Manipulation in the Twenty First Century English Translations of Qur'anic Verses About Jihad, Warfare, and Martyrdom¹

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Abstract

One of the best ways for people, including those wishing to convert to Islam, to get familiar with Islamic teachings is to read the translation of the *Qur'an*. Throughout the history, however, *Qur'an* translations have seen multitudinous instances of manipulations, including gross distortions of the Arabic text. The present study investigated manipulation in 76 direct, 21stcentury English translations of 80 Qur'anic verses on jihad, warfare, and martyrdom, with a concentration on the translators' religious ideology. To this end, drawing on Dukāte's (2007) manipulation typology, an ad-hoc typology was developed. The results showed that Unmarked Complementary Addition and Attenuation were the most and the least frequently used strategies in the renditions, respectively. Furthermore, the translations by Muslim translators of different denominations exhibited significant similarity in the frequency of employing the main manipulative strategies.

Keywords: Jihad, Manipulation, Religious ideology, Qur'an translation

1. Introduction

The Qur'an is believed by Muslims to be the Word of God. An issue germane to the Book, which has been a serious bone of contention in recorded history, is translating it into other languages, traditionally "considered illegitimate and indeed impossible" due to the belief in the Qur'an being "divine in origin and inimitable by the human translator" (Williams, 2004, p. 26), and also because of

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concerns over the nature of translation, "all" of which "involves the manipulation of an original as it is reshaped for a new audience" (Bielsa & Bassnett, 2009, p. 15). As Abdul-Raof (2001, p. 1) notes, "inaccuracies and skewing of sensitive Qur'anic information" is a permanent feature of "any" *Qur'an* translation (QT).

Translator's religious ideology can be considered as one factor contributing to the manipulation of Qur'anic information. Examples from the English translations of the *Qur'an* (ETsQ) in Qudah-Refai's (2014, p. 279) study confirm the strong presence of translators' religious dogmas in "introductions, within the translated text and in footnotes". Some of the verses which may be subject to manipulation-defined in the study as "all changes that have taken place as a result of translation" (Dukāte, 2007, p. 80)-are those touching the connected, weighty concepts of 'jihad', 'warfare', and 'martyrdom', which are somewhat underexplored in the studies on the 21-st century ETsQ. As Amin (2010, p. 149) says, "all the military jihād-related verses in the *Qur'ān* can easily be manipulated into reductionist and exclusivist interpretations in which their original contexts are forcibly altered".

Considering the great importance the Qur'an has for Muslims and for potentially any truth seeking person, besides the fact that jihad is such a burning issue that "no Islamic concept deserves more scrutiny" than it (Rubenstein, 2010, p. 12)", and the effect a translator's religious ideology may have on rendering the verses in question, it is well worth examining the translations to ascertain possible cases of manipulation in the target texts. Therefore, the present research seeks to investigate the most and the least frequent manipulative strategies employed in English translations of Qur'anic verses about 'jihad', 'warfare', and 'martyrdom'.

The study attempted to address the following questions:

RQ1. Which of the manipulative strategies are the most and the least frequent ones for rendering Qur'anic verses on 'jihad', 'warfare', and 'martyrdom' in the 21st-century ETsQ?

RQ2. As far as the religion of the translators is concerned, is there any similarity in the general tendency of the translators to employ the manipulative strategies?

2. Review of the Related Literature

In his study, Philips (2005, p. 52) shows that ETsQ abound with cases of manipulation, featuring heavily anti-Islamic slant "either in their translated texts or in their introductions and footnotes". Sabry and Saleh (2008, p. 1) ascribe the

escalating "defamation of Islam" by the Western media as a religion promoting "terrorism" to the manipulated QTs intentionally seeking to disseminate "misconceptions" about Islam. In fact, the translators' procedures "have largely contributed to the manipulation of many source elements whose Quranic meanings have been distorted" (Herrag, 2012, p. 250).

