

**An-Najah National University
Faculty of Graduate Studies**

***Translation of Neologisms of the Two Palestinian Intifadas
the First (1987-1993) and the Second (2000-2005)***

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This thesis was defended successfully on 28/3/2007 and approved by

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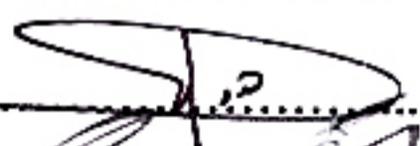
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Signatures

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Dedication

**To the souls of all Palestinian *shuhadaa`* who
sacrificed themselves for the noble cause of Palestine.**

**To the soul of my father who taught me how to be
a human being.**

**To my mother, brothers and sisters, for their
encouragement and support.**

**To my wife for support beyond words and to my
three daughters: Ruwa`, Jana and Dania.**

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Abstract

The study examines the translation of neologisms in the two Palestinian Intifadas to see how translators deal with them. It highlights the mistranslations and the translation problems caused by cultural, political and linguistic differences. It categorizes these neologisms according to the standpoint of their formation and the criteria of use and of translational occurrences in English and other sources, especially Hebrew. By evaluating the correctness and the effectiveness of the neological translations, it attempts to provide some appropriate renditions for some neologisms. Furthermore, the study refers to the strategies used by translators in dealing with these culture-bound neologisms.

The findings of the analysis of neologisms in translation point to the importance for translators to have the background information about the subject matter of Intifada neologisms to help them understand the concepts embodied therein, and so render the messages properly. The findings, also, show the following:

1. Achieving a translational equivalent of an Intifada neologism without considering its contextual use is not an easy task.
2. Translators often fail to convey all the nuances and the subtleties of Intifada neologisms being unaware of the cultural implications and differences between Palestinian Arabic and English.

3. Culture can not be excluded in translation because language is part of culture.
4. The dictionary is not the only source to resort to in dealing with the meanings of such neological expressions.
5. Some additions are needed to compensate the missing information in the translations so that the original meaning can be retained.

The study consists of four chapters. Chapter One introduces the topic and the importance of culture in translation, the purpose, significance, limitations and methodology of the study, and statement of the problem. Chapter Two provides definitions of the concept of neologisms and reviews some related literature on the subject. Chapter Three presents an analysis of the translational occurrences of these neologisms as they appear in English sources. It also touches upon their referential and contextual meanings with focus on their instable semantic features. Finally, Chapter Four provides conclusions and recommendations for further research.

Preface

Palestinian history is loaded with significant events, in that it does not take long before Palestinians find themselves moving from a battle to another. Actually, one should not wonder about this instable state of affairs since they live on a land with a privileged location and a religious significance for the three main religions. This uniqueness has made Palestine a dream of the greedy and the unjust all through its history. Despite the efforts to demolish and conceal its cultural and historical reality, we, Palestinians, continue to exist and face the Israeli military occupation. But, have we been successful in conveying our word and our case to the world?

This has been the significant starting point of my study. As a translation student, I have decided to study the translation of the linguistic neologisms which have emerged during the last two Palestinian Intifadas, taking into account that language is an integral part of culture which reflects people's prospects and sorrows. I have compiled a number of such neologisms from English sources in an attempt to highlight their inappropriate renditions and to enrich the readership with a better and undistorted understanding of the Palestinian linguistic additions to Arabic. In addition, the study has even been made more significant in light of the fact that it has attempted to archive information about the ongoing events in Palestine, in relation to people's need to coin and invent new words as a weapon of resisting those forces which have been trying to annihilate the identity of the Palestinians and cancel their own right in their land. The study has added new linguistic terms of Palestinian Arabic which have become increasingly difficult to keep track of in such a turbulent situation in occupied Palestine. After all, the purpose of the study is to acquaint the readers with a reliable and a

concise reference to the linguistic neologisms which are often circulated by Palestinians in their daily life.

Through all stages of the study, I have faced numerous difficulties. The scarcity of related literature and dealing with an up-to-date Palestinian Arabic which does not abide by specific linguistic rules and structures have been the most serious difficulties and obstacles I ran into. On my long and thorny way of doing this research, I have tried my best to be objective and to come closer to the desired truth about the translation of such neologisms.

I only hope that my sincere apologies can be regarded for any unintended errors, shortages and omissions. Nevertheless, I believe that this study will help other readers gain an objective knowledge of Palestine in navigating through this linguistic neological legacy of the Palestinian cause, and motivate other researchers in linguistics and translation to study other dimensions of this study.

Chapter One

1.1. Introduction

Following the events of the two Palestinian Intifadas, the first (1987-1993) and the second (2000-present), a number of Intifada neologisms have been generated and existing words have taken on new different meanings which are not listed in dictionaries. These neologisms have reflected the change in the Palestinian society as a result of the breakout of the two Intifadas. In fact, Palestinian Arabic has moved from a state of consumption i.e., borrowing, to a state of terminology production. It has not become fully dependent on the terms of the Israeli military occupation authority. On the contrary, it has produced various new terms in different aspects: political, economic, military, social, etc. Examples of these are introduced and discussed in the study with an aim of revealing their translational accuracy as they appear in English sources.

Palestinian Arabic has become replete with such neological expressions in order to refer to, and accommodate, all the newly needed incidents, concepts, ideas, thoughts, etc. They have taken new implications and connotations which could not have been known to all people, including translators. These neologisms have shaped concepts and views about Palestinian culture and conveyed the crux of the Palestinian tragedy. They are commonly used by Palestinians and can appear in different forms of media, prints, internet and the like.

Being so deeply rooted in this Palestinian cultural context, the neologisms of the two Intifadas pose actual problems to translators. And then, the more culture-specific the neological expression is, the more

problematic it is in translation. As translation involves understanding the source language material, this implies that translators are required to have the exact knowledge of these neologisms. In other words, they should be familiar with the topics, and human dimensions, they deal with so that they can express, and transmit, the intended message or content. Efficient translators have to make sure that the effect on the target readers is the same as that on the source language readers.

The reason why the perspective of culture is incorporated in this discussion is that Intifada neologisms are considered as expressions which shade into culture. In fact, most of the neologisms of the two Intifadas are related to the cultural issues of the Palestinian society. Such neologisms have occurred in a rapidly changing Palestinian society. They have become parts of Palestinian Arabic because of their daily use by the public who understand the cultural references and concepts which are contained in them. Consequently, translating such neologisms draws attention to the basic role, and to the significance, of culture in the process of translation.

Translators play an important role in mediating between the two cultures they work with: the source and the target. Their main objective is supposedly to accurately relay concerns, needs, worries, etc., from the SL to the TL audience. In this concern, Newmark (1991:111) states that a good and adequate translation "has to be as accurate as possible, as economical as possible, in denotation and in connotation, referentially and pragmatically". Viluksela (2004:4), on the other hand, refers to the following basic characteristics of an adequate and a good translation:

1. It reproduces the whole of the original content in a faithful manner. However, all words need not to be translated. The ideas and the intent of the original author are important. Her/his style is less important,

especially in technical content. A translator should try to improve the original text, if necessary!

2. It is fluent in the target language, and is easy to read. It has a clear and pleasant presentation and layout, and has correct spelling and grammar. It is consistent in using terminology and structure, and is well localized.

3. It is suitable for the target audience. It promotes learning. It also clarifies any vagueness of the original, and tries to minimize confusion.

4. If there are any unclear issues, the translator should contact the original author to clarify them.

However, the translation may not be as accurate as it should be because translators may misunderstand certain concepts that differ between L1 and L2.

Translation does not deal with language only; the cultural aspect is of great importance because language is viewed as "the heart within the body of culture" (Bassnett,1980:14). Translation and culture are interrelated, i.e., translation is considered the method through which people of a specific culture can get access to other cultures. Most often, the differences that block comprehension in translation are of a cultural mismatch. Newmark (1988:94) is of this opinion when he says, "frequently where there is cultural focus, there is a translation problem due to the cultural 'gap' or 'distance' between the source and the target languages". In this regard, Bezuidenhout (1998) confirms this view of cultural difficulties in translation as she cites Popović (1970:78) who defines the aim of translation as the transference of " 'certain intellectual and aesthetic values from one language to another. This transfer is not performed directly and is not without its difficulties' ".

When rendering an Intifada neologism into English, such problems of cultural and linguistic differences between the two languages often arise.

The problem lies in locating the precise meaning in the TL. The translator has to consider the cultural implications of such a neologism because it is always generated in the context of a specific Palestinian culture. Otherwise, translational errors occur as the translator is unaware of these differences and gaps. Quoting Edward Sapir, Bassnett (1980:13) maintains the view of these differences

No two languages are ever sufficiently similar to be considered as representing the same social reality. The worlds in which different societies live are distinct worlds, not merely the same world with different labels attached.

In translating from Arabic into English and vice versa, difficulties of cultural aspects occur since these aspects affect the concept of equivalence around which the whole process of translation revolves. In fact, many Intifada neologisms have no equivalents in English because of their cultural specificity. For Wills (1982:134), "equivalence is one of the central issues in the theory of translation and yet one on which linguists seem to have agreed not to agree". This idea is supported by Shunnaq, Dollerup and Saraireh (1998:42) who say that Arabic culture-bound items that have no equivalences in English are difficult to translate because of the "lexical gaps resulting from the cultural differences between the two languages". In cases when a translator encounters a cultural expression that has no equivalent in the target language, s/he has to both explain its meaning and bear in mind to keep its foreignness. Venuti (1995:101) echoes this notion by saying that "the translator's aim is to preserve the linguistic and cultural difference of the foreign text".

Bezuidenhout (1998) quotes Victor Khairullin (1992:155) who has the following to say about the concept of culture in translation:

The process of translation is a creative kind of activity, based on both linguistic and culturological rules. Every language is unique. The language pattern of the world is accounted for by culturological peculiarities, i.e. peculiarities of ethnic, [and] social, norms and economic achievements of a nation in a certain stage of development. Culturology in a language pattern is essential, so some specialists tend to believe that in effect one does not translate language, one translates cultures.

The whole process of translation can be viewed as an activity of interaction among different cultures. Equally important, culture is a means to determine what and what does not count as a translation. Chesterman (1997:59) touches upon this idea when he says that "a translation is any text that is accepted in the target culture as being a translation". When translating an expression from one culture into another, various meanings can be created because the same concept might not exist in the languages of the two cultures. Accordingly, translators have to bear in mind the cultural elements of the source and the target cultures so that they can achieve acceptable translations.

In light of all this, it is this cultural aspect that translators should give importance, and account, to in their work. However, in defining translation, this aspect has not been duly stressed, as the following definitions show:

As Newmark (1981:7) puts it, "translation is a "craft consisting in the attempt to replace a written message and/or statement in one language by the same message and/or statement in another language". Here, Newmark does not link the definition with the cultural dimension. According to Barnwell (1986:8), "translation is re-telling, as exactly as possible, the

meaning of the original message in a way that is natural in the language into which the translation is being made". A similar definition is given by Bassnett (1980:2) who states that translation "involves the rendering of a source language (SL) text into the target language (TL) so as to ensure that (1) the surface meaning of the two will be approximately similar and (2) the structure of the SL will be preserved as closely as possible, but not so closely that the TL structure will be seriously distorted". In **Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia**, translation is defined as "an activity comprising the interpretation of the meaning of a text in one language — the *source text* — and the production, in another language, of a new, equivalent text — the *target text*, or *translation*" (<http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Translation>).

Another definition is given by Chriss (n.d., What is a Translation?) who cites a Russian translator in defining translation saying, "translation is like a woman, if she is beautiful, she is not faithful; if she is faithful, she is not beautiful." Chriss (n.d.) adds "ignoring the blatant sexism in the statement, we find one of the kernels of truth in translation. Translators must strike a balance between fidelity to the source text and readability in the target language".

Larson (1998:3), on the other hand, maintains the cultural aspect in translation as he states that

Translation consists of studying the lexicon, grammatical structure, communication situation, and cultural context of the source language text, analyzing it in order to determine its meaning, and then reconstructing this same meaning using the lexicon and grammatical structure which are appropriate in the receptor language and its cultural context.

Save for Larson's definition, anyone can notice that the concept of culture in translation is not overtly present in the other definitions. They are almost

similar in that they refer to the transference of an equivalent meaning, message or information from one language into another.

Finally, the neologisms of the two Intifadas represent a deep component of the Palestinian culture, and so they can be included among the cultural factors that create difficulty in translation. Thus, the translator has to be aware of the translational tools and methods that can, at least, lessen, if not, overcome the cultural gap between the two different languages. Newmark (1988:73), in this context, adds that "we do not translate isolated words, we translate words all more or less (and sometimes less rather than more, but never not at all) bound by their syntactic, collocational, situational, cultural and individual idiolectal contexts".

1.2. Limitations of the Study

In the present study, the researcher limits the choice of neologisms to be discussed to the two Intifadas. The generated neologisms of the first Intifada are restricted in the years between 1989 and 1993, whereas those of the second Intifada are restricted in the years between 2001 and 2005. This limitation is due to the researcher's concern with the linguistic production of the two Intifadas.

It should be pointed out that this study is basically meant to address the mistranslations and inaccuracies caused by various translators in dealing with such neologisms. Though it is not primarily meant to put forward suggested procedures for translating Intifada neologisms, appropriate procedures have been referred to in an attempt to help achieve acceptable renditions.

1.3.Statement of the Problem

Owing to the cultural and linguistic differences between Arabic and English languages, translators face a number of difficulties in their attempts to translate Intifada neologisms. They may be translated semantically, but the impact will not be the same. As a result, the translation of these neologisms is considered lacking, inaccurate, inadequate and it, therefore, leads to a breakdown in communication because of the following factors:

1. Unfamiliarity with the story or with the condition(s) which led to the emergence of such neologisms. In other words, translators are probably unaware of the original or contextual meaning of these cultural expressions.
2. These neologisms do not have listed equivalents in English because they are culturally-bound.
3. The translator's cultural, political and ideological views and preferences intervene in the way such neologisms are dealt with in translation.

On the whole, the study discusses the translational inaccuracies of these neologisms and it analyzes their cultural implications and constituents to shed light on their mistranslations which lead to the distortion of facts.

1.4. Significance of the Study

The significance of this study arises from the fact that it is viewed as a pilot study in the translation of Intifada neologisms. Basically, it attempts to embody the Palestinian political struggle in a new way, in that it aims at

uncovering and documenting the translational distortions staged against the expressions that mark the Palestinian resistance. Similarly, it gives attention to the cultural divergences, especially regarding controversial terms such as شهيد (*shaheed*) (lit. martyr), متعاون (*muta`awin*) (lit. collaborator) etc. Moreover, the present study can be regarded as a reference to shed light on the source of these neologisms and their actual, cultural and new meanings that are not listed in dictionaries. For instance, a Palestinian understands words such as غيمت (*ghayyamat*) (became very cloudy), مدعوم (*mad`oum*) (having connection with officials be they occupiers or fellow citizens), كبسولة (*kabsoulah*) (secret letter), etc, in a way that few non-Palestinians do.

In fact, Palestinian Arabic is replete with such neologisms and as there is no way to figure out all of them at once, this study will be a small step in increasing their recognizability for those interested in this field. Researching these neologisms in this study helps people know more about the Palestinian question and culture. The study examines how translators fail in using the neologisms of the two Intifadas with the right sense in their translations. Moreover, it refers to the appropriateness of using certain translation strategies in dealing with these neologisms and other culture-specific terms.

Another important point regarding its significance is that much of the material of this study can, and should, be an incentive for further studies by linguists, in general, and translators, in particular.

1.5. Methodology

To achieve the aims of the study, the researcher has collected about sixty neologisms and classified them into categories and levels. On criteria of frequency of use and translational occurrences in English sources, these neologisms have been divided into two levels. Level one includes neologisms that have both appeared in English and been used frequently in the Palestinian daily life. Level two neologisms, on the other hand, have not been found in translational instances though most of them are frequently used by Palestinians. The collected neologisms have been included in the following categories:

- a) semantic neologisms, including broadened and narrowed meanings.
- b) neologisms of form, including derivations.
- c) borrowed neologisms.
- d) figurative neologisms, including analogy and idiomatic terms.
- e) phonological neologisms.

Each of these Intifada neologisms has been critically discussed and analyzed with a view to finding out the mistranslations or the weaknesses in translation. Some people have been consulted through interviews in order to highlight the correct contextual and original meaning of these neologisms. Likewise, the given translations have been compared with the original meanings of such neologisms, as well as with reference to their dictionary meanings. On the other hand, certain translational

procedures used in translating this neologism have been taken into account to pinpoint the most successful and frequent ones.

Finally, an attempt has been made to provide some suggested translations to replace the inaccurate renditions.

Chapter Two

Review of Related Literature

2.1 The Study of Neologisms

Studying neologisms is a new subject for discussion in the field of translation. Not much has been written about the translation of neologisms in general, and the translation of Palestinian neologisms in the two Intifadas, in particular. However, there are some linguists who refer to the subject in an article in a journal or a chapter in a book, etc. Still, these articles, or chapters, do not deal with the translation of the neologisms of the two Intifadas. They deal with related subjects such as translation of culture-bound expressions, humor, idiomatic expressions, arabicization, and the like.

According to **The Oxford Companion to the English language** (1992), neologisms are "terms used by students of language for a new word or sense of a word and for the coining or use of new words and senses". A neologism is defined by **Webster's Dictionary** (1994), as "a new word or a new meaning for established words" and "the use of new words or of new meanings for established words". As for **The American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language** (2000), the term neologism refers to "the creation or use of new words or senses."

Rey (1995:77) discusses the concept of neologism and defines it as:

a unit of the lexicon, a word, a word element or a phrase, whose meaning, or whose signifier-signified relationship, presupposing an effective function in a specific model of communication, was not previously materialized as a linguistic form in the immediately preceding stage of the lexicon of the language. This novelty, which is observed in relation to a precise and empirical definition of the

lexicon, corresponds normally to a specific feeling in speakers. According to the model of the lexicon chosen, the neologism will be perceived as belonging to the language in general or only to one of its special usages; or as belonging to a subject-specific usage which may be specialized or general.

Likewise, Choi (2006:189) defines neologisms as "words that have been newly created." He adds, "new words and phrases that are used commonly in speech but not included in dictionaries are also regarded as neologisms". He also emphasizes the way these neologisms are formed:

All languages will continue to grow and develop in order to express new situations and new concepts. With more rapid social change, neologisms will spring up at faster rates, leading to more new words every single day. Thus, 1) new words and phrases will be created, 2) new loanwords will be brought in from foreign languages, and 3) new meanings will be given to existing words. This trend will likely continue into the future.

Choi's view of neologisms can be applied to the neologisms of the two Intifadas. Among such neologisms, there are newly created words used to express new concepts and situations such as طريق التفافي (*Tariq Itifafi* or *laffeh*) which has been created to refer to the roads used by Palestinian citizens in trying to avoid the roadblocks set up on the main roads by Israeli occupation soldiers. Likewise, there are borrowed words which have been used to refer to certain concepts in Palestinian Arabic such as مخصوم (*makhsoum*) which has been used to signify military roadblocks set up by the occupation soldiers. Other similar borrowed words are مولوتوف (*Molotov*), سيجر (*siger*), الفورة (*al-fora*), etc. As for Choi's third point of giving new meanings to existing words, Palestinians in the two Intifadas have circulated a number of examples of this type, as in عصفور (*asfour*) which has been used to refer to a Palestinian prisoner who collects information about other patriotic prisoners for the advantage of Israeli

military occupation authorities. Other examples are كبسولة (*kabsouleh*) "secret letter", تلميع (*talmi`*) and the like.

As for Cabre (1999:204), "neology, seen as a way of creating new designations, is obviously necessary in special subject fields in which the emergence of new concepts entails constant neological activity." He quotes the opinions of such classical lexicologists as Rondeau (1983) and Guilbert (1975) on the concept of neology, "Neology deals with the study of the linguistic phenomena that appear at a given time in the development of a language in use. These phenomena can be seen at all descriptive levels of language, in the phonetics, phonology, morphology, syntax or the lexicon".

From the standpoint of their function, Cabre (206) classifies neologisms as either expressive or referential. He asserts that "referential neologisms develop because they are required, i.e., there is a gap in a specific field that must be filled. Expressive neologisms develop simply to introduce new forms of expression into the discourse". With this in view, most of Intifada neologisms can be classified as expressive since they refer to newly created forms with new senses. However, the researcher thinks that this functional classification is tentative because different neologisms can be identified in terms of what they are used for or intended. In this case, the neologism كحش (*kahsh*) can be classified as expressive, whereas the neologisms دوبل (*doubel*) and سيجر (*seiger*) can be classified as referential as they are borrowed and used to refer to a specific field.

Further, Cabre (205) asserts that characterizing a specific segment as a neologism is determined by the following parameters:

- a. diachrony: a unit is a neologism if it has arisen recently.

- b. lexicography: a unit is a neologism if it is not in dictionaries.
- c. systematic instability: a unit is a neologism if it exhibits signs of formal instability (e.g., morphological, graphic, phonetic) or semantic instability.
- d. psychology: a unit is a neologism if speakers perceive it as a new unit.

In applying these criteria to the neologisms of the two Palestinian Intifadas, we find out that Intifada neologisms meet the criteria, taking into account that the context determines which criterion is applied. For example, the neologism أم العبد (*Um Al-Abed*) applies to the four criteria. But حاجز (*hajiz*) applies only to the third and the fourth criteria, in that the term exhibits semantic instability, i.e., gaining a new meaning, though it is listed in the dictionary.

In addition, a neologism is viewed as "a naming unit which was coined to satisfy a linguistic demand, be it the demand of a single member of a speech community, or a single unrepeated demand" (Stekauer,2002:101). So, this act of creating neologisms is a response to certain needs of a speech community. In this spirit, the neologisms of the two Intifadas have also been created to satisfy certain needs, i.e., they have been used to serve purposes related to political, social, economic ends, etc. In other words, the concept has come before its name or term, as far as Intifadas neologisms are concerned. This view is supported by Cabre (1999:7) who, in talking about the relationship between terms and concepts, states "the aim of terminographers is to assign names to concepts; i.e., they move from the concept to the term (an onomasiological process). By contrast,

lexicographers start with the word – the dictionary entry – and characterize it functionally and semantically; i.e., they move from the word to the concept, precisely in the opposite direction (a semasiological process)". In fact, coining new words is a principal need in this ever-changing world. In this respect, Monde (1998) who describes a neologism as "a made-up word or phrase," expresses his admiration of the concept of neologisms, "we are in sore need of new ways to say old things, as well as ways to say new things that do not yet have adequate references." He also believes that "all words in use today must have been neologisms themselves at some point". The researcher, here, quotes what Venuti (1998) refers to in talking about translating cultural additions into a language of subordinate cultures. He (178) says, "in subordinate cultures, perhaps the most consequential changes wrought by translation occur with the importation of new concepts and paradigms".

Newmark (1998:140) defines neologisms as "newly coined lexical units or existing lexical units that acquire a new sense". Usually, they have one meaning because they emerge in a response to a need, but later they gain new meanings, in addition to the old one. The researcher believes that these neological processes of assigning new meanings to existing vocabulary, or generating new vocabulary, are more successful than resorting to borrowing from other languages, i.e., they become more popular. Moreover, they are a way of expanding the vocabulary of the generating language. In this regard, Hawamdeh (2004) writes about the neological process of reviving unused terms in translation to be as equivalent to the borrowed terms. She (92) believes that this process is achieved "by reusing them in translation and adopting them in special dictionaries." She adds "this process is well-known in Arabic as إحياء غريب اللغة (*ihya` gharib al-*

lughah)". طخ (*Takh*), for instance, is one of the best examples of old words which have been revived and reused in the two Intifadas. In relation to this view, Kristmannsson (2004) indicates that Icelandic language was subjected to linguistic neological changes, especially borrowings, as a result of entering the media age. Therefore, efforts were done to resist these neologisms and preserve the language, in that:

Neologisms have been put under the demand of 'transparency,' meaning that any new word must be created from the so-called basic vocabulary of the medieval manuscripts and extant morphemes of the same vocabulary. This can be done by giving an old and obsolete word a new meaning, like *sími* for telephone, a word that apparently denoted thread in old texts.

Likewise, Aziz and Lataiwish (n.d.:144) talk about creating new names for newly-born ideas and inventions, "a (sic) old term may be given a new sense, e.g., سيارة (*sayyara*) is used in modern Arabic as equivalent of 'car' in English. Before the invention of cars, سيارة (*sayyara*) meant 'a caravan of camels'". New meanings have also been given to some old words that have been used in the two Intifadas. Sometimes the need for a new word can be filled by extending the meaning of an existing old word. For example, the meaning of the word تصفية (*tasfiyah*) as *eradication of the resistance as a whole* has developed in the two Intifadas to refer to the *killing of a specific member of the resistance*, i.e., it has acquired a new meaning.

In discussing arabicization of military terms, Al-Shehab (1999) talks about the problems of finding exact Arabic equivalents for the foreign military terms. He (42) states that "most of the differences in Arabic renditions refer to the differences of opinions and educational aspects across the Arabic Language Academy". He finally emphasizes that Arabicization of military terms should be done by consulting military

experts in the same field and military translators and persons who master Arabic and English, as well. In a paper presented to the IITR (International Institute for Terminology and Research) Beaugrande (1991), points out that "neology entails the issue of authority which is raised at various levels, ranging from translators to revisers, and administrators, with the actual involvement of and evaluation by end-users (acceptability)". That is, a neologism should always have a consensus and authorization by the people who are involved in the field of neologising.

Ayoub (1994:33) conducts a study on linguistic and cultural problems in translating idiomatic expressions from Arabic into English and vice versa. He points out that it is difficult to translate idiomatic expressions because "it is sometimes very hard to discover the meaning of the figure of speech in the source language." Ayoub (33) adds that the idiomatic expressions "do not mean what they appear to mean". Regarding this view, the translation of the term إسقاط (*isqat*) as just *knocking down* or *falling* might be a failure because it is a culturally-bound expression. Thus, it does not really mean what it linguistically appears to mean, i.e., its contextual and pragmatic meaning is completely different. To get over the problems of translating these idiomatic expressions, he recommends that the translator be acquainted with the culture s/he translates from. On the other hand, the translator has to be aware of the pragmatic and semantic aspects of the idiomatic expressions s/he deals with. Usually, the meanings of these culture-specific expressions appear to be unfamiliar to target readers. This idea conforms with Cabre's (1999:47) statement that "the technical translators must have some familiarity with the subject matter they are translating". Otherwise, misrepresentation occurs and leads to

misunderstanding. Other researchers share the same opinions with Ayoub about culture-bound expressions.

Smadi (2001:86) thinks that due to cultural differences between Arabic and English, "the translators encountered some problems in translating Arabic metaphoric expressions into English". These expressions are highly figurative, and so they are more likely to trouble the translator. Smadi concludes that translating Arabic metaphoric expressions into English, in many cases, was not adequate because the translators were not well-acquainted with the figurative aspects of the two languages. Actually, the translator faces a different target culture as s/he tries to render information or messages from one language into another. Smadi's discussion agrees with what Karamanian (2002) brings about when he says, "culture expresses its idiosyncrasies in a way that is 'culture-bound': cultural words, proverbs and of course idiomatic expressions, whose origin and use are intrinsically and uniquely bound to the culture concerned". In this spirit, it is important to add that the translation of the neologisms of the two Intifadas is not only a matter of language; it is basically a cultural matter. This view is evident in most of the renditions of such neologisms. For example, neologisms such as شبح (*shabeh*), كوع (*ku`*), etc. do not have formal equivalents in the TL, i.e., English, because they belong to a specific culture. In other words, the essential problem created by such neologisms in translation is that they have been conceptualized in Palestinian Arabic in a different culture-specific way. Therefore, the researcher believes that أم العبد (*`Um Al-Abed*), for instance, has an implicit cultural meaning which is hard to be identified by other foreign cultures. It could not exactly carry the same meaning it has in the Palestinian context.

According to Shi (n.d.), failure in translation is due to two main causes; "one is a misconception that translation is a word-for-word process, whereas the other is the translator's blindness to cultural differences". In order to overcome the cause of such failure, he states:

Translation is never that easy as a target word for a source word. The translator must accommodate to (sic) target linguistic conventions so that the translated piece reads smoothly, if not pleasantly. Further, the translator must accommodate to (sic) target culture so the translated piece is culturally acceptable.

The concept of culture is deeply rooted in the mind of almost every individual. Furthermore, "what is significant in one culture might lose all its significance in another" (shi: n.d.). Take the Intifada neologism متعاون (*muta`awin*) (lit. *collaborator*), for example. In English, it is conveniently used to replace the bad connotative term عميل (*amil*) (*agent/traitor*), as it is viewed in the Palestinian context. Here come the strategies that Shi suggests concerning the cultural differences in translation. He advises the translator to: a) accommodate to (sic) target cultural conventions, and to adopt b)cultural substitution. In this concern, the cultural conventions regarding the neologism عميل (*amil*) in the Palestinian society are different from those regarding متعاون (*muta`awin*). Consequently, the translator's accommodation to the source language culture is necessary in order to have an acceptable cultural rendition. Likewise, the strategy of cultural substitution aims at keeping the same impact on the recipients. He concludes his discussion saying, "without a strong consciousness of linguistic and cultural accommodation, one would never become a qualified and competent translator or interpreter".

