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**Water Turned Into Wine: Comparing And Contrasting
Classical Arabic, Lebanese, Moroccan And Maltese Versions**

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Abstract

Typologically, the modern Maltese language is poised between the Arabic dialectal bundle, on the one hand, and Romance languages, particularly Sicilian and Italian, on the other. Moreover, Maltese is unevenly poised between eastern and western dialectal varieties of Arabic, with a considerable inclination towards the Maghribi dialects. One way of observing the varying degrees of correspondence between Maltese and Arabic is to compare and contrast Arabic (Classical, Lebanese, and Moroccan) and Maltese translations of a literary text, in this case, an excerpt from the Gospel of St. John. Lebanese and Moroccan represent eastern and western Arabic typologies respectively. The arbitrary choice of a relatively short excerpt – John 2:1-12 – precludes any accurate pronouncements about the areal affiliation/s of the Arabic element in Maltese. The aim of this study is limited to the consideration of issues of formal correspondence and translation equivalence via the textual segmentation of the four versions under consideration.

1. Introduction

One can safely state that Maltese is the closest language to Arabic. It is derived from Arabic varieties which entered the Maltese archipelago at the time of the Arab

conquest (AD 870 onwards) and later. Subsequently, from around the twelfth century onwards, whatever form of Arabic spoken in Malta started being exposed to prolonged contact with Sicilian and other Romance varieties, emerging as a *lingua maltensi* by the 15th century. Very little, if any, linguistic replenishment from the neighbouring Arab countries reached the Maltese archipelago from the 16th century onwards. However, one cannot exclude the possibility that the contact between the local population of about 30,000 during the 16th century, and later, with the sizeable slave community of North African and Syrian origins, could have left its linguistic impact on the Maltese language¹. During the 19th century, apart from the Italian language, which had been the official language of the Order of the Knights of St. John, Maltese came also under the influence of English. In 2004, Maltese became one of the 23 official languages of the European Union. The Arabic element in Maltese is very conspicuous in the verbal and nominal derivative morphology, as well as in the lexicon, whereas the Romance element includes a number of morphemic stems and suffixes, and a considerable number of lexical items. The Anglo-Saxon element is mainly felt in the domain of the modern lexis.

2. The Aim Of The Study

The present study is an empirical attempt at gauging, albeit tentatively, the formal correspondence and translation equivalence between four versions of the same Biblical excerpt, namely the miracle of the water turned into wine (John 2:1-12), in Classical Arabic, Lebanese and Moroccan Arabic, and Maltese. Notwithstanding the ever-growing amount of scholarly studies covering various linguistic aspects of the Maltese language, to my knowledge, this is the first time that a Maltese continuous

¹ In his monograph about slavery in the Maltese islands, the Maltese historian Godfrey Wettinger gives the following figures of slaves captured during different phases: 1547-1570: 2963; 1601-1621: 3616; 1624-1644: 3455. Not all of these slaves were kept in Malta and a number of them were sold abroad. Statistics from the 16th and later centuries are far from exhaustive, and sometimes do not include privately-owned slaves, women, children, old and infirm slaves. Slaves were engaged on the galleys of the Order of St. John, or on the private galleys of the Grand Master, and others were kept ashore. They played a very important role in the building of Malta's bastions and fortifications. Those kept ashore were allowed to conduct hawking around Valletta and the Grand Harbour area, coming into direct contact with the local Maltese population. In the evening, they retired to their 'bagnos', or prisons. The following are some incomplete statistics from the 16th and 17th centuries about Malta's slave population, as reported by Wettinger (2002: 32-35): 1565: 1000 (not including women, children, old and infirm slaves); 1582: 800; 1590: 1405 (owned by the Order and the Grand Master, but no details are available regarding slaves in private ownership); 1610: above 1500; 1632: 1933 (galley-slaves and those privately owned, but no details about slaves who were kept ashore are available); 1664: 2200 (slaves belonging to the Order and to private owners).

text is compared with different varieties of Arabic. This paper analyzes two source texts, one in Classical Arabic and the other one in Lebanese Arabic, and their translations in Moroccan and Maltese. The first analysis covers the source text in Classical Arabic and its translation in Moroccan Arabic and Maltese on the one hand, whereas the second analysis tackles the source text in Lebanese Arabic and its Maltese translation. The Classical Arabic version adopted for this study is that by Van Dyke², and the Moroccan version is taken from St. John's Gospel in Moroccan Arabic published by the British and Foreign Bible Society in 1961. An examination of the Moroccan translation reveals a high degree of correspondence with Van Dyke's translation, indicating that, most probably, the Moroccan version is based on Van Dyke's. I have adopted the latter version as the source text for my own Maltese translation of the abovementioned excerpt. Moreover, I made a second Maltese translation of the same Gospel excerpt based on Maurice Awaad's Lebanese translation of the four Gospels³. The Arabic versions and their Maltese translations are then segmented and analysed so as to assess the extent of the linguistic relationship between them.

3. Methodological Considerations

Given the close genealogical relationship between Arabic and Maltese, it is to be expected that, a literal, or direct, type of translation is, indeed, very possible and feasible. Thus, very often, the source text (ST) has been translated word-for-word into natural, idiomatic Maltese. This is even so given that the lexis of the biblical excerpt in question is not culturally complex, and is characterized by lexemes from the unsophisticated everyday reality which, in general, are reflected by cognates in Maltese. In fact, only ten loanwords from Italian were needed (four of them being proper nouns) in the two Maltese translations. In this paper, the term 'literal' goes beyond the usual narrow sense of keeping the formal features whilst ignoring contexts and meanings. Sections marked as 'literal translations' are, in fact, as contextually motivated and idiomatic as so-called 'formal translations'. However, at times, when this is not possible, an 'oblique' translation, which does not keep so close to the ST, is inevitable⁴. In this case, one may have to resort to what Vinay and Darbelnet call 'transposition', that is, a change in grammar from ST to TT, such as singular to plural,

² Eli Smith embarked upon this translation in 1847, but it was completed by Cornelius Van Allen Van Dyck (commonly rendered as Van Dyke) in Beirut. The New Testament was completed in 1860, and the Old Testament in 1865. I made use of the online version found at <http://www.arabicbible.com/bible/word/43-John.doc> (last access: 18.01.2011).

³ The initial edition of 2002 has been followed by two reprints in 2003 and 2006. The 2006 reprint has been used in this study.

⁴ The terms 'direct' and 'oblique' translations belong to Vinay, Darbelnet 1958/1995.

changes in the position of adjectives, or changes in the word class or part of speech, without affecting the sense⁵.

This study is based on an adaptation of the Vinay & Darbelnet model which compares translations on the basis of a number of literal and oblique translation procedures. Given the very close linguistic relationship between Arabic and Maltese in the grammatical sector, both in the nominal and verbal categories, the need was felt for a more detailed description of the grammatical and syntactic shifts at play, and therefore Vinay and Darbelnet's generic translation procedure 'transposition' has been replaced in this study by 'grammatical' and 'syntactic' shifts. Moreover, semantic, degree, modulation, equivalence, amplification, paraphrase, and omission shifts were also noted. Vinay and Darbelnet's method, which focuses on the translation product, was deemed more practical as far as the present exercise is concerned, than the complex model put forward by van Leuven-Zwart⁶, which lays emphasis on the translation process.

The twelve Gospel verses in the various linguistic versions have been segmented as follows:

Analysis 1: Classical Arabic (CA) – Moroccan (Mor.) – Maltese (Mal.): 61 segments;

Analysis 2: Lebanese (Leb.) – Maltese (Mal.): 62 segments.

These segments represent units of thought and their length may vary from individual words to grammatically linked groups, fixed expressions, as well as longer units. The segmentation process, which inevitably involves a degree of arbitrariness, facilitates the matching and the analysis of the various segments in the different linguistic versions⁷.

⁵ Vinay, Darbelnet 1977: 50.

⁶ Leuven-Zwart 1989; 1990.

⁷ I wish to thank Prof. Albert Borg (Institute of Linguistics, University of Malta) and Prof. Charles Briffa (Department of Translation and Interpreting Studies, Faculty of Arts, University of Malta) for their most welcome comments and advice during the preparation of this paper. I have consulted Prof. Briffa's publication *Translation Practice for the Maltese Bilingual*, in particular the sections about segmentation and matching.

4. Segmentation, Matching And Analysis

4.1. The Classical Arabic Source Text And Its Translation Into Moroccan Arabic And Maltese⁸

ST: Classical Arabic (STCA)		TT: Moroccan (TTMor.)	TT: Maltese (TTMal.)
wa-fi l-yawmi t-tāliṭi	1:1 1.1	ū-f-ən-nhār ət-tēlēt ⁹	u fit-tielet jum ¹⁰
kāna 'ursun	1:2 1.2	kēn wāḥd-əl-'ərs	kien hemm tieg
fī qānā l-ḡālīli	1:3 1.3	f-qāna dəl-ḡālīl	f'Kana tal-Galilija
wa-kānat 'ummū yasū'a hunāka	1:4 1.4	w-kēnət 'umm yasū' təmna	u omm Ġesù kienet hemm

⁸ The following abbreviations are used in this study: acc. = accusative; adj. = adjective / adjectival; adv. = adverb / adverbial; anal. = analytical; aux. = auxiliary; CA = Classical Arabic; cl. = clause; comp. = comparative; conj. = conjunction; constr. = construction; def. art. = definite article; encl. = enclitic; exp. = exponent; fem. = feminine; gen. = genitive; gen. const. = genitive construction; impf. = imperfective; impv. = imperative; indef. = indefinite; indir. = indirect; juss. = jussive; Leb. = Lebanese; lit. = literally; loc. = locative; Mal. = Maltese; m. = masculine; Mor. = Moroccan; n. = noun; neg. = negative / negator; nom. = nominal / nominative; obj. = object / -ive; pass. = passive; part. = participle; pf. = perfective; pers. = personal; ph. = phrase; pl. = plural; poss. = possessive; prep. = prepositional /-al; pron. = pronoun; rel. = relative; sent. = sentence; sg. = singular; ST = source text; subj. = subject; suff. = suffix; syn. = synthetic; TT = target text; vb. = verb / -al; √ = root morpheme.

⁹ The transcription of the Moroccan data is based on Colin's dictionary (see bibliography). The original printed version of the Gospel of St. John in Moroccan reproduces the fricatives *t* and *d* but these are not reproduced in my transcription.

¹⁰ 2 The translation into Maltese of Van Dyke's version was made by the author of this paper. The Maltese version is presented in the standard Maltese orthography. The orthographic symbols should not pose any problem. Only the following symbols need to be explained: q = /t/, z = /ts/ or /dz/, ž = /z/, x = /f/, ċ = /tʃ/, ġ = /dʒ/, ħ = /h/. The digraph 'gh' represents the Arabic voiced pharyngeal 'ayn. This sound is not realised anymore in Maltese, but vowels in its environment are usually realised as long. Orthographic 'h' represents the Arabic laryngeal spirant *hā*. It is realised as /h/ at the end of words, otherwise, word-initially or medially, it is not pronounced, but vowels in its environment are realised as long. The vocalic digraph 'ie' is realised as /i:/.

1. “On the third day (1) / there was a wedding (2) / in Cana of Galilee (3) / and the mother of Jesus was there. (4)”¹¹

- 1.1 STCA → TTMor.: **literal translation; lexical shift** *yawm* → *nhār*;
 STCA → TTMal.: **syntactic shift**: prep. + def. n. (*fī l-yawmi*) + def. adj. (*t-tāliti*)
 → prep. + def. adj. (*fīt-tielet*) + indef. n. (*jum*); full lexical correspondence;
 TTMor. → TTMal.: **syntactic shift**: prep. + def. n. (*f-ən-nhār*) + def. adj. (*ət-tēlat*) → prep. + def. adj. (*fīt-tielet*) + indef. n. (*jum*); **lexical shift**: *nhār* → *jum*.
- 1.2 STCA → TTMor.: **amplification**: addition of indef. marker *wāhd-əl-*;
 STCA → TTMal.: **amplification**: addition of adv. of place (*hemm*); **lexical shift**: *urs* → *tieġ*;
 TTMor. → TTMal.: **amplification**: addition of adv. of place (*hemm*); **lexical shift**: *ors* → *tieġ*¹².
- 1.3 STCA → TTMor.: **syntactic shift**: n. *qānā* + def. n. *al- ġalīl* → n. *qānā* + poss. prep. *d-* (*qānā dəl-żalīl*); full lexical correspondence;
 STCA → TTMal.: **syntactic shift**: n. *qānā* + def. n. *al- ġalīl* → n. *Kana* + poss. prep. *ta'* (*Kana tal-Galilija*); **lexical shifts**: *qānā* → *Kana*; *ġalīl* → *Galilija*¹³;
 TTMor. → TTMal.: **literal translation; lexical shifts**: *qāna* → *Kana*; *żalīl* → *Galilija*.
- 1.4 STCA → TTMor.: **literal translation; lexical shift**: *hunāka* → *təmma*;
 STCA → TTMal.: **syntactic shift**: vb. (*kānat*) + subj. (*'ummu yasū'a*) → subj. (*omm Ġesù*) + vb. (*kienet*); **lexical shifts**: *hunāka* → *hemm*; *yasū'* → *Ġesù*¹⁴;
 TTMor. → TTMal.: **syntactic shift**: vb. (*kēnət*) + subj. (*'umm yasū'*) → subj. (*omm Ġesù*) + vb. (*kienet*); **lexical shifts**: *təmma* → *hemm*; *yasū'* → *Ġesù*.

¹¹ Scripture taken from the New King James Version. Copyright © 1982 by Thomas Nelson, Inc. Used by permission. All rights reserved.

¹² In modern Maltese *ġħors* refers to ‘merry-making’. However, in the Maltese dictionaries by Vassal.i (1796) and Falzon (1845), the word still meant ‘wedding, nuptials’. In fact, an early Maltese translation of the Gospels by Giuseppe Canolo (1822), resorts to the word *ġħors* in his translation of the Cana wedding miracle (John 2:1). Moreover, Maltese *ġħors* reflects ‘*ors*’ in the Ribāfi, and ‘*ors*’ in the Tangier varieties of Moroccan (Colin 1993, vol.5: 1246).

