير موجود. أما إذا كان له وظيفة فعلينا أن نحدد متى تكون وظيفة العقد العربي، أو الإجماع العربي، مطلوبة، في حالة الراحة أم في حالة الشدة. في حالة الشدة هناك تجارب قريبة، الحرب الأخيرة وغزو العراق. في الحالتين عندما بدأ الحديث عن الحرب في العراق وفي لبنان، انقسمنا كعرب. فإذاً ربما هو يكون موجوداً ولكنه هش، ولنقل بأنه غير فاعل، فما قيمة أن يكون موجوداً وهو غير فاعل؟! هذا هو السؤال. أما أن يكون موجوداً وانفرط في الحرب الأخيرة فهذا يعني أنه غير موجود في الواقع وهو مجرد عنوان نضعه، وهذا نفسه ما يصل إلى فكرة المساحيق. نحن نجمل هذا العقد العربي، هذا ما أقصده. ونعتبره موجوداً من خلال البيانات التي تأتي كحل وسط لإرضاء مواقف كل الدول، لكنها بالنتيجة تخرج بدون موقف واضح، هذا في السابق، فإذاً هذه هي وجهة نظري بأن العقد العربي من الناحية الفاعلة غير موجود. والدليل أيضاً ما حصل في نيويورك عندما لم يهتموا بالموقف العربي. الدول الكبرى لعبت لعبتها، والآن الصراع على القوات الدولية في لبنان هو صراع بين دور فرنسا ودور أمريكا.

سؤال:

ألم يستطع العرب على الأقل عندما وحدوا إلى حد ما وجهة نظر موقفهم وذهبوا إلى نيويورك أن يبذلوا قليلاً في القرار الدولي.

السيد الرئيس:

لا. ما بدله هو الوضع الميداني. هو الذي أثر في تبديل المواقف. طبعاً نحن جزء من العرب، عندما أقول وفد عربي، ذهب باسمنا جميعاً، لكن الوضع الميداني هو الذي بدّل. والتوحد لمرحلة واحدة، فترة قصيرة، لن يخلق التأثير المطلوب في الساحة الدولية. يجب أن نكون موحدين في معظم القضايا ولفترة طويلة كي يبدأ الوجود العربي بأخذ مداه على الساحة العربية. الحقيقة هو غير موجود.

سؤال:

بالتأكيد لأنه يبدو أنه ليس هناك توحيد على الإطلاق، بالعكس، كما يتراءى لي هناك جبهتان على أصعدة مختلفة، هناك مثلاً جبهة الصمود وجبهة الاستسلام أو السلام كما يقال، أمام جبهتين مرة ثانية جبهة للشعوب وجبهة للحكام، هناك جبهة العرب الذين يستقوون بإيران، وجبهة العرب الذين يستقوون بأمريكا، هناك جبهات متعددة يبدو معها أن العقد قد انفرط.

السيد الرئيس:

ليس بالضرورة أن تكون جبهة بمعنى محور سياسي بين دول، هذه الجبهة دائماً تكون موجودة بين من يريد أن يصمد ومن يريد أن يستسلم، حتى في الدول التي تصمد، هذا التيار موجود، أي هي حالة عامة. نحن في سورية قررنا منذ زمن طويل أن لا نتنازل عن حقوقنا فنحن نصمد. جبهة الشعب وجبهة الدولة هي حالة من اللاتقنة بين الشعب والدولة. في معظم الدول العربية نتيجة تراكمات تاريخية معينة، ولكن ربما تظهر هذه الانقسامات أكثر في هذه الظروف. لذلك أعود وأقول بأن ما نراه الآن هو الوضع الطبيعي سواء الوضع على مستوى العلاقات الداخلية للدول العربية أم بين الدول العربية، ولكنه ظهر وانكشف في هذه الحرب، وهذا ما قصدته أنا بتعريف الوضع العربي.

سؤال:

في تعريف الوضع العربي الذي لفت نظري جداً في خطابك هو قولك أن هناك جبهة المعنيين بقضية الحرب والسلام ووضعت تحت هذا العنوان المعنيين سورية ولبنان وفلسطين بصفتنا لنا أراض محتلة، ووضعت الباقيين كلهم في سلة واحدة، أنتم لستم معنيون لا بحرب ولا بسلام، ليس لكم شأن، أتيحوا لنا الفرصة. هل حقيقة أنتم فقط المعنيون بقضية الحرب والسلام؟

السيد الرئيس:

لا. أنا قلت تنمة الكلام بأننا نريد دعم إخواننا العرب وكل من يريد أن يقف معنا من غير العرب، بالعكس أنا قلت نحن نريد وهذا أساسي، ونحن لا يمكن أن نكون أقوىاء من دولهم. ونحن إذا كنا إخوة ونعيش في المنزل الواحد، لا يوجد بيننا رسميات وربما حواجز، ولكن يوجد أصول للتعامل، بمعنى إذا كان أحد الإخوة لديه مشكلة، لا يمكن أن تجتمع العائلة وتحل المشكلة بمعزل عن صاحب المشكلة الذي هو واحد من هذه العائلة. ما يحصل أحياناً بأن البعض من المسؤولين العرب يتصرف بهذا الموضوع وكأننا غير موجودين، بتصريح، بمبادرة، بتحريك. ما هي الخسارة لو أتى هذا المسؤول إلى سورية وسألها ما هي تصوراتها عن عملية السلام؟! كان لدينا على سبيل المثال وزير الخارجية التركي لأنه المثال الأخير، وقبله كان لدينا الأخ الشيخ حمد أمير دولة قطر، تحدثنا في كل هذه القضايا ولكنهم أتوا إلى سورية وقالوا: ما هو الموقف؟ كيف تعتقدون بأننا نستطيع أن نتحرك؟ ووضعنا تصوراً. والآن يستطيعون أن يتحركوا معنا، وأحياناً من دوننا، في مواقع ربما لا نستطيع أن نتحرك فيها، في هذا الموضوع. تخيل لو أردنا أن نحل قضية دارفور أن نقوم باجتماع قمة على سبيل المثال، بما أنها قضية ساخنة، ولا نسأل السودان ما الذي تريده؟ هذا ما نقصده. أحد الأمثلة هي خارطة الطريق، حيث وضعوا فيها سورية ولبنان ولم يأخذوا رأي سورية أو لبنان، وكانت هناك أطراف عربية مساهمة في خارطة الطريق، لم نُسأل، رفضنا الدخول فيها بشكل كامل منذ البداية. فما أردت أن أحدهه للمرحلة المقبلة، أن هناك أسس لا نستطيع أن نتجاوزها، لا يمكن أن نتحدث عن إجماع عربي، في غياب الطرف العربي الأساسي، أبقى أنا صاحب القضية، أنا من سافأوض، وإذا لم نتجح

المفاوضات وحصل حرب، فأنا من سيحارب، فهذا ما أردت أن أضعه كأسس ولكن الدور العربي أساسي، ولكن علينا أن نحدد كيف يسير الدور العربي بالاتجاه الصحيح، لكي لا يكون ضاراً.

سؤال:

ذكرت زيارة أمير قطر لدمشق، وما نشر بواسطة الوكالات والصحف السورية بأنها زيارة عمل. أي عمل؟

السيد الرئيس:

قطر طبعاً الدولة العربية الوحيدة الآن في مجلس الأمن، ودورها أساسي. علاقتنا مع قطر تطورت كثيراً في السنوات الأخيرة، ولقطر مصداقية بالنسبة لنا بدورها السياسي. لقطر علاقات مختلفة.

سؤال:

سيدي الرئيس، قلت مصداقية؟

السيد الرئيس:

نعم بالنسبة لتعاونهم معنا، بالنسبة لنا في سورية.

سؤال:

أنا أعتقد بأن هذا سيكون مستغرباً قليلاً أن تكون قطر على نفس الخط مع سورية. يعني أنا مختار في وضع قطر على الخريطة السياسية. فيما أن سيادتكم التقييم بهم عدة مرات ولكم صداقات، في السنين الأخيرة، ماذا تفعل قطر بالضبط؟

السيد الرئيس:

نحن لا نطلب من قطر أن تكون سورية، ولا من مصر والسعودية والمغرب أن يكونوا سورية. كل دولة تختلف عن الأخرى بجوانب، لكن على الأقل إن لم تكن قادراً أن تكون مثلي أو أن تقدم ما أريد، كن واضحاً معي، لا تقدم وعوداً وفي المرحلة الصعبة نرى شيئاً آخر. ما قامت به قطر أنها كانت واضحة معنا، الأمور واضحة على الطاولة، فعندما وصلنا إلى المفاصل المختلفة لم نر منهم أي شيء يختلف عما قالوه، هذا كاف. قد لا تكون دولة كبيرة ولكن المصداقية مطلوبة الآن، ويجب أن تلعب كل الدول دوراً، الكبيرة والصغيرة. من جانب آخر لديهم علاقات، حاولوا أن يساعدونا بشكل جدي في مواقع مختلفة، وتمكنوا ضمن إمكانياتهم أن يقدموا شيء.

مداخلة:

كان موقف أمير قطر في بيروت. الكلام الذي قاله هناك. كان موقفاً حاسماً وواضحاً وقوياً في واقع الأمر.

السيد الرئيس:

تماماً. فآليات العمل كانت في هذا الإطار.

سؤال:

هل تقوم قطر في الوقت الحالي - من ضمن أهداف الزيارة - بالمساعدة على عقد قمة عربية؟ أم أنهم لا يرون جدوى من مثل هذه القمة؟

السيد الرئيس:

يبدو أن هذا الطرح تراجع مؤخراً، ولكن أيضاً السؤال البديهي ما هو الهدف من القمة؟ لماذا تجتمع؟ ما هي النقاط المطروحة؟ لا توجد لدينا أية معطيات في سورية. لا نعرف ما هو الهدف من هذه القمة. قمة بدون مضمون، بدون نتائج، فالأفضل أن لا تُعقد. ويبدو الآن أن الطرح تراجع من خلال الاجتماع الأخير. أما في لقائي مع الشيخ حمد، لم نطرح هذا الموضوع، نعتقد أنه تراجع كما قلت.

سؤال:

إنما سيكون استنتاج بديهي من قبلي على الأقل أن أقول أنه طرح موضوع الحرب والسلام بين سورية وإسرائيل، وقطر لها علاقاتها المعروفة بإسرائيل. هل هناك مقترح طرح في هذا اللقاء الأخير بشأن السلام مع إسرائيل؟

السيد الرئيس:

أولاً أنا لا أعرف حجم العلاقات بين قطر وإسرائيل، ما نعرفه هو المكتب، متى تزداد، متى تنقص، أنا لا أعرف. مداخلة: نحن نقرأ جرائد فقط.

السيد الرئيس:

وأنا أقرأ مثلك. ولكن ما يهمنا في الموضوع هو دور قطر في مجلس الأمن وعلاقتها الدولية. عملية السلام بحاجة لعلاقات دولية، وهذه العلاقات تخدم في وضع التصور العربي لدى المسؤولين الأجانب الذين يتبنون غالباً الطرح الأمريكي المتطرف أو الإسرائيلي. فدور قطر هنا مهم جداً من خلال معرفة وجهة نظر سورية ومن ثم نقلها إلى الدول الأخرى. هذا هو التصور.

سؤال:

هل هناك مقترح محدد طرحه عليك سمو أمير قطر؟

السيد الرئيس:

لا. بالنسبة لسورية لا يوجد شيء محدد يختلف عما طرح في مؤتمر مدريد. لا يوجد لدينا أية اقتراحات إضافية. مؤتمر مدريد كأسس كان كافياً، ونستطيع أن نستمر فقط على هذه الأسس.

سؤال:

الأستاذ محمد حسنين هيكل في حديث له مؤخراً الأسبوع الماضي قال دون أن يحدد المصدر إن هناك اقتراح وُجِه إلى سورية، ولم يذكر مصدر هذا الاقتراح، بأن تحرك جبهة الجولان وأن تحريك جبهة الجولان سوف يساعد على بدء عملية السلام الحقيقية.

السيد الرئيس:

كمقترح من دولة؟

مداخلة: مقترح يبدو أنه من دولة ما.

السيد الرئيس:

كما قلت لك هناك طرح شعبي أحياناً باتجاه هذا الموضوع لأهداف أخرى وليس بهدف أن يكون عملية تحريك. ولكن كما تعرف هناك حوارات تحصل على مستويات مختلفة بين مسؤولين أجانب ومسؤولين سوريين ربما طرح أحد المسؤولين هذا الموضوع على مستوى ما، ولكن لم نأخذه بشكل جدي، وأنا لم أسمع به، أي لم يصلني أي شيء من هذا القبيل.

سؤال:

يبدو أن هناك بشائر لحل ما، لحركة ما. أول شيء لوحظ على خطاب سيادتكم الأخير بالرغم من أنه كان خطاباً قوياً ويمكن أن يوصف بأنه عنيف وفي بعض الأحيان بأنه مستفز لبعض الفرقاء، إنما البعض لاحظ أيضاً أن هذا الخطاب هو خطاب سلام. كررت كلمة السلام في أكثر من موقع. طبعاً بشروط ما. إنما كان الخطاب على ما يبدو خطاب سلام. عندما صدر هذا الخطاب من هنا، من دمشق، خطاب السلام هذا، وصدر من إسرائيل بعض التصريحات التي تقول إننا شكلنا لجنة خبراء في وزارة الخارجية، أو البعض الآخر الذي يقول سلموا الجولان لسورية وننتهي من هذا الموضوع، وهذا ما قاله وزير الأمن الإسرائيلي، ومنتهي من الموضوع، بدا أمام العامة، وليس أمام الصحفيين والمراقبين، أن هناك عملياً شيئاً يتحرك في الخفاء أو في العلن حتى.

السيد الرئيس:

القاعدة العامة بالنسبة لنا في سورية، كل شيء في العلن. لا نقوم بأي شيء مخفي، لسنا مضطرين، لدينا الدعم الشعبي في هذا الاتجاه. لكن بالنسبة للخطاب، هو ليس خطاب حرب بكل تأكيد، وكان واضحاً هذا الكلام. وأنا سعيد أن أسمع منك هذه الرؤيا لأن البعض أراد، ربما بشكل مقصود أو غير مقصود، أن يراه كخطاب حرب، وغير واقعي. مداخلة: أنا رأيت خطاب سلام مشروط.

السيد الرئيس:

هو سلام مشروط مع أسس واضحة ولكن هو خطاب الفرص الأخيرة، عندما تحدثت عن الأجيال، هذا يعني بأن هذه الأبواب المفتوحة الآن هي تضيق، ومع الزمن لن نرى هذه الأبواب. وعلى الطرف الآخر الراض للسلام - وهو إسرائيل - أن يستغل هذا الموضوع. لا أضع الخطاب في الإطار لا العنيف ولا كل هذه الموصفات. هو خطاب واضح، إذا أردت الدعم الشعبي عليك أن تقول لهم كل شيء، ونحن لم نعود في المنطقة العربية على كلام واضح، تعودنا دائماً على المجاملات، بالرغم من أن البعض بحسب ما سمعت وقيل لي كان عاتياً لأنه لم يكن واضحاً كفاية، هناك من يريد وضوحاً أكثر.

سؤال:

كل شيء في العلن. إنما كيف يتحرك هذا الشيء، كيف تتحرك مبادرة جديدة للسلام في ضوء المعطيات الجديدة؟ كيف ترى سورية بداية لهذا التحرك؟ هناك مثلاً طرح مؤخراً فكرة أن مصر والأردن والسعودية سوف يقدموا مقترح سلام جديد إلى مجلس الأمن، هل أبلغتم بهذا؟ ألم تستشاروا؟ كما لم تستشاروا في مواقف سابقة؟

السيد الرئيس:

لا. لم نستشار بهذا الموضوع، لكن قيل مؤخراً، في اجتماع وزراء الخارجية العرب الأخير أن هذا الموضوع كان مجرد طرح، وربما لو كان هذا الطرح سيستمر، فرمما كانوا شاوخوا سورية والأطراف الأخرى، الفلسطينيين واللبنانيين في هذا الموضوع. ولكن هذا يؤكد ما قلته أنا، أي طرح لا يمكن أن يسير بدون العودة لأصحاب العلاقة، هذا ما أكدته، وأتمنى من الإخوة العرب أي كان، أن يشاورونا في هذا الموضوع، ولكن المعطيات الأخيرة أن هذا الموضوع متوقف.

سؤال:

سيادة الرئيس، هناك موضوع أخير، الحرب طرحت عدة ثنائيات. رأيتها أنا على الأقل على الشكل التالي، رأيت ثنائية السلام والمقاومة، نظرية السلام ونظرية المقاومة، ثنائية الحكمة والتهور، من يطالبون بالحكمة ومن لا يرون غضاضة في المغامرة أو أن المغامرة مطلوبة. رأيت ثنائية القرار الوطني، وهذا من خلال خطابكم سيادة الرئيس، القرار الوطني مقابل القرار الدولي، أنتم طالبتم في خطابكم، قلمت القرار الوطني هو الذي يسود، مقابلك مباشرة تيري رود لارسن في تصريحه الأخير ببيروت، قال ان القرار الدولي يجب أن يُنفذ؟.

السيد الرئيس:

أولاً كل هذا خروج عن دور الأمم المتحدة. ومجلس الأمن، هو مجلس لحفظ الأمن وليس مجلس ذراع أمريكي للتدخل في الشؤون الداخلية للدول. لا يمكن أن نلجم هذا المجلس إن بقينا نخضع له بشكل مطلق، أي أوصينا بإطاعة الوالدين، بكل شيء ولكن ليس ضد الدين، فنحن نتعامل مع مجلس الأمن وكأنه أعلى من كل هذه الأسس. هذا شيء خطير غير مسبوق، وهذا سيشتجع الدول الكبرى، بعض منها تحديداً، على أن تستغل مجلس الأمن لكي يكون لديها غطاء شرعي لاعتداءاتها وتدخلاتها. الآن الإخوة في السودان أخذوا قراراً منذ أشهر بأنه لن تدخل قوات أجنبية إلى دارفور، هذا الشيء أعلن ومعلوم. هذا هو الحل الوحيد. فإذا كنا نريد أن نقول بأن مجلس الأمن أعلى من القرار الوطني، لماذا نوجد قرار وطني؟! لنتنازل عنه منذ البداية، ونُعتبر محافظة في دولة الأمم المتحدة، هذا كلام غير مقبول.

سؤال:

الثنائية الأخرى، سيادة الرئيس، هي ثنائية التضامن القومي مقابل الاعتراز الوطني، القطري، مثلاً الأردن أولاً — أنا لا أقصد الأردن بالذات لأن هناك عدد من الدول العربية، أولاً. وأضححت العروبة هي آخراً والتضامن القومي هو في المؤخرة، ماذا ترى في التضامن العربي مقابل الاعتراز القطري؟.

السيد الرئيس:

بمعزل عن التنظير والقواميس التي تتحدث عن هذه التفاصيل، أنت تحب قرينك ومدينتك وهذا لا يمنعك من أن تحب بلدك، وأنا أحب بلدي سورية، بكل تأكيد أنا أعمل من أجلها كل يوم أكثر من عملي لبقية الدول العربية، وهذا لا يعني من أن أعمل من أجل بقية الدول العربية. قلت سابقاً بأن تكون بلدي أولاً، ليس شيئاً خاطئاً، إذا كانت الدول العربية هي ثانياً، ولا أحد يتوقع من مواطن في بلد عربي أن يحب بلداً عربياً أكثر من بلده. هكذا نراه، بالمختصر لا يوجد تعارض.

سؤال:

سيادة الرئيس، ونحن متجهون إلى نهاية الحديث بما يسمح به وقتك، السؤال الذي يجب أن يُطرح قبل أن ينتهي الحديث ما هي انعكاسات الوضع كله على العراق وفلسطين، فعلى ما يبدو ونحن في غمار الاهتمام بما يحدث بلبنان، وضعنا جانباً أو نسينا قليلاً أو كثيراً ما يحدث في فلسطين وما يحدث في العراق. انتصار المقاومة الحاسم بلبنان، كيف سيؤثر على الوضع في فلسطين والعراق؟

السيد بالرئيس:

لاشك بأن انتصار المقاومة في عام 2000 أثر في موضوع الانتفاضة التي اندلعت بعد ذلك بأشهر، وفي تصميم الفلسطينيين على الاستمرار بالمقاومة، كنا نتوقع بأن تستمر الانتفاضة أسابيع ومن ثم أشهر، فاستمرت سنوات. ما حصل

في العراق، المقاومة العراقية أيضاً أثرت بشكل آخر باتجاه لبنان وباتجاه فلسطين، وفلسطين تؤثر في كلا الجانبين. هناك تبادل في التأثير بينهما، ولكن هذا الانتصار بهذا الشكل وبهذه النوعية، سيؤثر بشكل مباشر في ما يحصل في العراق، ويقال بأنه أثر من خلال ارتفاع نسبة العمليات في شهر تموز أو ربما ليس بالضرورة شهر تموز وإنما شهر الحرب في لبنان، بنسبة 40% بحسب الإحصائيات الأجنبية، فكان هناك تأثير مباشر، وأعتقد بأن ثقافة المقاومة انتشرت الآن بشكل كبير في العالم العربي وأنت تراها من خلال أعلام المقاومة، أعلام حزب الله، صور السيد حسن نصر الله، الخطابات التي ألقاها البعض يسعى للاحتفاظ بها، الأناشيد الوطنية أو القومية التي ظهرت.