Al-Shishani (1999) discusses the challenges the translator faces in conveying the semantic meaning and the pragmatic effect of cultural

expressions that appear in Naji Al-Ali's caricatures. In her study, she presents a number of translatable caricatures, as well as caricatures that are too difficult to translate with cultural expressions. The translational problem with the latter caricatures stems from the fact that they make use of polysemy and homophony to create an ironic effect on the reader. In fact, she comments on the meaning of each and gives pragmatic equivalents for the translatable ones. To come up with appropriate translations of these caricatures, she resorts to some translational techniques such as paraphrase, ideational equivalence and literal translation. For instance, a cultural expression such as *مدفع الافطار* (*Fast-breaking canon*) is translated into English by using a commentary to explain its meaning. Her study is similar to the topic in point since Intifada neologisms are also culture-bound expressions. Hence, the translation of *تورا بورا* (*Tora Bora*), *تجريف* (*tajreef*), *التنظيم* (*At-tantheem*), etc. without a commentary, paraphrase or an explanation will not be accurate and adequate. However, the method of literal translation she resorts to does not work well in translating Intifada neologisms because the meaning of these neologisms is related to a specific setting. That is, their meaning is contextual and instable. She (133) also finds out that in translating these expressions, "great loss of impact, emotive overtones, and sometimes meaning was witnessed" (sic). Seemingly, this is due to misunderstanding the expressions of the ironic caricatures, especially their hidden meanings.

Bassnett (1980) talks about the problems a translator encounters in translating cultural terms. She also discusses the idea of untranslatability, mentioned above, saying, "cultural untranslatability must be *de facto* implied in any process of translation". She (32) quotes Catford as distinguishing two types of *untranslatability*, "*linguistic* and *cultural*".

Bassnet (32) argues that "linguistic untranslatability, is due to differences in the SL and the TL, whereas cultural untranslatability is due to the absence in the TL culture of a relevant situational feature for the SL text". Generally speaking, cultural untranslatability is evident in the translation of Intifada neologisms because they are a reflection of concepts and ideas which are based on cultural contexts. Accordingly, most of the neologisms of the two Intifadas cannot be fully rendered or replaced in translation.

In a similar study about the translatability of local proverbial expressions in Hadhrami Arabic, Bahameed (2001) says, "when a proverb is used figuratively, this means that it is said in some way other than the main or usual meaning to suggest a picture in the mind or make a comparison". In this case, the receptor is required to guess the created link between the literal and the connotative meanings of the uttered proverb or term. These connotations of a lexical item are also culture-specific as they connote features that are different from those in other speech communities. In terms of translation, Bahameed (128) sums up, "subcultural-specific expressions cannot be rendered into English if the translator belongs to a different subculture". Probably, this is due to the inability of the translator to figure out the meanings of the expressions in question. In the same way, this is true of the neologisms in the two Intifadas because they are specific to an Arab subculture, i.e., Palestinian culture. This means that it is important for a translator to be part of the culture from which s/he translates. Otherwise, the translation would not be accurate enough. This agrees with what Snell-Hornby (1988:46) says about the translator when commenting on Vermeer's (1986) view of translation: "Vermeer has for many years vehemently opposed the view that translation is simply a matter

of language: for him translation is primarily a cross-cultural transfer, and in his view the translator should be bicultural, if not pluricultural".

In this sense, "translation of proverbs is difficult unless the translator is fully aware of the idiosyncrasies of SL culture" (Shunnaq, *et al.*,1998:45). In other words, the translator should have the required knowledge of the source language culture in order to represent the messages properly when s/he is translating.

In talking about the translatability of humor, Ayoub (1994:51) asserts that "understanding the joke in the first place helps the translator in translating it". Therefore, the translator should look for the relevant knowledge about the source language joke so that it could be rendered effectively. In her study about the translation of humour in Sitcoms on J.TV. Channel Two, Abu-Mallouh (2001) tries to clarify the errors committed by Jordanian TV. translators. What is more interesting for her (25) "is the intended meaning of the joke". She (52) finally touches a related conclusion on the translation of humour saying, "mistranslations resulting from cultural or linguistic gaps are seen as serious. They distort the message and may be overcome if the translators discuss them with native speakers of English". At this point, if the translator is not aware of the origin and the cultural implication of a neologism of the two Intifadas, the meaning conveyed will not be accurate, and so the translation will not have the same effect on the TL readers as the source text has had on the SL readers. For an illustration, the origin of the neologism عصفور (*`asfour*) goes back to a story of a suspected prisoner in Bir As-Sabi` prison who once escaped from his colleagues into الفورة (*al-fora*). He went into that barbed area through an entrance which birds use so the other prisoners

metaphorically called him *`asfour*. Thus, it is quite inadequate to translate this neologism as a *bird* or a *sparrow* since it is more literal than original. Similar to this situation, Asimakoulas (2004:827) talks about the translation of humor and puns. He refers to the following procedures for translating puns:

1) pun rendered as pun: the ST pun is translated by a TL pun; 2) pun rendered as non-pun: a non-punning phrase which may retain all the initial senses, or a non-punning phrase which renders one of the pertinent senses, or a diffuse paraphrase or a combination of the above; 3) pun rendered with another rhetorical device, or punoid (repetition, rhyme referential vagueness, irony etc.); 4) pun rendered with zero pun (total omission, or avoidance strategy, so to speak); 5) ST pun copied as TT pun, without being translated; 6) addition: a compensatory pun is inserted where there was none in the ST (possibly making up for strategy 4 where no other solution was found); 7) editorial techniques: footnotes, endnotes, comments in translator's forewords, etc.

The researcher thinks that some of these techniques can be applied to the translation of Intifadas neologisms since they are all culture-specific expressions.

Similarly, Abul-Kas (1995:38) writes about translating folkloric songs and rhymes saying, "one problem of translating folkloric songs is that they are highly figurative and culture bound. They contain similes and metaphors peculiar to specific social groups". He concludes that translating these songs and rhymes is problematic and that the translator has to be aware of the number of syllables, the accent and the feeling of the TL audience. The songs, which are culture-specific, in this case, are translated by conveying their original cultural aspects or by a similar cultural aspect in the TL.

In discussing the main difficulties that may face the translator when translating idioms, Baker (1992:65) summarizes them as follows:

The main problems that idiomatic and fixed expressions pose in translating relate to two main areas: the ability to recognize and interpret an idiom correctly; and the difficulties involved in rendering the various aspects of meaning that an idiom or a fixed expression conveys into the target language. These difficulties are much more pronounced in the case of idioms than they are in the case of fixed expressions.

To overcome these difficulties in translating idioms and culture-bound expressions, Baker (71-78) refers to the following preferable strategies: 1) using an idiom of similar meaning and form, 2) using an idiom of similar meaning but dissimilar form, 3) translation by paraphrase, and 4) translation by omission. She (78) also mentions the strategy of compensation saying, "one strategy which cannot be adequately illustrated, simply because it would take up a considerable amount of space, is the strategy of compensation. In this respect, the researcher believes that the strategy of compensation is appropriate in translating culture-bound expressions, including neologisms, because, according to Homeidi (2004:24), in using it, "the translator is called on to intervene and supply the information required to make the processing of the idiom or other similar phrases possible in the target language". Otherwise, the message expressed in the source language will not be fully gotten.

Equally important, Abu-Ssaydeh (2004) studies the translation of English idioms into Arabic. He (114) states that an idiom may "refer to a language or a style of expression which characterizes a certain group of language users". In simpler terms, it is a culture-bound expression, same as a neologism. He (117) believes that examining idioms of any language clearly reveals a "close link between the idioms and the culture in which

they are found". In his study, Abu-Ssaydeh suggests the following strategies for translating idioms:

1) translating an idiom by an identical in the target language. The effect of this strategy, when applicable, is to preserve the impact of the idiom since translation retains not only the lexical constituency, the semantic content and the brevity of the SL idiom, but also the effect it may have on the text receiver. The others are 2) substitution, i.e., finding a semantically equivalent idiom in the TL, 3) paraphrasing, 4) literal translation, and 5) omission.

However, the first strategy is not very viable in terms of translating such Intifada neologisms or idiomatic expressions due to the cultural differences between Arabic and English languages. Paraphrasing, on the other hand, tends to be the most commonly used strategy in translating cultural expressions. This is the case in the translation of such neologisms as شبح (*shabeh*), تشفير (*tashfeer*) and the like. Abu-Ssaydeh, however, contradicts Baker, in that he considers the strategy of compensation as being of less significance in translating idioms.

In fact, relatively little has been written about Intifada neologisms and their translation. Hamed et.al. (n.d.) have compiled an unpublished dictionary of Intifada expressions that embody the course of Palestinian struggle against Israeli occupation. The dictionary contains expressions resulting from the frequent Israeli military offensives, paying respect to *shaheeds* (lit. *martyrs*), and rituals of mourning them, etc. For example, it lists words such as *Al-fora* (prisoners' leaving their cells to an open area to take a break), *Um Mahmoud* (an advanced automatic M16 submachine gun), *Mulatham* (a masked person), etc. In the same way, PASSIA (The Palestinian Academic Society for the Study of International Affairs) (2002) has compiled a dictionary of Palestinian political terms which includes definitions of 131 terms. One important point about these terms is that they

can not be categorized as neologisms because they do not follow what is mentioned before about Cabre`s (1999) criteria of determining a unit of neologism. In other words, they do not exhibit signs of instability since they have been given one meaning or definition only, and so they can be viewed as fixed terms. These terms do not change meaning according to contextual or pragmatic use. Also, a great number of them have not arisen recently, in that they include historical terms about Palestine and its cause. In addition, they are specific to the field of politics. Thereupon, they are not similar to the neologisms which the Palestinians have circulated in the two Intifadas.

In talking about Palestinian Arabic in the light of sociolinguistics, Abu Suleiman (2001) focuses on the linguistic neologisms that have been circulated in the Palestinian society. Terms such as *tareeq iltifafi* (a bypass road), *mamar `amin* (safe passage), *t`awid* (compensation) and others have been frequently used. Moreover, he mentions the influence of Hebrew terms on Palestinian Arabic during the Israeli occupation. In this concern, he points out that many of these Hebrew terms are substituted for national and identical Palestinian ones. The term *civil administration* is replaced by *Ministry of Home Affairs*, save for the expressions that embody sovereignty on the liberated land, such as *passport*, *flag*, *legislative council*, *airport*, etc.

Khalil (2004) discusses a number of Intifada terms that are used in the Palestinian society. To him, these expressions are used imprecisely in different Arab media sources. Many people use them in good faith regardless of their negative impacts. Examples of the distorted Intifada expressions are *قتيل بدلا من شهيد* (*killed for Shaheed*), *نقطة تفتيش بدلا من حاجز*

(*checkpoint* for *blockade*), etc. In the same way, Lochery (2002) discusses the apparent differences in the use of Intifada terminology in the language of the media. He believes that it is also a war of terminology conducted in Arabic and English. Lochery provides examples of these uses saying, "Israel defines its operations as reprisal raids...the Palestinians as re-occupation," and so on. As for Dajjani (2000), he believes that CNN deliberately uses misleading Intifada terms, such as the term *violence* when describing the *massacres* against Palestinian people. In doing so, CNN distorts both the linguistic and the conceptual meanings of these terms which represent the Palestinian culture.

2.2. On the Translation of Neologisms

Considering their roots in specific cultures and contexts, neologisms can cause serious problems to translators. In other words, the cultural features of a neologism stand in the way of conveying its original meaning into other languages. These neologisms which present social, political, economic, etc., concepts, activities or objects are specific to a particular community. Hegeds (2005:19) points out that "neologisms in science fiction and fantasy literature can also be viewed as cultural words, as they are related to another culture (though usually to one that is entirely made-up), some of them are proper names, and, quite obviously, all of them belong to lexical units". Therefore, delivering their accurate meaning into other languages, in this case English, requires the translators to keep up with the connotations of all language additions in a specific society. In fact, translating neologisms is a matter of cultural differences and attitudes, and so translational rules about them cannot be fixed as they require the translator to understand these cultural differences. In view of this, Lorand

(2004) states that "understanding what is meant is of course only a first step towards the translation of neologisms".

There is not a lot of written literature about the translation of pure neologisms. In view of this, Newmark (1988:143) gives the following advice on translating neologisms: "any kind of neologism should be recreated; if it is a derived word, it should be replaced by the same or equivalent morphemes". He (149) also argues that it is the translator's right to create neologisms and that "it is his duty to re-create any neologism he meets on the basis of the SL neologism". In relation to this, Cabre (1998:48) agrees with Newmark that translators prepare terminology themselves. He states that translators "have to act as terminologists to find equivalents for terms that are not listed in the available vocabularies". The translator's license to create and re-create equivalents to neologisms aims at achieving the principle of naturalness in translation; otherwise, the renditions of the new coinages will appear irrelevant and inappropriate. Newmark also refers to the translation of old words which gained new senses in that he (142) asserts that "they are usually translated either by a word that already exists in the TL, or by a brief functional or descriptive term". The researcher assumes that a number of Intifada neologisms require functional or descriptive translation because they reflect cultural aspects that cannot be explained in one correspondent term. Examples of these neologisms are تشفير

(*tashfeer*), طريق التفافي (*tariq iltifafi*), خنساء فلسطين (*Khansa` Filisteen*), تورا (*Tora Bora*) and the like.

In her study of the translation of neologisms in two novels of Douglas Adams, Hegeds (2005) examines different operations for translating them,

such as transference, transliteration, naturalization, addition, omission, compensation, semantic translation and total transformation. She does so to learn about the possible and suitable operations of translating neologisms. She (54) finds out that semantic translation is the most often used translational operation in translating the neologisms in the two novels. For her, semantic translation is "when the words are translated not out of context, but on the basis of the context instead".

Niska (1998) touches the idea of "Translational Creativity" and talks about the interpretation of neologisms claiming that, "Neologisms are tokens of a creative process, a novel relational product, growing out of uniqueness of the individual, on the one hand, and the materials, events, people, or circumstances of his life on the other".

She states that interpreters are often trained to shun loan words that move from the majority language into the language of the minority. According to language planners, these loan words are seen as bad or careless language. However, Niska argues that "an explanation followed by a direct loan is the most effective choice". She also points out that neological interpretation strategies differ among languages. In translating neologisms, French and languages of former Yugoslavia "have a more puristic tradition and prefer the creation of new terms", whereas Arabic prefers Arabization. Additionally, Niska suggests the following strategies for the translation and interpretation of neologisms:

1. omission (The term is not translated. It may be translated at a later stage.).
2. use of "approximate" or "provisional" equivalent.

3. explanation of concept (hypothesis: more usual in consecutive than simultaneous interpreting).

4. neologism.

a) loan translation ("literal" translation of source language term).

b) direct loans/transfer (source language term is used as is or with some modification to make it fit into the target language phonology/morphology).

c) coining of new word (hypothesis: unusual in interpreting; more usual in written translation).

Lehrer (n.d.:3,para.2) also has the following to say about understanding and translating neologisms:

Many of the neologisms are witty; they involve word play, such as puns and allusions, as well as the puzzle of novelty. Therefore, when the hearer figures out the intended meaning, he or she is amused and perhaps feels clever for having 'gotten' the point. As a result, the hearer has a positive attitude toward the speech event and possibly toward the speaker and the referent of the neologism.

He believes that neologisms are introduced in languages to provide new names for new things and processes. In addition, Lehrer (2) states that these neologisms "create more effort to interpret—at first until readers and hearers have figured out what the source words are and what they mean". If the meanings of these neologisms are not obvious for the readers, translators are required to provide more explanations, definitions or descriptions.

In talking about the role of translators in dealing with the creation of new terminology, especially in UN meetings, Didaoui (1996:2) states that "neology is among the characteristics of terminology in the United Nations system". That is, new subjects and new affairs that are discussed in the UN

lead to the emergence of neologisms. He (3) believes that "in Arabic neology, problems are solved through Arabization, i.e., transfer into Arabic". Most often, neologisms that carry new concepts require "annotated translation", as well as phonological adaptation. In this sense, التنظيم (*At-tantheem*) is phonologically adapted as *tanzim* in English. Moreover, this neologism is usually followed by an illustrative or explanatory translation since it represents a famous organization that is particular to the SL culture, i.e., Intifada culture. Didaoui also explains that a translator has to bear in mind the necessity of standardization in using neologisms. A neologism is characterized by being subjected to revision and change until it is accepted and adopted by translators, in particular, and speakers, in general. For him, "acceptance is reached when translators use it collectively without any reluctance". In deed, translators are regarded as neology producers since they are the first to create equivalents to new words and to render their appropriate meanings.

In addition, Ashtiany (1993:54) indicates that "Media Arabic coins numerous neologisms on a day-to-day basis. Many are too recent to have found their way into dictionaries, and many are ephemeral". She gives the following advice to the learner and the translator:

The dictionary is of limited use in translation. When translating out of Arabic, look first at a word's context, and refer to your knowledge of recently fashionable English words and phrases to narrow down its meaning. When translating into Arabic, take the vocabulary you need from recently-published Arabic news reports on appropriate topics, rather than from a dictionary.

To make a point, figuring out the correct meaning of these neologisms is achieved through current use by the translators until they master them

naturally, i.e., by daily practice. It is advisable to keep a file of new terminologies in order to relate them to their equivalents.

Choi (2006:199) assumes that "neologisms would leave the interpreter with the ongoing task of making continuous efforts for top-level language proficiency". Translators and interpreters are required to constantly keep up with the linguistic neological changes in a culture of a society. Furthermore, he (189) indicates that they must continuously "work to acquire neologisms that represent new social phenomena, and thus be able to deliver in the TL the accurate meaning of the SL". He also examines how such neologisms are translated in order to faithfully convey the speaker's intent. As for interpreting imported neologisms, he (198) believes that "when the new word first appears in the SL, the interpreter could either borrow the SL term in its original form and bring it into the TL as a loanword, or create an equivalent neologism in the TL". Most of the neologisms in the two Intifadas are viewed as borrowed neologisms in English because they are both transferred and explained. The translation of the neologism انتفاضة (*Intifada*) is a good example for illustration. This neologism is either transferred as it is broadly recognized by different readers or it is replaced by a TL approximate equivalent such as *uprising* or *shaking off* as will be shown in the analysis. Using this strategy, it is important that the receptors understand what is being said by the translator or the interpreter. Finally, Choi (199) proposes the following guidelines for interpreter training with regard to neologisms:

1. Read newspapers in all of your working languages every day and keep note of new words or phrases.
2. Perform regular reviews of neologisms that have been previously noted.
3. When given an interpretation assignment, look for topic-relevant neologisms in all working languages.

In her article about term-making, Vihonen (n.d., Euro translators as term-makers section) explains how neologisms are created by translators. She divides neologisms into primary neologisms and translated neologisms, saying, "Primary neologisms are formed when a new term is created for a new concept in a certain language. Translated neologisms are formed when a new expression in another language is created for an already existing term". The neologisms of the two Intifadas, therefore, are good examples of primary neologisms, in that they have been created to help express new concepts which have been used in the two Intifadas. For instance, the neologism ملثم (*mulatham*) has been used to refer to such an existing phenomenon of تلتيم (*taltheem*) in the two Intifadas. She adds, "translators' source texts often include neologisms that do not have equivalents in the target language". As translators face various neologisms in their work, they are considered the main producers of these neologisms. When a neologism is created in a source language, a corresponding term or neologism is created by translators to help transfer its meaning.

Khutyzy (2005) studies the treatment of the numerous neologisms arriving into the Russian language. She explains that Russian has acquired a number of neologisms as a result of economic and technological growth, save for the political changes. To her, "some of these neologisms do not have equivalents". Same as in the translation of Intifada neologisms, the available equivalents are very often explanatory. She clarifies the way these neologisms are treated:

The new "foreign" word is usually preferred (the tendency as a rule is started by the mass media). This may be explained by the fact that borrowing often has a semantic "compactness," whereas a Russian equivalent has a descriptive character—in some cases a whole sentence must be used. So translators have to deal with the problem of

either choosing a "popular" borrowing or go with the equivalent already existing in the language. Translators of a "new generation" prefer not to translate so-called Americanisms and foreign food names, as they are familiar to people of all countries, and the translator no longer has the absolute need to always find a translation of a term in the target language if this would make the target-language text loses credibility. This is ... called excessive translation. An excessive translation is a translation that fails to foreignise/exoticise, i.e., use source-language terms in the target-language text, to the degree that is now acceptable.

Russell (2000) argues that many new terms, including neologisms, "have relatively transparent translations". For an illustration, *microenterprise* (small enterprise) in English is translated as "micro-entreprise" in French, "microempresa" in Portuguese and in Spanish. However, one prime example of neologisms that is more challenging in translation is the word "gender". In English, it is synonymous with "sex", but it, surely, has other connotations, i.e., it refers to the way of raising both females and males. Also, it is viewed differently in some countries as it refers to issues related to women as in the case of gender bias. Nevertheless, "gender" is regarded as a neology in Spanish as it takes a new usage. When Spanish translators and terminologists tried to produce various renderings for it at the *1996 U.N. Conference on Women* in Beijing, the problem culminated, in that they avoided using *genero*. Instead, they rendered it as *por sexo, de la mujer*, etc., depending on the context. Surprisingly, Spanish delegates to the conference demanded that the term *genero* be added, citing its usage in original Spanish source texts in the social sciences.

To summarize this discussion on the related literature, one may notice that the translation of neologisms, in general, and of Palestinian Intifada neologisms, in particular, is not easy work. This is due to the fact that these

neologisms are bound to a culture of specific conditions. This culture conceptualizes terms to reflect social, economic and political aspects which are different from those of other cultures. Therefore, the cultural differences leave semantic gaps between, for example, Arabic and English languages.

Chapter Three

Analysis of the Translation of Intifada Neologisms

In translating from one language into another, translators usually face some problems and, as a result, commit some translation errors. Dealing with these errors and problems depends on the deep competence of the translator in, at least, two languages: the source and the target and his/her knowledge of the two cultures. Related to translation, Bassnett (1980:13) stresses that "translation involves the transfer of 'meaning' contained in one set of language signs into another set of language signs".

Neological terms are the main linguistic characteristic of Palestinian Arabic in the two Intifadas. These neologisms have circulated in the Palestinian community, and so, have become part of Palestinians' linguistic repertoire. In most cases, these neologisms do not have identical equivalents or corresponding lexical items in the target language, and even if they have, the corresponding items may not have the actual required meaning. In this respect, Farghal (2005:59) explains that in translation "the journey from SL to TL is supposed to involve transferring meaning in its different linguistic and social manifestations". Therefore, translating these neologisms can not be accurately achieved without considering the Palestinian culture.

Intifada neologisms are widely used in different contexts, with different meanings and for different purposes. These neologisms are surely an individuality of their speakers. Therefore, they have an implication for translation, i.e., translating them accurately is not often achieved. Here, the neologisms, in point, are culture-specific to the source language, Palestinian Arabic. To translate these neologisms effectively, there is a

need for competent translators who are knowledgeable in the two languages and cultures.

Due to the fact that a neologism may have several meanings, misuse in its translation tends to increase with the frequency of use. A single neologism has multiple senses, which are related to one another, in some way or another. However, this meaning of a neologism is determined by its original users though it might be worldwide at a time. Intifada neologisms seem to lose their original lexical meanings and, instead, take on new exclusive situational meanings, in Palestinian Arabic. These new meanings are not appropriately given in the related translations. That is, in translating them, translators do not always consider the use of these terms in contexts and situations that have helped change their linguistic literal meaning. The various translations raise questions of authenticity, faithfulness and cultural knowledge, as far as translators are concerned.

In this chapter the researcher will attempt to identify and clarify the misrepresentations of these neologisms. The researcher's main concern will be the translation of the related neologisms into English. The neologisms will be categorized into various types to ease their analysis. From the standpoint of their formation, the study includes the following neological categories, which Cabre (1999) adopts:

1. Semantic neologisms, including broadening and narrowing meanings.
2. Neologisms in form, including derivation.
3. Borrowed neologisms.
4. Figurative use, neologizing by analogy and idiomatic terms.
5. Phonological neologisms.

The translation of these neologisms will be discussed in terms of these categories. Neologisms are either completely new, but repeatedly used and accepted by the translators, or used but not circulated among them. This research classifies the collected neologisms of each category into two main levels. Level one covers the frequently used neologisms with their translational occurrences in the foreign sources, especially English. Level two, on the other hand, covers the neologisms that have been repeatedly used, but with no translational instances. In this research, the latter level will be referred to after analyzing the repeatedly used neologisms. Some linguistic and cultural problems will also be pinpointed in the discussion. By way of illustration, the researcher will show how these neologisms are dealt with in translation.

1. Semantic Neologisms

1.1. Semantic Narrowing

Almost every word has a variety of senses that develop overtime. What reveals the difference among these senses is the context because it limits the general shades of meanings to only one specific contextual meaning. Narrowing or specialization, which is opposite to broadening, is regarded as one type of semantic change, in which the common meaning of a word shifts, narrows or becomes more specific in one place or time . According to **Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia**, it "is the reduction in a word's range of meanings, often limiting a generic word to a more specialized or technical use".

Following are examples of neological semantic narrowing in the two Intifadas:

Level One:

This level includes such neologisms as *Intifada*, *tasfiyah*, *isqat*, *jarih*, *radi`*, *Al-ku`* and *matloub*.

Intifada /intifa:ḏə/

انتفاضة

According to Ibn Manthour (1997), this neological expression is originally derived from the root *nafada* (نفض), meaning (to move), and later it became *intafada* (انتفض), meaning *to shake*. This addition to the root (نفض) is indicative of exaggeration in the act of *rising* forcedly. On the other hand, it is indicative of *spontaneous and sudden rising*, after a long period of silence.

In the context of the Israeli occupation of Palestine, the term *Intifada* is figuratively used to denote the rebellious condition Palestinian people have been experiencing against the occupation forces in Palestine (Nasr, 1988:8). Therefore, it is signified as an *uprising* or a *shaking off* of that occupation. However, the term was insignificantly and rarely used side by side with the expression *thawrah* (revolution) in reference to Palestinian resistance activities before 1987, such as those of 1936. It, then, was widely used in describing the resistance in 1987. However, it has again been applied to the second uprising, *Al-Aqsa Intifada*. Seemingly, terming these popular activities as *Intifada* must have been attributed to the determined rise and huge participation of the Palestinian people in these resistance activities.

The emergence of this neologism and its introduction in many of the world's languages including Hebrew is due to using it by the resistant people in describing the resistance acts against the occupation. In fact, Abu

Arafa (1998) mentions that the term *Intifada* was coined in the first statement that was issued by *Hamas* on the 14th of December 1987, beginning as "إن انتفاضة شعبنا" (lit. the Intifada of our people). In addition, Al-Khalili (1989:24) points out that this term circulated in the media, as published in **Al-Itihad** newspaper in Haifa that used it in its leading article on the 22nd of December, 1987. Then, other newspapers used it, including Israeli ones. In other words, the significance of this Palestinian neologism comes from the fact that it is "now widely used to mean any mass uprising against oppressive rule" (<http://www.btinternet.com/~akme/intifada.html>).

The researcher assumes that this neologism has not been accurately rendered into English. To prove so, consider the following examples:

1. "The first Palestinian "intifada" (sic) (series of protests and riots) in 1987 inspired several hundred more soldiers to disobey orders" (Powell,2003, This is not democracy, para. 4).
2. "The first *Intifada*, the Palestinian uprising in the Gaza Strip and West Bank that began in December 1987, had a major impact on Christian demography" (Tsimhoni,2001:37).
3. "Palestinian Muslims and Christians are at all divided about the current "throwing off" (the literal translation of Intifada) of the occupational force and the failed peace process" (anonymous,2000, para. 3).
4. "The prolonged military occupation and its large-scale violation of human rights led to the first Intifada (often translated as 'uprising', the literal translation is 'a throwing off'" (Taaffe, n.d.:8).
5. "The word Intifada is Arabic and means "shaking off", because the Palestinians were trying to shake off the occupation by Israel" (anonymous, n.d., para. 1).

One can notice that *series of protests and riots*, *uprising*, *shaking off* and *throwing off* have all been used as renditions of the SL term *Intifada*.

As for *uprising*, **The Random House Dictionary of the English language** (1973) defines it as "the insurrection or revolt". Likewise, it is referred to, in the online **Dictionary.com**, as "an organized opposition to authority; a conflict in which one faction tries to wrest control from another. It is synonymous to rebellion". On the other hand, *shaking off* is derived from the phrasal verb *shake off* which, according to **The Random House Dictionary of the English Language (1973)**, means "to rid oneself of; reject". Similarly, the same dictionary defines *throwing off* as "freeing oneself of".

Irrespective of the first rendition, *series of protests and riots*, the definitions of the three renditions show that they are approximate synonyms, in that they share the same literal meaning of *revolting, rejecting and freeing* oneself of something which is, in the Palestinian context, the chains of the occupation. Turning now to the rendition *series of protests and riots*, in the first example, the researcher believes that it is odd as it reflects the controversy between ideology and translation. Here, it is noticeable that the translator has managed the language of his rendition to make it relevant to his own bias. Of course, this makes the translation unfaithful and inaccurate because according to Oloham (2004:152) "the translation reveals sympathy" to the translator's ideology. Simply, the translator could have transferred the term *Intifada*, or, at least, neutrally rendered it as *uprising, shaking off* or *throwing off*.