¹³ Mal. *Kana* and *Galilija* are borrowings from Italian.

¹⁴ A borrowing from Italian.

ST: Classical Arabic (STCA)		TT: Moroccan (TTMor.)	TT: Maltese (TTMal.)
wa-du'iya 'ayḍan	1:1 2.1	w-ən'araḍ tēni	(2.2) kienu mistednin ukoll ¹⁵
yasū'u wa-talāmīḍuhu	1:2 2.2	yasū' wə-t-tlēmīd dyēlu	(2.1) Ġesù u d-dixxipli tiegħu
'ilā l-'ursi	1:3 2.3	ləl-'ərs	(2.3) għat-tieg

2. "Now both Jesus and His disciples (2) / were invited (1) / to the wedding. (3)" ¹⁵
- 2.1 STCA → TTMor.: **literal translation**; **lexical shifts**: *du'iya* → *ən'araḍ*; *'ayḍan* → *tēni*;
 STCA → TTMal.: **syntactic shift**: 3.m.sg. pf. internal passive (*du'iya*) → 3.m.pl. pf. vb. (*kienu*) + pl. pass. part. (*mistednin*); **omission** of conjunction; **lexical shifts**: *du'iya* → *kienu mistednin*; *'ayḍan* → *ukoll*;
 TTMor. → TTMal.: **grammatical shift**: 3.m.sg. pf. derived (VII) passive (*ən'araḍ*) → 3.m.pl. pf. vb. (*kienu*) + pl. pass. part. (*mistednin*); **omission** of conjunction; **lexical shifts**: *ən'araḍ* → *kienu mistednin*; *tēni* → *ukoll*.
- 2.2 STCA → TTMor.: **syntactic shift**: n. (*talāmīḍu*) + encl. pron. (*-hu*) → def. n. (*t-tlēmīd*) + poss. prep. (*dyēlu*); full lexical correspondence;
 STCA → TTMal.: **syntactic shift**: n. (*talāmīḍu*) + encl. pron. (*-hu*) → def. n. (*id-dixxipli*) + poss. prep. (*tiegħu*); **lexical shift**: *yasū'* → *Ġesù*; *talāmīḍ* → *dixxipli*;
 TTMor. → TTMal.: **literal translation**; **lexical shifts**: *yasū'* → *Ġesù*; *tlēmīd* → *dixxipli*; *dyēlu* → *tiegħu*;
- 2.3 STCA → TTMor.: **literal translation**; **lexical shift**: *'ilā* → *l-*;
 STCA → TTMal.: **literal translation**; **lexical shifts**: *'ilā* → *għal*; *'urs* → *tieg*;
 TTMor. → TTMal.: **literal translation**; **lexical shifts**: *l-* → *għal*; *'ərs* → *tieg*.

ST: Classical Arabic (STCA)		TT: Moroccan (TTMor.)	TT: Maltese (TTMal.)
wa-lammā faraġati l-ḥamru	1:1 3.1	w-ḥīn tqāda l-ḥmər	u meta spiçça l-inbid
qālat 'ummu yasū'a lahu	1:2 3.2	qālət-lu 'umm yasū'	omm Ġesù qaltlu
laysa lahum ḥamrun	1:3 3.3	mā 'andhum ḥmər	ma għandhomx inbid

¹⁵ Here one notices a stylistic shift, namely: (2.1) (2.2) (2.3) → (2.2) (2.1) (2.3).

3. "And when they ran out of wine (1) / the mother of Jesus said to Him (2) / 'They have no wine.' (3)"
- 3.1 STCA → TTMor.: **literal translation; lexical shifts:** *lammā* → *hūn*; *farāḡat* → *tqāda*;
 STCA → TTMal.: **literal translation; lexical shifts:** *lammā* → *meta*; *farāḡat* → *spicċa*; *hamr* → *inbid*;
 TTMor. → TTMal.: **literal translation; lexical shifts:** *hūn* → *meta*; *tqāda* → *spicċa*; *hmər* → *inbid*.
 STCA → TTMor.: **syntactic shift:** vb. (*qālat*) + subj. ('*ummu yasū*') + indir. obj. (*lahu*) → vb. + indir. obj. (*qālat- lu*) + subj. ('*umm yasū*'); full lexical correspondence;
 STCA → TTMal.: **syntactic shift:** vb. (*qālat*) + subj. ('*ummu yasū*') + indir. obj. (*lahu*) → subj. (*omm Ġesù*) + vb. + indir. obj. (*qaltlu*); **lexical shift:** *yasū* → *Ġesù*;
 TTMor. → TTMal.: **syntactic shift:** vb. + indir. obj. (*qālat-lu*) + subj. ('*umm yasū*') → subj. (*omm Ġesù*) + vb. + indir. obj. (*qaltlu*); **lexical shift:** *yasū* → *Ġesù*.
- 3.3 STCA → TTMor.: **syntactic shift:** 3.m.sg. pf. vb. (*laysa*) + prep. (*li*) + encl. pron. (*-hum*) → neg. *mā* + prep. ('*and*') + encl. pron. (*-hum*); **lexical shifts:** *laysa lahum* → *mā 'andhum*;
 STCA → TTMal.: **syntactic shift:** 3.m.sg. pf. vb. (*laysa*) + prep. (*li*) + encl. pron. (*-hum*) → neg. *mā* + prep. (*ghand*) + encl. pron. (*-hom*) + neg. *-x*; **lexical shifts:** *laysa lahum* → *ma ghandhomx*; *hamr* → *inbid*;
 TTMor. → TTMal.: **literal translation**¹⁶; **lexical shifts:** *hmər* → *inbid*.

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ST: Classical Arabic (STCA)		TT: Moroccan (TTMor.)	TT: Maltese (TTMal.)
qāla lahā yasū'u	1:1 4.1	qāl-lha yasū'	qalilha Ġesù
mā lī wa-laki	1:2 4.2	āš bīni w-bīnək	x'hemm bejni u bejnek
yā mra'atu	1:3 4.3	yā l-mrā	mara ¹⁷
lam ta'ti sā'atī ba'du	1:4 4.4	əs-sā'a dyēli mā zēla mā žēt	is-siegha tiegħi ghadha ma waslitx

¹⁶ In Moroccan Arabic, when the direct object, or the complement of a negative verb refers to a whole category (in this case the category of "wine"), rather than to a specific item, the verb is negated by *ma-* without the suffix *-š* (Harrell 1991: 154).

¹⁷ In modern Maltese, the use of vocative *ja* has become restricted to two diametrically opposite contexts: 1. liturgical and ecclesiastical language (such as *Ja Mulej* 'O Lord') and 2. insulting language (such *ja kelb* lit. 'you dog!').

4. "Jesus said to her (1) / 'Woman (3) / what does your concern have to do with Me? (2) / My hour has not yet come.' (4)"
- 4.1 STCA → TTMor.: **literal translation**; full lexical correspondence;
 STCA → TTMal.: **literal translation**; **lexical shift**: *yasū'* → Ġesù;
 TTMor. → TTMal.: **literal translation**; **lexical shift**: *yasū'* → Ġesù.
- 4.2 STCA → TTMor.: **equivalence**: lit. 'What is to me and to you?' → lit. 'What is between me and between you?';
 STCA → TTMal.: **equivalence**: lit. 'What is to me and to you?' → lit. 'What is there between me and between you?';
 TTMor. → TTMal.: **amplification**: addition of adv. of place *hemm*.
- 4.3 STCA → TTMor.: **amplification** and **degree shift**: addition of def. art. to the noun (*l-mṛā*); full lexical correspondence;
 STCA → TTMal.: **omission** of vocative;
 TTMor. → TTMal.: **omission** of vocative¹⁸.
- 4.4 STCA → TTMor.: **syntactic shift**: neg. 3.fem.sg. juss. vb. (*lam ta'ti*) + adv. (*ba'du*) → circumstantial neg. cl. (*mā zēla*) + 3.fem.sg. neg. pf. vb (*mā zēt*); **syntactic shift**: n. + encl. pron. (*sā'atī*) → def. n. + poss. prep. (*əs-sā'a dyēli*); **lexical shifts**: *lam ta'ti* → *mā zēt*; *ba'du* → *mā zēl(a)*;
 STCA → TTMal.: **syntactic shift**: neg. 3.fem.sg. juss. vb. (*lam ta'ti*) + adv. (*ba'du*) → circumstantial neg. cl. (*ghadha*) + 3.fem.sg. neg. pf. vb. (*ma waslitx*); **syntactic shift**: n. + encl. pron. (*sā'atī*) → def. n. + poss. prep. (*is-siegha tieghī*); **lexical shifts**: *lam ta'ti* → *ma waslitx*; *ba'du* → *ghad(ha)*;
 TTMor. → TTMal.: **literal translation**: **lexical shifts**: *dyēli* → *tieghī*; *mā zēla* → *ghadha*; *mā zēt* → *ma waslitx*.

ST: Classical Arabic (STCA)		TT: Moroccan (TTMor.)	TT: Maltese (TTMal.)
qālat 'ummuhu	1:1 5.1	qālet 'ummu	ommu qalet
lill-ḥuddāmi	5.2	ləl-mət'allmīn	lill-qaddejja
mahmā qāla lakum	1:2 5.3	kull mā yqūl-lkum	kulma jghidilkom
fa-f'alūhu	1:3 5.4	'mlūh	aghmluh

5. "His mother said (1) / to the servants (2) / 'Whatever He says to you (3) / do it.' (4)"

¹⁸ The usual vocative particle in Moroccan is *ā*, whereas *yā* is less common. Both particles require the definite article when used with a common noun (Harrell 1991: 215).

- 5.1 STCA → TTMor.: **literal translation**; full lexical correspondence;
 STCA → TTMal.: **syntactic shift**: vb. (*qālat*) + subj. (*'ummuhu*) → subj. (*ommu*) + vb. (*qalet*); full lexical correspondence;
 TTMor. → TTMal.: **syntactic shift**: vb. (*qālat*) + subj. (*'ummu*) → subj. (*ommu*) + vb. (*qalet*); full lexical correspondence.
- 5.2 STCA → TTMor.: **literal translation**; **lexical shift**: *huddām* → *mit'allmīn*;
 STCA → TTMal.: **literal translation**; **lexical shift**: *huddām* → *qaddejja*;
 TTMor. → TTMal.: **literal translation**; **lexical shift**: *mət'allmīn* → *qaddejja*.
- 5.3 STCA → TTMor.: **tense shift**: 3.m.sg. pf. vb. (*qāla*) → 3.m.sg. impf. vb. (*yqūl*);
lexical shift: *mahmā* → *kull mā*;
 STCA → TTMal.: **tense shift**: 3.m.sg. pf. vb. (*qāla*) → 3.m.sg. impf. vb. (*jghid*); **lexical shifts**: *mahmā* → *kulma*; √QWL → √'WD;
 TTMor. → TTMal.: **literal translation**; **lexical shift**: *yqūl* → *jghid*.
- 5.4 STCA → TTMor.: **literal translation**; **lexical shift**: *if'alūhu* → *'malūh*;
 STCA → TTMal.: **literal translation**; **lexical shift**: *if'alūhu* → *agħmluh*;
 TTMor. → TTMal.: **literal translation**; full lexical correspondence.

ST: Classical Arabic (STCA)		TT: Moroccan (TTMor.)	TT: Maltese (TTMal.)
wā-kānat sittatu 'aġrānin	1:1 6.1	w-kēnu setta d-əl-ħwēbi	u kien hemm sitt ġarar
min ħiġāratin	1:2 6.2	d-əl-ħžər	tal-ħaġar
mawqū'atan hunāka	1:3 6.3	mnəzzlīn tamma	mġieghda hemm
ħasaba tathīri l-yahūdi	1:4 6.4	'la qā'idət ət-təthīr d-əl-īhūd	skont il-purifikazzjoni tal-Lhud
yasa'u kullu wāhidin	1:3 6.5	tīrfəd kull wəhda	kull waħda tesa'
miṭrayni 'aw talāṭatan	1:4 6.6	zūž d-əl-qrəb āw tlēta	mija jew mija u għoxrin litru

6. "Now there were (1) / set there (3) / six waterpots (1) / of stone (2) / according to the manner of purification of the Jews (4) / containing (5) / twenty or thirty gallons (6) / apiece. (5)"