سؤال:

هل أدى انتصار المقاومة في لبنان إلى تحرك مواقف لبعض الأطراف في العراق؟

السيد الرئيس:

لا أستطيع أن أعطي جواباً الآن، لم نرصد الساحة العراقية بعد، ولكن رأينا مسيرة المليون دعماً للمقاومة، كما قلت نتائج العمليات تصاعد، وهذا دليل آخر، فإذا هناك تغير في العراق، ولو لم نرصده فأنا أتوقع بأن يكون هناك تغير، وبوادر هذا التغير ظهرت من خلال ثقافة المقاومة وانتشارها.

سؤال:

الأمريكان سكتوا أخيراً عن اتهامهم الدائم لكم بمناسبة وبغير مناسبة أنكم أنتم من تحركون الأمور في العراق بشكل أو بآخر، سكتوا عنكم فيما يتعلق بموضوع العراق قليلاً، في الفترة الأخيرة، هل لهذا تفسير؟

السيد الرئيس:

أولاً لم يعد مقنعاً لأحد في هذا العالم هذا الكلام. أذكر في البداية بعد احتلال العراق كان كثيراً من المسؤولين الأجانب غير الأمريكيين يأتون إلينا ويتحدثون عن هذا الموضوع، هم أنفسهم الآن يقولون أنهم يعرفون أن هذا الكلام غير صحيح، أصبح واضحاً أن المشكلة هي مشكلة الأداء الأمريكي في العراق ومشكلة الحرب نفسها، لذلك لم يعد مقنعاً هذا الشيء. من جانب آخر بالنسبة للشعب الأمريكي أغلب المقالات تهاجم أداء الإدارة الأمريكية، وأصبح هناك تصور واضح داخل الولايات المتحدة بأن الفشل في العراق سببه أداء الإدارة الأمريكية وليس أية دولة أخرى، لذلك أعتقد بأنهم توقفوا عن الهجوم على سورية.

سؤال:

بالنسبة لفلسطين، لا زالوا يثيرون استضافتكم لفصائل المقاومة الفلسطينية منها حماس والجهاد وغيرهم؟

السيد الرئيس:

طبعاً بعد فوز حماس بالانتخابات خفَّ هذا الشيء إلى درجة كبيرة، وخاصة من الأوروبيين. الأوروبيون الآن مقتنعون أنها حكومة منتخبة ولا بد من التعامل معها، فهموا بأن تمسكنا بالتعامل مع هذه الفصائل لأننا نعرف ما هي توجهات الشعب الفلسطيني، وليست قضية علاقة بمنظمات أو بفصائل، أغلب أعضائها هم في الداخل الفلسطيني وليسوا في الخارج.

سؤال:

في الحقيقة أنا لست أفهم لماذا تتحمل سورية هذا وحدها؟ طبعاً سورية تُشكر انما استضافت فصائل المقاومة الفلسطينية، إنما لماذا هذا العبء على سورية لوحدها؟ لماذا لا تستضيف دول عربية أخرى بعض هذه الفصائل؟ ألم يجز نقاش بينكم وبين آخرين حول هذا الموضوع؟.

السيد الرئيس:

أولاً، هل تريد الفصائل أن تخرج من سورية؟

مداخلة:

ربما تريد أن تخفف عن سورية المسؤولية؟

السيد الرئيس:

حتى لو أرادت ذلك، أي إنسان يريد أن يخرج من بلد آخر يعود إلى بلده. هذا شيء طبيعي، إسرائيل طردتهم، فما الفرق في أن يكونوا في سورية أو أي بلد آخر، بالنتيجة هم خارج الأراضي الفلسطينية، هذه هي القضية، وهذا ما طرحناه مع الأجانب قلنا لهم بأنهم طردوا من أراضيهم، حتى لو أرادت سورية فرضاً أن تقوم بطرد، فهي تطرد شخص إلى بلده، أما أن تطرده إلى بلد آخر فهذا شيء غير منطقي. هذا الكلام أعتقد بأنهم تجاوزوه، ولديهم الآن مشاكل أكبر بكثير عليهم أن يقنعوا العالم بما قبل أن يتحدثوا عن قضية وجود منظمة في سورية تُتهم بالإرهاب ومن ثم يتهموا سورية بدعمها للإرهاب.

سؤال:

كيف ترى، سيادة الرئيس، الموقف في فلسطين في الفترة القادمة بعد ما حدث في لبنان، هل هو إلى تصعيد أكبر، تصعيد مقاوم أكبر، أم إلى اعتراف إسرائيل بأن شيئاً ما يجب أن يتخذ لكي ننهي هذه القضية؟

السيد الرئيس:

لا أستطيع أن أحدد إلى أين تسير الأمور، ولكن كما قلنا بما أن المقاومة في لبنان حققت شيء فسيعكس باتجاه مماثل في الأراضي الفلسطينية، إلا إذا فهمت إسرائيل بأن القوة لا تنفع. المشكلة هي إسرائيل وليس الفلسطينيين ولا اللبنانيين ولا سورية ولا غيرها، المشكلة هي إسرائيل، هل فهمت إسرائيل الدرس؟ الآن نسمع حديث عن طروحات لها علاقة بالسلام في إسرائيل، ولكن التجربة علمتنا أن لا نكون ساذجين، فأولاً هناك تصريحات متناقضة من قبل مسؤولين إسرائيليين مختلفين، ربما لأسباب داخلية، ربما هي بوالين اختبار لجلس النبض، ونحن نقوم برد فعل من دون حسابات، فينبون موقفهم في المستقبل على رد الفعل العربي، أو ربما الدولة المعنية، فإذا علينا أن نتنظر وأن لا نتسرع لنرى تماماً ما هو بالون الاختبار النهائي الذي ستطلقه إسرائيل والذي سيكون هو الموقف النهائي، وتكون استقرت الأمور الداخلية في إسرائيل بعد هذه الحرب، عندها نستطيع أن نحدد كيف ستسير الأمور، سواء بالنسبة لفلسطين أم بالنسبة لسورية أم بالنسبة للبنان. لكن هناك جانب إيجابي في فلسطين سمعنا به مؤخراً أمس، هو عن العمل باتجاه تشكيل حكومة وحدة وطنية، وهذا ما كنا نصح به منذ أشهر قليلة، وكنا نعتقد بأنه هو الحل وهو أيضاً يوجه رسالة لإسرائيل. أيضاً الانقسام الفلسطيني لن يغير الاتجاهات الإسرائيلية، توحد الفلسطينيين سيغير الأداء الإسرائيلي وربما سيستخدم اتجاه مفاوضات السلام أو أي شيء آخر لا نعرف، لكن بالاتجاه الأفضل.

سؤال:

السؤال الأخير، سيادة الرئيس، هو ما نُسأله عادة من عامة الناس، نحن الصحفيين، وأنا بدوري أسألك إياه: حرب أم سلام؟ ماذا سيحصل في المنطقة بعد الذي حصل في الفترة الأخيرة؟ هل ستحارب المنطقة كلها، العراق أم لبنان أم سورية أم مصر أم غيرها؟

السيد الرئيس:

طلما تحدثنا عن خيار السلام الاستراتيجي وتبنيه منذ سنوات، وكما قلنا قبل قليل فإن خطابي كان خطاب السلام، فإن ما نرغبه وما نتمناه هو أن يتحقق السلام، لأنه يعني عودة الحقوق بدون ثمن باهظ. أما الحرب، أية حرب، ففيها ثمن باهظ، ولكن أيضاً النتيجة هي استعادة الحقوق، فإذا الهدف هو استعادة الحقوق إذا كان بالسلام فهو الحل الأفضل، لا يوجد إنسان عاقل يسعى باتجاه الحرب إذا كان هناك بدائل أخرى. فإذا علينا أن نستنفذ نهائياً الفرص المتعلقة بالسلام قبل أن نتحدث عن الحرب.

مداخلة:

أن نستنفذها في وقت قصير وقريب؟

السيد الرئيس:

لذلك بدأت الحركة الدولية التي نتحدث عنها في هذا الاتجاه، لذلك أقول الأسابيع المقبلة ربما شهر أو أشهر قليلة جداً هي التي ستحدد الرؤية النهائية بهذا الاتجاه. كما قلت نحن نتمنى أن تكون عودة الحقوق عن طريق السلام ولكن بالواقع الأشهر القليلة المقبلة ستحدد الحرب أم السلم وسيتماد ذلك على الإسرائيليين بالدرجة الأولى، وعلى عودة الوعي للبعض من المحافظين الجدد والمتطرفين في الإدارة الأمريكية الذين يدفعون باتجاه الحرب وليس باتجاه السلام.

سؤال:

أرى في ذلك الفرصة الأخيرة التي ربما تكون لعدة شهور أو ربما لعدة أسابيع فقط، عندها ستتحدد فرص الحرب و فرص السلام في المنطقة؟

السيد الرئيس:

صحيح.

تعليق:

شكراً سيادة الرئيس.

السيد الرئيس:

شكراً وأهلاً وسهلاً بكم في سورية.

APPENDIX 2: Excerpts of MEMRI translation of the four interviews.

Interview A: December 11, 2005 Clip No. 958

Syrian President Bashar Al-Assad: If Sanctions Are Imposed on Syria, the Entire World Will Pay the Price

Following are excerpts from an interview with Syrian President Bashar Al-Assad. The interview was given to the Russian TV and was aired by Syrian TV on TV on December 11, 2005

Bashar Al-Assad: The problem of Syria's relations with part of the West – I'm not saying all the West, and maybe it's only some officials in the West – it's not a problem of language. As I've said, I understand their language, and some of them may understand Arabic. The problem pertains to the concepts conveyed by the language.

There is a great difference in the concepts. There is a distance between the cultures, which grows wider in time, instead of narrowing with the development of the means of communication. In order for things to be straightened out, the West must learn more about our region, history, concepts, and about the real causes of our problems.

[...]

We live our reality, while they live thousands of miles away. Therefore, they should listen to our opinions and understand our way of thinking.

[...]

Syria is an important country for stability, an important country in the way against terrorism, an important country for the peace process, an important country for future stability in Iraq. But these Middle Eastern issues are being dealt with without Syria.

Russia and China have an interest in standing by Syria on these issues, because they have an interest in stability.

[...]

As I've said before, any Syrian proven to be involved in the assassination is considered a traitor according to Syrian law, and the punishment for a traitor is very severe in Syrian law.

[...]

We have been guarding the border with Iraq for two decades. As you know, no country in the world can hermetically seal its border with any other country. The Americans level these accusations against us, but at the same time, they say to us: "We cannot seal our border with Mexico." Such a superpower cannot seal its border, so how can Syria?

Having said that, it is possible to close the border to a reasonable extent – it won't be completely sealed, but it will be controlled, in the sense that the smuggling of people or goods will be as minimal as can be expected with any country. In order to achieve this, both sides of the border must be involved – just one side cannot seal the border. In other words, on the Iraqi side of the border measures must be taken by either the Iraqis or the Americans. These can be various military or technological measures. There may also be security cooperation.

But the truth of the matter is that the problem in Iraq is the great political failure and the great military failure we are witnessing. This is the truth of the matter. There is a lack of willingness to admit that the resistance in Iraq is mostly by Iraqis. A foreign party is always blamed. They say that foreigners, whom they call terrorists, are carrying out operations against the occupation forces. This isn't true.

[...]

There are similar groups, other than the Muslim Brotherhood, that believe in violence and in terrorism, maybe because they believe this serves Islam. Of course, there is no such things as "Islamic terrorism," because terrorism differs from Islam. There's just terrorism, not Islamic terrorism. But the term "Islamic terrorism" has become widespread.

This kind of terrorism is dangerous. It was directed against us, and then we embarked upon a campaign in some Western European countries in an attempt to convince them that embracing some of the leaders of extremism and terrorism in Europe will turn against them one of these days.

We suffered from this terrorism in the seventies and eighties. They began attacking several Arab countries in the late eighties and in the nineties, and we have seen the serious results in New York, in London, and in Madrid. You too, in Russia, are now suffering from terrorist operations.

This means that terrorism has no borders. If you have terrorism in your country, it might strike at us at some point. You cannot control or restrict terrorism.

[...]

We have realized that terrorism cannot be fought through a war. A war in general – and especially when it is not a just war – results in activating terrorism, as we now see, after the war in Iraq.

Fighting terrorism is, first and foremost, ideological, because terrorism is an ideology rather than just organizations. Fighting terrorism must be ideological. Ignorance must be fought through dialogue. Political stances must be just, because many terrorists use religious or political causes as pretexts. So you must deal with this issue politically. This is how you deal with terrorism, not through condemnations.

Condemnations do not finish off terrorism. The entire world has condemned 9/11, but terrorism continued after 9/11. Therefore, we must establish a network of international cooperation, and as I've said, Syria has the experience and a great desire for such cooperation.

[...]

As for the nuclear issue, when dealing with this great topic, we cannot talk only about a specific country and its way of thinking. We must address this issue comprehensively in the Middle East.

First of all, if nuclear power is restricted to peaceful purposes, every country in the world is entitled to it. No country in the world can be prevented from having nuclear reactors for peaceful purposes. Iran is saying very clearly that it wants this reactor for peaceful purposes. It says this both in public and behind closed doors.

But as for nuclear weapons – this is what you asked about, and this is what we hear sometimes – that Iran wants the peaceful reactor in order to reach a nuclear weapon... We cannot relate to it this way. We must think in a more comprehensive way. We must view the entire region.

If we don't want to view this internationally, we should at least view the Middle East. If we say that a certain country in the Middle East has the right to own nuclear weapons, then all the other countries have the same right. If we don't want to see nuclear weapons in a certain country in the Middle East, we must remove these weapons from all these countries – and I'm referring to Israel. Israel is the only country in the Middle East that owns nuclear weapons.

[...]

First of all, I don't know if there will be sanctions. In any case, we must be prepared for any possibility. We live in a troubled region and in an unjust world, which is ruled by anarchy as I have said. Therefore, we should always prepare for the worst. Being prepared doesn't mean you are capable of winning, but it means that if you lose, you will minimize your losses. This is the first thing.

But I must complete my answer with a question. Any country that wants sanctions – what will it gain? Will it gain anything? No, it won't, It will lose. The Middle East is the heart of the world, and Syria is now in the heart of the Middle East. If the situation in Syria and Iraq is not good, the entire region will be troubled, and the entire world will pay the price. I want to add this question: What will they gain? Like I said, they will not be able to deal with terrorism, which will spread. They won't be able to achieve peace, and this, in turn, will also increase terrorism. There will be more poverty, which will also increase terrorism. Therefore, the entire world will pay the price, along with Syria and the Middle East.

Interview B

March 24, 2010 **Clip No. 2438**

Syrian President Bashar Al-Assad: "The State of 'Neither War Nor Peace' Is Temporary"

Following are excerpts from an interview with Syrian President Bashar Al-Assad, which aired on Al-Manar TV on March 24, 2010.

Bashar Al-Assad: War is the worst possible solution. Nobody wants war. Even the resistance movement, anywhere in the Arab world, wants peace, not war. But the resistance emerged due to the absence of peace. We should continue to strive for peace as long as there is hope.

You might ask if we place any hope in the Israeli government – no, we don't, but we believe that Israel today – from what we hear from its supporters – has no option other than peace. The Israeli deterrence has declined over time. Even though Israel has strengthened militarily, the deterrence of the Arab masses and their notion of resistance have increased. So Israel has, in fact, grown weaker, and its military strength no longer guarantees its existence.

Many of Israel's supporters – especially among the Zionist organizations, and the extreme pro-Israel Jews – say: "We used to believe in war, and we used to support every Israeli war, but now we believe that Israel has no option but peace."

[...]

It is well-known that Syria is developing its army, even according to what Israel itself says. I am not quoting statements by pro-Syrian circles. Even the enemy acknowledges Syria's efforts to develop [its military]. This means that the state of "neither war nor peace" is temporary. Either it will end in peace – the signing of a peace accord – or it will end in war. There is no other option. But you turn to war only when you have lost all hope of peace.

Interview C

December 5, 2005 Clip No. 950

Syrian President Bashar Al-Assad: Why Investigate Al-Hariri's Assassination and Not Arafat's Assassination, Arafat Was More Important

Following are excerpts from an interview with Syrian President Bashar Al-Assad, which aired on Syrian TV on December 5, 2005. The interview was given to Channel 3 of the French TV.

Bashar Al-Assad: There is no proof that Syria is involved (in the Al-Hariri assassination). There is no criminal evidence, and Syria does not have any interest or a history of similar actions. On the contrary, we have an interest in the investigation getting to the truth, because the truth is, from our perspective, that Syria is completely innocent. I have no doubt about this. Therefore, the investigation must be fair and professional.

[...]

The problem now is not a dispute between Syria and the UN. The problem is that this UN, and particularly the Security Council, have become a tool serving to implement the will of a handful of politicians in the world, whenever they have a dispute with any country. They are not necessarily doing this for the sake of their countries' interests. I believe that they are using the Security Council against their countries' interests and against our own interests. Therefore, the solution – we shouldn't call it a settlement but a solution – is perfectly clear. We must return to the UN Charter. If we implement the UN Charter, Syria would benefit directly. There is no need for settlements, because the solution is very simple.

[...]

France and America were involved in Resolutions 1559 and 1636. What are we to call this if not a "conspiracy"? Perhaps an act of charity. Names do not matter. This is reality, and we can call it whatever you like. But today, France is involved in resolutions of this kind, which do not serve stability in this region.

[...]

I do not understand how France can place all its efforts into investigating the assassination of Prime Minister Al-Hariri – something I understand and support – while it does not say a word about the assassination of President Arafat, who was assassinated in the Palestinian territories and who died in a French hospital. This event passed by without us knowing anything about it. Why these double standards? This is not characteristic of French policy. This is one of the things I don't understand, and I don't know if I can expect an answer soon.

[...]

Prime Minister Al-Hariri died on Lebanese soil, whereas President Arafat died on French soil. That's the first thing. Second, President Arafat had greater stature and was more important historically than Al-Hariri, with all due respect. It would be only natural for France to act out of moral reasons - justice is part of your constitution, after all... to act in this direction.

[...]

I do not hate President Chirac. On the contrary, I may have respected the man very much in the past for many reasons. But I want to differentiate between this relation and Syrian-French relations. It is not the same thing. During this period, these relations were not affected significantly. The relations may have been affected to some extent because of the (Al-Hariri case), and for other reasons concerning the diminishing French role in the Middle East, and which, at times, almost completely disappears.

[...]

The French people has a great history, which is distinguished from the history of many other peoples, even in Europe itself.

[...]

The truth is that this French role is now diminishing, as I just said. Sometimes it seems that this role is non-existent, and sometimes it seems to be subordinate to other roles. This never happened throughout the history of the French role. There are many reasons for this – political and maybe others, which require research. Ultimately, this is harmful, first of all, to the interests of the French people, it is harmful to the interests of Europe, to the interests of the world, and to our interests in the Middle East. You cannot separate Europe's interests from the Middle East, and the proof of this is what happened in the past: 9/11 in New York, the Madrid bombings, the London bombings, what is happening in Indonesia, what is happening in the Palestinian territories. Therefore, the French people must act again, through its institutions, to restore a French role, characterized by openness towards all cultures, and to reject the efforts to isolate this French culture, which has not been isolated for more than two hundred years, since the French Revolution.

[...]

They (the Americans) say that they cannot seal off their border with Mexico, so how can we seal off our border with Iraq? That's one thing. Hermetically sealing the borders of any country is theoretical and impossible. Nevertheless, Syria seals its border to a great degree. Let me give you an example with figures. They say they estimate the number of terrorists in Iraq to be between 1,000 and 3,000. They know that Syria has detained approximately 1,600 terrorists in the past two years. This number equals 52 to 160 percent of their estimate. In any event, everything that has been said on this matter is like running ahead or the policy of an ostrich burying its head in the sand in order to avoid seeing the truth. The basic danger that leads to terrorism in Iraq is, first and foremost, the wrong war, and second, the wrong political management of Iraq's affairs by the occupying forces. The reason Syria was accused was in order to divert the blame, so that they would not be held responsible. It's very simple.

[...]

The Muslim Brotherhood are present in a number of Arab countries. In each country they have leaders, and we have ties with some of them. Our problem, or the threat directed towards Syria, stems from some of them who believe in violence and who perpetrated acts of terrorism in Syria in the 1970s and 1980s, causing the deaths of thousands of Syrians. The problem is not one of name. The problem is the ideology that governs these groups, the extremism – regardless of whether this extremism is Islamist, Christian, Jewish, social, or political. Any kind of extremism leads to destruction. But the reasons for this extremism are, first of all, the international anarchy which exists in the world, the great political mistakes made by the superpowers, leading to a rise in the terrorism which is based on this extremism. Is Egypt or Syria worried? We are all worried. You will hear the same things

and the same concern in any Arab country. Therefore, in order to remove the concern, we must first remove its cause.

[...]

As for the issues of peace, the Arab countries presented an initiative at the 2002 Arab summit in Beirut. This initiative demanded that Israel turn towards peace. But turning to peace requires a number of things. The first thing is the peoples' desire (for peace). The position of the Arab peoples regarding peace has not changed, despite the bad conditions they are witness to in the Middle East and maybe in most parts of the world. I believe that the Israeli people has distanced itself somewhat from peace, perhaps because of its leaders or due to internal political conditions. The American administration, which is a main sponsor of the peace process, is not interested in the peace process at all. We heard this from them, from the American officials, on a number of occasions. The role played by Europe, which is an important one, must change. Europe cannot play in the peace process the role of marketing American policy regarding the peace process, and nothing more. There must be an independent European role, coordinated with the American role. It should be coordinated with it, and not contradict it. This requires a European-American dialogue which does not exist at present. Therefore, I do not think that the peace process is near. We should be realistic. But every day that this process is delayed, there will be more blood, and the more blood there is, the more barriers are erected, and therefore the cost will be even higher.

