DISCOURSE IN TRANSLATION

Edited by
Said Faiq

ROUTLEDGE

Discourse in Translation

This book explores the discourse in and of translation within and across cultures and languages. From the macro aspects of translation as an intercultural project to actual analysis of textual ingredients that contribute to translation and interpreting as discourse, the ten chapters represent different explorations of 'global' theories of discourse and translation. Offering interrogations of theories and practices within different sociocultural environments and traditions (Eastern and Western), *Discourse in Translation* considers a plethora of domains, including historiography, ethics, technical and legal discourse, subtitling, and the politics of media translation as representation. This is key reading for all those working on translation and discourse within translation studies and linguistics.

Said Faiq, FRSA, is Professor of Intercultural Studies and Translation at the American University of Sharjah, Sharjah, UAE.

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This volume is dedicated to Basil Hatim

A Festschrift

Professor Basil Hatim, a gentleman and an internationally renowned scholar and teacher. His model/theory of discourse/text and translation has influenced generations of students around the globe in their exploration of the intricacies of intercultural communication (a quick Google Scholar search shows his prolific contributions to and standing in academia).

Basil Hatim completed his undergraduate studies at the University of Baghdad in 1968, then moved to Abha in Saudi Arabia, where he taught English for the Ministry of Education. In 1971, he headed for the UK, where he did a postgraduate diploma in teaching English as a second language (TESL) at University College of North Wales Bangor. This was followed by a move to Lebanon, where he taught English while doing his MA at the American University of Beirut (AUB). This was interrupted by a one-year fellowship at the Atlantic College in South Wales, doing research in applied linguistics and helping to pioneer the now-renowned International Baccalaureate (IB). Then he returned to Lebanon, where he obtained his MA in teaching English as a foreign language (TEFL) from AUB in 1976, leaving immediately afterwards for Libya, where he helped to found the English department at the newly established Institute of Petroleum in Tripoli. He left in 1978 for the UK and Exeter University where, under the supervision of Reinhard Hartmann, he completed his PhD in applied linguistics. In 1981, he joined Heriot-Watt University, Edinburgh, helping to establish both the MA programme in Translation and Interpreting and the doctoral programme in Translation and Linguistics. In 1999, he left for the American University of Sharjah, where he still is and has established and developed a prestigious master's programme in English/Arabic Translation and Interpreting.

What the contributors say about Basil Hatim

We came from two different worlds, but when Basil and I first met many years ago at a translation conference, we established a rather large 'middle space' of agreement based on our common views regarding the nature of 'translation' and its practice. We thus established a collegial bond of friendship and mutual respect that has continued to the present day. I am most pleased, therefore, to

cooperate together with others in paying this well-deserved verbal tribute to a prolific and groundbreaking scholar who has influenced us all in so many ways. **Ernst Wendland**

It is a very difficult task you ask me here! Actually, I do not know Basil very well. I have always enjoyed our meetings and, if I try to summarize the reasons that lie behind this pleasure, I think that it is because he combines all the qualities one wishes to find in every colleague (and yet seldom finds!): scholarship and scientific rigour, wit and humour, civility and humility, and a wonderful ability at listening and building up a conversation. **Richard Jacquemond**

Basil Hatim is one of the pioneers of the study of translation and discourse. His early publications were an inspiration to me in my own work as a new researcher in the emerging field of discourse-based interpreting studies. There are only a few academic authors whose work is consistently insightful, engaging, and totally logical – Basil is one of them. **Sandra Hale**

Professor Hatim's books were significant to me. They led me into the world of translation in a linguistic perspective by delineating the ways of incorporating, in particular, Systemic Functional Linguistics into translation in a systematic and in-depth manner. **Hui Wang**

Honorific titles such as 'Master' or 'First Teacher' are often reserved for the scholarly luminaries of the past, and it is rare to find a figure among contemporaneous colleagues who deserves such praise. However, in the case of Basil Hatim, such laudatory epithets would not be out of place, given his field-defining contributions to the theoretical and methodological frameworks of translation studies. Indeed, there is no one who currently works in this field except that they are deeply indebted to him. **Gavin Picken**

Professor Basil Hatim stands as a true pioneer in the approach that will prove to be the key to translation studies in years to come: the centrality of language and linguistics – being *texts* that translators translate – and the efficiency of discourse-analysis tools to shed light on how translators construct reality across cultures. **Ovidi Carbonell i Cortés**

I first worked with Basil Hatim at Heriot-Watt University in 1986. As well as being an inspirational teacher, Basil was a pioneer of the textual approach to translation studies and has for decades been one of the leading figures in the discipline. **James Dickins**

Professor Basil Hatim is a well-known scholar who has left indelible marks in applied linguistics in general and in translation studies in particular. His contributions have significantly influenced the state of art in these two fields.

His work is a necessary read for every researcher/student in the field. It is really a source of pride for me to have known Professor Hatim since 1989. **Mohammed Farghal**

A scholar and a gentleman whose ideas have been transmitted far and wide, particularly in the Arabic interpreting translation programmes in Australia. **Muhammad Y Gamal**

Well-known in translation studies, discourse analysis, and theories of translation, Basil Hatim is a scholar who devoted his life to filling a gap in the translation literature regionally and internationally through his unique contribution by writing vital, accessible, and inviting books in such areas of research. **Rajai Al-Khanji**

I have known Basil Hatim for over three decades. A teacher, a mentor, a friend, a colleague, Basil Hatim is a rare human being. Generations of applied linguists have been affected by his model of discourse/communication analysis; even those who do not agree with it have found themselves revising their 'cherished' concepts, models, and theories. A towering figure in discourse/text and translation studies as applied semiotics. **Said Faiq**

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Mohammed Farghal is professor of linguistics and translation in the Department of English, University of Kuwait, Kuwait. He is the author of several books, including *Advanced Issues in Arabic-English Translation Studies* (2012) and co-author *of Contextualizing Translation Theories: Aspects of Arabic-English Interlingual Communication* (2015). He also initiated the series *Papers in Arabic-English Translation Studies* (Vol. 1, 2015, Vol. 2, 2017, and Vol. 3, 2018). Professor Farghal has published widely in top academic international journals (*Journal of Pragmatics*, *Anthropological Linguistics*, *Multilingua*, *IRAL*, *Babel*, *Target*, *Perspectives*, *Meta*, and so forth), as well as in several regional university journals. He has also translated many works between English and Arabic, including *The Road* (Cormac McCarthy, 2006) and *Maps* (Nuruddin Farah, 1986).

Muhammad Y Gamal grew up in Alexandria and is a graduate of the Faculty of Al Alsun at Ain Shams University in Cairo. He taught translation studies at several academic institutions in Australia. He is a professional practitioner and holds the highest Australian accreditation in Arabic translation. He is also a United Nations translator and works as a senior Arabic interpreter for the Australian Federal Government in Canberra. He is a leading scholar on audiovisual translation in the Arab world and has published widely in international publications, both in print and online. His research interests include audiovisual translation policy, verbo-visual translation, visual metaphor in Arabic, translation in the digital age, translation and *Nahda* (Arab Renaissance) studies, and the history of Al Alsun. He also supervises doctoral research on several aspects of Arabic translation and serves on the editorial board of several journals in Japan, Korea, France, Greece, and the United States.

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US Information Agency in 1981, working as a senior interpreter for the American CBS network in 1990–1991, and serving as a senior member on several committees for updating English textbooks as well as advising textbook writers for the Jordanian Ministry of Education in 1987–1989. His last sabbatical was spent in 2015 at the University of Maryland as a visiting research scholar conducting research on translation quality assessment for the works of Khalil Gibran.

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Foreword: Pragmatics on the hoof! Relevance as effort and reward

Basil Hatim

Without revealing the 'secretive' nature of publishing this volume in his honour, I casually asked Basil to give me a 'short, light-hearted piece on an issue of interest to start-up students of pragmatics', for a senior seminar. Here is what Basil jotted down which, I felt, speaks volumes of how passionate (dare I say, obsessed, driven) the man has always been regarding his text linguistics. I hope publishing the story here, as the foreword to this volume, will meet with his approval, but if not, then it would be too late, for what is done cannot be undone! **Said Faiq**

Let me at the outset urge you to entertain the assumption that the story I am about to tell you in this short piece *is* 'relevant'. It may actually turn out not to be, but that is neither here nor there. As textually competent users of language, we all tend to entertain the assumption that texts produced or received are relevant. As I have just pointed out, you might indeed reach the conclusion that the story *has not after all been relevant*, but you would (as a text receiver) make such a judgement only after you have given me (the text producer) the benefit of the doubt that *I would not put you to unnecessary effort*. A corollary to this would be the assumption that any effort exerted would somehow be commensurately rewarded. Let us call this layer of assumption-making in our speaker-hearer relationship 'general relevance'.

This is actually a true story, which I want to use to tell the 'pragmatic story of relevance', in a nutshell. So, let's get started.

In a café in town some years ago, I met by chance four of my former students of translation, who told me that they had now all found good jobs in translation/ public relations. In the course of the conversation, the subject of how useful their training had been came up, and the point debated was whether translator training should be 'practical' (usually taken to mean non-theoretical), 'theoretical' (i.e., non-practical), or a combination of the two perspectives (i.e., basically, the practitioners taking care of the programme on Monday and Tuesday, and the theoreticians handling the rest of the week!). Forgive the sarcasm, but I have spent quite a portion of my life arguing against such spurious distinctions and trying to promote the motto, 'There is nothing more practical than a good theory'. To demonstrate this to my budding

translators there and then in the café, I decided to give them a little quiz. In a friendly way, I asked them to translate into English a seemingly straightforward sentence, with an item لخص that I knew would only too readily elicit the word 'summarized', and another item, عامة, which I also knew would equally readily elicit 'general', neither of which would actually do in the present context:

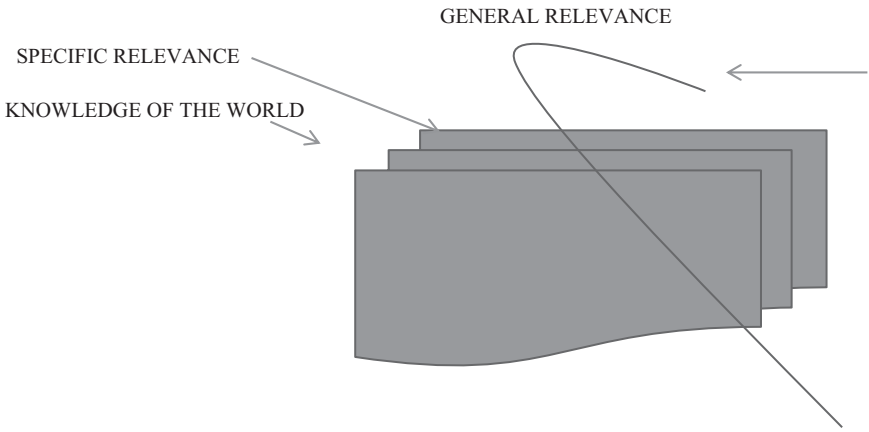
The sentence was

ولخص شولتز المجالات الخمسة الرئيسية التي يريد فيها عملا مشتركا وقال ان من بين هذه المجالات دراسة عامة تجريها...

For the benefit of those who do not read Arabic, this is an unidiomatic back-translation of the text:

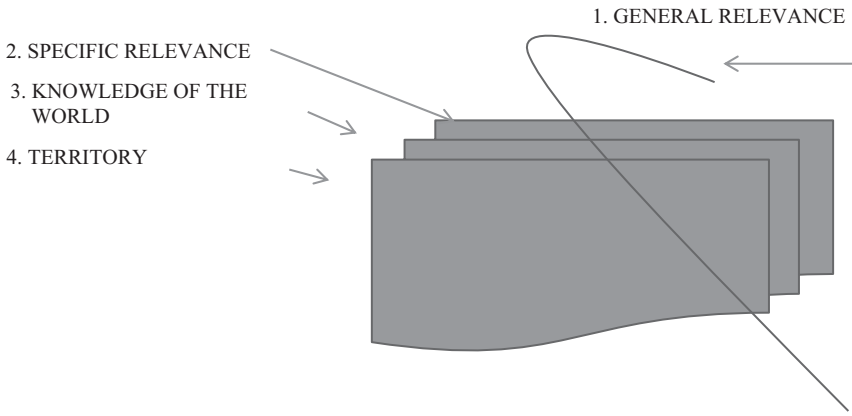
Shultz **summarized** the five principal areas in which he wanted common action, including a **general** study conducted.

Before I proceed with what happened, let me explain what I mean by 'pragmatic competence'. As a text receiver you should at this point in interacting with my story have made a similar assumption to the one you made earlier, namely that what you were about to hear must be relevant. The new assumption that you might now make (and the one that the students being tested in the café should have made) is simply that the items tested must be sufficiently challenging to be worth testing. That is, لخص just cannot be as bland as to yield something like 'summarized', nor عامة to be as bland as to yield something like 'general'. Instead, an assumption must be entertained that runs something like this: there is more than meets the eye in being presented with a seemingly innocuous utterance such as **لخص** and **عامة** with these two items conveying far more than the run-of-the-mill meanings of 'summarized' and 'general'. To put it differently, the students and any translator of this text should entertain the assumption that had **لخص** simply meant 'summarized', for example, I would not have gone to the trouble of using it in a test to demonstrate pragmatic competence. Let us still refer to this second layer of my café interaction as 'specific relevance'. Schematically:



To move on to the middle layer, a third assumption to be entertained by any text receiver/translator (and by my students in the café) should be something like this: government ministers (e.g., the US secretary of state, no less!) cannot be reasonably expected to engage in mundane activities such as 'summarizing' or indeed discussing 'generalities' (If secretaries of state were to do that, what would junior clerks in the office do?). Let us call this, 'Knowledge of the World Assumption'.

More subtly, perhaps, you, my students in the café or indeed any translator, should in the present situation operate on a further, crucial assumption, namely that there are things that 'news reports' simply do or do not report, and 'news reporters' would or would not do. Assuming that the secretary of state actually did engage in mundane activities such as 'summarizing' or 'talking generalities', these would be areas that do not, would not, and should not make the international page in any reputable newspaper. Reporters would simply not be interested in people 'summarizing', for example. This is not unrelated to text politeness (the do's and don'ts of serious journalism). We will call this 'Territorial Assumption'.



To return to the café scene, my former students reflected on the text and took longer than I anticipated. This was a good sign. But even better, they refused to fall into the trap I set them, which was to say that the text was 'absolutely no problem', 'a piece of cake'; that لخص was 'summarized' and that عامة was 'general'. Much more to the point, and to my immense pleasure and delight, the students started to give me alternatives in the semantic region of 'highlighted' and 'comprehensive' for the two items in question. Their pragmatic competence had stood them in good stead, I thought – the various assumptions must have been made:

- Would I bother to test items such as لخص or عامة simply to mean what their surface forms said they did (i.e., 'summed up' and 'general')?
- Would secretaries of state do office secretaries' jobs?
- Would news reports cover mundane activities such as 'summarizing'?
- All these plus the crowning assumption that we made at the outset: Would I put you to the trouble of telling you an 'irrelevant' story?

Basil Hatim
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March 2018

Introduction

Translation as D-discourse

Said Faiq

Translation as D-discourse

Summing up the shift in translation studies that started in the 1980s, Hatim (2012: 83–84) writes:

> Under what may be termed 'the ideology of translation', translation theorists…have become interested in such aspects of the process as:
>
> - the choice of works to be translated (what is valued and what is excluded)
> - the power structure which controls the production and consumptions of translations
> - who has access to translation and who is denied access?
> - what is omitted, added or altered in seeking to control the message?

This shift came about because translation examined 'under the auspices of traditional dichotomies experienced a crisis when the untenable nature of value-free and detached point-of-view and the embeddedness of human sciences in culture and ideology started to be foregrounded in Translation Studies' (Dizdar 2012: 58). As such, the injection of ideas and paradigms from a basket of disciplines (discourse, cultural, colonial, postcolonial, gender, conflict studies, and so forth) into the exploration of translation and translating has contributed a great deal to the enlargement of the discipline and the areas it is deployed to investigate. In particular, the view of culture-modelling through translation has raised questions that cannot be adequately answered by the conventionalized notions of equivalence, accuracy, fidelity, or 'sourceer vs targeteer' approaches to translation and translating.

Examined through the prism of discourse analysis, translation, as both theory and practice, can bring together a number of analytical tools, linguistic and non-linguistic, to explore language in use and the agenda-setting or framing involved in such use. As such, translation naturally involves all that discourse analysis (or critical discourse analysis) entails, including culture, as Robyns (1994: 406) appropriately argues:

> [I]n order to study the role that translation plays in the dynamics of self-definition, the focus of attention has to be shifted from individual texts or linguistic features in translation (however 'contextualized' the analysis may be) to interference between discourses and discursive structures and strategies.

However, despite the many shifts, there are still those who see little contribution to the study of translation through the prism of disciplines such as discourse analysis. Pym (1992: 227–228), for example, suggests:

> I believe that most existing forms of discourse analysis are fundamentally inadequate to the problems of translation and therefore potentially misleading for the development of translation theory. My arguments will take the form of three general points: 1) Contemporary use of the term discourse is in a mess and probably deserves to be abandoned; 2) The only kind of discourse analysis strictly pertinent to translation is that which sees translation as discursive work; 3) Far from passively receiving externally derived analyses, translation itself should become a discovery procedure for the location and delimitation of discourses. That is, the limits and frustrations of most forms of discourse analysis might profitably be overcome through a judicious application of translation analysis.

It is certainly true that, like any other social science and humanities framework, discourse analysis has gone through a number of redefinitions and repositioning to investigate old and emerging social phenomena. It has often been examined under different rubrics, but all share one common denominator: human interaction through language should be examined at both the macro and micro strata of communication. Such rubrics include cognitive-structural models of discourse analysis, frame analysis, and narrative analysis, for example. Still, most models of discourse analysis consider textual realizations by users within particular contexts (culture/ideology).

This is the very job the chapters in this volume attempt to do, and what Basil Hatim has advocated for some five decades: the study of texts (texture and structure) within contexts (pragmatic, semiotic, and communicative dimensions). As a discourse, translation does not exist! It occurs when a text is utilized by a user (= translator) to produce another text with all the likes, dislikes, prejudices, ideology, and so forth of this user. Translation is thus based on the translator, as user in the dynamics of information–communication–knowledge base/body. In the case of the source culture, a text is information communicated with the purpose of being used by receivers to add to exiting similar works, or to create new 'files' in the knowledge body/base. Axiomatically, the same process and purpose are assumed to apply to the target text and its receivers.

As noted above, this web of communication is what discourse analysis explores at two levels of communication: macro and micro. The macro-level, or what Gee (2004) calls Discourse (with a capital D), investigates aspects of intentionality, acceptability, situationality, informativity, and intertextuality (sociocultural practices of discourse analysis). The micro-level, or what Gee (2004) labels discourse (with a lower-case d) largely investigates aspects of cohesion and coherence (socio-textual practices of discourse analysis). Gee (2004: 6) writes:

> The distinction between 'Discourse' with a 'big D' and 'discourse' with a 'little d' plays a role throughout this book. This distinction is meant to do this: we, as 'applied linguists' or 'sociolinguists', are interested in how language is used 'on site' to enact activities and identities. Such language-in-use, I will call 'discourse' with a 'little d'. But activities and identities are rarely ever enacted through language alone.

So, translation as Discourse invokes higher-order levels of analysis (often pre-existing translation itself as both process and product). Discourse may be said to encompass culture, understood as what the members of a particular community ought to know about how to act, interact, and interpret their experience and texts in distinctive ways. These ways are based on specific components of culture, including a particular history, social structure, values and beliefs, religion, and language, where the latter expresses and gives shape to the other components of culture (Discourse). So, Discourse involves the totality of attitudes towards the world, towards events, other cultures and peoples, and the manner in which the attitudes are mediated (Fairclough 1995) or, as van Dijk (1998: 8) succinctly puts it,

> the basis of the social representations shared by members of a group. This means that ideologies allow people, as group members, to organize the multitude of social beliefs about what is the case, good or bad, right or wrong, *for them*, and to act accordingly (emphasis in the original).

Culture is also assumed to cover material elements (material culture), which generally refers to products and habits such as food, clothes, sleeping norms, marriage and divorce ceremonies, prayers, modes of transportation, habitat, flora and fauna, and so forth. The elements of microculture do not usually represent serious difficulties in translation, and can be remedied through footnotes, although this may affect readability. When celebrating cultural differences, almost all media outlets and both governmental and non-governmental bodies unfortunately focus on aspects of microculture (programmes, shows, campaigns, festivals, and so forth, on different dance traditions, cuisines, and clothes, which are seen as instances of cultural otherness). But, aspects of microculture may well become signatures (icons) reflecting macroculture, and

as such they trigger underlying perceptions derived from Discourse (turban, beard, veil, camel, and so forth).

Although language is considered an element of culture (Discourse), it is rather one side of a coin whose other side is culture in its totality. They are both so intertwined that it is difficult to conceive of one without the other (Bassnett 1998). A very basic definition of language is that it is no more than the combination of a good grammar book and a good monolingual dictionary. But these two do not capture what users actually do with the grammar rules and the words neatly listed in dictionaries; instead, language use very much depends on users, and language assumes its importance as the mirror of the ways members of a culture perceive reality, identity, self, and other (Discourse), and so language use is the domain of discourse.

For translation, and in the case of the target culture, the semiotic triad of producer, text, and receiver of D/discourse is theoretically supposed to be 'replicated'. But is this always true? Perhaps for certain pragmatic texts, as Lefevere (1999) labels them, but it is not the case with non-pragmatic text such as literary, political, and so forth, for which decisions at the Discourse level influence and guide choices at the discourse level. Within intercultural encounters and particularly in colonial, post-colonial, post-positivist, gender, and such contexts, as Niranjana (1992: 1) aptly writes, translation 'becomes a significant site for raising questions of representation, power, and historicity. The context is one of contested stories attempting to account for, to recount, the asymmetry and inequality of relations between peoples, races, languages'. In other words, competing Discourses of translation and how they employ discourses in translation.

This volume

It is within this web of intercultural mediation through translation as D-discourse that this volume is located. Translation becomes. This becoming is a multi-layered process of negotiating discourse as communication (source and target texts) and Discourse of the becoming.

Dedicated to Basil Hatim (a *Festschrift*), the ten contributors address both in and of translation as discourse: from the macro aspects of translation as intercultural project to actual analysis and synthesis of textual ingredients that contribute to translation as discourse (communication). The interplay between the 'in' and 'of' applies to both inter- and intralingual modes of communication, whereby the centrifugal and centripetal forces are examined vis-à-vis text in context, agency, power, and patronage as they relate to all stakeholders and theories involved in the translation industry. The ten chapters represent different interrogations of 'global' theories of discourse and translation, including interpreting, within different sociocultural environments: Western (European and North American), African, Arab, and Chinese.

For the sake of the usual human inclination of generalizing objects, people, and events, Chapters 1 to 6 explore translation as Discourse and how it relates to itself as discourse. Chapters 7 to 10 can be said to do the opposite, exploring translation as discourse and how it relates to its Discourse.

In Chapter 1, Ernst Wendland explores the nature of what is labelled translation, particularly given that today the term is so dynamically and flexibly used. Is this flexibility useful in treating translation and translating as D-discourse? Through a critical review of the major approaches/models in translation studies, Wendland considers concepts such as frames of reference, multimodal translation, globalization, and the vital influence of orality in translation. This chapter can be read as a call for an informed enlargement of translation studies whereby translators are empowered (Tymoczko 2014).

In Chapter 2, Richard Jacquemond teases out the ideological dimension in translation Discourse and how as discourse it serves that ideological dimension. Reflecting on the link between theory and practice and with a focus on France and the Arab world, Jacquemond considers the dialogical relationship between cultures as they translate (from) each other. Ultimately, the discussion of translation as Discourse leads to consideration of aspects of the French orientalist academic field and French–Arab cultural relations.

In Chapter 3, Sandra Hale explores the often sidelined and ignored dimension of ethics in intercultural communication. With a focus on community translation and interpreting, Hale considers the double/triple victimization of groups such as refugees or immigrants at the hands of well-intended, but poorly equipped translators and interpreters. This ultimately leads to injustice in the name of translation and interpreting. Not since World War II has humanity been in as great a need of specialist translators and interpreters to guarantee that participants exercise their basic human right of understanding and being understood. Importantly, specialists in translation are here considered as giving attention to both Discourse and discourse, which ultimately contributes to a fairer justice system.

Considering the interlingual interface between two superpowers, Chapter 4 by Hui Wang explores how different translations, as discourse, are generated by the Discourse of translation that precedes actual translations. It is a case of one source, but many targets. Why? The answer provided by Wang lies in how intercultural mediation is deployed through translation to produce certain, often-intended, effects on the audience.

Remaining within the domain of intercultural encounters and the role of translation as both Discourse and discourse, in Chapter 5, Gavin N. Picken examines how translation was utilized by medieval Arabs to produce an essentially Arab–Islamic discourse of their own. From almost obscurity, the Arabs managed through their unique translation movement as a social and political project to transform their nation, *Ummah*, into an acknowledged knowledge society *par excellence*.

In Chapter 6, Ovidi Carbonell Cortés challenges the notion that the translation of specialized discourse is as innocent or stable as is widely believed. Particularly in the current context of globalization, the assumption is that specialized information is transferred across cultures in a seamless and unproblematic manner. Carbonell-Cortés argues that this is not the case. Specialized discourses project certain realties that are loaded with ideology (Discourse) and as such require a particular tool box to handle them as discourses through translation. Here, translation requires integrated approaches that are characterized by critical awareness, a focus on social interaction, and the use of corpora as a key research tool.

Moving on to translation as discourse and how it affects and is affected by translation as Discourse, Chapter 7 by James Dickins considers connotation as language use that is very much interrelated with users. Dickins explores a number of forms of connotative meaning in terms of their relayed meaning as symbolic, indexical (also quasi-indexical) or iconic, fuzzy-meaning boundaries, and the phenomena involved: reference-focusing, parenthetical, secondary-referential, or pseudo-referential. These meanings are related to translation choices and decisions by users, translators.

With a focus on legal discourse, Chapter 8 by Mohammed Farghal explores the problematic nature of modality in language use, in general, and, in particular, investigates how Arabic modality markers are employed in the Oman Basic Statute of the State (issued in 1996 and amended in 2011) and their official English translations. Farghal provides an analysis of some 200 examples to demonstrate the translational strategies deployed to handle this important, yet challenging, discursive tool.

The way the Discourse of translation employs translation as discourse (language use) provides a fertile site for the exploration of how media producers usually guide audiences toward readings and interpretations that favour existing norms of representations of their culture (Discourse) and along the way promote any distortions and misrepresentations of other cultures, all of which is realized by translation as discourse (language in use). Within this context, Chapter 9 by Muhammad Y Gamal explores the subtitling of titles in Egyptian films. By exploring the various historiographical and technical elements of cinematic production, Gamal teases out the dominant strategies adopted in this subtitling in Egypt. Findings can easily be applied across the Arab world and similar communities

Keeping media in focus, Chapter 10 by Rajai Al-Khanji considers a sensitive issue in media discourse and how it produces representations and images of the other. This is particularly pertinent, as Al-Khanji explores the politics of such a discourse in the context of a longstanding, persistent and contested cause, namely the Arab–Israeli conflict. Al-Khanji investigates the discursive strategies employed by the *Hasbara* (2009 manual) 'to frame the position of Israel vis-à-vis that of the Palestinians with the end-product of a pro-Israel

set of strategies'. This is another example of how Discourse animates discourse where translation is framed as representation.

Each in its own fashion, the ten chapters indicate how the norms of producing, classifying, interpreting, and circulating texts within the contexts of one Discourse tend to remain in force when approaching texts transplanted through translation, as discourse, from other Discourses. As such, the chapters show how explorations of the ways in which D-discourses operate might contribute to more efficient self-monitoring on the part of users (producers and receivers) and lead to making translation a true process of intercultural understanding, including issues of identity (self and other), translation enterprise (patronage, agencies, translators), and norms of translation as representation.

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Chapter 1

Translating 'translation'

What do translators 'translate'?

Ernst Wendland

The problem: Will the real 'translation' please stand up?

Nowadays, in both contemporary scholarly writings and popular discourse, the term 'translation' ('translate') appears to be increasingly employed in a secondary, rather than its primary dictionary, sense: 'to render a written or spoken text from one language to another' (Agnes 2006: 1521). According to many theorists, 'Translation has become a fecund and frequent metaphor for our contemporary intercultural world…. Translation is poised to become a powerful epistemological instrument for reading and assessing the transformation and exchange of cultures and identities' (Arduini and Nergaard 2011: 8, 14). The preceding assertion is typical of a new open-endedness in translation studies, one that endeavours to metaphorically magnify the traditional, text-based understanding of 'Translation Rigidly Conceived' (Reynolds 2016: 18) into 'an epistemological principle applicable to the whole field of humanistic, social, and natural sciences' (Arduini and Nergaard 2011: 14). For example, '*whatever a writer writes is to some extent a kind of translation*, because that work will be the product that has emerged out of readings of other people's writing' (Bassnett 2011: 164; italics added). What is here referred to as 'translation' used to be termed 'intertextuality' in literary studies, and this statement is simply a specification of George Steiner's equally overgeneralized notion that 'human communication equals translation' (1975, as cited in Reynolds 2016: 23). But how useful is such a flexible, expansible notion of translation to those of us who are actually engaged in the narrower business of text-based interlingual communication?

At the very least, the current elasticity of usage leads to a certain degree of misunderstanding and a lack of clarity with regard to what is being done when translating and what is consequently offered as an end-product,[1] for example:

> Translation is the performative nature of cultural communication. It is language *in actu* (enunciation, positionality) rather than language *in situ* (*énoncé*, or propositionality). And the sign of translation continually

> tells, or 'tolls' the different times and spaces between cultural authority and its performative practices.
>
> (Bhabha 2011: 20)

The preceding quotation seems to reflect a very different understanding or definition of 'translation' than some of us may be familiar with, and yet it goes back to 1994 – over 20 years ago – so where have we been, or what have we been reading in the meantime? This is typical of approaches and proponents of the so-called cultural turn in translation. As part of an initial overview of such a culture-focused view of translation studies in his popular textbook, Jeremy Munday observes that its proponents more or less 'dismiss' linguistic approaches to translation 'and focus on the way in which culture impacts and constrains translation' (2008: 125; cf. Bassnett 2002: 136). Many of these theorists seek to promote such a cultural turn, for example, as they 'move from translation as text to translation as culture and politics' (125; cf. Bassnett and Lefevre 1990: 79–86). But one might question whether such a metaphorical approach represents rather too great of a 'turn', for is not translation most explicitly about *texts* and the messages being transmitted thereby from one language (the 'source language', SL) and sociocultural setting to another (the 'target language', TL)?

However, that is not how recent theorists are thinking; rather, they seek to broaden the horizons of 'translation' considerably:

> We welcome new concepts that speak about translation and hope to reshape translation discourse within these new terms and ideas. To achieve this goal, we must go beyond the traditional borders of the discipline, and even beyond interdisciplinary studies…. *In an epistemological sphere it becomes less important to distinguish and define clearly what translation is and what it is not*, what stands inside the borders of translation and what stands outside.… Translational processes are fundamental for the creation of culture(s) and identities, for the ongoing life of culture(s), and for the creation of social and economic values.
>
> (Arduini and Nergaard 2011: 9–10, 13; italics added)

One begins to wonder, however, within this 'new paradigm', sometimes termed 'translationality' (Reynolds 2016: 23), does the notion of *translation* actually 'mean' anything specific – other than some sort of general sociocultural *transformation* as viewed from the perspective of a certain individual's (or group's) 'rhizomatic' reconceptualization (Arduini and Nergaard 2011: 9)?[2] And what are the reasons for asserting that 'it becomes less important to distinguish and define clearly what translation is and what it is not' (9)? Is its theory and practice not in danger then of gratuitously entering the purview of disciplines that are much more experienced and capable of dealing with the varied ethnographic and sociocultural issues being referred to?

Perhaps we should turn instead to a philosophical approach for some direction in the search for a more modern definition and associated application of 'translation':

> Good translation…can be defined as that in which the dialectic of impenetrability and ingress, of intractable alienness and felt 'at-homeness' remains unresolved, but expressive. Out of the tension of resistance and affinity, a tension directly proportional to the proximity of the two languages and historical communities, grows the elucidative strangeness of the great translation.
>
> (Steiner 1998: 413)

Unfortunately, there is not much enlightenment available in the preceding opaque observation, which seems to delight in the 'impenetrable' interplay of complicated terminology rather than in any coherent meaning. In the case of popular 'deconstruction' theory then, we reach the limits of comprehension (*or incomprehension*), as we must '[suspend] all that we take for granted about language, experience, and the "normal" possibilities of communication' (Munday 2008: 170; cf. Norris 1991: xi). 'Its leading figure is the French philosopher Jacques Derrida', who employs terminology that is 'complex and shifting, like the meaning it dismantles' (170) – or seeks to destabilize. Accordingly, there can be no 'relevance' in translation 'because, in Derrida's view, a relevant translation relies on the supposed stability of the signified–signifier relationship' (171; cf. Derrida 2004: 425). Such a philosophical perspective promotes an 'abusive fidelity' that 'involves risk-taking and experimentation with the expressive and rhetorical patterns of language, supplementing the ST, giving it renewed energy…[tampering] with usage' (172). The result is inevitably a new text, one that reflects the image of its creator – and hence cannot be called a 'translation' in the usual sense at all, certainly not where the scriptures are concerned.

As Munday astutely concludes: '[S]uch a translation strategy demands a certain "leap of faith" from the reader to accept that the translator's experimentation is not just facile wordplay', which may in fact 'be easier if the text in question is philosophical' (177). 'Facile wordplay' indeed – so much so that when attempting to read and comprehend the writings of some modern translation philosophers, one requires the assistance of an *intra*lingual 'translator' to help decipher them. Back to Bhabha (2011: 24) again for another egregious example:

> Translation represents only an extreme instance of the figurative fate of writing that repeatedly generates a movement of equivalence between representation and reference but never gets beyond the equivocation of the sign. The 'foreignness' of language is the nucleus of the untranslatable that goes beyond the transparency of subject matter.

Indeed, one wonders if it is possible to translate the preceding quote into any language by any means – except perhaps by a machine that does not know what it is thinking!

The preceding observations illustrate the warning issued by translation theorist Andrew Chesterman that 'translation studies has been importing concepts and methodologies from other disciplines "at a superficial level" which tends to lead to "misunderstandings" since translation-oriented researchers often lack expertise in the other field and may even be borrowing outdated ideas' (2005: 19). To give one example: 'Robert Young's lecture at the 2013 Nida Research Symposium was devoted to how Freud can be considered a theoretician of translation and how his psychoanalysis can be seen as a form of translation' (*translation* 2013). To be sure, the Freudian practice of 'free association' would probably not result in a very 'faithful' rendition of any given source text, but on the other hand it might at least transform 'translating' into some manner of beneficial therapeutic exercise – self 'empowerment', for example, which rather mystically 'involves a three-stage procedure that includes the experience of being translated, then of de-translation, and finally of *retranslation of the self*' (ibid., italics added).

In any case, one of the reasons that Bible translation consultants and practitioners need to keep abreast with the new developments and debates in translation studies, including a workable definition of the field itself, is to avoid what Chesterman refers to as superficial or extraneous 'consilience' in their own specialized field (as cited in Munday 2008: 197). How might this be done? One method for establishing a firmer conceptual frame of reference would be to revisit our translation 'roots' in order to reassess some of the older standard definitions along with related principles and practices that some of us may still be familiar with, including a few updates. As Anthony Pym has recently concluded (2016: 15–16):

> Contemporary translation theory has very little time for complex typologies of what translators do…. Our students are learning about translation, or about thought on translation, but not in a way that is in close contact with their actual translation practice…. I am going back to boring old linguistics; I am returning to a field where no empirical advances have been made; I am suspicious of over-theorization; I am turning my back on much that others see as new and exciting in translation studies.

A selective survey of definitions: Where have we come from?

In his masterful survey, Munday defines the 'process of translation' rather basically as 'the translator changing an original written text (the source text or ST) in the original verbal language (the source language or SL) into a written

text (the target text or TT) in a different verbal language (the target language or TL)' (2008: 5; cf. Reynolds 2016: 18). Although Munday decides 'to focus on written translation rather than oral translation', or 'interpretation' (5–6), the issue of *orality* and the *soundscape* of texts is still relevant – for all translators. In any case, one is led to speculate as to what all is involved in this act of intertextual 'changing'. Similarly, translation may be understood as referring to 'the process of transferring a written text from SL to TL, conducted by a translator, or translators, in a specific socio-cultural context' (Hatim and Munday 2004: 6), where again we note a certain degree of ambiguity inherent in the activity of 'transferring'. Hatim and Mason (1997: 1) view 'translation' more specifically as 'an act of communication which attempts to relay, across cultural and linguistic boundaries, another act of communication (which may have been intended for different purposes and different readers/hearers)'. Compare the preceding with these definitions by two *literary* translators: 'Translation denotes the attempt to render faithfully into one language (normally, one's own) the meaning, feeling, and, so far as possible, the style of the piece written in another language' (Landers 2001: 10); 'the most fundamental description of what translators do is that we write – or perhaps rewrite – in language B a work of literature in language A, hoping that the readers of the second language…will perceive the text, emotionally and artistically, in a manner that corresponds to the aesthetic experience of its first readers' (Grossman 2010: 7). The important emotive-affective and artistic motives of the latter two perspectives are obvious.

Bible translation theorists tend to pay much more attention to the semantic notion of 'meaning' in their definitions; for example: 'Translating consists in reproducing in the receptor language the closest natural equivalent of the source-language message, first in terms of meaning and secondly in terms of style', that is, *formal* features of note (Nida and Taber 1969: 12). According to Beekman and Callow, 'the translation process involves (1) at least two languages and (2) a message – these two essential components of a translation may be called, respectively, (1) *form* and (2) *meaning*…[the] formal linguistic elements of a language are what is meant by *form* – the *meaning* is the message which is communicated by these features of *form*' (1974: 19–20, original italics). De Waard and Nida (1986: 14, 36, 25) describe the translation operation in some detail as follows:

> The task of a Bible translator as a secondary source is always a difficult one, since he is called upon to faithfully reproduce the meaning of the text in a form that will effectively meet the needs and expectations of receptors whose background and experience are very different from those who were the original receptors of the biblical documents. The translator must strive to identify intellectually and emotionally with the intent and purpose of the original source, but he must also identify with the concerns of his potential receptors.… The translator, however, wants

> the receptor-language audience to appreciate fully the relevance and significance of such a culturally and historically 'displaced message'.… An expression in any language consists of a set of forms which serve to signal meaning on various levels: lexical, grammatical, and rhetorical. The translator must seek to employ a functionally equivalent set of forms which in so far as possible will match the meaning of the original source-language text.… Those communicative functions which are especially relevant for the understanding of principles of translation are: expressive, cognitive, interpersonal, informative, imperative, performative, emotive, and aesthetic.

A mixed-bag of definitions: Why the diversity?

Obviously, one's definition of 'translation', whether more or less general/specific (as noted above), will be guided and shaped by a number of factors, not all of which a person may be immediately aware of. One's *theory* of communication, and within that of translation, is naturally paramount, for it influences not only one's conceptualization of the discipline of translation, but more importantly, also its actual *practice*. Several illustrative examples follow:

Gideon Toury, the pioneer of so-called descriptive translation studies (DTS), developed the abstract polysystem model of Evan-Zohar into a more practical, text-oriented, and comparative approach (1995; cf. Even-Zohar 2004). The aim is to 'build up a descriptive profile of translations according to genre, period, author, and so forth. In this way, the norms pertaining to each kind of genre can be identified with the ultimate aim…of stating laws of behaviour for translation in general' (Munday 2008: 111). As far as the translation of literature is concerned, one seeks to 'identify the decision-making processes of the translator' on the basis of 'norm-governed activity' that is identified in 'the examination of texts' or those norms that are explicitly stated by translators and others in works about translation (112). Toury's definition of 'norms' is crucial in understanding his goal. This involves 'the translation [i.e. transformation] of general values or ideas shared by a community – *as to what is right or wrong, adequate or inadequate* – into performance instructions appropriate for and applicable to particular situations' (1995: 55, italics added). We note that the preceding citation certainly sounds more 'prescriptive' than 'descriptive' in nature; indeed, such 'performance instructions' would seem to be most appropriately used in settings of translator training and pedagogical instruction.

The ambivalence of the DTS approach becomes evident with respect to the fundamental issue of defining 'what is meant by the term "translation"' (Pym 2010: 76). On the one hand, this task is seemingly left to the TL users themselves; in other words, 'a translation is a translation only for as long as someone assumes it is one' (76). As Pym observes, 'that solution remains fraught with logical difficulties' (76) – and many practical ones, too, I might

add, such as in cases of misrepresentation, misunderstanding, and gross incompetence in actual performance. On the other hand, Toury (1995: 33–35) himself proposes three well-formulated 'postulates' that should help people to define what a 'translation' is: namely, principles that pertain to the 'source text', the 'transfer' process, and the linguistic 'relationship' between the SL and TL texts. Interestingly, these bear a rather close resemblance in terms of reference to the 'three stages' of dynamic-equivalence theory, namely, 'analysis', 'transfer', and 'restructuring' (Nida and Taber 1969: 33). Furthermore, it is rather surprising to see, for example, the 'source text postulate' expressed in terms that would please any 'equivalence' theorist: 'There is another text, in another culture/language, which has both *chronological and logical priority* over [the translation] and is presumed to have served as the *departure point and basis* for it' (Toury 1995: 33–34; italics added).

A rather different notion of what 'translation' is, or should be, arises from Lawrence Venuti's sociopolitical agenda under the theme 'domestication and foreignization'. For Venuti, the problem of overly 'fluent' translations (into English) is due to a policy of gratuitous domesticating, which occasions 'an ethnocentric reduction of the foreign text to [Anglo-American] target-language cultural values' by means of an 'invisible style in order to minimize the foreignness of the TT' (Munday 2008: 144). A 'foreignizing' approach, on the other hand, which is Venuti's ideal, adopts the deliberate strategy of 'resistancy', that is, 'a non-fluent or estranging translation style designed to make visible the presence of the translator by highlighting the identity of the ST and protecting it from the ideological dominance of the target culture' (145). However, one might seriously question whether a 'foreignized' version is able to accomplish all that Venuti hopes for it, especially in a non-Western setting. A far more likely outcome is that the translator would simply be judged to be technically poor or even incompetent due to the grossly 'foreign-sounding' text that she or he has put forward for publication. As far as scripture translation is concerned, on the other hand, the situation is rather more complicated, and the 'acceptability' of a translation depends on other significant factors, such as the history of translations in the language concerned, the number of different versions available and their relative popularity, the theological evaluation of certain translations (i.e., being too 'free') by critical conservative church denominations, the nature and purpose of the version involved, and so forth (Wilt and Wendland 2008: 107–128).

For a more specific example, Antoine Berman, an enthusiastic supporter of 'the foreign in translation', promoted what he termed 'the "negative analytic" of translation', which embraces any technique that opposes the 'strategy of "naturalization"' (Munday 2008: 147). Within the latter activity, he identifies 12 'deforming tendencies', including 'rationalization' (of syntactic structures), 'clarification' (e.g., explicitation), 'expansion' (again, for the sake of clarity in the TT), and 'the destruction of rhythms…underlying networks of signification…linguistic patternings…idioms' (147–148). Berman praised the

'literal translation', which in his opinion 'restores the particular signifying process of [SL literary] works…and, on the other hand, transforms the translating language' (Berman 2004: 288–289; cf. Wright 2016: 37–38). While such a procedure might work successfully in English and other languages with a long literary history (where experienced readers may be used to such stylistic infelicities), it certainly fails in the Bantu languages of Africa, where such a literalistic policy only 'deforms' the translating language into the often-unintelligible dialect of 'translationese'. On the contrary, the attainment of 'fluency' in the target text, especially an audio version, is a most desirable quality, but one that can be achieved only through the perceptive and competent use of the full linguistic and stylistic resources of the host language (Wendland 2004, ch. 8).

A third example of the influence of theory on definition, and in this instance also practice, takes into consideration the fact that a specific translation type will also depend on 'for whom' the version is being prepared as well as 'by whom'. From this perspective, functionalist approaches take pride of place. Thus, 'skopos' (communicative 'purpose') theory 'focuses above all on the purpose of the translation, which determines the translation methods and strategies that are to be employed in order to produce a functionally adequate result' (Munday 2008: 79). Note the term 'adequate' instead of 'equivalent', for the assessment process now is to be carried out from the standpoint of the intended TL readership: 'The function of a [TT] in its target culture is not necessarily the same as in the source culture' (80). However, 'this downplaying (or "dethroning", as [Hans] Vermeer terms it) of the status of the ST' (80) has caused quite a bit of controversy in translation circles, certainly in the case of 'high-value', authoritative texts such as any religious group's sacred scriptures. A related criticism is that 'skopos theory does not pay sufficient attention to the linguistic nature of the ST nor to the reproduction of micro-level features in the TT' (81). In short, one can seemingly recreate an ST in the TL, depending on the wishes or whims of the project organizer or commissioner, a problem that Christiane Nord specifically addresses.

The 'text analysis' methodology of Christiane Nord (e.g., 1997; 2005), 'pays more attention to [linguistic and literary] features of the ST' and this involves 'analyzing a complex series of interlinked extratextual factors and intratextual features in the ST' (Munday 2008: 82). Nord also respects the communicative intentions of the original author under the concept of 'loyalty', which 'means that the target-text purpose should be compatible with the original author's intentions' (1997: 125). A literary concern is reflected in a project's translation commission (or 'brief'), which necessitates a comparative study of the respective ST and TT communication settings ('profiles'), e.g., intended text functions, the communicators (sender and recipient), medium, and motive, for example, 'why the ST was written and why it is being translated' (83). Of course, where a scripture translation is concerned, such a general comparison will be much less detailed with respect to the ST context. The 'role of the ST

analysis' (e.g., content, including connotation and cohesion, presuppositions, sentence structure, lexis, suprasegmental features, text organization) then, is to enable the project management committee 'to decide on functional priorities of the translation strategy' (83). This leads, in turn, to the positing of 'the functional hierarchy of translation problems', including above all whether a 'documentary' (relatively literal) or an 'instrumental' (freer, more liberal) type of translation should be undertaken (82–83).

Finally, when we arrive at 'relevance theory' (RT) there is no doubt about the extent to which theory influences one's definition of 'translation' and how to carry it out. The definition is comparatively simple: Ernst-August 'Gutt defines translation as "inter-lingual quotation"' (Goodwin 2013: 52). The 'basic demand' is 'to produce a stimulus in the target language that will communicate to the target audience the full interpretation of the original, that is, that it will share with the original *all* implications the original author intended to communicate' (Gutt 1992: 65; italics original). In other words, 'If a communicator uses a stimulus that manifestly requires more processing effort than some other stimulus equally available, the hearer can expect the benefits of this stimulus to outweigh the increase in processing cost…' (Hatim 2013: 117). This leads to 'a possible absolute definition of translation', in fact, a 'direct translation': 'A receptor-language utterance is a direct translation of a source-language utterance if, and only if, it presumes to interpretively resemble the original completely (in the context envisaged for the original)' (Hatim 2013: 66). This definition is presumed to be 'independent of the receptor-language context' – that is, to hold true 'no matter who the target audience might be' (66).

The problem that one faces here is immediate: as soon as translators compose their 'receptor-language utterance', it is automatically *dependent upon* 'the receptor-language context' for its interpretation, to a greater or lesser degree depending on a number of situational factors – such as whether paratextual supplementary helps are provided that elucidate critical aspects of the original text and its sociocultural setting, how 'biblically literate' the target group is, how much time and effort they are prepared to put into the act of interpreting the translated text, and so forth. Therefore, I find RT's notion of 'direct translation' in which 'the translator attempts to "directly" quote the original communicator' rather misleading: 'Gutt, in fact, defines translation as "inter-lingual quotation", and in what he calls "direct quotation", the secondary communicator attempts "the preservation of all linguistic qualities"' (Goodwin 2013: 189). Though the terminology is superficially simple, the laborious argument supporting it (Goodwin 2013: 53) is too obscure in terms of conceptual and/or procedural application to be usable in practice, especially by inexperienced translators. To claim that a direct translation is 'simply a specialized echoic use of language across linguistic boundaries' (53) is disingenuous, since such a viewpoint is contradicted by current cognitive linguistic studies (e.g., King 2012: 360–363). Thus, both theoretically and in practice, all

verbal reconstitution across linguistic-conceptual boundaries can only be an inferential, variously 'indirect' process (cf. Goodwin 2013: 55–56) involving, according to the project skopos, a greater or lesser degree of formal, semantic, and pragmatic approximation during textual recomposition. In addition, an apparent overemphasis of desired 'relevance' in the target-language setting is evidenced by statements such as the following: 'The requirement for a faithful translation is twofold: produce a target text that "should *resemble* the original – *only in those respects* that can be expected *to make it optimally relevant to the receptor language audience*" and one that is "clear and natural in expression"…' (53; italics added). From this perspective, the general criterion of 'resemblance' is far too broad and subjective to be viable. Terms such as 'resemble' and 'similar to' allow far too much leeway in interpretation to be serviceable when describing the practice of Scripture translation. Thus, to say that 'this translation is *similar to* what is stated in the biblical text' would be unacceptable to many lay respondents and scholarly critics as well.

In his survey of some of the main theories and developments in translation studies 'since the 1970s', Jeremy Munday correctly draws attention to 'the interdisciplinarity of recent research' and writing (2008: 14). However, he cites with apparent approval an assertion that I would take issue with: There has been 'a movement away from a prescriptive approach to translation to studying what translation actually looks like. Within this framework the choice of theory and methodology becomes important' (15, citing Aijmer and Alvstad 2005: 1). This quote seems to imply, quite mistakenly, that the proponents of so-called 'prescriptive' approaches (one might also term these, less pejoratively, as being 'pedagogical') either do not know 'what translation actually looks like', or their methodology does not take alternative approaches into adequate consideration. There is also the erroneous implication that 'the choice of theory and methodology' was/is *not* 'important' within the prescriptive perspective – or that such a methodology is irrelevant in the modern age. However, many translation consultants, advisers, and guides who work in educationally disadvantaged areas of the world may still need to depend on this type of practical pedagogy to make progress during training exercises, or to get results in actual text production.

Restatement: A satisfactory interdisciplinary synthesis?

What is 'translation'? – we could ask once again, to recycle the discussion along with some further elaboration. A short answer might be: 'Translation is the transfer of a text from language A to language B'. This is similar to the definition provided by the *Oxford English Dictionary*: To translate is 'to express the sense of words or text in another language'. But is that good enough? How can such general definitions help you? It depends on why you need them. For some purposes they may be sufficient – for example, if someone asks you about such work in a casual conversation. However, 'what you mean when

you call a text a "translation" will depend on several factors…your historical moment and political situation, the genre of the text you are talking about, its content and purpose, the features of it that seem to you most important' (Reynolds 2016: 18). Thus, for most serious discussions (e.g., negotiations aimed at establishing a specific translation project), a more detailed definition, with or without added explanation and exemplification, is needed.

But before we can actually define a translation, let alone deliver one, we need to be very clear about the object of this creative, yet controlled, compositional activity, especially where a document of considerable social (including spiritual) significance is involved. As actual practitioners already know from work that they have done, *meaningful* translation, as opposed to *mechanical* translation, is a very specialized, complex, and varied type of verbal *communication*. It involves an interpersonal, transformative *sharing* of the same text – plus the thought-world that it presupposes – between two different systems of language, cognition, and culture. In other words, translation necessitates a total *re*conceptualization and *re-signification* of a text that comes from one linguistic and sociocultural setting so that it is intelligible (hopefully also actionable) in a completely different communication environment. Now the process has become considerably more complex in nature, and a further definition of terms and procedures is necessary.

Translation, as a multilingual, inter-semiotic, cross-cultural exercise of textual, as well as cognitive, *reconstitution*, can be defined or described and evaluated (as noted above) in different ways, depending on a number of important factors. Among these considerations are, from the perspective of scripture translating:

- the ***model*** of translation that one adopts with respect to theory and practice, e.g., whether source-text oriented or target-text oriented, concordant, SMR-code, generative text-linguistic, cognitive-poetic, or relevance based;
- the ***motive***, or goal (skopos), of the translation in relation to one's opinion of the original text's 'authority', a designated target (consumer) audience, for a particular communicative purpose, and in one or more preferred settings of use;
- the ***manner*** in which the recomposition procedure is carried out (e.g., formal correspondence versus functional equivalence), including such methodological variables as individual or team-oriented production, contract- or commitment-based, and so forth.

Translation may then be briefly defined as the practice of *intercultural* and *interlingual* communication. It is an intricate, at times artful, process of semiotic textual exchange, or verbal 'transubstantiation' (trans-*FORM*-ation), involving two basic operations:

1. The intercultural re-ideation or *cognitive reframing* of a given SL text, which is a meaningful and purposeful selection, arrangement, and differentiation of signs, whether oral or written, as it is conceptually transferred from one worldview domain and value system to another;
2. The semantically accurate, formally appropriate, and pragmatically acceptable *interlingual re-signification* of the original text in a specific TL setting, along with any important paratextual or extratextual bridge and background material needed to facilitate greater comprehension, in keeping with the agreed project skopos.

The first operation requires the mental comprehension and interpretation of all the salient as well as 'encyclopaedic' semantic and pragmatic features of the original text in terms of the target language and cultural context, whereas the second, which follows from the first, deals with the more overt surface-level semantic, structural, and stylistic aspects of verbal composition. These procedures are both informed (learned) and intuitive (instinctive) in nature – that is, they are the product of rigorous systematic training as well as innate ability. At any rate, mistakes that occur during the first step of the translation sequence, *reconceptualization*, are always reflected in, and hence distort, the second stage, *recomposition*. Conversely, once translators can accomplish the first step in relation to a given SL text and its cognitive/emotive setting, the second, creating a linguistic *representation* in the TL, is usually not as difficult, although determining the relevant level of *appropriateness* (accuracy, acceptability, and so forth) always presents somewhat of a challenge.