- 6.1 STCA → TTMor.: **number shift**: 3.fem.sg. pf. vb. (*kānat*) → 3.pl. pf. vb. (*kēnu*); **syntactic shift**: nom. numeral (*sittatu*) + gen. n. (*'ağrānin*) → numeral (*satta*) + gen. exp. (*d-*) + def. n. (*əl-hwēbi*); **lexical shift**: *'ağrān* → *hwēbi*¹⁹; STCA → TTMal.: **number shift**: 3.fem.sg. pf. vb. (*kānat*) → 3.m.sg. pf. vb. (*kien*); **amplification**: addition of adv. of place *hemm*; **lexical shift**: *'ağrān* → *ğarar*;
TTMor. → TTMal.: **number shift**: 3.pl. pf. vb. (*kēnu*) → 3.m.sg. pf. vb. (*kien*); **syntactic shift**: numeral (*satta*) + gen. exp. (*d-*) + def. n. (*əl-hwēbi*) → numeral (*sitt*) + indef. n. (*ğarar*); **amplification**: addition of adv. *hemm*; **lexical shift**: *hwēbi* → *ğarar*.
- 6.2 STCA → TTMor.: **syntactic shift**: prep. ph. (*min hiğāratin*) → gen. exp. (*d-*) + def. n. (*əl-hžar*);
STCA → TTMal.: **syntactic shift**: prep. ph. (*min hiğāratin*) → gen. exp. (*ta'*) + def. n. (*l-ħağar*);
TTMor. → TTMal.: **literal translation**; **lexical shift**: gen. exp. *d-* (< *dyəl*) → *ta'*.
- 6.3 STCA → TTMor.: **number shift**: fem.sg. pass. part. (*mawḏū'atan*) → m.pl. pass. part. (*mnəzzlīn*); **lexical shifts**: *mawḏū'atan* → *mnəzzlīn*; *hunāka* → *təmma*;
STCA → TTMal.: **literal translation**; **lexical shifts**: *mawḏū'atan* → *mqieğħda*; *hunāka* → *hemm*;
TTMor. → TTMal.: **number shift**: m.pl. pass. part. (*mnəzzlīn*) → fem.sg. pass. part. (*mqieğħda*); **lexical shifts**: *mnəzzlīn* → *mqieğħda*; *təmma* → *hemm*.
- 6.4. STCA → TTMor.: **amplification**: *'la qā'idət* ('according to the custom'); **syntactic shift**: syn. const. (*taḥīri l-yahūdi*) → anal. const. (*ət-taḥīr d-əl-ihūd*);
STCA → TTMal.: **syntactic shift**: syn. const. (*taḥīri l-yahūdi*) → anal. const. (*il-purifikazzjoni tal-Lhud*); **lexical shifts**: *ħasaba* → *skont*; *taḥīri* → *purifikazzjoni*; *yahūd* → *Lhud*;
TTMor. → TTMal.: **literal translation**; **lexical shifts**: *'la qā'idət* → *skont*; *taḥīr* → *purifikazzjoni*; *ihūd* → *Lhud*.
- 6.5 STCA → TTMor.: **semantic shift**: m. vb. (*yasa'u*) + distributive quantifier (*kullu*) + m.n. (*wāhidin*) → fem.vb. (*tirfəd*) + distributive quantifier (*kull*) + fem. n. (*wəħda*);
STCA → TTMal.: **syntactic shift**: m. vb. (*yasa'u*) + distributive quantifier (*kullu*) + m. n. (*wāhidin*) → distributive quantifier (*kull*) + fem. n. (*wāħda*)

¹⁹ *vōpía* a container for water – 'pitcher, water jar' (Louw, Nida 1989, vol. 1: 69); Mor. *hwēbi* (sg. *hābya*) 'sorte de grandre amphore ou de grande jarre étroite et haute, en terre cuite, sans anses' (Collin, 1993, vol. 2: 414); Leb. *ğrēn* (sg. *ğərn*) 'réservoir à eau, évier de cuisine en pierre' (Barthélemy 110); Mal. *ğarar* (sg. *ğarra*) 'jar, churn' (Aquilina 1987, vol. 1: 380).

- + fem. vb. (*tesa'*); **semantic shift**: m. n. (*wāḥida*) + m. vb. (*yasa'u*) → fem. n. (*wāḥda*) + fem. vb. (*tesa'*); full lexical correspondence;
- TTMor. → TTMal.: **syntactic shift**: vb. (*tirfād*) + distributive quantifier (*kull*) + n. (*wāḥda*) → distributive quantifier (*kull*) + n. (*wāḥda*) + vb. (*tesa'*); **lexical shift**: *tirfād* → *tesa'*.
- 6.6 STCA → TTMor.: **syntactic shift and paraphrase**: dual n. (*miṭrayni*) → numeral *zūz* + gen. exp. (*d-*) + def. n. (*əl-qrəb*);
- STCA → TTMal.: **paraphrase**: dual n. (*miṭrayni*) → paraphrase;
- TTMor. → TTMal.: **paraphrase**: numeral (*zūz*) + gen. exp. (*d-*) + def. n. (*əl-qrəb*) → paraphrase.

ST: Classical Arabic (STCA)		TT: Moroccan (TTMor.)	FT: Maltese (TTMal.)
qāla lahum yasū'u	1:1 7.1	qāl-lhum yasū'	qalilhom Ġesù
imla'ū l-'ağrāna mā'an	1:2 7.2	'ammṛū l-ḥwēbi bəl-ma	imlew il-ġarar bl-ilma
fa-mala'ūhā	1:3 7.3	w-'ammṛūhum	u mlewhom
'ilā fawqu	1:4 7.4	ḥetta ləl-fumm	sax-xifer

7. "Jesus said to them (1) / 'Fill the waterpots with water.' (2) / And they filled them up (3) / to the brim. (4)"
- 7.1 STCA → TTMor.: **literal translation**; full lexical correspondence;
STCA → TTMal.: **literal translation**; **lexical shift**: *yasū'* → *Ġesù*;
TTMor. → TTMal.: **literal translation**; **lexical shift**: *yasū'* → *Ġesù*.
- 7.2 STCA → TTMor.: **syntactic shift**: acc. n. of specificity (*mā'an*) → prep. (*b-*) + def. n. (*əl-ma*); **lexical shifts**: *imla'ū* → *'ammṛū*; *'ağrān* → *ḥwēbi*;
STCA → TTMal.: **syntactic shift**: acc. n. of specificity (*mā'an*) → prep. (*b-*) + def. n. (*l-ilma*); **lexical shift**: *'ağrān* → *ġarar*;
TTMor. → TTMal.: **literal translation**; **lexical shifts**: *'ammṛū* → *imlew*; *ḥwēbi* → *ġarar*.
- 7.3 STCA → TTMor.: **number shift**: 3.m.pl. pf. vb. (*mala'ū*) + 3.fem.sg. obj. suff. (*-hā*) → 3.m.pl. pf. vb. (*'ammṛū*) + 3.m.pl. obj. suff. (*-hum*); **lexical shift**: *mala'ū* → *'ammṛū*;
STCA → TTMal.: **number shift**: 3.m.pl. pf. vb. (*mala'ū*) + 3.fem.sg. obj. suff. (*-hā*) → 3.m.pl. pf. vb. (*mlew*) + 3.m.pl. obj. suff. (*-hom*); **lexical shift**: *fa-* → *u*;

- TTMor. → TTMal.: **literal translation; lexical shift:** *'ammrū* → *mlew*.
 7.4 STCA → TTMor.: **equivalence:** lit. 'to the top' (*fawqu*) → 'to the mouth' (*fumm*);
 STCA → TTMal.: **equivalence:** lit. 'to the top' (*fawqu*) → 'to the edge' (*xifer*);
 TTMor. → TTMal.: **equivalence:** lit. 'to the mouth' (*fumm*) → 'to the edge' (*xifer*).

ST: Classical Arabic (STCA)		TT: Moroccan (TTMor.)	TT: Maltese (TTMal.)
ṭumma qāla lahum	1:1 8.1	w-qāl-lhum	imbagħhad qalilhom
istaqū l-'āna	1:2 8.2	isqiw dāba	issa ħudu minnu
wa-qaddimū	1:3 8.3	w-iddiw	u newlu
'ilā ra'īsī l-muttaka'i	1:4 8.4	lə-mqaddəm əl-'ərs	lil dak li jieħu ħsieb il-mejda
fa-qaddamū	8.5	w-əddiwāh	u newluh

8. "And He said to them (1) / 'Draw *some* out now (2) / and take *it* (3) / to the master of the feast.' (4) / And they took *it*. (5)"

- 8.1 STCA → TTMor.: **semantic shift:** *ṭumma* → *w-*;
 STCA → TTMal.: **literal translation; lexical shift:** *ṭumma* → *imbagħhad*;
 TTMor. → TTMal.: **semantic shift:** *w-* → *imbagħhad*.
 8.2 STCA → TTMor.: **literal translation; lexical shifts:** *istaqū* → *isqiw*; *al-'āna* → *dāba*;
 STCA → TTMal.: **syntactic shift:** impv. (*istaqū*) + adv. (*al-'āna*) → adv. (*issa*) + impv. (*ħudu*); **lexical shifts:** hyponym *istaqū* → hyperonym *ħudu minnu*; *al-'āna* → *issa*;
 TTMor. → TTMal.: **syntactic shift:** impv. (*isqiw*) + adv. (*dāba*) → adv. (*issa*) + impv. (*ħudu*); **lexical shifts:** hyponym *isqiw* → hyperonym *ħudu minnu*; *dāba* → *issa*.
 8.3 STCA → TTMor.: **literal translation; lexical shift:** *qaddimū* → *iddiw*;
 STCA → TTMal.: **literal translation; lexical shift:** *qaddimū* → *newlu*;
 TTMor. → TTMal.: **literal translation; lexical shift:** *iddiw* → *newlu*.
 8.4 STCA → TTMor.: **literal translation; lexical shifts:** *'ilā* → *lə-*; *ra'īsī l-muttaka'i* → *mqaddəm əl-'ərs*;
 STCA → TTMal.: **paraphrase:** n. *ra'īs* → *dak li jieħu ħsieb*; **lexical shifts:** *'ilā* → *lil*; *ra'īs* → *dak li jieħu ħsieb*; *l-muttaka'i* → *il-mejda*;

- TTMor. → TTMal.: **paraphrase:** *ra'īs* → *dak li qiegħed jieħu ħsieb*; **lexical shift:** *mqaddəm* → *dak li jieħu ħsieb*; *'ərs* → *mejda*.
- 8.5 STCA → TTMor.: **amplification:** addition of obj. pron. (-*āh*); **lexical shift:** *qaddamū* → *əddiw*;
 STCA → TTMal.: **amplification:** addition of obj. pron. (-*h*); **lexical shift:** *qaddamū* → *newlu*;
 TTMor. → TTMal.: **literal translation;** **lexical shift:** *əddiw* → *newlu*.

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ST: Classical Arabic (STCA)		TT: Moroccan (TTMor.)	TT: Maltese (TTMal.)
fa-lammā dāqa ra'isu l-muttaka'i	1:1 9.1	w-ħīn dāq mqaddəm əl-'ərs	meta dak li jieħu ħsieb il-mejda daq
al-mā'a l-mutaħawwala ħamran	1:3 9.2	əl-mā lli tṛedd ħmər	l-ilma mibdul f'inbid
wa-lam yakun ya'lamu	1:4 9.3	w-mā 'rəf sīt	u ma kienx jaf ²⁰
min 'ayna hiyā	1:1 9.4	mnīn huwwa	mnejn hu
lākinna l-ħuddāma	1:2 9.5	lēkin əl-mət'allmīn	izda l-qaddejja
allādīna kānū qad istaqaw al-mā'a	1:1 9.6	əlī kēnu sqāw əl-ma	li kienu ħadu minn (dak) l-ilma
'alimū	1:2 9.7	'ərɸu	kienu jafu
da'ā ra'isu l-muttaka'i l-'arīsa	1:1 9.8	'ayyət mqaddəm əl-'ərs ləl-'arīs	dak li jieħu ħsieb il-mejda sejjaħ lill-gharus

9. "When the master of the feast had tasted (1) / the water that was made wine (2) / and did not know (3) / where it came from (4) / but the servants (5) / who had drawn the water (6) / knew (7) / the master of the feast called the bridegroom. (8)"

- 9.1 STCA → TTMor.: **literal translation;** **lexical shifts:** *lammā* → *ħīn*; *ra'isu* → *mqaddəm*; *muttaka'* → *'ərs*;

²⁰ This verbal form belongs to the Maltese defective verb *af* 'he knew' which is derived from the verb *gharaf*. The verb *af* does not have a perfective inflection. To express the perfect sense, the perfective auxiliary forms of *kien* and the imperfective forms of *af* are used, hence e.g.: *kien jaf* 'he knew'. In modern Maltese, the verb *gharaf* means 'he recognized'.

- STCA → TTMal.: **syntactic shift**: adv. conj. of time (*lammā*) + vb. (*dāqa*) + subj. (*ra'isu l-muttaka'i*) → adv. conj. of time (*meta*) + subj. (*dak li ... ḥsieb*) + vb. (*daq*); **omission of conjunction**; **lexical shifts and paraphrase**: *lammā* → *meta*; *ra'isu* → *dak li kien qieghed jieħu ḥsieb*; *muttaka'i* → *mejda*;
 TTMor. → TTMal.: **syntactic shift**: adv. conj. of time (*hīn*) + vb. (*dāq*) + subj. (*mḡaddəm əl-ʿərs*) → adv. conj. of time (*meta*) + subj. (*dak li kien jieħu ḥsieb*) + vb. (*daq*); **omission of conjunction**; **lexical shifts and paraphrase**: *hīn* → *meta*; *mḡaddəm* → *dak li ... ḥsieb*; *ʿərs* → *mejda*.
- 9.2 STCA → TTMor.: **syntactic shift**: def. n. (*al-mā'a*) + def. pass. part. (*l-mutahawwala*) → def. n. (*əl-mā*) + rel. (*llī*) + vb. (*trədd*); **lexical shift**: √HWL → √RDD;
 STCA → TTMal.: **degree shift**: indefiniteness of pass. part. (*mibdul*); **syntactic shift**: acc. n. of specification (*ḥamran*) → prep. ph. (*f'inbid*); **lexical shifts**: √HWL → √BDL; *ḥamr* → *nbid*;
 TTMor. → TTMal.: **syntactic shift**: def. n. (*əl-mā*) + rel. (*llī*) + vb. (*trədd*) → def. n. (*l-ilma*) + indef. pass. part. (*mibdul*); **amplification**: addition of prep. (*fi*); **lexical shifts**: √RDD → √BDL; *hmər* → *nbid*.
- 9.3 STCA → TTMor.: **tense shift**: compound vb. → simple vb. footnote 20; **lexical shift**: √'LM → 'RF;
 STCA → TTMal.: **literal translation**; **lexical shift**: √'LM → 'RF;
 TTMor. → TTMal.: **tense shift**: simple vb. → compound verb (*ma kienx jaf*).
- 9.4 STCA → TTMor.: **semantic shift**: fem. pron. (*hiyā*) referring to fem. gender of *ḥamr* → m. pron. (*huwwa*) referring to m. gender of *ḥmər*;
 STCA → TTMal.: **semantic shift**: fem. pron. (*hiyā*) referring to fem. gender of *ḥamr* → m. pron. (*hu*) referring to m. gender of *nbid*; **lexical shift**: *ḥamr* → *nbid*;
 TTMor. → TTMal.: **literal translation**; full lexical correspondence.
- 9.5 STCA → TTMor.: **literal translation**; **lexical shift**: *ḥuddām* → *mət'allmīn*;
 STCA → TTMal.: **literal translation**; **lexical shifts**: *lākinna* → *izda*; *ḥuddām* → *qaddejja*;
 TTMor. → TTMal.: **literal translation**; **lexical shifts**: *lēkin* → *izda*; *mət'allmīn* → *qaddejja*.
- 9.6 STCA → TTMor.: **literal translation**; **lexical shift**: *istaqaw* → *sqāw*;
 STCA → TTMal.: **paraphrase**: *istaqaw al-mā'a* → *kienu ḥadu minn (dak) l-ilma*; **lexical shift**: *istaqaw* → *ḥadu minn*;
 TTMor. → TTMal.: **paraphrase**: *sqāw əl-ma* → *kienu ḥadu minn (dak) l-ilma*; **lexical shift**: *sqāw* → *ḥadu minn*.
- 9.7 STCA → TTMor.: **literal translation**; **lexical shift**: √'LM → 'RF;
 STCA → TTMal.: **tense shift**: compound vb. (*kienu jafu*); **lexical shift**: √'LM → 'RF;
 TTMor. → TTMal.: **tense shift**: compound vb. (*kienu jafu*).