The role of religious ideology has also been highlighted in the literature. Abdul-Raof (2018, p. 337) claims that different QTs "echo different schools of thought". More specifically, ETsQ are "a good example of how translation can be a subjective, ideological activity" (Mustafa, 2019, p. 24), to such an extent that "one cannot help but feel that there is an urge inherent in a good number of ETQ ... to hijack the *Qur'an* to serve the translator's own agenda" (Shaffi, 2019, p. 60). This is substantiated by a host of examples Kidwai cites from the 21-centry ETsQ, featuring the "patently sectarian" biases of their translators taking "unpardonable liberties" with the *Qur'an* (Kidwai, 2018, p. xv). Furthermore, Afrouz and Mollanazar (2017, p. 139) concluded that the translators "whose religion is the same as the source culture dominant religion, preform similarly when translating the SL Holy Scripture".

Ubaid (2014, p. 19) conducted an analysis of the so-called 'sword verse' (9:5) in a few ETsQ, finding that the translators modified Qur'ānic terms, distorted syntactic structures and interpolated "their ideologies and viewpoints". Finally, in an investigation aimed at drawing attention to "misinterpretation" and "mistranslation" of jihad verses in books by western authors, Mahasneh (2021, p. 129) showed how the majority of the verses "were taken out of their contexts", triggering increased "hostility" towards Islam and Muslims "internationally".

3. Methodology

This is a descriptive, analytical, and corpus-based study focusing on both quantitative and qualitative data collected from ETsQ as well as personal communications with 72 translators of the *Qur'an* (all except one into English) and nine editors of ETsQ (direct/indirect; partial/complete). The communications were made via in person meeting, email and social media from mid-2021 to early-2024.

Besides the Arabic Qur'an (ST), the corpus contains all complete, direct ETsQ (TTs) made in the 21st century, except three ones which were unavailable to us. The first edition of the ETsQ of the corpus, amounting to 76 in total, which is significant in number, was made available in 2000 onwards. They were mostly identified and

collected by an extensive library and web search, and different sources, including Kidwai (2018). It should be noted that there have been countless studies on the ETsQ done in previous centuries. Moreover, investigating the present century ETsQ is all the more justifiable given that most of them are still under-researched.

The ETsQ were categorized according to variables of 'number', 'gender', 'mother tongue', and 'religion' of the translators. Due to space limitation, nonetheless, only the variable 'religion' is discussed in the present study (All the variables and the list of all the translations will be discussed in forthcoming publications). We classified the translations according to the religious affiliation of the translators into seven categories. The religion of the translators of three works could not be determined. Ergo, they were excluded from the analysis related to this variable. The number of ETsQ in each category is provided below:

Religion of Translator(s)	No. of Translations
Shiites	8
Sunnis	37
Converts (Reverted to Islam)	7
Diverse (Group translations by followers of different religions/sects)	4
Muslim Only (Neither Shiite nor Sunni)	10
Christians	4
Secular humanists (Not professing allegiance to any particular religion)	3

Table 1. Number of Qur'an translations according to the translators' religions

To collect the Qur'anic verses, first, based on a thematic index, an initial list of all verses about 'jihad (in its various senses of fighting and striving), 'fighting, and 'martyrdom was gathered from multiple sources. Subsequently, the verses were shortlisted based on a lexical index to include those consisting of one (or more) of Arabic words related to 'jihad', etc., or derivatives derived from lexical roots such as 'جهد، قتل، شهد'. In case of repeated verses, one verse in each pair was omitted. All in all, a total of 80 verses were selected, 11 of which are listed in Table 2:

Table 2 Some c	of the Verses	Selected
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Surah	Verses
	۱ <u>ــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــ</u>

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Al-Baqarah	154, 190, 191
<u>Āl-i-ʿlmrān</u>	13, 111, 121
At-Tawbah	12-14, 16, 19

3.1. Data Analysis Procedure

The study originally adopted Dukāte's (2007) 'manipulation typology' as its (theoretical) framework. However, since the typology proved insufficient for the investigation, a more comprehensive typology was developed in the course of data analysis. In Dukāte's (2007) typology, there are "text-external" and "text-internal" types of manipulation (p. 82). The present study solely focuses on the latter. Further, Dukāte's (2007) differentiation between "conscious" and "unconscious" manipulation (p. 82) was not a focus of our analysis.