Bashar Al-Assad: This [Lebanese] movement consists of some figures who are known historically for their relations with Israel, since the Israeli invasion of Lebanon. Others have begun collaborating with the Israeli position - not necessarily with Israel itself, but we do not necessarily have all the information. They did this through Resolution 1559. The Israeli officials said that they themselves had worked hard to bring about this resolution. Yet [these Lebanese figures] supported this resolution. Resolution 1680, which deals a blow to Syrian-Lebanese relations... For whose sake was this resolution adopted? For Syria? For Lebanon? It was for the sake of Israel. The recent war has exposed these positions.

[...]

As is well known, they accepted the first French-American draft, and if the situation on the ground had not changed, this draft would have become Resolution 1701. These forces have carried out all these plots against the resistance. With regard to the resistance that concerns us as Arabs - and I'm not talking about resistance as an internal Lebanese issue, but as an issue that now concerns any Arab citizen, and you can see Hizbullah flags everywhere... They conspired with Israel in both directions.

[...]

Loyalty to one's country does not just mean [not] being a known agent of another country. Loyalty to one's country means rejecting foreign interferences, through any embassy - and I am always clear on this - and through any foreign government that tries to interfere directly. I have said this very clearly to the Europeans several times. I said to them: Any person on whose behalf you interfere - we will consider him to be non-patriotic. You must stop interfering and sending messages. This matter is closed, as far as we are concerned. We are very sensitive when it comes to foreign interference. Apart from this, everybody is here. If we wanted to prevent them from talking, as some claim, they would all be in prison. This is not the case. We have taken a few steps, and we are not claiming we have achieved a lot. We have taken some steps that are reasonable, given our circumstances. Some think these steps are less than they should be, and other think they are more than they should be. Let us stay in the middle. We must act with caution. We are not operating in a normal climate. No one, Syrians or others, should doubt that there are daily attempts to interfere in Syria's domestic affairs. We cannot be naive and say: Everything is fine, everybody is patriotic. This is not a matter of good intentions.

[...]

Interviewer: How do you view the deployment of UNIFIL on your border with Lebanon?

Bashar Al-Assad: This would mean creating hostility between Syria and Lebanon. First of all, this would violate Lebanon's sovereignty. No country in the world would accept the deployment of soldiers of other nationalities at its border passes, unless it is at war with another country, like in the Golan or South Lebanon. This is normal. First of all, this would mean taking away Lebanese sovereignty - and they are constantly talking about Lebanese sovereignty - and giving it to others. The other issue is that this would be hostile to Syria. Naturally, this would create problems between Syria and Lebanon.

Interviewer: But Mr. President, they fear that Syria would be used as a passage for weapons that would reach elements that they don't want these weapons to reach. People

might infiltrate through this border, and help one group of Lebanese against another. This may justify their apprehensions and the presence of such a force.

Bashar Al-Assad: If there is a Lebanese army, it should be responsible for that. Why should the Lebanese army be responsible for protecting Israel?

Interviewer: Mr. President, are you calling upon the Lebanese government to reject the deployment of an international force along the border between Lebanon and Syria?

Bashar Al-Assad: I am calling upon it to bear the responsibility like any other country. It will bear the responsibility. If it wants to destroy the relations between Syria and Lebanon, it is free to do so, and bear the responsibility. There are elements within the Lebanese government and among the majority who strive towards this.

[...]

Interviewer: Is it possible that we will see armed resistance in the Golan?

Bashar Al-Assad: Like I said... Same answer... The people will decide. I reiterate: If peace does not restore the rights, this will be the natural and obvious option. Things will take this course, whether we like it or not.

Interviewer: Mr. President, you say that the people will decide. Is the people ready... I am sure you can sense the sentiments of the people. Is the people ready now for armed resistance in the Golan?

Bashar Al-Assad: There are always different currents and opinions. Some people talk enthusiastically about getting into this today, while others say we must prepare ourselves. However, this war has emphasized that option.

APPENDIX 3: Excerpts of the Official Translation of the four interviews

Interview A:

The problem concerning the relationship between Syria and part of the West, not all of the West, is with some Western officials. So, it is not a problem of language as you said. I understand their language, and some of them might understand Arabic. But the problem is with the conceptions carried by languages. There is a great difference in conceptions. There is a difference in cultures which is widening instead of narrowing by virtue of developments in communication methods. But in order for things to be normal, the West has to know more about our region, our history, our conceptions, about the real causes of our problems.

[...]

We live this reality, while they live thousands of miles away. They have to listen to our views and to understand the way we think.

[...]

Syria is important for stability, for combating terrorism, for the peace process, and for the stability of the situation in Iraq in the future. None of these issues in the Middle East can be addressed without Syria. Russia and China have an interest in supporting Syria on these issues because they have an interest in stability.

[...]

I said in the past that any Syrian person proven to have a link with the assassination is a traitor under Syrian law, and the punishment of traitors is very severe.

[...]

For us in Syria, we have had guards on our borders with Iraq for a long time, or for the past two decades. As you know, there is no country in the world which can control its borders completely with any other country in this world. The Americans accuse us of this while at the same time they say that they are unable to control their borders with Mexico. The United States is a superpower, yet it cannot control its borders, so how could Syria control its borders? Nevertheless, there is a possibility for the borders to be controlled in a reasonable manner: not closed, but controlled, which means that smuggling individuals is at its lowest with any country. In order to achieve this we need the two sides of the borders. One party cannot control the borders. This means that there should be certain measures taken on the other side, in Iraq, by the Americans or the Iraqis. These measures could be

military, could be technical, or there might be security cooperation. The fact of the matter is that the problem in Iraq is the great political failure and the great military failure which we can see now. This is the reality.

There is no desire to acknowledge that the resistance in Iraq is carried out mostly by Iraqis. The Americans are always blaming other parties: they blame individuals they call terrorists who carry out operations against the forces present there, the occupation forces. This is not true.

[...]

There are other similar currents which believe in violence and terrorism, may be because they believe that this serves Islam. Of course, there is no Islamic terrorism, because terrorism is separate from Islam. It is only terrorism. But now the term "Islamic terrorism" has become common. This is a dangerous type of terrorism. When it targeted us we conducted a campaign at the level of some Western European countries in order to persuade those countries that hosting some of the leaders of extremism and terrorism in Europe will rebound against them one day. We did indeed suffer from these groups in the 1970s and 1980s, and they started to hit at some Arab countries towards the end of the 1980s and during the 1990s. We saw the dangerous consequences in New York, London, and Madrid. You too are suffering from terrorist acts in Russia now. This means that terrorism does not acknowledge borders. If you have terrorism in your country, it might carry out operations against us one day, because you cannot control it. Terrorism cannot be confined by borders.

[...]

We understood that fighting terrorism cannot be done by waging wars. Wars, particularly when they are unfair, actually activate terrorism, and this is what we see after the war on Iraq now.

Fighting terrorism is in the first place an intellectual activity, because terrorism is a mentality before it is organizations. Ignorance should be fought with dialogue, with fair political positions, because many of these terrorists make a pretext either of a religious cause or a political one. You have to deal with this issue politically. This is the way we deal with terrorism, not by condemnation. Condemnation does not obliterate terrorism. We and the rest of the world condemned the Sep. 11th attacks, but terrorism continued after Sep. 11th. So we have to build a network of international cooperation, and as I said Syria has the expertise and has the desire for this kind of cooperation.

[...]

As to the nuclear issue, we cannot talk about this issue in terms of how one country is thinking. We have to look at it in the larger framework of the Middle East. First, if the nuclear issue is within the peaceful framework, it is the right of every country in this world. There is nothing that prevents any country in the world from possessing nuclear reactors for peaceful purposes. And Iran says clearly that it wants this reactor for peaceful purposes. It says this in public and behind closed doors.

As to the nuclear weapons issue, which is the point you raised, we hear this talked about in order to mean that Iran wants the peaceful reactor in order to obtain nuclear weapons. We cannot look at the question in this way. We have to think in a more comprehensive manner. We have to see the whole region. If we do not want to consider the issue on the international level, let us at least look at the Middle East. If we say that in the Middle East there is one state which has the right to possess nuclear weapons, then all states have that right. If we do not want to see nuclear weapons in any state in the Middle East, we have to carry out a disarmament operation in all these countries, and I mean Israel here. Israel is the only country in the Middle East which possesses nuclear weapons.

[...]

First, we do not know whether or not there will be sanctions. At any rate, we have to prepare for the worst. We live in a turbulent region, we live in an unfair international order which is replete with chaos, as I said, and consequently we have to be always prepared for the worst. To prepare yourself does not mean that you cannot win. It at least means that if you lose you should limit your losses. But we have to continue this answer with a question: which countries are trying to impose sanctions? What will they achieve? Will they win? They won't. They will lose. The Middle East is at the heart of the world and Syria is at the heart of the Middle East, and if the situation in Syria and Iraq is not good that will cause problems in the whole region, and the whole world will pay the price. Another question: what will they achieve? They will not, as I said at the beginning of the interview, be able to deal with the question of terrorism. Terrorism will spread. And they will not be able to achieve peace. This will also increase terrorism. There will be more poverty, and this will increase terrorism. Consequently, the whole world, together with Syria and the Middle East will pay the price.

Interview B: Official Translation Excerpts

First of all, we are talking about peace. There is a saying divorce is the most hated of the permissible things ... It is permissible but hated. You look for a solution before you reach the worst one. It is the same for war. It is the worst solution. No one looks for war, even the resistance in the Arab world. Peace is the goal. Resistance existed because of the absence of peace, so we must strive towards peace as long as there is hope. You say we might have hope in the Israeli government. The answer is no; But we believe that Israel today has no option but to accept the peace. Israel's deterrence power eroded with time. The more the Israeli military force increase, the more the awareness of resistance and deterrence concepts in the Arab street increases. Israel, nowadays, is actually weaker and its military force no longer guarantees its existence... Israel's supporters, either the Zionist organizations or pro-Israel Jewish groups, say that they used to believe in war or to support every Israeli war. But now, they say they believe that there is no solution before Israel but peace.

[...]

It is well-known that Syria is an independent state with an army which is developing itself, as Israel says. We are not talking about statements or reports made by Syria's allies. The enemy itself is talking about Syria's endeavors to develop. This development means that the continuation of no-war-no-peace situation should be temporary. It must end by either signing a peace agreement or war. There is no other option. You only go towards war when you lose hope.

Interview C: Official Translation Excerpts

But the problem now is that this UN, and the Security Council in particular, has become an instrument implementing the will of a few politicians in the world when they disagree with a certain state. Worse than that, they do not necessarily use the Security Council in the best interest of their countries. I believe they use it against the interests of their countries and against our interests. Therefore, to avoid saying “compromise”, the solution is very clear: it is recourse to the UN Charter. If we apply the Charter, Syria will benefit directly and there will be no need for a compromise. The solution is very simple.

[...]

France and the United States took part in passing both resolutions. If we do not call this a plot or a conspiracy, do we call it an act of charity for instance? Anyhow, the name does not matter. These are facts regardless of the name. At least there is a French participation in resolutions of the kind that do not serve stability in the region.

[...]

we cannot understand how France put all its weight behind the investigation into the assassination of Prime Minister Hariri. Of course we understand and support the investigation, but at the same time we have not said a single word about the assassination of President Arafat who was assassinated on the Palestinian territories and died in a French hospital. Arafat’s death passed by without us knowing anything about it. Why these double standards? Double standards are not characteristic of French policies. This is one thing we do not know and do not understand. Are we going to get an answer any time soon?

[...]

But Prime Minister Hariri died on Lebanese territories, while President Arafat died on French territories. Second, President Arafat is higher in status and richer in history than Hariri, with all due respect to Prime Minister Hariri. It was only normal to see France moving in that direction for moral reasons, and because justice is part of the French constitution.

[...]

I do not hate President Chirac. On the contrary, I used to have the highest regard for this man in the past for many reasons. But I want here to separate this relationship from the Syrian-French relations. The two are not the same, and during the past period, it did not

change a lot. May be it was affected for this and other reasons that have to do with the French role that has receded in the Middle East, and has become sometimes absent. What can bring back this relationship or push it forward is, as I always say, an institutional relationship that is based on the institutions and not on individuals. The Syrian-French relations should be direct and not via a third party, and this is something unavailable now.

[...]

The French people have a great history, distinguished from the histories of other peoples, even in Europe itself.

[...]

This role is in fact receding today, as I said a short while ago, and seems sometimes invisible, sometimes inexistent, and sometimes subordinate to other roles. This has never happened in the history of the French role before, and could have many political causes, and may be other causes that need to be examined. But the net result is that this harms the interests of the French people first of all, the interests of Europe and the world, and our interests in the Middle East. We cannot actually separate the interests of Europe now from the Middle East, and the evidence is what happened in the past: 9/11 in New York, the Madrid explosions, the London explosions, what is happening in Indonesia, and what is happening in the Palestinian territories. So, the French people have to move again through their institutions in order to restore this French role which is characterized by openness towards all cultures, and should reject the attempts aiming at isolating this French culture which remained unisolated for over two hundred years, i.e. since the French Revolution.

[...]

they say that they cannot control their borders with Mexico, so how could we control our borders with Iraq? Therefore, the issue of controlling the borders completely and absolutely is only theoretical and practically impossible. Nevertheless, Syria is controlling the borders to a great extent. I shall give an example illustrated by figures: They say that they estimate the number of terrorists in Iraq at about 1,000 to 3,000. And they know that Syria stopped in the past two years about 1,600, which is 52% of their estimates. Anyway, everything said in this regard is a case of escaping forward, or is like the ostrich which buries its head in the sand in order not to see the truth. The main danger or error which leads to terrorism in Iraq is, first of all, the wrong war. Second, it is the wrong political performance in

managing the affairs of Iraq by the occupation powers. This accusation to Syria aims simply at blaming somebody else so that they do not take responsibility.

[...]

There are “Muslim Brothers” in more than one Arab country; and in every country they have leaders. We have relations with some of them. Our problem, or the threat to Syria, is only part of these people, those who believe in violence and those who carried out terrorist acts in Syria in the 1970s and 1980s and killed thousands of Syrians. The problem is not in the name, it is in the kind of thought which controls these groups, i.e. extremism. Whether this extremism was Islamic, Christian, Jewish, or whether it was social or political, all extremism leads to destruction. But the causes of this extremism lie, first of all, in the international chaos which exists in the world, the big mistakes made by the big powers and which escalate the terrorism based on this extremism. Consequently, we are worried. Are Egypt and Saudi Arabia worried? We are all worried. If you go now to any Arab country, you will hear the same thing, and expression of the same concern. Hence, there should be a solution which addresses the causes in order to overcome this concern.

[...]

As to the question of peace, we, I mean the Arab countries, made an initiative in 2002, at the Arab summit in Beirut, calling Israel for peace. But peace needs a number of factors. The first factor is people’s desire for peace. As far as the Arab peoples are concerned, their position towards peace has not changed despite these bad conditions that you can see in the Middle East, and may be in most parts of the world. We believe that the Israeli people have drifted, somehow, away from peace, may be because of their leadership, or because of their internal politics. The American administration, which is a main sponsor of the peace process, is not at all interested in the peace process. We actually heard this from them, from the American officials on more than one occasion. The European role, which is an important role, has to change. Europe cannot play the role of a marketing agency for the American role towards the peace process. There should be an independent European role, but in harmony with the American role. It should not contradict the American role, it should be in harmony with it. This needs a European American dialogue which does not exist now. That is why we do not envisage a peace process in the near future. We have to be realistic. Every day this process is delayed, there will be more blood. And more blood means more barriers, and consequently a higher price...

Interview D: Official Translation Excerpts

But I want to make it clear, when I talked about the Israel product, I did not specifically mean the parliamentary majority. The majority is an elected majority. There are some people to whom the term applies and those to whom it does not apply.

For instance, the Syrian foreign minister was in Lebanon a few weeks ago, during the war, and met the Lebanese prime minister, who belongs to the majority. Before that, the Syrian prime minister called him and talked about cooperation and what Syria could offer during the war. I meant a number of well-known figures, some of whom have had relations with Israel since the Israeli invasion of Lebanon. Some others started dealing with the Israeli position, not necessarily with Israel. We do not have all the information. Israel was behind resolution 1559, and they adopted it. We might also ask about who stands behind resolution 1680 which strikes at the Syrian–Lebanese relations. Does this resolution serve Syria’s interests or Lebanon’s interests? It serves Israel’s interests. The last war unmasked these positions. That is why we had to be very clear in Syria. When we talk about what the resistance did from the beginning of this war, regardless of the victory it achieved or the results, I do not want to say that it was done for the sake of the Arabs, but there was Arab sympathy and popular support for the Resistance, even official support in many cases.

[...]

We all know that they adopted the first French-American draft. Without the developments on the ground, that draft would have become resolution 1701. So, these forces have gone along with all the plans against the Resistance which concerns us as Arabs. I am not talking about resistance as an internal Lebanese affair, but rather as an issue which concerns every Arab individual. You can see now the flags of Hezbollah everywhere you go. They conspired with Israel in these two areas.

[...]

Loyalty to one’s own country does not only mean not to be a public agent of a foreign country. It means rejection of any foreign interference through any embassy; and I am always clear in this or through any foreign government that interferes with our affairs directly. I made this clear to the Europeans several times. I said to them, “we will classify every person you intercede for as non-patriotic. So, you have to stop interfering and

sending messages. This is final for us. We are highly sensitive towards foreign interventions. Add to this that all of them are there, and if we want to ban them from speaking, as some would say, they would all be in prison. That is not the truth. We have made steps and we do not claim that we achieved a lot, but we have made reasonable steps within the conditions we are living in. Some look at those steps as being less than necessary and others see them as more than necessary. Let us stand in the middle. We have to be careful as we are not living in a natural atmosphere and no one of the Syrians or non-Syrians doubt that there are any interventions or daily attempts to interfere in the internal Syrian affairs. We cannot be naïve as to say that things are good or that everyone is patriotic. This is not an issue of good intentions.

[...]

Question: Mr. President, since we are talking about borders, there is the issue of the UNIFIL. It is said that this force will not be only deployed, after it grows to 15,000 troops – if it reaches that figure – on the Lebanese Palestinian borders but on the Syrian Lebanese borders as well. And, according to Terj Roed Larsen, four thousand troops will be deployed on the Syrian-Lebanese borders. How do you see this?

President Assad: This means the creation of a state of hostility between Syria and Lebanon. First, this undermines Lebanon's sovereignty. No state in the world accepts to deploy on its border's crossing points soldiers who do not carry its nationality unless it was in a state of war with that country as is the case in the Golan or in south Lebanon, where it is normal. So, this is an abrogation of sovereignty and handing it over to another party, and they always talk about sovereignty. The second point is that this would be a hostile act against Syria, and naturally will create problems between Syria and Lebanon.

Question: But they are concerned that Syria will be used as a passage for weapons to certain parties; and they do not want the weapons to reach those parties, and a passage for people who would support one Lebanese party against another. So, this might be the justification for their concerns and the reason for the deployment of this force.

President Assad: If there is a Lebanese army, then it should be responsible for this, why should the Lebanese army be responsible for guarding Israel?

Question: Mr. President, do you call upon the Lebanese government to refuse the deployment of an international force on the Syrian-Lebanese borders?

President Assad: We call upon it to shoulder its responsibilities like in any other state, and it will be held responsible. If they want to destroy relations between Syria and Lebanon, it is up to them and they can handle the responsibility. There is a certain current in the Lebanese government and the parliamentary majority trying to do this.

[...]

Question: Is it possible for us to witness armed resistance in the Golan?

President Assad: I answered this before. It is the people who decide this possibility and once again I would say that unless rights are returned through peace, then resistance is the natural and obvious option and things will take this direction whether we like it or not.

Question: Mr. President, you are saying that it is the people who decide. Do you feel that the people are prepared for this, and I am sure that you know how the people feel? Are people ready for armed resistance in the Golan?

President Assad: There are always trends and visions. There are those who are enthusiastic in talking about this subject today and there are those who say we have to get prepared. However, this war has enhanced this option and we are left with what we as a state and people can do to get prepared for any moment of aggression. The option of resistance is important not only for liberation but also because aggression is one of the military possibilities; and what can you do to liberate your land in parallel with the political track?

APPENDIX 4: Research Questionnaire

Dear Participant,

I am doing PhD at Durham University, UK. I should be grateful if you could possibly answer the questions below. All information provided will remain confidential. My research investigates translation differences that may lead to pragmatic failure in translating Syrian political discourse into English. For this purpose, I have quoted some official and unofficial translations of some excerpts taken from four interviews by President Bashar Al-Assad, the analysis of which is my research questionnaire. What I would like you to do is first tell me something of your background, which will of course be kept anonymous, and then to go through the questionnaire which is made up of two questions (questions two and three), the excerpts to be rated and an open question giving you the chance to rate any problematic sentences other than the ones included in question 2. Please read each original excerpt below and comment using the same wording as in question 2.

As part of my PhD research I would like you to take part in this questionnaire under the following instructions. You are provided with the Arabic transcripts (ST) of the four interviews by President Assad together with their two different translations in English, labeled as Target Text 1 (TT 1) and Target Text 2 (TT 2). For the purpose of this research you need to read the ST and compare it with the two TTs and then answer three questions. Your answers should be filled in a table that will be explained below. The questions you need to answer are the following:

1. Do you believe there is a mistranslation in Target Text 1 or Target Text 2?
2. If your answer is YES, under which category (Type and grade) do you classify the causes for the mistranslation you have observed? The grades are also explained below together with an example on how to fill in the answer table.
3. Which of the mistranslations you have identified lead to pragmatic failure in translation?

The definition of Pragmatic Failure adopted in this research is the inability to understand what is meant by what is said (Thomas, 1983: 91).