A point to make here is that in most cases of *Intifada*'s renditions, *uprising* has been recurrently circulated. More than that, it has replaced the original term *intifada* as Johnson and O'Brien (1988:5) refer to it when they say, "any reference here to the Israeli occupation is now marked before

Uprising". Though *uprising* might be an appropriate and a common translation, the researcher thinks that transferring the term *intifada* does more than just replace it by another target language equivalent, or approximate equivalent. This is because *intifada* has been in common use for a number of years and, therefore, its meaning must have been broadly understood by target recipients. Actually, it identifies a national concept of resistance. Regarding this view, Newmark (1988:96) thinks the translational strategy of transference "offers local color and atmosphere" to the target readers about the transferred name or concept, which, of course, applies to the neologism in question. In the same way, Beekman (1970:105) proposes that "after two or three occurrences, the loan word may be used in the text without the description". This adds a lot to the naturalness of the text as it appears in the following example in which Jabr (2001:24) uses the term *intifada* without descriptive information when she says, " Since the beginning of the *Intifada*, more than one year ago, Israeli (and Palestinian) prison populations have swelled".

In conclusion, the translation of Intifada as *series of protests and riots*, *shaking off*, *throwing off*, or even *uprising*, all - relatively speaking, give imprecise renderings. An acceptable rendition of *Intifada* could be by just transferring it into the target language. In this way, it not only preserves the cultural impact of the source language word, but it also enriches the cultural knowledge of the readers. In addition, a commentary in the form of a footnote can achieve better recognition of the term for the ordinary readers.

tasfiyah /təʃfijə/

تصفية

A derived expression from the root *safa* صفا, meaning to *become pure or clear*, in that we say, سماء صافية (lit. clear sky) and ماء نقي (lit. pure water) (Ibn Manthour,1997). *tasfiyah* is the infinitive of the verb *saffaa* (صَفَّى). The stress here is indicative of transitivity, i.e., someone does the action of *tasfiyah*. The semantic meaning of the term has broadened recently to include the field of commerce. Here it has been used to designate balancing and settling accounts. Lawfully, balancing the goods suggests selling all that the trader has and paying up his debts (Al-Kiyali,1994).

In trying to connect the literal and the new idiomatic meanings, the researcher finds a relation between them. By paying all his debts, the trader removes all the obstacles which might block his progress, and so does the company. All in all, "pureness" or "clearness" is achieved and deficiencies disappear.

Politically speaking, it refers to a complete ending of an issue and a distribution of all its remains so that it will never be revived. This meaning has developed to what is known today as "الحلول التصفوية" (literally: Elimination Solutions), which aim at getting rid of one of the main parties to a certain issue. An example of this is the attempt to eliminate Palestinian feda`yeen* to prepare for solving the Palestinian issue on an unjust basis that ignores the rights of the main part of the issue (Al-Kiyali,1994).

In the two Intifadas, the former semantic meaning of this neologism, i.e., eradication of the resistance as a whole, has changed to suggest killing

* feda`yeen: members of Palestinian resistance groups operating esp. against the Israeli occupation of Palestine. They sacrifice themselves (esp. for the cause of their country).

a specific resistance member rather than arresting or injuring him. Hence, this indicates a semantic narrowing of the meaning of the term: from general (eradication of resistance by killing its members) to a specific killing, or liquidating, of one member of the resistance. An example of this use can be found in the following report from Human Rights Watch:

"On July 23, 2002, fourteen civilians were killed and some 140 injured in the "liquidation" of Hamas military leader Salah Shehadeh. Eight of the fourteen were children" (<http://www.hrw.org/wr2k3/mideast5.html>).

This report is translated into Arabic as

"ففي يوم 23 يوليو/تموز 2002 لقي أربعة عشر مدنياً مصرعهم وأصيب نحو 140 آخرين في عملية "تصفية" صلاح شحادة القائد العسكري لحماس، وكان بين القتلى ثمانية أطفال" (<http://hrw.org/arabic/mena/wr2003/isr-pal.htm>).

Let us consider the following examples to see how *tasfiyah* has appeared in English, the target language:

1. "The full liberation of Palestine means the liquidation (*tasfiya*) of the State of Israel and the Syrian books do not conceal that" (Center for Monitoring the Impact of Peace CMIP, 2002, 52.Overview).
2. "In addition to all this, eliminations (*tasfiyah*) and assassinations (*ightiyal*) has been (*sic*), (in one view), the work of special services" (LBCI Nahnah Interview,2002).

Likewise, *liquidation* is translated as تصفية in the following report:

3. "Israeli authorities intensified their policy of **liquidations**, killing individuals whom they accused of planning or carrying out attacks on Israeli military targets or civilians" (<http://www.hrw.org/wr2k3/mideast5.html>).

"وكتفت السلطات الإسرائيلية من سياسة التصفية التي تتبعها، بقتل الأفراد الذين اتهمتهم بتخطيط أو تنفيذ الهجمات على الأهداف العسكرية الإسرائيلية أو المدنيين الإسرائيليين." (<http://hrw.org/arabic/mena/wr2003/isr-pal.htm>).

4. The promise of Allah that *no condition of people will be changed unless people change themselves* requires changing and purifying the Self (*tazkiya-tun-Nafs*) and begins with the cleansing of the Heart (*tasfiya-tul-Qalb*) (khan,2003, *Tasfiya-tul-Qalb*, para. 3).

The actual meaning of *tasfiya* has changed as it has been reproduced and used in the two Intifadas.

This neologism is also used in Iraq, where the situation is almost the same, as in the following quotation:

"Blood spreads on his white robes. My driver shrugs, saying that it is only *tasfiya*, the Arabic word for purification or, in this case, liquidation" (Burnett:2003).

The above examples show that the meaning of *tasfiyah* is determined by the context which according to Mey (2001:43) "determines both what one can say and what one cannot say: only the pragmatics of the situation can give meaning to one's words". Thus, the same utterance can obtain different meanings depending on the context. As for the given renditions of this term, i.e., *elimination* and *liquidation*, they appear to have different connotations that would create different effects on English speaking readers. In fact, rendering *tasfiyah* as *elimination* indicates that the translator has not considered the commercial development of the term till it has been used in politics. On the contrary, s/he has only cared about the final result of the process of *tasfiyah*. This can be proved through the dictionary meaning of the verb 'eliminate', from which the infinitive 'elimination' is derived, which according to **The Random House Dictionary of the English Language** (1973) means "to remove or get rid of, esp. as being incorrect, offensive, not up to standard, or in some other way undesirable". The definition shows that the translator has managed the rendition to meet his views with respect to the struggle. To illustrate, resistance members are not, as the definition suggests, incorrect, offensive or not up to standard at least in terms of what they believe in. Thus, the ideology of the translator must have affected his rendition. In fact,

rendering the neologism *tasfiya* as 'elimination' can be better applied to تصفية العميل (*tasfiyat al-`amil*) as it agrees with the referential meaning of 'elimination'. That is, *al-`ameel* is viewed as incorrect and undesirable because s/he works against the interest of his/her people.

To tell the truth, this rendition could be more accurate and closer to the reality of the situation in Palestine because the process of *tasfiyah* is committed by the occupiers without any consideration of others' rights. In addition, 'elimination' is frequently used by the occupier. Unlike 'elimination', the other meanings of 'liquidation', in the same dictionary, include reference to commerce or business from which the term *tasfiyah* has developed.

To conclude this discussion, *elimination* gives an inaccurate rendering of the neologism *tasfiyah* as far as the resistance members are concerned. Alternatively, it would be better to translate it as *liquidation* which reflects the narrowed meaning of the term.

isqat /isqa:t/

إسقاط

It is an Arabic term that is derived from the root *saqata* (سَقَط). indicating a *fall* in a wide variety of contexts by many different speakers. That is, the central meaning of the term is kept while other close and related meanings are added. This idea is pointed out by McMahon (1999:176) when he says that "each word will naturally have one central meaning and various occasional, marginal meanings". In this respect, the *fall* of a fetus as a result of a miscarriage indicates its falling before completion. Likewise, إسقاط indicates the *falling of people* and السَّقَط is a *scandal*. Also, *assaqit* السَّاقِط is the person who does not have the esteem and

honor which others have (Ibn Manthour,1997). However, the insertion of the first letter (أ) to the root *saqata* (سقط) to become *asqata* (أسقط) is used as a form of transitivity. That is, there might be someone or something that causes or moves the person to fall though s/he is not fallen in nature. Therefore, أسقط الرجل (moved him to fall) means to make him reveal things, err or lie (Al-Bustani,1992). Similarly, according to B`tselem (The Israeli Information Center for Human Rights in the Occupied Territories), the word literally means "'knocking down,' in the sense of tripping someone up or causing his moral deterioration" (Be`er and Abdel-Jawad,1994:22).

It may be assumed that this is the source of using this term in the two Intifadas. In terms of the language of the two Intifadas, the meaning of *isqat* has been narrowed to a specific sense to refer to the success of the enemy in alluring a man or a woman to fall into a trap prepared for him or her. The Israeli security services exploit an area of weakness to trap and then cause the 'falling' of a person. Usually they use sex, money, drugs and other means to trap people. Muhammad Hilal, member of Al Aksa Martyrs Brigades, was lured into informing by a woman in an Israeli Army uniform who had sex with him. An Israeli officer later threatened to distribute photographs of the sexual encounter in Tulkarm, his hometown, unless he became an informer (Myre, 2003:1). This act of *isqat* repeatedly occurs in Israeli prisons wherein the focus is on the sexual and moral sides, in particular (Qasem, 1986).

The term *isqat* has been frequently used in the two Intifadas and it has also appeared as a neologism in different English sources. Now let us consider the translation of this neologism as it is found in the following sources:

1. In an *ABC News* report last fall:

Agents in the territories for example, are adept at exploiting the importance of honor in conservative Palestinian society, by adopting a method known as *isqat*. A crude recruiting measure, *isqat* is a form of sexual blackmail in which Palestinians are allegedly lured by Israeli agents or other collaborators, photographed in compromising situations, and then pressured to collaborate under the threat of publicizing the photographs (Smith, 2004).

2. "Palestinians also claim that Israel uses a method known as *isqat*, a form of sexual blackmail" (PHRMG,2002).

In talking about the concept of *collaboration* in Palestine, Be`er and Abdel-Jawad (1994:22) believe that:

3. *Isqat* refers to extortion or exerting pressure, usually through sexual means, in order to recruit collaborators. According to the Palestinian organizations, *isqat* is carried out in a variety of ways. One example is photographing girls or women in the nude and while they are having sexual intercourse, and threatening to publish the photographs if they do not collaborate. Another is having a woman collaborator persuade young girls to become friends with collaborators; the latter then pressure the girls to become collaborators as well. According to another method, male and female collaborators may be sent to a detention cell to have sexual intercourse with a detainee in an attempt to break his staying power in interrogations.

As it has been noticed above, the term *isqat* as a neologism is narrowed in the language of the two Intifadas to be limited to what the enemy and its agents do, irrespective of other social conducts which might be similar enough to the enemy`s deeds. However, these conducts are not aimed at targeting struggle and combative acts against the enemy. For instance, there are immoral blackmail operations which target the social security of a society and aim at propagating immoral practices. Some young people, in particular, are trapped into such practices in order to tempt and drag others into these illegal and immoral acts which might not be related to dealing with the Israeli occupation. These young people might be asked to pay money in return for not revealing their involvement in such acts, especially

if they belong to an elite social class. Law violations and black marketing are other examples of such conducts.

In summary, because the three examples do not locate an equivalent English term that preserves the meaning and the nature of *isqat*, the researcher sees that the third one has been made manageable and successful because, unlike the other two renditions, it provides detailed information about *isqat*. Hence, the message in the third example can be captured by the reader. Finally, this view agrees with what Newmark (1981:48) indicates as communicative translation in which the message is important in making the TL reader "think, feel and act" though one to one equivalent in the TL might be lacking.

jarih /dʒəri:h/

جريح

It is an expression that is derived from the verb *jaraha* جرح, meaning to make a cut in the body, and so making someone bleed from that cut or injury (Ibn Manthour,1997). This semantic meaning of the term has been broadened to imply different metaphorical meanings. For example, in addition to the previous meaning, حديث مجروح (Hadith majrouh) suggests that the attribution of the Prophet's Hadith is not trustworthy, and so on. This term was also used to refer to one who received an injury in a quarrel or as a result of an accident, causing him/her some bruises or breakings, but without causing a cut in the body.

However, this traditional common meaning has been changed and specified or narrowed with the advent of the two Intifadas to signify a person wounded as a result of an Israeli aggressive act. This means that *Jarih* is not the adjective for any person whose injury has been caused by

reasons other than this last one. Therefore, in a car accident, Palestinian people often say:

فلان رجله مكسورة (one's leg is broken), or فقد وعيه (lost consciousness), but not *jarih*.

This matter of semantic change should be attended to by the translator, especially if the new specialised or technical use cannot be figured out from the context. Following are examples of how *jarih* is transferred into English:

1. "These are the war martyrs and their families, targeted by *Al Shaheed* (the Martyr), the war wounded and their families, targeted by *Al-Jareeh* (the Wounded), and the resourceless members to whom *Al Imdad* (the Resource) (Fawaz ,n.d.:12).
2. "In addition, some 16,000 Palestinians and some 1,700 Israelis were injured in the violence" (<http://www.hrw.org/wr2k2/mena5.html>).

This quotation is translated into Arabic as

"كما أصيب في تلك الأحداث نحو 16000 فلسطيني و1700 إسرائيلي"
(<http://hrw.org/arabic/mena/wr2002/isr-pal.htm>)

Renditions of the neologism *jarih* range between 'wounded' and 'injured'. In order to decide on the closest equivalent of the SL term, the two words will be analyzed and described in terms of their semantic components using the method of componential analysis which helps represent the various senses of the two words. Newmark (1988:117) points out that "The only purpose of CA in translation is to achieve the greatest accuracy".

Laceration of flesh due to a disease caused by shooting requires surgery hurt to feelings pierced skin

Wounded: + - + + - +

Injured: - - + - & + - -

The analysis shows that some features are interrelated and shared by the two renditions. For example, both often require a surgery. However, the stipulation indicates that 'wounded' is a closer rendition to the SL neologism *jarih*, especially with its newly specified meaning. Furthermore, the dictionary meaning of a 'wound' agrees with the new broadened meaning of the neologism in point. It is defined as: "1: any break in the skin or an organ caused by violence or surgical incision. 2: a casualty to military personnel resulting from combat" (<http://dictionary.reference.com/browse/wound>). In comparison, an 'injury' is defined as: "1. harm or damage that is done or sustained. 2. a particular form or instance of harm. 3. wrong or injustice done or suffered" (<http://dictionary.reference.com/browse/injury>).

However, following is an example which shows that "injured" is translated as *مصاب* (*musab*):

In July 2001, the Israeli ministerial committee for legislation approved an application for continuity of an "Intifada Law" that would end compensation payments to Palestinians whose persons or property were harmed during the 1987-1993 Intifada and preclude compensation suits by Palestinians **injured** during the current clashes (<http://www.hrw.org/wr2k2/mena5.html>).

This text is rendered as

وفي يوليو/تموز 2001 أقرت اللجنة الوزارية الإسرائيلية للتشريع طلباً باستمرار العمل "بقانون للانتفاضة" من شأنه وقف دفع التعويضات للفلسطينيين الذين لحقهم الضرر في أنفسهم أو ممتلكاتهم خلال الانتفاضة بين عامي 1987 و1993، ومنع دعاوى التعويض التي قد يرفعها الفلسطينيون **المصابون** أثناء الاشتباكات الحالية.
(<http://www.hrw.org/arabic/mena/wr2002/isr-pal.htm>)

Here, **injured** is translated as *مصابون* (*musaboun*), not as *جرحي* (*jarhaa*) because the type of injury is general though it took place in a combat or a clash. This use of the general word is a translational procedure which translators resort to in the case of synonymous words.

Taking the above into consideration, one can see that *wounded* is the appropriate equivalent of *jarih*, despite the fact that some translators use them interchangeably. Moreover, *wounded* is more specific than *injured* which could be the superordinate.

radi` /rædi`/

ردع

A native Arabic term that means abstaining or deterring someone from doing something. In Arabic, ردع الثوب means 'to stain the dress with blood or saffron' (Ibn Manthour,1997). The two meanings are related in the sense that (الكف عن الشيء) implies driving someone to give up doing that thing forcedly. However, staining a dress with blood or saffron suggests a likening with he who is stained with blood as a result of forcedly being made to abstain from doing that thing.

Recently, the expression *radi`* has been used to refer to the procedures taken to prevent the enemy from doing something for fear of any unknown results (Al-Azizi,2005). Accordingly, the famous term (قوة الردع في الجيش) 'the army's deterrence force' has been introduced into the language. This is, of course, a referential use of the word after it has been specified to the military field.

In the two Palestinian Intifadas, *radi`* has been used as a description of the punishment inflicted against the Israeli agents (عملاء). Often, this type of punishment takes place in public in which these agents receive executions, house arrests, shootings in the legs and severe beatings. Moreover, Palestinians believe that *al-radi`* is intended to be part of remedial policy to face the phenomenon of helping the enemy. Palestinian resistance activists think that shooting a traitor is "a message to the rest"

(Hammer,2001). Hence, this use of the term is narrowed to be exclusive to punishing the enemy's agents and deterring them, rather than confronting the enemy itself.

By way of illustrating the translational occurrences of this neologism in English, consider the following example:

"There are three types of punishment: killing, deterrence and breaking ("rada and taksir," meaning breaking bones and shooting at legs), and house arrest" (Be'er and 'Abdel-Jawad, 1994:109).

Back translation into Arabic is:

"هنالك ثلاثة أنواع من العقاب: قتل، وردع وتكسير.." (Researcher's back translation).

The example shows that the neologism *rada* or *radi`* is rendered as 'deterrence', which, for an English speaker, according to **The Random House Dictionary of the English Language** (1973) means "an ability to retaliate sufficiently to frighten an enemy from attacking". This definition also applies to the following example:

"But the roadblocks have been an annoyance, not a deterrent" (Hammer, 2001:24).

This is translated into Arabic as

"غير أنا الحواجز كانت مصدر إزعاج ولم تكن رادعا" (Hammer,2001:10).

The source text, its translation, back translation and the definition show that the same referential meaning of the term is included in the act of *radi`* (deterrence). Still, the word 'enemy' in the dictionary definition is general or a superordinate. This could leave a semantic gap to the target reader,

especially if the translator does not do any modification of the general word to make it relevant to the target language.

One important thing to consider here is that the context should be the basis that formulates the translator's thoughts about the meaning of any utterance. And it is evident that the *deterrence* in the above example is inflicted against the enemy within, i.e., the agents (*al-u`malaa`*).

To summarize, this rendition of *radi`/rada`* as 'deterrence' is, in the first place, a cultural mismatch. It is still lacking because the target reader could not have been acquainted with details about this form of punishment. Therefore, the researcher suggests that *deterrence* could be adopted as a translation, but only with the following commentary:

Radi` is a term used to describe the punishment of Palestinian collaborators with the Israeli occupation authorities; often, this takes place in broad daylight. Collaborators receive an execution, beating, house arrest, shooting in the legs.

Al-ku` /əlkəʊʔ/

الكوع

It is a new expression in the Arabic language. For Ibn Manthour (1997), it refers to "the limb of the forearm which follows the thumb". Recently, it has been used to indicate a plastic or metal curve connecting somehow solid pipes or tubes in order to change their direction.

This meaning has been narrowed in the second Intifada to suggest a "knee piece of a curved pipe filled with explosives and used as an explosive charge" (Hamed:58). Moreover, Al-masri (2005), a Gazan journalist, states that "*kwa`*, plural of *ku`*, is a Palestinian invented weapon that has the ability to kill and hurt within a square of ten meters". In fact,

this term is quite common in the Palestinian community, in addition to its use in the daily media, as the following news clip shows:

استشهد طفل و أصيب ثمانية آخرين بجروح مختلفة لدى انفجار عبوتين ناسفتين في مدينتي دير البلح و خانيونس . وقالت مصادر فلسطينية إن الطفل أحمد محمود أحمد الهندي – 12 عاماً - من مخيم دير البلح استشهد بينما كان يلهو مع بعض أصدقائه بعبوة ناسفة من تصنيع محلي "كوع" ، و أگدت المصادر ذاتها أن ستة أطفال آخرين كانوا برفقته أصيبوا في الحادث بجروح خطيرة و متوسطة و نقلوا إلى المستشفى للعلاج . (Abu-`Asaker,n.d.)

"Palestinian sources said that the child Ahmad Mahmoud Al-Hindi, 12, from Deir Al-Balah martyred while he was playing, together with his friends, with a home-made bomb, "ku`". (Researcher's translation)

As can be noticed, this piece of news gives a very simple definition of *ku`* and shows its huge destructive effect. What is very interesting about the appearance of *ku`* in the given piece of news is that it expresses the newness of the neologism in point, even among its producers, lest it might not be recognizable to all target readers.

Like other Intifada neologisms, *kwa`* (plural of *ku`*) has found its place, as a lexical item with a new meaning, in English, as the following extract shows:

"He was hiding with only his arm visible as he tried to throw a 'kwa`' – a home-made pipe bomb – at a tank" (Cook,2002).

As a transferred neologism, *kwa`* is given a descriptive long approximate equivalent to make it clear to the target readers, while keeping it in single inverted commas in order to show its foreignness.

In conclusion, in translating a new term such as *radi`* and *ku`*, an additional explanation, such as the term's origin and function, is needed to achieve the full meaning of the term. In this regard, Choi (2006:199) states

that "if the speaker elaborates further on a specific neologism, then it may be necessary for the translator to quickly explain about (sic) the origins of the new term". With this in view, the researcher suggests a more explanatory translation of *ku`* in Appendix Two.

matloub /mætlu:b/

مطلوب

matloub is a past/passive participle derived from *الطلب* (*at-talab*) which means "the attempt to find something or someone" (Ibn Manthour,1997). In this sense, it is used frequently in different contexts of different fields, as in *مطلوب في الجيش، مطلوب للعمل، الخ* (*matloub fil geish*) (lit. wanted in the army). In the two Intifadas, it has referred to someone who is "wanted" by the Israeli military occupation authority "dead" or "alive" (Hamed:40). Thus, one can notice that *مطلوب* (*matloub*) and *طلب* (*talab*) share the same semantic and referential meaning, in that they refer to the (*search for*) something or someone, with the attempt to control him/her through liquidation or arrest.

This neologism is considered one of the serious terms which the two Intifadas have made frequent use of. It frequently appears in foreign media, especially English. For illustration, the researcher will show how this neologism has been translationally treated in the following examples:

1. "وليد عبد القادر عليان صبيح قتلته القوات الإسرائيلية بإطلاق نار كثيف على سيارته على الشارع الالتفافي قرب الخضر. وهو من كتائب شهداء الأقصى (فتح) وكان مطلوباً منذ أكثر من عامين" (http://www.phrmg.org/aqsa/ar_Jun02.htm)

This quotation is translated into English, in the same source, as

"Walid Abdel-Qader Elayan Sbeih was killed by Israeli forces at the bypass road near Al-Khader, by heavy gun-fire at his car. He was member of the Al-Aqsa Brigades (Fateh) and 'wanted' by Israel for more than two years"(<http://www.phrmg.org/aqsa/jun2002.htm>).

2. "Being awarded with a GSS "wanted" status (mevukash in Hebrew or *matlub* in Arabic)", is on a par with being handed down a verdict" (Grodzinsky,2002, para.2).

3. "Matlub (with an emphatic "t" and long "u") is a rough transliteration of the Arabic for ' most wanted' " (<http://www.matlub.net/faqs.htm>).

The above three representations of *matloub* with *wanted* are rather literal than faithful or factual. The word *wanted* gives inaccurate rendering, in that the **Encyclopedic World Dictionary** (1971) defines it as "a suspected criminal, etc. sought by the police". Similarly, *wanted* indicates that the "criminal is desired or wished for or sought" (<http://dictionary.reference.com/browse/wanted>). The related renditions repeat the referential meaning, which the Israelis use, and not the pragmatic or the situational meaning, in the Palestinian context.

The sense of being a Palestinian *matloub* can not be equated with the literal negative meaning of *wanted*. Palestinian activists, whom the Israeli forces call *matloubin* (plural of *matloub*), always live in the shadow of death. They anticipate their death at any moment. Actually, these resistance members are not criminals, as the definition suggests. They have the ultimate goal of freedom and liberation of their land.

It is noticeable that the meaning of *matloub* has been specified in the two Intifadas to refer to *a resistance member or a freedom activist who does not often know that he is sought by the military occupation authority*. This new Intifada meaning of *matloub* reflects a contradiction with the listed/referential meaning of *Matloub*. Therefore, if the translator does not comprehend this new meaning of the term, "he risks conveying the wrong message or the original meaning" (Choi,2006:191). On the other hand, a person who does not comply with a given summoning becomes known as

matloub (sought after). The following instance shows the contradiction between the referential meaning and the actual one:

Unfortunately, on the night of Dec. 23, the “bingo” was our friend Omar al Titi, who has been helping the nonviolent [International Solidarity Movement](#) and who had led us down to the roadblock thinking that any security check on him would reveal that he was not *wanted*. That night, however, after making Omar squat with the men for 3 hours, the IDF said that he was a *wanted* man and arrested him (true? or just trumped up charges to punish the ISM?). Although internationals tried to block the APC’s exit, Omar was taken away. His whereabouts are currently unknown (Bevis, 2002, para.5).

Since the listed meaning of *matloub* denotes a *criminal*, the above quotation makes it clear that criminals do not go and hand themselves to the (occupation) authorities.

Likewise, *wanted* is the term that the Israeli occupation authorities use when referring to Intifada activists, as is shown in the following sample as part of a number of examples:

"Asmahan Alawneh was wounded in an incident on December 22 at the village of Jaba`, near Jenin. Alawneh was wounded when troops fired into her family's home as her *wanted* brother barricaded himself inside with his relatives" (Greemberg,1990).

The researcher's own knowledge of Asmahan`s brother refutes his being referred to as *wanted*, i.e., sought criminal, because he was one of the freedom activists in the first Intifada.

To conclude, rendering the neologism *matloub* as *wanted* (suspected criminal), is lacking because it does not convey the original meaning of the term. It is true that Palestinian resistance members are *looked for*, or even *wanted*, but they are not *wanted* because of being criminals. Therefore, the translator needs to explain this difference in a form of a note so that the true meaning will not be distorted.

Level Two:

This level includes the following neologisms: *zawyah*, *nazil zawyah*, *masoura*, *mashbooh* and *muka`abat*.

zawyah /zɑʊjə/

زاوية

For Ibn Manthour (1997), *zawya* means ركن (corner), one of the pillars upon which something is based. It is a prison term that denotes a place in Israeli jails where suspected traitors and informants are interrogated by national prisoners.

One can notice that the meaning of *zawya* is specified, in that it describes the place of interrogation in a prison's room, not any of the corners of that room. Besides, its meaning is narrowed to imply interrogation, suspicion, and the like.

nazil zawyah /næzil zɑʊjə/

نازل زاوية

The narrowed meaning of the neologism *zawya* has led to another related and narrowed meaning of the compound neologism *nazil zawyah*. This term indicates the status of the Palestinian prisoner who is suspected of being a *khayen* (traitor). That is, "if proved guilty, he is tried by activists in a makeshift court hearing" (Hamed:67).

masoura /mæsu:rə/

ماسورة

It is derived from the verb *مسر* which according to Ibn Manthour (1997) indicates different shades of meaning. For example, *مسر الشيء* means both *to take out something from a narrow place* and *to make it move*, too. However, the meaning of *masoura* is related to these meanings. It refers to

a metal or a plastic narrow pipe through which a liquid flows to its destination. This neologism was used in the first Intifada to denote a simple home-made machinegun of a metal pipe that is used to fire bullets.

It is noticeable that the meaning of the word *masoura* moves from the general and common sense of *pipes* to another new specific meaning of *a pipe for firing bullets*.

mashbooh /məʃbu:h/

مشبوہ

This expression is derived from the noun الشبهة (*shubha*) which means الالتباس (*iltibas*) (lit. confusion), and the verb is اشتبه, means اختلط (lit. to become confused) (Ibn Manthour,1997). However, *mashbooh* is not a correct derivation because the accurate passive participle derivation from اشتبه is مشتبه به (*mushtabah behi*) , not *mashbooh*.

It has widely been circulated in the two Intifadas to describe a person who is suspected of being a traitor. He is, therefore, kept under close and secret observation until a clear-cut decision about him is reached. Qasem (1986:328), explains that this term also refers to certain activities, i.e., it is the prisoner's duty to report any suspected (*mashbooh*) behavior or activity and to follow the acts of suspected individuals.

With this in view, we notice that the term *mashbooh* has been semantically narrowed to refer to he who is suspected to be cooperating with the occupier.

muka`abat /mukəʔəba:t/

مكعبات

Plural of Muka`ab, a cube-shaped object, an example of which is the **Kaaba** (Ibn Manthour,1997). This term appeared in the first Intifada to

denote the concrete barricades erected at checkpoints, barriers and on the roads leading to Israeli settlements. In the second Intifada, they have been also placed at the entrances of mud and mountainous roads to block Palestinian movement from one place to another. Moreover, these cement *muka`abat* protect Israeli soldiers from armed attacks.

1. 2. Semantic Broadening

Many words change their meanings according to contextual settings so that the new meanings become current in the related communities. These changes are due to different factors. One of these is semantic broadening in which "the word takes on a wider, more general meaning than it had previously" (Radford, Atkinson, Britain, Clahsen and Spencer, 1999:261).

Semantic broadening is considered as a neological feature of innovation in every language. Broadening refers to the alterations that words undergo over time. Instances of neological semantic broadening in the two Intifadas will be discussed in terms of their translations as follows:

Level One:

This level includes *ightiyal*, *mulatham*, *shabeh* and *shaheed*.

ightiyal /igtija:l/

اغتيال

According to Ibn Manthour (1997), *ightiyal* is an Arabic word that is derived from غالا و غيلة (*ghala* and *ghilah*). *Ghilah* means *deception* or *treachery*, which basically indicates passing evil and murder to a person without making him/her know or feel about it. Hence, the expression اغتاله implies the *death of someone without fighting or disease*. Then, all these senses share the idea of evil occurrence from an absurd source.