Dukāte (2007) divides text-internal manipulation into three "overlapping" types (p. 110), namely "handling", "improvement", and "distortion" (p. 107). While handling is a "change which cannot be labelled 'improvement' or 'distortion'" (p. 107), improvement means the betterment of elements of the source text or message, for instance by using "explicitation" (pp. 70, 97).

The third type is distortion, which is "the changing of the input information in a way that makes it differ from the original and misrepresents it". It constitutes four clearly-specified strategies: "deletion, addition, substitution and attenuation" (Dukāte, 2007, pp. 70, 102).

The refined typology has five main strategies. One of them (Addition) itself consists of five sub-strategies:

1. Omission: "A type of lexical transformation when some ST units are omitted in the translation for different reasons" (Zauberga, 2004, as cited in Dukāte, 2007, p. 74).

2. Addition: "Lexical transformation whereby the missing elements are introduced in the text" (Dukāte, 2007, p. 74). This is a narrow definition. Therefore, the study considers that Addition is a word, phrase, or whole sentence not seen in the Arabic verse but added to its translation (Use of footnotes existing in some ETsQ in data analysis). In the refined typology, Addition has five sub-strategies:

2.1. **Commentary**: Translator's (mainly) subjective opinions and historical notes on the verses. It comes in the form of single words, phrases or whole sentences, each counting as one case;

2.2. **Complementary**: Translator's interpolations in the text due to, for instance, linguistic differences between Arabic and English, such as cases of explicitation.

Cases of Commentary and Complementary may be classified as either 'Marked' or 'Unmarked'. They are considered Marked, for example, when presented in parentheses. Conversely, they may be Unmarked when not distinct from the rest of the text and not enclosed by any punctuation mark.

2.3. Alternative: It includes instances when

a) The translator uses the words 'Allah' and 'God' together, putting one in parentheses.

b) The translator has mentioned one or more synonyms, often given in parentheses, for the equivalent word just used (Each synonym counts as one Alternative item);

3. Substitution, "A type of grammatical transformation when either separate language units or whole constructions are replaced by other forms or constructions" (Zauberga, 2004, as cited in Dukāte, 2007, p. 74). The refined typology adds 'lexical transformation' to the above definition; however, the following types of shifts are not considered cases of Substitution unless they bring about a semantic change or indicate an ideological bent:

- a) Positive translated into negative and vice versa;
- b) Changes in parts of speech;
- c) Shifts from singular into plural and vice versa;
- d) An active sentence rendered into a passive one and vice versa; and

e) Changes in verb tenses.

4. Attenuation: It refers to cases in which a harsh, unpleasant concept or one with a negative connotation is made (more) neutral, milder, less negative, or even positive.

5. Intensification: The modified typology introduces Intensification as the opposite of Attenuation, whereby the English equivalent used is a harsher, more negative, emphatic, etc. concept/word than what is stated in the Arabic text. Alternatively, using emphatic words, and emphatic structures apply to this strategy.

Therefore, the typology has these (sub-)strategies:

- Unmarked Complementary Addition.
- Marked Complementary Addition.
- Unmarked Commentary.
- Marked Commentary.

- Alternative.
- \circ Omission.
- Substitution.
- o Intensification.
- Attenuation.

For the data analysis, the following steps were taken:

- 1. The translators were categorized according to their religious ideology.
- 2. The Qur'anic verses on jihad, warfare, and martyrdom were identified.
- 3. The corresponding translations of the verses were found.
- 4. The translation of each verse was checked against the Arabic.

5. The strategies for rendering the verses were detected according to the developed typology.

6. The frequency of using each strategy was calculated, leading to the determination of the most and the least frequent strategies.

7. The relationship between the translators' religion and the frequency of employing the strategies was investigated.

4. Results and Discussion

After the translations of the verses were compared to the Arabic text, the manipulative strategies were detected, leading to the following results.