- 9.8 STCA → TTMor.: **syntactic shift:** def. dir. obj. (*l-‘arīsa*) → prep. (*l-*) + def. dir. obj. (*əl-‘arīs*); **lexical shifts:** *da‘ā* → *‘ayyət*; *ra‘īsu l-muttaka‘i* → *mqaddəm əl-‘ərs*;
 STCA → TTMal.: **syntactic shift:** vb. (*da‘ā*) + subj. (*ra‘īsu l-muttaka‘i*) + def. dir. obj. (*l-‘arīsa*) → subj. (*dak li jieħu ħsieb il-mejda*) + vb. (*sejjaħ*) + prep. (*li*) + def. dir. obj. (*l-ġħarus*); **lexical shifts:** *da‘ā* → *sejjaħ*; *ra‘īsu l-muttaka‘i* → *dak li jieħu ħsieb il-mejda*; *‘arīs* → *ġħarus*;
 TTMor. → TTMal.: **syntactic shift:** 3.m.sg. pf. vb. (*‘ayyət*) + subj. (*mqaddəm əl-‘ərs*) + prep. (*lə-*) + def. dir. obj. (*l-‘arīs*) → subj. (*dak li jieħu ħsieb il-mejda*) + 3.m.sg. pf. vb. (*sejjaħ*) + prep. (*li*) + def. dir. obj. (*l-ġħarus*); **lexical shifts:** *‘ayyət* → *sejjaħ*; *mqaddəm* → *dak li jieħu ħsieb*; *‘ərs* → *mejda.*; *‘arīs* → *ġħarus.*

ST: Classical Arabic (STCA)		TT: Moroccan (TTMor.)	TT: Maltese (TTMal.)
wa-qāla lahu	1:1 10.1	w-qāl-lu	u qallu
kullu ‘insānin	1:2 10.2	kull wāḥəd	kulhadd
innamā yaḍa‘u l-ħamra l-ġayyidata	1:3 10.3	kīynazzəl əl-ħməṛ l-əmlīħ	iservi l-inbid it-tajjeb
‘awwalan	1:4 10.4	fəl-‘awwəl	l-ewwel
wa-matā sakirū	1:1 10.5	wə-mnīn yiskru	u meta jiskru
fa-ħīna ‘idīn	1:2 10.6	dāk əl-woqt	dak il-ħin
ad-dūna	10 10:7	ynazzəl illī ‘la qaddu	iġib dak li jkun inqas tajjeb
‘ammā ‘anta	1:3 10.8	amma nta	imma int
fa-qad ‘abqayta l-ħamra l-ġayyidata	1.1 10.9	təllīti əl-ħməṛ l-əmlīħ	hallejt l-inbid it-tajjeb
‘ilā l-‘āna	1.2 10.10	ħəтта l-dāba	sa issa

10. “And he said to him (1) / ‘Every man (2) / at the beginning (4) / sets out the good wine (3) / and when the *guests* have well drunk (5) / then (6) / the inferior (7). / You (8) / have kept the good wine (9) / until now!’ (10)”

- 10.1 STCA → TTMor.: **literal translation**; full lexical correspondence;
 STCA → TTMal.: **literal translation**; full lexical correspondence;
 TTMor. → TTMal.: **literal translation**; full lexical correspondence.
- 10.2 STCA → TTMor.: **literal translation**; **lexical shift**: 'insān → wāḥad;
 STCA → TTMal.: **literal translation**; **lexical shift**: 'insān → ḥadd;
 TTMor. → TTMal.: **literal translation**; **lexical shift**: wāḥad → ḥadd²¹.
- 10.3 STCA → TTMor.: **semantic shift**: fem. n. + fem. adj. (*l-ḥamra l-ḡayyidata*) →
 m. n. + m. adj. (*əl-ḥmaṛ l-əmlīḥ*); **lexical shifts**: *yada'u* → *kīynazzəl*; *ḡayyidata*
 → *əmlīḥ*;
 STCA → TTMal.: **semantic shift**: fem. n. + fem. adj. (*l-ḥamra l-ḡayyidata*) →
 m. n. + m. adj. (*l-inbid it-tajjeb*); **lexical shifts**: *yada'u* → *iservi*; *ḥamr* → *nbid*;
ḡayyidata → *tajjeb*;
 TTMor. → TTMal.: **literal translation**; **lexical shifts**: *kīynazzəl* → *iservi*;
ḥmaṛ → *nbid*; *əmlīḥ* → *tajjeb*.
- 10.4 STCA → TTMor.: **syntactic shift**: adv. acc. ('*awwalan*) → prep. adv.
 (*fəl-'awwəl*);
 STCA → TTMal.: **syntactic shift**: adv. acc. ('*awwalan*) → def. adj. rendering
 an adv. (*l-ewwəl*);
 TTMor. → TTMal.: **syntactic shift**: prep. adv. (*fəl-'awwəl*) → def. adj. render-
 ing an adv. (*l-ewwəl*).
- 10.5 STCA → TTMor.: **tense shift**: pf. vb (*sakirū*) → impf. vb. (*yiskru*); **lexical
 shift**: *matā* → *mnīn*;
 STCA → TTMal.: **tense shift**: pf. vb (*sakirū*) → impf. vb. (*jiskru*); full lexical
 correspondence;
 TTMor. → TTMal.: **literal translation**; **lexical shift**: *mnīn* → *meta*.
 STCA → TTMor.: **syntactic shift**: n. (*ḥīna*) + deictic ('*idīn*) → deictic (*dāk*) +
 def. n. (*əl-woqt*); also **modulation**: whole (*ḥīn* 'time') → part (*woqt* 'span of
 time, moment'); **lexical shift**: *ḥīn* → *woqt*;
 STCA → TTMal.: **syntactic shift**: n. (*ḥīna*) + deictic ('*idīn*) → deictic (*dak*) +
 def. n. (*il-ḥīn*);
 TTMor. → TTMal.: **literal translation**; **lexical shift**: *woqt* → *ḥīn*.
- 10.7 STCA → TTMor.: **equivalence**: *ad-dūna* ('the lesser (in quality)') →: *illī 'la
 qaddu* 'that which is not very good';
 STCA → TTMal.: **paraphrase**: *ad-dūna* ('the lesser (in quality)') →: *dak li
 jkun inqas (tajjeb)* 'that which is less good';
 TTMor. → TTMal.: **paraphrase**: *illī 'la qaddu* 'that which is not very good' →
dak li jkun inqas tajjeb 'that which is less good'.
- 10.8 STCA → TTMor.: **literal translation**; full lexical correspondenc.;
 STCA → TTMal.: **literal translation**; full lexical correspondenc.;

²¹ In Mor, *kull ḥadd* is also possible (Colin 1993, vol. 8: 2035).

- TTMor. → TTMal.: **literal translation**; full lexical correspondence.
 STCA → TTMor.: **semantic shift**: fem. n. (*ḥamra*) + fem. adj. (*ḡayyidata*) → m. n. (*ḥmar*) + m. adj. (*ʔamlīḥ*); **lexical shifts**: √BQY → √TLY; *ḡayyida* → *ʔamlīḥ*;
 STCA → TTMal.: **semantic shift**: fem. n. (*ḥamra*) + fem. adj. (*ḡayyidata*) → m. n. (*nbid*) + m. adj. (*tajjeb*); **lexical shifts**: √BQY → √HLY; *ḥamr* → *nbid*; *ḡayyida* → *tajjeb*;
 TTMor. → TTMal.: **literal translation**; **lexical shift**: √TLY → √HLY; *ḥmar* → *nbid*; *ʔamlīḥ* → *tajjeb*.
- 10.10 STCA → TTMor.: **literal translation**; **amplification**: double prep. (*ḥatta*) + (*l-*); **lexical shift**: *'ilā* → *ḥattā l-*; *al-'āna* → *dāba*;
 STCA → TTMal.: **literal translation**; **lexical shift**: *'ilā* → *sa*; *al-'āna* → *issa*;
 TTMor. → TTMal.: **literal translation**; **lexical shift**: *ḥatta l-* → *sa*; *issa* → *dāba*.

ST: Classical Arabic (STCA)		TT: Moroccan (TTMor.)	TT: Maltese (TTMal.)
ḥādīhi bidāyatu l-'ayāti	1:1 11.1	ḥāda l-bdū d-əl-imārāt	dan kien il-bidu tal-mirakli
fa'alahā yasū'u	1:2 11.2	'mālha yasū't	li Ġesù għamel
fī qānā l-ḡalīlī	1:3 11.3	f-qāna d-əl-žalīl	f'Kana tal-Galilija
wa-'azhara maḡdahu	1:4 11.4	w-biyyən mažđu	u wera s-sebħ tiegħu
fa-'āmana bihi talāmīḍuhu	11:4 11.5	w-ammnu bīḥ ʔt-tlēmīḍ dyēlu	u d-dixxipli tiegħu emmnu fih

11. "This beginning of signs (1) / Jesus did (2) / in Cana of Galilee (3) / and manifested His glory (4) / and His disciples believed in Him. (5)"
- 11.1 STCA → TTMor.: **semantic shift**: fem. deictic (*ḥādīhi*) + fem. *nomen regens* (*bidāyatu*) → m. deictic (*ḥāda*) + def. m.n. (*l-bdū*); **syntactic shift**: syn. const. (*bidāyatu l-'ayāti*) → anal. const. (with poss. prep. *d-*: *l-bdū d-əl-imārāt*); **lexical shifts**: *bidāyatu* → *bdū*; *'ayāti* → *imārāt*;
 STCA → TTMal.: **semantic shift**: fem. deictic (*ḥādīhi*) + fem. *nomen regens* (*bidāyatu*) → m. deictic (*dan*) + vb. (*kien*) + def. m. n. (*il-bidu*); **amplification**: addition of vb. (*kien*); **syntactic shift**: syn. const. (*bidāyatu l-'ayāti*) → anal. const. (with poss. prep. *ta'*: *il-bidu tal-mirakli*); **lexical shifts**: *bidāyatu* → *bidu*; *'ayāti* → *mirakli*;

- TTMor. → TTMal.: **amplification**: addition of vb. (*kien*); **lexical shift**: *imārāt* → *mirakli*.
- 11.2 STCA → TTMor.: **literal translation**; **lexical shift**: *fa'alahā* → *'mālḥā*;
 STCA → TTMal.: **syntactic shift**: vb. (*fa'ala*) + resumptive encl. obj. pron. (-*hā*) + subj. (*yasū'*) → subj. (*Ġesù*) + vb. (*ghamel*); **omission** of resumptive encl. obj. pron.; **lexical shifts**: *fa'ala* → *ghamel*; *yasū'* → *Ġesù*;
 TTMor. → TTMal.: **syntactic shift**: vb. (*'māl*) + resumptive encl. obj. pron. (-*ha*) + subj. (*yasū'*) → subj. (*Ġesù*) + vb. (*ghamel*); **omission** of resumptive encl. obj. pron.; **lexical shift**: *yasū'* → *Ġesù*.
- 11.3 Cf. 1.3 above.
- 11.4 STCA → TTMor.: **literal translation**; **lexical shift**: *'aḏhara* → *biyyan*;
 STCA → TTMal.: **syntactic shift**: dir. obj. (*mağd-a*) + encl. poss. pron. (-*hu*) → def. dir. obj. (*is-sebḥ*) + poss. prep. (*tiegħu*); **lexical shifts**: *'aḏhara* → *wera*; *mağd* → *sebḥ*;
 TTMor. → TTMal.: **syntactic shift**: dir. obj. (*māḏa*) + encl. poss. pron. (-*u*) → def. dir. obj. (*is-sebḥ*) + poss. prep. (*tiegħu*); **lexical shifts**: *biyyan* → *wera*; *māḏa* → *sebḥ*.
 STCA → TTMor.: **number shift**: 3.m.sg. pf. vb. (*'āmana*) → 3.m.pl. pf. vb. (*ammnu*); **syntactic shift**: n. (*talāmīdu*) + encl. pers. pron. (-*hu*) → def. n. (*ət-tlēmīd*) + poss. prep. (*dyēlu*); full lexical correspondence;
- STCA → TTMal.: **number shift**: 3.m. sg. pf. vb. (*'āmana*) → 3.m.pl. pf. vb. (*emmnū*); **syntactic shift**: word order; n. (*talāmīdu*) + encl. pers. pron. (-*hu*) → def. n. (*id-dixxipli*) + poss. prep. (*tiegħu*); **lexical shifts**: *'āmana bi-* → *emmnū fi*; *talāmīd* → *dixxipli*;
- TTMor. → TTMal.: **syntactic shift**: conjunction + vb. (*ammnu*) + prep. (*bi*) + encl. pron. (-*h*) + def. n. (*ət-tlēmīd*) + gen. exp. (*dyēlu*) → conjunction + def. n. (*id-dixxipli*) + gen. exp. (*tiegħu*) + vb. (*emmnū*) + prep. (*fi*) + encl. pron. (-*h*); **lexical shifts**: *tlēmīd* → *dixxipli*; *dyēlu* → *tiegħu*; *ammnu bi* → *emmnū fi*.²²

ST: Classical Arabic (STCA)		TT: Moroccan (TTMor.)	TT: Maltese (TTMal.)
wa-ba'da ḥāda	1:1 12.1	w-ba'd ḥād-əš-šī	u wara dan
inḥadara 'ilā kafrināḥūma	1:2 12.2	howwəd l-kafrināḥūm	nizel lejn Kafarnahum

²² These is a slight semantic difference between Moroccan *ammn bi* and Maltese *emmn fi / bi*. Whereas in Maltese, the verb means 'to believe', in Moroccan it stands for 'mettre sa confiance en Y, avoir confiance en Y', where 'Y' can be God, or an individual (Colin 1993, vol. 1: 29).