Politically, *ightiyal* refers to a phenomenon of using violence and liquidation against political figures, as a way of fighting political opponents. Before its circulation in Rome and then in recent times, the term "Tyrannicide" (killing of a tyrant ruler) had appeared in ancient Greek history as a national and divine duty to get rid of any tyrant ruler. In all its stages, the term has been exclusive to getting rid of tyrant ruler(s). Later, imperialistic intelligence agencies started adopting the term to liquidate some rebellious leaders. Some leftists also use *ightiyal* as a form of objection to existing regimes (Al-Kiyali, 1994).

In the two Intifadas, the term has been used to refer to the treacherous killing of Palestinian resistance members at the hands of Israeli occupation forces, with the help of their agents and traitors who give the occupation forces information about the whereabouts of these members. Hamed (n.d.:48) points out that "Palestinian activists are usually raided in their hideouts, bombed from gunships or tanks` artillery or ambushed".

By way of illustration, the following examples show how this term has been presented by translators:

1. وقد شهد العام الثاني من الانتفاضة خلال الفترة من 29-9-2001 لغاية 29-9-2002 تصعيدا ملحوظا في سياسة الإغتيالات الإسرائيلية حيث استشهد 113 فلسطينياً، في 50 عملية اغتيال. أما خلال الأشهر السبعة الأخيرة من الانتفاضة فقد استشهد 83 فلسطينياً في 43 عملية اغتيال استهدفتهم، فضلا عن استشهاد العشرات ممن تواجدوا بالصدفة في مكان وقوع العمليات (البنّا:2003).

"On the second year of Aqsa Intifada, from 29 September 2001 to 29 September 2002, Israel killed 113 Palestinians in 15 (sic) assassination attacks. In the last seven months of the Intifada, 83 Palestinian activists were killed – along with dozen others who happened to be on the scenes, in 43 Israeli assassinations (Al-Banna:2003).

2. "In addition to all this, eliminations (*tasfiyah*) and **assassinations** (*ighiyal*) has been (sic), (in one view), the work of special services" (LBCI Nahnah Interview, 2002).

It is noticed that *assassination* is used as a rendition of the neologism *ighiyal* in the two examples above. However, this choice of *assassination* is considered inaccurate because it simply misses the factual meaning of the term. Indeed, it is the more usual, common and neutral representation of the term in point in almost all media.

The meaning of *assassination* here does not precisely convey the concept of *ighiyal* in the Palestinian context. Actually, it does not convey in full the idea expressed in the two Intifadas, and so it has never been quite successful. Every operation of killing by the occupation forces is referred to as *assassination*. According to **Merriam Webster Online Dictionary**, it is derived from the verb *assassinate* which, for an English speaker, means "to murder (a usually prominent person) by sudden or secret attack often for political reasons" (<http://www.m-w.com/cgi-bin/dictionary?book=Dictionary&va=assassination>).

Comparing the listed/referential meaning of 'assassination' with the original one shows how unsuccessful the translation is. It is true that there is some similarity between the political use of the term and its use in the two Intifadas. Political assassination is secretly done by some individual(s), groups or agents, whereas in the two Intifadas, the Israeli occupation army has taken this mission. Most often, it happens after an operation of siege or pursuit. This operation leaves no room for the idea of secrecy, which is a component of the above definition of 'assassination', in this operation of *ighiyal*. This idea can be seen in the literal meaning of the term. For example, قتله غيلة (*killed him secretly*) carries the sense of 'assassination'

whereas *فتك به* does not carry this sense of assassination because the killing is done openly and in a situation in which the targeted person appears to be unmindful. Furthermore, the Israeli military occupation force sometimes openly announces the names on the list of 'assassination' which removes the factors of secrecy and surprise that are basics in the political assassination. In addition, experience has proved that *ightiyal* causes harm to civilians by targeting them along with the so-called 'wanted' resistance members or leaders. This mass killing also contradicts the assumption that assassination is only against one prominent person.

The point here is that the meaning of the neologism *ightiyal* has broadened in the two Intifadas which necessitates the translators to accommodate themselves with this new meaning. Finally, since assassination is viewed as an inappropriate translation, a more adequate rendering of *ightiyal* might be simply *murder* or *killing* since its usual and traditional meaning has acquired some extension.

mulatham /muləθθəṁ/

ملثم

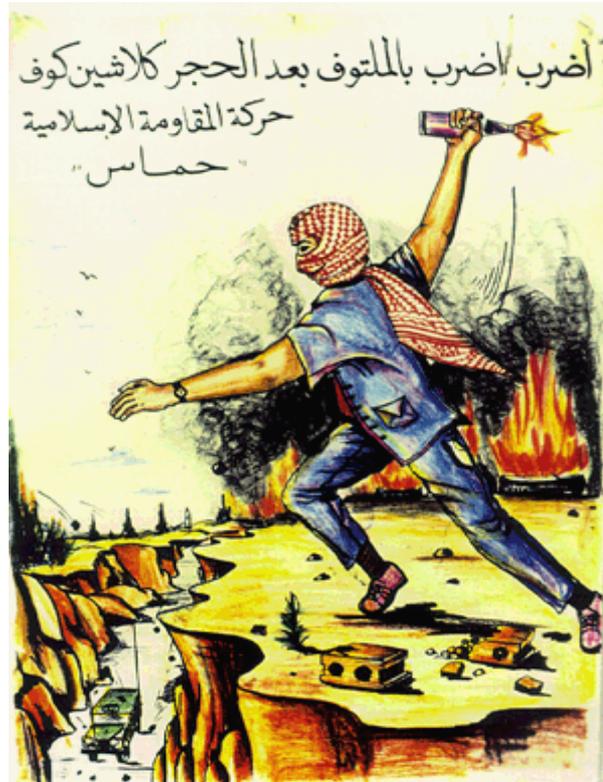
It is a derived Arabic expression. Thereupon, *lathama* (لثم) means to place one's turban on his nose, whereas *al-litham* (اللثام) is the niqab (veil) which is put on the mouth or the nose (Ibn Manthour, 1997). *Al-mulatham*, however, is a passive participle of the root *lathama* which denotes the man who puts on *al-litham*.

Hamed (59) believes that in the two Palestinian Intifadas, this neological expression is a sign of

A kaffiyeh-checked person; a cloth headdress fastened and worn by Arabs covering all the head except the eyes. It is used or worn to conceal one's identity in case a traitor identifies him and report him to

the enemy. Traitors used it to carry out criminal acts. During Al-Aqsa Intifada, the activists almost hooded all their heads and faces after the enemy's security services succeeded in identifying some by using sophisticated cameras, from their eyes and facial expressions. (translated by Mr. Sameer Mahmoud)

With this in view, we notice that this term was used in its referential and lexical meaning in the first Intifada. Conversely, its semantic meaning has been broadened in Al-Aqsa Intifada (second Intifada). Though the meaning of *al-litham* does not denote covering all the face, in the second Intifada it has referred to covering all the face, not just the mouth, or the mouth and the nose together. And yet, what covers the whole face is called *al-qina`* (القناع), and *muqanna`* (مقنع) is the passive participle (Ibn Manthour,1997). This view can be illustrated in the following photo of a *mulatham* from the first Intifada whose eyes are not covered:



(picture No. 1)

(<http://www.epiic.com/archives/1996/sympos96/embodiedimperative.html>)

Also, what confirms this belief is the nickname of the Muslim poet Mohammed Bin Thafir Bin Omeir, who was called (المقتنع الكندي) Al-muganna` Al-Kindi. He used to cover his pretty face to avoid being envied as the following quotation explains:

"المقتنع لقب غلب عليه واسمه محمد بن ظفر بن عمير ينتهي نسبه إلى كندة بن عفير وإنما لقب بالمقتنع لأنه كان أجمل الناس وجها وكان إذا حسر اللثام عن وجهه أصابته العين ويلحقه عنت ومشقة فكان لا يمشي إلا مقتنعا".(Al-Qamer,2002)

Following are some examples of using this neologism in English texts and its suggested translations:

1. Meanwhile, in Jerusalem, Palestinian journalist Layla al-Madani receives an anonymous letter. The writer claims to possess information that could radically alter the balance of power in the Middle East and requests her help in contacting *Al-Mulatham*, a ruthless terrorist leader whom she recently interviewed (Sussman,2005).
2. Another second (sic) problem we face is the issue of the accumulation of knowledge that is known but not used. For example, the accumulation of knowledge throughout the first Intifada gave evidence that masked persons (*Mulathameen*) may lead to a dysfunction or failure as it permitted Israel to send undercover (masked) agents that could not be detected, to arrest or liquidate wanted individuals (Abdel-Jawwad,2001).
3. "When a reporter from Al-sharq Al-awsat inquired about the identity of these mujahideen, the answer was anyone who is "masked" (*mulatham*) and carries a weapon" (Raphaeli, 2004).
4. "The most-repeated words in children's vocabulary have to do with struggle: hajar (sic) (stone) Shebab (sic) (youths) *mulathameen* (masked activists) and jaish (army) and Shaheed (martyrs) (sic)" (Hanoun,n.d.).

It is evident that the translator/user in the first example has failed to come up with a proper equivalent to the Arabic transliterated term *al-mulatham*. He has managed the term to meet his own views by introducing a twisted functional explanation for it as (a ruthless terrorist leader). Thus,

this rendition is neither faithful nor objective as it deviates from the actual sense of *mulatham* in Palestine. Another important point to mention, here, is that the other examples which have been used in the second Intifada, lack accuracy in the rendition of this neologism. This is because *al-litham* is different from *al-qina`* (the mask). In other words, *masked* gives a translation for *muqanna`*, not for *mulatham*. That is, the introduction of (masked men) agrees with what is mentioned above about the broadened meaning of this term in the second/Al-Aqsa Intifada. Moreover, *mask* is defined in **The Random House Dictionary of the English Language** (1973) as "a covering for all of the face, usually worn to conceal one's identity". Finally, this indicates that the exaggeration in using *al-litham* to nearly cover all of the face is called *al-qina`*.

To conclude, the representation of *mulatham* with *masked* is inaccurate because what is translated is the concept of *qina`*, not of *litham*. Using a footnote or a commentary, translator(s) can make such distinction between these two concepts clear for the readers.

shabeh /ʃəbiħ/

شبح

According to Ibn Manthour (1997), the neologism *shabeh* refers to the act of extending someone between stakes, in that the beaten are often extended to be whipped. It also refers to "extending someone in the form of crucifixion" (Al-Barghouthi,2001). In the two Intifadas, it has denoted forcing a Palestinian civilian to stand against the wall while raising his hands or one of his legs (Hamed:33). It is noticeable here that *ash-shabeh* is the same in form and meaning despite the fact that its aim can be different. It was used to execute another punishment, i.e., whipping or causing bodily torture. However, it is now used as a form of both physical

and psychological punishment. Although it was exclusively used against slaves, the Israeli occupation army practices it against Palestinian detainees to make it a sign of humiliation of the victim and a show of haughtiness on the part of the Israeli soldier.

Shabeh is one of the serious Intifada neologisms which have been adopted in English. Following are some quotations that show various translations of *shabeh*:

1. "Mr Barghouti told him he had been subjected to shabeh, a form of constraining torture, where the hands and legs are shackled to a small chair angled to slant forward" (Beaumont, 2002).
2. "Israeli interrogators also forced Palestinians into the *shabeh* position (bent forward over chairs, hands and legs shackled beneath, or put a putrid, choking hood over their heads" (anonymous,1999).
3. "The defendants testified that they had falsely confessed after beatings that included *shabeh* (suspending the victim by the feet with arms tied behind the back" (Bach,2001).
4. "Detainees report numerous forms of torture, in particular severe beatings, *shabeh* (tying the prisoners for hours to a low chair or in other uncomfortable positions), deprivation of sleep" (PHRMG, 2001,torture section, para.1).
5. "The Palestinian children detainees are subjected to beatings, position abuse (*shabeh*)" (Deek,2003).

For Kamel Jabr (May17,2006), "*Shabeh* is widely used in the two Intifadas though it goes back to the first Intifada. Prisoners are forced to stay long in a fixed position in an attempt to take confessions from them." As to Nazih Abu `Awn (Sept. 8,2006), who was subjected to this form of torture for weeks, "the detainee's hands and feet are fixed to a chair by the interrogators during the interrogation sessions. This position sometimes lasts for 20 continuous hours, which usually causes severe backaches and

ulcerations because of the chair which prevents the prisoner from being able to sit normally." In the same way, Hamzeh Khaled (May 20, 2006), a freed prisoner, mentions that "*shabeh* includes covering the head with a filthy bag to affect the prisoner's breath." He adds, "the prisoner is not given the chance to use the bathroom when needed, either".

All in all, the above translation examples illustrate that *shabeh* is used in its referential meaning. The researcher also believes that because this neologism has no equivalent at the word level in the target language, its meaning is paraphrased in all the given translations. Seemingly, the term is not frequently used in the target language. Therefore, the unit of translation is expanded to fill in the lexical gap, since what is translated is the concept of *shabeh* rather than the single word itself. The related renditions show almost no noticeable difference in the referential meaning of this neologism. Therefore, the above renditions are lacking in comparison with what is actually experienced by those who are subjected to *shabeh*. Thus, in addition to what has been mentioned by the interviewees, a better illustration of *shabeh*, which could be referred to in a footnote, appears in the following quotation which is also illustrated through a picture that shows a form of the *shabeh* method in Israeli prisons:



(Picture No. 2)

(Addameer Report,2005)

From the first moment of arrest the physical torture begins with the placement of handcuffs and the covering of the head with a bag effecting (sic) the breathing of the prisoner. This is often accompanied by beatings and cursing by the interrogators. In (sic) more than 90% of torture methods utilize "**shabh**". The prisoner's legs are tied to a small stool and his hands are tied behind his back with a bag covering his head sometimes for more than 48 hours continuously, in which he is given only 5 minute breaks between each sitting. During interrogation periods the prisoner is usually not allowed to sit in a normal sitting position but is forced to crouch down. Also, the prisoner is tied to a circle within the wall while standing or he is seated on a small stool and his hands are tied behind his back to a table which is higher thereby forcing his shoulders and arms to stay in a raised position (Addameer Report,2005)

In summary, rendering the term *shabeh* by just *position abuse*, as in example number five, or without any adequate explanation would not give a full understanding of the term. Moreover, the pragmatic and original meaning of this term, is actually determined by those who experience the act of *shabeh* which is different from its listed meaning. (For more illustrative translation of *shabeh*, see Appendix Two).

shaheed /ʃəhi:d/

شهيد

Shaheed is an Islamic term which appeared at the beginning of Islam to refer to s/he who dies in the holy war (Jihad) for Allah (God). However, it is extended to include those whom Allah's Apostle (Allah's blessing and peace be upon Him) calls the drowned, the burnt and the like. This term comes from the linguistic listed meaning of the word; i.e., *Ash-shahadah*, which means *presence* and *witness*. The meaning in point, appears in the **Holy Qur`an**, as in

1- .(133:) "

"

Or were you witnesses when death approached Ya`qub (Jacob)? (Al-Hilali and Khan, 1424 A.H.: 26).

2- .(41:) "

How (will it be) then, when We bring from each nation a witness and We bring you (O Muhammad صلى الله عليه وسلم) as a witness against these people? (Al-Hilali and Khan, 1424 A.H.: 114).

In the first verse, *shuhadaa`* (witnesses) implies *presence*, whereas in the second, *shaheed* implies *witness* against the unbelievers among the people of Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon Him) (Al-Ashqer, 1998:107).

The point the researcher would like to bring here is that the reason for giving this term to the one who is killed in the holy war is due to a number of explanations to which Ibn Manthour (1997) refers. Some of these are **a)** because the Angels are his/her witness in Paradise, as the second verse explains; **b)** because s/he is alive and present in Paradise according to the first verse and to the following verse, too:

(169:)

"Think not of those who are killed in the way of Allah as dead. Nay, they are alive, with their Lord, and they have provision." (Al-Hilali and Khan, 1424 A.H.: 100).

and **c)** because s/he witnesses the honor that Allah (God) (the Great and Almighty) specifies for him/her. Moreover, one of the modern interpretations of the meaning of *shaheed* is that s/he proves the existence of Allah (God) through his/her blood (Al-Jamal, 2004: 1488).

In the incidents before the two Intifadas, this term was rarely used to refer to non-Muslims. In fact, it was only used to refer to the victims,

Muslims and Christians, as it appears in the poetry of Iskander Khorī in which he uses *dahaya* (victims) of the explosion in King David Hotel:

عن ضحايا الإرهاب حدث طويلا وابكهم يا يراع جيلا طويلا
وانفجار في القدس يتلو انفجارا وقتيل في القدس يتلو قتيلا
(Khorī, 1954:78)

Here, he uses the word *qateel* (killed) instead of *Shaheed* in reference to the victims.

However, in the two Intifadas the Palestinians have used this term for both Muslims and non-Muslims. For instance, in running over the names of the *shaheeds*, the researcher has found that Klara Bolus, from Beit Hanina who fell as a martyr on August 24, 1989, was given the title *shaheeda* (Maraq, 1991:331). Likewise, the same title was given to Jrees Qanqar from Beit Jala who was martyred on July 24, 1988 (Ibid:494). Here, *shaheed* has been used with these two non-Muslim names. Moreover, the word *shaheed* has also been used with journalists who were killed as a result of the Israeli aggression in Palestine, such as the Italian journalist Rofael Tshirilelu who martyred on March 13, 2004 (Awwad, 2004:44), and the British James Miller who was martyred on May 2, 2003 (Ibid:46).

The variant words *shaheda*, *istishhad*, *shaheed*, *shahadah*, *istishhadi* and the like have been derived from the same root. The various forms of this root-word and its derivations are the most recurring words in the two Intifadas. *Shaheed* has been frequently used in English, to the extent that it has become a listed neologism in English modern dictionaries. For example, it is defined as "Arabic term for holy martyrs, applied by Palestinians to suicide bombers" (<http://dictionary.reference.com/browse/shaheed>).

In the two Intifadas, it has been widely used to refer to s/he who falls in action while fighting the occupiers. Moreover, "the term has expanded to include all people killed at the hands of the Jews" (Hamed: 34). According to **Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia**, "this term is used as a title to Palestinians who were killed in the [Intifada](#), and especially as a title to [suicide bombers](#) (the Palestinians call their [suicide attacks](#) عمليات استشهادية, meaning, actions in which someone becomes shaheed)" (<http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Shahheed>). This expansion is noticed in many news reports, as in the following example:

ZIAD MUGRABI, the eastern Jerusalem man killed during the Hamas terrorist attack in Jerusalem on Sunday, was buried near Al- Aksa Mosque yesterday as a martyr. Hamas declared MUGRABI, a 32-year-old father of three, a shaheed because his wife claimed he was killed by Border Police gunfire during the shoot out on the mall of Nahalat Shiva (News in Brief, (1994).

In fact, *shaheed* has been one of the most recurring neologisms in the two Intifadas, as it appears in the poetry of Mu`min Hashem

أنا البكاء أنا الدموع أنا الشهيد أنا الشهادة
فالمجد دربي والدماء على الطريق هي الشهادة
عمر على درب الرسول هو الدليل هو الشهادة
(Abu Amsha, 1991:330)

I am the weeping, I am the tears, I am the *shaheed* and I am the *shahadah* (martyrdom).

Glory is my route and the blood on the road is the *shahadah* (certificate).

Omar, following the steps of the Apostle, is the guide and the *shahadah* (evidence). (Researcher's translation)

Moreover, it is a neologism that is commonly used in the Palestinian struggle against the occupation. In demonstrations and *shaheeds`* funerals the crowd usually sing songs of praise, and shout, "Ya *shaheed*, beloved of Allah (God), rest, rest, rest ya *shaheed*".

In turning to the first and the second Intifadas, the act of *shahadah* (martyrdom) is considered a noble performance. It is not an act of "suicide bombing" as it is viewed by the majority of Western media. This is because the *shaheeds* (plural form) die in act of defending their own beliefs, cause and land, not for self-fulfillment.

The researcher believes that *shaheed* has not been accurately rendered into English. Very often, it is either monitored as simply "martyr" or managed as "suicide bomber" depending on the users' views and stands towards it, as it appears in the following sample of quotations:

1. "فلسطيني يندب قريبه رجل الشرطة الذي استشهد في تبادل لإطلاق النار مع الجنود الإسرائيليين في الضفة الغربية."

The English translation of this text appears as

"A relative mourns at the funeral of a Palestinian policeman who was killed during an exchange of fire with Israeli soldiers in the West Bank." (<http://www.alsakifa.org/vb/archive/index.php?t-16076.html>).

2. "إن سقوط عدد كبير من الشهداء الفلسطينيين وجرح الآلاف منهم بالإضافة إلى سياسة هدم المنازل ومداهمة القرى والمذابح" (Hassassian, 1990:17)

This text is translated into English as

"However, the high toll of Palestinian martyrs and thousands injured, in addition to house demolitions, village raids and massacres" (Hassassian, 1990:16).

3. When Milad Hemeida tried to cross the Egyptian-Israeli border last April, in an attempt to join the Palestinian resistance, and was killed by Israeli border police, his family telephoned Al-Jazeera to break the news of Egypt's first *shaheed* (martyr) of the Intifada (Howeidy,2002).
4. "So far, no one has taken responsibility for the attack but that has not stopped the Russian media from laying blame for the attack on yet another *shaheed* – suicidal bomber who delivers the bloody message of Chechen separatists" (Naguib, 2004).

5. "IN Jabalya, where more than 60,000 inhabitants live on little more than one square km., a mourning tent for a shaheed (martyr) is rarely far away." (Immanuel,1993).



(Picture No.3)

6. Like Abu-Surur before his death, Zaraini is a "living martyr" or a "martyr with a stay of execution," as is made clear in the "certificate for self-sacrifice" which he has earned:
Name: Martyr with stay of execution.
Date of birth: I am as old as the revolution.
Occupation: Self-sacrificer.
Summary of above: certified for self-sacrifice for the homeland. (<http://www.epiic.com/archives/1996/sympos96/embodiedimperative.html>)

7. "To Jerusalem we go, martyrs in millions." (Philps,2002). This must have been a translation of President Arafat's repetitive statement in his speeches: "عالمقدس رايجين، شهداء بالملايين"

8. "The Making of a Martyr" (Hammer, 2001:14) is a heading which is rendered in the Arabic edition of the **Newsweek** as

"كيف تحول شرطي شاب إلى مفجر انتحاري" (Hammer, 2001:14).

Perhaps, the above extracts provide the most common translation of the word *shaheed*, which is (martyr). Still, this rendition is general,

conventional, and so pragmatically inaccurate. What makes it totally inappropriate with respect to the Palestinian case is the difference that the concept of being *shaheed* makes. In fact, it is the Palestinian Intifada that has expanded its old Islamic meaning. In fact, the previously mentioned definition of *shaheed* by the **Dictionary.com** shows that it has been first applied by Palestinians. For Palestinians, *ash-shahada* (martyrdom) is a highly valued position, in that it has granted the family of the *shaheed* more social and political influence on some circles of the society which has led to the diminishing of the traditional roles of other notable persons. Certainly, "this status was facilitated by the possession of exemplary capital in the resistance, a capital accumulated through factional affiliation, by the number of times detained or wounded, or a '*shaheed*'- martyr in the family" (Hamam,2004).

In fact, the translational problem in rendering *shaheed* as *martyr* is due to the gap between Arab and English cultures. For the Palestinians, the term has a culture that is different from its use in other parts of the world. The Palestinian society has created this *shahada* culture irrespective of race, religion, language, etc. The culture of *shahada* is paradoxical in that it includes tears and smiles, congratulations and condolences, visits and songs. For instance, in an interview on Al-Jazeera News Channel, and commenting on the death of her son (the *shaheed*), Nawal Masharqa said, "مبروك عليه الشهادة" (July 8,2006) (I congratulate him for gaining *shahada*/martyrdom) (Researcher's translation). Likewise, in the program "في ضيافة البندقية" (Hosted with the Rifle) which was aired by Aljazeera, Muhammed Dief, head of Izz al-din al-Qassam Brigades, said that "الشهادة هي هدف سام" (*shahada* is a noble aim) (July 2,2006). In the same way, after the announcement of the death of Ismail Shamlakh, from Gaza Strip, his

brother told the mourners "You should come to congratulate me. My brother wanted to be a martyr" (Rees, Hamad and Klein, 2000). Also, Kiyam al-Sayfi, a 16-year old Palestinian schoolgirl from Dheisheh Refugee Camp in Bethlehem, asked her schoolmate to join her to visit the family of the martyr in the camp to provide support. She said, "As we marched we chanted, 'Rest, *martyr*, in your grave; we will continue the struggle" (Ibid,2000). Here *shaheed* is viewed as a brave person since s/he sacrifices him-/herself for the Palestinian cause, and so s/he is 'literally' referred to as a (martyr) by people. Again, this use of (martyr) for *shaheed* is true to American and British cultures, for example, but not to the Palestinian culture. It depends on what they believe in; i.e., criminals could be called *shaheeds* (martyrs) as well. The phrase "one man's hero is another's criminal" is a simple way of expressing this disparity ([http://www.site.kifkif.be/forum/archive /index.php?t-707.html](http://www.site.kifkif.be/forum/archive/index.php?t-707.html)). For example, the U.S.A. President, George Bush, commonly refers to the U.S.A. soldiers killed in foreign operations as "having sacrificed themselves for the cause of freedom". Similarly, Christian martyrs in the first three centuries A.D. who were crucified as political prisoners are recognized as *martyrs* because they preferred to die rather than renounce their cause/faith. ([www.reference.com/browse/ wiki/Martyr](http://www.reference.com/browse/wiki/Martyr)).

According to **Collins Concise Dictionary of the English Language** (1980), the term *martyr* refers to "a person tortured or killed because of his faith or beliefs". Likewise, **Chambers 21st Century Dictionary** (1999), defines *martyr* as "someone who chooses to be put to death as an act of witness to their faith, rather than abandon his or her religious beliefs". As for the **Encyclopedic World Dictionary** (1971), it means "one who is put to death or endures great suffering on behalf of any belief, principle, or

cause". These definitions show the common meaning of *martyr* which applies to all those killed in their defense of a cause, culturally determined among different nations. However, this concept of martyrdom (*shahada*) is culturally and religiously well-established in Palestine because Palestinians are fighting the occupiers who oppress and rob them of their land.

In the same way, the representation of "استشهد" with "killed" in the previous first quotation is not precise. This is because the term *qateel* (killed) refers to an Israeli soldier or a Palestinian traitor who is killed by the resistance members.

When backtranslated, the first quotation, in point, appears as follows:

قريب يندب رجل الشرطة الفلسطيني الذي قتل في تبادل لإطلاق النار مع جنود إسرائيليين في الضفة الغربية. (Researcher's back translation).

Of course, this process of back translation uncovers the distortion of meaning which occurs as a result of incorrect translation. That is, the Arabic word "قتل" (*killed*) is, surely, not similar in meaning to "استشهد" (lit. *martyred*). Likewise, the rendition of "martyr" as "مفجراتحاري" is also imprecisely done. Here comes the user's managing language to serve a specific belief or view. For Palestinians, in particular, and Muslims, in general, "the one who blows up the enemies of Allah by blowing up himself as well cannot be considered a suicide, and he is, Allah willing, a martyr" (Demarco:2002).

In conclusion, the representation of *shaheed* with *kateel* is quite inaccurate as the latter refers to an enemy who is killed by resistance members. On the other hand, *shaheed* is traditionally and commonly rendered and understood to mean (*martyr*) as it is viewed in the above

extracts. However, this rendition (*martyr*) parts the term from the essence of the concept of *shahada* in Islam. That is, *shaheed* in Islam, as mentioned before, indicates that s/he is either alive despite the absence of his/her body, or that s/he witnesses the existence of Allah (God) through his blood. In contrast, neither of these meanings applies to (*martyr*) as *shaheed* has been used in the two Intifadas. Additionally, Al-Shishani (1994:57) explains that "in Arabic, *shaheed* means that s/he is not dead; s/he lives and in a far higher and deeper sense than in the life he left". After all, the *shaheed* sacrifices himself for the cause of Islam and the *martyr* sacrifices himself for a belief, a cause or a principle. Despite the above cultural differences between *martyr* and *shaheed*, *martyr* remains an approximate or, at least, a semi equivalent of the Arabic term in point.

To overcome this cultural gap, Homeidi (2004:19) believes that "the translator has to translate the original and then supply the necessary missing information either by a footnote or between parentheses".

Level Two:

It includes the neologism *tas`id* that has been widely used in the two Intifadas; however, it has not been circulated in English.

tas`id /təʃi:d/

تصعيد

It is the infinitive of the verb **صَعِدَ**, from **صعد**, means ارتقى (lit. to rise). However, **الصَّعُود** is the *rising road*, means المشقة "almashaqqa" (lit. hardship) which appears in the **Holy Qur`an** as in "سأرهقه صعودا" (Al-Muddaththir:17) which translates as "I shall oblige him to (climb a slippery mountain in the Hell-fire called *As-Sa`ud*, or face a severe torment" (Al-

hilali and Khan, 1424 A.H.:800). The use of *صعود*, here, is figurative in that it implies a *hardship*. The stress on *صعد* signifies forcing someone to ascend or climb. Hence, the term *tas`id* has emerged to refer to the increase in the degree of the conflict (Al-`Azizi,2005:116). On the other hand, *at-tas`id* can be initiated either by the resistance members, in that they increase the intensity of resistance acts, or by the enemy, especially in increasing the intensity of *radi`* (deterrence) operations (Al-Kiyali:758).