So, do we translate *texts* or do we translate *meanings*? The simple answer is 'Yes!' More seriously: 'Is there a difference?' Consider the following points with reference to some specific work setting and a typical translation task:

1. We translate 'texts', which represent 'meanings'.[3] This process considers everything: the form, content, and intent, *implicatures* along with *explicatures* (Pym 2010: 35–36), as well as the situational and interpretive settings – of both the source text and the target text. In other words, we always translate complete '*texts*-in-*cotexts*-within-*contexts*'.
2. We translate the source text (and its represented meaning) *to the extent possible* – in keeping with the project's primary objectives and with the realization that any translation can be only a partial, hence imperfect, and selective representation of the full communicative value of the original text.
3. The term 'text' further implies the importance of linguistic and stylistic *form*, based on a phonological foundation (as pointed out by the proponents of cognitive grammar), even in the case of written texts (cf. Stockwell 2002).

4. A careful analysis of the compositional *macro*- and *micro*-structure is necessary in order to determine the (real or implied) author-intended content and goals of the source text within its likely, but ultimately hypothetical, initial contextual setting.
5. To a greater or lesser degree, the SL form itself has meaning, that is, communicative significance, with respect to emotive expressiveness, aesthetic appeal, rhetorical impact, and textual organization. Thus, the well-worn Italian proverb *traduttore – traditore* ('the translator [is] a traitor!') applies also, perhaps primarily, to form – from literary structures to syntactic constructions.
6. A literary-structural (*oratorical*) approach pays special attention to the non-referential, connotative, and evocative features of discourse associated with all SL forms, from the individual word to the complete discourse level, including their language-specific *phonic* 'sound effects' (Wendland 2013: 385–392).
7. Finally, *context is* critical – both conceptual and situational. One's methodology and interpretation will always be influenced, to a greater or lesser extent, by the *culture* (world view and way of life) of the TL community in relation to that of the original SL text author(s) as well as one's own hermeneutical position (Hatim 1997). Operational procedures must also reflect the principal goal(s) of the translation project within its primary envisaged social setting of use. If these pragmatic aims include, for example, the desire to achieve *naturalness* in terms of textual impact and appeal, then TL literary form (including poetic) is vitally important and needs to be carefully researched and applied consistently and appropriately in the practice of translation.

The manifold, cognitive-based communicative activity of translating (cf. the essays in Rojo and Ibarretxe-Antuñano 2013) may be defined more precisely, should the need arise, by factoring into it a number of key components:

> ***Translation*** is (a) the conceptually mediated verbal re-composition of (b) one contextually framed, inferentially interpreted text (c) within a different cognitive and communicative setting (d) in the most relevant, (e) functionally equivalent manner possible, (f) that is, stylistically marked, more or less, (g) in keeping with the designated job commission (h) that has been communally agreed upon for the TL project concerned.

The sequence of these core constituents may be described as follows (Wendland 2004: 85):

a) The *conceptually mediated, inferentially guided recomposition*: The translator (or team) acts as a mental 'mediator', or verbal 'foreign-exchange broker', who must fairly represent all his (her) 'clients', that is, the original

author and his (her) communicative intentions within a specific setting, as well as the needs and desires of the target audience.

b) One *contextually framed, inferentially interpreted text*: 'Context' is the total cognitive-emotive-volitional frame of reference, or 'cognitive environment', that influences and inferentially guides the perception, interpretation, and application of a given text.
c) Within *a different cognitive and communicative setting*: The translator carefully negotiates a re-formulation, that is, a verbal re-signification, of the original text within a new language, mind-set, sociocultural environment, and perhaps medium of communication as well.[4]
d) The *most relevant*: The aim is to achieve the greatest number of beneficial conceptual, emotional, and volitional effects for readers without their expending excessive or extraneous processing effort.
e) The most *functionally equivalent* manner possible (House 2018: 32, 181): The target text, supplemented by its paratext (e.g., expository notes, sectional headings, cross-references, etc.), where necessary, should manifest a sufficiently acceptable degree of similarity, or correspondence to the original in terms of the meaning variables of semantic content, pragmatic intent, connotative resonance, emotive impact, artistic appeal, auditory effect, and/or rhetorical power in accord with its literary genre.[5]
f) *Stylistically marked*, more or less: The degree of stylistic domestication applied (i.e., reflecting the genius of the TL) versus the degree of foreignness allowed (reflecting the 'otherness' of the SL text) must always be assessed with respect to the linguistic and literary norms, conventions, and expectations of the TL audience (cf. Wright 2016: 37–53).
g) In keeping with the *designated job commission*: A TL text's level of accuracy and acceptability is defined with respect to the translation project's *brief*, which includes its general terms of reference, primary communication goal(s), or skopos, staff experience and training, available resources,[6] quality-control measures, community wishes and requirements, administrative and management procedures, timeline, and desired completion schedule.
h) *Agreed upon by the TL community* for the project: The communicative framework of the TL social and religious setting is determinative for establishing the job commission, which needs first to be carefully researched, then agreed upon by all major sponsors and supporters, and, finally, closely monitored, evaluated, and, if necessary, revised on a systematic, ongoing basis until the task has been successfully completed (including the text's prepublication audience-readership testing).

It is important to note that translation, in the narrow sense,[7] is different from monolingual communication in that it involves not only two languages, but also at least two different external settings and interpersonal situations,

and often three – for example, that occasioned by some medial translation in another language, like English, if the translators cannot access the original text. The formal and conceptual *distance* between these two or three contexts is variable, depending on the languages and cultures concerned. Generally speaking, the greater this distance (for example, from the Ancient Near Eastern environment in the case of Bible translation), the more difficult the translation task becomes and the more active, form-oriented mediation is required on the part of the translator if a meaningful, let alone a literary, version is to be prepared.

We might add the following observations to elaborate on the eight basic components of the translating process, as stated above, from the perspective of a Scripture rendition:

1. Bible translators do not, ideally, work in isolation, but rather as part of a *team of mutually supportive* co-translators, editors, reviewers, technical specialists (exegetes, annotators, literary artists, computer keyboarders, text-formatters) – along with various consultants, coaches, advisers, guides, and at times mentors (factors [g-h] above).
2. Each communication setting incorporates *interacting levels of extratextual influence* that together affect all aspects of text representation – its paratextual annotation and publication, that is, text processing for a particular medium of transmission (factor [b]). Thus, there are diverse cultural, institutional (including ecclesiastical), religious (traditional and modern), environmental, interpersonal, as well as personal (psychological and experiential) factors that affect the overall communication context either directly or indirectly. These varied and variable 'frames of reference' all merge to form the respective *collective cognitive framework* of the SL or TL communities – and the individual viewpoint of each member of these groups.[8]
3. The perspective, opinion, and requirements of the current 'consumer' audience, which needs to be clearly specified at the outset, are the determinative features (factor [h]) in drawing up an *organizational brief*, or job commission. This is the defining and guiding document that outlines the primary purpose (skopos), principles, procedures, and provisions for a given translation endeavour.
4. The translation of a *literary version*, for example, a 'literary functional equivalence' (*LiFE*) translation (Wendland 2011), is one that utilizes the full stylistic (artistic-rhetorical-oratorical) resources and structural (text-linguistic) forms of the target language. It too is implemented with respect to the general principle of psychological *relevance* (factor [d] above, focus on the TL text), which governs the project-specific practice of functional equivalence (factor [e], focus on the SL text), as particularized or delimited by the agreed-upon skopos.

5. The specific *LiFE* method is applied with respect to the content and intent of the original text, but also in view of, and guided by the genre-determined stylistic features of the host language (factors [f-g]), which range from the target text's significant phonological and lexical forms to its primary discourse arrangements (cf. Ibarretxe-Antuñano and Filipovic 2013; Tabakowska 2013). Another type of translation – for example, a formal-correspondence version for liturgical, or public worship purposes – may be defined in much the same way, except for specifying a different qualifier for the term 'relevant' (i.e., factor [e]).
6. To some degree, stylistic *domestication* (factor [f]) is always called for. Even a relatively literal translation needs to be stylistically *marked* in a discernible and appreciable manner, at least phonologically, with regard to naturalness, for this is perhaps where a translated text's style is most immediately perceptible. How the text reads *aloud*, how it actually sounds in the vernacular, is a criterion of utmost importance for 'literariness'.
7. Finally, it is important to remember that every translation, no matter what kind, will always occasion a certain degree of communicative *loss*, or *mismatch*, with respect to content, intent, connotation, or some other type of significance (e.g., marking 'topic' and 'focus' reference or prominence). This fact, which is supported by the principles of cognitive grammar, argues against both an overly free, dynamic-equivalence approach (DE) and also an overly rigid, formal-correspondence approach (FC).

   With regard to DE, it is not possible to change linguistic forms, even phonological forms, without altering the original meaning in some way. With regard to FC, if the SL forms are not changed in the transfer process, the meaning in the TL text is inevitably altered. In other words, a literal rendering changes the intended sense and significance of the message as much as a dynamic-equivalence rendering – in fact, more so. In either case, as mentioned, certain types of lost or distorted information may (indeed, must!) be supplied para-textually by devices such as footnotes, introductions, section headings, illustrations, cross-references, or a glossary. Such descriptive or explanatory information may also be supplied extra-textually by means of supplementary, context-enriching publications that complement the translation.

Wright (2016: 58) discusses this semiotic balancing act in terms of Christiane Nord's (1997) distinction between a 'documentary' translation and one that is 'instrumental' in nature. In the former case, the translator orients the text 'towards documenting a source in metatextual fashion', thus 'giving the target-language reader an indication of the nature of the (potentially) inaccessible foreign-language text' (58). An 'instrumental' version, on the other hand, aims to fulfil 'a function of its own in the target context', thereby manifesting the source text's 'characteristics and effects on the reader

so central to the way literature works' (58). In the end, insightful, innovative 'translators hover between these two positions, remaining faithful to the source text in the sense of fulfilling a documentary function on the one hand, while acknowledging the translator as a subject, and thus claiming more status and visibility for themselves on the other' (67), presumably by means of a creative and sustained use of the available linguistic and literary resources of the TL in their work.

Conclusion: On metaphoric 'translation' or the translation of 'metaphor'?

The title above presents something of a false antithesis,[9] but the point takes us back to the introduction of the present study and proposals for broadening the scope of the definition and associated practice of 'translating'. Should the theory and practice of translation be figuratively extended to include all types of intra- and intercultural transformational activities, or is it advisable to restrict this notion to the *bilingual* communication of texts and their stylistic techniques, such as 'metaphor' along with a host of related literary features that may or may not 'transfer' easily from one language to another?

Readers are welcome to come to their own conclusions, but my preference for a traditional perspective has undoubtedly become evident during the course of the preceding discussion (supported recently in Watt 2015, ch. 4). For translators of sacred texts, it is advisable to preserve a firmer interdisciplinary semantic boundary by restricting the *intralingual translation* (or definition) of 'translation' as primarily a reference to the *interlingual* conversion process that creates an oral or written TT from an ST within the parameters of a clearly stated and implemented job commission (brief) and communicative aim (skopos). In any case, it is clear that theorists and practitioners, sacred and secular alike, will continue to define and implement 'translation' in keeping with their own understanding, aims, and work setting, as suggested in the preceding survey of diverse attitudes and approaches. The best that we can hope for is, perhaps, that every study or text that uses the terms 'translate/translation' will begin with the author's clear explanation of what she or he means by it. Thus, in the end, it seems that definition *does* make a difference. It matters because of *what* we are trying to accomplish (complex, cross-cultural communication), *how* (the proposed methodology), *for whom* (involving both commissioner and consumer), and *where* (in which specific sociocultural setting). With reference to Bible translation, then, the task consists in the carefully integrated interaction of several critical components that are posited as operating during the inferential (inductive and deductive) activity of translating a high-value *scriptural* (this qualification is important) ST into a given TL in order to create an audience-acceptable TT. This endeavour may or may not be coupled with a notion of the importance of (implied/inferred)

'authorial intention' and its possible influence on the text interpretation as well as transmission, including the process of translation itself.[10]

In any event, we begin with the viewpoint that gives prominence to a sacred *biblical source text*, which motivates, directs, and ultimately authorizes the multifaceted communication enterprise. The entire exercise is further carried out within a twofold cognitive *frame of reference model* that takes into consideration the mutually interacting influence from the sociocultural, communicative, organizational, and textual domains that impact on the ST as well as the emergent TT. This progressive and cumulative text-transformational effort is oriented in terms of the *principle of relevance* (cognitive text-processing cost versus gain in conceptual effects) as well as the predetermined (and communally agreed-upon!) project job description (brief) and primary interpersonal goal (skopos) in view of its intended target constituency. The mediating, methodological principle of *functional equivalence*, or 'interpretive resemblance' for Relevance Theorists (Hatim, 2013: 111–119), based on the identification of 'communicative clues' in the ST, serves to guide translators in their collaborative decision-making procedures. It does so on the basis of a form-functional profile that identifies the most 'significant' (sense-bearing) formal linguistic as well as meaningful features of the ST that need to be re-presented, either textually or para-textually, in the TT and/or within their immediately accessible environment – for example, via some handy extratextual, perhaps electronic biblical studies resource (cf. Rojo and Valenzuela 2013). It is hoped that the present investigation might encourage others to carry out similar reflective, critical-comparative research into the multifaceted subject of 'translation' with respect to process, product and, as this definitional study has also suggested, *purpose* as well: What difference does it make?

Notes

1 Not all modern translation theorists adopt this new vision for translation (for example, Hatim and Munday 2004: 48; Pym 2010: 1). From the perspective of 'literary translation', Chantal Wright defines this practice as 'the movement/transfer of a written…text *from one language into another*, this transfer being carried out by a human agent or agent, that is, the translator(s)' (2016: 171–172, italics added).

2 'Probably the best known use of "translation" to mean something other than translation between languages happens in Shakespeare's *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, where Bottom the weaver is partially transformed into an ass. His friend Quince exclaims: "Bless thee, Bottom, bless thee! Thou art translated" (Act 3, Scene 1, 118–119). Here, "translated" mainly means "physically metamorphosed". … Bottom is translated into an ass because the word "bottom" can be translated [intralingually] into "arse"' (Reynolds 2016: 14–15).

3 As the linguist J. C. Catford reminds us, 'When we translate, we don't transfer something called meaning out of one language and into another. Rather, we find words that are "interchangeable in a given situation"' (Reynolds 2016: 32, citing Catford). The broad concept of 'meaning' thus includes distinct components with different

designations, such as, 'propositional', 'prototypical', 'encyclopaedic', 'connotational', 'contextual', 'functional', 'sociological', and so forth (ibid.: 27–38).

4 This broaches the contemporary field of 'multimodal' or 'intersemiotic' translations that feature 'hypertextual environments' that 'enable multiple textual arrangements' through embedded texts and diverse intertextual connections, for example in oral 'performative' translations (Dickie 2016). Some suggest that 'when mediating hypertextual contents, translation "can therefore no longer be conceived of as the reproduction of an original, but has become subject to reconceptualisation as the re-writing of an already pluralised 'original'"' (Pérez-González 2014: 125, citing Littau). However, in these instances, too, the distinction between 'source text' and 'paratext' becomes problematic and increasingly difficult to define. Thus, whether such broadly conceived avant-garde theory and practice will fit readily into the framework of 'Translation Rigidly Conceived' (Reynolds 2016: 18) remains to be seen.

5 I recognize that 'the concept of equivalence is one of the most controversial issues discussed in translation studies, where scholars disagree on its validity and usefulness' (Munday 2008: 185). Wright draws attention to the multifaceted nature of this concept: 'Equivalence describes the nature of the relationship between source and target text and can be defined in many different ways, from equivalence at the level of lexical units or grammatical categories to equivalence at the textual level or at the level of a text's message, function, or effects' (2016: 168). From one perspective, translation always involves a certain *similarity*, or 'equivalence' in *difference*; in other words, 'For the message to be "equivalent" in the ST [source text] and TT [target text], the code-units will be different since they belong to two different sign systems (languages) which partition reality differently. …' (Munday 2008: 37). A recent review of a book on translation by a professional (secular) translator unashamedly retains the notion of equivalence: 'It will always be possible in a translation to find new relationships between sound and sense that are equivalently interesting, if not phonetically identical. Style, like a joke, just needs the talented discovery of equivalents. … In a translation, as any art form, the search is for an equivalent sign' (Thirlwell 2011: 22; cf. Bellos 2011). Or, to put it more bluntly: 'Once its moorings to equivalence have been severed, "translation" risks becoming a drunken boat' (Pym 2010: 159). So, until a substitute for this idealistic, but convenient frame of reference can be found, we may be stuck with the illusory criterion of 'equivalence' for a while longer. In the end, it may simply be true that 'equivalence is essential to translation because it is the unique intertextual relation that only translations, among all conceivable text types, are expected to show' (Kenny 1998: 80; in particular, see Krein-Kühle 2014).

6 Bible translation agencies have also been heavily involved in developing some increasingly sophisticated tools of electronic *text processing*. Thus, computers have moved from being simple word processors to being resource providers, text manipulators and checkers, and translation environments (using platforms such as *Logos*, *Paratext*, and *Translator's Workplace*), and such progress has been universally welcomed and celebrated. But the degree to which machines can, or should, be used to actually do translation has been more controversial, e.g., the practical utility of such Internet features as 'Google Translate' (cf. Crisp and Harmelink 2011; Reynolds 2016: 96–97).

7 This narrow perspective would also exclude various types of 're-wording' within the same language (e.g., dialect adjustment) as well as substantial semantic adaptations ('re-writing') of the ST in the TL (cf. Reynolds 2016: 16–26).
8 See Wilt and Wendland 2008. To avoid terminological confusion, one might distinguish between the notions of 'context' as a specific, external, perceivable reality, and of 'frame' as one individual or collective cognitive organization, or mental representation. The sum total of frames of reference that are relevant to the interpretation of a given text constitutes its overall conceptual framework.
9 I am not referring here to the fascinating study of various metaphoric expressions for 'translate/translation' in different languages in order to gain a more multifaceted perspective on this discipline and its practice, such as that presented in St. André (2014).
10 With regard to the thorny issue of authorial 'intended meaning' in relation to the ancient texts of scripture, I have elsewhere stated and defended my position in favour of this more optimistic hermeneutical position (cf. 2004: 242–243, 262–264, 298). Other theorists working within a cognitive-based framework of communication would support such a source-oriented hermeneutical stance: 'The idea that one needs to understand the underlying intention of a writer to translate effectively has become a cornerstone of translation theory…. Intention, whether conscious or not can be extracted from the text…. To do this, a translator must be able to create a full linguistic representation of the text' (Katan 2004: 172). 'Communication works inferentially: The communicator produces a [verbal and/or non-verbal] stimulus from which the audience infers the thoughts she intends to communicate' (Gutt 1992: 21); 'When is an act of communication successful? When the audience succeeds in inferring the informative intention of the communicator' (ibid.: 14).

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Chapter 2

Theory and practice in the French discourse of translation

Richard Jacquemond

Translation theory has always been intimately connected to practice. For centuries, it was mostly elaborated by translators and was always prescriptive, that is, aiming at defining the conditions for 'good' translating. Actually, while it would be tempting to take the emergence of 'descriptive translation studies' – to mention Gideon Toury's (1995) most celebrated contribution to the field – as the origin of the study of translation as an autonomous discipline, one could argue that translation studies has until now remained dependent on prescription in many ways, as Lawrence Venuti (2000: 4) points out. We find within the field of translation studies a much larger proportion of active translators than, say, the proportion of creative writers within the field of literary studies. All this points to the dependent, subaltern status of the translated text, and – without delving further into the philosophical and ethical implications of this question – provides me with a good starting point. This contribution is intended to be a reflection on the link between theory and practice in translation, based on my own, long experience as a translator, a translation editor, and a scholar in translation studies. It has been a very particular experience, because it relies on translation to and from Arabic and has often led me to elaborate a discourse on translation contrary to the mainstream one, whether in France (or, more generally, in the 'global North') or in the Arab world.

In order to explain this, I shall have to dwell on my personal trajectory in some detail. I do so not out of self-indulgence, but rather as a way of understanding, through an auto-socio-analysis of sorts, the objective conditions that made this trajectory possible. While doing so, I hope that I will provide the reader with some useful insights into the recent history of the French orientalist academic field and, also, French–Arab cultural relations.

Beginnings

I was born in St-Etienne, an industrial town that owed its prosperity to the surrounding coal mines that shut down one after the other in the 1950s and 1960s – that is, in the period of my birth (1958). My father, a former miner,

benefitted from the conversion plan set up by the mining company and became a successful auto mechanic. I grew up in a monolingual, monocultural environment, reading world literature in French translation without ever thinking that I was not reading the writer's original words. I watched American cartoons, TV series and Westerns dubbed into French, without it ever occurring to me that Mickey Mouse, Steve McQueen (Josh Randall in *Au nom de la loi* – the series' French title was, typically, quite different from the original *Wanted: Dead or Alive*) or John Wayne actually did not speak French. I feel it important to mention this because, while this kind of monolingual upbringing was and remains the rule for millions of people in France, as in many other European countries and in the United States, it is not so common among professional translators (or within the academic field of translation studies), where many come from multilingual families, social backgrounds, or countries. Perhaps it is necessary, in order to fully grasp the meaning of the title of Lawrence Venuti's famous book, *The Translator's Invisibility* (1995), to have experienced this kind of monolingual education. Later, I learned and practised other languages, went to live abroad and eventually became a translator, but I never forgot my initial innocence, and I have always looked with a pang of envy at my colleagues and friends who have lived in two or more languages since their childhood.

Nothing thus destined me to become a translator and a scholar in modern Arabic literature, except a taste for travel quite common among young Europeans. This led me, when already in my mid-twenties, to register for the introductory course in Arabic language at Aix-en-Provence University. I was planning a trip around the Mediterranean, and I naively thought that I could learn enough in a first-year course in modern standard Arabic to get along with the natives from Aleppo to Casablanca. However, I soon heard from one of my teachers about his colleague, Claude Audebert, who had just left Aix-en-Provence's Near Eastern Studies department to launch a centre for the intensive study of Arabic in Cairo, where students would spend nine months training in written and spoken Arabic with a scholarship from the French government. This was an exciting prospect and I decided to postpone my Mediterranean trip and instead concentrate on my first-year Arabic classes to make sure I would be selected for that grant.

That is how I landed in Cairo on 1 October 1983 – my first time ever in an Arab country. One of my Aix teachers, noticing my eagerness to progress, had recommended that I try my hand at translation from Arabic into French and offer my help at the CEDEJ, which then published a *Revue de la presse égyptienne*, that is, two to three hundred pages translated from the Egyptian press on a quarterly basis. I followed his advice and thus started to translate into French from Arabic at a very early stage as a means to speed up the language-acquisition process. Translating material from the Egyptian press was a tremendous education. With the help of only my Hans Wehr-Milton Cowan Arabic–English dictionary (back then, there was no

reliable modern Arabic–French dictionary, let alone online resources!) and of the occasional Egyptian friend visiting our flat, I could spend hours on a paragraph or even a sentence of *Al-Ahram*'s or *Al-Musawwar*'s waffle without ever complaining.

A few months later, Claude Audebert introduced me to a friend of hers, the Egyptian writer Maguid Toubia, who had just been contacted by the Institut du Monde Arabe for the translation of a collection of his short stories into French. Toubia had wanted to give the job to Audebert, a seasoned Arabist as fluent in *fus'ha* as in the Cairene dialect, but she declined the offer and instead suggested my name. I sent a trial sample to Selma Fakhry-Fourcassié, the series director. She found it convincing enough to entrust me with the project, and that was it. I spent a good part of my last months in Cairo translating Maguid Toubia's short stories, including long working sessions – and quite a few Stella beers – with him at the Cap d'Or bar on Abdel Khaliq Tharwat Street. Back in France, now in my third year as undergraduate student in Arabic, I worked on the translation, first with Selma Fakhry-Fourcassié, then with Odile Cail, senior literary editor at the Éditions Jean-Claude Lattès. These two gave me my first lessons in translation editing and rewriting at a time when I was still practising Arabic–French translation as a scholastic exercise with my fellow students in Aix. By the time the book was printed in December 1985 (Toubia 1986), I was back in Cairo with another grant, working on my MA thesis project.

I have gone into some detail in the previous lines because these beginnings are highly illustrative of the state of Arabic–French literary translation in the mid-1980s. Jean-Claude Lattès' 'Lettres arabes' was the first series dedicated to modern Arabic literature to be published by a mainstream French publisher, and that was made possible thanks to generous funding by the Institut du Monde Arabe, then a recently created institution that embodied France's cultural diplomacy towards the Arab world.[1] Eleven titles were published in this series between 1985 and 1990, among them the first complete foreign language translation of Naguib Mahfouz's *Trilogy* (1985; 1987; 1989). Six beginners in their late twenties or early thirties, with no previous published translation, achieved ten of these eleven translations – a fact that indicates the dearth of translators from Arabic at that time. Only one of those beginners did not publish any further translation, while in the following decades four others (France Meyer Douvier, Yves Gonzalez-Quijano, Philippe Vigreux, and myself) would become some of the most active Arabic–French literary translators, each with fifteen to twenty translated titles to date. This indicates that the series editors' choices were rather successful, but also that the time was ripe; actually, the launching of the 'Lettres arabes' series in 1985 coincided with the beginning of a small boom for modern Arabic literature in French translation. Starting from this year, 'at least ten new titles appeared yearly in France in the field of modern Arabic literature. … Between 1990 and 1994 the average rose

to over 17 titles each year, to reach 25 between 1995 and 2000' (Leonhardt Santini 2006: 166–167).

More broadly, this movement coincided with the coming of age of a new generation of French Arabists – a generation that had experienced neither the colonial times, nor the struggle for independence of the former French colonies in the MENA region. Rather, this young generation was in tune with its Arab peers who, like us, came of age in the post-1968 context, that is, a context of contestation of authority, liberation of morals and solidarity with oppressed minorities, from women to Palestinians. How does this relate to translation, one may ask? It seems to me that beyond our different political or aesthetical leanings, we as young translators from Arabic shared a common ideal or goal – thirty years later, it has not changed, since it seems yet to be attained. Farouk Mardam-Bey, the leading editor of Arabic literature in French translation since 1995, summarized this goal: 'to *make* Arabic literature *commonplace*, that is, to get it out of its exoticism, to have it read neither as a sociological or political document, nor as an ethnological account, but as a literary creation in its own right' (Mardam-Bey 2000: 85; my translation). Until it would, or will, be commonplace, Arabic literature would (will) remain a *minor* literature, the literature of an oppressed minority. It was an 'embargoed literature', as Edward Said (1990) put it in an essay every Arabist sympathetic with the cause of Arabic literature in translation has been quoting ever since. But before delving further into these questions, let us turn back to the late 1980s.

During the 1986–1987 academic year, I had passed the *agrégation d'arabe*, a competitive exam much more prestigious than its official purpose, which is to recruit highly qualified teachers for the French public high schools. I did teach the Arabic language at that level during the following year – in my hometown, Saint-Etienne, an assignment I did not ask for, and a position I never expected to find myself in when I left the place some eight years before! But I had not undergone the *agrégation* ordeal – ten months of full-time cramming – to become a high school teacher. It made of me a lifetime French civil servant, a highly appreciated move after almost ten years living on seasonal or part-time jobs, scholarships and unemployment benefits. Even more decisively, it made me eligible for the position that took me back to Cairo in September 1988 and subsequently determined most of my future career.

In the mid-1980s, at a time when France's cultural diplomacy still enjoyed generous funding from the state budget – another legacy from the colonial times the subsequent governments would severely trim in the following decades – the French cultural mission in Cairo had launched an ambitious translation programme and was looking for a young *agrégé d'arabe* with some experience in translation (in the form of at least one published translation) to manage it. I was the perfect match, and the job suited me perfectly. I managed this programme for seven years, from 1988 to 1995 and, alongside my experience as a literary translator, it shaped my thinking on translation.

From Arabic into French

The main goal of this programme was, in accordance with the general aim of the French cultural diplomacy, to 'contribute to France's cultural influence' by promoting the translation of French books with Egyptian publishers. Typically, I would either suggest a title for translation to one of my Egyptian partners or listen to his or her proposals, then act as a liaison with the original French publisher until we would secure a contract, entrust a local translator with the Arabic translation, and follow up on this translation to varying extents, depending on the translator's abilities and on the difficulty of the book, until the book was published. Following the local publishers' requests, we put the stress on social sciences rather than on literature and, within the social sciences, primarily on matters especially relevant to the Egyptian audience, such as Egyptology and Orientalism in a broad sense. However, this did not prevent us from also promoting the translation of modern classics of French social sciences (Braudel, Bourdieu) and literature (Proust) that were yet not sufficiently available in Arabic. However, this kind of one-way, 'missionary' policy hurt my egalitarian vision of Franco–Egyptian relations, and I was eager to work also the other way round.

The moment was favourable: it came with the announcement of Naguib Mahfouz's Nobel prize in October 1988, a few weeks after my start, and with it an unprecedented opportunity to boost Egyptian and Arabic literature in translation – or at least that is what the small *milieu* of Western translators from Arabic hoped, somewhat naively, would happen. In any case, Mahfouz's Nobel certainly fuelled my desire to re-engage actively in literary translation on a personal level. At the same time, the small translation unit I headed embarked on a joint translation project of a series of political essays by Egyptian liberal intellectuals that were co-published by one of our Cairene partners (Dar al-Fikr), La Découverte in Paris, and Bouchène in Algiers as well. This latter experience was especially instructive for me.

The first two essays to appear in this series (Al-Ashmawy 1989; Zakariya 1991) had several characteristics in common: they were very recent,[2] they called for a radical separation between religion and politics and, for this reason, had raised quite a lot of debate in Egypt, where mainstream politics as well as the various Islamicist opposition movements stemming from the Muslim Brotherhood practised or advocated their mixing in different ways (things have not changed much since!). However, they differed in their methods: Al-Ashmawy, an Egyptian magistrate, based his arguments on Islamic law and theology, in a way not much different from his predecessor 'Ali 'Abd al-Raziq (1888–1866) in *al-Islam wa-usul al-hukm* (1925), whose French translation appeared later in the same series (Abderraziq 1994). In contrast, Zakariya, a professor of philosophy, wrote from a modern, liberal perspective familiar to Western readers. This led to two quite different ways of writing: one (Al-Ashmawy's) very much based on classical Arabic rhetoric,

and the other (Zakariya's) using the tools and argumentation techniques of modern critical thought.

However, this radical difference between their respective styles was largely lost in my French translations, and for reasons I did not hesitate to present candidly in the introductions I wrote for these French versions. I had also written an introduction to my translation of Maguid Toubia's short stories – on the publisher's request, I suppose. I am retrospectively struck by this custom of asking the translator to present the author to a new audience through a preface or introduction, notwithstanding the translators' credentials – or lack of thereof, as was my case at the time of Toubia's translation at least. I suspect this had to do with the fact that these were translations from the Arabic, that is, from a distant, different world that needed (in the publishers' view, at least) to be explained to the reader. Whatever the case, I used my prefaces to Al-Ashmawy and Zakariya to set out my translation strategies. I wrote at the end of my introduction to Al-Ashmawy:

> Against an 'orientalising' translation, that is to say, an integral transposition of the Arabic text into French that was bound to be indigestible, we have made the choice of a substantial rewriting, for this alone allows for the author's thought to find a new life in the target language and culture and thus to be received beyond the small circle of specialists.
>
> (Jacquemond, in Al-Ashmawy 1989: 8; my translation)

What I did not mention was that this substantial rewriting also involved a massive compression of the Arabic original. Typically, ten lines in Arabic would become five in French, meaning that the original was reduced by more than half (the French translation of an Arabic text is usually twenty-five to thirty per cent longer than the original). The rewriting job was much lighter in the translation of Zakariya's work, because of the much smaller distance between his style of writing, much informed by the Western thought he'd been teaching for decades, and its French equivalent. However, reading back over my translation today in comparison to the original, I can see that my priority was clearly to deliver the author's message in the smallest number of signs!

I had probably developed this kind of strategy while translating Egyptian pundits' columns for the CEDEJ's *Revue de la presse égyptienne* during my years as a student in Cairo. I also kept it up by teaching this strategy in the translation classes I was asked to give to young Egyptian French-language teachers and academics as part of my assignment. Against my students' basic idea of translation as consisting in replacing Arabic words with French ones or vice versa, my mantra was: We don't translate words, we translate meanings. I had made up my own version of the first translation theory I had discovered, namely, the 'interpretative theory of translation' elaborated by Marianne Lederer and Danica Seleskovitch (1984), conference interpreters and professors at the École Supérieure d'Interprètes et de Traducteurs

(ESIT), now part of the University of Paris III Sorbonne Nouvelle, France's foremost training school for interpreters and translators. Teaching translation students to understand a given text before starting to translate it, and having them produce compressed versions of it in the original language and in the target one, are actually excellent training methods that I still use in my MA translation classes at Aix-Marseille University. In addition, I now ask my students to do comparative analyses of French translations of reports or columns, originally published in Arab newspapers, as they appear in *Courrier international*, a French weekly magazine that consists mainly of a selection of articles translated from the international press. While these translations usually convey the originals' meaning in a quite accurate way, they resort to rewriting, summarizing or clarifying techniques to various extents, and thus provide my students with an eloquent example of the liberty one can take in the translation process. Of course, this rewriting and summarizing process is not innocent. As Lynne Franjié (2009) has shown in her study of *Courrier international*'s coverage of the 2006 Israeli–Lebanese war, these translations tend to suppress or attenuate what may seem either too 'politically incorrect' or irrelevant to the French reader.

I ended my introduction to Fouad Zakariya's translation with a warning of sorts:

> Because this translation calls the North as witness to the ideological struggles currently taking place within the South, it runs the risk of allowing these struggles to be used as a weapon by the North. And because it seems to offer to a West haunted by the 'return of Islam' the backing of the 'good Arab', it runs the risk of giving arguments to those who, on the southern side of the Mediterranean, accuse Fouad Zakariya of being an 'enemy from within'.
>
> (Jacquemond, in Zakariya 1991: 12; my translation)

Thus, it seems that I was very conscious of the effects on the book's reception of my translation choices – from the very selection of the texts we chose to translate to the kind of translation I practised – and that I was desperately trying to pre-empt them. It was a desperate attempt, indeed, since the book was released on 24 January 1991, in the midst of the First Gulf War, in a context obviously prone to aggravate misrepresentations. I have lost the abundant press book the publisher had compiled (the book was relatively successful, and La Découverte reprinted it in 2002 – in the wake of 9/11), but I remember well that what hit me most back then was the fact that there was not a single comment on my translation. In the transparent, domesticating translation strategy prevailing in France, this was the best proof of my success. I was an invisible translator, *ergo* I was a good translator.

This was a deliberate choice, one that was going against what was already becoming the dominant trend among self-conscious, 'politically correct'

translators in France, that is, the critique of 'ethnocentric' translation, as the late Antoine Berman (1942–1991) put it in a seminal essay (1985). Almost at the same time, Lawrence Venuti published his first important contribution to the critique of invisible translation (1986). Together with Meschonnic, Spivak, and others, Berman and Venuti would become connected with the 'ethical turn' in translation, that is, with a theory and practice of translation aiming at recognizing the Other's alterity and giving it a place within the target language and culture through 'foreignizing' translation strategies. How, then, was it that while my own ethics and politics should have led me to identify with the Berman and Venuti ethics of translation that were gaining ground in the 1980s and 1990s, I was going in the other direction?

To find an answer to this question, let us go back to the first pages of this essay and my description of the context of the 1980s as it pertains to Arabic literature in translation. We had read Edward Said, we had celebrated Naguib Mahfouz's Nobel price, we were fighting to bring Arabic literature 'out of the ghetto', to 'make it commonplace', as I said, so that it could be read in French or English just like other foreign literatures – and, of course, the model everybody in the Arab literary milieus had in mind was the success story of South American literature and the 'magical realism' in Europe and North America, which was at its height in the 1980s. For me, and for many of my colleagues I suppose, these goals meant the need first to adopt translation strategies intended to help this 'normalization'. That meant we had to get rid of certain orientalist traditions which, in both their scholarly and more popular manifestations, had contributed to the longstanding ghettoization and exoticization of Arabic literary heritage in the West and were now influencing the reception of modern Arabic literature in translation in order to replace them with mainstream domesticating translation strategies. Indeed, this is what I was doing, quite consciously, in my published translations at the turn of the 1990s.

This would turn out to be, it seems to me, one of my major contributions to translation theory. In an essay I was lucky enough to publish in a collected volume edited by Lawrence Venuti (Jacquemond 1992); I proposed that the history of translation from Arabic into French (or English for that matter [see Shamma 2009]) teaches us that foreignizing translation strategies are not necessarily more 'ethical', that is, better suited to make a place for the Other in the target culture. On the contrary, such strategies can further confirm the Other's alterity, as long as this specific other is kept by the target culture in a radical alterity. Actually, Berman had himself realized this, as is shown by his criticism of Mardrus' 'exoticizing' translation of the *Arabian Nights* (1985: 79).

Robyn Creswell (2017) has recently provided us with a very eloquent reflection on this dilemma. He asserts that

> [a] central task for translators from the Arabic is to assert the bare translatability of the language into English. By translatability, I mean its interpretability, its potential for making sense – including, of course, aesthetic sense. … This isn't an argument for 'domesticating' translations, that is, for neutered English versions that privilege ease of reading over linguistic estrangement. Instead, the argument is that at a moment when the estrangement of English and Arabic is a brute historical fact, eloquent translations from the Arabic can provide exactly the experience of shock and defamiliarization that any powerful reading experience, including those of translations, must involve. That lucid and legible English versions might indeed provoke these experiences suggests to me that the categories of 'domesticating' and 'foreignizing' translations are essentially meaningless, or at least highly contingent.
>
> (Creswell 2016: 452–453)

However, in the example Creswell gives further, selected verses from a poem by a female ISIS militant he translated with his colleague Bernard Haykel (2015), the two appear also to have resorted to domesticating strategies, such as selecting the verses (ten out of the sixteen comprising the original [al-Nasr 2014: 43]) that best suit their point (that is, showing that the poem 'combines the politics of jihad with a visionary cosmopolitanism' [Creswell and Haykel 2015]), explaining al-Nasr's 'Qahtan wa-'Adnan' as 'the Arab of the South [and] the Arab of the North', and so forth. While their translation is indeed an 'eloquent' one, as Creswell claims, I would argue that it does not escape the domestication/foreignization polarity and its effects. It does produce an 'experience of shock and defamiliarization', as he expected, but rather, I would say, through the unlikely mix of the message's strangeness and its rhetoric's familiarity. Actually, such a mix is already noticeable in the Arabic original, with its pan-Islamist message expressed in the classical form (one rhyme throughout and one of the canonical metres), yet in a very modern style devoid of the archaisms and flourishes that usually come with this kind of poetry. As a matter of fact, the familiar aspect of this style, whether in the Arabic original or in the English translation, stems from the fact that it resembles the rhetoric common of the patriotic songs of many modern nations (and, as in this case, supranational imagined communities).

In this way, Robyn Creswell's plea for the translatability of Arabic – by which he means the moral and political necessity to translate from this language, including poetry of the Islamic State – closely echoes my own plea for the normalization of Arabic literature in translation, which has always prevented me from adopting the 'resistant translation' strategies Venuti would call for. As appears clearly from Creswell's recent essay (and one could quote dozens of others to the same end), the material and symbolic status of the Arabic language in the centres of the Western world has not improved since

the 1980s. I would even contend, on the basis of my experience of three decades, that it has deteriorated, in France at least. Looking back to my numerous contributions to both theory and practice of Arabic translation since 1992 (more than fifteen articles and book chapters and as many translated books), it seems to me that I have been mostly developing variations on the same theme. In summary, as regards both theory and practice, I have consistently tipped the scales in favour of domesticating choices rather than foreignizing ones – to varying degrees, depending on the text and the context, but the general trend has remained clear.

From French into Arabic

Let us now turn back to what was my main occupation between 1988 and 1995, when I was in charge of the Translation Department of the French cultural bureau in Cairo, that is, translation into Arabic. During the 1980s, the Egyptian publishing sector was gradually recovering from the erratic policies implemented under the Nasser and Sadat regimes (see Gonzalez-Quijano 1998). I was soon convinced that working in the public sector would probably be risky in many ways, especially given that the private sector was recovering some vigour at the hands of small entrepreneurs, often with a militant, leftist background, who entered the publishing market with both political and commercial ambitions. These would become my favourite partners. I would also find out later that some of my best and most effective translators had a similar profile – that is to say, they had a militant background and that translation was for them both a livelihood and a political or ideological project.

But what fascinated me most was soon discovering that, while we – my Egyptian colleagues, French–Arabic translators, and myself, Arabic–French translator – apparently did the same job, we actually worked in very different ways and, more broadly, we occupied radically different positions in our respective societies. Mine was an extremely peripheral one (as a literary translator, that is, one of the least recognized occupations within the cultural field and, furthermore, a translator from the Arabic, a very marginal language in the translated book market in France). While they did not fare any better than I did in terms of material reward, their social status and esteem were certainly more favourable than mine. Of course, they remained second-hand writers, and thus not as highly regarded as first-hand authors. Yet, because of the Egyptian (and more broadly Arab) cultural (or: literary, academic, publishing, etc.) field's subordinate position in the global economy of symbolic exchanges, their social role, or mission, was much more recognized than mine. As translators, they were seen as indispensable actors of the 'transfer of knowledge' from more developed cultures or societies – and especially as translators from French, a language that was still at the forefront of critical thinking in several domains, as was attested by the popularity of French theory on American campuses in the 1980s.

There was, thus, a fundamental inequality between Arabic–French and French–Arabic translation. But prior to this inequality was another one, one that had to do with the production of knowledge and representations related to Egypt (or the Arab world at large). In France (and this can be extended to the West in general), this knowledge and these representations, instead of being imported from the place, were mostly produced by the group of individuals and institutions that together form the orientalist field. One of the main consequences of this state of affairs was that one of the first requests I received from my Egyptian partners was to fund translations of books dealing with Egypt and the Arab region, from Egyptology to current economic and political issues. The case of Egyptology, which turned out to be one of our most successful series in Arabic translation, is especially interesting because it epitomizes this issue of translation as reclaiming a knowledge related to the Self, as opposed to translation as a pure import of foreign knowledge. From Bonaparte's Egyptian campaign (1798–1801) and Champollion's deciphering of the Rosetta Stone (1822–1824) until far into the twentieth century, Egyptology (the study of ancient Egyptian history), remained largely monopolized by European scholars and archaeologists who ignored or patronized their native counterparts (Reid 2015). The latter did not recover their full independence until the 1950s and, yet, until now, the field of Egyptology remains dominated by foreign scholars, and Egyptian Egyptologists have to publish in English, French, or German if they want their foreign peers to recognize their contribution.

Egyptology is but an extreme example of the marginalization of the Arabic language as a vector of knowledge production, an issue of growing importance in many fields – and one that concerns most national languages, given the rapidly growing use of English as the lingua franca of scientific communication. Nevertheless, this issue of course takes on specific importance in postcolonial contexts such as the Arab-speaking areas. But however important this 'translation as reclamation' part of our programme was, the latter's core remained the 'transfer of knowledge', especially in the social sciences and humanities, from literary criticism to sociology, history, and political science. On the whole, there was much less interest for French literature than for French social sciences. At least, this was the case until 1993, when I started to work with a newly founded publishing house, Sharqiyyat, which would become closely connected with the young literary avant-garde known as *gil al-tis'inat*, the Nineties generation.

Back then, when I made these choices, I did not realize that they actually corresponded with general trends in Arabic translation, which I would document and analyse in later research (2008), and that these general trends did not differ much from those one can observe in other comparable linguistic areas (Heilbron 1999). Actually, what struck me most at that time were the multiple differences between my own practice as a translator from Arabic into French and my Egyptian peers' practice as translators from French into

Arabic, and among them, especially, their tendency to favour foreignizing translation strategies. Although I was working with translators with very different backgrounds and from different generations, it seemed that they were all trained in the same school, where a good translation was not, as we would consider it in France (or in the UK or the United States), an invisible one but, quite the opposite, a very visible one. In the worst case, it was a result of laziness and a lack of professionalism that would lead them to deliver word-for-word versions without taking the necessary time either to fully understand what they were translating or to reformulate it in a clear, eloquent Arabic version. However, I soon became convinced that, for many of my Egyptian peers, this was rather a deliberate choice, and one consistent with the mainstream trend of Arabic translation, whether in Egypt or in the region at large.

As part of my job, and in order to check the market trends, I had been surveying the translated Arabic book market, especially translations from French, published all over the Arab world, which I used to search for and buy at the Cairo book fair every year. Although I never read them thoroughly, I would make a go at it, and it was often a rather unsettling experience: suddenly I was confronted with an Arabic language I was not familiar with. Part of my unease had to do with my lack of intimacy with the specific Arabic jargon of this or that subject, but I was soon convinced that the main reason for my malaise was, instead, that translated Arabic often 'sounded' different from original Arabic. The level of foreignness, so to speak, in translated Arabic was variable, depending on many factors, but on the whole, it seemed clear that, most of the time, translated Arabic had a distinctive smell – exactly the opposite of the French 'invisible' translator's golden rule: the translated text ought not to smell.

Being born and raised in a metropolitan culture where translation was made invisible, it was not easy for me to accept these foreignizing aesthetics, and I spent hours editing translations too literal for my taste or trying to convince their authors to write a more idiomatic Arabic. These biases leaked out in my first essays on French/Arabic translation, where I would equate these aesthetics with the subordinate position of Arabic language and culture, and thus call for their liberation from this domination (see, e.g., Jacquemond 1992). Later, when I got back to Arabic translation as a scholarly object, almost ten years after I ended my term as director of this translation programme, it seems to me that I developed a more nuanced approach. For instance, studying Bourdieu's Arabic translations (Jacquemond 2015) in the light of, amongst others, Moroccan translator and philosopher Abdessalam Benabdelali's reflections on translation (2006), led me to reconsider the Arab translator's position. I would situate it in a broader perspective where, on the one hand, it does not differ radically from that of translators working in other languages and, on the other hand, I would identify and discuss the specific problems of Arabic translation, which are related to the specificities of the Arab linguistic area. This

is an area consisting of more than twenty countries where there are many political and economic obstacles to book circulation, where the publishing industry is still dominated by poorly professionalized actors, an area populated by more than 300 million but where the translated book market is ridiculously small for many reasons, the main one being that a significant part of the local elites continue to privilege the use of English (or French) over Arabic in many fields, as a means to perpetuate their social domination. Add to this that Arabic, a Semitic language, has no common roots with the major European languages, that it only reluctantly accepts loanwords and prefers to coin new terms by drawing on its extremely rich and fertile triliteral word root system and enriching it, and the result is that Arabic neology – which largely relies, here as elsewhere, on the translators' creativity – is always fragile, uncertain and hectic. Therefore, it can take a very long time for a new word or an old word's new meaning to reach the critical mass that will impose it on the language users, whether at the level of the whole Arabic speaking region or at that of part of this region.

In conclusion

This brief survey reveals the causes of the deep difference between translation conditions and practices in French and in Arabic. This difference struck me forcefully when I started to work in both directions at the turn of the 1990s, and I tried to reduce it in my practice and in my theorizing as well. It is probably a good thing that I was not able to succeed: I imagine with a chill the kind of Arabic translation that could have been produced by an Egyptian translator who applied to a French political essay the same naturalizing techniques I used in my French translation of Al-Ashmawy's *al-Islam al-siyasi*. Or am I wrong, and should I not admit rather that this kind of Arabization (*ta'rib*) has always existed and still exists, under forms different from my francization, and that it is actually a good thing?

Trying to assess how my practice of Arabic–French translation, and my analysis of the reverse activity, has evolved since the late 1980s and early 1990s, it seems to me that I have become more attached to respectfulness or less prone to rewriting, as regards my practice and, on the other side, better able to understand the need for literal, word-for-word translation into Arabic. This has not prevented me from sometimes engaging in various forms of editing, but this is another subject altogether. True, it is not always easy to draw the line between rewriting (as part of the translating job) and editing (that is, taking advantage of the translation to make corrections in the original work), but it is a rather common practice, and one that benefits the author at the end of the day. I remember that, while I was exchanging letters with Pierre Bourdieu regarding the Arabic translation of *Les règles de l'art* (1992), he sent me a list of two or three dozen minor corrections to the published version, which had been suggested to him by his Dutch translator, asking me to make

sure they were inserted in the future Arabic translation. I have also practised this kind of intervention in many of my translations, yet quite marginally.

On the other hand, I can see more clearly now the reasons behind the pervasiveness of the word-for-word approach in Arabic translation, a phenomenon I have referred to as the 'deferential translational norm' (2015: 201). This deferential pattern is the clearest manifestation of the deep inequality between the two languages and cultures at the present point of their encounter. However, it varies a great deal from one translator to another and from one translated book to another, and this probably follows a general pattern one can observe in incoming translations into any language. Deference has to do with the value the target language's specific cultural field accords the source text it decides to import. The more the target cultural field values a source text, the more deferential its translation will be. At a given time and place, the different subsectors of a society's cultural (literary, academic) field can have different kinds of relationships with their foreign counterparts, from an equal, peer-to-peer relationship, to a very unequal one in which the importing field considers itself in a position of inferiority and in need of its foreign counterpart in order to move forward or go beyond a situation of crisis. At a more micro level, a deferential, foreignizing translation strategy will be used by avant-garde or dissident actors within a given subfield who will use the importation of a foreign text or author in order to further their own agendas and add legitimacy to them (see Casanova 2002 for a full description of these dynamics). The history of modern translation in the main European languages is full of examples of such translation strategies, which emphasizes the necessity of always contextualizing the study and analysis of translations. Unfortunately, we are in serious need of such studies on modern Arabic translations. 'The construction of a history of translation is the first task of a *modern* theory of translation', Antoine Berman aptly wrote (1992: 1), and this is an especially urgent one for Arabic translation. Although tremendous progress has been made in this field during the last two decades, it has focused mostly on the *Nahda* period, that is, the nineteenth century and the first decades of the twentieth century.[3] There is yet much to be done as regards Arabic translation since the end of World War II, a period less favoured by researchers but nevertheless extremely rich, and whose impact on Arab language and culture is as decisive, if not more so, as that of the *Nahda*. This is indeed a vast research programme awaiting the coming generation of scholars working on translation into Arabic, and for translators as well.

Notes

1 Launched in the wake of the oil booms of the 1970s, the Institut du Monde Arabe (IMA) was supposed to be funded on an equal basis by the French and Arab states. However, many of the latter either failed to fulfil their pledges or did so with considerable delay, which led French authorities to take control over the institute's finances

in 1996, and caused chronic deficit – also due to the high maintenance costs of the building and the generous recruitment policy followed during its first years.

2 Muhammad Saïd Al-Ashmawy's [1932–2013] *al-Islam al-siyasi* had been published in 1987; the essays gathered in Fouad Zakariya's [1927–2010] translation in various fora between 1986 and 1989.

3 I refer the reader to the references provided in the introduction to the recent issue of *The Translator*, on translation in the Arab world (Jacquemond and Selim 2015), for a full bibliography of these works.

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Chapter 3

Specialist legal interpreters for a fairer justice system

Sandra Hale

Introduction

> Recognition and remuneration has [sic] come more slowly for community interpreters than for conference interpreters, and in fact some community interpreters are not paid at all for their work. Even today, many community interpreters who work in legal, health, social service, and other community-oriented settings, as well as in war zones, are not considered professionals.
>
> (Moody 2011: 38)

The insight quoted above reflects a reality well known to many: conference interpreters have gained recognition as professionals and consequently receive adequate levels of remuneration, while community interpreters, including legal interpreters, are often not considered to be professional, with pay rates reflecting that perception. One reason for the above may be the end users; conference interpreters tend to work for the private sector, whereas community interpreters mostly work for the public sector, with generally fewer financial resources than the private sector. Similarly, one can argue that conference interpreters tend to interpret for interlocutors with the same status and levels of education, while community interpreters tend to interpret for a professional service provider and a client who is normally a powerless member of society, such as a migrant, refugee, indigenous, or deaf person. Lack of resources can be a crucial factor in offering the lowest pay rates, failing to attract the best to the profession, or to stop the attrition rate of the best-qualified interpreters. This leads to the situation where investing in high-level education and training is not compensated by any employment benefits.

On the other side of the equation, end users' bad experiences of some incompetent and unethical interpreters can lead them to argue that they are in fact spending too much money on interpreters who do not deserve to be paid very much at all. A survey of police users of interpreting services elicited the following negative responses: 'I think the [police service] is overcharged for interpreter services'; 'police are deterred from getting an interpreter due

to the large cost involved'; 'there is an idea in the [police service] that interpreters cost too much money and should only be used in exceptional circumstances with defendants. I was harshly criticized for using an interpreter for this victim'; and 'I believe the cost of using an interpreter is a huge impost for investigators' (Wakefield et al. 2015: 64).

The above situation has also contributed to the misconception that any bilingual can be a community interpreter. While formal education and training are common for conference interpreters in most parts of the world, not as many community interpreters can claim the same educational background. Interpreters themselves can also sometimes be held responsible for the above misconception. Many who have not received education or training argue that they do not need it and resent any attempt from any higher authority to set minimum education requirements. An example of the above has been the negative reactions of some to the latest National Accreditation Authority for Translators and Interpreters (NAATI) changes in Australia, which will require continuous professional development for practitioners to maintain their certification.[1] Such attitudes portray a lack of recognition of the complexities of community interpreting, which contributes to its low professional status. The lack of awareness of the damage an incompetent or unethical interpreter can cause, especially in legal settings, is alarming (Lee 2015).

The above can be seen as a vicious circle: untrained interpreters do not deserve to be paid like trained professionals, but there is no financial incentive for them to be trained. Untrained interpreters will perform poorly, leading to complaints and negative outcomes, reinforcing the argument that they do not deserve higher remuneration. Nevertheless, untrained interpreters keep being employed because there is a demand for interpreting services, but the supply of qualified interpreters is limited, once again perpetuating the above. Such a vicious cycle needs to be broken if any progress is to be made. The first step to breaking the chain is to raise the competence of interpreters, after which the profession will be in a much better position to fight for a higher status, better remuneration, and working conditions.