ST: Classical Arabic (STCA)		TT: Moroccan (TTMor.)	TT: Maltese (TTMal.)
huwā wa-’ummuhu wa-’ihwatuhu wa- talāmīduhu	1:3 12.3	huwwa w-’ummu w-’ihwātu w-tlēmīdu	huwa, ommu, hutu u d-dixxipli tieghu
wa-’aqāmū hunāka	1:1 12.4	w-bqaw tamma	u qagħdu hemm
’ayyāman laysat kaḥīratan	1:2 12.5	šī ’ayyēm qlīla	għal xi fīt jiem

12. “After this (1) / He went down to Capernaum (2) / He, His mother, His brothers, and His disciples (3) / and they did not stay there (4) / many days. (5)”
- 12.1 STCA → TTMor.: **amplification**: addition of *əš-šī* ‘the thing’; **lexical shift**: *hādā* → *hād*; full lexical correspondence;
STCA → TTMal.: **literal translation**; **lexical shifts**: *ba’da* → *wara*; *hādā* → *dan*;
TTMor. → TTMal.: **omission** of *əš-šī* ‘the thing’; **lexical shifts**: *ba’d* → *wara*; *hād* → *dan*.
- 12.2 STCA → TTMor.: **literal translation**; lexical shifts: *inḥadara* → *howwəd*; *’ilā* → *l-*;
STCA → TTMal.: **literal translation**; lexical shifts: *inḥadara* → *nizel*; *’ilā* → *lejn*;
TTMor. → TTMal.: **literal translation**; lexical shifts: *howwəd* → *nizel*; *l-* → *lejn*.
- 12.3 STCA → TTMor.: **literal translation**; full lexical correspondence;
STCA → TTMal.: **syntactic shift**: n. (*talāmīdu*) + encl. poss. pron. (*-hu*) → def. n. (*id-dixxipli*) + poss. prep. (*tiegħu*); **omission** of conjunctions; **lexical shift**: *talāmīd* → *dixxipli*;
TTMor. → TTMal.: **syntactic shift**: n. (*tlēmīd*) + encl. poss. pron. (*-u*) → def. n. (*id-dixxipli*) + poss. prep. (*tiegħu*); **omission** of conjunctions; **lexical shift**: *tlēmīd* → *dixxipli*.
- 12.4 STCA → TTMor.: **literal translation**; **lexical shifts**: *’aqāmū* → *bqaw*; *hunāka* → *tamma*;
STCA → TTMal.: **literal translation**; **lexical shifts**: *’aqāmū* → *qagħdu*; *hunāka* → *hemm*;
TTMor. → TTMal.: **literal translation**; **lexical shifts**: *bqaw* → *qagħdu*; *tamma* → *hemm*.
- 12.5 STCA → TTMor.: **modulation**: reinterpretation of ‘not many’ → ‘few’;
STCA → TTMal.: **modulation**: reinterpretation of ‘not many’ → ‘few’;

TTMor. → TTMal.: **amplification**: addition of prep. *ghal* 'for'; **syntactic shift**: quantifier (*šī*) + pl. indef. n. (*'ayyēm*) + quantifier (*qlīla*) → compound quantifier (*xi ftiī*) + pl. indef. n. (*jiem*); **lexical shift**: *qlīla* → *ftiī*.

4.2. The Lebanese Source Text And Its Translation Into Maltese

ST: Lebanese (STLeb.)		TT: Maltese (TTMal.)
w-ba'd tlatt 'iyyēm ²³	1:1 1.1	u wara tlett ijiem
šār 'ərs	1:2 1.2	sar tieg
b-qānā l-ġalīl	1:3 1.3	f'Kana tal-Galilija
w-kēnet 'əmm yasū' hawnīk	1:4 1.4	u omm Ġesù kienet hemm

"After three days (1) / a wedding was held (2) / in Cana of Galilee (3) / and the mother of Jesus was there. (4)"²⁴

- 1.1 STLeb. → TTMal.: **literal translation**; **lexical shift**: *ba'd* → *wara*;
 1.2 STLeb. → TTMal.: **literal translation**; **lexical shift**: *'ərs* → *tieg*;
 1.3 STLeb. → TTMal.: **syntactic shift**: syn. const. (*qānā l-ġalīl*) → anal. constr. (with poss. prep. *ta'*: *Kana tal-Galilija*); **lexical shifts**: *qānā* → *Kana*; *l-ġalīl* → *Galilija*;
 1.4 STLeb. → TTMal.: **syntactic shift**: vb. (*kēnet*) + subj. (*'əmm yasū'*) → subj. (*omm Ġesù*) + vb. (*kienet*); **lexical shifts**: *yasū'* → *Ġesù*; *hawnīk* → *hemm*.

ST: Lebanese (STLeb.)		TT: Maltese (TTMal.)
w-yasū' w-talāmīzu kamēn	1:1 2.1	u Ġesù u d-dixxipli tiegħu wkoll
kēnu ma'zūmīn	1:2 2.2	kienu mistednin
'a-l-'ərs	1:3 2.3	ghat-tieg

"And Jesus and his disciples also (1) / were invited (2) / to the wedding. (3)"

²³ The transcription of Maurice Awaad's (2006) Lebanese version is based on Barthélemy (1935-1954).

²⁴ This is my literal translation of Maurice Awaad's version.

- 2.1 STLeb. → TTMal.: **syntactic shift**: n. (*talāmīz*) + encl. poss. pron. (-*u*) → def. n. (*id-dixxipli*) + poss. prep. (*tiegħu*); **lexical shift**: *talāmīz* → *dixxipli*;
 2.2 STLeb. → TTMal.: **literal translation**; **lexical shift**: *ma 'zūmīn* → *mistednin*;
 2.3 STLeb. → TTMal.: **literal translation**; **lexical shift**: *'ars* → *tiegħ*.

ST: Lebanese (STLeb.)		TT: Maltese (TTMal.)
w- <i>halaṣ</i> ən-nbīd	1:1 3.1	u <i>spiċċa</i> l-inbīd
qālätlu 'əmmu la-yasū'	1:2 3.2	omm Ġesù qaltlu
mā baqa 'əndun nbīd	1:3 3.3	m'għadx għandhom inbid

“And the wine finished (1) / Jesus’ mother said to him: (2) / ‘They do not have anymore wine.’ (3)”

- 3.1 STLeb. → TTMal.: **literal translation**; **lexical shift**: *halaṣ* → *spiċċa*;
 3.2 STLeb. → TTMal.: **syntactic shift**: n. (*'əmm*) + encl. poss. pron. (-*u*) + prep. *la-* + *yasū'* → syn. const. (*omm Ġesù*);²⁵ **syntactic shift**: vb. (*qālätlu*) + subj. (*'əmmu la-yasū'*) → subj. (*omm Ġesù*) + vb. (*qaltlu*);
 3.3 STLeb. → TTMal.: **literal translation**; **lexical shift**: *mā baqa* → *m'għadx*.

ST: Lebanese (STLeb.)		TT: Maltese (TTMal.)
qalla yasū'	1:1 4.1	qalilha Ġesù
'ana ba'rif šu baddi a'mil	1:2 4.2	jiena naf x'irrid naghmel
yā mara	1:3 4.3	Mara
bəss sē'ti ba'd mā 'əgħet	1:4 4.4	izda s-siegħa tiegħi għadha ma waslitx

²⁵ In the Levantine dialects, whenever the referent of a term needs to be classified and identified, the classification takes the form of annexation (*'immu* ‘his mother’) and identification is expressed by a *la*-phrase (periphrasis of annexation – Cowell 1964: 461).

“Jesus told her: (1) / ‘I know what I have to do (2) / woman, (3) / but my hour has not come yet. (4)”

4.1 STLeb. → TTMal.: **literal translation**;

4.2 STLeb. → TTMal.: **literal translation**; **lexical shifts**: *ba'rif* → *naf*; *baddi* → *irrid*;

4.3 STLeb. → TTMal.: **omission** of vocative *yā*;

4.4 STLeb. → TTMal.: **synyactic shift**: n. (*sē'a*) + encl. poss. pron. (*-ī*) → def. n. (*is-siegħa*) + poss. prep. (*tiegħi*); **amplification**: addition of encl. pron. (*-ha*) to *għad*; **lexical shifts**: *bæss* → *izda*; *ba'd* → *għad*; *'əgħet* → *waslet*.

ST: Lebanese (STLeb.)		TT: Maltese (TTMal.)
sē'ita	5.1	dak il-ħin
qēlēt 'əmmu	1:2 5.2	ommu qalet
lal-ħəddēm	5:3	lill-qaddejja
'malu	1.3 5:4	Agħmlu
mətəl-mā bəyqillkun	1.4 5:5	kif jgħidilkom

“At that moment (1) / his mother said (2) / to the servants: (3) / ‘Do (4) / as he tells you.’ (5)”

5.1 STLeb. → TTMal.: **modulation**: part (*sē'a* ‘hour’) → whole (*ħin* ‘time’);

5.2 STLeb. → TTMal.: **syntactic shift**: vb. (*qēlēt*) + subj. + encl. poss. pron. (*'əmmu*) → subj. + encl. poss. pron. (*ommu*) + vb. (*qalet*); full lexical correspondence;

5.3 STLeb. → TTMal.: **literal translation**; **lexical shift**: *ħəddēm* → *qaddejja*;

5.4 STLeb. → TTMal.: **literal translation**; full lexical correspondence;

5.5 STLeb. → TTMal.: **literal translation**; **lexical shift**: *mətəl-mā* → *kif*; *bəyqillkun* → *jgħidilkom*.

ST: Lebanese (STLeb.)		TT: Maltese (TTMal.)
w-kēn fi hawnik sətt ġrēn	1:1 6.1	kien hemm sitt ġarar
ħağar	1:2 6.2	tal-ħağar

ST: Lebanese (STLeb.)		TT: Maltese (TTMal.)
əl-yehūd byəsta‘mlūlun mwayyētun	1:3 6.3	il-Lhud jużaw ilmijiethom
lət-taḥīr	1:4 6.4	għall-purifikazzjoni
kəll wāḥad bəysē‘	B6 6.5	kull waḥda tesa‘
kəlayn ‘aw tlēte	6.6	żewġ kejljiet jew tlieta
mən tmēnīn la-miyye w-‘əsrīn lītr	6:7	minn tmenin sa mija u għoxrin litru

“There were six troughs (1) / of stone (2) / the Jews use their waters (3) / for purification (4) / each one containing (5) / two measures or three (6) / from 80 to 120 litres. (7)”

- 6.1 STLeb. → TTMal.: **omission** of conjunction; **lexical shift**: *hawnik* → *hemm*; *ḡrēn* → *ġarar*;
- 6.2 STLeb. → TTMal.: **syntactic shift**: n. of specification (*haġar*) → poss. prep. (*ta’*) + def. n. (*l-haġar*); full lexical correspondence;
- 6.3 STLeb. → TTMal.: **omission** of indir. obj. pron. (*-lun*); **lexical shift**: *byəsta‘mlū* → *jużaw*;
- 6.4 STLeb. → TTMal.: **literal translation**; **lexical shift**: *taḥīr* → *purifikazzjoni*;
- 6.5 STLeb. → TTMal.: **semantic shift**: m. n. (*wāḥad*) + m. vb. (*bəysē‘*) → fem. n. (*waḥda*) + fem. vb. (*tesa‘*); full lexical correspondence;
- 6.6 STLeb. → TTMal.: **syntactic shift**: dual n. (*kəlayn*) → analytical const.: numeral *zewġ* + indef. pl. n. (*kejljiet*); full lexical correspondence;
- 6.7 STLeb. → TTMal.: **literal translation**; full lexical correspondence.

ST: Lebanese (STLeb.)		TT: Maltese (TTMal.)
qēl yasū‘ ləl-həddēm	1:1 7.1	Ġesù qal lill-qaddeġja
‘abbūli hal-ḡrēn mwayy	1:2 7.2	imlewli dawn il-ġarar bl-ilma
‘abbūwun	1:3 7.3	huma mlewhom
ləš-šiffe	7.4	sax-xifer

“Jesus said to the servants: (1) / ‘Fill for me these troughs with water.’ (2) / They filled them (3) / to the brim. (4)”

- 7.1 STLeb. → TTMal.: **syntactic shift**: vb. (*qēl*) + subj. (*yasū*) → subj. (*Ġesù*) + vb. (*qal*); **lexical shifts**: *yasū* → *Ġesù*; *ħaddēm* → *qaddejja*;
- 7.2 STLeb. → TTMal.: **grammatical shift**: n. of specification (*mwayy*) → prep. (*b-*) + def. n. (*l-ilma*); **lexical shift** '*abbūli* → *imlewi*; *ha-* → *dawn*; *ġrēn* → *ġarar*; *mwayy* → *ilma*;
- 7.3 STLeb. → TTMal.: **amplification**: addition of pers. pron *huma* ('they'); **lexical shift**: '*abbūw* → *mlew*;
- 7.4 STLeb. → TTMal.: **equivalence**: lit. 'to the lip' (*šiffē*) → 'to the edge' (*xifer*).