The term has circulated in the two Intifadas in the sense of escalating the degree of confrontation with Israeli occupation forces. This last sense, according to Al-Kiyali (758), is a use of the military meaning of the term. The difference between the two senses is that *التصعيد العسكري* (lit. military escalation) is usually initiated by a state army in a battle, with a well-prepared plan to achieve certain objectives. However, Intifada escalation is usually spontaneous.

Finally, it can be noticed that the term is used by way of semantic broadening because the *tas`id* might occur through fighting acts or psychological warfare, and in both cases *المشقة* (lit. *hardship*) is achieved especially as it relates to Israeli military actions against Palestinians.

2. Neologisms in Form

Derivations:

The process of derivation is regarded as one way of forming words in Arabic and English. In fact, it is a reflection of how flexible the Arabic language is in producing new vocabulary for the purpose of coping with the new requirements and needs of the language. In other words, this process of derivational word formation is said to be productive. Furthermore, this

derivational flexibility of Arabic and English helps in choosing appropriate and balanced renditions as far as the unit of translation is concerned. There are new prefixes and suffixes that are added to existing words. With respect to their linguistic characteristics, Cabre (1999:207) believes that neologisms are "based on set series of derivations within each special field". However, the function of these derivations, according to Cowie (1998:180) is "to convey (particular shades of meaning), not simply to produce forms with a particular structure". This view of the function of neological derivations is what concerns the researcher in this research. There have been a number of derivations that have arisen in the two Intifadas to convey new meanings. For illustration, the following neologisms will be discussed in terms of this type of neologisms:

Level One:

It includes such neologisms as *musta`ribine*, *tashfir*, *tariq iltifafi*, *tajreef*, *hisar*, *hajiz*, *ameel* and *Fatrat tahdi`ah*.

musta`ribin /mutə ʕribi:n/

مستعربين

Plural of *musta`rib*, an Arabic expression derived from العرب (*the Arabs*), who are distinguished from other nations through their Arabic language. Hence, the form (استعرب) is also derived from (العرب). However, this addition of الألف والسين والتاء at the beginning of any verb in Arabic indicates simulation or pretension. Thus, the verb (استعرب) refers to a non-Arab who pretends to be an Arab, and the present participle is *musta`rib* (مستعرب).

The neologism is used to describe any Israeli who secretly mingles him/herself in an Arab culture where s/he lives, along with keeping his

Israeli values. This term has circulated in the two Intifadas, referring to special Israeli army units whose members are often dressed as Palestinians either in normal civilian clothes or Arab traditional costume, in an attempt to disguise themselves among the Palestinian crowd. They are well-trained units in both language and customs. Do`er (2004) points out that their mission is to spot the whereabouts of the resistance members in order to mainly assassinate or arrest them. Most often, such members of the *musta`ribine* look like Arabs in their appearance.

The term has been repeatedly used by the Palestinians, and so it has found its way into English language as a neologism. In order to see how it is translationally treated, let us consider the following excerpts:

1. "My wife tried to persuade me not to go. The *musta`ribine* (Israeli undercover forces disguised as Arabs) had sneaked into our neighborhood" (Rees, Hamad and Klein, 2000, Tuesday section, para.1).
2. "These units are also called "Mistarbin," (sic) which can be translated into English as 'self-made Arabs'" (Lebrecht: n.d.).
3. "Nobody knows for sure what the two *musta`ribine* – Israeli army commandos disguised as Arabs—were planning to do" (Amayreh:2000).

The researcher assumes that the translational parenthetical representations of the term *musta`ribine* in the above examples do not convey the actual or pragmatic sense of this neologism. That is, the representation of *musta`ribine* with 'undercover force disguised as Arabs', in the first example, is not quite precise. Seemingly, the use of *undercover* is brought to hide the bad pragmatic connotations of the neologism in point. To illustrate, this conclusion comes from the fact that the word *undercover* suggests disguising one's own identity for the purposes of "gaining the trust

of an individual or organization to learn secret information or to gain the trust of targeted individuals in order to gain information or evidence" (<http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Plainclothes>). In fact, this definition does not match the actual missions of identifying, arresting or killing the *musta`ribine* are charged with. The mission of 'learning secret information or gaining the trust of an individual or an organization', on the other hand, has often been done in coordination with *al-`umalaa`* (agents) or 'collaborators'.

As for the second example, the use of the adjective *self-made* as a translation for *musta`ribine* is not quite accurate, either, as it sounds literal. That is, *self-made* suggests making something by oneself; i.e., it denotes a sense of improvisation in one's action or behavior. In relation to this, its definition in **The Random House Dictionary of the English Language** (1973) as "having succeeded in life unaided" does not do with the actual sense of the neologism. That is, the *musta`ribine`*s success is usually aided by their agents, who could be referred to as *undercover*, air force or any other army units.

As a result, the researcher suggests that the rendition of the third example, which translates *musta`ribine* as 'Israeli army commandos disguised as Arabs', could be more accurate. This is because the term *commandos* conforms to the functional nature of *musta`ribine* that agrees with **Merriam Webster Online Dictionary's** definition of commandos as "a military unit trained and organized as shock troops especially for hit-and-run raids into enemy territory" (<http://www.m-w.com/dictionary/commandos>).

tashfeer /təʃfi:r/

تشفير

It is an Arabic term which is basically derived from *ash-shafra* (blade) that refers to a widened and sharpened piece of iron such as the tip of a sword and a knife (Ibn Manthour, 1997). Recently, *ash-shafra* has been used to denote a small razor blade with one or two tips, which is gripped by a special tool (Azayyat, 1989). In the two Intifadas, Palestinians have also derived this neologism from *ash-shafra*, along with stressing the middle letter ف (*shaffara*) to be an indicative of muchness and intensiveness of the act of *tashfeer*.

In the Intifada language, it indicates a type of punishment inflicted on traitors or collaborators with the occupier. They are usually slashed with knives and shaving razors (Hamed:34).

However, the term *tashfeer* has been widely used side by side with another recent technological meaning which carries a different connotation. That is, *tashfeer*, which is a borrowed word, refers to special codes which are used among certain group(s) of people for the purpose of enabling secret communication and converting pieces of information where ordinary written or spoken language is difficult or even impossible. Besides, this term is repeatedly used in making some unwanted T.V. or computer programs disappear. Nevertheless, the context is actually the key to determine which *tashfeer* is meant. In this respect, Homeidi (2004:16) stresses that "to translate from a language into another, without any support from the context, the translation will get stuck". This is because there is no straightforward word-for-word substitution for the term and the literal meaning does not help.

To further illustrate the English translational occurrence(s) of this term, let us consider the following example:

"One tactic used by activists in the prisons was to slash a suspect's face with a razor blade (*tashfir*), thus humiliating the individual, rendering him easy to identify, and hindering his possible future action" (Be'er and'Abdel-Jawad,1994:159).

The translation of the term *tashfir* here shows that it has no appropriate and ready-made equivalent in English because it is a culture-bound term. Therefore, the translation strategy used here is of paraphrase, which gives explanation of the meaning of *tashfeer* in the text. However, the translation, in question, is not quite accurate in the sense that it does not provide the method or the way of approaching the internal informant and inflicting *tashfeer* on him. Mohammed `Areidi (May 3, 2006), points out that "this type of torture occurs when the informant has already been identified," and he adds, "It takes place when that informant passes through the lanes of the rooms in the prison. Usually an expert political prisoner keeps a number of *shafrat* (blades) in a place in his mouth and throws them suddenly and skillfully causing some cuts on the face of the passing informant who is not prepared for this act". Furthermore, this punishment aims at uncovering the informant through the sign of the inflicted cuts.

With respect to translating this term which is used in the Palestinian community, a translator should know a lot about its cultural associations. As a result, the researcher thinks that in addition to paraphrasing, the strategy of compensation may be a proper one because in this strategy the translator can supply the missing information. Otherwise, the translation will be inferior to the original term. The strategy of compensation is used when a linguistic element in the SL does not have an equivalent in the TL. On the other hand, it is used when that element is translated incompletely.

tashfeer (تشفير), for example, can make the point. *Tashfeer* is a neologism that does not have an appropriate reference in English. The transfer of its meaning into English involves a degree of loss. In order to compensate for this semantic loss, the translator is required to transmit the meaning of such a neologism through another means such as a commentary or a footnote. The following extract can be used as an illustration:

"وإذا لم يتعاطى المعتقل معهم يقومون بتهديده ومعاقبته... والتهديد بالتشفير، أي ضربه بالشفرة في وجهه." (<http://www.palestine-info.info//arabic/books/other/omlaa.htm>)

Here, if the translator renders *tashfeer* (تشفير) as just ضربه بالشفرة في وجهه (slash his face with a razor blade), it will be regarded as incomplete, and so, the translator is required to supply the missing information about such a cultural term. That is, patriotic prisoners slash traitors with knives and shaving razors to make them identifiable in Israeli jails.

tariq iltifafi /təri:q iltifæfi/

طريق التفافي

The expression طريق (road) in Arabic indicates a paved way which is designed to be used. For Ibn Manthour (1997), *iltifafi* is derived from the verb (التف), which means *gathered, or went about itself*. Then, the infinitive *iltifafi* has developed to denote a type of encirclement movements (Al-Jubeili:1999).

In the first Intifada, this expression was ascribed to the above infinitive to refer to the roads which the occupier opened and paved under the claim of avoiding friction between the Jewish settlers and the Palestinians. Such roads bypassed Palestinian cities, villages and towns to link the settlers with their colonies in Palestine. So to speak, the term had been given a new connotation, in that *tariq iltifafi* had not been basically opened to encircle

Palestinian cities, but rather to avoid passing through their main roads. As a result, and funded by the U.S.A., the occupation forces confiscated thousands of dunums of the Palestinian land to accomplish those roads (Hamed:39). Occasionally, those roads cut through some rural and urban areas, and so made it inconvenient for Palestinians trying to get to destinations on the other sides of the roads, making the need for a number of detours necessary.

In the second Intifada, this neologism has referred to the roads which Palestinian citizens used, as a result of the closure of Palestinian cities, to avoid Israeli roadblocks set up on the main roads to those cities. Besides, Palestinians, sometimes, use another equivalent for *iltifafi* which is *laffeh* that implies the same semantic connotation of *iltifafi*, as the following quotation shows:

"After that we went for a ride, *Laffeh*, in the car with my cousins to Bethlehem. There were a lot of people screaming and singing in the streets in a loud voice like crazy ones" (Abu Farha, 2001, journal entry 5).

It is noticeable that the term *laffeh* has been used on its own, with no translational description or explanation, which according to Baker (1992:34) depends upon the readers who must have access to the neologism in question. Likewise, in Jericho, a taxi driver expresses the way he usually avoids the Israeli roadblocks and checkpoints. Using another new term for *iltifafi*, he says that

Last week, Palestinians built a crude dirt road that cuts across the ditch, allowing them to bypass two Israeli guard posts. "So now I'll use the '*secret route*'. He eased his cab over the ditch and across a cauliflower field, entering Jericho without a problem (Hammer,2001 :24).

This English **Newsweek** text was rendered into Arabic as

وفي الأسبوع الماضي بنى الفلسطينيون طريقا وعرا بدائيا يقطع الخندق ويسمح لهم بتفادي نقطتي حراسة إسرائيليتين. يقول سائق تكسي فلسطيني: وهكذا سأستخدم الآن الطريق "السري". ثم قاد سيارته بعناية فوق الخندق وعبر حقول القرنبيط، ودخل أريحا دون مشكلة.
(Arabic Issue of **Newsweek**, Hammer, 2001:10)

To draw a note, the expressions (*bypass*, *laffeh*, *secret route*, and *dirt or mud road*) are all variants of *tariq iltifafi*. However, the variety of these nominations could reflect some geographical differences in the region. That is, in Jericho, the taxi driver termed *iltifafi* as a 'secret route' while in Bethlehem, it was termed as *laffeh*, and so on. Likewise, the following is an example of how the term الشارع الالتفافي in the Arabic source text is transferred into English, the TL:

"وليد عبد القادر عليان صبيح قتلته القوات الإسرائيلية بإطلاق نار كثيف على سيارته على الشارع الالتفافي قرب الخضر. وهو من كتائب شهداء الأقصى (فتح) وكان مطلوباً منذ أكثر من عامين" (http://www.phrmg.org/aqsa/ar_Jun02.htm)

"Walid Abdel-Qader Elayan Sbeih was killed by Israeli forces at the by-pass road near Al-Khader, by heavy gun-fire at his car. He was member of the Al-Aqsa Brigades (Fateh) and 'wanted' by Israel for more than two years" (<http://www.phrmg.org/aqsa/jun2002.htm>).

Another example that shows the misrepresentation of *tariq iltifafi* can be seen in the following Arabic 2001 Annual Report of ARIJ (Applied Research Institute in Jerusalem):

"واقْتلاع أكثر من 300 ألف شجرة وتقطيع أوصال الضفة والقطاع من خلال الحواجز العسكرية والطرق الالتفافية" (<http://www.arij.org/Annual%202001/Annual%20arabic/index.htm>).

The excerpt has been translated into English, in the same report, as

"And uprooting of trees, and strict restrictions on mobility through military checkpoints and closures" (<http://www.arij.org/Annual%202001/introduction.htm>).

It is noticeable that the underlined SL neologism has imprecisely been rendered as *closures*. Seemingly, the translator must have tried to use a

general word to represent الطرق الالتفافية in English. However, this does not work out with the contextual meaning of تقطيع أوصال الضفة والقطاع (restrict mobility in the West Bank and Gaza) because these Palestinian bypass roads are meant to make mobility somehow possible. Referentially speaking, *closures* is not, at all, an equivalent to الطرق الالتفافية.

Again, rendering (شارع/طريق التفافي) as merely (*bypass road*) is a common formal equivalence which would create little effect on the target readers. Furthermore, in rendering this term, it is important that the translators clarify which bypass road is meant, especially because the same term is used by Israeli settlers and Palestinian citizens, too. In this regard, Khalil (2004) suggests the expression طريق مخصصة للإسرائيليين as a replacement for the term *tariq iltifafi*.

In order to avoid the incongruity in the translation of this neologism, Saraireh (2001:18) believes that "the translator should make sure which meaning is intended in the SL text, that the matter should not be left to the reader's deduction, as long as this is not aimed at in the SL text".

tajreef /tədʒri:f/

تجريف

It is an Arabic expression that is derived from the root *jarafa* (جرف) which means to *take away something in full*. However, *al-jarf* (الجرف) denotes removing something from the ground (Ibn Manthour,1997). *Attajreef* (التجريف) is the infinitive of the verb *jarrafa* (جرّف) and the stress here is indicative of the exaggeration in doing something, i.e., exaggeration in removing something.

In the two Intifadas, Palestinians who have experienced this act of *tajreef* believe that the occupier's main objective is to punish them collectively for the Intifada. Hamed (11,12) explains that

It refers to scouraging (*sic*) of earth by the enemy's military vehicles particularly bulldozers. They bulldoze roads, devastate agricultural land and demolish homes in a desperate attempt to provide protection to soldiers.

Hence, it is evident that the neologism has kept its Arabic propositional meaning in the two Intifadas.

Like other linguistic neologisms, *tajreef* has been repeatedly put to use in the two Intifadas because it does serve a purpose and a need. Let us take these examples where it has appeared:

1. "على صعيد آخر، واصلت قوات الاحتلال أمس، وخلال الأيام الثلاثة الماضية، عمليات التجريف الخاصة بإقامة جدار الفصل العنصري" (عطاونة:2004).

This news clipping has been rendered as

"The Israeli troops continued razing the agricultural lands and uprooting trees in Deir El 'Asal village southwest of Hebron city for the Segregation Wall" (ARIJ,2004).

2. "تبرعك بمبلغ أربعة دولارات لإعادة زراعة شجرة أو بمبلغ 155 دولار لإعادة زراعة دونم أرض سيساعدنا في وقف عملية تجريف الأراضي الفلسطينية التي تقوم بها إسرائيل" (<http://www.welfareassociation.org/arabic/greener.htm>).

This text has appeared in the English version of the same source as

"By donating \$4 to replant 1 fruit tree or \$155 to replant 1 dunum, you can help stop Israeli deforestation and clearing of Palestinian lands" (<http://www.welfareassociation.org/english/greener.htm>).

The above renditions of (تجريف) as (*razing, deforestation and clearing*), respectively, show variations of the target language which may affect communicating the meaning the translator aims to convey. For the English

speaker, the word *razing*, as defined in the **Webster's New American Dictionary** (1995) means "destroying to the ground", whereas the same dictionary defines *deforestation* as "the action or process of clearing of forests". With respect to the second rendition, the literal meaning of 'deforestation' does not highlight the message of *tajreef*, i.e., these lands are not forests. On the contrary, they are agricultural lands which are considered as the family's main income source. Whether they are forested or not, the destruction produces an effect upon both the soil and the trees. If backtranslated, it would appear as

بالتبرع بأربعة دولارات لإعادة زراعة شجرة واحدة أو بمبلغ 155 دولار لإعادة زراعة دونم واحد، فإنك تساعد في وقف العملية الإسرائيلية لإزالة وقطع الأشجار من الأراضي الفلسطينية (Researcher's translation).

Of course, إزالة وقطع الأشجار is not a formal equivalent to the neologism in point because *attajreef* does not only include clearing and removing trees. On the contrary, it also destroys the fertile soil of the Palestinian land.

However, applied to the destructive facts of *tajreef* on the ground, the first rendition (*razing*) seems to be more accurate in this case. This is proved in using '*razing*' when referring to not just any lands, but farmlands, as in the following extract from **Al-Jazeera** news:

"Israel's policy is to continue the assassinations and razing of farmlands and confiscation of territories" (News: Arab World, Nov. 22, 2004).

To summarize, the researcher thinks that the more effective equivalent to *tajreef* could be *razing* as it refers to the complete destruction of the farmlands. In fact, to convey the true sense of such a word, additional clarification in a form of a footnote, or a reference, should be considered.

hisar /hiṣa:r/

حصار

This term is derived from *hasara* حصر which means to confine something, encircle or enclose it (Ibn Manthour, 1997). Long ago, this term was used to refer to the enclosure of a city or a fortification by armed forces to take it over (Al-Jamal,2004). To siege the enemies means to enclose them and cut off supplies from them, too (Al-Jubeili,1999). The meaning of *hisar* (lit. siege) has developed later to include another type known as 'peaceful *hisar*' which is either an economic or interventionist measure taken by a country or a number of countries against another country or countries to force it/them to comply with a certain commitment (Al-Kiyali,1994). Hence, we notice that *enclosure* is not a pre-condition for *hisar* (siege), as is the case in the military *hisar*, or according to the lexical meaning of the word.

In the two Intifadas, it has been used to mean

The closure and blockade of Palestinian cities and barring all access to them, often in the wake of painful strikes or attacks by the mujahideen, and also on the eve of Jewish holidays for fear of armed attacks by the mujahideen. (Hamed:16,17)

The *hisar* (closure) could be very exclusive to a specific place. A case in point is the closure, or blockade, which was imposed on the late Palestinian President Yasser Arafat's headquarters in Ramallah, which was supported by the U.S.A. to force Arafat to comply with the occupier's dictates (Awwad,2004:36,38). Another case is the *hisar* of An-Najah National University in 1992, which Haberman (1992:3) describes as a *siege* when he says, "A four-day siege came to an end at a university in the occupied West Bank city of Nablus. The army lifted its encirclement of the An-Najah University campus".

As an Intifada neologism, *hisar* has appeared and been used in some sources, such as the following samples:

1. "تعرضت محافظة بيت لحم إلى خمسة (sic) اجتياحات متتالية من قبل الجيش الإسرائيلي حيث رزحت المحافظة تحت نظام منع التجول والحصار المشدد" (ARIJ: annual report 2002).

The text is translated as

"Bethlehem governorate was subjected to five consecutive re-occupations by the Israeli army. The governorate was under siege all throughout the year and was under curfew" (same report translated into English).

2. "الحصار وحظر التجول اللذان يمنعان الفلسطينيين من التنقل في الضفة الغربية وقطاع غزة" (PHRMG, Sept 29,2003).

"Closure and curfew still prevent thousands of Palestinians to move freely within the West Bank and Gaza Strip." (English version of the same source).

3. The term has been transferred as in, "He began with sections from *Halat Hisar* (state of siege)" (Elbendary,2002).

The above translations of the term *hisar* show some discrepancy regarding the accuracy of the translation of the term. It is either rendered as (siege) or as (closure). Of course, there is a difference between these two renditions of *hisar*. According to **Webster's New American Dictionary** (1995), "Siege states the placing of an army around or before a fortified place to force its surrender". Likewise, *siege* in **Chambers 21st Century Dictionary** (1999) denotes "the act of surrounding a fort with troops, cutting off its supplies and subjecting it to persistent attack with the intention of forcing its surrender". Besides, other dictionaries have the same definition of the word in point. This listed meaning of (siege) helps pinpoint the imprecise translation of the first extract because our

knowledge of the governorate of Bethlehem tells us that it is not a fort or a specific area that has been totally besieged. Moreover, the *hisar* cases of An-Najah University campus and of president Arafat's headquarters are viewed as (siege) because of the nature of the two places; two specific 'strongholds', so to speak. Therefore, *hisar* in the first extract may be translated as (closure), not as (siege).

The point the researcher would like to stress is that the translation of حصار (*hisar*) in the first example as *siege* is imprecise. Though the concept of *hisar* (siege/closure) in the two Intifadas suggests military connotations; it does not include the full encirclement of certain towns and cities because the vast, wild and mountainous areas remain without watch due to the transportation difficulties there. Thus, the *closure* is confined to the main crossing points and roads, or to the common ones between cities and towns. With this in view, a proper translation of حصار in the first extract could be *closure*, not *siege*.

hajiz /hædʒiz/

حاجز

It is a derivational Arabic term. Referentially speaking, *hajiz* refers to a divider between two things or between fighters (Ibn Manthour,1997). The term also shows the inability to reach something because of that divider (Al-Jubeili,1999). During the two Intifadas, it has been used to refer to the checkpoints set up by the occupation forces on roads to deter the movement of Palestinians from one place to another. However, this movement may be forbidden when the passenger is not allowed to cross the *hajiz*.

The term in question has been used interchangeably with *makhsoum* by Palestinians. To illustrate the translational inappropriateness of this term, let us consider the following occurrences of *hajiz*:

1. The naming of a child "Hajez" (literally meaning checkpoint) is unlikely to happen anywhere else in the world but here in the occupied West Bank of Palestine (sic) the name could soon become as common as Mohammad or Mustafa (The Palestine Monitor, 2003).

This story of naming a newly born child as *hajiz* has occurred in other places in Palestine, as in

"This is a true story," he insists "Three weeks ago, a woman gave birth to a boy at a checkpoint outside Kafr Sur village near Tulkarm. She called him Hajez." *Hajez* is "checkpoint" in Arabic (Usher,2001).

2. My children's Arabic vocabulary was soon to be enriched with the new words: *hajez* (check points), *mahsoom* (road blocks) *Dafa* (West Bank) and *hawiya* (identity card which one must show at every checkpoint) (Odetalla,2003).

3. "But the Israeli Army has sealed the highway and adjoining roads with barricades, turning the once routine journey into a nightmare" (Hammer,2001).

Quotation number (3) is taken from **Newsweek** and it is translated into Arabic as

"لكن الجيش الإسرائيلي أقفل الطريق السريع وضم الطرقات إليه بالحواجز فحول ما كان رحلة روتينية إلى كابوس".
(Hammer, 2001:10).

Another **Newsweek** quotation in which *blockades* is translated into حواجز (*hawajiz*) is

4. "The military has thrown up checkpoints and blockades on highways across the West Bank" (Hammer,2001:24).

"لقد نصب الجيش نقاط تفتيش وحواجز حصار على الطرق الرئيسية عبر الضفة الغربية"
(Hammer,2001:10).

5. "Suddenly it bottlenecks, then halts. "Hajiz," shouts a taxi driver coming from the opposite direction. Checkpoint" (Wales, 2005).
6. Destruction and barriers, the biggest and deepest holes in the torn-up road I have yet seen: this is Beit Iba *roadblock*, which the Israelis call a "checkpoint" – what a misuse of a word! No words can convey the situation here – we are in acres of mud amid long lines of waiting people who have to carry all their shopping, baggage, children, and babies-in-arms for hours at a stretch. There is no possibility of putting them down in the deep mud and water. (Gwynne, 2004).

The above examples show that *hajiz* is sometimes translated differently. The researcher thinks that it is inappropriately rendered as *checkpoint* in the first and the fifth extracts. This rendition is similar to the rendition of the term *makhsoum* though its contextual use does not imply the meaning of *checkpoint*. The other translations from English into Arabic are (*barricade*, *blockade*, *roadblock*). These three translations actually are meant to prove, and provide, the appropriate translation of the term in point, as they refer to "any obstruction of passage or progress with a barrier or a barricade" (Stein,1973). Moreover, the use of the Arabic conjunction 'و' (and) in the Arabic translation of quotation number (4) makes the distinction between نقاط التفتيش (checkpoints) and الحواجز (blockades) clear; i.e., a checkpoint is something and a blockade is something else.

This argument aims at elaborating the inaccuracy of the translation of *hajiz* into English. The problem here emerges from the fact that the translator either lacks the knowledge and experience of what *hajiz* actually implies or that s/he depends on what s/he hears from other users, i.e., others' experience, or that s/he reflects his/her own ideology in the translation which s/he gives.

With this in view, the common rendition of *hajiz* as a mere *checkpoint* is quite imprecise. It could be better represented with a *blockade* or a *barricade*.

'ameel /ʕəmi:l/

عميل

According to Ibn-Manthour (1997), this word is derived from the verb (عمل) *`amila* (worked), and is regarded as a form of intensiveness that refers to the muchness of work. Referentially, the root-word عَمَلَ (*`amila*) means: *to do something for someone*. But to do something for oneself is اعتمَلَ (*`ia`tamala*), not عمل (*`amila*). For Al-Bustani, Karam, et al (1992), Arabs have recently derived (ameel) عميل from فعيل, a form of exaggeration that refers to the muchness of work in commerce. Also, for Az-Zayyat (1989), Arabs used this term to refer to *anyone dealing with others in any affair other than just commerce*. In the two Intifadas, this term has been used in this last sense, with some exclusiveness to someone who betrays his/her nation and offers information to the occupier; i.e, *Al-`Ameel* deals with the occupation authority in this regard. Similarly, as to Al-Barghouthi (2001), it is commonly used to refer to the *traitor* who works as a spy for the advantage of the enemies. In the two Intifadas, it has been widely used and heard in demonstrations, as in

عملا (`umalaa`) ما بدنا نشوف

عالمكشوف عالمكشوف

Openly, we do not want to see *`umalaa`* (traitors). (Researcher's translation)

In the two Intifadas, the neologism *amil/ameel* has been commonly circulated among Palestinians, and thus among other users, especially

translators. It has often been referred to as *collaborator*, as in the following examples:

1. A broader interpretation has been applied to the term *collaborator* by different Palestinian organizations. "They speak of an '*amil* (collaborator)" (Be`er and Abdul-Jawad, 1994:7).
2. The term *amil* has been used as a rendition of *collaborator* as in the following text, taken from **Newsweek**:
"A bomb, planted by a *collaborator*, exploded the public phone Hardan was using and killed him as a result" (Hammer, 2001:14).

This text is translated in the Arabic version of **Newsweek** as

"وقد انفجرت قنبلة، زرعا عميل، في الهاتف العمومي الذي كان حردان يستخدمه وقتل فوراً".
(Hammer,2001:14).

3. "But he, too, was set free, stripped of his prestige and trapped with the ignominy of being called an *ameel* (collaborator)" (Immanuel,1990).
4. "The "armed collaborator" (*al-`amil al-musallah*) accompanied Israeli Special Forces to identify the houses of wanted activists" (<http://www.hrw.org/reports/2001/pa/isrpa1101-04.htm>).
5. Further, the Unified National Leadership/Command, and other political groups recognize the categorical definition of *`ameel* as an "intelligence agent, who provides information to the Israeli security services, participates in security operations or helps to recruit others"(PHRMG, 2001, definition of collaboration section).

However, the neologism *`ameel* also appears in different contexts and situations. Ramadani (2004) gives a different translation of the same word, in almost a similar situation in Iraq: "Ya Allawi ya jaban, ya *ameel* il-Amercaan. Sheel idak, sheel idak. Hatha shaabak mai reedak!". Here, Allawi (an Iraqi ex-premier) is being called as a coward and an American *agent*, with totally different connotations. He is being referred to as an unwelcome representative of America in Iraq. In another field, Siddiqi

(2002) presents *`ameel* as (a managing trustee): "An *Ameel* (managing trustee) receives fees for investment services".