This chapter outlines the many competences needed to adequately perform as a legal interpreter. It will draw on some examples, show some evidence of the difference specialist training makes in acquiring those competencies, and describe the latest developments in Australia to achieve progress in this field. In this chapter I use the term legal interpreting to refer to all settings within the legal system, including lawyer–client interviews, police, tribunals, and court settings.

Legal interpreter competences

Many academics and researchers have argued for the need for legal interpreters to be adequately trained (see, for example, Moeketsi and Wallmach 2005;

Moeketsi and Mollema 2006; Morris 2008; Roberts-Smith 2009; Lee 2008; Torstensson and Sullivan 2011). Benmaman (1999: 109) states that it

> takes more than bilingualism to make a legal interpreter. The legal interpreter must also be able to manipulate dialect and geographic variation in his/her working languages, possess wide general knowledge, understand both the legal process and the related terminology, and also understand the various discourse styles used in the courtroom.

Benmaman's quote above illustrates the complexity of legal interpreting. In a previous publication (Hale 2010), I outlined similar skills required of court interpreters in order to perform adequately, which include, in addition to bilingualism and interpreting competence, a clear understanding of the interpreting process and the theories that underpin it, an understanding of the discourse strategies of the setting, and an understanding of the interpreter's role and professional ethical requirements in legal settings.

In this chapter, I divide the interpreter's competence into four major areas: (1) Linguistic and discursive, (2) Contextual, (3) Interpreting (theoretical, technical and professional), and (4) Interactional. I argue that any assessment of legal interpreter competence needs to include all of the above to ensure its validity and reliability.

In outlining these, it is not my intention to claim that interpreters must carry the full responsibility for achieving effective communication, or even adequate interpreting. In previous publications (Ozolins and Hale 2009; Hale 2011b), I have argued for the need for all participants to share this responsibility. Kinnunen (2011) also calls for shared expertise and collaboration between interpreters and lawyers, where professionals work together to help each other achieve their goals. Ahmad (2007) also points out that lawyers need to adapt their practices to accommodate interpreters. Adequate working conditions are also essential, such as preparation materials, relevant briefing, breaks, and comfortable facilities (Hale and Stern 2011; Stern and Hale 2015), since the most competent interpreter will not be able to perform adequately if the conditions are not conducive to good practice. However, interpreters without the required competence and knowledge will not be able to perform adequately even with the best working conditions or the best goodwill from other parties. The focus of this chapter is therefore on the interpreter's requirements.

Linguistic and discursive competence

A high level of bilingualism is undoubtedly the first requirement for any interpreter, which is by itself very difficult to attain. For legal interpreters, the next obvious requirement is knowledge of specialist legal terminology, with accompanying knowledge of the legal system in which they occur. A less

obvious requirement is the interpreter's bilingual discourse competence. Hatim (2001) emphasizes the importance of discursive competence in any type of translation. In legal interpreting, the knowledge of the discourse of legal settings is crucial. Whereas legal language refers to specialist terminology, phrases, and structures, legal discourse refers to the way language is used to achieve specific purposes. In the adversarial system, interpreters need to understand the strategic use of questions both in examination-in-chief[2] and cross-examination in order to accurately render the questions into the target language to achieve the same intended effect. Studies have found that untrained interpreters disregard the way questions are asked and concentrate only on the content, thus affecting and changing the elicited responses (Berk-Seligson 1990/2002; Hale 1999, 2004/2010). Similarly, the manner in which witnesses present their answers is as important as their content (O'Barr 1982). When interpreters are unaware of this, they tend to follow a trend that can be adequate in other settings, such as conference interpreting, and attempt to improve on the original delivery to make the utterance more coherent or responsive to the questions (Hale 2007a). Such changes in court interpreting can have concrete unwanted consequences.

Below is an example of a typical cross-examination question that illustrates the discursive intricacy of courtroom discourse.

> (1) You see, Mrs Smith, I put it to you that you didn't, as you say, forget that you'd placed the items in your bag, that in fact you put them there to conceal them and to steal them, didn't you?
>
> (Hale 2016)

The above question does not contain any specialist legal terminology. However, its discourse is complex and needs to be understood by interpreters in order to accurately render the question into the target language to successfully achieve the same purpose as the original. There are many factors that make this question difficult to interpret, including: the question type, the examination type, the purpose of the examination, the activity type and tenor of the interaction between the participants, the use of specific discourse markers, the use of a tag and a particular intonation, the connotations of the terms, the legal assumptions and the level of politeness and register used. I will analyse each of these factors below.

Firstly, it is important for the interpreter to know in which type of examination the question is being asked, so as to understand the purpose of the question and the strategies used to achieve such a purpose. The question in example (1) is a cross-examination question because it is a leading question. Leading questions are not permissible in examination-in-chief, but they are encouraged in cross-examination (Lilly 1978). There is a reason behind this. The purpose of cross-examination is to challenge the version of the story as presented by the other side, by presenting a different version (Hale 2004/

2010). The purpose of the examination will therefore determine the types of questions used. When interpreters are unaware of these subtleties, they can inadvertently change the question types, to the point of using questions that would be regarded as inadmissible in court.

In example (1), the use of the discourse marker 'you see', reinforces the fact that the cross-examiner is indicating that she/he knows what really happened, which is different from what the witness is claiming. This discourse marker indicates 'presumed knowledge' (McCarthy 1994). It has been found to be used only in cross-examination, and normally to preface the most confrontational types of questions such as the one above, containing the 'I put it to you that' phrase. In a study of 631 cross-examination questions interpreted into Spanish, the discourse markers 'see' or 'you see' were omitted by interpreters 81 per cent of the time, significantly reducing the illocutionary force of the question and removing the claim of presumed knowledge reinforced by the discourse marker 'you see', which of course does not necessarily mean it is true (Hale 2004/2010).

The 'I put it to you that' phrase is also only used in cross-examination, for the same reasons that were explained above. The phrase has both legal and pragmatic functions. The legal function is to present the witness with a different proposition that they can respond to. The pragmatic function, intended for the fact-finders (either the judicial officer or the jury), is to insinuate that the cross-examiner is presenting the version that needs to be believed, and the witness has little choice but to agree (McElhaney 1997). It is difficult to respond to such a statement. It does not present a question to be answered, and it is delivered in a confrontational tone. The phrase always prefaces a disagreement and appears at the end of the cross-examination sequence, which carries the most confrontational content (Hale 2004/2010). In example (1) we can see that the cross-examiner restates what the witness has said and reinforces the opposite: 'You didn't, as you say', insinuating that the witness is lying.

Another marker used is 'in fact', which also reinforces the claim that the cross-examiner is presenting the truth, which contrasts the lies uttered by the witness, thus attacking the witness's credibility. The connotations of the words 'conceal' and 'steal' are also negative. The statement is followed by a tag question, in a downward intonation: 'didn't you?' These tags are also confrontational and not used as genuine questions, but rather to accuse (Quirk et al. 1985). The last aspect of the discourse strategies used in example (1) that has not yet been discussed is the form of address at the start of the question: Mrs Smith. Here the lawyer is putting distance between him/her and the witness, by using the formal form of address. It may also be used to insinuate that the witness is a married lady who should know better than to shoplift. Previous research has shown that interpreters tend to omit the use of formal or informal forms of address when interpreting (Hale and Gibbons 1999), thus altering the tenor of the discourse.

Example (1) illustrates a typical unfriendly question from a cross-examiner to a witness from the other side. In the adversarial system, there is also always a friendly side that is responsible for examining its own witnesses. This is done in examination-in-chief. Questions in examination-in-chief are characterized by being less coercive, more polite and open-ended, with question types that match those purposes. The following would be a typical examination-in-chief question:

> (2) Mrs Smith, could you please tell the court what happened to you on the day just prior to the incident just described?

The above question aims to elicit an open narrative from the witness by using a modal open question. The tone is polite and formal to show respect to the witness. There is no accusation or insinuation that the witness is lying. The question is open because leading questions are not permitted during examination-in-chief, as the evidence needs to be freely given by the witness.

In order for interpreters to interpret adequately, they must have knowledge of the purposes for which linguistic devices are used in court. If they are not aware of such strategic discourse, it is easy to inadvertently change the question type, omit important rhetorical devices, and change the tone and intonation of the question, leading to pragmatic changes in the question, especially in terms of its illocutionary force, which in turn can generate potential changes in the answer (Rigney 1999; Liu and Hale 2017).

On the other side of the equation, witness answers can also be difficult to interpret for reasons other than legal terminology. Answers can be classified as being powerful or powerless (Conley and O'Barr 1990). Powerful answers have been shown to elicit better evaluations of the witness, whereas powerless answers have been shown to have the opposite effect. Below is a typical powerless answer:

> (3) 'Uh, well, I sort of, like didn't know what I was, what I was uh (…) doing? [Y]ou know?'

What makes the above powerless is the presence of hesitations, repetitions, discourse markers such as 'well', fillers such as 'sort of', 'like', and 'you know', and an upward intonation. A powerful version of the above answer could be:

> (4) 'I didn't know what I was doing'.

In a court situation, it would not be accurate for an interpreter to change a powerless answer into a powerful answer or vice versa, as that would impact on the assessment of the answer and the witness credibility (Hale 2004/2010). Legal professionals have often lamented that the

> evidence given through an interpreter loses much of its impact… The jury does not really hear the witness, nor are they fully able to appreciate, for instance, the degree of conviction or uncertainty with which his evidence is given; they cannot wholly follow the nuances, inflections, quickness or hesitancy of the witness; all they have is the dispassionate and unexpressive tone of the interpreter.
>
> (*Filios v Morland* [1963] S. R. (NSW) 331, per Bereton J at 332–333, in Roberts-Smith 2009)

The above quotation reflects the concrete influence interpreters can have when they are not trained to master the level of pragmatic accuracy required in court settings. The same trend can be found in lawyer–client interviews and police interviews, where questions are used strategically to achieve certain ends, in particular the building of rapport (Dieckmann and Rojas-Lizana 2016; Wakefield et al. 2015). As Wakefield et al. (2015: 56) state,

> [p]olice may feel they are also less able to focus on verbal cues such as utterances and voice quality that they perceive can be used to detect deception. It can be hypothesised the addition of an interpreter can affect the strategies employed by officers when conducting investigative interviews.

Interpreters can either improve on the original style, by changing a powerless answer to a powerful one, or they can have the opposite effect and change a powerful answer into a powerless one. Ahmad (2007) comments on the way an untrained interpreter made a university academic sound like an uneducated person through the interpreted rendition, which was full of grammatical errors, basic vocabulary and simple sentence structures. Hatim and Mason (1990) comment on the tendency of liaison interpreters to neutralize the register of vastly different interlocutors, such as lawyers and defendants. An experimental study found that when interpreters omitted the powerless features from the witnesses' speech, the witnesses' evaluations of credibility improved, but when interpreters added powerless features such as hesitations, fillers and hedges, the witnesses' evaluations were more negative, even when the propositional content was the same (Hale 2004/2010). Often, it is the illocutionary force that can be altered by interpreters, even if the level of power remains the same (Liu and Hale 2018). Hatim argues that accuracy cannot be based on 'linguistic criteria alone, but rather the variety of functions that texts are intended to fulfil in real contexts' (Hatim 2001: 65).

Research has found that when interpreters are trained and are competent, they can achieve a high level of interpreting fidelity that includes all the important legal discourse features (Hale, Goodman-Delahunty and Martschuk 2017; Liu and Hale 2018). Achieving a high level of interpreting fidelity must not be confused with a 'literal or verbatim' translation, which

for the most part would elicit inaccurate or nonsensical renditions (see Hale and Liddicoat 2015; Lee 2015). Achieving the same effect in the listener as the original would have if they understood the language requires interpreters to interpret at the discourse/pragmatic level, not at the lexical or semantic levels. As Fowler states,

> our training of interpreters must include an understanding of pragmatic equivalence in interpreting. That is, students must understand the meaning intended by a speaker in an utterance, and how that meaning will be perceived and understood by the listener. They must then transfer the meaning to the target language, keeping it as close as possible to that of the original. It is not the literal meaning with which we are concerned here, but with the meaning in the context of the utterance.
>
> (Fowler 1997: 198–199)

Contextual competence

Contextual competence and discursive competence are inextricably linked. In order to understand the discourse practices of a speech event, interpreters need to be familiar with the context and its practices so as to be able to make the right interpreting choices. The discussion in the prior subsection specifically refers to the legal context, and it will not be applicable to other contexts. Interpreters working in medical, welfare or conference contexts will make different decisions about how to best interpret what is being said in those settings, where different discourse strategies may apply or where the content of what is said is more important than the discourse used. Specialist legal interpreters, therefore, need to learn about the setting in which they will be working to facilitate their ability to interpret accurately.

Related to contextual competence is the interpreters' ability to prepare for specific assignments. Conference interpreters are trained in how to adequately prepare for assignments, and it is standard practice for them to receive preparation materials and briefings before their assignment. Court interpreters in international settings are also accustomed to receiving all relevant documents to prepare in advance (Hale and Stern 2011). Legal interpreters working in domestic settings, however, have not followed the same practice, mostly because those who hire them are unwilling to provide any such information. Research has shown that accuracy of interpreting increases the more interpreters know about the topic at hand (Díaz Galaz 2011; Díaz-Galaz, Padilla and Bajo 2015). There are also interpreting policies that state that interpreters should be provided with as much information as possible about their assignments (Hale 2011a). Nevertheless, in reality only a small minority of legal interpreters are provided with any briefing or preparation material. In a national survey in Australia (Hale 2013) only 15 per cent of interpreters reported ever receiving any background materials, and 29 per cent of judicial

officers reported the same. This indicates that it is possible for interpreters to receive such materials, even if this does not happen on a regular basis. It may be that if interpreters requested such information and justified the reason why they needed it, citing research to indicate that their performance would improve as a result, they may have a better chance of being provided with such information. This is related to interpreters' theoretical and professional competence, which will be discussed below. If interpreters are aware of the research and have the confidence to demand what they need in order to perform adequately, they will contribute to improving not only their own working conditions but also the status of the profession at large.

In a study of briefings and preparation of sign-language interpreters, Russell (2008) found that interpreters mostly used their briefing time to educate the lawyers on how to work with interpreters, with not much time or effort devoted to seeking information about the case or telling them about their own professional needs. Russell argues that their performance could have improved, and fewer interruptions from interpreters for clarifications would have been needed if the interpreters had asked for more detailed information during the briefing.

It is a fact, nevertheless, that even if interpreters ask for preparation materials, they often will not receive them. In such situations, having a thorough knowledge of the setting can help to compensate for lack of briefing. When interpreters are familiar with their environment and know what the procedures are, including the structure of interviews, hearings or trials and the roles of all participants, it will be easier to concentrate all their efforts on interpreting rather than on trying to figure out the context or the requirements of the setting. This type of contextual knowledge needs to be part of any specialist legal interpreting course (see Hale and Gonzalez 2017).

Interpreting competence

Interpreting competence is by far the most important dimension. However, the previously discussed competences will impinge on the interpreter's ability to interpret adequately and, as such, are inextricably linked. Interpreting competence can be divided into three major areas: theoretical, professional, and technical.

Theoretical competence

Like any other professional practice, interpreting practice also needs to be informed by underlying theories and research. Interpreters need to be able to make informed decisions about their interpreting choices. Having a knowledge of the theories and research that back up their practice will give them metalinguistic competence. If questioned about their performance, a practice that is increasing in court settings, interpreters should possess the metalanguage

to explain and justify their choices. For example, there may be the expectation in legal settings that interpreters interpret what has been said 'word-for-word' (see Hale 2011a, for a discussion on this). If an interpreter is questioned for not interpreting literally at the word level, they need to be able to explain that in order to be accurate to the intention and effect of the utterance, they must interpret at the discourse level rather than the word level. Obvious examples of the above are idiomatic expressions, offensive remarks, or ways of expressing politeness (Hale and Liddicoat 2015; Liu and Hale 2017).

Technical competence

Technical competence comprises interpreters' ability to interpret in the different modes (dialogue, consecutive, simultaneous, and sight translation) and to know when each should be used. It also includes the use of the direct approach by interpreting in the first and second grammatical persons, rather than using reported speech.

MODE OF INTERPRETING

Different modes of interpreting require different skill sets, which can only be acquired by training and developed in the practice (see Pöchhacker 2011a, b, for descriptions of simultaneous and consecutive interpreting). Legal interpreters in domestic settings are mostly required to work in the short consecutive mode, as well as in the whispering simultaneous mode (Stern 2011). Although short segments used in dialogue interpreting rely almost exclusively on working memory, note-taking skills are also an important asset. However, the types of notes taken in the legal setting will be very different from the notes taken in a monologic conference setting. In conference settings, the speaker speaks at length, and the interpreter takes long notes that are mostly concerned with the propositional content of the speech. In legal interactions, where one turn will prompt the next, interpreters need to take different types of notes. In addition to information that cannot be committed to memory such as figures and names, legal interpreters may want to annotate the tone and intonation or stylistic features of an utterance: whether the style is powerful or powerless, whether the speaker sounds sarcastic, angry, happy, assertive, hesitant, polite, impolite, or whatever other aspect of delivery may be of relevance in this setting (see Hale and Gonzalez 2017). Such notes will assist the interpreter in producing a faithful target-language rendition that maintains not only the content but also the manner of the message, as discussed above.

Competent interpreters also need to decide when to use the consecutive and when to use the simultaneous mode. Russell and Takeda (2015: 101) state that contextual and linguistic schemas should be applied for interpreters to decide on the best mode of interpreting: the interpreter 'determines whether to use consecutive or simultaneous interpreting for the message in order to support

genuine communication for all participants and to maintain strategies that support successful interpretation'.

An experimental study of the effect of mode of interpreting in the courtroom (Hale et al. 2017) showed the simultaneous mode to be less intrusive and disruptive than the consecutive mode. The study compared the two interpreting modes with a control monolingual condition, where the same accused spoke in English and then in Spanish via the interpreter. The evaluations of 447 mock jurors showed that they were more distracted and remembered fewer of the case's details when they heard the evidence via the consecutive interpretation than when they heard it via the simultaneous interpretation or directly from the witness in English. Similarly, the jurors found the prosecution to be less convincing when they heard it through the interpreter in the consecutive mode. Overall, there were no significant differences found between the jurors' assessment when they heard the evidence via the simultaneous mode and in the monolingual condition. The only significant differences were found between the evidence when interpreted in the consecutive mode and the monolingual evidence. The interpreter was the same and the interpretation was the same for both modes. As part of the methodology, the interpreted segments were translated accurately by trained interpreters beforehand, maintaining a high level of propositional and pragmatic accuracy and performed by an actor so as not to introduce further variables. What this study suggests is that the simultaneous mode lends itself more favourably to successfully fulfilling the court interpreter role of placing the non-English speaker in the same position as the English speaker (Hale et al. 2017).

In another experimental study in a police setting, it was found that trained interpreters were more able to switch from consecutive to simultaneous mode at strategic points of the interaction, in particular when interlocutors became agitated and did not stop to allow the interpreter to interpret consecutively. Below is one such example.

(5) S – ¿cómo así, cómo así drogas?
I - [What do you mean drugs?
S - [yo no tengo nada que ver con drogas, yo no, de qué está hablando? yo no entiendo lo que está pasando.
I - [I don't know what you're talking about, what is this? What is happening?
S - [estoy completamente seguro que ud tiene la persona equivocada.
I - [I'm absolutely sure you have the wrong person.
S - [no quiero nada con drogas.
I - [I don't want to anything to do with drugs.
S - [yo ni siquiera fumo, no tomo alcohol.
I - [I don't even smoke, I don't drink alcohol.
S - [yo no hago nada de eso, por favor.
I - [I don't do any of that, please.
(Hale, Goodman-Delahunty and Martschuk 2017)

Example (5) shows a situation where the interpreter switches to simultaneous interpreting to keep up with the suspect, whose speech is fast and agitated. The square brackets indicate when the speakers' speech overlap. By using the simultaneous mode, the interpreter is able to maintain the same tone as well as the content, and to provide an instant interpretation of what is being said, thus allowing the interaction to flow more naturally. This corroborates Russell and Takeda's (2015) statement, quoted above. Untrained interpreters, on the other hand, were found to get lost when the suspect did not stop to allow them to interpret. As a consequence, they simply provided a summary of the utterance in the third person.

INTERPRETING APPROACH

The interpreting approach relates to whether interpreters see their roles as rendering what is said faithfully or as a mediator who summarizes the main points of the utterances. The first approach has been identified as the direct approach, interpreting the turns as they are uttered by the original speaker, whereas the second is identified as the indirect approach, which adopts reported speech style (Hale 2007b). Kinnunen (2011) states that the use of reported speech is a sign of unprofessional behaviour and provides the example below of a conversation between a judge and an interpreter, where the witness, about whom they are speaking, is excluded from the conversation:

> (6) J: She's jumping from one subject to another, could she be more logical, it's difficult to follow this…
>
> I: Okay so she explained this that in the beginning there were these two incidents that she already told about…
>
> (Kinnunen 2011: 102)

The above can hardly be considered testimony from a witness. It is only a summary, by the interpreter, of what the witness said. A study of the differences in performance between trained and untrained interpreters found that untrained interpreters tended to use the indirect approach and summarize each utterance, while trained interpreters tended to use the direct approach and attempted to interpret as faithfully as possible (Hale, Goodman-Delahunty and Martschuk in press).

Professional competence

Professional competence comprises knowledge and application of professional ethics and role.

Professional interpreters abide by a professional code of ethics that above all requires them to be impartial and accurate. Lee (2015: 194) states that

'violations of the professional code of ethics could endanger due process, affecting the outcomes of cases, life and liberty, and properties of the parties concerned'. This is particularly important in adversarial legal settings. Lack of impartiality will lead to deliberate inaccuracies to benefit one side or the other. Being impartial, however, does not mean that interpreters will not form judgements about any of the parties, or will always agree with what is being said. Being impartial as an interpreter means attempting to interpret what is being said regardless of personal opinions or judgements.

Moody (2011: 46) speaks of interpreters ideally being allies to both parties, and in so doing, being neutral:

> The interpreter is faithful to the goals of each speaker; hence, the interpreter is an ally of both participants alternately and, in a very real sense, neutral. The partnership between an interpreter and a participant begins with a time of preparation, which may be brief or extensive depending on the situation. The interpreter who knows the participants and their backgrounds and relationship, has been introduced to the jargon, acronyms, and the spelling of proper names which may be discussed, and is aware of previous encounters or discussions between the participants, will have more contextual information to ensure that the information is conveyed accurately and faithfully.

Rather than using the word 'ally', which implies lack of impartiality, I prefer to use the word 'actor'. If interpreters take on the role of linguistic actor, being the voice of different parties, taking one side over another will not come into the equation. As Moody states, the more the interpreter knows about the individuals, the case, the context and the situation, the better able she or he will be to interpret accurately and impartially.

Interpreting accurately, as explained in the introduction, requires more than the interpreter's ability or willingness to do so. There are times when accurate interpreting may not be achievable, despite the interpreter's best efforts. It would not be unethical, for example, if interpreters are inaccurate due to factors that are beyond their control, such as poor working conditions, no briefing, incoherent or overlapping speech. What would be unethical, however, is if interpreters deliberately change the contents of utterances to suit one side or another or the interpreter's own goals or opinions. Similarly, the meaning of accuracy changes according to the setting and goals of the interaction. What will be considered accurate interpreting in a conference setting will most probably not be considered accurate in a legal setting.

The interpreter's ethical requirements are linked to the role that they play in any given setting. In a legal setting, their role is to remove the language barrier in order for the justice process to take place (Judicial Council on Cultural Diversity 2017). It is not to become an advocate or provide support for either side. At times, interpreters will be pressured from both sides

to perform tasks that go beyond their role or indeed their training as interpreter. Research has found that trained interpreters are better equipped than untrained interpreters to withstand the pressure to omit to interpret controversial information that can be placed on them from one side or the other. The study by Hale, Goodman-Delahunty and Martschuk (in press) showed that trained interpreters did not favour either the police or the suspect and continued to interpret faithfully even when the police asked them not to interpret a side comment addressed to another police officer, or when the suspect told them not to interpret a side comment addressed to the interpreter. Example (7) below shows one such instance, when the interpreter continues to interpret despite the police request not to.

(7) P: (to P2) How many times did we hear that?
I: *¿Cuántas veces hemos escuchado esto?* (How many times have we heard this?)
P: (to Interpreter) Please, don't translate that.
I: *Por favor, no interprete esto*. (Please don't interpret that.)
S: *¿Cómo así? No, no, no espere un momento ¿Por qué está allí diciendo que no traduzca las cosas, señor?* [I: Why are you saying the interpreter shouldn´t interpret?], *¿Por qué le está diciendo a la señora que no traduzca esto? yo no estoy diciendo mentiras*!! [I: Why are you telling the interpreter not to interpret this, I'm not telling lies!!]
(Hale, Goodman-Delahunty, and Martschuk in press)

In example (7) the suspect had stated that he thought the drugs he was accused of possessing, found in his own house, must have been put there by someone else to frame him. To that comment, the interrogating policeman makes a sarcastic side comment to the other police officer present: 'How many times have we heard that?' The interpreter continued to interpret so as to put the non-English speaker in the same position as an English speaker who would have heard the side comment. This way, the suspect was able to respond to such a comment. In contrast, untrained interpreters simply omitted the comment and when questioned by the suspect they either ignored the question or simply said that it was not to be translated.

Interactional management

The last competence I will highlight is interactional management. This is closely connected to interpreters' ability to introduce, explain and assert their role and ethical obligations to the other participants in the interaction. It also includes their ability to adequately ask for repetitions or clarifications when needed, and explain a translation difficulty or a translation choice that may impact on the case with the right metalanguage and the confidence to do so. This is what Wadensjö (1998/2014) calls 'explicit coordination'.

It also includes interpreters' decisions to switch mode, as discussed above, as well as the body language they may use to assign turns or to request others to relinquish their turn to allow them to interpret. These are the situations when interpreters speak for themselves, rather than interpret for others. It is an important skill that allows professional interpreters to perform their role adequately.

Hale, Goodman-Delahunty and Martschuk's (in press) study of interpreters' interactional management showed that trained interpreters established their 'contract' (Tebble 2012) at the commencement of the police interview by introducing themselves, their role and ethical obligations to both parties. They also used this introduction to ask the parties to speak in short chunks, one at a time, to allow them to interpret and to not say anything they do not want the other party to hear, because they are ethically bound to interpret everything. They also told them they would interpret everything in the first person, and asked the participants to address each other directly, advising them that at times interpreters may need to ask for clarifications or repetitions. The study found that those interpreters who established their contract had no dilemma in interpreting the challenging sections of the interview, whereas those who did not, routinely omitted the compromising segments in their interpretation, as seen in example (7).

Legal interpreting education and training

The specialist knowledge and skills outlined above can only be acquired through adequate specialist legal interpreting education and training and developed and maintained through practice. Although there are only very few specialist legal interpreting courses (see Hale and Gonzalez 2017; Liu and Stern forthcoming), recent research has demonstrated the difference specialist training can make.

A recent study of the effect of training on student interpreters' ability to achieve pragmatic accuracy when interpreting cross-examination questions from English into Chinese found that the more specialized the training and the more hours they received, the better the students performed in terms of pragmatic accuracy (Liu and Hale 2018).

A study of Spanish interpreters in a police setting found that trained interpreters performed significantly better than untrained interpreters in all the areas of competence outlined in this chapter, except for their level of bilingualism, which was the same (Hale, Goodman-Delahunty and Martschuk in press). This corroborates Benmaman's (1999) claim that there is more to interpreting than a good level of bilingualism. In the above cited study, the measures the interpreters were assessed on were accuracy of propositional content, accuracy of style, maintenance of rapport features, use of correct interpreting protocols, correct legal discourse and terminology, management and coordination skills, and bilingualism. In addition to these measures of

competence, trained interpreters were significantly more likely to also maintain the participants' body language and facial expressions, which indicates that they saw their role as acting out the different participant parts. The study also found that there was a positive correlation between the level and specialization of training and the interpreters' performance. The higher and more specialized the training they received, the better interpreters performed. Those in the sample who had graduated with a master's degree in interpreting with a legal specialization were the top performers.

Working together to achieve results

Australia is taking steps to rectify the competence gaps that exist in many practising interpreters. It is also taking steps to educate the legal professionals and to improve legal interpreters' working conditions and remuneration levels.

NAATI underwent a review of its entire accreditation system in 2011 (Hale et al. 2012). After five years of consultation, a new system of certification has been implemented in 2018. Under the new system, there will be specialist certifications for legal interpreters who will only be eligible to sit for the certification examination after having completed legal interpreting specialist training (see all details of the new system on the NAATI website at www.naati.com.au).

The judiciary are also taking responsibility for long-overdue improvements in this field. The Council of Chief Justices has recently approved the Recommended National Standards for Working with Interpreters in Courts and Tribunals (Judicial Council on Cultural Diversity 2017), developed by a committee convened by the Judicial Council on Cultural Diversity, comprising legal and interpreting experts. The Standards document includes recommended standards for courts, judicial officers, interpreters and legal practitioners. Each of the standards is annotated with background and educational material on interpreting and the law. It also contains model rules and a practice note for the judiciary to give effect to the standards. The annexures provide additional useful resources.

In its preamble, it states:

> Implementation of these Standards is not only vital to promoting and ensuring compliance with the rules of procedural fairness. It is intended that they will promote a better working relationship between courts, the legal profession and the interpreting profession, and will assist in ensuring that the interpreting profession in Australia can develop and thrive to the benefit of the administration of justice.
>
> (Judicial Council on Cultural Diversity 2017: ii)

This is an important recognition of the need for the justice system, legal professionals, and interpreting professionals to work together to achieve a common goal.

Conclusion

In this chapter I have outlined the most important competences interpreters need to possess in order to adequately work in legal settings. By so doing, I hoped to highlight the complexity of legal interpreting and the high level of skill required of those who practice it. Such high levels of expertise can only be acquired by specialist education and training, developed by professional practice and maintained by continuous professional development. It is only when the legal profession, the legal system, and interpreters themselves recognize and accept this fact that the status of the profession will be elevated, working conditions and remuneration will improve, and the levels of competence will rise to provide services of an adequate quality that will lead to a fairer justice system, regardless of language and culture.

Notes

1 This has been evident in recent discussions on the electronic bulletin of the Australian Institute of Interpreters and Translators (AUSIT), the national professional association.
2 Examination-in-chief is called Direct Examination in the United States.

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Chapter 4

Investigating mediation in translation

Hui Wang

Introduction

The past decades have witnessed mutual suspicion between the United States and China, as frequently manifested in official documents and policy statements. A case in point is a claim about Chinese anti-satellite development, translated from a Chinese source, quoted in the 2005 report of the US National Air and Space Intelligence Center (NASIC): 'China will monitor closely foreign developments in advanced satellite technology, paying close attention to progress made in military use of space while actively developing ASAT systems' (Kulacki 2006). The phrasing here ('monitor closely', 'actively developing') portrays China as an aggressive military power. Indeed, such an assessment made the report more than shocking, owing to the particular position of NASIC (2005) 'in shaping national security and defense policies' in the United States, and the 'China threat' theory then rampant in the West.

However, after referring to the Chinese source of the quote, the article by Zhang, Zhang and Wang (2004) published in *Winged Missiles Journal*, Kulacki (2006) found that the American translation 'significantly alter[ed the statement's] meaning'. A comparative reading of the parallel texts, with special attention given to the underlined expressions, shows their difference:

> **The Chinese source:**
> 在正确地跟踪国外卫星先进技术的同时，还应积极发展反卫星武器，并密切注意国际空间军备控制的进展情况，以便及时地确定对策。
> (Zhang et al. 2004: 30)

> **NASIC's translation:**
> China will monitor closely foreign developments in advanced satellite technology, paying close attention to progress made in military use of space while actively developing ASAT systems.
> (As quoted in Kulacki 2006: 39)

Kulacki's translation:

While properly following foreign satellite advanced technology, [China] also should actively develop anti-satellite weapons and pay close attention to the progress of international space arms control, in order to facilitate the timely determination of a response.

(Ibid.)

In NASIC's translation, translating the original phrase 军备控制 ('arms control') into *military use of space* rather than *arms control* immediately conjures up an image of an aggressive military power. The omission of the phrase 以便及时地确定对策 ('in order to facilitate the timely determination of a response') conceals the real intention of the Chinese authors in making such a statement: China has not yet made a decision about whether to respond by developing anti-satellite weapons or not; and China's policy toward anti-satellite weapons should be based on the state of international arms-control negotiations; it is then advised that China should have anti-satellite weapons ready when necessary. Consequently, NASIC's translation creates an utterly different image of China: a country actively developing space weapons.

The questions that seem most clearly to arise from this consideration are these : What leads to these errors? Is it, as Kulacki suggests, due to misinterpretation or misrepresentation? A point to emphasize here is that, as the United States' primary intelligence centre, NASIC has plenty of experts for whom the Chinese sentence quoted in the report would presumably not be a hard nut to crack. Kulacki's translation sets a good example for us. In this connection, the issue is not as simple as making technical 'errors'.

The story is, indeed, a telling example of how the source text is manipulated for certain purposes that differ from what the author has in mind. Mediation as such is by no means a new phenomenon in the field of translation, as 'every step in the translation process – from the selection of foreign texts to the implementation of translation strategies to the editing, reviewing, and reading of translations – is mediated by the diverse cultural values that circulate in the target language, always in some hierarchical order' (Venuti 1995: 308). For quite a long time, however, the mediation phenomenon has rarely been a study focus in the translation field. Rather, it was often briefly touched on in connection with other topics, such as power, ideology, or manipulation (see Mason 1992; Hatim and Mason 1997; Hermans 1985). It was not until recently that the topic began to draw attention from translation scholars (e.g., Sun 2007; Munday 2007; Pöchhacker 2008; Wang and Zhu 2009; Katan 2004, 2013; Liddicoat 2016). Nonetheless, much emphasis has been placed on the way the practice of translation is regulated by the broad contexts and, to date, little has been done on how such 'regulation' operates. More specifically, this can be considered in respect of how mediation operates in the translation process so as to achieve desired effects, which foregrounds the translation

process as a continuous compromise among various translating parties and is hence more effective in revealing power struggles underlying a translation act. To address this issue, the present research aims to develop a model for investigating mediation in translation. My approach to mediation in translation is based on the assumption that texts are irreducible parts of the translation activity, and all mediation activities in the translation process, from the very beginning of the selection of the subject for translation to the end point of distribution of translation, are embodied in the production of the target text. From this it follows that placing emphasis on the operation of mediation at the text level is likely to be the most productive way of investigating mediation.

Mediation in translation redefined

In the existing research, the notion of mediation in translation has been decoded as two-dimensional: cognitive and intercultural/interlingual. By cognitive, I mean the notion is highlighted as a heavily intention-based activity, whereas the intercultural/interlingual dimension results from the nature of translation. De Beaugrande and Dressler (1981) is perhaps the most cited work in mediation conceptualization from the cognitive perspective in which the authors define it as inculcating 'one's own beliefs and goals into one's MODEL of the current communicative situation' (163). Hatim and Mason (1997) draw insights from de Beaugrande and Dressler (1981) in defining the cognitive sense of mediation in translation as 'the extent to which translators intervene in the transfer process, feeding their own knowledge and beliefs into their processing of a text' (Hatim and Mason 1997: 122). In the definition, the significance of 'beliefs and goals/knowledge' in reshaping the real world in the text stands out. The intercultural/interlingual dimension of mediation is due to the bicultural and bilingual nature of translation, in which translation is considered as '(inter)cultural mediation' (Liddicoat 2016) and translators are called 'cultural mediators' (Katan 1999, 2004).

In addition to this, I contend that mediation is also contractual. The contractual or interpersonal dimension of mediation has been discussed in Pöchacker (2008) in association with interpretation. The author opines that the contractual dimension of mediation is more relevant and revealing for real-time interaction, that is, interpretation. Mediation, in this sense, turns out to be an interpersonal interaction for which the interpreter is required to facilitate cross-cultural understanding, and the position of the mediator shifts from between two languages and cultures to between two (or more) parties. Consequently, no discussion of mediation can proceed 'without reference to such features of human interaction as intentions, objectives, attitudes, status, power or conflicts' (13). This social and dynamic dimension therefore brings to the fore the social relations in the act of mediation. The contractual dimension as such also applies to written translation. Although more covert and

invisible than that in an interpretation context, the relationship between the translating parties is, instead, even more complex and has more significant influence, as it involves more parties (e.g., the publisher and the editor) and therefore brings more interests and powers into play. This leads me to the following definition of mediation in translation to facilitate the rest of the study:

> A translator mediates when he/she feeds his/her ideology into the translation process to fill in perceived linguistic, cultural and ideological gaps between the source and the target societies and to facilitate a mode of communication between the author and the end receiver as desired by the translator.

As mediation is manifested primarily in the translated text, which is at the core of a translational action and also seen as its end result, identifying mediation at the text level seems to be the key in mediation studies, as it allows for the operation of mediation to be traced unmistakably. For ease of identification of mediation, a parameterized definition of the notion is provided in the following. The definition is based on the premise that since translation is constrained by the situational model presented in the source text, any discursive (as opposed to grammatical) deviation from the source-text situation model in a translation can be construed as a sign of mediation that indicates a certain 'ideological act of interpretation' (Fowler 1991: 19).

> As a discursive practice, mediation in translation takes place when the situation projected in the source text has been altered because of changes made to its situation configuration and/or its modes of information presentation. If such textual deviations between the source and the target texts cannot be explained on the grounds of grammatical obligations, they are viewed as signs of mediation.

By 'grammatical obligations', I mean instances in which, owing to grammatical reasons, the translator has to replace the source expressions with ones complying with the norm of the target language. For instance, in English, attributive clauses are often put after the head; whereas in Chinese grammar, attributive modifiers/qualifiers are generally put before the head. Hence, in English–Chinese translation, more often than not, changes have to be made with regard to the position of the attributive clause. In my definition, deviations as such are excluded from the scope of mediation, since they are obligatory in the process of language transfer. Apart from these language-specific alterations, if changes are made to convey different information and guide the reader in a manner favourable to the translator, mediation occurs.

The notion of mediation is taken as the topic of the present research rather than manipulation, although it is the latter that first attracted considerable attention in the field of translation (Hermans 1985). The relationship between

manipulation and mediation in the bilingual context of translation is considered that of a part-and-whole type. Manipulation only refers to actions and tactics employed to guide the text development in favour of the manipulator in the translation process, as well as in the desired effect of the manipulated text on the target reader; whereas mediation tends to be much more inclusive. Besides certain manipulating strategies, it also consists of tactics for facilitating communication and solving problems. Manipulation, in this connection, is only one negative extreme of the mediation process, whereas mediation indicates a neutral practice, catering for various needs and wishes of translating parties, instead of only those of the mediator, and striving to facilitate their communication, which, in Katan's (2004: 191) view, better suits the purpose of translation.

From CDA to mediation investigation: a discursive perspective

Mediation as a discursive practice has long been a topic of interest in CDA. Fairclough (1992) views discourse as three-dimensional: text, discursive practice, and social practice. The three are related dialectically 'in the sense of being different but not "discrete", i.e. not fully separate' (Fairclough 2009: 163). The text dimension is essential in the notion of discourse, in which formal features at various text levels (e.g., lexical, grammatical, etc.) are significant in indexing or reproducing social realities. From the text, one can find a set of 'traces' of the production process or 'cues' for the interpretation process – the main concern of discursive practice, which stands in the middle between texts and social practice. Discursive practice involves the production, distribution and consumption of texts. Some texts lead to wars, whilst others bring peace to the world or change people's attitudes. All these different outcomes are constrained by conventions and norms for the production, distribution, and consumption of texts or the specific nature of the social practice of which they are a part. In the social-practice dimension, there is a dialectic relationship between discourse and social structure: discourse not only reflects social realities, but also maintains or changes the existing social structure, the essential part of social reality. Conversely, social structure bears upon the production, interpretation, and consumption of discourse despite the fact that it is a product of discourse itself. In this relationship, the author reminds us, we should avoid overemphasizing one and neglecting the other. In other words, we should exaggerate neither the constitutive effect of discourse on social realities nor the social determination of discourse, as the former 'idealistically represents discourse as the source of the soil', and the latter 'turns discourse into a mere reflection of a deeper social reality' (Fairclough 1992: 65).

The dynamic conceptualization of discourse and the dialectic approach, as suggested by Fairclough, are particularly useful to mediation studies, considering the close relationship between text, ideology, and power involved in

the mediation activity. The three dimensions of discourse firmly situate discourse, and thus mediation in discourse, in a broad context of social relations and struggles, and systematically link detailed properties of texts to social properties of discursive events. The textual manifestations of mediation are not only the expression of power relations but also the extension, as well as the outcome, of social struggles. Furthermore, my attention is directed not only to the static manifestations of mediation in the text but also to how mediation is actualized in the translating process. The dialectical relationship between discourse and society alerts us to the fact that mediation is executed in the translation process under the influence of social structure whilst affecting social structure at the same time. The suggested dialectical relationship between discourse and social structure, with mediation standing in the middle, is especially good for the present research in that it gets rid of a one-sided view and takes into consideration the interactive roles of discourse and social structure. This enables us to observe the effects of social structure on discursive mediation as well as the reciprocal role of discursive mediation on social structure. Specifically, it allows us to enquire into how mediation in translation is activated by social structure in a given society; how mediation is adopted in the translation process to balance interests among relevant parties, groups, and institutions; what the mediated result is, and, perhaps most importantly, how discursive mediation bears upon social structure. These 'how' and 'what' questions are particularly useful in revealing the mediation process and hence the underlying ideological and power struggles. A dynamic relationship between discourse, discursive mediation, and social structure is thus established, as shown in Figure 4.1. In the figure, the interactive roles of social structure and discourse (with text as its core part), which are shown as being linked vertically with bi-directional arrows, are seen to be actuated through the mediation action.

Constructing an integrated theoretical model for mediation investigation

It should be emphasized that, inspiring as it is, the focus of CDA is on analysing monolingual texts. In the bilingual context of translation, the proposed relationship between discourse, mediation, and social structure on the basis of CDA needs to be adjusted. Figure 4.2 explicates how mediation works in the discourse of translation, central to which is the translated text. Considering that *text* (i.e., the source/target text) is not only the essential part of discourse and translation, but also the final product of mediation in the translation process, it takes the place of *discourse* in the figure; and, for the sake of clarity and simplicity, the production, consumption, and distribution of texts is, in the present research, integrated into the sociological analysis (i.e., the analysis of social context, the main body of which is social structure). The dotted arrows indicate that mediation therein is beyond the scope of the present research.

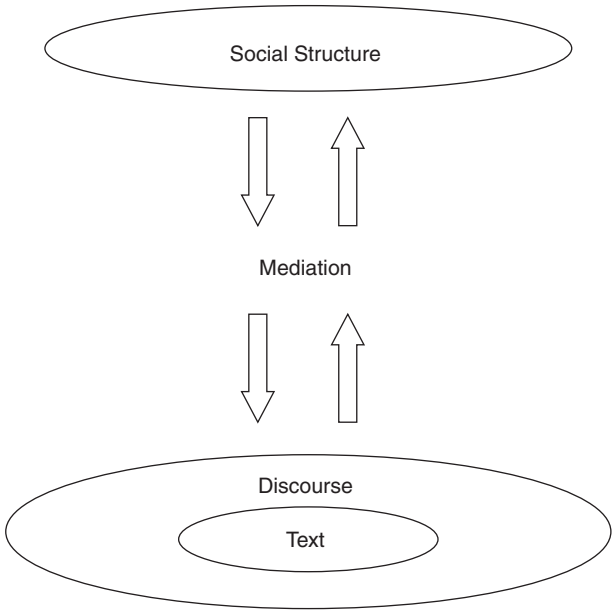

Figure 4.1. Social structure, mediation and discourse (adapted from Fairclough 1989: 38).

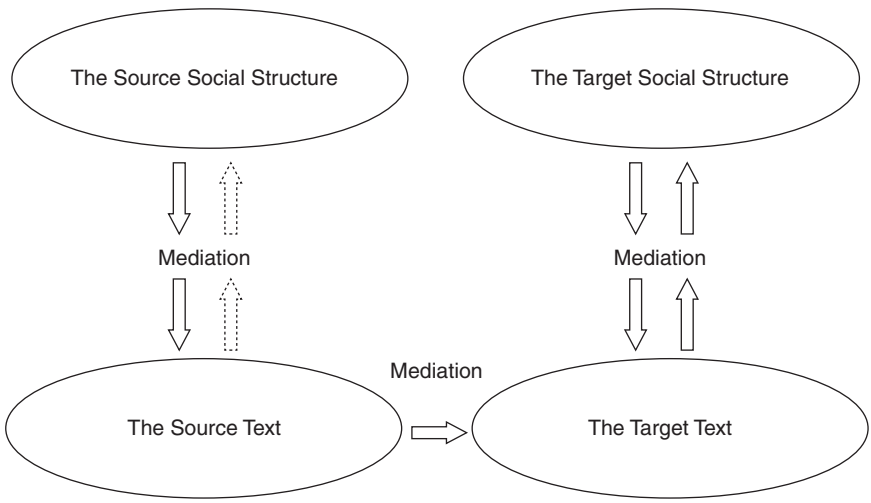

Figure 4.2. Mediation in translation.

From Figure 4.2, it is clear that mediation in translation involves four parties, that is, the source text, the target text, the source social structure and the target social structure. On the one hand, the target social structure, the source text, and the source social structure influence the content and the presentation of the target text by means of mediation. The target social structure, in which the target text is situated, has a final say in the production, distribution, and consumption of the target text. In other words, the more the target text conforms to the criteria set by the target social structure, the more acceptability and popularity it is likely to enjoy in the target society. Specifically, the target social structure determines, to some extent, what can be included as a part of the target text and to what extent mediation can be carried out, and at the same time orientates the general mediation tendency. The relationship of 'intertextual coherence' (Nord 2001: 32) between the source and the target texts (i.e., that the target text should be coherent with the source text) also weighs heavily in the mediation process. Due to the nature of translation, the source text as an 'offer of information' (31–32) is constantly referred to in the mediation process. The source social structure is represented by the source text producer and publisher, whose roles in the mediation action depend on how powerful the source text producer and publisher and the source society are in the translation practice. At the other end, the translated text functions as mediation in the target society by means of sustaining or changing the target social structure. A telling example is provided in Chang (1998), where the author claims that his manipulation in translating *Yes, Prime Minister* is intended to challenge both the translation poetics and the ideology that are dominant in Chinese culture.

In light of this, I propose an integrated approach in my research into mediation in translation: a micro-model focusing on mediation at the text level and a macro-model zooming in on the relationship between mediation and social structure. The former is a linguistic approach, designed to explicate how mediation is actualized in the translation process and how it functions in guiding the text development. This textual exploration is the focus of the present research and is intended to provide a set of 'cues', in Fairclough's (1992: 80) words, for the ensuing discussion of the relationship between discursive mediation and social structure. The macro-model places mediation in a wider social context and discusses the dialectical relationship between texts, mediation and social structure. In discussing social structure as a condition for, as well as an effect of, mediation, I emphasize power, power relations, ideology, and norms, which have either a direct or an indirect bearing on the practice of meditation in translation.

The micro-model: a linguistic approach to textual mediation in translation

In the bilingual context of translation, the translated text, as the result and the site of mediation, is pivotal to the mediation process. Text analysis of

mediation, thus, provides linguistic evidence for the interactive relationship between mediation and social structure. Without a close look at the text, there will be, as Fairclough (2003: 3) puts it, 'no real understanding of the social effects of discourse', or of mediation in discourse at all. In view of this, a linguistic approach is adopted in the present research to address the phenomenon of mediation in translation.

To start with, the notion of the translation process will be revisited to distinguish different stages at which mediation works. On this basis, I shall develop a linguistic approach to investigating the discursive operation of mediation by drawing on notions from de Beaugrande's typology of network links and Halliday's functional grammar.

The translation process revisited

Similar to Fawcett (1995) and Wodak and Meyer (2001), Robinson (2001) discards the traditional thinking of the translator as the only person involved in translation in his book. Instead, the author (2001: 18) informs us, on the basis of his own experience as a freelancer, that it is 'disjointed collections of economic agents (freelance translators, editors, proofreaders, project managers, etc.) who somehow collectively manage…to produce competent professional-quality translations'. Likewise, when elaborating on the term 'literary translation practices' in *Routledge Encyclopedia of Translation Studies*, Bush (2004: 129) identifies the editing process as one the translation manuscript undergoes before being submitted for publication. The necessity of editing and revising a text before making it available to the reader is further elaborated in Mossop (2001). Translation thus extends from textual composition as the translator's personal concern to text publication as a social enterprise in which other parties such as editors are more actively involved. In the same vein, the conception of the translation process[1] is extended to cover both processes of translating and editing.

The translating process consists of analysis of the source text and synthesis of the target text (Bell 1991: 45), with the latter starting on the basis of the former. In other words, it is with information gained from the source text that the translator starts to write the target text. But the source information as such already involves the translator's mediation, that is, the translator's use of his or her previous knowledge in understanding the source text. Hence, from the very beginning of the process, the production of the target text bears the imprint of mediation occurring in the reading process. I thus assume that the operation of mediation in the translation process can be mapped out by narrowing down how mediation operates in the process of the target-text production.

The synthesis of the target text is first of all a writing process, the five phases of which (planning, ideation, development, expression, and parsing) fall into two stages: cognitive creation and linguistic selection. Cognitive

creation involves the selection, evaluation, and organization of ideas, with the last involving the relation of these ideas to each other. Linguistic expression refers to the linguistic encoding of the selected pieces of information and their conceptual relations (de Beaugrande and Dressler 1981: 39–42). But translating, as the interlingual rewriting of an existing text in another language for another culture, presents a more complicated picture than monolingual writing. In generating a written text, the writer can presumably exercise a free hand in forming a goal, creating ideas, selecting any entity for presentation, and deciding on its discursive configuration and its linguistic presentation.[2] For translators, however, more often than not their translation act begins with the client 'placing the order, providing the source-language material, presenting the contract with information on the intended target text and its proposed use', and other relevant delimitations of the task, as is emphasized in *skopos* theory (Snell-Hornby 2006: 59). Based on source-text analysis and background information and guided by the contract, the translator needs at the very beginning to make decisions on what to translate, and what not to (for details, see Bell 1991: 68). In other words, translators select concepts and ideas from the storyline set in the source text for the configuration of the target text-world, decide on the style of the target text and put their selected ideas on paper to form a surface text. In light of this, translation can be construed as a constrained writing activity on the basis of parameters set in the source text. Like the writing process, the translating process consists of two similar phases, but with limited content, especially at the first one. I shall refer to them, to keep them distinct, as:

- *Information selection and configuration*, which includes two sub-processes of (1) selection and evaluation of ideas from the source information, and (2) configuration of these ideas in accordance with goals, instructions, the addressee, types of text, and so forth;
- *Information presentation*, which covers the linguistic encoding of the selected conceptual ideas and their conceptual relationships, sequential ordering of the information on the basis of the source text, modifying the text and evaluating its adequacy to the assignments (the addressee, goal, and so forth).

Note that these two stages are not sequential. Revision, back-tracking, and cancellation of previous decisions are all possible.

As the product of the translating process, the rendered manuscript should before final publication undergo editing to bring it into conformity with particular needs of the target reader. Following Mossop (2001: 11), four types of work need to be done in the editing process to fulfil the task of textual amendment, namely, copyediting, stylistic editing, structural editing, and content editing. It is, however, interesting to note that these jobs also fall into two general categories: macro-level and micro-level editing. Macro-level editing,

in principle, consists of content editing. That is, the editor decides on what subjects can or cannot be translated. Moreover, additions or subtractions may be requested in order to make the text suitable for the intended audience. The selecting function of the editor, as Mossop (2001: 63) reminds us, is either to conceal the truth or to improve the translation quality. Micro-level editing, on the other hand, deals with content (factual, logical, and mathematical), and stylistic and structural errors in the rendering, which occur at the stage of information presentation. In this sense, the editing process and the translating process follow similar stages (the stage of information selection and configuration and that of information presentation), although with differing working priorities. This, therefore, for the sake of simplicity allows us to view the translation process as one containing two stages.

The text production process is also the creation of a textual world which, according to de Beaugrande (1980: 24), is 'the cognitive correlate of the knowledge conveyed and activated by a text in use'. The target textual world bears the translation producers' perception of the source textual world, which 'may or may not agree with' the one activated by the source text and their 'beliefs and goals'. To make this conceptual textual world observable, de Beaugrande suggests a text-world model, which is composed of 'CONCEPTS and RELATIONS in a knowledge space' (1980: 24; emphasis original). The model is the external representation of the textual world and exists as a tangible object for description and explanation.

A linguistic approach to mediation in translation

Mediation in translation can be traced by investigating how mediation operates at the two stages of the translating process to create a textual world model that bears distinct ideologies from what was presented in the source text. As noted above, these two stages are not sequential: revision, back-tracking, and cancellation of previous decisions are all possible. Figure 4.3 shows how mediation operates in the process of transferring the source textual world from the source language to the target language. It can be read in the following way: the source text projects a world model that is composed of *topics*, *control centres*, and their *conceptual relations* (for their definitions, see the section *Mediation at the stage of information selection and configuration*). At the first stage of the translation process, that is, the stage of information selection and configuration, control centres and topics presented in the source text are either included or excluded when configuring the target textual world. Concepts from outside the source text can also be added as components of the new world. At the information-presentation stage, the included conceptual relations are adjusted at different semantic levels to achieve a certain purpose of manipulation; the excluded conceptual relations are expected to be compensated in order that the textual coherence can be repaired. The mediated target textual world is thus created.