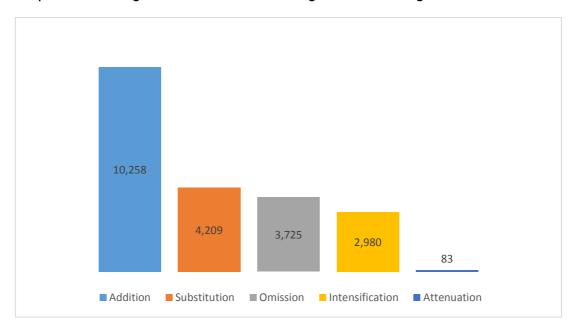


Figure 1 Frequency of the Strategies Used in All 76 ETsQ for Rendering the Verses About Jihad, etc.

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As Figure 1 shows, Addition is by far the most popular strategy with the 21st century translators of the *Qur'an* into English for rendering the verses under discussion, meaning that they have had quite a strong tendency to insert interpolations into their renditions. This does not come as a surprise to the translator of the *Qur'an*, T. Kiani (personal communication, December 25, 2023), who says: "I find it quite natural to add words so as to explicate underlying meanings, interpretations, and nuances". Nevertheless, S. Bleher expresses his concern over "the high level of both additions and omissions since those evidently alter the source text rather than merely trying to explain it better" (personal communication, December 9, 2023).

The next closest strategy is Substitution, followed by Omission. There is a rather significant difference in the number of substitutions (4,209) and the Arabic units omitted in the translations (3,725). S. Kaskas (personal communication, December 19, 2023) considers both strategies "symptoms to weaknesses in the translator's ability to translate properly". As for Omission, M. Khattab (personal communication, January 6, 2024), takes a more moderate viewpoint, maintaining that the translators either "forgot to reflect some words in the Arabic text" as "probably" they did not have "editors" or they "might be influenced by their own belief system or biases--feminism, Qadianism, etc". Three examples are provided for the two strategies (Throughout the study, for all the examples, the underlined formatting is ours):

...وَٱلْفِتْنَةُ أَشَدُّ مِنَ <u>ٱلْقَتْلِ...</u> Q.2:191

...and know that persecution is worse than being killed...

Explanation: Yuksel et al (Muslim Only translators) have replaced 'الْقَتْلِ', meaning 'killing', with 'being killed'. The Substitution "gravely changes the meaning of the text" (T. McElwain, personal communication, January 6, 2024).

كُتِبَ عَلَيْكُمُ ٱلْقِتَالُ وَهُوَ كُرْهُ لَكُمْ... Q.2:216

You are forbidden to fight, and you should dislike it...

Explanation: Ready (Secular humanist translator) has translated 'كتب', meaning 'written/prescribed', into 'forbidden'. This change in meaning is another instance of Substitution.

قَتِلُو هُمْ يُعَذِّبْهُمُ ٱللَّهُ بِأَيْدِيكُمْ وَيُخْزِهِمْ وَيَنصُرْ كُمْ عَلَيْهِم... Q.9:14

Fight them so that Allah may punish and disgrace them at your hands...

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Explanation: M. Hussain (Sunni translator) admits that the omission of the underlined part in his ETQ is "a mistake" (personal communication, December 29, 2023).

Moving on, an intriguing aspect of the data is that the translators' efforts to amplify meaning are almost 36 times more frequent than their attempts to reduce the severity of particular Arabic words. It follows that Intensification (2,980 cases) ranks last but one, and Attenuation (83 times) ranks last among the five main strategies. W. al-Amri (personal communication, December 18, 2023) comments on this, saying: "This is surprising indeed! Intensifying Jihad! Who does this at this day and age?" T. McElwain too states that "the ratio of the number of cases in each category is exactly what I would have predicted, except in the ratio of intensification to attenuation. I would have expected the opposite" (personal communication, December 9, 2023).

Table 3 Frequency of the Sub-strategies of Addition for Rendering the Verses Concerning Jihad, etc.