The translations of the term *`ameel* in the examples above show that the superordinate word *collaborator* is frequently used as a representation of the neologism in question. According to **The Random House Dictionary of the English Language** (1973) and to **Merriam-Webster Dictionary** (1995), *collaborator* is derived from (to collaborate) which means "to co-operate, usually willingly, esp. with an enemy occupying one's country". This definition of collaborator creates a misunderstanding for the English reader about the actual connotations of *`amil*. In fact, the use of the word *willingly* in the definition deviates from the sense of this term because, in almost all cases, intelligence agents or traitors were obliged to cooperate under various types of *Isqat*. In an interview with Kamel Jabr, Commissioner of Political Guidance in Jenin, on May 17, 2006, he asserts that *muta`awin* (collaborator) is the term which is regrettably used to replace *`ameel*." He adds, "Unfortunately, this 'beautified' term is more frequently used, even by us in and outside Israeli jails, than *`ameel*". In another interview on May 10, 2006, Ziad Ajaj, who spent over ten years in prison before and during the first Intifada, points out that *collaborator* and *`ameel* are interchangeably used in prison because what matters is not the word itself, but the attached connotations it is loaded with". Thus, the rendition of *`ameel* as *collaborator* is considered problematic as it does not give the actual meaning of the term.

Similarly, using *intelligence agent* as an alternative for *`ameel*, as in the last example above, might not be so accurate. It refers to "someone who acts for, or manages the business affairs of another or others"

(Hanks:1971). *Intelligence agent* also indicates "a person secretly employed in espionage for a government"(http://dictionary.reference.com/browse/intelligence%20 agent).

Although they show some similarity in what an *`ameel* normally does, such definitions include general words, such as *employed*, *manages* and *helps*, which makes the rendition *intelligence agent* be perceived as neutral and common. These general words create a sense that *العميل al-`ameel* enlists himself without being pressed, threatened or blackmailed by the occupation authority although in many cases such *عملاء `umalaa`* are forced to be recruited. The most common way which Israeli intelligence agents use in blackmailing Palestinian victims is through videotaping them in compromising sexual acts.

In the same way, the following text highlights the linguistic and ideological manipulations of the terms used:

The Shabiba, Palestinian national teenagers, went on a hunt for *informers*, to use the language of the camp, following a recent army raid in Dehaishe refugee camp; they turned up 20-30 people who were accused of cooperating with the Israeli authorities (Immanuel,1990).

Here, the infinitive phrase (*to use the language of the camp*) reveals that the language of the camp is not often used outside it. Moreover, the text shows the closed shades of the situational meaning between (traitor and informant), i.e., the latter is a hyponym of the first.

One way of verifying the accuracy of the translated text is through backtranslation. It aims at showing "a substantial discrepancy with the original text" (Newmark,1981:146). Emmanuel's previous text will be an illustration to highlight the inappropriateness of rendering *`ameel* with *collaborator*.

Back translation (of example 3 above) from English:

إلا أنه تم إطلاق سراحه، وتجريده من هيبته وإيقاعه في شرك العار لكونه يُدعى متعاوناً
(Researcher's backtranslation).

In fact, the translator attempts to reduce the gravity of the crime of being *`ameel* by rendering it into (collaborator). In order to do so, the translator consecutively mentions all the three procedures that have been taken to uncover that kind of person, without specifying the subject(s) of the verbs. Moreover, he clearly appears to manage the context where (collaborator) is used, in that the translator uses لكونه يُدعى (for being called) which creates an emotional force on the readers. That is, *being called a collaborator* is not a crime by itself that is worth all these procedures. Therefore, *collaborator* is a manipulated equivalent used to create an impact or effect on the audience rather than provide an equivalent meaning.

`Amil can be properly translated as *traitor*, as it refers to a person who betrays his country, cause, friends, etc. According to **Merriam Webster's Online Dictionary**, *traitor* is used to refer to "one who betrays another's trust or is false to an obligation or duty". *Traitors* are implanted in Palestinian cities, towns, villages, etc. Through their betrayal, such traitors work against the Palestinian interest. They play an important role in guiding the attacks of the Israeli occupation army that has killed many Palestinian resistance members. Therefore, the researcher believes that a possible rendering of Hammer's previous text when back-translated from Arabic will be as follows:

A bomb, planted by a *traitor*, exploded the public phone Hardan was using and killed him as a result. (Researcher's backtranslation)

On the basis of the above discussion, this rendition of *`ameel* as a *traitor* could be an acceptable equivalent.

In the **Oslo Accords**, the term *`ameel* is beautified as "a Palestinian who has maintained contacts with the Israeli authorities" (www.phrmg.org/arabic/monitor/sep2001-law.htm). This reference does not only suit the above definition and use of collaborator, but it is also open to include other collaborators, such as land dealers and traders, as well.

Source text (English):

"Palestinians who have maintained contacts with the Israeli authorities will not be subjected to acts of harassment" (*The Oslo Interim Agreement*, 1995, Article xvi section).

Target text (Arabic):

لن يتعرض الفلسطينيون الذين كانوا على اتصال بالسلطات الإسرائيلية لأية أعمال مضايقة، الخ".
(<http://www.phrmg.org/arabic/monitor2001/sep2001-law.htm>)

It is obvious here that in this document the users evade the explicit term, and prefer covering its meaning. Although *collaborator* is implicitly recognizable in this definition, it is purposefully meant to include all those who have maintained contacts with the Israelis, irrespective of the nature of these contacts.

With this in view, the English term, which means *`ameel*, is not similar to (collaborator) because of the different associations attached to each. *`Ameel* is negatively used while *collaborator* (*muta`awin*) is positively used in Arabic. Also, it is because of this negative connotation that the Arab Bank announces a reward for a more beautified term to replace *`ameel*.

To conclude, the rendition of the term *`ameel* as just *collaborator* is euphemistically done. It gives an inaccurate representation and does not reflect the factual associative feelings and connotations related to it in the

Palestinian community. Therefore, the researcher suggests *traitor* as an alternative.

fatrat at-tahdi`ah /fətrət əttəhdiaə/

فترة التهدنة

A compound expression of two words; *fatra*, denoting *time*, is used in its lexical meaning. *Tahdi`ah* is derived from the verb *hadda`a* (هدأ) in which the stress indicates transitivity, i.e., the act of *tahdi`ah* (calming) does not occur spontaneously. Also, the verb *hada`a* (هدأ) refers to the vanishing of escalation and to the prevalence of silence and coolness (Ibn Manthour,1997). In addition, it denotes feeling, as in هدأ غضبه (to calm down), in reference to the internal heat which accompanies one's feelings when he is angry.

This neologism has interchangeably circulated along with *at-tabrid* in the two Intifadas. It indicates the need to mutually reduce the intensity of clashes or escalation activities initiated by the two fighting forces. This is, of course, a lexical use of the term because calming these activities or incidents does not lead to a true تبريد (*cooling*), but to a reduction of the resistance activities and the aggressive attacks of the Israeli forces.

The following examples show how the term has been dealt with by translators:

1. "All Palestinian factions had accepted an unconditioned (Tahdi'a) or cessation of attacks against Israel" (TigerHawk, 2005, para.2).
2. "As a sign of their seriousness, the heads of Hamas have already quietly given assurances that they will unconditionally extend the *tahdi`ah*, **the lull in attacks on Israel**" (Yaari, 2005, para.1).
3. "It's not an official cease-fire, and Palestinians prefer to call the agreement *tahdi`ah* (calmness)" (Abu Toameh,2005).

Tahdi`ah`'s representations in the above examples by *cessation of attacks against Israel*, *lull in attacks on Israel* and *calmness* are inadequate. As for the first and the second renditions, *lull in attacks/cessation of attacks on Israel*, anyone can notice that they are not accurate because they are manipulated, and so deviated from the principles of *tahdi`ah*. That is, the *tahdi`ah* should be bilateral, in that both sides are to reduce or stop the attacks, and not just one side. *Calmness*, on the other hand, is a neutral rendition which, to an English speaker, means "an absence of agitation or excitement" (<http://dictionary.reference.com/search?q=calmness>). This definition does not apply to the conditions of *tahdi`ah* in Palestine because it should be based on bilateral agreement which is missing in the given definition. Also, *at-tahdi`ah* mainly suggests the reduction of mutual attacks and excitements, but not their absence.

To summarize, the representation of *tahdi`ah* with *lull/cessation in attacks on Israel* distorts the actual sense of the term. A better rendering of *fatrat(tahdi`ah)* might be "cooling off (period)" which appears in **Mitchel`s Report** as

"على السلطة الفلسطينية وحكومة إسرائيل أن تعتمدا فترة تهدئة ذات مغزى وتطبقا المزيد من تدابير بناء الثقة".

(www.aljazeera.net/news/archive/archive?Archived=9318).

This quotation has been translated into English as

"The PA and GOI should work together to establish a meaningful "cooling off period" and implement additional confidence building measures" (Mitchel Report,2001).

This appropriateness is backed by the definition of *cooling off period* which appears as "a period arranged by agreement to allow for negotiation and an abatement of tension between disputing parties" (<http://dictionary.reference.com/browse/cooling%20off%20period>).

Level Two:

It includes *mad`oum*, *ikhtiraq* and *mudahamat*.

mad`oum /mədʕu:m/

مدعوم

This term, according to Ibn Manthour (1997), is derived from the root دعم (*da`ama*) which carries different semantic shades. For instance, دعم الشيء means *to prevent something from collapsing*, and دعم فلانا means *to help and to strengthen someone*; however, the expression دعامة القوم refers to *their head*, and الدعم (*adda`m*) is the *power and money*.

In the first Intifada, the term denoted he who had good connections with high status officials of the occupation; however, in the second Intifada, it has referred to he who has the same connections, but with officials of the Palestinian authority. Likewise, *mad`oum* has been used interchangeably with the term واصل (*wasel*) as they both indicate the same sense of having good connections with high officials. Thereupon, we notice the relation between the new term and its lexical meaning. That is, *mad`oum* is the passive participle of دعم (*da`am*), and, thus, his connection with the officials reinforces his position and quest. With this in view, the researcher suggests that "well-connected" might be a translation for the neologism in question.

ikhtiraq /ixtira:q/

اختراق

Same as other words, *ikhtiraq* carries different shades of meaning depending on the context. For Ibn Manthour (1997), it refers to *making one's way through a land, not through a normal road*, and اخترق الدار means *to fulfill his needs through it*, and so اخترق القوم means *to pass among them*.

This neologism has been used in the two Intifadas in the sense of the enemy's ability to penetrate through groups of resistance, either directly or indirectly. In the second Intifada, *ikhtiraq* has got a new meaning: "to slow the advance of the enemy's military vehicles into camps and cities of Palestine" (Hamed:20). Here, some relation between the connotational and denotational meanings of the term can be noticed, in that both of them refer to passing through a place which is not prepared for passing. In the first Intifada, *ikhtiraq* used to refer to the existence of unwanted members among resistance groups, whereas in the second Intifada, it has implied uninterestedness in seeing the occupation military vehicles in Palestinian cities and camps.

Recently, the term has entered the new field of information websites. It is used as an indicative of the person who insists on getting into the web page of an institution, a company, etc, aiming at destroying it such as the *ikhtiraq* cases of Palestinian and Israeli web sites.

mudahamat /mudæhəmət/

مداهمات

In the two Intifadas, this term has been used to describe the operations which Israeli occupation soldiers have been carrying out in the Palestinian cities, towns, villages and refugee camps. Most often, the occupation soldiers use different claims to make arrests, attacks and to frighten the Palestinians. These soldiers usually use different weapons in their operations such as flash bombs, grenades, live ammunition, rubber bullets, bulldozers, helicopter gunships and F-16 bombers.

It is noticeable that the term has been used in the two Intifadas with the verb form دَاهَمَ (*daahama*) instead of دَهَمَ (*dahama*)*. However, the first derivation indicates a sense of participation of another force in the operation of مَدَاهِمَات (*mudahamat*), and so it does not fit the meaning of the term because اَلدَّهْم (*ad-dahm*) operations are usually carried out by one party, the Israeli soldiers. In this context, it is more appropriate to say دَهَم (*dahm*) than مَدَاهِمَات (*mudahamat*).

3. Borrowings

Borrowing is another common type of neologisms. It is also considered as a major aspect of language change. In principle, languages borrow from each other under different circumstances, especially when they lack the right words for certain items or objects. As McMahon (1999:201) notes, "speakers may have to refer to some unfamiliar object or concept for which they have no word in their own language". Most often, speakers borrow words and do not wait for translations of these words to come. Borrowings, then, are

words which originated in one language (or dialect), but which have come to be used in another, even by people who do not speak the 'lending' language. These borrowings are very often assimilated to the phonological and morphological structure of the new host language (Radford, *et al.*, 1999:256).

In translation, borrowings can be annoying, and so lead to misunderstanding if used for the first time without any reference. This is because, as Newmark (1988:147) points out, their "meanings are least dependent on their contexts". Due to the sense of need and to the contacts with other languages in the two Intifadas, Palestinian Arabic has added new

* dahm(دهم) as a noun is used in Iraq by Iraqi newsmedia.

words to its lexicon from other languages, especially Hebrew. Consider the following examples to see how they are translated into English:

Level One :

It includes: *makhsoum* and *al-fora*

makhsoum/mahsoum /mæxʂu:m/ /məhʂu:m/ مخصوم

This term is borrowed from Hebrew into Palestinian Arabic. It mainly signifies the military roadblock set up by the occupation soldiers. Palestinians have been using it in the two Intifadas more frequently than the word *hajiz*. In Hebrew, it is used to mean a small *hajiz* (checkpoint) or a temporary fence (Qoujman,1970:420).

The researcher argues that, in the two Intifadas, *makhsoum* has been used to refer to a "roadblock set up by the occupation soldiers to prevent Palestinians from free movement between the cities, villages and towns (Hamed:16). A large number of Palestinians pronounce the word with (خ =kh), and so it appears as *makhsoum*. Seemingly, this is due to the influence of the occupier's language, or to the similarity with the Arabic word *خُصْم* (*khosm*), which refers to the *corner* or the *side*. However, both Hebrew *mahsoum* and Arabic *khosm* share in blockade and prevention (Al-Bustani,1992).

It is probably one of the terms that are widely used by Palestinians in their daily activities since it has become part of their daily life. Therefore, it has emerged as a neologism in English in the two Intifadas. The following are some extracts that show the use and the translation of *makhsoum* in English:

1. "Apparently, I have been speaking Hebrew since I got here and I did not know it. I assumed *mahsoum* was Palestinian for checkpoint" (Shalakany, 2002).
2. "Yet, in spite of the seriousness of the trial, Barghouti was still able to laugh and make people laugh when he said," How many women have given birth at checkpoint? Some even ended up naming their children 'makhsom' (*roadblock*) "(<http://www.amin.org/eng/uncat/2003/sept/sept29.html>).
3. Nina Myoret, from *Mahsoum* Watch, an Israeli organization that sends Israeli volunteers into the West Bank to monitor the conditions at checkpoints, says that ' checkpoints do not stop terror directed at Israelis, they create terror for Palestinians'. She concluded that checkpoints are a means through which cruelty and violence is directed on Palestinians. (Anonymous,2003).
4. "Ok, so the makhsoum obviously does not "close down" the area for "security" reasons. It was an Israeli soldier who told me how to get round his *check-point*" (Shalakany,2002).
5. "If Bashir agrees to leave the house, he asks if he is going to cross the checkpoint (Al-Mahsoum)" (Masarweh & Salhout,2002).

It is essential to state that in English the word (checkpoint) does not transfer much of the original meaning of *makhsoum*. In the **Random House Dictionary of the English language** (1973), it refers to "a place along a road, border, etc., where vehicles or travelers are stopped for inspection". Likewise, according to **Chambers 21st Century Dictionary** (1999), (checkpoint) refers to "a place at a frontier, where vehicles are stopped and travel documents officially checked". In the same way, the following are cases and incidents which are just samples of many that reveal the misinterpretation of *makhsoum* as *checkpoint*:

1. Today one student, a young woman, described an ugly scene. It was raining heavily, and, along with many others, she was waiting in line at a checkpoint. Above their heads, there was a light awning, offering some protection from the weather. Suddenly, one of the soldiers - young and female, like my student - ordered everyone to form another

line away from the awning. My student said the soldier watched as people in the line became wet and angry. She seemed happy (Odeh,2005).

2. HAWARA, West Bank -- At a sandbagged military checkpoint on a bleak patch of asphalt in the West Bank, an Israeli soldier yanked 29-year-old Mohammad Yousef out of a Palestinian ambulance. When Yousef's medical papers were produced, the soldier waved them off and bellowed, "I wouldn't let you in even if you brought God here with you!"

In long lines nearby, hundreds of Palestinians on foot jammed against a narrow turnstile, each waiting to be allowed to proceed -- one by one -- through concrete lanes resembling cattle chutes. All males under the age of 30 were turned away. So were all students, male and female.



(Picture No. 4)

A Palestinian woman tries to squeeze through the turnstile at the Hawara checkpoint with her son. Sometimes as many as 5,000 Palestinians a day request permission to cross at Hawara, just south of the West Bank city of Nablus. (Molly Moore -- The Washington Post)

"Open! Open!" a chorus of angry men shouted at the armed Israeli soldiers who controlled the gates holding back the Palestinians. As a thin man with a swath of black stubble across his face squeezed through the turnstile, his 18-month-old toddler became wedged between the bars. "Open it! Open it!" he screamed, cursing at the soldiers and gripping the whimpering child by one arm. (Moore,2004).

3. An Israel Defense Forces officer and soldiers at the Beit Iba checkpoint near Nablus forced a young Palestinian on November 9 to open a violin case he was carrying and play the instrument, while local residents waited behind him in a long line. The incident was filmed by

Horit Herman-Peled, a volunteer for the women's human rights organization Makhsom Watch, and a complaint was reviewed by the regional brigade commander who conveyed to his troops the severity of the matter (Eldar,2004).



(picture No. 5)

(Eldar,2004)

In accordance with the above mentioned cases, it is important to state that rendering the term *makhsoum* as just (a checkpoint) is a distortion of facts and language. This can be proved in the translation of *mahsoum* at different sites of *makhasim* (plural of *makhsoum*). For example, at Jeet Junction, the sign ahead of the *makhsoum* is translated from Hebrew into both English and Arabic as follows:

Barrier

حاجز

Stop for inspection

توقف للتفتيش

Equally important, the two words (*barrier* and حاجز) are translations of the Hebrew term *mahsoum* as the sign shows. Generally, these cases show the different functions with which the rendered word is loaded which are different from those of the source language.

In conclusion, it is evident from the above discussion that *checkpoint* is euphemistically used to replace *makhsoum*. In fact, *checkpoint* can be a translation of the Arabic term نقطة تفتيش (*nuqtat tafteesh*). As a result, rendering it as *checkpoint* is neither accurate nor just because it deviates from the original and pragmatic sense of the term. A more accurate rendition for *makhsoum* could be *roadblock*, as it is used to halt and hinder the passage and the movement of the Palestinians from an area to another.

al-fora /əlfɔːrə/

الفورة

It is an English expression that is originally borrowed from Latin. However, it currently refers to "a place or a space for meeting or for trading. (The original etymological meaning comes from the Latin verb *ferre*, to bring—as in the sense of goods that people bring to a market.)" (<http://www.reference.com/browse/wiki/Forum>). According to **Chambers 21st Century Dictionary** (2000), "*fora* is the plural form of *forum* which refers to a place, program or publication where opinions can be expressed and openly discussed". This dictionary meaning of *fora* agrees with what Balant (2000) means in using the term *fora* when she says, "Of course, I am still your friend. I hope you did not doubt this *fora* moment". Likewise, the same meaning is suggested in "The futures *fora* Series provide a platform for chief policy-makers to share know-how and to develop strategies for new public health challenges" (<http://www.euro.who.int/futuresfora>). Similarly, in **The Oxford English Dictionary** (1970) *forum* (singular form) indicates "the public place or market place of a city. In ancient Rome the place of assembly for judicial and other public business".

In the two Intifadas, it has been used to refer to the "prisoners' leaving of their cells to an open area to take a break" (Hamed:50). This term has an

Arabic origin, as well. For Ibn Manthour (1997), the expression فورة الناس (people's *fora*) indicates their gathering in markets. Of course, this is not only close to the meaning used in the language of prisons, but also it is congruent to the meaning given in English. Nonetheless, the researcher considers that it is more probable that the term *fora* is borrowed from English because the idea of *fora* was first used in the Western prisons. In other words, *fora* was not known in the history of the Arab prisons' system. Therefore, the name (*fora*) must have been taken together with the system, without providing a suitable nomenclature in Arabic, following the patterns of other western cultural features with which the Arabs were influenced. This opinion goes in harmony with what Nazih Abou Awn (September 8, 2006), a freed political prisoner, says when commenting on the term *fora*, " I believe that *fora* is a borrowed word because it is not the word that the prison authorities use; they use the Hebrew word *tiyoul* (short picnic), instead". In fact, it is part of the idiolect of the political prisoners.

As a serious neologism, *fora* has been used in English texts that deal with the two Intifadas in Palestine. As mentioned before, it is an existing word in English that has been returned to English with a new neological meaning. The following examples show how some users and translators, in particular, deal with the term *fora*:

1. Detainees at Huwara and Kadumim Detention Centers recently declared a hunger strike in protest of their conditions of detention, in particular the fact that they have been prohibited from leaving their cells and walking outside for fresh air (*fora*) and prevented from using the toilet more than twice a day, lack of medical attention and adequate food both in quantity and quality (Addameer, 2003).
2. * "Prayers and the National Anthem are prevented during *El-Forah*.

* *Forah* takes place in a small space that is surrounded with walls and with a ceiling that prevents the entry of the sunray" (http://www.cmc-pal.com/downloads/cic_file84.doc).

3. "الطفل وائل الذي أطفأ شمعته الأولى في السجن، بدأ يعاني من ضيق تنفس واضطرابا بات في الجهاز التنفسي، ورغم ذلك رفضت إدارة السجن منح أمه ساعة إضافية في "الفورة" " (Anonymous,2004).

This text is translated as

Her son, who became one year old, suffers from pneumonia due to the crowdedness, bad ventilation, and the absence of acceptable health standards. It is important to note that Wael's mother was prevented from additional period for *Al-Forah* (<http://www.cmc-pal.com/showfactsheet.asp?download=82>).

In translating the term *fora* in the above examples, one can notice that this neologism is given a new meaning which is different from the referential literal one. In this sense, Newmark (1988:147) believes that

Newly transferred words keep only one sense of their foreign nationality; they are the words whose meanings are least dependent on their contexts. (Later, if they are frequently used, they change or develop additional senses).

The neologism *fora* is sometimes rendered with a brief explanation, which is, of course, a translational procedure for translating neologisms. However, in the first part of the second example and in the English translation of the third example which is translated from Arabic, the term *al-fora* has not been explained at all. This could be an indication that the target readers must have been familiar with it. In this concern, Choi (2006:198) points out that "the next time the word appears in the SL, the interpreter could simply use the loanword or the newly created neologism without any further explanation".

Though some explanations are provided above, as a translation of the term in point, these are still inadequate and inaccurate rendering of the SL

word. As for the translational explanation in the first extract, which suggests that detainees *walk outside for fresh air*, evidence has proved that there is no *fresh air* to breathe in *al-fora* because it is all surrounded with walls and ceilings that prevent any air stream or sunrays to pass through. Furthermore, in an interview with the freed prisoner Harbi Ajaj (Sept.10,2006), he asserts that "most of the prison's sewage water is gathered on the yard of *al-fora*". Of course, this sewage water also leaves the prisoners without any possible source for fresh air to come. Moreover, this is more illustrated in Al-Nawati`s narration (2005) of the condition of a detainee on *Al-Arabiya channel*:

تابع الشراحتة وصفه لمعيشته قائلاً و عندما يتم إخراجي يوميا مرة واحدة خارج الزنزانة فيما يعرف " بالفورة " حيث يخرج المعتقل للتمشي داخل ساحة مكشوفة السقف إلا من الأسلاك الشائكة, اخبرني الشراحتة انه يجب أن يخرج يديه من خلال فتحة في منتصف باب الزنزانة حتى يقوم السجنان بتقييدهما من خلف ظهره, بعد ذلك يقوم السجنان بفتح باب الزنزانة ويقوم بتقييد عيني, ثم يقيد أرجلي, ويخرجني من الزنزانة إلى الفورة ويقوم بفك العصابة عن عيني ويتركني لنصف ساعة أحاول فيهما المشي رغم أرجلي المقيدة, وبمجرد أن تنتهي النصف ساعة يعود السجنان لإعادتي إلى الزنزانة بنفس الطريقة.

(<http://www.alarabiya.net/Articles/2005/07/02/14555.htm>).

Al-Sharahtah continues describing the conditions of his life saying, "When I am brought out of the cell once a day of what is known as '*al-fora*', wherein the detainee goes out to walk inside a close yard covered with barbed wires." Asharahtah adds that "he has to release his hands out of an opening in the middle of the cell's door so that the jailer can tie them behind. Later, the jailer opens the door, blindfolds me, ties my feet and lets me out to **al-fora**. There, he unfolds my eyes and leaves me for half an hour, trying to walk though my feet remain tied. Immediately after the time is over, the jailer takes me back in the same way." (Researcher's translation)

Finally, it is noticeable that the meaning of this term has contextually changed in terms of the conditions of the Palestinian detainees in the Israeli prisons. This semantic change should be fully recognized by translators in order to have the message conveyed more appropriately and accurately.

Therefore, representing *fora* with *walking outside for fresh air* in a prison context deviates from the term's original meaning in Palestinian Arabic.

Level Two:

In this level the following neologisms are included:

mitras, seiger, Molotov, nfilash, bursh and doubel

mitras /mitra:s/ متراس

According to As-sayyed (1996:200), *mitras* is an Arabicized term that is borrowed from Greek or Persian. Abdul-Maseeh (1993:139) states that *mitras* refers to what is put in the way of the enemies, aiming at blocking and resisting their breakthrough and progress. *Mitras* has carried the same meaning in the two Intifadas, in that it indicates the "barricade of rocks, tires, car bodies and old fridges set up by Palestinian activists to block the advancement of enemy and to take cover behind them when they are shot at" (Hamed:7).

seiger /seigir/ سيجر

This term is considered one of the most commonly used neologisms in the two Intifadas since it affects the life of every Palestinian. It is taken from the English word *siege*, but, as a question of use, Palestinians have kept its Hebrew pronunciational fashion. It means إغلاق (closure) in Arabic (Qoujman,1970:580). Hamed (29,30) points out that this Hebrew word means "a tight siege imposed by the occupation forces on Palestinian towns, cities and refugee camps after bombing operations and on the eve of Jewish holidays". Many times, *seiger* is imposed following intelligence warning reports and threats. It is viewed by Palestinians as a kind of

collective punishment procedure which, according to the occupation authority, aims at preventing any expected attacks.

molotov /mɒləʊtɔ:v/

ملتوف

Originally, it is taken from Russian and it denotes an incendiary bomb made of breakable containers, usually glass bottles. Hamed (65) states that the container is "filled with flammable liquid and provided with a rag wick". According to **Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia**, the term *Molotov cocktail*, is "named after the Soviet politician [Vyacheslav Molotov](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Vyacheslav_Molotov); also known as petrol bomb, benzine torch, molotov grenade or molotov bomb" (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Molotov_cocktail).

It has been more frequently used in the first Intifada than in the second. It does not cause a strong effect because the Israeli soldiers are well protected inside their armored military vehicles. However, in translation, *Molotov* is usually transferred either with or without descriptive information, depending on the knowledge of the target readers.

nfilash /nfi:lɑ:ʃ/

انفلاش

According to Hamed (50), *nfilash* is "a prison term to describe an activist who switches loyalty from one faction to another". In a short conversation with Ruqayyah Herz-Allah (May 13, 2006), she points out that *nfilash* could be a euphemism for انفلاخ (*nfilakh*). In addition, Qassem (1986:223-226) states that before the first Intifada, the prisoners used the term الاستقطاب (lit. bringing together), as an indication of some prisoners switching their political affiliation. In an interview with the freed prisoner Mohammed `Areidi (May 3, 2006), he says that this term was used first to refer to a number of prisoners who left their political parties and joined the

newly established Islamic Resistance Movement (HAMAS). It is exclusively used by specific members of political parties, as in the following interview with Mohammed Al-Qudwa, Governor of Gaza, who uses the term *nfilash* from Fateh party:

"وحقيقة أنا أقول أن هناك الكثير من عدم الانضباط وعدم الالتزام، وهناك انفلاش على الساحة
الفتحاوية بالكثير من الظروف والمواقف"

(<http://www.alkrama.com/mkablat/mkablat45.htm>).

In fact, I believe that there is much of indiscipline and uncommitment, in addition to the *nfilash* from FATEH in many conditions and attitudes. (Researcher`s translation)

al-bursh /əlbʊrʃ/

البرش

It is a Hebrew word which is commonly used by Palestinian prisoners in Israeli jails. It refers to wooden boards on which the prisoners used to sleep. For Siniora (2002:22), the "*bursh* causes serious pains to the prisoners because of the wide spaces that separate its wooden pieces". In the two Intifadas, it has been used to denote a *bed for a prisoner*.

doubal /dɔːbəl/

دوبل

Simple present يدوبل (*ydoubel*), simple past/first person دوبلت (*doubalet*) and third person دوبل (*doubal*). This term is taken from the English word *to double* which, according to **The Random House Dictionary of the English Language** (1973), means "to add an equal amount to". The SL term has been adapted to the normal pronunciation of Palestinian Arabic. It is one of the repeatedly used neologisms by Palestinians in their daily life. It has emerged in the second Intifada to describe the large number of Palestinian vehicles, forming double lanes, at Israeli (flying) checkpoints, crossing points and roadblocks.

In trying to avoid lengthy waiting, Palestinian drivers make each side of the road at the checkpoints and road blocks compounded or doubled with more than one track. As a result, chaotic traffic jam prevails because it becomes impossible for cars coming from the other direction to pass easily. Finally, this neologism has taken a new meaning, in that its lexical meaning does not correspond with the situational meaning at Israeli checkpoints. That is, the new traffic tracks added are not equal, as the definition suggests, and are chaotic, as well.