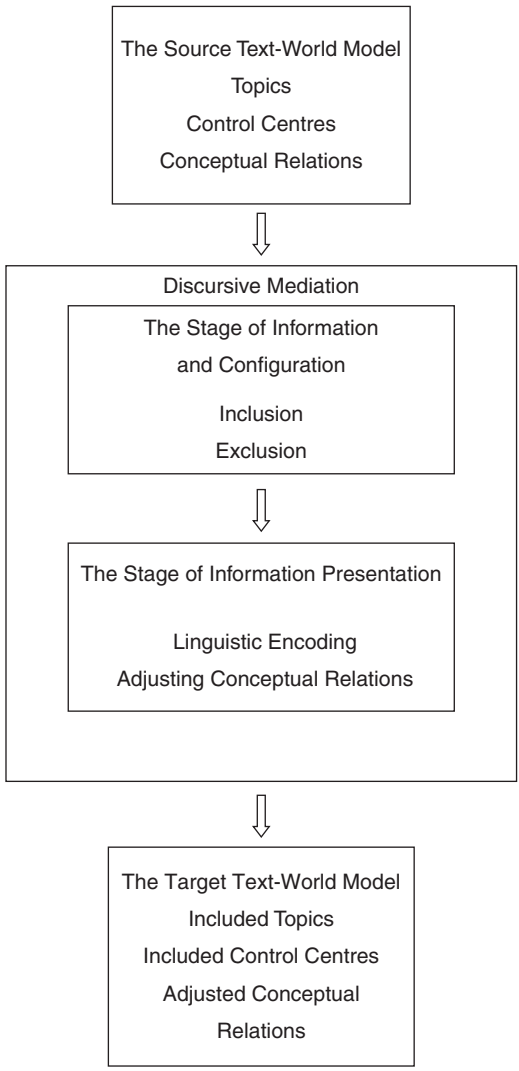

Figure 4.3. The linguistic analytical approach for investigation of mediation.

Mediation at the stage of information selection and configuration

This is the stage at which the source ideas are selected. The included ideas, along with the added information from the background knowledge for clarifying the underlying semantic meaning of the source textual world or from outside the ST, lay the basis for the target-text configuration. In de Beaugrande's typology, these ideas are termed *primary* concepts,[3] and they include

1. OBJECTS: conceptual entities with a stable identity and constitution;
2. SITUATIONS: configurations of mutually present objects in their current states;
3. EVENTS: occurrences that change a situation or a state within a situation. (1980: 79; emphasis original)

They are the most likely candidates for *control centres*, that is 'the primary concepts from which the processor can work outwards to identify the other nodes' (de Beaugrande 1980: 90). When these control centres are frequently used and reactivated during text processing, they become *topics*, dominant nodes that should be connected to build up a complete textual world. For a simple example of these, briefly consider the Chinese source of the sentence quoted in NASIC's report. From the passage where the Chinese sentence is extracted, as seen below, it is clear that *anti-satellite weapons* (objects) is a *primary concept*, and *satellite* is the *control centre/topic*, considering its frequent occurrence in the text and its connections with other nodes, for example, *satellite defences, space confrontation*.

> 卫星将是21 世纪夺取制天权的主要空间系统，攻击敌方卫星和保护己方卫星是空间对抗的首要任务。为了争夺空间优势，保证国家安全，反卫星武器和卫星防御的竞赛将愈演愈烈。在正确地跟踪国外卫星先进技术的同时，还应积极发展反卫星武器，并密切注意国际空间军备控制的进展情况，以便及时地确定对策。
>
> (Zhang et al. 2004: 30)

> Satellites will be a main space programme for seizing aerospace dominance in the 21st century, of which the primary task for space confrontation is to attack enemy satellites while protecting one's own. Consequently, there will be increasingly intense development and deployment of anti-satellite weapons and satellite defences throughout the world, with a view to seizing the high ground in outer space and ensuring national security.[4] While properly following foreign satellite advanced technology, [China] also should actively develop anti-satellite weapons and pay close attention to the progress of international space arms control, in order to facilitate the timely determination of a response.

Our focus at this stage is on the selection of control centres and topics to structure the target textual world. For one thing, these selected control centres and topics are essential in organizing concepts and establishing links with other concepts in the textual world model. Hence, how they are configured and to what extent their configuration is preserved or broken have a direct impact on the completeness and organization of the target textual world; for another, selection is by its very nature, in Fowler's words (1991: 19), 'an ideological act of interpretation', as an item 'can only be selected if it can be seen

in a certain light of representation'. Emphasis is also given to the excluded information, the analysis of which can provide valuable insights into what is taken as a given, or as common sense, and what is deliberately avoided. Similarly, central are additions that may be required to explicate the implications carried in the source text or, according to Ben-Ari (2000: 45), to fill the narrative gaps created by missing parts. They are particularly valued in that they may indicate the translation producer's ideological orientation in guiding the reader in the translation process.

Mediation at the stage of information presentation

At the information-presentation stage, the included control centres, topics, and their relations are adjusted at different semantic levels to realize a certain purpose of manipulation; and the excluded conceptual relations are recuperated so that the target textual coherence can be maintained.

In his seminal book, de Beaugrande (1980: 77) gives a meticulous account of concepts and relations when describing the text-world model, which are general enough to subsume relations among various concepts. However, this level of generality and abstractness may not be readily applicable to comparative text analysis. Furthermore, as the author (1980: 78, 91) repeatedly reminds us, the typology is intended to label connections between concepts, rather than explicating the meaning of individual concepts. But without taking into account the lexical meaning in labelling conceptual relations, the typology does not explain to any great extent how and to what degree the concepts are connected, to say nothing of how these connections differ from each other – considerations that are vital to comparative text analysis in translation studies. To illustrate the point, consider the following pair of sentences.

> The ad distorted the truth. (Clinton 2003a: 520)
>
> 广告改变了事实真相。('The ad altered the truth'.)

The conceptual relationship that the English sentence and the Chinese translation share is actor (the ad/广告 'the ad') – motion (distorted/改变了'altered') – affected entity (the truth/事实真相 'the truth'). Obviously, labelling as such masks the fact that the two sentences differ from each other in terms of polarity: the English sentence is negative, whereas the Chinese one is neutral. In this light, we need to include the semantic meanings of these two verbs (e.g., *distort* means to *give a false or misleading account of*; whilst *alter* is to *change*) so as to specify the conceptual relations for the sake of comparison.

To address these phenomena, Halliday's functional grammar is, according to Fowler (1991: 68–70), the best linguistic tool, as it not only provides a more elaborate account of semantic relations in human experience, events

and actions, but takes semantic meaning into account when analysing conceptual relations. In the grammar, each part of the clause is labelled functionally to indicate its relation to the whole and to the world of experience. The three interconnected strands of meaning (called metafunctions) involved in the grammar of the clause are *ideational*, *interpersonal* and *textual* metafunctions. Of these, the *ideational* and *interpersonal* metafunctions that language performs are 'especially valuable' for analysis of 'mediation of social relationships and values' (ibid.). The textual component is distinct from the other two owing to its 'enabling' function; this component gives prominence to relations beyond clauses and focuses on how connections are actually set up among communicative occurrences (texts). The creation of a text can thus be seen as, in Zhu's words (1996: 340), 'inspired primarily for a transactional purpose of conveying ideational information about the world, or…occasioned by an interactional need to establish or maintain certain interpersonal (social) relationships'. Of the main linguistic realizations of the three metafunctions, lexis centres on the semantic content of the word, representing patterns of extralinguistic experience; the transitivity system categorizes the world of experience (both inner and outer, i.e., mental experience and experience of the external world) into six process types (material, mental, relational, behavioural, verbal, and existential). Each process type is composed of the process realized by the verb, participants in the process, and circumstances associated with the process, analysis of which indicates varied logical conceptual relations (Halliday 1994); and modality, realized by finite modal operators (e.g., *must*, *will*, and *should*) and/or modal adjuncts (e.g., *usually*, *probably*, and *always*), is 'an expression of the speaker's opinion' (Halliday 1994: 89) and therefore contributes to the relationship between the addresser and the addressee.

In the case of NASIC's report, the Chinese clause quoted contains three material processes: processes of doing, realized by three verbs – *following, develop* and *facilitate* – and a mental process, realized by *pay attention to.* In the material processes, the participants are the obligatory actors (the one that operated and attended: *China*) and the optional goal (the one that undergoes the process: *foreign satellite advanced technology*, *anti-satellite weapons* and *ASAT systems*). The model operator *should* indicates that China is advised to develop ASAT systems while scrutinizing foreign development in advanced satellite technology; whereas in NASIC's translation, the omission of *should*, along with the circumstance *actively*, denoting an aggressive posture of China in developing ASAT systems. The added model operator *will*, the material process *monitor*, as well as the replacement of the circumstance *properly* with *closely* are combined to demonstrate China's determination and keen interest in observing the development of foreign satellite technology.

In comparing the ways in which the conceptual relations in the source text and the target text are constructed and reconstructed to form a textual world, I shall concentrate on investigating discursive deviations that function as

adjustments to the source links or as repairs to the relational network necessitated by the exclusion of concepts and conceptual relations. Examining these overt signs of mediation and the resultant text-world will allow me to characterize the operation of mediation. It will also give us a strong hint about how social and ideological factors bear upon mediation and will pave the way for us to probe into the effects of mediation on existing social realities. In doing so, it is hoped to remedy the deficiency of the functional grammar in, as van Dijk remarks (2008: 37), 'totally disregard[ing] the problem of the mediation between society and language use, and even disregard[ing] the fundamental role of knowledge in text and talk'. It should be emphasized that not all discrepancies are the concern of the present research, as in Toury's (1995: 28) view, it is a tendency for translations to deviate from their source text in one way or another. My attention is drawn to discrepancies that are there not purely out of grammatical consideration, but are there to contribute to creating a textual world, which differs, in the sense of the ideologies they subscribe to, from what is presented in the source text.

The macro-analytical model: a sociocultural approach to mediation and social structure

As discussed above, mediation in translation, as a social practice, affects and is affected by social structure. However, Fairclough did not provide us with a clear definition of social structure. To facilitate the following study, I follow Turner (1994: 51) in defining social structure as 'composed of networks of interrelated status positions as well as the cultural systems and roles associated with the positions in this network'. At the centre of this definition are status positions that are connected to one another to constitute social structure. People's positions in society endow them with rights and obligations and enable people/groups/institutions to realize their will or to control or maintain certain social orders. The capacity to realize one's will, even in the face of resistance from other groups, is what Turner (1994) calls 'power'. Power (or 'social power' in opposition to 'natural power'[3]) is, according to Giddens (as quoted in Turner 2004: 478), integral to the very existence of social structure. It is crucial in determining how people behave and how people/groups/institutions relate to each other in society. In modern society, as Fairclough observes (1989: 2), power functions primarily through ideology, and 'more particularly through the ideological workings of language'.

The close link between power and ideology is created via conventions and norms: ideologies are embedded in conventions and norms, which are the outcome of power relations and power struggles and a primary means through which power relations are produced, sustained, or changed. The way people exercise mediation in the translation process, therefore, depends upon what power they have, what ideology they represent, and what conventions and norms they are seen to hold in the target society. Conversely, the mediated

product per se acts as mediation in the target society by maintaining or subverting the existing norms, ideologies, and power relations. This leads me to concentrate on the dialectic relationship between mediation and the three sociological categories, independent yet closely connected in the sociocultural approach: power, ideology, and conventions and norms.

Mediation, power and power relations

Technically speaking, when we refer to individuals/groups/institutions with power, we mean that they themselves are free from coercion while being in a position to coerce others. Following Poggi (2001), power has three basic forms: ideological/normative, economic, and political, of which political power is central. Such a categorization is more conducive to explaining how power functions in the mediation process and how mediation works when there is a conflict among different forms of power, especially in the translation of politically sensitive texts.

The exercise of power in the translation process inevitably brings into the picture individuals/groups/institutions with and without power in the translation process (e.g., the commissioner, the initiator, the translator, the publisher, the text recipient). Power relations involved in the production and consumption of the source text need to undergo changes when other participants such as the translator, the target-text publisher, and the target receiver are brought in. The power holders in the source society may turn out to be the powerless in the target society, and vice versa. Such changes of power relations behind discourse inevitably lead to changes of power and power relations in discourse itself (Fairclough 1989: 43). Specifically, the altered power relations and power struggles behind the translated text determine extensively whether, how and to what extent mediation operates in discourse to maintain or adjust the way the powerful controls the non-powerful or to subvert the power relations in the source text. The mediated translation, in return, intervenes in the target text by shaping its social structure. Along this line of thinking, I can add that mediation is an effective means of power negotiation. Note that the power holders herein consist of those involved in the process of text production, distribution, and consumption as well as those in a wider societal order, that is, the ruling class and the ruled in a particular society. In addition to this, due attention shall be given to power relations and power struggles between the source and the target societies as well, which may greatly influence the general tendency of mediation in translation.

Mediation in translation is, therefore, a result of power struggles between a variety of translating parties who have similar, distinct or even conflicting interests, and between the source and the target cultures. Power and power relations behind the text activate and guide the operation of mediation in the translation process; whereas the rendering, the mediated product, consolidates or subverts the existing power relations. Mediation is, so to speak, a

deliberate and conscious act of selection, assemblage, configuration, and fabrication, so much so that the mediated translation can intervene in the target society by establishing, maintaining, and resisting the existing power relations. A point to note, however, is that, as Fairclough reminds us (1989: 992), power functions primarily through consent and coercion. Of these two ways, consent is a 'less costly and less risky' (33–34) way that the ruling class can adopt to maintain its rule, and has therefore gained increasing importance in social control. At this juncture, it is time to reintroduce 'ideology', as it is a primary means of manufacturing consent.

Mediation and ideology

Ideology, as one modality of power, legitimizes and sustains relations of power through producing consent, or at least acquiescence. By implicitly infusing their ideologies into discourse, the power holders get their ideas accepted in an unconscious manner and easily win the consent of other people. Ideological uniformity between the controller and the controlled is thus achieved. In practice, however, this is not always the case due to a great ideological diversity among the parties involved in the discourse. This is especially true of translation, which brings at least two systems of values into contest, or even conflict, making the ideological struggle for hegemony even more severe. Under some circumstances, due to ideological inconsistency between the source and the target societies, some books are not even allowed to be translated, or the translated text cannot be published, or the published translation invokes serious punishment. Undoubtedly, ideological conflicts in the translation process call for effective solutions, otherwise the translation action cannot be pushed ahead. One way to resolve these conflicts is to mediate between varying ideologies. When ideological divergence emerges, the mediator presumably will be aligning his or her activity with the party that is more helpful in achieving his or her goals; and when ideological conflicts occur, the mediator will, more often than not, follow the party that is more powerful in deciding things such as which behaviour is legitimate or correct or appropriate in a given society. In this regard, NASIC's translation sets us a good example in demonstrating a mediational operation in line with NASIC's ideological value. It is also likely for the mediator to go against the dominant ideology when he or she chooses to construct or promote new ideologies. To achieve these purposes, mediation strategies will be determined accordingly. Conversely, as the mediated product, translation itself functions as mediation in constructing, maintaining, or changing the ideologies of the target society. A telling example is the translation of Buddhist scriptures in China during the Sui (581–618) and the Tang dynasties (618–907), which helped promote Buddhism in China.

Ideology is most effective when its work is least visible. Such invisibility is achieved when being embedded in the recurrence of ordinary, familiar ways of behaving, which take the existing power relations and power differences

for granted. These ordinary, familiar ways are conventions and norms, which index and express ideologies on the one hand and, on the other, are themselves the outcome of power struggles.

Mediation and norms

In every society, there is common knowledge of what is correct or appropriate behaviour/practice. This knowledge exists in the form of conventions and norms. The conventions and norms provide models for and regulate expectations about behaviour, as well as about the products of certain behaviour. In this sense, people are under obligation to act within a range of acceptable behaviour in compliance with these conventions and norms. Mediation, as a social practice, or social behaviour, operates under the constraint of particular conventions and norms. In this connection, how these conventions and norms, as the embodiment of particular ideologies and an outcome of power struggles, affect the act of mediation is of considerable significance in the present research. Yet, after pinpointing the repressive and productive functions of conventions and norms, Fairclough does not explore the norm theory further. In view of this, I draw inspiration from translation studies to fill this gap.

The notion of *norm* was first introduced into translation by Gideon Toury in the late 1970s and has continued to receive attention in Translation Studies (cf. Hermans 1996, 1999; Chesterman 1997). Translational norms provide standards or models of correct or appropriate translational acts and of correct or appropriate translation products with the aim of 'promoting certain values' (Chesterman 1997: 172). Note that 'correct' here does not mean that there is only one single correct translation. Instead, norms can be met in various ways, and there is more than one way for translators to produce what is expected of them.

A point to make before moving on to further discussions is the relationship between norms, conventions, and rules that were often used side by side in past research. Hermans (1996) explicates it as follows: conventions are the weakest form of norms and depend on regularities, shared knowledge, and preferences; norms are convention-like but more directive. They are used to guide, control, or change the behaviour of agents with decision-making capacities; when the role of norms turns to be 'mandatory' and 'obligatory' (Hermans 1996: 31), they are replaced by rules. In light of this, the difference between conventions, norms and rules is a difference in degree rather than kind. The relationship between them is, therefore, never cut and dried and can vary with social changes. In light of this, 'norms' will be used to refer to all three categories of conventions, norms, and rules in the following research to avoid unnecessary confusion.

Norms can be strong or weak, depending on the position of norm-makers, who are usually in a more powerful position in a community and may determine the content of norms (i.e., what is correct or proper behaviour). The more

powerful they are, the more directive the normative force is. The stronger the norm is, the more restrictive it is to human behaviour, including the operation of mediation. Meanwhile, people with more power may feel more confident than the non-powerful and can ignore the norm in mediating. Norms also can be negative or positive. Their negative function lies in the fact that mediation decisions in the translation process are, in Schäffner's words (1999: 5), primarily constrained and regulated by translational norms. Of the two types of translational norms, as proposed in Chesterman (1997: 64–70), expectancy norms play a role in determining the general tendency of the operation of mediation and the extent to which mediation can be carried out; whereas professional norms regulate when, how and to what extent mediation shall be applied in the translation process. Despite this, norms also provide solutions for problems arising in the mediation process and thus facilitate and guide the process of decision-making.

The normative forces as such are validated partly by norm authorities such as professional bodies or government agencies that have the power to impose sanctions against noncompliance, and partly by their very existence. One thing worth stressing in the process of norm validation is censorship, which 'operates largely according to sets of specific values and criteria which are established by a dominant body over a dominated one' (Billiani 2007: 3–4). Censorship is practised in accordance with the ideology and the power order the authority wants to maintain or, in other words, the 'wide national patterns of taste' (15) embodied in various laws and regulations. Any contents contravening these norms should be 'explicitly prohibited' (Bourdieu 1991: 138). Censorship, in this sense, becomes 'an authoritarian control over what reaches the public sphere' (Müller 2004: 12) and a type of power for 'establishing a given cultural authority…by exercising the power of punishment and the right of surveillance' (Billiani 2007: 15). To avoid sanctions resulting from official censorship, more often than not, the translator practices self-censorship by mediating the translation process, that is, by including/excluding/revising expressions that touch on what is forbidden in a given society. As such, the deliberate mediation is masked as the text producer's own editing, and the impact of censorship on translation publication thus goes unnoticed.

Conclusion

As is widely acknowledged, translation is a site where the source and the target texts meet and negotiate. Yet, in actual practice, translation is much more than that. As Tymoczko and Gentzler (2002) remind us, it is also a site where various types of power underlying the translation process meet, compete, negotiate, and cooperate to produce a text for the target reader, a site for the power holders to repress or restrain the powerless, and a site for the powerless to seek empowerment. On top of this, translation is a potential

stake for anyone in repression or subversion. That is, translating participants with or without power may contest for the right to decide on what to translate, or what not to, and how to translate it in order that the goal of maintaining or subverting the existing power structure can be achieved. However, at this juncture one cannot help but wonder how repression or subversion as such is actualized in translation, and how the translation in question is used to achieve the desired result. Although much has been done in this regard from a sociocultural perspective, to my knowledge, no systematic research has been conducted from the perspective of mediation. From my point of view, power relations and the power struggles underlying the translation action could be more easily identified or uncovered by adopting this approach. Aimed at shedding light on mediation in translation, this chapter devotes most of its attention to the operation of mediation at the text level, which I assume to embody all mediation activities throughout the translation process and provide a solid textual basis for further discussions of the relationship between mediation and relevant social factors.

Bearing this in mind, the present research sketches out an integrated theoretical framework for investigating mediation in translation. To begin with, it provides a general definition of mediation in translation so as to give a panoramic view of the mediation phenomenon. On this basis, a parameterized definition of mediation is established from a linguistic perspective for ease of identification of mediation. The proposed framework is composed of a micro- and a macro-analytical model. The micro-model aims at mapping out how mediation is implemented step by step to create a textual world bearing distinct ideological implications from the world presented in the source text. The macro-model is underpinned by sociology, norm theory and *skopos* theory, and aims at exploring the dialectic relationship between mediation and social structure. It attends to the immediate as well as the wider social contexts of mediation and places stress on power, ideologies, and norms in both contexts of mediation and their interaction with the operation of mediation. It is hoped that the model offers valuable insights into how the operation of mediation occurring in the process of transferring a text from one language into another can be described systematically, and how mediation operates step by step to create a textual world that is distinct from the one presented in the ST in an ideological sense.

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Notes

1 The translation process, in a narrow sense, refers to the translators' text processing, that is, their understanding of the source text and their production of the target text; whilst in a broader sense, it may extend from the initial translation commissioning to the translation publication. More specifically, it involves translation commission, translator selection, source text understanding, target-text generation, editing, and publication of the translation. However, the primary concern of this research is to explicate what is involved in the production of the target text. To put it differently, I assume that translation is first of all concerned with the production the target text.
2 Much has been discussed about the freedom of the author (see Boase-Beier and Holman 1999). Admittedly, the writer is subject to a variety of constraints imposed by the norms of the source cultural system and the broad context of his/her writing activity. However, apart from the linguistic norms of the target cultural system and the social context of his/her translating activity, the translator is also subject to the ever-present model of the source text. In this regard, the writer is much freer.
3 After defining the notion of primary concepts, de Beaugrande (1984: 111) adds in the end notes of his book, '[I]t can easily be seen that *situations* subsume o*bjects*, and *events* subsume *actions*; we therefore usually speak of *situations and events* as a cover-all designation of primary concepts and their organization'. However, in my view, *events* are results of *actions*, and can thus stand as a designation; yet regarding the relationship between *objects* and *situation*, I prefer to take them as separate in the light of the significance of *objects* in network connection. A good example is the author's analysis of the word 'r*ocket*' in a text in which the object, *rocket*, is the key in connecting with the other objects to form a textual world.
4 Unless otherwise specified, all translations are the author's.

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Chapter 5

Translation as the instigator of a new Arabic discourse in Islamic intellectual history

Gavin N. Picken

The historical development of Arabic: from Bedouin verse to the vernacular of statecraft

That Arabic ever became a language of translation is one of the peculiar quirks of history, as it began life as the youngest member of the Semitic family of languages and was confined to its homeland of the Arabian Peninsula. Although there were various kingdoms on the edges of the Arabian Peninsula that spoke this language, the vast majority of Arabic speakers were nomadic tribes, who were illiterate and roamed the land in search of essential resources in an inhospitable desert environment (Versteegh 2001: 9–22 and 37–52; Shah 2008: 262–264; Knysh 2016: 7–18). Thus, Arabic was restricted to an oral culture, which prided itself on the composition and transmission of a stylized form of oral poetry. Arabic oral poetry, being the primary form of artistic and cultural production in this society, became the medium for recording historical events, maintaining lineages, praising leaders, deprecating enemies, expressing love, and remembering the dead. Poetry was so important to this society that regional and seasonal competitions would be held to assess the talent of the leading poets, who were immortalized in the legendary 'Golden Odes' (*al-Muʿallaqat*), which were said to have been written in gold and displayed in the *Kaʿba* in Mecca (Allen 2000: 76–78; Irwin 1999: 3–7).

Mecca was a religious and cultural centre that thrived on the trade generated from its status as a pilgrimage site. The ruling tribe of Quraysh enjoyed great prestige and great wealth for being the tribe that settled in Mecca and became responsible for maintaining the polytheistic rituals of the society at large. Quite ironically, it would be a clansman of this elite tribe who would bring an end to the restricted and isolated nature of Arabic by declaring that he had received divine revelations and was now the Messenger of God. Muslim sources record that Muhammad received revelations over a period of approximately 23 years and that these supernatural communiques constituted the Qur'an, Islam's primary sacred reference and Arabic's first formal text (Irwin 1999: 2–30; Knysh 2016: 76–91). In addition to the Qur'an, Muhammad also received extra-Qur'anic revelations that would later be

recorded in a subsidiary genre of literature known as *hadith* (pl. *ahadith*) (Irwin 1999: 40; Knysh 2016: 92–104). These materials formed the essence and foundation of Islam's textual corpus and, at the same, changed the function of Arabic from being a language of orality and poetry to also being a language of literacy and religion.

Upon his death, Muhammad was succeeded by his Companions, Abu Bakr (r. 632–634), 'Umar b. al-Khattab (r. 634–644), 'Uthman b. 'Affan (r. 644–656) and 'Ali b. Abu Talib (656–661), who were collectively known as the 'Rightly Guided Caliphs' (*al-Khulafa' al-Rashidun*). In many respects, their rule can be considered an extension of the Prophet's mission, but with perhaps one significant exception – in less than 30 years after the death of the Prophet they had expanded the territories under the control of Islam to include the Persian Empire, the Alexandrian Patriarchy and a significant portion of the Byzantine Empire (Afsaruddin 2008: 27–58; Knysh 2016: 40–51). Thus, with the geographical expansion of the religion to include much of what we now refer to as the 'Middle East', Arabic was an able travelling companion, being the communicative language of the sacred texts associated with Islam.

The early caliphs were succeeded by the first dynastic rule in Islamic history – that of the Umayyads (661–750). Although the decision to create a hereditary succession would prove highly controversial and create considerable political instability, the Umayyads continued the policy of expansion, and the Umayyad caliphate would eventually encompass most of North Africa, parts of Central Asia and southern Spain in its orbit. Extending the territories of the caliphate would be only part of the story, however, and such a huge land mass would certainly benefit from having a single language that united its populace. Ruling from Damascus in the eastern Mediterranean, where Greek was the most common language, the fifth Umayyad caliph, 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwan (r. 685–705), took the critical decision to make Arabic the official language of state, and thus the vital position of Arabic as the primary language of the Middle East was consolidated even further (Afsaruddin 2008: 76–87; Shah 2008: 266–267; Osman 2012: 167). Although much emphasis has been laid on the role of the consequent 'Abbasid dynasty regarding translation of non-Arabic materials into Arabic, the process began much earlier, under the Umayyads. In some senses this was inevitable, as the Umayyads ruled a land mass that was familiar with multiple trends of intellectual activity, which had been in place for many centuries and which needed to be utilized in the administrative context. In addition, making Arabic the official language of state required that the administrative records (*diwan*) would now be in Arabic, but as a primer to this, under the reign of 'Abd al-Malik's son Hisham (r. 724–743), the prior Greek *diwan* was also translated into Arabic. Moreover, the bibliographic cataloguer, Ibn Nadim (d. 995) asserts that the first translations from one language to another in Islam were books of alchemy, translated by Stephanus from Coptic and Greek at the behest of Khalid b. Yazid (d. 704), who was the grandson of Mu'awiya (Vagelpohl 2008: 22; Rashed 2015: 22–26).

‘Abbasid Baghdad: caliphal capital and cultural crucible

Although the Umayyad rulers certainly had the positive effect of expanding Muslim territorial power and unifying the language of communication, they were also unpopular because of the institutionalizing of a hereditary succession that was at odds with the early caliphate, and because they preferred to select traditional Arab families to occupy positions of power. Thus, in an ever-expanding state where the majority of people would have been of non-Arab origin, these new converts to Islam were considerably disenfranchised and saw themselves as subjects under an Arab aristocracy, which was contrary to the concept of social equity promoted in early Islam under the Prophet and the early caliphs (Knysh 2016: 119–20).

This was seen as an opportunity by certain of the Prophet’s relatives, known as the ‘Abbasids, being the descendants of the Prophet’s youngest uncle – al-’Abbas b. ‘Abd al-Muttalib (d. 652) – and they mobilized the disaffected masses of the eastern caliphate in Khurasan (modern-day Iran, Afghanistan, and parts of Central Asia) to form a formidable force that would facilitate regime change (Afsaruddin 2008: 87–90; Knysh 2016: 120–130). This dynasty would rule for over half a millennium (750–1258) and as a result be central to the advent of the so-called Golden Age of learning, which was driven by an innovative trend in translation consequently referred to as ‘The Translation Movement’.

The process of moving towards the Translation Movement was essentially begun by the second ‘Abbasid caliph Abu Ja‘far al-Manṣur (r. 754–775), who not only provided political stability and financial solvency to the caliphate but also provided the ‘Abbasids with a new capital – Baghdad – which would remain an important city until this very day. Baghdad was well situated to receive the cumulative knowledge of the surrounding cultures, being located between the intellectual trends of the Near East in cities such as Alexandria, Damascus, Antioch, and Harran, and the Persian intellectual hub of Jundishapur to the east. Although the geographical location of Baghdad was certainly important, it could not have been the only factor in influencing the initiation of a Translation Movement, since the Umayyads had ruled from Damascus, which was equally, if not better situated (Gutas 1998: 29–34; Vagelpohl 2008: 25–26; Picken 2011: 26–27).

Given that the ‘Abbasids had come to power through support from the Persian ‘clients’ (*al-mawali*), who had converted to Islam, and the need to prove themselves different from the Umayyad caliphate’s Arab-dominated hierarchy, the ‘Abbasids not only welcomed the Persian *mawali* into their regime but appointed them to some of the most significant positions in the highest political echelons. This ushered in a period of ‘Persianization’ of the caliphate, and the newcomers adopted the administrative model of the former Sassanid Empire, which ultimately defined the caliphate’s political structure and practice. Moreover, a new secretarial class of civil servants (*al-kuttab*)

was developed and, once again, it was the Persian *mawali* who would dominate such positions in the ʻAbbasid administration (Vagelpohl 2008: 23; Picken 2011: 18).

We would be forgiven for thinking that the ʻAbbasid caliphate was now being reinvented as a Neo-Sassanid Empire, but we should not forget that the Persian *kuttab* would also have to be fluent in Arabic, as this was the administration's official language and so, many of the civil servants who worked for the ʻAbbasids were at least bilingual. Thus, this new class of educated administrators came from a unique cultural background, heritage, and world view that they could express in the caliphate's official language of Arabic, which enriched the social context of the ʻAbbasid society and exposed it to new attitudes, ideas, and experiences (Vagelpohl 2008: 29).

For an administration to function efficiently it certainly requires a qualified and capable workforce, which, as was just noted, was provided by the influx of a new demographic into the ʻAbbasid capital. In addition, it also requires the raw materials of writing and in this sense, the ʻAbbasids were at a disadvantage, as writing materials were scarce and, hence, very expensive. All this was to change, however, with the introduction into the caliphate of paper, said to have been gleaned from Chinese prisoners of war. Once paper was 'discovered', the ʻAbbasids set about mass-producing it and built several paper mills in Baghdad to facilitate the process and reduce the cost. Although the initial impetus in paper manufacture may well have been to service the needs of a burgeoning administration, it also meant that paper was now also available for other intellectual activities, including translation (Gutas 1998: 13; Picken 2011: 18–19).

Therefore, on comparing the ʻAbbasid society with that of their predecessors, we can make two general but significant observations: first, that in a general sense there was an appreciation of and openness to other cultures, societies, languages, and even religions. Second, that the aforementioned activities were the subject of extensive and consistent patronage, and without financial support and intellectual curiosity, the Translation Movement and, consequently, the Golden Age could never have happened.

Translation during the ʻAbbasid 'Golden Age': Arabic as a Target Language (TL)

From the above discussion, we can observe that until the advent of the ʻAbbasids, the achievements of Arabic–Islamic civilization was a rich and deeply rooted tradition of poetry, a potent and fast-growing faith, and an eloquent and widespread language. Yet, at the same time, they had little in the way of cumulative knowledge, meaning a tradition of science, philosophy, and medicine, which were emblematic of the civilizations that had preceded them (Picken 2011: 18).

It was here that the open-mindedness and open-handedness of the ʻAbbasid caliphs would come to the fore. Driven by what seemed to be a natural

curiosity, the ʻAbbasids set about acquiring and translating the intellectual traditions of the ancient world; the primary source languages of interest were Persian, Greek and Sanskrit, and the target language in all cases was Arabic. Regarding the subjects that the ʻAbbasids translated, they were particularly enamoured of the classical learning of the ancient world, which included in its gamut astronomy, geography, literature, mathematics, medicine, and philosophy. The process seems to have begun as early as the time of the second caliph, Abu Jaʻfar al-Manṣur, who had a personal interest in astronomy and astrology and is said to have commissioned a translation of the Indian astronomical work *Sindhind* by the architect of Baghdad, Ibrahim al-Fazari (d. 777). It is worthy of note that al-Fazari is also said to have built the first observatory on the left bank of the Tigris and produced the first Arabic astrolabe (Vagelpohl 2008: 27; Picken 2011: 19; van Bladel 2014: 260–261).

It is evident that religious conviction was not a stumbling block for the ʻAbbasids when it came to translation, since many of the people in their employ were Nestorian Christians; this religious denomination had been marginalized under Byzantine rule and found sanctuary under the auspices of the Persian Empire, and eventually settled in the intellectual hub of Jundishapur. When Baghdad was built they filled a natural gap in the necessary skillset that was required by the caliphs; first, they were multilingual, having a knowledge of Greek and Persian, and had the added advantage of being familiar with Syriac – a Semitic relative of Arabic – that was a liturgical language in their religious context, being the language of the Peshitta, or the ʻSyriac bible'. Moreover, their education was diverse, and they displayed a polymathic familiarity with ancient knowledge while at the same time often distinguishing themselves in a field of specialism. The itinerary of translators under the ʻAbbasids included Ibn Naʻima al-Himsi (d. 835) who rendered the pseudo *Theology* of Aristotle into Arabic, and Qusta b. Luqa (d. 912), who was known for the mastery and depth of his knowledge of Greek. In addition, there was Abu Bishr Matta b. Yunus (d. 940), who was the single most important contributor in the field of logic (Vagelpohl 2008: 21–22; Picken 2011: 19; Osman 2012: 166).

Perhaps the most significant scholar in the Translation Movement, however, was Hunayn b. Ishaq (d. 873). Hunayn distinguished himself in the fields of medicine and philosophy by translating the entire corpus of Galen's medical works as well as Galen's paraphrases on many of Plato's works. Similarly, he spent a great deal of time translating most of Aristotle's extant oeuvre and, thus, provided early translations of the most sought-after medical and philosophical texts of the ancient Greek tradition. Hunayn did not work in isolation, either, but rather headed a team of translators that included his son Ishaq (d. *c*. 910), his nephew Hubaysh, and his student ʻIsa b. Yahya. Hunayn's particular skill lay in his profound knowledge of Greek, which he often used to first translate a text into Syriac, and then the Syriac rendering would be translated into Arabic by another member of the team;

thus, Syriac often became an intermediary language between Greek and Arabic in the translation process (Saliba 1996: 21–26; Iskandar 1997: 399–400; Vagelpohl 2008: 35–37; Osman 2012: 161–175; Overwien 2012: 151).

One may get the impression that the patronage of translation in Baghdad was an entirely royal affair, being restricted to the caliphs, but this is far from the case. Indeed, anyone who had the financial means and the inclination could become the patron of a translator. One case of this type that particularly stands out is that of the Banu Musa (lit. 'The Children of Moses'), who were three brothers, Muhammad, Ahmad, and al-Hasan. In fact, the Banu Musa were not only patrons but scholars in their own right, as Muhammad was concerned with mathematics and astronomy, Ahmad was skilled in mechanics, and al-Hasan was a talented geometer. Moreover, they were also involved in the politics of the day, undertaking a number of building projects in Baghdad, and Muhammad and Ahmad in particular are associated with a succession of 'Abbasid caliphs. Thus, being both wealthy and influential as well as scientifically gifted, they would spend wealth on intellectual pursuits, including translation (Rashed 2012: 1–7). Not only did the Banu Musa sponsor translations, but they would also patronize the training of gifted individuals, and a good example of this was Thabit b. Qurra (d. 901). It is said that Muhammad, while returning from a manuscript-sourcing trip in the Byzantine Empire, met Thabit in his native Harran and, being suitably impressed with his linguistic talent, invited him to return to Baghdad. Thabit was then trained by al-Hasan in mathematics and went on to translate works, as well as authoring his own treatises on mathematics (Rashed 2015: 35–36).

No discussion of the Translation Movement would be complete without mention of Baghdad's much-celebrated *Bayt al-Hikma* ('The House of Wisdom'). This is said to have been a specialized translation institute established by the caliph al-Ma'mun (r. 813–833) to translate the Greek legacy into Arabic. It is said that Yahya b. Masawayh was its first director, and that he was succeeded by no less than Hunayn b. Ishaq. The purpose of the *Bayt al-Hikma* was to translate the primary Greek source texts into Arabic and have the resultant translations copied so they could be stored, thus creating a nascent library for consultation.

From this brief discussion we can see that the 'Abbasid period does indeed deserve its common epithet of 'Golden Age' because of the enlightened intellectual activity that took place then, driven by an appetite for translation.

Translation during the 'Abbasid 'Golden Age': between myth and reality

When engaging with the subject of translation in the Islamic context of the medieval period one is faced with a number of salient debates that occupy

the discussion. The first of note is that of 'reception', or what it was that the 'Arabs' encountered when they first translated. It is noticeable when reading inventories of the texts translated that, in terms of the Hellenistic legacy, Greek literature is almost entirely absent, and attention is paid almost exclusively to philosophy, mathematics, astronomy, and medicine. Peters (2003) suggests that this was because this aspect of the Greek patrimony had been absorbed into Christianity before the advent of Islam. Moreover, he goes a step further and argues that Muslims were essentially unaware of the legacy they were receiving, and that this had a significant impact on the way intellectualism developed in the Muslim world (Peters 2003: 41–42). Peters' argument is flawed from several perspectives, however, since he relies on a single text – Ibn Nadim's (d. 995) bibliographical catalogue the *Fihrist* – to inform himself of the works that were translated, which is necessarily too limiting. In addition, we will remember that much of the material that was translated was undertaken by Nestorian Christians, which would not explain why they were equally 'unaware' of the origin of and scope of the material they were translating. Moreover, D'Ancona (2005: 1–20) has shown that there is a tangible and traceable linear progression between Plotinus as the architect of Neoplatonism, as it was he who introduced Aristotle to the Middle Platonism popular at the time, right up until the Nestorian Church that flourished in Persia just before the advent of Islam. Griffith (2008: 106–125) has also demonstrated that not only were the Christians prior to Islam fully aware of the legacy of Greek learning, but they had also assimilated some of its philosophical elements into their theology and were using it to bolster their apologetics. Thus, at least in terms of philosophy, we could say that the tradition had been received in a manner congruent with how it had been developed historically. Of equal interest is that the reception of ancient learning was not all of Greek origin. In fact, some the earliest translations of astronomy and astrology, thanks to the personal interests of the caliph al-Manṣur, were made from Indian sources, as van Bladel has meticulously shown (2014: 257–294).

The second major discussion point is generated using the term 'school' to describe various elements of the translation tradition. Thus, we have references to the 'School of Baghdad' and the *Bayt al-Hikma* as an institution or 'school' of translation. This term has been both loosely appropriated by earlier generations of researchers, but perhaps taken far too seriously by their modern counterparts. If we intend by the term 'school' a clearly identifiable group of individuals who adopted the teachings and tradition of a given eponym, who in turn adopted a specific methodology and followed a definitive curriculum, then clearly such a rigorous definition will not be appropriate to the translation history that we are examining. Although certain individuals stand out, such as Hunayn b. Ishaq, it cannot be said that they founded a school of translation, as neither an evident curriculum of training nor a specific methodology can be identified. What we do have, however, is a circle of individuals who interacted with these major figures and with each other, in

a unique location and under specific circumstances that allowed them to be particularly productive in terms of translation. Indeed, given that the translations were done at the behest of patrons in most circumstances, it is highly unlikely that they had the time or the opportunity to develop a 'school', as their work was time-sensitive, as translators today would appreciate.

Rashed (2012) has given credence to the notion of a 'circle' or a 'team' of translators by using this term to refer to the scholars patronized by the Banu Musa brothers, who included Hunayn b. Ishaq, his son Ishaq b. Hunayn, and Hilal al-Himsi, as well as their protégé, Thabit b. Qurra. Moreover, the Banu Musa circle were at odds with the circle of the renowned Arab philosopher al-Kindi (d. 873), whom they competed with for the caliph's favours (Vagelpohl 2008: 31–35; Rashed 2012: 1–6). Regarding how these circles developed, Rashed (2015: 29–36) suggests that there were three phases in the genesis of the early Translation Movement in Baghdad: the initial phase, which is constituted by the efforts of what Rashed refers to as 'non-professional' translators, implying administrators who had to translate for the nature of their occupation. This is followed by the more rigorous phase of the 'translator-scholar', which is a period when high-quality translations began to be produced by skilled and learned individuals such as Hunayn b. Ishaq. The third and final phase is represented by 'scholar-translator', which signifies that the various fields of leaning were now being studied and supplementary translations being made by scholars such as Thabit b. Qurra. This process first of all explains why many translations were performed more than once, given that the skill level increased over time, and indicates that the Banu Musa were at the core of this development, being involved at each stage.

Related to the notion of 'school' is the concept of 'institute', and it is difficult not to read about the Translation Movement in Baghdad without there being some mention made of the celebrated *Bayt al-Hikma* ('The House of Wisdom'). The traditional account, as mentioned above, states that the *Bayt al-Hikma* was a translation 'centre', dedicated to the translation of the Greek legacy that was founded by the caliph al-Ma'mun (r. 813–833) and had such luminaries as Hunayn b. Ishaq in its employ. This assertion appears unfounded, however, and seems to have been nurtured by Meyerhoff (1926) until it became an accepted 'fact'. More recent studies have shown, by referring to the classical Arabic historical accounts, that the *Bayt al-Hikma*, or its cognate phrase *Khizanat al-Hikma* (lit. 'The Storehouse of Wisdom'), are Arabic translations of the Persian notion of a 'library' (*ganj*) and most probably referred to the 'royal' library of the caliph. Moreover, the earliest references to this idea originate with the caliph Hārūn al-Rashid (r. 789–809), rather than with his son, the caliph al-Ma'mun. The library is reported to have stored historically important documents in Arabic and was also used for the translation of Pahlavi works into Arabic, which is attested by the fact that many of its employees were Persians, such as Abu Sahl al-Fadl b. Nawbakht.

Perhaps what has added to this confusion is that the *Bayt al-Hikma* was also associated with the mathematician Muhammad b. Musa al-Khwarazmi (d. *c*. 840), the astrologer Yahya b. Abu Mansur al-Munajjim (d. 830), and the Banu Musa brothers (Vagelpohl 2008: 23–24; Gutas and van Bladel 2009: 2, 133–137). Nevertheless, even though the *Bayt al-Hikma* was perhaps not the translation 'centre' it has regularly been perceived to be, it is also evident that translation activity was taking place there, and that it was also frequented by some of the most important intellectual figures of the age.

Translation during the 'Abbasid 'Golden Age': towards a New Arabic discourse

There is a common theoretical paradigm that Arabic intellectual development was a three-step process: reception of ancient knowledge; its assimilation in the new culture and environment; and, finally, a stage of production where this knowledge was eventually utilized. As convenient as this model appears, upon deeper examination it becomes evident that this theory is somewhat naïve and belies the historical reality that the sources portray. From the outset one may say that in the case of translation, scholars were not waiting idly for texts to be translated so they could be studied, but rather that translation was part of an interactive research environment that attempted to assist the progress of learning and understanding by accessing as many sources of information as possible (Rashed 2015: 20–22).

Indeed, there are even examples of new intellectual trends and the development of a new type of Arabic discourse that were completely independent of translation. The primary example of this is the development of algebra at the hands of Muhammad b. Musa al-Khwarizmi (d. *c*. 840). Upon examining the mathematical legacy of the ancient world, we find no precedent in the works of Greek luminaries such as Euclid, Heron, and Diophantus or the Indian scholars like Aryabhata and Brahmagupta, which indicates a direct influence of al-Khwarizmi's elaboration of algebra in his magnum opus, *Kitab al-Jabr wa 'l-Muqabala* (Rashed 2009: 57–80). Moreover, not only was al-Khwarizmi's elucidation of algebra articulated in a new form of Arabic mathematical terminology, but the text also had an Islamic influence, as one section of the book was dedicated to how algebraic functions may be utilized in the calculation of inheritance within Islamic law (Rashed 2009: 14–30). Later authors would be convinced that al-Khwarizmi was heavily influenced by the Greek mathematician Diophantus, but they were subtly deceived by a peculiar quirk of fate. Al-Khwarizmi's *Kitab al-Jabr wa 'l-Muqabala* would appear prior to the most significant translation of Diophantus' *Arithmetica* by Qusta b. Luqa (d. 912). However, when translating the *Arithmetica*, Qusta was heavily reliant on the terminology coined by al-Khwarazmi and, hence, when people later read the translation, they assumed that al-Khwarizmi had been influenced by Diophantus (Rashed 2009: 61–62). Thus, we have a situation in which the

translation of a classical Greek work was articulated in the vernacular of a nascent Arabic mathematical discourse.

This novel form of Arabic discourse was, however, overshadowed by the translation activities that took place in the same period, and this phenomenon necessitates a more detailed discussion. As Rashid asserts (2015: 33), the principal figure who stands out as an 'ideal translator' was Hunayn b. Ishaq, and given his productivity, he is a prime candidate in attempting to understand the genesis of Arabic discourse in the 'Abbasid Golden Age. Abu Zayd Hunayn b. Ishaq – also known in Latin as Joannitius – was born in Hira, the former capital of the Arabic-speaking Lakhmid dynasty, which ruled part of modern Iraq in the pre-Islamic period. His family were Nestorian Christians, and his appellation 'al-'Ibadi' originates from 'al-'Ibad', who were an Arab Christian tribe. Given that his father was a pharmacist, it is reasonable to assume that Hunayn was reasonably well educated, but he is also said to have undertaken further studies, notably in Arabic philology and grammar with the renowned linguist Khalil b. Ahmad al-Farahidi (d. *c*. 791–792) in Basra. His medical training was instigated under Yuhanna b. Masawayh (d. 857), one of the leading physicians of his day and an associate of the Bayt al-Hikma, but their early relationship was fractious due to Hunayn being overly inquisitive, and Ibn Masawayh requested that he leave his circle to improve his Greek. Not discouraged by Ibn Masawayh's critique, he acted on his advice and travelled to the Byzantine territories to improve his linguistic ability, and we are told that he returned to Baghdad able to quote Homer's poetry verbatim. Consequently, he was reconciled with his former (tor)mentor and they began a very productive relationship together. It was not only Hunayn's linguistic competence that was lauded, however: his reputation as an expert in medical learning eventually led to him being appointed by the caliph al-Mutawakkil (r. 847–861) as a court physician, and his relationship with the ruler seems to have been good since we are also told that the caliph put him in charge of the *Bayt al-Hikma* (Iskandar 1997: 399; Rashed 2015: 33–34; Osman 2012: 165–166; Overwien 2012: 151; Lamoreaux 2016: xii–xiii).

Hunayn also composed around thirty original works, including a book on Arabic grammar (*Kitab fi 'l-Nahw*) and another on simple medicines organized alphabetically (*Kitab fi Asma' al-Adwiyya al-Mufrada 'ala Huruf al-Mu 'jam*) (Rashed 2015: 35). One such treatise, titled 'Hunayn b. Ishaq's Treatise Dedicated to 'Ali b. Yahya The Works of Galen That Have Been Translated and Those That Have Not' (*Risalat Hunayn b. Ishaq ila 'Ali b. Yahya fi Dhikr ma Turjima min Kutub Jalinus fi 'Ilmihi wa ba'd ma lam Yutarjam*) that is of considerable importance, since it was in this particular text that Hunayn shed the most light on what it meant to be a translator during the 'Abbasid Golden Age. Hunayn wrote this treatise at the age of 48 and makes mention of 129 works that he personally translated, with around two-thirds of his production being translations from Greek into Syriac, and the remainder being translations into Arabic. Perhaps more importantly, Hunayn highlights the titles

of his translation efforts, which focused on the corpus of works that constituted the curriculum of the late Alexandrian school of medicine that was heavily reliant on the teachings of Galen (d. *c*. 200), and which was referred to as *Summaria Alexandrinorum*. With regard to Galen in particular, Hunayn translated 58 of his works in to Syriac, 12 into Arabic and 22 into Syriac first and then into Arabic (Iskander 1976: 235–239; Osman 2012: 162; Lamoreaux 2016: xiii–xvi).

It is noteworthy that an important feature of Hunayn's translations was that all the source texts were in manuscript form, which raises critical issues such as availability, scribal accuracy, and author attribution. This situation was further complicated by the fact that – as just noted – Hunayn not only translated into Arabic directly from Greek but also from Syriac manuscripts that had previously been translated from the original Greek source text. To begin the process of translation, one evidently requires a source text to work with, but such a text was not always readily available. When Hunayn began translating at the tender age of 17 he was challenged by lacunae in the original Greek manuscripts, which he had to compensate for by examining further manuscripts – often many years later – causing him to retranslate the original or edit his earlier efforts (Saliba 1996: 23–24; Pormann 2004: 114–115; Osman 2012: 173; Olsson 2016: 42; Lamoreaux 2016: 10–11 and 24–25). In addition, Hunayn actively sought manuscripts to act as source texts, which is evinced by his quest to obtain a copy of Galen's *Logical Demonstration*; Hunayn travelled to Syria, Palestine, Egypt, and Iraq to track down this rare book and, ultimately, he could only retrieve half of it, in Damascus. It is also worthy of note that this manuscript quest would not have been possible without the financial support of the Banu Musa, whose patronage seems to have encompassed each crucial step of the translation process (Vagelpohl 2008: 31; Osman 2012: 166; Overwien 2012: 152; Lamoreaux 2016: 116–119). Thus, we may note that the primary stage for translators during this period was to establish a source text from multiple existing manuscripts and, hence, they were much more than mere translators but also scholars of an ancient manuscript tradition.

Apart from having a well-attested source text, Hunayn also considered experience a key factor in producing a sound translation. As previously noted, Hunayn began translating at a relatively early age and he continued to improve his method with time, experience, and availability of resources. This was not only discernible in his own context, however, but also in the works of his predecessors and contemporaries; for example, translations of Greek medical texts into Syriac had a long tradition prior to the advent of Islam, and one of the key figures was Serjius of Ra's al-'Ayn (on the Syria–Turkey border) (d. 536), who was equally active in translating Galen's corpus. Galen's work, *Therapeutic Method*, was separated into two parts, the first consisting of six treatises, and the second comprising eight treatises. Hunayn comments that Serjius' translation of the first part was inferior to the second part,

since he had received further training before translating part two. Moreover, Hunayn was equally critical of contemporaneous translators such as Ibn Sahda from Karkh (a district in Baghdad), who had produced a defective translation of Galen's *Sects*, and Ayyub al-Ruhawi (Job of Edessa), whom he regularly critiqued (Saliba 1996: 23–24; Pormann 2004: 114–115; Vagelpohl 2008: 30; Vagelpohl 2012: 127–128; Osman 2012: 173; Lamoreaux 2016: 10–11, 36–37).

As discussed previously, one of the key features of the 'Abbasid Golden Age was caliphal patronage, but when examining Hunayn's extant works they do not appear to have been produced at the behest of a caliph (Saliba 1996: 26). Nevertheless, patronage was a salient motif in the life of Hunayn, and one may suggest that, to a large degree, it drove not only his productivity but also the nature of his translations. It is interesting that, when undertaking a translation for a patron, Hunayn would take into consideration the personality of his audience. For example, having reconciled with his teacher, Yuhanna b. Masawayh, he translated *The [Anatomy of] Bones* for him, ensuring that the language of the target text was clear and fluent, as this was the penchant of Ibn Masawayh. For another patron, Salmawayh b. Bunan, Hunayn translated *The Pulse*, and was extremely careful to ensure the precision of the target text because he knew that Salmawayh was highly intelligent and well read. Similarly, Hunayn was diligent and meticulous in his rendering of *The Elements According to Hippocrates* into Syriac for Bukhtishu' b. Jibra'il, as he was a caliphal physician (Saliba 1996: 22; Osman 2012: 172; Overwien 2012: 166–167; Olsson 2016: 41–42; Cooper 2016: 4; van Dalen 2017: 65–77; Lamoreaux 2016: 14–19, 20–23).

To give just a sample of Hunayn's productivity and versatility, we can summarize some of the details he gives in the early part of his treatise regarding his translation activities and his interaction with patrons in Table 5.1 (Lamoreaux 2016: 8–38):

A cursory glance at the information provided above indicates that Hunayn seems to have shared his time for translation activity between producing Syriac target texts for the Christian medical community, and Arabic equivalents, primarily for members of the Banu Musa family.