To make the process easier, each ST excerpt together with its two translations are put together in one table headed separately. Each table consists of three rows and two columns. The first column presents the labels of the three excerpts to be used later instead of repeating the excerpts in full, and the second column includes the three excerpts. The sentences in the ST are numbered, as are the corresponding translation in the TTs in a similar way. Awareness should be raised that one sentence in Arabic could be rendered as several sentences in English but they still have the same number. For example if sentence

4 in excerpt 2 from interview 2 was rendered by the TT 1 or by the TT 2 as 3 sentences in translation, then these 3 sentences would be numbered as S4a, S4b, and S4c. The full texts of the four interviews and the translations are also attached for needed reference. Labeling excerpts in the tables is in the form of abbreviations. The Abbreviations used in the tables in addition to the abbreviations for the types and grades are as follows:

I:	Interview	G:	Grammatical
E:	Excerpt	S:	Semantic
ST:	Source Text	C:	Cultural
TT:	Target text		

For example, excerpt one from the first interview is presented like this:

I1 - E1 - ST1	<p>1. بداية، أرحب بكم في سورية. 2. المشكلة بالنسبة للعلاقة بين سورية وجزء من الغرب، ولا أقول كل الغرب، هي ربما بعض المسؤولين في هذا الغرب، أي أنها ليست قضية اللغة كما قلت. 3. كما قلت أنا أفهم اللغة وربما بعضهم يفهم اللغة العربية، ولكن القضية هي ما تحمله اللغة من مفاهيم، هناك خلاف كبير في المفاهيم، هناك تباعد في الثقافات يزداد مع الزمن بدلاً من أن يتقارب بفعل تطور وسائل الاتصالات.</p>
I1 - E1 - TT1	<p><u>1.... 2. The problem of Syria's relations with part of the West – I'm not saying all the West, and maybe it's only some officials in the West – it's not a problem of language. 3a. As I've said, I understand their language, and some of them may understand Arabic. 3b. The problem pertains to the concepts conveyed by the language. 3c. There is a great difference in the concepts. 3d. There is a distance between the cultures, which grows wider in time, instead of narrowing with the development of the means of communication.</u></p>
I1 - E1 - TT2	<p><u>1. In the beginning, I would like to welcome you. 2. The problem concerning the relationship between Syria and part of the West, not all of the West, is with some Western officials. 3a. So, it is not a problem of language as you said. I understand their language, and some of them might understand Arabic. 3b. But the problem is with the conceptions carried by languages. 3c. There is a great difference in conceptions. 3d. There is a difference in cultures which is widening instead of narrowing by virtue of developments in communication methods.</u></p>

Rating (assessing) is by writing down the abbreviated letters for the chosen type and grade(s) of mistranslation in the second column in the table below and by writing YES in the third column if you believe this is the answer. Using any symbol in the second column means you believe there is a mistranslation in Target Text 1 or Target Text 2.

The answer table looks like this:

Sentence	Mistranslation? If YES please write the type and Grade	Pragmatic Failure in Translation? Please write YES if you believe so
S1 in I1 - E1 – TT1		
S1 in I1 - E1 – TT2		

Read the excerpts and their translations below carefully and then fill in the second column of each answer table stating the type of error (**Grammatical, Semantic and/or Cultural**) using capital letters only (**G, S, C**) and its grade(s) (**1, 2, 3, 4, or 5**) in accordance with the table of grades of pragmatic failure provided below. You can link up more than one grade with the type of error you have chosen. For example, your answer could say **G. 2, 3 and 5;** or **S 1, 2, and 4,** or **G1, C5,** etc.

Grade (1)	Grade (2)	Grade (3)	Grade (4)	Grade (5)
Partly Misunderstanding Original Text	Ill-formed-ness: Grammatical or Semantic	Large Processing Efforts & Small Contextual Effects	Irrelevant Implications	Misunderstanding Communicator's Intention

Your answers in the answer table could look like this:

Sentence	Mistranslation? If YES please write the type and Grade	Pragmatic Failure in Translation? Please write YES if you believe so
S1 in I1 - E1 – TT1	S5, C5	YES
S1 in I1 - E1 – TT2		

Please note that the number of rows in the answer table varies according to the number of sentences in each separate excerpt.

Thank you very much for your help which will greatly benefit my research; I will be happy to share my results with you at a later stage.

Yours sincerely

Majd Ibrahim

Question one: Personal background information

- Name (omit if you wish)
- Age
- Sex (male, female).
- Living experience in an English-speaking country (less than 5 years, 5 – 10 years, more than 10 years)
- Translation experience (less than 5 years, 5 – 10 years, more than 10 years)
- What type of text did you mostly translate? Give a percentage of each (out of a hundred): Political discourse, Legal texts, Literary, Religious, Social sciences, Any other (Please specify)
- What difficulties did you particularly encounter in translating political discourse? Grammatical, Semantic and/or Cultural? (You can tick them all)

Question two:

Could you please read the following texts in Arabic and compare the two translations according the above mentioned instructions.

Question three:

If you see any problematic sentences other than the ones selected in question 2, please read each original excerpt below and comment in a similar manner of answering question 2?

1 Interview A data

1 Excerpt 1 data

IA - E1 – ST	<p>1. بداية، أرحب بكم في سورية. 2. المشكلة بالنسبة للعلاقة بين سورية وجزء من الغرب، ولا أقول كل الغرب، هي ربما بعض المسؤولين في هذا الغرب، أي أنها ليست قضية اللغة كما قلت. 3. أنا أفهم اللغة وربما بعضهم يفهم اللغة العربية، ولكن القضية هي ما تحمله اللغة من مفاهيم، هناك خلاف كبير في المفاهيم، هناك تباعد في الثقافات يزداد مع الزمن بدلاً من أن يتقارب بفعل تطور وسائل الاتصالات. 4. لكن المطلوب من هذا الغرب، لكي تستقيم الأمور، أن يعرف أكثر عن منطقتنا، عن تاريخنا، عن مفاهيمنا، عن الأسباب الحقيقية لمشاكلنا.</p>
IA - E1 – TT 1	<p>1.... 2. The problem of Syria's relations with part of the West – I'm not saying all the West, and maybe it's only some officials in the West – it's not a problem of language. 3a. As I've said, I understand their language, and some of them may understand Arabic. 3b. The problem pertains to the concepts conveyed by the language. 3c. There is a great difference in the concepts. 3d. There is a distance between the cultures, which grows wider in time, instead of narrowing with the development of the means of communication. 4. In order for things to be straightened out, the West must learn more about our region, history, concepts, and about the real causes of our problems.</p>
IA - E1 – TT 2	<p>1. In the beginning, I would like to welcome you. 2. The problem concerning the relationship between Syria and part of the West, not all of the West, is with some Western officials. 3a. So, it is not a problem of language as you said. I understand their language, and some of them might understand Arabic. 3b. But the problem is with the conceptions carried by languages. 3c. There is a great difference in conceptions. 3d. There is a difference in cultures which is widening instead of narrowing by virtue of developments in communication methods. 4. But in order for things to be normal, the West has to know more about our region, our history, our conceptions, about the real causes of our problems.</p>

Table 1. Interview A – Excerpt 1 Data		
Sentence	Mistranslation? If YES please write the type and grade	Pragmatic Failure in Translation? Please write YES if you believe so
S1 in IA - E1 – TT 1		
S2 in IA - E1 – TT 1		
S3a in IA - E1 – TT 1		
S3b in IA - E1 – TT 1		
S3c in IA - E1 – TT 1		
S3d in IA - E1 – TT 1		
S4 in IA - E1 – TT 1		
S1 in IA - E1 – TT 2		
S2 in IA - E1 – TT 2		
S3a in IA - E1 – TT 2		
S3b in IA - E1 – TT 2		
S3c in IA - E1 – TT 2		
S3d in IA - E1 – TT 2		
S4 in IA - E1 – TT 2		

1.2 Excerpt 2 data

IA – E2 – ST	1. والمطلوب ليس أن يبتعد عن التعامل مع المصطلحات فقط، وإنما يجب أن يدخل لمعالجة المشاكل من خلال التعامل مع الحقائق الموجودة على الأرض. 2. هذه نقطة خلاف، نحن نعيش الواقع، هم يعيشون على بعد آلاف الأميال، فيجب أن يستمعوا إلى آرائنا وأن يفهموا تفكيرنا.
IA – E2 – TT 1	1.--- 2a --- We live our reality, while they live thousands of miles away. 2b. Therefore, they should listen to our opinions and understand our way of thinking.
IA – E2 – TT 2	1. What is required is for the West to stop dealing with terminology and to start addressing the problems by dealing with the facts on the ground. 2a. -- -We live this reality, while they live thousands of miles away. 2b. They have to listen to our views and to understand the way we think.

Table 2. Interview A – Excerpt 2 Data		
Sentence	Mistranslation? If YES please write the type and Grade	Pragmatic Failure in Translation? Please write YES if you believe so
S1 in IA – E2 – TT 1		
S2a in IA – E2 – TT 1		
S2b in IA – E2 – TT 1		
S1 in IA – E2 – TT 2		
S2a in IA – E2 – TT 2		
S2b in IA – E2 – TT 2		

1.3 Excerpt 3 data

IA – E3 – ST	1. كما قلت أنا، سورية دولة مهمة بالنسبة للاستقرار، مهمة بالنسبة لمكافحة الإرهاب، مهمة بالنسبة لعملية السلام، مهمة بالنسبة لاستقرار الوضع في العراق في المستقبل. 2. لا يمكن التعامل مع هذه القضايا في الشرق الأوسط دون سورية. 3. لروسيا والصين مصلحة في أن تتفقا مع سورية في القضايا المطروحة لأن لهما مصلحة في الاستقرار.
IA – E3 – TT 1	1.--- Syria is an important country for stability, an important country in the way against terrorism, an important country for the peace process, an important country for future stability in Iraq. 2. But these Middle Eastern issues are being dealt with without Syria. 3. Russia and China have an interest in standing by Syria on these issues, because they have an interest in stability.
IA – E3 – TT 2	1. As I said, Syria is important for stability, for combating terrorism, for the peace process, and for the stability of the situation in Iraq in the future. 2. None of these issues in the Middle East can be addressed without Syria. 3. Russia and China have an interest in supporting Syria on these issues because they have an interest in stability.

Table 3. Interview A – Excerpt 3 Data

Sentence	Mistranslation? If YES please write the type and Grade	Pragmatic Failure in Translation? Please write YES if you believe so
S1 in IA – E3 – TT 1		
S2 in IA – E3 – TT 1		
S3 in IA – E3 – TT 1		
S1 in IA – E3 – TT 2		
S2 in IA – E3 – TT 2		
S3. in IA – E3 – TT 2		

1.4 Excerpt 4 data

IA – E4 – ST	1. لا يوجد سؤال غير سار، وإنما توجد حقائق غير سارة. 2. أنا قلت في السابق أن كل من يثبت أن له علاقة في عملية الاغتيال من سورية فهو بالقانون السوري يعتبر خانناً، والخائن عقوبته شديدة جداً.
IA – E4 – TT 1	1.---2. As I've said before, any Syrian proven to be involved in the assassination is considered a traitor according to Syrian law, and the punishment for a traitor is very severe in Syrian law.
IA – E4 – TT 2	1. There are no unpleasant questions, there are only unpleasant facts. 2. I said in the past that any Syrian person proven to have a link with the assassination is a traitor under Syrian law, and the punishment of traitors is very severe.

Table 4. Interview A – Excerpt 4 Data		
Sentence	Mistranslation? If YES please write the type and Grade	Pragmatic Failure in Translation? Please write YES if you believe so
S1 in IA – E4 – TT 1	C3	NOx2
S2 in IA – E4 – TT 1	G2 and S3	NOx3
S1 in IA – E4 – TT 2		
S2 in IA – E4 – TT 2		

1.5 Excerpt 5 data

IA – E5 – ST	<p>1. بالنسبة لنا في سورية لدينا حراسة موجودة منذ زمن طويل، أي منذ عقود أو منذ عقدين من الزمن موجودة على الحدود مع العراق. 2. كما تعرف، لا توجد دولة تضبط حدودها مطلقاً مع أية دولة أخرى في هذا العالم. 3. والأمريكيون يتهموننا بهذا الكلام ولكن هم يقولون لنا بنفس الوقت أنهم غير قادرين على ضبط حدودهم مع المكسيك. 4. الولايات المتحدة دولة عظمى لا تستطيع أن تضبط حدودها، فكيف تضبط سورية حدودها؟! 5. لكن مع ذلك، هناك إمكانية لأن تكون الحدود مضبوطة ضمن حد معقول، ليست مغلقة، وإنما مضبوطة، بمعنى أن تهريب الأشخاص أو البضائع هو بالحدود الدنيا مع أي بلد. 6. هذا الشيء لكي نصل إليه، بحاجة لطرفي الحدود، لا يمكن لطرف واحد أن يضبط الحدود. 7. بمعنى أن يكون هناك على الطرف الآخر من العراق إجراءات معينة من قبل العراقيين أو الأمريكيين، إجراءات ربما تكون عسكرية، ربما تكون إجراءات تقنية مختلفة وربما يكون هناك تعاون أمني. 8. لكن حقيقة الموضوع أن المشكلة في العراق هي الفشل السياسي الكبير والفشل العسكري الكبير الذي نراه الآن، هذه هي حقيقة الموضوع. 9. هناك عدم رغبة بالاعتراف بأن المقاومة التي تحصل في العراق هي في معظمها من العراقيين. 10. هناك دائماً إلقاء لوم على طرف أجنبي، على أشخاص أجانب يسمونهم الإرهابيين، يقومون بأعمال ضد القوات الموجودة، قوات الاحتلال. 11. هذا الكلام غير صحيح.</p>
IA – E5 – TT 1	<p>1. We have been guarding the border with Iraq for two decades. 2. <u>As you know, no country in the world can hermetically seal its border with any other country.</u> 3. The Americans level these accusations against us, but at the same time, they say to us: "We cannot seal our border with Mexico." 4. <u>Such a superpower cannot seal its border, so how can Syria?</u> 5. <u>Having said that, it is possible to close the border to a reasonable extent – it won't be completely sealed, but it will be controlled, in the sense that the smuggling of people or goods will be as minimal as can be expected with any country.</u> 6. <u>In order to achieve this, both sides of the border must be involved – just one side cannot seal the border.</u> 7a. In other words, on the Iraqi side of the border measures must be taken by either the Iraqis or the Americans. 7b. These can be various military or technological measures. 7c. There may also be security cooperation. 8a. But the truth of the matter is that the problem in Iraq is the great political failure and the great military failure we are witnessing. 8b. This is the truth of the matter. 9. There is a lack of willingness to admit that the resistance in Iraq is mostly by Iraqis. 10a. A foreign party is always blamed. 10b. They say that foreigners, whom they call terrorists, are carrying out operations against the occupation forces. 11. This isn't true.</p>
IA – E5 – TT 2	<p>1. For us in Syria, we have had guards on our borders with Iraq for a long time, or for the past two decades. 2. As you know, there is no country in the</p>

	<p>world which can control its borders completely with any other country in this world. 3. The Americans accuse us of this while at the same time they say that they are unable to control their borders with Mexico. 4. The United States is a superpower, yet it cannot control its borders, so how could Syria control its borders? 5. Nevertheless, there is a possibility for the borders to be controlled in a reasonable manner: not closed, but controlled, which means that smuggling individuals is at its lowest with any country. 6a. In order to achieve this we need the two sides of the borders. 6b. One party cannot control the borders. 7a. This means that there should be certain measures taken on the other side, in Iraq, by the Americans or the Iraqis. 7b These measures could be military, could be technical, or there might be security cooperation. 8a. The fact of the matter is that the problem in Iraq is the great political failure and the great military failure which we can see now. 8b. This is the reality. 9. There is no desire to acknowledge that the resistance in Iraq is carried out mostly by Iraqis. 10. <u>The Americans are always blaming other parties: They blame individuals they call terrorists who carry out operations against the forces present there, the occupation forces.</u> 11. This is not true.</p>
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Table 5. Interview A – Excerpt 5 Data

Sentence	Mistranslation? If YES please write the type and Grade	Pragmatic Failure in Translation? Please write YES if you believe so
S1 in IA – E5 – TT 1		
S2 in IA – E5 – TT 1		
S3 in IA – E5 – TT 1		
S4 in IA – E5 – TT 1		
S5 in IA – E5 – TT 1		
S6 in IA – E5 – TT 1		
S7a in IA – E5 – TT 1		
S7b in IA – E5 – TT 1		
S7c in IA – E5 – TT 1		
S8a in IA – E5 – TT 1		
S8b in IA – E5 – TT 1		
S9 in IA – E5 – TT 1		
S10a in IA – E5 – TT 1		
S10b in IA – E5 – TT 1		
S11 in IA – E5 – TT 1		
S1 in IA – E5 – TT 2		
S2 in IA – E5 – TT 2		
S3 in IA – E5 – TT 2		
S4 in IA – E5 – TT 2		
S5 in IA – E5 – TT 2		
S6a in IA – E5 – TT 2		
S6b in IA – E5 – TT 2		
S7a in IA – E5 – TT 2		

S7b in IA – E5 – TT 2		
S8a in IA – E5 – TT 2		
S8b in IA – E5 – TT 2		
S9 in IA – E5 – TT 2		
S10 in IA – E5 – TT 2		
S11 in IA – E5 – TT 2		

1.6 Excerpt 6 data

IA – E6 – ST	<p>1. فإذا القضية ليست الاخوان المسلمين، وإنما الجزء الذي يؤمن بالعنف. 2. هناك تيارات أخرى مشابهة غير الإخوان المسلمين تؤمن بالعنف وبالإرهاب ربما اعتقاداً منها بأن هذا الشيء يخدم الإسلام. 3. طبعاً لا يوجد إرهاب إسلامي لأن الإرهاب ينفصل عن الإسلام. إنه إرهاب فقط، لا يوجد إرهاب إسلامي. ولكن درجت التسمية الآن إرهاب إسلامي. 4. هذا النوع من الإرهاب خطير، كان يستهدفنا في ذلك الوقت، وفي ذلك الوقت قمنا بحملة على مستوى بعض الدول الأوروبية الغربية لكي نقتنع تلك الدول بأن احتضان بعض قيادات التطرف والإرهاب في أوروبا سيرتد عليهم في وقت من الأوقات. 5. فعلاً نحن عانينا منهم في السبعينيات والثمانينيات، وبدأوا يضربون في عدد من الدول العربية، في نهاية الثمانينيات وفي التسعينيات ورأينا النتائج الخطيرة والكبيرة في نيويورك وفي لندن وفي مدريد وأنتم أيضاً تعانون من عمليات إرهابية الآن في روسيا. 6. هذا يعني أن الإرهاب ليست له حدود. 7. إذا كان لديك إرهاب في بلدك ربما يضرب لدينا في وقت ما، لأنك لا تستطيع أن تضبطه، لا يمكن أن تحصر الإرهاب. 8. وهذا ما بدأ ينتبه إليه الكثير من دول العالم وفهمت هذه الدول أن مكافحة الإرهاب هي مكافحة دولية.</p>
IA – E6 – TT 1	<p>1.--- <u>2.</u> There are similar groups, other than the Muslim Brotherhood, that believe in violence and in terrorism, maybe because they believe this serves Islam. <u>3a.</u> Of course, there is no such things as "Islamic terrorism," because terrorism differs from Islam. <u>3b.</u> There's just terrorism, not Islamic terrorism. <u>3c.</u> But the term "Islamic terrorism" has become widespread. <u>4a.</u> This kind of terrorism is dangerous. <u>4b.</u> It was directed against us, and then we embarked upon a campaign in some Western European countries in an attempt to convince them that embracing some of the leaders of extremism and terrorism in Europe will turn against them one of these days. <u>5a.</u> We suffered from this terrorism in the seventies and eighties. <u>5b.</u> You too, in Russia, are now suffering from terrorist operations. <u>6.</u> This means that terrorism has no borders. <u>7a.</u> If you have terrorism in your country, it might strike at us at some point. <u>7b.</u> You cannot control or restrict terrorism <u>8.</u>---</p>
IA – E6 – TT 2	<p>1. So, the question is not the Muslim Brotherhood, it is rather the part which believes in violence. <u>2.</u> There are other similar currents which believe in violence and terrorism, may be because they believe that this serves Islam. <u>3a.</u> Of course, there is no Islamic terrorism, because terrorism is separate from Islam. <u>3b.</u> It is only terrorism. <u>3c.</u> But now the term "Islamic terrorism" has become common. <u>4a.</u> This is a dangerous type of terrorism. <u>4b.</u> When it targeted us we conducted a campaign at the level of some Western European countries in order to persuade those countries that hosting some of the leaders of extremism and terrorism in Europe will rebound against them one day. <u>5a.</u> We did indeed suffer from these groups in the 1970s and 1980s, and they started to hit at some Arab countries towards the end of the 1980s and during the 1990s. <u>5b.</u> We saw the dangerous consequences in New York,</p>

	London, and Madrid. 5c. You too are suffering from terrorist acts in Russia now. 6. This means that terrorism does not acknowledge borders. 7a. If you have terrorism in your country, it might carry out operations against us one day, because you cannot control it. 7b. Terrorism cannot be confined by borders. 8. Many countries in the world have started to understand this and to understand that fighting terrorism should be done on the international level.
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Table 6. Interview A – Excerpt 6 Data