4. Figurative Use

4.1. Analogy

It denotes a relationship between an original subject and a target subject. This relationship is often of a similarity of features. Analogy is defined by **Merriam Webster's Dictionary** (1995) as "correspondence between the members of pairs or sets of linguistic forms that serve as a basis for the creation of another form". As for Lyons (1981:205), analogy is considered as "a potent factor in language change". For Newmark (1988:143), "the great majority of neologisms are words derived by analogy from ancient Greek (increasingly) and Latin morphemes usually with suffixes such as *ismo*, *-ismus*, *-ija*, etc., naturalized in the appropriated language".

There are some Intifada neologisms that have been formed by analogy with existing words. Following are some examples to be discussed:

Level One:

It includes *At-tantheem*, *makhsoum taiyar*, *mutarad* and *Tora Bora*.

at-tantheem /attənði:m/

التنظيم

It is figuratively used and originally derived from *النظم* (*annathm*), which means putting things together (Ibn Manthour,1997). This term has developed to refer to a coalition or unity of a number of members who agree on the principles and aims to perform a specified mission. This figurative usage shows the similar relation between the stringing of similar things together and the uniting of individuals who share the same ideas and aims.

In the two Intifadas, *التنظيم* (*at-tantheem*) has been used to denote the Palestinian National Liberation Movement (FATEH), or a group of its members performing armed attacks against the occupation (Hamed:67). Here, it has been used as a form of particularization of the modern idiomatic meaning of *at-tantheem*. In other words, the neologism has become monosemous, i.e., it has one narrowed meaning in one field. In a similar sense, in the two Intifadas, it has not referred to any party or group; on the contrary, it is exclusive to the activists of FATEH. This exclusiveness is demonstrated in the online **Dictionary of Palestinian Political Terms** (2002), as

TANZIM (Arabic for ‘organization’) Part of Fateh on the ground in the OPT; originated by Fateh cadres operating in the OPT, both before and during the first Intifada, that formed the "inside" leadership. Seen as the leading force in directing the Al-Aqsa Intifada.

This belief goes well with the definition of *tantheem* given by Al-Kiyali (1983) who states that "*At-tantheem*, especially political, emerges as a

result of specific historical conditions such as national parties and transitional fronts".

For illustration, the researcher will show how this neologism has been handled in translation.

1. "To make things worse, the *Tanzim*, the armed militia of Arafat's Fatah movement, took a leading role in the armed struggle against Israel" (Luft, 2003)
2. "Critical support for stopping the violence came from *Tanzim* leaders. The *Tanzim* are the Fatah activists who control much (sic) of the grassroots" (Ross,2003).
3. "The radical *Tanzim*, under the leadership of Barghouti, has repeatedly ordered Palestinians to ignore calls for cease-fires" (Schanzer,2002).
4. "Although much has been said about the Fateh **tanzim** as the main organizer behind the current uprising, the **tanzim** is a rather loose organization" (Schultz,2002).
5. "An hour and a half after the heads of the *tanzim* agreed on publishing a declaration of a unilateral cease-fire, Israel liquidated (sic) Salah Shihada in Gaza" (Fishman, 2002).
6. "George W. Bush urging him to add the Al-Aqsa Martyrs Brigades, the *Tanzim*, and Force 17 to the list of foreign terrorist organizations" (McCarthur,2002).

The above extracts show that *at-tantheem* is a good example of the introduction of Palestinian Arabic trademark words into English. The term is introduced in examples (3,4,5,6) by means of transliteration merely. In the first two examples, it is followed with a very brief explanation or description. In all cases above, *tantheem* has phonologically been naturalized and adapted to become *Tanzim*. Actually, this is what happens in dealing with loan words that have no recognized equivalent in the target language. In other words, introducing the neological term of *at-tantheem*

into English, in this procedure, is due to two factors: the first is the absence of the English accurate equivalent that carries the same meaning of *at-tantheem*. The second is that even if one may assume that it has such an equivalent like (organization), the above examples indicate that it is used with its particularized new meaning in the two Intifadas.

Yet, the rendition of *tantheem*, in the first example, as *the armed fighters and Intifada activists* is not quite accurate.

If backtranslated, the first example will appear as

.(Researcher's back translation) التنظيم (المقاتلون المسلحون ونشطاء الانتفاضة)

The problem with this translation is that it creates an impression that the acts of the *tanzim* members are all armed, which is not true. Ismat Fakhouri (May 20, 2006), a prominent member of the *tantheem* states that "*Fateh's tantheem* has been very active in organizing the participation of *Fateh* in the two Intifadas. In fact, it has directed the *Fateh* armed operations carried out by other groups of *Fateh*, such as Al-Aqsa Brigades, but not by the *tantheem* members themselves." He adds, "For example, the prison's *tantheem*, which is, of course, not armed, is considered one of the strongest wings of the *tantheem*". Moreover, it is believed that "the *tantheem* is even more active in public bodies, such as student unions as well as in the *Shabibah* institutions."

With respect to the above discussion, it is evident that transferring the term *tantheem* with little translational information is not quite precise, or helpful. It could be accepted as an adequate translation with "the required specific detail"(Newmark,1988:148).

makhsoum tayar /məxʂu:m təijja:r/

مخسوم طيار

This term refers to a special type of *checkpoints/blockades* which the Israeli occupation forces set up on roads. Sometimes these blockades are permanent and other times they are temporary. This kind of *makhsoum* is usually put suddenly aiming at blocking people's passage, detaining and capturing or even assassinating members of resistance.

Usually these checkpoints last for a number of hours before being lifted and set up in another place. Thus, this type of checkpoints has been termed as *makhsoum tayar* (lit. mobile/flying checkpoint). The idea of *flying* has been metaphorically used here because the referential and linguistic meaning of *flying* indicates the movement of wings in the air, and it also implies instability (Ibn Manthour,1997). Seemingly, because of this idea, we have this word being termed as *makhsoum tayar*.

What is so bad about a *makhsoum tayar* is the unpredictability associated with it. Experience has shown that Israeli soldiers at this kind of *makhsoum* usually take various decisions without making any consultations with supervisors, or taking considerations of the results. One of the soldiers testifies, "we also initiated some makeshift checkpoints, entirely at random, not because of any General Security Services' warnings" (http://www.btselem.org/english/Testimonies/20020201_Soldiers_Testimonies_Witness_H_L.asp). Occupation soldiers may decide that people must take off their clothes, stand in line for several hours without being allowed to sit down, or subject them to any other form of humiliation. The last thing they would check is the ID-card. Moreover, it becomes impossible for people to perform any arranged activities or plans because such a *makhsoum* just wastes people's time and effort, as this photo shows



(Picture No. 6)

(<http://right2edu.birzeit.edu/news/printer378>).

In spite of the bad connotations of *makhsoum tayar*, users and translators, in particular, often try to beautify its idea. The following examples show how translators refer to it in their renditions:

1. "وفي عدّة مناسبات، أقام الجيش الإسرائيلي حواجز ونقاط تفتيش أمام المعهد للحد من دخول الفلسطينيين إلى القدس" (ARIJ Annual Report, 2004).

This extract has been translated into English as

"On several occasions, the Israeli army placed a flying checkpoint right in front of ARIJ premises to restrict entrance of Palestinians to Jerusalem" (Same report in English).

The expression *flying checkpoint* in the following two examples must have been a rendition of *makhsoum taiyar*. They demonstrate the hardships Palestinians encounter at these *flying checkpoints*:

2. "I have to pass two checkpoints, at Atara and Surda," Khalil says, "and if there is a flying checkpoint along the way, that makes three. Flying checkpoints are military vehicles that appear without warning and block off a street" (Schechter, 2004).
3. Several days ago, the soldiers on a flying checkpoint in the Arraba town near Jenin forced several drivers and passengers to take off all their clothes, even their underclothes. Driver Bassam Hasan Subaih, 40, reported to the *Al-Ayyam* newspaper that after the soldiers stopped us on the road, they asked all of the passengers and the drivers to get out of the cars. They then ordered us to take off all of our clothes, even the underclothes, or they will shot (sic) us. When we did that we

became like the first moment when we were born. I saw another person, his name is Islam Zu?ter aged 15, who would not take off his clothes because he has problems with his leg. The officer asked me to help him take off all of his clothes. Not only this, but they also asked a 25 year old girl to take off her headcover. Under threats from the officer she did, but when the officer told her to take off her clothes we all began crying and shouting. The officer then gave up this demand. We spent around one and a half hour in this situation, in front of children who were by then crying and very fearful. (Jaradat,2005).

The first extract, which is translated from Arabic, is not quite accurate as it improperly replaces حواجز ونقاط تفتيش by (a flying checkpoint). They are originally viewed as two separate items joined by a conjunction in the source text. On the other hand, the replacement of the two plural items by a single one is also incorrect. It would perhaps be better to translate them as (*blockades and checkpoints*).

To summarize, the above rendition of حواجز ونقاط تفتيش as a *flying checkpoint*, and the usual use of *flying checkpoint(s)* for *makhsoum tayar* might be considered inappropriate as they all refer to such a *makhsoum* as a mere *checkpoint*, and consequently deviate from the actual sense of the SL term which is evident in extract number (3).

mutarad /muta:rəd/

مطارد

Literally speaking, المطاردة (*al-mutarada*) (lit. *chasing*), according to Ibn Manthour (1997), implies the act in which knights drive away each other in fighting. Its meaning has extended to include all that one intends to hunt and trap. Hence, this extension has involved the two acts of hunting and fighting.

This Linguistic neologism has been derived from the infinitive *mutarada* to denote the Palestinian fugitive who is pursued by the

occupation force in order to arrest or kill him (Hamed:39). In fact, *mutarad* is a passive participle, i. e., one who receives the act of *mutarada*, but not who takes part in it. Therefore, *al-mutarad* is derived from the meaning which is more related to hunting, not to fighting.

Some situations where one can find this neologism are

1. Therewith, both the practical modes of his existence and his status as a symbol change radically. "Hunted" (*mutarad*) by IDF undercover squads who often dress as Palestinians in order to trap their quarry, just as "the hunted" often dress as Israelis when "hunting," the youth no longer lives at home but rather, according to popular West Bank Legend, in one of the many limestone caves which dot the countryside (Oliver and Steinberg, 1996).
2. "As one *mutarad* said, "It`s much better to be among the group than a victim of the group" (Roy,1994).
3. With the outbreak of the Second Intifada (September 2000), Marwan lived as a hunted man. Israel pursued a policy of political assassination - what it calls "targeted killings" - and Marwan was on their wanted list (The Palestine Monitor,2002).

One important remark concerning the translation of *mutarad* in the above examples is that it is given an imprecise equivalent as (*hunted*). The rendition of the term in question deviates from the sense of the SL term because there might not be a clear idea about the context to which the term belongs. In other words, the use of the term *mutarad*, indicating a Palestinian resistance member after whom the occupation force runs, is actually compared to *at-tareeda* (wild animal chased for killing/hunting). However, this analogy is not quite accurate since the prey or the animal usually runs away and does not quite resist, whereas the Palestinian resistance member fights and initiates attacks against the Israeli occupier.

In this respect, rendering *mutarad* as *hunted*, as in the first extract, is imprecise. A closer rendition of the sense of the term can be: (on the

run/fugitive struggler). For an English speaker, (on the run) refers to "guerrillas or fugitives who are in rapid retreat or in hiding after an ambush" (**The American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language, 2000**). Likewise, Hamed (39) translates the term in question as (*fugitive*).

Tora Bora * /tu:rə bu:rə/

تورا بورا

It is a newly created neologism which has been used by way of analogy and assimilation. *Tora Bora* is "a name of a difficult terrain in Afghanistan where the Americans and their collaborators met fierce resistance from the mujahideen of Taliban and Al-Qa`eda" (Ibid:7).

This new expression has come into common use in the second/Al-Aqsa Intifada. For Palestinians, it is not just a matter of word meaning, but the term connotes part of the hardships they have faced in their daily movement from one place into another. In fact, the neologism describes the dusty, dangerous, rocky, mountainous and unpaved roads which the Palestinians are obliged to take because of the occupier preventing them from using the main roads when moving among cities, towns and villages.

After all, the neologism, in point, carries a historical and geographical significance. In other words, it has been chosen to imply the ruggedness of the roads the Palestinians are forced to use. On the other hand, it also implies steadfastness in the face of the enemy and a resistance of the closure of cities and other areas, as well. In the same way, the significance

* In Lebanese Arabic during the last Israeli war against Lebanon - summer 2006; used by Lebanese in the south when Israeli forces destroyed bridges, roads, etc. and so Lebanese had to wade in Litani waters.

of this expression has been adopted in other areas of similar conditions such as Iraq, as this news clipping shows

وبدأت الجماعة تعمل في جبال محصنة تقع على طول الحدود الإيرانية العراقية تعرف باسم (تورا بورا الصغيرة) على اسم معقل الطالبان في أفغانستان. إن أكراد الجماعة، وعراقييها، ولبنانييها، وأرمنييها، والمراكشييين، والسوريين، والفلسطينيين، والأعضاء الأفغان كانوا يتدربون هناك في ترتيب كبير على تكتيكات العصابات (القروي:2004).

The underlined text can be translated as

The group started working in fortified mountains throughout the Iraqi-Iranian borders, known as (Small Tora Bora), termed so by analogy with Taliban stronghold in Afghanistan. (Researcher's translation)

By way of illustration, following are some examples that show how this neologism is dealt with in translation:

1. "I didn't know if I had to cross the checkpoint or go through what we call it now '*Tora Bora*' road, meaning the dirt road" (Jad,2002).
2. "*Tora Bora*," as the residents call it, is the mount of dirt Israeli occupation army has compiled near the destroyed Governate (sic) of Nablus (as well as the prison that was bombed with prisoners inside, in 2002 resulting in the killing of 10 Palestinian policemen who were guarding the prison). *Tora Bora* literally separates the two parts of the city and no one can come or go without risking being shot at by the Israeli military. Children (including my own nephew Ibrahim and nieces Widad, Noura, and Nada who live in the eastern part beyond *Tora Bora*) have been risking their lives to get to school to take their final exams (Abdulhadi, 2004).

The examples above demonstrate the strategy used in translating borrowed words that are also culture specific. For instance, *Tora Bora*, in the first example, is put in single inverted commas to suggest that it is a borrowed word in the text. In addition, it is followed with an explanation, though very brief. This explanation is useful to the recipients who may find it difficult to relate it to the text, especially if "the concept is totally missing in the target culture" (Shunnaq, *et. al.*, 1988:44). Still, as mentioned before, the given explanation is lacking in that it does not provide the relation of

analogy or the required information and description of the new expression. Therefore, I suggest that a lengthy or a telling description should be used in a footnote, especially if the word has just been used. This strategy is pointed out by Beekman (1970:105) who believes that in translation "a loan word may be descriptively translated when used for the first time in the text".

Conversely, the explanation in the second example is somehow different, in that *Tora Bora* is introduced naturally, as if being part of the SL text, though it still partakes some of the connotations of this culture-specific term. It has referred to another area which is indicated by its residents as *Tora Bora*. Seemingly, the translator could have decided that the target text is written to readers familiar with this term. In fact, the repetitive occurrences of the term in the same text explain and prove its usage without the description.

Finally, the two renditions of the newly created neologism should have been given more explanation and demonstration, especially when using it for the first time, so that different readers can understand its concept fully. Also, the meaning of a neologism, like this one, may shift according to the speaker's intention, or the contextual use. That is, the central meaning is kept, but other related ones can be developed as the above examples show.

Level Two:

Following are the neologisms included in this level: *khansa` Filisteen*, *Taiyar (Al- Rajul)*, *`Urs Ash-shahid*, *kabsoulah*, *talmi`*, *Ghayamat* and *mahrooq*.

Khansa` Filisteen /xənsæ filisti:n/

خنساء فلسطين

It is an expression that refers to Marriam Farhat, mother of three Palestinian martyrs. She has been honored the name *Khansa of Palestine* after an Arab Muslim woman in the early days of Islam, who exhorted her four sons to fight heroically. She lost all her sons in Al-Qadisiyyah (A place in Iraq where the Muslims won a decisive battle against the Persian Empire (637 CE). Instead of crying, she received and accepted the news of her sons` martyrdom with a heart full of faith that Paradise was their final destination, saying, "الحمد لله الذي كرمني باستشهادهم" (lit. Praise be to Allah (God) for honoring me with their martyrdom).

Since then, she has become an example of patience and sacrifice, esp. with her sons, being the dearest a woman has. In an interview with Marriam Farhat on *Al-Manar T.V.* channel dated on July 12,2006, in a program called "ماذا بعد" (lit. *What is Next?*), she says that she considers the rest of her sons as martyrdom projects. Marriam Farhat has not been the last one to be called *Kahnsa Filisteen*. *Al-Hayat Al-Jadidah* reporter, Bassam Abu Arrah (2006:4), talks about a similar *Khansa* in Aqqaba village, who receives the martyrdom of her second son with great patience and faith.

taiyar (al- rajul) /təijjər ərrədʒul/

طيّر (الرجل)

This term is figuratively used to describe the *jasus* (spy) after being exposed. Usually, he runs away to escape different types of punishment, such as assassination, *radi`* (deterrence), etc. This neologism started circulating in the first Intifada and, then, it spread on to the second Intifada.

The use of this term to describe the exposed *jasus* is compared with the bird which has left its nest recently; and so, it is not easily caught.

`urs ash-shahid /ʕɔs əʃəhi:d/

عرس الشهيد

This neologism is figuratively used to refer to the "funeral procession of a martyr before laying him to rest" (Hamed:44). In fact, it reflects a Palestinian heritage about viewing the idea of martyrdom. The martyr's funeral is viewed as a wedding for him. That is, words that are usually uttered on wedding occasions are also uttered on occasions of bewailing and mourning, especially if the dead is a young man. In this regard, we find the famous popular song "سبل عيونه ومد ايده يحنوله" (*He lowered his eyes and stretched out his hand to dye it with henna*).

kabsoula /kəbsɔ:li/

كبسولة

According to As-Sayyed (1996:496), the term *kabsoula* is of French origin. This neologism is used by analogy of a medicine capsule. It is a prison word which indicates a secret letter used by Palestinian prisoners to exchange information with their relatives and friends outside the prison. Hamed (55) explains that "the letter is usually enclosed in a very gelatin case". Usually it is swallowed to conceal it from the soldiers in Israeli jails. Most often, it is given to a visiting friend, a relative, or to a prisoner who is expected to be freed in the near future.

talmi` /təlmi:ʕ/

تلميع

This expression has been figuratively used. As for Az-Zayyat (1989), *talmi`* is derived from the verb *لمع lamma`a* (to make something shine). And to the Arabs, *Talmi`* refers to the horses with spots that differ from the

dominant color of the horse. Also it refers to the different colors a dress has (Ibn Manthour,1997). This neologism refers to a technique used by the occupation authority in an attempt to beautify some suspected characters who are expected to be cooperative with the occupier's propaganda. Sometimes, the occupier arrests, hurts, or deports a traitor so that he would be seen as an active nationalist in the eyes of his people. However, the exposure of that traitor creates suspicions about other true nationalists. Hamed (61) believes that the suspicions result "in feeling of frustration, loss of confidence among some people".

ghayamat /gəɪjəmət/

غَيْمَات

This neologism is one of the most common neologisms that have circulated in the two Intifadas. For Ibn Manthour (1997), *Ghayyama* (غَيْم) is the verb of the noun *ghaym* (غَيْم) (*clouds*). The expression غَيْم الطائر implies that *the bird flaps the wings* over one's head, but without moving away. It is also used to denote the cloudy weather that is incipient to raining.

Palestinian resistance members have used this term to warn each other when they see the occupation forces advance towards them. When these forces come closer "one fighter yells **GHAIYAMAT!** ; then, they run away to avoid the bullets of the enemy which fall on them like rain as they are not ready for confrontation" (Hamed:48).

Finally, this idiomatic neologism shows the likeness between the status of the clouds before rain, and the moment which precedes the falling of bullets on the resistance members.

mahrooq /məħru:q/**محروق**

According to Ibn Manthour (1997), this term is derived from the verb حرق (*haraq*) which carries various senses. Thus, حرق الحديد means to *rasp the iron*; احترق means to *perish*; الحرق is the *pasture*, حرق اللحية means to *make the beard shorter*, and the like. All these shades of meaning share in one semantic feature which is *the removal*. This neologism has circulated in the two Intifadas "to describe those discovered to be collaborating with the enemy, or to describe their languor. They then lose their movement's or party's respect" (Hamed:15).

Needless to say that any burnt thing is worth nothing as it loses its use. This is what happens with a person who is described as *mahrooq*, i.e., when he is revealed, he becomes of no use to those whom he cooperates with. Besides, his party does not benefit from him because of his treason.

4.2. Idiomatic Terms

This type of neologisms refers to existing items which change their meanings to indicate new items or objects that are recognizable in a specific community. In other words, these items carry peculiar meanings, which are, on the other hand, agreed upon in that specific society. In this respect, Palmer (1981:81) notes that "what is and what is not an idiom is, then, a matter of degree". This is because these neologisms are culture-specific. In the same way, Choi (2006:194) uses the term "social neologisms" in talking about terms that are related to a specific society.

There are instances of this type of neologisms that have been used in the two Intifadas, such as the following:

Level One:

The neologisms under this level are: *`usfour* and *`Um Al-Abd*

`asfour /ʕəʃfu:r/

عصفور

This neologism has been used figuratively and exclusively in the two Intifadas as a form of comparison and as a result of influence by the public concept about *birds*. Semantically speaking, *`asfour* has various meanings: *male bird, male locust, the great master* (Ibn Manthour,1997). However, "some Arabs used it to refer to all birds irrespective of pigeons" (Al-Bustani, 1992). It also denotes *`asfour* or *`asfoura* in the spoken or popular language (Al-Barghouthi, 2001). As a neologism, *`asfour*, here, has both a literal, or a sentence meaning, and a speaker's meaning. In the two Intifadas, the meaning of *`asfour* has changed to relate to someone who "sells" himself to the enemy. He collects information about the mujahideen and other people (Hamed:45).

Seemingly, the Palestinian people must have been influenced by Al-Bustani's *bird meaning* only. Of course, this is due to the influence of the environment in Palestine where there are many birds, save for the fact that there is a bird called the Palestinian Bird there (Al-Jamal,2004:1637). Furthermore, the usage of *`asfour* or *`asfoura* to transmit secret news among relatives has publicly been gotten used to. Thereupon, when a person leaks something to a friend who, in turn, asks the person about the source of the information, s/he often replies, العصفورة قالت لي (*the bird told me*). This is usually resorted to if the person desires not to uncover the source.

Also, the reason for that could be the influence by the الحمام الزاجل (lit. carrier pigeon) which used to carry the news and the letters. Consequently, the pigeon carries the written news openly while the bird does that metaphorically and secretly, which is probably due to its small size. In the same way, this idea exists in the **Holy Qur'an** in the story of Sulaiman's hoopoe which brings him the news about queen of Saba` (An-Naml:22). This meaning has changed in the two Intifadas to refer to the *informer* (agent) who transmits news about the family, friends or prisoners in jail. This is because the *`asfour* is close to those on whom he spies. In people's beliefs, the bird's deception is quite possible through the influence of the story of Noah's Raven vis-à-vis the pigeon (Ajinah,1994:301). This raven and, perhaps, the bird, in some contexts, such as dreams, have become unappreciated because they are harmful and deceitful. On the other hand, the raven is a plotter and a cunning bird (Inb-Sireen, 1999:235). And all these latter characteristics apply to the nature of the new meaning of *`asfour* in the two Intifadas.

However, the verb عَصَفَ (*`asfara*), which implies that *the traitor's case has become known*, is wrongly used as an idiomatic expression since *`asfara* refers to dying the dress with the عُصْفُر (*`usfur*) plant. Thus, *`asfara* is derived from *al-`usfur* plant, not from *`asfour* (Ibn-Manthour,1997). For Ziad Ajaj (May 10,2006), "*`asfour* goes back to a story of a suspected prisoner in Bir As-Sab` (a name of an Israeli military prison) who once escaped from his colleagues into *al-foara*. He went into that barbed area through an entrance which birds use," and "so they called him *`asfour*," he adds. Kamel Jabr (May 17,2006) states that "*Al-`asfour* often behaves like a patriotic prisoner in an attempt to gradually bring another prisoner to give detailed confessions. It is one of the most dangerous means the Israeli

interrogators use against the Palestinian prisoners". Likewise, Khaled Jaber, a freed prisoner, (May 7,2006) says that "*al-`asafeer* (plural of *`asfour*) usually move from a room to another as sanitation prisoners, and so they claim to convey messages and orders from the leaders in prison".

`Asfour is one of the serious neologisms which have been used in the two Intifadas. Following are some examples that show how this term has been translationally dealt with:

1. "Collaborator in prisons and detention facilities who assists interrogators in their tasks, sometimes even in torturing detainees (*al-`asfor*)" (PHRMG,2001 definition of collaboration section).
2. "The Palestinians call the collaborators in the prisons "birds" (*'asafir*). Palestinian detainees in interrogation are sent to the "birds" cells in cases when the interrogators prove unsuccessful in extracting confessions" (Be`er and Abdul-Jawad,1994:38).

Rendering the neologism *`asfor* as *bird* and *collaborator*, as in the two examples, is not quite precise. On the one hand, *collaborator* is euphemistically used to represent this term, and so it does not give the full sense of *`asfor*. On the other hand, the translation of *'asafir* (plural of *`asfor*) as *birds* is more literal than original, especially because it adds no necessary information along with the rendition.

Finally, the researcher concludes that *collaborator* is the superordinate term that does not carry the specific meanings of related hyponyms such as *عصفور* (*`asfor*), *خاين* (*khayyen*), *جاسوس* (*jasus*), *عميل* (*`amil*), etc. Therefore, it would perhaps be better to translate *`asfor* as *undercover agent* or *informer* since these Palestinian agents are employed in prisons and assist the prison interrogators by concealing themselves among the prisoners in an attempt to obtain secret information.

umm al-`Abed /um əlʕəbid/

أم العبد

This expression has been metaphorically used in the two Intifadas. This is because there is a connection between the name *Um Al-`Abed* and its new implied meaning.

Um Al-`Abed in the two Intifadas has been used to refer to the "locally made explosive from chemical material taking the shape of a soap bar" (Hamed:43). Sharabati (2003) has pointed out that this material is also known as TATP. The acronym stands for "Triacetone Triperoxide (explosive)" (<http://dictionary.reference.com/search?q=TATP&x=27&y=14>).

Idiomatically, *Um Al-`Abed* is a nickname which denotes a married woman whose eldest son is named Al-Abed, in view of the fact that Arabs nickname with reference to the eldest among the males. In this respect, `Abed is one of the most common names in Palestine, as there is a Prophetic Hadith that says "إن خير الأسماء عبد الله وعبد الرحمن" (Lit. Abdullah and Abdu-rahman are the most auspicious of names) (Ibn Hanbal, 1998:17750). It is because of this popularity that Naji Al-Ali uses *Um Al-`Abed* in his ironic caricatures as an archetype of the Palestinian mother (Ibrahim:2003).

This expression has been widely used in the Palestinian community and it has also moved as a neologism to other languages such as English, the TL. Following are examples to show how the rendition of this particular neologism has appeared in translation:

1. "Due to the lack of ordinary explosives in the West Bank, as Hamas often relied on acetone in the preparation of chemical-based explosives (known locally as *Um al-abd*)" (Ranstorp,2000:5).

2. "There is also this substance. We call it *Um al-Abd*. It's very sensitive and highly explosive. We make it from chemicals like acetone, hydrochloric acid and hydrogen peroxide" (Kampfner,2002).
3. "This is the explosives belt the young men use when they carry out their martyr operations. It contains the substance *Um al-abd*, which is very sensitive and highly explosive" (Ibid,2002).

As a proper name, Um Al-`Abed has inherent cultural associations and implications, save for its new meaning in the two Intifadas. In this respect, the researcher believes that the mere transliteration, as in the above three examples, of the term with little description will not achieve the required impact of the original meaning of such a term. As said before, scientifically it is known as TATP (triacetone triperoxide), which could be a functional descriptive rendition. However, this abbreviation (TATP) is interchangeably used with another equivalent that Naughton (2005) has used. He asserts that "TATP is known as *Mother of Satan*" because it is highly dangerous, unstable and sensitive to heat and friction.

With this in view, both Palestinian resistance members and English users, such as Naughton, agree that this material is of high destructive effect. Sharabati (2002) indicates that it is known as TATP, and so does Naughton (2005) who provides *Mother of Satan* as a cultural equivalent which is shared among the TL readers. Moreover, Schechter (2005, para 2) indicates that this material was "first employed by Palestinian bomb makers, the highly unstable TATP — also known as the *Mother of Satan* — is difficult to detect".

Finally, the researcher believes that *Mother of Satan* may be an appropriate translation or substitution for *Um Al-Abed*. In addition, TATP could be another accurate functional equivalent to the term in question. This belief agrees with the idea of using substitution in translation that

Beekman (1970:106) refers to when he says that "specific substitutes are self-explanatory and carry optimum meaningfulness".

Level Two:

Like other categories, following are some idiomatic neologisms included under this level: *kirsana*, *Dalal*, *`Aziza*, *Khadija*, *Um Mahmoud*, *Um `Ali*, *Um Sa`id* and *Beit Khaltak*.