On examining Hunayn's corpus of translations, one is struck by the fact that he not only engages in what we commonly refer to as 'translation', but rather provides considerable commentary, which often adds explanatory details but on occasion even corrects the source text. For example, when translating the *Hippocratic Oath* into Syriac, he added explicatory glosses on what he considered the difficult sections of the source text, and it was this summative edition that was consequently translated into Arabic by his nephew Hubaysh and his student 'Isa b. Yahya. When translating *The Opinions of Hippocrates and Plato* into Syriac, Hunayn added an entire chapter to the source text as an apologia for Galen's opinions cited in the seventh chapter, and it was this supplemented target text that was translated into Arabic by

Table 5.1. A summary of Hunayn b. Ishaq's translatorial activity

Source Text [Galen's Corpus]	*Language*	*Patron*
The Catalogue (Gr. *Pinax*)	Syriac	Da'ud [A practising doctor]
	Arabic	Muhammad b. Musa
The Order of His Books	Arabic	Ahmad b. Musa
The Sects	Syriac	Sabrisho' b. Qutrub [at the age of 20]
	Arabic	Hubaysh [at the age of 40]
		Muhammad b. Musa
The Art of Medicine	Syriac	Da'ud
	Arabic	Muhammad b. Musa
The Pulse, To Teuthras	Syriac	Salmawayh b. Bunan
To Glaucon	Arabic	Muhammad b. Musa
Therapy		
The [Anatomy of] the Bones	Syriac	Yuhanna b. Masawayh
	Arabic	Muhammad b. Musa
The [Anatomy of the] Muscles	Syriac	Yuhanna b. Masawayh
The [Anatomy of the] Nerves		
The [Anatomy of the] Veins and Arteries	Syriac	Yuhanna b. Masawayh
	Arabic	Muhammad b. Musa
The Elements According to Hippocrates	Syriac	Bukhtishu' b. Jibra'il
	Arabic	'Ali b. Yahya al-Munajjim
Mixtures	Syriac	Bukhtishu' b. Jibra'il [?]
	Arabic	Ishaq b. Sulayman
Faculties	Syriac	Jibra'il b. Bukhtishu'
	Arabic	Ishaq b. Sulayman
The Extended Book on the Pulse	Syriac	Yuhanna b. Masawayh
	Arabic	Muhammad b. Musa [Volume One only]
Categories of Fever	Syriac	Jibra'il b. Bukhtishu'
	Arabic	'Ali b. Yahya al-Munajjim
Therapeutic Method	Syriac	Bukhtishu' b. Jibra'il
	Arabic	Muhammad b. Musa [As an editor]

Hubaysh for Muhammad b. Musa (Saliba 1996: 24–25; Osman 2012: 171–172; Vagelpohl 2012: 143–145; Overwien 2012: 152; Overwien 2015: 179–185; Cooper 2016: 10–12; Lamoreaux 2016: 60–61; Olsson 2016: 42). Thus, we can see that for Hunayn, translation was not merely the accurate rendering of a source text into a target language, but rather the genesis of an intellectual tradition and a genuine contribution to knowledge, driven by research, patronage and, indeed, necessity.

Given Hunayn's translatorial habitus and the linguistic diversity of the languages with which he was engaged, it is little surprise that he was faced with distinct challenges. On occasion Hunayn would solve such challenges by Arabizing a word of the source language, transliterating it to a more Arabic-sounding term and thus, introduce it to the vernacular of Arabic medical discourse. This can be seen in Hippocrates's *Regimen in Acute Diseases*, where Hunayn translates: τὴν ἐν τῷ ἀγκῶνι φλέβα τὴν εἴϲω ('the inner vein at the

elbow') as: العرق المسمى الباسليق ('the vein that is referred to as the *basilic* vein'). Consequently, Hunayn utilizes the common medical terminology of the day that was familiar to practising physicians but simultaneously introduces it to the Arabic target text (Overwien 2012: 156–157; Cooper 2016: 12–23). On other occasions Hunayn employs what is commonly referred to as *hendiadys* – a word of Greek origin implying 'one through two' – to use two Arabic words (primarily adjectives) to fulfil the meaning of one Greek word. A good example is from Galen's *Critical Days*, where he describes the effect of the heavenly bodies in maintaining order upon a chaotic Earth, and Hunayn translates καλός ('good'/'beautiful') as حسن جميل ('good and beautiful') to convey the meaning comprehensively and unambiguously in the target language (Cooper 2016: 8–10; Overwien 2012: 153).

Perhaps one of the most challenging features of translating the Greek patrimony was how to represent references to the pantheon of Greek deities to an audience of Christian coreligionists and Muslim patrons. In this regard Hunayn both utilized his knowledge of Hellenistic culture and accommodated his target audience's religious sensibilities. For example, in the *Commentary on Hippocrates'* '*Epidemics*', the Greek phrase: πέμπουσί γε πολλάκις εἰς θεοὺς περὶ τῆς ἰάσεως αὐτῶν πυνθανόμενοι ('they often send to the gods to enquire about treatment') was translated by Hunayn as: يلجؤون كثيرا في شفائهم منه إلى الله ('they often turn to God [*Allah*] regarding their cure'). Another example is observed in the *Hippocratic Oath*, where we find: Ὄμνυμι Ἀπόλλωνα ἰητρόν καὶ Ἀσκληπιὸν καὶ Ὑγείαν καὶ Πανάκειαν καὶ θεοὺς πάντας τε καὶ πάσας ('I swear by Apollo Physician, by Asclepius, by Hygieia, by Panacea and by all the gods and goddesses'), which is rendered by Hunayn as: إني أقسم بالله رب الحياة و الموت و واهب الصحة و أقسم بأسقلبيبوس و خالق الشفاء و كل علاج وأقسم بأولياء الله من الرجال و النساء جميعا .. ('Indeed, I swear by God, the Lord of life and death, Who bestows health, and I swear by Asclepius, and by the Creator of cures and every treatment, and I swear by all of the spiritual elect, whether they be male or female'). It is interesting here to note that although various Greek deities are marginalized, Asclepius is retained in the target text, but this can perhaps be explained by the fact that Hunayn seems to have viewed him as an inspired individual, due to his self-mortification and consequent spiritual elevation, rather than his demi-god status in Greek mythology. Moreover, in the *Commentary on Hippocrates's Epidemics* we find that the titan Atlas is transformed by Hunayn into an angel: εἰ δόξειε τῷ Ἄτλαντι κάμνοντι μηκέτι βαστάζειν τὸν οὐρανόν ('if Atlas were to decide no longer to carry the sky because he is tired') is translated as: يتفكر و ينظر ما الذي يعرض إن برى الملك الذي قد يزعم الشعراء أنه يحمل السماء و يسمونه أطلس ('he reflects and considers what would happen if the angel [*al-malak*] called Atlas, who the poets claim carries the heavens, became exhausted') (Strohmaier, 2012: 171–179; Vagelpohl 2012: 145; Cooper 2016: 23–26). In terms of modern translation studies, we may regard Hunayn's deliberate 'mistranslations' as somewhat of a failure, yet he was certainly challenged by the lack of equivalence in the target culture

and attempted to contextualize the source text for his audience, perhaps in an attempt to keep their focus on the medical content rather than have their attention diverted by theological concerns.

One may expect that given Hunayn's considerable contribution and respected status that he lived a fruitful and happy life, but this was not always the case. In an autobiographical tract recorded by Ibn Abi Usaybi'a (d. 1270), we find that Hunayn was the subject of trials and tribulations that befell him in his position, as the prime translator of his age. We find that he often suffered at the hands of his contemporaries, who questioned his medical acumen, suggesting that he was a mere theoretician and not a physician of practical medicine. Moreover, they plotted to disgrace him in front of the caliph, so that they in turn could benefit from his fall from grace. Regarding these events, he mentions that the situation caused him to fall into a form of depression and that he even contemplated suicide (Cooperson 2001: 107–118). Therefore, we can observe that although Hunayn certainly benefitted from the environment he lived in and, in turn, enriched his intellectual milieu with his contribution, the culture of patronage and the large sums of money involved, which were emblematic of the 'Abbasid Golden Age, were equally divisive because of the competition they produced.

The figure of Hunayn is clearly important historically and portrays a great deal regarding the Translation Movement and the 'Abbasid Golden Age, but at the same time, he continues to resonate with contemporary translation studies. In terms of discourse, Hunayn's main focus was the genre of medical literature. In terms of text type, he worked on informative texts with a clear pedagogical and research purport (Paltridge 2006: 98–99; Munday 2008: 72–74). Given this context, one is naturally drawn to make mention of translation theories that explore text function, such as translatorial action and *skopos* theory (Munday 2008: 77–81), that would perhaps be useful in examining Hunayn's method. At the same time, however, when examining Hunayn's translational process and his multilingual approach, one also recalls the notion of translating as rewriting, which was presented by Lefevere – albeit in a literary setting – because of the elements of 'internal professionals' and 'external patronage', which his discussion proposes, and which were also leitmotifs in the life of Hunayn (Munday 2008: 125–128). As observed earlier, the challenge for Hunayn was that he was translating texts that were historically distant, culturally different, and often via a language intermediary, namely Syriac. Consequently, Hunayn was challenged by a unique 'discourse' reminiscent of the pioneering work of Hatim and Mason, who defined discourse in its widest sense (Hatim and Mason 1997: 216). Given the linguistic diversity and context of Hunayn's work, one would also perhaps be reminded of the importance of cultural agendas in translation, pioneered by Venuti and, in particular, the issues of the 'invisibility' of the translator and especially the notions of 'domestication' and 'foreignization' of the target text (Munday 2008: 143–146), examples of which can be observed in Hunayn's

translation methodology. Thus, although Hunayn's translation activity took place over a millennium ago, we can identify in his works similar challenges to those faced by translation practitioners today and scholars of translation studies in the modern academy.

Tracing Arabic intellectual discourse in history: challenges and trajectories

From the brief and summarized discussion above it is hoped that it will have become clear that the role of translation in the development of Islamic intellectualism and Arabic discourse is a complex and yet intriguing subject. At the same time, however, the challenges of such a study are multifarious. To begin with, we are dealing with numerous historical documents that in many cases are in manuscript form. Apart from the tricky task of ensuring correct attribution of authorship, we are confronted by the process of collating and comparing versions of the texts before we can even begin deciphering their contents and interpreting their purport. This would be difficult enough without the linguistic component, which incorporates the Semitic languages of Syriac and Arabic, in addition to Greek as a language of antiquity, and the Iranian language of Middle Persian or Pahlavi, which may also be supplemented by Sanskrit. From a historical perspective, this field of enquiry would evidently necessitate a knowledge of Islamic history, but it would not be complete without some familiarity with the Graeco–Roman world, Sassanid Iran, and the Byzantine Empire. Religious studies would not be exempted either, given that the primary focus is naturally Islam, but Judaism and Eastern or Oriental Christianities are also vital components (Vagelpohl 2008: 1–9; Vagelpohl 2012: 131). One will note that we have not even begun to discuss translation studies!

To find an individual with such a rounded knowledge of history and culture, and who was necessarily multilingual may seem an impossible task (Hatim 2015). This challenge has been discussed by van Bladel (2015: 316–325) who deliberates the challenges of training future students to be equipped to take on Graeco–Arabic Studies in the context of Near Eastern Studies. Yet, at the same time, although academicians are encouraged to be multidisciplinary, the nature of the academy has been to produce individuals with a deep knowledge of a 'field of specialism'. In some respect, this has led to a form of isolationism in academia, where colleagues in the same department may not have anything directly in common, let alone with fellow researchers in their shared institutionalized context. It is noteworthy that in many ways this is in sharp contrast with the 'translators' who were the subject of this chapter; it was noted that in Baghdad they were in most cases multilingual and polymathic.

At this point one may be inclined to submit and surrender to the enormity of the task, but at the same the corpus of studies produced by pioneering

scholars such as Gutas and Rashed has been added to by a new generation of researchers exemplified by Cooper, Overwien, Vagelpohl, van Bladel, and van Dalen, among others. These contributions should be encouragement enough that this area of study is not only valuable but, indeed, one that can be negotiated successfully. Moreover, the studies regarding the Translation Movement have been further advanced by modern technologies and by utilizing contemporary corpora studies, which has been enhanced by the development of a digital corpus for Graeco–Arabic Studies by the Mellon Foundation, Harvard University, and Tufts University (Vagelpohl 2012: 147–149). Therefore, to build on the work of the aforementioned scholars, it is surely necessary to genuinely incorporate translation studies as an integrated field within an authentic multidisciplinary and collaborative approach, one which revives the spirit of the illusive 'House of Wisdom'.

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Chapter 6

A toolbox for critical translation analysis in specialized discourse (English/Spanish)

Ovidi Carbonell Cortés

Introduction

One of the most important aspects of specialized discourse is its dependence on translation. There is a decisive *global* drive in the creation of specialized contents that apply to universal audiences.[1] The focus of this chapter is the creation and translation of scientific and technical texts; in these texts, there is the assumption – or at least the ideal – that what is told remains stable, constant, and readily verifiable. However, what is *told* is done so through discursive practices that organize and represent reality. Although this organization/representation is assumed to be ideally valid for all audiences, there are reasons to doubt that this is the case. Scientific and technical writing is an exercise of power: it is a mechanism by which arguments are shared and made to be accepted; its acceptance entails the ascertainment of facts and the subsequent acquisition of status on the part of the party advancing them. Acceptance is achieved through a process that is cognitive and social to a great extent; in this sense, we agree with Hyland's (2000: 17) statement that disciplinary discourses amount to 'an authorized understanding of the world (and how it can be perceived and reported) which acts to reinforce the theoretical convictions of the discipline and its right to validate knowledge'. That this validation is done across languages and cultures is only partially acknowledged; there is a noticeable lack of references to translation in the most relevant approaches to professional genre analysis or even contrastive rhetoric, although the opposite is true in TS approaches to specialized genres[2]; García-Izquierdo and Monzó underline the role of translation in the shaping of a disciplinary community through discursive means (2003: 35). Gradually, linguistic theories and methodologies are becoming central in cross-disciplinary, integrated approaches that are characterized by critical awareness, a focus on social interaction, and the use of corpora as a key research tool.[3]

Dennis K. Mumby's analysis of organizational storytelling describes how ideology is embedded in narrative through four ways:

(a) Through representing sectional interests as universal;
(b) By obscuring or transforming structural contradictions;

(c) Through the process of reification (making human constructions seem natural and objective);
(d) As a means of control, or hegemony. (Mumby and Clair 1997: 187–188)

This applies clearly to scientific and technical discourse. Specialized argumentation relies on universality as a prime condition of factual discourse; the discourse of science aims at neutralizing, minimizing or altogether erasing the possible contradictions that might prevent the acceptance of arguments; complex phenomena and the human point of view are disguised in nominalizations; and, finally, science and technology are ways to control the world and position the author-as-scientist/technician.

Both the earliest and the most recent approaches in discourse analysis, genre analysis, contrastive rhetoric and translation studies applied to specialized language raise awareness about how scientific and technical writing is a social practice or social action (Miller 1984; Bazerman 1988; Mumby 1993; Bhatia 1993) that *constructs* its object of study (Potter 1996), uses rhetorical conventions to *persuade* readers (Bazerman 1990; Parodi 2010b: 86), creates a *marketized commodity* (Pérez-Llantada 2012: 9) and *positions* its author among peers and the disciplinary community. The use of argumentative resources is key to transmit factual knowledge convincingly, striking a balance between certain and uncertain, provisional and confirmed data, and establish a dialogic, intertextual relationship with the audience and their shared knowledge:

> Scientific discourse has been broadly described as an objective, factual discourse, always dependent on evidence. However, while the informative load occupies the largest part of its textual (either written or spoken) space, persuasive elements targeted at achieving credibility, recognition and the acceptance of the new knowledge claims seep into the discourse. (Pérez-Llantada 2012: 47)

My aim in this chapter is to provide a guide to some aspects that reveal how universality and objectivity are created and transmitted through discourse, including of course translated discourse, through syntactic and narrative devices – and how these devices have an ideological dimension. Beyond the scope of the present chapter remain other key lexical issues such as terminology and metaphor, or the role of topoi and other argumentative resources (Carbonell 2014).

The study of translation and ideology seemed at the beginning to be restricted to, or at least primarily a matter of, certain genres and types of texts whose contents were likely to be modified to suit particular agendas (sociopolitical texts, media translation, and so on). Issues of identity, subjectivity, and cultural representation were the subject of a number of remarkable essays that have shaped what may be termed the critical turn of TS, or *critical translation*. However, there is no genre in which ideologies, or current

beliefs and representations, do not leave an imprint on both original texts and their translations. Recently, the term 'ideology' has been losing currency, giving ground instead to other concepts and terms such as *intervention*, *stance*, *positioning*, and more specific dimensions of argumentative construction such as *evaluation* or *appraisal*, as we shall see. Academic and professional genres do partake of these practices, and indeed specialized fields such as those of science and technology make active use of them in order to make their discourse attractive, cogent, peer- and institutionally supported, and therefore marketable.

We could, therefore, adapt the much-quoted statement by Susan Bassnett and André Lefevere (1990) , acknowledging the fact that 'all rewritings, whatever their intention, reflect a certain ideology and a poetics and as such manipulate *literature* to function in a given society in a given way', to expand its scope to *all literatures*, including, of course, specialized texts.

I shall use 'scientific discourse' as a generic term to encompass all instances of texts whose field of discourse is explicitly or implicitly directed to the description of or engagement with empirical reality, including expert and non-expert audiences alike. Therefore, this term subsumes technical discourse in empirical domains, as well as popularizing essays that aim to make scientific contents accessible to a more varied audience.

Some basic discursive concepts in scientific-technical texts

Transitivity

Transitivity is a key dimension of discourse. Grammatically, it refers to the property of verbs to take on objects, and to the verbal category called 'voice' (active/passive) (Halliday 1967); from a discursive point of view, it expresses how participants are involved in the processes narrated in discourse (de Beaugrande 1997: 200). According to de Beaugrande, 'the Active is the least marked category in English, assigning the position of Clause Subject to the Initiator or Agent…whereas the Passive assigns that position to the Affected Entity' (ibid.). Transitivity expresses how participants act or take part in processes. In this sense, it is essential both in stating **agency** (who does what) and establishing **causal relations** in stories (Trabasso, van den Broek and Suh 1989). In functional-systemic grammar, these are aspects of the **ideational macrofunction**, which codifies the participants' experience. In this sense, scholars such as Fowler (Fowler et al. 1979; Fowler 1991) or Fairclough (1989) have pointed out the role of transitivity in constructing ideology in discourse.

As regards translation studies (TS), it was work by Basil Hatim and Ian Mason that first drew attention to the implications of transitivity choices in translation (Hatim and Mason 1990, 1997; Hatim and Munday 2005; Hatim 2012). Such choices, 'among other things, can clarify or camouflage who is

affected by what', for example, through devices such as nominalization or passivization (Hatim 2012: 238). Take, as an example, the following sentence:

> Our findings suggest that FFR is a potentially useful indicator of the likelihood of cardiac events.

Two different processes may be identified here, a **relational process** and an **existential process,** in two embedded propositions:

(a) Relational process:

Our findings	suggest	that FFR is a potentially useful indicator…
ACTOR	PROCESS	VALUE

(b) Existential process:

Our findings suggest that FFR	is	a potentially useful indicator…
ACTOR	PROCESS	EXISTENT

Transitivity expresses various semantic roles: the actor or agent, and the affected participant (as patient, beneficiary, experiencer, receiver, theme, instrument, and so on.).

Passivization

Passivization is a syntactic device by which the agent in a statement is eluded or altogether suppressed. In scientific and technical discourse, passivization would reflect the tendency to erase the agent of an assertion or, at least, to conceal its identity (Lewin 1998: 101, as cited in Alcaraz 2000: 26). In the following statement:

> Between 1980 and 2005 a second, priceless set of data were collected.

no information is given as to the identity of those who collected the data, their **authority** or their process. In English research texts, it is usual to use the passive voice when data are explained. Concealing or deleting the identity of the agent emphasizes the **effect** or **result** of the action, obviously more relevant than the action's agent.

In this sense, passivization implies or assumes the concept of the **universality of science**. Any theory, belief or claim finds its scientific validity weakened when attributed to a human author or agent. Passivization is, therefore, a most important grammar device to erase the agent's identity or to fade it into the background (Myers 1996: 4), through what is known as **authorial detachment** (on this subject, see Pérez-Llantada 2011: 28). This grammatical

resource is another persuasive strategy aimed at underlining objectivity in discourse, according to Pérez-Llantada (2012: 66).

This erasure of the agent may be due to various reasons. From an ideological point of view, it may be of interest to conceal or minimize who is responsible for the action. In scientific discourse, which focuses on processes, agency choices need to be carefully calibrated to account for nuances as regards the involvement of researchers as actors and therefore their control over the process. Take the following sentences:

(a) The most stable conformation is called B-form DNA, although other structures can occur under specific conditions.
(b) Many such translocation-associated oncogenes have been described in human cancers.
(c) In a blockmodel actors are assigned to positions and network relations are presented among positions, rather than among actors.

Examples (a) and (b) are related to the biologists' consensus in *naming* a particular phenomenon. Example (c) alludes to the social scientists' *methodological* consensus. When translating these texts into languages other than English, several choices may be implemented, depending on usage. Spanish, for example, resorts to reflexive-passive, impersonal passive (with intransitive or copulative verbs, an ungrammatical construction in English [Castillo-Orihuela 2010]), active or active periphrastic constructions, where English would normally use a passive sentence:

(a)	A la configuración más estable se le llama ADN-B… La configuración más estable recibe el nombre de ADN-B… La configuración más estable se conoce como ADN-B…
(b)	Se han descrito muchos oncogenes similarmente asociados a translocaciones. Los cánceres humanos presentan muchos oncogenes similares asociados a translocaciones. En la literatura abundan casos de oncogenes también asociados a translocaciones.
(c)	En un modelo de bloque los actores se asignan a las posiciones, mientras que las relaciones reticulares se presentan entre posiciones, no entre actores. A menudo estas representaciones adoptan la forma de un modelo de bloque, en el que a los actores se les asignan posiciones y las relaciones de la red se presentan entre posiciones, en lugar de entre actores. En un modelo de bloque se les asignan unas posiciones a los actores y dentro de una red las relaciones se presentan entre estas posiciones, en lugar de hacerlo entre los actores.

The rules governing these 'shifts' are far from transparent. Only a thorough corpus-based analysis would confirm what is largely a hypothetical general preference for one type over another. It has been claimed that Spanish, being

an 'agent-oriented language', 'has preference for active clauses which are used more frequently than passive ones' (Kozera 2013: 52).

Ergative verbs, which do not require the expression of an agent to present a given process, constitute another passivization resource (Alcaraz 2000: 28):

> When 0.793 g of the compound was dissolved in 14.80 mL of chloroform (density = 1.485 g/mL), the solution **boiled** at 60.63 °C.[4]
>
> Once the wire **broke**, the motor assembly and the slip-ring transducer would register the resistance of just the wire against the sand.
>
> (Kuester and Chang 2015: 1293)

Nominalization

Like passivization, nominalization also conceals the agent that is responsible for the action or process (actor in material processes, experiencer in mental processes, addresser in verbal processes). The whole process is here reduced to a noun; that is, what could be narrated in a whole clause is conveyed by a single word:

> automation – integration – differentiation – elasticity – toxicity – density

In English, nominalization is carried out through a mere functional change by which the verb is converted into a noun, or through **derivation** processes with suffixation, especially in words of Latin origin (suffixes such as *-al*, *-ing*, *-ism*, *-ment*, *-sion*, *-tion*, *-ure*, and so on.).

As Alcaraz (2000: 28) states, 'nominalisation is a common resource in scientific and technical texts and its aim is to present in a synthesised form the whole process previously described by means of a long verbal clause. Therefore, a verb which signifies a *process* may be converted into a noun expressing a *state*, and a concrete activity may be converted into an *abstract object*'.[5] One of the most important consequences of nominalization, therefore, is the **reification** of the event narrated. This resource is used both in technical English and in technical Spanish (Méndez García de Paredes 2003: 1024), but further contrastive studies are needed.

Modality

Modality expresses the relationship of the narrator (or textual author) with what is expressed in the narrated text. In scientific-technical discourse, modality generally refers to the **veracity** of the given information – to its degree of **certainty** or **reliability**.

Modality is essential for the *scientificity* or *scientific character* of a given discourse, for the trustworthiness of reported information, or caution in data

handling. For Alcaraz (2000: 66), this corresponds to the **approximate exposition** (*exposición aproximativa*), the caution by which scientific discoveries need to be expounded as a result of what we may call ethical consensus. It is, therefore, an aspect of the wider concept of **hedging** (Brown and Levinson 1978; Myers 1989; Hatim and Mason 1997: 81; Hyland 1998): this is an epistemological aspect that limits the authors' knowledge claims, a pragmatic aspect that regulates the author's commitment to or detachment from claims (and hence helps construct their authority and community status), and a textual feature stemming from the use of specific markers.

> Modality, indicated by expressions such as *may, must* and *possibly*, is a central feature when analysing language use, as modal expressions are means of conveying the speaker's attitude concerning, for example, the acceptability of an event or the certainty of knowledge. Modal expressions are related to the interpersonal level of language, and they may reflect the roles of the participants. In written language, modal expressions can be used to show politeness toward the reader and to indicate that the writer allows the reader to disagree. Modal expressions are of interest when studying language used for specific purposes or when teaching academic writing, as their use may reflect the conventions of disciplinary genres.
>
> (Vihla 1999: 1)

Let us take two texts by way of example. Both are taken from the same source, a very famous earth science article on mass extinctions published in 1992 (Wignall 1992):

(a) Around 250 million years ago a terrible calamity **overtook** life on Earth. Up to 96 per cent of all species **became extinct**, not overnight, but in a geologically brief span of time, maybe a few hundred thousand years. **According to even the most conservative calculations**, three-quarters of species **disappeared** at this time. Nothing like it **has happened** before or since. Palaeontologists have long been aware of this event, for **it has left** a strong imprint.

(b) The only feasible source of such a swing is the oxidation of a lot of coal and black shales, returning carbon-12 to the surface of the Earth and atmosphere. This is where **the large fall in sea levels enters the story**. A significant drop in sea levels would expose large areas of land, once underwater as the continental shelves, to erosion and oxidation. And oxidising organic matter **increases** the carbon dioxide in the atmosphere at the expense of oxygen. So much organic matter appears to have been oxidised in the last years of the Permian period that the oxygen levels in the atmosphere may have declined substantially. Calculations suggest that there may have been as little as half the present-day level of oxygen. This

> latest scenario could explain the **extinction of the terrestrial vertebrates**; active tetrapods need a high level of oxygen which the latest Permian atmosphere may not have been able to supply.

While paragraph (a) is narrating a known, attested fact, paragraph (b) is speculating with as yet unconfirmed causes and effects, therefore presenting **hedges** that mitigate the author's statements, thus increasing accuracy by making the statement conform better with the writer's present state of knowledge (Vihla 1999: 96).

Epistemic modality

Although some other types can be identified, there are two basic types of modality: **epistemic modality** and **deontic modality**. Epistemic modality is related to knowledge and the degree of certainty. It ranges, from impossible to certain:

> Impossible – Unlikely – Possible – Probable – Certain

Epistemic modality in English scientific prose is expressed through various means, the most common being:

- Modal auxiliary verbs *(may, must)*
- Adverbs (*perhaps, maybe, probably, likely, possibly, certainly*)
- Adjectival phrases that constitute epistemic expressions (*it is possible that, to some extent, to our knowledge*)
- Epistemic lexical verbs (*assume, suppose, suggest, believe, establish*)

These express various *degrees of commitment* (Vihla 1999: 21–22). As an example, the following sentence presents a high degree of probability, closer to 'certain' than to 'probable' in the modality range:

> Unlike the Cretaceous–Tertiary extinction, which **was most likely triggered** by the bolide impact that formed the Chicxulub impact crater, no major impact event has been generally accepted as the cause of the end-Permian mass extinction.
>
> (Farley et al. 2005)

Students who translated this text into Spanish as a classroom exercise (2015) presented the following options, ordered according to degrees of epistemic certainty. I have identified 12 different degrees between possibility and absolute certainty, nuanced by Spanish-language resources such as the use of the subjunctive (which adds a degree of uncertainty) or phraseology (*casi a todas luces* 'clearly'):

0	**desencadenada debido al** impacto	due to
0	que **fue causada por** el impacto	caused by
0	que **se desencadenó por** el impacto de un meteorito	caused by
0	sí **se ha determinado**, en cambio, que la causa…**fue** el impacto	the cause was
1	provocada **seguramente** por el impacto	surely
1	que **seguramente** desencadenó el impacto	surely
2	que **seguramente estuviera** provocada por el impacto	surely
3	que fue **más bien** provocada por el impacto	rather
4	que **con toda probabilidad** fue causada por el meteorito cuyo impacto	with all likelihood
5	**cuya causa más probable es** el impacto	its most probable cause
5	que **con más probabilidad** fue desencadenada por el impacto	with more likelihood
5	que **lo más probable es que fuera** desencadenada por el impacto	most probable + SUBJ
6	**muy probablemente, fue provocada por** el bólido	very likely
6	provocada **muy probablemente** por la colisión	very likely
6	que fue desencadenada **muy probablemente por** el impacto	very likely
6	que **fue muy probablemente** provocada por el impacto	very likely
6	que **muy probablemente** fue causada por la colisión	very likely
6	que **muy probablemente** se desencadenó tras la colisión	very likely
6	que **se produjo casi a todas luces** debido al impacto	almost clearly
7	cuya principal causa **muy probablemente fuera** el impacto	very likely + SUBJ
8	cuyo desencadenante **fue probablemente** el impacto	likely – probably
8	desencadenada **probablemente** por un bólido	likely – probably
8	**fue probablemente** desencadenada por el impacto	likely – probably
8	que **probablemente** fue causada por el impacto	likely – probably
8	que se desencadenó **probablemente** por la colisión	likely – probably
9	que **probablemente fuera** desencadenada por la colisión	likely – probably + SUBJ
9	que **probablemente fuera** provocada por el impacto	likely – probably + SUBJ
10	**es muy posible que** se produjera por un fuerte impacto	very possibly
11	que **posiblemente** fue provocada por el impacto	possibly

We may further classify these modal options according to a cline of their general epistemic idea:

0 – **Absence of modality**
1 – **Certainty**
  1.1. (1) Certainty (*surely*)
  1.2. (2) Certainty attenuated by the use of the subjunctive form of the verb
  1.3. (3) Qualified certainty (*rather*)

2 – **Probability**
  2.1. (4) Absolute probability (*with all likelihood*)
  2.2. (5) Highest degree probability (*most probable*)
  2.3. (6) High degree probability (*very likely*)
  2.4. (7) High degree probability attenuated by the use of the subjunctive
  2.4. (8) Probability (*likely – probably*)
  2.5. (9) Probability attenuated by the use of the subjunctive
3 – **Possibility**
  3.1. (10) High degree possibility (*very possibly*)
  3.2. (11) Possibility (*possibly*)

Epistemic modality is a constant source of translation problems. These seem to arise from a faulty decoding of epistemic modal markers, or a hasty selection of similar markers from the target-language repertoire on the part of the translator. In this particular translation case, absence of modality or certainty options constitute serious mistakes. In fact, the novel scientific-technical translator must be wary that removing modality or conveying certainty are more the exception than the rule, for the scientific method always leaves room for a further revision in the light of new evidence, which may imply discarding previous assumptions.

Evidentiality

A very important dimension of epistemic modality is the **evidentiality** of given information (Chafe 1986; Vihla 1999): in what ways is this contrastable information, what authority backs it, and so forth. While epistemic modality in general provides information about the *degree of certainty*, evidentiality provides information about the *source* of knowledge.

Going back to our previous example text, the two paragraphs that follow provide very different qualifications as regards the evidentiality of sources (Wignall 1992: 54):

(a) *Steve Stanley of the Johns Hopkins University in Baltimore, Maryland, has put forward a different theory* – that the mass extinction is related to a glacial period. The greatest ecological diversities come about in warm tropical climates, but when glaciation is at a peak, these areas contract and diversity falls. *Unfortunately for Stanley's proposition, however*, there is only weak evidence of glaciation at the time of the boundary, and a major glaciation ended in middle Permian times.
(b) *A few years ago, a fourth theory was aired, albeit briefly, by several Chinese geologists*. If a meteorite impact annihilated the dinosaurs at the end of the Cretaceous period, the argument went, a similar event could have created the Permian-Triassic boundary. *To date there is no evidence to support this theory*.

Similarly, there is also room for translation inadequacies when evidentiality is not properly accounted for:

> The eruption of the Siberian Traps flood basalts **has been invoked as a trigger** for the catastrophic end-Permian mass extinction.
>
> *La erupción de los traps siberianos* *****fue el detonante*** *de la extinción masiva que tuvo lugar a finales del período Pérmico.*
>
> [the eruption of the Siberian traps ****was the trigger** for the massive extinction which took place in the late Permian period]

Appraisal, stance, evaluation

It must be noted that evidentiality is closely related to (or even synonymous with, cf. Munday 2012: 20) the concept of **appraisal**. Appraisal theory (Martin 2000; Martin and White 2005) has recently been developed to account for a 'system of meanings' available to the speaker/writer and that may be used to 'approve and disapprove, enthuse and abhor, applaud and criticize, and… position their reader/listeners to do likewise' (Martin and White 2005: 42; Hunston 2010: 11). Its application to TS by Munday 2012 has been a *tour de force* that appears to have inaugurated a promising scholarly trend. However, it is also common to refer to this dimension under other terms such as **stance** (Conrad and Biber 2000) or **evaluation** (Hunston and Thompson 2000; Thompson and Alba-Juez 2014), especially in LSP literature. (On evaluation in scientific discourse, see the pioneering studies by Hunston (1993), Hunston (2010), Degaetano and Teich (2014), among others.) Obviously, the expression of epistemic modality is closely linked to authorial evidences (evidentiality) and involves the author's evaluation of them. Gil-Salom and Soler-Monreal (2010) explore appraisal resources in a corpus of scientific research articles, finding variation across fields and paper sections in terms of attitudinal adjectives of appreciation, intensifying adverbs, certainty adjectives and epistemic expressions in pragmatic moves such as evaluating results, recommending further research or drawing implications.

How appraisal devices are culturally determined remains largely unexplored. Contrastive studies on evaluative expressions across languages are Mauranen and Bondi (2003), Suárez Tejerina (2006). See Martín-Martín (2005) for a contrastive study of hedging in scientific abstracts in English and Spanish, and Oliver (2015) for a review of hedging devices in academic Spanish.

Deontic modality

Deontic modality or *obligation* is related to **behaviour** and includes prescriptive expressions (what *can* be done, what *cannot* be done, what *should* be done). It too ranges, from forbidden to obligatory:

Forbidden – Inadvisable – Indifferent – Permitted – Obligatory

In instructive types of texts this kind of modality plays an essential role:

> Unless serious adverse effects of the drug dictate otherwise, dosage always **should be reduced gradually** when a drug is being discontinued, to minimize the risk of precipitating status epilepticus.
>
> (McNamara, TB)

Deontic modality is generally expressed through:

- Modal auxiliary verbs *(should, must)*
- Adverbs (*obligatorily, compulsorily*)
- Adjectival phrases (*be allowed/ required to; it is obligatory to; it is optional to*)

According to Vihla (1999: 23):

> Deontic expressions indicate whether the speaker regards the action described in the proposition as right or wrong, with reference to a moral, legal or, for example, professional code. They imply the existence of an authority having the power to say what is right or wrong, i.e. 'norm-authority'…. This authority of the speaker over the addressee is a 'felicity condition' for deontic expressions, since if it is lacking, the utterance is not regarded as a valid command, request, or permission.

Formal logic distinguishes other types of modality:

- **Dynamic modality** is related to potentiality or capacity.
- **Alethic modality** is related to the necessity of something taking place.
- **Existential modality** is related to the extent of something existing (from universal to particular, or even non-existence at all).

Generally, the distinction between epistemic and alethic modality is unnecessary in scientific-technical discourse analysis, and both are subsumed under epistemic modality, although some cases may require a finer-grained distinction.

Other classifications of modality that are relevant for scientific and technical writing include **probability** (equivalent to epistemic modality); **usuality** (the frequency of something's occurrence, expressed with adverbial phrases such as *usually, never, tends to*, and so on); **obligation** (equivalent to deontic modality); and **inclination** (expressed with intention verbal forms such as *will, wish, want, determined*, and so on) (Munday 2012: 15).

Corpus analysis has shed light on how structural patterns help define the argumentation and the narrative of research. One of the most telling features of technical and scientific writing from a contrastive perspective is the presence

Table 6.1 Types and degrees of modality according to von Wright (1951)–Vihla (1999)

ALETHIC	*EPISTEMIC*	*DEONTIC*	*EXISTENTIAL*
necessary	verified	obligatory	universal
possible	not falsified	permitted	existing
contingent	undecided	indifferent	particular
impossible	falsified	forbidden	empty

of **lexical bundles** (or lexical *clusters*, in Mike Scott's [2015, version 6] *Wordsmith Tools*). The most frequent combinations of four-word bundles have been explored by Hyland (2008) and Salazar (2014), among others. These authors find evidence of **phraseological units** that play a significant role in structuring the argument, helping to shape meanings in specific contexts and contributing to textual coherence in a text. These often constitute persuasive devices. Some of these bundles perform epistemic or deontic modal functions, reinforce causality (*due to the fact that* and so forth), or mark text-reflexivity (*in the next section*, *the subsequent text*, and so on) marking and framing parts of the text and reinforcing overall coherence (Mauranen 1993: 165; Pérez-Llantada 2012: 91).

Clustering

Long noun phrases are linguistic units that offer enough slots in which to insert attributes (Bhatia 1993: 146; Alcaraz 2000: 31). In scientific-technical discourse, the search for the **expressive precision** of highly complex processes or states leads to the use of linguistic units that bring together a large number of conceptual tokens (Alcaraz 2000: 31).

Alcaraz (2000: 31) distinguishes between **compound words**, which make up a single conceptual unit, and **long noun phrases** (lexical units composed of several words). However, I prefer to group them under the item **nominal composition.** Following Bhatia, I take into account that this distinction may be qualified as Eurocentric and fail to apply to other languages such as Arabic (where compound words are largely absent) or Chinese or Japanese (where compound words are the norm).

The English language forms composites by means of participles, adjectives, adverbs, or nouns with adjectival value that qualify other nouns. Although most visible in technical discourse, it is a characteristic not circumscribed to ESP, and it is possible to find composites that multiply its elements even in general language. I will call this feature **clustering**:

> Ginza is recognized as one of the most luxurious shopping districts in the world. Many *upscale fashion clothing flagship stores* are located here, being also recognized as having the highest concentration of western shops in Tokyo.[6]

Flagship is itself a two-element compound. *Flagship store* forms a **conceptual unit**, which may be translated into Spanish as 'establecimiento emblemático'. *Upscale* is another compound (in Spanish, 'de alto nivel, lujoso, prestigioso'). All in all, *store* is qualified by six elements, thus forming a six-element compound.

The translation of multiple-element compounds into languages that do not articulate nominal composition in such a way is a constant source of difficulties for the translator. The usual determinant *de* ('of') quickly becomes an awkward solution, and it becomes necessary to resort to other strategies to compensate for the relationship between elements, making explicit some of them, or altogether omitting and making implicit some others:

> *Aquí se encuentran muchas* ***de las*** *tiendas* ***de*** *ropa* ***de*** *moda* ***más*** *emblemáticas* ***y*** *lujosas.*
>
> *Aquí se encuentran muchas* ***de las*** *tiendas* ***de*** [ø] *moda* ***más*** *emblemáticas* ***y*** *lujosas*

But the biggest challenge is the **ambiguity** that results from the need for the translator to determine what are the conceptual units at play in a long nominal composition. In scientific and technical fields, the relationship between elements may not be apparent, and the translator needs to apply specialized knowledge or appropriate documentation skills. Consider the following sequence:

> the descriptive algebraic analysis of social models
>
> (Wasserman and Faust 1994: 394)

At face value, this sequence may be analysed into two possible clusters or conceptual units: a *descriptive analysis* that is *algebraic* (*análisis descriptivo algebraico*), or an *algebraic analysis* that is *descriptive* (*análisis algebraico descriptivo*). Sometimes (like here) the order may be irrelevant, or the translation may be undertaken with the mere rule of thumb of inverting the sequential order:

> el análisis algebraico descriptivo de los modelos sociales

However, in some other cases, this ambiguity may be a source of serious translation errors:

> That participation is possible to different degrees refers to different levels of commitment to the platform in terms of time and active task performance.
>
> (Frischmann et al. 2014: 293)

Active task performance may refer, at face value, to the 'performance of active tasks' or an 'active performance of tasks'. The Spanish rules of subject-adjective concordance make it necessary to disambiguate: either *desempeño/realización de tareas activas* or *desempeño activo de tareas*. It is necessary to carry out a documentation task on usual collocations in reference corpora. In this case, any search tool or reference corpus will reveal that *active performance* is the most common collocation *in that particular field* (participation in online communities) and it should, therefore, be the best logical candidate for a conceptual unit.

In other cases, such as the following sentence,

> This initiative combines large and small scale public deliberation processes.
>
> (Hartz-Karp et al. 2012: 189)

the search results in tools such as *Linguee* reveal the ordeal of unexperienced translators who have gone through the same problem. Some translators understood and translated [AB]C [*procesos deliberativos*] *públicos*, while some others opted for A[BC] *procesos de* [*deliberación pública*]. However, a simple Google search presented (10/12/11) 13,400 cases of the cluster 'procesos de deliberación pública' (the most correct translation in this case), but just 60 of the cluster 'procesos deliberativos públicos'.

While in some cases the variation in conceptual units can be optional, in highly specialized texts, it is necessary to break down the clustering sequence into 'nested' units. The following cluster (Wasserman and Faust 1994: 508),

> random directed graph probability distributions

should be analysed as A[B(C{DE})]. Therefore, only the first two of the following translation options are correct:

distribuciones de probabilidad aleatorias de grafos dirigidos	CORRECT
distribuciones de probabilidad de grafos dirigidos aleatorias	CORRECT
distribuciones aleatorias de probabilidades de grafos dirigidos	INCORRECT
distribuciones de probabilidades de grafos dirigidos aleatorios	INCORRECT

In fact, nominal composition as a feature of specialized discourse represents a 'gate-keeping function' that restricts intelligibility to the disciplinary community that possesses sufficient knowledge to disambiguate the relationship between the elements.[7] This is especially relevant in translation practice and translation training.

Paratactic and hypotactic organization

A contrastive feature that calls for corpus analysis confirmation is the supposedly different organization across languages according to their syntactical

hierarchy. Traditional grammar considers two basic types of sentences or clauses regarding their relationship to each other: **coordinate** sentences are juxtaposed without an apparent relationship of dependence, while **subordinate** clauses are nested in a relationship of dependence generally marked by conjunctions. A syntactical organization that favours juxtaposition and coordination is also called a **paratactic** organization, whereas a structure that presents subordination is called a **hypotactic** organization. It has been argued that some languages like French (Vinay and Darbelnet 1958: 229) or Spanish (Vázquez-Ayora 1977: 111–112) prefer hypotaxis over parataxis (Fawcett 1997: 96); however, such preference should be demonstrated with sufficient empirical data from corpus analysis and, in any case, would be contingent on genre and type of text.

Professor Hatim (1977: 162–163) has also drawn attention to these structures, quoting Bauman's observation of the paratactic nature of oral Arabic argumentation. For Hatim (1997: 156–157), this fact established a 'meta-communicative frame' that characterizes languages – not in an essentialist approach, but as 'the capacity of any linguistic system of communication to evolve in a way which responds to and copes with the ways its community of users evolves through time'.

A contrastive corpus analysis of syntactic structures English/Spanish in technical subfields may thus reveal a tendency of Spanish texts to 'evolve' towards more paratactic modes of organization, themselves a product of translational influences, but such analysis is beyond the scope of this chapter. As regards translation proper, a tendency towards parataxis is considered a flaw in specialized translation teaching. As an example, compare the punctuation of these two translations by students:

> But in Permian times a range of organisms lived and fed at a variety of different heights on and above the sea bed. Feeding space was divided into distinct but closely spaced levels that palaeontologists call tiers. The tiers probably arose through intense competition for nourishment in crowded seas. These complex tiered communities had thrived for a hundred million years or more; the mass extinction 251 million years ago eliminated them and changed the nature of the sea floor.
>
> (Wignall 1992)

(a) *Tendency towards parataxis*

Pero en el Pérmico una serie de organismos vivía y se alimentaba a diferentes alturas en el fondo marino y por encima de él. El espacio de alimentación se dividía en zonas diferenciadas pero cercanas que los paleontólogos llaman niveles tróficos. Estos niveles probablemente surgieron debido a la gran competitividad por el alimento que existía en los mares atestados de especies. Estas complejas comunidades niveladas se desarrollaron durante cien millones de años o incluso más, pero la gran

extinción que tuvo lugar hace 251 millones de años las eliminó y alteró así la naturaleza del fondo marino.

(b) *Tendency towards hypotaxis*
Sin embargo, durante el Pérmico Superior, había una gran cantidad de organismos que vivían y se alimentaban a diferentes niveles en el fondo marino y por encima de él. Estas zonas tróficas estaban divididas en franjas bien definidas y adyacentes a las que los paleontólogos han denominado «capas» y, probablemente, se originaron debido a la fuerte competencia por el alimento en unos mares superpoblados. Estas complejas capas tróficas prosperaron durante cien millones de años o incluso más hasta que la extinción masiva del Pérmico-Triásico acabó con ellas y cambió la naturaleza del fondo marino.

Paratactic constructions in Spanish, especially if juxtaposed and separated by full stops, may produce a 'jerky' impression on the reader and the subjective feeling that the discourse is disjointed, and ideas are not properly connected. However, they may be used as a rhetorical device to achieve certain effects.

Many of the syntactic structures reviewed so far are also aimed at providing an idea of **objectivity** in which the action of a human agent is minimized, in which facts appear as definite, unproblematic, and stable entities. It would seem that the English language, heir to the empiricist tradition (Locke, Hume, and so on), is especially adapted to this discursive perspective. Translation scholars such as Vázquez-Ayora point to the fact that the Spanish language seems to have a tendency towards a more active and less factual conceptualization – but again, this would need to be statistically verified.

Theme/rheme

Related to the syntactic organization of discourse, the use of thematization in order to strengthen the authorial viewpoint or the relevance/reliability of the evidence presented has also been subject of inquiry. Differences in thematic/rhematic organization in Spanish and English scientific discourse have been explored by Fernández and Gil-Salom (2000), finding variation across types of text and a range of audiences (specialized, non-specialized). As Pérez-Llantada (2012: 93) points out, 'the comparison across languages indicates that in the L1 Spanish texts arguing grams are embedded within abundant clausal subordination and complementation, hence constructing a digressive argumentative flow'. Pérez-Llantada (2012: 93) assumes a pragmatic-persuasive aim in this hypotactic organization, arguing that 'this cause-effect line of reasoning is a typical face-saving strategy of Spanish academic prose', and it seems to be retained when L1 Spanish authors write in English, acknowledging 'more vulnerability to criticism' and therefore opting for 'less visible intersubjective stances' (2012: 104).

Personification

However factual the phenomena, events, or processes described in scientific-technical discourse, let us not forget that these are communicated through **narrative** devices. According to Alcaraz (2000: 29), **personification** occurs when the results of an action are narrated as if they were the actor or agent themselves, ascribing human qualities to them. Sentences such as:

> These data **show** that…
> The present results **demonstrate** that…
> The second hypothesis **suggests** that…
> These facts **support** the conclusion that…

present a metaphorical personification of the subject (Salazar 2014: 174). This resource highlights the object and conceals the real agent, being generally used with reporting verbs such as *show*, *suggest*, and so on. It is, again, an expression of the author's stance, inasmuch as it places the action in a cline of involvement/detachment. For Salazar, this implies a continuum from personal to impersonal, ranging from active sentences with human subjects at one end of the continuum, to highly impersonal passives with no determined agent (Salazar, Ventura, and Verdaguer 2013: 139; Salazar 2014: 174).

A complex process that has been nominalized may also be personified in a metaphoric construction:

> **Fieldwork** on seahorses in Australia and the Caribbean, and in Sweden on the seahorses' close relations, the pipefishes, **cemented the bond**.[8]

It is noteworthy that, in a classroom exercise, students would either preserve this personification, articulating a basically **factual** narrative

(a) Después, el trabajo de campo sobre los caballitos de mar en Australia y el Caribe, y también en Suecia sobre los peces aguja, sus parientes cercanos, fortalecieron el vínculo.

… or would rather transform it into a more **active** construction expliciting the human agent, or leaving it implicit in a reflexive-passive construction (d):

(b) Después, el trabajo de campo sobre los caballitos de mar en Australia y el Caribe, y también en Suecia sobre los peces aguja hizo que Vincent/la investigadora consolidara/fortaleciera sus vínculos con estos peces/confirmara su pasión por estos peces.
(c) Después, Vincent confirmó su pasión por estos peces tras una serie de trabajos de campo en …
(d) Después, este vínculo se consolidó tras una serie de trabajos de campo en …

Personification as an ideological device is well known among critical linguists. As regards scientific discourse, Myers (1990: 142) distinguished between a *narrative of science* in professional articles and a *narrative of nature* in popularizing articles, 'in which the plant or animal, not the scientific activity, is the subject, the narrative is chronological, and the syntax and vocabulary emphasize the externality of nature to scientific practices'. An example from my own classroom texts is the following, where *Hipericum perforatum* becomes the subject, and hence the agent, of a series of material and behavioural processes, in a particularly negative account of its alleged benefits:

> St John's What?
> The 'natural' antidepressant may not work. Bummer.
> (Frederic Golden, *Time*, Sunday, Apr. 22, 2001)
>
> **But St. John's wort came into its own** in 1984, when the German government classified it as an MAO inhibitor, on the basis of in-vitro studies, and approved its use as a mild, natural antidepressant. Sales took off both in Germany, where **St. John's wort easily outsells** prescription drugs like Prozac, and in the US, where concoctions of the herb, sold under such labels as Mood Support and Brighten Up, became flagships of the booming alternative-medicine industry. Before last year's warnings that **St. John's wort could interfere** with other medications – notably AIDS treatments, antibiotics, cardiac drugs and oral contraceptives – yearly sales had reached $310 million. Even today, some 1.5 million Americans take the extract regularly to treat their psychic pain.

Personifications do not in themselves generally pose translation problems into Spanish, since this is also a common feature of Spanish popularizing scientific texts. However, the narrative of the organism as an actor may be challenging when there are metaphors of human behaviour involved. In the above case, the use of a colloquial negative expression (*Bummer*) forces the translator to find pragmatic equivalents of disappointment (such as *Vaya, hombre*; *Qué lástima*, and so on).

Conclusion

TS approaches to scientific and technical translation, as to any professional discourse genres, need to integrate advances in applied interdisciplinary linguistics (Parodi 2010: 234). It would seem that the construction and relaying of scientific and technical information is built on a series of *clines*, or continua, in which authors articulate their claims while negotiating at least the following dimensions: (a) **agency:** the author's involvement/detachment, achieved through *boosting/mitigating* devices such as passivization, nominalization, the personification of abstract or inanimate agents, epistemic expressions,

probability adjectives, adverbs, modal verbs, epistemic lexical verbs, and so on; (b) **status**: the information's reliability/unreliability; the information's certainty/vagueness; the information's relevance (*important/irrelevant*), achieved through various hedging devices such as modal verbs, epistemic expressions, evaluative lexis, and so on; (c) **dialogism:** the inclusion/restriction of other voices (monogloss-heterogloss) (Martin and White 2005; Munday 2012), thus managing the authorial support of the facts and events narrated, achieved through the use of evidentiality resources, intertextual references, citations, epistemic expressions, modal verbs, epistemic lexical verbs, evaluative lexis, and so on. All in all, these discursive tools help authors persuade and influence their readers, anticipate their reactions, highlight achievements and prevent criticism in a dialogic interaction (Livnat 2015) with previous research and its authors, one's own text(s), and an ample variety of potential readers/consumers. Although these tools have compounded into a rather standardized language of international scientific communication, there is no doubt that there exist differences across languages and cultures, and that these differences are, *through translation*, influencing both English as a global language of science and Spanish as the second most important international language of scientific dissemination.

Notes

1 On globalization and scientific discourse, see Pérez-Llantada, 'The Role of Science Rhetoric in the Global Village', in Pérez-Llantada 2012, ch. 1. It is essential to note that English as a lingua franca for research networking and scientific dissemination goes well beyond the limits and sociocultural constraints of a certain 'Anglophone rhetoric of science'. Issues such as the *generic integrity* of socio-cognitive and cultural factors (Bhatia 2004: 112), or the *commodification* of scientific knowledge, are also raised by this author.

2 See, for example, in the realm of scientific and technical translation Spanish/English: García-Izquierdo 2000, García-Izquierdo 2005; Gea-Valor, Garcia-Izquierdo, and Esteve, eds. 2010; or the latest issue of the journal *Sendebar* at the University of Granada (Suau Jiménez and Gallego Hernández 2017). An exception is Pérez-Llantada's remarkable 2012 essay.

3 Although general, Munday 2012 offers a cogent model to apply appraisal theory to translation, especially focused on political texts. This essay complements Munday's breakthrough research, taking into account the specificities of scientific and technical discourse.

4 'Boiling Point Elevation Problems #1–10', www.chemteam.info/Solutions/BP-elevation-probs1-to-10.html (accessed 6 November 2017).

5 'La nominalización es un recurso corriente en los textos científicos-técnicos y su finalidad es presentar de forma resumida, por medio de un nombre, todo el proceso que se ha descrito previamente por medio de un predicado verbal largo. Así, un verbo que significa un proceso se convierte en un nombre que significa un estado, y una actividad concreta se convierte en un objeto abstracto. Tienen la ventaja de que se pueden tematizar y calificar con atributos'.

6 GettyImages, 'Japan – Tokyo – Ginza', www.gettyimages.se/detail/nyhetsfoto/store-sale-ginza-neighboorhood-tokio-it-is-known-as-an-nyhetsfoto/542629544?#store-sale-ginza-neighboorhood-tokio-it-is-known-as-an-upscale-area-picture-id542629544

7 Cf. Pérez-Llantada (2012: 59): 'The gate-keeping function of lexical specificity in noun compounds works as follows. In a nominal compound the semantic relationship between the two nouns is not stated explicitly. While this involves writers' compressing of information for the sake of brevity, at the same time it requires the readers' disambiguation of the semantic connection between the nouns. High lexicality indicates that the text addresses a specialized audience with sufficient shared background knowledge so as to be able to decompress the semantic information appropriately'.

8 'Dances with Seahorses', interview with Professor Amanda Vincent, Department of Zoology. *Oxford Today*, 1994.