Manipulative Strategy: Addition					
Complementary		Comme	Alternative		
Unmarked	Marked	Unmarked	Marked		
4,960	2,764	775	1,016	743	

From Table 3, it can be seen that Unmarked Complementary Addition (4,960) has been employed more than any other Addition-related sub-strategy, including Marked Complementary Addition (2,764). The reason for the higher use of the former might be that "some translators wanted their text to appear 'natural' so as not to distract the reader" (Y. Emerick, personal communication, December 11, 2023). An example featuring both types of Complementary Addition is given:

آسْئُلُونَكَ عَنِ ٱلْأَنْفَالِ^{لِّ} قُلِ ٱلْأَنْفَالُ بِشَمِ وَٱلرَّسُولِ^{لِّ} فَٱتَّقُواْ ٱللَّهَ وَأَصْلِحُواْ ذَاتَ بَيْنِكُم^{ْ لَ}ُوَأَطِيعُواْ Q.8:1 ...ٱللَّهَ

They ask you about the spoils of war (O Prophet). Tell <u>them</u>, "All spoils of war belong to God and <u>His</u> Messenger. So remain conscious of God (O believers) ...

Explanation: In his translation, Mannan (Sunni translator) has employed each of the strategies of Marked Complementary Addition (in parentheses) and Unmarked Complementary Addition (underlined words) for two times.

Addition also comes in the form of Commentary. A. Kidwai (personal communication, December 15, 2023) believes the readers must be "foretold about the translator's school of thought. [And] the authorial views should appear only in the footnotes/glossary etc, away from the translation of the Quranic text". T. Kiani (personal communication, December 25, 2023) also prefers that commentary be inserted "as a footnote", yet insists that if the commentary is to be placed within the text, the translator "must separate the translation of the original text and the commentary lest the ready [*sic*] thinks that the commentary is the original text", as the misunderstanding has happened with "other religious scriptures". Similarly, A. Droge considers marking commentaries "[an] acceptable translation practice" (personal communication, December 13, 2023).

There are others who are against using commentary within the text in the first place, be it unmarked or marked, arguing that "Making interpretations (Tafsir) within translations...can mislead the reader. Such an action might stem from the individual's desire to put themselves in the forefront" (H. Yilmaz, personal communication, January 7, 2024).

Based on Table 3, the translators have preferred marked commentaries (1,016) over unmarked ones (775). One possible reason for this "could be their desire to highlight their own contribution to a better understanding of the *Quran*" (A. Kidwai, personal communication, December 15, 2023). Further, W. al-Amri (personal communication, December 18, 2023) ascribes it to "fearing that they are meddling with God's Words". According to C. Turner (personal communication, December 31, 2023), this is probably because the translators "may wish to avoid misleading people inadvertently, or causing ambiguity and confusion". Three examples featuring instances of Marked Commentary, as well as Attenuation and Intensification, are cited:

ولَا تَقُولُوا لِمَن يُقْتَلُ فِي سَبِيلِ ٱللهِ أَمْوَتُ تَبَلْ أَحْيَآةٍ وَلَكِن لَّا تَشْعُرُونَ Q.2:154

And do not say about those who have been <u>martyred</u> in Allaah's way that they are dead. In reality, they are alive (*because of their patience in difficulty*) but you do not realise it. (*Allaah preserves the souls of martyrs as beautiful* green birds who are allowed to fly wherever they wish in Jannah.) Explanation: Throughout his ETQ, Ebrahim (Sunni translator) has interpolated explanatory notes in parentheses, printed in a smaller italic font and in a different color than that of the translation of the Arabic text, the features named by the translator as "a distinct difference" between his ETQ and others' (I. Ebrahim, personal communication, October 31, 2022). In rendering Q.2:154, there are, among others, two cases of Marked Commentary in red; and one instance of Attenuation: The verb 'یَقْتَل', meaning 'killed', has been translated into 'martyred', so an unpleasant concept has been made positive in the translation. T. McElwain (personal communication, January 6, 2024) believes the word 'martyred' here has "a narrower meaning that [*sic*] the Arabic word, and so deforms the text to some extent. There may be a motive and consequence in the glorification of martyrdom".