Kirsanna /kirsənnə/

كرسنة

According to Az-zayyat (1989), *kirsana* refers to an annual seed plant which is used to feed sheep and goats. The term appeared in the first Intifafa (that was also called Intifada of the Stones). It is figuratively used to describe stones and rocks Palestinian youths used to pelt Israeli occupation soldiers, and their vehicles, with. Seemingly, Intifada youths compared their stones to the *kirsanna* because the latter is known for its hardness compared to other kinds of vetch.

Dalal, `Aziza, Khadija /dəla:l/ /ʕəzi:zə/ /xədi:dʕə/ دلال، عزيزة وخديجة

According to Hamed (23,44), *Dalal* is a cultural term which refers to "a normal Israeli military patrol". Likewise, *`Aziza* is one of the terms that emerged in the first Intifada to imply a large Israeli military vehicle used in invading Palestinian areas. In fact, it is "common place in the Arab world to name cars after women's names. For example, in Libya they call Peugeot 504 Halima and Hamama" (Hamed:44). Seemingly, the use here is by way of disguising and joking. An example of disguising is the term *khadija*, which implies a *loudspeaker carried in one's hand*.

Um Mahmoud , Um Sa`id, Um `Ali /um məħmu:d/ /um səʕi:d/ /um ʕəli/

أم محمود، أم السعيد، أم علي

These terms are figuratively used by Intifada youths. According to Hamed (18,31,44), *Um Mahmoud* is "an advanced automatic M16 submachine gun", and *Um Sa`id* is an allusion to "an M16 submachine gun; a traditional automatic rifle". Similarly, *Um `Ali* "refers to " home-made explosives used for preparation of explosive charges, and belts".

It is worth mentioning that these allusions are also used by way of disguising, i.e., for security reasons. Perhaps, heading these terms with *Um* goes back to the connotations of mother in mythology in which the concept of mother is terrible. Eisendrath (1995) refers to Jung`s archetype of mother as " an image of a Terrible Mother (witch, bitch, hag) that was the opposite of the soothing, nurturing, gratifying Great Mother". Likewise, in the mythical culture *Um(mother)*, according to Abdul Maseeh (1993:43,44), connotes power, danger and violence. According to As-Sawwah (1993:207-234), this heading with *Um* is due to the influence of اللواعي الجمعي (the collective unconsciousness) which emanated from Arabs` previous pagan religions. That is, Arabs used to believe that the terrible mother, goddess of death, war and hunting, is partially represented in the two goddesses of عشتار (*Ishtar*) and عناة (*Anat*) in the East. *Anat* is mythically known for her terribleness, power and destruction. According to Khaiyatah (1987:229), the town of عناتا (*Anata*), in the northern part of Jerusalem, is named after goddess `Anat who was worshipped in Palestine. Similar examples in Arabic culture are in calling الداهية (lit. misfortune) by different names headed with *Um*, such as أم البليل، وأم الجذع ، وأم الدهيم وأم طبق etc. In addition, الضبع (lit. hyena) is also called by different names headed

with *Um* such as عمرو وأم عتاب، وأم عتاب، وأم عمرو ; likewise, الافعى (snake) is called by أم الافي، and أم قسطل (death) by الموت، الربييس، and أم قشعم (war) by الحرب، etc.

beit khaltak /beit xa:ltək/

بيت خالتك

It is one of the frequently used terms in the Palestinian community. Actually, it is viewed as tantamount to prison or jail, used by way of beautifying the bad connotations of a prison or jail.

Victor (2004) brings an explanation for the use of *Beit Khaltak* when he says:

"في سوريا كلما قيلت كلمة مخابرات، فإن الكل حولك يرجف ويقول لك بلا هالسييرة، ولأنه السوري ذكي صاروا يقولوا بيت خالتك".

Whenever the word *mukhabarat* (intelligence) is uttered, everyone around shivers and says, "just forget it!", and because the Syrians are clever, they turned into saying *beit khaltak*. (Researcher's translation)

Moreover, this term is used by Sami Haddad while interviewing Muneed Abu Khdoor on *Al-Jazeera* programe called *أكثر من رأي* (*More than One Opinion*) when he says, "you claim that you are innocent, but why don't you go back to Syria, prove your innocence, and so avoid being taken to Beit Khaltak?" (Al-Jazeera, 3.6.2004).

5. Phonological Neologisms

This type of neologisms is formed by combining unique sounds. Examples of these in the two Intifadas are طخ (*takh*) and كحش (*kahsh*). These two neologisms belong to the second level as there have been no translational instances of them.

takh /təx/

طخ

This neologism, according to As-Sahli (2001), has been used as an imitation of its phonic denotation to mean "to fire or shoot at somebody". As for Azayyat (1989), the term طخ means to become aggressive, and طخ الشيء means to throw something.

In the two Intifadas, *Takh* has been used to refer to Israeli occupation forces firing at Palestinians. Moreover, it has also reflected the echo of their shooting or firing.

Kahsh /kəħʃ/

كحش

This term has been used among Palestinians in the two Intifadas to describe "clattering, rattling or clanking of weapons" (Hamed:56). It denotes that weapons are ready for use. However, it has been one of the means helping Palestinian resistance members to flee as they hear the echo of the sound of weapons.

Summary:

In researching Intifada neologisms in this chapter, one can recognize the influence of Palestinian Arabic in the creation of new words in English during the two Intifadas. The discussion shows that Intifada neologisms are often adopted and adapted by being transliterated/transferred and translated. They are adapted to meet the spelling conventions of English, the receiving language, as in the neologism *tantheem*, adapted into *tanzim*. In fact, this translational operation of transference has been the most usual way of introducing the neologisms of the two Intifadas in the English

language. Also, they are translated with equivalents that are not quite accurate, as in *استشهد*, mistranslated as *killed, etc.*

Likewise, the ways such neologisms have been dealt with in translation indicate that their meanings have rarely been oriented according to the context or source of the neologism. Extensive translational explanation is highly necessary for the message to be understood because the new meanings of such neologisms are culture-specific. In this context, the translation equivalents which have been provided by different users, especially translators, for these neologisms will surely leave the readers in confusion since the concepts of these Intifada neologisms have not been fully stated. In other words, the accepted Intifada neologisms into English are sometimes incorporated in terms of their literal meanings, not their situational meanings. That is, they are given translations which do not bear the associations of the original meanings.

In terms of their formation, the analysis shows that most Intifada neologisms are formed by analogy, narrowing of meaning and derivation. It is important to note that the discussion in this Chapter has also shown that such Intifada neologisms contain and describe events about the Palestinian culture which translators need to familiarize themselves with when it comes to translation.

Finally, having discussed and commented on the translations of these Intifada neologisms, it is hoped that this chapter has highlighted the discrepancies and misrepresentations of these neologisms into English.

Chapter Four

Conclusions and Recommendations

4.1. Conclusions

As the present study has shown, Palestinian Arabic has been greatly influenced by the two Intifadas. Also, the Israeli military occupation of Palestine has attempted to weaken the language of the occupied people who, in return, have turned out their language of resistance from under the weight of the occupation. The study has presented various terminologies to describe the national identity, the political convictions and the cultural background of the Palestinians who have circulated these terminologies in the two Intifadas.

The present study has also shown how Palestinian Arabic in the two Intifadas has been able to come up with a literature, or a lexicon, of linguistic resistance to refer to what the Palestinians have been experiencing in their daily lives of struggle. The generated terminologies have emphasized the determination of the Palestinians to withstand, challenge and face the oppression of the Israeli military occupation. In this context, the researcher has discussed and analyzed a number of such neologisms, as in the terms *كبسولة*, *خنساء فلسطين*, *مطارد*, *تصعيد*, *غيمت*, *الخ* (*kabsoulah*, *Khansa` Filisteen*, *mutarad*, *tas`id*, *ghayyamat*, etc.). Moreover, the two Intifadas have produced new terms which have been necessitated by the different forms of oppression to which Palestinians have been subjected under the Israeli military occupation, e.g., *جريح*, *مستعربين*, *ميركفا*, *شهيد*, *دوبل*, etc.). In addition, an old term which has been revived in the memory of the

Palestinian people in the two Intifadas is مجزرة (*majzarah*) (lit. *massacre*) which reflects the utmost degree of Israeli killing and annihilation of the Palestinian people.

Dominated Palestinians have sought and adopted linguistic neologisms to replace those imposed by the Israelis. Such imposed words which had leaked to Palestinian Arabic before the first Intifada broke out, were a result of an inevitable connection between the occupier and the occupied in various aspects of life. However, a number of Hebrew borrowed neologisms form an important portion of the linguistic repertoire of the Palestinians who constantly suffer from the oppressive measures of the occupation. As an illustration, the neologism سيجر (*seiger*) has been recurrently circulating among the Palestinians because the Israeli occupation soldiers have repeatedly imposed *seiger* (closure) on the Palestinian areas. Likewise, مخصوم (*makhsoum*) has been having a greatly negative effect in the life of the Palestinians, to the extent that they have been using it more frequently than the Arabic word حاجز (*hajiz*). Because of their frequency of use, Palestinians have often used them in their Hebrew fashion. Most often, they have needed these neologisms in dealing with Israeli soldiers while crossing the *makhsoums* or the *barriers*.

Actually, this literature of linguistic resistance has been regarded as a special lexicon of the Palestinians used spontaneously to express the Palestinian heroic struggle against colonialist occupation. Some of the neologisms in question are simple and vernacular because the Intifada has started as a spontaneous popular resistance. Thus, the words used have signified the nature and the environment of the Palestinian people. In Chapter Three, the researcher has discussed some examples of these

vernacular Intifada neologisms such as *كوع* (*ku`*), *وماسورة*, *وكحش وطخ*, *الخ* (*masoura, kahsh, takh*, etc.). Thanks to the common cultural, psychological and contextual grounds, this lexicon of Intifada words has widely circulated among all the Palestinians.

Psychologically, the researcher has concluded that Palestinian Arabic has limited the number of Hebrew words which the Palestinians were accustomed to. As a result, this procedure has minimized the situation of embarrassment in which a Palestinian may find himself a part of when switching to the language of the occupier who practices all acts of repression and genocide against the dominated Palestinians. Furthermore, such limitation of using Hebrew words has consolidated and promoted the national and patriotic feelings of the Palestinians because of the matter of identity which they seek to cling to and preserve.

The study has also shown that the Palestinians have been able to transmit these Intifada neologisms into other languages, especially English. In fact, Palestinian Arabic has led dictionary compilers to list these neologisms in English dictionaries. Examples of these neologisms are *intifada, shaheed, tanzim, fora, Tora Bora* and the like. This neological influence of Palestinian Arabic can be observed in the use of the word *Intifada*, for example, in many foreign languages, other than English. Because its translation into these languages requires a detailed illustration, it has been used in its Palestinian Arabic fashion. Conversely, Palestinian Arabic has borrowed a number of words, spelled in the fashion of the donating language(s). These words have been pronunciationally adapted to Palestinian Arabic. An example of this pronunciational adaptation is the English word *دوبل* (*doubel*) which has entered Palestinian Arabic in the

second Intifada and has been used with its different derivations according to the tense in point. However, other borrowed words have been left intact, and so spelled in their original fashion, such as the above mentioned Hebrew words of *سيجر* (*seiger*) and *مخسوم* (*makhsoum*). In addition, the study has shown that Palestinian Arabic has adopted other foreign words because such words can express the new ideas better than the local existing words. For example, *تورا بورا* (*Tora Bora*), *فورا* (*fora*), *متراس* (*mitras*), and others, connote concepts which can not be easily expressed without this adoption.

This spreading of such Intifada neologisms is an indicative of the ability of the Palestinian people to linguistically resist and withstand the efforts of the Israeli occupation authority to cancel the cultural and national identity of the Palestinians. In this context, the Israeli occupation authorities have repeatedly tried to change the names of Palestinian cities, villages and towns in an effort to make Hebrew, language of the occupier, dominant. But, the inventiveness of Palestinian Arabic has caused them, to a large extent, to fail.

The Israeli military occupation authorities have used terms such as *violence/terror acts* to describe the Intifada. Unquestionably, and according to Ibn Khaldoun's linguistic theory (1986:379), the occupier's language could have dominated Palestinian Arabic in view of the fact that Hebrew is the language of power. Yet, to find out that Palestinian Arabic has exercised its will upon the occupier's language in the two Intifadas is an indicative of the linguistic strategies of resistance which the Palestinians have developed to present their cause, and project their identity, effectively in other languages.

Similarly, and having analyzed different examples of Intifada neologisms in Chapter Three of this study, the researcher would like to draw the following translational conclusions:

1. Inaccurate translations resulting from cultural mismatches, and difference, are considered serious because they lead to the distortion of the correct meaning of the source language neologism. They can be avoided by resorting to the original meaning so that better renditions can be provided.
2. The study has made assertions that in order to keep the cultural implications of these culture-bound neologisms, some additions need to be included in the translation. In this case, it is necessary that the translator possess adequate linguistic and cultural background about the SL, i. e., Palestinian Arabic and the Palestinian politico-human context in the two Intifadas.
3. The study promotes the belief that translators are important means of publicizing these neologisms. In other words, they help in marketing them into other languages. In this regard, Didaoui (1996) states that acceptance of a neologism "is reached when translators use it collectively without any reluctance".
4. It has been found that often translators have not used the appropriate cultural equivalents, and so their renditions have not conveyed all the nuances and the subtleties accurately. After all, rendering an appropriate translation of these neologisms requires the translator to be acquainted with the pragmatic, semantic and cultural aspects of both Palestinian Arabic and English. Considering these aspects helps the

translator in compensating any possible loss caused by the cultural differences. That is, this helps in giving the original meaning of these neologisms to the target readers.

5. Palestinian Arabic has had some changes in its vocabulary, in that a Palestinian Arabic speaker before the breakout of the two related Intifadas would not understand the linguistic additions, i. e., the neologisms, to Palestinian Arabic.
6. Being faced with these neologisms and their implications, it is not easy for all translators to fully understand and properly render them into English. The neologisms have become replete with new meanings, associations and images. Thus, the original meanings of these words are a lot more complex and sophisticated than those in their translations.
7. The translations in point assert the idea that it is important to remember at whom a translation is targeted and what translation effect it is expected to produce. The given translations often show that they are sometimes managed to meet the ideology of the translator and of his/her readership, too. In this context, Gutt (2000:237) believes that the translator should "take into account the specific contextual background of the audience s/he is working for". Consequently, shaheed is sometimes mis-translated as killed, and the like.
8. The study also shows that the translators' attitudes and views towards the concepts of these neologisms are important in deciding the strategy of translation. That is, the different strategies used can reflect this point. For example, the researcher believes that using the explanation

strategy indicates that the translators are highly motivated and interested in giving the original meaning and in being faithful to the source language neologism.

9. The study emphasizes the fact that the cultural aspect, which is embodied in these neologisms, can not be excluded in translation because language is part of culture. That is, the context, or the situation, is important in achieving an adequate understanding of a neologism or a cultural expression. In fact, this is necessary for the process of translating since it is almost impossible to accurately render a neologism without understanding its cultural context or situation.
10. In dealing with the meanings of existing words with new meanings, as one type of neologisms, the dictionary may not be the only source to depend on as it furnishes several shades of meanings which may not relate to the new sense. Add the fact that many neologisms are so recent that they are not listed in traditional dictionaries. In this case, the translator has to consider the contextual meaning, or the user's meaning, in his/her attempt to choose the appropriate rendition for that type of neologisms.
11. On the appropriateness of the methods to translate Intifada neologisms, the following suggestions can be considered:
 - a) It has been found that some neologisms require more than one translation strategy. That is, many of them have been transferred and explained at the same time.
 - b) Descriptive translation and translation by paraphrase have been found appropriate in dealing with neologisms that do not have equivalents in

English. Actually, they are safe translational strategies to use when the two languages are culturally different. However, the intended impact of the source language neologism will not be entirely retained as it sacrifices, or loses, some of its cultural association or significance. To illustrate this, the translation of ردة (radi`) as *deterrence* seems inappropriate if its actual meaning is not paraphrased or unpacked.

c) Expansion wherein the translator can add the missing information about the neologism is also workable and proper. It enables target readers to achieve better recognition and understanding of the terms.

d) Transference is the most frequently used strategy in translating many neologisms. According to Newmark (1988:96), this strategy "offers local colour and atmosphere" as it emphasizes the source language culture and helps in preserving the cultural effect.

e) Word-for-word translation strategy is used with some neologisms, such as ردة (radi`), rendered as *deterrent* and شهيد (shaheed), commonly rendered as *martyr*. This method has not proved to be successful in the cases of these neologisms because the neologism, by this strategy, is given its most common and usual meaning irrespective of its contextual implications. In other words, it does not give a thorough illustration about the concept of the neologism. For instance, rendering طريق التفافي as *by-pass road* does not preserve the implications of this neologism as it is now used to denote both roads used by settlers and by Palestinians.

f) Literal translation does not work in translating Intifada neologisms because it distorts the actual meanings of the terms.

12. Regarding the translational strategies used in the translation of Intifada neologisms, the researcher has reached another classification:

a) Neologisms that have been translated literally into English, and these literal translations have established themselves as part of the English linguistic repertoire. Though they have not been widely referred to in this study, these neologisms are actually used in English. Examples of these are: *United National Leadership* (UNL) for القيادة الوطنية الموحدة, *scorched land* for الأرض المحروقة, *targeted killing*, for *ightiyal*, and the like. In other words, the cultural neologism is dropped here, but its semantic equivalent is kept instead.

b) Neologisms that have been transferred into English and have been recurrently used after having been explained at the beginning. These neologisms have also become part of the lexis of English. For instance, *shaheed* has been listed in online/and modern dictionaries, as shown before. Also, neologisms such as *tanzim*, *Intifada*, etc. can sometimes be found in English sources without any additional information.

c) Neologisms that have been commonly used in Palestinian Arabic, but have not been found in English sources as neologisms. These are referred to in level two of each category in the discussion and analysis (Chapter 3).

d) Neologisms whose meanings have been explained and paraphrased into English after being transferred such as: *shabeh*, *al-fora*, etc.

e) Neologisms that have been managed in translation to meet certain purposes which could be related either to the translator's, or the reader's, ideology. Examples of these are in most of the erroneous translations

discussed above, such as rendering *mutarad* as *hunted*, *makhsoum* as *checkpoint*, *shaheed* as *killed*, etc. This also includes the use of euphemism in some cases, as in translating *ameel* as *collaborator*.

13. Lastly, the discussion shows that the most common and appropriate translation strategies which translators are advised to employ in translating Intifada neologisms are: transference or borrowing, paraphrasing, cultural equivalent (if available), addition of missing information and combination of more than one strategy.

4. 2. Recommendations:

Based on his conclusions, the researcher would like to end this study by making the following recommendations:

1. Translating Intifada neologisms should be done by translators who are acquainted with the Palestinian culture, and with the two Intifadas, because understanding these neologisms, in their politico-economocultural context, helps them in rendering them properly. In addition, interested translators are recommended to do some research about them before doing their translations. That is, translators should care for the cultural implications of such neologisms.
2. Translators even need to be well versed in the two cultures of the two languages they are working with, i. e., the culture which generates the neologisms and the culture towards which they translate. On the other hand, they need to have background information about the subject matter so that they can come up with the exact translation of the neologisms in question.
3. Reducing the use of borrowed neologisms, especially from Hebrew, and replacing them with Palestinian generated neologisms, is highly necessary for preserving the Palestinian national implications of a just cause and a threatened identity.
4. Because of the current, and special, situation in Palestine, Palestinian Arabic continues to add neologisms and new expressions to its repertoire. As a result, translators are recommended to keep up with the newly formed Intifada neologisms and try to think about target language correspondences to replace them when needed. This also

requires them to have access to their use in different contexts. They can take notes about any newly generated word and see its approximate, or near, equivalent in similar linguistic – and other material.

5. To prevent their disappearance after being culturally accepted, researchers and linguistics experts are recommended to incorporate the neologisms of the two Intifadas into dictionaries. Indeed, they are important in helping Palestinian Arabic develop and in establishing a record for future philological – and other studies of the language.
6. It is important that translators consider the appropriate procedures explained above when dealing with Intifada neologisms, or with any other culturally-bound expressions.
7. No matter how lengthy the renditions are, the translator is recommended to end up translating these neologisms with accurate conveyance that, at least, signifies parts of the cultural meanings of the neologisms in point.
8. Further studies on translating linguistic neologisms, in general, and on the translation of Intifada neologisms, in particular, are recommended because this area has not been researched enough by others.
9. Translators need to be aware of the category to which these neologisms belong, i. e., how such neologisms are generated and formed, for they usually reflect a story, an issue, an existence, a struggle, a jihad for survival, etc., in the generating society.

Finally, the researcher concludes by quoting Forster (2001, para.1) who believes that “translation is like health: if it's good, you don't notice it. But if it's not (or if some reviewer thinks it is not), it becomes very important and can ruin a whole book, just as even a minor health problem can ruin your whole life”.

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Appendixes:

Appendix One: A List of Illustrative Pictures

Picture One: (*Mulatham*), page 68.

Picture Two: (*Shabeh*), page 72.

Picture Three: (*Shaheed*), page 78.

Picture Four: (*Makhsoum*), page 113.

Picture Five: (*Makhsoum*), page 114.

Picture Six: (*Makhsoum Tayar*), page 127.

Appendix Two: Palestinian Arabic Neologisms That Have Become Part of English:

`Ameel: someone who betrays his/her nation and offers information to the occupier.

At-tantheem (Tanzim): (Arabic for ‘organization’). Part of Fateh on the ground in the OPT; operates as loose collection of militias for enforcing order; originated in Fateh cadres operating in the OPT, both before and during the first Intifada, that formed the "inside" leadership. Seen as the leading force in directing the Al-Aqsa Intifada.

Hajiz: Refers to the checkpoints set up by the occupation forces on roads to deter the movement of Palestinians from one place to another.

Hisar: The closure and blockade of Palestinian cities and barring all access to them.

Intifada: (Uprising’; Arabic, lit.: ‘shaking off’). (1) What is today referred to as “first Intifada” erupted in Gaza on 9 Dec. 1987 after four Palestinians were killed when an Israeli truck collided with two vans carrying Palestinian workers. Ensuing clashes spread rapidly to the rest of the Occupied Palestinian Territories. It aimed at ending the Israeli occupation and establishing Palestinian independence. (2) Also referred to as Al-Aqsa Intifada; Began on 28 Sept. 2000 when Ariel Sharon made a provocative visit to Al-Aqsa Mosque, with thousands of security forces deployed in and around the Old City. The first Intifada was characterized by different patterns of struggle, such as stones, Molotov cocktails, burned tires, etc. However, the crimes of the Israeli occupation led the Palestinians to use military means in the second Intifada.

Isqat: a form of sexual blackmail in which Palestinians are allegedly lured by Israeli agents or other collaborators, photographed in compromising situations, and then pressured to collaborate under the threat of publicizing the photographs.

Jarih: a person wounded as a result of an Israeli aggressive act.

Ku`: A Palestinian invented weapon (home-made bomb), in the shape a knee piece of a curved pipe filled with explosives and used as an explosive charge. It has the ability to kill and hurt within a square of ten meters.

Matloub: a resistance member who is "wanted" by the occupation authorities.

Mulatham: One covering his head in an attempt to conceal his identity in case a traitor identifies and reports him to the enemy.

Musta`ribine: Special Israeli army units whose members are often dressed as Palestinians either in normal civilian clothes or Arab traditional costume, in an attempt to disguise themselves among the Palestinian crowd.

Mutarad: A Palestinian fugitive who is pursued by the occupation force.

Radi`: punishment inflicted against the Israeli agents.

Shabeh: An interrogation method used against Palestinian detainees which combines different forms such as sensory isolation, sleep deprivation, and infliction of pain. It also entails shackling the detainee's hands and legs to a small chair, angled to slant forward so that the detainee cannot sit in a stable position. The detainee's head is covered with an often-filthy sack and loud music is played non-stop through loudspeakers. Detainees in shabeh are not allowed to sleep. Sleep deprivation is achieved by using the shabeh combination and by having the guard on-duty wake up any detainee who dozes off.

Shaheed: A title to every Palestinian who falls in action while fighting the Israeli occupation forces.

Tahdi`ah: Reducing the intensity of clashes or escalation activities initiated by the two fighting forces: the occupation and the resistance.

Tajreef: Razing the Palestinian agricultural land in a desperate attempt to provide protection to soldiers and settlers.

Tashfeer: A type of punishment inflicted on traitors, or collaborators with, the occupier.

Tas`id: Refers escalating the degree of confrontation with Israeli occupation forces.

`Um Al-Abed: A locally made explosive from chemical material taking the shape of a soap bar.

`Usfour: Collaborator (informer, traitor) in prisons and detention facilities who assists interrogators in their tasks, sometimes even in torturing Palestinian detainees.

Appendix Three: Palestinian Arabic Neologisms That Have Become Part of Hebrew:

Intifada: (See Appendix Two).

Musta`ribine: (See Appendix Two).

Shaheed: (See Appendix Two).

Tanzim: (See Appendix Two).

Appendix Four: Palestinian Arabic Neologisms Originally from Latin:

Doubal: Refers to Palestinian drivers who make each side of the road at the checkpoints and road blocks compounded or doubled with more than one track to try to avoid the lengthy waiting.

Fora: Refers to the "prisoners` leaving of their cells to an open area to take a break.

Kabsoula: A secret letter used by Palestinian prisoners to exchange information with their relatives and friends outside the prison.

Mitras: Barricade of rocks, tires, car bodies and old fridges set up by Palestinian activists to block the advancement of enemy and to take cover behind them when they are shot at.

Molotov: An incendiary bomb made of breakable container, usually glass bottles.

Nflash: describes an activist who switches loyalty from one faction to another.

Appendix Five: Palestinian Arabic Neologisms Originally from Hebrew:

Al-Bursh: Refers to wooden boards on which prisoners sleep.

Makhsoum: Refers to a roadblock set up by the occupation soldiers to prevent Palestinians from free movement.

Seiger: Siege imposed by the occupation forces on Palestinian areas.

Appendix Six: Palestinian Arabic Neologisms That Have not Appeared in Foreign Translations:

`Aziza: A large Israeli military vehicle used in invading Palestinian areas.

Beit Khaltak: A euphemism of prison or jail, used by way of beautifying the bad connotations of such prison or jail.

Dalal: A normal Israeli military patrol.

Ghayamat: Palestinian resistance members have used this term to warn each other when they see the occupation forces advance towards them.

Ikhtiraq: Refers to the occupier's ability to penetrate through groups of resistance.

Kabsoula: A secret letter used by Palestinian prisoners to exchange information with their relatives and friends outside the prison.

Kahsh: Describes clattering, rattling or clanking of weapons.

Khadija: A loudspeaker carried in one's hand.

Khansa` Filisteen: Refers to Marriam Farhat, mother of three Palestinian martyrs. She has been honored with the name *Khansa of Palestine* after an Arab Muslim woman in the early days of Islam, who exhorted her four sons to fight heroically. She lost all her sons in Al-Qadisiyyah battle.

Kirsana: Describes stones and rocks Palestinian youths used to pelt Israeli occupation soldiers and their vehicles with.

Mad`oum: One who has connections with high officials be they occupiers or fellow citizens

Mahrooq: Describes those discovered to be collaborating with the occupier. As a result, they lose their people's respect.

Mashbouh: a person who is suspected of being a traitor.

Masoura: a simple home-made machinegun of a metal pipe that is used to fire bullets.

Mudahamat: Describes the operations (arrests, attacks, raids, etc.) which Israeli occupation soldiers have been carrying out in the Palestinian cities, towns, villages and refugee camps.

Muk`abat : concrete barricades erected at checkpoints, barriers and on the roads leading to Israeli settlements. In the second Intifada, they have been also placed at the entrances of mud and mountainous roads to block Palestinian movement.

Nazil Zawya: The status of the Palestinian prisoner who is suspected of being a *khayen* (traitor).

Taiyar (Al-Rajul): Describes the *jasus* (spy) after being exposed. Usually, he runs away to escape different types of punishment.

Takh: Refers the echo of the Israeli soldiers` firing at Palestinians

talmi`: A term used to describe the occupier`s attempt to highlight a person by showing him a very dangerous nationalist to deceive people.

`Um `Ali: Home-made explosives

`Um As-sa`id: An M16 submachine gun.

`Um Mahmoud: An advanced automatic M16 submachine gun.

`Urs Ash-shahid: Refers to the "funeral procession of a martyr before laying him to rest.

Zawya: a place of interrogation in a prison's room.

Appendix Seven: Palestinian Arabic Neologisms that Perhaps Many Arabs Use:

Hajiz Tayar/ (flying checkpoint): A special type of checkpoints/blockades which the Israeli occupation forces set up on roads aiming at blocking people's passage.

Ightiyal : refers to the treacherous killing of Palestinian resistance members at the hands of Israeli occupation forces, with the help of their agents and traitors who give the occupation forces information about the whereabouts of these members.

Jarih: (See Appendix Two).

Matloub: (See Appendix Two).

Mulatham: (See Appendix Two).

Radi` : (See Appendix Two).

Shaheed: (See Appendix Two).

Tariq Iltifafai: Refers to the roads which Palestinian citizens use, as a result of the closure of Palestinian cities, to avoid Israeli roadblocks set up on the main streets to those cities.

Tasfiya: Eradication of a resistance member by killing rather than arresting or injuring him.

Tora Bora: Describes the dusty, dangerous, rocky and unpaved roads which the Palestinians are obliged to take because of the occupier preventing them from using the main roads when moving among cities, towns and villages.

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