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Chapter 7

Types of connotative meaning, and their significance for translation

James Dickins

Denotative vs. connotative meaning

This chapter operates with a basic distinction between denotative and connotative meaning. Denotative meaning involves the overall range, in a particular sense, of an expression – word, multi-word unit, or syntactic structure. A 'syntactic structure' is defined to include the words involved in that structure, not just the abstracted structural relations. Thus, in relation to a 'parse-tree' approach, a syntactic structure under this definition goes beyond the nodes (terminal and non-terminal) to include the vocabulary items that are attached to terminal nodes. Two expressions in a particular sense that 'pick out' the same extensional range of entities in the world – or better, in all possible worlds, real and imaginable – have the same denotative meaning.

Denotative meaning is also known by other terms: for example, denotational meaning, denotation, propositional meaning and cognitive meaning (Cruse 1986: 45, 271–277). Connotative meaning, or connotation, is defined here negatively as all kinds of meaning that are not denotative meaning. The denotative meaning of an expression in a particular sense is that kind of meaning which, in the context of a proposition, contributes to the truth-conditions of that proposition (for an extension of these principles to questions and other non-propositions, see Dickins 2010: 1079). There is thus an intimate connection between denotative meaning and truth-conditional semantics.

Connotative meaning, as noted, covers all kinds of meanings that are not denotative meaning: meanings that do not involve the extensional range of an expression in a particular sense, minus denotative meaning. There are many types of connotative meaning (perhaps an endless number), but in this chapter, 15 are identified as particularly important for their significance for translation. In doing so, the following basic notions are used here to analyse connotative meaning.

Reference: referent vs. ascription

Referent and ascription are two aspects of reference. A referent is what an expression in a particular sense refers to in a particular 'speech/writing event'.

An ascription is the category to which this referent is related. Thus, in using the expression 'the baker' in the sense 'the one who bakes' (*OED Online*) with the referent on a particular occasion of a particular individual, I have ascribed the individual to the category 'baker(s)'. This person (referent) could, however, also be referred to in any number of other ways ('your dad', 'her husband', etc.) – these other ways being different ascriptions of the same referent (cf. Dickins 2014, 2016). In 'That man's a fool', 'that man' and 'a fool' are co-referential, but not co-ascriptive. In 'He's a fool, but he's alright' (where the two 'he's' refer to different people), the two 'he's' are co-ascriptive (they assign the two people concerned to the same category of 'he'), but not co-referential (they do not refer to the same person).

Peirce: symbol vs. index vs. icon

In his semiotics, Peirce made a distinction between three kinds of signs: symbol, index, and icon (e.g., Peirce 1868). Hervey (1982: 30–31) provides clear definitions:

(1) If the sign denotes its object *by virtue of* a real similarity that holds between physical properties…of the sign and physical properties of its object, Peirce designates that sign as an *icon*;
(2) If the sign denotes its object *by virtue of* a real cause-and-effect link…that holds between sign and object, Peirce designates that sign as an *index*;
(3) If the sign denotes its object by virtue of a general association of ideas that is in the nature of a habit or a convention…Peirce designates that sign as a *symbol.*

Symbols, indexes (or indices) and icons are sometimes regarded as wholly discrete. For current purposes, however, we can view them as potentially overlapping categories. Thus, the stylized figures representing 'man' and 'woman' on toilet doors are iconic in that they look somewhat like a man and a woman. They are also, however, symbolic, in that it would be impossible to know what precisely they refer to unless one knew the convention that these signs are used on toilet doors to refer to male and female toilets. Their stylized nature is also indicative that they are not purely iconic; the vaguely skirt-like shape around the 'woman's' legs and the vaguely trouser-like shape around the 'man's' legs are only generally indicative that what is intended is a man and a woman; think also of a woman wearing trousers, or a man wearing a kilt.

Other signs involve a combination of symbol and index. The fundamental mechanism of a Torricellian (mercury) barometer is indexical; changes in air pressure cause the mercury in the barometer to go up or down. However, barometers are calibrated using numbers (and other signs) for air pressure; this is a symbolic aspect.

In fact, symbolicity dominates both indexicality and iconicity: we could not know that the 'man' and 'woman' signs indicate men's and women's toilets

if we had not learnt the convention that this is so. Similarly, we could not interpret a Torricellian barometer if we did not know the conventions for numbers and other symbols marking air pressure.

The fuzzy connotative meaning vs. effect/affect boundary

Consider the difference between a sign on a placard in the street reading 'Stop!' which is 20 centimetres by 20 centimetres, and one which is 2 metres by 2 metres. The latter is likely to have more effect on the passer-by (even if that effect is only to attract their attention). We would be inclined, however, to say that the two placards have the same meaning, even though the latter might be said to emphasize the message more. As discussed later in this chapter, there are some features relatable to connotation where it is not clear whether what is more prominent is meaning or effect/affect. Connotative meaning can therefore be divided into two kinds: (purely) *meaningful*, and *meaningful/affective* (i.e., where meaning and effect/affect are both prominent).

Modes of connotative meaning: reference-focusing, parenthetical, secondary-referential, pseudo-referential

I suggest that there are at least four 'modes' of operation of connotative meaning: (i) reference-narrowing (narrowing down the overall ascription of a particular expression in a particular sense in a given context); (ii) parenthetical (commenting, in much the same way as does a parenthetical element, on the entity referred to); (iii) secondary-referential (producing a reference additional to, and existing alongside, the reference involved in the denotative meaning); and (iv) pseudo-referential (producing what looks like a reference, but in fact is not one).

Forms of connotative meaning

We can, on the basis of Hervey and Higgins (2002; also Dickins, Hervey, and Higgins 2016: 95–107; based on Leech 1981 and Lyons 1977), and Baker (2011; 11–13; based on Cruse 1986), initially recognize the following forms of connotative meaning:

1. Associative meaning
2. Attitudinal meaning
3. Affective meaning
4. Allusive meaning
5. Reflected meaning
6. Selectional restriction-related meaning
7. Collocative meaning
8. Geographical dialect-related meaning
9. Temporal dialect-related meaning
10. Sociolect-related meaning

11. Social register-related meaning
12. Emphasis (emphatic meaning)
13. Thematic meaning (theme–rheme meaning)
14. Grounding meaning
15. Locution-overriding illocutionary meaning

Figure 7.1 presents these types of meaning, with alternative terms, as in Dickins, Hervey, and Higgins (2016: 95–107), and Baker (2011: 11–13).

As seen in Figure 7.1, it is possible to group certain kinds of connotative meaning into larger categories. Thus, geographical dialect-related meaning, temporal dialect-related meaning, sociolect-related meaning, and social

<table>
<tr><th colspan="3">Dickins, Hervey, and Higgins (2016)</th><th colspan="2">Baker (2011)</th></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">Denotative meaning</td><td colspan="2">Propositional/cognitive meaning</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="15">Connotative meaning</td><td colspan="2">Associative meaning</td><td colspan="2" rowspan="5">Expressive meaning</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Attitudinal meaning</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Affective meaning</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Allusive meaning</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Reflected meaning</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">No category</td><td>Selectional restriction-related meaning</td><td rowspan="2">Presupposed meaning</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Collocative meaning</td><td>Collocation restriction-related meaning</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="4">Language-variety-related meaning</td><td>Geographical dialect-related meaning</td><td>Geographical dialect-related meaning</td><td rowspan="4">Evoked meaning</td></tr>
<tr><td>Temporal dialect-related meaning</td><td>Temporal dialect-related meaning</td></tr>
<tr><td>Sociolect-related meaning</td><td rowspan="2">Register-related meaning</td></tr>
<tr><td>Social register-related meaning</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="3">Information prominence-related meaning</td><td>Emphasis (emphatic meaning)</td><td colspan="2">No category</td></tr>
<tr><td>Thematic meaning (theme–rheme meaning)</td><td colspan="2">Theme and information structure</td></tr>
<tr><td>Grounding meaning</td><td colspan="2">No precise category, but cf. Theme and information structure</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Locution-overriding illocutionary meaning</td><td colspan="2">Pragmatic meaning (esp. implicature)</td></tr>
</table>

Figure 7.1. A typology of meaning according to Dickins, Hervey, and Higgins, and Baker.

register-related meaning can all be grouped under the category of language-variety-related meaning, while emphasis (emphatic meaning), thematic meaning (theme–rheme meaning) and grounding meaning can all be grouped under the category of information prominence-related meaning.

I will discuss these types of meaning in turn, considering how each relates to denotative meaning. I first consider associative meaning, followed in sequence by attitudinal meaning, affective meaning, allusive meaning, and reflected meaning, all of which fall under what Baker terms 'expressive meaning' (Baker 2011: 11–12).

Associative meaning

Associative meaning is

> that part of the overall meaning of an expression which consists of expectations that are – rightly or wrongly – *associated with the referent* of the expression. The word 'nurse' is a good example. Most people automatically associate 'nurse' with the idea of female gender, as if 'nurse' were synonymous with 'female who looks after the sick' – on the basis that in the real world (at least in Britain and other English-speaking countries at the start of the twenty-first century) nurses are typically female. This unconscious association is so widespread that the term 'male nurse' has had to be coined to counteract its effect: 'he is a nurse' still sounds semantically odd, even today.
>
> (Dickins, Hervey, and Higgins 2016: 97)

A similar, though less extreme, example is provided by 'engineer'. Engineers in British culture are in the great majority men. Thus, in a statement like, 'An engineer has been assessing the structural faults', one is likely to interpret the reference as being to a man, rather than a woman.

Associative meaning specifies a narrower typical 'denotative range' than that of the (full) denotative meaning of an expression in a particular sense: there is a narrowing of the ascription from that of the expression in its overall particular sense, giving a 'sub-ascription' as compared to the overall ascription in the particular sense. In terms of the modes of connotative meaning we have so far established, associative meaning is thus reference-narrowing.

In the cases of 'nurse' and 'engineer', associative meaning is extralinguistic (real-world) based; in British culture, nurses are typically female and engineers typically male. There are, however, at least two other types of associative meaning: linguistic-based and communicative-efficiency-based.

Linguistic-based associative meaning is illustrated by إثم *iṯm* and ذنب *ḏanb* (Elewa 2004) in classical Arabic. These both mean 'sin, wrong, offence', and seem to have had the same range of meaning: anything that could be called an إثم *iṯm* could be called a ذنب *ḏanb*, and vice versa. They were thus synonyms (i.e., they had the same denotative meaning). On the basis of the usages of

these two words in a corpus of classical Arabic texts, however, Elewa concludes that they tended to be associated with different types of activity. إثم *iṯm* was typically used for sins that are personal or do not entail a punishment in this world (e.g., failing to perform obligatory acts of worship or doing a bad deed that is liable to have a bad effect on oneself, such as drinking or gambling). ذنب *ḏanb*, on the other hand, was typically used for sins that involve punishment in this world or the next, such as killing, theft or adultery (Elewa 2004: 123–124; cf. also, Dickins 2014; Dickins, Hervey, and Higgins 2016: 99).

Finally, communicative-efficiency-based associative meaning is illustrated by the fact that 'some' in English, although its denotative range includes 'all', is typically used to mean 'some but not all', that is, the normal ascription of 'some' is not 'some including the possibility of all' but 'some excluding the possibility of all'. This can be seen from the fact that if I say, 'He spent some of the money', this will typically be interpreted to mean that he did not spend all of it. The fact that the denotative range of 'some' includes all, however, is shown by the possibility of utterances such as 'He spent some, but not all, of the money' and 'He spent some, in fact all, of the money'. These kinds of utterances reflect a hyperonymy–hyponymy-type relationship; cf. 'It's a vehicle, but not a lorry', and 'It's a vehicle, in fact a lorry'. (This is a simplification of the actual situation, ignoring some of the problems in analysing 'some' as a hyperonym of 'all'; for a more developed analysis of 'some', and related issues of scalar implicature, see Dickins 2014.) It seems clear that it is much more communicatively useful to have a language in which 'some' typically excludes 'all' than to have one in which 'some' is typically interpreted in its full 'some including all' ascription. In a language in which 'some' typically has the ascription 'some excluding all', communication is more succinct and likely to be more successful than it would be in one in which 'some' typically had the ascription covering its full meaning range 'some including all'. Accordingly, the 'some excluding all' associative meaning of 'some' seems to be a general feature of natural languages.

In Peircean terms, extralinguistic-based associative meaning is indexical. There is a natural – causal-type – relationship between the facts of the real world, and the linguistic expressions that denote these facts. Extralinguistic-based associative meaning is, however, indexical within symbolic, the overall denotative range of the expression being defined by linguistic convention. Extralinguistic-based associative meaning can thus be more fully characterized as *indexical* (*within symbolic*), where the '(*within symbolic*)' element makes plain that the connotative *indexical* element of meaning further restricts the overall symbolically defined denotative element of meaning.

Linguistic-based associative meaning, by contrast, is purely symbolic; both the overall denotative ranges of إثم *iṯm* and ذنب *ḏanb* are symbolic, and it is part of the conventions of classical Arabic that إثم *iṯm* was typically used for sins that are personal or do not entail a punishment in this world, while ذنب *ḏanb* was typically used for sins that involve punishment in this world or the next.

Linguistic-based associative meaning can thus be more fully characterized as *symbolic* (*within symbolic*).

Communicative-efficiency-based associative meaning is more interesting. On the one hand, it is conventional (symbolic); languages would not, in principle, need to be organized such that words for 'some' typically mean 'some excluding all'. On the other hand, this convention has a quasi-indexical underpinning; given that languages operate better in terms of communicative-efficiency if word(s) for 'some' typically mean 'some excluding all', the demand for communicative-efficiency quasi-causally impels the associative meaning 'some excluding all'. Like extralinguistic-based, communicative-efficiency-based associative meaning occurs within the more symbolic context of the expression's overall denotative range. Communicative-efficiency-based associative meaning can thus be characterized as *quasi-indexical* (*within symbolic*). All associative meaning is clearly *meaningful*, rather than *meaningful/affective*.

Translation problems involving associative meaning are illustrated by the translation into English of the Arabic word مقهى *maqhā*, for which

> a denotative near-equivalent might be 'tea-house', 'tea-garden', 'coffee-house', or possibly 'cafe'. However, in terms of the cultural status of the مقهى as the centre of informal male social life, the nearest equivalent in British culture might be the pub. Given the Islamic prohibition on the drinking of alcohol, however, such a translation would in most cases be obviously ruled out.
>
> (Dickins, Hervey, and Higgins 2016: 98)

For further discussion of translation issues relating to associative meaning for Arabic, see Dickins, Hervey and Higgins (2016: 97–99); for French, Hervey, and Higgins (2002: 150–151); for German, Hervey and Higgins (2006: 90–91); for Italian, Hervey Higgins, Cragie, and Gambarotta (2005: 96); and for Spanish, Haywood, Thompson, and Hervey (2009: 172–173).

Attitudinal meaning

Attitudinal meaning is 'that part of the overall meaning of an expression which consists of some widespread *attitude to the referent*. The expression does not merely denote the referent in a neutral way, but also hints at some attitude to it' (Dickins, Hervey, and Higgins 2016: 95). An example is 'pigs' in the sense 'police'. 'Pigs' (= police) and 'police' are denotatively identical, covering the same range of referents (real and imaginary). However, while 'police' is a neutral expression, 'pigs' has pejorative overtones.

While associative meaning specifies a narrower typical 'denotative range' than that of the (full) denotative meaning of an expression in a particular

sense, attitudinal meaning does not. Thus, while 'nurses' may typically be female, 'pigs' (= police) are not typically police whom one does not like. Rather, 'pigs' suggests that the speaker/writer does not like police in general, as does even the use of a singular form 'the pig' referring to one specific policeman.

A comparison can be drawn between attitudinal meaning and the meaning relayed by parenthetical elements in sentences, such as non-restrictive relative clauses. In a standard restrictive relative clause, the meaning of the relative clause plus its noun-phrase head is described by the intersection of the denotative meaning of the two elements. In 'Drivers who break the law will be prosecuted', the denotative meaning of 'drivers who break the law' is the intersection of the set of *drivers* (in a given discourse context) and the set of *[those] who break the law* (in that same discourse context). Contrast this with 'Drivers, who break the law, will be prosecuted', in which 'who break the law' is a non-restrictive (parenthetical) relative clause. Here the denotative meaning of 'drivers, who break the law' is not the intersection of the denotative meaning of 'drivers' and 'who break the law'. Rather, no denotative narrowing of 'drivers' is introduced by 'who break the law': **all** drivers (in the discourse context) will be prosecuted, and another fact about them is that these drivers break the law.

Just as parenthetical elements introduce additional – 'offstage' – information that does not involve any restriction on the denotative meaning of the element to which they relate (in the case of non-restrictive clauses, the head-noun), so attitudinal meaning can be regarded as an additional 'offstage' element of meaning that does not involve any restriction of the denotative meaning of the expression (in a particular sense) that has this attitudinal meaning. Attitudinal meanings are typically marked in dictionaries by terms such as 'derogatory', 'pejorative', and so forth.

In Peircean terms, attitudinal meaning is symbolic; it is a matter of the conventions of English, for example, that 'police' has a neutral attitudinal meaning, while 'pigs' (= police) has a negative one. As a parenthetical-type element, the connotative derogatoriness conveyed by a word such as 'pigs' (= police) functions independently of the 'police' denotation. While associative meaning is *indexical* (*within symbolic*), *symbolic* (*within symbolic*), or *quasi-indexical* (*within symbolic*), attitudinal meaning might be characterized as *symbolic* (*plus symbolic*), in that it adds an additional non-defining (parenthetical) meaning to the basic denotative meaning. Given, however, that attitudinal meaning is simply additional to the basic denotative meaning, I will subsequently (in Figure 7.4) refer to it simply as *symbolic*.

Translation problems involving attitudinal meaning are illustrated by the translation into English of the pejorative French word for 'police' *flicaille*. 'Translating "la flicaille" as "the police" accurately renders the literal meaning of the ST, but fails to render the hostile attitude connoted by "la flicaille" ("the filth", "the pigs")' (Hervey and Higgins 2002: 149).

For discussion of translation issues relating to attitudinal meaning for Arabic, see Dickins, Hervey, and Higgins (2016: 95–97); for French, Hervey

and Higgins (2002: 149–150); for German, Hervey and Higgins (2006: 90); for Italian, Hervey, Higgins, Cragie and Gambarotta (2005: 94–95); and for Spanish, Haywood, Thompson, and Hervey (2009: 172).

Affective meaning

Affective meaning is that kind of meaning conveyed by tonal register, that is, '*the tone that the speaker takes* – vulgar, familiar, polite, formal, and so forth' (Dickins, Hervey, and Higgins 2016: 212; cf. Figure 7.3, below). With affective meaning, 'the expression does not merely denote its referent, but also hints at some attitude of the speaker or writer to the addressee' (Dickins, Hervey, and Higgins 2016: 212). An example of two words with the same denotative, but different affective, meaning are 'toilet', with no or neutral affective meaning, and 'bog' with impolite/disrespectful affective meaning.

Affective meaning can be regarded as functioning via a two-stage process: (i) the belonging of an expression to a particular tonal-register category, such as vulgar, familiar, polite, or formal; and (ii) the meaning this tonal-register category has for the addressee in the context in which the expression is used. As an example, we can take the expression 'Would you like…?' in English, regarded as belonging to the tonal-register category 'polite'; that is, 'Would you like…?' is a polite way of making a request in English. (There are, in fact, significant academic disagreements about what politeness is; cf. Dimitrova-Galaczi 2002. These do not concern us here.)

The belonging of the expression 'Would you mind…?' to the tonal-register category 'polite' represents stage (i) of affective meaning. Stage (ii) is what meaning this polite form has for the addressee in the specific context in which it is used. In general, we may consider politeness to involve behaviour that, by convention or otherwise, suggests respect for one's interactant(s) (the person or people with whom one is interacting). The greater the respect due to an interactant, the more politeness one is expected to demonstrate. Thus, the standard affective meaning of 'Would you mind…?' can be regarded as respect for the addressee.

Politeness itself is therefore not meaning but carries meaning. Thus, in British culture, it is traditionally considered impolite to put one's elbows on the table while eating. Behaviour, such as putting one's elbows on the table during a meal, may just *be* polite or impolite, it does not *mean* polite/politeness or impolite/impoliteness. The impoliteness of putting one's elbows on the table during a meal does, however, carry affective meaning – this meaning typically being something like disrespect for the other people at the table.

The most important, though not perhaps the most obvious, area in which affective meaning operates is formality vs. informality. Formality and informality are features of expressions – more precisely, features of expressions in particular senses. Thus, 'channel' in the sense of 'bed or course of a river, stream or canal' (*Collins English Dictionary*) is a standard word with no particular formality. 'Channel' in the sense of 'course into which something can

be directed or moved' (*Collins English Dictionary*; as in 'through official channels') is, by contrast, a somewhat formal usage. Formality and informality can be thought of as being on a cline from very informal to very formal, as in Figure 7.2:

Figure 7.2 The cline of formality.

Thus, formality is not an all-or-nothing matter. We may reasonably describe a word or phrase as being relatively informal, slightly formal, and so forth.

Although it is expressions in particular senses that are formal or informal, just like politeness, formality, and informality imply affective meaning. This is because they suggest a relationship between the speaker/writer and the listener/reader. In informal writing/speech, this connoted relationship is one of emotional closeness and normally rough equality of status. In formal writing/speech, the relationship is one of emotional distance and normally of non-equality of status. Expletives such as 'bloody' in 'a bloody good thing too' arguably have only affective meaning (plus reflected meaning), without denotative meaning (cf. Ljung 2010: 86–87).

In Peircean terms, affective meaning is *symbolic*: it is a matter of linguistic convention that 'toilet' is fairly polite, but 'bog' impolite. In terms of meaning vs. effect/affect, affective meaning can be regarded as *meaningful/affective*. This is most clearly seen in the two-stage analysis of politeness (above), where politeness is not itself meaning, but carries meaning.

Unlike associative meaning, affective meaning does not involve narrowing of the overall denotative range of an expression: 'bog' is not typically used to refer to only one kind of toilet. Rather, like attitudinal meaning, affective meaning involves an 'offstage' assessment and can thus be classified as *parenthetical*. In the case of attitudinal meaning, this is an assessment of the referent. In the case of affective meaning, it is an assessment (in terms of respect, relative social status), and so forth, of the addressee. Where the addressee is also the referent, for example, in 'Pigs, I hate you' (where 'pigs' = policeman), attitudinal meaning and affective meaning coincide.

Translation problems involving affective meaning are illustrated by the following:

> in French, you might lend a book to a friend and say 'Tu me le rendras mardi'. A literal translation of this would sound rude in English: 'You'll give it me back on Tuesday', although the ST does not have that affective meaning at all. A better TT would avoid such brutal assertiveness: '(So) you'll give it me back on Tuesday, then?'
>
> (Hervey and Higgins 2002: 154)

For translation issues relating to affective meaning for Arabic, see Dickins, Hervey, and Higgins (2016: 99–100); for French, Hervey and Higgins (2002: 154); for German, Hervey and Higgins (2006: 91); for Italian, Hervey, Higgins, Cragie, and Gambarotta (2005: 99); and for Spanish, Haywood, Thompson, and Hervey (2009: 173–174).

Allusive meaning

Allusive meaning 'occurs when an expression evokes an associated saying or quotation in such a way that the meaning of that saying or quotation becomes part of the overall meaning of the expression' (Dickins, Hervey, and Higgins, 2016: 101). Discussing the example of the novel مدينة البغي *madīnat al-bağy* (*The City of Oppression*), by the Palestinian novelist عيسى بشارة *ʕīsā bišāra*, Dickins, Hervey, and Higgins say

> the city in question is clearly Jerusalem (or a fictional equivalent). The term مدينة البغي [*madīnat al-bağy*], which is used as the name of the city, alludes to the fact that Jerusalem is sometimes referred to as مدينة السلام [*madīnat al-salām*] 'City of Peace'. It also perhaps recalls St Augustine's 'City of God' (عيسى بشارة [*ʕīsā bišāra*] is a Christian, and makes widespread use of Christian symbolism in this work). For Arabic readers, a further possible allusive meaning is مدينة النبي [*madīnat al-nabī*], i.e. the term from which is derived the name for the city 'Medina' المدينة [*al-madīna*] (in pre-Islamic times known as يثرب [*yaṯrib*]). For English-speaking readers, particularly those of a Protestant background, the TT 'City of Oppression' might also carry echoes of John Bunyan's 'City of Destruction' in *A Pilgrim's Progress*, although it is extremely doubtful that these would have been intended in the ST.
>
> (Dickins, Hervey, and Higgins 2016: 101)

Allusive meaning is a form of pseudo-reference. This can be illustrated by the title of a book on the fall of Soviet communism: *The Future That Failed* (Arnason 1993). This title involves an allusion to the name of the series in which the book was published: 'Social Futures'. It also contains two further allusions – the first to 'I've seen the future and it works', found on the title page of the book *Red Virtue* by the American writer and communist, Ella Winter, and the second to a book written by a group of disillusioned ex-communists in 1949, entitled *The God That Failed* (the 'God' in the title being communism itself).

The real reference in the title 'The future that failed' is to the Soviet Union – this is the denotative meaning of the book title. The denotative meanings of 'I've seen the future and it works' and 'the God that failed' are recalled by the use of the phrase 'The future that failed'. However, these are merely 'echoes' of the phrase 'The future that failed', that is, allusive

meaning is *pseudo-referential*. Given that these pseudo-denotations, are, however, meaningful, we can classify allusive meaning as *meaningful* (rather than *meaningful/affective*).

In Peircean terms, allusive meaning is both *iconic* and *symbolic*. Thus, the relationship between the phrase, 'The future that failed', and the phrase (sentence), 'I've seen the future and it works', for example, is one of similarity; the first phrase recalls the second because the second is similar to the first. However, the relationship between 'I have seen the future and it works' and what it refers to is symbolic (albeit that this is a pseudo-reference in the context of this allusion): the meaning of 'I have seen the future and it works' is determined by the conventions of English (as interpreted in the particular context in which this particular utterance was made).

Translation problems involving allusive meaning are illustrated by the following example between French and English:

> [A] book title using allusive meaning is Julien Green's *Mille chemins ouverts [Literally 'A thousand open roads']*, his memoir of the Great War. The allusion is to Act 1 Scene 2 of Racine's *Phèdre*, in which Oenone, the loyal, misguided servant, says to her mistress: 'Mon âme chez les morts descendra la première. / Mille chemins ouverts y conduisent toujours'. *[Literally, 'My soul will descend to the dead the first one. / A thousand open roads lead there always'.]* The allusive meaning is 'how easy it is to die', an appropriate way of referring to the trenches of the First World War. It is tempting to translate with something like '*Roads to Hell*'. The danger here is to avoid *unwanted* allusions, in this case the proverb 'The road to hell is paved with good intentions' (cf. 'L'enfer est pavé de bonnes intentions'), which would place intentions, rather than hell, at the centre of the allusion. If this is unsuitable, a quite different title will have to be found; this is actually common with book titles, which are often built round intertextual allusions.
>
> (Hervey and Higgins 2002: 148)

For translation issues relating to allusive meaning for Arabic, see Dickins, Hervey, and Higgins (2016: 101); for French, Hervey and Higgins (2002: 148–149); for German, Hervey, Higgins, and Loughridge (2006: 93–95); for Italian, Hervey, Higgins, Cragie, and Gambarotta (2005: 96–97); and for Spanish, Haywood, Thompson, and Hervey (2009: 176–178).

Reflected meaning

Reflected meaning is

> the meaning given to an expression over and above the denotative meaning which it has in that context by the fact that it also calls to mind another

> meaning of the same word or phrase. Thus, if someone says, 'Richard Nixon was a rat', using 'rat' in the sense of 'a person who deserts his friends or associates' (*Collins English Dictionary*), the word 'rat' not only carries this particular denotative meaning, but also conjures up the more basic denotative meaning of the animal 'rat'. (Note also the standard collocation 'dirty rat'.)
>
> Reflected meaning is normally a function of polysemy, i.e. the existence of two or more denotative meanings for a single word…. The simplest forms of reflected meaning are when a single word has two or more senses, and its use in a particular context in one of its senses conjures up at least one of its other senses, as in the example 'rat' above. A similar example in Arabic is calling someone حمار [*ḥimār*]. In colloquial Arabic, حمار [*ḥimār*] applied to a person means 'stupid'. However, this metaphorical meaning also very strongly calls to mind the more basic sense of حمار [*ḥimār*] 'donkey'.
>
> (Dickins, Hervey, and Higgins 2016: 103)

Like allusive meaning, reflected meaning is *pseudo-referential*. When we call someone حمار *ḥimār*, we are not saying they are a donkey – we are not ascribing them to the set (class) of donkeys. We are, rather, ascribing them to the set of stupid people. However, the use of حمار *ḥimār* in this secondary sense recalls the primary 'donkey' sense – that is, it is *as if* we are ascribing the person to the set of donkeys. There is in this respect, however, a distinction between lexicalized cases and non-lexicalized cases of reflected meaning. In حمار *ḥimār* 'donkey'/'stupid person', the secondary sense 'stupid person' is fixed – that is, lexicalized – by the conventions of Arabic. In the case of 'tree' in an utterance, 'Tom is a tree', by contrast, the sense of 'tree' (which, as in the case of حمار *ḥimār* meaning 'stupid', is also metaphorical) is not fixed; that is, in 'Tom is a tree', 'a tree' is non-lexicalized, such that it is impossible to deduce from the general conventions of English, what 'Tom is a tree' means in a given context.

I have argued (Dickins 2005, 2018) that with non-lexicalized metaphors, the overall ascription is along the lines 'like in some non-basic respect to …'. Thus, in 'A man is a tree', the overall ascription is 'like in some non-basic respect to a tree', and the specific meaning in a particular context is determined by a 'sub-ascription' narrowing down this overall ascription. Thus, if 'A man is a tree' was uttered in a context in which the focus was on the distinction between the relatively small amount that is apparent or conscious about human personality and the relatively large amount that is hidden or unconscious, the reader might conclude that 'A man is a tree' is roughly equivalent to saying, 'A man is like a tree in that only a certain proportion is apparent (in the case of the tree the trunk, branches and leaves; in the case of a man some psychological features), while much remains hidden (in the case of the tree the extensive root system; in the case of a man most psychological features)'.

Here, the meaning element 'like a tree in that only a certain proportion is apparent (in the case of the tree the trunk, branches and leaves; in the case of a man some psychological features), while much remains hidden (in the case of the tree the extensive root system; in the case of a man most psychological features)' constitutes the sub-ascription. In terms of traditional metaphor analysis, the element 'in that only a certain proportion is apparent (in the case of the tree the trunk, branches and leaves; in the case of a man some psychological features), while much remains hidden (in the case of the tree the extensive root system; in the case of a man some psychological features)', that is, the core of the sub-ascription, is known as the grounds (e.g., Dickins 2005).

Reflected meaning in lexicalized cases is, in Peircean terms, fundamentally symbolic. The fact that حمار *ḥimār* in colloquial Arabic means both 'donkey' and 'stupid' is part of the conventions of the language. There is, however, a strong indexical – or quasi-indexical – element in reflected meaning. The fact that we perceive the sense 'stupid' as strongly reflecting the sense 'donkey', but we do not perceive the sense 'donkey' as reflecting the sense 'stupid' (or only weakly so) is a function of the fact that the 'donkey' sense of حمار *ḥimār* is more psychologically basic than the 'stupid' sense (e.g., Dickins 2005: 228). This psychological basicness is not a function of the conventions of language – or of any other conventions – but of basic psychological mechanisms, that is: how we perceive things in the world as more basic or less basic, physical objects (and animate entities in particular) being perceived as more basic than mental traits, such as stupidity. This relationship causes us to understand there to be a reflected meaning relationship between حمار *ḥimār* = 'stupid' and حمار *ḥimār* = 'donkey'. If we were to include sameness within the category of similarity, we might also argue that reflected meaning in حمار *ḥimār* = 'stupid' and حمار *ḥimār* = 'donkey' also involves iconicity – since the two *ḥimār*'s sound exactly the same. Since identity is, however, only rather dubiously included under similarity, it seems best to characterize lexicalized reflected meaning as *symbolic* (*plus quasi-indexical*).

In non-lexicalized cases, reflected meaning is fundamentally symbolic, but not in the same way as with lexicalized reflected meaning. Thus, it is not part of the conventions of English that 'tree' means both 'perennial plant having a self-supporting woody main stem or trunk' (*Oxford English Dictionary Online*) and 'like a tree in that only a certain proportion is apparent [and so on], while much remains hidden [and so forth]'. However, it is part of the conventions of English (and perhaps of all natural languages) that non-lexicalized metaphors can be generated from words in a more basic sense. In addition, just as there is a (quasi-)indexical element in our perception of حمار *ḥimār* in the sense 'stupid' as strongly reflecting حمار *ḥimār* in the sense 'donkey', so there is also a (quasi-)indexical element in our perception of 'tree' in the sense 'like a tree in that only a certain proportion is apparent [and so on], while much remains hidden [and so forth]' as strongly reflecting 'tree' in the sense 'perennial plant having a self-supporting woody main stem or trunk'. Like lexicalized reflected

meaning, non-lexicalized reflected meaning is analysed in Peircean terms as *symbolic* (*plus quasi-indexical*).

An example of the problems involved in the translation of reflected meaning is provided by the following fairly literal translation of ثم شد الغطاء على جسمها الهرم as 'then pulling the covers over her old body' (from the book مدينة البغي *madīnat al-bağy*, *The City of Oppression*, by the Palestinian novelist عيسى بشارة *ʕīsā bišāra*):

> The reader has, in fact, learnt earlier in the book that the mother of the central character صابر *[ṣābir]* is old. The statement that her body is old, therefore, does not provide any information in this context. In order to extract some meaning, […] the reader therefore looks for another interpretation of 'old' in this context. One possible interpretation which presents itself is that based on another sense of 'old', viz 'former'. That is to say, 'old' is polysemous, having senses 'not new' and 'former', amongst other senses […]. Thus, the interpretation 'former body' (i.e. not the one which the lady is incarnated in now) momentarily presents itself as a possibility. This is, of course, rejected in the context. However, this reflected meaning of 'old' has enough of an influence here, in combination with the oddity of 'old' in the sense of 'not new' […], to make the reader feel that 'old' is odd in this context.

For further translation issues relating to reflected meaning for Arabic, see Dickins, Hervey, and Higgins (2016: 103–104; and for metaphor, see Dickins 2005; Dickins, Hervey, and Higgins 2016: 194–210); for French, Hervey and Higgins (2002: 153); for German, Hervey, Higgins, and Loughridge (2006: 91–92); for Italian, Hervey, Higgins, Cragie, and Gambarotta (2005: 98–99); and for Spanish, Haywood, Thompson, and Hervey (2009: 174–175).

Selectional restriction-related meaning

Some expressions (in particular senses) are sometimes described as having selectional restrictions. Thus, 'rancid' only occurs in certain combinations, for example, 'rancid butter', while 'addled' occurs in others, for example, 'addled eggs' (cf. Cruse 1986: 289). One way of looking at this is to regard such selectional restrictions as a form of connotation. However, it makes better sense to analyse very strict selectional restrictions of this type as reflecting denotative differences. Thus, if we consider the set of all 'rancid [things]' (both real and imaginary) it will include instances of butter but none of eggs. By contrast, if we consider the set of all 'addled [things]', it will include instances of eggs, but none of butter. According to this analysis, therefore, 'rancid' and 'addled' are denotatively different (they have different ranges of referents), and we do not need to invoke connotative meaning to describe the semantic differences between them.

Where selectional restrictions are looser, such as the expectation that 'geometrical' should go with an inanimate noun (Baker 2011: 12–13), we can analyse the restriction in terms of associative meaning; 'geometrical' has the associative meaning' of 'inanimate geometrical entity'. Thus, an expression such as 'geometrical rodent', which collocates 'geometrical' with an animate noun 'rodent' may be difficult to interpret, but is not impossible, even where 'geometrical' and 'rodent' are both used in their standard non-metaphorical sense. A 'geometrical rodent' could, for example, be a rodent that builds geometrical structures, or that delimits its territory according to a mathematically regular pattern.

Although I have included selectional restricted-related meaning as a type of connotative meaning in Figure 7.1, I have argued in this section that it is, depending on the degree of restriction, either a case of denotative meaning (i.e., the restriction of the denotation), or associative meaning. It should therefore properly speaking not appear as a separate category in Figure 7.1. Selectional restriction-related meaning is not dealt with as a separate category in the *Thinking Translation* series.

Collocative meaning

Dickins, Hervey, and Higgins (2016) define collocative meaning as the meaning given to an expression over and above its denotative meaning by the meaning of some other expression with which it typically collocates (co-occurs) to form a commonly used phrase. They give the example of the word 'intercourse', which they note has largely dropped out of usage in modern English, because of its connotative sexual associations, derived from the common collocation 'sexual intercourse' (Dickins, Hervey, and Higgins 2016: 102). Like reflected meaning, collocative meaning can be regarded as *pseudo-referential*. If I use the phrase 'social intercourse', I am referring to social interaction, rather than sexual activity. There is no real reference to sexual intercourse, regardless of the psychological 'echo' of 'sexual intercourse' which the phrase 'social intercourse' may engender.

Collocative meaning is in Peircean terms essentially symbolic. The meaning of 'intercourse' (in its general sense) and of 'sexual intercourse' are both determined by the conventions of English. Like reflected meaning, however, collocative meaning also has an indexical-type aspect, at least in origin. Thus, it is the 'sensitive' nature of the reference 'sexual intercourse' that has caused the term 'intercourse' to become associated with sex, and thus to acquire the same sensitivity as 'sexual intercourse' itself. Collocative meaning can thus be characterized as *symbolic* (*plus quasi-indexical*). In referential terms, collocative meaning is clearly *meaningful*, rather than *meaningful/affective*.

An example of the operation of collocative meaning in translation is provided by the following from the Syrian poet نزار قباني *nizār qabbānī*):

أحمل الزمن المحترق في عيني

This has been translated (Rolph 1995: 10) as:

> I carry this scorched era in my eyes
>
> Here, 'scorched era' sounds more acceptable than other more literal alternatives because of the existence of the phrase 'scorched earth'. The denotative meaning of 'scorched earth' gives 'scorched era' a collocative meaning which is strongly suggestive of the devastation wrought by war.
> (Dickins, Hervey, and Higgins 2016: 102)

For further translation issues relating to collocative meaning for Arabic, see Dickins, Hervey, and Higgins (2016: 101–102); for French, Hervey and Higgins (2002: 151–153); for German, Hervey, Higgins, and Loughridge (2006: 92–93); for Italian, Hervey, Higgins, Cragie, and Gambarotta (2005: 98–99); and for Spanish, Haywood, Thompson, and Hervey (2009: 175–176).

Language-variety-related meaning

Baker (2011: 13–15) talks about 'evoked meaning', under which may be included: geographical dialect-related meaning, temporal dialect-related meaning, sociolect-related meaning and social register-related meaning. Dickins, Hervey, and Higgins (2016: 211–217) similarly identify five aspects of the way a message is formulated that reveal information about the speaker/writer: tonal register, social register, sociolect, dialect, and temporal variety. They relate these to each other as in Figure 7.3.

Under the category of register, Dickins, Hervey, and Higgins distinguish tonal register and social register. Tonal register is the feature of linguistic expression that carries affective meaning, as discussed above, but (geographical) dialect-related meaning, temporal dialect-related meaning, sociolect and register are discussed below.

(Geographical) dialect-related meaning

A dialect is a speech variety defined in terms of its geographical spread; (geographical) dialect-related meaning may be of two types: primary and

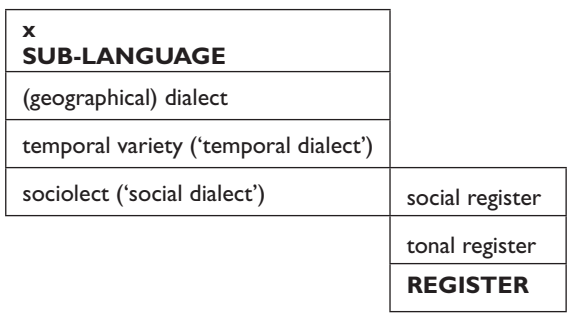

Figure 7.3. Language-variety related meaning.

secondary. Primary (geographical) dialect-related meaning is exemplified by the fact that, if we know what a Yorkshire accent sounds like, we can derive the information that a particular person who speaks with a Yorkshire accent is from Yorkshire. Secondary (geographical) dialect-related meaning involves any further inferences – frequently of a stereotypical kind – that we derive from this. Thus, for many people in Britain, individuals from Yorkshire are traditionally regarded as direct and honest in what they say. When such people hear someone speaking in a Yorkshire dialect, this evokes for them a sense of directness and honesty. Other people may have different views about Yorkshiremen, of course, resulting in different evoked meanings for them.

In Peircean terms, primary (geographical) dialect-related meaning is *symbolic*; there is a conventional relationship between the form of language used (the dialect) and a geographical region. People in a particular region happen to talk the way they do; they are not constrained to talk this way by virtue of the local topography or the minerals in the local water. Secondary dialect-related meaning is *indexical*; it involves what we take to be a real association between regional identity (as marked by dialect) and behaviour (Yorkshiremen are, we believe, direct and honest, for example); (geographical) dialect-related meaning is *meaningful* (rather than *meaningful/affective*), and it is *parenthetical*, providing 'offstage' information about the speaker, rather than, for instance, further narrowing the denotative meaning of an expression used by the speaker.

The analysis of (geographical) dialect-related meaning as *symbolic* (in its primary mode) and *indexical* (in its secondary mode), *meaningful*, and *parenthetical* applies also to the other types of language-variety meaning: temporal dialect-related meaning, sociolect-related meaning, and social register-related meaning.

For translation issues relating to (geographical) dialect-related meaning for Arabic, see Dickins, Hervey, and Higgins (2016: 215); for French, Hervey and Higgins (2002: 166–169); for German, Hervey, Higgins, and Loughridge (2006: 33); for Italian, Hervey, Higgins, Cragie, and Gambarotta (2005: 108–110); and for Spanish, Haywood, Thompson, and Hervey (2009: 185–186, 197–202).

Temporal dialect-related meaning

A temporal dialect is a language variety that is used by a certain social group at a particular time. The discussion of evoked meaning in relation to dialect also applies to temporal dialect. Thus, we may get both primary information (e.g., that the speaker/writer is from the nineteenth century) and secondary information (e.g., that they will therefore have specific attitudes towards religion or politics). As noted earlier, temporal dialect-related meaning is *symbolic* (in its primary mode) and *indexical* (in its secondary mode), *meaningful*, and *parenthetical*.

For translation issues relating to temporal dialect-related meaning for Arabic, see Dickins, Hervey, and Higgins (2016: 216–217). The topic is not covered in other books in the *Thinking Translation* series.

Sociolect-related meaning

A sociolect (also sometimes termed 'social dialect') is a language variety defined in terms of sociological class, or another broad social category. Together with (geographical) dialect and temporal dialect, sociolects constitute 'sub-languages', as ways of speaking/writing that may constitute the totality of the speech/writing behaviour of some speakers/writers. Thus, from this fact we may get both primary information (e.g., that the speaker/writer is working class) and secondary information (e.g., that they will therefore probably like football). As noted earlier, sociolect-related meaning is *symbolic* (in its primary mode) and *indexical* (in its secondary mode), *meaningful*, and *parenthetical*.

For translation issues relating to sociolect-related meaning for Arabic, see Dickins, Hervey, and Higgins (2016: 214–215); for French, Hervey and Higgins (2002: 165–166); for Italian, Hervey, Higgins, Cragie, and Gambarotta (2005: 107–108); and for Spanish, Haywood, Thompson, and Hervey (2009: 185–186, 197–198, 202–204). The topic is not included in *Thinking German Translation* (Hervey, Higgins, and Loughridge 2005).

Social register-related meaning

A social register is:

> a particular style from which the listener confidently infers what social stereotype the speaker belongs to. Of course, a stereotype by definition excludes individual idiosyncrasies of people belonging to the stereotype; but, however unfortunate this may be, we do tend to organize our interactions with other people on the basis of social stereotypes. These stereotypes cover the whole spectrum of social experience. They range from broad value-judgemental labels, such as 'pompous', 'down-to-earth', 'boring', etc. to increasingly specific stereotypical personality-types, such as 'the henpecked husband', 'the macho football fan', 'the middle-aged *Guardian*-reading academic', etc. In so far as each of these stereotypes has a characteristic style of language-use, this style is what we mean by social register. … Social register carries information about such things as the speaker's educational background, social persona (i.e. a social role the person is used to fulfilling), occupation and professional standing, and so on.
>
> (Dickins, Hervey, and Higgins 2016: 213)

While a sociolect covers the whole range of speech/writing situations possible for a member of a sociologically defined group, a social register is much

more restricted, covering 'a style that is conventionally seen as appropriate to both a type of person and a type of situation' (Dickins, Hervey, and Higgins 2016: 213). The boundary between what is sociolectal and what is social register-related is fuzzy – hence their placement side by side in Figure 7.3.

We may get from this fact both primary information (e.g., that the speaker/writer is an Islamist intellectual) and secondary information (e.g., that they are probably hostile to left-wing views). Social register-related meaning is *symbolic* (in its primary mode) and *indexical* (in its secondary mode), *meaningful*, and *parenthetical*.

For translation issues relating to social register-related meaning for Arabic, see Dickins, Hervey, and Higgins (2016: 213–214); for French, Hervey and Higgins (2002: 162–165); for German, Hervey, Higgins, and Loughridge (2006: 127); for Italian, Hervey, Higgins, Cragie, and Gambarotta (2005: 104–107); and for Spanish, Haywood, Thompson, and Hervey (2009: 185–186, 197–198, 202–204).

Information prominence-related meaning

I turn now to three types of meaning that are related to the prominence of the information they convey: emphatic meaning, thematic meaning (theme–rheme meaning), and grounding meaning.

Emphatic meaning

'Emphasis' is a broad and vague term in linguistics, covering, amongst other things:

1. Semantic repetition: repetition of the same meaning, using synonyms or near-synonyms; for example, 'protect and preserve' in 'May God preserve and protect him'.
2. Parallelism: repetition of the same semantic structure; for example, 'He has plundered our seas, ravaged our coasts, burnt our towns' (from the US *Declaration of Independence*).
3. Alliteration, assonance and rhyme: repetition of the same and/or similar sounds; for example, 'pr' in 'preserve and protect'.
4. The use of emphatic intonation in speech, or an exclamation mark in writing.
5. Rhetorical anaphora: repetition of a word or words at the start of successive or closely associated clauses or phrases; for example, '[W]e shall fight on the beaches, we shall fight on the landing grounds, we shall fight in the fields…; we shall never surrender'. (from a speech by Winston Churchill during World War II).
6. Metaphor (metaphorical effect).
7. Emphatic particles: for example, English 'so' (as in 'That was so amusing!').

It might be felt that emphatic meaning is not really meaning, but rather *effect/affect*. Emphasis (even when interpreted in terms of effect) can, however, be easily converted into one of meaning, that is, *this element of the text is particularly important* – or similar. Given the tendency for emphatic meaning to be associated with extended sections of text (e.g., in cases of parallelism), emphatic meaning is not typically labelled in dictionaries. A major exception is emphatic particles, such as Arabic إنَّ *inna*, which may be labelled (e.g., 'emphatic particle') in addition to, or instead of, being glossed.

In Peircean terms, at least some kinds of emphasis are indexical. A good example is the fact that a placard bearing the message 'Stop!' that is 2 metres by 2 metres is more emphatic than one that is 20 centimetres by 20 centimetres (as discussed above). While the message 'Stop!' is symbolic, being expressed through the conventions of natural language, the difference in prominence given to this message between the two metres by two metres placard and the 20 centimetres by 20 centimetres placard is indexical; it is caused by the fact that things that are bigger are more perceptually prominent. The same is true in spoken language in respect of a whispered utterance, 'Stop!' compared to one that is bellowed: the greater prominence (emphasis) of the latter is purely indexical.

It might appear that at least some of the types of emphasis in 1–7 above are also to be analysed as indexical. Thus, in the case of no. 6, rhetorical anaphora, we might imagine that the repetition of lexical items (e.g., 'We shall fight on the beaches, we shall fight on the landing grounds, we shall fight in the fields'.) gives rise to emphasis via purely natural (non-conventional) psychological processes. It seems to be true that repeating things gives them more prominence – as acknowledged by the use of phrases such as 'I cannot repeat this enough' in the context of a repeated instruction, for example. However, contrastive linguistic analysis shows that repetition of lexical items is not used to the same extent in different languages, or for the same purposes. Thus, Arabic typically makes greater use of lexical repetition than does English (e.g., Dickins, Hervey, and Higgins 2016: 141–143; Baker 2011: 216–218). Lexical repetition in Arabic, unlike in English, is also typically used to enhance textual cohesion (e.g., Dickins, Hervey, and Higgins 2016: 175–178; Hatim 2015). Thus, indexical aspects notwithstanding, there is a symbolic (conventional) aspect in the interpretation (meaning/effect) of lexical repetition in different languages – symbolicity, as noted above, dominating indexicality.

Corresponding arguments apply to all the other forms of emphasis listed in this section, with the exception of no. 7, emphatic particles, such as 'so' (as in 'That was so amusing'). These particles are purely symbolic. Emphatic meaning can thus be variously *indexical* (e.g., the shouted nature of a particular utterance), *symbolic* (*plus indexical*) (e.g., lexical repetition), or purely *symbolic* (e.g., English 'so', Arabic إنَّ *inna*).

The question of whether forms of emphasis are referential is more interesting. While words and phrases have references (and have them separately each time they are repeated), the emphasis that emerges from repetition (whether of words or phrases, or meanings) is not an additional element of reference on a par with these other references. Rather, like attitudinal and affective meaning, emphatic meaning provides an 'offstage' *parenthetical* assessment of the information provided by these words and phrases.

For a discussion of translation issues relating to emphatic meaning for Arabic, see Dickins, Hervey, and Higgins (2016: 104–105); for French, Hervey and Higgins (2002: 115–117); for German, Hervey, Higgins, and Loughridge (2006: 170–187); for Italian, Hervey, Higgins, Cragie, and Gambarotta (2005: 190–192); and for Spanish, Haywood, Thompson, and Hervey (2009: 123, 127, 133).

Thematic meaning (theme–rheme meaning)

Thematic meaning is the meaning of old/given/relatively predictable information ('theme') as compared to that of new/relatively unpredictable information ('rheme') in a clause or sentence (for recent discussions consonant with the approach taken here, see Dickins 2010; Alharthi 2010).

Like emphatic meaning, thematic meaning can be thought of in terms of effect or meaning. The effect of a theme, for example, is for the hearer/reader to assign less interest to the information in it. This can, however, be easily converted into the meaning, 'this element is being presented as old/given/relatively predictable information'. Thematic meaning is typically treated as a form of meaning in linguistics (in Hallidayan systemic-functional grammar, it is central to one of three basic types of meaning: 'textual meaning'; for example, Halliday and Matthiessen 2004). Given its strongly affective element, we will here classify thematic meaning as *meaningful/affective*. Like emphatic meaning, thematic meaning is best thought of as *parenthetical*, that is, an 'offstage' assessment of the status of the denotative meaning in the relevant stretch of language.

In Peircean terms, thematic meaning has an indexical and even iconic aspect. In many (perhaps all) languages, themes (old/given/relatively predictable information) tend to occur at the start of utterances, and rhemes (new/relatively unpredictable information) at the end. This reflects the fact that in developing new ideas (i.e., new information) we start with what is already understood and then proceed to what is not yet understood. Typical theme–rheme order thus mirrors communicative demands both indexically (in terms of cognitive processes) and iconically (in terms of the order in which we process bits of information) (cf. also Dickins 2009: 494 – where I have used the term 'topic', rather than 'theme'). Thematic meaning is, however, also symbolic. This can be seen in the fact that theme–rheme placement of the (apparently) same items in the same position in an utterance in different languages

does not necessarily have the same meaning/effect. Thus, in English, for example, thematized (utterance-initial) temporal adverbials are unmarked (i.e., only weakly emphatic), and occur frequently as linking elements in past tense narratives (e.g., '**On 11th March** the merchant bank Kleinwort Benson announced…. **Three hours later** a junior official of the DTI sent a note…. **In ten** days, the unknown Fayeds gained permission…'; Baker 2011: 144). In Dutch, by contrast, thematized temporal adverbials are strongly emphatic and contrastive, and thus do not occur in this function (Baker 2011: 144). In overall terms we can classify thematic meaning as *symbolic* (*plus indexical, plus iconic*).

For translation issues relating to thematic (theme–rheme) meaning for Arabic, see Dickins, Hervey, and Higgins (2016: 163–171). The topic is not covered in other books in the *Thinking Translation* series. Baker (2011: 131–189) provides an extended general discussion with reference to numerous languages.

Grounding meaning

Grounding meaning is the meaning of information within the sentence (or clause) as foregrounded or backgrounded, that is, as a likely candidate for further discussion in subsequent sections of the text or not. (For recent discussions consonant with the approach taken here, see Dickins 2010; Alharthi 2010).

Like emphatic meaning and thematic meaning, grounding can be thought of either in terms of effect or of meaning. The effect of a backgrounded element, for example, is for the hearer/reader to assign the information in it only temporary interest. This can, however, be easily converted into the meaning 'this element is being presented as not a likely candidate for further discussion in subsequent text'. Here, we will classify grounding as *meaningful/affective*.

In English, main clauses are almost always foregrounded while subordinate clauses are backgrounded (for some limitations, see Dickins, Hervey, and Higgins 2016: 166–171; Sekine 1996: 78). In Arabic, by contrast, main clauses, while normally foregrounded, may be backgrounded, and subordinate clauses may, under some circumstances, be foregrounded (Dickins 2010; Dickins, Hervey, and Higgins 2016: 166–171). In Peircean terms, grounding meaning is *symbolic*; it is meaning that is conventionally associated with the main–subordinate structuring of languages, and, as seen from this comparison between English and Arabic, varies from language to language. Like emphatic and thematic meaning, grounding meaning is best thought of as *parenthetical*, that is, as an 'offstage' assessment of the status of the denotative meaning in the relevant stretch of language.

For translation issues relating to grounding meaning for Arabic, see Dickins, Hervey, and Higgins (2016: 163–171). The topic is not covered in other books in the *Thinking Translation* series or by Baker (2011).