Sentence	Mistranslation? If YES please write the type and Grade	Pragmatic Failure in Translation? Please write YES if you believe so
S1 in IA – E6 – TT 1		
S2 in IA – E6 – TT 1		
S3a in IA – E6 – TT 1		
S3b in IA – E6 – TT 1		
S3c in IA – E6 – TT 1		
S4a in IA – E6 – TT 1		
S4b in IA – E6 – TT 1		
S5a in IA – E6 – TT 1		
S5b in IA – E6 – TT 1		
S6 in IA – E6 – TT 1		
S7a in IA – E6 – TT 1		
S7b in IA – E6 – TT 1		
S8 in IA – E6 – TT 1		
S1 in IA – E6 – TT 2		
S2 in IA – E6 – TT 2		
S3a in IA – E6 – TT 2		
S3b in IA – E6 – TT 2		
S3c in IA – E6 – TT 2		
S4a in IA – E6 – TT 2		
S4b in IA – E6 – TT 2		
S5a in IA – E 6 – TT 2		
S5b in IA – E6 – TT 2		
S5c in IA – E6 – TT 2		
S6 in IA – E6 – TT 2		
S7a in IA – E6 – TT 2		
S7b in IA – E6 – TT 2		
S8 in IA – E6 – TT 2		

1.7 Excerpt 7 data

<p>IA – E7 – ST</p>	<p>1. صحيح لدينا خبرة لأننا الأقدم في هذا المجال ولأننا نعيش في منطقة إسلامية، وفهمنا أن مكافحة الإرهاب لا تكون بالحرب، الحرب غالباً من نتائجها، خاصة عندما لا تكون حرباً عادلة، هي تفعيل الإرهاب، وهذا ما نراه الآن بعد حرب العراق. 2. مكافحة الإرهاب هي في البداية مكافحة فكرية، لأن الإرهاب هو فكر قبل أن يكون مجرد منظمات، مكافحة فكرية، مكافحة الجهل بالحوار، بالمواقف السياسية العادلة، لأن الكثير من الإرهابيين يتخذون ذريعة إما قضية دينية أو قضية سياسية. 3. عليك أن تتعامل مع الموضوع سياسياً، هكذا نتعامل مع الإرهاب وليس بالإدانة. 4. الإدانة لا تلغي الإرهاب، أدت كل بلدان العالم أدانت 11 أيلول، ولكن الإرهاب استمر بعد 11 أيلول، فإذاً يجب أن نحقق شبكة من التعاون الدولي، وسورية كما قلت لديها خبرة ولديها رغبة كبيرة بهذا النوع من التعاون.</p>
<p>IA – E7 – TT 1</p>	<p>1a.--- <u>We have realized that terrorism cannot be fought through a war.</u> 1b. A war in general – and especially when it is not a just war – results in activating terrorism, as we now see, after the war in Iraq. 2a. Fighting terrorism is, first and foremost, ideological, because terrorism is an ideology rather than just organizations. 2b. Fighting terrorism must be ideological. 2c. Ignorance must be fought through dialogue. 2d. Political stances must be just, because many terrorists use religious or political causes as pretexts. 3a. <u>So you must deal with this issue politically.</u> 3b. <u>This is how you deal with terrorism, not through condemnations.</u> 4a. Condemnations do not finish off terrorism. 4b....<u>The entire world has condemned 9/11, but terrorism continued after 9/11.</u> 4c. <u>Therefore, we must establish a network of international cooperation, and as I've said, Syria has the experience and a great desire for such cooperation.</u></p>
<p>IA – E7 – TT 2</p>	<p>1a. It is true that we have experience in this regard because we suffered from this before others and because we live in a Muslim region. 1b. We understood that fighting terrorism cannot be done by waging wars. 1c. Wars, particularly when they are unfair, actually activate terrorism, and this is what we see after the war on Iraq now. 2a. <u>Fighting terrorism is in the first place an intellectual activity, because terrorism is a mentality before it is organizations.</u> 2b. Ignorance should be fought with dialogue, with fair political positions, because many of these terrorists make a pretext either of a religious cause or a political one. 3a. You have to deal with this issue politically. 3b. This is the way we deal with terrorism, not by condemnation. 4a. Condemnation does not obliterate terrorism. 4b. We and the rest of the world condemned the Sep. 11th attacks, but terrorism continued after Sep. 11th. 4c. So we have to build a network of international cooperation and as I said Syria has the expertise and has the desire for this kind of cooperation.</p>

Table 7. Interview A – Excerpt 7 Data		
Sentence	Mistranslation? If YES please write the type and Grade	Pragmatic Failure in Translation? Please write YES if you believe so
S1a in IA – E7 – TT 1		
S1b in IA – E7 – TT 1		
S2a in IA – E7 – TT 1		
S2b in IA – E7 – TT 1		
S2c in IA – E7 – TT 1		
S2d in IA – E7 – TT 1		
S3a in IA – E7 – TT 1		
S3b in IA – E7 – TT 1		
S4a in IA – E7 – TT 1		
S4b in IA – E7 – TT 1		
S4b in IA – E7 – TT 1		
S4c in IA – E7 – TT 1		
S4c in IA – E7 – TT 1		
S1a in IA – E7 – TT 2		
S1b in IA – E7 – TT 2		
S1c in IA – E7 – TT 2		
S2a in IA – E7 – TT 2		
S2b in IA – E7 – TT 2		
S3a in IA – E7 – TT 2		
S3b in IA – E7 – TT 2		
S4a in IA – E7 – TT 2		
S4b in IA – E7 – TT 2		
S4c in IA – E7 – TT 2		

1.8 Excerpt 8 data

<p>IA – E8 – ST</p>	<p>1. بالنسبة للموضوع النووي، لا نستطيع أن نتحدث في هذا الموضوع الكبير فقط عن دولة كيف تفكر، يجب أن نأخذ الموضوع بشكل كامل في منطقة الشرق الأوسط. 2. أولاً، إذا كان الموضوع النووي هو ضمن الإطار السلمي، فهو حق لكل دولة في هذا العالم. 3. لا يوجد شيء يمنع أية دولة في العالم أن تمتلك مفاعلات نووية لأغراض سلمية. 4. وإيران تقول بشكل واضح أنها تريد هذا المفاعل لأغراض سلمية. 5. تقول هذا الكلام بشكل علني وبالغرف المغلقة. 6. لكن بالنسبة لموضوع السلاح النووي، وهي النقطة التي طرحتها، وهي التي نسمعها أحياناً بطريقة أن إيران تريد المفاعل السلمي لكي تصل للسلاح النووي. 7. لا نستطيع أن نأخذها بهذه الطريقة. 8. علينا أن نفكر بشكل أشمل، علينا أن نرى كل المنطقة إن لم تكن نريد أن ننظر للموضوع بشكل دولي، فعلى الأقل لنرى منطقة الشرق الأوسط. 9. إن قلنا أن في منطقة الشرق الأوسط هناك دولة يحق لها أن تمتلك سلاح نووي، فكل الدول الأخرى لها هذا الحق. 10. إذا كنا لا نريد أن نرى سلاحاً نووياً لدى دولة ما في الشرق الأوسط فعلياً أن نقوم بعملية نزع السلاح من كل هذه الدول وأنا أقصد هنا إسرائيل. 11. إسرائيل هي الدولة الوحيدة في الشرق الأوسط التي تمتلك سلاحاً نووياً. 12. نحن في سورية قمنا عام 2003 بتقديم مبادرة لمجلس الأمن من أجل نزع أسلحة الدمار الشامل من كل منطقة الشرق الأوسط.</p>
<p>IA – E8 – TT 1</p>	<p>1a. As for the nuclear issue, when dealing with this great topic, we cannot talk only about a specific country and its way of thinking. 1b. We must address this issue comprehensively in the Middle East. 2. First of all, if nuclear power is restricted to peaceful purposes, every country in the world is entitled to it. 3. No country in the world can be prevented from having nuclear reactors for peaceful purposes. 4. Iran is saying very clearly that it wants this reactor for peaceful purposes. 5. It says this both in public and behind closed doors. 6. <u>But as for nuclear weapons – this is what you asked about, and this is what we hear sometimes – that Iran wants the peaceful reactor in order to reach a nuclear weapon.</u> 7. <u>We cannot relate to it this way.</u> 8a. We must think in a more comprehensive way. 8b. We must view the entire region. 8c. If we don't want to view this internationally, we should at least view the Middle East. 9. <u>If we say that a certain country in the Middle East has the right to own nuclear weapons, then all the other countries have the same right.</u> 10. If we don't want to see nuclear weapons in a certain country in the Middle East, we must remove these weapons from all these countries – and I'm referring to Israel. 11. <u>Israel is the only country in the Middle East that owns nuclear weapons.</u> 12 ---</p>
<p>IA – E8 – TT 2</p>	<p>1a. As to the nuclear issue, we cannot talk about this issue in terms of how one country is thinking. 1b. We have to look at it in the larger framework of the Middle East. 2. First, if the nuclear issue is within the peaceful framework, it is the right of every country in this world. 3. There is nothing that prevents any country in the world from possessing nuclear reactors for peaceful purposes. 4. And Iran says clearly that it wants this reactor for peaceful purposes. 5. It says this in public and behind closed doors. 6. <u>As to the nuclear weapons issue, which is the point you raised, we hear this talked about in order to mean that Iran wants the peaceful reactor in order to obtain nuclear weapons.</u> 7. We cannot look at the question in this way. 8a. We have</p>

	to think in a more comprehensive manner. 8b. We have to see the whole region. 8c. If we do not want to consider the issue on the international level, let us at least look at the Middle East. 9. If we say that in the Middle East there is one state which has the right to possess nuclear weapons, then all states have that right. 10. If we do not want to see nuclear weapons in any state in the Middle East, we have to carry out a disarmament operation in all these countries, and I mean Israel here. 11. Israel is the only country in the Middle East which possesses nuclear weapons. 12. <u>We in Syria launched an initiative at the Security Council in 2003 in order to make the whole Middle East free of mass destruction weapons.</u>
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Table 8. Interview A – Excerpt 8 Data		
Sentence	Mistranslation? If YES please write the type and Grade	Pragmatic Failure in Translation? Please write YES if you believe so
S1a in IA – E8 – TT 1		
S1b in IA – E8 – TT 1		
S2 in IA – E8 – TT 1		
S3 in IA – E8 – TT 1		
S4 in IA – E8 – TT 1		
S5 in IA – E8 – TT 1		
S6 in IA – E8 – TT 1		
S7 in IA – E8 – TT 1		
S8a in IA – E8 – TT 1		
S8b in IA – E8 – TT 1		
S8c in IA – E8 – TT 1		
S9 in IA – E8 – TT 1		
S9 in IA – E8 – TT 1		
S10 in IA – E8 – TT 1		
S11 in IA – E8 – TT 1		
S12 in IA – E8 – TT 1		
S1a in IA – E8 – TT 2		
S1b in IA – E8 – TT 2		
S2 in IA – E8 – TT 2		
S3 in IA – E8 – TT 2		
S4 in IA – E8 – TT 2		
S5 in IA – E8 – TT 2		
S6 in IA – E8 – TT 2		
S7 in IA – E8 – TT 2		
S8a in IA – E8 – TT 2		
S8b in IA – E8 – TT 2		
S8c in IA – E8 – TT 2		
S9 in IA – E8 – TT 2		
S10 in IA – E8 – TT 2		
S11 in IA – E8 – TT 2		
S12 in IA – E8 – TT 2		

1.9 Excerpt 9 data

<p>IA – E9 – ST</p>	<p>1 أولاً لا نعرف إن كانت هنالك عقوبات أم لا يوجد. 2 علينا بكل الأحوال أن نستعد لكل شيء سيء، نحن نعيش في منطقة مضطربة، نحن نعيش في عالم دولي غير عادل فيه فوضى كما قلت، وبالتالي يجب دائماً أن نستعد للأسوأ. 3 أن تستعد، لا يعني أن تكون قادراً أن تربح، ولكن أن تستعد، يعني على الأقل إن كنت ستخسر فعليك أن تخفف الخسائر، هذا أولاً. 4 لكن علينا أن نكمل الجواب بسؤال: أية دول تسعى لعقوبات، ماذا ستحقق؟ 5 هل ستربح؟ 6 هي لن تربح بل ستخسر. 7 الشرق الأوسط قلب العالم، وسورية الآن في قلب الشرق الأوسط، وسورية مع العراق إن لم يكن الوضع فيهما جيداً ستضطرب كل المنطقة، والعالم كله سيدفع الثمن. 8 فهذا سؤال آخر نضيفه، ماذا سيحققون؟ 9 لن يستطيعوا، كما قلت في بداية المقابلة، التعامل مع قضية الإرهاب، سيتسع الإرهاب ولن يستطيعوا تحقيق السلام، وهذا يعني أيضاً توسيع الإرهاب. 10 سيكون هناك المزيد من الفقر وهذا أيضاً يعني زيادة الإرهاب، وبالتالي كل العالم سيدفع الثمن مع سورية ومع الشرق الأوسط. 11 فأعتقد أنه عندما نضع هذا السؤال، سنصل إلى الجواب المنطقي بأن العقوبات لن تحقق شيئاً، والحل الوحيد هو بالعمل السياسي وبالحوار. لا خيار آخر. 12 وثبت أن الحرب لا تحقق نتائج إيجابية حتى لو كانت تقوم بها دول عظمى وقوية.</p>
<p>IA – E9 – TT 1</p>	<p>1. First of all, I don't know if there will be sanctions. 2a. In any case, we must be prepared for any possibility. 2b. We live in a troubled region and in an unjust world, which is ruled by anarchy as I have said. 2c. Therefore, we should always prepare for the worst. 3a. Being prepared doesn't mean you are capable of winning, but it means that if you lose, you will minimize your losses. 3b. This is the first thing. 4a. But I must complete my answer with a question. 4b. <u>Any country that wants sanctions – what will it gain?</u> 5. <u>Will it gain anything?</u> 6. <u>No, it won't, it will lose.</u> 7a. The Middle East is the heart of the world, and Syria is now in the heart of the Middle East. 7b. If the situation in Syria and Iraq is not good, the entire region will be troubled, and the entire world will pay the price. 8. I want to add this question: What will they gain? 9a. Like I said, they will not be able to deal with terrorism, which will spread. 9b. They won't be able to achieve peace, and this, in turn, will also increase terrorism. 10a. There will be more poverty, which will also increase terrorism. 10b. Therefore, the entire world will pay the price, along with Syria and the Middle East. 11. ---12.----</p>
<p>IA – E9 – TT 2</p>	<p>1. First, we do not know whether or not there will be sanctions. 2a. At any rate, we have to prepare for the worst. 2b. We live in a turbulent region, we live in an unfair international order which is replete with chaos, as I said, and consequently we have to be always prepared for the worst. 3a. <u>To prepare yourself does not mean that you cannot win.</u> 3b. It at least means that if you lose you should limit your losses. 4a. But we have to continue this answer with a question: which countries are trying to impose sanctions? 4b. What will they achieve? 5. Will they win? 6a. They won't. 6b. They will lose. 7. The Middle East is at the heart of the world and Syria is at the heart of the Middle East, and if the situation in Syria and Iraq is not good that will cause problems in the whole region, and the whole world will pay the price. 8. Another question: what will they achieve? 9a. <u>They will not, as I said at the beginning of the interview, be able to deal with the question of terrorism.</u> 9b. Terrorism will spread. 9c. And they will not be able to achieve peace. 9d. This will also increase terrorism. 10a. There will be more poverty, and</p>

	<p>this will increase terrorism. 10b. Consequently, the whole world, together with Syria and the Middle East will pay the price. 11a. I think when we pose this question we will arrive at the logical answer: that the sanctions will not achieve anything and that the only solution is through political work and dialogue. 11b. There is no other option. 12. It has been proven that war does not achieve positive results even when it is launched by a strong super power.</p>
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Table 9. Interview A – Excerpt 9 Data

Sentence	Mistranslation? If YES please write the type and Grade	Pragmatic Failure in Translation? Please write YES if you believe so
S1 in IA – E9 – TT 1		
S2a in IA – E9 – TT 1		
S2b in IA – E9 – TT 1		
S2c in IA – E9 – TT 1		
S3a in IA – E9 – TT 1		
S3b in IA – E9 – TT 1		
S4a in IA – E9 – TT 1		
S4b in IA – E9 – TT 1		
S5 in IA – E9 – TT 1		
S5 in IA – E9 – TT 1		
S6 in IA – E9 – TT 1		
S6 in IA – E9 – TT 1		
S7a in IA – E9 – TT 1		
S7b in IA – E9 – TT 1		
S8 in IA – E9 – TT 1		
S9a in IA – E9 – TT 1		
S9b in IA – E9 – TT 1		
S10a in IA – E9 – TT 1		
S10b in IA – E9 – TT 1		
S11 in IA – E9 – TT 1		
S12 in IA – E9 – TT 1		
S1 in IA – E9 – TT 2		
S2a in IA – E9 – TT 2		
S2b in IA – E9 – TT 2		
S3a in IA – E9 – TT 2		
S3b in IA – E9 – TT 2		
S4a in IA – E9 – TT 2		
S4b in IA – E9 – TT 2		
S5 in IA – E9 – TT 2		
S6a in IA – E9 – TT 2		
S6b in IA – E9 – TT 2		
S7 in IA – E9 – TT 2		
S8 in IA – E9 – TT 2		
S9a in IA – E9 – TT 2		
S9b in IA – E9 – TT 2		

S10a in IA – E9 – TT 2		
S10b in IA – E9 – TT 2		
S11 in IA – E9 – TT 2		
S12 in IA – E9 – TT 2		

2.2 Interview B data

2.1 Excerpt 1 data

IB - E1 – ST	<p>1. أو لا نحن نتحدث عن السلام 2 . يقال الطلاق أبغض الحلال. 3. هو حلال لكنه يغيض. 4. فأنت تبحث عن حل مشكلة قبل أن تصل إلى الحل الأسوأ فيه. 5. نفس الشيء بالنسبة للحرب فالعرب هي الحل الأسوأ. 6. لا أحد يبحث عن الحرب حتى المقاومة في أي مكان من العالم العربي هي لا تبحث عن الحرب هي تريد السلام ولكنها وجدت لغياب السلام. 7. فإذا لا بد من أن نبقى نسعى باتجاه السلام مادام هناك أمل. 8. قد تقول يعني لدينا أمل بالحكومة الإسرائيلية لا ولكن نعتقد أن إسرائيل اليوم بحسب ما نسمعه من أنصارها لم يعد لديها خيار سوى السلام. 9. قوة الردع الإسرائيلية تأكلت مع الوقت مع أن إسرائيل تزداد قوة من الناحية العسكرية ولكن الردع ومفهوم المقاومة بالمقابل يزداد لدى الشارع العربي فأصبحت إسرائيل فعلياً أضعف ولم تعد القوة العسكرية هي الضامن لوجود إسرائيل. 10. أصبح الكثير من أنصارها وخاصة من المنظمات الصهيونية وبعض اليهود المتعصبين لإسرائيل يقولون كنا نؤمن بالحرب أو كنا ندعم كل حرب إسرائيلية لكن الآن نحن نعتقد أنه لا حل أمام إسرائيل سوى السلام.</p>
IB - E1 – TT 1	<p>1, 2, 3, 4, 5. War is the worst possible solution. 6a. Nobody wants war. 6b. <u>Even the resistance movement, anywhere in the Arab world, wants peace, not war.</u> 6c. But the resistance emerged due to the absence of peace. 7. We should continue to strive for peace as long as there is hope. 8. <u>You might ask if we place any hope in the Israeli government – no, we don't, but we believe that Israel today – from what we hear from its supporters – has no option other than peace.</u> 9a. The Israeli deterrence has declined over time. 9b. Even though Israel has strengthened militarily, the deterrence of the Arab masses and their notion of resistance have increased. 9c. So Israel has, in fact, grown weaker, and its military strength no longer guarantees its existence. 10 <u>Many of Israel's supporters – especially among the Zionist organizations, and the extreme pro-Israel Jews – say: "We used to believe in war, and we used to support every Israeli war, but now we believe that Israel has no option but peace."</u></p>
IB - E1 – TT 2	<p>1. First of all, we are talking about peace. 2. <u>There is a saying divorce is the most hated of the permissible things.</u> 3. It is permissible but hated. 4. You look for a solution before you reach the worst one. 5a. It is the same for war. 5b. It is the worst solution. 6a. No one looks for war, even the resistance in the Arab world. 6b. Peace is the goal. 7. Resistance existed because of the absence of peace, so we must strive towards peace as long as there is hope. 8a. <u>You say we might have hope in the Israeli government.</u> 8b. <u>The answer is no; But we believe that Israel today has no option but to accept the peace.</u> 9a. Israel's deterrence power eroded with time. 9b. The more the Israeli military force increase, the more the awareness of resistance and deterrence concepts in the Arab street increases. 9c. Israel,</p>

	nowadays, is actually weaker and its military force no longer guarantees its existence. 10a. Israel's supporters, either the Zionist organizations or pro-Israel Jewish groups, say that they used to believe in war or to support every Israeli war. 10b. <u>But now, they say they believe that there is no solution before Israel but peace.</u>
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Table 10. Interview B – Excerpt 1 Data

Sentence	Mistranslation? If YES please write the type and Grade	Pragmatic Failure in Translation? Please write YES if you believe so
S1 in IB - E1 – TT 1		
S2 in IB - E1 – TT 1		
S3 in IB - E1 – TT 1		
S4 in IB - E1 – TT 1		
S5 in IB - E1 – TT 1		
S6a in IB - E1 – TT 1		
S6a in IB - E1 – TT 1		
S6b in IB - E1 – TT 1		
S6c in IB - E1 – TT 1		
S7 in IB - E1 – TT 1		
S8 in IB - E1 – TT 1		
S9a in IB - E1 – TT 1		
S9b in IB - E1 – TT 1		
S9c in IB - E1 – TT 1		
S10 in IB - E1 – TT 1		
S1 in IB - E1 – TT 2		
S2 in IB - E1 – TT 2		
S3 in IB - E1 – TT 2		
S4 in IB - E1 – TT 2		
S5a in IB - E1 – TT 2		
S5b in IB - E1 – TT 2		
S6a in IB - E1 – TT 2		
S6b in IB - E1 – TT 2		
S7 in IB - E1 – TT 2		
S8a in IB - E1 – TT 2		
S8b in IB - E1 – TT 2		
S9a in IB - E1 – TT 2		
S9b in IB - E1 – TT 2		
S10a in IB - E1 – TT 2		
S10b in IB - E1 – TT 2		