ST: Lebanese (STLeb.)		TT: Maltese (TTMal.)
w-‘ēd qallun	1:1 8.1	u reġa’ qallhom
hallaq ġrifu mənun	1:2 8.2	issa ħudu minnhom
w-qaddmu	1:3 8.3	u newlu
la-rayyəs əl-wlīme	1:4 8.4	lil dak li jieħu ħsieb l-ikla
Qqaddmūlu	8.5 8.5	huma newlulu

‘He said to them again: (1) / ‘Now draw from them (2) / and give (3) / to the master of the banquet.’ (4) / They gave him. (5)’

- 8.1 STLeb. → TTMal.: **literal translation**; **lexical shift**: *‘ēd* → *reġa’*;
- 8.2 STLeb. → TTMal.: **literal translation**; **lexical shifts**: *hallaq* → *issa*; hyponym *ġrifu* → hyperonym *ħudu*;
- 8.3 STLeb. → TTMal.: **literal translation**; **lexical shift**: *qaddmu* → *newlu*;
- 8.4 STLeb. → TTMal.: **paraphrase**; **lexical shifts**: *rayyəs* → *dak li jieħu ħsieb*; *wlīme* → *ikla*;
- 8.5 STLeb. → TTMal.: **amplification**: addition of pers. pron. *huma* ('they'); **lexical shift**: *qaddmū* → *newlu*.

ST: Lebanese (STLeb.)		TT: Maltese (TTMal.)
lammən rayyəs əl-wlīme dēq	1:1 9.1	meta dak li jieħu ħsieb il-mejda daq
əl-mwayy əlli tħawwal la-nbīd	1:2 9.2	l-ilma illi nbidel f’inbid

ST: Lebanese (STLeb.)		TT: Maltese (TTMal.)
w-kēn mā bya'rif	1:3 9.3	u ma kienx jaf
han-nbīd mən wayn	1:4 9.4	dan l-inbid mnejn ġie
bəss əl-ħəddēm	99 9.5	izda l-qaddejja
əlli qaddmūh	9.6 9.6	illi newluh
bya'rfu	9.7	kienu jafu
nadah əl-'arīs	9:8 9.8	sejjaħ lill-gharus

“When the master of the banquet tasted (1) / the water which was changed into wine (2) / and he did not know (3) / where did this wine come from (4) / but the servants (5) / who served it (6) / knew (7) / he called the bridegroom. (8)”

- 9.1 STLeb. → TTMal.: **paraphrase**: *rayyəs əl-wlīme* → *dak li jieħu ħsieb il-mejda*; **lexical shifts**: *lammən* → *meta*; *rayyəs* → *dak li jieħu ħsieb*; *wlīme* → *mejda*;
- 9.2 STLeb. → TTMal.: **literal translation**; **lexical shifts**: *mwayy* → *ilma*; *ħawwal ia-* → *nbidel f'*;
- 9.3 STLeb. → TTMal.: **syntactic shift** : 3.m.sg pf. vb. (*kēn*) + neg. (*mā*) + 3.m.sg. impf. vb. (*ya'rif*) → neg. (*mā*) + 3.m.sg. pf. vb. (*kienx*) + 3.m.sg. impf. vb. (*jaf*); full lexical correspondence;
- 9.4 STLeb. → TTMal.: **amplification**: addition of vb. *ġie* ('it came'); **lexical shift** *ħa-* → *dan*;
- 9.5 STLeb. → TTMal.: **literal translation**; **lexical shifts**: *bəss* → *izda*; *ħəddēm* → *qaddejja*;
- 9.6 STLeb. → TTMal.: **literal translation**; **lexical shifts**: *qaddmū* → *newlu*;
- 9.7 STLeb. → TTMal.: **tense shift**: compound verb (*kienu jafu* – see footnote 20); **lexical shift**: *bya'rfu* → *jafu*;
- 9.8 STLeb. → TTMal.: **amplification**: addition of object marker *lil*; **lexical shifts**: *nadah* → *sejjaħ*; *'arīs* → *gharus*.

ST: Lebanese (STLeb.)		TT: Maltese (TTMal.)
w-qallū	1:1 10.1	u qallu
kəll ən-nēs	1:2 10.2	kulhadd

ST: Lebanese (STLeb.)		TT: Maltese (TTMal.)
bəyqaddmu ən-nbīd əṭ-ṭayyib	1:3 10.3	iservi l-inbid it-tajjeb
bəl-'awwal	1:4 10.4	l-ewwel
w-bəss yiskaru ḍ-dyūf	1:1 10.5	u hekk kif jiskru l-mistednin
bəyqaddmūlun əl-'aqall ṭibe	1:2 10.6	iservihom dak li jkun inqas tajjeb
'ənt ḥallēt ən-nbīd əṭ-ṭayyib	1:3 10.7	int ḥallejt l-inbid it-tajjeb
la-hallaq	1:4 10.8	sa issa

“and said to him: (1) / ‘Everybody (2) / present the good wine (3) / first (4) / and as soon as the guests get drunk (5) / they give them the lesser in goodness. (6) / You left the good wine (7) / up to now. (8)”

- 10.1 STLeb. → TTMal.: **literal translation**; full lexical correspondence;
- 10.2 STLeb. → TTMal.: **modulation**: whole (*kall ən-nēs*, i.e. lit. ‘all the people’) → part (*kulḥadd*, i.e. lit. ‘every one’);
- 10.3 STLeb. → TTMal.: **grammatical shift**: 3.pl. impf. vb. (*bəyqaddmu*) → 3.m.sg. impf. vb. (*iservi*); **lexical shift**: *bəyqaddmu* → *iservi*;
- 10.4 STLeb. → TTMal.: **syntactic shift**: prep. adv.: prep. (*b-*) + def. n. (*əl-'awwal*) → adj. adv.: def. adj. (*l-ewwel*);
- 10.5 STLeb. → TTMal.: **literal translation**; **lexical shifts**: *w-bəss* → *u hekk kif*; *ḍyūf* → *mistednin*;
- 10.6 STLeb. → TTMal.: **grammatical shift**: 3.pl. impf. vb. (*yqaddmū*) → 3.m.sg. impf. vb. (*iservi*); **syntactic shift**: 3.pl. indir. obj. pron. (*-lun*) → 3.pl. dir. obj. pron. (*-hom*); **paraphrase**: def. comp. adj. (*əl-'aqall*) + n. of specification (*ṭibe*) → rel. cl. (*dak li hu*) + comp. adj. (*inqas*) + adj. (*tajjeb*); **lexical shifts**: *bəyqaddmu* → *iservi*; *'aqall* → *inqas*; i;
- 10.7 STLeb. → TTMal.: **literal translation**; full lexical correspondence;
- 10.8 STLeb. → TTMal.: **literal translation**; **lexical shifts**. *la* → *sa*; *hallaq* → *issa*.

ST: Lebanese (STLeb.)		TT: Maltese (TTMal.)
w-kēnet haydi	1.1 11.1	u dan kien
'awwal 'aḡṭbe	1:2 11.2	l-ewwel miraklu

ST: Lebanese (STLeb.)		TT: Maltese (TTMal.)
'amala yasū'	1:3 11.3	li għamel Ġesù
b-qānā l-ġalīl	1:4 11.4	f'Kana tal-Galilija
w-bayyan maġđu	1:3 11.5	u wera sebħu
w-'ēmanu fih talāmīzu	1:4 11.6	u d-dixxipli tiegħu emmnu fih

“And this was (1) / the first miracle (2) / Jesus made it (3) / in Cana of Galilee (4) / and manifested his glory (5) / and his disciples believed in him. (6)”

- 11.1 STLeb. → TTMal.: **syntactic shift** and **semantic shift**: 3.fem.sg. pf. vb. (*kēnet*) + deictic (*haydi*) → deictic (*dan*) + 3.m.sg. pf. vb. (*kien*); **lexical shift**: *haydi* → *dan*;
- 11.2 STLeb. → TTMal.: **degree shift**: indef. adj. (*'awwal*) + n. (*'aġibe*) → def. adj. (*l-ewwel*) + n. (*miraklu*); **lexical shift**: *'aġibe* → *miraklu*;
- 11.3 STLeb. → TTMal.: **amplification**: addition of rel. *li*; **omission** of resumptive encl. obj. pron.; **lexical shift**: *yasū'* → *Ġesù*;
- 11.4 STLeb. → TTMal.: see 1.3 above;
- 11.5 STLeb. → TTMal.: **literal translation**; **lexical shifts**: *bayyan* → *wera*; *maġđu* → *sebħu*;
- 11.6 STLeb. → TTMal.: **syntactic shift**: vb. (*'ēmanu*) + prep. (*fih*) + subj. (*talāmīzu*) → subj. (*id-dixxipli tiegħu*) + vb. (*emmmu*) + prep. (*fih*); **syntactic shift**: n. (*talāmīz*) + encl. poss. pron. (*-u*) → def. n. (*id-dixxipli*) + poss. prep. (*tiegħu*); **lexical shift**: *talāmīz* → *dixxipli*.

ST: Lebanese (STLeb.)		TT: Maltese (TTMal.)
w-mən ba'da	1:1 12.1	Imbagħad
nəzel yasū' w-'əmmū w-'əħəwtu w-talāmīzu	1:2 12.2	Ġesù, ommu, ħutu u d-dixxipli tiegħu nizlu
'a-mdīnet kfarnāḥūm	1:3 12.3	fil-belt ta' Kafarnahum
w-maġđu fiya	1:4 12.4	u qattgħu fiha
kamm yawm	12:4 12.5	xi ftit jiem

“After that (1) / Jesus, his mother, his brothers and his disciples went down (2) / to Capernaum (3) / and spent there (4) / some days. (5)”

- 12.1 STLeb. → TTMal.: **literal translation**;
- 12.2 STLeb. → TTMal.: **omission** of conjunctions *w-*; **syntactic shift**: vb. + subj. → subj. + vb.; nouns + encl. poss. pron. (*-u*) → def. nouns + poss. prep. (*tieghu*); **number shift**: 3.m.sg. pf. vb. (*nəzel*) → 3.pl.pf. vb. (*nizlu*); **lexical shift**: *talāmiz* → *dixxipli*;
- 12.3 STLeb. → TTMal.: **syntactic shift**: syn. const. (*mdīnet kfarnāhūm*) → anal. const. (poss. prep. *ta'*: *il-belt ta' Kafarnahum*); **lexical shifts**: *'a* → *fi*; *mdīne* → *belt*; *kfarnāhūm* → *Kafarnahum*;
- 12.4 STLeb. → TTMal.: **literal translation**; **lexical shift**: *maḍḍu* → *qattghu*;
- 12.5 STLeb. → TTMal.: **literal translation**; **lexical shift**: *kamm* → *xi ffit*.

5. The Translation Strategies

5.1. Literal Translation

Given that the Arabic varieties under consideration, and to a great extent also Maltese, belong to the same linguistic system, it is to be expected that the segments display a high degree of what Catford called ‘formal correspondence’²⁶. Both Maltese translations are “ST-oriented”, often resorting to a word-for-word strategy, with identical denotative meanings shared by the ST and TT, without contravening TL grammar conventions. Literal translations can be noted at the phrase, clause, and sentence levels, and are distributed as follows:

CA-Mor.	CA-Mal.	Mor.-Mal.	Leb.-Mal.
out of 61 segments		out of 62 segments	
25 (41%)	16 (26%)	28 (46%)	27 (44%)

Although 15% less than Moroccan, the percentage of Maltese literal translations shared with Classical Arabic (26%) is quite remarkable. Moreover, the numerical difference between literal translations shared by Moroccan and Maltese on the one hand (46%), and Lebanese and Maltese on the other (44%), is negligible.

²⁶ Catford 1965: 27.

5.2. Translation Shifts

notwithstanding the considerable typological closeness characterizing the linguistic varieties under consideration, at times, formal correspondence cannot be attained. In such cases, different kinds of translation shifts need to be put in place to secure equivalence. As can be seen in this section, most of the shifts in question do not entail big moves between one linguistic variety and the other. The majority of the shifts are of a syntactic nature.

a. GRAMMATICAL SHIFTS: These kinds of shifts have to do with ST items whose grammatical structures are different from the equivalent ones in the TT. Thus: shifts in tense: these can be of two kinds, namely, 1. perfect tense in Classical Arabic and imperfect tense in Moroccan and Maltese (segments 5.3, 10.5), and b. compound vb. → simple vb. and vice versa: CA-Mor. and Mor.-Mal. 9.3; CA-Mal. and Mor.-Mal. 9.7; Leb.-Mal. 9.7;

shifts in verbal, participial or pronominal agreement in number: CA-Mor. and Mor.-Mal. 6.1; CA-Mor. and Mor.-Mal. 6.3; CA-Mor. and CA-Mal. 7.3; CA-Mor. and CA-Mal. 11.5; Leb.-Mal. 12.2. These are referred to as “number shift” in the segmentation sections above.