Locution-overriding illocutionary meaning

For brevity I have referred here to this type of meaning as *locution-overriding illocutionary meaning*. A less concise though more easily comprehensible term would be *illocutionary meaning that overrides locutionary meaning*. The terms 'locutionary meaning' and 'illocutionary meaning' are adapted here from Austin's (1975) 'locutionary act' and 'illocutionary act/force'. Various attempts have been made to analyse the distinction between 'locutionary meaning' and 'illocutionary meaning' in general pragmatic terms (e.g., Levinson 1983: 270–275). For current purposes, we can take locutionary meaning to mean the 'linguistic meaning' of an utterance. Accordingly, statements have locutionary meaning, but so do non-statements such as questions and commands. The locutionary meaning of 'The cat sat on the mat' is thus different from that of 'Did the cat sit on the mat?', and different from 'Sit on the mat, cat!' – though the meanings of all three are similar by virtue of their shared 'underlying' propositional content. Similarly, locutionary meaning includes figurative meaning which is 'lexicalized' (i.e., semantically fixed by the conventions of the language). Thus, the locutionary meaning of 'hit the roof' in 'When he heard the news, John hit the roof – and didn't calm down again for hours', is 'got very angry' (not the literal meaning 'collided against the house-top partition').

Illocutionary meaning is defined for current purposes as meaning that goes beyond locutionary meaning but does not annul or amend it. An example is provided by the English, 'Do you want to do the washing up?' In many contexts, this is used as a polite request, along the lines 'Please do the washing up'. This polite request meaning does not annul or amend the 'desire' ('want') meaning but operates alongside it (albeit that it can be said to override it). This can be seen from the fact that an interlocuter who did not really want to do the washing up could coherently reply to 'Do you want to do the washing up?' by saying, 'No, I don't want to do it. But if you really want me to, I will do it'. The meaning, 'Do you want to do the washing up' (i.e., 'Do you desire…') is thus the locutionary meaning of this utterance, while the meaning, 'Please do the washing up' (or similar) is its illocutionary meaning. Many phenomena of this type are not universal. In some Arabic dialects the Arabic equivalent of 'Do you want to do the washing up?', for example, does not have the illocutionary meaning of 'Please do the washing up' (though in others, it apparently does).

As seen from the fact that, depending on dialect, the Arabic equivalent of 'Do you want to do the washing up?' may or may not have the illocutionary meaning of 'Please do the washing up', locutionary meaning-overriding illocutionary meaning is *symbolic*. It is also clearly *meaningful* (rather than *meaningful/affective*). By virtue of the fact that it does not annual or amend the basic (primary) reference, locution-overriding illocutionary meaning can be analysed as *secondary-referential*, that is, providing a secondary reference in addition to the primary one.

For a brief discussion of translation issues relating to locution-overriding illocutionary meaning for Arabic, see Dickins, Hervey, and Higgins (2016: 105). The topic is not covered in other books in the *Thinking Translation* series or in Baker (2011), although she does provide an extended discussion of pragmatic equivalence (2011: 230–273).

A revised typology of meaning

Figure 7.4 below revises Figure 7.1 in a number of ways. First, it removes selectional restriction-related meaning as a category of connotative meaning, incorporating strict selectional restriction-related meaning under denotative meaning, and loose selectional restriction-related meaning under associative meaning. Second, it moves affective meaning from immediately after attitudinal meaning, to the sub-category 'language-variety-related meaning', where it more coherently belongs (see Figure 7.3), adding as an alternative term for this type of meaning 'tonal register-related meaning' in brackets. In Figure 7.1, affective meaning was placed after attitudinal meaning, because it has some analytical similarities to attitudinal meaning, and because this roughly reflects the order of discussion in the *Thinking Translation* books.

Third, Figure 7.4 characterizes each of the forms of connotative meaning discussed in this chapter in terms of three categories: (1) Whether the meaning is, in Peircean terms, *symbolic*, *indexical* (plus *quasi*-indexical), or *iconic*; (2) Whether what is involved is purely *meaningful*, or whether it can be thought of as being *meaningful/affective*; (3) Whether the phenomena are: *reference-focusing*, *parenthetical*, *secondary-referential*, or *pseudo-referential*. In Figure 7.4, I have also analysed denotative meaning, as symbolic, meaningful, and referential.

Conclusions and prospects

In this chapter, I have considered various forms of connotative meaning, particularly in terms of (1) whether the meaning relayed is, in Peircean terms, *symbolic*, *indexical* (also *quasi-indexical*) or *iconic*; (2) whether what is involved is purely *meaningful*, or on the *meaningful/affective* fuzzy boundary; and (3) whether the phenomena involved are: *reference-focusing*, *parenthetical*, *secondary-referential*, or *pseudo-referential*. I have also considered how these phenomena are treated in the *Thinking Translation* books, as well as Baker (2011). I have not, however, considered the specific relevance for translation of the analytical categories established in this chapter (*symbolic*, *indexical*, *quasi-indexical*, *iconic*; *meaningful*, *meaningful/affective; reference-focusing*, *parenthetical*, *secondary-referential*, and *pseudo-referential*), whether viewed singly or in combination. The exploration of these issues is a task for future research.

<table>
<tr><th colspan="3">Dickins, Hervey and Higgins (2016)</th><th colspan="2">Baker (2011)</th></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">Denotative meaning
(including strict selectional restriction-related meaning)
1. Symbolic
2. Meaningful
3. Referential</td><td colspan="2">Propositional/cognitive meaning</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="9">Connotative meaning</td><td colspan="2">Associative meaning
(including loose selectional restriction-related meaning)
1. (a) Extralinguistic-based: Indexical (within symbolic);
(b) Linguistic-based: Symbolic;
(c) Communicative-efficiency based: quasi-indexical (within symbolic)
2. Meaningful
3. Reference-narrowing</td><td colspan="2" rowspan="4">Expressive meaning</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Attitudinal meaning
1. Symbolic
2. Meaningful
3. Parenthetical</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Allusive meaning
1. Symbolic (plus iconic)
2. Meaningful
3. Pseudo-referential</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Reflected meaning
1. Symbolic (plus quasi-indexical)
2. Meaningful
3. Pseudo-referential</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Collocative meaning
1. Symbolic (plus quasi-indexical)
2. Meaningful
3. Pseudo-referential</td><td>Collocation restriction-related meaning</td><td>Presupposed meaning</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="3">Language-variety-related meaning</td><td>(Geographical) dialect-related meaning
1. (a) Primary: Symbolic
(b) Secondary: Indexical
2. Meaningful
3. Parenthetical</td><td>Geographical dialect-related meaning</td><td>Evoked meaning</td></tr>
<tr><td>Temporal dialect-related meaning
1. (a) Primary: Symbolic
(b) Secondary: Indexical
2. Meaningful
3. Parenthetical</td><td>Temporal dialect-related meaning</td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td>Sociolect-related meaning
1. (a) Primary: Symbolic
(b) Secondary: Indexical
2. Meaningful
3. Parenthetical</td><td>Register-related meaning</td><td></td></tr>
</table>

Figure 7.4. A revised typology of meaning.

Dickins, Hervey and Higgins (2016)			**Baker (2011)**
		Social register-related meaning 1. (a) Primary: *Symbolic* (b) Secondary: *Indexical* 2. *Meaningful* 3. *Parenthetical*	
		Affective meaning (tonal register-related meaning) 1. *Symbolic* 2. *Meaningful/affective* 3. *Parenthetical*	Expressive meaning
	Information prominence-related meaning	Emphasis (emphatic meaning) 1. (a) *Indexical* (b) *Symbolic* (*plus indexical*) 2. *Meaningful/affective* 3. *Parenthetical*	*No category*
		Thematic meaning (theme–rheme meaning) 1. *Symbolic* (*plus indexical, plus iconic*) 2. *Meaningful/affective* 3. *Parenthetical*	Theme and information structure
		Grounding meaning 1. *Symbolic* (*plus indexical*) 2. *Meaningful/affective* 3. *Parenthetical*	*No precise category, but cf.* Theme and information structure
	Locution-overriding illocutionary meaning 1. *Symbolic* 2. *Meaning* 3. *Secondary-referential*		Pragmatic meaning (esp. implicature)

Figure 7.4. (Continued)

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Chapter 8

A case study of modality in legal translation: The Omani constitution

Mohammed Farghal

Introduction

The general existing literature on modality (Halliday 1970; Lyons 1977; Perkins 1983; Coates 1983; and Palmer 1986/2001, among others) divides it into two basic categories: epistemic and deontic. While epistemic modality involves the producer expressing his or her judgement of a state of affairs in terms of the likelihood of its occurrence apart from asserted propositions, deontic modality views any state of affairs in terms of necessity, which ranges between placing a strong obligation on the referent and a weak one (permission). In this way, epistemic modality views propositions as 'information', while deontic modality views them as 'action' (Palmer 1986). In addition, several semanticists (e.g., Palmer 2001; Huddleston and Pullum 2002; Nuyts 2001; Nuyts et al. 2005) list dynamic modality as a third type of modality, which is traditionally listed under deontic modality. Dynamic modality basically involves the use of the modal verbs *can*/*could* and *will* or *shall*/*would* in utterances where they assert propositions about the subject of the sentence without any trace of the producer's modalizing the proposition, whether epistemically or deontically, for example, *John will*/*shall travel to Paris next month*. Because of the absence of any modality shade of meaning, Gisborne (2007) rightly suggests removing this type from the domain of modality altogether, arguing for a grammaticalization process of the modals *can* and *will*/*shall* in such cases.

In general, the verb may be considered the most prominent element in a sentence because of the fact that it relates the participants in a proposition together to produce a meaningful unit of discourse. Whereas lexical verbs perform this function straightforwardly based on their semantics, auxiliary verbs, including modal verbs, are employed within verb groups in order to add nuances of meaning, such as aspect and modality, to the proposition (Farghal and Beqri 2012). A modal verb, as defined by the *Longman Dictionary of American English* (2008: 643), is 'a verb that is used with other verbs to change their meaning by expressing ideas such as possibility, permission, orientation'. Modality, which seems to be a linguistic universal, may vary from one language to another based on the nature of its grammatical as well as its lexical system

(Abdel-Fattah 2005; Farghal and Shunnaq 2011). Such variation may result in discrepancies and gaps that create serious difficulty in translation activity.

Examining modality from a translational perspective, Baker (1992) divides modals into *action* modals and *belief* modals. While the former express nuances such as permitting, recommending, or prohibiting, the latter express the producer's beliefs about the likelihood of a certain situation. Baker argues that modality between English and Arabic translation can be problematic because English modals are predominantly grammatical while their Arabic counterparts are a mix of grammatical and lexical resources. Several studies on Arabic modality (Zayed 1984; El-Hassan 1990; Farghal and Shunnaq 2011; Abdel-Fattah 2005; Al-Qinai 2008; Al-Ashoor 2009; Wided 2010) mostly reach the general conclusion that Arabic lacks a highly grammaticalized system of modals, although it possesses a rich lexico–grammatical means to express various modality shades of meaning in discourse. These authors mainly present interlingual data in the two languages in lists of items or in decontextualized sentences (e.g., see Abdel-Fattah 2005 and Al-Qinai 2008) based on the dichotomy of epistemic vs deontic modality. Few studies (e.g., Badran 2001; Farghal and Beqri 2012; Al-Hamly and Farghal 2016), however, examine textual data extracted from authentic discourse. Badran shows that Arabic modal expressions in political discourse may be subject to manipulation when translated into Arabic, while Farghal and Beqri, and Al-Hamly and Farghal, indicate that modality shades of meaning can be problematic in literary translation (drama and fiction, respectively).

Moving on to legal discourse, English legal jargon has been widely researched (e.g., Crystal and Davy 1969; Bhatia 1983; Danet 1984, 1985; Goodrich 1990). This jargon exhibits certain patterns that are not found in other technical materials or other general varieties. The draftsmen's incessant effort to externalize intentions in their documents so as to avoid ambiguity inevitably brings about inherent peculiarities of legislative texts. These peculiarities are mainly established forms or norms that are taken from the standardized legal register, such as the phrase 'In Witness Whereof' or the legal use of 'shall' to express deontic modality. Crystal and Davy (1969: 194) write, 'Therefore, much legal writing is by no means spontaneous but is copied directly from "form books", as they are called, in which established formulae are collected'. Hence, legal English exhibits a high degree of linguistic conservatism.

The features of legal English, as expounded by Crystal and Davy (1969: 213), are many. First, the features of layout, by which attention is drawn to the parts of the documents that are crucial to meaning. Second, the grammatical characteristics such as the chain-like nature of some of the constructions, syntactic discontinuity (Bhatia 1983), and the minimal use of anaphora. Third, the careful interplay between precise and flexible terminology in vocabulary. Finally, the legal register's preservation at all levels of forms that have long been abandoned, such as 'hereons' and 'hereunders'.

Table 8.1 Distribution of functions of deontic modality in Arabic ST

Category	*No.*	*%*
Imposition of Obligations	92	46.0
Assigning Responsibilities	44	22.0
Prohibition	41	20.5
Conferring Rights and Permissions	23	11.5
Total	200	100%

On the other hand, Arabic legal discourse, which manifests similar peculiar technical features, has only been investigated from a translational perspective between English and Arabic, focusing on certain genres/aspects: for example, UN resolutions (Farghal and Shunnaq 1993), general legal documents (Hatim et al. 1995), Arabic religious documents (Shunnaq and Farghal 1999), contracts (Mohammed et al. 2010; Emery 1989), general linguistic features (Shiflett 2012; El-Farahaty 2015), and so forth. As legal discourse belongs to institutional translation, which is culture dependent (Newmark 1988), Shiflett (2012: 29) argues that '[l]egal translators are obligated to not only speak the target and the source languages fluently, they must be closely familiar with the law and the legal system in the country where the translated text originated, and the country for which the translation is being prepared'. It combines, according to Harvey (2002: 177), 'the inventiveness of literary translation with the terminological precision of technical translation'.

The aim of this chapter is to investigate Arabic modality markers as employed in Omani Basic Statute of the State (issued in 1996 and amended in 2011) and examine their counterparts in the official English translation. The data consists of 200 instances of modality (all deontic) which have been closely examined in an attempt to explore how the Arabic resources are employed in this type of legal discourse and detect what translation procedures are used to capture the shades of modality they encapsulate. Table 8.1 below shows the distribution of functions within deontic modality.

In addition, the British and the American constitutions will also be examined briefly in order to, first, detect any differences between them in the employment of deontic modality markers and, second, to compare the English translation markers of deontic modality in the Omani constitution with the modality markers in both the British and American constitutions.

Data analysis and discussion

Imposition of obligations

Constitutional texts tend to impose obligations and set forth duties, a tendency accounting for a full 46 per cent of the examples in the textual data. Arabic constitutional discourse employs several types of obligation-oriented

modality markers, which can be classified into: (1) action obligations (72 instances/78.26%), (2) duty obligations (13 cases/15.13%), and (3) conditional obligations (6 instances/ 6.52%).

Action obligations

The Arabic examples involving action legal obligations categorically employ the Arabic simple present المضارع البسيط to communicate the message that an act will thereof impose an obligation upon its declaration. In 70 out of 72 instances, the legal *shall* is employed in English to instate a corresponding obligation. The examples below are illustrative:

1. يتولى نواب رئيس الوزراء والوزراء الإشراف على شؤون وحداتهم ويقومون بتنفيذ السياسة العامة للحكومة فيها .كما يرسمون اتجاهات الوحدة ويتابعون تـنفيذها،

The Deputies to the Prime Minister and the Ministers *shall supervise* the affairs of their units, *implement* the general policy of the Government therein, *draw up* the guidelines of the unit and *follow up* the implementation thereof.

2. تجرى التعديلات المرفقة على النظام الأساسي للدولة.

The attached amendments *shall be made* to the Basic Statute of the State.

3. تكون اجتماعات مجلس الوزراء صحيحة بحضور أغلبية أعضائه.

The meetings of the Council of Ministers *shall be made valid* by the presence of the majority.

4. وتحدد القوانين والاتـفاقيات الدولية أحكام تسليم المجرمين.

Laws and international treaties *shall determine* the rules for the extradition of criminals.

As can be observed, the legally employed Arabic simple present in the examples above technically corresponds to the legal *shall* in English: they both impose action obligations that become effective upon declaration. Notice that the use of the English simple present instead of the legal *shall* may strip them of their technicality and turn them into factual statements that are devoid of the deontic shade of meaning, as can be seen in (5) and (6) below, which rephrase (2) and (3) above:

5. The attached amendments *are made* to the Basic Statute of the State.
6. The meetings of the Council of Ministers *are (made) valid* by the presence of the majority.

By the same token, the use of the Simple Future in Arabic would deprive the utterances of their technicality and turn them into statements expressing future acts that are devoid of deontic modality, as can be noted in (7) and (8) below: [back-translations in square brackets]

7. **ستجرى** التعديلات المرفقة على النظام الأساسي للدولة.

[The attached amendments *will be made* to the Basic Statute of the State.]

8. **ستكون** اجتماعات مجلس الوزراء صحيحة بحضور أغلبية أعضائه.

[The meetings of the Council of Ministers *will be* valid by the presence of the majority.]

In this way, the Arabic simple present and the English legal *shall* prove to be technically equivalent in expressing *action legal* obligations. The two cases in which the translator has employed the English simple present as an equivalent to the Arabic simple present may reduce their technicality because they read like statements describing existing facts rather than ones that impose legal obligations. Both are given in (9) and (10) below:

9. **يحدد** القانون علم الدولة وشعارها وأوسمتها ونشيدها.

The Law *determines* the Flag, Emblem, Insignia and National Anthem of the State.

10. يشترط لصحة انعقاد كل من مجلس الدولة ومجلس الشورى حضور أغلبية أعضائه.

The validity of a meeting of Majlis Al Dawla and Majlis Al Shura *requires* the presence of the majority.

One should note that the use of the legal *shall* in the English renderings of (9) and (10) will enhance their technicality and make them more congruent with the English legal register as statements imposing legal obligations (11 and 12 below).

11. The Law *shall* determine the Flag, Emblem, Insignia and National Anthem of the State.
12. The validity of a meeting of Majlis Al Dawla and Majlis Al Shura *shall* require the presence of the majority.

Duty obligations

Assigning duties, which accounts for 12 cases, mainly takes the form of verb-less Arabic nominal sentences (syntactically known as equational sentences; for more on these, see Obeidat and Farghal 1994). They assign duties by featuring

lexical modality markers, which are nouns derived from modal verbs (e.g., the nominal واجب 'duty' is derived from the modal verb يجب 'must') or grammatical modality markers (e.g., the preposition على, which is commonly used to assign duties). In terms of translation, English usually employs the modal noun 'duty' as the head of the predicate in copulative sentences when rendering sentences featuring واجب and the legal *shall* when rendering sentences featuring على. The following sentences are illustrative:

13. الحفاظ على الوحدة الوطنية وصيانة أسرار الدولة **واجب** على كل مواطن.

[Preserving the national unity and safeguarding the secrets of the State (is) a duty (incumbent) upon every citizen.]

Preserving the national unity and safeguarding the secrets of the State is *a duty* incumbent upon every Citizen.

14. أداء الضرائب والتكاليف العامة **واجب** وفقا للقانون.

[Paying taxes and public dues (is) a duty according to the law.]

Paying taxes and public dues is *a duty* according to the Law.

15. **وعليه** (كل أجنبي) مراعاة قيم المجتمع واحترام تقاليده ومشاعره.

[Every foreigner must observe the values of the society and respect its traditions and feelings.]

He (every foreigner) *shall* observe the values of the Society and respect the traditions.

16. **وعليهم** (أعضاء مجلس الوزراء) في كل الأحوال أن يستهدفوا بسلوكهم مصالح الوطن وإعلاء كلمة الصالح العام.

[Members of the Council of Ministers must, in all circumstances, pursue by their conduct the interests of the country and work in furtherance of the public benefit.]

They (Members of the Council of Ministers) *shall* always, by their conduct, pursue the interests of the Country and work in furtherance of the public benefit

On the one hand, the duty obligations in (13) and (14), which express stative situations, are lexicalized by the modality noun واجب and the modality noun *duty* in equational Arabic sentences and their counterpart copulative English sentences, respectively. One should note that changing a stative situation into a dynamic one would require the employment of the strong Arabic modal verb يجب, viz. **يجب** أدا الضرائب والتكاليف العامة وفقا للقانون ('Taxes and public dues *must* be paid according to the Law'), which is avoided in Arabic legal discourse in

favour of the nominal واجب (e.g., (14) above or the simple present, viz. **تُدفع** الضرائب والتكاليف العامة وفقا للقانون ('Taxes and public dues *shall* be paid according to the Law').

On the other hand, Arabic duty obligations expressed in utterances with the preposition على in (15) and (16) involve dynamic situations; hence, they translate into English utterances employing the legal *shall*. Notably, the lexicalization of Arabic deontic modality (e.g., the use of the nominal واجب 'duty') may require lexicalizing it when rendering it into English (e.g., by the use of the noun *duty*). By contrast, obligations including the Arabic deontic preposition على are grammaticalized into the legal *shall* when rendered into English.

Conditional obligations

Arabic conditional legal obligations commonly employ the conditional marker إذا, which requires the use of the past tense in the conditional clause and may employ it in the result clause. Such conditional sentences involve real conditions on future acts that may take place and, consequently, instate obligations when such conditions are realized. In terms of translation, they correspond to English Type 1 conditionals in which the legal *shall* rather than the non-legal *will* is employed, as can be observed in (17) and (18) below:

17. فإذا **تم** انتخاب أحد الموظفين العموميين لعضوية المجلس **اعتبرت** خدمته منتهية من تاريخ إعلان النتائج،

In case a public employee is elected to the membership of the Majlis, his service *shall* be considered terminated from the date of the announcement of the results,

18. إذا **حُل** مجلس الشورى **توقفت** جلسات مجلس الدولة..

If Majlis Al Shura is dissolved, Majlis Al Dawla sessions *shall* be suspended …

19. فإذا **اختلف** المجلسان بشأن المشروع **اجتمعا** في جلسة مشتركة..

If the two Majlis disagree upon the draft law, they shall hold a joint meeting …

The examples above clearly show that there are some register constraints governing the coding of conditional obligations. On the one hand, Arabic chooses a conditional marker, commonly اذإ, which requires the use of the simple past in the conditional clause and, as a distancing procedure, may call for the employment of the simple past in the result clause (17–19 above). On the other hand, English employs the legal *shall* in the result clause of a Type 1 conditional instead of the non-legal *will*. Failing to do so in both languages

would result in non-legal discourse, as is illustrated in the rephrasing of (19) above in (20) below non-legally:

(20) فإذا اختلف المجلسان بشأن المشروع **يجتمعا** في جلسة مشتركة..

If the two Majlis disagree upon the draft, they *will* hold a joint meeting …

Notably, both the Arabic and the English result clauses in (20) are interpreted as possible consequences of real conditions without inducing the legal nuance of obligation, hence their register deficit.

Assigning responsibilities

Examination of the data shows that assigning responsibilities in Arabic constitutional discourse can be classified into action responsibilities (34 instances) and stative responsibilities (10 instances). While imposing obligations is generally directed toward institutions and people in general, assigning responsibilities is directed toward bodies and individuals which/who assume authority, such as the state and ministers.

Action responsibilities

Action responsibilities, just like action obligations, are performed by employment of the Arabic simple present as well as the Arabic deontic preposition على. In terms of translation, they both require the use of the legal *shall*. The following are illustrative examples:

21. الثروات الطبيعية جميعها ومواردها كافة ملك للدولة، **تقوم** على حفظها وحسن استغلالها ..

All natural wealth and resources thereof are the property of the State, which *shall* preserve and utilize them in the best manner…

22. **وتمنع** الدولة كل ما يؤدي للفرقة أو الفتنة ..

The State *shall* prevent anything that might lead to division, discord …

23. .. **وعلى** الدولة حمايتها ..

… the State *shall* protect it …

24. **وعلى** رئيس مجلس الدولة رفعه إلى جلالة السلطان

The Chairman of Majlis Al Dawla *shall* submit the same to His Majesty.

While (21) and (22) above assign action responsibilities by the employment of the simple present, viz. تقوم and تمنع, (23) and (24) perform the same function by using the deontic preposition على. In both cases, English utilizes the legal *shall* to assign action responsibilities.

However, in 8 out of the 34 instances of assigning action responsibilities, the translator has opted for the simple present instead of the legal *shall*, which is an alternate option in British constitutional discourse. Below are two illustrative examples:

25. القانون عقـاب من يفعـل ذلك **ويحدد**

The Law *stipulates* punishment of whomever commits such acts.

26. كما **تعمل** على المحافظة على البيئة وحمايتها

The State also *works* for the conservation of the environment,

The English renderings of (25) and (26) need to be rewritten using the legal *shall* in American constitutional discourse (see Section 4), as in (27) and (28) below:

27. The Law *shall* stipulate punishment of whomever commits such acts.
28. The State *shall* also work for the conservation of the environment,

Stative responsibilities

Stative responsibilities, which usually involve states implying the responsibility of an understood party (usually an agent), are mainly assigned by the employment of Arabic passive participle forms in equational sentences (for more on the translation of passive forms between English and Arabic, see Farghal and Al-Shorafat 1996; Al-Khafaji 1996). In a few cases, however, an active participle with an expressed subject whose function is *theme* rather than *agent* is utilized (for more on semantic roles, see Kreidler 2014). In terms of translation, the translator opts to render passive participle forms into English passive forms whose agents are implied, while the active participle form (one instance only/example 30 below) is relayed as a simple present copulative sentence whose predicate is semantically headed by an adjective. Following are some illustrative examples:

28. الملكية الخاصة **مصونة**

Private ownership *is safeguarded*

29. حرية القيـام بالشعائر الدينية طـبقا للعـادات المرعيـة **مصونة**

The freedom to practice religious rites according to recognized customs *is protected*,

30. أعضـاء مجلـس الـوزراء **مسؤولون** سـياسيا مسؤولية تضـامنية أمام السلطان عن تنفيذ السياسة العامة للدولة

Members of the Council of Ministers are politically collectively responsible before His Majesty the Sultan

As can be seen, the Arabic passive participle form مصونة (is safeguarded/protected) functions as the predicator of the Arabic sentences in (28) and (29) and is translated into English passive predicators, viz., *be safeguarded* and *be protected*. As for (30), the Arabic active participle مسؤولون functions as the predicator of the sentence and has a subject that is interpreted as a theme. That is to say, the subject أعضاء مجلس الوزراء is charged with a responsibility. The English rendering simply employs the adjective *responsible*, whose subject, *Members of the Council of Ministers*, is interpreted as a theme charged with a responsibility. However, the examples in (28) – (30) would use the legal *shall* in American English, for example: *Private ownership shall be safeguarded*.

Prohibition

Prohibition, which is an important function of modality in language, is performed using both explicit and implicit negation in both Arabic and English. In Arabic legal discourse, one can distinguish between action and stative prohibitions that may employ both types of negation.

Action prohibitions

Arabic action prohibitions mainly employ explicit negation by the negative particle لا, which is usually followed by the Arabic deontic verb يجوز, viz. 23 out of 30 action prohibitions employ this legally oriented deontic verb. This deontic verb can be contrasted with other Arabic deontic verbs that share the same semantics such as يُسمح and يُمكن but may not be used in the legal register. In terms of translation, the translator has opted for negation by two devices: negation of the legal *shall* (17 cases) and literal translation into *It is not permissible to* (13) cases. Following are some illustrative examples:

31. ولا **يجوز** مد فترة المجلس إلا للضرورة

The term of the Majlis *shall* not be extended unless there is a necessity

32. لا **يعرّض** أي إنسان للتعذيب المادي أو المعنوي

No person *shall* be subjected to physical or psychological torture

33. ولا **يجوز** لأية هيئة أو جماعة إنشاء تشكيلات عسكرية أو شبه عسكرية

It is not permissible for any authority or group to establish military or paramilitary formations

34. لا **يجوز** الحجز أو الحبس في غير الأماكن المخصصة لذلك

It is not permissible to detain or imprison in places other than those designated for…

While the negated legal *shall* appropriately renders the Arabic prohibitions in (31) and (32), one should notice that the translator's opting for literal translation of the Arabic negated deontic verb يجوز in (33) and (34) may not be the best option in the legal register. In fact, I have not found a single case of the use of *it is not permissible to* for expressing prohibition in the American or British constitutions. Therefore, the English renderings in (33) and (34) may respectively be rephrased using either the negated legal *shall* or *may* in (35) and (36) below:

35. No authority or group *shall/may* establish military or paramilitary formations.
36. No person *shall/may* be detained or imprisoned in places other than those designated for …

In this way, prohibitions that are deontically lexicalized in legal Arabic lend themselves appropriately to grammatical rather than lexical deontic modality in English.

Arabic action prohibitions may also use implicit negation (3 cases) by the employment of verbs whose semantics involve the prohibition of some states of affairs, usually the deontic verb يُحظر 'It is prohibited', which must be followed by a *masdar* ('a present participle form'). In terms of translation, the translator has used explicit negation in one case and implicit negation in two cases. Consider the two examples below:

37. **ويحظر** إيذاء المتهم جسمانيا أو معنويا

It is not permissible to harm an accused either bodily or mentally.

38. **ويحظر** إنشاء جمعيات يكون نشاطها معاديا لنظام المجتمع

It is prohibited to form societies the activity of which is adverse to the order of society,

One should note that the implicit negation in (38) is more appropriate in the legal register than the paraphrased explicit negation in (37). To recover explicit negation in the English rendering of (37), it is more appropriate to employ the legal *shall/may* (see examples 35 and 36 above).

Stative prohibitions

Though infrequently employed, because prohibitions commonly enforce actions through negation, Arabic can legally express prohibitions (5 instances out of 41) statively by employing equational sentences which may involve both explicit and implicit negation. In such cases, explicit negation uses the negative particle لا followed by a *masdar* or a count common noun derived from the *masdar*, while implicit negation may employ a deontic noun derived from a deontic *masdar*. In terms of translation, English negative copulative sentences featuring the legal *shall* are the most appropriate way to render explicit negation, while a deontic noun may lend itself to English affixal negation. The following examples are illustrative:

39. لا **جريمـة** ولا **عقوبـة** إلا بناء على قانون، ولا **عقاب** إلا على الأفعـال الـلاحقة للعمل بالقـانـون الذي ينص عليهـا.

There *shall* be no crime except by virtue of a Law. There *shall* be no punishment, except for acts subsequent to the entry into force of the Law wherein such acts are stated.

40. للأموال العـامة **حرمتها**

Public property is *inviolable*

In (39), the prohibitions featuring the negated common nouns جريمة and عقوبة and the negated *masdar* عقاب lend themselves appropriately to translating into English copulative sentences featuring the negative particle *no* (which is necessitated by the fact that a noun rather than an act is being negated) and the legal *shall*. Notice that the rephrasing of a stative prohibition as an action prohibition in Arabic would require different textualizations in English. The first part of (39) is rephrased as an illustrative example in (41):

41. لا يجرّم أو يعاقب شخص إلا بناء على قانون

The Arabic action prohibition in (41) appropriately lends itself to an English corresponding action prohibition rather than a stative one, as in (42) below:

42. No person *shall*/*may* be incriminated or punished except by virtue of a Law.

As for the Arabic prohibition in (40), it is expressed statively by employing a deontic noun حرمة 'being sacred/inviolable' derived from a major Islamic religious concept حرام ('what is religiously forbidden'), which is the opposite of the concept حلال ('what is religiously sanctioned'). The translator has appropriately employed affixal negation (i.e., *inviolable*) to render the Arabic

prohibition statively in English. One should note that the use of other morphologically related forms such as the passive participle محرمة, the *masdar* حرام and the passive verb يُحرم may affect the semantics of the deontic noun حرمة and, consequently, may not fit the legal register. For example, using the verb يُحرم to rephrase (40) would produce the prohibition تحرم الأموال العامة, which translates into *public property is forbidden*, thus producing a prohibition with a completely different meaning. To produce the intended prohibition, a morphologically- unrelated Arabic *masdar* must be added after the verb such as المساس ('touching'), as in (43) below:

43. **يُحرم المساس** بالأموال العامة.

Public property *shall/may* not be violated.

Conferring rights and permissions

Conferring rights

The examination of the data indicates that conferring rights in Arabic legal discourse is overwhelmingly performed by prefixing the deontic لام to the conferee, followed by a *masdar* representing the semantics of the relevant right. Linguistically, this produces Arabic equational sentences designating states (15 out 19 instances). In terms of translation, it has been noticed that the translator has used different deontic procedures depending on the status of the conferee (e.g., *His Majesty the Sultan* vs *Omani citizens*). On the one hand, he/she alternates between the legal *shall* in *shall have the right to* and the simple present in *have the right to* when the conferee is an ordinary person. On the other hand, the translator opts for wholly grammaticalizing the right by employing *may* when the conferee is *the Sultan* or an authoritative person/body, thus legally capturing the power discrepancy between the two parties. Witness the following examples:

44. **للمواطنين** حق الاجتماع ضمن حدود القانون.

The citizens *have* the right to assemble within the limits of the Law.

45. **له** (المتهم) ولمن ينوب عنه التظلم أمام القضاء

He or his representative *shall* have the right to petition …

46. **لجلالة السلطان** دعوة مجلس عمان للاجتماع في الحالات التي يقدرها

His Majesty the Sultan *may* summon Majlis Oman, outside the regular session …

47. **لمجلس عمان** اقتراح مشروعات قوانين

Majlis Oman *may* propose draft laws …

As can be seen, (44) and (45) confer rights by prefixing the deontic لام to [- power] conferees; they lend themselves to translation into either the simple present (44) or the legal *shall* (45). One should note that both of the Arabic utterances may be rephrased by recovering the present form of the verb يحق ('have the right'), which is derived from the explicit or implicit *masdar* حقّ ('right'), as below:

48. **يحق** للمواطنين الاجتماع ضمن حدود القانون.
49. **يحق** للمتهم ولمن ينوب عنه التظلم أمام القضاء.

Although the corpus does not include any examples in which the *masdar* حقّ is verbalized into يحقّto confer rights, there is one case employing a similar stative verb, as is shown below:

50. **يتمتع** كل أجنبي موجود في السلطنة بصفة قانونية بحماية شخصه ..

Every foreigner who is legally present in the Sultanate *shall* enjoy protection for himself …

The Arabic example in (50) may be rephrased using the deontic لام to confer rights, as is shown below:

51. لكل أجنبي موجود في السلطنة بصفة قانونية حق بحماية شخصه

Every foreigner who is legally present in Sultanate *shall have/has* the right to protect himself.

Finally, the conferral of Arabic conditional rights (5 cases), just like conditional obligations, should employ a distancing procedure by using the simple past rather than the simple present in the result clause. However, such a distancing device may escape the translator in some cases (53 below). Conferring such conditional rights is rendered into English using the legal *shall* in type 1 conditionals, as can be illustrated below:

52. فإذا صدر الحكم ببطلان عضويته وإلغاء قرار فوزه، **عاد** إلى وظيفته..

If the decision is made to invalidate his membership and annul the decision of his win, he *shall* return to his employment …

53. وفي حال الطعن في صحة عضويته **يظل** محتفظا بوظيفته..

and in case of a challenge to his membership he *shall* retain his employment …

Examining (52) and (53), one can argue that the use of the simple past in the result clause of (52) is more appropriate than the use of the simple present in the result clause of (53). Thus, (53) will sound more congruent with the Arabic legal register if rephrased as (54) below:

54. وفي حال الطعن في صحة عضويته **ظل** محتفظا بوظيفته ..

Conferring permissions

The data includes four cases of conferring permissions, all of which feature the Arabic deontic verb يجوز, which seems to be the hallmark of this modality function. Similarly, one would expect the modal auxiliary *may* to hold a comparable status when conferring permissions in English. The following examples are illustrative:

55. و**يجوز** عقد جلسات غير علنية في الحالات التي ..

Closed sessions *may* be convened in circumstances …

56. و**يجوز** لمن انتهت فترة عضويته الترشح ثانية لعضوية مجلس الشورى

It is permissible for whoever completes his membership term to run again as a candidate to Majlis Al Shura

57. والحدود التي **يجوز** فيها التنازل عن شيء من هذه الأملاك

… the limits within which part of these properties *can* be assigned …

Looking at the renderings of the conferred permissions in (55)–(56), one may argue that the translation in (55) is the most congruent with the English legal register. It has already been noted (in the section 'Action prohibitions') that the phrase *it is not permissible to* does not appear in the American and the British constitutions, and the same is the case with *it is permissible to* when conferring permissions. Also, *may* is more legally appropriate than *can* when conferring permissions because legal discourse is characterized by clarity and precision, a condition that is not met by *can*, which usually fluctuates between *ability* and *permission* readings. In this way, the English translations in (56) and (57) may be more appropriately rephrased as (58) and (59) below:

58. Whoever completes his membership term *may* run again as a candidate to Majlis Al Shura
59. … the limits within which part of these properties *may* be assigned …

Variation in English constitutional discourse

Examining the legal discourse in the British and American constitutions shows that there is a key difference between them in the use of the legal *shall* for performing different modality functions. On the one hand, the British constitution generally moves freely between the simple present and the legal *shall* in expressing various affairs. The American constitution, on the other

hand, consistently employs the legal *shall* in its articles. The following two extracts attest to this kind of difference.

> 60. The Senate of the United States *shall* be composed of two Senators from each State, for six Years; and each Senator *shall* have one Vote. Immediately after they *shall* be assembled in Consequence of the first Election, they *shall* be divided as equally as may be into three Classes. The Seats of the Senators of the first Class *shall* be vacated at the Expiration of the second Year …
>
> 61. The Cabinet —
>
> 1. *has* the general direction and control of the government of the United Kingdom;
>
> and
>
> 2. *is* collectively responsible to Parliament for the performance by the Government of its functions.
>
> 62. The Ministers *shall* include —
>
> 1. a Chancellor of the Exchequer (having responsibility for finance);
> 2. a Minister of Justice (having responsibility for courts and legal services);
> 3. a Minister having responsibility for international relations, who *shall* be appointed from among members of the House of Commons.

As can be observed, the extract from the American constitution in (60) uses the legal *shall* throughout (there are 5 occurrences of it). By contrast, the extracts from the British constitution (61 and 62 above) show a kind of free choice between the simple present and the legal *shall*, viz. (61) and (62) involve a similar affair but the former employs the simple present while the latter uses the legal *shall*. One may speculate that the choice is dependent on whether the state of affairs in question is a stative or an action affair. For this speculation to be borne out, the extract in (62), by virtue of its referring to a stative affair, should start with 'The Ministers include' rather than 'The Ministers shall include', which is not the case. This free movement between the simple present and the legal *shall* in the British constitution is even attested within the same article, as can be seen below:

> 64. A local authority —
>
> 1. *shall* perform such functions as Act of the parent Assembly shall determine; and
> 2. *has* general competence to undertake whatever measures it sees fit for the benefit of all those within its area, including the making of bye-laws…

This may be due to the fact that the British constitution has not been as a written document the way the American constitution has. Hence, when translating highly codified written constitutions of Arab countries into English, it would be more appropriate to use the American constitution as a model.

However, the two constitutions generally agree on the use of the legal *shall not* for expressing prohibitions, with the negative particle usually brought to focus at the beginning of the sentence (*No…shall*). In a few cases, prohibitions are performed by *may not* and lexicalization by *be prohibited*. In neither of the two constitutions are there any traces of lexicalizing prohibitions by the phrase *It is not permissible to*, which is frequently used for coding prohibitions in the English translation of the Omani constitution. This being the case, and in order to be more congruent with English constitutional discourse, most of these cases can be rephrased using more standard legal discourse in English. For example, (65) and (66) below may be rewritten as (67) and (68) to conform to the norms of English constitutional discourse:

65. *It is not permissible* for any authority or group to establish military or paramilitary formations.

66. It is not permissible to detain or imprison in places other than those designated for…

67. No authority or group *shall/may* establish military or paramilitary formations.

68. No person *shall/may* be detained or imprisoned in places other than those designated for…

One further key difference between American constitutional discourse and British constitutional discourse relates to how rights are conferred. While the former consistently confers rights by empowering a party to act in a certain way using the phrase *shall have the power to*, the latter usually entitles a party to act in a certain way by employing the phrase *have the right to*. In terms of translation, the translator of the Omani constitution adopts the British method while subtly distinguishing between conferring rights on ordinary people and conferring rights on authority people/bodies. In the former case, the phrase *have the right to* is used (e.g., in *citizens have the right to do something*), while in the latter case *may* is employed (e.g., *His Majesty the Sultan may do something*). Apparently, the translation of the Omani constitution was guided by British rather than American constitutional discourse, as Oman was colonized by the British and still has close ties with the UK.

Concluding remarks

The main objective of this chapter has been to detect key modality features of Arabic constitutional discourse by examining the Omani constitution as a

case study from a translational perspective. Several conclusions can be drawn from this study:

(1) Arabic constitutional discourse employs deontic modality to perform a variety of functions, including imposing obligations, assigning responsibility, prohibition, and conferring rights and permissions. It utilizes a variety of modality markers to communicate these functions, including both grammatical (e.g., the لام prefixed to a noun to confer rights) and lexical (e.g., the employment of the verb يجوز for expressing prohibitions and permissions). English constitutional discourse is largely grammaticalized (and sparingly lexicalized) through the use of the modal auxiliaries *shall* and *may* for a variety of functions. In contrast, Arabic deontic modality tends to be less grammaticalized and more lexicalized, for example, the heavy use of the simple present form and the noticeable employment of deontic lexical/particle markers.

(2) Insofar as verb tense is concerned, the Arabic simple present emerges as the hallmark of deontic modality, marking both deontic-free verbs (e.g., ينشر 'be published' and تستمر 'continue') and deontic-related verbs (e.g., يجوز 'be permissible' and يُحظر 'be prohibited'). In terms of translation, however, deontic modality expressed by deontic-free verbs lends itself to translating into the legal *shall*, while some cases of deontic modality expressed by deontic-related verbs may be lexicalized in British constitutional discourse: for example, *have the right to* and *be prohibited*. In general, the commonality of using the simple present verb form for legal *shall* in English.

(3) The Arabic لا negated deontic verb يجوز ('be impermissible') and its positive counterpart يجوز emerge as the standard means of expressing prohibitions and conferring permissions, while the deontic لام prefixed to the first noun in the utterance in question holds a similar status for conferring rights. In terms of translation, the negated *shall*, particularly the phrase *No…shall* in both American and British English, seems to be the most appropriate for expressing prohibitions, despite the fact that the translator in this case study mostly opts for the phrase *it is not permissible to*, which does not occur in the American and British constitutions. For conferring rights, the modal auxiliary *may*, the verb *to have*, or the phrase *have the right to* are the most used in British constitutional discourse, while the phrase *shall have the power to* is consistently used in its American counterpart.

(4) Equational Arabic sentences (i.e., verbless sentences) prove to be an important tool for expressing various deontic modality functions in Arabic constitutional discourse. They usually feature deontic-derived nouns such as واجب ('duty') or a passive participle deontic form such as محظور ('prohibited'). In addition to rendering them by the legal *shall*,

passive participles may lend themselves to lexicalization into passive forms, such as 'is protected' and 'is prohibited' in British English.

(5) Arabic constitutional discourse employs the simple past instead of the simple present in the result clauses of conditional sentences as a distancing procedure. Such conditional sentences represent real conditions and correspond to type 1 English conditionals. In terms of translation, the English legal *shall* is employed instead of the non-legal *will* in the result clause of the conditional sentence.

(6) For future research, it is suggested that more Arabic constitutions be examined in order to establish a more reliable standard profile of the features used in this genre of Arabic legal discourse. This may also lead to the establishment of a more standard profile of the translation procedures adopted when dealing with this type of legal discourse. In particular, consistency in terms of British vs. American constitutional discourse may emerge as an important matter to consider in translating Arabic constitutions into English. The variation in British constitutional discourse may be due to the absence of a codified written document compared with the highly codified American written constitution, which may function as a better model when translating Arabic constitutions into English.

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Chapter 9

The translation of film titles in the Egyptian film industry

Muhammad Y Gamal

Introduction

Egyptian cinema, the leading film industry in the Arab world (Hayward 2000), began with *Leila* in 1927. Twenty years earlier, in Alexandria, cinema houses were purposefully built for public screenings of imported filmic material as well as locally made short films. *Leila* was the first of a series of only silent films that appeared on Egyptian screens until the first Egyptian talkie, *Children of the Rich*, *Awlad el zawat,* was released in 1932. This first talkie was also the first Egyptian film to be subtitled, into French. Four years later, in 1936, a film titled *Wedad* was screened at the first session of the Venice International Film Festival, thus inaugurating the participation of Egyptian films at international film festivals. Since the early thirties, foreign films (mostly Hollywood productions) were shown in Egypt, subtitled. The distribution of foreign films in Egypt gave rise to ancillary activities such as film magazines, film posters, film title translation, and film subtitling. Several local distributors and cinematic companies in the country provided these post-production professional activities (Gamal 2007).

Translating foreign film titles into Arabic

Since the early days of cinema in Egypt, the distribution of foreign films, a commercial exercise par excellence, has been geared towards attracting crowds to the cinema. This has meant that film titles must exhibit linguistic and extralinguistic features designed to be easily understood and instantly appreciated. This has largely meant that the foreign film title would have to be redesigned in a way that arouses interest, curiosity, and the desire to see the film (Salmawy 2005). More often than not, this meant that, linguistically, the title would have to be liberally translated, employing emotionally charged clichés to the tune of 'Crime does not pay', 'An impasse', 'Forbidden passion' and so forth. The extralinguistic features were predominantly achieved through the artistic skills in creating the film poster highlighting a prominent feature in the film (Fathi 2014). Quite often, that included a fistfight, a gun,

a kiss, a portrait of the leading actor, or the face of a pretty woman. To further augment the interest, a special typeface would be employed to heighten interest in the film. Apart from numerous and indeed instructive journalistic articles by film critics and commentators, there is little academic research into the translation of foreign-film titles in Egypt.

Internationally, however, the phenomenon of film-title translation has attracted considerable attention, albeit for a different reason, namely marketing. Title translation is carried out in the importing markets by individuals who are not always translators, but more often are people working in the film-distribution business (Telling 2014). There is no shortage of Internet articles that examine the phenomenon of foreign-film title translations, offering examples of the funniest or strangest instances. Major websites, such as those of the *Daily Telegraph* and the BBC in the UK, and the Special Broadcasting Service in Australia, have published articles with lists of 'funny translations' of film titles. Commercial reasons determine the way films are translated with little or no regard to translation principles, professional translation practice or translation theories. Quite often, they are not only different or incorrect, but reflect an attitude that has nothing to do with translating meaning, conveying sense, or doing justice to a work of art in a foreign market. Oaster (2017) examines the way *Lost in Translation* was received in foreign markets and traces the translation of the film title in a diverse range of cultural and linguistic contexts. In Portugal, Oaster shows that the film was given the title *Love in a Strange Place*; in Turkey, *One Can Talk…*; and in Latin American markets the redesigned title became *Lost in Tokyo*. It is noteworthy that, against the more liberal attitude, there has been an effort to maintain the spirit of the original title by keeping the element of translation in the film. Thus, in French-speaking Canada, the title became *Unfaithful Translation*, in Hungary *Lost Meaning*, and in Poland *Between Words*. However, the Russian rendering of the original was clear and to the point: *Translation Difficulties*.

A great deal of effort goes into the design of a film title. It is the name by which viewers, fans, and audiences will discover the film, understand the dramatic conflict, and remember the artistic work. Although it is brief, consisting of a very few words, a film title assumes significant importance, as it can make or break the entire oeuvre. Appreciating the significance of the few words that make a film title and its relation to the entire film is of primary importance. This does not apply solely to film buffs and film critics, but equally, and perhaps more so, to translators, as I will explain later in the section that considers translating for the DVD industry. The main function of a title is to grab the attention of viewers, and this explains why film titles tend to be unique with a very small chance of repetition. The title also has the function of giving a hint to the subject matter of the film, if a very subtle one. Films with big budgets or those directed by famous directors tend to choose a title that implies the genre of the film. A good film title is one that also implies the plot or dramatic

conflict in the film. Finally, a film title needs to be memorable which, in itself, is another way of promoting the artistic work (Monaco 2000).

Egyptian film titles tend to adhere to the general cinematic criteria of film title design. This conclusion is gleaned from the examination of a large number of Egyptian films. However, for the purpose of examining how Egyptian film titles are translated into English, a deeper understanding of the process is required. Qassem's *Guide to Egyptian Films in the Twentieth Century* (2002) is an encyclopaedic list of more than three thousand films with relevant technical data on each entry. The *Guide* lists films chronologically, and thus it provides a unique opportunity to examine how film titles have changed over time. One of the interesting observations is the word *Gharam* (love), which was profusely used until the mid-Fifties, to be replaced by the more modern *Hob* (love), which continues until today. A cursory examination of the titles reveals the prominent features in the writing of titles in Egyptian Arabic: short, simple, expressive, powerful and memorable. However, to achieve this, there appears to be a sociolinguistic hypothesis that underpins the creative process. The hypothesis could be summed up as follows: for film titles to be compact, they are generally expressed in modern standard Arabic, and they may exhibit, rely upon, or draw on Egyptian cultural references.

To appreciate this hypothesis, I will now separately examine each of the two tenets, language and culture, highlighting the significance of each component.

The use of modern standard Arabic in the design of Egyptian titles

Since its inception, the Egyptian film industry has used uncomplicated but powerful words to express its artistic work. In so doing, the focus has been on titles in modern standard Arabic that lend themselves to the new artistic form. The first Egyptian talkie, *Awlad El Zawat* (Children of the Rich), produced in 1932 heralds a tradition that would continue until the twenty-first century. Film titles, like other artistic genres that appeared in Egypt in the early years of the twentieth century – namely plays, novels, and academic books, used much shorter titles compared to the lengthy titles used in the nineteenth century.

Arabic is a *diglossic* language (Ferguson 1959), which means it has two varieties. Generally speaking, in Egypt and throughout the Arab world, Arabic is seen as having two general varieties: *Fusha* and *Darija*. The former refers to the higher, educated and fine variety acquired through study and practice of formal contexts such as literature, religion, and the media. The latter, *Darija*, refers to the vernacular attained at home and prior to going to primary school. It is used in everyday conversations and is associated with the man in the street.

While an Arab country may have one *Fusha*, it is not unimaginable to see a host of local varieties reflecting geographical, climatic, ethnic, or industrial

factors that shape the variety of Arabic spoken in that particular country. This explains the significance of modern standard Arabic, which serves as a *lingua franca* for the Arab world, that it has a geographic as well as historical congruity. *Darija*, on the other hand, is far more vibrant, contemporary, and powerful, as it resonates with speakers in a particular region. In this respect, *Darija* could be seen as more communicative and expressive, and therefore more effective. Although the word *diglossic* means two varieties, Arabic, particularly in Egypt, recognizes five different levels: classical Arabic, modern classical Arabic, educated spoken Arabic, semi-literate and illiterate Arabic (Badawi 1973). Each of the five levels reflects a different command of the language, which also implies a different level of education. Badawi's work has been instrumental in teaching Arabic as a foreign language and is equally significant for Egyptian film translators. The distinction of the five levels of Arabic becomes readily significant when film titles are pragmatically examined with a view to suggesting linguistically correct and culturally acceptable translations into English, as we shall see shortly.

Drawing on Egyptian cultural sources

The second half of the statement used above to sum up the hypothesis for the creation of a film title states that titles 'may exhibit, rely upon or draw on Egyptian cultural references'. I will now examine the cultural component in film titles, which is expressed in modern standard Arabic. Generally speaking, film titles in Egypt can be short and to the point in an abstract fashion. Titles such as *Leila as a Schoolgirl*, *Love and Revenge*, *The White Rose*, and *My Wife Is a General Manager* are direct in their meanings with no other meaning implied. However, titles can also be a little more expressive by drawing on cultural sources that vary from personal and geographic names to religious, ethnic, or historical references or overtones. For instance, titles such as *Adham Al-Sharqawi*, *Khan Al-Khalili*, *Hassan and Morcos*, and *El Leila El-Kebeera* are complex to translate due to the high connotative meaning of each title. They refer to an Egyptian patriot, a Cairo suburb, the names of a Muslim and an Egyptian Copt, and the major night in a popular festival, respectively. Translating such titles requires a translation strategy that takes into account not only the denotative meaning but also, and equally important, the connotative meaning. This entails some latitude on the part of the translators as they attempt to do justice to the film title on the one hand, and on the other to suggest a translation that reflects the dramatic conflict expressed in the film.

However, the most highly expressive, and indeed complex titles to explain, let alone to translate, are those drawn from cultural references and packaged in the vernacular. This register of spoken Arabic tends to be emotionally charged, and with immediate punch. Those such as *Ashara baladi*, *Muwled ya dunya*, *El beida wal hagar*, *Wesh Egram*, and *Heyya fawdah?* are short titles that would require many more words to translate in order to make the

denotative meaning understandable and the connotative references readily appreciated. Yet, such translation strategy would not only defeat the purpose of title design but would also undermine the impact intended in the highly charged short title, in the original. Literal translations for the above titles would be: *Local Dance*, *The World is a Festival, Hocus Pocus, Crime's Face*, and *Chaos?* This is a common translation strategy employed in translating Egyptian films, as can be seen on Wikipedia (under 'Egyptian Cinema'), YouTube listings of Egyptian films, or in some of the recently released DVDs.

Drawing on cultural sources in the design of Egyptian film titles is an old technique practised since the early days of cinema by many film directors and producers. However, it has been noted that Egyptian directors of New Wave Cinema that began with the 1995 *Ismailia Rayeh-gai* (Round Trip to Ismailia), have been favouring titles that are expressed in the vernacular (Waly 2017). Equally significant is another strong trend that favours or relies upon titles that are unusual, outlandish or even unrelated to the film plot, conflict, or characterization. However, Waly (2017) argues, such a phenomenon needs to be debated nationally, highlighting the artistic principles in the process of film design on the one hand and the commercial considerations that govern the marketing strategy adopted by filmmakers on the other.

Translating film titles is essentially a post-production process, and translators have to deal with it regardless of how challenging or indeed complex the film title is in Arabic. What is required here is the ability to unpack the title by separating the denotative meaning from the connotative reference(s), and search for a translation strategy that focuses primarily on the connotative meaning that is reflected in the film through the plot, characterization, and dialogue.