2.2 Excerpt 2 data

IB – E2 – ST	<p>1. ثانياً بالنسبة للحرب التحريرية أو المقاومة إذا كان بمعنى المقاومة فالمقاومة لا تنشأ بقرار من الدولة.</p> <p>2. تنشأ بشكل شعبي وبشكل طبيعي عندما لا يكون هناك دولة تعمل من أجل تحرير الأرض. 3. المعروف بأن سورية دولة مستقلة وهناك جيش ويطور هذا الجيش نفسه بحسب ما تقوله إسرائيل. 4. لا نبتعد، لا</p>
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	تحدثت عن تصريحات أو كتابات أو أي شيء مشابه من قوى حليفة لسورية. 5. العدو نفسه يتحدث عن مساع سورية لتطوير ذاتها. 6. هذا التطوير يعني عندما تستمر فترة اللا حرب واللا سلم فهي لا بد من أن تكون فترة مؤقتة إما أن تنتهي بتوقيع السلام أو أن تنتهي بالحرب فلا يوجد خيار آخر. 7. وأنت لا تذهب باتجاه الحرب إلا عندما تفقد الأمل من خلال السلام.
IB – E2 – TT 1	1, 2, 3. <u>It is well-known that Syria is developing its army, even according to what Israel itself says.</u> 4. I am not quoting statements by pro-Syrian circles. 5. <u>Even the enemy acknowledges Syria's efforts to develop [its military].</u> 6a. This means that the state of "neither war nor peace" is temporary. 6b. <u>Either it will end in peace – the signing of a peace accord – or it will end in war.</u> 6c. There is no other option. 7. But you turn to war only when you have lost all hope of peace.
IB – E2 – TT 2	1.... Resistance is not made by state decision. 2. It is a natural choice of the nations when the state doesn't work to liberate the land. 3. It is well-known that Syria is an independent state with an army which is developing itself, as Israel says. 4. We are not talking about statements or reports made by Syria's allies. 5. The enemy itself is talking about Syria's endeavors to develop herself. 6a. This development means that the continuation of no-war-no-peace situation should be temporary. 6b. It must end by either signing a peace agreement or war. 6c. There is no other option. 7. <u>You only go towards war when you lose hope.</u>

Table 11. Interview B – Excerpt 2 Data

Sentence	Mistranslation? If YES please write the type and Grade	Pragmatic Failure in Translation? Please write YES if you believe so
S1 in IB – E2 – TT 1		
S2 in IB – E2 – TT 1		
S3 in IB – E2 – TT 1		
S4 in IB – E2 – TT 1		
S5 in IB – E2 – TT 1		
S6a in IB – E2 – TT 1		
S6b in IB – E2 – TT 1		
S6c in IB – E2 – TT 1		
S7 in IB – E2 – TT 1		
S1 in IB – E2 – TT 2		
S2 in IB – E2 – TT 2		
S3 in IB – E2 – TT 2		
S3b in IB – E2 – TT 2		
S4 in IB – E2 – TT 2		
S5 in IB – E2 – TT 2		
S6a in IB – E2 – TT 2		
S6b in IB – E2 – TT 2		
S6c in IB – E2 – TT 2		
S7 in IB – E2 – TT 2		

3 Interview C data

3.1 Excerpt 1 data

IC - E1 – ST	1. بالنسبة لنا، نحن واثقون من نزع هذه التهمة. 2. لا يوجد أي دليل على أن سورية متورطة، لا دليل جرمياً وليست هناك مصلحة لسورية، وليس لسورية تاريخ مشابه بهذه
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	الأعمال. 3. بالعكس، نحن لنا مصلحة بأن يصل التحقيق لهذه الحقيقة، لأن هذه الحقيقة، من وجهة نظرنا، هي براءة سورية بشكل كامل. 4. لا يوجد لدينا أي شك بهذه النقطة، لذلك نتحدث عن أن التحقيق يجب أن يكون عادلاً واحترافياً.
IC - E1 – TT 1	1. --- 2a. There is no proof that Syria is involved (in the Al-Hariri assassination). 2b. There is no criminal evidence, and Syria does not have any interest or a history of similar actions. 3. On the contrary, we have an interest in the investigation getting to the truth, because the truth is, from our perspective, that Syria is completely innocent. 4a. <u>I have no doubt about this.</u> 4b. Therefore, the investigation must be fair and professional.
IC - E1 – TT 2	1... We are certain of our innocence. 2a. There is no evidence that Syria is involved. 2b. There is no criminal evidence; and Syria has no interest in that crime, nor does it have a history of similar actions. 3. On the contrary, we have an interest in seeing the investigation uncover the truth, because this truth, as far as we are concerned, is the complete innocence of Syria. 4. We have no doubt about this, and that is why we talk about the necessity of having a just and professional investigation.

Table 12. Interview C – Excerpt 1 Data

Sentence	Mistranslation? If YES please write the type and Grade	Pragmatic Failure in Translation? Please write YES if you believe so
S1 in IC - E1 – TT 1		
S2a in IC - E1 – TT 1		
S2b in IC - E1 – TT 1		
S3 in IC - E1 – TT 1		
S4a in IC - E1 – TT 1		
S4b in IC - E1 – TT 1		
S1 in IC - E1 – TT 2		
S2a in IC - E1 – TT 2		
S2b in IC - E1 – TT 2		
S3 in IC - E1 – TT 2		
S4 in IC - E1 – TT 2		

3.2 Excerpt 2 data

IC – E2 – ST	<p>1. المشكلة الآن هي ليست خلافاً بين سورية والأمم المتحدة. 2. المشكلة الآن أن هذه الأمم المتحدة، وتحديداً مجلس الأمن، أصبح عبارة عن أداة تطبق ما يريده بعض السياسيين القلة في هذا العالم عندما يختلفون مع دولة ما، ليس بالضرورة أن يطبقوه لمصالح بلدانهم. 3. أنا أعتقد بأنهم يستخدمون مجلس الأمن ضد مصلحة بلدانهم وضد مصالحنا. 4. فإذاً، الحل لكي لا نقول تسوية، هو حل واضح تماماً بالعودة لميثاق الأمم المتحدة. 5. إذا طبقنا ميثاق الأمم المتحدة، ستكون سورية مستفيدة بشكل مباشر ولا داعي للتسويات، الحل بسيط جداً.</p>
IC – E2 – TT 1	<p>1. The problem now is not a dispute between Syria and the UN. 2a. The problem is that this UN, and particularly the Security Council, have become a tool serving to implement the will of a handful of politicians in the world, whenever they have a dispute with any country. 2b. They are not necessarily doing this for the sake of their countries' interests. 3. I believe that they are using the Security Council against their countries' interests and against our own interests. 4a. <u>Therefore, the solution – we shouldn't call it a settlement but a solution – is perfectly clear.</u> 4b. <u>We must return to the UN Charter.</u> 5a. If we implement the UN Charter, Syria would benefit directly. 5b. <u>There is no need for settlements, because the solution is very simple.</u></p>
IC – E2 – TT 2	<p>1.--- 2a. The problem now is that this UN, and the Security Council in particular, has become an instrument implementing the will of a few politicians in the world when they disagree with a certain state. 2b. Worse than that, they do not necessarily use the Security Council in the best interest of their countries. 3. I believe they use it against the interests of their countries and against our interests. 4. Therefore, to avoid saying “compromise”, the solution is very clear: it is recourse to the UN Charter. 5a If we apply the Charter, Syria will benefit directly and there will be no need for a compromise. 5b. The solution is very simple.</p>

Table 13. Interview C – Excerpt 2 Data

Sentence	Mistranslation? If YES please write the type and Grade	Pragmatic Failure in Translation? Please write YES if you believe so
S1 in IC – E2 – TT 1		
S2a in IC – E2 – TT 1		
S2b in IC – E2 – TT 1		
S3 in IC – E2 – TT 1		
S4a in IC – E2 – TT 1		
S4b in IC – E2 – TT 1		
S5a in IC – E2 – TT 1		
S5b in IC – E2 – TT 1		
S1 in IC – E2 – TT 2		
S2a in IC – E2 – TT 2		
S2b in IC – E2 – TT 2		
S3 in IC – E2 – TT 2		

S4 in IC - E2- TT 2		
S5a in IC - E2 - TT 2		
S5b in IC - E2 - TT 2		

3.3 Excerpt 3 data

IC – E3 – ST	1. القرار الأول والقرار الثاني شاركت فيه فرنسا وأمريكا. 2. إن لم نسَمَّ هذا مؤامرة، فهل نسميه عملاً خيرياً على سبيل المثال؟ 3. لا تهم التسمية، فهذه هي الوقائع ونسُميها ما شئنا، ولكن الآن هناك مشاركة فرنسية في قرارات من هذا النوع لا تخدم الاستقرار في المنطقة.
IC – E3 – TT 1	<u>1. France and America were involved in Resolutions 1559 and 1636.</u> 2a. What are we to call this if not a "conspiracy"? 2b. Perhaps an act of charity. 3a. Names do not matter. 3b. <u>This is reality, and we can call it whatever you like.</u> 3c. <u>But today, France is involved in resolutions of this kind, which do not serve stability in this region.</u>
IC – E3 – TT 2	1. France and the United States took part in passing both resolutions. 2. If we do not call this a plot or a conspiracy, do we call it an act of charity for instance? 3a. Anyhow, the name does not matter. 3b. <u>These are facts regardless of the name.</u> 3c. At least there is a French participation in resolutions of the kind that do not serve stability in the region.

Table 14. Interview C – Excerpt 3 Data

Sentence	Mistranslation? If YES please write the type and Grade	Pragmatic Failure in Translation? Please write YES if you believe so
S1 in IC – E3 – TT 1		
S2a in IC – E3 – TT 1		
S2b in IC – E3 – TT 1		
S3a in IC – E3 – TT 1		
S3b in IC – E3 – TT 1		
S3b in IC – E3 – TT 1		
S3c in IC – E3 – TT 1		
S1 in IC – E3 – TT 2		
S2 in IC – E3 – TT 2		
S3a in IC – E3 – TT 2		
S3b in IC – E3 – TT 2		
S3c in IC – E3 – TT 2		

3.4 Excerpt 4 data

IC – E4 – ST	<p>1. عندما ينصت رئيس، ينصت أولاً لشعبه قبل أن ينصت لآخرين، ومن ثم ينصت لأصدقائه المخلصين ولشركائه السياسيين. 2. ثانياً، ربما لا نفهم أشياء كثيرة، وفي مقدمتها لا نفهم كيف تضع فرنسا كل ثقلها للتحقيق بمقتل الرئيس الحريري ونحن نفهم هذا الشيء وندعمه، ولكن بنفس الوقت لا نتحدث بكلمة واحدة عن اغتيال الرئيس عرفات الذي اغتيل في الأراضي الفلسطينية ومات في مستشفى فرنسي، والأمور تمر من دون أن نعرف أي شيء عنها. 3. لماذا هذا المعيار المزدوج؟ 4. لماذا ازدواجية المعايير؟ 5. هي ليست من سمات السياسات الفرنسية، وأحد الأشياء التي لا نفهمها ولا نعرفها، هل سيأتينا جواب قريباً؟</p>
IC – E4 – TT 1	<p>1.... 2a.... I do not understand how France can place all its efforts into <u>investigating the assassination of Prime Minister Al-Hariri – something I understand and support</u> – While it does not say a word about the <u>assassination of President Arafat, who was assassinated in the Palestinian territories and who died in a French hospital.</u> 2b. This event passed by without us knowing anything about it. 3. Why these double standards? 4... 5a. This is not characteristic of French policy. 5b. <u>This is one of the things I don't understand, and I don't know if I can expect an answer soon.</u></p>
IC – E4 – TT 2	<p>1a. When a President listens, he listens to his people first of all before he listens to others. 1b. Then he listens to his loyal friends and political partners. 2a. <u>Second, we might not be able to understand many things; but we cannot understand how France put all its weight behind the investigation into the assassination of Prime Minister Hariri.</u> 2b. <u>Of course we understand and support the investigation, but at the same time we have not said a single word about the assassination of President Arafat who was assassinated on the Palestinian territories and died in a French hospital.</u> 2c. <u>Arafat's death passed by without us knowing anything about it.</u> 3. Why these double standards? 4... 5a. Double standards are not characteristic of French policies. 5b. This is one thing we do not know and do not understand. 5c. Are we going to get an answer any time soon?</p>

Table 15. Interview C – Excerpt 4 Data

Sentence	Mistranslation? If YES please write the type and Grade	Pragmatic Failure in Translation? Please write YES if you believe so
S1 in IC – E4 – TT 1		
S2a in IC – E4 – TT 1		
S2b in IC – E4 – TT 1		
S3 in IC – E4 – TT 1		
S4 in IC – E4 – TT 1		
S5a in IC – E4 – TT 1		
S5b in IC – E4 – TT 1		
S1a in IC – E4 – TT 2		
S1b in IC – E4 – TT 2		
S2a in IC – E4 – TT 2		
S2b in IC – E4 – TT 2		

S2c in IC – E4 – TT 2		
S3 in IC – E4 – TT 2		
S4 in IC – E4 – TT 2		
S5a in IC – E4 – TT 2		
S5b in IC – E4 – TT 2		
S5c in IC – E4 – TT 2		

3.5 Excerpt 5 data

IC – E5 – ST	<p>1. طبعاً، وليس هم من قتلوا الرئيس الحريري أيضاً، ولكن الرئيس الحريري مات في أراضٍ لبنانية، أما الرئيس عرفات مات في الأراضي الفرنسية، هذا أولاً. 2. ثانياً الرئيس عرفات أعلى موقعاً وتاريخاً من الرئيس الحريري، مع احترامنا للرئيس الحريري، فكان من الطبيعي أن تتحرك فرنسا لأسباب أخلاقية، والعدل هو جزء من دستوركم، أن تتحرك بهذا الاتجاه.</p>
IC – E5 – TT 1	<p>1a.--- Prime Minister Al-Hariri died on Lebanese soil, whereas President Arafat died on French soil. 1b. That's the first thing. 2a. Second, President Arafat had greater stature and was more important historically than Al-Hariri, with all due respect. 2b. It would be only natural for France to act out of moral reasons - justice is part of your constitution, after all to act in this direction.</p>
IC – E5 – TT 2	<p>1a. Of course they did not. 1b. And they did not kill Hariri either. 1c. Prime Minister Hariri died on Lebanese territories, while President Arafat died on French territories. 2a. Second, <u>President Arafat is higher in status and richer in history than Hariri, with all due respect to Prime Minister Hariri.</u> 2b. It was only normal to see France moving in that direction for moral reasons, and because justice is part of the French constitution.</p>

Table 16. Interview C – Excerpt 5 Data

Sentence	Mistranslation? If YES please write the type and Grade	Pragmatic Failure in Translation? Please write YES if you believe so
S1a in IC – E5 – TT 1		
S1b in IC – E5 – TT 1		
S2a in IC – E5 – TT 1		
S2b in IC – E5 – TT 1		
S1a in IC – E5 – TT 2		
S1b in IC – E5 – TT 2		
S1c in IC – E5 – TT 2		
S2a in IC – E5 – TT 2		
S2b in IC- E5 – TT 2		

3.6 Excerpt 6 data

IC – E6 – ST	<p>1. أنا لا أكره الرئيس شيراك، وبالعكس، ربما في الماضي كنت أقدر هذا الرجل كثيراً لأسباب عديدة، ولكن أريد أن أفصل هذه العلاقة عن العلاقة السورية – الفرنسية. 2. هي ليست واحدة، وخلال هذه الفترة لم تتأثر كثيراً هذه العلاقة، ربما تأثرت نوعاً ما لهذا السبب ولأسباب أخرى لها علاقة بالدور الفرنسي الذي تراجع في منطقة الشرق الأوسط والذي يكاد يغيب أحياناً. 3. لكن ما يعيد هذه العلاقة أو يدفعها للأمام، كما أقول دائماً، هو أن تكون هذه العلاقة مؤسساتية مبنية على المؤسسات، وليست مبنية على الأفراد فقط، وأن تكون هذه العلاقة مباشرة بين سورية وفرنسا، لا تمر عبر طرف ثالث وهذه الأشياء الآن غير متوفرة.</p>
IC – E6 – TT 1	<p>1a. I do not hate President Chirac. 1b. On the contrary, I may have respected the man very much in the past for many reasons. 1c. <u>But I want to differentiate between this relation and Syrian-French relations.</u> 2a. It is not the same thing. During this period, these relations were not affected significantly. 2b. <u>The relations may have been affected to some extent because of the (Al-Hariri case), and for other reasons concerning the diminishing French role in the Middle East, and which, at times, almost completely disappears.</u> 3 ---.</p>
IC – E6 – TT 2	<p>1a. I do not hate President Chirac. 1b. On the contrary, I used to have the highest regard for this man in the past for many reasons. 1c. But I want here to separate this relationship from the Syrian-French relations. 2a. The two are not the same, and during the past period, it did not change a lot. 2b. Maybe it was affected for this and other reasons that have to do with the French role that has receded in the Middle East, and has become sometimes absent. 3a. <u>What can bring back this relationship or push it forward is, as I always say, an institutional relationship that is based on the institutions and not on individuals.</u> 3b. The Syrian-French relations should be direct and not via a third party, and this is something unavailable now.</p>

Table 17. Interview C – Excerpt 6 Data

Sentence	Mistranslation? If YES please write the type and Grade	Pragmatic Failure in Translation? Please write YES if you believe so
S1a in IC – E6 – TT 1		
S1b in IC – E6 – TT 1		
S1c in IC – E6 – TT 1		
S2a in IC – E6 – TT 1		
S2b in IC – E6 – TT 1		
S3 in IC – E6 – TT 1		
S1a in IC – E6 – TT 2		
S1b in IC – E6 – TT 2		
S1c in IC – E6 – TT 2		
S2a in IC – E6 – TT 2		
S2b in IC – E6 – TT 2		
S3a in IC – E6 – TT 2		
S3a in IC – E6 – TT 2		
S3b in IC – E6 – TT 2		

3.7 Excerpt 7 data

IC - E7 – ST	1. الشعب الفرنسي له تاريخ كبير جداً، وتاريخ يتميز عن تاريخ الكثير من الشعوب، حتى في أوروبا نفسها. 2. هذا التاريخ أعطى ثقافة خاصة للفرنسيين، ثقافة منفتحة، هذه الثقافة انعكست على السياسة الفرنسية وأعطت دوراً كبيراً لفرنسا في أوروبا وفي العالم وفي منطقة الشرق الأوسط. 3. الرئيس شارل ديغول أيضاً أضاف لهذا الموقع الفرنسي كثيراً.
IC – E7 – TT 1	1. The French people has a great history, which is distinguished from the history of many other peoples, even in Europe itself. 2...3....
IC – E7 – TT 2	<u>1. The French people have a great history, distinguished from the histories of other peoples, even in Europe itself.</u> 2. This has given the French people a special culture, an open culture, which has reflected on French politics and gave an important role to France in Europe, in the world at large, and in the Middle East in particular. 3. President Charles De Gaulle also added a great deal to this French position.