Hence, both the Moroccan and Maltese target texts are affected by such tense and number shifts. Sometimes, grammatical shifts may also be observed in the rest of the eight translation procedures outlined below.

b. SYNTACTIC SHIFTS: These are the most common types of shift noted in this study, and affect the following categories:

i. the word order of the TT. The majority of these shifts involve subjects and their verbs. In Classical Arabic, and at times also in Moroccan and Lebanese, the verb is followed by its subject, whereas in the Maltese TT it is the verb which follows the subject, as in the following segments: CA-Mal., Mor.-Mal. and Leb.-Mal. 1.4, CA-Mor., CA-Mal., Mor.-Mal. and Leb.-Mal. 3.2, CA-Mal. and Mor.-Mal. 5.1, Leb.-Mal. 5.2, 7.1, CA-Mal. and Mor.-Mal. 9.1, CA-Mal. and Mor.-Mal. 9.8, CA-Mal. and Mor.-Mal. 11.2, CA-Mal. and Mor.-Mal. 11.5, Leb.-Mal. 11.6, 12.2;

ii. CA, Mor., and Leb. synthetic constructions involving the genitive construction, or *'idāfa* → Mor. and Mal. analytic equivalents employing a poss. prep.: CA-Mor. and CA-Mal.: 1.3, 6.4, 11.1, 11.3; Leb.-Mal.: 1.3, 11.4, 12.3;

iii. CA, Mor. and Leb. nouns with encl. poss. pron. → Mor. and Mal. def. n. + poss. prep.: CA-Mor.: 2.2, 4.4, 11.5; CA-Mal.: 2.2, 4.4, 11.4, 11.5, 12.3; Mor.-Mal.: 11.4, 12.3; Leb.-Mal.: 2.1, 4.4, 11.6, 12.2;

iv. CA dual n. → Mor. *zūž* + poss. prep. + def. n.: segment 6.6; Leb. dual n. → Mal. *żewġ* + indef. n.: segment 6.6;

- v. Mor. numeral + poss. prep. + def. n. → Mal. numeral + indef. n.: segment 6.1;
- vi. Leb. annexation + *la*-phrase + n. → Mal. gen. const.: segment 3.2;
- vii. CA prep. ph. → Mor. and Mal. poss. prep. + def. n.: segment 6.2;
- viii. CA internal passive and Mor. VII derived vb. → Mal. vb. *kien* + pass. part.: segment 2.1;
- ix. CA and Leb. nouns of specification → prep. ph. in Mor. and Mal.: CA-Mor. and CA-Mal.7.2, CA-Mal. 9.2; Leb.-Mal. 6.2;
- x. CA def. n. + def. pass. part. → Mor. def. n. + rel. cl.: segment 9.2;
- xi. Mor. def. n. + rel. cl. → Mal. def. n. + indef. pass. part.: segment 9.2;
- xii. CA indef. acc. n. (adv. of time) → Mor. and Leb. prep. ph.; Mal. def. n.: segment 10.4;
- xiii. CA def. dir. obj. → Mor. prep. + def. dir. obj.: segment 9.8;
- xiv. Leb. indir. obj. pron. → Mal. dir. obj. pron.: segment 10.6;
- xv. Leb. def. comp. adj. + n. of specification → Mal. rel. cl. + comp. adj. + adj.: segment 10.6;
- xvi. CA vb. + prep. + encl. pron. → Mor. and Mal. neg. *mā* + prep. + encl. pron.: segment 3.3;
- xvii. CA and Mor. vb. + adv. → adv. + vb.: segment 8.2;
- xviii. CA vb. + adv. → Mor. and Mal. circumstantial neg. cl. + vb.: segment 4.4;
- xix. CA vb. + quantifier + n. → Mal. quantifier + n. + vb.: segment 6.5;
- xx. Leb. vb. + deictic → Mal. deictic + vb.: segment 11.1;
- xxi. Leb. vb. *kēn* + neg. particle + vb. → Mal. neg. particle + compound vb.: segment 9.3;
- xxii. Mor. quantifier + n. + quantifier → Mal. compound quantifier + n.: segment 12.5;
- xxiii. CA and Mor. def. head noun + def. ordinal → Mal. def. ordinal + indef. noun: segment 1.1;
- xxiv. CA n. expressing time + deictic element → Mor. and Mal. deictic element + n. in apposition: segment 10.6.

One notes that out of the twenty-four syntactic processes outlined above, Moroccan and Maltese share eight of them (33%).

c. SEMANTIC SHIFTS: In the following few instances, the gender of certain nouns, verbs, participles, adjectives and deictics in ST shifts to the opposite gender in TT: CA-Mor., CA-Mal. and Leb.-Mal. 6.5; CA-Mor. and CA-Mal. 9.4; CA-Mor., CA-Mal. and Leb.-Mal. 10.3, Leb.-Mal. 10.6, 10.9; CA-Mor., CA-Mal. and Leb.-Mal. 11.1. Moreover, in two cases, namely CA-Mor. and Mor.-Mal. 8.1, the connector in TT is different from that in ST.

d. DEGREE SHIFTS: This kind of shift signals a shift from definiteness to indefiniteness, and vice versa. The three instances of this shift, namely CA-Mor. 4.3, CA-Mal. 9.2 and Leb.-Mal. 11.2, are dictated by the grammar of the TT.

e. MODULATION: This has to do with what Vinay and Darbelnet define as ‘... une variation dans le message, obtenue en changeant de point de vue, d’éclairage’²⁷. Modulation operates at the lexical level, and examples of this kind of variation may be found in segments: CA-Mor. and CA-Mal. 12.5 (reinterpretation of ‘not many’ → ‘few’), Leb.-Mal. 5.1 (part (*sē’a*) → whole (*ħin*)), and Leb.-Mal. 10.2 (whole (*kəll an-nēs* lit. ‘all the people’) → part (*kulħadd* lit. ‘every one’)).

f. EQUIVALENCE: Unlike modulation, equivalence operates at the semantic level. Vinay and Darbelnet refer to it when ‘... deux textes rendent compte d’une même situation en mettant en oeuvre des moyens stylistiques et structuraux entièrement différents’²⁸. The following segments illustrate this kind of shift:

i. CA-Mor. and CA-Mal. 4.2 (‘what is to me and to you’ → ‘what is between me and between you’). This renders literally the original Greek version *τί μοί και σοί*, in turn a literal translation of the Hebrew expression *māh lī wə-lek* attested in Judges 11: 12, 2 Chronicles 35: 21, Matthew 8: 29, Mark 1: 24, 5: 7, and Luke 4: 34, 8: 28. It was used as a reaction to someone who intruded in matters which do not concern him²⁹. The Moroccan *āš bīni w-bīnak* lit. ‘What is between me and between you?’ is translated by Colin as follows: ‘en quoi as-tu à te plaindre de moi, que t’ai-je fait, qu’ai-je de commun avec toi, qu’zi-je à démêler avec toi’³⁰, whereas Maltese *x’hemm bejni u bejnek* lit. ‘What is there between me and between you?’ has been adopted by the latest (3rd) edition of the Bible in the Maltese language. The Lebanese *‘ana ba ‘rif šu baddi a ‘mul* ‘I know what I have to do.’ is a free rendition of the expression³¹;

ii. CA-Mor., CA-Mal., Mor.-Mal., Leb.-Mal. 7.4 (‘to the top’ → ‘to the mouth’ → ‘to the edge’ → ‘to the lip’);

²⁷ Vinay, Darbelnet 1977: 51.

²⁸ Vinay, Darbelnet 1977: 52.

²⁹ This translation is also adopted by three other Arabic versions of the New Testament, namely the Pauline, the Catholic and the Common (*al-Mushtaraka*) editions. Only in the *Kitāb al-Hayāt* version does one find a different rendition, namely: *mā ša ‘niki bī*, echoing NKJV ‘What does your concern have to do with Me?’ The King James version renders the expression ‘What have I to do with thee?’.

³⁰ Colin 1993, vol. 1: 150.

³¹ Awaad 2006: 391.

iii. CA-Mor. 10.7 (*ad-dūna* ‘the lesser (in quality)’ → *illi* ‘*la qaddu* ‘qui ne vaut pas grand chose, pas très bon, médiocre’)’³²; This translates the Greek original *τὸν ἐλάσσω* pertaining to being of less status than something else – ‘lesser’³³.

g. AMPLIFICATION: At times, a target text needs more words to render the source text. This amplification is sometimes dictated by the grammar of the target text. In the present exercise, minimal amplifications were needed, namely the addition of: the indefinite marker *wāhd-əl-* (CA-Mor. 1.2), the substantive *əš-šī* following a deictic (CA-Mor. 12.1), the personal pronoun *huma* (Leb.-Mal. 7.3, 8.5), the object pronoun *-h* (CA-Mor. and CA-Mal. 8.5), the enclitic pronoun *-ha* (Leb.-Mal. 4.4), the object marker *lil* (Leb.-Mal. 9.8), the verb *kien* (CA-Mal. and Mor.-Mal. 11.1), the verb *gie* (Leb.-Mal. 9.4), the preposition *fī* (Mor.-Mal. 9.2) and *ghal* (Mor.-Mal. 12.5), and the adverb of place *hemm* (CA-Mal. and Mor.-Mal. 1.2, Mor.-Mal. 4.2, CA-Mal. and Mor.-Mal. 6.1), and CA *hasaba* ‘according to’ → Mor. ‘*la qā’īdat* ‘according to the custom’ (6.4).

h. PARAPHRASE: Whenever a source segment finds no corresponding segment in the target language, the translator renders that segment in his own words. This procedure can be observed in the following segments:

i. CA *miṭrayni* (segment 6.6): this seems to be a loan from the original Greek *μετρῆτης* a liquid measure of about nine gallons or forty liters – ‘measure’³⁴. It corresponds to the Hebrew liquid measure *bat*. Van Dyke is the only one to resort to this loan. Other Arabic translations have either *kayl* or *mikyāl* ‘a measure’. This has been translated as follows: Mor. *qrab* (sg. *garba*) ‘outré à eau en peau de chèvre’³⁵ Leb. *kēlayn* (sg. *kēl*) ‘toute boîte employée à mesurer des liquides ou des matières sèches’³⁶ Mal. *kejlījet* (sg. of *kejl*) ‘a measure, measurement’³⁷.

ii. CA *ra’īs al-muttaka’i* (segments 8.4, 9.1, 9.8): this renders the original Greek *αρχιτρίκλινος* the head servant in charge of all those who served at meals or feasts – ‘head steward’³⁸. The Moroccan and Lebanese versions resort to literal translations of the Classical Arabic rendition, thus: Mor. *mqaḍḍam əl-’ars* and Leb. *rāyyas*

³² Colin 1993, vol. 6: 1536.

³³ Louw, Nida 1989, vol. 1: 740.

³⁴ Louw, Nida 1989, vol. 1: 709.

³⁵ Colin 1993, vol. 7: 1727.

³⁶ Barthélemy 1935-1954: 736.

³⁷ Aquilina 1987, vol. 1: 637.

³⁸ Louw, Nida 1989, vol. 1: 521. The authors add: “It is also possible that *αρχιτρίκλινος* in Jn 2.8 refers to the master of ceremonies or the toastmaster at the feast”. A *τρίκλινος* was a dining room with three couches.

*al-wlīme*³⁹. One notices a difference in the translation of the second element of the nominal phrase where Moroccan has 'ars 'noce, célébration du mariage'⁴⁰, whereas Lebanese translates it *wlīme* 'festin, banquet'⁴¹. In Maltese, the phrase has been paraphrased as follows: *dak li jjiehu ħsieb il-mejda*, lit. 'he who is in charge of the table'.

iii. CA *istaqaw al-mā'a* (segment 9.6) is rendered in Maltese *kienu ħadu minn (dak) l-ilma*, lit. 'they had taken from (that) water'. The Arabic verb is attested in other forms and meanings in Maltese (see 6.1.c. below).

iv. CA *ad-dūna* and Mor. *illī 'la qaddu* (segment 10.7) 'the lesser (in quality)' and Leb. *al-'aqall fībe* lit. 'the lesser in goodness' (segment 10.6) → Mal. *dak li hu inqas tajjeb* lit. 'that which is less good'.

i. OMISSION: In a few cases, some elements of the source text have been suppressed in the target text. The following elements have been omitted: the conjunction *u* (CA-Mal. and Mor.-Mal. 2.1, 9.1, 12.3, Leb.-Mal. 6.1, 12.2), vocative *yā* (CA-Mal., Mor.-Mal. and Leb.-Mal. 4.3), substantive following the deictic (Mor.-Mal. 12.1), indirect object pronoun (Leb.-Mal. 6.3), resumptive enclitic object pronoun (CA-Mal. and Mor.-Mal. 11.2). At times, omission is inevitable due to the fact that certain components of the source text do not belong to the linguistic system of the target language, such as the absence of the particle of sequence *fā-* (CA-Mor. 5.4, 7.3, 8.5, 10.6), the aspect marker *qad* (CA-Mor. 10.9), and the particle *innamā* (CA-Mor. 10.3).

6. Lexical Considerations

6.1. Lexical Correspondence And Cognacy

The two translation exercises in this study yield a limited glossary which, nevertheless, illustrates a considerable degree of lexical correspondence characterizing the varieties of Arabic under consideration and Maltese. It has already been pointed out that it is the particular subject matter that is determining this high incidence of lexical correspondence. In all, 111 Maltese lexemes have been used, whereas in the case of Classical Arabic, Moroccan and Lebanese, 96, 95, and 103 words were resorted to

³⁹ Mor. *mqaddam* 'président, élu d'un groupe social' (Colin 1993, vol. 6: 1545), Leb. *raḡḡas* 'supérieur, chef, capitaine, patron' (Barthélemy 1935-1954: 304).

⁴⁰ Colin 1993, vol. 5: 1246.

⁴¹ Barthélemy 1935-1954: 908.

respectively. These include the definite article and the enclitic pronouns. Full lexical correspondences have been noted in the following segments:

- a. Classical Arabic – Moroccan : 1.3, 2.2, 3.2, 4.1, 4.3, 5.1, 7.1, 10.1, 10.8, 11.3, 11.5, 12.1, 12.3 (total: 13 out of 61 segments –21%);
- b. Classical Arabic – Maltese: 1.1, 5.1, 6.5, 10.1, 10.5, 10.8 (total : 6 out of 61 segments –10%);
- c. Moroccan – Maltese: 5.1, 5.4, 9.4, 10.1, 10.8 (total: 5 out of 61 segments –8%);
- d. Lebanese – Maltese: 5.2, 5.4, 6.2, 6.5, 6.6, 6.7, 9.3, 10.1, 10.7 (total: 9 out of 62 segments –15%).

Very often, in the absence of full lexical correspondence, partial lexical correspondence is very evident.