Towards a typology of Egyptian film titles

Egyptian directors draw on a large repertoire of cultural sources for the design of their titles. Understanding the cultural source and its layers of meanings helps translators, and particularly subtitlers and film distributors, to identify a translation strategy that is linguistically correct and culturally appropriate.

Table 9.1 shows a list of popular Egyptian film titles deemed complex to translate, arranged in five columns. The first column gives the Arabic title transliterated into English. The second gives a literal translation of the Arabic title. In the third column, a pragmatic translation is suggested, which may vary from the literal translation. The fourth column describes the linguistic register of the title, whereas the fifth refers to the cultural dimension of the title, explaining its cultural provenance.

The table shows, therefore, a list of Egyptian film titles drawn from sources that have provided the frameworks for the design of titles. Linguistically, the register varies between the modern standard Arabic (MSA) variety and that of the vernacular (darija). The last column sheds light on the framework that

Table 9.1 The complexity of film title translation

Arabic title	Literal trans	Pragmatic trans	Register	Reference
Al wesada al khaliya	Empty pillow	Lonely bed	MSA	Novel
Shei min el khawf	Some of the fear	A taste of fear	MSA	Koran
Wesh Egram	Crime's face	Budding officer	Darija	Idiom
El beida wal hagar	Hocus pocus	Clever as the devil	Darija	Proverb
Khan el khalili	Khan el Khalili	Khan el Khalili	MSA	Location
Adham el Sharqawi	Adham el Sharqawi	Adham	MSA	History
Heina Maysara	Heina maysara	Until better times	MSA	Koran
Haddouta Masriya	An Egyptian story	An Egyptian tale	Darija	Autobio
Ehna betou' el autobis	We of the bus	Coincidence	Darija	Declarative
Kaf al Kamar	Hand of the moon	Family ties	Darija	Ethnic
Sarkhat namlah	Ant's cry	Insignificant	MSA	Figurative

largely, but not exclusively, determines the design of the title. Thus, common names of novels, places, personalities, popular proverbs, famous verses from the Koran, or idiomatic phrases provide a rich source of inspiration. Knowledge of this source and appreciation of its denotations and connotations assists the translator in determining the overall meaning before attempting a translation. The second column shows the literal translation, which is widely used on the Internet. Such translation is deemed unprofessional, being carried out mostly by amateurs who lack the minimum requirement of professional translation. This translation is helpful as far as it shows the original title, but it undermines the artistic merit of the oeuvre as a whole, as it does not tell what the film is about. The third column, however, suggests a pragmatic translation that gives the film a feature that is clearly missing in the second column: identity. Such identity helps viewers to know what to expect in the film. In some cases, a good pragmatic translation helps in promoting the artistic work to international markets and audiences.

Translating Egyptian cinema

For a long time, the subtitling of Egyptian films into foreign languages was a post-production activity confined to participation at foreign film festivals abroad. Thus, it became exclusive and, indeed, excluded from academic examination. However, the emergence of DVD technology, the Internet and the popularity of YouTube, as well as the availability of subtitling programs, have all made the examination of subtitled Egyptian films more accessible and more frequent.

The emergence in 1951 of young film director Youssef Chahine provided a change and a challenge to the way films were directed in Egypt and shown abroad. Chahine was 24 when he directed his first film. Not only was he a newcomer, but also a lot younger than almost everyone else in the 18-year-old

talking cinema industry in Egypt. The Fifties were the Golden Age of Egyptian cinema with an average output of 70 films per year. The local cinema industry was in waiting for an energetic, talented, trained, and trilingual director who would translate his own film career and the national cinema industry into an international success.

The cinema of Youssef Chahine

For over half a century Egyptian cinema abroad was represented – and indeed known by – one director whose films not only represented the country but also secured international film awards. Youssef Chahine (1926–2008) gave cinema in Egypt substance, style and stature (El-Gamal 2014). Critics speak of a Chahinian film style (Abu-Shadi 2003), a Chahinian film language (Fawzi 2002), a Chahinian film set (Shawky 2004), and a Chahinian film structure (Hashem 2014) in a manner that reflects his long, varied, complex, and also controversial cinema career. Chahine made films that required the public's attention and demanded multiple viewings. His works were not cheap flicks that one watched if bored or had nothing better to do. When confronted by angry viewers who professed their inability to understand his films, he often replied, both in print and on camera: 'My films will be appreciated thirty years later'. Chahine appealed to the hearts and minds of viewers in a language of his own, one that was not always readily understood. A prominent reason for this is, perhaps, as Phillips points out, that 'fictional films that often include explicit meanings are frequently thought of as flawed, at least in Western societies, because modern audiences in the West generally expect movies to show, not tell or explain, their meanings' (2002: 441). His *Cairo Station* (1958), a psychological thriller and never previously attempted in Egyptian cinema, drew the ire of viewers who disagreed with the film's ending. It is rather interesting that, 40 years later, Chahine received the Grand Jury Prix at the Cannes Film Festival mostly for his pioneering work in *Cairo Station*.

Born in Alexandria in 1926, Chahine grew up in the cosmopolitan Mediterranean city and was educated at its famous Victoria College, where he met the likes of Hussein Bin Talal, the future king of Jordan; Edward Said, the prominent Palestinian-American professor of comparative literature; and the future international film icon, fellow Alexandrian Omar Sharif. Fluent in French and English, Chahine would put his cultural background to good use not only in his work, participating at international film festivals, but also through including a foreign dimension in his films.

Although Chahine studied both cinema and acting in the United States, upon his return to Egypt he decided to direct rather than act. He began his career in 1951 with *Papa Amin*. He distinguished himself through large productions such as *Saladin* (1963), *The Land* (1969), *The Sparrow* (1973) and, most famously, his Alexandria Tetralogy (1978, 1982, 1989, 2004), a series of four autobiographical films that reflect his own life. Seven of his films appear

in 'The Most Important 100 Films in Egyptian Cinema', a list that chronicles the technical development of films in the Egyptian cinema industry (Al-Hadary 2007). He is also the most awarded Egyptian film director, and at the time of his death in 2008 was the only film director to have received the Nile Award in the Arts (bestowed in 2007), the highest cultural award in Egypt.

The difficulty with Chahinian films is that his style is complex, and his cinematic language is sophisticated, requiring attention. This can be gleaned from the choice of his film topics and the design of the title sequence that inaugurates the dramatic conflict. Not unlike other international directors such as David Lean, Chahine has also been known as a dictator, insisting on supervising all minutiae in his work, including the subtitling of his festival films – a task that is usually seen as a post-production matter left to distributors and media companies.

Youssef Chahine is credited with discovering Omar Sharif, introducing him to Egyptian cinema, and directing three of the young actor's first four films. The partnership brought success and fame to both director and actor. Sharif soon became a popular face (particularly after his marriage to leading Egyptian actress Faten Hamama), appearing in 21 films prior to co-starring in *Lawrence of Arabia* (1963). However, it is *The Blazing Sun* (1954), Chahine and Sharif's first film together, that best shows the developing craftsmanship of the young director and the emerging style of Chahinian filmmaking.

Struggle in the Valley

Chahine enlisted his former schoolmate, Sharif, for his *Sira'a fil Wadi* (Struggle in the Valley) featuring Faten Hamama, commonly known as 'the Lady of the Arab Screen'. Omar, who was essentially a middle-class young man from multilingual Alexandria, was cast in an unusual role: the son of a farmer from the south. The plot revolves around the struggle of a sugarcane farming community trying to produce better crop in defiance of the will of a powerful landlord. In his debut, Sharif had to learn the dialect of southern Egypt, among other cinematic skills. The film was a success, heralding not only the arrival of a new actor but also his marriage to the Lady of the Arab Screen. However, the film is also artistically significant for the translation strategy employed by Chahine. Intending to show his film abroad, Chahine offered an English translation for the title of his film, and which actually appears in the title sequence. At that time, it was not unusual for some Egyptian films to include translations of their titles, either in English or in French. However, what was unusual is the translation strategy Chahine employed. He offered *The Blazing Sun*, a pragmatic translation (or what is called today 'a transcreative approach') to the original title of *Struggle in the Valley*.

Chahine's trilingual background gained in the cosmopolitan city of Alexandria, his cultural upbringing, and his subsequent study of film acting in California shaped his artistic views and his translating style. His translation

offers an approach that is undoubtedly informed by his understanding of the plot and appreciation of the entire film. In opting for a pragmatic translation, in contrast to the literal or liberal approaches to film title translation, Chahine offers examples and case studies of title translation. In the title sequence, the translation appears in the following format:

Original title in Arabic
Translation in English

This example offers audiovisual translators unique insight into film translation, where one knows that omissions, changes, additions and sacrifices are inevitable. This strategy requires an appreciation of the cinematic language of the director and his holistic approach to the work, in order to appreciate the translation decisions. Essentially, this approach means that audiovisual translators must watch the video of the film (several times, in the case of a film by a great director) prior to subtitling the film and attempting a translation of the title. Mera (1999: 79) underscores the importance of taking care when subtitling a film by a 'great director'. This is significant not only due to the participation of a film at international festivals, but also when it comes to creating subtitles in the production of films on DVD, a professional practice that has not been fully examined, particularly in Egypt.

Struggle at the Port

In *Struggle at the Port* (1956), Chahine directed Sharif for the third time. Within three years of *The Blazing Sun*, Sharif had established himself as the rising actor in Egypt. Here Chahine directed the most promising couple in Egyptian cinema, Sharif and Hamama, in a romantic action film set in Alexandria. The plot revolves around the struggle of a young stevedore (Sharif) who, after returning to Alexandria from a long overseas journey, runs into trouble with the spoiled son of the shipping tycoon over workers' rights and a young woman (Hamama). In this film, Sharif is more at home speaking in the dialect of Alexandria, and he delivers one of his most memorable roles in Egyptian cinema. Chahine is also at his best behind the camera. With his enthusiasm for real shots, he almost killed the young actor he had brought to prominence only four years earlier. There is a scene in which not only does a fire break out, but there is also a physical fight between the stevedore and the son of the shipping tycoon. The two not only had to fight before the camera, but also to fight for their lives as the fire was too close for comfort. The plot has another twist, as the rich tycoon reveals that he is the biological father of the young stevedore who, upon learning this fact, leaves Alexandria and goes overseas.

Although the title in Arabic, *Siraa fil mina*, means *Struggle at the Port*, Youssef Chahine embarked on a new strategy in film title translation. First,

he continued his pragmatic approach in translating the film title while having the international viewer in mind. By now, with five years' experience, Chahine has firmly established himself as a promising film director and already made a name for himself at international film festivals. He next translated *Siraa fil mina* into *Dark Waters*. The Arabic title is shown in an artistic handwritten poster style, in a point size larger than the English translation, which is shown in bold block letters underneath. Second, Chahine offers a translation in French, *Les eaux noirs*, which appears beneath the English title and in brackets, smaller in size, in block letters but not bold. The French translation is a literal translation of the English. The film title format appears in this fashion:

Film title in Arabic
Film title in English
(Film title in French)

It is interesting to observe that this Chahinian style of translating Egyptian film titles into English and French developed over time, as it provides insights for both translators and distributors alike. This style of film title translation and presentation became popular in the Fifties as more and more producers espoused the strategy for translation and marketing, particularly when their films participated at international film festivals.

Struggle on the Nile

In 1959 Sharif appeared in his third and last film to bear the word 'struggle' in the title. This was *Struggle on the Nile*, directed by Atef Salem (1921–2002). Like Chahine, Salem was another significant film director of the second generation, who created the Golden Age of Egyptian cinema in the Fifties and Sixties. Dubbed 'The Mirror' for the way he used cinema to present his society, Salem tackled numerous Egyptian social issues in his films, which became classics in Egyptian cinema. He directed Omar Sharif five times and instructed him on how to speak in the local dialect of southern Egypt, an essential feature in *Struggle on the Nile*. The plot of this action drama revolves around a naïve southerner (Sharif) who accompanies his more mature cousin on a river journey to Cairo to buy a bigger Nile barge in order to modernize the family transport business. Rivals of the family try to stop the young cousins from reaching Cairo, and the film ends with the successful acquisition of a modern barge. Although the three films – *Struggle in the Valley, Struggle at the Port*, and *Struggle on the Nile* – may appear to form a series, they do not. Of the three, only the last film appeared on DVD, in 2004, subtitled in English and French and bearing the English translation *Struggle on the Nile*. The decision to go for a literal translation of the Arabic title is consistent with the modus operandi employed by the various DVD production companies

in Egypt in the first decade of the twenty-first century. Likewise, the French translation of the title in Arabic is a literal translation *Lutte sur le Nil*.

This literal approach to the translation of film titles is the modus operandi for a translation that must not only be linguistically correct but, also, and equally significant, pragmatically acceptable. Recent research by translation scholars and also publications by young researchers in the growing field of Arabic audiovisual translation has not paid sufficient attention to this intricate issue of translating film titles and has not debated the pros and cons of literal versus pragmatic translation of film titles. In the DVD industry, as we shall see shortly, there is much more to the issue than just translating a few words that make the DVD title.

Chahine's translation style

Eight years after his first film, Chahine reached a turning point in his cinematic career, with *Bab el Hadid*. The title literally means 'The Iron Gate' and refers to the huge wrought-iron gate at the entrance to the Central Train Station in Cairo. 'The Iron Gate' is the colloquial name given to the central train station and for over a century the gate had been a landmark in the capital.

Chahine translated the title, simply and eloquently, as *Cairo Station*. Translating literally would have missed the meaning and detracted from the main conflict in the film. However, the film's title sequence has something that does not usually happen in Egyptian films. The director chose to add, under the Arabic title, a transliteration in brackets following the English translation. Thus, the title sequence has the following design:

Film title in Arabic
Title translation in English
(Transliteration in brackets)

What Chahine did here deserves attention. It provides a theoretical framework for the examination of film-title translation in Egypt and also in other regional cinemas. Given that film titles in Egyptian cinema are couched in sociolinguistic terms (as seen in Table 9.1 above) and given the likelihood of their being expressed in the vernacular, it would be a challenging task to translate Egyptian film titles in a way that is linguistically correct, culturally appropriate, and pragmatically acceptable. In the example above, Chahine offers a model to contemplate: beneath the original film title in Arabic, a pragmatic translation into English is offered. On a third line, a transliteration in English is offered in brackets. This helps non-Arabic speakers to know (and pronounce) the original title of the film when they need to refer to it. There is no shortage of references to *Cairo Station* in international literature on cinema and filmmaking (Karney 2001: 470). The title design gives prominence to the original in Arabic as the translation and transliteration are given smaller type sizes.

Since his early films, Chahine always had an eye on the international arena and was determined to show his work at the most prominent international film festivals. *Cairo Station* participated in the Berlin Film Festival and competed for the Golden Bear Award. It was selected to compete for Hollywood's Best Foreign Film Award but was not nominated. However, the film appears in the 'List of the Most Important 100 Films in Egyptian Cinema' (Al-Hadary 2007) and features among 'The 1001 Movies You Must See before You Die' (Schneider 2003). His success was testimony to how he personally supervised the subtitling of his own films. The model, however, has not been given sufficient attention, either by film researchers or by Egyptian audiovisual translation scholars.

Film title translation in the DVD industry

The emergence of the Digital Video Disk (DVD) in 1998 offered Egyptian cinema a rare opportunity to make its classic films available in a format never seen before. The DVD is not only portable and durable, and has much better image quality than the old VHS tape, but it has a unique feature: it can have up to forty languages in subtitles and eight soundtracks for dubbing in different languages. This feature alone made digital technology seem like the panacea the local film industry needed for its distribution and marketing troubles. However, the local DVD production companies, all private establishments, had only one objective in sight: profit. This meant that the investment in film translation protocols, subtitling expertise or subtitler training programs was not one of their immediate priorities. To be fair, this investment should have been made a priori by the numerous translation schools in Egypt as the country began moving into the digital age.

However, most DVD production companies failed to grasp the technical reality that generalist translators are not necessarily the best film translators. In Arabic, the word 'subtitler' has no equivalent and, like some other languages, the meaning is expressed as 'film translator'. The distinction here lies in the fact that traditional translator training is not geared towards examining the multimodality of film, where meaning is constructed through the combined effect of audio and visual media. The deficit in appreciating the impact the image makes on the text is readily apparent in the translation of film titles that appear on the DVD covers. Some of the most frequent shortcomings of the DVD industry in Egypt have been with the translation of the film title, and in the disparity between the title on the DVD cover and that in the subtitles of the film.

The DVD industry was launched in Egypt within five years of the appearance of American films on DVD. Classics of Egyptian cinema, restored and remastered, were selected to launch the new product. Omar Sharif's *A Man in Our House* (1961) was the first title in the emerging DVD industry in Egypt (Gamal 2007). Thereafter, Egyptian classic films began to appear, subtitled in

English and French. However, the nascent industry was soon to realize that its modus operandi was faulty, as 'film translators' do not necessarily make professional subtitlers. One of the major requirements in subtitling is to actually view the film, not just to translate the dialogue list without checking the video. Naturally, the DVD companies in Egypt resorted to the method of sending the script to translators in order to cut costs, save time and to produce more subtitled films. This method resulted in glaring discrepancies between the film titles translated on the cover and those that appear in the subtitles. For instance, Omar Sharif's most popular film *Fi baitina rajul* is literally translated *A Man in Our House* on the DVD cover, but viewers of the DVD read another version of the film title in the subtitles – *A hero under Our Roof* – which confuses the foreign viewer and detracts from the overall quality of the product. This is not just an anomaly with the very first subtitled DVD to be produced. It in fact reveals a methodology espoused by the various DVD production companies of treating subtitling as a form of written translation where the focus is on the dialogue and without any regard to the visual. The discrepancy between the translation of the film title on the DVD cover and the version that appears in the subtitles is a feature that is almost always present in Egyptian DVDs, regardless of the DVD production company.

The film translation strategy offered by Chahine in *Cairo Station* gives insights into the development of a methodology for the translation of titles not only in cinema but also in other fields such as literature. Indeed, it is instructive for the whole of the intricate and difficult genre of translating proverbs, where a literal translation, despite its significance, is quite often an under-translation that does not capture the implied meaning. Barnes argues that '[e]laborate titles can bring danger' as she quotes a marketing consultant with experience working for Miramax, United Artists, and Disney who believes, 'You want people to know what they're getting. But you also want to leave them wanting to learn more' (Barnes 2010). As film titles, and particularly those of recent works, tend to be expressed in the vernacular, a more creative approach may offer an acceptable solution. However, the addition of the transliteration of the work, as suggested by Chahine under the translation, seems to solve the issue of foreignness and give currency to the original title. At times, a local film needs to be known by its original name, particularly if it becomes well known abroad and – even more so – if its translation alludes to another film known in the West.

The translation of film titles is an area that remains under-researched and therefore requires a great deal of attention by both the translation scholar and the professional translator. Film titles are both so simple, usually comprising no more than four words, and yet so intriguing, as the connotative meaning could be different, and distant, from the denotative. This gives scope to creative translation, although this area needs a degree of experience in visual literacy, that is, the ability to appreciate the film language used and the techniques that contribute to the overall meaning in the film. Such experience is

seen as a prerequisite for carrying out translations that are linguistically correct, culturally acceptable, and pragmatically appropriate. Given the theoretical and practical challenges subtitling raises in Egypt (as mentioned above), I have previously characterized the status of the DVD industry in Egypt as 'an industry without a profession' (Gamal 2007: 85). Later, I argued that expertise in film literacy could be gained through the examination of non-verbal communication in Egyptian films (Gamal 2009). I further proposed a typology of common challenges in subtitling Egyptian films where a trans-creative approach is required to deal with meaning that is not only expressed in the Egyptian vernacular but also where the visual has a direct bearing on the verbal (Gamal 2015). Audiovisual translation in Egypt, and despite the emerging market, needs an informed theoretical background that is conducive to better teaching and training. Research of audiovisual translation in Egypt needs to examine the landscape in order to develop its own agenda and to tackle its local issues and challenges confidently and creatively. This can only be achieved by examining the field, context, and landscape of audiovisual translation in the country (Gamal forthcoming).

Conclusion

Film titles, despite their brevity, can often pose a challenge to the subtitler because of the connotative meaning implied. This usually requires further explanation, using more words than used in the original. Youssef Chahine gives the example of adopting a holistic approach to the entire work in a bid to grasp the meaning of the film. This challenge, however, would seem trivial when the opposite is the case (i.e., a very long film title) (Barnes 2010). A recent film by Egyptian director Shadi Ali boasts the longest film title ever employed in the Egyptian cinema industry *When a Man Falls in the Quagmire of His Thoughts and Ends Up in a Farce* (2017). The 11-word Arabic title was originally intended to be a simple one-word title (*Counterattack*), but the producers opted for something different. It remains to be seen how the film industry, the media, and indeed professional subtitlers will tackle this unusually long title.

Over the years, I have increasingly been drawn to the field of translating short texts of very few words. This has been in the field of community translation in Sydney, where I am required to translate brand names, commercials, adverts, and information leaflets. Quite often, the translation of a very pithy slogan or motto requires a great deal of research. This equally applies to the translation of film titles and indeed to subtitling, a genre of translation that is severely restricted by the factors of time and space. It is significant to observe that the earlier work of Basil Hatim was written at a time when audiovisual translation and the systematic examination of film translation was no more than an eccentric endeavour (Delabastita 1989). Even Hatim's work with Mason on 'Politeness in Screen Translation', published as early as 2000, was

equally pioneering, as audiovisual translation was just beginning to receive academic attention.

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Chapter 10

Strategic media misrepresentation and the Arab–Israeli conflict

Rajai Al-Khanji

Introduction

Particularly in conflict zones, language is used to promote certain views, whether positive or negative, and to reinforce a certain ideology. This is the power of language used to shape public opinion, as Reah (2002: 53) puts it:

> Language can be a powerful tool. It is, perhaps, at its most powerful when its role in presenting the world to an audience is not explicit; in other words, it is easy to resist a particular viewpoint or ideology when you know it is being presented to you, but not so easy to resist when the viewpoint or ideology is concealed.

This concealing of realities allows producers of information as texts to manipulate receivers through misrepresentations (Hatim 1997, 2001; Tymoczko 2010). Here, misrepresentations are similar to mistranslations, whereby source texts (source realities and images) are mistranslated to influence particular audiences. This is usually achieved through manipulations of language (what Hatim and Mason 1990 label 'situation managing') to provide favourable images (representations) of one party/side of a conflict vis-à-vis the other party/side.

In this context, the concept of representation, which is often used to examine translation, is quite relevant for our purpose. Representation refers to 'a statement or an account intended to convey a particular viewpoint to influence opinions' (Tymoczko 2010: 112), and usually achieved through textual manipulations that shape opinion and promote certain ideological or political contestations for an audience. Textual manipulation strategies may include additions, deletions, message avoidance, among others. SC and its related promotion strategies as employed in *Hasbara* by Luntz (2009) have the same ultimate aim. The terms 'communication strategies' or 'promotion strategies' are used here to describe the type of strategic communications utilized in media framing. Such strategies rely mainly on the concept of 'spin', or on the way information is framed to favour one particular interpretation, with the aim of conditioning the views and attitudes of the audience.

As stated above, the data samples used in this chapter are taken from in the *Hasbara 2009 Global Language Dictionary* produced by Frank Luntz. The word 'Hasbara' means in Hebrew 'explanation'. It is a euphemistic term for propaganda. Its main aims are public-relations efforts for promoting the Israeli government by creating a positive image in the face of negative mass media that attempts to delegitimize the state.

The document is meant for distribution to only opinion-forming Zionists, especially in America. The aim of this document (guide), is to provide instructions on how to employ persuasive language that can generate positive images (representations) of views of Israel, even if such images are misrepresentations of Palestinians, for example. As such, the document informs 'visionary' leaders of the mass media, at the front line of Israel's media war (Luntz (2009: 3). It states that it 'is written in English specifically for English-speaking individuals (advocates for Israel in America and Europe) who can influence world opinion, especially the LEFT (not the conservatives) who see a world where basically all people are good'.

For Luntz, the justification for writing this document is that Israel finds itself the victim of attacks from enemies in the Middle East and has suffered from negative attitudes, mostly in Europe and North America, where Palestinians have been seen in more favourable terms. So, to him, the hearts and minds of mostly English-speaking audiences need to be won in favour of Israel, even if information is misrepresented through 'strategic communications'. So, the aim of this chapter is to explore the strategies used in *The Hasbara Document* with the ultimate aim of achieving specific effects on particular audiences. The analysis of 20 excerpts demonstrates how media leaders are asked to alter language used by Arabs and/or Palestinians for the purpose of propaganda and deception, especially in the American mass media, to frame Israel in favourable and positive ways. The analysis is informed critical discourse analysis (CDA). CDA not only allows a deeper level of understanding of a certain text in context, but also offers an explanation of how and why a text producer creates a specific effect to promote or to demote a particular ideology, concept, or issue. Furthermore, CDA brings to the fore the power dynamics between users of discourse (language), an issue that is pivotal in how the media is positioned to serve a particular ideological purpose in a conflict context like the Arab–Israeli conflict.

For its usefulness in exploring media and (mis)representations of realities, mostly political in the case of the Arab-Israeli conflict, CDA is used here to try to detect the underlying meanings of textual structures employed in *The Hasbara Document* such as particular word choices, falsifications, decontextualizations, and prejudice.

Promotion strategies

The term 'promotion strategies' is used here to refer to a plan to achieve specific goals. For example, in the business world, an organization follows a

strategy for a reason, such as cutting costs, workforce reduction, and so forth. In communication and media, the following are classic definitions found in the literature in this respect:

- A systematic technique employed by a speaker to express his meaning when faced with some difficulty (Corder 1978: 80).
- A mutual attempt of two interlocutors to agree on a meaning in situations where requisite meaning structures are not shared (Tarone 1980: 420).
- Potentially conscious plans for solving what to an individual presents itself as a problem in reaching a particular communicative goal (Farerch and Kasper 1983: 213).

From *The Hasbara Document*, Luntz (2009: 18), outlines the use of strategic communications: '[T]ogether, we can use strategic communications to make Israel and all Jews safer and more secure'. This outcome needs careful linguistic and communicative planning, mostly by pointing to the causes that deny Israel and Jews safety and security.

As a framework, strategic communications almost encompasses what is meant by the concept of 'representation' to frame communication and translation, for example, and whereby communication and translation are seen as representations (images that are transmitted through discursive strategies and tools), and miscommunication and mistranslation are misrepresentations (altered images and realities transmitted through discursive strategies and tools). For Tymoczko (2010:112), representation is 'a statement intended to convey a particular aspect of a subject so as to influence its receptors'. In *The Hasbara Document*, for example, the major slogan Luntz (2009: 3) uses in the introduction is, 'And remember it's what you say that counts. It's what people hear. Use words that work, not words that don't work'. This slogan clearly urges media leaders to select effective language to slant discourse in a specific direction with the aim of representing issues and situations in favour of Israel and to influence audiences accordingly.

In this chapter, promotion strategies used in *The Hasbara Document* are explored through the analysis of 20 excerpts. Five major promotion strategy types are adopted in *The Hasbara Document*, namely appeal for empathy, semantic contiguity, repetition, message avoidance, and euphemism. They are all employed to manipulate texts to serve a particular ideology, in this case the Israeli, and that shapes political statements about the Arab–Israeli conflict.

Analysis: Promotion strategies and their contexts

The Hasbara Document

The data analysed here consist of 20 excerpts taken from *The Hasbara Document*. As pointed out above, this document is used by opinion-forming individuals and organizations to project a positive view of Israel, but most

importantly in language that justifies Israeli policy towards Palestinians, including waging wars, building settlements, legitimizing military occupation, killing and expelling indigenous populations, and erecting concrete walls inside confiscated Palestinian lands.

The 116-page document consists of 18 chapters and 4 appendices. According to its author, Luntz (2009: 2), all the material in this document is 'new or updated and based on research conducted in 2008 and 2009'. Using the strategic communications approach, Luntz states in the preface: 'And remember, it's not what you say that counts. It's what people hear'. It is clear that the document is meant to shape global opinion and perceptions of Israel through trained foreign-service officials. According to Luntz (2009: 3) Mizrahi, the founder and president of the document project, is quoted as saying in the preface: 'Visionary leaders fighting the media war for Israel: we want you to succeed in winning the hearts and minds of the public'. Given the volatility and contested history of the Arab-Israeli conflict, this document aims to promote particularly positive representations (images/translations) of one side of the conflict, namely Israel, even if this requires misrepresentation (altered images/mistranslations) of the other side, namely the Palestinians.

Strategies adopted in *The Hasbara Document*

As stated, there are five major types of promotion strategy adopted in *The Hasbara Document*: appeal for empathy; semantic contiguity; repetition; message avoidance; and euphemism.

Appeal for empathy

Through this strategy, Israeli politicians are asked to project their own personalities onto the 'other', Palestinians, in order to pretend to understand them better. It is a strategy meant to reach beyond the self to understand what others feel. The following excerpts reflect this strategy in the first chapter of the document as rule number one:

(1) Persuadables won't care how much you know until they know how much you care, show empathy for both sides.
(2) Even the toughest questions can be turned around if you are willing to accept the notion that the other side has at least some validity. The toughest issue to communicate will be the final resolution of Jerusalem.
(3) A final solution for Jerusalem is probably the hardest issue of all to negotiate. Let's save it for last, in order to keep the rest of the peace process moving. Israel is committed to a better future for everyone – Israelis and Palestinians alike. Israel wants the pain and the suffering to end and is committed to working with the Palestinians toward a peaceful, diplomatic solution where both sides can have a better future.

(4) The most effective way to build support for Israel is to talk about 'working toward a lasting peace that respects the rights of everyone in the region'. (4–7).

The way the information is presented in the excerpts above clearly shows an explicit directive to deception embodied in these political statements. The deception resorted to here is a kind of strategic communications to achieve certain positive effects in the hearer. These statements are in obvious violation of Grice's maxims (1975) in relation to the truth factor (the cooperative principle for speaking) in explaining the meaning of what is said. In other words, it takes no time, knowing the context of the discourse, for an informed hearer/audience to understand, not necessarily through 'implicature', that the utterances above are directives to engage in deception, through a pretence of empathy.

With regard to the excerpt (1), the term 'persuadable' refers to those who might still be undecided or who have not yet taken a position to support Israel. The first rule stated in the document explicitly calls for avowals of empathy in order to communicate effectively in support of Israel. It is noteworthy that the word 'both' is stressed, as is the selection of the passive structure modality in using the verb 'turned around' in example (2), 'the toughest questions can be turned around'. In this way, the text producer presents the information with an ideological slant imposed on both the reader and listener.

As for example (3), it presents an ideology that is emotionally charged by resorting to expressions such as 'a better future for both', 'the pain and suffering', and 'peaceful, diplomatic solution'. The intended effect of these emotional expressions is to convince readers and recipients of these messages about certain desirable and noble concepts in order to rally public opinion behind what is being said. In fact, Palestinians suffer daily indignities and humiliation in the simple processes of going about their lives, such as having to go through Israeli military checkpoints when they need to move from one place to another. Spinning and staging of media in this type of appeal is meant to justify the Israeli occupation of Palestine, and to deny the right of return for the Palestinians.

The language used through this strategy gives the impression that Israelis and Palestinians have a symmetrical discursive relation, when in fact this is contrary to what we know. Atawneh (2011: 113), discussing the Israeli media's 'spinning' in news reporting, argues that 'governments often make demands on the media to serve their national interests. They classify information and withhold access. They stage media events, frame the issues and articulate positions that are, in essence, pure propaganda'. Moreover, based on the loaded language of the excerpts above, anyone who is familiar with the context of the conflict in the Middle East will have no problem instantly answering the questions: How much do the Israeli war leaders care about the plight of the Palestinians under occupation with regard to peace with an occupier, and

also regarding the pain and the suffering of the occupied people? Schechter (2003: 163), who talks about media war at a time of terror, says that 'reporting the news of the Israeli occupation has never been fair', even though 'Israel is one of the top countries regularly reported in the media. It features high on the international news list of the major television channels in the United States and the United Kingdom'.

Notice, finally, that in excerpt (4), the strategy of an appeal for empathy does not explicitly mention either Israel or the Palestinians: 'to respect the rights of everyone in the region'. The word 'everyone' was deliberately chosen to exclude the reference to Palestinians in this example, implying equality between the various parties, even though one is a powerful occupier and the other is occupied and dominated. It is obvious, therefore, that an appeal for empathy expressed through the power of the media language in this text can have some positive international effects on a misinformed audience, leading it to believe such a propagandist discourse.

Semantic contiguity

According to Bialystok (1983: 106), semantic contiguity is defined as 'the use of a single lexical item that shares certain semantic features with the target item'. In such cases, the language user employs text structures that are close to each other in sharing common features or common values. For example, in this strategy, speakers resort to comparison and contrast when they talk positively about themselves or when they talk negatively about the 'others'. In other words, the strategy is used in order to personalize the conflict for the Western audience by drawing parallels between positive or negative concepts or values shared between countries. This kind of parallelism can consequently win the sympathy of public opinion. In the following examples, a comparison of positive values is made to show contiguity or similarities between Israel and America (10–11).

(5) The language of Israel is the language of America: 'democracy', 'freedom', 'security', and 'peace'. These four words are the core of the American political, economic, social, and cultural systems, and they should be repeated as often as possible because they resonate with virtually every American.
(6) Israel, America's ally, is a democracy in the Middle East. Draw direct parallels between Israel and America – including the need to defend against terrorism. The more you focus on the similarity between Israel and America, the more you are likely to win the support of those who are neutral. Americans overwhelmingly want Israel to be in charge of the religious holy sites and are frankly afraid of the consequences should Israel turn over control to the Palestinians.

As can be seen from these two excerpts, this kind of language may help the American audience to identify with the conflict and to feel the threat of a

common enemy. This is expected of Israeli diplomats and pro-Israel media practitioners. It is another kind of 'spinning' and framing to 'win more points' in support of Israel. The semantic contiguity of Israel and America is described in terms of positive values shared between the two countries. One may wonder if the four key words in example (5) are applicable equally to everyone, including Israeli Arabs living in the old occupied territories. To an audience informed about the Middle East conflict, the claims in the examples above about Israeli values are clearly misleading when one considers them against Israel's treatment of both Israeli Arabs and the Palestinians under occupation. The propagandizing of the Israeli–Palestinian conflict by claiming to have positive values is also described by Said (2001: 2) as 'misinformation'. Said argues that this kind of misinformation is 'a double standard propaganda' with the intention of covering up the criminal actions, especially killing people unjustly, with the mask of justification and reasoning labelled as the 'war on terror'. We notice this label again in (6) when the writer of the document uses the cliché of 'the need to defend [Israel and America] against terrorism'.

The semantic contiguity strategy can also be used in a negative contrast between the two sides to show a significant discrepancy, such as in the following examples taken from the document (12–13):

(7) In contrast to those in the Middle East who indoctrinate their children to become hate-mongers and suicide bombers, Israel educates their children to strive for progress, and peace.
(8) Clearly differentiate between the Palestinian people and Hamas. If it sounds like you are attacking the Palestinian people (even though they elected Hamas) rather than their leadership, you will lose public support.

Example (7) draws a sharp distinction between a negative stereotype of all other countries of the Middle East and Israel in terms of positive and negative values. It is a contrast between the good people in the Middle East (i.e., Israel) and the bad ones (i.e., Arabs, Muslims, and the Palestinians). The text is an explicit discriminatory statement that embeds prejudices. The accusations are stated clearly, and there is no need to infer the bias embodied in these lines. This type of hate discourse is by no means an example of an implicature that requires a broad context for analysis, interpretation, or investigation. It is a discourse of superiority, a discourse that glorifies Israel and demonizes all 'those in the Middle East'. Explaining the Israeli discourse, Atawneh (2011: 120–121) says, 'The Israeli leader's discourses of superiority and of being better than others in leadership, intelligence, vision and political perspectives have been linked to the arrogance of Orientalism, a term coined by Said (1978). This ideology of superiority on the part of the leadership disallows any spirit of reconciliation or peace'. In fact, Atawneh concludes that the rift between the Israelis and the Palestinians is increasing every day,

and hope for peace is being lost in spite of some weak voices in Israel that are against war. He also cites numerous examples of boasting by well-known Israeli leaders who dehumanize Palestinians. A question to ask here is: How then can one trust 'the commitment to working with the Palestinians toward a peaceful, diplomatic solution where both sides can have a better future', as is claimed in *The Hasbara Document*? It is, therefore, a sheer contradiction between what is said and what is actually practised on the ground.

Example (8) above is another negative contrast between Palestinians and their leadership. This distinction is made merely to avoid losing public support for Israel. The contrastive statement in this excerpt condemns both (i.e., the Palestinian people and their leadership, who are both under fire). They are both to blame for electing Hamas. In this connection, Atawneh (2011: 126–127) also explains why Hamas was elected by some Palestinians.

> Actually, seeing peace never materialized with never-ending negotiations, the public voted for Hamas, the resistance movement, whose leadership led an ideology of freeing all Palestinians and no more believing in futile peace negotiations. Therefore, the public has given support for such movement though the consequences have been more suffering and killing under the Israeli attacks against what they claim as terrorists hiding among civilians.

Atawneh argues that the resistance movement of Hamas is fighting an occupation, and that their leaders think resisting occupation gives them legitimate grounds for fighting. He concludes that 'there are two extremes here: the Israelis on one side wanting all the land by force, and the resistance on the other by wanting all the land based on religious ideology. The Israelis have the power to control and kill and evict people refusing to share the land'.

Finally, it is noticed that excerpt (8) makes use of the conditional structure (If…then…). It is used to fulfil the function of 'warning', that is, to avoid losing public support for Israel. In fact, this structure is overused in *The Hasbara Document*, and quite often also in other media framing statements for another function, 'promising', such as 'if Hamas reforms', 'if Hamas renounces terrorism', 'if Hamas supports international peace agreements' (20). The choice of this conditional structure is clearly used in order to 'put the burden' on the other side, and to justify the constant military attacks on the Palestinian people. Israeli diplomats are, therefore, instructed to follow this pattern of misinformation when addressing the Western media.

Repetition

A point clearly emphasized throughout the document is that repeating specific keywords and phrases may help pro-Israel spokespeople to build credibility. Luntz (2009: 13) emphasizes the value of the repetition strategy. Thus,

'A simple rule of thumb is that once you get to the point of repeating the same message over and over again so many times that you think you might get sick – that is just about the time the public will wake up and say: 'Hey – this person just might be saying something interesting to me!'. This strategy is employed in an instructive tone because repetition may facilitate more efficient learning. The following are some examples of the many found on almost every page of the document:

(9) Stop. Stop. Stop. … There is one aspect of Palestinian behaviour that you have every right to demand an end – and will win points by doing so. And so we ask the Palestinians to stop using the language of incitement. Stop using the language of violence. Stop using the language of threats (8).
(10) Remind people – again and again that Israel wants peace. Every time someone makes the plea for peace, the reaction is positive. The speaker that is perceived as being most for PEACE will win the debate. If you want to regain the public relations advantage, peace should be the core of whatever message you wish to convey (8–9).
(11) Read from the Hamas Charter. Don't just 'quote' from it. Read it. Out loud again and again. Draw arrows to the most offensive parts. Give time to anti-Israeli activists to digest the words and meaning (33).
(12) Continually establish the connection between Iran and 'Iran-backed Hamas', and 'Iran-backed Hezbollah'. Doing so will help you continually remind the audience of the threat presented by Iran – a reminder they need. And the audience will be receptive to the connection (37–38).
(13) Renew your commitment to peace even in spite of continued deliberate rocket attacks. Remind people – again and again – that Israel wants peace (50).

As the excerpts above show, repeating certain utterances is possibly one of the most frequently used strategies. In fact, Luntz (2009) states in chapter 1 that 'This manual will provide you with many specific words and phrases to help you communicate effectively in support of Israel' (4).

Excerpt (9) comes under a subheading (in capital letters), 'WORDS THAT WORK'. The word 'Stop' is repeated three times as a slogan in this example, and it is directed at both the American and the European audiences. Audiences who are described as sophisticated, educated, and opinionated think that Israelis are often seen as the occupiers and the aggressors (8). Moreover, this excerpt makes use of the repeated word 'stop' to describe Palestinian behaviour. One may wonder to whom this description is more applicable: Israeli behaviour, or that of the other side? In fact, the 'sophisticated' and 'educated audience' that is well-informed on the conflict can easily answer this question.

One can also observe in excerpts (10) and (13) a further repetition of the word 'peace', which is a key-word. It is a word that gives hope. Peace here

is the opposite of what the 'other' side, the Palestinians, do from an Israeli point of view. It is peace versus terror, an emotionally loaded language of the media. It is meant to deceive recipients or readers by leading them to believe in this hopeful and optimistic lexical item, that is, 'peace', in contrast with terrorism. It is a type of dichotomy that is often used in the document to explain the positive aspects of the Israelis versus those negative ones among the Palestinians. Moreover, it is a dichotomy between the powerful and the powerless, the civilized versus the barbaric, and the good versus the evil. The appeal for peace on the Israeli side is thus contrasted with the Palestinian threat to peace. However, Atawneh (2009), analysing media discourse during the second Palestinian Intifada, finds that Israelis used many more threats, being the more powerful side in the conflict, while Palestinians used many more appeals, as would be expected given their relative powerlessness in the situation. In contrast to these findings, however, we discover the opposite trend in the document. Pro-Israeli spokespeople are, in the document, urged repeatedly to resort to 'appeals' rather than to 'threats'.

The redefinition of terrorism by both the United States and Israel following the September 11 attacks on America targeted Middle Eastern countries. Excerpts (11) and (12) above aim to connect both the Palestinians and Hezbollah to Iran. This can be considered a form of hate speech that attempts to justify war against the redefined notion of terrorism. Therefore, any Israeli military action against Palestinians, as repeatedly described in the document, is mentioned through two adjectives: 'defensive' and 'preventive'. The broader context of this redefinition is well expressed and confessed in the document, which literally '[t]hanks 9/11 and the continuing threat of terrorism' (77). The meaning of this statement is clear: Take advantage of this lucky event (which is supposed to be tragic) in favour of Israel to kill people, as this can easily justify Israel's right for legitimate, defensive and preventive military actions. Taking advantage of the 9/11 events is, therefore, a strategic plan employed to serve the ideology of the more powerful side of the conflict. Consequently, the strategy may be well received through the mainstream media, since Israel maintains a hegemonic position in disseminating misinformation and its ability to portray possibly a one-sided picture of such news to an audience that may not be able to perceive a true picture of reality.

Message avoidance

This strategy is usually employed when Israeli diplomats are asked to make a deliberate attempt not to mention or speak about certain topics or messages that are considered to be harmful. Specific words and expressions that are likely to damage its positive image are avoided completely (misrepresentation). Restricting communication to other more positive utterances that are prescribed for usage both lexically and semantically is often recommended as an alternative strategy (foregrounding, i.e., emphasising certain expressions

and backgrounding, i.e., ignoring and playing down other expressions). The following are some examples:

(14) Don't talk about religion. Some of those who are most likely to believe that Israel is a religious state are most hostile towards Israel ('they're just as extreme as those religious Arab countries they criticize'). Unfortunately, virtually any discussion of religion will only reinforce this perception (12).
(15) There are three arguments involving settlements that you should not make, according to the document:
   A. The religious argument: Quoting from the bible in defence of the current settlements will have absolutely the opposite impact.
   B. The ownership argument: To claim that Israel 'owns' the land that the settlements are on will cause most listeners to reject everything else you say. We have to accept that settlements are 'disputed territory', when they (Palestinians) say 'occupied territory'.
   C. The scapegoat argument: Claiming that Palestinians and other Arab groups are using the settlement issue to gain political advantage may be correct, but it does nothing to legitimize Israel policy (64).

Examples (14) and (15) refer to a taboo language that must be avoided in political discourse about the Israeli–Palestinian conflict. It is all about sensitive words connected to religion, such as a 'Jewish state' or a 'Zionist state'. Such words generally cause a negative reaction in the media (the exceptions, of course, are Orthodox Jewish and Evangelical Christian communities who are supportive of Israel). A more neutral label to use is 'disputed territory', instead of 'occupied territory'. The controversy over the religious issue could be attributed to the fact that Jewish immigrants from all over the world are accepted, but others who are non-Jewish, such as Christians and Muslims, are denied. Another related taboo expression is the 'right of return' for Palestinian people who were displaced by the establishment of the State of Israel in 1948 and then following the Six-Day War of 1967. Luntz (2009) claims, for example, 'we cannot allow [the phrase "right of return"] to enter the opinion leader lexicon. He further adds that whenever "right of return" is raised, we must immediately respond with "No, you are talking about the right of confiscation"' (75). Therefore, as far as the occupied territories are concerned, Palestinians' right of return must be changed to 'right of confiscation'. In other words, the author attempts to show whose private property is confiscated.

It is beyond the scope of this chapter to give a historical background to the Palestinian land confiscation, or rather occupation. Nevertheless, discussions about the historical perspective are, unfortunately, usually avoided. They are sidestepped by controlling the media discourse and through avoiding the use of taboo terminology (as shown above) which may damage the 'peaceful'

image Israel tries to project in the world. It may also undermine the peace processes from an Israeli perspective. The following excerpt clearly explains this point:

(16) Talk about the future, not the past. At worst, if you spend your communications capital (time and money) on history lessons of who got the land, when and who promised what to whom, it will be viewed by Americans and Europeans as a game of 'got you' and not a vision for a better future. (13)

The statement above calls for avoiding talking about the history of the land because it is difficult to make a case in support of Israel. In fact, as the document admits, 'the right of return is a tough issue for Israelis to communicate effectively' (76), and historical facts can fatally undermine their argument. Peterson (2016: 105) correctly explains how the absence of important historical content about Palestine is a regular feature of the distorted US media coverage of the issue, and argues that this is achieved through 'a strategy of omission', often applied by the Israeli political discourse in order to refashion and misrepresent realities of the region.

The last example considered in this section relates to the call to avoid using certain linguistic lexical items:

(17) Never, never, never speak in declarative statements. Never. So every time you say 'every', 'totally', 'always', 'never', or the like, the reaction is immediate and negative. Soften the tone just a little bit and you'll keep them tuned in. (16)

The words to avoid in excerpt (17) can, in general, create an effective communications strategy for credibility purposes. Therefore, the document cites a political statement that did not work. Notice how the adverb 'totally' must not be used, as in the following example:

> 'Those who think that the conflict is driven by an Israeli desire to hold onto territories are totally wrong'. (17)

All the excerpts above are used in an instructive language that tells pro-Israel media leaders what to avoid and what to say in an alternative terminology.

Euphemism

Another strategy that is largely responsible for creating spinning and influencing public opinion is euphemism. It is one way of covering facts by framing the propositional content of offensive expressions with the result that information is presented in a vastly different and favourable manner. For example,

the Israeli Defence Force (IDF) is itself a euphemism (using it instead of 'army'). In this case, a negative label for the same institution indicates a different ideological position toward the agent, a position that leads both readers and listeners to construct a positive opinion.

The following are some euphemisms prescribed in *The Hasbara Document*.

(18) Using 'a security fence' instead of 'an apartheid wall' or 'separation wall'. (69)

A special chapter in the document is devoted to what is called, euphemistically, the 'security fence'. The argument to justify it is that it is a 'temporary' wall used in order to achieve safety and peace for everyone in the region. This is, in fact, like saying 'good fences make good neighbours'. Moreover, the document instructs pro-Israeli media leaders to keep using rhetorical questions to support building the fence: 'What would we do in America if our neighbours shot rockets at us?', 'What would you do?', 'What is Israel to do?' The argument proceeds to explain that the purpose of the fence is to save lives, but not to add land. However, as we know, Palestinians describe the fence in the way it affects their lives as 'an apartheid wall' and 'a separation wall', reminding them of the 'Berlin Wall'. It is simply segregation, a lack of freedom, and huge physical restrictions negatively affecting their daily lives when moving from one area to another in their own homeland.

The wider context necessary to understand the discourse of euphemism regarding the 'security fence' needs to be explained. The decontextualization of information regarding the deliberate choice of certain lexical items, and the intentional avoiding of other words or phrases, calls for critical analysis to interpret the outward and the underlying intentions of such expressions, especially in media propaganda. Knowing the context within which pro-Israeli media supporters operate leads to a better understanding of the discourse used in this analytic process. Excerpt (18), for example, is about erecting a concrete wall in 2002 inside the occupied Palestinian territories. The wall isolated families, schools, and businesses, and this caused them to live in enclosed areas, requiring them to get a permit to pass through gates when moving from one place to another. It should be added that this separation wall was found to be illegal, according to the International Court of Justice ruling of 2004 (see Sabra 2011 for more details on this issue).

The following are further examples of euphemistic options recommended to Israeli diplomats:

(19) 'Hamas deliberately firing rockets into civilian communities' instead of, 'Hamas is randomly rocketing Israel'. (51)

This is an example of hate speech that incites hatred against the targeted group, Hamas. It is also an example of 'negative euphemism' or 'pejoration',

which involves using offensive lexical items instead of mild ones. The pejorative statement in this excerpt prescribes using the adjective 'deliberate', a more powerful word than 'random' attacks. Notice also the choice of the phrase 'civilian communities', employed to win the sympathy of both listeners and readers.

The wider context in which to interpret the discourse of war used by both Hamas and the Israelis in this situation is to claim that a small number of Hamas fighters have used violence to resist Israeli occupation and the Gaza blockade imposed on the strip. However, it is a known fact that the majority of the Palestinians who belong to the peace camp negotiate regularly with Israeli leaders for peace. The irony here is that both Hamas and the other Palestinian majority are wrongly portrayed as enemies. One recalls the Israeli war on the Gaza Strip on 26 December 2008, a massive invasion that resulted in about a thousand Palestinian deaths, with more than 400 injured in addition to devastating damage to buildings, houses, schools and the hospitals. That was reported by the A.N.S.W.E.R. Coalition, which also added that the Israeli side lost only ten soldiers and four civilians (Sabra 2011). Finally, the question that may arise here is: If individuals from Hamas are violent or terrorists, what type of term can one use to describe the Zionist organization, Hagenah (Hebrew for 'the defence')? This organization killed both British soldiers and Palestinians in 1948 and destroyed about 350 Palestinian villages in various parts of Palestine. The answer to this question is beyond the scope of the discussion.

The following is another example of the euphemism strategy in which diplomats are instructed to use certain specific expressions and avoid other words:

(20) Using 'Militant Islam' instead of 'Islamic Fascism'.

The euphemistic strategy in this example is employed to avoid an offensive phrase such as 'Islamic Fascism', already used by President George W. Bush and now by Trump. Bush, the former American president, used it to describe terrorist movements, a mischaracterization of the religion that was regularly made by the top government official, especially after 9/11. Instead, the use of 'militant Islam' by Israeli opinion makers through American television news, journals, and talk show radio, can give a positive perception that Israel is not as tough on the religion as others, nor is it religiously biased.

Ultimately, the aim is to gain support for Israel in the United States. On contemporary discourse on Palestine in the American news media, Peterson (2016: 96) explores the major factors that negatively influence the American audience. First, very few in the 'media-consuming public' have enough information resources to broaden views about Palestine and Palestinians; second, Palestine is 'too distant for most individuals to feel capable of questioning', accepting or rejecting news reports; and, third, domestic and international media sources about Palestine have 'not been encouraged in the contemporary United States'. Such factors may indeed create the prerequisite vacuum for

media outlets adopting the *Hasbara* strategies/instructions to heavily influence public opinion in the United States. In this connection, Christison (1999: 97) rightly stipulates that, 'in interpreting Palestine-Israel, individuals are isolated from the formation of alternative, non-Israeli-centred frames of knowledge and are therefore hindered in their practical construction of political and social realities'.

Conclusion

The power of language identified by Reah (2002) makes it readily applicable to the analysis carried out in this study. It is, therefore, the choice or selection of words and expressions that count in 'framing' media. To establish an effective ideological stance in a text, there is then a need to use a powerful tool, namely language and word choices affected in it. Kent et al. (2011: 2017) quote Kenneth Burke, who argued that, 'Every selection of speech is also a deselection: we say "this" instead of "that"; we offer descriptions with "these" terms instead of "those". Each selection accomplishes a certain depiction of reality, and also a deflection of reality' (217). The discourse of Israel in media language employed some types of promotion strategies that carried selected linguistic and discursive devices in an attempt to connect with and persuade the target audience about a one-sided image/representation of the situation in the Middle East. Such strategies aim at softening anti-Israeli sentiments and also at winning new converts or persuadables so that they will be at least silent and neutral, and at best be made supporters. The five types of promotion strategies employed in *The Hasbara Document* aim at humanizing the conflict, appealing to mutual well-being and prosperity on both sides, and reiterating the call for peace. Moreover, wider situational and extra-situational contexts were provided in order to explain the underlying political stances of these claims, which help in shaping and altering international public opinion. Critical discourse analysis is a helpful framework in exploring such strategies of an underlying propaganda, and where the aim, as Paltridge (2010: 183) argues is 'to unpack what people say and do in their use of discourse in relation to their views of the world, themselves and relations with each other'. The excerpts analysed in this chapter indicate how the author of *The Hasbara Document* has manged to create a particular pro-Israeli effect. Given the state of affairs of media in the United States, in particular, vis-à-vis the Arab-Israeli conflict, misinformations seem to be the norm in feeding the American public opinion news reports that are pro-Israel, and at the same time downplay any issues, news, or events that can negatively impact on the image of Israel in the United States.

Ghareeb (1977: 15), for example, says that 'many in the American media are guilty of accepting terminology coined by the Israelis. This is a highly effective device for influencing opinions'. Along a similar line of argument, Christison (1999: 96) argues that the American news media definition of the

conflict is 'for the most part Israeli-centred, approaching the conflict generally from an Israeli perspective and seldom recognizing the existence of the legitimacy of a Palestinian perspective'.

The *Hasbara* excerpts analysed here point to these conclusions. How to redress this imbalance in representations of the Arab-Israeli conflict? Would a Palestinian *Hasbara*, for example, counter Luntz's?

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