Table 18. Interview C – Excerpt 7 Data

Sentence	Mistranslation? If YES please write the type and Grade	Pragmatic Failure in Translation? Please write YES if you believe so
S1 in IC – E7 – TT 1		
S2 in IC – E7 – TT 1		
S3 in IC – E7 – TT 1		
S1 in IC – E7 – TT 2		
S2 in IC – E7 – TT 2		
S3 in IC – E7 – TT 2		

3.8 Excerpt 8 data

IC – E8 – ST	1. الحقيقة اليوم هذا الدور يتراجع، كما قلت قبل قليل، هذا الدور أحياناً يبدو غير ظاهر، غير موجود، وأحياناً يبدو تابعاً لأدوار أخرى. 2. وهذا لم يكن موجوداً في تاريخ الدور الفرنسي، وله أسباب كثيرة سياسية، وربما أسباب أخرى بحاجة لبحث. 3. لكن بالنتيجة، هذا يضر بمصالح الشعب الفرنسي أولاً، ويضر بمصالح أوروبا وبمصالح العالم وبمصالحنا نحن في الشرق الأوسط. 4. ولا تستطيع أن تفصل مصالح أوروبا الآن عن الشرق الأوسط، والدليل هو ما حصل في الماضي، 11 أيلول في نيويورك، تفجيرات مدريد، تفجيرات لندن، وما يحصل في إندونيسيا، وما يحصل في الأراضي الفلسطينية. 5. فإذاً، على الشعب الفرنسي أن يتحرك مجدداً من خلال مؤسساته لإعادة هذا الدور الفرنسي المنفتح على كل الثقافات ورفض محاولات عزل هذه الثقافة الفرنسية التي لم تكن معزولة منذ أكثر من منتي عام، أي منذ الثورة الفرنسية.
IC – E8 – TT 1	1a. The truth is that this French role is now diminishing, as I just said. 1b. Sometimes it seems that this role is non-existent, and sometimes it seems to be subordinate to other roles. 2a. This never happened throughout the history of the French role. 2b. There are many reasons for this – political and maybe others, which require research. 3. <u>Ultimately, this is harmful, first of all, to the interests of the French people, it is harmful to the interests of Europe, to the interests of the world, and to our interests in the Middle East.</u> 4. You cannot separate Europe's interests from the Middle East, and the proof of this is what happened in the past: 9/11 in New York, the Madrid bombings,

	the London bombings, what is happening in Indonesia, what is happening in the Palestinian territories. 5. Therefore, the French people must act again, through its institutions, to restore a French role, characterized by openness towards all cultures, and to reject the efforts to isolate this French culture, which has not been isolated for more than two hundred years, since the French Revolution.
IC – E8 – TT 2	1. This role is in fact receding today, as I said a short while ago, and seems sometimes invisible, sometimes inexistent, and sometimes subordinate to other roles. 2. This has never happened in the history of the French role before, and could have many political causes, and may be other causes that need to be examined. 3. But the net result is that this harms the interests of <u>the French people first of all, the interests of Europe and the world, and our interests in the Middle East.</u> 4. <u>We cannot actually separate the interests of Europe now from the Middle East, and the evidence is what happened in the past: 9/11 in New York, the Madrid explosions, the London explosions, what is happening in Indonesia, and what is happening in the Palestinian territories.</u> 5. <u>So, the French people have to move again through their institutions in order to restore this French role which is characterized by openness towards all cultures, and should reject the attempts aiming at isolating this French culture which remained unisolated for over two hundred years, i.e. since the French Revolution.</u>

Table 19. Interview C – Excerpt 8 Data		
Sentence	Mistranslation? If YES please write the type and Grade	Pragmatic Failure in Translation? Please write YES if you believe so
S1a in IC – E8 – TT 1		
S1b in IC – E8 – TT 1		
S2a in IC – E8 – TT 1		
S2b in IC – E8 – TT 1		
S3 in IC – E8 – TT 1		
S4 in IC – E8 – TT 1		
S5 in IC – E8 – TT 1		
S1 in IC – E8 – TT 2		
S2 in IC – E8 – TT 2		
S3 in IC – E8 – TT 2		
S4 in IC – E8 – TT 2		
S5 in IC – E8 – TT 2		

3.9 Excerpt 9 data

<p>IC – E9 – ST</p>	<p>1. هم يقولون بأنهم لا يضبطون الحدود مع المكسيك، فكيف نضبط حدودنا مع العراق؟ 2. هذا أولاً. 3. فإذا قضية ضبط الحدود بالنسبة لأي دولة بشكل كامل ومطلق، هي قضية نظرية وغير ممكنة. 4. مع ذلك، سورية تضبط الحدود إلى حد كبير. 5. سأعطيك مثالاً بالأرقام: هم يقولون بأنهم يقدرّون الإرهابيين في العراق بين ألف إلى ثلاثة آلاف، وهم يعرفون أن سورية لديها أو أوقفت في الماضي من الإرهابيين خلال العامين الماضيين حوالي 1600، يعني هذا يعادل 52 بالمئة حتى 160% من العدد الذي يقدرّونه. 6. على كل الأحوال، كل ما يقال حول هذا الموضوع هو هروب إلى الأمام أو هو سياسة النعامة التي تظمر رأسها في التراب لكي لا ترى الحقيقة. 7. الخطر أو الخطأ الأساسي الذي يؤدي إلى الإرهاب في العراق هو أولاً الحرب الخاطئة. 8. ثانياً، الأداء السياسي الخاطيء في إدارة أمور العراق من قبل القوى المحتلة. 9. وهذه التهمة لسورية هي لإلقاء اللوم على طرف آخر لكي لا يتحملوا المسؤولية بكل بساطة.</p>
<p>IC – E9 – TT 1</p>	<p>1. They (the Americans) say that they cannot seal off their border with Mexico, so how can we seal off our border with Iraq? 2. That's one thing. 3. <u>Hermetically sealing the borders of any country is theoretical and impossible.</u> 4. Nevertheless, Syria seals its border to a great degree. 5a. Let me give you an example with figures. 5b. They say they estimate the number of terrorists in Iraq to be between 1,000 and 3,000. 5c. They know that Syria has detained approximately 1,600 terrorists in the past two years. 5d. This number equals 52 to 160 percent of their estimate. 6. In any event, everything that has been said on this matter is like running ahead or the policy of an ostrich burying its head in the sand in order to avoid seeing the truth. 7 + 8. <u>The basic danger that leads to terrorism in Iraq is, first and foremost, the wrong war, and second, the wrong political management of Iraq's affairs by the occupying forces.</u> 9. The reason Syria was accused was in order to divert the blame, so that they would not be held responsible. It's very simple.</p>
<p>IC – E9 – TT 2</p>	<p>1. They say that they cannot control their borders with Mexico, so how could we control our borders with Iraq? 2... 3. Therefore, the issue of controlling the borders completely and absolutely is only theoretical and practically impossible. 4. Nevertheless, Syria is controlling the borders to a great extent. 5a. I shall give an example illustrated by figures: They say that they estimate the number of terrorists in Iraq at about 1,000 to 3,000. 5b. <u>And they know that Syria stopped in the past two years about 1,600, which is 52% of their estimates.</u> 6. <u>Anyway, everything said in this regard is a case of escaping forward, or is like the ostrich which buries its head in the sand in order not to see the truth.</u> 7. The main danger or error which leads to terrorism in Iraq is, first of all, the wrong war. 8. Second, it is the wrong political performance in managing the affairs of Iraq by the occupation powers. 9. This accusation to Syria aims simply at blaming somebody else so that they do not take responsibility.</p>

Table 20. Interview C – Excerpt 9 Data		
Sentence	Mistranslation? If YES please write the type and Grade	Pragmatic Failure in Translation? Please write YES if you believe so
S1	in IC – E9 – TT 1	
S2	in IC – E9 – TT 1	
S3	in IC – E9 – TT 1	
S4	in IC – E9 – TT 1	
S5a	in IC – E9 – TT 1	
S5b	in IC – E9 – TT 1	
S5c	in IC – E9 – TT 1	
S5d	in IC – E9 – TT 1	
S6	in IC – E9 – TT 1	
S7+8	in IC – E9 – TT 1	
S9	in IC – E9 – TT 1	
S1	in IC – E9 – TT 2	
S2	in IC – E9 – TT 2	
S3	in IC – E9 – TT 2	
S4	in IC – E9 – TT 2	
S5a	in IC – E9 – TT 2	
S5b	in IC – E9 – TT 2	
S6	in IC – E9 – TT 2	
S7	in IC – E9 – TT 2	
S8	in IC – E9 – TT 2	
S9	in IC – E9 – TT 2	

3.10 Excerpt 10 data

IC – E10 – ST	<p>1. في أكثر من دولة عربية، هناك إخوان مسلمون، وفي كل دولة لهم قيادات، ولدينا علاقات مع جزء من هؤلاء. 2. مشكلتنا أو التهديد الذي يهدد سورية هو أنهم جزء من هؤلاء الذي يؤمن بالعنف والذي قام بأعمال إرهاب في سورية في السبعينيات والثمانينيات وأدى لمقتل الآلاف من السوريين. 3. المشكلة ليست بالتسمية، المشكلة هي في الفكر الذي يحكم تلك المجموعات، أي التطرف. 4. وسواء أكان هذا التطرف تطرفاً إسلامياً أو مسيحياً أو يهودياً أو كان تطرفاً اجتماعياً أو سياسياً، فإن كل التطرف يؤدي إلى التدمير. 5. لكن أسباب هذا التطرف هي أولاً الفوضى الدولية الموجودة في العالم، الأخطاء السياسية الكبرى التي تقوم بها الدول الكبرى والتي تؤدي لتزايد الإرهاب الذي يُبنى على هذا التطرف. 6. وبالتالي، قضية هل نحن قلقون، وهل مصر أو السعودية قلقة؟ 7. كلنا قلقون. 8. لو ذهبت لأية دولة عربية الآن، ستسمع نفس هذا الكلام، ونفس هذا القلق. 9. فإذا لابد من إزالة السبب لكي نزيل القلق.</p>
	<p>1a. The Muslim Brotherhood are present in a number of Arab countries. 1b. In each country they have leaders, and we have ties with some of them. 2. Our problem, or the threat directed towards Syria, stems from some of them who believe in violence and who perpetrated acts of terrorism in Syria in the 1970s and 1980s, causing the deaths of thousands of Syrians. 3a. The problem is not one of name. 3b +4a. The problem is the ideology that governs these groups, the extremism – regardless of whether this extremism is Islamist, Christian, Jewish, social, or political. 4b. Any kind of extremism leads to destruction. 5. But the reasons for this extremism are, first of all, the international anarchy which exists in the world, the great political mistakes made by the superpowers, leading to a rise in the terrorism which is based</p>

	on this extremism. 6. <u>Is Egypt or Syria worried?</u> 7. We are all worried. 8. You will hear the same things and the same concern in any Arab country. 9. Therefore, in order to remove the concern, we must first remove its cause.
IC – E10 – TT 2	1a. <u>There are “Muslim Brothers” in more than one Arab country; and in every country they have leaders.</u> 1b. We have relations with some of them. 2. Our problem, or the threat to Syria, is only part of these people, those who believe in violence and those who carried out terrorist acts in Syria in the 1970s and 1980s and killed thousands of Syrians. 3. <u>The problem is not in the name, it is in the kind of thought which controls these groups, i.e. extremism.</u> 4. Whether this extremism was Islamic, Christian, Jewish, or whether it was social or political, all extremism leads to destruction. 5. But the causes of this extremism lie, first of all, in the international chaos which exists in the world, the big mistakes made by the big powers which escalate the terrorism based on this extremism. 6. Consequently, we are worried. 7. Are Egypt and Saudi Arabia worried? 8. We are all worried. 9. If you go now to any Arab country, you will hear the same thing, and expression of the same concern. 10. Hence, there should be a solution which addresses the causes in order to overcome this concern.

Table 21. Interview C – Excerpt 10 Data

Sentence	Mistranslation? If YES please write the type and Grade	Pragmatic Failure in Translation? Please write YES if you believe so
S1a in IC - E10 – TT 1		
S1b in IC - E10 – TT 1		
S2 in IC - E10 – TT 1		
S3a in IC - E10 – TT 1		
S3b + 4a in IC - E10 – TT 1		
S4b in IC - E10 – TT 1		
S5 in IC - E10 – TT 1		
S6 in IC - E10 – TT 1		
S7 in IC - E10 – TT 1		
S8 in IC - E10 – TT 1		
S9 in IC - E10 – TT 1		
S1a in IC - E10 – TT 2		
S1b in IC - E10 – TT 2		
S2 in IC - E10 – TT 2		
S3 in IC - E10 – TT 2		
S4 in IC - E10 – TT 2		
S5 in IC - E10 – TT 2		
S6 in IC - E10 – TT 2		
S7 in IC - E10 – TT 2		
S8 in IC - E10 – TT 2		
S9 in IC - E10 – TT 2		

3.11 Excerpt 11 data

<p>IC - E11 – ST</p>	<p>1. بالنسبة لموضوع السلام، نحن قدمنا، أي الدول العربية، مبادرة في عام 2002 في القمة العربية في بيروت التي تطالب إسرائيل بالتوجه باتجاه السلام، ولكن التوجه باتجاه السلام بحاجة لعدة عوامل. 2. العامل الأول، هو رغبة الشعوب. 3. بالنسبة للشعوب العربية، لم يتغير موقفها من قضية السلام بالرغم من هذه الظروف السيئة التي تراها في الشرق الأوسط، وربما في معظم دول أو في معظم مناطق العالم. 4. الشعب الإسرائيلي نعتقد بأنه ابتعد نوعاً ما عن السلام ربما بسبب قيادته وربما بسبب ظروف سياسية داخلية. 5. الإدارة الأمريكية، وهي راع أساسي لعملية السلام، غير مهتمة على الإطلاق بعملية السلام، وهذا الكلام سمعناه منهم، من المسؤولين الأمريكيين، في أكثر من مناسبة. 6. الدور الأوروبي، وهو دور هام، يجب أن يتبدل. 7. لا يمكن لأوروبا أن تلعب في عملية السلام دور المسوق للسياسة الأمريكية فقط تجاه عملية السلام. 8. يجب أن يكون هناك دور أوروبي مستقل، ولكن يتوافق مع الدور الأمريكي، لا يتناقض معه، يتوافق معه، وهذا بحاجة لحوار أوروبي أمريكي الآن غير موجود. 9. لذلك الآن عملية السلام لا تراها قريبة. 10. لنكن واقعيين، لكن كل يوم نتأخر فيه، سيكون هناك المزيد من الدماء، وكل ما كان هناك المزيد من الدماء، يعني هناك المزيد من الحواجز ترتفع، وبالتالي، الثمن سيكون أكبر، فمن الأفضل أن نتحرك بشكل سريع بهذا الاتجاه.</p>
<p>IC - E11 – TT 1</p>	<p>1a. As for the issues of peace, the Arab countries presented an initiative at the 2002 Arab summit in Beirut. 1b. This initiative demanded that Israel turn towards peace. 1c. But turning to peace requires a number of things. 2. The first thing is the peoples' desire (for peace). 3. The position of the Arab peoples regarding peace has not changed, despite the bad conditions they are witness to in the Middle East and maybe in most parts of the world. 4. I believe that the Israeli people has distanced itself somewhat from peace, perhaps because of its leaders or due to internal political conditions. 5a. The American administration, which is a main sponsor of the peace process, is not interested in the peace process at all. 5b. We heard this from them, from the American officials, on a number of occasions. 6. The role played by Europe, which is an important one, must change. 7. Europe cannot play in the peace process the role of marketing American policy regarding the peace process, and nothing more. 8a. There must be an independent European role, coordinated with the American role. 8b. It should be coordinated with it, and not contradict it. 8c. This requires a European-American dialogue which does not exist at present. 9. Therefore, I do not think that the peace process is near. 10a. We should be realistic. 10b. But every day that this process is delayed, there will be more blood, and the more blood there is, the more barriers are erected, and therefore the cost will be even higher ---</p>
<p>IC - E11 – TT 2</p>	<p>1a. As to the question of peace, we, I mean the Arab countries, made an initiative in 2002, at the Arab summit in Beirut, calling Israel for peace. 1b. But peace needs a number of factors. 2. The first factor is people's desire for peace. 3. As far as the Arab peoples are concerned, their position towards peace has not changed despite these bad conditions that you can see in the Middle East, and may be in most parts of the world. 4. We believe that the Israeli people have drifted, somehow, away from peace, may be because of their leadership, or because of their internal politics. 5a. The American administration, which is a main sponsor of the peace process, is not at all interested in the peace process. 5b. We actually heard this from them, from the American officials on more than one occasion. 6. The European role, which is an important role, has to change. 7. Europe cannot play the role of a marketing agency for the American role towards the peace process. 8a. There should be an independent European role, but in harmony with the American role. 8b. It should not contradict the American role, it should be</p>

	in harmony with it. 8c. This needs a European American dialogue which does not exist now. 9. That is why we do not envisage a peace process in the near future. 10a. We have to be realistic. Every day this process is delayed, there will be more blood. 10b. And more blood means more barriers, and consequently a higher price. 10c. It is better to move quickly in this direction.
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Table 22. Interview C – Excerpt 11 Data		
Sentence	Mistranslation? If YES please write the type and Grade	Pragmatic Failure in Translation? Please write YES if you believe so
S1a in IC – E11 – TT 1		
S1b in IC - E11 – TT 1		
S1c in IC - E11 – TT 1		
S2 in IC - E11 – TT 1		
S3 in IC - E11 – TT 1		
S4 in IC - E11 – TT 1		
S5a in IC - E11 – TT 1		
S5b in IC - E11 – TT 1		
S6 in IC - E11 – TT 1		
S7 in IC - E11 – TT 1		
S8a in IC - E11 – TT 1		
S8b in IC - E11 – TT 1		
S8c in IC - E11 – TT 1		
S9 in IC - E11 – TT 1		
S10a in IC - E11 – TT 1		
S10b in IC - E11 – TT 1		
S1a in IC - E11 – TT 2		
S1b in IC – E11 – TT 2		
S2 in IC – E11 – TT 2		
S3 in IC – E11 – TT 2		
S4 in IC – E11 – TT 2		
S5a in IC – E11 – TT 2		
S5b in IC – E11 – TT 2		
S6 in IC – E11 – TT 2		
S7 in IC – E11 – TT 2		
S8a in IC – E11 – TT 2		
S8b in IC – E11 – TT 2		
S8c in IC – E11 – TT 2		
S9 in IC – E11 – TT 2		
S10a in IC – E11 – TT 2		
S10b in IC – E11 – TT 2		
S10c in IC – E11 – TT 2		

4 Interview D data

4.1 Excerpt 1 data

<p>ID - E1 – ST</p>	<p>1. أريد أن أوضح نقطة عندما قلت جماعة إسرائيل لا أقصد تحديداً الأكثرية، الأكثرية هي أكثرية منتخبة. 2. هناك من ينطبق عليه هذا القول وهناك من لا ينطبق عليه ذلك 3. على سبيل المثال كان وزير الخارجية السوري في زيارة للبنان منذ أسابيع قليلة خلال الحرب والتقى رئيس الحكومة وهو من الأكثرية. 4. قبلها اتصل به رئيس الوزراء السوري وأيضاً تحدث معه عن التعاون وماذا يمكن أن تقدم سورية للبنان خلال الحرب، لذلك قصدت بهذا التيار بعض الرموز المعروفة وجزء منها له تاريخياً علاقة مع إسرائيل منذ الغزو الإسرائيلي للبنان. 5. البعض الآخر بدأ بالتعامل مع الموقف الإسرائيلي، ليس بالضرورة إسرائيل، ليس بالضرورة أن تكون لدينا معطيات كاملة، من خلال القرار 1559/ والذي قال المسؤولون الإسرائيليون بأنهم هم من سعوا من أجله وهم تبينوا هذا القرار. 6. القرار 1680/ الذي يضرب العلاقة السورية اللبنانية، لمن هذا القرار؟ 7. هل من أجل سورية أو من أجل لبنان؟ 8. من أجل إسرائيل. 9. الحرب الأخيرة فضحت هذه المواقف ولذلك كان لا بد من الحديث بشكل واضح، هذا بالنسبة لنا في سورية. 10. من جانب آخر عندما نقول بأن ما قامت به هذه المقاومة منذ بداية الحرب حتى نهايتها بمعزل عن الانتصار أو النتائج، لا أريد أن أقول أن ما قامت به هو من أجل العرب وإنما كان هناك تعاطف عربي ودعم عربي شعبي وأكثر من شعبي حتى رسمي في كثير من الأحيان لهذه المقاومة.</p>
<p>ID - E1 – TT 1</p>	<p><u>1...2...3...4... This [Lebanese] movement consists of some figures who are known historically for their relations with Israel, since the Israeli invasion of Lebanon. 5a. Others have begun collaborating with the Israeli position - not necessarily with Israel itself, but we do not necessarily have all the information. 5b. They did this through Resolution 1559. 5c. The Israeli officials said that they themselves had worked hard to bring about this resolution. 5d. Yet [these Lebanese figures] supported this resolution. 6. Resolution 1680, which deals a blow to Syrian-Lebanese relations... For whose sake was this resolution adopted? 7a. For Syria? 7b. For Lebanon? 8. It was for the sake of Israel. 9. The recent war has exposed these positions-- 10...</u></p>
<p>ID - E1 – TT 2</p>	<p>1a. But I want to make it clear, when I talked about the Israel product, I did not specifically mean the parliamentary majority. 1b. The majority is an elected majority. 2. There are some people to whom the term applies and those to whom it does not apply. 3. For instance, the Syrian foreign minister was in Lebanon a few weeks ago, during the war, and met the Lebanese prime minister, who belongs to the majority. 4a. Before that, the Syrian prime minister called him and talked about cooperation and what Syria could offer during the war. 4b. I meant a number of well-known figures, some of whom have had relations with Israel since the Israeli invasion of Lebanon. 5a. Some others started dealing with the Israeli position, not necessarily with Israel. 5b. We do not have all the information. 5c. Israel was behind resolution 1559, and they adopted it. 6. We might also ask about who stands behind resolution 1680 which strikes at the Syrian-Lebanese relations. 7. Does this resolution serve Syria's interests or Lebanon's interests? 8. It serves Israel's interests. 9a. The last war unmasked these positions. 9b. That is why we had to be very clear in Syria. 10. When we talk about what the resistance did from the beginning of this war, regardless of the victory it achieved or the results, I do not want to say that it was done for the sake of the Arabs, but there was Arab sympathy and popular support for the Resistance, even official support in many cases.</p>

Table 23. Interview D – Excerpt 1 Data		
Sentence	Mistranslation? If YES please write the type and Grade	Pragmatic Failure in Translation? Please write YES if you believe so
S1 in ID - E1 – TT 1		
S2 in ID - E1 – TT 1		
S3 in ID - E1 – TT 1		
S4 in ID - E1 – TT 1		
S5a in ID - E1 – TT 1		
S5b in ID - E1 – TT 1		
S5c in ID - E1 – TT 1		
S5d in ID - E1 – TT 1		
S6 in ID - E1 – TT 1		
S7a in ID - E1 – TT 1		
S7b in ID - E1 – TT 1		
S8 in ID - E1 – TT 1		
S9 in ID - E1 – TT 1		
S10 in ID - E1 – TT 1		
S1a in ID - E1 – TT 2		
S1b in ID - E1 – TT 2		
S2 in ID - E1 – TT 2		
S3 in ID - E1 – TT 2		
S4a in ID - E1 – TT 2		
S4b in ID - E1 – TT 2		
S5a in ID - E1 – TT 2		
S5b in ID - E1 – TT 2		
S5c in ID - E1 – TT 2		
S6 in ID - E1 – TT 2		
S7 in ID - E1 – TT 2		
S8 in ID - E1 – TT 2		
S9a in ID - E1 – TT 2		
S9b in ID - E1 – TT 2		
S10 in ID - E1 – TT 2		