Apart from the formally, grammatically and semantically corresponding cognates shared by the four linguistic varieties, a number of other cognates are somehow skewed. These fall into the following categories four categories:

- a. identical in form, and semantically related:
 CA, Mor., Leb. *'urs*: 'wedding'; Mal. 'merry-making'; CA *farāḡat* 'it finished', Mal. 'it became empty, it ebbed'; Leb. *ħalaṣ* 'it finished', Mal. 'he finished the work in hand'; CA *da'ā* 'he called', Mal. 'he wished evil to someone, he blasphemed'; Mor. *tirfəd* 'it contains, holds', Mal. *tirfed* 'it supports, props'; Mor. *'ammrū* 'Fill!', Mal. *għammru* 'they resided, cohabited'; Leb. *ħawwal* 'it turned to, it changed to', Mal. 'it was planted, or transplanted'; Leb. *kamm* 'a few', Mal. 'just about' (in verbal phrases).
- b. different in form, but semantically identical:
 CA, Mor., Leb. *'arīs*, Mal. *għarus* 'bridegroom'; CA *bidāya*, Mal. *bidu* 'beginning'; CA *ħiḡāra*, Mal. *ħaḡar* 'stone'; Mor. *tamma*, Mal. *hemm* 'there'.
- c. different in form, but semantically related:
 Ca, Mor. *ħamr* 'wine', Mal. *ħmira* 'yeast'; CA, Leb. *ħuddām* 'servants', Mal. *ħaddiema* 'workers'; CA *gāyyida* 'good'; Mal. *gid* 'wealth, richness, prosperity'; Mor. *trədd* 'it turned to'; Mal. *ntradd* 'it was returned, given back'; Leb. *'aḡibe* 'miracle'; Mal. *għaḡeb* 'wonder, marvel'⁴²; CA *katira* 'many'; Mal. *kotra* 'a great quantity'⁴³; CA. *istaqaw* (form VIII) 'they drew water', Mal. *sqew* (form I) 'they gave someone a liquid to drink'; CA *'abqayta* (form IV) 'you left' (tr.), Mal. *baqa* (form I) 'he remained, stayed' (intr.); CA *'aḡhara* (form IV) 'he mani-

⁴² In earlier Maltese, *għaḡeb* also meant 'miracle'. In fact Aquilina (1990, vol. 2: 940) gives the following example: *Kristu għamel għaḡeb kbir f'Kana meta bidel l-ilma f'inbid* 'Christ wrought a great miracle in Cana when he changed water into wine'. In modern Maltese, the plural *għeḡubijiet* may also mean 'miracles'.

⁴³ The Maltese verbal noun *ktir* 'increasing, augmentation' (Aquilina 1987, vol. 1: 694) is obsolete.

fested, showed' (tr.), Mal. *deher* (form I) 'he appeared' (intr.); CA, Leb. (form III) *'āmana*, Mal. *emmen* (form II) 'he beieved'.

d. Miscellaneous:

CA, Mor., Leb. *ba'da* 'after', Mal. *imbagħad* 'later on'⁴⁴; CA *hīna'idin* 'at that moment', Mal. *dak il-ħin* 'at that time'.

Moreover, the Maltese target texts include the following lexical items of Romance origin: *dixxipli* 'disciples', *spiċċa* 'it finished', *skont* 'according to', *puri-fikazzjoni* 'purification', *iservi* 'he serves', *mirakli* 'miracles', *Ġesu* 'Jesus', *Kana* 'Cana', *Galilija* 'Galilee', and *Kafarnahum* 'Capernaum'.

The following is a comparative glossary of the lexical items in the source and target texts. The highlighting indicates cognacy.

COMPARATIVE GLOSSARY

	SOURCE TEXT 1			SOURCE TEXT 2	
	Classical Arabic	TT: Moroccan (TTMor.)	TT: Maltese (TTMal.)	ST Lebanese	English
1	wa-	w- / ū-	u	w	and
2			sar	šār	it took place
3	fī	f-	fi	b-	in
4	yawm	nhār	jum	–	day
5	fālīt	tēlēt	tielet	–	third
6	kāna	kēn	kien	– kēn	he / it was
7	–	wāħd-əl-	–	–	a
8	–	–	hemm	–fī	there is
9	'urs	'ərs	tieg	'ərs	wedding
10	qānā	qāna	Kana	qānā	Cana
11	–	də-	ta'	–	of
12	l-ġalīl	əl-žalīl	l-Galilija	l-ġalīl	Galilee
13	'umm	'ummīn	omm	'əmm	mother
14	yasū'	yasū'	Ġesù	yasū'	Jesus

⁴⁴ The Maltese preposition 'after' is *wara*, covering both spatial and temporal notions.

WATER TURNED INTO WINE: COMPARING AND CONTRASTING...

	Classical Arabic	TT: Moroccan (TTMor.)	TT: Maltese (TTMal.)	ST Lebanese	English
15	hunāka	tamma	hemm	hawnik	there
16	du'iya	ən'araḍ	kienu mistednin	kēnu ma'zūmīn	was invited
17	'aydan	tēni	ukoll	kamēn	also
18	talāmīd	tlēmīd	dixxipli	talāmīz	disciples
19	–	dyēlu	tieghu	–	his
20	'ilā	lə-	ghal	'a-	for / to
21	lammā	hīn	meta	lammən	when
22	faragat	tqāda	spiċċa	halaṣ	it finished
23	hamru	hmər	nbīd	nbīd	wine
24					
25	lahu	-lu	-lu	-lu	to him
26	laysa	mā	ma	mā	no / not
27	lahum	'andhum	ghandhom	'əndun	they have
28	–	–	–	baqa	any more
29	qāla	qāl	qal	qāl	he said
30	laha	-lha	-ilha	-la	to her
31	mā	āš	x-	– šu	what
32	lī	–	–	–	to me / I have
33	laki	–	–	–	to you / you have
34	–	bīni	bejni	–	between me
35	–	bīnek	bejneċ	–	between you
36	–	–	–	–	
37	–	–	–	–	
38	–	–	-jiena	'ana	I
39	–	–	–	–	
40	–	–	–	–	
41	–	–	-irrid	baddi	I want
42	–	–	-naghme!	a'mul	I do
43	yā	yā	–	yā	O (vocative)
44	imra'a	mṛā	mara	mara	woman
45	sā'a	sā'a	siegħa	sē'a	hour

	Classical Arabic	TT: Moroccan (TTMor.)	TT: Maltese (TTMal.)	ST Lebanese	English
46	ba'du	mā zēla	ghadha ma	ba'd	not yet
47	lam ta'ti	mā žēt	ma waslitx	mā 'aġet	it has not come
48	li-	lə-	lil	la-	to
49	ħuddām	mət'allmīn	qaddejja	ħəddēm	servants
50	mahmā	kull mā	kulma	–	whatever
51	–	–	–kif	mətəl-mā	as
52	qāla	yqūl	jġhid	bəyqill	he tells
53	lakum	-lkum	-ilkom	-lkun	to you (pl.)
54	fa-	–	–	–	then
55	f'alūhu	'mlūh	agħmluh	'malu	do it
56	–	–	–	–	–
57	–	–	–	–	–
58	sitta	sətta	sitt	sətt	six
59	'aġrān	hwēbi	ġarar	ġrēn	waterpots, troughs
60	ħiġāra	ħzər	ħaġar	ħaġar	stone
61	mawqū'a	mnəzzlīn	mqieġħda	–	laid
62	ħasaba	–	skont	–	according
63	–	qā'īda	–	–	custom, usage
64	taḥīr	təḥīr	purifikazzjoni	taḥīr	purification
65	yabūd	īhūd	lhud	yəhūd	Jews
66	–	–	–jużaw	byəsta'mlū(lun)	they use
67	yasa'u	tirfəd	tesa'	bəysē'	it contains
68	kull	kull	kull	kəll	each, every
69	wāḥid	wəḥda	wahda	wāḥad	one
70	–	zūž	żewġ	–	two
71	miṭrayn	qrəb	kejljiet	kəlayn	(liquid) mea- sures
72	'aw	āw	jew	'aw	or
73	talāṭa	tlēta	–tlieta	tlēte	three
74	–min	–	minn	mən	from / of
75	–	–	tmenin	tmēnīn	eighty

WATER TURNED INTO WINE: COMPARING AND CONTRASTING...

	Classical Arabic	TT: Moroccan (TTMor.)	TT: Maltese (TTMal.)	ST Lebanese	English
76	–	–			
77	–	–	mija	miyye	hundred
78	–	–	għoxrin	‘əšrīn	twenty
79	–	–	litru	litr	litre
80	lahum	-lhum	-ilhom	-lun	to them
81	imla’ū	‘ammrū	imlew	‘abbū	fill (impv)
82	–	–	-li	-li	for me
83	–	–	dawn	ha-	these
84	mā’	ma	ilma	mwayy	water
85	mala’ū	‘ammrū	mlew	‘abbūw	they filled
86	–	-hum	-hom	-un	them
87	‘ilā	ħetta lə-	sa	lə- /la	up to
88	fawqu	fumm	xifer	šiffe	the brim
89	–	–	reġa’	‘əd	he did s.th. again
90	tumma	–	imbagħad	mən ba‘da	then
91	istaqū	isqiw	ħudu	ġrifu	draw (liquid) (impv)
92	–	–	minnu	mənun	from it / them
93	l-‘āna	dāba	issa	hallaq	now
94	qaddimū	iddiw	newlu lil	qaddmu la-	take, give to (impv.)
95	ra’īs	mqaddəm	dak li jiehu ħsieb	rayyəs	master
96	muttaka’i	‘ərs	mejda	wlīme	feast, banquet
97	dāqa	dāq	daq	dēq	he tasted
98	mutaħawwal	trədd	mibdul	ṭhawwal la-	turned to
99	lam yakun	–	ma kienx	w-kēn mā	he was not
100	ya‘lamu	‘rəf	jaf	bya‘rif	he knows
101	–	–			
102	min ‘ayna	mnīn	mnejn	mən wayn	from where
103	lākinna	lēkin	izda	bəss	but

	Classical Arabic	TT: Moroccan (TTMor.)	TT: Maltese (TTMal.)	ST Lebanese	English
104	alladīna	əllī	illi / li	əllī	they who
105					
106	qad	–	–	–	perfect particle
107	istaqaw	sqāw	ħadu minn	qaddmu	they drew / gave
108					
108	da‘ā	‘ayyəf	sejjah	nadah	he called
110	‘arīs	‘arīs	gharus	‘arīs	bridegroom
111	lahu	-lu	-lu	-lu	to him
112	kullu ‘insānin	kull wāħəd	kulħadd	kəll ən-nēs	everybody
113	innamā	–	–	–	nothing but, only
114	yaqa‘u	kīynazzəl	iġib	–	they set out
115	–	–	iservi	bəyqaddmu	they offer
116	ġayyida	əmlīh	tajjeb	ṭayyib	good
117	‘awwalan	fəl-‘awwəl	l-ewwel	bəl-‘awwal	first (adv.)
118	matā	mnīn	meta	bəss	when / as soon as
119	sakirū	yiskru	jiskru	yiskaru	they get drunk
120	–	–	mistednin	ḍyūf	guests
121	fa-ħīna‘idin	dāk əl-woqt	dak il-ħin	sē‘ita	at that moment
122	–	–		–	
123	–	–		–	
124	dūna	‘la qaddu	inqas	əl-‘aqall	the less
125	–	–	tajjeb	ṭibe	goodness
126	‘ammā	amma	imma	–	but, yet
127	‘anta	nta	int	‘ənt	you
128	‘abqayta	təllīti	ħallejt	ħallēt	you left
129	ħāḍihi	ħāda	dan	haydi /ha-	this
130	bidāya	bdū	bidu	–	beginning
131	–	–	l-ewwel	‘awwal	first (adj.)
130	‘ayāt	imārāt	mirakli	‘aġṭbe	miracle
133	fa‘ala	‘məl	ghamel	‘amal	he did

	Classical Arabic	TT: Moroccan (TTMor.)	TT: Maltese (TTMal.)	ST Lebanese	English
134	-hā	-ha	-	-a	it (obj. pron.)
135	'aẓhara	biyyən	wera	bayyan	he manifested
136	mağd	məžd	sebħ	mağd	glory
137	-hu	-u	tieghu	-u	his
138	'amāna	ammnu	emnu	'əmannu	they believed
139	bihi	bīħ	fiħ	fiħ	in him
140	ba'da	ba'd	wara	ba'd	after
141	-	šī	-	-	thing
142	inħadara	howwəd	nīzel	nəzej	he went down
143	'ilā	l-	lejn	'a-	towards
144	-	-	belt	mdīne	city
145	kafrināħūm	kafrināħūm	Kafarnahum	kfarnāħūm	Capernaum
146	huwā	huwwa	huwa	-	he
147	'iħwa	'iħwə	aħwa	'əħwə	brothers
148	'aqāmū	bqaw	qaghdu / qattghu	mağđu	they spent (time)
149	-	-	fiha	fiya	in it
150	'ayyām	'ayyēm	jiem	'iyyēm	days
151	laysat kaṭīra	qlīla	ftit	kamm	some

7. Conclusion

This paper consists of a first-time experiment in which a target text in Maltese has been compared and contrasted with its corresponding source texts in Classical Arabic and Lebanese. The exercise also included another target text in Moroccan Arabic. The translation strategies which have been noted fall within both the grammatical (morphology and syntax) and the lexical categories of the four linguistic varieties under consideration. It has been shown that literal translation at all linguistic levels indeed occupies a very important position, obviously due to the common linguistic affiliation of the four varieties in question. Nevertheless, translation shifts of various types have been resorted to, the most important of which being the syntactic ones. It has been shown in section 5.2 that Moroccan and Maltese share one-third of the identified syntactic processes. It is at the syntactic level that the four varieties show

most variety, whereas at the morphological level the four of them manifest considerable uniformity.

The percentages mentioned in this study are only valid as far as the two translation exercises covered in this paper are concerned, and they are not conducive to any pronouncements concerning the areal affiliation of Maltese with either Moroccan or Lebanese. Other similar exercises, involving different source texts, and covering other subject matters, are bound to yield different results. Future exercises of this kind would perhaps need to refine, and maybe amend, the criteria adopted in this present one. No doubt, source texts would need to reflect different subject matters, such as science, administration, politics, or any other topic.

Apart from the various translation procedures which are at the basis of this study, the ulterior intention behind this paper is to shed light upon grammatical and lexical aspects which Maltese still shares with other varieties of Arabic after more than seven centuries of severed linguistic contact with the rest of the Arabic-speaking world. Unlike the extinct Siculo or Andalusian varieties of Arabic, Maltese still shares with other forms of Arabic a remarkable common linguistic heritage which has resisted the passage of time, justifying the maxim which introduced this paper, namely that Maltese is indeed the closest language to Arabic.

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