...و قَاتِلُوا فِي سَبِيلِ ٱسَمِ ٱلَّذِينَ يُقَاتِلُونَكُمْ وَلَا تَعْتَدُوٓا "Q.2:190

And fight for the cause of Allah, Only those who fight you, And be not the aggressors... (There could never have been a clearer indication that, Jihad strictly means self-defence, and not to give in to injustice or oppression.)

Explanation: El-Essawy (Sunni translator) passes a comment on the meaning of jihad, putting it in parentheses. This is another instance of Marked Commentary. Moreover, using the word 'only' is a case of Intensification, "trying to limit the application of jihad in the face of Western critics" (S. Bleher, personal communication, December 15, 2023).

إِنَّ ٱللَّهَ يُحِبُّ ٱلَّذِينَ يُقَاتِلُونَ فِي سَبِيلِةٍ... Q.61:4

God truly loves those who fight [not translated from the word "jihad"] in His way

Explanation: J. Howk (Christian translator) (personal communication, January 2, 2024) explains that considering the "big misunderstanding of the term Jihad" in the "non-Muslim community", he gives a translation-related comment every time an Arabic word for 'fighting' is mentioned to show "how seldom the word Jihad is used in the *Qur'an*".

Finally, Alternative has been opted for 743 times. S. Bleher (personal communication, December 15, 2023) regards Alternative as "an appropriate strategy when the translated term limits the full meaning of the original Arabic term

and the translator prefers to leave the Arabic term in place but still wants to convey part of its meaning in English". Additionally, W. al-Amri (personal communication, December 18, 2023) says that Alternative is also called "double translation or hendiadys", utilized by "proficient" translators to make sure that "the meaning gets across when one word would not be enough". An example is given:

وَجَلَهَدَ فِي سَبِيلِ ٱللَّه Q.9:19

and Strive hard and fight in the Path of Allah

Explanation: To render the underlined word, Saffarzadeh (Shiite translator) uses two equivalents 'strive' and 'fight' together. This is an instance of Alternative.

Putting Figure 1 and Table 3 together, it is evident that among all the manipulative strategies-five Addition-related sub-strategies plus the other four major strategies-translators have chosen Unmarked Complementary Addition more than any other strategy. As N. Ahmed (personal communication, December 18, 2023) asserts, "any" attempt at QT "inevitably requires annotations to fill in the gaps left by the oracular style of the Book". The least frequent is Attenuation, which does not even come close to the other strategies.

	Strategies	Addition	Substitution	Omission	Intensification	Attenuation
Religion						
Muslim	Shiite	1,113	543	465	338	10
	Sunni	6,025	2,164	1,811	1,656	39
	Muslim Only	994	566	487	313	14
	Convert	1,022	378	333	293	6
Christian		277	159	263	60	3
Diverse		457	161	132	143	5
Secular humanist		164	115	85	88	3

Table 4 Frequency of the Strategies Employed for Translating the Verses Regarding Jihad, etc. Vis-à-vis the Translators' Religion

Based on Table 4, Addition and Attenuation are, respectively, the most and the least frequently used strategies in the translations by all the seven groups representing the religion of the translators.

In the translations by the four Muslim groups, the five main strategies are ranked identically: Addition (1st, that is, employed more than the other four major strategies), Substitution (2nd), Omission (3rd), Intensification (4th), and Attenuation (last).

Similarly, in the translations by the translators of diverse religions, and the secular humanists, the five main strategies are ranked identically. Addition (1st), Substitution (2nd), Intensification (3rd), Omission (4th), and Attenuation (last).

On the other hand, on average, the Sunni translators have employed Addition and Intensification, and the Shiite translators have used Substitution more than any other group. Moreover, the Christians have opted for Omission more than others. Finally, Attenuation has been employed equally in each translation belonging to either of the seven groups.