4.2 Excerpt 2 data

ID – E2 – ST	<p>1. المعروف بأنهم تبنا الورقة الأمريكية الفرنسية الأولى ولولا تغير الأوضاع الميدانية لكانت هي القرار /1701/. 2. فهذه القوى سارت بكل هذه المخططات ضد المقاومة فهي من ناحية المقاومة التي تعيننا كعرب، ولا أتحدث عن المقاومة كموضوع داخلي لبناني، وإنما كموضوع يعني الآن أي مواطن عربي، وترى أنت الآن أعلام حزب الله في كل مكان، فهم تأمروا مع إسرائيل بهذين الاتجاهين.</p>
ID – E2 – TT 1	<p>1. As is well known, they accepted the first French-American draft, and if the situation on the ground had not changed, this draft would have become Resolution 1701. 2a. These forces have carried out all these plots against the resistance. 2b. With regard to the resistance that concerns us as Arabs - and I'm not talking about resistance as an internal Lebanese issue, but as an issue that now concerns any Arab citizen, and you can see Hezbollah flags everywhere... They conspired with Israel in both directions.</p>
ID – E2 – TT 2	<p>1a. We all know that they adopted the first French-American draft. 1b. Without the developments on the ground, that draft would have become resolution 1701. 2a. So, these forces have gone along with all the plans against the Resistance which concerns us as Arabs. 2b. I am not talking about resistance as an internal Lebanese affair, but rather as an issue which concerns every Arab individual. 2c. You can see now the flags of Hezbollah everywhere you go. 2d. They conspired with Israel in these two areas.</p>

Table 24. Interview D – Excerpt 2 Data

Sentence	Mistranslation? If YES please write the type and Grade	Pragmatic Failure in Translation? Please write YES if you believe so
S1 in ID – E2 – TT 1		
S2a in ID – E2 – TT 1		
S2b in ID – E2 – TT 1		
S1a in ID – E2 – TT 2		
S1b in ID – E2 – TT 2		
S2a in ID – E2 – TT 2		
S2b in ID – E2 – TT 2		
S2c in ID – E2 – TT 2		
S2d in ID – E2 – TT 2		

4.3 Excerpt 3 data

<p>ID – E3 – ST</p>	<p>1. الولاء للبلد ليس فقط بالأ تكون عميلاً معلناً لدولة أجنبية. الولاء للبلد يكون من عدم القبول بتدخلات أجنبية من خلال أي سفارة وأنا واضح في هذا الموضوع دائماً أو من خلال أية حكومة أجنبية تتدخل معنا مباشرة وأنا قلت هذا الموضوع للأوروبيين بشكل واضح في عدة مرات. 2. قلت لهم كل شخص أنتم ستتدخلون من أجله سنضعه في خانة اللاوطنية. 3. فعليكم أن تتوقفوا عن التدخل وإرسال الرسائل، هذا الكلام محسوم بالنسبة لنا. 4. لدينا حساسية عالية جداً تجاه التدخلات الأجنبية. 5. عدا عن ذلك، الكل موجود ولو أردنا أن نمنعهم من الكلام كما يشيع البعض لكانوا كلهم في السجن. 6. الحقيقة ليست كذلك. نحن قطعنا خطوات ولا ندعي بأننا الآن حققنا الكثير. 7. قطعنا خطوات ضمن الظروف التي نعيشها، معقولة، البعض يراها أقل من اللازم والبعض يراها أكثر من اللازم، دعنا نقف في الوسط ولكن علينا أن نسير بشكل حذر. 8. نحن لا نسير بجو طبيعي ولا يشك أحد حتى من السوريين أو غير السوريين بأن هناك تدخلاً أو محاولات تدخل يومياً في الشأن الداخلي السوري. 9. لا نستطيع أن نكون ساذجين ونقول الأمور جيدة والكل وطني. 10 يعني القضية ليست قضية حسن نية. 11. بالعكس تماماً، لا بد أن نرى الأمور بالمنظار الآخر، ولكن نحن مررنا بظروف كثيرة، خاصة في السنة الأخيرة، من أصعب الظروف التي يمكن أن تمر بها دولة ما، ولو لم تكن لدينا وحدة وطنية لما كنا تجاوزنا هذه الظروف بهذه الطريقة. 12. إذا لا نستطيع أن نقول إن الصورة سلبية، هي صورة إيجابية لكن فيها سلبيات وهذا شيء طبيعي، وإلا لماذا نتحدث عن التطوير إذا كان كل شيء ممتاز؟ 13. فإذا نحن لا ننكر ما تقوله ولكن يجب أن نضعه في الإطار الواقعي والموضوعي، هذا ما أريده.</p>
<p>ID – E3 – TT 1</p>	<p>1a. Loyalty to one's country does not just mean [not] being a known agent of another country. 1b. Loyalty to one's country means rejecting foreign interferences, through any embassy - and I am always clear on this - and through any foreign government that tries to interfere directly. 1c. I have said this very clearly to the Europeans several times. 2. I said to them: Any person on whose behalf you interfere - we will consider him to be non-patriotic. 3a. You must stop interfering and sending messages. 3b. This matter is closed, as far as we are concerned. 4. We are very sensitive when it comes to foreign interference. 5a. Apart from this, everybody is here. 5b. If we wanted to prevent them from talking, as some claim, they would all be in prison. 6a. This is not the case. 6b. We have taken a few steps, and we are not claiming we have achieved a lot. 7a. We have taken some steps that are reasonable, given our circumstances. 7b. Some think these steps are less than they should be, and other think they are more than they should be. 7c. Let us stay in the middle. 7d. We must act with caution. 8a. We are not operating in a normal climate. 8b. <u>No one, Syrians or others, should doubt that there are daily attempts to interfere in Syria's domestic affairs.</u> 9. We cannot be naive and say: Everything is fine, everybody is patriotic. 10. This is not a matter of good intentions. 11---</p>
<p>ID – E3 – TT 2</p>	<p>1a. Loyalty to one's own country does not only mean not to be a public agent of a foreign country. 1b. It means rejection of any foreign interference through any embassy; and I am always clear in this or through any foreign government that interferes with our affairs directly. 1c. I made this clear to the Europeans several times. 2. I said to them, "we will classify every person you intercede for as non-patriotic. 3a. So, you have to stop interfering and sending messages. 3b. This is final for us. 4. <u>We are highly sensitive towards foreign interventions.</u> 5. <u>Add to this that all of them are there, and if we want to ban them from speaking, as some would say, they would all be in prison.</u> 6a. That is not the truth. 6b. We have made steps and we do not claim that we achieved a lot, but we have made reasonable steps within the conditions we are living in. 7a. Some look at those steps as being less than necessary</p>

	<p>and others see them as more than necessary. 7b. Let us stand in the middle. 7c+8. We have to be careful as we are not living in a natural atmosphere and no one of the Syrians or non-Syrians doubt that there are any interventions or daily attempts to interfere in the internal Syrian affairs. 9. We cannot be naïve as to say that things are good or that everyone is patriotic. 10. This is not an issue of good intentions. 11a. On the contrary, we have to see things from another perspective. 11b. We have gone through many difficult circumstances that any state can go through especially last year, and had we not have national unity, we would not have overcome these circumstances in such a manner. 12a. That is why we cannot say that this is a negative image. 12b. It is a positive image with some negative points, which is natural. 12c. Otherwise, we would not have talked about development if everything was wonderful. 13. We are not denying what you have said, but we are putting it in a realistic and objective frame, and this is what I want.</p>
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Table 25. Interview D – Excerpt 3 Data		
Sentence	Mistranslation? If YES please write the type and Grade	Pragmatic Failure in Translation? Please write YES if you believe so
S1a in ID – E3 – TT 1		
S1b in ID – E3 – TT 1		
S1c in ID – E3 – TT 1		
S2 in ID – E3 – TT 1		
S3a in ID – E3 – TT 1		
S3b in ID – E3 – TT 1		
S4 in ID – E3 – TT 1		
S5a in ID – E3 – TT 1		
S5b in ID – E3 – TT 1		
S6a in ID – E3 – TT 1		
S6b in ID – E3 – TT 1		
S7a in ID – E3 – TT 1		
S7b in ID – E3 – TT 1		
S7c in ID – E3 – TT 1		
S7d in ID – E3 – TT 1		
S8a in ID – E3 – TT 1		
S8b in ID – E3 – TT 1		
S9 in ID – E3 – TT 1		
S10 in ID – E3 – TT 1		
S11 in ID – E3 – TT 1		
S12 in ID – E3 – TT 1		
S13 in ID – E3 – TT 1		
S1a in ID – E3 – TT 2		
S1b in ID – E3 – TT 2		
S1c in ID – E3 – TT 2		
S2 in ID – E3 – TT 2		
S3a in ID – E3 – TT 2		
S3b in ID – E3 – TT 2		
S4 in ID – E3 – TT 2		
S5 in ID – E3 – TT 2		

S6a	in ID – E3 – TT 2	
S6b	in ID – E3 – TT 2	
S7a	in ID – E3 – TT 2	
S7b	in ID – E3 – TT 2	
S7c +8	in ID – E3 – TT 2	
S9	in ID – E3 – TT 2	
S10	in ID – E3 – TT 2	
S11a	in ID – E3 – TT 2	
S11b	in ID – E3 – TT 2	
S12a	in ID – E3 – TT 2	
S12b	in ID – E3 – TT 2	
S12c	in ID – E3 – TT 2	
S13	in ID – E3 – TT 2	

4.4 Excerpt 4 data

<p>ID – E4 – ST</p>	<p>سؤال: 1. سيادة الرئيس ما دمنا نتكلم عن الحدود فهناك موضوع قوات الأمم المتحدة اليونيفيل، يقال في الوقت الحالي أنها لن تقف بعد أن تكبر هذه القوة وتصل إلى 15 ألف، ولو كان ممكن وصولها إلى 15 ألف، لن تقف فقط على الحدود الفلسطينية اللبنانية وإنما أيضاً على الحدود اللبنانية السورية، وسوف يكون هناك حسب تيري رود لارسن أربعة آلاف جندي مقرر وقوفهم على الحدود السورية اللبنانية. 2. كيف تنظرون إلى هذا الموقف وقوف اليونيفيل على الحدود بينكم وبين لبنان؟</p> <p>السيد الرئيس: 3. هذا يعني خلق حالة عدا بين سورية ولبنان. 4. أولاً، هذا ينفي سيادة لبنان. 5. لا توجد دولة في العالم تقبل أن تضع على منافذها الحدودية جنوداً من خارج جنسيتها إلا إذا كانت هناك حرب مع دولة أخرى كما هي الحال في الجولان أو الحال في جنوب لبنان، هذا طبيعي. 6. فهذا يعني أولاً سحب للسيادة اللبنانية وهم يتحدثون عن السيادة اللبنانية بشكل مستمر وتسليمها لجهات أخرى. 7. النقطة الثانية هي موقف عدائي تجاه سورية ومن الطبيعي أن تخلق مشاكل بين سورية ولبنان.</p> <p>سؤال: 8. لكنهم يتخوفون من أن تستخدم سورية ممرراً لدخول سلاح إلى جهات لا يرغبون في أن تصل إليها هذه الأسلحة. 9. كذلك تسرب عناصر من هذه الحدود تساند فريقاً من اللبنانيين إزاء فريق آخر. 10. ويمكن هذا مبرر لهواجسهم الأمر الذي يبرر وجود مثل هذه القوة.</p> <p>السيد الرئيس: 11. إذا كان هناك جيش لبناني فهو مسؤول عن هذا الموضوع. 12. لماذا الجيش اللبناني مسؤول عن حراسة إسرائيل؟</p> <p>سؤال: 13. هل تدعو سيادة الرئيس الحكومة اللبنانية إلى رفض وجود قوة دولية على الحدود بين لبنان وسورية؟</p> <p>السيد الرئيس: 14. ندعوها لتحمل مسؤولياتها كأي دولة أخرى وهي ستتحمل مسؤولية. 15. إذا كانت تريد أن تخرب العلاقة بين سورية ولبنان، فهي حرة تستطيع أن تتحمل المسؤولية. 16. وهناك تيار في الحكومة اللبنانية وفي تيار الأكثرية يسعى لهذا الشيء.</p>
<p>ID – E4 – TT 1</p>	<p>Interviewer: 1.... 2. How do you view the deployment of UNIFIL on your border with Lebanon?</p> <p>Bashar Al-Assad: 3.This would mean creating hostility between Syria and Lebanon. 4. First of all, this would violate Lebanon's sovereignty. 5a. No country in the world would accept the deployment of soldiers of other nationalities at its border passes, unless it is at war with another country, like in the Golan or South Lebanon. 5b. This is normal. 6. First of all, this would mean taking away Lebanese sovereignty - and they are constantly talking about Lebanese sovereignty - and giving it to</p>

	<p>others. 7a. The other issue is that this would be hostile to Syria. 7b. Naturally, this would create problems between Syria and Lebanon.</p> <p>Interviewer: 8. But Mr. President, they fear that Syria would be used as a passage for weapons that would reach elements that they don't want these weapons to reach. 9. People might infiltrate through this border, and help one group of Lebanese against another. 10. This may justify their apprehensions and the presence of such a force.</p> <p>Bashar Al-Assad: 11. If there is a Lebanese army, it should be responsible for that. 12. Why should the Lebanese army be responsible for protecting Israel?</p> <p>Interviewer: 13. Mr. President, are you calling upon the Lebanese government to reject the deployment of an international force along the border between Lebanon and Syria?</p> <p>Bashar Al-Assad: 14a. <u>I am calling upon it to bear the responsibility like any other country.</u> 14b. It will bear the responsibility. 15. If it wants to destroy the relations between Syria and Lebanon, it is free to do so, and bear the responsibility. 16. There are elements within the Lebanese government and among the majority who strive towards this.</p>
<p>ID – E4 – TT 2</p>	<p>Question: 1a. Mr. President, since we are talking about borders, there is the issue of the UNIFIL. 1b. <u>It is said that this force will not be only deployed, after it grows to 15,000 troops – if it reaches that figure – on the Lebanese Palestinian borders but on the Syrian Lebanese borders as well.</u> 1c. And, according to Terj Roed Larsen, four thousand troops will be deployed on the Syrian-Lebanese borders. 2. How do you see this?</p> <p>President Assad: 3. This means the creation of a state of hostility between Syria and Lebanon. 4. First, this undermines Lebanon's sovereignty. 5. <u>No state in the world accepts to deploy on its border's crossing points soldiers who do not carry its nationality unless it was in a state of war with that country as is the case in the Golan or in south Lebanon, where it is normal.</u> 6. <u>So, this is an abrogation of sovereignty and handing it over to another party, and they always talk about sovereignty.</u> 7. The second point is that this would be a hostile act against Syria, and naturally will create problems between Syria and Lebanon.</p> <p>Question: 8 +9. <u>But they are concerned that Syria will be used as a passage for weapons to certain parties; and they do not want the weapons to reach those parties, and a passage for people who would support one Lebanese party against another.</u> 10. So, this might be the justification for their concerns and the reason for the deployment of this force.</p> <p>President Assad: 11+12. If there is a Lebanese army, then it should be responsible for this, why should the Lebanese army be responsible for guarding Israel?</p> <p>Question: 13. Mr. President, do you call upon the Lebanese government to refuse the deployment of an international force on the Syrian-Lebanese borders?</p> <p>President Assad: 14. <u>We call upon it to shoulder its responsibilities like in any other state, and it will be held responsible.</u> 15. If they want</p>

	to destroy relations between Syria and Lebanon, it is up to them and they can handle the responsibility. 16. There is a certain current in the Lebanese government and the parliamentary majority trying to do this.
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Table 26. Interview D – Excerpt 4 Data		
Sentence	Mistranslation? If YES please write the type and Grade	Pragmatic Failure in Translation? Please write YES if you believe so
S1 in ID – E4 – TT 1		
S2 in ID – E4 – TT 1		
S3 in ID – E4 – TT 1		
S4 in ID – E4 – TT 1		
S5a in ID – E4 – TT 1		
S5b in ID – E4 – TT 1		
S6 in ID – E4 – TT 1		
S7a in ID – E4 – TT 1		
S7b in ID – E4 – TT 1		
S8 in ID – E4 – TT 1		
S9 in ID – E4 – TT 1		
S10 in ID – E4 – TT 1		
S11 in ID – E4 – TT 1		
S12 in ID – E4 – TT 1		
S13 in ID – E4 – TT 1		
S14a in ID – E4 – TT 1		
S14b in ID – E4 – TT 1		
S15 in ID – E4 – TT 1		
S16 in ID – E4 – TT 1		
S1a in ID – E4 – TT 2		
S1b in ID – E4 – TT 2		
S1c in ID – E4 – TT 2		
S2 in ID – E4 – TT 2		
S3 in ID – E4 – TT 2		
S4 in ID – E4 – TT 2		
S5 in ID – E4 – TT 2		
S6 in ID – E4 – TT 2		
S7 in ID – E4 – TT 2		
S8+9 in ID – E4 – TT 2		
S10 in ID – E4 – TT 2		
S11+12 in ID – E4 – TT 2		
S13 in ID – E4 – TT 2		
S14 in ID – E4 – TT 2		
S15 in ID – E4 – TT 2		
S16 in ID – E4 – TT 2		

4.5 Excerpt 5 data

ID – E5 – ST	سؤال: 1. هل يمكن أن نشهد مقاومة مسلحة في الجولان؟
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	<p>السيد الرئيس: 2. كما قلت، نفس الجواب، يعني الشعب هو الذي يقرر. 3. أعود وأقول إذا لم يحقق السلام عودة الحقوق فهذا هو الخيار الطبيعي والبدهي والأمور ستذهب بهذا الاتجاه شئنا أم أبينا.</p> <p>سؤال: 4. سيادة الرئيس، تقول إن الشعب هو الذي يقرر. 5. هل الشعب مستعد، كما تحس وأنت تعرف إحساس الشعب بالتأكيد، هل الشعب مستعد الآن للمقاومة المسلحة في الجولان؟ السيد الرئيس: 6. دائماً هناك تيارات وهناك رؤى. 7. هناك من يتحدث بشكل حماسي عن الدخول اليوم في هذا الموضوع وهناك من يقول يجب أن نحضر أنفسنا، ولكن هذه الحرب كرسست هذا الخيار ويبقى ماذا تفعل أنت كدولة وكشعب لكي تحضر نفسك للحظة قد يكون فيها عدوان، ليس بالضرورة أن يكون موضوع التحرير مهماً فقط لأن العدوان هو أيضاً أحد الاحتمالات العسكرية الهامة وماذا ستفعل لتحرير أرضك بالتوازي مع المسار السياسي.</p>
<p>ID – E5 – TT 1</p>	<p>Interviewer: 1. Is it possible that we will see armed resistance in the Golan?</p> <p>Bashar Al-Assad: 2. Like I said... Same answer... The people will decide. 3a. I reiterate: If peace does not restore the rights, this will be the natural and obvious option. 3b. Things will take this course, whether we like it or not.</p> <p>Interviewer: 4. Mr. President, you say that the people will decide. 5a. Is the people ready? 5b. I am sure you can sense the sentiments of the people. 5c. Is the people ready now for armed resistance in the Golan?</p> <p>Bashar Al-Assad: 6. There are always different currents and opinions. 7a. Some people talk enthusiastically about getting into this today, while others say we must prepare ourselves. 7b. <u>However, this war has emphasized that option ---</u></p>
<p>ID – E5 – TT 2</p>	<p>Question: 1. Is it possible for us to witness armed resistance in the Golan?</p> <p>President Assad: 2a. I answered this before. 2b +3. It is the people who decide this possibility and once again I would say that unless rights are returned through peace, then resistance is the natural and obvious option and things will take this direction whether we like it or not.</p> <p>Question: 4. Mr. President, you are saying that it is the people who decide. 5a. Do you feel that the people are prepared for this, and I am sure that you know how the people feel? 5b. Are people ready for armed resistance in the Golan?</p> <p>President Assad: 6. There are always trends and visions. 7a. There are those who are enthusiastic in talking about this subject today and there are those who say we have to get prepared. 7b. <u>However, this war has enhanced this option and we are left with what we as a state and people can do to get prepared for any moment of aggression.</u> 7c. <u>The option of resistance is important not only for liberation but also because aggression is one of the military possibilities; and what can you do to liberate your land in parallel with the political track?</u></p>

Table 27. Interview D – Excerpt 5 Data		
Sentence	Mistranslation? If YES please write the type and Grade	Pragmatic Failure in Translation? Please write YES if you believe so
S1 in ID – E5 – TT 1		
S2 in ID – E5 – TT 1		
S3a in ID – E5 – TT 1		
S3b in ID – E5 – TT 1		
S4 in ID – E5 – TT 1		
S5a in ID – E5 – TT 1		
S5b in ID – E5 – TT 1		
S5c in ID – E5 – TT 1		
S6 in ID – E5 – TT 1		
S7a in ID – E5 – TT 1		
S7b in ID – E5 – TT 1		
S1 in ID – E5 – TT 2		
S2a in ID – E5 – TT 2		
S2b +3 in ID – E5 – TT 2		
S4 in ID – E5 – TT 2		
S5a in ID – E5 – TT 2		
S5b in ID – E5 – TT 2		
S6 in ID – E5 – TT 2		
S7a in ID – E5 – TT 2		
S7b in ID – E5 – TT 2		
S7c in ID – E5 – TT 2		

Thank you very much for invaluable efforts.

The Researcher

Majd Ibrahim