Some of the translators have remarked on the findings or hazarded educated guesses about the underlying reasons. For example, whereas T. McElwain–a convert to Shiite Islam–finds "the extensive additions used by Sunnis concerning" (personal communication, January 6, 2024), Y. Emerick–a convert to Sunni Islam–claims that "This sect [Sunnism] is always worried about 'correct aqeedah' and bid'a or 'innovations,' so they do not want any ambiguity in translations" (personal communication, December 11, 2023). The two conflicting observations seem to represent the ideological beliefs of the two translators, or rather translation theorists. This proves Munday (2016, p. 213) right: "theorists themselves have their own ideologies and agendas that drive their own criticisms".

S. Bleher (personal communication, January 5, 2024) remarks that "the omissions [by the Christian] might be due to a lack of familiarity with Islamic concepts ... so that the significance of omitted terms in not realized". T. Kiani opines that the Christians might try to "interpret/translate the *Qur'an* in light of the *Bible*, and the *Bible*, especially the English versions of it, omits pronouns on a regular basis due to the English grammatical structure" (personal communication, January 6, 2024).

Conversely, on average, among all the seven groups, the strategies of Omission, Substitution, and Addition have been employed the least by the secular humanists. Further, Intensification has been used the least by the Christians. Manipulation in the Twenty First Century English Translations of Qur'anic Verses ...51

	-	Addition				
Strategy		Complementary		Commentary		Alternative
Religion		Unmarked	Marked	Unmarked	Marked	No.
		No.	No.	No.	No.	
	Shiite	597	293	72	107	44
	Sunni	2,796	1,584	496	618	531
Muslim	Muslim Only	484	276	67	103	64
	Convert	555	268	88	72	39
Christian	•	149	48	16	46	18
Diverse		143	203	14	61	36
Secular humanist		110	42	7	0	5

Table 5 Frequency of the Sub-strategies of Addition for translating the Verses Concerning Jihad, etc. Vis-à-vis the Translators' Religion

Regarding the Addition sub-strategies, Unmarked Complementary is the most frequently employed strategy in the translations by all the groups, except the translators of diverse religions, for whom the top choice is Marked Complementary.

In addition, in the translations by the Shiite and the Muslim Only translators, the order of the strategies used according to frequency is identical. Unmarked Complementary Addition (1st), Marked Complementary Addition (2nd), Marked Commentary (3rd), Unmarked Commentary (4th), and Alternative (5th). This indicates that whereas the two groups have chiefly preferred not to draw readers' attention to instances of Complementary Addition, they have been more inclined to bring their subjective convictions to reader's attention (than make them go unnoticed).

Similarly, in the translations by the Sunni and the Christian translators, the order of the strategies is exactly the same: Unmarked Complementary Addition (1st), Marked Complementary Addition (2nd), Marked Commentary (3rd), Alternative (4th), and Unmarked Commentary (5th). This is a testimony to the fact that both groups-just like the Shiites, the Muslim Only, and the translators of different religions, and yet unlike the converts and the secular humanists-have been more willing to make their exegetical beliefs distinct from the translation of the Arabic text.

5. Conclusion

The study found that Unmarked Complementary Addition was the most and Attenuation was the least frequently used strategy when the data of all 76 translations is put together (RQ1). Moreover, in the translations by the four Muslim groups, the five main strategies were used with identical frequency (RQ2). Some of the changes seen in the 76 translations were obligatory linguistic shifts such as instances of explicitation. Other, more significant ones, were mainly optional and ideologically-driven, ranging from exegetical commentary to deletions. Although the translators, no matter their religion, voice their disagreement over using strategies such as Omission or adding commentary within the text, they use them in their renditions. Moreover, changes are sometimes marked using a different font color or size, or being written in italics. Such highlighting methods are sometimes stated in the introductions. Not referring to the method or not employing any might be an intentional attempt on the part of the translator to impart a particular ideology or even distort the meaning. The study provides translation scholars and students with new insights into various manipulative strategies, showing how the strategies sometimes give a completely different reading to the Qur'an from what the Arabic text actually says.

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